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Early Helladic I at Kontopigado, Alimos: The pottery from Pit I

KONSTANTINA KAZA-PAPAGEORGIOU – VASCO HACHTMANN –
ELEFThERIA KARDAMAKI

Frühhelladisch I in Kontopigado, Alimos: Die Keramik aus Grube I

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Der Übergang von der Jungsteinzeit zur Frühbronzezeit markiert eine der entscheidenden technologischen und sozialen Entwicklungen der Menschheitsgeschichte. In Griechenland fand dieser Übergang am Ende des 4. Jahrtausends v. Chr. statt. Zwar ist in Attika diese Periode gut im archäologischen Fundgut vertreten, doch sind bislang nur wenige Fundplätze vollständig und systematisch veröffentlicht worden. In diesem Beitrag stellen wir die Keramik aus einer Grube in der frühhelladischen (FH) Siedlung bei Kontopigado, Alimos, im Südosten Athens vor. Deren Inhalt ergab eine beträchtliche Vielfalt an Gefäßformen und Warenarten, wahrscheinlich aus einer relativ kurzen Zeitspanne der FH I-Phase. Die Funde können als Referenzmaterial für eine bestimmte Unterphase des FH I dienen und geben desweiteren Aufschluss über Konsumpräferenzen, Kontakte und Aktivitäten der Bewohner von Kontopigado am Beginn der Bronzezeit.

Schlagwörter Frühbronzezeit; Kontopigado; Attika; Keramik; ›cheese pot‹.

ABSTRACT The transition from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age marks one of the crucial technological and social developments in human history. In Greece this transition occurred at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. This period is well represented in Attica's archaeological record, although only few sites have been fully and systematically published. In this article we present the pottery from a pit in the Early Helladic (EH) settlement at Kontopigado, Alimos, in the southeast of Athens. The deposit yielded a considerable variety of vessel shapes, wares, and fabrics, probably dating to a relatively short time span of the EH I phase. The material may serve as reference for a specific sub-phase within EH I and furthermore sheds light on consumption preferences, contacts, and activities of the inhabitants at Kontopigado at the beginning of the Bronze Age.

Keywords Early Bronze Age; Kontopigado; Attica; pottery; ›cheese pot‹.

Πρώιμη Ελλαδική Ι στο Κοντοπήγαδο Αλίμου: Τα κεραμικά από τον Λάκκο Ι

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Η μετάβαση από τη νεολιθική στην πρώιμη εποχή του χαλκού σηματοδοτεί μια περίοδο καθοριστικών τεχνολογικών και κοινωνικών εξελίξεων στην ιστορία της ανθρωπότητας. Στην Ελλάδα η συγκεκριμένη μετάβαση έλαβε χώρα στο τέλος της 4ης χιλιετίας π. Χ. Αν και στην Αττική η περίοδος αυτή εκπροσωπείται καλά, εντούτοις μέχρι τώρα, λίγες μόνο θέσεις έχουν δημοσιευτεί πλήρως και συστηματικά. Στο συγκεκριμένο άρθρο, παρουσιάζουμε την κεραμική από έναν λάκκο στον πρωτοελλαδικό (ΠΕ) οικισμό Κοντοπήγαδο Αλίμου, στα νοτιοανατολικά της Αθήνας. Ο συγκεκριμένος λάκκος απέδωσε μια σημαντική ποικιλία κεραμικών σχημάτων και κατηγοριών, πιθανώς από μια σχετικά βραχεία χρονική περίοδο της ΠΕ Ι. Τα ευρήματα είναι δυνατόν να χρησιμεύσουν ως υλικό αναφοράς για μια συγκεκριμένη υποφάση της ΠΕ Ι, ενώ συν τοις άλλοις παρέχουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με τα έθιμα κατανάλωσης, τις επαφές και τις δραστηριότητες των κατοίκων του Κοντοπήγαδου στις αρχές της εποχής του χαλκού.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Πρώιμη εποχή του χαλκού. Κοντοπήγαδο. Αττική. Κεραμικά. ›cheese pot‹.

1. INTRODUCTION. THE EARLY BRONZE AGE AT KONTOPIGADO

The following paper discusses some preliminary results from the study of an EH I (ca. 3100/3000–2700 B.C.) deposit excavated in the eastern part of the settlement at Kontopigado. Its significance lies in new information it provides regarding pottery typology and the exchange within a Saronic and western Aegean network. The rescue excavations at Kontopigado conducted by Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou and the former B' Service of Antiquities brought to light remains of the EH period suggesting a dense occupation at the site during this period with evidence for metallurgic activities and the processing of obsidian cores¹. Most EH remains belong to pits but walls and floors of some houses were also preserved under the Mycenaean settlement. These contained large amounts of pottery and small finds. Moreover, a characteristic feature of the area was the presence of two streambeds that were excavated between the houses of the settlement and were filled by stones and pottery. It soon became clear that the Early Bronze Age remains at Kontopigado represent two different periods of occupation, dated in EH I and EH II respectively. EH II was more widespread while EH I finds were more concentrated in the southeastern part, in the area of the so-called Building Complex II on the plot of the ΟΑΕΔ (Οργανισμός Απασχόλησης Εργατικού Δυναμικού) (*fig. 1*) and to a lesser extent in the area of the well preserved Mycenaean settlement unit (Building Complex I)².

The study of the material confirms the general notion that the transition from EH I to EH II marks a period with significant changes. At Kontopigado these changes are not only related to ceramic developments, i.e. the introduction of new vessel shapes, wares and fabrics or the abandonment of others, they are also observable in activities within the settlement. In particular, evidence for metallurgic activities seems to cease after EH I. This evidence consisted of clay moulds and bronze residues³ but it is of yet unknown extent since related installations are missing. If the latter have existed they may have been destroyed by modern construction that has erased large parts of the original topography of the area. Finally, the streambed running in north-south direction in the higher part (Building Complex II)⁴ and at least two pits carved in bedrock there were filled in EH I and were partly overbuilt by EH II houses. In one of these houses an intact clay seal was discovered⁵.

The detailed study of the EH pottery from Kontopigado is in process and is planned to cover aspects of typology, production and provenance with detailed statistical and typological analyses of all the material, as well as with petrographic and chemical analyses on a

The authors would like to thank the director Stella Chrysoulaki and the staff of the Ephoreia of Piraeus for their support and help through our study. The study of the material was made possible through the generous support of INSTAP (Institute for Aegean Prehistory). The authors express their warmest thanks to Peter Day, Peggy Sotirakopoulou and Kerasia Douni for fruitful discussions.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper, in addition to those commonly employed under DAI guidelines:

CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
CMF	Calcareous micaceous fabric
GMF	Gold Mica fabric
RBSF	Red brown sandy fabric
SMF	Schist / Mica fabric

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cycladic
EH	Early Helladic
LH	Late Helladic
Diam.	Diameter

¹ See Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 201; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016b, 94 for the history of the excavation.

² Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 66 f. For Mycenaean Building Complexes I and II see Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2018, 2–4.

³ Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 66.

⁴ The second streambed, further to the west in Building Complex I, was 3.5 m wide and it was filled in EH II (Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 171).

⁵ CMS V, 460 no. 306.

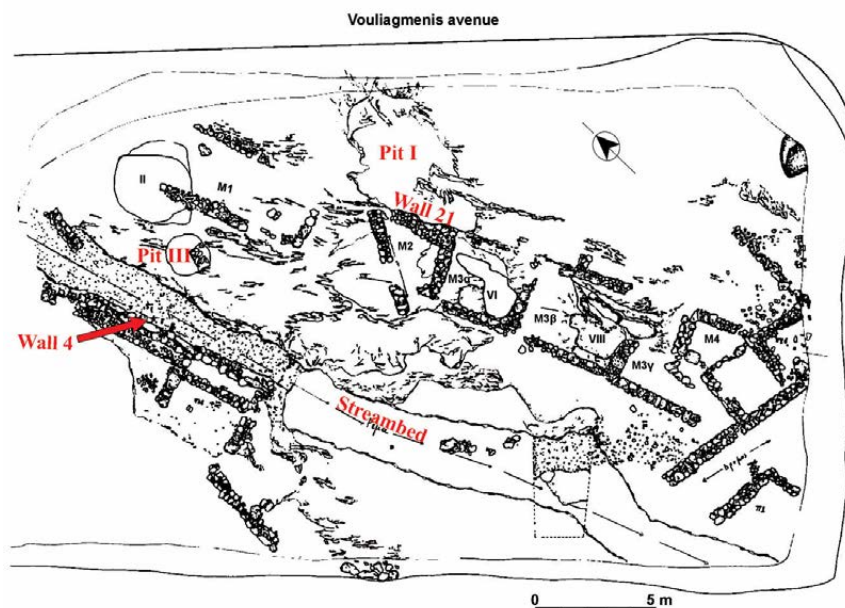


Fig. 1 Kontopigado, Building complex II (OAEΔ), Excavation plan



Fig. 2 Obsidian tools and chips from the streambed

large group of EH I and EH II samples. The analytical study of the material is under preparation by Evin Chian and Peter Day. The study of the material brings some important new insights. EH I is usually considered to be a period during which settlements depended on the consumption of pottery that was locally produced and with a more restricted circulation of goods. This seems to have changed only towards the end of this period⁶. The pottery from Kontopigado, however, suggests that the settlement was maintaining close connections to Aegina, since a significant proportion of pottery was imported from there. Other pottery features belong to types with a wide distribution in the Aegean and the Anatolian coast. Connections with the island of Melos are demonstrated by the large numbers of unworked or half worked obsidian tools found within EH I levels from Kontopigado (fig. 2).

⁶ Alram-Stern – Horejs 2018, 13 f.

In the following chapter the pottery from an EH I assemblage (Pit I) will be presented. The characteristic fabrics of the assemblage will be discussed in terms of typology, wares and frequencies. The analysis is accompanied by a catalogue and illustrations of a representative sample of pottery fragments. The final part of the paper is dedicated to a comment on the chronology of the deposit in Pit I and to some concluding remarks about the significance of this material.

2. EH I OCCUPATION IN BUILDING COMPLEX II

The EH I remains at Building Complex II consist of two pits (Pit I and III), and the fill of a stream in north-south direction. Pit III was opened on the east bank of the streambed while Pit I is 7 m further to the east of Pit III (see below and *fig. 1*). Both pits were carved into bedrock consisting of limestone and schist. Pit III is round and 0.80 m deep. Its diameter narrows from 1.50–1.70 m on the mouth to 0.90 m at the bottom of the pit. Pit III contained a small amount of very fragmented pottery giving the impression of material that was washed down after the pit went out of use. Among the finds worth mentioning are a fragment of a clay mould and a *tuyère*.

The excavated part of the streambed is 33 m long and was divided into a northern and a southern part (*fig. 1*). The southern part is 21 m long and 2.50 m wide and approximately 1.60 m deep. Where the northern and the southern part meet, the bottom of the streambed falls off abruptly for about 0.80 m⁷. The north part is 0.80 m deep, 12 m long and its west side is flanked by a 0.80 m thick wall (Wall 4). The latter is a part of an EH II structure founded on top of the EH I fill that was used to level the bed of the stream. The further course of the stream to the south and to the north is unknown due to its destruction in modern times. The fill of the streambed contained a lot of rubble. In some areas, the stones formed piles. The size of the rocks varies from one concentration to another from very small (2 × 3 cm) to slightly bigger (4 × 7 cm). Larger stones (10–15 × 20–30 cm) appeared occasionally in the north part of the stream at its bottom and its southern limit. The fill directly at the bottom of the stream contained more soil and stones and smaller quantities of pottery. This layer may derive from the period when the stream came out of use. Apart from pottery the fill of the stream contained a large number of obsidian blades, cores and *débitage*.

2.1. Pit I

Pit I is a cavity of irregular shape that was artificially cut into bedrock. The maximum east-west length is 4.50 m and in north-south direction 5 m. The depth of the pit ranges between 0.50 and 0.70 m. To the west the pit was bordered by Wall 21, a rubble wall constructed of medium size field stones. The fill of the pit represents a single deposition as suggested by the pottery cross-joins between different find groups inside the pit (see below). It consisted of stones, many sherds and small lenses of soil. The pottery was collected in twelve find groups that represent excavation units and not different stratigraphic units (find groups: 69. 70. 72–74. 78–80. 115. 171–173).

Find groups 72. 74. 78. 80. 115 derive from the fill of the pit. These are pure EH I units free of later contamination or, in the case of 72, 78 and 115, with only one clearly later sherd. Groups 73 and 79 contained three and five LH sherds respectively. Groups 69, 70, 171, 172

⁷ Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016b, 26 fig. 34. It cannot be excluded that the streambed has been partly artificially shaped.

and 173 come from the upper parts of the pit. These contain a higher proportion of later material (*see below*) and must be interpreted as mixed. Small finds from Pit I include obsidian blades and flakes, a fully preserved spindle whorl and a fragment from a second one, as well as two sherds with bronze / copper residue on their surface. There are no animal bones and only one oyster shell.

2.2. The pottery

The pottery presented in this paper was found entirely within the fill of Pit I in Building Complex II. The area was excavated in twelve separate find groups (*see above*). Among the uppermost find groups, 69 and 70 contained an admixture of 12 % and 19 % Late Helladic sherds respectively, while find group 171 was mixed with pottery from the Classical period. Find groups 172 and 173 were very small and yet each contained one LH sherd. All these find groups were dismissed from the statistical analysis. The remaining seven find groups (72–74, 78–80, 115) represent the intact part of the deposit and contained some 1240 sherds after mending fresh breaks and before mending old breaks. The deposit consists only of sherd material and no single entire profile was preserved although considerable time was invested in finding joins. This suggests that the finds dumped in Pit I represent domestic refuse that was in a fragmented state at the time of deposition. Almost all find groups are connected by joining sherds at least to one of the other find groups inside the deposit. In addition, one join between 73 and 69 indicates that at least part of find group 69 belongs to this deposit as well.

After the mending of old breaks 1179 vessel fragments remained. This figure constitutes the statistical basis for the present analysis. Of some 312 diagnostic sherds, 282 were preserved well enough to allow pencil illustration, of which 81 were catalogued for the present article. The sample was selected to represent all types and wares of all fabrics in at least one example. None of the fragments in Pit I are necessarily later than EH I except for one possible EH II body sherd and eleven others which clearly date in the Late Helladic period. The latter are fragments of fine Mycenaean wheel-made pottery and their low proportion of 0.9 % suggests that they are intrusive. They mainly come from the higher situated find groups 73 and 79, and if they are eliminated the proportion of Mycenaean contamination among the remaining 871 sherds would further drop to 0.3 %. In contrast, most significant is the total absence of EH II fine ware, sauceboats and saucers on small ring bases. The homogenous character of the fill thus promises an important contribution to our understanding of ceramic typology and chronology in South Attica at the beginning of the Bronze Age. Moreover, the studied material allows detailed insights into activities and contacts of the local population at that time.

Among the variables to describe the catalogued fragments are: sherd type, size category⁸, rim / base diameter, percent of rim / base preservation, degree of abrasion, vessel shape, handle type, decoration, Munsell colour, surface treatment, technical observations, use wear, fabric and ware. Information concerning the sizes and densities of the different kinds of inclusions⁹ visible in the sherds was recorded in detail and contributed to the differentia-

⁸ For the classification small (<5 cm), medium (5–10 cm), big (>10 cm) see Stockhammer 2008, 70. See also Kaza-Papageorgiou – Kardamaki 2018, 4–6.

⁹ The size of inclusions – referring to the maximum size of a temper component occurring in regular

amounts – was noted in the following size categories: powder-size, 0.02 cm, 0.05 cm, 0.1 cm, 0.15 cm, 0.2 cm, 0.25 cm etc. The density of individual components was estimated on a 6-tier scale: none, very low, low, moderate, high, very high.

tion of macroscopic fabric groups¹⁰. The bulk of the material (non-catalogued feature sherds and non-feature sherds) was separated into fabric groups, counted and the size category for each sherd was noted. This was conducted for each find group separately in order to detect possible variations in the composition of each find group within the deposit. Indeed, some variations between certain find groups were detected regarding sherd size and the proportions of fabric groups and vessel types, however, other typological aspects of the pottery and the presence of cross-joins between different find groups make it seem legitimate to treat the fill of Pit I as a coherent deposit.

In the following paragraph the macroscopic fabric groups are briefly described and an overview of the shapes and decorations within each fabric group is given. A separate typological discussion for each fabric group was found useful because in many cases particular shapes correlate quite closely with particular fabric groups. The pottery from Pit I generally comprises a relatively narrow range of open and closed vessel shapes, basically open bowls, deep bowls, large shallow bowls, narrow-necked jars, wide-mouthed jars and the so-called cheese pots. Due to the fragmented character of the material we were reluctant to employ a finer classification according to vessel shape as was possible for example for the finds from Tsepi¹¹. Our focus on feature sherds emphasizes variations in the types of rims and lips, of which some appear to be of chronological significance. The repertoire of the Schist / Mica fabric shows certain variability in rim shapes and may serve as an adequate starting point for the typological discussion.

Schist / Mica fabric (SMF)

This fabric comprises around two thirds of the sherd material (*tab. 1. 2*) and can be interpreted as locally manufactured. It is usually medium coarse with a moderate to very high density of dull shiny silvery platelets between 1 and 3 mm. If powder-size sparkling inclusions are present, they occur in high or very high densities as well. The majority of sherds of the SMF also include organic temper that left voids in the shape of plant seeds or grass chaff. Notably, any kinds of dark-coloured inclusions are absent. Surfaces are unsmoothed or smoothed but very rarely burnished. The colour of the clay is usually red (2.5YR 5/6–8) but can shift occasionally to light brown or brown (7.5YR 5/4) – sometimes on the very same sherd. Although no fresh breaks were produced, the cores of the sherds mostly appear to be grey.

SMF was almost exclusively used for plain ware and for ›cheese pots‹. Other wares like Red slipped and burnished (*fig. 3, 1*) and, perhaps, Black burnished wares (*fig. 10, 73*) are very rarely made in this fabric. The most common shape in SMF is an open bowl with conical, slightly convex profile (*fig. 3, 2–9*). Extreme deviations from this basic shape towards either semi-globular or straight-sided are rare. Most commonly the lip is rounded or slightly pointed (*fig. 3, 2. 3*). Small versions with rim diameters between 10 and 13 cm have similarly simple rims (*fig. 3, 3*). In two cases a conical body ends in a slightly inwards turned lip that has been produced by pressure on the exterior lip to tell from the characteristic flattened area (e.g. *fig. 3, 4*). This rim type can be seen as the forerunner of the typical EH II bowl or saucer with incurved rim¹²; our *fig. 3, 4*, however, belongs to a large basin-like vessel with a reconstructed rim diameter of 30.5 cm. While this rim type is rare among the open bowls

¹⁰ The macroscopic fabric groups were defined after careful inspection of every single sherd, including the non-feature sherds, under sunlight. No magnifier was used but the groups are easily distinguishable with bare eye. Munsell colours of fractures were

only measured in cases when the sherd had a fresh break.

¹¹ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016.

¹² Mylonas 1959, fig. 53; Weißhaar 1983, fig. 13, 2. 4–6; Wiencke 2000; Pullen 2011, 73.

	Feature sherds			Feature sherds ›Cheese pots‹			Feature sherds without ›Cheese pots‹		
Fabric	dia	rim	base	dia	rim	base	dia	rim	base
SMF	225 72.1 %	132 70.6 %	61 (69)	44 91.7 %	34 91.9 %	10 (18)	181 68.6 %	98 65.3 %	51
RBSF	24 7.7 %	13 7.0 %	8	–	–	–	24 9.1 %	13 8.7 %	8
GMF	34 10.9 %	29 15.5 %	4	–	–	–	34 12.9 %	29 19.3 %	4
Calcareous micaceous	11 3.5 %	4 2.1 %	5	–	–	–	11 4.2 %	4 2.7 %	5
others	18 5.8 %	9 4.8 %	3 (4)	4 8.3 %	3 8.1 %	1 (2)	14 5.3 %	6 4.0 %	2
total	312 100.0 %	187 100.0 %	81 (90)	48 100.0 %	37 100.0 %	11 (20)	264 100.1 %	150 100.0 %	70

Table 1: Kontopigado Pit I: Counts and proportions of diagnostic sherds, rims and bases among the macroscopic fabric groups. Numbers in parentheses: base sherds included which were already counted as rim sherds

Fabric	total
Schist/Mica	792 67.2 %
Red-brown sandy	64 5.4 %
Gold Mica	166 14.1 %
Calcareous micaceous	71 6.0 %
others	74 6.3 %
EH II?	1 0.1 %
LH	11 0.9 %
total	1179 100.0 %

Table 2: Kontopigado Pit I: Counts and proportions of all sherds among the macroscopic fabric groups

constructed. Like most of the rounded deep bowls this piece has a rounded lip, however, flattened rims (although hardly ever thickened) do occur as well. The latter feature can be observed on one fragment with handle attachment and a decoration of horizontally incised lines underneath the rim (*fig. 3, 11*)¹⁴. On deep rounded bowls decoration is generally rare: *fig. 3, 11* is the only incised decorated example and only two rim sherds were red slipped and burnished. On one of them (*fig. 3, 1*), the interior is monochrome painted, while any paint on the exterior may have worn off completely.

of SMF, another type is very frequent: rims with horizontally flattened lip (*fig. 3, 5–9*). Those rims are usually slightly thickened but the thickening is never as pronounced as on T-rim bowls of the EH II phase¹³. *Fig. 3, 9* shows a slightly grooved lip and the attachment of what was probably a wide vertical strap handle of ›tunnel‹-type. In three cases the rim has incised decoration (e.g. *fig. 3, 7, 8*). It is difficult to reconstruct the rim diameter of our sherds with flattened lip but they tend to belong to larger bowls or basins.

Another very common shape in SMF is the deep bowl with globular body (*fig. 3, 1, 10, 11*). Seven out of nine reconstructed rim diameters were in the range of 13 to 18 cm. For *fig. 3, 10* a diameter of ca. 21 cm was re-

¹³ Mylonas 1959; Weißhaar 1983, fig. 12, 17–19; Wiencke 2000.

¹⁴ Exact parallels for this type of bowl can be found at Tsepi (Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 89, 1712. 2074. 2081; 90, 2089. 2342).

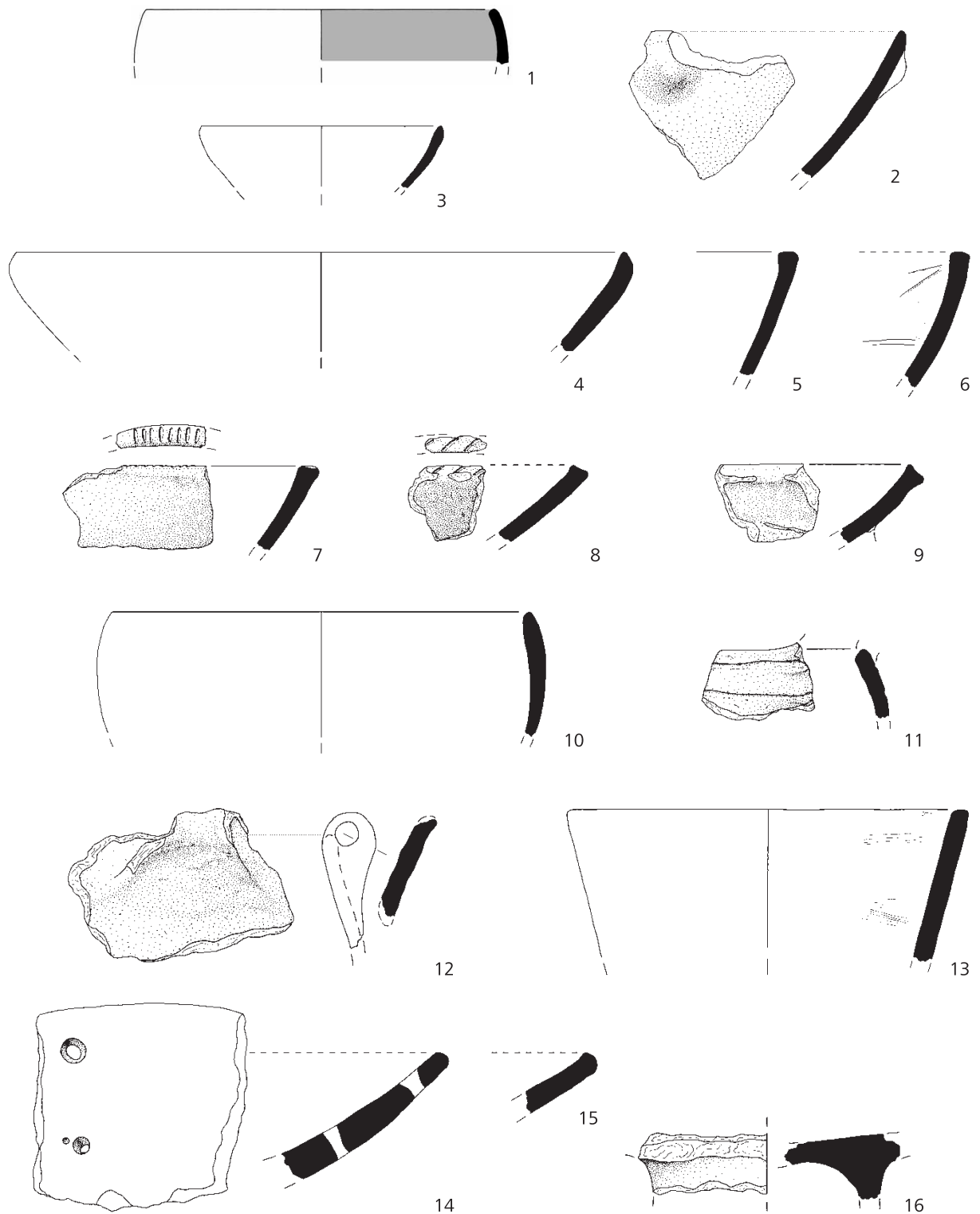


Fig. 3 Pit I. Schist / Mica fabric (SMF): open shapes (M. 1 : 3)

A different type of deep bowl has a straight rim profile (*fig. 3, 12, 13*). The degree of fragmentation in Pit I does not allow an exact reconstruction of this vessel shape but the steep, almost vertical rim seems to taper inwards in considerable distance from the rim towards the base (see e.g. *fig. 3, 12*). Rim sherds of this kind of deep crater-like bowls may be

confused with those of wide-mouthed jars. Rims with straight-sided profile are much more common in Gold Mica fabric (*see below*). In SMF one rim from a deep straight-sided bowl with wide vertical strap handle at the rim represents a unique feature (*fig. 3, 12*). The same is true for a rim, perhaps, from a flowerpot-like vessel with a deep conical shape (*fig. 3, 13*).

Other rims with straight profiles suggest a rather shallow vessel shape (*fig. 3, 14, 15*). Due to their thick walls and heavy appearance they may be identified as fragments of large shallow bowls. These bowls may have had flat bases or be connected to sherds from the junction between bowl and pedestal identified as parts of fruitstands (*fig. 3, 16*). Two of these junctions were found in Pit I and both are of the SMF suggesting that fruitstands had been produced at Kontopigado in EH I. According to the small number of corresponding rim sherds large shallow bowls were rare. The post firing drill holes in *fig. 3, 14* indicate that the vessel was precious enough to be mended after it had broken. Despite the clumsy manufacture of this piece its interior surface was carefully burnished.

Among the closed shapes in SMF the most frequent are jars with a tall neck, a narrow opening and a pronounced belly (*fig. 4, 17 a – 22*). The neck is mostly conical and the rim can be straight (*fig. 4, 17 a – 18*) or slightly everted whereby the beginning of the everted rim can be directly underneath the lip (*fig. 4, 19*) or somewhere in the middle of the otherwise conical neck (*fig. 4, 20, 21*). In many cases the neck is offset at its base by a step (*fig. 4, 19, 21, 22*) or a horizontal groove (*fig. 4, 20*). Rim diameters range between 9 cm and 11.5 cm. One small example of this shape with conical neck and short everted rim has a rim diameter of 7.5 cm (*fig. 4, 19*). *Fig. 3, 17 a* carried an incised decoration on the shoulder as can be seen on a non-joining body sherd (*fig. 4, 17 b*). More common was a decoration of plastic cords laid out in curves over the shoulder of narrow-necked jars (*fig. 4, 21, 22*). One entire vessel from the EH I settlement at Loutsas in East Attica is an exact parallel for some of our pieces with cord decoration¹⁵. A total of eight sherds with plastic cords were found in Pit I and in all cases the cords were plain – none was decorated with impressions. Differences in the arrangement of the plastic cords on each of these pieces suggest that most come from different vessels.

Another type of narrow-necked jar had a flaring rim (*fig. 4, 23, 24*). Again it is difficult to estimate how the corresponding vessels have looked like but from the surviving rim profiles we may conclude that the belly was less pronounced than the one from the jars with conical neck. *Fig. 4, 24* has a short neck and a short flaring rim. It belonged to a smaller jar with a row of punctual impressions under the neck. The rim diameters of narrow-necked jars with flaring rim range between 11 cm and ca. 12.5 cm.

At least two non-recorded rims of SMF from Pit I belong to wide-mouthed jars. Their rims are morphologically very similar to the rim shapes of two other sherds attributed here to the class of pithoid jars due to their thick walls (*fig. 4, 25, 26*). Both, our wide-mouthed jars and the pithoid jars *fig. 4, 25* and *3, 26*, may be reconstructed as similar neck-less barrel shaped vessels – although, perhaps, of different size classes. *Fig. 4, 25* was decorated with a row of finger impressions underneath the rim. A different type of pithoid jar with flaring rim is represented by *fig. 4, 27*.

The body fragments with handles (*fig. 5, 28, 29*) most likely belong to narrow-necked jars. Lugs can belong to closed and open shapes. Button-like lugs – pierced or without hole (*fig. 3, 2*) – usually occur on bowls where they were always placed in a short distance below the rim. Large knob-shaped lugs (*fig. 5, 30*) are more common for closed vessels. Horizontal lugs are also represented in several examples (*fig. 6, 40*).

¹⁵ Ευσταθίου et al. 2009, fig. 6 α.

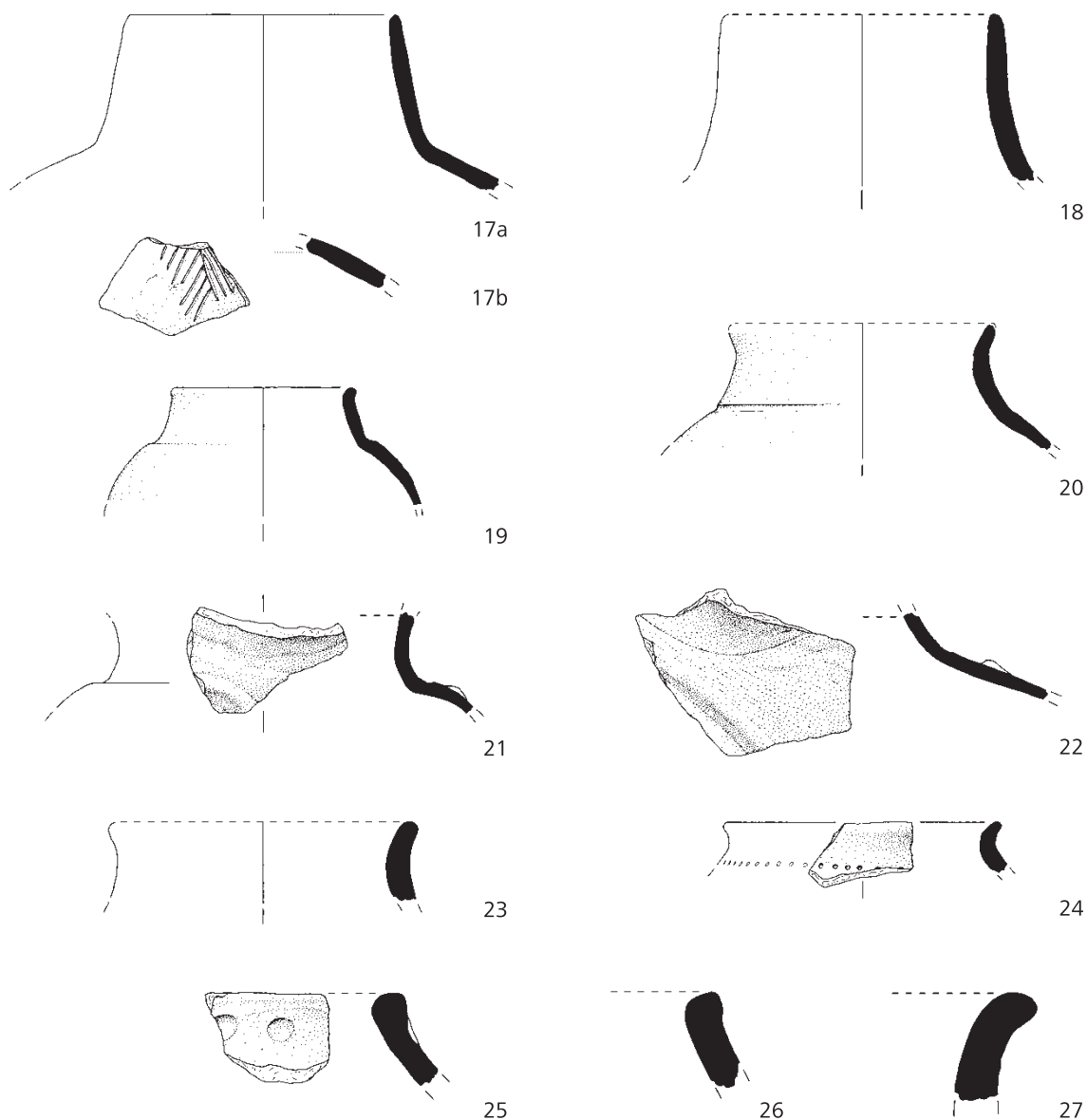


Fig. 4 Pit I. Schist / Mica fabric (SMF): closed shapes (M. 1 : 3)

The great number of bases cannot be attributed to any particular shape with certainty (fig. 5, 31–34; 11, 81). Most of the bases are simple flat bases (fig. 5, 31), while raised flat bases (fig. 5, 32; 11, 81) are more rare. Occasionally, bases had a slightly concave underside (fig. 5, 33; 11, 81). Among the finds from Pit I only three ring bases were found (e.g. fig. 5, 34; 10, 77). All came from find group 80 and are of medium large size. The two made in SMF had base diameters of 6.7 cm and 8.3 cm.

A very peculiar vessel shape that finds a wide distribution during the Late Chalcolithic¹⁶ is the so called cheese pot¹⁷. This shape is extraordinarily well represented at Kontopigado and in Pit I in particular (fig. 6, 35–39; 13). Its connection with the SMF is striking: 111 out of 124 identified fragments of ›cheese pots‹ belong to this fabric and we would like to suggest that a local workshop has produced these vessels in series (see also *tab. 1*). Three of the ex-

¹⁶ In the present paper the term ›Chalcolithic‹ is used synonymous with ›Final Neolithic‹.

¹⁷ Sampson 1984, 242 f.; Alram-Stern 2014, 313–315 fig. 7.

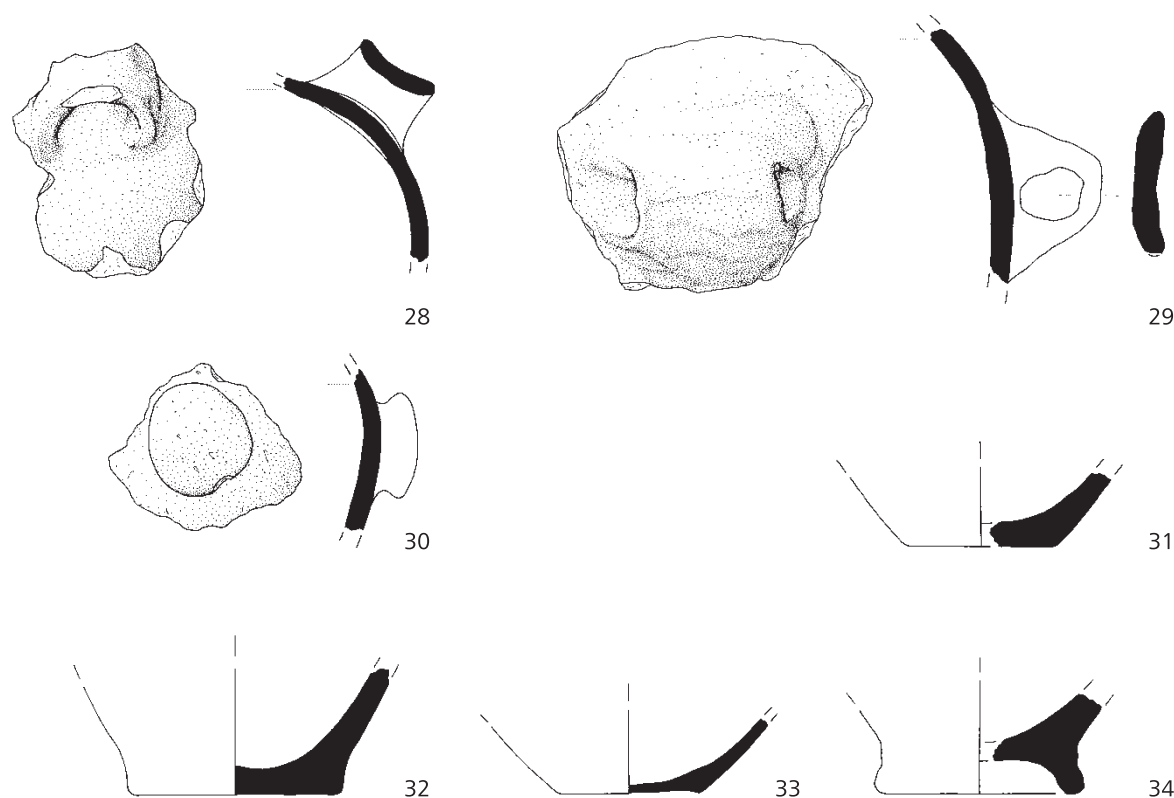


Fig. 5 Pit I. Schist / Mica fabric (SMF): handles 28, 29, lug 30, and bases 31–34 (M. 1 : 3)

amples presented here (*fig. 6, 35–37*) were preserved from the rim to the base. The base was apparently not flat but more or less convex and has a characteristic rough surface. Thus we may assume that this shape was produced in shallow pits leaving an irregular imprint of the bare ground. The main characteristic of this shape is the row of pre-firing perforations set directly underneath the rim. The perforations follow the rim where it declines and becomes one with the base (*fig. 6, 36, 37, 39*). On this open side of the vessel the perforation continues (*fig. 6, 39; 10, 79*). Generally, the ›cheese pots‹ at Kontopigado can be reconstructed as relatively shallow large oval vessels with straight open rim, while one narrow side has an opening. It is possible that all the fragments from Kontopigado belong to this type. Due to the open side a function as container for the storage of liquids must be excluded and thus the term ›cheese pot‹ for this shape seems inadequate. In this respect the vessels from Kontopigado differ from bowl- or pot-shaped ones¹⁸ or from the peculiar boat-shaped pieces from Tsepi¹⁹. Noteworthy in this relation is the fragment of another vessel in Pit I with an oval shape and a rim not dissimilar to the one of ›cheese pots‹ but without perforations (*fig. 6, 40*). It was equipped with horizontal lugs. This tray-like vessel, just like most of its perforated counterparts, seems to be blackened by smoke and this entire ceramic class could also be interpreted as baking plate or oven²⁰. Although terms like ›cheese pot‹ and ›baking plate‹ imply certain functions we cannot be sure of, we continue here to call the perforated vessels from Kontopigado ›cheese pots‹ because this term is widely established.

¹⁸ Phelps 2004, 231 *fig. 57, 2, 4*; Alram-Stern 2006, pl. 6, 74.

¹⁹ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 108, 109.

²⁰ Holmberg 1944. For traces of fire on ›cheese pots‹ see Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 163.

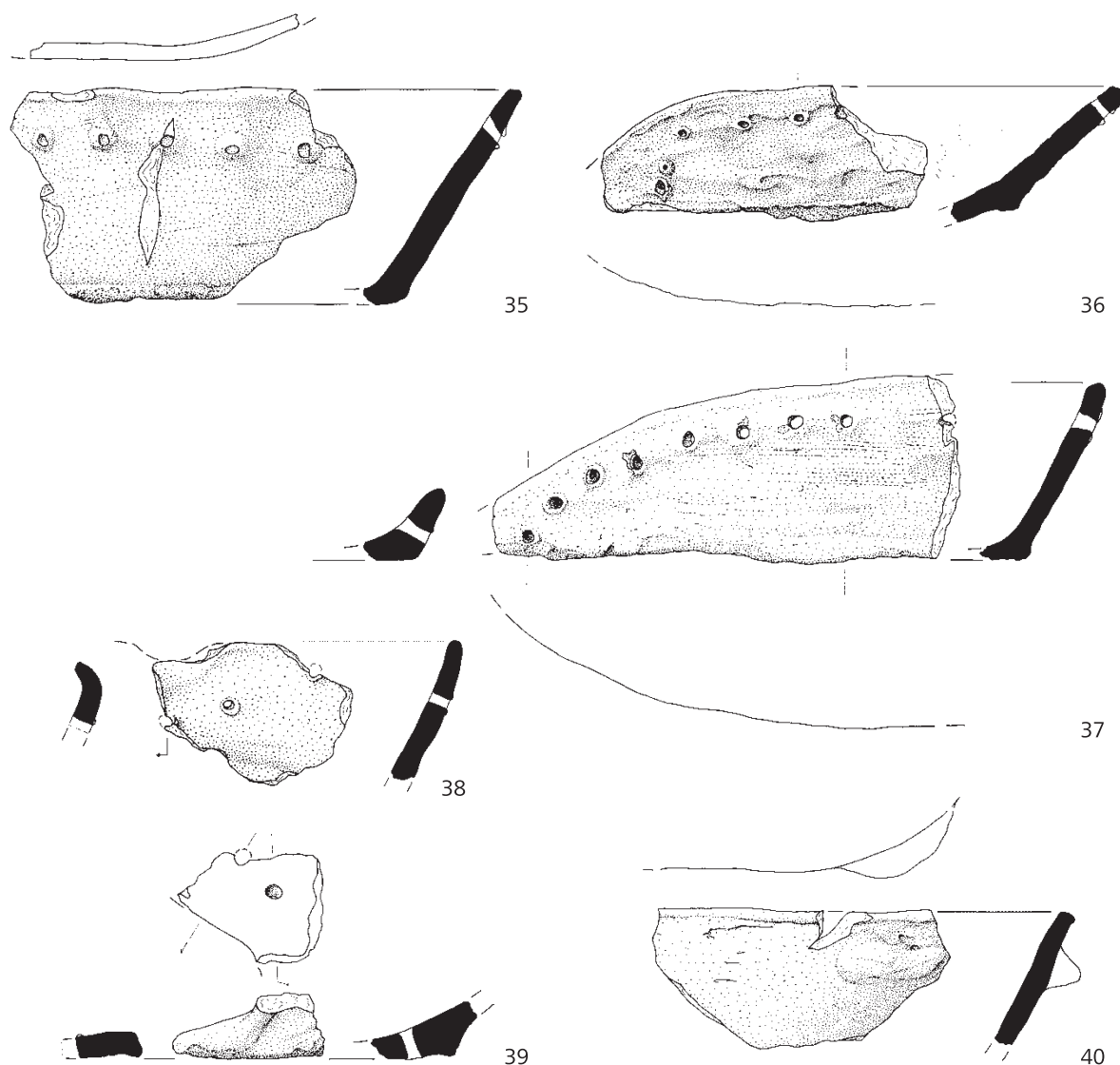


Fig. 6 Pit I. Schist / Mica fabric (SMF). ›Cheese pots‹ (M. 1 : 3)

Red brown sandy fabric (RBSF)

The colour of RBSF sherds can be found on the Munsell soil colour charts in a relatively narrow area of 5–7.5YR 5–6/4–6. The strong red colour of SMF is unusual for RBSF. Moreover, schistose and micaceous temper are absent in RBSF. The clay with a slightly sandy feel contains instead 0.5 mm to 1 mm large dark grits in low to high density and calcareous inclusions in low to medium density. Organic temper is absent. This fabric is almost invariably produced for bowls of Red slipped ware. Curiously, the red slip appears micaceous while the clay is not. The colour of the paint is mostly bright red (10R 4/6 or 2.5YR 4–5/6–8) and rarely more yellowish red. The slipped surfaces are usually burnished. Whether RBSF represents a local fine ware or an import is not clear yet. In Pit I it is represented with a proportion of 7 % among the rim sherds, 7.7 % among the diagnostic sherds and 5.4 % among all sherds (*tab. 1. 2*).

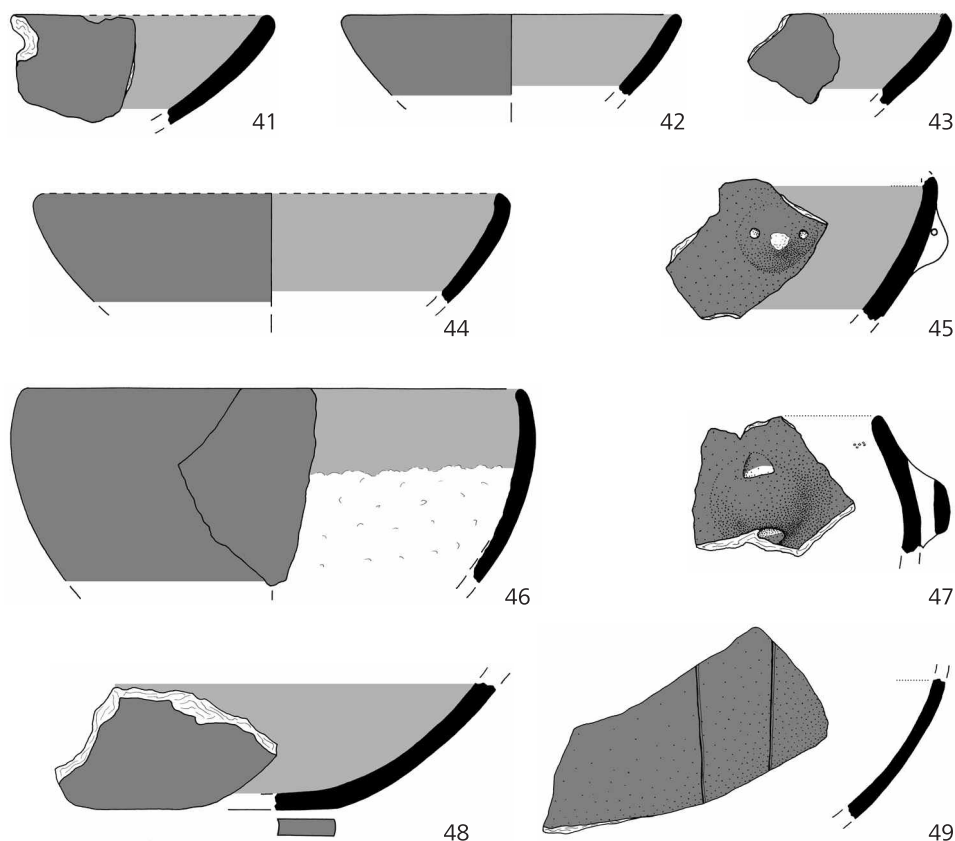


Fig. 7 Pit I. Red brown sandy fabric (RBSF; M. 1 : 3)

The bowls of RBSF closely resemble the shapes described for the SMF. Open bowls are conical with slightly convex profiles (*fig. 7, 41–45*). The lips are rounded (*fig. 7, 41. 42*) and sometimes slightly incurving (*fig. 7, 43. 44*). Rim diameters usually range between 16.5 cm and 20 cm but small bowls exist (*fig. 7, 42*), as was the case with Schist / Mica fabric. Larger bowls occasionally are equipped with a pierced lug (e.g. *fig. 7, 45*)²¹. Two examples of deep rounded bowls (*fig. 7, 46. 47*) show heavy use wear on the interior. *Fig. 7, 47* has a vertically pierced knob. Bowls are slipped and burnished also on the underside of the base (*fig. 7, 48*).

The only fragment of a closed vessel in RBSF has an unburnished red slip on the exterior (*fig. 7, 49*). In addition it has incised decoration; of the pattern two fine vertical incised lines in considerable distance from each other have survived.

Gold Mica fabric (GMF)

The EH I Gold Mica pottery from Kontopigado closely resembles well known fabrics from the island of Aegina and must have been entirely imported from there, approximately 20 km distant by boat. The coarse GMF is almost indistinguishable from the Aeginetan cooking pottery of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages²². With its remarkable proportion of 15.5 %

²¹ Κακαβουγιάννη et al. 2009a, 166.

²² Gauß – Kiriati 2011, Macroscopic Group 1 / Fabric Group 1: 47–49. 177 f. 217 f. 223 f. fig. 72–76 (until KOL 118). For discussion of EH II fabrics and wares see Berger 2018.

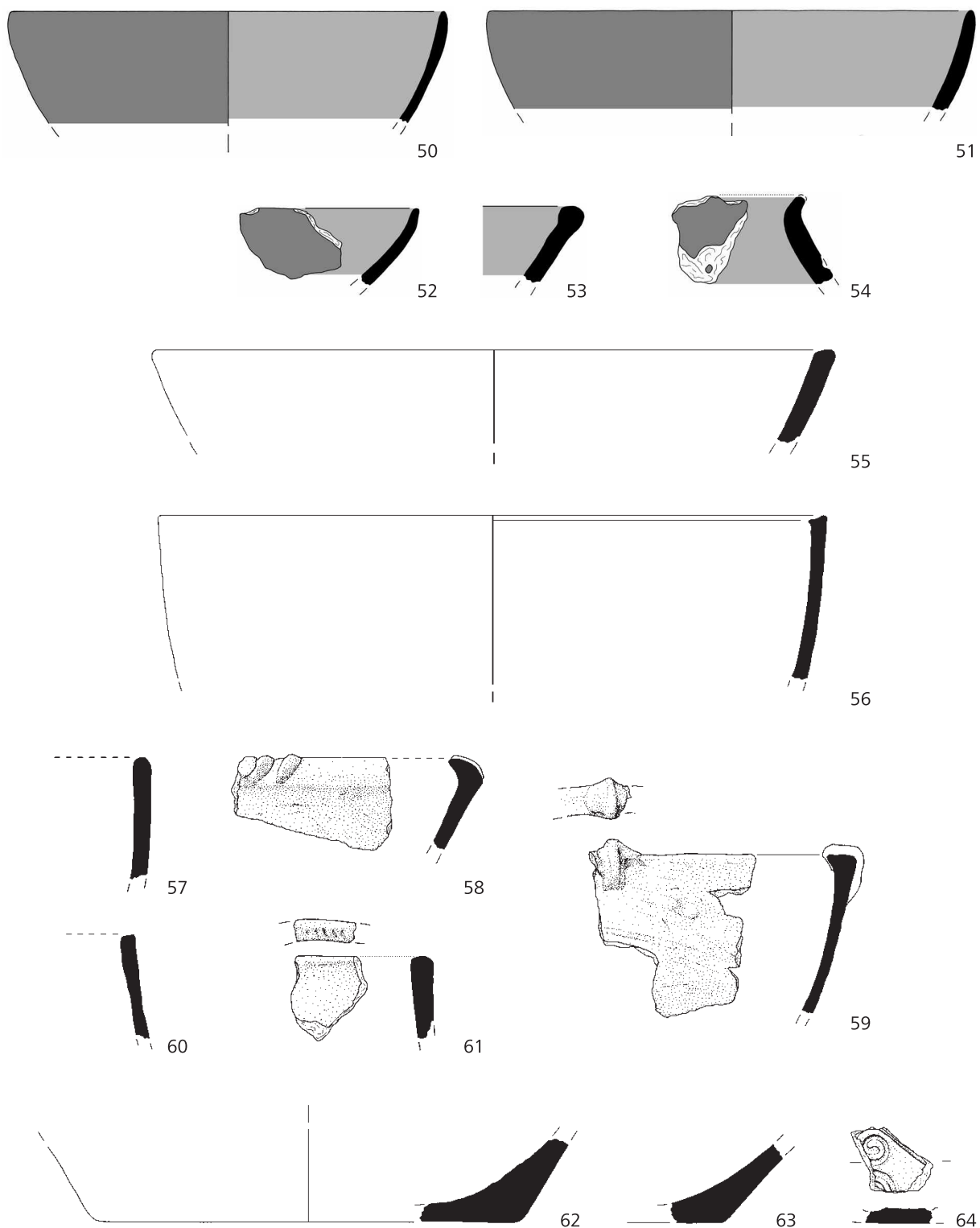


Fig. 8 Pit I. Gold Mica fabric (GMF):
Red slipped and polished ware 50–54, fine plain ware 55, cooking ware 56–64 (M. 1 : 3)

among the rim sherds and 14.1 % among all sherds GMF is the second most frequent fabric in Pit I (*tab. 1, 2*). The characteristic flakes of gold mica barely reach a size larger than 1 mm and their density ranges from very low to moderate. Dark inclusions between 0.5 and 2 mm large in low to medium density are obligatory and ›dirty‹ white cement-like and black shiny stones are also very common. Organic temper was only noted in one out of 15 recorded sherds with gold mica.

Aeginetan fabric arrived at Kontopigado mainly in two wares: in Red slipped and polished ware (*fig. 8, 50–54*) and in dark brown or blackened rough cooking ware (*fig. 8, 56–64*). Fine plain ware in GMF is rare (*fig. 8, 55*). The typical shape of red slipped GMF in Pit I is an open bowl with rounded or slightly pointed lip (*fig. 8, 50–52*). Slightly incurved rims with flattened exterior lip do not occur in this fabric. The Aeginetan bowls are a bit larger and more elegantly shaped than their counterparts in RBSF (compare *fig. 8, 50, 51* with *fig. 7, 41, 44*). Also the red slipped surfaces diverge technically from those of RBSF in a way that they were polished and not burnished. *Fig. 8, 53* and *8, 54* are medium coarse and closer to Aeginetan cooking ware. Concerning their shapes both pieces are singles. *Fig. 8, 53* represents the only fragment in Pit I that can be described as rolled rim bowl due to the rounded and thickened lip on the interior. Its shape is straight-sided conical. Rolled rim bowls are characteristic for the Late Chalcolithic but continue into EH I and in particular into Early Cycladic I²³. The exterior surface was heavily damaged by secondary burning. Despite its estimated inclination *fig. 8, 54* comes probably from an open shape with polished interior surface. The short flaring lip is unparalleled among open shapes from the pit but occurs also on one rim of SMF attributed to a closed shape (*fig. 4, 24*).

Present in GMF are also large bowls or basins with flattened rim, for example, represented by one piece in an unusual fine plain ware (*fig. 8, 55*). Straight-sided deep bowls are common in a dark coarse Aeginetan cooking ware (*fig. 8, 56, 57*). They often have a grooved lip (*fig. 8, 56*) but rounded lips do occur (*fig. 8, 57*). Pit I contained two examples of a conspicuous Aeginetan vessel type: a bowl with thickened and pointed interior rim and plastic applications on the lip (*fig. 8, 58, 59*). The applications on *fig. 8, 58* seem to be a decorative element while the one on *fig. 8, 59* may have served as a lug handle as well. The elaborate applications are in awkward contrast to the deliberately roughened and scoured exterior surface of both vessels.

The only closed shape represented in GMF in Pit I seems to be a wide-mouthed jar with almost vertical straight-sided rim (*fig. 8, 60, 61*). The division between Aeginetan wide-mouthed jar and straight-sided bowl may, however, be elusive because it is possible that most of the straight-sided rims belong to a type of baggy-shaped bowl that can considerably vary in depth²⁴. *Fig. 8, 60* was smoothed but has a very uneven surface and the lip was cut off horizontally in pre-firing condition with a sharp tool. *Fig. 8, 61* was a somewhat finer product. The lip carries a row of very shallow finger impressions that can be seen only when light is falling on it at a certain angle. Narrow-necked jars were not found in Aeginetan fabric. Bases from jars or deep bowls are usually simple flat bases (*fig. 8, 62, 63*).

In Pit I some particular vessel shapes are represented only in Aeginetan fabric. Among them one fragment with a flat profile and deeply stamped spiral decoration suggests the presence of a ›frying pan‹ (*fig. 8, 64*)²⁵. This enigmatic vessel shape is typical for the Cycladic Islands where it first occurs in the Kampos Group during the later Early Cycladic I²⁶. Its

²³ Renfrew 1972, fig. 5.2, 8. 9. 12; 5.3, 4. 6. 9. 12. 13; Alram-Stern 2014, 313. For rolled rim bowls in EC I see e.g. Karantzali 2006, 102 f. fig. 7.1, 1. 2 and 114 f. fig. 7.6, 3–12.

²⁴ Walter – Felten 1981, 86 fig. 68; 89 fig. 73.

²⁵ For ›frying pans‹ with stamped spirals on the mainland see Fossey 1969, 66 f. fig. 6 ›Frying pans‹ (Perachora); Pullen 2008, 450 f. 458 fig. 9 b–f (Tsoungiza).

²⁶ Rambach 2000a; Rambach 2000b.

function is a matter of ongoing debate²⁷. *Fig. 8, 64* was made in coarse dark brown cooking fabric similar to most of the Aeginetan fragments in Pit I and it is a clear hint on the Island's production and circulation of ›frying pans‹.

Calcareous micaceous fabric (CMF)

In Pit I, CMF accounts for 6.0 % of the total sherd count, which is about as common as the Red slipped and burnished RBSF discussed above, however, among the rim sherds CMF is only represented with 2.1 % (*tab. 1. 2*). It is characterized by a medium to very high density of calcareous inclusions which left a sponge-like look behind in those sherds that have been bathed in acid water during the process of cleaning. It is possible that not all CMF sherds come from the same production centre. One sub-group has an orange-red colour in an area usually of 2.5–5YR 5/6–8 in the Munsell charts (*fig. 9, 65–68*). Tiny soft calcareous inclusions occur in high or very high densities. Also micaceous inclusions appear throughout in high densities in a size from powder to 2 mm. For an untrained eye it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the micaceous component is actually schist, silver mica or something else. So we have to leave open here whether this fabric is local, regional or imported. One hint that the orange-red calcareous fabric might be local is that it seems to become much more common during the following phase. The calcareous fabric seems to represent a new method of clay preparation that would become a standard fabric in EH II. *Fig. 9, 67* has an additional sand-like component in form of up to 1 mm large dark stones in high density.

The second sub-group has a rather pinkish clay colour (5YR 6–7/4–6; *fig. 9, 69–72*). The micaceous components resemble more closely what one might call ›Silver Mica‹ because of the intensity of the reflected light. Mica and soft calcareous inclusions occur in medium, high or very high densities. Because of their small sizes of maximum 1 mm and because of an additional component of tiny dark inclusions – occasionally occurring in high density as well – the pink CMF group has a gritty appearance.

The spectrum of vessel shapes of the two groups of CMF represented among the material from Pit I is too narrow to provide a conclusive picture of their typological repertoire. The most conspicuous feature in orange-red calcareous fabric is a T-rim bowl with fairly deep pinprick impressions into the rim (*fig. 9, 65*). It is important to note that the pinpricks are arranged in groups of double rows separated from each other by undecorated zones. This metope-like design can be better observed on pieces from the EH I fill of the streambed (*fig. 12*). It seems to be repeated on a bowl of the local SMF with incised dashes perpendicular to the rim (*fig. 3, 7*). The type of bowl with pinprick impressions is represented in Pit I once in the slightly contaminated find group 79 and once in the stronger contaminated find group 69 but it occurs in around 15 individual examples among the rich material from the fill of the streambed. All these pieces are of similar CMF and on some of them a red burnished slip has been preserved. The distribution of this highly characteristic type of bowl will be discussed again in the following chapter. Other shapes of red-orange calcareous fabric represented in Pit I are the rounded deep bowl (*fig. 9, 66*) and the narrow-necked jar with flaring rim (*fig. 9, 67*). The base sherd *fig. 9, 68* may belong to a closed shape.

The pieces in pink gritty calcareous Silver Mica fabric may all belong to closed shapes. One narrow-necked jar had a wide flaring rim, a tall cylindrical neck and a smoothly curved profile unparalleled in local SMF (*fig. 9, 69*). One handle of ›tunnel‹-type could belong to

²⁷ Coleman 1985; Rambach 2000a; Rambach 2000b; Alram-Stern 2018b, 13–16.

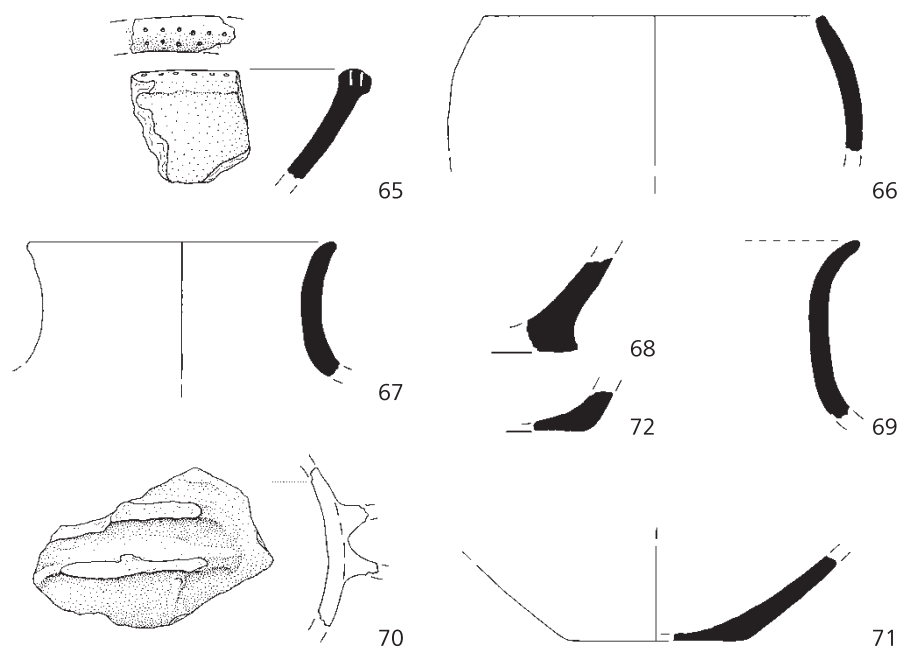


Fig. 9 Pit I. Calcareous micaceous fabric (CMF): orange-red 65–68, pinkish 69–72 (M. 1 : 3)

such a jar (*fig. 9, 70*)²⁸. Two base fragments have relatively thin bases (*fig. 9, 71, 72*). One of them had a bevelled shape (*fig. 9, 72*).

Other fabrics

In this paragraph we discuss those fragments that are either only loosely attributable to one of the former fabrics or they represent singles. Altogether, these fragments have a proportion of 6.3 % among all the sherds, 5.8 % among the diagnostic sherds and 4.8 % among the rims. Usually they belong to plain or red slipped and burnished wares. The rare examples of Black burnished ware seem to be of SMF. Out of three diagnostic sherds only one was recorded here: *fig. 10, 73* may have been part of a Dark burnished pyxis with a possible pierced lug broken off²⁹. *Fig. 10, 74* has a high density of calcareous inclusions only visible in fresh breaks and thus may be related to the CMF. It is a good example of an open bowl with slightly incurved rim and flattened exterior lip. Other fine micaceous sherds may again be related to the SMF (*fig. 10, 75, 76*). One of them, a red slipped and burnished piece (*fig. 10, 75*), has a rim shape similar to *fig. 10, 74* but the exterior lip is rather grooved. Another fine schistose piece is a large fragment of a rounded deep bowl with scoured surface (*fig. 10, 76*). The ring base *fig. 10, 77* is also micaceous, however, the sandy structure, the reddish brown to light brown colour (8.75YR 6/4 on exterior, 5YR 5/5 on interior) and the dark inclusions resemble RBSF although this piece lacks the red slip. It is paralleled in two ring bases of SMF, one of them is illustrated in *fig. 5, 34*. Finally, one pedestal fragment from a red slipped and polished vase (*fig. 10, 78*) and several fragments from one or more ›cheese pots‹ (*fig. 10, 79*) are non-

²⁸ In fact, *fig. 9, 69* and *9, 70* may be non-joining sherds of the very same vessel.

²⁹ The other diagnostic sherds in Black burnished ware are: one neck of a small narrow-necked vase with attachment of a vertical strap handle and one fragment

of a vertical strap handle close to the body attachment. Both sherds may actually be part of the same vase, however, their fragmented state makes a comprehensible illustration impossible.

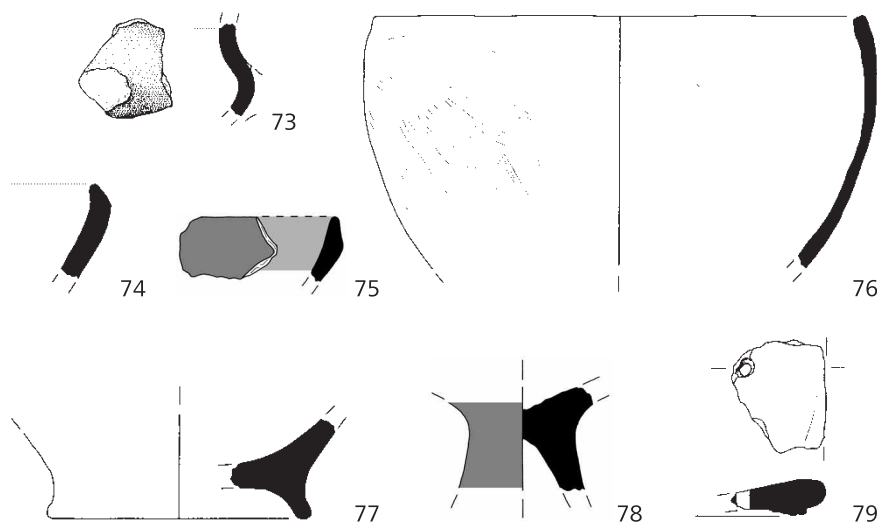


Fig. 10 Pit I. Other fabrics (M. 1 : 3)

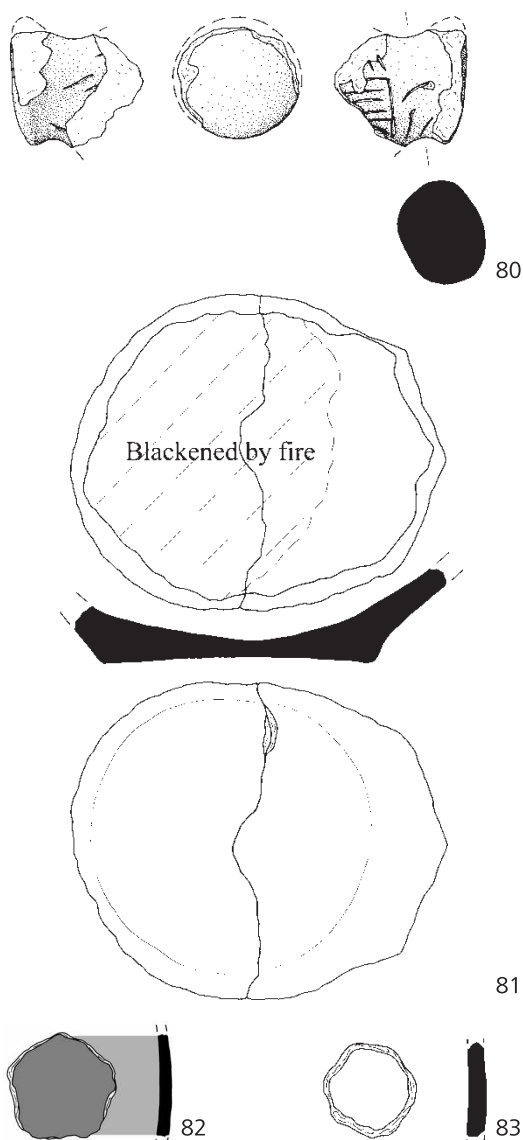


Fig. 11 Pit I. Terracotta objects with special function and reworked sherds (M. 1 : 3)

micaceous and non-calcareous but coarsely tempered with rock material, perhaps limestone or mudstone. The narrow pedestal is unique among the finds from Pit I (fig. 10, 78). It may come from a chalice or a pedestal bowl such as one example from Zagani Hill³⁰. Fig. 10, 79 is part of the opening of a ›cheese pot‹ – one of the most common vessel types in this deposit. Both pieces are almost certainly imported in Kontopigado.

Ceramic objects with special function and reworked sherds

One buffer-like fragment with a relatively complex incised decoration can best be interpreted as knob of a certain clay utensil usually referred to as ›firedog stand‹ (fig. 11, 80)³¹. It was found in the slightly contaminated find group 73, however, its identification as member of the SMF group suggests that it was part of the original fill of Pit I. The fragment shows traces of secondary burning and may well have been used in connection with fire.

³⁰ Chalice is characteristic for the Kampos Group in the Cyclades and Crete, however, this shape is not yet securely attested in Attica (Alram-Stern 2018b, 11 f. fig. 2,6 and 15–17 fig. 5). The bowl from Zagani Hill is currently on display in the Athens Airport Museum.

³¹ For recent discussion see Pullen 2011, 192–196.

Finally, we would like to draw attention to a group of reworked sherds as further indicators for craft activities at the site. The edges of a base sherd of SMF (*fig. 11, 81*) had been shaped in a way that one side could serve as ›lug‹ and the base could be used as ladle. The interior was blackened by fire, indicating that the scooping of hot materials was one of its secondary functions. The base was found broken in two parts in a way as to suggest that it broke under excessive physical stress during its last use.

A different kind of reworked sherd is represented by sherd discs of which two entirely preserved examples are illustrated here (*fig. 11, 82, 83*). One comes from a red slipped and polished bowl of Aeginetan GMF (*fig. 11, 82*) and the other one from a vessel of the local SMF (*fig. 11, 83*). Their diameters range between 3.5 and 4.2 cm³².

General remarks on the pottery from Pit I

The vessel shapes represented among the sherd material in Pit I show certain functional variability and argue for a domestic origin. Moreover, the abundance of ›cheese pots‹ and the presence of special clay utensils like a ›firedog‹ and sherds reworked into scoops and discs indicate on-site craft activities. The inhabitants had strong ties to a community on Aegina to tell from the high proportion of GMF. Despite these connections there are clear stylistic differences between products of GMF and of the local SMF. Shapes such as the ›frying pan‹ (*fig. 8, 64*), the bowls with thickened and pointed interior rim and plastic applications on the lip (*fig. 8, 58, 59*), as well as deep bowls with vertical straight-sided rim (*fig. 8, 56, 57*) are not attested in local fabric. In addition, slight craft related differences can be observed between different fabrics in relation to even standardized shapes like the red slipped bowls: while the bowls of RBSF were red slipped and burnished, the Aeginetan bowls had a polished surface.

If red slipped pottery of all fabrics in Pit I is taken together, this type of decoration has a proportion of 8.7 % among all sherds in the deposit and 11.5 % among the 312 diagnostic sherds. For comparison, other decorative modes like plastic cords (2.6 %), incised (2.6 %)³³, and impressed decoration (1.0 %) are far less common among the diagnostics.

The assemblage from Pit I also allows insights into stylistic transfer or imitation from one fabric to another. For example, on the lip of T-rim bowls of CMF a double row of pin-prick decoration is arranged in groups (*fig. 9, 65; 12*). On a bowl with flattened rim of the SMF incised lines are also arranged in groups (*fig. 3, 7*). The lines are not oblique as usual for these bowls (*fig. 3, 8*) but perpendicular to the rim and thus may be taken as an imitation of the punctual decoration on the calcareous bowls. This metope-like arrangement of rim decoration may in future research turn out to be characteristic of a certain sub-phase or region. Another aspect refers to the scoured surface which occurs in SMF (*fig. 3, 6, 13; 4, 22; 6, 36, 37*), GMF (*fig. 8, 58, 59, 61*) and in one fine micaceous piece (*fig. 10, 76*). This kind of surface treatment is common in a number of regions across Southern Greece³⁴ and its meaning or use is not clear.

Notably, a couple of better preserved fragments with multiple joining sherds appear in Pit I: Two rounded deep bowls (*fig. 9, 66; 10, 76*) and one narrow-necked jar (*fig. 4, 17 a, b*). This may suggest that they were among the last items intact – perhaps, together with some of the ›cheese pots‹ (*fig. 6, 35–37*) and the reworked base (*fig. 11, 80*) – before the final depo-

³² For reworked sherds see Rahmstorf 2008.

³⁴ Karantzali 2006, 130; Pullen 2011, 59.

³³ Excluded from this figure are single horizontally incised lines at the neck base of closed vessels and surfaces with scratches and striations.

sition of the EH I material into the pit. In the following paragraph an attempt is made to closer date the pottery in Pit I and the depositional event.

3. CHRONOLOGY OF THE POTTERY DEPOSIT IN PIT I

Based on the analysis of the material and the stratigraphy, pottery from Pit I can be dated within EH I. Together with the fill of the streambed it represents the earliest pottery stage identified at Kontopigado and the earliest evidence for occupation at the site. Stratigraphically it is followed by the EH II building activities. Since Pit I is largely free of later but also earlier contamination it provides reliable pottery data on a single phase. The exact dating of the material within the EH I sequence is, however, a difficult task. The beginning of the Early Bronze Age is well known in the Aegean and in Crete but in the southern Greek mainland this phase is not represented by many closed deposits³⁵. In the Cyclades EBA I is divided into an earlier and later stage with features assigned to the Grotta-Pelos and Kampos Culture respectively and in some settlements this division is stratigraphically confirmed³⁶. Some mainland sites yield evidence for a sequence within EH I such as at Eutresis³⁷ and Perachora³⁸ but often EH I follows a Chalcolithic or transitional Final Neolithic / EH I. In these cases, EH I is assignable to an early³⁹ or later stage within this period⁴⁰. A late EH I is suggested by the presence of Cycladizing frying pans⁴¹ or fruitstands of Talioti type⁴² or similar pedestalled bowls. Based on evidence from Kontopigado pedestalled bowls are present in Attica as well, although they were apparently less common than in the Northeastern Peloponnese and the Cyclades⁴³. While the sherds in Pit I are very fragmented, one almost fully preserved example of a locally produced fruitstand of Talioti type was found on the floor of an EH I Late house in Building Complex I at Kontopigado⁴⁴. These finds provide us with new information and add to our knowledge about pottery networks and the circulation of goods, practices and ideas during EH I.

The pottery from Pit I at Kontopigado parallels well with the EH I styles known in other sites from Attica such as Kiapha Thiti⁴⁵, Loutsa⁴⁶, Merenta⁴⁷, Palaia Kokkinia⁴⁸ and beyond like Perachora⁴⁹ and Tsoungiza⁵⁰. Many shapes from Deposit 39 at Tsepi near Marathon are

³⁵ For an overview see Alram-Stern 2004, 156 f. and 336–344. See also Pullen 2011, 56 f.

³⁶ Karantzali 2006, 107. Pelos-Lakkoudes overlaps with Final Neolithic. See Alram-Stern – Horejs 2018, 13 fig. 2.

³⁷ Caskey – Caskey 1960, 137–145, Eutresis Groups III and IV.

³⁸ Fossey 1969, Perachora Phases X–Z.

³⁹ In Loutsa in East Attica there may be two different phases, with the earlier one roughly contemporary to the Grotta-Pelos Group (Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 231–233). In Merenta the EH I pottery is compared to Grotta-Pelos as well (Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 166 f.).

⁴⁰ In the building to the south of the metallurgic installation in Lambrika the EH I assemblage is defined by the presence of several frying pans (Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009b, 241).

⁴¹ For a recent discussion on the distribution of Kampos Group frying pans see Alram-Stern 2018, 13–16.

⁴² Dousougli 1987; Pullen 1995, 13; Pullen 2008. For a discussion on specialized production in the Argolid during EH I and imitation of Talioti fruitstands in the

Nemea Valley see Burke et al. 2017, 110–112; Burke et al. 2018, 150–156. Fruitstands in Tsoungiza were mainly imported. A common variant of the fruitstand has a flat base instead of a pedestal base. In Tsoungiza these bases often have mat impressions (Pullen 2008, 241; Pullen 2011, 65–67).

⁴³ Alram-Stern 2018, 16 f. fig. 5.

⁴⁴ One almost fully preserved Talioti fruitstand and fragments from at least two more appeared on an EH floor with a hearth under the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean levels of Room A in Building Complex I. The study of this assemblage is in preparation. For Room A see Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 147 plan 2.

⁴⁵ Νάζου 2015; Nazou 2017.

⁴⁶ Ευστρατίου et al. 2009.

⁴⁷ Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a; Kakavogianni et al. 2016.

⁴⁸ Θεοχάρης 1951. The pottery from Palaia Kokkinia has also Chalcolithic features (Phelps 2004).

⁴⁹ Fossey 1969.

⁵⁰ Pullen 2011, 56–139.



Fig. 12 Fragment of a T-rim bowl with pinprick impression from the streambed (M. 1 : 1)

resembled by sherds at Kontopigado, too, although the Tsepi deposit in question has been redated from EH I early to the Late Chalcolithic⁵¹. A large part of the material in Pit I at Kontopigado comes from the island of Aegina (*see above*). This ultimately helps to increase our knowledge about the early habitation at Kolonna, where no homogenous deposits have yet been found from ›Stadt I‹, the phase attributed to the Chalcolithic and to EH I⁵².

The pottery from Pit I shows certain affinities to the styles of the Chalcolithic period, a fact which in terms of the potting community suggests an unbroken tradition. Among the shapes of an older tradition are narrow-necked jars with tall conical neck (*fig. 4, 17, 18*)⁵³, deep rounded bowls (*fig. 3, 10; 7, 46; 9, 66; 10, 76*)⁵⁴ and the so-called cheese pots (*fig. 6*)⁵⁵ that comprise around 10 % of the material (*tab. 1*). The same is true for some decorative styles such as the deep pinprick impressions on the rims (*fig. 9, 65; 12*)⁵⁶, plain plastic cords on jars (*fig. 4, 21, 22*)⁵⁷, and the round lugs (*fig. 5, 30*)⁵⁸. On the other hand, some of the most characteristic features of the Late Chalcolithic known as Athens North Slope style⁵⁹ like Heavy Burnished Ware⁶⁰ and bowls with carinated profiles⁶¹ are missing. Rolled rims⁶² are virtually absent. In Pit I only one sherd of Aeginetan provenance has a thickened interior lip and may

⁵¹ Compare Pantelidou-Gofa 2008 with Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, 251–260 and Zachos – Dousougli, forthcoming. Curiously, the rolled-rim bowls, a shape characteristic for the Late Chalcolithic, are virtually absent in Deposit 39.

⁵² Kolonna I: Felten – Hiller 2004, 1089 f.; Gauß – Smetana 2008; Felten et al. 2011, 51–53 fig. 8.

⁵³ Chalcolithic: Coleman 1977, pl. 33, 134; Πλάτων 1966, pl. 63γ; Phelps 2004, 232 fig. 58, 1. 2. 5. EH I: Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, fig. 7στ.

⁵⁴ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 81–84; Wilson 1999, pl. 2, I-30. I-31.

⁵⁵ Lambert 1981; Sampson 1984, 243 fig. 4; Coleman 1977, pl. 37, F–H; Wilson 1999, pl. 3, I-109. I-112; Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2004, 38 fig. 10, 1–8.

⁵⁶ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 92, AT26–AT29.

⁵⁷ Chalcolithic: Σάμψων 1993; Phelps 2004, 234 fig. 60, 4. 6. 7. 10. 14. Chalcolithic to EH I: Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 163 fig. 5. EH I: Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 225 fig. 6a and 232 fig. 11.

⁵⁸ Σάμψων 1993, fig. 115; Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 163 fig. 5.

⁵⁹ The Athens North Slope style was defined by French 1972, 17 and the main stratigraphical evidence is

based on Eutresis (Group II mainly). The Attica-Kephala Culture represents an early part of the Late Chalcolithic (Aram-Stern 2014, 312 f.). Based on the pottery evidence there seems to be an overlap between EC I and the Athens North Slope phase (Marran 1998, 135–139; cf. Aram-Stern 2007, 1). See also Phelps 2004.

⁶⁰ Hansen 1937, 540–542; Phelps 2004. See Aram-Stern 2014, 312–315 for an outline of the pottery development during the Aegean Late Chalcolithic period. Two rim sherds from Pit I at Kontopigado come from ›heavy‹ bowls with thick walls and red slipped and burnished or polished surfaces (*fig. 7, 53, 54*), however, the inclusions in both pieces point towards the island of Aegina as possible place of production.

⁶¹ Phelps 2004. Several bowls with angular profiles exist in Tsepi Deposit 39 (Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 91, 1600. 2197. 2337).

⁶² Hansen 1937, 540; Lambert 1981; Phelps 2004, 117; Aram-Stern 2014, 313 f. fig. 6, Zachos – Dousougli forthcoming. Rolled rims continue in the Cyclades into the EBA (Sotirakopoulou 1986, 299–304 fig. 1, 4184; Karantzali 2006, 102 f. fig. 7.1, 1. 2; 114 f. fig. 7.6, 3–12; Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2008, 69 f.).

come from a rolled rim bowl (*fig. 8, 53*)⁶³. It should be noted that in some deposits attributed to the Chalcolithic, such as Tsepi Deposit 39 and Ayia Irini on Keos, rolled rim bowls are either very rare or missing⁶⁴. From the features in Chalcolithic tradition mentioned above worth noting are the bowls with the round pinprick impressions on the lips. This decoration appears in Tsepi Deposit 39⁶⁵ and it resembles Middle and Late Chalcolithic styles in the region of Troy⁶⁶.

The shallow baking pans with perforations under the rim from the family of vessels known as ›cheese pots‹ were traditionally conceived of as typical for the Late Chalcolithic⁶⁷ but it has been observed that in the Cyclades they continued at least to the early part of the EBA⁶⁸. Their continuation also in Attica during EH I is now indicated by the finds from Kontopigado and Merenta⁶⁹. The examples from Kontopigado generally resemble the baking pans of type 2 in Tsepi with a distinct base and uneven rims⁷⁰. This type with one open side is also known from Keos⁷¹. In the Kiapha Thiti sequence ›cheese pots‹ seem to disappear after the Chalcolithic⁷². One piece from Merenta, possibly of the same type found at Kontopigado, has a mat impression underneath the base⁷³. In Attica, including Keos, it seems now possible to trace the shallow ›cheese pot‹ with open side throughout the Early and the Late Chalcolithic until EH I⁷⁴.

Typical for EH I in Pit I are the high frequency of open and deep rounded bowls in Red slipped and burnished ware⁷⁵, bowls with flattened rims with grooves or decorated lips (*fig. 3, 7–9*)⁷⁶, narrow-necked jars (*fig. 4, 17–24*)⁷⁷ and wide-mouthed jars (*fig. 8, 60, 61*). Incised decoration occurs (*fig. 4, 17*) but it is rare and the same is true for some other EH I sites⁷⁸. The relatively high frequency of imported Aeginetan wares (*tab. 1, 2*, GMF, ca. 10–15 %) identified in almost all EH I deposits of Kontopigado may reflect a general trend at some EH I

⁶³ Rims with very thickened interior lip, characterized as Chalcolithic, are absent in Loutsa (Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 231). One sherd, however, may belong to this tradition (Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 226 fig. 7β)

⁶⁴ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, 172 (Tsepi, Deposit 39); Wilson 1999 (Ayia Irini).

⁶⁵ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 92, AT26–AT29.

⁶⁶ In the Troad they appear, however, on bowls with different shapes. See Blum 2014, 131 fig. 6, 10–12; 135 fig. 10; Blum et al. 2014, 791; Schwall 2018, 256. They are more frequent in Middle and Late Chalcolithic but they continue in EBA I (Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 253, 8).

⁶⁷ Sampson 1984, 242 f.; Σάμψων 1993; Coleman 1977, pl. 37, F–H; Wilson 1999, pl. 3, I-109. I-112 and pl. 41. 42, I-94–I-112; Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2004, 38 fig. 10, 1–8; Alram-Stern 2006, pl. 7, 82–87. See Alram-Stern 2014, 315 fig. 7 for distribution.

⁶⁸ Karantzali 2006, 105 fig. 7.2, 14; Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2008, 70.

⁶⁹ Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 162 f. fig. 6; Kakavogianni et al. 2016, 15. 17 fig. 13. For a possible EH I example from the Argolid see Weißhaar 1990, pl. 8, 7. A large number of rims with round perforations found together with frying pans with low rims are mentioned for the building in Lambrika (Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009b, 240 f.). For ›cheese pots‹ in Kolonna I see Walter – Felten 1981, pl. 78, 64–71. Not all seem to belong to the same type. See also Phelps 2004, 115.

⁷⁰ Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 109.

⁷¹ Coleman 1977, pl. 37, F–H (Kephala); Wilson 1999, 14 pl. 3, I-109. I-112 (Ayia Irini).

⁷² Νάζου 2015, 330 f. In EH I at Kiapha Thiti a shallow type of baking pan without perforations was in use, that was also found at Eutresis (Caskey – Caskey 1960, fig. 4, III.16), Perachora (Fossey 1969, 58 fig. 3, miscellaneous 1) and other contemporary settlements.

⁷³ Kakavogianni et al. 2016, fig. 13. See also Θεοχάρης 1951, 107 f. for Palaia Kokkinia. One fragment is said to come from a shallow baking pan (Θεοχάρης 1951, 109 fig. 23 a). At least one sherd from Tsepi type 2 (Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 109, 2482) also seems to belong to the open type.

⁷⁴ For a discussion see Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2008, 70; Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, 228. This type should not be confused with the ›cheese pots‹ with deep body.

⁷⁵ Nazou 2017, 115 tab. 3. For ›Red-brown slipped and / or burnished ware‹ on Keos (Chalcolithic?) see Wilson 1999, 8 tab. 1:1; 15; pl. 4.

⁷⁶ Θεοχάρης 1951, 105 fig. 16. 17; Kakavogianni et al. 2016, 14. Pullen 2011, 99 fig. 3.11, 34.

⁷⁷ Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 225 fig. 6α. β. δ. στ.

⁷⁸ Incised decoration becomes rare in EH I at Kiapha Thiti (Nazou 2017, 116 tab. 3) and in Loutsa (Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 231). In contrast, in Deposit 39 at Tsepi incised decoration is conspicuously frequent on collared jars (Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016, pl. 29–37; Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2005, 324 pl. 19, 2).

sites and especially in Attica⁷⁹, where the circulation of Aeginetan pottery has been observed already since the Chalcolithic⁸⁰. A date exclusively in EH I is likely for the fragments of possible fruitstands (*fig. 3, 14–16*)⁸¹. In addition, an advanced EH I stage for the material in Pit I is suggested by the rare examples of T-rims (*fig. 9, 65*)⁸² and by some bowls with slightly incurving rims (*fig. 3, 4; 7, 43. 44; 8, 60; 10, 74. 75*). The latter shape is represented in different fabrics and anticipates EH II style⁸³. The fragment of a ›frying pan‹ with stamped linked spiral motif occurs in contexts at the transition from EH I to EH II (*fig. 8, 64*)⁸⁴. The fragment of a ›firedog stand‹ (*fig. 11, 80*) would rather be expected in an EH II context, however, a stratified parallel from Tsoungiza, with knob but without incised decoration, was found in Pit 32, in a closed context dated in EH I–EH II Initial⁸⁵. The piece from Pit I at Kontopigado may well be among the earliest knobbed examples of this artifact class⁸⁶.

Although those features signalling the beginning EH II period are rare in Pit I, taken together they may suggest a date late in EH I for the deposition of the material in the pit. This pit and other activities at Kontopigado in relation with the filling of the streambed in Building Complex II may be synchronized with a horizon including Perachora Y–Z, Tsoungiza EH I, Markiani II and sites of the Kampos Group⁸⁷. This is also supported by the presence of several minor ceramic features in Pit I such as small conical bowls (*fig. 3, 3; 7, 42*)⁸⁸, bowls with flattened rim and incised decoration (*fig. 3, 7. 8*)⁸⁹, small narrow-necked jars with conical neck (*fig. 4, 19*)⁹⁰ and large narrow-necked jars with single horizontal incised line at the base of the neck (*fig. 4, 20*)⁹¹, all in all rendering a date in EH I Late (ca. 2900–2700 B.C.) for the material in Pit 1 as most probable.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Published EH I settlement deposits are scarce in Attica and in this respect Kontopigado offers important new data that allow a better understanding of this period. Kontopigado is located to the southwest of Hymettos and in a region that, like East Attica, has yielded

⁷⁹ In Kiapha Thiti a pottery class with volcanic fabric, that may come from Aegina, also accounts for 10 % and seems to decrease very suddenly in EH II (Nazou 2017, 113 tab. 2).

⁸⁰ For a discussion see Nazou 2017, 112. 117. Courtois 1981 for wares with volcanic inclusions from the Kit-sos cave.

⁸¹ Weißhaar 1990; Pullen 2008, 449.

⁸² For similar profiles in EH I see Caskey – Caskey 1960, *fig. 4, III.11–III.12*. Curiously, the best parallels for the decoration of pinprick impressions on the rim of *fig. 9, 65* were found in relation with the Late Chalcolithic (see above).

⁸³ Similar rim profiles are known from Palaia Kokkinia (Θεοχάρης 1951, 106 *fig. 18β*) and may date in EH I or even in the late Chalcolithic. Moreover, saucers with strongly incurving rims are uncommon in most EH I contexts (Fossey 1969, 63 *fig. 5, 12*; Pullen 2011, 73). For parallels to our slightly incurving rims in EH II see e.g. Caskey – Caskey 1960, *fig. 7, V.3*; Weißhaar 1983; Berger 2018, 190 pl. 1, 13; Pullen 2011, 202 *fig. 4.22, 206*. Compare *ibid.* 203 *fig. 4.23, 208–210* the slightly more incurved lips of some bowls in EH II initial.

⁸⁴ Fossey 1969, 66 *fig. 6* ›Frying pans‹ (Perachora, phase Z); Pullen 2008, 450 f. 458 *fig. 9b. c* (Tsoungiza,

Pit 32). For incised decorated ›frying pans‹ of Kampos type in the Cyclades in EC I/EC II see Rambach 2000; Karantzali 2006, 108 f. *fig. 7.3, 1–4* (Markiani phase II).

⁸⁵ Pullen 2011, 90. 138 *fig. 3.40, 201*.

⁸⁶ It needs to be stressed that *fig. 11, 80* comes from the slightly contaminated find group 73, however, since clear EH II intrusions into Pit I are virtually absent (see *tab. 2*) the firedog fragment is likely to be part of the original assemblage of the pit.

⁸⁷ There are also close parallels between the material in Pit I and Keos / Ayia Irini phase I: Almost all the profiles in Wilson 1999, pl. 1–4 are closely resembled by pieces from Pit I, however, Ayia Irini I has been dated in the Late / Final Neolithic while there is supposedly a hiatus in EH I (Wilson 2013, 385). Likewise, the chronological relation with the rich Deposit 39 at Tsepi is not resolved yet (Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2005; Pantelidou-Gofa 2008; Παντελίδου-Γκόφα 2016).

⁸⁸ Fossey 1969, 63 *fig. 5, 19–20*; Pullen 2011, 106 *fig. 3.17, 59*; Karantzali 2006, 115 *fig. 7.6, 1*.

⁸⁹ Pullen 2011, 99 *fig. 3.11, 34*.

⁹⁰ Caskey – Caskey 1960, 141 *fig. 7, IV.6–IV.7*; Fossey 1969, 61 *fig. 4, 24–28*.

⁹¹ Fossey 1969, 61 *fig. 4, 23*; Karantzali 2006, 120 *fig. 7.9, 5*.

evidence for occupation from the Chalcolithic, i.e. Final Neolithic period, onwards. The earliest traces of occupation may come from Pani Hill, 2 km south of Kontopigado⁹². On the other hand, Kontopigado, as well as Ayios Kosmas at the coast, seem to emerge only during EH I or even EH I Late⁹³. Further to the south a Late Chalcolithic to EH I settlement and early EH II cemetery was located at Asteria in Glyfada⁹⁴. In some parts of Attica an increase of sites during the later Chalcolithic has been observed.⁹⁵ For the region southwest of the Hymettos, this impression seems to be supported by sites such as Pani Hill and Asteria. Moreover, this process may have continued well into the Early Bronze Age regarding the appearance of a couple of new sites during EH I (Kontopigado, Ayios Kosmas, Hasani Hill). The fact that many sites were found in areas not favorable for agriculture may, according to E. Alram-Stern⁹⁶, argue for a new agricultural strategy, including herding of sheep and goat. In South Attica and in the area around the Hymettos the expansion of metallurgical activities may have been an additional motivation for communities to move to agriculturally marginal settlement areas.

The absence or scarcity of well-preserved in situ deposits hampers a better understanding of household activities. Common to many Late Chalcolithic and EH sites mentioned above is the use of obsidian from Melos⁹⁷. At Ayios Kosmas this was even taken as an indication for the origin of part of the population that was believed to have moved there from the Aegean islands⁹⁸. Evidence for metallurgical activities at Kontopigado exists but is scarce in comparison to the contemporary settlements in East Attica such as Lambrika and Merenta⁹⁹. The main evidence at Kontopigado comprises a few fragments of clay moulds and bronze residue on the interior of some sherds. Fragments of litharges are absent from Kontopigado and Pani Hill but have been identified in Late Chalcolithic / EH I levels at Asteria¹⁰⁰. The ›cheese pots‹ found at Kontopigado not only suggest that this vessel of a special function was in continuous use from the Chalcolithic to EH I but also that it may have been more common in Attica than in other parts of Southern Greece¹⁰¹. In terms of manufacture templates the ›cheese pots‹ of Kontopigado seem to strongly resemble the ones from other sites where they were also made in coarse clays and partly with organic temper¹⁰². Since the first appearance and wide distribution of ›cheese pots‹ seems to coincide with a metallurgic boom and probably with increasing mining activities at Lavrion¹⁰³, this vessel shape may have played a decisive role in the metallurgic process.

⁹² Kaza-Papageorgiou 2004, 105 f. For the dating and location of Pani hill see also Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016b, 27 footnote 11 and *ibid.* 138 fig. 227, P1.

⁹³ Evidence for EH I and EH II occupation comes also from the hill of Hasani in Elliniko (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016b, 27).

⁹⁴ Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2009; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015a; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2015b; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016a; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2017; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2019a; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2019b.

⁹⁵ Lohmann 1993; Alram-Stern 2014.

⁹⁶ Alram-Stern 2014, 309.

⁹⁷ The majority of the obsidian finds in the collection of Geroulanos derive from Pani Hill (Γερουλάνος 1956; Geroulanos 1986).

⁹⁸ Mylonas 1959, 15. 162 f.

⁹⁹ Kakavogianni et al. 2008; Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a; Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009b; Kakavogianni et al. 2016.

¹⁰⁰ For litharges in Asteria see Kaza-Papageorgiou

2017; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2018; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2019a.

¹⁰¹ Ευστατίου et al. 2009, 226 f. fig. 7στ (Loutsia); Kakavogianni et al. 2016, 162 f. fig. 6 (Merenta). See Alram-Stern 2014, 315 fig. 7 for distribution of the type in late Chalcolithic. It is possible that it originates in the Dodecanese (Sampson 1984, 242 f.). See Papadatos – Tomkins 2014 for imported and local manufacture ›cheese pots‹ in Late Chalcolithic and Early Minoan Crete.

¹⁰² Holmberg 1944 (Asea); Kakavogianni et al. 2016, fig. 13 (Merenta); Wilson 1999, pl. 3, I-109. I-112 (Keos); Sotirakopoulou 2008; Papadatos – Tomkins 2014, 333 fig. A, uppermost right (Kephala Petras). For ›cheese pots‹ or ›cheese bowls‹ in western Anatolia see Horejs 2014, 26.

¹⁰³ Alram-Stern 2014, 317–319. Day – Doonan 2007; Doonan et al. 2007. Katsarou-Tzeveleki – Schilardi 2008, 70, note that similar vessels were already in use at Ftelia on Mykonos during the 5th millennium.

In certain typological aspects, in particular referring to the bowls, the red slipped and burnished ware and the fragment of a ›frying pan‹, the pottery assemblage from Pit I at Kontopigado shows clear links to East Attica, the Cyclades and the Korinthia. The latter region diverges in the shapes of the large narrow-necked jars: the rims are shorter and often everted or collar-shaped¹⁰⁴ while in Attica they are mostly tall and conical, occasionally with everted lips (*fig. 4, 17. 18. 20*)¹⁰⁵. Moreover, the very fine and distinctly hard-fired painted wares identified in the Northeastern Peloponnese during the later part of EH I are clearly missing from Kontopigado¹⁰⁶.

Most notable is the high percentage of the Aeginetan pottery in the assemblage of Pit I. Another site with a considerable amount of Aeginetan pottery during EH I is Kiapha Thiti¹⁰⁷. This wide distribution of Aeginetan wares in Attica points to the existence of a regional Saronic network, in which Kontopigado was an active participant¹⁰⁸. In the particular case of Aegina, the large scale consumption of Aeginetan pottery may, however, have been partly interrupted in EH II, since at several sites, and probably also at Kontopigado, the quantity of Aeginetan fabrics drop significantly after EH I¹⁰⁹. The certain typological similarities mentioned above may reflect a participation in a wider Aegean network¹¹⁰. This is in agreement with the high degree of connectivity during the later part of EH I that may foreshadow the EH II *koiné*¹¹¹. On the other hand, regarding the clear typological differences between the different fabric groups identified at Kontopigado Pit I in particular between the local SMF and the Aeginetan GMF we come to the conclusion that, despite proximity and regional connectivity, different ceramic styles existed contemporarily in the Saronic region. This may partly explain our difficulties to synchronize ceramic sequences of different sites in the period from the Late Chalcolithic to the EH I phase. In contrast, the increased connectivity in all parts of Southern Greece during EH II is instead expressed in the wide distribution and uniformity of new shapes of fine fabrics such as the sauceboat and the saucer on a ring base – both still missing in the assemblage of Pit I at Kontopigado.

In the regional perspective, the pottery from Kontopigado can be compared with evidence from nearby sites such as Pani Hill, Ayios Kosmas and Asteria southwest of the Hymettos mountain and inform us about the local ceramic sequence as well as shifting settlement strategies from the Late Chalcolithic to the beginning of EH II. A study and analysis of the pottery from all these sites in combination with research on the stone tools and the traces of early metallurgy will significantly expand our knowledge on production and exchange in a region that holds a geographical key position for the developments during the Chalcolithic, EH I and EHII periods.

Athens

Athens

Athens

Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou

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¹⁰⁴ Fossey 1969, 61 fig. 4, 6. 8–20; Pullen 2011, 105 fig. 3.16, 52. 53; 110 fig. 3.21, 70. 71.

¹⁰⁵ See also Ευστρατίου et al. 2009, 225 fig. 6α. β. στ. η.

¹⁰⁶ Burke et al. 2017; Burke et al. 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Νάζου 2015. Aeginetan pottery is possibly present also in Merenta. See Κακαβογιάννη et al. 2009a, 165 fig. 10α for Merenta. The pot is on exhibition in the museum of Vravrona. Due to visible gold mica platelets, this vessel is most likely of Aeginetan provenance.

¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, EH I Aeginetan pottery is very rare in settlements of the Central or Western Argolid e.g. at Midea (Alram-Stern 2018, 180 fig. 22). No Aeginetan imports are known from Tsepi near Marathon (Πομάκης 2016).

¹⁰⁹ Data is available from Tsoungiza and Kiapha Thiti (Burke et al. 2017, 109 f.; Nazou 2017, 113 tab. 2).

¹¹⁰ Pullen 2011, 95 f.; Burke et al. 2017, 113; Alram-Stern – Horejs 2018.

¹¹¹ Alram-Stern 2004, 344–350; Day – Wilson 2016. For the development of networks in the Cyclades throughout EH I and EH II see also Broodbank 2000, 175–246.

Sources of illustrations: *fig. 1*: Produced by Eleni Tolia, modified by the authors (Kaza-Papageorgiou 1993, 69, plan 2). – *fig. 2*: Konstantina Kaza-Papageorgiou. – *figs. 3–11*: Vasco Hachtmann. – *figs. 12. 13*: Eleftheria Kardamaki.

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CATALOGUE

All joining sherds mentioned in the catalogue are referring to old breaks. For painted pieces the clay colour of the exterior and interior surface is noted at first followed by the colour of the paint. For determining colours the Munsell soil colour chart edition 2010 was used.

Cat. 1. Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 3, 1*
Rim
Diam. rim: 17.5 cm (7 %)
Schist / Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); fracture: grey, no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/6 (red)
Preservation: good, slip abraded on exterior
Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 2. Bowl with round lip *fig. 3, 2*
Rim, knob lug
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: mottled 5YR 5/5–7.5YR 5/4, N 2.5 / _ (between reddish brown and yellowish red to brown, black); fracture: no fresh break
Preservation: good, rim chipped
Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 3. Small bowl *fig. 3, 3*
Rim
Diam. rim: 12.1 cm (11 %)
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/8,

2.5YR 5/3 (red, reddish brown); fracture: 2.5YR 4/6, 5YR 4/3 (red, reddish brown)
Preservation: rounded edges
Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 4. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly incurved rim *fig. 3, 4*

Rim
Diam. rim: 30.5 cm (7 %)
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, burnished
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
Preservation: rounded edges
Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 5. Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 3, 5*

Rim
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/7–5/4 (red to reddish brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/7–5/4 (red to reddish brown); fracture: grey, no fresh break
Preservation: rounded edges
Excavation unit: 74

Cat. 6. Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 3, 6*

Rim
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, scoured interior
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
Preservation: good
Excavation unit: 74

- Cat. 7.** Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 3, 7*
 Rim
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed interior, incised group of lines on lip
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); fracture: grey, no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Excavation unit: 72
- Cat. 8.** Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 3, 8*
 Rim
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed exterior, smoothed interior, incised oblique lines on lip
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73
- Cat. 9.** Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 3, 9*
 Rim, handle attachment
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: 3.75YR 4/4 (reddish brown)
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73
- Cat. 10.** Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 3, 10*
 Rim
 Diam. rim: ca. 21 cm (ca. 7 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Excavation unit: 72
- Cat. 11.** Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 3, 11*
 Rim, handle attachment
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed, incised horizontal lines
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6, 5YR 5/5 (red, between reddish brown and yellowish red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 74
- Cat. 12.** Deep bowl, straight-sided *fig. 3, 12*
 Rim, handle
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: big
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: see use wear; fracture: 2.5Y 5/2 (grayish brown)
- Preservation: rounded edges, rim chipped
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Excavation unit: 78
- Cat. 13.** Deep bowl, straight-sided *fig. 3, 13*
 Rim
 Diam. rim: 20 cm (12 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed exterior, scoured interior
 Size of sherd: big
 Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Excavation unit: 78
- Cat. 14.** Large shallow bowl *fig. 3, 14*
 Rim, 2 joining sherds
 Diam. rim: ca. 40 cm (ca. 8 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, burnished interior
 Size of sherds: 1 × medium, 1 × big
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: mottled 2.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 5/4, N 2.5 / _ (red, brown, black); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Other observations: secondary drill holes, one unfinished
 Excavation unit: 80
- Cat. 15.** Large shallow bowl *fig. 3, 15*
 Rim
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6–5YR 5/4 (red to reddish brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: 10YR 3/1 (very dark gray)
 Preservation: good
 Excavation unit: 78
- Cat. 16.** Large shallow bowl, pedestalled (fruit-stand) *fig. 3, 16*
 Body sherd of pedestal
 Diam. base: 8.3 cm (32 % base disc)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed or worn exterior, smoothed interior
 Size of sherd: big
 Colors: exterior 10YR 5/6 (yellowish brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Other observations: rough surface in break for better adhesion of pedestal and bowl
 Excavation unit: 80
- Cat. 17a. b.** Narrow-necked jar *fig. 4, 17a. b*
 Rim, 4 joining and 3 non-joining sherds
 Diam. rim: 11.5 cm (ca. 22 %)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed, incised pattern
 Size of sherds: 2 × small, 5 × medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); interior: mottled 2.5YR 5/7, 10YR 6/2.5, N 3 / _ (red, between light brownish gray and pale brown, very dark gray); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Excavation units: 79. 80

Cat. 18. Narrow-necked jar *fig. 4, 18*
 Rim

Diam. rim: 11.3 cm (8 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed and scoured
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 6.25YR 5.5/4 (between reddish brown, light reddish brown, light brown and brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 19. Narrow-necked jar, small *fig. 4, 19*
 Rim

Diam. rim: 7.5 cm (17 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed and uneven interior
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 5/5 (red, between brown and strong brown); interior: 5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and yellowish red); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 20. Narrow-necked jar *fig. 4, 20*
 Rim

Diam. rim: ca. 11 cm (ca. 4 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6–7.5YR 5.5/4 (red to between brown and light brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Other: groove at neck-shoulder junction
 Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 21. Narrow-necked jar *fig. 4, 21*
 Body sherd, neck, shoulder

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed interior, pattern of plastic cord
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 5YR 5.5/8 (between yellowish red and reddish yellow); interior 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: 5YR 4/2.5 (between dark reddish gray and reddish brown)
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 22. Narrow-necked jar *fig. 4, 22*

Body sherd, neck, shoulder
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, scoured, pattern of plastic cord
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 6.25YR 5.5/4 (between reddish brown, light reddish brown, light brown and brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and red); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 23. Narrow-necked jar, flaring rim *fig. 4, 23*
 Rim

Diam. rim: ca. 12.5 cm (ca. 7 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 6/4 (red, light brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 24. Narrow-necked jar, flaring rim *fig. 4, 24*
 Rim

Diam. rim: ca. 11.3 cm (8 %)
 Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed, row of pin-prick impressions
 Size of sherd: small
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/8 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: rounded edges
 Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 25. Pithoid jar *fig. 4, 25*
 Rim

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed, row of fingertip impressions
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 1.25YR 5/6 (red); interior: 5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Excavation unit: 74

Cat. 26. Pithoid jar *fig. 4, 26*
 Rim

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed
 Size of sherd: medium
 Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); fracture: gray, no fresh break
 Preservation: good
 Use wear: blackened by smoke
 Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 27. Pithoid jar *fig. 4, 27*
 Rim

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6–5/8 (red); interior: see use wear; fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 28. Closed shape *fig. 5, 28*

Body sherd, handle (horizontal strap handle, slightly U-shaped section), two joining sherds

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed interior

Size of sherds: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6–10R 5/8 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 74

Cat. 29. Closed shape *fig. 5, 29*

Body sherd, handle (vertical strap handle)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed interior

Size of sherd: big

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Other: unsmoothed lower part of handle

Excavation unit: 74

Cat. 30. Closed shape *fig. 5, 30*

Body sherd, lug (lug round)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 6/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (red); fracture: 2.5Y 3/1 (very dark gray)

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 31. Undetermined shape *fig. 5, 31*

Base

Diam. base: 5.8 cm (36 %)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed or worn interior

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6, 7.5YR 5/4 (red, brown); interior: see use wear; fracture: N 3 / _ (very dark gray)

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: abraded or unsmoothed interior

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 32. Undetermined shape *fig. 5, 32*

Base

Diam. base: 8.2 cm (53 %)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 33. Undetermined shape *fig. 5, 33*

Base, 2 joining sherds

Diam. base: 5.8 cm (72 %)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: see use wear

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation units: 78, 115

Cat. 34. Undetermined shape *fig. 5, 34*

Base

Diam. base: 8.3 cm (36 %)

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed and uneven

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); interior: 2.5YR 6/8 (light red); fracture: 5YR 4/4–10YR 4/1 (reddish brown to dark gray)

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 35. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 6, 35*

Rim, base, 2 joining sherds

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, scorched exterior, unsmoothed interior

Size of sherds: 2 × big

Colors: exterior: 10YR 5/6 (yellowish brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 36. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 6, 36; 13*

Rim, base, 2 joining sherds

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed and uneven exterior, scoured interior

Size of sherds: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 2.5YR 4.5/6 (between reddish brown and red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation units: 79, 80

Cat. 37. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 6, 37*

Rim, base, 2 joining sherds

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, scoured exterior, unsmoothed interior



Fig. 13 a. b Fragment of a ›cheese pot‹
(fig. 6, 36; find groups 79 and 80; M. 1 : 2)

Size of sherds: 2 × big
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and red); interior: 2.5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and red); fracture: no fresh break
Preservation: good
Use wear: blackened by smoke
Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 38. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 6, 38*
Rim, spout
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break
Preservation: good
Use wear: blackened by smoke
Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 39. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 6, 39*
Rim, base
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: gray, no fresh break
Preservation: good
Excavation unit: 74

Cat. 40. ›Cheese pot‹ or tray *fig. 6, 40*
Rim, lug (horizontally elongated lug)
Schist / Mica fabric, plain, burnished and uneven exterior, smoothed interior

Size of sherd: big
Colors: exterior: 5YR 6/4–2.5YR 4.5/6 (light reddish brown to red); interior: 3.75YR 5.5/7–2.5YR 4.5/6 (between light red, red, yellowish red and reddish yellow to red); fracture: N 4 / _ (dark gray)
Preservation: good
Use wear: blackened by smoke and use wear that partly removed the smoked layer
Excavation unit: 115

Cat. 41. Bowl with round lip *fig. 7, 41*
Rim
Diam. rim: 19.8 cm (8 %)
Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished
Size of sherd: medium
Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 6/4 (light brown); interior: 7.5YR 6/4 (light brown); fracture: 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown); paint: 2.5YR 4.5/6–5YR 5/4 (red to reddish brown)
Preservation: good, rim chipped
Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 42. Bowl with round lip *fig. 7, 42*
Rim
Diam. rim: 13.5 cm (10 %)
Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); no fresh break; paint: 10R 4–4.5/6 (red)
Preservation: good
Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 43. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly incurved rim *fig. 7, 43*
Rim
Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 5/6 (strong brown); interior: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); fracture: no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/6 (red)
Preservation: rounded edges, rim chipped
Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 44. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly incurved rim *fig. 7, 44*
Rim
Diam. rim: 18.3 cm (6 %)
Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished
Size of sherd: small
Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/5 (between yellowish brown and yellowish red); interior: 5YR 5/5 (between yellowish brown and yellowish red); fracture: no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/6 (red)

Preservation: rounded edges, rim chipped
Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 45. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly incurved rim *fig. 7, 45*

Body sherd, close to rim, knob lug, pierced horizontally

Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); interior: 2.5YR 5/7 (red); fracture: no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/6 (red)

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 46. Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 7, 46*

Rim, 2 joining sherds

Diam. rim: ca. 20 cm (4 %)

Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherds: 1 × small, 1 × medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/6–7.5YR 5.5/4 (yellowish red to between brown and light brown); interior: 7.5YR 5.5/4 (between brown and light brown); fracture: no fresh break; paint 10R 4/6–2.5YR 4/6 (red)

Preservation: good

Use wear: worn interior surface

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 47. Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 7, 47*

Rim, knob lug, pierced vertically, 2 joining sherds

Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherds: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); interior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); fracture: 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); paint: 2.5YR 4/6 (red)

Preservation: good, rim chipped?

Use wear: abraded lug, abraded interior, blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 48. Bowl *fig. 7, 48*

Base

Diam. base: ca. 4,8 cm (37 %)

Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherd: big

Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 6/5 (between light brown and reddish yellow); interior: 7.5YR 6/5 (between light brown and reddish yellow); fracture: 5YR 6/5–7.5YR 6/6 (between light reddish brown and reddish yellow to reddish yellow); paint: 2.5YR 4/8–3.75YR 5/6 (red to between red and yellowish red)

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 49. Closed shape *fig. 7, 49*

Body sherd, 2 joining sherds

Red brown sandy fabric, Red slipped ware, unburnished, exterior: colour slipped and incised decorated, surface unsmoothed and uneven

Size of sherd: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and yellowish red); interior: 2.5YR 6/6 (light red); fracture: grey, no fresh break; paint: 2.5YR 5/8 (red)

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 50. Bowl with round lip *fig. 8, 50*

Rim, 2 joining sherds

Diam. rim: 21.6 cm (9 %)

Gold Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, polished

Size of sherds: 1 × small, 1 × medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); interior: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); fracture: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown); paint: 1.25–2.5YR 4/6 (red)

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 51. Bowl with round lip *fig. 8, 51*

Rim

Diam. rim: 24 cm (8 %)

Gold Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, polished

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and yellowish red); interior: see use wear; fracture: no fresh break; paint: 2.5YR 4/4–4/5 (reddish brown to between reddish brown and red)

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 52. Bowl with round lip *fig. 8, 52*

Rim

Gold Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, polished

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 10YR 6/3 (pale brown); interior: 10YR 6/3 (pale brown); fracture: no fresh break; paint: 10R-3.75 4/6 (red)

Preservation: rounded edges

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 53. Bowl with rolled rim (*fig. 8, 53*)

Rim

Gold Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior and interior: see use wear; fracture: gray, no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/7 (red)

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: crackled by secondary burning exterior (slip obliterated?), burnished interior, blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 54. Deep bowl (?) with flaring rim *fig. 8, 54*
Rim

Gold Mica fabric, Red slipped ware, polished

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); interior: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); fracture: 7.5YR 5/3.5 (brown); paint: 10R 4/7 (red)

Preservation: good, rim chipped

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 55. Bowl with flattened rim *fig. 8, 55*
Rim

Diam. rim 33.8 cm (ca. 5 %)

Gold Mica fabric, plain, polished

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 5/4 (pink); interior: see use wear; fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 56. Deep bowl, straight-sided *fig. 8, 56*
Rim

Diam. rim 33 cm (9 %)

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, unsmoothed and uneven

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 7.5YR 5/3 (brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 57. Deep bowl, straight-sided *fig. 8, 57*
Rim

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 7.5YR 6/3–5/3 (light brown to brown); interior: 7.5YR 6/3–5/3 (light brown to brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Other observations: very shallow impressions on lip

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 58. Bowl with thickened and pointed interior rim *fig. 8, 58*

Rim, lug on lip

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, scoured, plastic application

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 59. Bowl with thickened and pointed interior rim *fig. 8, 59*

Rim, lug on lip, 2 non-joining sherds

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, scoured, plastic application

Size of sherd: 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation units: 72, 73

Cat. 60. Wide-mouthed jar *fig. 8, 60*
Rim, 2 joining sherds

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, smoothed and uneven

Size of sherd: 1 × small, 1 × medium

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 3.75YR 5/4 (reddish brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Other observations: lip like cut with a knife before firing

Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 61. Wide-mouthed jar *fig. 8, 61*
Rim

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, unsmoothed, very shallow impressions on lip

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior: see use wear; interior: 10YR 6/2.5 (between light brownish gray and pale brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 62. Undetermined shape *fig. 8, 62*
Base

Diam. base: 21 cm (20 %)

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, smoothed interior, worn interior

Size of sherd: big

Colors: exterior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); interior: see use wear; fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 63. Undetermined shape *fig. 8, 63*
Base

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, unsmoothed interior

Size of sherd: big

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 6/6–5YR 6/4 (light red to light reddish brown); exterior: see use wear; fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good
Use wear: blackened by smoke
Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 64. Frying pan *fig. 8, 64*

Base

Gold Mica fabric, plain, cooking ware, smoothed, incised decoration: spiral

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior and interior: see use wear; fracture: 5YR 5/5, 2.5Y 3/1 (between reddish brown and yellowish red, very dark gray)

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 65. Bowl with T-rim *fig. 9, 65*

Rim

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, polished, double row of pinprick impressions

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/8–6.25YR 5/6 (red to between yellowish red and strong brown); interior: 3.75YR 5/6 (between red and yellowish red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 79

Cat. 66. Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 9, 66*

Rim, 6 joining sherds

Diam. rim: 13.8 cm (26 %)

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherds: 4 × small, 2 × medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/8 (yellowish red); interior: 5YR 5/8 (yellowish red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation units: 78, 80

Cat. 67. Narrow-necked jar, flaring rim *fig. 9, 67*

Rim

Diam. rim: 12 cm (23 %)

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 6.25YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); interior 6.25YR 6/6–7.5YR 6.5/4 (reddish yellow to light brown / pink); fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 68. Undetermined shape *fig. 9, 68*

Base

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, unsmoothed and uneven

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red); interior: 3.75YR 5/6 (between red and yellowish red); fracture: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown)

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 78

Cat. 69. Narrow-necked jar, flaring rim *fig. 9, 69*

Rim, 2 joining sherds

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, unsmoothed

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); interior: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Excavation units: 69, 73

Cat. 70. Closed shape *fig. 9, 70*

Body sherd, handle attachment (vertical strap handle)

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, smoothed exterior, unsmoothed interior

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 6.5/6 (reddish yellow); interior: 5YR 7/4 (pink); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 71. Undetermined shape *fig. 9, 71*

Base

Diam. base: ca. 7 cm (ca. 27 %)

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, smoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5.5/6 (between yellowish red and reddish yellow); interior: see use wear; fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 72. Undetermined shape *fig. 9, 72*

Base

Calcareous micaceous fabric, plain, smoothed

Size of sherd: small

Colours: exterior: 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown); interior 7.5YR 6.5/1 (between gray and light gray); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 73. Pyxis? *fig. 10, 73*

Body sherd, handle attachment (handle or lug)

Schist / mica fabric, Black burnished

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior N 2.5 / _ (black); interior: N 2.5 / _ (black); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: good

Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 74. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly in-curved rim *fig. 10, 74*

Rim

Red sandy fine micaceous and calcareous fabric, plain, smoothed

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6–5YR 5/4 (red to reddish brown); interior: 2.5YR 5/6–5YR 5/4 (red to reddish brown); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 75. Bowl with flattened exterior and slightly in-curved rim *fig. 10, 75*

Rim

Red sandy fine micaceous and calcareous fabric, Red slipped ware, burnished

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break; paint: 10R 4/6 (red)

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 76. Deep bowl, rounded *fig. 10, 76*

Rim, 6 joining and non-joining sherds

Diam. rim: 19.5 cm (ca. 23 %)

Fine micaceous fabric, plain, scoured

Size of sherd: 2 × small, 3 × medium, 1 × big

Colors: interior: 7.5YR 5/4 (brown); fracture: 10YR 4/2 (dark greyish brown)

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation units: 73, 115

Cat. 77. Undetermined shape *fig. 10, 77*

Base

Diam. rim: 10.5 cm (26 %)

Red brown sandy micaceous fabric, plain, smoothed

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 8.75YR 6/4 (between light brown and light yellowish brown); interior: 5YR 5/5 (between reddish brown and yellowish red); fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 80

Cat. 78. Bowl (?) with pedestal base *fig. 10, 78*

Body sherd of pedestal

Coarse red brown non-micaceous (mudstone or limestone?) fabric, Red slipped ware, polished

Size of sherd: small

Colors: exterior: 5YR 5.5/8 (between yellowish red and reddish yellow); interior: see use wear; fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: good

Use wear: blackened by smoke, worn interior

Other observations: break of bowl attachment intentionally rounded: secondary use

Excavation unit: 72

Cat. 79. ›Cheese pot‹ *fig. 10, 79*

Rim, base

Brown coarse non-schistose (limestone?) fabric with organic temper, plain, no preserved exterior, smoothed interior

Size of sherd: small

Colors: interior: 2.5YR 5/6 (red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 80. ›Firedog‹ stand *fig. 11, 80*

Knob

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, unsmoothed, incised decorated

Size of sherd: medium

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/6 (between light reddish brown and light red); fracture: no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges

Use wear: blackened by smoke

Excavation unit: 73

Cat. 81. Reworked sherd *fig. 11, 81*

Base, secondary use as brazier, 2 joining sherds

Schist / Mica fabric, plain, smoothed

Size of sherds: 2 × big

Colors: exterior: 2.5YR 5/5–5YR 5/4 (between red and reddish brown to reddish brown); interior: 5YR 5/5 (reddish brown); fracture: gray, no fresh break

Preservation: rounded edges (intentionally)

Use wear: reworked edges, one side left as ›lug‹, interior blackened by smoke except area of ›lug‹

Excavation unit: 74

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Seals from the Minoan chamber tombs at Poros

NOTA DIMOPOULOU – OLGA KRZYSZKOWSKA

Σiegel aus den minoischen Kammergräbern von Poros

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG In diesem Aufsatz werden vierzig Siegel und drei Skarabäen vorgestellt, welche Nota Dimopoulou während Ausgrabungen zwischen 1986 und 2002 in sechs minoischen Kammergräbern in Poros, dem Gebiet des Haupthafens von Knossos, bergen konnte. Diese großen Felsgräber, die Teil einer neupalastzeitlichen Nekropole waren, wurden für mehrere Dutzend Bestattungen ab der Phase Mittelminoisch IIB bis Spätminoisch IB genutzt, wonach der Friedhof aufgegeben wurde. Für jedes Grab werden die Ausgrabungen beschrieben und die wichtigsten Funde vorgestellt. Es folgen detaillierte Katalogeinträge mit Vergleichen und Kommentaren zu den darin gefundenen Siegeln. Hinweise auf Kontextdatierungen werden ebenfalls vorgelegt. Der Artikel schließt mit einer Diskussion über die Vielfalt der vertretenen Materialien und Stilgruppen ab, in welcher auch die außergewöhnliche Qualität der Siegel hervorgehoben wird. Im Katalog werden die Siegelabdrücke in Halbtonfotos abgebildet. Farbige Sammelabbildungen geben die originalen Siegelbilder sowie die Profile der Siegel wider, jeweils gruppiert nach Grab.

Schlagwörter Kammergrab; Kreta; Glyptik; minoisch; Siegel.

ABSTRACT This article presents forty seals and three scarabs found in six Minoan chamber tombs at Poros, excavated by Nota Dimopoulou between 1986 and 2002 in the area of the main port of Knossos. These large rock-cut tombs, part of a Neopalatial cemetery, were used for many dozens of burials from as early as Middle Minoan II B until Late Minoan IB, after which the cemetery was abandoned. For each tomb a description is given of the excavation and principal finds, followed by detailed catalogue entries, with comparanda and commentaries, for the seals found therein; evidence for context dating is also provided. The article concludes by discussing the range of materials and style groups represented, emphasizing the exceptional quality of the seals. Impressions of the seals are illustrated with half-tone photographs accompanying the catalogue entries. Composite figures in colour show the original faces and profiles of the seals, grouped according to tomb.

Keywords chamber tomb; Crete; glyptic; Minoan; seals.

Σφραγίδες από τους μινωικούς θαλαμωτούς τάφους του Πόρου

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζονται σαράντα σφραγίδες και τρεις σκαραβαίοι που βρέθηκαν σε έξι μινωικούς θαλαμωτούς τάφους που ανέσκαψε η Νώτα Δημοπούλου από το 1986 έως το 2002 στον Πόρο, στην περιοχή του κύριου επιναείου της Κνωσού. Αυτοί οι μεγάλοι λαξευτοί τάφοι, που αποτελούσαν τμήμα μιας νεοανακτορικής νεκρόπολης, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για δεκάδες ταφές ο καθένας από τη μεσομινωική IIB μέχρι την υστερομινωική IB φάση, μετά την οποία το νεκροταφείο εγκαταλείφθηκε. Περιγράφεται η ανασκαφή κάθε τάφου και αναφέρονται τα σημαντικότερα ευρήματα. Ακολουθούν λεπτομερείς καταχωρίσεις καταλόγου για τις σφραγίδες με σχετικά παράλληλα και σχόλια και παρέχονται στοιχεία χρονολόγησης, βάσει της ανασκαφικής συνάφειας. Το άρθρο συμπληρώνεται με συζήτηση για το εύρος των εκπροσωπούμενων υλών και των στυλιστικών ομάδων, ενώ τονίζεται επίσης η εξαιρετική ποιότητα των σφραγίδων. Στον κατάλογο απεικονίζονται τα αποτυπώματα των σφραγίδων σε ασπρόμαυρες φωτογραφίες. Έγχρωμες φωτογραφικές συνθέσεις απεικονίζουν τις κύριες όψεις και τα προφίλ των σφραγίδων, ομαδοποιημένων κατά τάφο.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Θαλαμωτός τάφος. Κρήτη. Μικρογλυπτική. Μινωικός. Σφραγίδες.

INTRODUCTION

This article presents the Minoan seals (with the exception of the seals and signet rings of gold), as well as the imported scarabs and cylinder seal, which were found in six Minoan chamber tombs at Poros (Tombs I–VI), excavated by Nota Dimopoulou between 1986 and 2002 in the area of the main port of Knossos. They form part of the central sector of the Neopalatial cemetery of large, rich rock-cut tombs on the rocky hill of Trypiti, which rises above the Minoan settlement and port. The six tombs were found lying close together on plots and streets of the modern, densely built-up, eastern suburb of Herakleion, during the course of private and public works, as were the three previously excavated in the same central nucleus of large tombs¹.

The tombs have multiple chambers dug out of the hard limestone, with a total area ranging from 60 to 90 m². They were used for many dozens of burials over a long period of time, from as early as MM IIB (T. III) and continuing more intensively during MM III and LM I to LM IB, when the latest burials are dated, after which the cemetery was abandoned². Very few burials, mainly LM IB in date, were found in situ completely or at least partially undisturbed. The deceased were placed on funerary beds or biers. With the exception of one tomb (T. III), the chambers had been looted or badly disturbed, both in antiquity and relatively recently (T. II). In some cases the chambers were found empty, not only of offerings but in some cases even of bones, and looked as though they had been ›swept out‹. This

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The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper, in addition to those commonly employed under DAI guidelines:

EM Early Minoan
MM Middle Minoan
LM Late Minoan
LH Late Helladic
LB Late Bronze

Dm diameter
H height
L length
W width
SH(s) diameter(s) of string-hole(s)
T. Tomb
Th thickness
max. maximum
pres. preserved

CHIC J.-P. Olivier – L. Godart, *Corpus Hieroglyphicarum Inscriptionum Cretae*, EtCret 31 (Athens 1996)
DtS A. Onassoglou, *Die ›talismanischen‹ Siegel*, CMS Beih. 2 (Berlin 1985)

¹ Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 366–373 figs. 31.3–31.22. No seals are reported from Tomb II–1940, excavated by N. Platon in 1940 (Platon 1941). Six seals were found in Tomb II–1967, excavated by A. Lembessi in 1967 and published by P. Muhly (Lembessi 1967; Muhly 1992), while two seals from the (unpublished) Tomb II–1978, excavated by Y. Tzedakis and A. Vasilekis in 1978, are recorded in the Herakleion Museum catalogues. Other sphragistic evidence, like the signet rings and seals of gold found in Tombs I–VI, was not found in the previous three tombs. No seals or other notable finds were discovered in the smaller peripheral looted tombs excavated around the central sector (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 368 f., n. 22).

² A few poor later burials, only accompanied by some LM III conical cups, were rather carelessly deposited at the entrance to Tomb I, as in the tomb excavated by Platon in 1940 (Platon 1941).

is due either to the chamber being used as habitation or shelter in modern times (T. V), or to a general clearing of the tomb to receive later burials (inner chamber of T. I). The bones and remains of earlier burials were removed piecemeal and mixed together, either pushed against the chamber walls (T. II) or in niches (T. VI), but were mainly piled up in deposits inside the tombs. Despite the complete or partial looting and periodic clearing of the chambers, the deposits fortunately escaped disturbance and were found intact, with the exception of that in T. II.

Thousands of exceptional finds of all types come from both the chambers and the deposits. There are hundreds of intact decorated vases, mainly cups and jugs, covering all phases from MM IIB to LM IB. There is a notable absence of bronze implements and weapons, of which only scanty remains survived, in contrast to the contents of some unlooted elite graves in the following Final Palatial period in the Knossos and Archanes areas. This most probably indicates that looters at Poros, as elsewhere, targeted bronze for recycling. However, small valuables were missed by the looters; they include necklaces of precious, semi-precious and other materials³, gold signet rings and seals, and the seals S1–S43 presented here, 27 of which were found in the chambers and 16 in the deposits.

The continuous use of the tombs for long periods of time, the disturbance of the burials, and the arrangements inside the chambers to allow for more inhumations, plus the looting, only allow us to date the associated pottery on the basis of stylistic criteria and comparative material rather than excavation data, as became apparent in the detailed publication of the tomb excavated in 1967⁴. The same is true of the deposits: even in the deepest ones, the stratigraphic sequence is not always clear, as vases of different stylistic phases were often found together in the same spot, indicating a single depositional event but with mixed burial material of different chronological levels⁵. It should therefore be noted that the term ›layer‹ (see Contexts, below) is not taken to mean a closed stratigraphical-chronological sequence; moreover, in the deep deposits, vases such as tall jugs penetrated two or three layers of the fill. In the cases, however, where the context seems largely unmixed and diagnostic, the stylistic classification of the pottery does not generally seem to depart chronologically from that of the seals.

The report below is arranged as follows: each tomb is presented in turn, with its excavation and contents described by the excavator, Nota Dimopoulou; each is accompanied by a detailed Catalogue of the seals found therein, prepared by Olga Krzyszkowska⁶. Context information in the Catalogue entries is supplied by the excavator. For each tomb the Minoan seals are ordered by approximate *stylistic* date; scarabs are listed briefly at the end of each tomb⁷. Descriptions of the *motifs* are based on the impressions. Black-and-white illustrations of the impressions are not to scale; the colour images of seals on composite figures (*figs. 1–7*) are shown at a uniform 2 : 1.

The Discussion and Conclusions (both by Krzyszkowska in consultation with Dimopoulou) offer selected remarks on materials, style and iconography, as well as assessing the overall significance of the seals for our understanding of Minoan glyptic.

[N. D.]

³ Dimopoulou 2000b, 114–117 cat. nos. 93–96.

⁴ Muhly 1992, 29–38. 103–117.

⁵ With reference to stratified Protopalatial and Neopalatial pottery assemblages from Knossos and its periphery: see MacGillivray 2007 (MM IB–MM IIIA) and Hatzaki 2007 (MM IIIB–LM IB). Also Rethemiotakis and Warren 2014 (MM III); papers in MacDonald – Knappett 2013 (MM III); Brogan – Hallager 2011 (LM IB); Mathioudaki 2018 (MM III).

⁶ Abbreviations of literature appear in the Bibliography.

⁷ Observations on the scarab shapes, face designs and dating were provided by Dr. J. Phillips, to whom we are most grateful. These are based on photographs supplied to her by Krzyszkowska, rather than autopsy.

I. TOMB ON SPANAKIS STREET (1986)

Excavation and Contents

The rock-cut tomb⁸ was discovered in 1986 during digging work in the schoolyard of the 14th Primary School on Spanakis Street⁹. It has an area of around 70 m² and an elongated asymmetrical outline with two consecutive chambers, an antechamber and a pit deposit 2.20 m deep, dug in the floor at the rear of the inner chamber. The entrance blocking, to which led a descending stepped dromos, had been breached and the tomb had already been looted repeatedly since antiquity, as evidenced by Mycenaean sherds and a Protogeometric juglet. The inner Chamber A was found almost completely empty, as if cleared and swept out. This is probably where most of the contents of the deposit come from. The antechamber and the adjoining Chamber B were heavily disturbed; the deposit, on the contrary, had not been discovered by the looters and remained intact. A large amount of skeletal material was collected from this area, together with the remains of funerary beds and biers and many important finds.

The vases number in the hundreds, of which more than 250 are intact, mainly jugs and sets of cups of various types. On the basis of the pottery, the tomb's use extends from MM IIIA to LM IB with characteristic types such as white-dotted ridged and late polychrome cups, and Marine Style, Floral and Alternating Style decoration respectively. The intermediate Neopalatial MM IIIB and LM IA phases are represented by dozens of vases mostly from the deposit, with typical white-on-black decoration and dark-on-light spirals and floral motifs, etc.

In the antechamber was discovered the only partially undisturbed burial, associated with a beautiful cup decorated with crocuses¹⁰, the exceptional LM IB Marine Style ewer¹¹, and the first gold signet ring (HM 1627) from the Poros tombs¹². Other notable finds included necklace beads of gold, amethyst, faience and other materials found pushed aside in a corner of the empty Chamber A; gold, lead and bronze earrings, faience hoops and miniature cups, and dozens of small objects of various materials, including bronze staples and nails from the wooden funerary beds and biers. Of the seven seals **S1–S7** found in the tomb, three come from the deposit, one from the Antechamber, one from the inner Chamber A and two from Chamber B, where scarab **S8** was also found.

Catalogue

S1 Lentoid (HM 3230)

fig. 1

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Edges slightly worn; some chipping at string-holes; cracking on reverse. Dm 1.1 cm, Th 0.5 cm, SHs 0.15–0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, fiery orange-red with some paler yellow areas; mostly translucent, but with some cloudy patches and fine dark veins especially on the reverse.

Motif: the face is divided into registers; across the lower portion, two broad horizontal bands; between

them fine cross-hatching; beneath the lower band a series of short diagonal lines. Between the uppermost horizontal band and the upper edge of the seal, two broad curving bands; faint horizontal lines join these and run to the left (but not the right). Either side of the curving bands are two pairs of parallel vertical lines. Near the upper edge of the seal face the broad bands are linked by a pair of diagonal lines with hatching in between.

Commentary and comparanda: no close parallels exist, but cf. CMS III nos. 266. 267. The motif employs cer-

⁸ Dimopoulou 1988, 325–329 pls. 8α. β; 9α. β; also Dimopoulou 1987, 528 f.

⁹ Previously named Tritonos Street, where Tomb Π–1967 had been excavated a few dozen metres south of Tomb I.

¹⁰ Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, fig. 31.16.

¹¹ Dimopoulou 1999b.

¹² Rethemiotakis – Dimopoulou 2003.

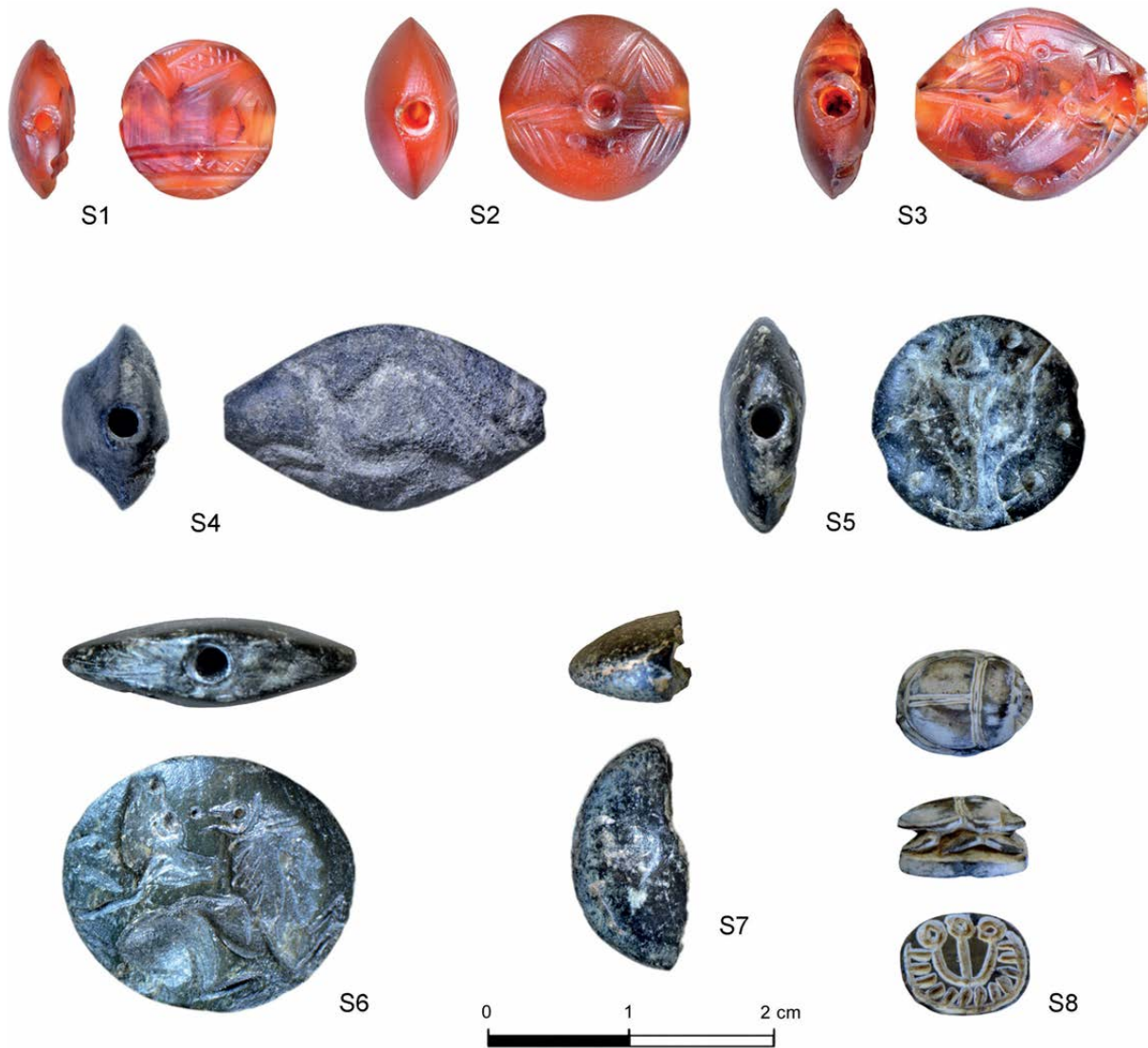


Fig. 1 Poros, Tomb I: Seals S1–S8, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

S1 ▷



tain features of the MM II–III ›architectural‹ group, such as the use of fine cross-hatching and the division of the face into registers by broad bands (Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b); cf. here **S24. S25. S30. S32–S34**. But the curving bands are reminiscent of the simpler ›spray‹ motifs of the ›talismanic‹ style (DtS 35–44. 222–227 pls. XIV–XVII). The lentoid shape also points to an early Neopalatial date. See also *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. I, Deposit layer 6, MM III–LM I

The fill of the deposit comprised MM III–LM I pottery of various stylistic phases in mixed layers without clear stratigraphy, including MM IIIA–IIIB and LM IA vases and a few LM IB sherds. Layer 6

contained among others MM III and LM I straight-sided and hemispherical cups, monochrome and with reed decoration. In the overlying layer 5, MM IIIB and LM IA jugs and cups with black paint, spirals, ripple ware and floral decoration were found together with typical MM IIIA white-dotted ridged cups. The mixed fill suggests a single deposition event by the end of LM I, containing much earlier material.

S2 Lentoid (HM 3228)

fig. 1

Plump biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Condition excellent apart from minimal pitting at the string-holes. Dm 1.3 cm, Th 0.7 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, bright fiery orange-red; translucent apart from a darker patch near centre of the seal face.

Motif: a spider in the ›talismanic‹ style; body comprising one large central dot; beneath, one solid dot and one hollow dot form the eyes. Twelve legs, disposed in four roughly symmetrical pairs of three, each set of three in a triangular arrangement.

Commentary and comparanda: clearly ›talismanic‹ style on the basis of technique and comparanda, but the composition entirely lacks filling motifs, such as ›sprays‹, typical of the style. Representations of spiders are not especially common in the ›talismanic‹ style (DtS 79–81. 243 pl. XXIX). The total has now reached a mere 14 examples, of which 10 are lentoids, three are amygdaloids and one a three-sided prism with amygdaloid faces: CMS I no. 464; CMS III nos. 289–292; CMS V no. 579 (Kazarmatholos, LH I–II); CMS VS1A no. 187 (Nerokourou villa, MM III–LM I); CMS VS3 no. 109 (Chania, LM IIIA–B chamber tomb); CMS VI nos. 226. 227; CMS VII no. 234; CMS VIII no. 70c; CMS X no. 284; CMS XII no. 148. None of the representations provides an especially close parallel for **S2**, where the insect's body is rendered as a single large solid dot, whereas in life spiders have two fused body segments (e.g. shown in CMS V no. 579). In life spiders have eight legs, as correctly depicted on certain seals; but 12 legs are shown on **S2** (cf. CMS X no. 284) and up to 15 are attested in the ›talismanic‹ style.

It is worth noting that all ›talismanic‹ seals depicting spiders are made of carnelian, although there is considerable variation in the hues and features of the stones. CMS VII no. 234, published as ›agate‹, is a pale yellowish-orange stone with cloudy patches, while CMS XII no. 148, published as ›sard‹, is a brownish-orange translucent stone with fine veining; today both would be classed as carnelian.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: **S3**. **S9**. **S10**. **S26**. **S27**. **S35–S37**; see also *Table 1* and *Discussion*, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32.



S2

33, nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. I, Deposit, layers 5. 6. MM III–LM I
For layers 5. 6 see above **S1**.

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 368. 373 fig. 31.21.

S3 Amygdaloid (HM 3226)

fig. 1

Biconvex with flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Right string-hole badly chipped, from where a long irregular crack runs along the entire edge and continues to the upper portion of the reverse; two small depressions on the reverse are worn or worked smooth; condition of the seal face excellent. L 1.61 cm, W 1.35 cm, Th 0.060 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; fiery orange-red with pale yellow to deep blood-red banding especially noticeable on reverse.

Motif: a water bird and a fish in the ›talismanic‹ style. Above: a long-necked water bird in left profile, with pointed beak and eye (or head) rendered by a solid dot within a circle. The wing is held close to the body, delineated by a strong contour line; three parallel lines within indicate rows of feathers; three vertical lines beneath represent tail feathers; a pair of angled lines depict legs and / or feet. Beneath the bird, a large open-mouthed fish in left profile; mouth and gills are rendered with strong contour lines; the eye by a solid dot within a circle. Above the back of the fish is a comb-like feature, conceivably intended to represent fins; the tail is fan-shaped. Above the bird and below the fish are long curving lines which echo the outline of the seal face; from



S3

these spring typical ›talismanic‹ sprays. Above and below the fish large are solid dots.

Commentary and comparanda: the juxtaposition of a water bird and fish is rare. Closest in concept, though not in style and composition is CMS III no. 495 (carnelian lentoid, without provenance). Note also: CMS II.8 no. 160 (seal impressions of hard stone amygdaloid, Knossos) depicting a pair of dolphins *tête-bêche*; between them a standing water bird in profile with raised wings and a jellyfish (?). Cf. also CMS VI no. 257 (bifacial amygdaloid: a) fish; b) owl; ›talismanic‹ style). Much more distant are: CMS II.4 nos. 13, 155 and CMS VS1A no. 167 (seal impressions, Chania Katrestraße 10).

Individually birds and fish are relatively common in the ›talismanic‹ style, although most of the birds classed by Onassoglou (DtS 138–154, 268–277 pls. L–LV) are better seen as Cut Style (Krzyszowska 2022b, esp. 88–90, 92 f.). The closest parallel for the pose and rendering of the bird on S3 occurs on CMS VII no. 44 (but cf. also CMS V no. 238 and CMS VI no. 257b). For fish in the ›talismanic‹ style: DtS 154–163, 277–287 pls. LVI–LXII; distant parallels for the rendering on S3 include CMS IS no. 121; CMS II.3 nos. 49 (Knossos, Gypsades; LM IIIB chamber tomb), 245 (Sphoungaras, MM III–LM I); CMS III no. 332; CMS IV no. 176; CMS VS1B no. 300 (Armenoi, LM IIIA2–B1 chamber tomb); CMS VI no. 254. The identification of individual varieties of fish is not easily made, especially in the ›talismanic‹ style: Gill 1985, 69–73.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: S2, S9, S10, S26, S27, S35–S37; see also Table 1 and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100, 140–142

pls. 32, 33 nos. 300, 302, 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. I, Chamber A, grid H2+H3, layer 2. LM I? Chamber A was found empty due to cleaning and looting; there were no remains of burials, pottery, or other finds. Its burial content was probably amassed into the pit deposit making up a rich MM III–LM I fill. However, at the find spot of S3, by the wall of the chamber, were found numerous beads: twelve of gold having various shapes, one of crystal, seven spherical of amethyst and several of glass that escaped looting. These suggest a LM I dating.

S4 Amygdaloid (HM 3229)

fig. 1

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Seal face rather corroded and porous especially in engraving; superficial scratching on reverse; slight cracking and wear at the right string-hole.

L 2.15 cm, W 1.3 cm, Th 0.75 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: glass, opaque; predominantly deep midnight blue, although grey in engraving where surface is porous; minute pale blue iridescent particles found on better-preserved portions of the seal face; reverse retains the deep blue colour throughout.

Motif: a recumbent griffin in right profile; the wing is raised and displayed behind: five broad feathers can be discerned. The forelegs are stretched out in front and terminate in two-pronged claws; the rendering of the hind-legs, placed beneath the belly, is now obscured through corrosion. This also obliterates most internal details, but the creature's body appears to be well modelled. A curving line at the extreme left, behind the feathers, may indicate the end of the griffin's tail.

Commentary and comparanda: about 15% of hard stone amygdaloids are furnished with faceted backs; virtually all are datable stylistically to

S4



LB I–II. Griffins become relatively common in seal iconography from LM I onwards, and indeed are by far the most common of the hybrid creatures, with more than 200 examples, attested in metal, hard and soft stone (Krzyszkowska 2021, 239. 243 pl. LVa). But hitherto only one or two examples have been reported in vitreous materials: CMS VI no. 387 (Dictaeon Cave) and perhaps CMS V no. 583 (Kazarmatholos, LH I–II). Poses vary enormously and include frontal and profile (standing or recumbent) views, with either one or both wings displayed; griffins also feature in cult scenes and animal attacks (Krzyszkowska 2021, 239 pl. LVa). There are no especially good parallels for **S4**, although cf. CMS III no. 508a (three-sided prism with amygdaloid faces) and CMS VS2 no. 32 (amygdaloid with faceted reverse, Elateia LH IIIB–C middle chamber tomb). Both are executed in the LM I Cut Style, as are some 35 further griffins (Krzyszkowska 2022a; and below **S19**). Unfortunately the condition of **S4** precludes a meaningful assessment of stylistic features; for dating see Discussion, below.

Further glass seals presented here are: **S10**. **S11**. **S15**. **S21**. **S34** (?). **S37**. **S40**. Note also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491, pl. CLXXVIIb (colour). For further LM I ›naturalistic‹ motifs see *Table 1*; for material and dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. I, Chamber B, Antechamber, grid E7, layer 3. Mixed LM I–LM III

As described above (Excavation and Contents), Chamber B was much disturbed, while in the adjacent antechamber debris of rubbish and sewage had accumulated. At the nearby find spot of **S5** were found a very few scattered sherds, among them LM IB and LM III. In layer 1 a lentoid bead was found.

S5 Lentoid (HM 3231)

fig. 1

String-hole slightly diagonal to horizontal axis. Edges somewhat battered; abraded at the string-holes; some pitting and slight cracking on the reverse.

L 1.45 cm, W 1.5 cm, Th 0.55 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: serpentine, dark blue-black with a few pale beige inclusions; grey in engraving.

Motif: boar's head depicted frontally; surrounding it in the field six solid dots. The rendering is rather schematic, but the contour of the head with elongated snout and the protruding tusks identify the animal beyond doubt.

Commentary and comparanda: the motif on **S5** is exceptionally rare in Aegean glyptic. A boar's head rendered frontally, juxtaposed with animal heads in profile, is known from impressions of a hard stone lentoid at Agia Triada (CMS II.6 no. 92; LM IB) and another is found on an unusual bifacial lentoid of



S5

haematite in Oxford (CMS VI no. 454a; on the basis of face b, datable stylistically to LM I–II). Some of the fantasy creatures on sealings from Zakros House A (LM IB) incorporate boars' heads or parts thereof (e.g. CMS II.7 nos. 191. 201. 202). By contrast heads of rams and/or bulls rendered frontally are relatively common, especially in MM II (Anastasiadou 2011, 209–211 pls. 39–43, motifs 76–79) but continuing into LM I and well beyond, especially in soft stones (e.g. CMS II.3 no. 149, Malia; CMS II.6 nos. 163. 164; seal impressions, Agia Triada, LM IB). However, pigs and wild boar (the distinction is not always easy) are generally less well represented in the glyptic repertoire than other animals (Krzyszkowska 2014, 344). Worth noting is the boar's head, rendered frontally on the spear from Archanes: Y. and E. Sakellarakis 1997, II, 596–598 figs. 621. 622.

For further LM I soft stone seals here, see *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. I, Deposit, layers 3. 4. MM III–LM I

Layers 3 and 4 of the deposit fill comprised stylistically diverse pottery, ranging from MM III phases to LM I: there are MM III black-painted short-necked jugs and straight-sided cups, a hemispherical cup with polychrome decoration etc. Among LM I (mostly LM IA) pieces are hemispherical cups with dark-on-light floral decoration with ivy leaves, ripple ware, spirals, Vapheio-type cups with spirals, a pyxis-strainer etc. Cf. underlying layer 5 (**S1**).

S6 Lentoid (HM 3227)

fig. 1

Biconvex, but rather flat; string-hole vertical. Condition good: engraving crisp, although not quite



S6

workshop fresh; very slight damage on reverse near lower string-hole.

L 1.95 cm, W 1.75 cm, Th 0.055 cm, SHs 0.20–0.25 cm.

Material: serpentine, dark olive-green to grey with light green inclusions especially on reverse; some foliation.

Motif: a so-called Chimaera composition involving a recumbent lion in left profile with back-turned head; behind in right profile the back, upturned head and forelegs of a bull. The lion is rendered with exceptional care: the large bushy mane indicated by a series of short diagonal lines on either side of the neck; by contrast the head, set off from the mane by a curved line, is treated in summary fashion by a single solid dot; the mouth is open and a smaller dot marks the muzzle. The back, rump and belly are delineated by contour lines; three legs are shown, terminating in short prong-like claws; the tail is rendered by a short, slightly curving line. The back of the bull is treated in a cursory manner in contrast to the large upturned head; the open mouth indicating that the animal is bellowing in pain. The eye is rendered as a solid dot within a semi-circle; a smaller dot marks the muzzle; two rather irregular lines indicate the splayed forelegs. A small hook-shaped element in front of the bull may be a filling ornament.

Commentary and comparanda: an extremely fine example of a ›Chimaera‹ composition, which should be construed as an abbreviated attack scene. Ordinarily the animal in the forefront is a lion with back-turned head, as on S6, while the creature behind is a wild goat, bull, deer or even griffin. The composition occurs in both hard and soft stones, beginning in LM I. See discussion by Pini (1995, 198 f. fig. 5;

note that among the hard stone examples listed in his n. 21, the provenance of HM 2085 is wrongly given as Royal Road; in reality the seal is a stray find from Skalani). Soft stone examples include: CMS II.4 no. 79; CMS III nos. 408, 409; CMS IV no. 276; CMS V no. 222; CMS VII nos. 197, 198; CMS X no. 153; CMS XI nos. 50, 222; HM 2199 and 2397. The size of S6 is noteworthy (but cf. also CMS III no. 409, different in style, but also outsized and bearing a lion and bull). Dating of the ›Chimaera‹ group in soft stone depends largely on comparisons with LM I depictions of lions (alone or *tête-bêche*): see generally Pini 1995.

For further LM I soft stone seals here, see Table 1 and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. I, Chamber B, grid E5, layer 2, floor.

Mixed LM I–LM III

The contents of the Chamber were much disturbed: no pottery was discovered at the find spot, apart from scattered LM I–LM III sherds that were collected all around S6. Among them two belong to exceptional LM IB vases: the fine Marine Style ewer and the crocuses cup. At the same spot an agate cylindrical bead and another of green glass were found, but their connection to the same burial as S6 is dubious.

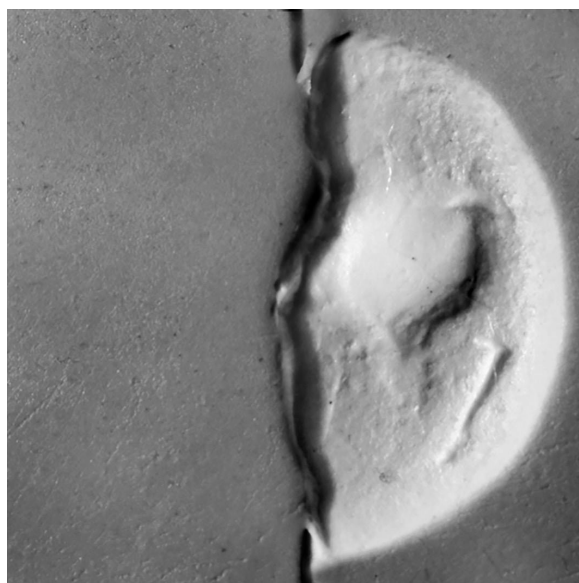
S7 Lentoid (HM 3233)

fig. 1

Biconvex; string-hole vertical. Broken along the string-hole; battered and much surface pitting; engraving abraded.

L max. pres. 0.85 cm, W max. 1.6 cm, Th 0.55 cm, SH (estimated) 0.25 cm.

S7



Material: soft stone, dark charcoal-grey; lighter in engraving; rather coarse granular structure suggests the material could be chlorite rather than serpentine.

Motif: a quadruped to the right; hindquarters only preserved. The short tail suggests a goat rather than a bull.

Commentary and comparanda: the abraded engraving and fragmentary condition hamper judgements. However, it is worth observing that in LM I soft stone glyptic running goats are the norm, whereas in LM III they tend to stand; see Müller 1995, 163–167. The position of the hind-leg on S7 is consistent with a running pose; taking into account hindquarters and tail, comparanda include: CMS II.3 no. 90; CMS II.4 nos. 44, 88; CMS III nos. 448, 453; CMS VS1A no. 343; CMS IX no. 121; CMS XII nos. 267, 274, 275.

For further LM I soft stone seals here, see Table 1 and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. I, Antechamber, grid Z9, layers 1, 2. Mixed LM I–LM III and later

The find spot close to the breached entrance was very disturbed. The debris contained mixed finds: a modern plate, two LM IB sherds of the Marine Style ewer and the crocuses cup (for which see S6), a fragmentary loom weight, other LM IA sherds and conical cups, mostly LM III.

S8 Scarab (HM 3225)

fig. 1

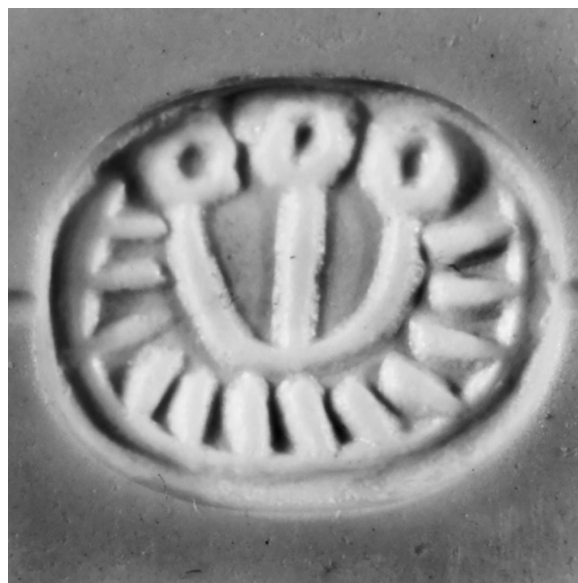
String-hole longitudinal. Very slightly abraded, otherwise intact.

L 0.88 cm, W 0.52 cm, Th 0.70 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: glazed steatite, probably hardened by exposure to heat; milky-white to greyish-white with darker grey patches; dark grey on the flat surface of the face. In the engraving and in carved surfaces of the profiles creamy-yellow to brownish-yellow, evidently remains of the glaze.

Motif: motif set at right angles to longitudinal axis.

Commentary and comparanda: »the face design is a strange variation on the *nb-ty* design, which ap-



S8

pears early in the Middle Kingdom; the lunate head, leg junction in front of pronotum-elytrum junction suggest an early Middle Kingdom / late Dynasty XI date; but the height to length ratio is rather high; note also double T-lines; some fringing; large string hole« (J. Phillips).

Further scarabs presented here are: S23 and S39. Note also the Egyptian scarab (HM 3267) found in a settlement context at Poros: Dimopoulou 2000a, 28 fig. 1.1: Phillips 2008, II, 236, 362 no. 483.

Stylistic date: »probably late First Intermediate Period to early Middle Kingdom, sometime in Dynasty XI« (J. Phillips)

Context: T. I, Chamber B, grid Δ7, layer 3, floor. Mixed LM I–LM III

The find spot was very disturbed with a few mixed finds, mainly sherds and a few beads, among them a lentoid of carnelian and two or three sherds from two LM IB vases, the Marine Style ewer and the crocuses cup (for which see S6). Cf. S4, adjacent grid E7.

II. TOMB IN THE TSILIMBARIS PLOT, POSEIDONOS STREET (1993–1994)

Excavation and contents

The rock-cut Tomb II¹³ was revealed in 1993 during building work in the Tsilimbaris plot on Poseidonos Street. The tomb lies underground, extending almost entirely under the road

¹³ Dimopoulou 1994, 708 f. pl. 229α–γ.



Fig. 2 Poros, Tomb II: Seals S9–S16, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

surface, and is the largest in the group of six tombs, with a total area of approximately 90 m² and a similar shape to the others. It consists of two chambers and an antechamber, with rooms on different levels with steps and dividing walls. In the central area between the antechamber and chamber is a large pit, not particularly deep as in the other tombs, delimited by rough low walls, which functioned as a deposit for the remains of older burials. A pillar and a half-pillar cut out of the rock ensured the stability of the roof, 2 m high. An inclined

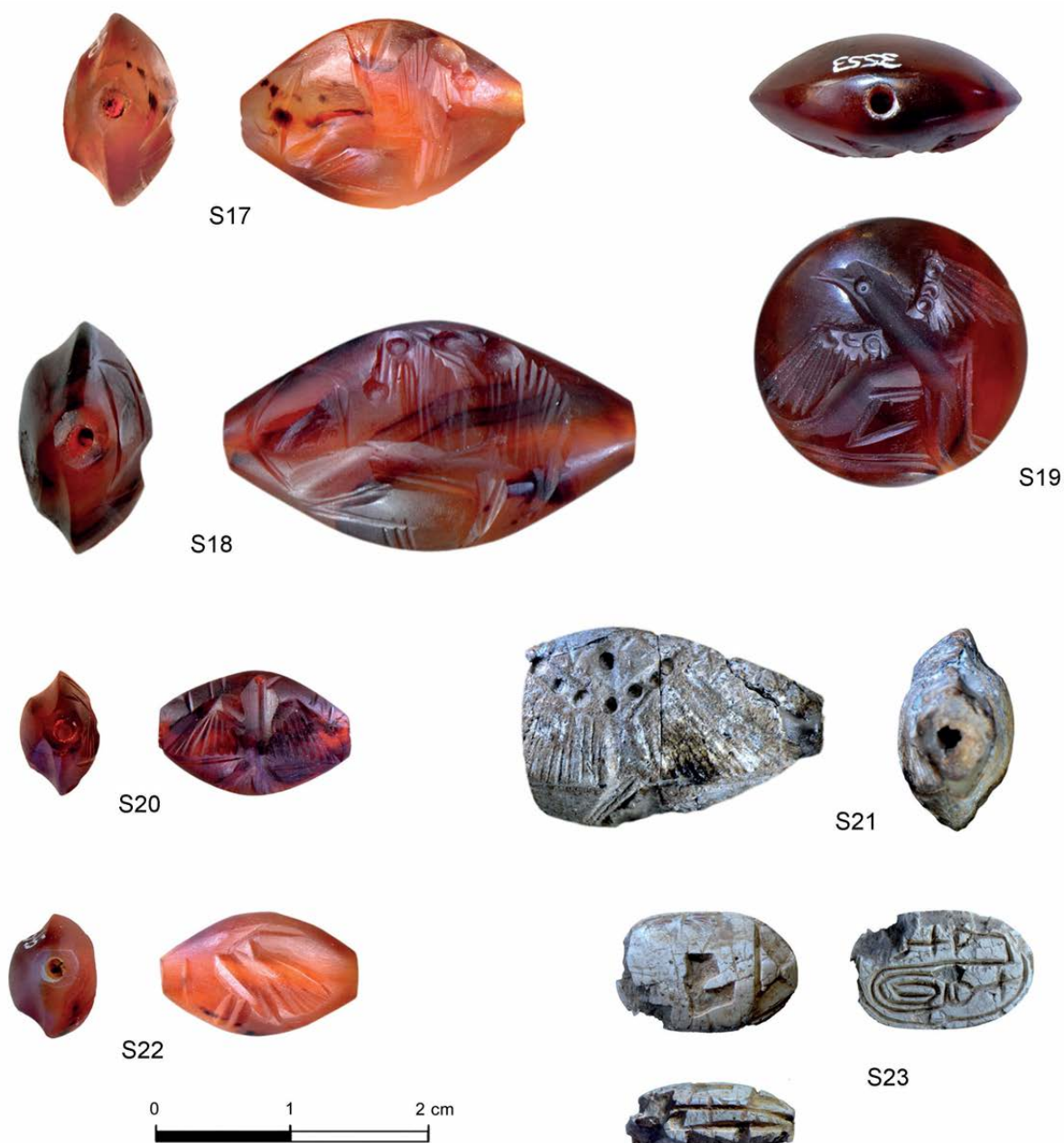


Fig. 3 Poros, Tomb II: Seals S17–S23, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

dromos led to the entrance, which was blocked with stones and found breached. The tomb was looted in the Postpalatial period, when the antechamber was used as a dump for household rubbish, and again in modern times when the tomb was discovered by looters during the construction of an adjacent building in the early 1970s.

The dozens of burials in the chambers and the contents of the deposit were disturbed and scattered by the looters, so only a few pieces of skeletons remained in situ. However, the looters missed hundreds of significant small finds. Apart from the 14 seals **S9–S22** and the scarab **S23** presented here, there were also an undecorated gold ring; gold, silver, bronze and lead earrings; pins of silver, bronze and ivory; and beads of necklaces made of gold, semi-precious stones, glass and faience. There were also small ivory objects, such as the head of a figurine, a broken comb and part of a relief scene, a faience miniature cup and a small decorative figure-of-eight shield.

Although bronze finds are generally rare in the Poros tombs, being the main target of looters, a few interesting objects and fragments were found indicating ›warrior burials‹, inhumations of elite individuals accompanied by weapons and bronze vessels in the LM I period. At least two heavily disturbed burials are associated with a bronze dagger, a sword or dagger hilt with silver studs, spearheads, sword blades and fragments of bronze vessels. Together with these was found a set of pierced boars' tusks, obviously from a helmet. There was also a razor, knives, tweezers, and staples and nails from the wooden funerary beds and biers.

In the large communal tombs of Poros with their dozens of burials, inhumations of elite persons were distinguished from the rest by various funerary practices¹⁴. They were usually marked out by the symbols of status, rank, office or quality that accompanied the deceased, such as the weapons and helmets of the ›warrior burials‹ and the elaborate funerary goods, such as precious ornaments, valuable seals and even luxury vessels, in the burials of higher-status individuals. Another way of highlighting the importance of the deceased was by the addition of special arrangements or structures inside the tomb. In the first chamber of Tomb II were found fragments of fine plaster, some with a rim, triangular in section and preserving traces of colour, which probably came from the covering of a wooden coffin or simply delimited a burial on the floor of the tomb itself. In the inner chamber were the remains of a particularly interesting structure, unfortunately destroyed by the looters: an extensive pile of bricks with impressions of wooden timbers, which probably formed a kind of raised platform for the deposition of the illustrious dead. Among and around the bricks were bones and remains of rich burials such as ornaments, seals and the remains of a ›warrior burial‹.

The pottery from the tomb is yet another indication of the extent to which it was looted, particularly in modern times, as the finds are far fewer and of poorer quality than in the rich ceramics of the other Poros tombs. There are about 90 vases, mostly undecorated cups. These do, however, define the main period of use as the Neopalatial era (MM III–LM I). Postpalatial sherds (LM IIIA2–B) from the entrance area and antechamber are household rubbish not connected to later funerary use.

Catalogue

S9 Three-sided prism (HM 3544)

fig. 2

Amygdaloid faces; convex. Somewhat battered; engraved abraded; surface of the stone pitted; damaged at ends with chipping at string-holes.

L max. pres. 1.5 cm, W (a) 1.2 cm, (b) 1.0 cm, (c) 1.0 cm, SH 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, fairly uniform fiery orange; mostly translucent with a dark purplish-black vein running within and a few other dark flecks.

Motifs: face (a) one-handled jug in the ›talismanic‹ style: roughly triangular base and neck between which a large solid dot forms the body of the vessel; S-curved handle; a single curving line indicates the spout. In the lower part of the field, either side of the jug, two sets of slightly diagonal lines; at the left end a spray motif. Face (b) a long-necked water bird with head turned back over a triple ground-

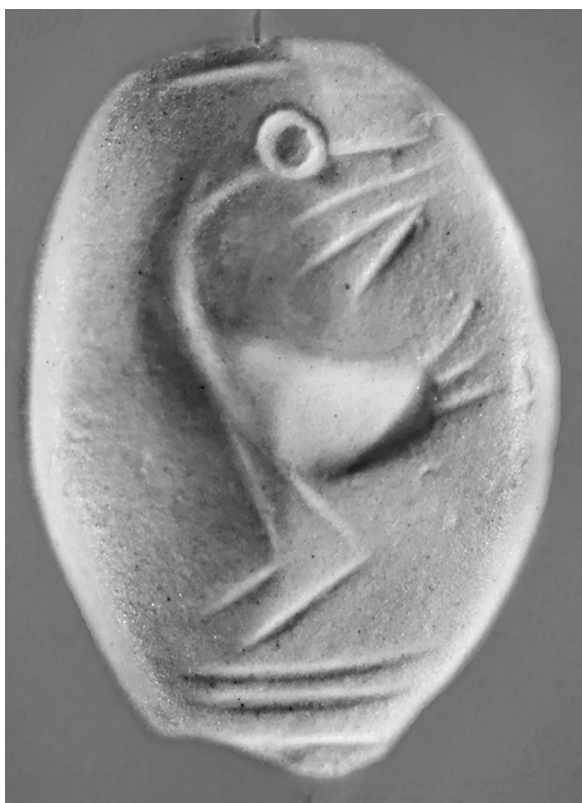
line; the body is formed by a deep roughly elliptical cut; three short tail feathers are shown; a pair of long, angled lines indicate the legs; the eye/head is depicted by a large circle, beyond which is an elongated beak. In the field beneath three diagonal lines (two joining at an angle) perhaps an abbreviated ›spray‹ motif. Face (c) set diagonally across the field an arrow or dart with triangular point; near its base a pair of short parallel lines; from its ›shaft‹ springs a long curving groove with notched end, resembling a leaf or blade of grass. At the left two plant ›sprays‹; at the right, conceivably indicating a built structure, a pair of vertical lines set at right angles to a pair of horizontal lines; between the latter extremely faint diagonal strokes.

Commentary and comparanda: in a repertoire of some 900 ›talismanic‹ seals, only about 35 are three-sided prisms with amygdaloid faces, generally made of

¹⁴ Dimopoulou 1999a.



S9a



S9b



S9c

hard stone. In a clear majority of cases all three faces are engraved, as is S9, though no discernible pattern emerges regarding the juxtaposition of motifs. The shape all but vanishes once ›talismanic‹ output had ceased; three examples occur in the Cut Style (CMS II.3 no. 254; CMS III no. 508; CMS X no. 277). Face (a) provides a typical example of the ›talismanic‹ jug motif (›Kanne‹) well documented by Onassoglou (DtS 12–22. 209–216, pls. V–IX). Most of the 80 examples considered by her are hard stone amygdaloids, although lentoids and occasionally cushions occur. In addition to S9, ›talismanic‹ jugs occur on nine three-sided prisms, ordinarily having amygdaloid faces and almost exclusively made of carnelian: CMS II.3 no. 203b; CMS III no. 347c; CMS VI nos. 193a. 258b; CMS IX nos. 89a. 92a; CMS X nos. 110a. 229b; CMS XII no. 163a.

There are no close parallels for the long-necked water bird on face (b) where avian features are pared back to a minimum. However, the bird with up-raised wing on CMS IS no. 119 shows somewhat similar treatment of neck, eye and elongated beak; lush ›sprays‹ mark this clearly as belonging to the ›talismanic‹ style. Other ›talismanic‹ birds with eyes rendered as circles include: CMS IV 244; CMS V no. 238; CMS VII no. 44 (but these otherwise diverge considerably from S9). Note that among the 91 birds classed as ›talismanic‹ by Onassoglou (DtS 138–154. 268–277 pls. L–LV) most are in reality Cut Style (Krzyszkowska 2022b, esp. 88–90. 92. 93). Note also that currently in the CMS online a search for ›talismanic‹ birds, brings some engraved in the Cut Style, along with ›talismanic‹ flying fish.

The motif on face (c) of S9 is wholly unparalleled in the glyptic repertoire and not easy to understand. No other seal depicts an arrow or dart as the principal element, although on CMS VIII no. 110b, a three-sided prism of haematite, a feathered arrow appears together with a bow and bearded male head. Otherwise arrows or darts are shown piercing the back or sides of wounded animals. It is, however, just possible that the arrow on S9 is a distant reflection of the common ›arrow‹ sign in Cretan Hieroglyphic (CHIC 049), frequently paired with the ›trowel‹ (CHIC 044). On seals the shaft is often scarcely longer than the two lines forming the triangular point (e.g. CHIC p. 407 #211α), although occasionally the shaft is more elongated (e.g. CHIC p. 407 #256γ; #294α) and long shafts also occur when the sign appears in clay documents (e.g. CHIC p. 406 #89 α). Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: S2. S3. S10. S26. S27. S35–S37; see also Table 1 and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32. 33 nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid H4, layer 1. LM I

S9 as well as **S19** and **S22** accompanied a disturbed rich burial along the west wall of the Chamber, unfortunately without pottery, except for two cups, in themselves not very diagnostic: one conical, the other a LM I ogival. Such cups in burial contexts are hardly diagnostic in terms of accurate dating (cf. Muhly 1992, 116). Some scholars examining stratigraphies in residential contexts define some typological differences as in wall thickness and base diameter between LM IA and LM IB specimens (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2011, 59 f. figs. 6–9; Rethemiotakis – Christakis 2011, 205–227 figs. 4–7. 20–23). Others, however, do not discern significant differentiations when comparing stratified examples from both LM I phases (Hood 2011, 157–159 figs. 7. 8).

S22 was found under the arm. **S19** was found with a bone ring, a gold bead and a bone comb with two rows of incised spirals. Tiny gold beads in the shape of an incurved altar were among the vertebrae. More beads of glass, carnelian and faience, fragments of a silver pin and of tweezers were found around and among the skeleton's bones. In spite of disturbance and the absence of much characteristic pottery, the finds suggest a (mature) LM I horizon.

S10 Amygdaloid (HM 3555)

fig. 2

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole vertical. Restored from numerous fragments; lower portion (ca. 20 %) missing; badly battered especially on edges; friable at break; brownish-yellow surface deposit in engraving and at faceted reverse.

H max. pres. 2.75 cm, W max. pres. 1.6 cm, Th 0.9 cm, SH 0.20 cm.

Material: glass, opaque; greyish-white on seal face, light blue-grey on reverse with some iridescent patches.

Motif: papyrus motif in the ›talismanic‹ style. The motif is oriented vertically: a stylized papyrus plant with tall stem, terminating in a fan-like ›leaf cluster‹ indicated by horizontal lines either side of the stem. Beneath the ›leaf cluster‹ a pair of large solid dots; pairs of diagonal and curving lines below.

Commentary and comparanda: Onassoglou (DtS 48–56. 229–231. 304 pl. XX) has discussed the motif in detail and convincingly disproved the identification of the motif as a ›lion's mask‹, advocated by Evans and others (DtS 49–52). The motif occurs principally on amygdaloids with faceted backs made of hard stone (especially carnelian and haematite), although serpentine and chlorite are also represented. To date no published examples have been identified as glass. Examples include: CMS II.3 nos. 12a. 80. 253 (Mochlos above T. IX, LM I); CMS III nos. 273–275; CMS IV no. 180 (much decayed, ›agate‹); CMS V no. 307a; CMS VS1A no. 116 (Chania-Kas-



S10

telli, LM IB); nos. 181. 182 (impressions on roundels, Chania Katrestraße); nos. 193. 194 (Phylaki Apokoronou, LM IIIA–B tholos); CMS VI nos. 211–213; British Museum Greece and Rome 1895,0518.11 (formerly Egyptian Antiquities 23161).

S10 represents the only certain example of the ›talismanic‹ style made of glass (CMS VI no. 251 is better seen as Cut Style). Further glass seals presented here are: **S4. S12. S13. S21. S34 (?) S37. S40**. Note also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour). For the material see Discussion, below.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: **S2. S3. S9. S26. S27. S35–37**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32. 33 nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I for the motif; the faceted back points rather to LM I

Context: T. II, Deposit south of Chamber B, grid Z11, layer 1. MM III–LM I

The Deposit was much looted, mixed up with discarded dirt, with many sherds of various stylistic phases, mainly MM III and LM I, e.g. LM IA ripple ware, MM III white-dotted cups etc.



S11

S11 Amygdaloid (HM 3546)

fig. 2

Biconvex with flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Seal face somewhat corroded and porous, with remains of deposit especially in engraving; edges slightly battered, but otherwise intact.

L 1.85 cm, W 1.3 cm, Th 0.80 cm, SHs 0.20–0.25 cm.

Material: glass, opaque; pale greyish-blue with some beige patches; on reverse milky blue-grey with a network of extremely fine dark blue 'veins' in places and dark blue flecks; some iridescence.

Motif: a pair of long-necked water birds in right profile. The bird on the right holds its wing close to the body; its head seems to be formed by a solid dot; faint traces of a short beak remain; no feet are shown. The bird on the left displays a wing behind, rendered as a single angled line; beneath this are faint horizontal lines presumably indicating rows of feathers; the head is a solid dot; two feet are shown. At the far right, faint traces of what may have been a plant motif.

Commentary and comparanda: the condition hampers evaluation of stylistic details; however similar compositions involving two or three long-necked water birds, sometimes in landscape settings, are attested in both hard and soft stone during MM III–LM I (Krzyszkowska 2010b, 175 f.). Examples on amygdaloids include: CMS II.3 nos. 351, 352 (metal alloy), no. 353 (distant); CMS II.6 no. 120 (seal impression, Agia Triada, LM IB); CMS IV no. 246; CMS VS1A no. 189 (Phylaki Apokoronou, LM IIIA–B tholos); CMS X no. 224. Note also the serpentine cushion (CMS II.3 no. 42) from a LM IA context at Vathypetro and the lentoid (CMS II.3 no. 78) from a LM I–II context at Knossos Gypsades, which may be glass. Further glass seals presented here are: **S4. S10. S15. S21. S34 (?)**. **S37. S40.** Note also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour). For further MM III–LM I seals with 'naturalistic' motifs

see Table 1; for the material and dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid Δ7, layer 2. LM I

A disturbed find spot, where a fragmentary LM I cup with floral decoration was found, along with fragments of bronze knives, boars' tusks, tweezers etc., all remains of elite burials originally placed on the demolished mud brick platform.

S12 Amygdaloid (HM 3547)

fig. 2

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; three deep parallel grooves on lower edge of seal; string-hole horizontal. Portion of seal face broken away (conchoidal fracture typical of jasper); similar fracturing beneath left string-hole and on lower edge; damage at rump and tail of bull; much superficial pitting on seal face.

L 2.1 cm, W 1.2 cm, Th 0.65 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: jasper, opaque; deep red with a few very fine irregular veins and tiny white inclusions.

Motif: a running or recumbent bull in left profile, with head turned upwards. The body and elongated neck are well modelled; the belly and outer edge of the neck delineated by fine contour lines. The eye is rendered by a solid dot; a smaller dot marks the lower end of the jaw. The mouth is wide open, as if the animal is bellowing in pain; a short line indicates the tongue. The far foreleg is shown bent; the near leg seems to curl awkwardly beneath the belly. The hind-legs are rendered by double wavy lines terminating in a solid dot; one stretches out beneath the belly, the other crosses the animal's side. The long curving tail is held erect. In front of the bull a diagonal line with diamond-shaped end evidently indicates an arrow or dart. At each end the composition is framed by a pair of vertical lines.

Commentary and comparanda: several comparable representations of a wounded bull exist. Closest are

S12



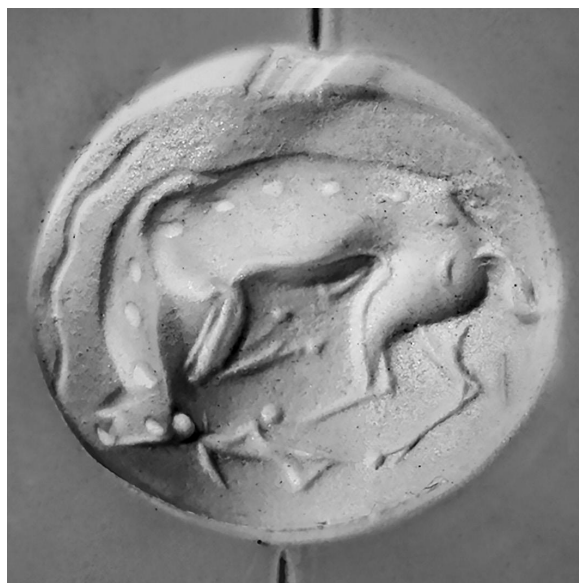
examples known from seal impressions at LM IB Chania: CMS VS1A nos. 153 (hard stone lentoid) and 154 (a metal signet ring). In the latter, the unusual positioning of the near hind-leg is clarified, since the bull is evidently attempting to dislodge the arrow which has pierced its side. This also provides a good parallel for the way neck, head and near foreleg are set on **S12** (though internal details differ). CMS VS1A no. 153 shows the bull's tongue in the open mouth as on **S12**. More distant parallels for the pose are: CMS II.4 no. 153 and CMS VI no. 404 (both without darts); also CMS VII no. 105.

For further LM I ›naturalistic‹ motifs in hard stone see *Table 1*; for dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, mud brick burial platform. LM I?

The find spot lacked pottery. The seal was found touching the side of a mud brick, which had belonged to the destroyed burial platform. Remains of disturbed burials were all around the find spot, most probably suggesting a LM I environment. Cf. **S11**.



S13

S13 Lentoid (HM 3552)

fig. 2

Plump biconvex; string-hole vertical. Some chipping around upper string-hole; very slight pitting in places; slight scratching on reverse; otherwise condition very good.

L 1.55 cm, W 1.35 cm, Th 0.75 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: agate, with opaque white and honey-brown translucent banding; in lower portion translucent and almost colourless.

Motif: a male deer in left profile with neck turned sharply downwards; the head (upside down) faces forwards. The body and hind-quarters are well modelled, though the transition to the downward-turned neck is somewhat clumsy. The mouth is open; eye and nose indicated by oval dots; the pedicle on top of the head from which the antlers spring is shown by a round dot. A pair of triangles joined at the tip represents the palmate antlers that are characteristic of fallow deer; a short line protruding downwards is the brow tine. The series of oval dots on the neck and back of the animal are also in keeping with the typical spotting or mottling found on the hides of fallow deer, especially in summer months. The forelegs are bent sharply beneath the animal's belly; the hind-legs are shown in profile. The upper portions are delineated by contour lines, the lower limbs are simple straight lines terminating in solid dots. The tail is rather short and feathery. A long curving line runs vertically in the left of the field.

Commentary and comparanda: in the glyptic repertoire representations of deer are considerably less common than those of goats and bulls, but are none the less attested from MM II–LB IIIA (Krzyszczak-

ska 2014, esp. 343, 344). During LM I they occur in both hard and soft stone; in some cases hunting scenes are implied with darts piercing the animals' sides (e.g. CMS II.3 no. 74); deer are also attacked by hunting dogs (e.g. CMS I no. 308), lions or griffins. The highly contorted pose on **S13** suggests that a wounded deer is meant here.

For further LM I ›naturalistic‹ motifs in hard stone see *Table 1*; for dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Entrance, pile B, layer 1. Mixed MM III–LMI–LM III

A mixed context, with discarded rubbish. In the first layer part of a crucible, a conical cup, fragments of a stone tool and of a bronze blade were found. As also noticed at the entrances of other looted tombs, part of the fill comes from MM III–LM I burials in the tomb and another part is debris from the settlement dating down to LM III.

S14 Lentoid (HM 3549)

fig. 2

Very flat face; string-hole horizontal. Engraving abraded, especially at animal's rump; left string-hole worn to the front; fine irregular cracking on reverse.

Dm 1.3 cm, Th 0.45 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: soft stone, light-brown to charcoal grey; granular structure suggests chlorite.

Motif: quadruped in right profile with strongly up-turned head; eye, nose and top of head marked by solid dots; a curved line indicates the horn. The forelegs are shown by roughly straight legs; the hind-legs by angled lines; the hooves are wedge-shaped.



S14



S15

A roughly vertical line from the animal's rump represents the tail: the length suggests a bovine rather than goat.

Commentary and comparanda: the combination of a standing pose and upturned head is not especially common and there are no close parallels for **S14**, but cf. CMS I no. 479; CMS IV no. 317; CMS VS1A no. 71. For further LM I soft stone seals here, see *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I (?)

Context: T. II, Entrance, grid H15+Z15, layer 4. MM III–LM I–LM III

The fill of layers 1–4 at the entrance was mixed. The sherds and various small finds range from MM III to LM IB burial remains to LM III sherds such as feet and stems of kylikes and debris from the Minoan settlement, e.g. crucibles and the foot of a cooking pot. **S14** was found on the floor of the second step of the rock-cut ›dromos‹ leading to the entrance of the tomb, amid a very few non-diagnostic sherds.

S15 Lentoid (HM 3543)

fig. 2

Biconvex; string-hole slightly diagonal to horizontal axis. Brownish-yellow deposit in upper portion of seal face, especially in engraving; edges somewhat battered especially near string-holes; intact.

Dm 1.8 cm, Th 0.9 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: glass, opaque; pale whitish-grey to pale blue-grey with a few small more definitely bluish patches on the reverse; in places some craquelure and iridescence.

Motif: a female figure wearing a flounced skirt faces a large lion in left profile standing on its hind-legs; its muzzle virtually touches the head of the female.

The female appears to be depicted in three-quarter view with one hand near her waist, the other outstretched toward the lion; her head is shown in right profile. Two short curving lines at her shoulder suggest that she is wearing a short-sleeved (?) bodice; on the skirt several sets of inward curving lines echo the hem-line and suggest flounces. The lion is considerably larger than the female and has an outsized pointed muzzle, and solid dot for the eye. The mane is indicated by a series of vertical lines within; and short diagonal strokes along the back of the neck. The hind-legs are carefully engraved; the forelegs by contrast are somewhat clumsy. A long curving tail is held erect.

Commentary and comparanda: the representation is unique. Female figures are juxtaposed with single lions on two LM I lentoids found in much later contexts, but in both cases the females are seated in a rocky landscape and the lions are much smaller than they are: CMS II.8 no. 239 (Knossos, seal impression Wooden Staircase and Secretaries' Bureau); CMS V no. 253 (Armenoi T. 24, LM IIIA2–IIIB1 chamber tomb). The rampant pose of the lion is, however, closely paralleled on two lentoids depicting the Mistress of Animals from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 515: CMS I nos. 144, 145 (LB I–II). This suggests that certain LM I representations of a female figure and single animal (chiefly in soft stone) should be construed as depicting the Potnia Theron, or at least serving as forerunners for the slightly later *Bildthe-ma* where the female (or male) figure is flanked by a pair of animals placed antithetically, see: Krzyszkowska 2012a, 743 pl. CLXXVa–b.

Further glass seals presented here are: **S4**. **S10**. **S11**. **S21**. **S34** (?). **S37**. **S40**. Note also HM 2348

from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour). For further LM I seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs here, see Table 1; for the material and dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid Z7, layer 1, north edge of the mud brick structure. MM III–LM I

Disturbed fill: most of the mixed and scattered sherds of jugs and cups are stylistically LM I (mostly LM IA) and several are MM IIIB, as is pottery from other spots around the demolished mud brick structure.

S16 Lentoid (HM 3550)

fig. 2

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Edges very slightly abraded; engraving almost workshop fresh.

L 1.62 cm, W 1.73 cm, Th 0.68 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: serpentine with foliation; dark blue-green, grey in engraving.

Motif: two female figures wearing flounced skirts in right profile; each raising one arm toward her face, the other outstretched behind. The skirts comprise two curving lines just below the waist; two broad horizontal lines at roughly knee height, beneath which are five or six broad vertical lines; the hem-line is marked by broad horizontal lines. All vertical and horizontal lines are very slightly curved to produce a sense of fluidity and movement.

Commentary and comparanda: an exceptionally fine example of a well-known LM I *Bildthema* ordinarily occurring on soft stone lentoids, involving two female figures, apparently in procession, each raising an arm in a ›gesture of adoration‹. Examples include: CMS II.3 nos. 17 (Knossos House of Frescoes, LM I), 169. 236; CMS VI nos. 287–289; CMS XI no. 282; CMS XII no. 168. The impression of a LM I soft stone cushion (CMS II.8 no. 266; Knossos Archives Deposit) shows three female figures. A similar pose is also adopted by single female figures on several LM I soft stone lentoids: CMS II.3 no. 304; CMS III nos. 351. 352; CMS VIII no. 128; CMS X no. 262. Note also the impression of a metal (gold?) signet ring from LM IB Agia Triada depicting two females in procession (CMS II.6 no. 13), conceivably a prototype for the numerous renderings in soft stone. Also with three females: a lead bezel from Malia House Δα (CMS VS1A no. 58, MM III / LM IA context) and a chlorite mould for ring bezels of copper / bronze or lead (British Museum Greece and Rome 1924, 1113.1; Krzyszkowska 2005a: 129 f. illustration no. 219). In hard stone the *Bildthema* is attested on two carnelian lentoids: CMS VS3 no. 80 (MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style; Modi, LH IIIC chamber tomb) and a seal without provenance in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris: M6621 (Krzyszkowska 2020b, passim, fig. 1).



S16

For further LM I soft stone seals here, see Table 1 and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid Γ7, layer 3. LM I

A disturbed find spot. However, LM I pottery was found at the spot (e.g. a LM IA Vapheio-type cup), in the adjacent Δ7 grid square (a LM I hemispherical cup with floral decoration) and in the overlying layer Γ7.2 (a fragmentary LM IA hemispherical cup with spirals). All were discarded amid mud bricks of the destroyed platform. (Cf. S11. S12. S15).

Bibliography: Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 368. 373 fig. 31.20; Krzyszkowska 2020b, 260 fig. 2 f. For the *Bildthema*: Pini 2010, 333–335; Krzyszkowska 2012a, 744 pl. CLXXVIa.

S17 Amygdaloid (HM 3548)

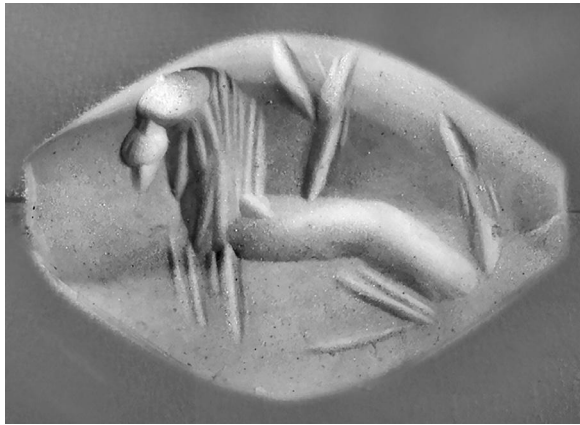
fig. 3

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Condition excellent apart from tiny cracks on reverse near upper edge; slight chipping below right string-hole and on lower edge; also along ca. half the length of lower edge a straight guide-line (?) not removed by polishing.

L 2.1 cm, W 1.45 cm, Th 0.8 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; bright fiery orange-red with a few dark spots; on reverse at one end the stone becomes pale to almost colourless.

Motif: a standing lion in left profile rendered in the Cut Style. Two large solid dots form the head and muzzle; the mane is indicated by a series of roughly vertical lines; the body and hindquarters are created by smooth concave cuts. The forelegs are rendered by straight vertical lines; two diagonal lines indicate the upper part of the hind-legs; the lower part of one shown by a single line set at an angle. A deep verti-



S17

cal cut, flanked by two short cuts, evidently represents the tail (the short curving line at the far right may be a mistake). Above the lion's back a Y-shaped feature, deeply engraved, may represent an abbreviated plant motif.

Commentary and comparanda: lions constitute one of the most popular motifs in the Cut Style, with about 30 examples showing single lions; rarely with a pair (as on **S18**) or with another animal. Many are engraved on hard stone amygdaloids with faceted backs, chiefly made of carnelian. No close parallels exist for the rendering on **S17**: some examples are quite carefully engraved and veer toward the ›naturalistic‹ end of the spectrum (e.g. CMS II.3 no. 61), while in others the engraving is extremely sketchy, with details kept to a bare minimum (e.g. CMS VS3 no. 165; CMS X no. 231). In most cases a stylized plant filler is included above the animal's back. Impressions on roundels from Chania provide a secure LM I dating for Cut Style lions, e.g. CMS VS1A no. 161 (single lion) and CMS V no. 236 (= CMS VS1A nos. 144. 163; pair of lions). Other examples from datable Cretan contexts include: CMS II.3 no. 61 (Knossos Gold Cup Tomb, LM IB–II); HM 2505 and 2506 (Unexplored Mansion, both LM II: Betts 1984, 188 f. pls. 184c; 185a, M35, P136); and two examples from LM IB contexts at Mochlos: a calcite lentoid from House C.9 (Krzyszkowska 2022a, no. IVA.336, LM IB); and an unpublished amygdaloid from the collapse of House A.2 (pair of standing lions). For further Cut Style lions, see the CMS online, searching under ›Löwe‹ and ›Cut Style‹. For the style see: Pini 2000, 209–220 (with lists); Krzyszkowska 2005a, 147 n. 90; 201–203. 248–250; Krzyszkowska 2020a, esp. 162–165 (dating); Krzyszkowska 2022a; Krzyszkowska 2022b.

Further Cut Style seals presented here are: **S18–S22**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context dating: T. II, Antechamber, grid H14, layers 1. 2. Mixed / LM I



S18

Disturbed fill with bones, stones, plaster and discarded sherds, some LM I. The seal was found in dark earth in layer 1, probably indicating it originated from the looted deposit. A pair of lead earrings in adjacent grid Z14 may also come from the deposit nearby.

S18 Amygdaloid (HM 3551)

fig. 3

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Condition excellent apart from a slight depression on rear, perhaps indicative of slight chipping later smoothed down.

L 3.0 cm, W 1.7 cm, Th 1.0 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; deep brownish-red in upper portion becoming fiery orange-red below; dark purplish veins run roughly diagonally across the faces; several small dark patches elsewhere.

Motif: a pair of lions with heads turned back in the Cut Style. Only the lion in the foreground is fully depicted: the body is relatively thin and elongated; the neck (shown frontally?) broad and covered with roughly vertical lines to indicate the mane. The head appears to be turned upwards and back, touching the head of the lion behind; the eye and muzzle are rendered with solid dots. The forelegs also appear to be shown frontally; while only one hind-leg, terminating in three elongated claws, is in profile. Two deep cuts meeting at angle indicate the tail. The second lion appears in right profile, but only the head, mane and tail are shown. The eye and muzzle are again rendered as solid dots; vertical lines indicate the mane. What is presumably the tail of the second lion actually springs from the back of the first.

Commentary and comparanda: lions constitute one of the most popular motifs of the Cut Style, but pairs of lions are extremely rare, e.g. best known from impressions of a hard stone amygdaloid found on a series of roundels at LM IB Chania (CMS V no. 236 = CMS VS1A nos. 144. 163). In that case, the lion in front is clearly depicted in left profile, that behind

in right profile with part of its back shown. For the rather unusual pose with neck / mane and forelegs shown frontally, somewhat clumsily rendered on **S18**, see also: CMS VI no. 267 and CMS X no. 264 (in both cases the lion turns its head toward a goat above its back, in a ›Chimaera‹ composition, for which see here **S6**). In addition, a pair of lions in the Cut Style, uniquely standing and facing each other, appear on an as yet unpublished amygdaloid from Mochlos. For Cut Style lions, see commentary and comparanda for **S17**. Further Cut Style seals presented here are: **S19–S22**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Entrance and Antechamber, pile B, layer 3. Mixed MM III–LM I–LM III

S18 was found in mixed fill consisting of disturbed burial remains and discarded debris from the settlement piled up at the entrance and antechamber of the tomb (layers 1–3). Apart from various small finds, including fragmentary crucibles and a stone tool, layer 3 contained a few sherds, and layer 2 a MM III–LM I jug and conical cups and LM III sherds.

S19 Lentoid (HM 3553)

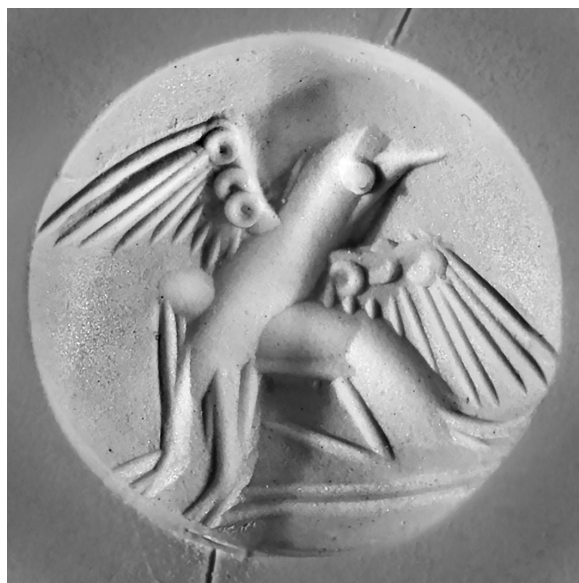
fig. 3

Biconvex; string-hole slightly diagonal to vertical axis. Very slight chipping at string-holes; high polish; condition excellent.

L 2.0 cm, W 1.95 cm, Th 0.9 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; deep blood-red to fiery orange-red with some darker veins and flecks. *Motif:* on a double ground-line a seated griffin in left profile with back-turned head and both wings displayed: Cut Style. A broad smooth and roughly elliptical cut forms the creature's neck and head; a large solid dot and tiny dot within indicates the eye; the head tapers sharply to the pointed beak. The body and rump are created by two broad cuts, with no attempt at modelling. Beneath the belly a thick contour line, another set at an angle describes the edge of the near foreleg. The foreleg comprises a series of tapering cuts, terminating in short claws. Only one hind-leg is shown, consisting of two lines meeting at an angle beneath the creature's belly; a short curving line indicates the tail. The wings are displayed either side of the griffin's neck, with feathers rendered by a series of parallel lines: shortest near the neck, longest further away. The upper edge of the left wing is marked by two circles and an incomplete circle; on the right a circle, arc and semi-circle: all are created by the tubular drill.

Commentary and comparanda: griffins constitute a relatively popular motif in the Cut Style with roughly 35 examples, most shown individually. On lentoids they are generally shown in profile: recumbent (with legs bent) and one wing displayed,



S19

although straight forelegs and two displayed wings are shown on CMS VI no. 268 (›Agia Pelagia‹) and CMS VII no. 135 (›Crete‹). But in style these differ from each other enormously and from the representation on **S19**. Griffins which display both wings are generally associated with amygdaloids, more rarely cushions; they normally adopt a recumbent pose with bent legs, e.g. CMS VS3 no. 349 (Krzyszkowska 2022a, no. IV.324: Mochlos House C.3, LM IB). The treatment of wings and presence or absence of filling ornament varies tremendously among Cut Style griffins. However, as on **S19**, the upper edges of wings are sometimes marked with tubular drill ornament, e.g. CMS V nos. 437 (Nichoria, LH IIIA2–B tholos), 590; CMS VS2 no. 32 (Elateia, LH IIIB–C middle chamber tomb); CMS VII no. 93; CMS X no. 267; CMS XI nos. 120, 179; CMS XII no. 247. For further Cut Style griffins, see the CMS online, searching under ›Greif‹ and ›Cut Style‹. Add: an unpublished lentoid of carnelian (T. of the Griffin Warrior, Pylos). For the style see: Pini 2000, 209–220 (with lists); Krzyszkowska 2005a, 147 n. 90; 201–203, 248–250; Krzyszkowska 2020a, esp. 162–165 (dating); Krzyszkowska 2022a, 282 f.; Krzyszkowska 2022b. For griffins generally see Krzyszkowska 2021, 239–241, 243 pls. Llh. LV. Cf. also the ›naturalistic‹ griffin on glass amygdaloid **S4**.

Further Cut Style seals presented here are: **S17**, **S18**, **S20–S22**; see *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid H4, layer 1. LM I

S19 was found with **S9** and **S22** among the remains of a disturbed LM I burial (see above **S9**)



S20

S20 Amygdaloid (HM 3542)

fig. 3

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Slight chipping at the right string-hole; from chipping beneath the left string-hole an irregular crack runs across the reverse; otherwise condition very good.

L 1.4 cm, W 0.95 cm, Th 0.6 cm, SHs 0.15 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; deep blood-red with dark purplish-black patches and flecks.

Motif: bird rendered frontally with outstretched wings in the Cut Style. The body, neck and head of the bird are created by a smooth elliptical cut; a small solid dot near the top of the head marks the eye; the beak points to the left. Broad angled cuts arising from the bird's body form the upper edge of the wings; beneath a series of slightly diagonal lines represent the wing feathers; below these horizontal lines may indicate the lower edge of the wings. The fan-shaped tail feathers are indicated by a series of broad flaring cuts. Along the upper edge of the seal face a series of short lines serve as filling ornament.

Commentary and comparanda: birds constitute one of the most popular motifs in the Cut Style with over 80 published examples; more than 60 of these are depicted frontally, with wings outstretched; many occur on amygdaloids, frequently with faceted backs. A detailed account appears in Krzyszkowska 2022b, which clarifies the long-standing confusion between ›talismanic‹ and Cut Style birds, and provides lists (p. 92, 93) of those in the Cut Style. Here it may be noted that most of the birds regarded as ›talismanic‹ by Onassoglou (DtS 138–154, 268–277 pls. L–LV) are in reality Cut Style.

Even among the Cut Style birds found on hard stone amygdaloids there is considerable variation in how the birds are represented. By far the closest to S20 in detail is a carnelian amygdaloid with faceted back from ›Agia Pelagia‹ (CMS VI no. 272), although in that case the stone is a bright fiery orange-red (Krzyszkowska 2005a, illustration no. C31, colour).

Other hard stone amygdaloids include: CMS II.3 nos. 53 (Knossos, Isopata LM IIIA chamber tomb), 95; CMS V no. 174 (Athens Agora, LH IIIA1 chamber tomb); CMS VS1A no. 117 (Chania, LM IIIA2 context); CMS VI no. 271; CMS VII nos. 122, 259; CMS VIII nos. 57, 155, 158; CMS X no. 318; CMS XI nos. 127, 241; CMS XII nos. 150b, 219. The motif also occurs on two three-sided prisms with amygdaloid faces: CMS II.3 no. 254a (Mochlos T. XII; Krzyszkowska 2022b, 85 f. fig. 7.1a) and CMS X no. 277b. Carnelian is especially favoured, although hard opaque black stones (e.g. haematite) are also represented. Note also two examples made from glass: S21 and CMS I no. 146 (Mycenae chamber tomb 515, LH IIB–IIIB). CMS IX no. 61 is red serpentine, medium hard, but engraved as a hard stone (Krzyszkowska 2018, 8–10 pl. 5e for identification, comment and colour illustration; also Krzyszkowska 2022b, 90, 92); this is also true of HM 3562 from the settlement at Poros (Odos Nisyrou): Dimopoulou 2000a, 36, not illustrated; Krzyszkowska 2022b, 92 (list).

Further Cut Style seals presented here are: S17–19, S21, S22; see Table 1 and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, niche at east wall, grid E2+Δ2, layer 2. Mixed / LM I?

The find spot was disturbed, without pottery apart from a very few sherds that were found along with poor mixed remains of (LM I?) burials, such as fragments of bones and boars' tusks, glass beads, rivets of a knife and coating plaster of coffins.

Bibliography: Krzyszkowska 2022b, 92 (list).

S21 Amygdaloid (HM 3554)

fig. 3

Convex face and faceted reverse; flattened end; string-hole horizontal. Approximately one-third missing; remainder restored from several fragments; made up in wax; edges battered; surface rather porous; yellowish-brown surface deposit especially in engraving.

L 2.2 cm, W 1.5 cm, Th 0.8 cm, SHs 0.15 cm.

Material: glass, opaque; pale blue-grey with some lighter greyish-white patches; dark blue and charcoal grey patches in the break.

Motif: bird rendered frontally with outstretched wings in the Cut Style, although the condition hampers an assessment of details. The body and head are formed by an elliptical cut tapering from head (with dotted eye and short beak turned to the right) to the forked tail. The outstretched wings are held high, their upper edges marked with solid dots; beneath the fan-shaped wing feathers are shown by a series of fine lines; horizontal lines indicate the lower edge of the wings. Along the upper edge of the seal face a series of short lines serve as filling ornament.

Commentary and comparanda: see above under S20. No close parallels exist for S21, but note in particular another example made from glass: CMS I no. 146 (Mycenae chamber tomb 515, LH IIB–IIIB).



S21



S22

Further Cut Style seals presented here are: **S17–S20. S22**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below. Further glass seals are: **S4. S10. S11. S15. S34 (?) . S37. S40**. Note also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl.33 no.304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVib (colour). For the material see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Entrance, pile B, layer 1. Mixed MM III–LM I–LM III

Mixed context. See **S18** and **S13**.

Bibliography: Krzyszkowska 2022b, 92 (list).

S22 Amygdaloid (HM 3545)

fig. 3

Strongly convex seal face and faceted reverse; flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Upper edge slightly irregular with remains of tool marks, not fully polished away; fresh tool marks at left string-hole; very slight chipping at right string-hole.

L 1.5 cm, W 0.9 cm, Th 0.65 cm, SHs 0.15–0.20 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; fiery orange with a few small darker flecks.

Motif: a water bird in right profile, the neck and head turned sharply backwards; behind a series of broad diagonal cuts indicate the wing feathers; fan-shaped tail feathers behind the body; two rather broad legs in front. A horizontal line directly above the bird's head is conceivably a mistake; at the right of the field a vertical line. Cut Style.

Commentary and comparanda: depictions of water birds are not especially common in the Cut Style, and none provides a useful parallel for **S22**. Worth noting, however, are several other highly stylized examples with heads/necks turned sharply back: CMS II.3 nos. 254b (Mochlos T. XII, MM III–LM I) and 357; HM 2616 (Knossos Acropolis LM IA: Catling et al. 1979, 66 fig. 45 pl. 14a. b; Krzyszkowska 2022b, 91 fig. 7.2d). For further discussion and examples, see Krzyszkowska 2022b, 90 f. 92 f. (list), fig. 7.2d–g.

Further Cut Style seals presented here are: **S17–S21**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. II, Chamber B, grid H4, layer 1. LM I

S22 was found with **S9** and **S19** among the relics of a disturbed LM I burial (see above **S9**).

Bibliography: Krzyszkowska 2022b, 93 (list).

S23 Scarab (HM 3541)

fig. 3

String-hole along longitudinal axis. Rear damaged and corner missing from face; much surface chipping and cracking.

L 1.4 cm, W 1.0 cm, Th 0.5 cm, SHs 0.05–0.10 cm.

Material: glazed steatite (?); off-white in colour; in places yellowish.

S23



»Trapezoidal head, stylised simplified presentation crudely cut, barely defined legs, slight fringing on front legs (only), no T-lines (possible double suture at tail end?), irregular face design of elongated spiral lower left leading to lotus bud upper left, with *nfr* in upper left and lower left quarters, single border line« (J. Phillips)

Further scarabs presented here are: **S8** and **S39**. Note also the Egyptian scarab (HM 3267) found in a settlement context at Poros: Dimopoulou 2000a, 28 fig. 1.1; Phillips 2008, II, 236. 362 no. 483.

Stylistic date: »probably straddling late Middle King-

dom, Second Intermediate Period; hence sometime in Dynasty XIII« (J. Phillips)

Context: T. II, Chamber A, grid I13, layers 3. 4. Mixed LM I–LM III?

A mixed context: a heap of discarded debris. Only a fragment of a conical cup and various small sherds were found in layers 3 and 4. The heap contained discarded material from the settlement including crucibles and slags. In the adjacent layer 2 the remains of a burial, with a disintegrated skeleton, a few conical cups and the fragment of a dagger or knife, suggest a Neopalatial date.

III. TOMB ON IKAROU AVENUE (1994)

Excavation and Contents

Tomb III¹⁵ came to light in 1994 during the digging of trenches for municipal water and sewage pipes at the junction of Ikarou Avenue and Poseidonos Street, about 50 m south of Tomb II. Its shape generally matches that of the other tombs in the central section of the cemetery. It is a large rock-cut cave measuring around 80 m² and 2 m in height, with an antechamber and three consecutive chambers on different levels with steps, while at the rear is a small side chamber separated from the main chambers by a wall. Curved walls of rough stones and mud, touching a rock-cut supporting pillar on one side of the antechamber, reached up to the ceiling, with openings in the upper part. This enclosed area formed the deposit for the remains of older burials. Its shape, a kind of above-ground built shaft, is unparalleled in other tombs with rock-cut pit deposits. The tomb entrance was blocked with large stones, at first giving the impression that the tomb had not been opened since the last burial. Burials and the remains of burials swept aside – bones, skulls and funerary offerings, such as pottery and various small objects – covered the floors of the chambers, while the fingerprints of the Minoan builders were still visible in the mud of the walls of the intact deposit. It was eventually discovered that the back wall had been pierced in the Postpalatial period and the small side chamber used as a rubbish dump. The tomb also seems to have been looted then, but although the burials were heavily disturbed, the looting does not appear to have been systematic, as the quantity and quality of the finds attest. The absence of bronze finds may again indicate the looters' main target.

The excavation showed that this tomb, and therefore the original nucleus of the cemetery, was fully in use as early as the Protopalatial period (MM IIB), although it was probably smaller and simpler in layout. It seems that during the Neopalatial period (MM III–LM I) the tomb was enlarged and assumed its definitive shape, leading to some differences from the other tombs, such as the linear arrangement of the consecutive chambers along a particularly long axis. Most of the burials are dated to this period, with the latest belonging, as in other tombs, to the late LM IB phase. A few LM II vases in the side chamber next to the pile of Postpalatial deposits are not directly associated with burials.

During its lengthy period of unbroken use (MM IIB–LM IB) the tomb was used for dozens of burials placed on the floors, on funerary beds or biers, or in wooden coffins. Due to the continual practice of secondary burial, the pushing away of piles of burials against the walls, the placing of bones, crushed to save space, in the deposit, and the disturbance in Postpalatial times, it is difficult to determine the true number of burials. Only five burials

¹⁵ Dimopoulou 1994, 709–711 pls. 230α–ζ; 231α. β.

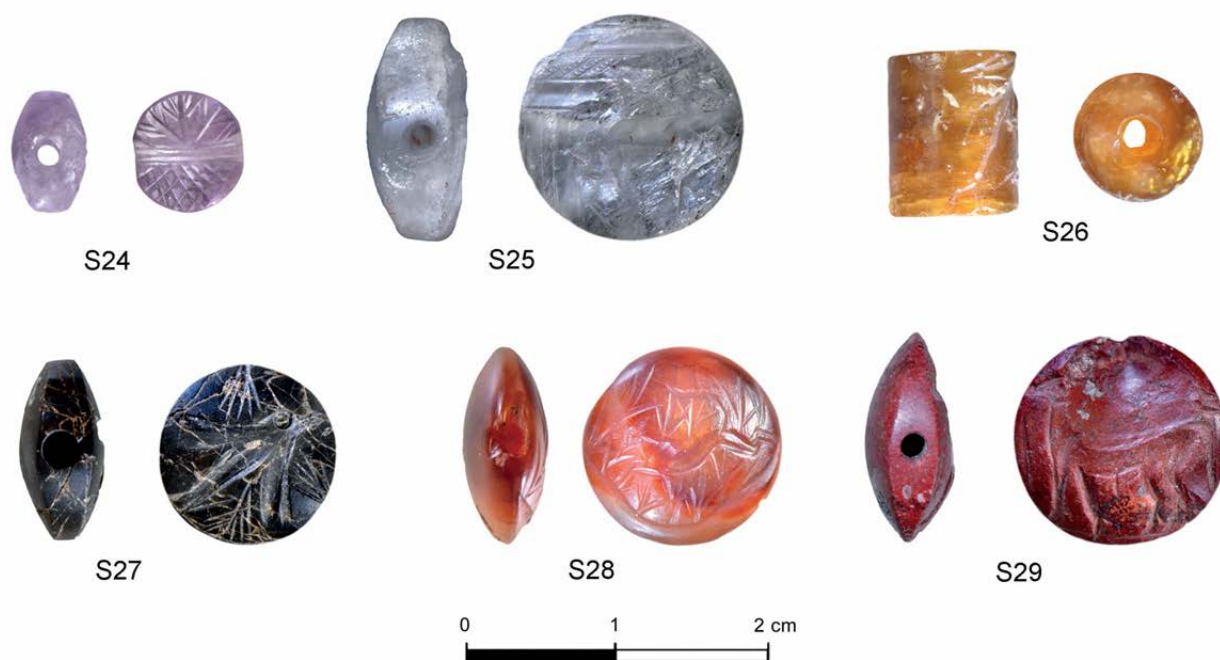


Fig. 4 Poros, Tomb III: Seals S24–S29, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

were found in situ and in addition 27 skulls were counted, although this figure should not be considered indicative.

There are over 700 finds. Of the seals in the tomb, **S24–S29**, four were found in the deposit and two in the first chamber. Obviously the most valuable find is the gold signet ring (HM 1629) with a cult scene, which was a grave offering for a LM IB burial¹⁶. A silver ring bezel, necklace beads of gold and other materials, and LM IB pottery also accompanied this exceptional burial. Jewellery is one of the richest categories of finds in the tomb. There were also two fragmentary signet rings of silver; a bronze ring and a gold hoop; pairs of silver and bronze earrings; a silver pin with a twisted stem; and approximately 400 necklace beads of gold, semi-precious stones, glass and faience. There are also unusual ornaments of blue frit and of faience with an inlaid disc of lapis lazuli. The various other small finds include a stone lamp, a knife, a group of four clay birds, a miniature bronze double axe, bronze tweezers, staples, nails, plaster and a piece of wood from the decayed biers, as well as burnt olives and carbonized grain, and even the spinal vertebrae of a small animal in a pot, shedding light on funerary practices.

The pottery from the tomb is impressive in both quantity and quality. Over 500 intact vessels were found, many of them beautifully decorated, covering all the phases of the tomb: MM IIB, MM IIIA, MM IIIB–LM IA, LM IA, LM IB and LM II. The most numerous, as in all the tombs of the cemetery, are jugs and cups, but there are also lamps and braziers, strainers, other perforated vessels and double vases. An assemblage of 150 vases, mostly Protopalatial (MM IIB) with some Neopalatial (MM III, LM IA), was found in the deposit, in a fill of burnt earth, skulls and crushed bones. A MM IIB group of fine quality polychrome Kamares ware stands out, including vessels with exact parallels from Phaistos.

Of the Postpalatial and earlier household rubbish in the small side chamber, it is worth noting a Canaanite amphora, loom weights, fragments of crucibles, grinders and whetstones.

¹⁶ Dimopoulou – Rethemiotakis 2000. Note that here (p. 39 n. 1) the tomb was said to be located in Ikaros Street; the correct street name is Ikarou Avenue (Λεωφόρος Ικάρου) but the tomb and location are one and the same.

Catalogue

S24 Discoid (HM 3561)

fig. 4

Plump biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Somewhat abraded and chipped at string-holes; slight cracking from upper edge to underside; otherwise condition good.

L 0.7 cm, W 0.8 cm, Th 0.5 cm, SHs 0.15 cm.

Material: amethyst, translucent; pale lilac.

Motif: the field is divided by a pair of horizontal lines; beneath diagonal cross-hatching. Above three plant-like elements, each comprising a central ›stem‹ from near the top of which diagonal lines fan outwards. ›Architectural‹ group.

Commentary and comparanda: the very small size of the seal face permits only simplified features of the ›architectural‹ group, notably the division of the field into registers and cross-hatching. Plant-like elements are not common in the group but cf. CMS III no. 126 and CMS IV no. 159, also placed in the upper portion of the field. Roughly 70 published examples of the ›architectural‹ group are attested in hard and medium hard stones; two are made of amethyst: CMS II.2 no. 18 (Kamilari, tholos) and CMS XI no. 19. Amethyst is a rare stone in Aegean glyptic with ca. 50 examples spanning MM II/III–LB I/II; some may have been re-worked beads, as perhaps was S24 suggested by its exceptionally plump shape. For the material: Krzyszkowska 2005b, with list of seals p. 127 f. For the ›architectural‹ group: Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b.

Further examples of the ›architectural‹ group presented here are: S25. S30. S32–S34; cf. also S1. See Table 1 and for the material see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM II–III

Context: T. III, Deposit, layer 4, final (bottom). MM IIB–MM IIIA

No intact vases: only several sherds similar to the MM IIB and MM IIIA vases of the superimposed layer 3 were found in layer 4. In layer 4 and at the same spot as S24 were found a silver ring with an elliptical bezel, a bronze ring with circular bezel, and a gold ›ivy‹-shaped bead.

S25 Discoid (HM 3558)

fig. 4

String-hole horizontal. Roughly two-thirds of face has sheered off; upper edge damaged on face and reverse; some surface cracking and pitting; much shattered within.

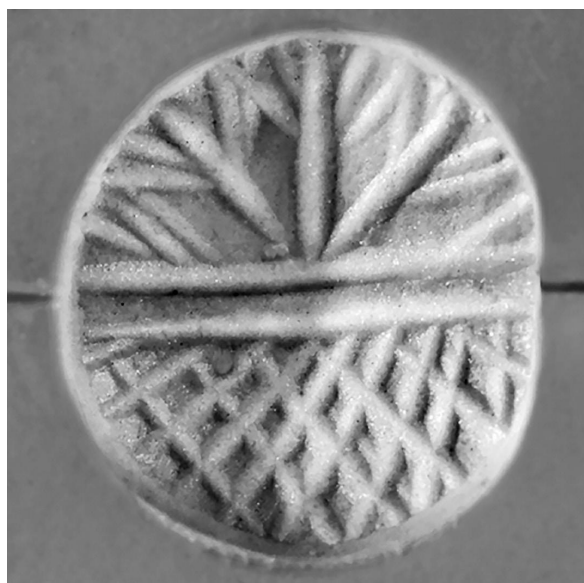
Dm 1.5 cm, Th 0.6 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: rock crystal, colourless and clear; translucent where stone is shattered within.

Motif: ›architectural‹ group; linear decoration based on a Π-shaped element (Pi-motif) created by two sets of ›Bandlinien‹ (broad bands flanked by fine lines). Between the horizontal bands is fine diagonal hatching; between the preserved uprights fine diagonal lines. Near the lower edge of the seal face, traces of broad grooves flanked by fine lines and meeting at an angle, conceivably the remains of a diamond or lozenge-shaped pattern in the centre of the field.

Commentary and comparanda: originally a fine example of the ›architectural‹ group; closely comparable are CMS II.2 no. 275 and CMS IX no. 36, both of rock crystal. This material was used for ca. 20 discoids with ›architectural‹ decoration, roughly 35 % of those executed in hard stones. For the ›architectural‹

S24



S25



group: Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b (on CMS IX no. 36).

Further examples of the ›architectural‹ presented here are: **S24. S30. S32–S34**; cf. also **S1**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM II–III

Context: T. III, Deposit, layer 3. MM IIB–MM IIIA–MM IIIB

S25 was found with dozens of vases of varying MM stylistic phases: many polychrome MM IIB; several MM IIIA, such as ridged white-dotted cups; and MM IIIB examples, mostly tall black-painted jugs with white decorative motifs or patches in dark paint.

S26 Squat cylinder (HM 3560)

fig. 4

String-hole vertical; the upper and lower edges of the seal are not precisely parallel. Edges somewhat chipped; deep pitting in places; also some superficial scratching (?) or perhaps trial marks for engraving (?). On both ends remains of tubular drill adjacent to the string-hole.

L 1.1 cm, Dm 0.85–0.90 cm, SHs 0.275–0.30 cm.

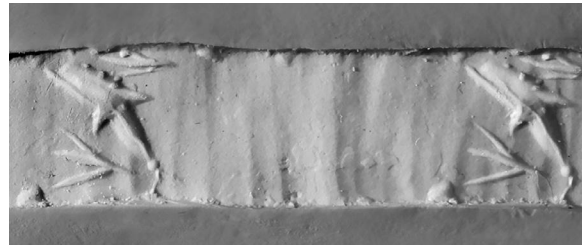
Material: agate, translucent honey-coloured with some paler yellow areas; a faint sense of banding at right angles to main axis of seal; small opaque white inclusions.

Motif: a dolphin in the ›talismatic‹ style. The animal appears to have a short pointed nose; a thin slit at the mouth; and a fin on its back. Along the animal's side a wavy line, terminating in a solid dot; beyond simple forked tail-fins. In front of the dolphin, a plant ›spray‹; another, smaller, behind its head.

Commentary and comparanda: dolphins constitute a relatively rare motif in the ›talismatic‹ style with fewer than 20 published examples, although a distinction is not always easy between large fish (e.g. here **S3**) and genuine dolphins: DtS 158. 159, 282–284 pls. LIX. LX (FI-64–84). Ordinarily dolphins are shown with more or less bottle-shaped noses; fins above and below the body (the latter are lacking in **S26**); and a simple forked tail-fin. Parallels include: CMS V no. 176; CMS VI no. 276; CMS VII no. 77; CMS VIII no. 59; CMS XII no. 158 (all with lower fins).

The strangely empty composition on **S26** and possible traces of trial marks for engraving suggest that work on the cylinder may have been abandoned, perhaps owing to impurities in the stone. Some support for this suggestion comes from the fact that in the ›talismatic‹ style dolphins are regularly depicted in pairs — sometimes set *tête-bêche* — or even in rows of three or four animals.

Cylinder seals were not a favoured shape in the Aegean; locally-made examples amount to roughly ca. 35, split more or less evenly between hard and soft materials, and spanning EM III–MM IA to LB IIIA2.



S26



S26, detail

Several examples are attributed to the ›talismatic‹ style, though the motifs are considerably more complex than on **S26**: CMS V no. 190; CMS VS1B no. 338; CMS VI no. 246. Note also CMS VI no. 276 depicting a row of four dolphins (designated ›Fisch‹ in the CMS online) set diagonally across the field; the filling ornament suggests this should be classed as Cut Style rather than ›talismatic‹. The squat form of **S26** is exceptionally rare but cf. CMS II.2 no. 59; CMS IV no. 102.

Further seals of the ›talismatic‹ style presented here are: **S2. S3. S9. S10. S27. S35–S37**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32. 33 nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. III, Chamber A, grid Δ3, layer 1. MM IIIB–LM I

S26 was found by the remains of a disturbed burial, of which mixed up bones and part of a skull were preserved. Apart from **S26**, a silver pin, a conical cup and a monochrome hemispherical cup were found at the spot indicating a MM IIIB–LM I setting.



S27



S28

S27 Lentoid (HM 3559)

fig. 4

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Much superficial splitting; several deep cracks penetrate the stone.

Dm 1.2 cm, T 0.55 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: soft to medium hard opaque stone, probably serpentine; fine homogeneous matrix charcoal-grey to chocolate-brown in colour; light-brown inclusions having the appearance of steatite with a slightly soapy feel.

Motif: flying fish in the ›talismanic‹ style set diagonally across the field. Two broad wing-like fins are set either side of the body, which ends in a forked tail. The mouth is slightly open; a tubular drill was used to render the eye. ›Sprays‹ above, in front and beneath the fish.

Commentary and comparanda: flying fish constitute a popular motif in the ›talismanic‹ style with more than 70 examples. As is true of the ›talismanic‹ style generally, most examples of flying fish are executed in hard semi-precious stones, although around 20 % occur on seals of soft or medium hard stones, as is S27. In a few cases rotary tools were seemingly employed (e.g. CMS II.3 no. 262; CMS II.4 nos. 94, 95; CMS IX nos. 58, 60) as is true of S27. For the manner in which the flying fish on S27 is rendered, CMS IX no. 58 provides the closest parallel; the seal is made of medium hard red serpentine, not red jasper as published: Krzyszkowska 2018, 8–10 pl. 5c (colour). For ›talismanic‹ flying fish generally: DtS 156, 157, 277–281 pls. LVI–LVIII (FI-1–50). For further examples see the CMS online, searching under ›Fliegender Fisch‹ and ›Talismanisch‹.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here

are: S2, S3, S9, S10, S26, S35–S37; see also Table 1 and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100, 140–142 pls. 32, 33 nos. 300, 302, 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVib (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. III, Deposit, layer 2. MM IIB–MM IIIA–MM IIIB

Layers 1 and 2 of the deposit are unified, suggesting a single deposition event. In layer 1 were found at least 51 intact vases, mixed MM IIIA, MM IIIB and some LM IA. Layer 2 yielded more than 30 vases, including some polychrome MM IIB, more MM IIIA and MM IIIB, all mixed together. In contrast to layer 1, layer 2 does not appear to contain fine LM I pottery, although this is fortuitous, since they constitute a single stratum.

S28 Lentoid (HM 3557)

fig. 4

Biconvex; string-hole diagonal. Both string-holes slightly chipped and abraded to rear; slight pitting on reverse; otherwise condition good.

Dm 1.3 cm, Th 0.5 cm, SHs 0.15 cm.

Material: carnelian, translucent; very deep reddish-orange through orange to pale yellow; almost milky white at lower edge; a few darker veins within.

Motif: a wild cat running in right profile through a marshy landscape. The cat is depicted in flying gallop with all four legs shown outstretched; the body is smooth with a thick contour line marking the belly and hind legs. The shoulder seems to have been created by the solid drill; transitions to body and neck are somewhat clumsy. The head is small

with open mouth; a small dot marks the eye; the ears are rather long and tapering. The long tail curls upwards among the reeds. At the lower edge of the seal face a thick wavy line evidently indicates a river or water course; from this grow clumps of reeds or grasses, each have two or three ›leaves‹.

Commentary and comparanda: representations of wild cats are extremely rare in the glyptic repertoire; always hunting water birds, sometimes in marshy or riverine landscapes: CMS IS no. 75; CMS II.3 no. 172; CMS VI nos. 367, 368; CMS VS1B no. 139 (Anthia, LH IIA–B tholos). Only the last comes from a secure context, but on stylistic grounds all can be placed within MM III–LM I or LM I. See Krzyszkowska 2010b, 175, 176 (conventions for marshy landscape); Krzyszkowska 2014, 342 (for the species); Krzyszkowska 2015a, 104–106 fig. 5. **S28**, an exceptionally fine representation, is the sole example showing a wild cat without a bird or birds; instead the engraver chose to focus on a more detailed landscape setting than appears in other examples.

For further MM III–LM I seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs, see *Table 1* and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. III, Deposit, layer 3. MM IIB–MM IIIA–MM IIIB

See above **S25**. Layer 3 does not appear to contain mature LM I pottery. Dozens of beads were found in layer 3, including a lentoid of grey amethyst (?) and a gold papyrus-shaped bead.

S29 Lentoid (HM 3556)

fig. 4

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Upper portion of seal face lost through conchoidal fracturing (diagnostic for jasper); pitting and some scratching on the surface; small patches of crystalline deposit.

Dm 1.4 cm, Th 0.55 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: jasper, opaque; cherry red with numerous small dark-grey inclusions.

Motif: standing quadruped in right profile. Head, shoulder and body are delineated with rather thick contour lines; there is little modelling; eye and nose are indicated by solid dots. The long tail hangs down behind the animal's hind legs; the sex is shown. Traces of a long curving horn appear near where the face has been lost through fracturing; just beneath, two straight parallel lines may be remains of plant fillers and / or perhaps spears or darts. In front of the animal a single vertical line; beneath a ground line.

Commentary and comparanda: damage to the seal face makes it hard to assess the motif. However,



S29

traces of long curving horns suggest that the animal is probably a wild goat, even though a long tail is more commonly associated with bovines (but cf. CMS VI no. 247). The pose and style is also hard to evaluate. A standing pose is the norm for goats in the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style, whereas in LM I goats are generally shown in a running pose. But **S29** lacks signs of solid drill regularly used to form the bodies of ›talismanic‹ goats; pronounced contour lines do not occur in that style. Plant fillers, characteristic of the ›talismanic‹ style are absent here. However, it is worth noting that horizontal string-holes (as on **S29**) are the norm for lentoids depicting ›talismanic‹ goats, but are rare later; cf. also **S41**.

For further LM I hard stone seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs, see *Table 1*.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. III, Chamber A, grid E4, layer 1. LM I

S29 was found in the outer room of the tomb, by the antechamber, and although it lacks a specific burial context, it may be linked with Burial I in nearby grids. Most of the sherds in E4 and other adjacent grids such as Δ4, are mostly LM IA–B, e.g. a small pyxis decorated with a foliate band. But there are also one or two MM III, e.g. a sherd of a white-dotted cup. Burial I, where the gold ›Sacred Conversation‹ signet ring (HM 1629) was found, was accompanied by LM IB pottery.

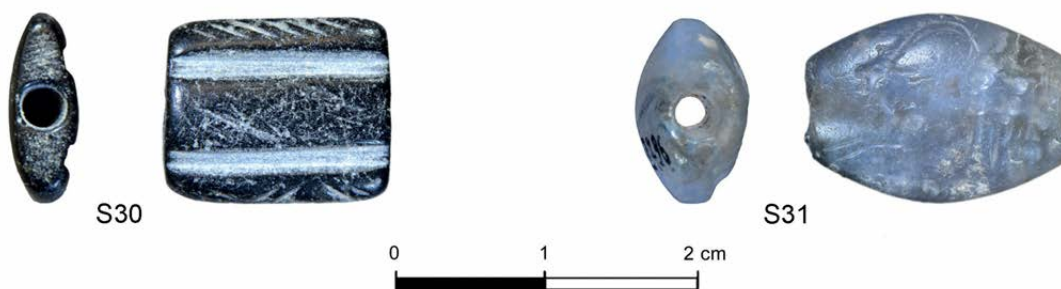


Fig. 5 Poros, Tomb IV: Seals S30 and S31, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

IV. TOMB ON POSEIDONOS AND ZAKROU STREETS (1999)

Excavation and Contents

Tomb IV, like Tomb III, was revealed in 1999 during work on a new municipal water pipeline, at the junction of Poseidonos and Zakrou Streets. It was found, however, that it had already been discovered in the late 1950s during the construction of a neighbouring building, when a supporting pillar pierced the north wall of the tomb. It may even have been known earlier, its breached entrance having been visible for several years. The tomb was expected to be disturbed or even completely looted, although our worst fears ultimately proved unfounded.

The tomb measures approximately 75 m² and is elongated, with two rock-cut supporting pillars dividing the inner chamber from the entrance area. A small built wall, touching one pillar and terminating at the outer wall, divides the front part into two rooms. A niche and curved wall at the north-east end of the small wall delimit a pit deposit measuring around 6 m². The whole tomb was disturbed to varying degrees. The worst disturbance was in the inner chamber, while parts of a few burials, more skulls and a fragment of a timber bier placed on the floor were found in the front area, between the small wall and the deposit. Fortunately the deposit was intact.

Like the other tombs, Tomb IV was in use from MM III to LM IB. Although the disturbance prevents us from drawing secure conclusions, the bulk of the MM IIIA–B material in the deposit probably came from the inner chamber. The outer chamber, from which most of the non-deposit finds are derived, mainly contained LM IA and LM IB vessels.

There are over 250 vases in total, the majority of which, over 150, were found piled in the deposit. As in the other tombs, these are mainly sets of jugs and cups of various types. The remains of burials and pottery in the deposit lack any stratigraphical sequence and probably indicate a single event, since stylistically mixed vessels are found together in the same spot. LM IA and LM IB pots with characteristic motifs may be found together alongside MM III examples. For instance, in layer 5 of the deposit, a LM IB vessel with relief sea-shells was found next to a MM III white-spotted jug. Other finds from the chambers and the deposit include pieces of gold foil; a silver pin; two small bronze vases and a bronze dagger; bronze arrowheads and boars' tusks from a helmet belonging to a 'warrior burial'; various beads of gold, semi-precious stones, glass and faience; staples from biers, etc. Apart from seals S30 and S31, the tomb also contained a small gold three-sided prism seal with the figure of a runner and religious scenes, as well as two fragmentary silver signet rings (as yet unpublished).

Catalogue

S30 Cushion (HM 3795)

fig. 5

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Somewhat abraded on seal face and edges; much surface scratching. L 1.5 cm, W 0.7 cm, Th 0.5 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: chlorite, opaque; dark grey-green to black with a few pale green flecks; light grey in engraving; structure somewhat granular, now mostly worn smooth.

Motif: linear decoration comprising two broad deep lines running parallel to longitudinal axis; above and below a series of short diagonal lines. Between the two broad lines faint traces of two diagonal lines.

Commentary and comparanda: a motif of the ›architectural‹ group. Examples in soft stones invariably have simpler designs than those executed in hard stone (e.g. S25. S32. S33), but S30 is exceptionally simple. The closest parallel is CMS II.3 no. 184 (Knossos, stray find). Roughly 60 examples of the ›architectural‹ group occur in soft stone; more than 20 are cushions, a shape first attested at MM II Phaistos. For the ›architectural‹ group see: Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b.

Further examples of the ›architectural‹ group presented here are: S24. S25. S32–S34; cf. also S1; see also Table 1 and Discussion below.

Stylistic date: MM II–MM III

Context: T. IV, Deposit, layer 4. MM III–LM I

S30 was found in layer 4 with a series of tall jugs and cups of various types, mainly MM III, although there are also LM I examples. Evidence from the underlying layer 5 is also indicative, suggesting a single deposition event for both layers, which comprised vases of varying phases: dozens of MM III jugs and cups with black paint and white decoration, LM IA vases with dark-on-light motifs, and LM IB examples, such as a rectangular vessel with attached relief sea-shells. Apart from S30, layer 4

comprised the remains of burials, such as beads of lapis lazuli and rock crystal.

S31 Amygdaloid (HM 3796)

fig. 5

Plump with flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Battered and abraded; some shattering within; surface pitting; deep scratches and cracks; chipping at the SHs worn smooth.

L 1.7 cm, W 1.25 cm, Th 0.75 cm, SHs 0.30 cm.

Material: blue chalcedony; translucent light blue although greyish-white in upper right-hand corner of seal face with a corresponding cloudy white banding on reverse. In lower portion slight pinkish-orange tinge when held to the light; slightly ›waxy‹ feel.

Motif: wild goat running to the right in a landscape setting. The goat springs forward from a stand of stylized trees so that only its forequarters, neck, head and horns are shown. The engraving is delicate and detailed: on the head the cheek, nose, lower jaw, eye and ear are shown through a series of solid drillings and short lines; a curving line in front of the goat's neck may indicate the ›beard‹ found in males. The horns are long and curve backwards, intersecting near the tips; near the head short lines cross the horns to indicate ribbing. The neck and chest are marked with fine contour lines; the transition to the shoulder is somewhat clumsy; the body smooth. A pair of stick-like legs set at a slight angle suggests a flying gallop pose. Beneath the goat a series of seven ovoid elements of varying sizes indicate a rocky landscape. Behind a stand of three highly stylized trees, with smooth vertical semi-cylindrical trunks and a series of large and small solid dots and a few tubular drill marks to indicate foliage.

Commentary and comparanda: the rendering of the goat and the landscape setting accord with

S30



S31



MM III–LM I glyptic, but the motif as a whole and several details are completely unparalleled. For the pronounced shoulder see, for example: CMS II.3 no. 340; CMS II.8 nos. 375, 376; CMS VS1B no. 247; CMS VI nos. 178, 180. For the ribbed horns: CMS IS no. 82; CMS VS1B no. 247; CMS VI no. 178, 179; CMS VII nos. 42, 68; CMS VIII no. 110c (also for the flying gallop); CMS X no. 281. For wild goats in landscape settings (excluding the ›talismanic‹ style): CMS II.6 no. 70 (flying gallop); CMS II.7 no. 62; CMS II.8 nos. 353, 354, 376; CMS III no. 150; CMS VS1B no. 247; CMS VI nos. 178, 180; CMS VII no. 68; CMS XI no. 189. A single parallel exists for an animal springing forward from within a landscape: a lion that leaps out from a clump of reeds on CMS VS1B no. 331; here too only animal's fore-quarters are shown. Although the execution of the rock work beneath the goat on **S31** is fairly com-

mon, the rendering of the trees behind is virtually unparalleled (but cf. here **S36**). It is worth stressing that this is a true landscape setting, integral to the narrative of the motif. For landscapes and landscape elements: Krzyszkowska 2010b, esp. 173–175.

For further MM III–LM I seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs see *Table 1*; also Discussion, below.

The condition of the seal suggests it may have been in circulation or use for a considerable period before deposition.

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. IV, Grid A3, layer 1. MM III–LM I

S31 was found on the chamber floor, among a few scattered bones of a very disturbed burial. Other finds at the spot were a monochrome MM IIIB–LM IA cup, sherds of jugs and MM III ridged straight-sided cups, two glass beads, the fragment of a bronze dagger and the bezel of a silver ring.

V. TOMB ON SPANAKIS STREET AND BY-ROAD OF POSEIDONOS STREET (1999–2000)

Excavation and Contents

Tomb V was revealed in December 1999 at the junction of Spanakis Street and an unnamed by-road of Poseidonos Street, during works to lay municipal water and sewage pipes. With a total area of around 61 m², the tomb has two almost rectangular chambers across the ante-chamber, a small side chamber in one of the main chambers, and a large deposit in the other. Three solid, rectangular rock-cut pillars abutting on the wall and a similar free-standing pillar support the roof to a height of over 2.20 m and divide the chambers into smaller spaces. The deposit, against the wall of the south chamber, is delimited by a low curved wall.

At first sight, the tomb appeared to be thoroughly looted, probably with later configurations so it could occasionally be used for habitation. The entrance was not blocked by stones: its opening widened and squared off, like the chambers, contrary to usual practice. Nails were found embedded in the walls of the north chamber, while piles of disturbed earth mixed with finds of different periods partially covered the floor of the chambers. Characteristic finds included narghile pipes, a coin of the Venetian period, an iron buckle, glazed pottery sherds and an iron canon ball, all indicative of the 17th century siege of Chandax (Herakleion), when Ottoman troops were encamped in the area. The fill of the earth piles also contained rubbish from the Minoan settlement, such as loom weights and crucibles, and a plethora of mixed remains from looted and scattered burials, such as bronze staples from biers, Neopalatial sherds and conical cups, scattered necklace beads of various materials, and two gold earrings and a pair of bronze earrings from a pile in the north chamber. In the floor of the south chamber were the remains of a burial with bones of the upper torso, on which was found a LM IB double jug with crocus decoration, obviously the work of the same workshop and perhaps even the same vase-painter as the cup with the same decoration associated with the elite LM IB burial in Tomb I, mentioned above. Thus this tomb, too, is shown to have remained in use until the final phase of the Neopalatial period.

Given the state of the chambers, it was a pleasant surprise to find that here too the deposit had escaped looting. The wide pit in the south chamber, measuring approximately 7 m², was found intact and contained over 300 vessels, mainly jugs and cups of various types



Fig. 6 Poros, Tomb V: Seals S32–S39, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

stylistically dated from MM III to LM I, with extensive representation of the two MM III phases. Various remains of rich burials were also found in the deposit, including many dozens of necklace beads of semi-precious stones, glass and faience; a gold ring inlaid with lapis lazuli; a small funerary gold ring with Linear A signs; one gold, one silver, one lead and several bronze earrings; broken bronze and bone pins; other small objects and many bronze staples from biers. Apart from the eight seals **S32–S39**, at the bottom of the deposit was found, together with MM III vessels, a perfectly preserved rare discoid seal of gold¹⁷.

Catalogue

S32 Amygdaloid (HM 3800)

fig. 6

Biconvex, with flattened ends; string-hole horizontal. Very slight chipping near left edge and at the right string-hole; slight surface pitting and scratching on rear; otherwise condition excellent. L 1.8 cm, W 1.4 cm, Th 0.7 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: agate, with alternating bands of translucent pale honey-colour and opaque creamy-white; at right the stone is almost clear.

Motif: a motif of the ›architectural‹ group. The field is divided by two ›Bandlinien‹ (broad vertical bands each flanked by fine vertical lines); similar ›Bandlinie‹ at each end of the seal. In the centre of the field

¹⁷ Dimopoulou 2010.



S32

a series of ›Bandlinien‹ set at angles. At the right double zig-zag lines; at the left a fine herringbone pattern.

Commentary and comparanda: an exceptionally fine example of the MM II–III ›architectural‹ group, of which some 70 are attested in hard stones, although amygdaloids are extremely rare: CMS II.2 nos. 11. 75; CMS III nos. 139. 141; CMS X no. 246. None provides an especially good parallel for S32, but cf. CMS III no. 139 for division of the field by four vertical ›Bandlinien‹ and double zig-zags. All the other individual elements also find parallels in the repertoire, although the combination differs from one seal to the next. For the ›architectural‹ group: Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b.

Further examples of the ›architectural‹ group presented here are: S24. S25. S30. S33. S34; cf. also S1; see also Table 1 and Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM II–III

Context: T. V, Deposit, south sector, grid Γ3, layer 8. MM III

S32 was found in layer 8 of the deposit with MM III pottery of both phases, such as MM IIIA ridged white-dotted cups alongside MM IIIB with white decoration and an example of early ripple ware.

S33 Discoid (HM 3802)

fig. 6

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Slightly chipped near top right of seal face; some random scratches on reverse; otherwise condition very good.

Dm 1.3 cm, Th 0.6 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: hard opaque variegated stone; creamy-white matrix with patches and smaller flecks of red and black; one small rust-coloured patch on seal face.

Motif: motif of the ›architectural‹ group: linear decoration based on a Π-shaped element (Pimotif) created by ›Bandlinien‹ (broad bands flanked by fine lines). In the centre of the Π, broad bands form a lozenge,



S33

which is filled with fine diagonal lattice pattern. Either side of the vertical ›Bandlinie‹, fine diagonal hatching. In the upper part of the field, parallel to the horizontal bar of the Π another broad ›Bandlinie‹; in between the two bands a zig-zag pattern consisting of fine double lines. Above the uppermost ›Bandlinie‹ a series of short fine vertical lines.

Commentary and comparanda: a fine example of the ›architectural‹ group, in which motifs based on Π-shaped elements are common. Cf. here S25; also CMS II.2 no. 275 and CMS IX no. 36. For the ›architectural‹ group: Pini 2007; Krzyszkowska 2015b (on CMS IX no. 36). Further examples of the ›architectural‹ group presented here are: S24. S25. S30. S32. Table 1 and Discussion, below.

No precise parallels exist for the stone, although it has affinities to that used for another ›architectural‹ discoid, CMS IV no. 158 (described in the CMS as ›mottled jasper‹, but the identification is open to question).

Stylistic date: MM II–MM III

Context: T. V, Deposit, north sector, grid B4, layer 9. MM III

Pottery in layer 9 found with S33 was mainly MM III, including vases of both stylistic phases: MM IIIA white-dotted and black-painted cups as well as MM IIIB examples, such as a cup with white spiral and straight-sided cups with early ripple ware.

S34 Discoid (HM 3804)

fig. 6

Plump and biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Surface porous and slightly ›powdery‹; some craquelure on the reverse which is, however, rather better preserved than seal face; brownish deposit and / or discolouration on profiles.



S34



S35

L 1.4 cm, W 1.5 cm, Th 0.7 cm, SHs 0.25 cm.

Material: vitreous, opaque; light blue-grey with some darker areas; dull white to beige in some places; a few small iridescent patches.

Motif: motif of the ›architectural‹ group. Condition hampers assessment of details, but the motif seemingly involves several ›Bandlinien‹ (broad bands flanked by narrow lines) set vertically and horizontally. In the upper quadrants diagonal hatching; near the lower edge ›ladder‹ ornament.

Commentary and comparanda: the condition precludes certain identification of the material, since it is unclear if the motif is wheel-cut (indicative of glass) or engraved by hand, in which case frit would be more likely. No other example of the ›architectural‹ group is attested in a vitreous material.

Further examples of the ›architectural‹ group presented here are: **S24. S25. S30. S32. S33**; cf. also **S1**; see *Table 1* and Discussion, below. Cf. also the glass seals: **S4. S10. S11. S15. S21. S37. S40**; also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour). For the material and dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM II–MM III

Context: T. V, Deposit, south sector, grids A3. B2. B3. Γ1. Γ2. Γ3. Δ2; layer 9. MM III

There was no differentiation of pottery in layer 9 at the south and the north sectors (see above **S33**) of the deposit. Pottery found with **S34** was also stylistically MM IIIA and IIIB, showing examples of both phases such as white-dotted cups, a cup with added red paint, and cups with early ripple ware decoration, respectively. In the underlying layer 10 (bottom) of the south sector was found the exceptional

gold discoid HM 1716, again with MM IIIA–B pottery.

S35 Lentoid (HM 3798)

fig. 6

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Very slight surface pitting; some scratching on reverse; otherwise condition very good.

Dm 1.15 cm, Th 0.55 cm, SHs 0.175 cm.

Material: jasper, opaque; red with grey-white veins running through upper part of seal face and onto the reverse.

Motif: octopus in the ›talismanic‹ style. Head formed by a large solid drill, supplemented by tubular drillings; tubular drill for the eyes. Either side of the body the three rows of tentacles are created by the tubular drill set at an angle and disposed in opposing directions. Above the octopus three ›border clumps‹ hang down into the field; three smaller ›border clumps‹ below.

Commentary and comparanda: a very fine rendering of an octopus in the ›talismanic‹ style. Some 30 examples of this motif are attested in the ›talismanic‹ style, almost invariably made of hard stones; none provides a close parallel for **S35**. However, all of the key features found in our example (use of solid drill for the head; tubular drill set at an angle for tentacles; ›border clumps‹) are repeatedly found in the repertoire. For the motif: see DtS 68–74. 239–241 pl. XXVII. For an updated list of examples, see the CMS online, searching under ›Oktopus‹, ›Talismanisch‹. Add a new example from Mochlos House C.3: Krzyszkowska 2022a, no. IV.322.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: **S2. S3. S9. S10. S26. S27. S36. S37**; see also

Table 1 and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32. 33 nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. V, Deposit, south sector, grids A3. B2. B3. Γ1. Γ2. Γ3. Δ2; layer 5. MM III–LM I

S35 from layer 5 of the south sector of the deposit was found with stylistically mixed MM III and LM I pottery: there are characteristic MM IIIA–B white-dotted and late polychrome cups, as well as typical LM I dark-on-light vases decorated with spirals, floral motifs, foliate band and ripple ware.

S36 Amygdaloid (HM 3801)

fig. 6

Plump biconvex; truncated ends; string-hole vertical. Badly damaged at both string-holes; deep crack running down seal face from upper to lower string-hole; cracking on reverse; some surface pitting and scratching.

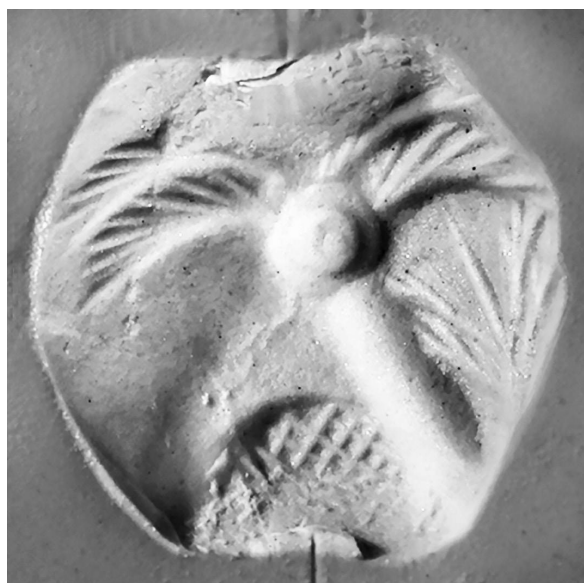
H pres. 1.35 cm, W 1.35 cm, Th 0.7 cm, upper SH 0.25 cm, lower SH 0.20 cm.

Material: rock crystal, colourless; clear to translucent where shattered within.

Motif: a stylized palm tree in landscape setting. The trunk of the tree is represented by a long semi-cylindrical element terminating in a large solid dot; from each side of which spring two sets of fan-shaped leaves or fronds. A large fan-shaped ›border clump‹ frames the composition at the right. At the foot of the tree a large semi-circular element filled with diagonal cross-hatching, conceivably intended to represent rocky ground.

Commentary and comparanda: the condition of the seal hampers a complete understanding of the motif

S36



and several of its constituent elements. A carnelian amygdaloid in New York (CMS XII no. 180) also depicts a palm tree set on the vertical axis; the fan-like fronds are comparable to those on **S36**, but the trunk is flatter. For the semi-cylindrical tree trunk, the best parallel is offered by those depicted on **S31**. No parallels exist for the large rock (?) filled with cross-hatching; but similar hatching is sometimes found on ›talismanic‹ seals, usually in association with a ground line, e.g. CMS II.3 no. 258; CMS VS1A nos. 190. 192; CMS XI no. 159. The ›border clump‹ on **S36** is entirely characteristic of the ›talismanic‹ style, as is the engraving technique with undisguised use of cutting wheels and drills.

Further seals of the ›talismanic‹ style presented here are: **S2. S3. S9. S10. S26. S27. S35. S37**; see also *Table 1* and Discussion, below. For examples from Poros Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100. 140–142 pls. 32. 33 nos. 300. 302. 303; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour).

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. V, Deposit, south sector, grid Γ2, layer 9 (bottom). MM III

S36 was found along with MM III pottery in the same sector and layer of the deposit as **S34** (see above).

S37 Cushion (HM 3803)

fig. 6

String-hole vertical. Surface porous and slightly corroded, but some polish remains on reverse.

H 1.1 cm, W 0.95 cm, Th 0.45 cm, SHs 0.15 cm.

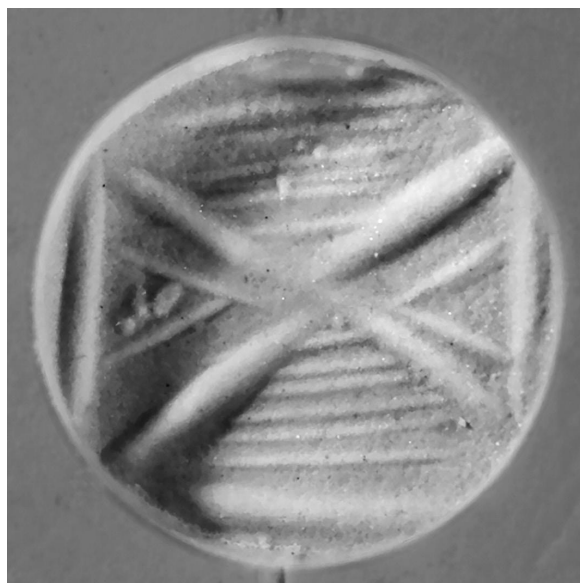
Material: vitreous, opaque blueish-grey to greyish-white; a few dark blue flecks and veins; iridescent patches on reverse; probably glass.

Motif: double axe with very strongly concave upper edge; straight sides; short central ›stem‹ and a series of diagonal lines within the blades. The motif is set vertically on the seal face.

Commentary and comparanda: the condition of the seal greatly hampers an evaluation of the motif and engraving technique. Double axes first appear as independent motifs (as opposed to script signs) in MM II (e.g. CMS II.2 no. 155c; CMS II.5 nos. 231. 233) but in these cases merely the outline is shown, with few internal details if any. Blades with internal ornament feature regularly in the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style, with roughly 30 examples attested. None provides a close parallel for **S37**. For the motif see: DtS 102–110. 257–260 pl. XLI–II. See also in the CMS online, searching under ›Doppelaxt‹ and ›Talismanisch‹. Add: HM 2343a from Poros II–1967 (Muhly 1992, 100. 141. 142 pl. 32 no. 302; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb) and HM 2813 from Knossos (Warren 1982/1983, 78. 83. 87 fig. 67). After the ›talismanic‹ style double axes no longer figure as individual motifs, but appear as equipment in cult scenes.



S37



S38

Further glass seals from the Poros tombs under consideration here are: **S4. S10. S11. S15. S21. S34 (?)**. **S40**. Note also HM 2348 from Tomb II–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIb (colour). For the material see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: MM III–LM I

Context: T. V, Deposit, north sector, grids B4. Γ4. Γ5; layer 8. MM III

The pottery in layer 8 where **S37** was found is chiefly MM IIIA and MM IIIB: there are ridged white-spotted cups, bell cups with black rim zone, jugs with white stripes, a jug with white spiral and red stripes, monochrome straight-sided cups etc. The fill of layers 8–10 in both sectors of the deposit, north and south, seems actually to be uniform, containing mainly MM III pottery, mostly cups and jugs. Among other small pieces of jewellery in layer 8, a large cushion-shaped agate bead was found.

S38 Lentoid (HM 3799)

fig. 6

Biconvex, although rather flat; string-hole vertical. Slight surface pitting on seal face and reverse; slight chipping on edge and at lower string-hole.

Dm 1.1 cm, Th 0.4 cm, upper SH 0.20 cm, lower SH 0.175 cm.

Material: blue chalcedony, translucent; pale blue, very homogenous colour; slightly 'waxy' feel.

Motif: linear motif: an X with upper and lower segments filled with horizontal lines; left and right segments filled with angled lines.

Commentary and comparanda: simple ornamental designs incorporating crosses have a long history in Minoan glyptic, but were rare in the Neopalatial period

when pictorial motifs predominated. The deposit in which **S38** was found provides a valuable terminus post quem non of LM IA for this piece. Moreover it helps to confirm the presumed LM I date for two further lentoids, without secure provenance, which provide important parallels in concept, if not in all details: CMS IV no. 222 (›Tsoustouros‹) and CMS VI no. 492 (›Agia Pelagia‹). Both are made of glass, engraved like a hard semi-precious stone; the same is true of HM 2067 (Galia). Broadly similar designs recur in LM IIIA1–2, but are limited to medium hard or even soft stones, such as creamy-white limestone (e.g. CMS II.4 no. 215; CMS VS1B no. 274) and calcite (not fluorite as given in the CMS; see Krzyszkowska 2018, 14–16 pl. 10d–f): CMS V no. 277; CMS VS1B nos. 224. 302; CMS VI nos. 496. 497.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. V, Deposit, north sector, grids A4. A5. B5. Γ4. Γ5; layer 5. MM III–LM I

Layer 5 of north sector where **S38** was found is mixed, containing MM III pottery and LM IA vases, such as a bridge-spouted jug with ripple ware and sherds with ripple, spirals and floral-reed motifs. A similar mixing of phases was attested in the south sector, layer 5 of the deposit (see **S35**).

S39 Scarab (HM 3797)

fig. 6

String-hole along longitudinal axis. Some cracking on back; surface slightly worn; otherwise condition excellent.

L 1.5 cm, W 1.0 cm, Th 0.65 cm, SHs 0.175–0.20 cm.

Material: glazed steatite, probably hardened by exposure to heat; creamy white with some pale beige patches (evidently remains of glaze).



Commentary and comparanda: »very well cut; face design a mirror image with single border line; modified lunate, double suture lines, all legs fringed, leg junction at pronotum / elytra junction, somewhat naturalistic, deeply cut; interesting drilling? below junction« (J. Phillips).

Cf. HM 1757 (»Nipiditos«; Phillips 2008, II no. 481) although **S39** is much smaller in size. Further scarabs from the Poros tombs under consideration here are: **S8** and **S23**. Note also the Egyptian scarab (HM 3267) found in a settlement context at Poros: Dimopoulou 2000, 28 fig. 1.1; Phillips 2008, II, 236. 362 no. 483.

Stylistic date: »probably Second Intermediate Period« (J. Phillips)

Context: T. V, Deposit, south sector, grids A3. B2. B3. Γ1. Γ2. Γ3. Δ2; layer 4. MM III–LM I

Layer 4 where **S39** was found is mixed, comprising MM III vases such as ridged white-spotted cups along with LM I pottery, e.g. a conglomerate small jug, sherds with reed decoration and spirals.

S39

VI. TOMB ON LAONIKOU STREET (2002)

Excavation and Contents

Tomb VI, discovered in 2002, was revealed, like Tombs II, IV and V, during the laying of a new water and sewage network by Herakleion Municipality. It was found on Laonikou Street, a small *cul-de-sac* off Spanakis Street, at the entrance to the 14th Primary School, in the schoolyard of which Tomb I had been discovered in 1986. The walls of the two tombs are less than 7 m apart at their closest point.

Tomb VI presents some features that set it apart from the other tombs of the central cemetery nucleus. One is its layout, with three chambers delimited by rock-cut partition »walls«. After the antechamber, the chambers are arranged in a three-lobed »cloverleaf« shape, the central chamber being more elongated. The smallest, northernmost chamber is more like a large niche in the north extension of the antechamber, and bones and important finds from disturbed burials were indeed found there, densely piled up in large quantities. Tomb VI is the only tomb of the group lacking a deposit. It is also the smallest, measuring around 53 m² or around 60 m², if we include the inclined dromos with eight steps. Its use appears to mainly cover the Late Neopalatial period, LM IA and LM IB, as it lacks the mass of MM III pottery found in the other tombs.

Like the other tombs, Tomb VI was subject to extensive looting, probably also in the modern period, in spite of efforts to protect it at an unknown date by dumping four ashlar blocks, with sides up to 1.5 m long, in the dromos in front of the already breached entrance. In the central and south chambers only a few bones, vases and small finds, mainly clusters of beads, remained after the disturbance of the burials by looters. In the north chamber-niche and the extension of the antechamber up to the entrance of the central chamber, among the

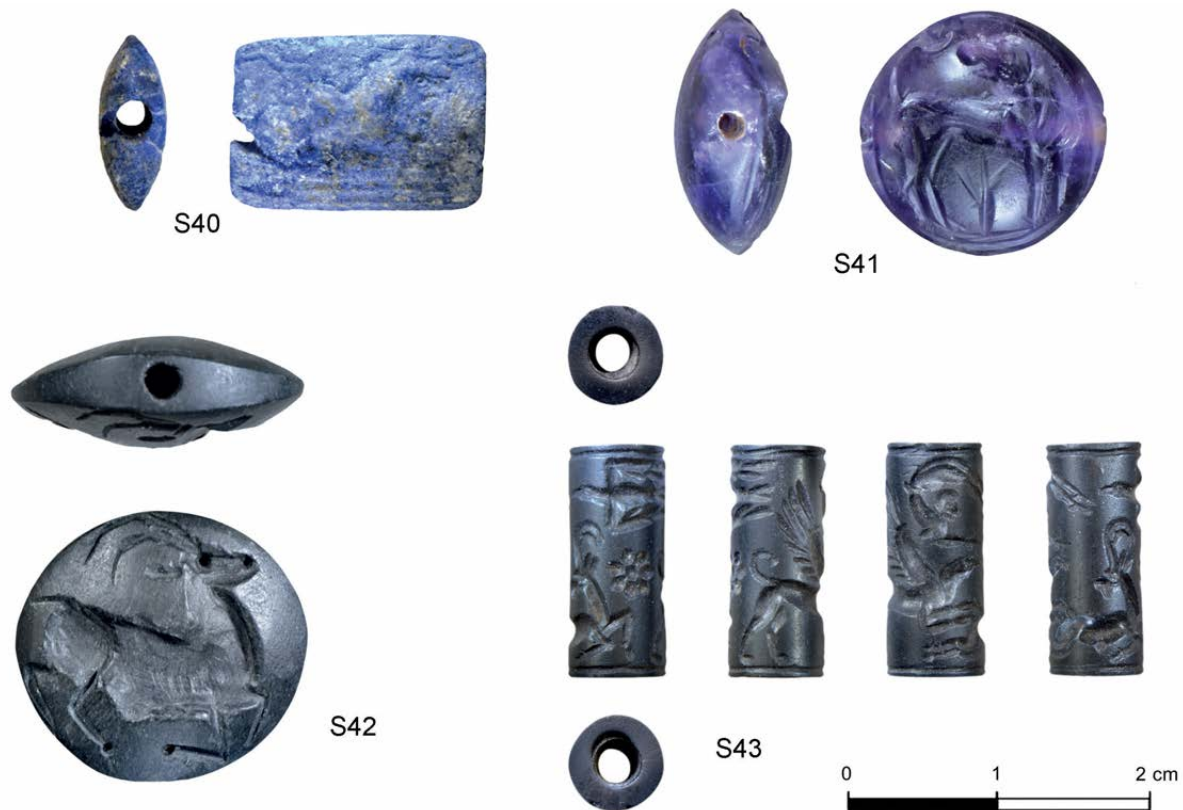


Fig. 7 Poros, Tomb VI: Seals S40–S43, faces and profiles (scale ca. 2 : 1)

dense, extensive piles of bones from scattered burials, were found characteristic vessels and most of the funerary goods. These include gold earrings; one pin of silver, one of bronze, another of bone; dozens of necklace beads of gold, semi-precious stones and other materials, and part of an ivory plaque with a boxing scene.

Apart from seals S40–S42 and cylinder seal S43¹⁸, particularly noteworthy are the two signet rings and the small engraved pendant, all made of gold, found together in the same spot, among piles of bones in the north chamber-niche. These are the ›Divine Couple‹ signet ring with cult scene¹⁹; another gold signet ring depicting the epiphany of a male deity; and a small pendant in the shape of a miniature pyxis, engraved with a lion and ornamental motifs.

The LM IB pottery, such as the peculiar strainer with relief sea-shells, marks the last phase of use of the tomb.

Catalogue

S40 Cushion (HM 3806)

fig. 7

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal, although at slight angle. Small portion of seal face lost; damage near string-holes; surface rather porous and slightly worn; some surface deposit (greyish-white on face, yellowish-brown on reverse).

L 1.7 cm, W 1.15 cm, Th 0.55 cm, SHs 0.20 cm.

Material: glass, opaque with a few iridescent areas; royal blue.

Motif: recumbent lion in left profile on double ground-line. The lion's mouth is shown open, delineated by curving lines with a solid-dot indicating the nose; the eye is almond-shaped with a solid dot

¹⁸ Rethemiotakis 2007.

¹⁹ Rethemiotakis 2016/2017.



S40

within; short strokes and dots along and on the neck indicate the mane. The foreleg is stretched out in front of the animal; a hind-leg is apparently placed underneath the belly, although the condition of the seal obscures these elements. A long tail, terminating in a solid dot, curls over the animal's rump. The field above the lion is occupied by a double ›sky-line‹, which undulates downwards from the upper edge of the seal face toward the back of the lion.

Commentary and comparanda: although the main elements are relatively clear, the condition of the seal greatly hampers an evaluation of stylistic details. The lion itself – and the treatment of individual features such as head and mane – accord reasonably well with other LM I representations. But the lion's pose – recumbent with head facing forwards – is relatively rare, and chiefly confined to amygdaloids, some rendered in the Cut Style or close to it, e.g. CMS II.3 nos. 257. 346; CMS VS1A no. 144 (= CMS VS1A no. 163); CMS VI no. 363; CMS X nos. 132. 277a; CMS XII no. 208. Only two recumbent lions are depicted on cushions: one with back-turned head from a LM IA context in Mochlos House C.3 (Krzyszkowska 2022a, no. IVA.326); the other, HM 2101, badly abraded from a LM IB context on the Royal Road, Knossos (Krzyszkowska 2019, 490 f. pl. CLXXVIa). Both are made of serpentine. Note also a serpentine lentoid (HM 2772) from a LM IA context in the Unexplored Mansion: Betts 1984, 187 f. 191 pl. 186c (NP18).

The undulating ›sky-line‹ (if the identification is correct) is unparalleled in association with animals, and known instances of this rare convention are restricted to cult scenes: CMS II.3 no. 114; CMS II.6 nos. 1. 4; CMS V no. 199; CMS VS1A no. 133; CMS VS2 no. 106 (see also Krzyszkowska 2010b, 180). In concept, however, possible (remote) parallels are the zig-zag lines shown above water birds on CMS II.3 no. 179 (serpentine cushion, ›Knossos‹) and above a lion on CMS II.3 no. 257 (carnelian Cut Style amygdaloid, Mochlos). There exists, however, the possibility that

the undulating lines are intended as ›hanging rock-work‹, in which case cf. CMS II.7 no. 69 (distant).

Further glass seals presented here are: S4. S10. S11. S15. S21. S34 (?). S37. Note also HM 2348 from Tomb Π–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour). For further LM I seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs see *Table 1*; for the material and dating see Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. VI, Central Chamber, grid B7, layer 1. LM I

The seal was found on the floor of the looted, almost empty Central Chamber, by a hemispherical LM IA cup with lustrous paint. At the find spot were recovered a small gold earring with three soldered granules, a fragmentary silver hook pin and beads of Egyptian blue.

S41 Lentoid (HM 3807)

fig. 7

Biconvex; string-hole horizontal. Some fracturing within the stone; slight chipping at string-holes; a little pitting on reverse; otherwise condition very good.

L 1.65 cm, W 1.6 cm, Th 0.7 cm, SHs 0.15–0.20 cm.

Material: amethyst, translucent; deep purple throughout

Motif: standing lion in left profile with back-turned head. A heavy curved line running from behind the eye (rendered as a large solid dot) to the upper jaw sets the head off from the neck and mane. The mouth is open: the muzzle is prominent, terminating in a small solid dot; the lower jaw a simple short line. Several roughly vertical strokes indicate the mane. The forelegs are straight and stocky, the

S41



hind-legs bent; the feet are rendered in a very cursory manner. A long tail, comprising two curving elements terminating in a solid dot, is held aloft above the lion's back. Beneath the lion's belly a plant motif terminating in three ›leaves‹. The motif is framed by curving lines parallel to the periphery of the seal face beneath, in front and behind the lion.

Commentary and comparanda: lions in a similar pose occur on several LM I lentoids, though none provides a close parallel: CMS II.3 nos. 122 (Porti), 152 (Malia), 302 (›Ierapetra‹); CMS II.6 no. 83; CMS XI no. 317. Note also several made of amethyst: CMS IS no. 168 (›Thebes‹); CMS III nos. 381 (amygdaloid, ›Apesokari‹) and 506 (three-sided prism with round faces). S41 is unusual in having a horizontal string-hole (typical for goats in the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style; cf. also here S29) but rare in LM I lentoids depicting animals, where vertical string-holes are the norm. Whether this has any chronological significance or merely represents individual workshop practices is unclear. CMS II.3 nos. 122 and 152 (both medium hard limestone) also have horizontal string-holes, as does CMS IS no. 168 (amethyst).

The deep vibrant purple amethyst is comparable to that known to have occurred at Wadi el-Hudi in the Eastern Desert: Krzyszkowska 2005b; see also Discussion, below. For further LM I seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs see Table 1.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. VI, North Chamber, north edge, grid H9, layer 1. LM I

The seal was found on the floor with sherds dating stylistically to LM IA, such as Vapheio-type cups, and to LM IB, such as sherds of a clay vessel with attached relief sea-shell.

S42 Lentoid (HM 3805)

fig. 7

Biconvex; string-hole vertical and very precise. Condition excellent; virtually workshop fresh.

L 1.85 cm, W 1.8 cm, Th 0.06 cm, SHs 0.020–0.225 cm.

Material: soft stone, opaque; jet-black in colour, only very slightly lighter in engraving; probably chlorite.

Motif: running goat in left profile with head facing forwards. Pointed muzzle terminates in small solid dot; a solid dot also marks the eye; a fairly thick horizontal line marks the ear. The two horns curve upwards and over the goat's back; tiny ›nicks‹ along their length indicate ribbing. The curvature of the neck, belly and rump add to sense of movement, as do the bent legs, indicated by tapering lines (in three cases terminating in solid dots). Across the belly ribs are faintly indicated; a strong contour line delineates the rump; the short tail extends horizontally.

Commentary and comparanda: an exceptionally fine example of a popular LM I *Bildthema* in soft stone; for discussion and examples see Müller 1995, 163. 164 fig. 11. Closest is CMS II.4 no. 181 (›Knossos‹);



S42

cf. also CMS II.3 no. 343; CMS II.4 no. 106 (Tyllis-sos); CMS III no. 448; CMS IV nos. 292 and 303 (›Mesara‹); CMS VS1B no. 296 (Armenoi); CMS VI no. 432; CMS XII no. 275 (ribs clearly indicated).

See also here S7. For further LM I soft stone seals, see Table 1; also Discussion, below.

Stylistic date: LM I

Context: T. VI, Central Chamber, grid H6, layer 3. LM I

Only a few sherds were found with S42 in layer 3, among them a LM IA with spirals. A Vapheio-type cup of the same date and a hemispherical monochrome cup were found in the overlying layer 2. Other LM IA sherds of Vapheio-type cups were in adjacent grid squares, although with mixed debris from the Minoan settlement, such as the foot of a LM III champagne cup, a loom weight etc.

S43 Cylinder seal (HM 3793)

fig. 7

Cylinder; string-hole vertical. Condition excellent.

H 1.55 cm, Dm 0.065 cm, SHs 0.30 cm.

Material: haematite, opaque; blue-black.

Motif: the motif consists of four main elements; in the lower zone a griffin and wild goat; in the upper zone a bird and an acrobat; in the field a rosette. The griffin is shown in left profile, with beaked head and dotted eye; the body is smooth and relatively flat; the powerful wing is displayed with eight rows of feathers. The two forelegs of the creature extend to touch the hindquarters of the wild goat to the left, indicating that an attack scene is intended; by contrast the creature's hind-legs remain firmly fixed to the ground-line in a walking pose. The wild goat, in left profile, is shown in flying gallop, with head



S43

turned back to face the attacking griffin; forelegs are bent and hind-legs outstretched. The long horns are held erect; ears and ›beard‹ are shown; the sex is indicated. In the field to the left of the goat's neck is a large seven-petalled rosette, evidently a filling motif. Above, a bird is shown in right profile, with outstretched neck. Head and feathered wings are displayed above and beneath its rounded body; the eye is indicated by a solid dot; the tail is forked. The bird's beak almost touches the feet of the acrobat to its right. This figure, shown in left profile, adopts a highly contorted pose, bent sharply at the waist, so that head and buttocks nearly meet; the legs and arms are fully extended; a reverse somersault is evidently intended. The acrobat wears a loin-cloth, belted at waist; the torso is bare, with a breast apparently indicated; if so, the figure may be female. On the head, nose, eye and mouth are shown, as well as what appears to be short wig-like hair. The curvature of the torso echoes that of the upturned wing of the griffin below. The scene is framed by border-lines above and below.

Commentary and comparanda: the quality of the engraving is exceptionally fine, with details rendered in a very precise manner, notwithstanding the small scale of individual elements. While all can be readily paralleled in Minoan glyptic, their juxtaposition

on a cylinder seal of haematite, suggests a foreign origin or, at the very least, strong foreign influence; see Rethemiotakis 2007 for a thorough discussion, concluding that the piece is ›Syro-Minoan‹.

The existence of a diverse group of some 20 ›Cypro-Aegean‹ cylinders made of haematite, most examples probably dating to the 14th century B.C., has long been recognized (Pini 1980; Krzyszkowska 2005a, 302–304 illustration nos. 589–592). These frequently employ motifs that are Aegean in origin and executed in an Aegean manner, but deployed in syntax that seems more at home in the East Mediterranean. There are, however, a few examples that on grounds of context evidently pre-date the main ›Cypro-Aegean‹ group. These include two cylinders from Pylos–Routsi (CMS I nos. 284, 285, carnelian and agate, respectively), regarded as ›Cypro-Levantine‹ by Pini (see discussion in CMS VS3, p. 39 f.; also Krzyszkowska 2005c, 767 f.). Whatever their true origin, together with the new example from Poros (S43) these seals demonstrate that the ›international style‹, previously seen as a 14th century phenomenon, had earlier roots.

Stylistic date: LB I

Context: T. VI, North Chamber, grid Θ8, layer 2. LM I In spite of complete disturbance it is evident that S43 originally accompanied a rich burial, as confirmed by a bone pin and a dozen of beads made of gold, Egyptian blue and hard stones at the same spot on floor of the chamber. Although only a few, stylistically non-attributable sherds were found in layer 2 with S43, LM IA cups with decoration of spirals and floral motifs and plentiful sherds of the same date, as well as some belonging to LM IB, were collected in the overlying layer 1 / Θ8 and the adjacent grid squares, within a heap of mixed up bones and skulls from disturbed and looted burials.

Bibliography: Rethemiotakis 2007.

DISCUSSION

The six tombs at Poros under consideration here have yielded a total of 43 seals, of which 39 are Minoan and four are imported pieces. For our understanding of Minoan glyptic the locally-made products constitute one of the most significant finds in the past 50 years²⁰. Although the tombs show considerable disturbance through looting and their use for burials over prolonged periods of time, none was used for mortuary purposes after the end of LM IB (see above). The seals themselves reflect this: on stylistic grounds the latest seals are LM I or LM IB, the earliest MM II / III.

²⁰ Note also the discovery of ca. 50 seals of Prepalatial date at Moni Odigitria: Sbonias 2010. Over 60 seals, many multi-facial, ranging in date from EM II to MM II, have come to light in the cemetery of Petras (Siteias); excavations are on-going. Meanwhile see: Krzyszkowska 2012b; Krzyszkowska 2017; Krzyszkowska 2019, 489 pl. CLXXV (colour). The large LM IIIA–B cemetery at Armenoi near Rethymnon has yielded approximately 165 seals; most are datable to LM IIIA, but some 20 % are LM I or earlier: Krzyszkowska 2019, 492 f. pl. CLXXVIIb (colour).

Since the catalogue entries provide detailed commentaries on individual pieces and comparanda, the remarks here will focus on the importance of the seals collectively, with special attention to materials and style groups. Unless otherwise specified, the comments relate solely to the Minoan seals.

Materials

One of the most striking aspects of the Poros seals considered here is the overwhelming use of hard semi-precious stones, as well as glass, also a hard material. Only eight are made from soft local stones, i.e. chlorite or serpentine, amounting to roughly 20 % of the Minoan seals. On the face of it, this compares closely to the proportion of soft stone seals known from LM IB sealings²¹. However, based on the surviving repertoire, soft stone seals seem somewhat *underrepresented* in the sealing deposits. And this is certainly true of the Poros tombs, if we factor in the signet rings and gold seals, summarized above but not included in this study: then soft stone sinks to a mere 15 %. It is often assumed that seals made of semi-precious stones are indicative of high(er) social status, inasmuch as the materials themselves were often imported and, owing to their hardness (Mohs 6–7), required sophisticated rotary technology to work them²². Thus the large number of hard seals in the Poros tombs accords well with other finds of rich jewellery and fine pottery (see above). It is, however, worth stressing that seals of soft stones engraved with hand-held tools varied tremendously in quality: several in the Poros tombs display very fine workmanship indeed (**S6**, **S16** and **S42**). Also worth noting is a striking disparity between seals found in the tombs and those recovered from excavations in the settlement where soft stones predominate. These include clear workshop contexts with seals in varying stages of manufacture, as well as fragments of chlorite and serpentine, and pieces of semi-precious stones, such as agate, amethyst, carnelian, red jasper and rock crystal²³. But sadly, notwithstanding these important finds, there are no means of determining whether any of the tomb seals were made at Poros itself.

Carnelian occupies pride of place among the tomb seals, with some ten examples; indeed throughout Aegean glyptic this is the most commonly used semi-precious stone²⁴. At Poros carnelian was used for seals of MM III–LM I date, including seals of the ›talismatic‹ style or close to it (**S1–S3**, **S9**), one exceptionally fine ›naturalistic‹ piece (**S28**), as well as several examples of the LM I Cut Style (**S17–S20**, **S22**). In colour they range from fiery orange-red to deep blood-red, well within the hues normally associated with carnelians²⁵. Remarkably, six or seven seals were made of glass, which in the early Late Bronze Age was invariably treated as a hard semi-precious stone and engraved with rotary technology²⁶. At Poros the material was used for the ›talismatic‹ style (**S10**), the Cut Style (**S21**) and four

²¹ Krzyszkowska 2012a, 740: 20 % soft, 40 % hard, 31 % metal signet rings; 9 % unidentifiable (the calculations excluded House A at Kato Zakros).

²² Krzyszkowska 2005a, 81–85; Krzyszkowska 2011, 439 f.; Krzyszkowska 2012a, esp. 739 f.

²³ Most notably in the Sanoudakis plot: Dimopoulou 1997, 436, pl. CLXXId CLXXIb. e; Dimopoulou 2000a; Dimopoulou 2000b, 106 f. no. 84.

²⁴ Krzyszkowska 2012a, 739. Based on a sample of ca. 2500 hard stone seals ranging in date from MM II (the inception of hard stone engraving) until LB IIIA2 (when hard stone engraving ceased), carnelian accounts for ca. 30 %. Note that these include seals originally published as ›sard‹, a term no longer employed by the CMS: Krzyszkowska 2010a, 252 f.

Agate (including seals formerly termed ›sardonyx‹ and ›onyx‹) accounted for 25 %; other semi-precious stones are much rarer.

²⁵ Krzyszkowska 2005a, 81–83; Krzyszkowska 2020b, 257 f.; see also above n. 24.

²⁶ Pini 1981, 76 f.; Pini 1999, 331; Krzyszkowska 2005a, 12. 198 illustration nos. 381 (= C32), 385 (both Cut Style). The identification of the Poros seals as glass and/or vitreous is based on macroscopic examination, aided by large-format colour digital photography, effectively providing magnifications of × 20–25 (before on-screen enlargement). Non-destructive testing might be informative, but no comparative data yet exist for Aegean seals made of glass (cf. remarks in CMS VI p. 20). To a greater or lesser extent most

seals bearing ›naturalistic‹ motifs (**S4**, **S11**, **S15** and **S40**). Significant degradation of the glass has occurred in most cases. While **S40** is a vibrant royal blue and the reverse of **S4** is a deep midnight blue, others are to a greater or lesser extent discoloured, usually a pale greyish-blue or beige. None is translucent, although several retain small iridescent flecks or patches. Noteworthy is the marked discrepancy that can be observed between the engraved and unengraved surfaces, the latter generally displaying considerably less degradation. The concentration of glass seals at Poros is especially striking, comparable to the *total* of LM I examples found elsewhere in the island²⁷. Two further seals **S34** and **S37** from the Poros tombs are here classed as ›vitreous‹, since their condition does not allow for an absolutely secure identification. The first is conceivably frit²⁸, the second more likely to be glass. If one or other is indeed true glass, this would potentially represent the earliest known occurrence in the Aegean, since both were found in deposits with MM IIIA–B pottery²⁹.

Other hard materials – agate, amethyst, blue chalcedony, red jasper and rock crystal – are attested far less frequently in the Poros tombs, with only two or three examples each. The two made from amethyst are especially interesting, inasmuch as they display very different hues: **S24** is a pale lilac colour, whereas **S41** is an intense deep violet. While there exist several potential sources in Egypt for the former, deep violet amethyst seems to have occurred solely at Wadi el-Hudi in the Eastern Desert, a source exploited during the Middle Kingdom³⁰. At Poros the fragment of a vase made from pale amethyst, as well as unfinished beads, were discovered in the Sanoudakis plot, together with other raw materials mentioned above³¹. By contrast the deep violet variety used for **S41** is attested in a necklace from Tomb Π–1967, which includes beads of garnet as well as amethyst³². Amethyst was used only rarely for seals in the Aegean Bronze Age, accounting for barely 4 % of the hard stone repertoire; the two seals from the Poros tombs thus make a very welcome addition³³.

Before we leave the subject of materials, it is worth pointing out several absences among the hard semi-precious stones: green jasper, haematite, *lapis lacedaimonius*, *lapis lazuli*. Green jasper was very popular in MM II, favoured for three- and four-sided prisms, as well as *Petschafte* (loop signets), many bearing inscriptions in Cretan Hieroglyphic³⁴. Its use continued into MM III–LM I, especially for seals of the ›talismanic‹ style, but seemingly became infrequent later. Its absence in the Poros tombs may be nothing more than chance: an especially fine discoid of green jasper was recovered in the settlement³⁵. Although **S43** is made

of the Poros seals identified as glass or vitreous are degraded, often with surface deposits; these factors could well skew any test results. When fresh, glass has a value of Mohs 5–6, and hence is engraved like hard semi-precious stones. However, lower values (e.g. Mohs 3–4) are likely when glass is degraded; variations can even occur in different parts of the same seal. Thus hardness is not necessarily diagnostic in identifying glass.

²⁷ To the total at Poros must be added HM 2348 from a LM IA context in Tomb Π–1967: Muhly 1992, 100 pl. 33 no. 304; Krzyszkowska 2019, 491 pl. CLXXVIIb (colour). The context date was wrongly stated to be MM IIIA in Pini 1981, 62 no. 80. Other LM I seals of glass are: CMS II.3 no. 78; CMS II.4 no. 119; CMS IV no. 222; CMS VI nos. 251, 262, 492; HM 2067 and HM 2116 for which Krzyszkowska 2019, 490 f. pl. CLXXVIa (colour).

²⁸ Cf. the MM II *Petschaft* (HM 2460) from Malia Quartier Mu which retains a vibrant blue colour: Poursat 1980, 178 f. no. 248. The material is likely to

be frit (Egyptian blue) rather than faience, as published. For these materials: Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 177 f.; Nicholson and Henderson 2000, 205.

²⁹ For glass in the Near East during the late MBA, see: Moorey 1994, 192–196. In Egypt it appears that imported glass (in ingot form) was used well into Dynasties XVIII, with local manufacture only developing later: Nicholson and Henderson 2000, 195 f.

³⁰ Krzyszkowska 2005b, 120 f. with references.

³¹ Dimopoulou 1997, 436; Dimopoulou 2000b, 106 f. no. 84:2a.

³² Muhly 1992, 92, 128 f. no. 258 pl. 27; Dimopoulou 2000b, 115 no. 95; Krzyszkowska 2005b, 122 f. and n. 26 for the garnet beads; these strongly suggest that the necklace was a ready-made import.

³³ Krzyszkowska 2005b, 127 f. (list); Krzyszkowska 2012a, 739.

³⁴ Krzyszkowska 2005a, 82 f. 123; Krzyszkowska 2010a, 253 f.; Krzyszkowska 2012b, 149, 151.

³⁵ Dimopoulou 2000a, 33 no. 8 fig. 1.

of haematite, this cylinder seal is almost certainly an import. In Aegean glyptic the material was used from MM III–LM I through LB IIIA2³⁶. Also absent among the Minoan seals is *lapis lacedaimonius*, but in glyptic this is a rare material represented by just over 50 examples; its sole source is located near Krokeai in Laconia³⁷. By far the most rare semi-precious stone used for Aegean seals is *lapis lazuli* with barely 20 examples spanning MM II–LB IIIA1³⁸. Thus its absence from the Poros tombs, while regrettable, is in no way significant.

Style groups

Virtually all the Poros seals fit comfortably within known style groups in Minoan glyptic, yet it must be stressed that few close parallels can be mustered for individual pieces. This not only highlights the diversity of the repertoire, but also supports the view that only a tiny proportion of the original output is extant today³⁹. The remarks below are selective in nature, and aim primarily to draw together some of the more detailed information found in the Catalogue concerning individual pieces. *Table 1* provides a summary of style groups and dating.

Seals of the ›architectural‹ group

The earliest Minoan seals found in the six tombs under consideration here can be readily attributed to the MM II–III ›architectural‹ group, so named because Sir Arthur Evans believed that the motifs were »conventionalized representations of architectural façades«, characteristically showing masonry and doorways⁴⁰. Although Paul Yule attempted to make descriptions more neutral by introducing the expression »tectonic ornament«⁴¹, the CMS retains the term ›architectural‹, a practice followed here. The group comprises approximately 160 examples, which occur in both soft and hard stones⁴². The latter often display considerable technical virtuosity with engravers rising to the challenges of working with the lapidary lathe to which cutting wheels of varying dimensions were attached⁴³. Worth singling out for special mention here is the rock crystal discoid **S25**, which brings to 20 the number of ›architectural‹ seals made from this material. Although now badly damaged, it must once have been a very fine piece. Moreover the motif, based on a Π-shaped element, is so close in concept and execution to those on CMS II.2 no. 275 and CMS IX no. 36 that it is entirely likely all three were by the same hand⁴⁴. A Π-motif is likewise found on **S33**, but does not display

³⁶ Krzyszkowska 2010a, 250. 253 f.

³⁷ Three are Neopalatial in date, all ›talismanic‹: CMS VS1A no. 333; CMS VII no. 46; HM 3080. Generally: Krzyszkowska 2005a, 123. 196, cover and illustration no. C37.

³⁸ Krzyszkowska 2005a, 83. Several examples are datable to the Neopalatial period either by context or on stylistic grounds: CMS II.3 no. 24; CMS III no. 396; HM 2092 and HM 3060; British Museum Greece and Rome 1897.0401.620 (three-sided prism, ›talismanic‹). For HM 2092: Krzyszkowska 2019, 490 f. pl. CLXXVIa (colour).

³⁹ Although the proportion may vary from one period to another, overall the figure is probably well under 5 %. The lack of progress in identifying the output of particular workshops or individual hands merely reinforces this point: Krzyszkowska 2005a, 1, 324–329.

⁴⁰ Evans 1921, 564 f. fig. 411; Kenna (1960, 42 f. 110 with cat. no. 52) perpetuated the terminology: he asserted that the motifs showed architectural features and wall designs comparable to those found in the faience House Mosaics.

⁴¹ Yule 1981, 145 f. 173. 220; also brief comments in Krzyszkowska 2005a, 87.

⁴² Exact numbers are hard to offer, since attributions vary. Pini 2007, 229 (lists); Krzyszkowska 2015b (dating).

⁴³ Krzyszkowska 2005a, 11. 83–85. 87 fig. 5.1 and illustration no. 25.

⁴⁴ Also conceivably CMS VI no. 170 (= Kenna 1960, no. 157) said to be from ›Palaikastro‹, which Pini (2007, 232) groups with CMS II.2 no. 275 and CMS IX no. 36 (for the latter, see Krzyszkowska 2015b).

style group & stylistic date	seal shape	material	tomb	cat. no.	HM no.
MM II–III ›architectural‹	discoid	amethyst	Tomb III	S24	3561
MM II–III ›architectural‹	discoid	rock crystal	Tomb III	S25	3558
MM II–III ›architectural‹	cushion	chlorite	Tomb IV	S30	3795
MM II–III ›architectural‹	amygdaloid	agate	Tomb V	S32	3800
MM II–III ›architectural‹	discoid	hard stone	Tomb V	S33	3802
MM II–III ›architectural‹	discoid	vitreous (frit?)	Tomb V	S34	3804
MM III–LM I (›architectural‹ and ›talismanic‹ features)	lentoid	carnelian	Tomb I	S1	3230
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	lentoid	carnelian	Tomb I	S2	3228
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	amygdaloid	carnelian	Tomb I	S3	3226
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	3-sided prism	carnelian	Tomb II	S9	3544
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	amygdaloid	glass	Tomb II	S10	3555
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	low cylinder	agate	Tomb III	S26	3560
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	lentoid	serpentine (?)	Tomb III	S27	3559
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	lentoid	red jasper	Tomb V	S35	3798
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹	amygdaloid	rock crystal	Tomb V	S36	3801
MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ (?)	cushion	vitreous (glass?)	Tomb V	S37	3803
MM III–LM I ›naturalistic‹	amygdaloid	glass	Tomb II	S11	3546
MM III–LM I ›naturalistic‹	lentoid	carnelian	Tomb III	S28	3557
MM III–LM I ›naturalistic‹	amygdaloid	blue chalcedony	Tomb IV	S31	3796
LM I ornamental (hard)	lentoid	blue chalcedony	Tomb V	S38	3799
LM I Cut Style	amygdaloid	carnelian	Tomb II	S17	3548
LM I Cut Style	amygdaloid	carnelian	Tomb II	S18	3551
LM I Cut Style	lentoid	carnelian	Tomb II	S19	3553
LM I Cut Style	amygdaloid	carnelian	Tomb II	S20	3542
LM I Cut Style	amygdaloid	glass	Tomb II	S21	3554
LM I Cut Style	amygdaloid	carnelian	Tomb II	S22	3545
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	amygdaloid	glass	Tomb I	S4	3229
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	amygdaloid	red jasper	Tomb II	S12	3547
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	lentoid	agate	Tomb II	S13	3552
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	lentoid	glass	Tomb II	S15	3543
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	lentoid	red jasper	Tomb III	S29	3556
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	cushion	glass	Tomb VI	S40	3806
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (hard)	lentoid	amethyst	Tomb VI	S41	3807
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid	serpentine	Tomb I	S5	3231
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid	serpentine	Tomb I	S6	3227
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid, frag.	serpentine	Tomb I	S7	3233
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid	serpentine	Tomb II	S14	3549
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid	serpentine	Tomb II	S16	3550
LM I ›naturalistic‹ (soft)	lentoid	chlorite	Tomb VI	S42	3805
Dynasty XI	scarab	glazed steatite	Tomb I	S8	3225
Dynasty XIII	scarab	glazed steatite	Tomb II	S23	3541
probably 2 nd Intermediate	scarab	glazed steatite	Tomb V	S39	3797
LB Syro-Minoan	cylinder	haematite	Tomb VI	S43	3793

Table 1: Poros tomb seals listed by style group and stylistic date

the exceptionally fine detail found on the examples just mentioned. The reason probably lies in the nature of the stone; although hard, it lacks the homogeneity found in macro-crystalline quartzes, including rock crystal. The amygdaloid of banded agate **S32** presents a truly exquisite example of an ›architectural‹ motif, in which the seal shape is both emphasized and enhanced by the vertical ›Bandlinien‹ and, in particular, by the superb placement of diagonals at the widest part of the face. Only six other hard stone amygdaloids belong to this group (see Catalogue): **S32** now ranks as one of the finest. Finally, **S34** is noteworthy as the sole example in a vitreous material (see above), while the carnelian lentoid **S1** seems to represent a transition from the ›architectural‹ group proper to the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style.

A firm date of the inception of ›architectural‹ motifs is provided by the impressions of three different seals, found in the MM IIB sealing deposit at Phaistos, but production seems to have continued well into MM III⁴⁵. At Poros seals of the ›architectural‹ group are confined to three tombs: two examples came to light in Tomb III in deposits containing MM IIB and MM III pottery (**S24**, **S25**). Others were recovered from contexts in Tomb IV (**S30**) and Tomb V (**S32–S34**); in the latter, associated pottery is datable to MM IIIA–B. Thus the seals were evidently deposited in tombs fairly close to their date of manufacture.

Seals of the ›talismanic‹ style

Nine seals from the Poros tombs can be readily attributed to the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style: six made of hard semi-precious stones (**S2**, **S3**, **S9**, **S26**, **S35**, **S36**), two of glass (**S10**, **S37**) and one of a medium hard stone (**S27**). The term ›talismanic‹ goes back to Sir Arthur Evans, who believed that certain ›bead-seals‹ of MM III–LM I date served a talismanic or amuletic purpose, bringing their owners strength, good fortune, or perhaps warding off evil⁴⁶. In fact, as convincingly demonstrated by Onassoglou, the ›talismanic‹ seals simply represent a large style group, defined chiefly by material and technique, with motifs often drawn from the natural world, and confined to a specific period in glyptic development⁴⁷. Altogether roughly 900 examples are known, ca. 95 % made from hard semi-precious stones. The style relies heavily on rotary technology, as did the MM II–III ›architectural‹ group; but now in addition to cutting wheels, lavish use is made of solid and tubular drills. Moreover, it is the rapid application of these tools – without any attempt at smoothing or modelling to produce ›naturalistic‹ forms – that is a key characteristic of the ›talismanic‹ style.

In shape, material and technique the ›talismans‹ found in the Poros tombs all fit comfortably into the extant repertoire, and many subjects are also familiar: a spouted jug, birds, fish, an octopus, a papyrus and palm, frequently accompanied by subsidiary ›sprays‹ and ›border clumps‹⁴⁸. Yet the motifs themselves – the manner in which these familiar subjects are depicted – find surprisingly few close parallels, a fact all the more remarkable given the size of the repertoire. This suggests that the engravers working in this style had considerable freedom to invent and innovate. Indeed the three-sided prism **S9** offers a compelling example. While the jug on face (a) is entirely typical; the long-necked water bird on face (b) has no convincing parallels; and the arrow or dart on face (c) is unique. Or one could point to the highly unusual way the palm on **S36** has been rendered; a distant parallel is offered

⁴⁵ Phaistos: CMS II.5 nos. 242–244 (probably made by hard stone discoids). Several ›architectural‹ motifs occur on lentoids (e.g. CMS VI no. 167; CMS VII no. 220), a shape not attested before MM III, suggesting that output straddled the transition from Protopalatial to Neopalatial. See also Krzyszkowska 2015b.

⁴⁶ Evans 1921, 672–675; Evans 1935, 445–450. 541–543.

⁴⁷ DtS passim; Krzyszkowska 2005a, 133–137; Krzyszkowska 2016, 117 f.

⁴⁸ For these elements: Krzyszkowska 2010b, 173.

by the trees on **S31**, a fine ›naturalistic‹ representation of contemporary date. Does this suggest some cross-fertilization at workshop level, or even the work of a single craftsman, who was able and willing to work in several styles⁴⁹?

Although Evans dated ›talismanic‹ seals to the transition from MM IIIB to LM IA style on the basis of examples found at Sphoungaras, the CMS now invariably assigns a LM I date to the style⁵⁰. While there is little doubt that output continued throughout LM IA, the evidence from Poros now helps to confirm that the inception of the style lies firmly in MM III⁵¹. Three seals (**S27**, **S36** and **S37**) were recovered from deposits in Tombs III and V containing only MM IIIA–B pottery and none later.

Seals of the Cut Style

In terms of technique, the Cut Style is a natural successor to the MM III–LM I ›talismanic‹ style, being heavily reliant on rotary technology, but making far greater use of cutting wheels than of drills. The repertoire of motifs also changed significantly: in place of cult equipment and sea creatures, engravers working in the Cut Style favoured running goats with hairy backs, lions with shaggy manes (**S17**, **S18**), griffins (**S19**) and birds with outstretched wings (**S20**, **S21**); water birds are relatively rare (**S22**)⁵². Few are closely paralleled in the repertoire apart from **S20**, which offers an excellent comparison for a seal said to come from a chamber tomb at Agia Pelagia⁵³. So close are they in concept and execution that they are likely to have originated in the same workshop, if not the same hand. This observation is significant because in a well-defined repertoire of some 240 pieces very few small clusters have been isolated that might indicate the output of specific workshops⁵⁴. In other words, even among the Cut Style considerable diversity existed in how engravers chose to render given motifs.

In recent years significant progress has been made in dating the Cut Style. The *floruit* of the style was once believed to lie in LM/LH II, with output perhaps continuing into LM/LH IIIA. However, new examples from pure LM IB contexts demonstrate beyond doubt that the Cut Style was in existence earlier than supposed, created when the ›talismanic‹ style was on the wane⁵⁵. Moreover the numerical discrepancy between the ›talismanic‹ and Cut styles could suggest that production of the latter was fairly short-lived, say from late in LM IA through LM IB. Unfortunately the six Cut Style from Poros, all found in Tomb II, do not greatly help to refine the chronology of the style, inasmuch as none comes from a closely-datable deposit. It is, however, interesting to observe that two of the Cut Style seals (**S19** and **S22**) – both very ›fresh‹ – were found together with a battered and abraded ›talismanic‹ (**S9**) in a disturbed burial along the west wall of Chamber B (see also above).

⁴⁹ Cf. CMS VII no. 65, a bifacial lentoid, with ›naturalistic‹ bull on one face and a ›talismanic‹ motif on the other: Krzyszkowska 2011, 442 f. fig. 2a. b.

⁵⁰ Evans 1921, 672–675. The LM I date appears consistently in the CMS online where dating by Pini supersedes that which appeared in early volumes of the series. Cf. Krzyszkowska 2005a, 133–137, preferring MM III–LM I.

⁵¹ Cf. CMS VS3 no. 390, a ›proto-talismanic‹ seal from Akrotiri found in a Middle Cycladic C context

(= MM IIIA): Karnava 2018, 17–19. 64. 244, S4.

⁵² Krzyszkowska 2005a, 201–203; Krzyszkowska 2020a; Krzyszkowska 2022b, 86–88 (repertoire and technique), 90 f. 92. 93 (waterbirds). For dating see below and n. 55.

⁵³ CMS VI no. 272: see Catalogue for further details.

⁵⁴ Pini 2000, 217.

⁵⁵ Krzyszkowska 2020a, 282 f.; Krzyszkowska 2022a; Krzyszkowska 2022b, 85. 91 f.

Seals with ›naturalistic‹ motifs

In Neopalatial glyptic seals bearing ›naturalistic‹ motifs constitute a rather loose grouping, which displays considerable variation in how stylistic features are rendered. Engravers often succeeded in depicting anatomical forms with considerable assurance and devised poses that conveyed a sense of movement and life. That said the repertoire displays huge disparities in the technical and aesthetic sense. The finest, including some found at Poros, may well have been special commissions from master craftsmen. These include two remarkable seals of Early Neopalatial date: **S28** and **S31**⁵⁶. The first is an exceptionally accomplished piece, depicting a wild cat leaping through a lush marshy landscape. Wild cats are extremely rare in Aegean glyptic and apart from **S28** are always shown hunting birds (see Catalogue). Here, as on a relatively small number of MM III–LM I seals, we are dealing with a true landscape setting, where the reeds form an integral part of the scene and are not mere filling ornaments⁵⁷. Another landscape setting occurs on **S31** where a wild goat appears to spring out from within (or behind) a thicket of trees. The engraver has deftly conveyed the action by showing only the forequarters of the animal; this unusual pose is echoed on a contemporary ring stone, where a lion springs out from a clump of tall grasses (see Catalogue). Also noteworthy are the stylized trees on **S31**, for which no close parallels exist (although see above under **S36**). Owing to its condition the glass amygdaloid **S11** is hard to date precisely, but comparanda suggest MM III–LM I is very likely (see Catalogue). Originally the glass would have been dark blue in colour, a point worth noting inasmuch as there seems to be a close correlation between depictions of water birds and stones that are blue-grey or blue-green in colour⁵⁸.

While the remaining ›naturalistic‹ seals in hard materials can be safely regarded as LM I products, our present knowledge does not permit fine distinctions to be drawn between LM IA and LM IB glyptic⁵⁹. Here it is worth singling out the glass cushion **S40**, with its highly unusual sky-line above a recumbent lion; the LM IA cup found with it in Tomb VI provides a most welcome indication for dating the motif (see also Catalogue). But the griffin on the glass amygdaloid **S4** adopts a pose comparable to those executed in the Cut Style; hence for this piece a LM IB date might be more appropriate. The same is also true for the now-damaged amygdaloid of red jasper **S12**, depicting a wounded bull; and the fine agate lentoid **S13**, bearing a contorted deer. The poses and rendering of anatomical details on these are indicative of an advanced stage in Neopalatial glyptic. But it must be stressed that these are mere suggestions, based on a subjective assessment of glyptic development, rather than on incontrovertible evidence. These three pieces (**S4**, **S12**, **S13**) were recovered in Tomb II. Sadly none from meaningful contexts.

Neopalatial seals of hard semi-precious stone bearing ›naturalistic‹ motifs are often unique or have few close comparanda, an observation that applies to the new examples from the Poros tombs. By contrast numerous LM I soft stone seals belong to readily-definable groups, where the basic motif occurs repeatedly, although details differ, sometimes considerably. At Poros this is true of **S6**, an unusually large and fine example of a ›Chimaera‹ composition, known from a dozen soft stone examples (see Catalogue). Running goats are even more popular in the LM I soft stone repertoire, attested at Poros by **S42**, carefully engraved and almost workshop fresh. Seals depicting female ›adorants‹, either singly or in

⁵⁶ The latest pottery associated with **S28** in T. III is MM IIIB, while **S31** was found with a monochrome MM IIIB–LM IA cup in the chamber of T. IV (see Catalogue for details). Hence the seals appear to have been deposited close to their date of manufacture.

⁵⁷ Krzyszkowska 2010b, 173–176.

⁵⁸ Krzyszkowska 2010b, 176.

⁵⁹ Krzyszkowska 2019, 490.

procession, constitute another common motif among LM I soft stone seals, with a notable concentration in the Knossos area⁶⁰: **S16** is one of the finest recovered to date. The glass lentoid **S15** is the only other seal at Poros which depicts a female figure⁶¹, here in association with a rampant lion. Both were found in Tomb II and although contexts were disturbed, associated material suggests a LM IA date.

CONCLUSIONS

Although relatively few of the new Poros seals come from closely-datable deposits, the tombs themselves were excavated with great care and the finds all carefully documented (see above). Thus they provide an impressive addition to the glyptic repertoire, which is still bedevilled by far too many pieces lacking a secure provenance⁶². In the Poros tombs high quality seals constitute the overwhelming majority, with many being truly outstanding in the technical and / or aesthetic sense; in consequence they greatly enrich the glyptic repertoire. Here it is also worth observing that among the Minoan seals there are no clear 'antiques', predating the period during which the tombs were in use. Taken together with the deposits for which ceramic evidence *is* available, this suggests that the seals which accompanied their owners at death were often more or less contemporary products⁶³. Yet questions inevitably remain. It is, of course, impossible to gauge how many seals may have been lost to looting in ancient and modern times⁶⁴. But given that the six tombs were used repeatedly for burials over extended periods of time, the 43 seals recovered does not seem an especially large quantity⁶⁵. Does this mean that seal ownership was relatively limited among the population using the tombs? Or does it suggest that seals did *not* invariably remain with their owners at death? And if not, why not? Thus notwithstanding the great strides made during the past century regarding glyptic style and iconography, many challenges remain in understanding the role played by seals in Minoan society. For the Neopalatial period the paucity of seals from mortuary contexts has meant that hitherto we have been overly dependent on evidence from sealing deposits and to a lesser extent from settlements. The new evidence from the Poros tombs now helps to redress the balance.

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⁶⁰ Krzyszkowska 2012a, 744 pl. CLXXVIa; Krzyszkowska 2020b, 259 f. fig. 2. See also Catalogue for comparanda in other materials.

⁶¹ Female figures are, of course, found on the gold signet rings: Dimopoulou and Rethemiotakis 2000; Rethemiotakis and Dimopoulou 2003; Rethemiotakis 2016/2017; and a fourth ring, as yet unpublished.

⁶² Krzyszkowska 2005a, 329; Krzyszkowska 2011, 439.

⁶³ A pattern observed elsewhere during MM II and LM I: Krzyszkowska 2019, 488–491.

⁶⁴ Seals recovered during the clearance of earlier burials or deliberate looting in antiquity may well have been pressed into service again, remaining in circulation until their final deposition during LM II–III or later: Krzyszkowska 2019, 491–494 pls. CLXXVII. CLXXVIII (colour).

⁶⁵ In at least one case, a burial seems to have been accompanied by three seals: **S9**, **S19** and **S22** (see above). Of course to the total of 43 pieces presented here (39 Minoan seals, three imported scarabs and one cylinder seal, also probably imported) must be added four signet rings of gold, several of silver and two gold seals (see above).

Sources of illustrations: All photographs (whether black-and-white or colour) are by Olga Krzyszkowska. Note that even digital colour photography only provides an approximation of the actual hues of the seals; cf. Krzyszkowska 2005a, 425. The photograph of impression **S43** is by Ilias Iliadis.

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A multidimensional space: Olympia and its environs

Results of the campaigns 2015 to 2017 and first historical conclusions

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Ein multidimensionaler Raum: Olympia und seine Umgebung. Ergebnisse der Kampagnen 2015 bis 2017 und erste historische Schlussfolgerungen

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Der Beitrag liefert die ersten Ergebnisse eines seit 2015 laufenden Projekts, dessen Kern der sogenannte Olympia Area Survey darstellt. In diesem Rahmen wurde der Fundplatz Olympia erstmalig systematisch in seinem regionalen Umfeld (geo)archäologisch kontextualisiert und in seiner historischen Relevanz für die Entwicklung der regionalen Kulturlandschaft beleuchtet. Die Arbeiten haben einen deutlichen Gesamteindruck der Siedlungsstruktur vermittelt: Intensive Nutzung und dichte Besiedlung verbanden sich mit extremer Kleinteiligkeit. In dieser Umgebung bildete das Heiligtum von Olympia ein ganz spezifisches Zentrum. Diese Zentralität spiegelt sich auch in der antiken Raumwahrnehmung und im »*espace vécu*« wider. In vielfältiger Weise war das Heiligtum in rituellen Praktiken und mythischen Erzählungen mit seiner Umwelt verflochten. Um dieses herum hatte sich eine besondere sakrale Landschaft voller »*lieux de mémoire*« gebildet. Zugleich trugen die Verflechtungen wesentlich zur sozialen und politischen Integration der Region und damit auch des Verbandes von Elis im Gefüge der panhellenischen Welt bei.

Schlagwörter Elis; Alpheios; Regionaler Survey; Geoarchäologie; Mythhistorie.

ABSTRACT This contribution presents the first results of a project that has been running since 2015, the core of which is the so-called Olympia Area Survey. Within this framework the site of Olympia was for the first time systematically set in context with its (geo)archaeological environment and its historical relevance for the development of the region's cultural landscape has been highlighted accordingly. The work has provided a clear overall impression of the settlement structures: intensive use and dense human occupation combined with extreme fragmentation. Within this environment, the sanctuary of Olympia formed a highly specific centre. This centrality is also reflected by the ancient perception of space and by the »*espace vécu*«. The sanctuary was in many ways intertwined with its environment through ritual practices and mythical narratives. A special, sacred landscape charged with »*lieux de mémoire*« evolved around the sanctuary. At the same time, these interconnections significantly contributed to the social and political integration of the region and hence also of the political union of Elis into the fabric of the Panhellenic world.

Keywords Elis; Alpheios; regional survey; geoarchaeology; myth history.

Ένας πολυδιάστατος χώρος: Η Ολυμπία και τα περίχωρά της. Αποτελέσματα των ερευνών πεδίου κατά τα έτη 2015 έως 2017 και πρώτα ιστορικά συμπεράσματα

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Το άρθρο παρουσιάζει τα πρώτα αποτελέσματα ενός εν εξελίξει προγράμματος που ξεκίνησε το 2015 και εστιάζει στη λεγόμενη Olympia Area Survey, την «Έρευνα του χώρου της Ολυμπίας». Στο πλαίσιο του προγράμματος αυτού, η αρχαιολογική θέση της Ολυμπίας τοποθετήθηκε για πρώτη φορά συστηματικά στα (γεω-)αρχαιολογικά συμφραζόμενα του τοπικού της περιβάλλοντος, ενώ παράλληλα αναδείχθηκε η ιστορική της σημασία για την εξέλιξη του πολιτισμικού τοπίου της περιοχής. Χάρη στις εργασίες του προγράμματος, προέκυψε μια σαφής συνολική εικόνα της δομής των οικισμών: η εντατική χρήση και η πυκνή κατοίκηση συνδυάζονταν με έναν ακραίο κατακερματισμό. Σε αυτό το περιβάλλον, το ιερό της Ολυμπίας αποτέλεσε ένα εντελώς ειδικό κέντρο. Ο κεντρικός του ρόλος αντικατοπτρίζεται στην αντίληψη του χώρου κατά την αρχαιότητα αλλά και στο »*espace vécu*« [τον «βιωμένο χώρο»]. Το ιερό συνδέθηκε ποικιλοτρόπως με το περιβάλλον χώρο του τόσο σε τελετουργικές πρακτικές όσο και σε μυθικά αφηγήματα. Γύρω από αυτό είχε δημιουργηθεί ένα ξεχωριστό ιερό τοπίο γεμάτο από »*lieux de mémoire*« [τόπους μνήμης]. Ταυτόχρονα, οι συσχετισμοί αυτοί συνέβαλαν σημαντικά στην κοινωνική και πολιτική ενσωμάτωση της περιοχής, άρα και της ένωσης της Ηλίδος, στον ιστό του πανελλήνιου κόσμου.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Ηλεία. Αλφειός. »*regional survey*«. Γεωαρχαιολογία. Μυθολογική ιστορία.

»Nicht nur des Alpheios stille Bauthätigkeit, sondern mehr noch
des Erderschütterers gewalthätiges Wirken hat der Forschung die Aufgabe
erschwert, in den veränderten Zügen des heutigen Bildes dieser Küstenland-
schaft die Grundlinien der antiken Topographie wiederzuerkennen«¹.

1 OLYMPIA AND ITS ENVIRONS: INTRODUCTION AND STATE OF RESEARCH

The importance of the sanctuary of Olympia and its cults for Greek history and culture is beyond question. However, as research focused on this site, its environs have been increasingly neglected. This was not always the case. Already the *Expédition de Morée* of 1829, which emphasised an interdisciplinary approach and brought about qualitative progress in the research on the geography and geology of the Peloponnese², offered important topographical descriptions. As part of the German Olympia excavations starting in 1875, Joseph Partsch and then several important and still relevant maps by Partsch himself and Johann A. Kaupert created a systematic overview of the wider environment³. In 1882, Bücking published a detailed geological map of Olympia and the surrounding area, which took the results of the excavations into account and provided a sound framework explaining the formation of sediments in Olympia. The landscape was still considered a genuine subject of historical and archaeological research, a perspective that was represented not least by Ernst Curtius, the spiritus rector of the excavation.

With the increasing specialisation of scholarship, investigations of the environment of Olympia developed from specific questions. Thus, after the first phase of the excavations, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, guided by his interests and theories on Homeric geography, began his thorough studies of the surrounding region and related sites. His observations as well as the map which was created on his behalf by Konrad Graefinghoff⁴ are the important documents of this endeavour. Shortly thereafter, Ernst Meyer and William Kendrick Pritchett distinguished themselves as pioneers in the exploration of the historical topography of the area. In addition, there were a number of individual scholars focusing on archaeological remains,

In addition to the standard abbreviations of the German Archaeological Institute, the following are employed:

IvO W. Dittenberger – K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Olympia 5 (Berlin 1896)

LH Late Helladic

NIO Siewert – Taeuber 2013

Sch. Scholion, Scholia

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We remain happily inconsistent in the transliteration of

Ancient and Modern Greek names. On the one hand, in many cases we try to stay close to the Greek original (e.g. Alpheios), on the other hand, we often keep the latinised forms of familiar names as they are established in English. However, the transliteration of Greek place names follows the following rules: Modern Greek spelling refers to the modern place names and the ancient Greek version is applied, if ancient texts refer to the site. Thus e.g. Epitalio is used for the modern village (formerly Agoulénitsa), but Epitalion, if this place appears in ancient sources.

¹ Partsch 1897, 15: »Not only the quiet building activities of the Alpheios River, but even more the earth shaker's violent actions have made it difficult for research to discern the basic lines of the ancient topography in the altered features of the present day coastal landscape« (own translation).

² Cf. Gehrke 1992, 31–36. In addition, even before the beginning of the large-scale excavations, travellers not only visited the site, but also described the environs. The following text takes their information into account.

³ Kaupert 1882.

⁴ Dörpfeld 1918, pl. IV.

such as Jerome Sperling and above all representatives of the Greek Archaeological Service, namely Nicholas Yalouris and Eleni Papakonstantinou⁵. Furthermore, the Minnesota Mesenia Expedition of the 1960s marginally touched the region around Olympia. In this context, the most recent survey in the adjacent region of Triphylia in the south, under the aegis of Joachim Heiden and Corinna Rohn in cooperation with the Greek Archaeological Service, is also worth mentioning⁶.

In addition, in recent years numerous individual research projects have been carried out that were primarily guided by historical questions touching on the political organisation, social integration and spatial structure of Elis and Olympia. They mark the current state of research in these fields. For the work of the present project, the following are particularly relevant (in alphabetical order): Birgitta Eder, Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Maurizio Giangliulio, Mait Kõiv, Massimo Nafissi, James Roy, Claudia Ruggeri and Julia Taita⁷. In addition, Peter Siewert and Sophie Minon have offered important epigraphic and dialectological studies and the commentary on the relevant books of Pausanias supplies very valuable information as well⁸.

Summing up, major survey projects have never systematically covered the landscape around the sanctuary of Olympia. Archaeological projects were spatially limited and focused on individual sites. The numerous and plentiful results of the local archaeological fieldwork are mainly the product of the tireless work of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Elis (former 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), now directed by Erophili-Iris Kolia. The results of rescue excavations or chance finds generally suggest a treasure that has not yet been fully retrieved. In other words, the space in question has not yet been systematically explored with modern methods of historical geography or landscape archaeology, i.e. in an interdisciplinary approach combining methods of archaeology, geoscience and historical studies⁹.

Due to this academic void, the authors have undertaken a systematic study of this micro-region. The greater question of the role of Olympia in the immediate and wider environs, and especially its importance in shaping and maintaining Greek identity at the local, regional and Panhellenic level formed the starting point of the project. After detailed preparations¹⁰, work began on site in 2015. Our team of project directors is made up of specialists in the fields of archaeology, geography and history: Franziska Lang (Technical University Darmstadt), Birgitta Eder (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austrian Archaeological Institute, Athens), Andreas Vött (University of Mainz) and Hans-Joachim Gehrke (University of Freiburg). Of particular significance is the cooperation with the Ephorate of Elis of the Greek Archaeological Service (directed by Erophili-Iris Kolia) and the Olympia Excavations of the German Archaeological Institute (directed by Reinhard Senff, and, as of fall 2022, by Oliver Pilz). In addition, academic staff and students are directly involved in the fieldwork and processing of finds. Further individual cooperations supplement the work of the project. The project was funded by the German Research Foundation and has been carried out as an official cooperation with the Ephorate of Antiquities in Elis. Fieldwork comprised mainly geomorphological and geoarchaeological studies of landscape formation and a historical and archaeological target area survey (see below). As the different aspects of space are central here, we prefer to refer to the study region as the multidimensional space of Olympia.

⁵ Sperling 1942; cf. Williams 2004; Yalouris 1972; Παπακωνσταντίνου 1992.

⁶ McDonald – Rapp 1972; Rohn – Heiden 2009; Heiden – Rohn 2015; Heiden et al. 2020.

⁷ Eder 2003; Eder 2011; Gehrke 2005; Giangliulio 2009; Kõiv 2013; Nafissi 2003; Roy 2002; Ruggeri 2004; Taita 2007; Taita 2009; Taita 2013.

⁸ See esp. Siewert – Taeuber 2013; Minon 2007; Maddoli – Saladino 1995; Maddoli et al. 1999.

⁹ Lang 2019.

¹⁰ Two explorative workshops took place in Olympia and Berlin (October 2009 and 2010) and an international exhibition on Olympia was organised in Berlin (August 2012 – January 2013). Cf. Heilmeyer et al. 2012 with the contributions by Lang 2012; Hoppe et al. 2012b. – For preliminary reports and interpretations see Eder et al. 2015/2016; Eder et al. 2017; Gehrke 2019.

This survey project is different from other similar undertakings insofar as it does not focus on the environs of a city but those of a famous sanctuary. Structurally, an urban environment consists of the city as the core, surrounded by a suburban environment – with tombs and / or farmsteads – and agricultural land follows with increasing distance. These different zones interact in variable forms, and in this system, the city remains dependent on the surrounding area.

In general, sanctuaries constitute places with a specific, dedicated significance, and their norms and rules deviate from those of profane areas. A cult site often lies at the core of urban foundation myths. The Olympic sanctuary in particular is a Panhellenic sanctuary with a local, regional and supra-regional radius of agency. This is true for Pheia, the port of Olympia, which was located about 30 km to the west, as well as for the city of Elis, which managed the sanctuary and lay about 50 km to the northwest. The oracle of Zeus in Olympia had a specific kind of longer-distance effect through its seers of the Iamid family (see below). These were religious experts, who were engaged by military commanders to accompany their military campaigns. The mythistorical tradition is also mapped on the local topography and oscillates between local foundation story and (supra-)regional genealogies with ›migrating ancestors‹ (see below).

The requirements of a sanctuary like Olympia differ from those of a city insofar as Olympia is subject to different temporalities. Unlike a city, which relies on a year-round supply, communal needs in Olympia followed the festival calendar, which set the times of catering for a variable number of visitors. In addition to the customary operation of the oracle and the sanctuary that must be assumed for Olympia, altar processions such as those described by Pausanias¹¹ took place at monthly intervals¹². Annual festivals were held for Artemis Alpheionia or Alpheiousa¹³ and for the heroine Hippodameia¹⁴, and the Heraia with running competitions for girls in the Olympic Stadium were organised for Hera every four years¹⁵. The Olympic Games took place at the same intervals, creating exceptional circumstances for the region. During this period, an estimated 40 000 visitors came together in Olympia, a figure that corresponds to about ten times the population of an average-sized Greek polis. Within a very short time frame, supplies had to be organised and provided for all local, regional and national visitors, the athletes with their followers as well as the numerous animals¹⁶.

These examples illustrate the high variance of requirements that are subject to large fluctuations and differ significantly from those of a city. Does this mean that the relational system ›sanctuary – environs‹ is configured differently from that of ›asty – chora‹? If so, what structural differences can be expected in the organisation of an internationally renowned sanctuary? Is it possible to demonstrate the intertwining of the political and sacral topography that is peculiar to Olympia? Does Olympia take on the functions of a city? In general, one has to ask whether the usual models for urban-rural relations are transferable to the present constellation or if there are intrinsic configurations at work.

The answers to these questions represent some of the goals of this project. Representatives of various disciplines carried out the Olympia Environs Survey from 2015 to 2017. The

¹¹ Paus. 5, 14, 4–15, 10.

¹² There may also have been annual festivals for Kronos (›Kronika‹). This information is contained in a bronze inscription from Olympia, of which one part is published as ›NIO 1‹ in Siewert – Taeuber 2013. We owe this reference and a copy of the important text to the generosity of Peter Siewert (Vienna), see now Siewert 2017. In this context, it is worth recalling

Paus. 6, 20, 1 mentioning Elean βασιλᾶι who sacrifice to Kronos at the spring equinox (Roy 2015c, 149).

¹³ Str. 8, 3, 12.

¹⁴ Paus. 6, 20, 7.

¹⁵ Paus. 5, 16, 2–4.

¹⁶ Cf. De Ligt – De Neeve 1988.

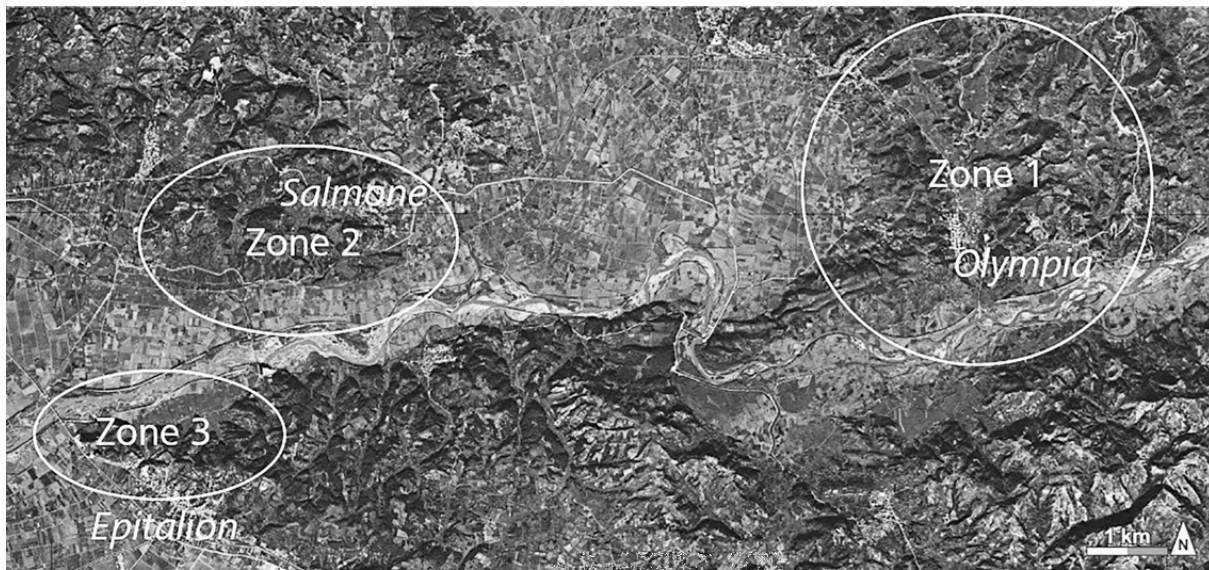


Fig. 1 Survey region with location of zones 1–3

core areas of investigation consist of three zones, which were determined by preliminary studies¹⁷. They are located (1) in the area around the sanctuary (Kladeos River valley and Archaia Pisa), (2) on the ridge west of the village of Salmoni (formerly Koukoura) and (3) around the settlement Epitalion close to the mouth of the Alpheios River (*fig. 1*). The area south of Olympia beyond the Alpheios River was omitted from these studies, since it had already been the subject of an extensive survey in the framework of the DFG Priority Programme 1209 ›Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform‹¹⁸.

The project is generally concerned with the various aspects of space and their interrelations, and in particular aims to consider and view the conditions of the physical geography together with the various human ways of designing, creating and perceiving the landscape. Three key aspects characterise the first part, which essentially presents the current state of our knowledge. Space and settlement: (1) natural conditions and potentials, (2) communication in space, (3) social formation of space. Regardless of the fact that a survey covers all recognisable artefacts from different epochs and that geomorphology covers much longer periods, our research concentrates on a limited time frame.

The following perspective governed the choice of the period from about 1200 to 400 B.C. for more detailed studies. Current research suggests the emergence of the different patterns of communication and organisation in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age transition that proved of particular significance for the following centuries. This time span marks the final years of the Late Bronze Age, in particular LH III C, until the end of the war between Sparta and Elis, which also had lasting effects on the history of the landscape. It should be noted that the evidence concerning political, social, and cultural constellations as well as physical conditions is not always easy to date, although we tried, when possible. Otherwise, we had to restrict ourselves to general descriptions, which may reflect some later constellations. Especially religious practices that form a focus of our studies may suggest the persistence of traditions and thus possibly an older age.

¹⁷ Lang 2012.

¹⁸ See now Rohn – Heiden 2009; Heiden – Rohn 2015; Heiden et al. 2020.

1.1 Space and settlement: natural conditions and potentials

The investigated area essentially describes the micro-region on the lower reaches of the Alpheios, i.e. the south of the ancient region of Elis, and the modern administrative district of the Nomos Ilias largely follows this outline. For pragmatic reasons (the previous Triphylia Survey, see above, covered selected areas to the south) our research focused primarily on the zone north of the Alpheios. When looking at the physical geography of the region, it immediately becomes clear that it has undergone major changes both in the past as well as in the present that affect our current research. The geomorphological conditions hamper archaeological investigations in terms of visibility of finds and sites, especially because the area is extremely susceptible to soil erosion. Under these circumstances, archaeological investigations in this region rely on geomorphology and earth sciences. The first connoisseur of this scenery, the classically educated geographer Joseph Partsch, vividly described this thus: »Unter solchen Verhältnissen gewinnt die Forderung sorgfältigsten Terrainstudiums eine ungewöhnliche Bedeutung auch für die Altertumskunde. Wo der Mangel deutlicher Reste die Forschungen im Bereich der Vermutungen zurückhält, bleibt das Relief des Landes oft der einzige brauchbare Ratgeber. Da ist es ein Glücksfall, daß dieses Relief trotz der bescheidenen Höhenunterschiede [...] keineswegs eine gleichgültige charakterlose Physiognomie trägt, sondern scharfe Züge von einschneidender Beredsamkeit«¹⁹.

The relief of the landscape has been caused by strong uplifts²⁰ determined by the tectonics of the earth, in particular by the subduction of the African under the Aegean plate, which is part of the Eurasian plate²¹. Deposits that had formed in the Late Tertiary (Neogene) and even thereafter, especially in the Pliocene and Pleistocene, i.e. over more than 5 million years, mainly in coastal waters, brackish water zones, but also in lakes and river areas, form a plateau. These deposits consist essentially of marls, clay, silt and sandstones (the Pliocene Cholargon and Chelidoni stages), which are highly susceptible to erosion. In certain areas, there exist also more recent continental sediments and conglomerate beds from the Pleistocene (the Lalas stage), for instance in the range of hills on either side of Olympia north of the Alpheios River. Shelly limestone occurs in such zones. Within the framework of the ›Olympia and its Environs‹ Project, it has been possible to gain a better understanding of the extent of the tectonic uplift: It must be assumed that in the period of the last 6400 years, i.e. since the mid-Holocene, an uplift of at least 13–20 m has taken place²². However, it is still unclear whether these strong neo-tectonic dynamics took place gradually or rather at certain intervals, nor is it clear when they began exactly. It cannot be ruled out that even more recently, e.g. in the Middle Ages, abrupt tectonic uplifts of several metres have taken place in connection with strong earthquakes.

In general, the intensive erosion of topographical highlands as well as the closely related deposition of heavy sediment accumulations in the lowlands characterise particularly

¹⁹ Partsch 1897, 2; own translation: »Under such circumstances, the demand for the most careful study of the terrain acquires an unusual significance for the study of antiquity as well. Where the lack of clear remnants reduces research to conjecture, the relief of the land often remains the only useful guide. It is fortunate that this relief, in spite of the modest differences in height [...], carries by no means an indifferent characterless physiognomy, but sharp features of drastic eloquence«. For the character of the natural environment see esp. Leake 1830a, 3 f.; Philippson 1892, 313–324; Curtius also gives a vivid description of the historical area on

the lower Alpheios in the preface to Curtius – Adler 1882.

²⁰ E.g. Papanikolaou et al. 2007 estimate vertical crustal movements near the coast to 30–60 m for the entire Holocene, which corresponds on average to a change in the relief between 7.5–25 m since the Bronze Age. The western Peloponnese is one of the most highly uplifted areas in the world, as evidenced by raised quaternary marine terraces (Kelletat et al. 1976; Athanassas et al. 2013).

²¹ This and the following after Hoppe et al. 2012a; Hoppe et al. 2012b (with further references).

²² Vött et al. 2015.

the landscape of the western Peloponnese, especially along the river valleys. During heavy rains, which are characteristic of the Mediterranean climate, one can watch the surface being washed away. In this context it seems particularly noteworthy that the Olympia terrace consists of historical deposits. This terrace is known from the Kladeos Valley and accompanies the Alpheios River from around Olympia to Epitalio near the present coast²³. Apart from the history of the sedimentary burying of Olympia, it stores information on the river and landscape formation including the coastal development.

West of the central Peloponnesian limestone mountains in southern Elis, a highly structured relief was created from these erodible sediments increasing in ruggedness in the east-west direction. Partsch aptly described this: »Je weiter man westwärts geht, desto zerrissener erscheint die Tertiärplatte und desto wilder und unruhiger werden bei beständig abnehmenden Höhen die Formen der Landschaft. Die Thäler erweitern sich, aber ihre Wände bewahren eine ungewöhnliche Steilheit. Vielfach, besonders beim Auftreten der über den Mergeln und Sanden liegenden mächtigen Nagelfluhbänke [Konglomerate], unterbrechen felsige Abstürze, weit in einem Gehänge fortstreichend dessen regelmäßige Böschung [...]«²⁴. In this context, it is worth noting that the landscape near Olympia displays significant relief energy despite the aforementioned fact that the soil is highly susceptible to erosion. This also reflects the strong and possibly very recent tectonic uplift of the region.

The Alpheios River, which drains large parts of southern Arkadia and receives regular influx from karst springs, is one of the few perennial and one of the largest rivers in Greece²⁵. Like its tributaries, it has cut its course deep into the tableland and thus determines the relief of the landscape. In its lower reaches, the wide riverbed was unsuitable for agricultural purposes; marginal areas were endangered by floods and considerable obstacles impeded the crossing of the river. The coastal zone features a strong lagoon formation combined with the increasing development of sand dunes with corresponding vegetation. This had already been witnessed in antiquity²⁶. Here we may envisage fishing (as well as in the inland waters, see below)²⁷. By the 19th century, the Alpheios River had formed a broad band of gravel in the micro-region around Olympia, framed by areas that were sometimes swampy or threatened by paludification²⁸. However, there also existed fertile alluvial soils, partly along the Alpheios River and especially in the area around Pyrgos, as well as hills mainly covered by pines²⁹.

²³ Vött 2013.

²⁴ Partsch 1897, 3: »The farther west one goes, the more broken up the tertiary plate appears, and the wilder and more uneven the landscape shape becomes with ever-decreasing heights. The valleys expand, but their walls preserve an unusual steepness. In many cases, especially where mighty conglomerates lie atop the marls and sands, rocky cliffs break up its regular embankment, [...]« (own translation).

²⁵ On the Alpheios cf. now Taita 2013, 368–371; for the ancient perception see below. – For information on sedimentary deposits in and around Olympia see also: Hoppe et al. 2012a; Hoppe et al. 2012b, with further references; Vött et al. 2011a; Vött et al. 2011b; Vött et al. 2013; Willershäuser et al. 2011; Willershäuser et al. 2015.

²⁶ Str. 8, 3, 19; Paus. 5, 5, 7; 5, 6, 4.

²⁷ The reference to the worship of Apollo Opsophagus (»fish lover«) by the Eleans in Polem. Hist. Fr. 70 (Ath. 8, 346 b) can be considered as an indication of the importance of fishing already in antiquity that is known to have taken place in the lagoons in the 19th century. The importance of tuna fishing may be indicated by the striking detail in the paintings

of Kleantes in the Temple of Artemis Alpheiousa (Ath. 8, 346 b–c, see below n. 266); cf. generally Curtius 1852, 5 f.

²⁸ For the extent cf. Cockerell 1903, 70 (August 1812: Pyrgos lay »just above the marshes that border the Alpheios«). Whether the perils of mosquitoes and febrile fever (Stanhope speaks of the dangers of malaria, 1824, 4) that the 19th century travellers report can also be assumed for antiquity, or to what extent a similar situation is to be envisaged remains open; after all, there are indications for at least temporary plagues of insects, such as the sacrifice for Zeus Apomyios (»fly repellent«) in Olympia, which allegedly had been set up by Herakles according to Paus. 5, 14, 1 (for further information see Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 259 f., see also the vivid description of the mosquito plague in Chandler 1776, 289 [with reference to the ancient sacrifices], also Curtius 1852, 5).

²⁹ See the description by Philippson 1892, 313 f.; also Chandler 1776, 288; Sibthorpe 1820, 76. 79; Leake 1830a, 23; Leake 1830b, 67 f. 69 f.; Leake 1846, 8; Buchon 1843, 500: mainly grain (wheat, corn) and grapes were grown.

Apart from the unfavourable zones along the Alpheios River and on the coast, the conditions for agricultural usage – i.e. the primary economic activity – were rather good: The soils that developed from the Neogene deposits are generally among the more fertile soils in Greece³⁰. This situation is further improved by the relatively high level of rainfall in the west of the Peloponnese, on the windward side of Greece. Around Olympia, the local silt-dominated sediments almost give the impression of loess layers. Locally, sand is also present. Theophrastus already spoke of »slightly sandy land« (χώρα ὑπαμμος)³¹. Water is abundant³². Corresponding references to the agrarian wealth of the region can be found in ancient sources. This applies to both arable land and pastureland. Additionally, there was a lot of forest, including oak. Xenophon's description of his own home near Skillous, south of Olympia (west of modern-day Makrisia) proves particularly characteristic:

From the proceeds of his share in the booty deriving from the ›March of the Ten Thousand‹, Xenophon bought a piece of land for the Ephesian Artemis as a tithe deriving from a vow he had made earlier. »As it chanced, there flowed through the plot a river named Selinus and at Ephesus likewise a Selinus river flows past the temple of Artemis. In both streams, moreover, there are fish and mussels, while in the plot at Scillus there is hunting of all manner of beasts of the chase. Here Xenophon built an altar and a temple with the sacred money, and from that time forth he would every year take the tithe of the products of the land in their season and offer sacrifice to the goddess, all the citizens and the men and women of the neighbourhood taking part in the festival. And the goddess would provide for the banqueters barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as of the victims taken in the chase. For Xenophon's sons and the sons of the other citizens used to have a hunting expedition at the time of the festival, and any grown men who so wished would join them; and they captured their game partly from the sacred precinct itself and partly from Mount Pholoe – boars and gazelles and stags. The place is situated on the road which leads from Lacedaemon to Olympia, and is about twenty stades [3.7 km] from the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Within the sacred precinct there is meadowland and tree-covered hills, suited for the rearing of swine, goats, cattle and horses, so that even the draught animals which bring people to the festival have their feast also. Immediately surrounding the temple is a grove of cultivated trees, producing all sorts of dessert fruits in their season. The temple itself is like the one at Ephesus, although small as compared with great, and the image of the goddess, although cypress wood as compared with gold, is like the Ephesian image«³³.

On the other hand, there appears to be a shortage of natural resources that, however, is not so important given the state of ancient technology. Theophrastus mentions the occurrence of lignite on the Mountain Road from Elis to Olympia, and Partsch³⁴ refers to lignite seams on the right edge of the valley of the Kladeos River³⁵. A more serious issue was the

³⁰ Cf. Sauerwein 1980, 42; Gehrke 2003, 17–19.

³¹ Thphr. Fr. 400 (Edition: Fortenbaugh et al. 1992, 205), cf. Curtius 1852, 3. 93 n. 1.

³² This also follows from etymological explanations of the name Pisa (whether they apply or not), see the notes in Daude et al. 2013, 302 f.

³³ X. An. 5, 3, 8–12 (Translation: Brownson 1961); for the agrarian wealth, cf. esp. X. HG 3, 2, 26; Plb. 4, 73, 5–9; 4, 74, 8; 4, 75, 1; for agrarian use cf. also Paus. 5, 6, 6 (for hunting, probably from X. An. 5, 3, 8); 6, 22, 1 (cultivation of grapevines immediately east of Olympia, see also the wine press in the reuse of the Eileithyia-Sosipolis temple); generally on the fertility of Elis see Paus. 5, 4, 1; 5, 5, 2; 6, 26, 6 (agricultural

wealth, especially flax, see Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 203); on pastureland cf. Taita 2007, 25–29 (with important observations on the possible transhumance, Drouva is in the 19th century »winter station of the shepherds from the high mountains«, Ross 1848, 191) and generally see Puillon Boblaye 1835, 119; Curtius 1852, 3; Gehrke 1986, 103. 186; cf. Yalouris 1996, 132; Zoumbaki 2001, 47–49; Sinn 2004 242 f.; Bourke 2017, 11–15. 40 stresses the aspect of pastoralism.

³⁴ Partsch 1897, 6.

³⁵ Thphr. Lap. 16; on this and on the exploitation of lignite in the region see also Taita 2013, 374 with n. 150; Partsch relied on Bücking 1882, 318; worth adding are the exact observations of Fiedler 1840, 376 (at

lack of good stone for the construction of sophisticated buildings. Thus, even the Temple of Zeus was essentially built of local, so-called Neogene shelly limestone that was also widely used elsewhere.

1.2 Spatial Communication

Due to the known difficulties in the identification of ancient routes, which result mainly from the problematic nature of our sources, physio-geographic conditions form the main guide in the reconstruction of such connections. This is especially true in view of the aforementioned fragmented character of the relief in southern Elis and the special role of the Alpheios and other rivers. To a certain extent, pre-modern travel descriptions from the 18th and 19th centuries can be used, but given the dynamics of landscape development this is not without problems³⁶.

The Alpheios River forms the major factor in landscaping. It is obvious that the river was difficult to cross³⁷. During winter, this was almost impossible. Even in the summer months, during the dry season, crossing was probably only possible in certain places. According to the current state of research, we must assume at least two fords that are explicitly mentioned in our sources. One lay near the mouth of the river at the site of Epitalion on the road along the coast: Homer spoke of a ford (πόρος) of the Alpheios River³⁸, and Strabo located this place at Epitalion, where the river could be crossed on foot (πεζῇ περατός)³⁹. Pausanias mentions another ford just south of the sanctuary on the way to Triphylia and on to Messene and Sparta⁴⁰. It must have had a special significance for the sanctuary, its organisation and its visitors. In addition, it is likely that this was generally an important crossing point, which was also economically significant (e.g. for livestock husbandry)⁴¹. This river crossing could be explained by the considerable backwater effect of the natural bedrock barrier at the modern-day Alpheios dam, at the point where the river breaks through the Drouva hills in a south-north direction. The calming backwater effect extended upriver just to near Olympia where waters of the dammed water body were shallowest. Provided that this constellation existed also during historical times, this would have enabled an easy passage across the Alpheios River on foot. Recent geomorphological investigations support this possibility (see below).

When reconstructing road connections, one must generally consider that, so far, we should not expect evidence for paved roads⁴². In this context one needs to have in mind that movement took place essentially on foot, possibly with pack animals. Members of upper

the Kladeos near the homonymous site, then Stravrokephalo). 380 f. (further north at Goumero).

³⁶ Taita 2001, 118 f. with n. 47 is quite optimistic in this respect.

³⁷ Cf. Taita 2001, 117 f. with further references.

³⁸ Hom. Il. 2, 592.

³⁹ Str. 8, 3, 24: »Ἀλφειοῦ δὲ πόρον φησὶν, ὅτι πεζῇ περατός εἶναι δοκεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον: καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Ἐπιτάλιον τῆς Μακιστίας χωρίον.« (»He calls it ›fording-place of the Alpheius‹ because the river could be crossed on foot, as it seems, at this place. But it is now called Epitalium [a small place in Macistia]«, Translation: Jones 1927). This is confirmed by the reports of the operations of Agis against Elis (401 B.C.) and Philip V (218 B.C.) in X. HG 3, 2, 25; 3, 2, 29 and Plb. 4, 73, 4; cf. also Taita

2001, 122 with n. 66 and Taita 2013, 379.

⁴⁰ Paus. 5, 6, 7. This may be indicated by the πόρος in Pi. O. 1, 92; 2, 13 (in contrast to 12, 48), cf. Taita 2001, 127 f.; more on fords in Taita 2013, 369.

⁴¹ See esp. Taita 2007, 25–29 with further references. This also applies to the river system as a whole, which was well explored through practices of transhumance (Taita 2007, 27 f.), also with regard to communication routes in general. The reference to wet meadows near the Alpheios in X. An. 5, 3, 11 (obviously on the north side of the Artemis sanctuary donated by Xenophon that provided suitable pasture for the draught animals of the festival participants) is also important.

⁴² This is not even implied by the milestone from Epitalio (see below).

social classes may have travelled on horseback or – provided the quality of the paths allowed it – in coaches. Xenophon mentions »draught animals« of the visitors to the Olympic Games⁴³. In addition, we must assume numerous local connections that linked different sites in walking distance, and these short and direct connections, which were adapted to the fragmented terrain, often remain impossible to track. The movement in the field under modern-day conditions, however, gives an idea of how efficient such short distance connections could actually be. This also gives a direct impression of how differently space was perceived if one used these paths. It also means that the partial ruggedness of the relief did not completely inhibit communication under pre-modern conditions.

After all, we have sufficient evidence to identify the most important roads, among which the »Sacred Road« (ἱερὰ ὁδός) or »Processional Way« (πομπικὴ ὁδός) stands out⁴⁴. It led from Elis, probably from the local »Old Gymnasium«⁴⁵, to Olympia, where it ended in a special entrance, the πομπικὴ ἔσοδος⁴⁶. Its total length from Elis to Olympia was 300 stades (about 55.8 km⁴⁷), from Elis to the place Letrinoi 180 (about 33.3 km), and from there to Olympia 120 (about 22.2 km)⁴⁸.

It is important to note that this connection was not only of practical significance, but also indicates that the topography was religiously charged (cf. below 3.2). As a »sacred« road and place of solemnisation in the form of regular processions⁴⁹, it also created a cultic link between the political centre in the north and the central sanctuary in the south. In view of the peculiar organisation of the political union of the Eleans, one cannot distinguish between the centripetal and the centrifugal form of the procession. No hierarchical order differentiates both endpoints, as is the case in distinct polis cults elsewhere. A noteworthy characteristic in this regard is the presence of a spring located on this route, the Piera, where the Hellanodikai, the officials responsible for the Olympic Games and the games in honour of Hera (Heraia), as well as the Sixteen Women, performed their purification rituals⁵⁰. In or near Letrinoi a side road apparently led to the harbour site Pheia (modern-day Agios Andreas), which represented an important connection between Olympia and the sea⁵¹.

⁴³ X. An. 5, 3, 11.

⁴⁴ Paus. 5, 25, 7; cf. also 5, 15, 2; 5, 15, 7; 6, 20, 7. It is almost automatically equated with the »road through the plain« (Paus. 6, 16, 8; 6, 22, 8; cf. Str. 8, 5, 6 and Scholia Pl. R. 462 e, p. 164 [Ruhnken 1800] on the distance), already by Partsch 1897, 6 and cf. also Taita 2001, 119 with n. 48. 49; Sinn 2004, 128 f. For its course Partsch 1897, 6 f. remains fundamental.

⁴⁵ Sinn 2004, 128 f. On the old gymnasium, see Paus. 6, 23, 1–3.

⁴⁶ Paus. 5, 15, 2; 5, 15, 7; 6, 20, 7. This entrance at the time of Pausanias is identified by Mallwitz 1972, 123 (see also Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 270) with the south-west gate in the Roman enclosure wall of the Altis. Sinn 2004, 129 thinks of an entrance further north (near the Palaestra), but assumes a course south of the South Stoa in later times (see also Mallwitz 1972, 122 for the main entrance southeast of the Temple of Zeus in Greek times). – The question needs a more detailed clarification.

⁴⁷ We calculate the stade with 185 m. Admittedly, this is not a fixed measure in the sense of a calibrated ancient unit of measure (see esp. Janvier 1993), but it is based on the most common conversion, namely of the Roman mile (almost exactly 1480 m) to the Greek stade. The rate is often (e.g. in Pliny the Elder) calculated 1 : 8 (see also Şahin – Adak 2007, 120. In general,

one has to take into account that these measurements pertain to country routes where greater precision was possible). According to Str. 7, 7, 4 this ratio was commonly applied, cf. Janvier 1993, 12 f.; Arnaud 1993, 241, where also other variants are given, esp. to Polybius's 1 : 8,33 that Str. 7, 7, 4 mentions as a special case (for possible changes in this respect, cf. the ideas of Potheary 1995).

⁴⁸ Paus. 6, 22, 8. On the location of Letrinoi, probably at modern-day Pyrgos or the monastery Ag. Ioannis, see below 2.3.3.1; on the further course of the road (south of modern-day Salmoni, formerly Koukoura, thus approximately along the railway line) see Partsch 1897, 7.

⁴⁹ On the significance of walking for the sacralisation of geographical spaces, cf. Michaels 2006, 278; for Greece see esp. Nilsson 1951; Graf 1995; Graf 1996 (where the distinction between centripetal and centrifugal processions is made, which only applies in the framework of a strict definition of polis; on the problem of confinement to polis religion, see Kindt 2012); see also generally Bekker-Nielsen 2009.

⁵⁰ Paus. 5, 16, 8 (on the Plain Road); on the possible location south of Amaliada, on the border between the δῆμοι Elis and Letrinoi at that time, see Partsch 1897, 7.

⁵¹ See now Taita 2013, 346–348, with further references.

The so-called Mountain Road (ὄρεινὴ ὁδός) or road ›through the mountains‹ formed another connection between Elis and Olympia⁵². In contrast to the route in the plain, this formed the direct link between these places by crossing the mountainous or hilly country in between. It led first up the Peneios River to the confluence with the Ladon, where Pylos was located at a distance of 80 stades from Elis. Then it followed the Ladon River as far as possible before crossing the watershed between the Peneios and Alpheios Rivers at the modern-day village of Mouzaki. From there, it trailed along the catchment area of the Lestnitsa River, the main tributary of the Alpheios in this area. Here the road also passed the settlements of Alasyaion and Herakleia, the latter of which was probably located at modern-day Pournari⁵³. Further along it will have led through the modern-day villages of Pelopion and Platanos to Olympia. One might possibly locate the settlement of Dysponton on this section of the road, as it lay ›in the plain and on the road that leads from Elis to Olympia‹⁵⁴.

There existed yet other routes of transport and communication: North of the Alpheios a road led from Olympia to the east in the direction of Heraia and thus on to southern Arkadia, its initial section generally lying north of the Alpheios⁵⁵. Near Harpina another road branched off to the north or north-east, into the area of modern-day Lalas on the Pholoe plateau, whence it continued to Pheraia / Pharaia and into northern Arkadia⁵⁶.

In the south, there was an important route towards Samikon and the Anigros River and on to southern Triphylia and Messenia. Thanks to Pausanias, one may get some idea of this route: From Olympia, near the ford across the Alpheios, one finds the cliff of Typaion, which also served as a place of execution for Olympia. The road then left Skillous (west of modern-day Makrisia) to the right and approached the coast, where the area was ›sandy and rich in pines‹⁵⁷. In the area of Skillous, where the sacred grove of Artemis dedicated by Xenophon was located, about 20 stades (3.7 km) south of Olympia, the road to Sparta branched off to the east or southeast⁵⁸.

Another important route ran from Samikon directly along the coast across the aforementioned Alpheios ford at Epitalio and further north, and is directly attested by a milestone of Emperor Trajan from the year 117⁵⁹. Indeed, the Alpheios itself served as a traffic route and was navigable almost nine kilometres upstream of its estuary. There was a harbour at its

⁵² Str. 8, 3, 10; Paus. 6, 22, 5; Thphr. Lap. 16 (δὲ ὄρεος); on its course cf. the very vivid description by Partsch 1897, 4–6; for further information see Taita 2001, 120 with n. 51. The lignite deposits at Kladeos and Goumero (see above n. 35) are not specific enough to define the localisation more precisely (see Partsch 1897, 6). After all, at Goumero we are not too far from the course of the route assumed by Partsch. – Radt 2007 ad loc. (with reference to Leake 1830, vol. 2, 187) considers the possibility that the distance of ›less than 300 stades‹ between Olympia and Elis according to Str. 8, 3, 30 could point to the Mountain Road (if it is not only a deviation due to the rounding off the length of the Plain Road).

⁵³ The location of Alasyaion on this road is directly attested (Str. 8, 3, 10), that of Herakleia indirectly from the context of Paus. 6, 22, 5–8. On the location of the places (for Alasyaion Partsch 1897, 4 considers the area around Karatoula) cf. below 2.3.2.2; 2.3.3.1.

⁵⁴ Str. 8, 3, 32. On the basis of the wording one would assume a location on the Plain Road, but Meyer 1950, 1737 thinks of the Mountain Road, which always appears as a link between Elis and Olympia in Strabo, as the author would otherwise not have explicitly

added the specific reference to the plain. Incidentally, this would not match the other topographical data (see also Mandl – Ruggeri 2000, 47 n. 15; Roy 2002, 234 f.; Ruggeri 2004, 193). See also, in the light of our research, below 2.3.3.2.

⁵⁵ Lucianus Peregr. 35; D. Chr. 1, 52. Paus. 6, 21, 3–22, 1 takes it as a guide for orientation from east to west, from the Erymanthos River at the border to Arkadia to Olympia or to the Hippodrome. For a better understanding of the passage and the course of the road in relation to the Alpheios River (here already Wilamowitz had difficulties) see the enlightening remarks by Maddoli et al. 1999, 357 f.; cf. generally Taita 2001, 120 with n. 52.

⁵⁶ Str. 8, 3, 32; see Partsch 1897, 8 with n. 1; Pritchett 1989, 35 f.; Taita 2001, 121.

⁵⁷ Paus. 5, 6, 1; 5, 6, 4; 5, 6, 7 (in the opposite direction); on the course see esp. Partsch 1897, 11 f.; Meyer 1957, 47–49. 63–66 (still fundamental); further information in Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 210 f.; Taita 2001, 123–125.

⁵⁸ X. An. 5, 3, 10 f.; Taita 2001, 123 f. with n. 70.

⁵⁹ References in Taita 2001, 122 n. 64; see now Kolb 2013, 116 f. with fig. 2.

mouth and, at the appropriate point, one must also assume the existence of an inner river port⁶⁰. Upstream, one could imagine that boats and ships had to be towed, while downstream transportation on the Alpheios was facilitated by the existing current. The towing of ships with the help of draught animals certainly required roads close to the river course. It seems conceivable that a polygonal wall near the early 20th century railway bridge across the Alpheios, in combination with geoarchaeological investigations, provides an indication for the existence of towpaths and port facilities (see 2.1.2.2; 2.2.2.4).

1.3 The social formation of space

The following is about how space was socially designed, i.e. primarily through the coexistence of people who inhabit and manage it. Research has focused mainly on the political geography, i.e. on the organisation of the most important political power for the space in question, the union of the Eleans, residents of Elis. In addition, however, aspects of the sacred topography have occasionally received attention. We have focused on these in the context of the project, guided by phenomenological spatial concepts and in particular by the idea of ›existential space‹. This will be discussed in detail in the second part⁶¹.

At least from the 6th century onwards the ›tribe‹ or ›ethnos‹⁶² of the Eleans figures in history and appears as a well-organised political entity. Their name ›Waleioi‹ = ›people of the valley‹ indicates that the ethnogenesis took place in the area⁶³. Groups that formed the elite carrying ethnic traditions (›Traditionskern‹)⁶⁴ had apparently migrated from the area of Aetolia⁶⁵. In any case, this can be deduced from the stratigraphy of mythistory, as in the Homeric Iliad the region essentially still appears as the land of the Epeians. These groups from Aetolia settled mainly in the fertile valleys and peripheral areas around the Peneios River and its tributary Ladon, and certainly mixed with the people already living there. The question must remain open if and when they penetrated to the lower reaches of the Alpheios. At least the Peneios Valley around the town of Elis remained a significant centre⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ For the use of the estuary as a harbour cf. also Stanhope 1824, 55; Leake 1830, vol. 1, 45 f.; Curtius 1852, 4, 73. For the length of the river section Plin. HN 4, 6, 14 (›VI milia passuum‹); generally see Paus. 8, 14, 11; Philostr. VA 8, 15; cf. Taita 2001, 121. 130 and above all the detailed study by Taita 2013. She assumes a river port at the mouth and (due to the length given by Pliny) an inland port ›almost‹ in the area of the confluence with the Lestenitsa River (367). This may have been located near the modern railway bridge, see below 2.1.2.2; 2.2.2.4.

⁶¹ On ›existential space‹, cf. Tilley 1994, 16 f., see generally below 3.2.

⁶² The problematic term is used here in the sense of the Greek *ἔθνος*. Again, this concept is not clear-cut, but can be combined with modern notions of ›ethnicity‹ (which, however, is in itself problematic, as Ruby 2006 [esp. 43 f. 52] has highlighted in his detailed discussion of current approaches. One should not proceed too schematically). After all, it can be said that it refers to a political community which thinks of itself as a community of descent, which is bound to a living environment, which of course does not primarily constitute the community (in its emic perspective), as the group can survive migrations and may, if necessary, merge with groups of different origin and location.

⁶³ See already Gschnitzer 1969, 277; on this and the following cf. Gehrke 2005. – The new beginnings, which are implied by the literary-mythological material, correspond to the new start of activity as the excavations both in Elis and in Olympia document: In Elis Submycenaean and Protogeometric finds cover the second half of the 11th and early 10th centuries (Eder 2001a). There is less evidence for the 9th century; but then there are clearer signs of habitation from the late 8th century onwards (Eder – Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999).

⁶⁴ For the term cf. Wenskus 1961, 5–9; Steinacher 2012, 98 f. points to the problem arising from connecting this concept with certain notions of ethnicity and above all from a misunderstood reception of Wenskus' concepts. However, that does not alter the fact that it offers a differentiating concept that is helpful to describe processes of social integration from an ethnical point of view (›Ethnogenese‹) – and such processes are incidentally highly effective from an historical-empirical perspective.

⁶⁵ However, cf. Fowler 2013, 130 f.

⁶⁶ We also speak of ›hollow Elis‹ (for *κοιλὴ Ἠλῆς* see Th. 2, 25, 3; Str. 8, 3, 2; 8, 3, 3; 8, 3, 4; 8, 3, 17; 8, 3, 24; 8, 3, 26; 8, 3, 30; 8, 5, 6; Istros FGrHist 334 Fr. 40; Paus. 5, 16, 6); and according to Nafissi 2003, 24 with n. 15 the term relates to the Peneios Valley.

According to M. Nafissi⁶⁷ ›Waleioi‹ forms the opposite term to ›Akroreioi‹ (›people from the mountains‹) in the adjacent higher eastern and south-eastern regions around the Pholoe⁶⁸. This area was mythistorically occupied by Pholos and the Centaurs⁶⁹. It was incorporated into the region of Elis – although the period is not known – but remained a peculiar ensemble within the Elean union even in the Classical period⁷⁰.

However, in the present context the political geography on the lower Alpheios River is more important. This micro-region has its own profile, but despite the fragmentation of the landscape, it was neither markedly separated from the ›hollow Elis‹ nor the Akrorea. The discussion of the routes of communication has highlighted this point. At least by the 6th century, two administrative and political regions had emerged. Pisa (or the Pisatis, the area immediately around Olympia) and Triphylia, the zone south of the river towards Messenia⁷¹. The territory of Pisa was an integral part of Elis, while the Triphylian sites and settlements were considered Elean *perioikoi* (›dwellers around‹) and had the status of Elean allies (σύμμαχοι)⁷². In our research area, we must consider here Epitalion, Letrinoi, Amphidolia and Marganai.

At least from the 6th century onward, Pisa, the area immediately adjacent to Olympia, belonged to the territory of Elis, and thus was not merely part of the hegemonic symmarchy⁷³.

⁶⁷ Nafissi 2003, 40.

⁶⁸ It lies »vicinissima a Olimpia« (Nafissi 2003, 40) or »above it«, Str. 8, 3, 32.

⁶⁹ Pholos, son of Silen and a nymph, was one of the Centaurs living in the oak forest of Pholoe, who entertained Herakles with wine from a barrel that Dionysus had given to a Centaur four generations earlier with the requirement to open it only when Herakles would pass by. The smell of the wine attracted other Centaurs, who rushed in and started fighting for the wine. They were expelled by Herakles with his poisonous arrows. While Pholos took care of the dead, he was accidentally injured when he pulled out an arrow and died (Stesich. PMGF S 19 = 181 p. 162 [Davies 1991]; Theoc. 7, 149; Diod. 4, 12, 3–8; Verg. Georg. 2, 456; Aen. 8, 294; Käppel 2000, 949; Nafissi 2003, 40 n. 129) – The story could reflect the original discrepancy between the settlers or population groups – exaggerated to a cultural divergence in the *imaginaire* of the Greeks: The Centaurs (= people in the mountains) could not enjoy the pleasures of the symposium in moderation. In contrast, in Olympia from the very beginning symposia and wine consumption were common (Eder 2003; Eder 2006 on the remains of drinking vessels from the ›black layer‹). It seems plausible that a reminiscence of these Centaurs (possibly as relatives of the Thessalian ones) is present in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus, as a ›second reading‹ or subtext and thus as additional evidence of the polyvalent readability of the work of art, which merges various versions or provides a new conglomeration of different versions and semantics (for this aspect cf. Heiden 2003). On the relations between Elis and Thessaly cf. below 3.2.

⁷⁰ In the 4th century, it consisted of four poleis, Thraistos, Halion, Eupagion, Opous (Diod. 17, 8; cf. X. HG 7, 4, 12–14 with Nafissi 2003, 26 n. 32).

⁷¹ The term is used for the sake of convenience. One has to take into account that the notion of Triphylia as a

region emerged only around 400 B.C., according to Nielsen 1997.

⁷² This hegemonic symmarchy of the Eleans results from Ebert – Siewert 1999 = Siewert 2006, 49–51 (no. 4) (525–500 B.C.), line 5: Elis »καὶ τὰς συμ<α>χίας«; see now also Bourke 2017, 109–111 (with slightly different views). In detail, these probably included the sites mentioned below. A criterion for the affiliation with the symmarchy seems to have been that the Olympian Zeus appears in IvO 10 (Minon 2007, no. 14) and 11 (Minon 2007, no. 12) as warranting the legal acts (bibliography in Wolff 2010, 102 n. 552). The question whether it was an ›allied‹ place or a subunit of Elis is not always easy to answer, and one can also expect that this changed occasionally: Skillous: Paus. 5, 6, 4; 6, 22, 4; IvO 16 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, Nr. 56 = Minon 2007, no. 22, mid 5th century testified as dependant, Wolff 2010, 97 with n. 515; Ewa: Meiggs – Lewis 1989, no. 17 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, Nr. 52: Ewaioi (formerly also Heraioi) (c. 500 B.C.): actually *foedus aequum*, but required penalties are due to Zeus of Olympia (thus indirectly to Elis, cf. tribute Lepreon); Anaitioi and Metapioi: IvO 10 (van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, Nr. 51 = Minon 2007, no. 14), with Nafissi 2003, 42 with n. 146; Triphylia: Lepreon and Pylos, and Epeion bought for 30 talents according to X. HG 3, 2, 30 (Wolff 2010, 100); furthermore probably (however, only according to a certain interpretation of Hdt. 4, 148, see Wolff 2010, 96 f.), Makistos, Phrixa, Pyrgos, Noudion, Epitalion (Wolff 2010, 97); see also other places named on the occasion of the Elean-Spartan War (402–400 B.C.): Akrorea (but see above), Letrinoi, Amphidolis, Marganeis, Lasion (Nafissi 2003, 26, on these cf. also below 2.3.3.1); cf. also the list of Elean places in Roy 1999, and Roy 2004, 489–504 and Ruggeri 2004. – On the ›Aetolian‹ Erxadieis (van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, Nr. 55) see Wolff 2010, 80 f. n. 426.

⁷³ Still fundamental Meyer 1950; cf. also esp. Roy 2002.

According to ancient – albeit not uniform – tradition or perception, there had been a ›polis‹ or, more cautiously, an ethno-political unit that had founded and organised the Olympics before the Eleans, who around 580 B.C., in the wake of military conflicts finally wrested control of the games. Under the protection of the powerful Arkadian Confederation and in the context of the reconstitution of their state, the Pisatans organised the Olympic Games of 364 B.C. before finally making their peace with the Eleans.

Already in the 19th century, Benedictus Niese had questioned the authenticity of the traditions of an early ›Pisatan‹ phase of the Olympic Games and considered it as retrojection from the time around 364, and after the addition of further arguments, this position has largely prevailed⁷⁴. It has more recently been questioned again⁷⁵ and therefore forms part of our agenda (see below 3.1).

First of all, we must consider which assumptions we can make about the structure of the Elean union at the end of the 6th century. This collective, which had formed only after the groups from the area of Aetolia or northwestern Greece had settled around the Peneios River⁷⁶, expanded to the south, east and southeast, to the mountains and the zones on the lower reaches of the Alpheios. Its organisation took a relatively loose and very complex form, albeit coupled with a high degree of coherence. According to Greek terminology, it formed an *ethnos*. Internally it was governed, apparently initially, by a strict aristocracy; this entailed the rule of the dominant families with a council of ninety nobles⁷⁷, which perhaps included the members of the old ›traditional core‹ elite. This was probably replaced in the course of the 6th century by a broader order (a moderate oligarchy or agrarian democracy according to Aristotle)⁷⁸.

More important than the question of the participation in power is the one in regard to the spatial organisation. The determining factor is formed by the markedly loose settlement pattern, which is said to consist of »villages« (κωμηδόν) and »many communities« (πολλοὶ δῆμοι), etc.⁷⁹ We have to imagine a very diverse arrangement of various settlements, villages,

⁷⁴ For the discussion about Pisa, see Möller 2004; Nielsen 1997; Roy 2002; Giangulio 2009 (modified) and esp. Nafissi 2003, 28–30, see now also (particularly sceptical) Zingg 2016, 238–266 (with extreme parallelism of the mythistory and the events around 364 B.C.); Bourke 2017, 53–68.

⁷⁵ Köiv 2013; cf. the critical remarks in Bourke 2017, 61–62.

⁷⁶ However, cf. above n. 65.

⁷⁷ Arist. Pol. 5, 5, 1306 a 12–18.

⁷⁸ Arist. Pol. 6, 2, 1319 a 12–19 (possibly a law for the protection of smaller farmers); IvO 2 (Minon 2007, no. 20, after Jeffery 1990 475–450 B.C., see the inscription NIO 5, which appears rather similar but a little older, Nafissi 2003, 44 f., who also recognises a mixture of local and central elements); IvO 3. 11 (500–475 B.C. after Jeffery 1990) with census-type (?) restrictions (IvO 11 = Minon 2007, no. 12, 3 f., cf. Nafissi 2003, 44) and »council« (the Five Hundred) and »people« (Nafissi 2003, 46). This would match Paus. 4, 28, 4 (»Ἡλεῖοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοποννησίων«). – Nafissi 2003, 46 f. takes insufficient account of the changes mentioned in Aristotle and attributes this step of expansion to the *synoikismos*. If one does not favour a democratic interpretation and connect it with the change in the 5th century, it seems better to at least link the council of the 500 (IvO 7 = Minon 2007, no. 4), which is larger than the »90«, with this enlargement

in the sense of a moderate oligarchy or something similar. – Hypothetical reconstruction of the internal constitutional development in Gehrke 1985, 365–367, partly to be modified according to Nafissi 2003, 42–48, who also assembles the most important sources of the ethno-federal structure. Cf. now also Roy 2015a, who points out that Elis was not a federal state in the technical sense. Instead, he rightly speaks of a »complex structure«, which he however modifies with his assumption of a »polis Elis with a very large territory by Greek standards, and a network of allies subordinate to it« (284). – The following problematic issues remain: The question of dating the inscriptions (e.g. the criterion for early dating [zeta for delta] following Dittenberger – Purgold on IvO 1, p. 3 is no longer valid), the correspondence between the developments that are inferred in the inscriptions and those contained in the literary sources (esp. Arist., Str.), and the individual interpretation of the documented institutions (e.g. of the council). On the constitution of Elis see now also Bourke 2017, who underestimates, however, the abovementioned character of the Elean political union and the degree of its complex internal organisation (29–30. 88–92), thus placing special weight on the *synoikismos* (92–95) and dating the council of the 90 to 400 B.C. (171 f.).

⁷⁹ Str. 8, 3, 2. Plb. 4, 73, 5–8 also emphasises the rural structure and the preference for life in the countryside.

hamlets, farmsteads and sanctuaries which were also organised and managed in their own way. Nevertheless, all of these existed under the control of a relatively central, greater entity, probably with intermediate tiers of community organisation and governance. This is best captured by Strabo, who speaks of a σύστημα δήμων⁸⁰. Two places (at least from the 2nd half of the 6th century onward) represented centrality, the capital of Elis and the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia.

At the latest from the 6th century on there existed an agora in Elis⁸¹. From the middle of the 6th century legal texts pertaining to the ethnos of the Eleans and its subunits were published in bronze in Olympia⁸². Olympia, or rather the sanctuary, thus formed a »secondo polo«⁸³ for the whole of Elis, and this found its cultic expression in the great procession between the two centres. This certainly favoured the plurality and flexibility in the rather loosely knit union and thus promoted integration. There was no annexation by a powerful polis centre, but an indirect integration that was also mediated via the sanctuary of Zeus. The respective local elites and populations had their own position in the union as a whole.

Texts dating from as early as the 7th century point to a clear self-conception of the ethnos of the Eleans, and by the 6th century at the latest there was a distinct political-administrative (»ethnic« in the sense of ethnos) and quite modern organisation that is visible in the textualisation of rules and laws. The Eleans were able to expand their highly complex union in an adequate way, and finally to develop a considerable expansionary force, enhanced, as it were, by the prestige and wealth that the organisation of the games and the operation of the oracle provided. A wealth of laws and decisions allows us to gain a clear insight into the organisational structure at the central and local levels as well as between the different units. One could refer to this structure as tribal-federal in nature⁸⁴, and we are inclined, for instance, to use the Swiss canton of Graubünden in its historical structures as a possible model.

In addition, all our information points to a relatively high level of stability (especially when compared to other Greek communities) even in times of change. This suggests that the elite was sufficiently open and gently moderated the process of change. At the same time, there was a relatively broad »middle class« on a largely agrarian basis, within which no significant social differences, tensions or frictions can be discerned.

In this context, a democratisation or further opening of the constitution is to be assumed, or at least conceivable, even if the evidence remains meagre⁸⁵. The dating is unclear. Indeed, one could make a tentative connection with the *synoikismos* of 472/471; this, however, needs to remain hypothetical⁸⁶.

In general, one should not overestimate the significance of the *synoikismos* in view of the already achieved degree of organisation and stability. In any case, it was merely a question of settlement organisation and did not involve a constitutional change. Perhaps it was a catching-up in terms of »modernisation«, primarily led by the need for an adequate representation of a prominent state which considered itself eminent. It was now fashionable for

⁸⁰ Str. 8, 3, 2 (Edition: Jones 1927).

⁸¹ Siewert 1994, 26; Siewert 2001; Eder – Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 24–35 – at an earlier time (in the 9th/8th, if not even in the 7th century), there still lay (some) tombs: Nafissi 2003, 24 with n. 11.

⁸² Siewert 1994.

⁸³ Nafissi 2003, 48, cf. Yalouris 1996, 70; on Olympia within Elis, but also beyond see Roy 2013.

⁸⁴ The federal aspect has recently been highlighted by Nafissi 2003, based primarily on IvO 3. 7. 11 (Minon 2007, nos. 13. 4. 12); see also Alonso Troncoso 2013,

211 (with further references). – The significantly decentralised aspects also become apparent in Polybius' comments on the local jurisdiction (Plb. 4, 73, 8).

⁸⁵ Gehrke 1985, 366.

⁸⁶ Against the correlation of democratisation and *synoikismos* see Hölkeskamp 1999; 97–103; Roy 2002, 258; cf. the summary in Wolff 2010, 93 with n. 487. In contrast, Bourke (2017, 95–101) associates the *synoikismos* with the establishment of a radical type of democracy.

states to feature an urban centre, and if necessary, this could have been combined with a more pragmatic ›revision‹ of the constitution⁸⁷.

In any case, according to our sources the complex interaction between the centre and the various subunits as well as the *perioikoi* continued without any serious changes. Perhaps the establishment of local phylai as intermediates between the centre and the subunits (demes) helped to restructure the interactions between the different levels, in a way similar to Athens. However, the period of introduction of these phylai remains unclear, and only for the year 368 is their local character testified with any degree of certainty, although this merely marks a terminus ante quem⁸⁸.

What has been said about Elis in general can be assumed in a more condensed form for Olympia and the surroundings of the sanctuary in particular, i.e. in the area of Pisa. This is of considerable importance for our work and its interpretations. Firstly, the centrality of the sanctuary itself needs to be emphasised. As we have seen, it applies to the Elean union itself (disregarding the Panhellenic importance for the time being), but also for the immediate environment. Here the sanctuary functions as a centre. At the local level, there exists a clear complementary relation between Olympia and the surrounding area of Pisa. They belong together and can be understood as a single unit in the sense of ›centre and environment‹. This has been addressed as ›two sides of one and the same coin‹⁸⁹. One might also say that Pisa is ›la zone profane et habituée qui entourage le lieu sacré, c'est à dire le lieu géographique, par opposition à Olympie, qui désignait le sanctuaire‹⁹⁰. In addition, according to current knowledge, before systematic and comprehensive investigations took place, there existed no major settlements, but rather scattered hamlets and villages⁹¹. This accords with the impression the Spartans gained around 400 B.C., who considered the inhabitants χωρίται, or ›peasants‹, and therefore unsuitable to host the Olympic Games⁹². On the other hand, references exist to the Pisatan ὀκτάπολις⁹³. In the following section, we shall discuss whether our current research has produced any new results in this regard.

2 FIELD REPORTS AND PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The work is essentially tripartite: fieldwork, the documentation and processing of the respective finds and findings (in the museum stores, in laboratories, virtual); and, finally, the evaluation according to superordinate questions and perspectives. The project participants have carried out numerous preliminary studies, especially in connection with the large Olympia exhibition at the Gropius-Bau in Berlin (2012/2013), including workshops in Olympia and Berlin. Geoarchaeological investigations using geophysics and terrestrial laser scanning (LIDAR – Light Detection and Ranging) enabled the specific documentation

⁸⁷ In view of what Aristotle (see above n. 78) writes on agrarian democracies, and because of the preceding development, this did certainly not amount to a radical cut.

⁸⁸ The oldest document is NIO 5 A (Minon 2007, no. 16), 1, see also Aristodem. FGrHist 414 Fr. 2 a. b and esp. Paus. 5, 9, 4–6. For the evidence of the local character of the phylai in the year 368 see Bultrighini 1990, 146–162. Because there were ten phylai in a previous period (Paus. 5, 9, 5) and there is a possible parallel to Athens (council of 500), one could – with a conjecture of Paus. 5, 9, 5 – arrive in the year 472 B.C. and the time of the *synoikismos* (Gehrke 1985, 366 f.). Bultrighini 1990 (esp. 172) considers the number of

eight phylai to be feasible even for the 6th century due to the ›Sixteen Women‹ of the Heraia in relation to eight phylai (Paus. 5, 16, 2–8). For the phylai cf. also Gschnitzer 1958, 12 f.; Jones 1987, 142–145; Maddoli 1991, 165 f.; Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 225–227; Nafissi 2003, 49; Ruggeri 2004, 44–53.

⁸⁹ Giangiulio 2009, 76.

⁹⁰ Minon 2007, 90.

⁹¹ See esp. Meyer 1950, 1750; Yalouris 1972, 95 f.; Maddoli et al. 1999, 304 f.; Mandl – Ruggeri 2000, 51; Ruggeri 2004, 190.

⁹² X. HG 3, 2, 31.

⁹³ Meyer 1950, 1737–1739; Roy 2002.

of previously unknown archaeological remains, as was the case in the area of the Bronze Age cemetery at Kioupia in Mageiras in the context of preliminary explorations in cooperation with the Ephorate of Elis in spring 2014. Here, within the planned future survey area, previously unknown chamber tombs were discovered, and tombs that had already been excavated were measured in detail.

2.1 Archaeological Survey

The archaeological programme consisted of fieldwork and the analysis of artefacts. The following presents a preliminary account of the results achieved so far. An essential part of the working programme of the first three years of the project consists of the implementation of an archaeological and geoarchaeological survey taking into account all categories of finds and periods. The detailed geomorphological study of the development of the landscape and the fine-grained chronological reconstruction of the paleoenvironment are of fundamental importance, as they allow the reconstruction of the landscape by identifying and taking into account all anthropogenic interventions and activities. Three archaeological and three geomorphological campaigns took place. The former took place in the autumn months after the end of the maize and grain harvest, the latter were carried out more intensively in spring, as the more humid conditions favoured core drilling.

The selected zones of the survey area exhibit a heterogeneous nature whose variables are, on the one hand, the geological and geomorphological character, the landscape types and the topography. On the other hand, anthropogenic activities have led to changes in the environment. Throughout the study area of the ›Olympia and its Environs‹ Project all variables appear in various forms. Olive trees are grown to varying degrees, often entailing considerable changes in the landscape. Olive cultivation is one of the effective postdepositional processes as it is associated with terracing measures, which often involve the stripping of up to 2 m of topsoil. This can result in the removal, burial or exposure of more ancient traces of anthropogenic activity.

In spite of the aforementioned time frame (about 1200–400 B.C.) forming the focus of our primary epistemological interest, in the first project phase the documentation of the survey results and finds adheres to strict criteria to ensure the greatest comprehensiveness possible. The collected data and finds will thus be available for future research using different questions and angles. For instance, interesting findings have evidently emerged for the Byzantine period.

Of crucial importance is the close integration of archaeological and geoscientific methods forming a geoarchaeological framework. Landscape archaeology and historical geography thus gain new opportunities. Particularly significant is the combination of archaeological findings with multi-proxy data, which are relevant for the paleoenvironment. As the potential or previously known settlements in the core of the survey area are sites of erosion, adequate sedimentary records in this area are lacking. Therefore, geological data were obtained from directly adjacent sedimentary basins, where adequate geological stratigraphies are available as a basis for deciphering the landscape history.

2.1.1 Methods

The intensive archaeological grid survey took place with two groups each consisting of five to six people in annual campaigns of approximately 30 days each. The survey area was divided into a regular grid of 100×100 m squares that were walked by teams in parallel tracks (*fig. 2*)⁹⁴. The larger sites were subdivided into collection fields of 20×20 m.

A two-stage process forms the basis of the documentation. In the field, observations and information were recorded in diaries or on maps (1 : 5000); landscape features, finds and findings were documented in photographs. For orientation the surveyors had handheld GPS devices, topographical maps and satellite images. In general, ground visibility varied considerably, and this was taken into account in the evaluation (visibility factor).

During the systematic prospection (grid with tracks), the immobile findings were sketched and the diagnostic find material (as expected, mainly pottery fragments and tiles) was collected from the surface and brought to the depot for evaluation. All finds with a chronological, typological and / or functional significance are considered diagnostic.

This survey project distinguishes between archaeological ›sites‹ and ›off-sites‹. ›Sites‹ are defined by artefact clusters of variable size. Minor scatterings of material or single finds in an otherwise empty area are termed ›sites‹, and the same applies to the clustering of finds in an environment with considerable ›background noise‹. The type of artefacts – e.g. ceramics or stone tools – is not a defining criterion.

The data obtained in the field were then digitally documented. All these parameters have been incorporated into the database model designed by C. Hickel (TU Darmstadt) (*fig. 3*). In the depot, A. Sieverling was responsible for the sorting of the finds according to collection squares (collections) as well as for the photographic documentation. Subsequently, F. Lang and A. Sieverling carried out a first chronological assessment of the collections, which forms the basis for the present temporary mapping of the sites according to periods.

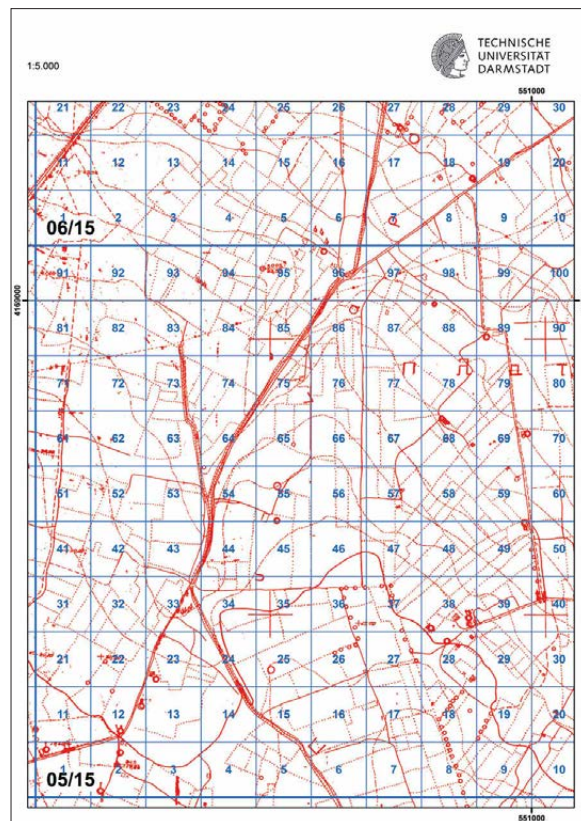


Fig. 2 Survey grid system

⁹⁴ Staff: Archaeological team of German and Greek students, 2015: L. B. Balandat, A. Galeano Araque, C. Herbig, V. V. Hoft, M. Kalisch, F. Kotzur, G. Koutsimanis, M. Papoutsakis, M. F. Rönnberg, K. Weber, R. Winter, A. W. Xilakis; 2016: J. Göbel, M. Gras, M. Kalisch, E. Karampourniotis, E. Karathanou, E. Kirkilesi, S. Manicke, M. Marsh-Hunn, R. P. Metz, P. Patouni, M. Riepe, D. L. Rogall, Ch. Sakareli,

A. Sieverling, E. Theodorou, R. Winter, A. W. Xilakis; 2017: J. Göbel, M. Gras, M. Kalisch, E. Kirkilesi, L. Korbach, M. Marsh-Hunn, P. Menti, R. Metz, M. Riepe, D. Syrmalis, R. Winter, K. Wörzler – Geoarchaeology: L. Obrocki, B. Rübke, I. Korinski, N. Becker – Ephorate: D. Klephtonikolos, S. Lampropoulos, Z. Leventouri, Ch. Liangouras, K. Loumiouti.

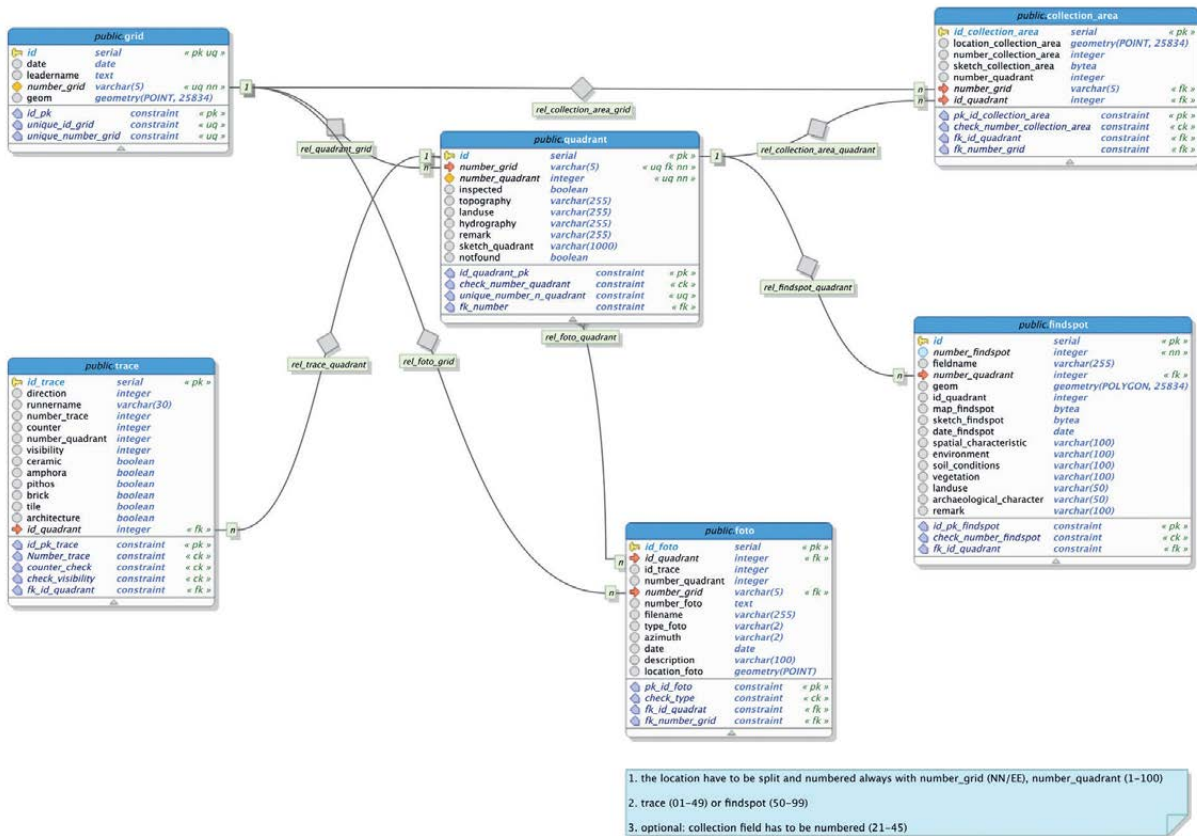


Fig. 3 Survey Data Model

The finds from the numerous excavations of the region such as those from the sanctuary of Olympia served as chronological reference material for the dating of the ceramic finds. The first review of the material allows for a preliminary chronological overview of the sites.

2.1.2 Archaeological results

The following sections present the results of a first evaluation of the archaeological survey data. The official permit covered a maximum of 30 square kilometres of which 13 were intensively surveyed (fig. 4). The landscape as well as anthropogenic interventions influenced the visibility and accessibility of the prospection areas as well as the conditions for the survival and visibility of archaeological finds. Areas under cultivation, severe erosion, settlement activity or fenced areas, where access was sometimes denied, at times limited survey activity.

Concerning the preservation of individual artefact types, it should be noted that hardly any lithic artifacts and very few remains of pre-modern architecture were found in the entire survey area⁹⁵. Nevertheless, the many terracotta tiles are indirect witnesses of the ancient built environment. Pottery and tiles clearly dominate the range of discovered items. In a few cases the quality of the surface pottery was remarkably good.

⁹⁵ No expert of lithics was part of our team.



Fig. 4 Surveyed areas 2015–2017

2.1.2.1 ZONE 1: KLADEOS VALLEY – ARCHAIA PISA (FIG. 5)

Zone 1 includes firstly the Kladeos River valley running north from Olympia, and secondly the areas east of the sanctuary of Zeus up to the village of Archaia Pisa (formerly Miraka) and its surroundings. An irregular rolling country characterises the landscape, where the streams of the Kladeos and Pilalistra flow through the western part of the survey area. In its lower reaches, the Kladeos is confined east and west by ridges before it joins the Alpheios River west of the sanctuary. The sanctuary of Olympia was set up near the confluence of these two rivers, south of Kronos Hill and not centrally in the Kladeos Valley. In the north-east, the terrain framed by mountain ranges widens around the village of Kladeos. Here and in the Kladeos Valley, the ridges are succeeded by flat areas that are suitable for cultivation and where olives, grapes and vegetables are grown today.

The Kladeos forms a striking natural boundary that separates the area around Olympia into a western and an eastern part. The Kladeos River has over time cut its course in places down to 10 m into the sandy marl. The geoarchaeological investigations were able to prove that its course changed over the centuries (see below). Thus, the crossing of the Kladeos was apparently not always a trivial undertaking. The river also had, according to eyewitness reports, significance as source of drinking water well into the 20th century.

In contrast to zones 2 and 3, the natural deformation is particularly strong in Zone 1 (fig. 6). The Kladeos Valley is heavily modified by development; the tourist infrastructure has made a lasting contribution to the transformation of this area over the decades, not least by extensive road construction measures. The agricultural use as well as the high degree of erosion of the sandy marls also influence the landscape dynamics.

The survey area in the Kladeos Valley stretches from the hills north of the villages of Platanos and Mageiras to the sanctuary in the south (fig. 5. 7). Expanding villages, farms of various sizes, fenced farmland as well as greenhouses hampered walking in this zone.

East of Olympia, about 30 hectares are occupied by the IOC's International Olympic Academy site, which is fenced and therefore could not be prospected (fig. 7 no. 13). Small-scale fertile settlement areas characterise the ambit of the modern village of Archaia Pisa, where today, apart from olives and grapes, fruit and vegetables are grown (figs. 5. 7). The modern village is located on a plateau, which slopes steeply on its western side. On the wide and flat valley floor below, there are two winter streams.

In Zone 1, the northern area within the triangle of the villages of Koskinas, Mageiras and Platanos, as well as the area around Archaia Pisa proved particularly rich in finds (fig. 27). To

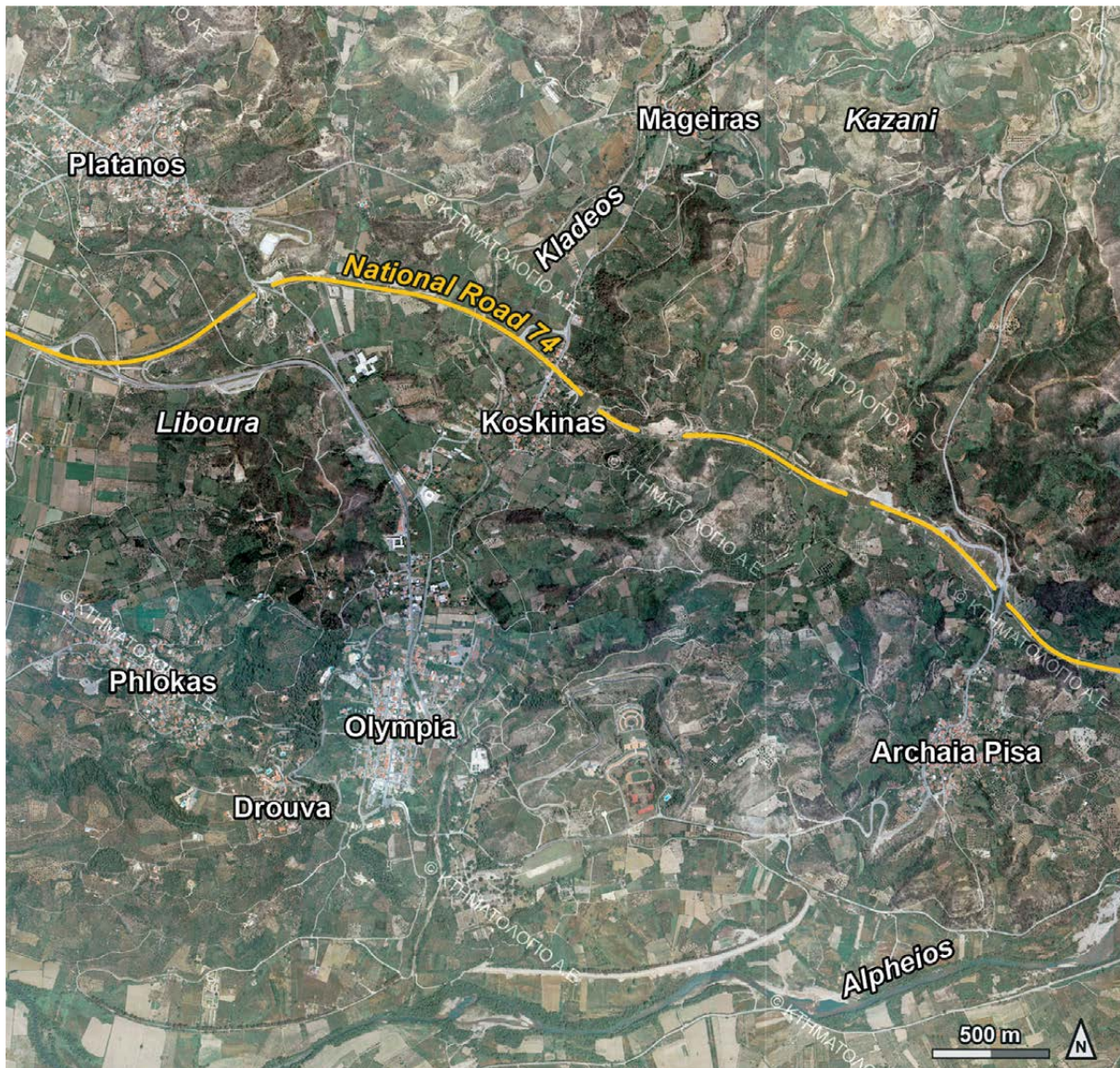
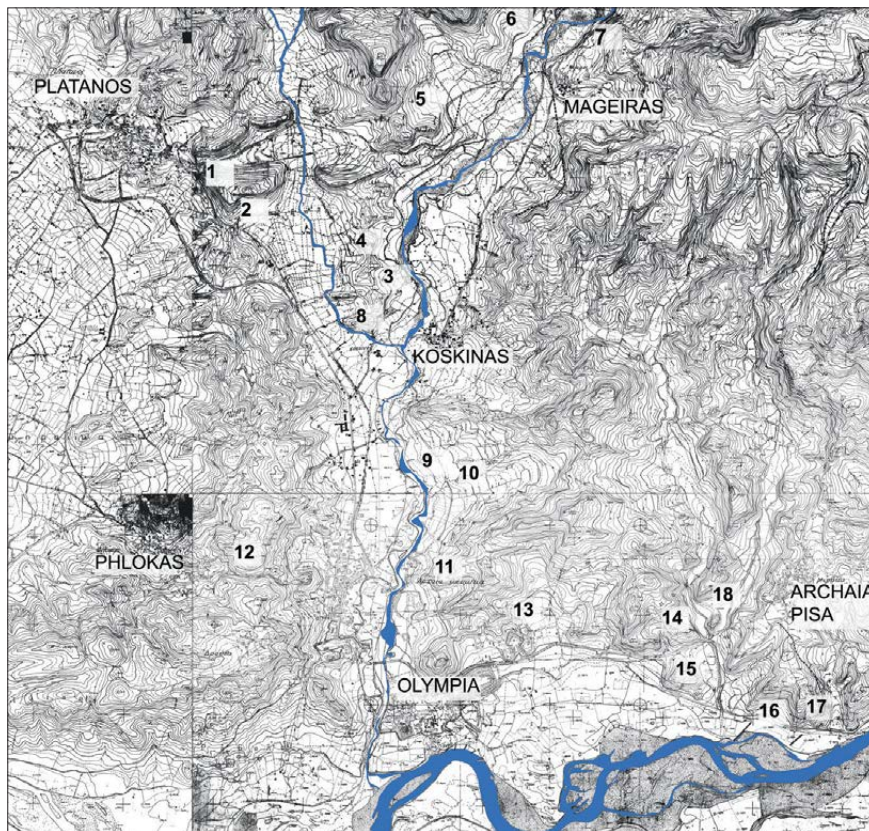


Fig. 5 Areas located in Zone 1, Kladeos Valley and Archaia Pisa

the southeast of the village of Platanos rises a prominent hill where a quarter of the summit was levelled for the construction of a helicopter landing place in 2004 (*figs. 6 no. 1; 7 no. 1*). The finds on the hill and on its slopes date back to various periods (continuous from the Bronze Age to the Classical period; *fig. 8*), and among them was the fragment of a firedog (*fig. 9*). At the southern foot of this hill in a field called Renia, where a tunnel of the National Road 74 is today located, Mycenaean chamber tombs came to light (*figs. 6 no. 2; 7 no. 2*).

Northwest of the village of Koskinas and between the villages of Mageiras and Kladeos the evidence for sites increases (*figs. 6 no. 3; 7 no. 3; 27*). In Koskinas, two nearby sites are particularly interesting. At a place on the eastern spurs of a hill near the western banks of the Kladeos a large quantity of primarily Classical-Hellenistic pottery was found. The assemblage of finds suggests that this was once the place of an ancient settlement. Approximately 250 m northwest of this site, beyond a pass, lies another hill. At the summit of this hill and on its western slopes primarily Roman and post-ancient material was collected, possibly deriving from a village that was destroyed, according to information provided by a local



△

Fig. 6 Zone 1, Olympia to Koskinas – view from east to west

Fig. 7 Zone 1, location of find spots

farmer, in the late 18th century and of which no remains are visible (figs. 6 no. 4; 7 no. 4). If this is true, the destruction could be linked to the suppression of the 1770 uprising by Albanian troops⁹⁶. Two models are conceivable to explain the relationship of these neighbouring sites to each other: on the one hand, the existence of a large, more or less continuous settlement; and on the other, the shift of the settlement focus from the east to the northwest in Roman times. North of these sites, the finding of a *tegula mammata* indicates the existence of a Roman bath, where these tiles served the circulation of hot air (figs. 7 no. 5; 10).

⁹⁶ On the uprising of the Peloponnesian Greeks in the Russo-Turkish war from 1768 to 1774 during the Russian naval operation under the Orlov brothers see in particular Παπαδόπουλος 1975, 58–85; for the suppression and the role of the Albanian troops in the northwest of the Peloponnese 70–73. On the impor-

tance of Albanians as representatives of Ottoman rule after 1800 see also Gell 1817, 34; Leake 1830a, 3. 46; Cockerell 1903, 71. Sibthorpe 1820, 80 f. offers a vivid description on the occasion of a visit of the Aga of Lalas on March 2nd/3rd 1795.



Fig. 8 Collection of prehistoric sherds from site no. 1 near Platanos

Among the sites in the wider area of Mageiras lies Kioupia Hill, where in 2007, after the great fire, an exceptionally large cemetery of Mycenaean chamber tombs with valuable burial gifts was discovered and subsequently excavated (*fig. 7 no. 6*)⁹⁷. In its closer and wider surroundings, the survey team documented Archaic as well as Classical pithoi or tiles that may belong to tombs (*fig. 11*).

Opposite Kioupia on the eastern side of the Kladeos to the northeast of Mageiras lies a multi-period site (*fig. 7 no. 7*), where huge blocks of a brick-mortar wall lie scattered in the terrain. They derive from a former monastery, which is said to have been demolished in the 18th century, according to the information provided by an employee of the Ephorate.



Fig. 9 Fire dog from site no. 1 near Platanos

⁹⁷ Mageiras-Kioupia: Vikatou 2012; Βικάτου 2014a; Βικάτου 2014b; Βικάτου 2014c; Βικάτου 2016.



Fig. 11 Mageiras-Kioupia,
Archaic pithos grave



Fig. 10 Tegula mammata

In the 19th century, a church was built here for Agios Nikolaos, which is currently being renovated.

In the 19th century, some villages were established in this area, partly due to population relocation. The residents of Kazani left their village in the mountains and moved to Koskinas (*fig. 5*). In the villages of Koskinas and Mageiras, a church was built after 1860 for which ancient spoils of shelly limestone, probably from ancient Olympia, were used (*fig. 12*). At Koskinas, west of the Kladeos, the remains of a watermill still exist today (*figs. 6 no. 8; 7 no. 8; 13*). According to the information provided by the owners, it dates back to the 19th century. A short distance away, the Pilalitra River flows into

the Kladeos River. Consulting old maps shows that in the year 1882 the Pilalitra joined the Kladeos approximately 600 m further south (as the crow flies), where there was another mill. This provides evidence for river regulation, which has led to a considerable change in the water infrastructure of the area.

A hitherto unknown and possibly looted Mycenaean chamber tomb deserves to be mentioned among the sites discovered by the survey teams between Koskinas and Olympia. It was cut into a low hill not far from the Kladeos River (*figs. 6 no. 9; 7 no. 9; 14. 16*). As in the case of Kioupia there is evidence of Early Iron Age and Archaic tombs nearby, and here the fragment of a painted thin-walled vessel of the Archaic period was found (*fig. 15*). In terms of location, this example illustrates that not only prominent hills, such as Kioupia, were selected as sites for Mycenaean chamber tombs (*fig. 16*). Not far to the east of this cemetery, a potential Byzantine farmstead once stood on a low hill, which offered a good view of the Kladeos Valley (*figs. 6 no. 10; 7 no. 10; 16*). A few Roman finds were also made. To the south, a dirt road leads east to the area of the village of Archaia Pisa.

Fig. 12 Koskinas, church with ancient spolia from Olympia (?)



Fig. 13 Koskinas, aqueduct of 19th century



Southern Kladeos area: The modern town of Olympia developed only as the importance of the sanctuary for tourism grew (*fig. 5*). Hardly any sites have been registered in its immediate surroundings as the deformation caused by the modern village has almost completely sealed the surfaces (*fig. 5*). On the hill northeast of the New Museum, ceramics and tiles testify to Middle Bronze Age, Mycenaean, Hellenistic and Roman activities (*fig. 7 no. 11*). According to an employee of the Ephorate, Bronze Age walls were uncovered on the north side.

In comparison with the other survey zones the Kladeos area produced the largest quantity of Roman tiles which indirectly refer to buildings or tombs (*fig. 18*).



Fig. 14 Kladeos Valley, site no. 9: stomion of Mycenaean tomb



Fig. 15 Kladeos Valley, site no. 9: fragments of Laconian type vessel



Fig. 16 Kladeos Valley, sites nos. 9–10: view to Mycenaean tomb and Byzantine farmstead

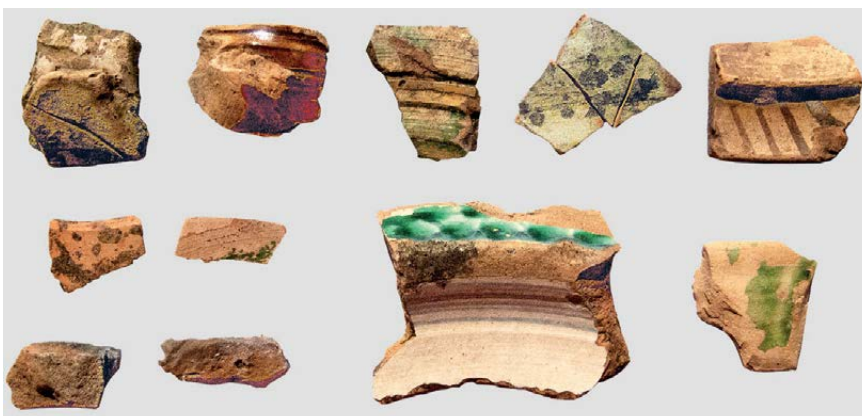


Fig. 17 Drouva – Flokas, collection of post-antique pottery fragments

Drouva – Flokas

West of the Kladeos, the number of sites is significantly lower than in the rest of the study area (*fig. 27*). Around the villages Flokas and Drouva, where few significant finds could be made due to recent construction activities and numerous fenced plots, hardly any sites of ancient times and only a few of post-antiquity have been observed (*figs. 5. 7. 17*). There is a striking number of stone-lined wells in this area.

Drouva rises above the western Kladeos Valley, from where one enjoys a good view of the Kladeos Valley and the sanctuary of Olympia⁹⁸. Flokas, however, lies on the western slope of this ridge offering a view across the Alpheios River plain to the sea⁹⁹. The summit of the hill above Flokas, with the Prophitis Ilias church, affords a view of both the Kladeos Valley and the sea (*figs. 6 no. 12; 7 no. 12*). In the first half of the 20th century, a path still led from Flokas passing Drouva to the Alpheios riverside, whence a ferry provided passage to the other side.

To the west of Drouva, a ridge runs parallel to the Alpheios River and terminates at its western end at a point where the course of the Alpheios changes direction to the north and where a dam was built in the 1960s (*fig. 19*). In this plot called Αγκόν(ι)α lies a convenient pass from the north towards the Alpheios (*fig. 19 no. 19*). This could be interesting with respect to the localisation of the Sacred Road.

Archaia Pisa (Miraka)

Significant construction activity (buildings and roads) characterises the area of Archaia Pisa¹⁰⁰ (*fig. 5*) east of Olympia, and increased erosion with significant shifts is partially associated with this. On the slope directly west below Archaia Pisa, near a fountain, remains of Bronze Age (Mycenaean?) tombs (including bones) and Hellenistic, but mainly Roman and Byzantine era fragments have been uncovered. The ruins of a Roman aqueduct bridge are preserved north of the road to Archaia Pisa (*figs. 7 no. 14; 20*).

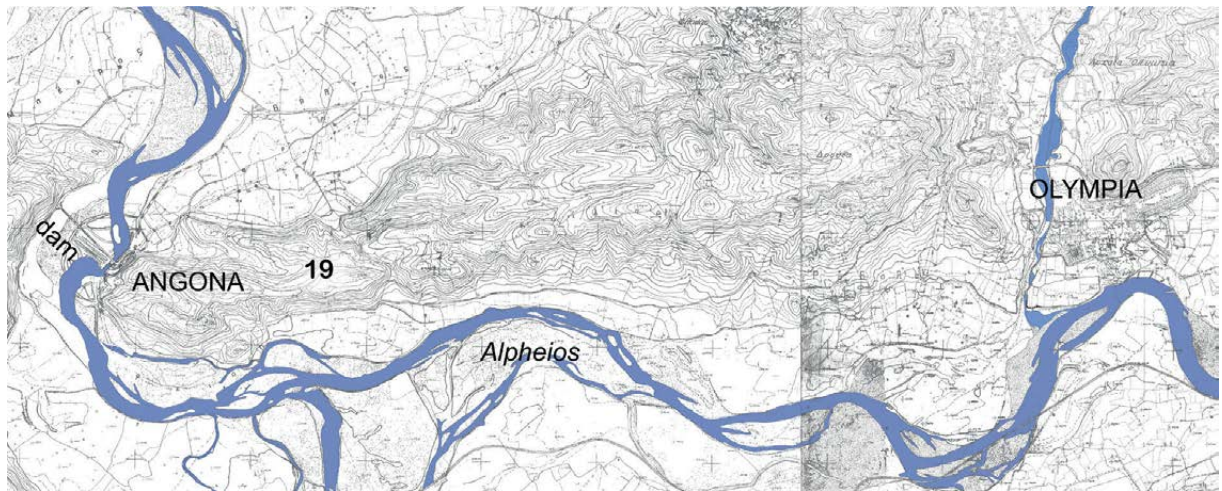


Fig. 18 Kladeos Valley, fragment of Roman brick

⁹⁸ It was still a »winter station of shepherds from the high mountains« in the 19th century (Ross 1848, 191; translated from German text).

⁹⁹ The village of Flokas is already mentioned by travelers in the early 19th century and is apparently even older.

¹⁰⁰ For prehistoric finds in the Miraka area cf. also Παπαχατζής 1979, 384 f. and generally see esp. Παπακωνσταντίνου 1992 no. 37 (Classical-Hellenistic-Roman cemetery) and nos. 38–47 (LH III A–B or Mycenaean, Classical to Late Antiquity).



△

Fig. 19 The area of Angona



Fig. 20 Archaia Pisa, part of Roman aqueduct



Fig. 21 Aerial photograph of Frangonisi



Fig. 22 Roman tomb
at Frangonisi

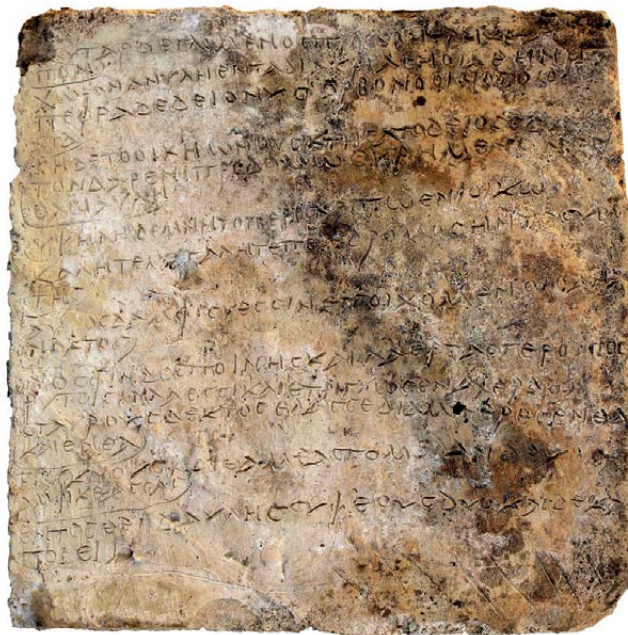


Fig. 23 Brick with
Homeric verses



Fig. 24 Pre-Roman cist
grave at Frangonisi



Fig. 25 Frangonisi, part of Roman (?) aqueduct

South of the road and about 1 km east of Olympia (*figs. 5. 7 no. 15*) lies the so-called hill of Pisa (nowadays known as Oinomaos Hill). Its summit was not accessible for the survey team due to the dense vegetation. W. Dörpfeld had previously carried out excavations here in 1908. On the upper slope of this prominent hill, a large quantity of mainly (Middle) Bronze Age but also Hellenistic, possibly also Roman remains were found in the dense shrubs within a relatively small area. In the thicket nearby a ditch probably represents remains of Dörpfeld's excavation at the site, where he discovered remains of walls, children's graves, as well as prehistoric and Classical Greek pottery¹⁰¹. In Dörpfeld's opinion, this was the site of a prehistoric settlement. For later periods, he merely assumed the existence of a »building or altar«. Due to the dense vegetation, no further details are currently recognisable. Bronze Age, Archaic-Classical and Hellenistic-Roman sites have been discovered in the wider area.

The Roman necropolis near Frangonisi, south of Archaia Pisa, yielded remarkable individual finds (*figs. 7 no. 16; 21*)¹⁰². The Roman graves in some cases consist of elaborate tombs set in bricks (*fig. 22*). Some tombs feature benches and niches, and one tomb even contains remnants of a mural painting. In this cemetery, cist and tile graves of older periods had also been excavated (*fig. 24*), and a team of architects has recently conducted an architectural survey of this cemetery. During these investigations, a sensational find came to light. Verses from the Odyssey were engraved on a Roman brick, making it their oldest record (*fig. 23*)¹⁰³.

Following the road south of this archaeological site towards the east, one arrives on the east side of a hill (*fig. 7 no. 17*), at the foot of which architectural remains and the line of an open Roman (?) aqueduct are visible (*fig. 25*). Only a more detailed investigation will allow for a final assessment of the function of this system.

Post-ancient periods are abundantly present in the area (*fig. 27*). Many sites are located on the lower slopes of hills or in the valley near the winter streams; these however do not constitute material relocated by natural processes. In the small settlement areas to the west, there are numerous indications of Byzantine and later settlement.

The remains of a large pottery kiln provide evidence of local ceramic production (*figs. 7 no. 18; 26*). So far, no comparative examples are known that enable a chronological classification. Its construction suggests a post-ancient date. The structure appears unusual insofar as parts of the kiln are covered with mortar, which could indicate a secondary – and as yet unknown – use.

¹⁰¹ Pisa: Dörpfeld 1908; Dörpfeld 1935, 273–275, Beilage 23. 24 plate 23.

¹⁰² Γιαλούρις 1966, 171; Θέμελης 1967, 212.

¹⁰³ We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Regula Pestalozzi Foundation in carrying

out this work. – <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/323-1901/features/7196-top-10-discoveries-of-2018>; for the publication of the brick, see Summa et al. 2021.



Fig. 26 Archaia Pisa, site no. 18: part of post-antique kiln

The diachronic mapping of the provisionally dated sites provides a first impression of the anthropogenic use of the Kladeos Valley and the area around Archaia Pisa (*fig. 27*). Sites are concentrated in two zones: in the northern Kladeos Valley and around Archaia Pisa.

In Zone 1, the representation of individual periods varies between the Kladeos Valley and the area around Archaia Pisa. Sites with Bronze Age pottery were found mainly in the northern part of the Kladeos Valley and become increasingly fewer in the direction of Olympia. However, in the wider area of the village of Archaia Pisa Bronze Age sites are also known.

The archaeological surface finds belonging to the Early Iron Age and Archaic period do not reflect the importance of the sanctuary in these phases. One of the reasons lies in the change in cultural practices in relation to the Mycenaean period: for example, the change in burial customs involved the change from elaborate chamber tombs to small and sometimes isolated cist graves, each with a different degree of archaeological visibility and survival rate. The sites lie mainly in the northern Kladeos Valley. It is interesting that the Early Iron Age and Archaic finds most often appear in places that were already in use in the Bronze Age.

The number of sites increases in the Classical-Hellenistic period. They are located in the north of the Kladeos Valley and in the surroundings of Archaia Pisa. The greatest density of Roman sites lies in Zone 1 when compared to Zones 2 and 3. In the Byzantine era, the number of sites continues to increase. They occur more frequently in the area of Archaia Pisa than in the Kladeos Valley. A corresponding picture emerges for the 19th–20th century. The few Ottoman sites are located only in the west and north of the Kladeos Valley. Overall, the current state of evaluation illustrates different preferences in the settlement areas. The

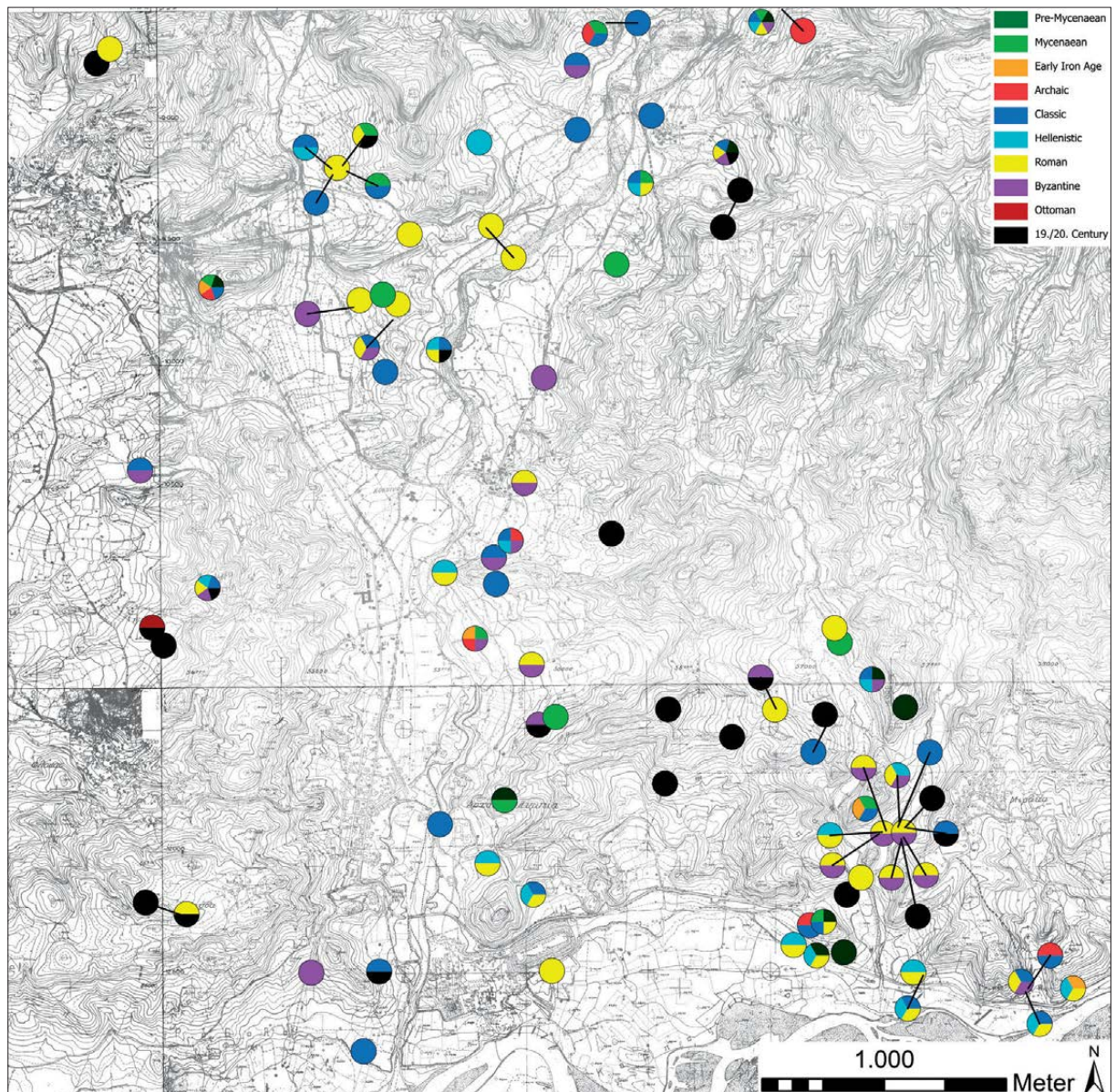


Fig. 27 Zone 1 – distribution of preliminarily dated find spots

Kladeos Valley is dominated by prehistoric and ancient sites, while post-ancient sites are more prominent in the area of Archaia Pisa. The sites within the Kladeos area are completely oriented towards the valley. Platanos occupies a mediating position between the closed Kladeos Valley and the wide western Alpheios River Plain; Flokas, however, clearly looks towards the west.

As the Kladeos area forms a rather closed settlement area, routes within and through the area to the sanctuary are particularly important. The Kladeos River – as already stated above – forms a natural obstacle and can pose more or less of a challenge depending on the season. Beyond the Mountain Road and the Sacred Road (see above 1.2 and below), which are mentioned in ancient sources, the natural topography and the distribution of the sites offer indications of possible roads. In the northern Kladeos Valley, the sites are located in places that can be classified as passes in the broadest sense. Near the hill south of Platanos (*figs. 5. 7 no. 1*), the terrain offers a good link between the Kladeos Valley and the western

Alpheios plain, precisely where one might suspect the Mountain Road. Farther to the south-east, sites (*figs. 7 nos. 3. 4; 27*) of different periods concentrate on and between two hills, which form a pass of sorts. It may not be a coincidence that the newly built National Road No. 74 (*cf. fig. 5*) follows this route. In the northeast near the modern villages of Mageiras and Kladeos (formerly Stravrokephalo) ancient as well as post-ancient sites cluster on both sides of the Kladeos. Old maps and travel reports¹⁰⁴ indicate that roads led through both villages to the east in the direction of Lalas.

According to the current state of the present analysis, it should be considered whether the accumulation of the sites (*fig. 7 nos. 3. 4*) indicates the possible location of a crossing of the Kladeos. In the early 20th century, the Kladeos River could be passed on a bridge near Mageiras. Until then – judging by the maps – there was only one bridge leading to the excavations of the sanctuary in the south. The construction of the bridge near Mageiras at the end of the 19th or early 20th century suggests an increase in the importance of the route from Platanos in the west to the eastern part in the direction of Lalas.

2.1.2.2 ZONE 2: SALMONI (*FIGS. 1. 28. 29*)

The second prospection area is located in the west, just north of the lower reaches of the Alpheios River, which connects this area with Olympia, near the modern village of Salmoni (formerly Koukoura). Here is a solid rock base with several ridges and a geological bottleneck on the lower reaches of the Alpheios. Place names in ancient written sources as well as the question of the navigability of the Alpheios River lead to this area (see below). Particularly prominent is the hill immediately south of Salmoni with the church of *Prophitis Ilias* at its summit. South of this hill, the more than 1 km long plateau of *Palaiopyrgos* extends in an east-west direction. At the foot of the plateau runs the railway line *Pyrgos-Olympia*, which was completed at the beginning of the last century. With the exception of the village of Salmoni, the building density in this hilly landscape is low. Anthropogenic interventions in the landscape are mainly due to intensive olive cultivation.

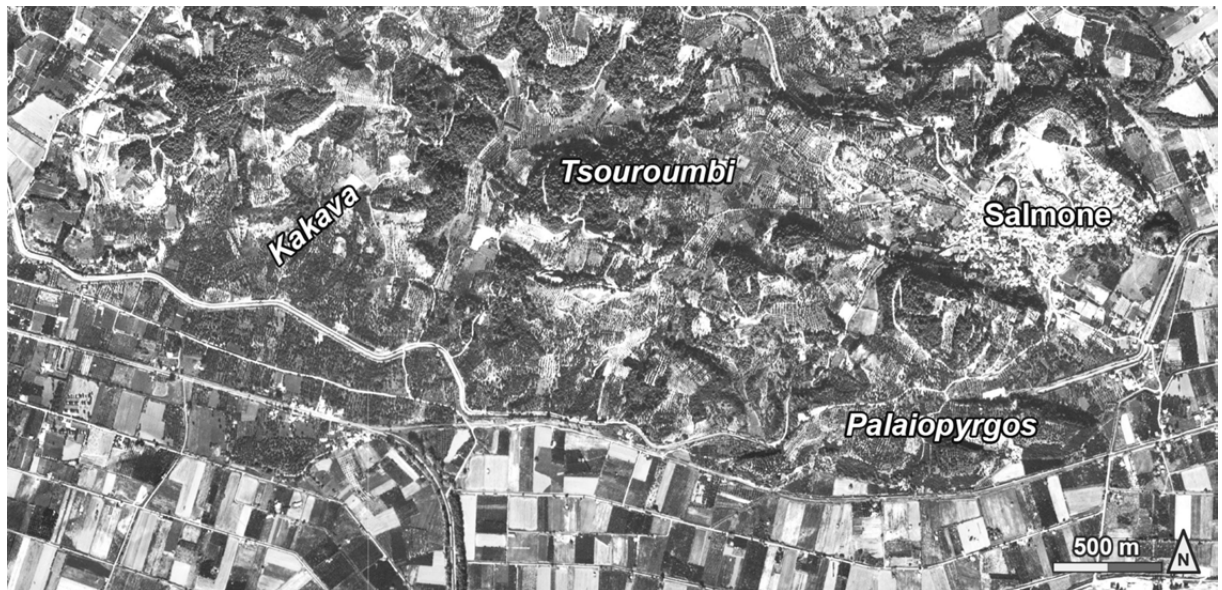
The sites in Zone 2 are located to the west and south of the village of Salmoni, especially in the areas of *Palaiopyrgos*, *Tsouroumbi* and *Kakava* (*fig. 28*). On the prominent hill with the church of *Prophitis Ilias* (*fig. 29 no. 1*) W. Dörpfeld assumed a temple of the Classical period¹⁰⁵. Even today, surface finds include, in addition to ancient pottery, ancient blocks of local shelly limestone as well as Corinthian and Laconian roof tiles (*figs. 30. 31*). However, the anomalies of the geophysical surveys (see above) did not reveal any clear indication of a building, and only the stone blocks together with the Corinthian tiles support Dörpfeld's hypothesis, who at the time may have had access to more remains than exist today.

In the wider area west of Salmoni, the finds are associated with graves. On the one hand, there were indications of ancient tombs on the southwestern spur of the hill with the church of *Prophitis Ilias* (*fig. 29 no. 2*). On the other hand, a previously unknown Byzantine necropolis was found to the northwest of the hill (*fig. 29 no. 3*). The tiles scattered in this area can be identified as cover of graves due to nearby bone finds.

¹⁰⁴ Esp. Sibthorpe 1820, 80; Leake 1830a, 25 (path on eastern side); Fiedler 1840, 377 f.; apparently because of this connection, the plain around Olympia was called »Antilalla« in the early 19th century (see

e.g. Gell 1817, 35 f.; Dodwell 1819, 333, who otherwise speaks of the »neighboring town of Lalla«, 335); Stanhope 1824, 7 f.

¹⁰⁵ Dörpfeld 1913, 115.



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Fig. 28 Areas located in Zone 2 near Salmoni

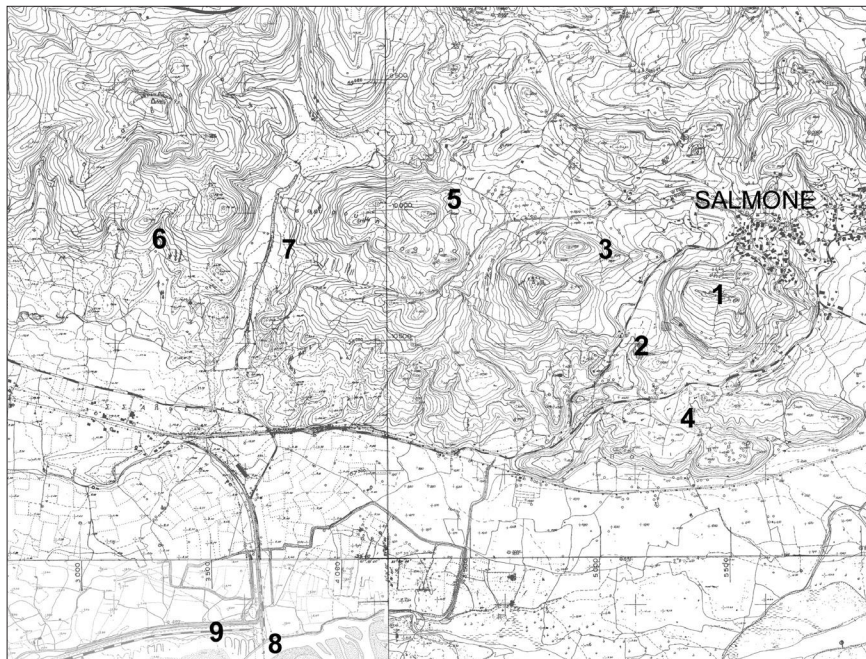


Fig. 29 Zone 2: location of find spots



Fig. 30 Prophitis Ilias, ancient dressed stone

Palaiopyrgos

The ridge of Palaiopyrgos to the south of the Prophitis Ilias hill was particularly rich in finds (*figs. 28. 29 no. 4*). The plateau of the hill is ideal for settlement, with the partially rugged slopes offering a degree of natural protection. The total area of the plateau is measured at about 17 hectares. Despite intensive clandestine excavations, many finds, especially tiles, were still visible on the surface. Their chronological range covers the Middle Bronze Age to the Byzantine era, with a preponderance on prehistoric, Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine times (*figs. 32–34*)¹⁰⁶. A few worked blocks of local shelly limestone are probably ancient because of their toolmarks and size. A landowner had removed such limestone blocks, which in his opinion came from houses, from the soil of his plot, as they prevented him from planting his olive trees (*fig. 35*). Therefore, part of this olive grove was selected for geophysical prospection (see below).

On the southwest side of the hill, several looted Hellenistic pithoi were found, and one of them lay still in situ (*fig. 36*). The modern-day road, which runs between the Prophitis Ilias and Palaiopyrgos hills, crosses a bridge from the 19th or early 20th century.

Tsouroumbi

West of the village of Salmoni, at the foot of Tsouroumbi Hill, several sherds of Middle Helladic pottery were found, most likely dating to the transitional period to Early Mycenaean, i.e. the so-called Shaft Grave Period (*figs. 28. 29 no. 5; 38. 39*). One bichrome fragment could represent an import, but further analysis is needed to test this hypothesis (*fig. 38*). The range of vessel shapes suggests that these pottery fragments derive from a settlement context. This settlement can probably be located on the plateau of the hill, which could not be surveyed due to dense vegetation. This site lies in a remote location yet offers a panoramic view inland to the east as well as to the west and the Ionian Sea.

Kakava

In the area called Kakava (*figs. 27. 29 no. 6*) skeletons together with tiles attest the existence of graves. One of the skeletons lay in the middle of a dirt road and had been halved lengthwise when the path was made. There was a bronze ring attached to the finger of one hand (*fig. 37*). In the course of a rescue excavation, the Ephorate unearthed another largely intact tile grave with a skeleton immediately adjacent to the first one. The tombs can be dated to Byzantine times. A looted ancient cist grave (*fig. 40*) is located nearby, and further stone slabs of cist tombs in the vicinity confirm the funerary use of this area also in ancient times.

The construction of a track with spoils as an access road to an olive grove appears quite unusual, and the same is true for the fact that the marble spoils, some with ornamental decoration, come from Pyrgos, according to the landowner (*figs. 29 no. 7; 41*). He did not state the exact origin of the spoils, which should be of post-ancient date according to the ornamentation.

In Zone 2 around Salmoni one encounters extensive infrastructural works. By comparing maps from various periods one can trace the change or continuity of traffic routes. Roads and riding trails were used for a long time. An innovation was the railway line from Pyrgos to Kyparissia or Olympia in the early 1900s, built for the increased exports

¹⁰⁶ Older discoveries offer additional information on the chronological range of ancient activities. A (Late) Protogeometric pithos burial was discovered during road works in 1960, published by Eder 2001a, 43 f.



Fig. 31 Prophitis Ilias,
roof tiles of Corinthian
type



Fig. 32 Palaiopyrgos,
prehistoric and Archaic
sherds



Fig. 33 Palaiopyrgos,
Classical-Hellenistic
sherds



Fig. 34 Palaiopyrgos, post-antique tiles

Fig. 35 Palaiopyrgos, ancient dressed stones



Fig. 37 Kakava, bronze ring from skeleton

Fig. 36 Palaiopyrgos, Hellenistic burial pithos





Fig. 38 Tsouroumbi,
Middle / Late Helladic
pottery



Fig. 39 Tsouroumbi,
Middle / Late Helladic
pottery

of local raisins. In 1909, the railway bridge over the Alpheios River was completed (*figs. 29 no. 8; 42*).

During the Junta period (1967–1974), comprehensive water infrastructure measures were implemented. They involved the regulation of the Alpheios River, the construction of a dam near the area called Angona (*fig. 19*), the drainage of the Alpheios plain between Flokas and Salmoni by means of an extensive system of canals, thus freeing up areas for agricultural use, which at the same time entailed massive encroachments on the landscape.



Fig. 40 Kakava, ancient cist grave



Fig. 41 Kakava, road paved with spolia



Fig. 42 Railway bridge across the Alpheios between Salmone and Epitalio

During site inspection in August 2015, a section of slope masonry (*fig. 43*) of the embankment on the north side of the railway bridge across the Alpheios River attracted our attention, as it was apparently built of polygonal boulders without mortar – unlike other walls that are connected to the bridge or dam. Geophysical measurements by means of Electric Resistivity Tomography (ERT) revealed that the wall extends westwards over a length of at least 1.3 km, mostly covered by fluvial deposits (*cf. below 2.2.2.4*). Further measurements were carried out to the north of the outcropping wall at a distance of about 70 m. They in-



Fig. 43 Polygonal wall near northern end of railway bridge

indicate that there is an identical, parallel wall there. The dating of the wall is still pending. More information will be gained from ^{14}C dating of organic samples retrieved from sediment cores drilled between the two parallel walls, and, if possible, by searching the archives regarding the construction of the railway bridge. The continuation of the wall to the east of the railway bridge was visible after a fire in 2017. Here a gabion was placed in front of the polygonal wall, i.e. a wire basket filled with stones.

Sediment cores were drilled to the immediate south and north of the wall complex in order to determine the character of the sediment deposition concerning the course of the Alpheios River. The cores show significant stratigraphic differences: While coarse gravel was found to the north of the wall structure, several decimetres of still water deposits were found south of it. The latter dates to Roman times according to the radiocarbon analysis. Therefore, the possibility that the site was used as a river port on the Alpheios cannot be ruled out. This is also supported by the considerations of Julia Taita (2013) regarding the navigability of the Alpheios River, which also lead into this area.

The number of archaeological sites in Zone 2 is lower than in the Kladeos zone (*fig. 44*). Their distribution according to chronological periods illustrates the presence of Early and Middle Helladic and Mycenaean sites. The sites are located in places that were not easily accessible; however, they command a good all-round view of the surrounding countryside. Early Iron Age and Archaic sites are sparse, and Classical sites clearly dominate in this zone. They, as well as the Hellenistic sites, are located around Prophitis Ilias and Palaiopyrgos. Among the post-antique sites, the Byzantine ones prevail.

The topographical situation begs the question whether the Palaiopyrgos site was a single larger settlement with the Prophitis Ilias hill used as an acropolis (Marganai? See below; *fig. 29 nos. 1. 2. 4*), or whether the acropolis formed the core and ›suburban‹ structures extended south and west. The detailed analysis of the archaeological data will provide further insights. The latter scenario would fit well with findings on the southwest slope (*figs. 28. 29 no. 2*), where tombs had probably been laid out. The Byzantine sites are absent from the central survey area and cluster west of Salmoni. The question whether the Classical-Hellenistic cist graves and the Byzantine tiles tombs belong to settlement contexts or farmsteads (*fig. 29 no. 6*) will be addressed in the context of the detailed analysis of the data.

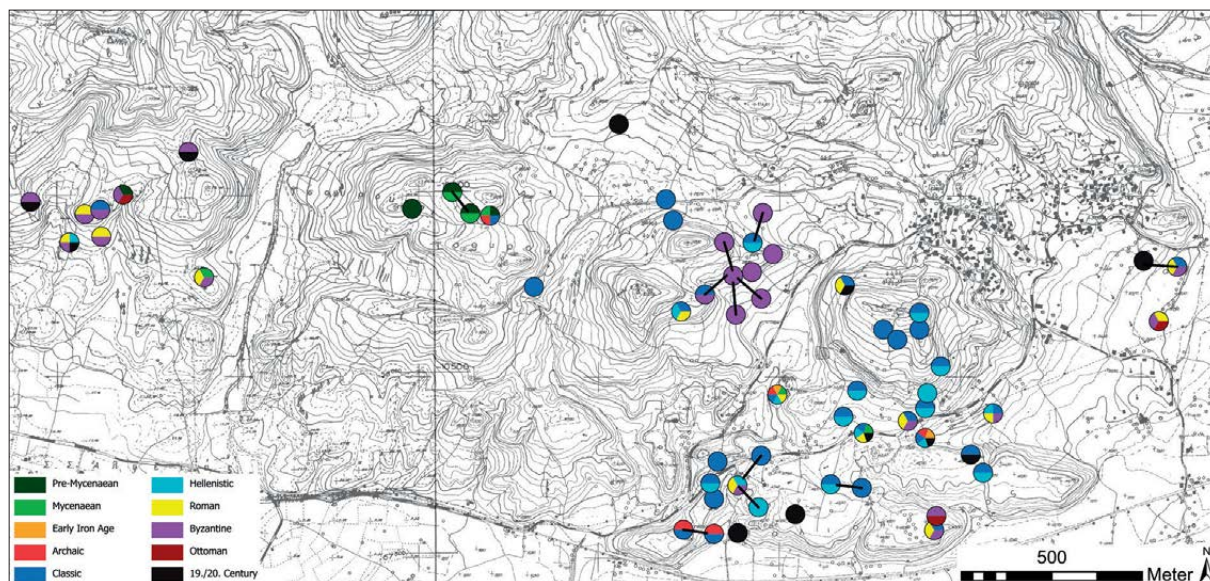


Fig. 44 Zone 2, distribution of preliminarily dated find spots

2.1.2.3 ZONE 3: EPITALIO (FIG. 45)

South of the Alpheios a range of hills near the coast borders the National Road to Kyparissia, and the modern village Epitalio (formerly Agoulénitsa) lies in the plain near the northern foothills. Over the millennia, the landscape around Epitalio has changed significantly due to, for instance, enormous tectonic uplifts or shifts of the coastline, which also affected the lower reaches of the Alpheios. About half a century ago, lagoons near Epitalio and Katakolo characterised the landscape as evidenced by old maps, photographs or information provided by the inhabitants of the region. The drainage in the 1960s made additional agricultural land available, for instance for tobacco growing, and eliminated the mosquito plague. However, the inhabitants of the area also lost the fish of the lagoons as a source of food.

Near Epitalio the Pyrgos-Kyparissia railway line runs through a ravine, which separates a group of four hills in the northwest (Agiorgitika (2), Hill A, Barkeika) from the southeastern ridges. This area is wooded, and agricultural use – olive growing, for the most part – does not appear to play a major role. North of Epitalio, a modern road bridge leads across the Alpheios River, where the ford of an ancient north-south route may have been located. In any case, Epitalio forms an important hub where roads lead to the north, south and east. Via the Alpheios River, Epitalio thus provided a good link between Olympia and the coast.

Previous research in the area has produced, for the most part, Bronze Age material, for example the remains of a Mycenaean settlement, but also Roman findings as well as findings from Late Antiquity¹⁰⁷. The survey has focused on the ridge just east of the modern village of Epitalio (Agoulénitsa). Five different locations around Epitalio yielded particularly remarkable results: Agios Georgios (Agiorgitika), Hill A, Barkeika, East Area and Dartisa. The hill north of Agios Georgios is heavily overgrown apart from a plateau with an olive grove that is devoid of finds.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Παπαχατζής 1979, 222–224; Pritchett 1989, 75 f. (with further bibliography), see also McDonald – Hope Simpson 1961, 227 f. site 12 Ayios Georgios, site 13 Dardiza.



Fig. 45 Areas located in Zone 3 near Epitalio

Agiorgitika

In the area immediately around the church of Agios Georgios only tiles (medieval and later; *figs. 45. 46 no. 1*) were found. Not long ago, the present church replaced a very old one and the plateau was levelled; the tiles were probably part of the previous building. Mycenaean chamber tombs have long been known in the area around the church; the survey team identified some remains of looted chambers on the northern slope of the hill. South of the Agios Georgios church lies Hill A where the access road from Epitalio leads to the church (*figs. 45. 46 no. 2*). Pottery, tiles, and bones were clearly visible in the scarp on the eastern side of this access road and allowed for the identification of graves (*fig. 47*): a Mycenaean chamber tomb (*figs. 47–49*) and Classical-Hellenistic tile graves in the layers above it (*figs. 47. 50*)¹⁰⁸. This site was apparently considered suitable for burials in various periods.

Hill A

On the plateau of Hill A, which is partly covered by olive trees and partly dense shrubs, tiles (including such of the Corinthian type) and pottery of different periods (Bronze Age, antiquity, mostly Archaic) are scattered across a large area. On the north side of Hill A, there was a large scatter of Mycenaean pottery, which was probably unearthed in the course of the construction of a dirt road (*fig. 46 no. 3; 51*). The pottery is in good to excellent condition, and it may be thus reasonably assumed that it comes from destroyed tombs. However, before the present survey, no graves were recorded in this area, and the construction of the road may possibly have cut through previously unknown chamber tombs. The detailed

¹⁰⁸ Cf. McDonald – Hope Simpson 1969, 129, site 12 Ayios Georgios, where they mention finds of Mycenaean pottery along the access road to the church.

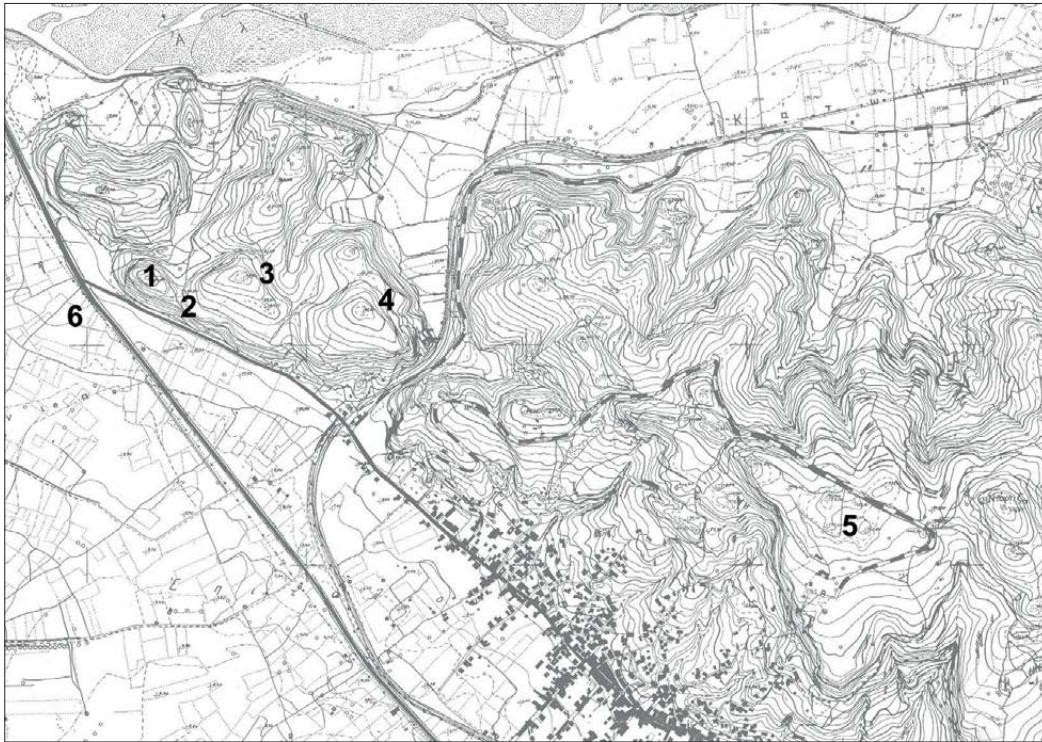


Fig. 46 Zone 3, location of find spots



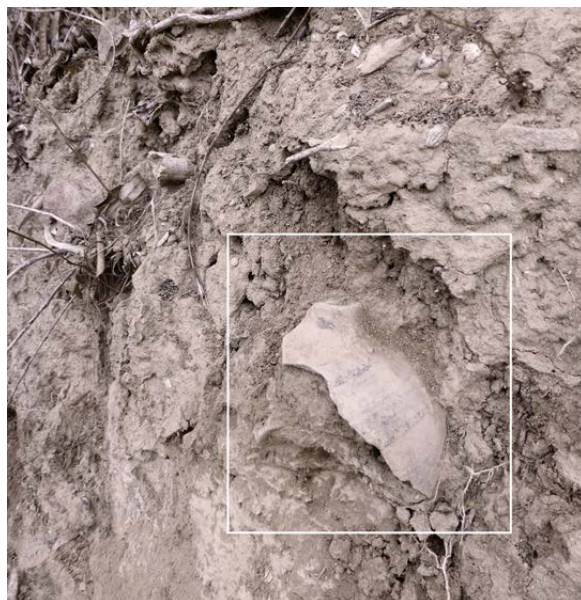
Fig. 47 Agiorgitika, layers with Mycenaean and ancient graves



◁ Fig. 50 Agiorgitika, human bones and ancient tile grave

▷ Fig. 48 Agiorgitika, find context of Mycenaean stirrup jar

▽ Fig. 49 Agiorgitika, Mycenaean stirrup jar



analysis of the finds from Hill A will clarify, whether the plateau was the location of a settlement in different periods that is to be associated with the graves on the slopes. A small body sherd of a gritty, red micaceous fabric is characteristic of coarse ware pottery from the island of Kythera that was exported to the southern and southwestern Peloponnese in the Late Bronze Age¹⁰⁹.

Barkeika

Barkeika Hill lies immediately east of Hill A (*fig. 45*). On the plateau, a Mycenaean house with LH II A–III B pottery was excavated¹¹⁰. On the southern slope, a trench (probably from

¹⁰⁹ Kiriati 2003.

¹¹⁰ Mycenaean finds from the excavations of a Mycenaean house at Epitalion-Barkeika: Themelis 1968a; Θέμελης 1968b; Νικολέντζος 2011, 324 f.; Huber

2013. The presence of chamber tombs as indicated by McDonald – Hope Simpson 1961, 227 f., has not been confirmed.



Fig. 51 Hill A, collection of Mycenaean pottery

the Second World War) is still visible. On the hill, there were relatively few surface finds (Mycenaean to Hellenistic) and no evidence of the Mycenaean tombs. On the northeast slope, about 15 m below the top, a lot of material was found in an olive grove (*fig. 46 no. 4*), including stone artefacts as well as pottery from prehistoric (Middle and Late Helladic), ancient (Early Iron Age – Roman) and post-ancient periods. This material was most certainly washed down from above and forms good evidence of post-depositional processes at this place.

East Area

Beyond the ravine, in the wider area east of Barkeika, only few Mycenaean pottery finds had been made in the past (*fig. 45*). All the more surprising was a discovery made during the prospection in the area north of the road leading to the monastery Zoodochou Pigis. Mycenaean pottery fragments (*figs. 52, 53*) were found here together with evidence of a dromos of a Mycenaean chamber tomb. Subsequently, the geoarchaeological team applied ERT as an explorative method that produced images of cavities of high ohmic values indicating intact burial chambers or cavities filled with substrate. The ERT analysis on site indicates the presence of at least eight Mycenaean chamber tombs. Geophysical tests of a transect (see below) confirmed the ERT measurement. These results now for the first time provide evidence of an unknown Mycenaean cemetery in this area of Epitalio¹¹¹. This discovery raises the question of whether one can expect a similar density of Mycenaean sites east of the ravine as on the hills to the west (*fig. 59*).

To the east of this site more tile graves were found, of which mainly the tiles were preserved, and small quantities of datable pottery which can be generally classified as Classical (*fig. 54*). Of note is also the fragment of a drinking cup with Corinthianising decoration (*fig. 55*), which was found further east. The clay of this sherd is reddish and does not correspond to the pale yellow clays attributed to products from Corinth.

¹¹¹ Cf. below 2.2.2.7, and Obrocki et al. 2019.



Fig. 52 East Area, find spot of Mycenaean pottery



Fig. 53 East Area, fragments of Mycenaean pottery



Fig. 54 East Area, ancient tiles grave

Dartisa

On the west side of Dartisa Hill and around the monastery Zoodochou Pigis lies one of the largest sites of the project (*figs. 45. 46 no. 5*)¹¹². Material was collected from 15 squares of $100 \times 100 \text{ m}^2$ (= 15 hectares). The chronology of the finds (*figs. 56. 57*) ranges from prehistoric to Ottoman times with many fragments of better quality, such as kraters (Archaic Laconic column-krater, Classical calyx-krater) or black glazed plates with palmette stamps (*fig. 58*). Interestingly, the proportion of so-called household or cooking pots appears low. This is a site with a dominance of materials from the Archaic to Classical periods. At the eastern end of the site, where the road makes a big turn, a small elevation is visible in the sloping terrain. This area was investigated by means of the ERT geophysical method, but no evidence of graves was found (see below 2.2.2.8).

The prominent place of Dartisa is a special ›candidate‹ for Epitalion, which is well attested in Xenophon (see below 2.3.2.1). If the other sites around Dartisa do not constitute separate settlements, they could belong to this place as suburban districts or cemeteries.

According to oral tradition, the post-ancient history of the village of Epitalio developed in three phases (*fig. 45*): the old village, Agoulenitsa (village 1), lay on the southern slope

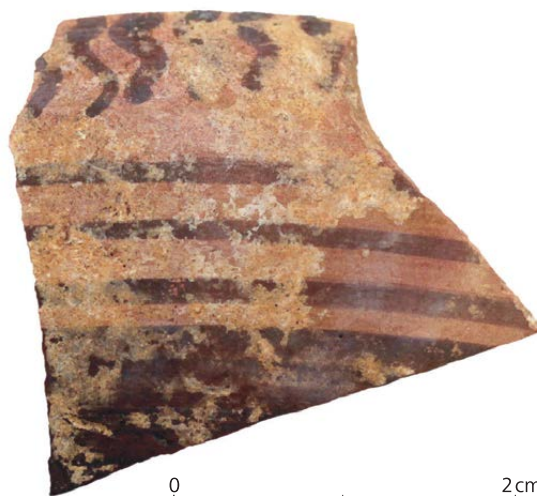


Fig. 55 East Area, fragment of Corinthianising vessel

¹¹² Already known to Meyer 1957, 50; McDonald – Hope Simpson 1961, 228 site 13 with a sketch of the site.



Fig. 56 Dartisa, Bronze Age pottery fragments



Fig. 57 Dartisa, fragments of Classical-Hellenistic tiles and vessels

near the monastery. Then it moved to the foot of the mountain (village 2) and from there to the northwest (village 3), which forms the modern-day village centre. Nowadays, village 2 is inhabited by the poorest – the *ὑσιγγάνοι*.

To the west of the village of Epitalio (*fig. 45. 46 no. 6*) and west of the National Road excavations revealed Classical-Hellenistic remains (buildings, tombs, ceramics, small finds), a Roman bath, a cistern, a large pottery kiln and other finds from the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.¹¹³



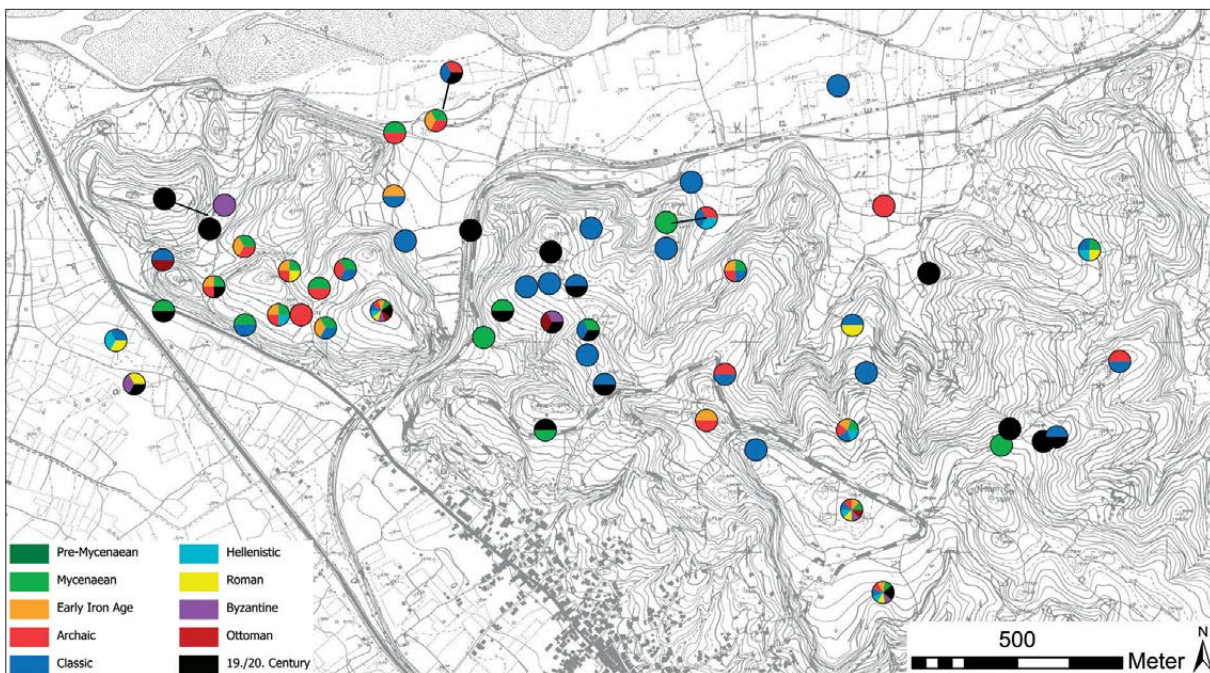
Fig. 58 Dartisa, fragments of Archaic-Classical pottery

One aim of the survey was to obtain information on the extent of this site. However, only few surface finds were made due to significant natural and anthropogenic changes. The level of the excavation lies 2 m below the present surface.

Due to the chronological distribution of the sites, settlement dynamics appear more clearly in Zone 3 than in Zones 1 and 2. Mycenaean sites exceed in number those of the Early and Middle Helladic periods, and are mainly located in the western region (*fig. 59*). It became clear during the survey that this picture might change when new Mycenaean chamber tombs were discovered in the eastern part of Zone 3. While evidence for the Early Iron Age and Archaic period is more abundant in the western part of Zone 3, the sites especially of Classical times are increasingly distributed in the eastern area. In general, Zone 3 yielded more sites of the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period, when compared to Zones 1 and 2.

Noteworthy is the settlement at Dartisa with a commanding view across the Alpheios Valley to the north as well as of the coastal zone and the sea to the south. West of the National Road, the excavations testify to another settlement that existed from Classical times and exhibits successive phases of the Roman period and Late Antiquity. The small number of post-classical sites in Zone 3 is a conspicuous feature in comparison to Zones 1 and 2.

Fig. 59 Zone 3, distribution of preliminarily dated find spots



¹¹³ Themelis 1968a, 1; Θέμελης 1968b.

2.1.2.4 SUMMARY

The survey has conveyed a clear overall impression of the settlement structure, which is only briefly summarised here: We discovered only two major sites that can be considered candidates for closed – though not large – settlements. They are located at Epitalio, west of Olympia in close proximity to the Alpheios River, especially on the hill of Dartisa in Zone 3, and in the area of Salmoni (Koukoura) immediately north of the river in the Prophitis Ilias and Palaioipyrgos areas in Zone 2. They can be associated with the ancient communities of Epitalion (almost certainly) and Marganai (with great probability).

Essentially, there are indications of intensive use and relatively dense settlement. However, this is characterised by an extremely small scale. Even around the sanctuary of Olympia itself, no major settlement centre emerged, unless the two sites at Koskinas once formed a larger settlement. This confirms the characterisation of the residents as *χωρῖται* as attested by Xenophon. Therefore, we have to envisage an ensemble of smaller sites, villages and hamlets or individual farms, certainly also in the vicinity of the sanctuary. The latter, however, formed something akin to the centre of a spider web.

2.2 Geomorphological and geoarchaeological field work

Geomorphological and geoarchaeological studies in Olympia and its environs were carried out in several target areas. The study of the landscape development in the individual areas – based on geoarchaeological methods – provides the largest possible perspective on landscape history of the entire project area. We studied both vertical changes in the relief, i.e. erosion effects affecting the highly erodible hills associated with sediment deposition in associated lowlands and basins, and horizontal changes of sedimentary environments and geographical features, such as changing river courses or coastlines.

2.2.1 *Methods*

Near-surface exploration was initially carried out using surface-bound geophysical prospecting methods, in particular by means of Electrical Resistivity Tomography (ERT). This helped, for example, to record the local bedrock topography, but also conspicuous, especially coarse-grained layers in the stratigraphic sequence. The prospection results represent the base for selecting suitable vibracoring sites. The sediment cores retrieved from the study area cover each expected type of sedimentary facies suggested by the ERT results. For coring, we used an automotive drill rig, occasionally also a percussion hammer. The drill rig allows coring in dry, consistent sediments and, due to the higher impact power, shows lesser amounts of core loss caused by collapsing boreholes. Also, sediment deformation effects are significantly reduced.

Starting in 2016, Direct Push (DP) measurement techniques were also applied in order to record different in situ parameters in the project area. These techniques allow compaction-free and lossless, high-resolution measurements of selected physico-chemical parameters that can be used as paleoenvironment proxies. In addition, the combination of surface-bound geophysical methods and DP-applications has significantly improved the quality of the prospection results. Also, the latter can be extrapolated to a larger area¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁴ Fischer et al. 2016.

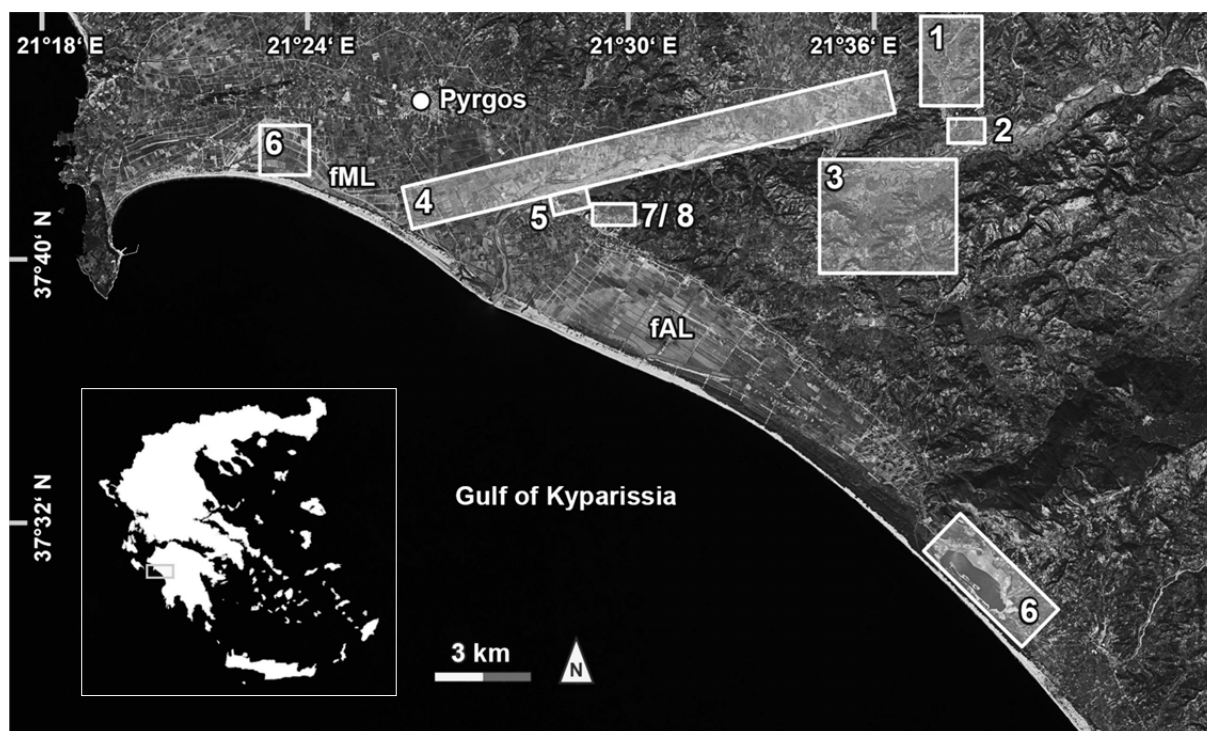


Fig. 60 Topographical overview of the areas investigated within the framework of geoarchaeological and geomorphological studies. Boxes 1 to 8 indicate individual focus sites

Sediment cores were obtained by means of half-open probes. At selected points, we also used closed probes and plastic inliners. The photographic documentation and the description of pedological and sedimentary features took place either in the field or after opening the plastic inliners in the laboratory. The project made use of a multi-proxy approach as a base for paleoenvironmental reconstruction. In the context of geochemical analyses, total content determinations by means of Inductively Coupled Plasma-Optical Emission Spectrometry (ICP-OES) and X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF), magnetosusceptibility measurements, determinations of sediment colours, and analyses of grain size as well as geochronological analyses were carried out. The latter include both radiocarbon age determination and the application of Optical Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating techniques.

Furthermore, sediment samples from selected cores underwent a comprehensive micro-faunal analysis. Shell residues of unicellular organisms such as ostracods and foraminifera were used to characterise and differentiate between sedimentary environments. In addition, geochemical and micropalaeontological studies helped to separate gradual landscape changes from abrupt changes associated with high-energy events. A differential GPS was employed to determine coordinates and elevations for geophysical transects and vibracoring sites. At selected sites, a LIDAR scanner was used to provide high-resolution measurements.

In addition to ERT measurements, Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) and seismic measurements were applied by the research group of W. Rabbal from the Christian Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.

The selection of target areas was based on a consideration of the extent of the Olympia Terrace (OT) that had buried the archaeological remains of Olympia. Previous studies had already shown that the OT is made up of a thick sequence of silt-dominated sediments that were repeatedly intersected by high-energy event layers consisting of coarse-grained sand and gravel. The latter represent major flood events that hit the area. Comprehending the formation of the OT thus means at the same time understanding the history of the

sedimentary burial of Olympia, that started to be used as a cult site in the 11th century B.C. Near Olympia, the upper edge of the OT lies up to 6–8 m above the present Kladeos and Alpheios river lowlands. In the course of our systematic geomorphological surveys, remains of the terrace were found in the middle Alpheios Valley opposite the confluence of the Kladeos River, in the basin of Makrisia and along the Alpheios River until just before it flows into the Gulf of Kyparissia at Epitalio¹¹⁵. Upstream from Olympia, the OT extends through the upper Kladeos River valley to the village of Kladeos. Overall, geomorphological and geoarchaeological investigations were carried out in the following target areas (*fig. 60*).

2.2.2 Results

2.2.2.1 THE KLADEOS RIVER VALLEY UPSTREAM FROM OLYMPIA

Geomorphologic and geoarchaeological investigations were carried out from north to south in the surroundings of the villages of Kladeos, Mageiras and Koskinas (*fig. 61*). To the west of Mageiras, the opposite terrace edges of the OT are up to 200 m away from each other and the terrace surfaces cover widths of up to 250 m. Here, it becomes evident that the origin of the OT as well as its present fragmentation cannot be explained with recent discharge conditions in the Kladeos River valley.

The OT was not incised where a prominent side valley meets the Kladeos Valley at Koskinas. Here, neither vertical nor horizontal erosion occurred. Instead, considerable accumulation of silt-dominated sediments took place. Vibracores upstream from Olympia show predominantly clayish-silty deposits. Across several kilometres, core profiles are stratigraphically and geochronologically consistent and characterised by several intersecting coarse-grained high-energy layers in the form of sand and gravel layers.

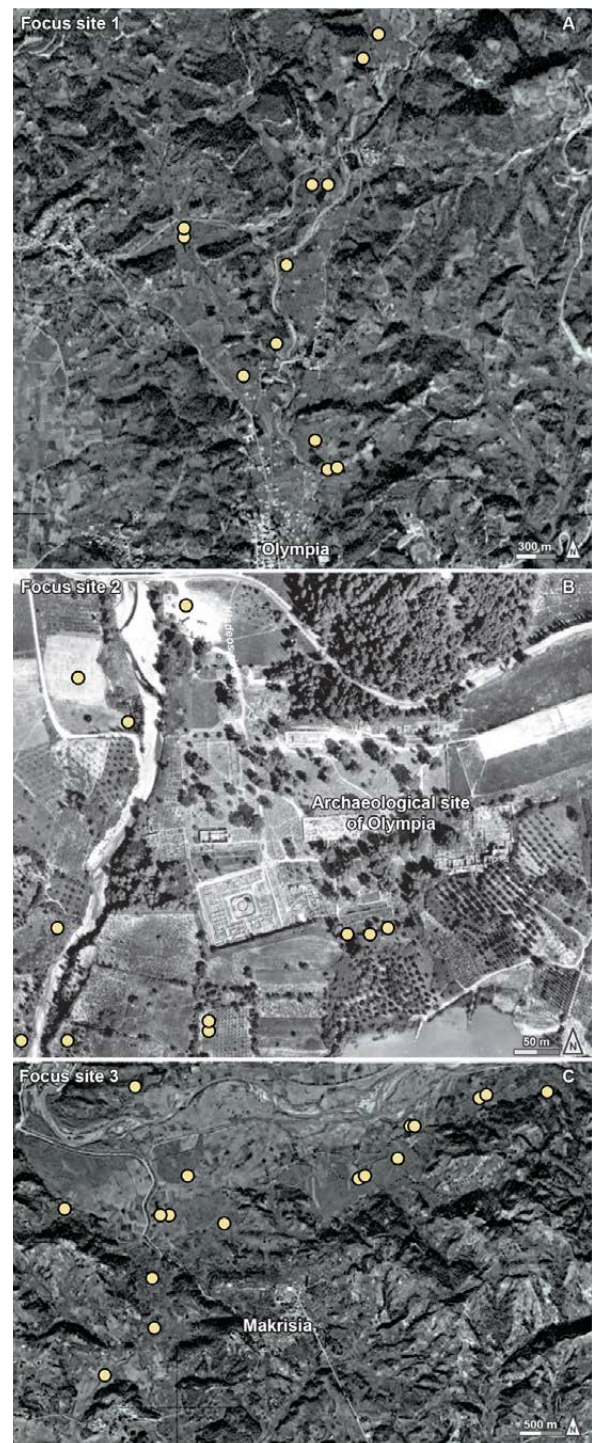


Fig. 61 Topographical overview of focus sites 1 to 3. A. Focus site 1: Kladeos River valley. – B. Focus site 2: Archaeological site of Olympia and its surroundings. – C. Focus site 3: Makrisia Basin and Ladiko Valley. White dots mark vibracoring and Direct Push sites and areas of geophysical investigations

¹¹⁵ Vött 2013.

2.2.2.2 THE SANCTUARY OF OLYMPIA AND ITS IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS

In the sanctuary of Olympia itself, geoarchaeological work was initially carried out near an excavation area close to the stadium. Again, systematically recorded and sampled profiles allowed differentiation of geomorphological phases of activity from those of stability and the ceramic fragments in the sediment offered reference material for dating (*fig. 61*).

Drilling took place in the courtyard of the gymnasium in cooperation with the Ephorate, and south of the southern stoa in cooperation with R. Senff, director of the German Olympia Excavations. The stratigraphies of the three sites examined show highly consistent sequences and are in line with the results obtained upstream from Olympia in the Kladeos Valley. In the area of the south stoa, the local sedimentary record proves that until at least the 2nd millennium B.C. a lake existed in this section of the Alpheios Valley. Overall, the stratigraphic studies provide clear evidence that the area south of Kronos Hill had been subject to seven high-energy, catastrophic flood events since the mid-Holocene.

Not far from the ancient site, systematic geophysical explorations of the subground were conducted on the western OT to the west of the Kladeos sidewall using ERT techniques. In the course of these studies, a multi-phase high-energy channel was discovered. This wide channel, first running from north to south, is associated with multiple breakthroughs through the Kladeos sidewall and was finally redirected in an eastern direction towards the workshop of Phidias and the Temple of Zeus by an emerging marly ridge of the local bedrock.

Geoarchaeological observations on the column drums of the Temple of Zeus itself and the stratigraphies found indicate that the temple was not destroyed by an earthquake alone, as is often suggested¹¹⁶, but that at the same time as the collapse occurred the columns were embedded in a silty to sandy sedimentary cover. The latter seems to be derived from a mud-flow that had reached the ancient site through the passage through the Kladeos sidewall and hit the Temple of Zeus from a westerly direction.

2.2.2.3 THE BASIN OF MAKRISIA AND LADIKO

In the basin of Makrisia, southwest of Olympia, investigations were carried out in numerous locations (*fig. 61*). Retained by the natural bedrock barrier at the modern dam near Flokas, an extensive lake existed here from the mid-Holocene onward. Deposits of this lake were traced through an opening of just a few hundred metres width located to the west of Makrisia towards the basin of Ladiko¹¹⁷. Furthermore, the investigated geological archives prove that the lake was affected by the same high-energy events that have already been detected in the Kladeos River valley and in the area of ancient Olympia. Interestingly, the sediment cores from almost all the sites studied display clear hiatuses (layer gaps) spanning several millennia, which document interruption of sediment accumulation or erosion of already deposited layers¹¹⁸.

The remains of the lake, which still existed not far from the south stoa of Olympia in the 2nd millennium B.C., suggests a contiguous water body extending upstream from the modern dam at Flokas at least to modern Olympia. The fact that a large lake existed for thousands of years at the confluence of the Kladeos and the Alpheios Rivers may have played a certain role in the choice of this site as a place of later cult and local water supply for humans and animals. This role will be examined in more detail. The height of the barrier at the bot-

¹¹⁶ E.g. Higgins – Higgins 1996.

¹¹⁷ Vött et al. 2019.

¹¹⁸ Vött et al. 2019.

tleneck at Flokas, where the Alpheios River breaks through the east-western chain of hills of Drouva, is of central importance to the water level in the lake of Makrisia.

2.2.2.4 THE BASIN OF FLOKAS, THE LOWER ALPHEIOS REACHES AND THE ALPHEIOS RIVER DELTA

Further studies on the Holocene landscape formation along the Alpheios River were carried out at selected locations in the Flokas Basin and at the lower reaches of the river (*fig. 60*). Moreover, sections of a polygonal wall structure, visible for several dozens of metres near the northern end of the railway bridge across the Alpheios River, were the subject of detailed investigations¹¹⁹. ERT measurements show that this wall structure exists over more than 1 km along the river under a partly several-metre-thick layer of fluvial sediments. In addition, a parallel wall at a distance of about 70 m to the north was detected by means of ERT studies and corroborated by seismic measurements. Also at this site, the structure is covered by more recent sediments. Hypothetically, if the ancient date of the wall can be confirmed, this would offer evidence of ancient river engineering measures, possibly related to a harbour situation. Vibracoring in the immediate vicinity of the visible section of the wall provided evidence of fine-grained, silt-dominated sediments deposited in a low-energy quiet-reach environment during Roman times. Further investigations need to be carried out in order to determine the course of the northern parallel wall in more detail and to record and sample potentially ancient sediment layers enclosed by both walls.

Further vibracoring was carried out in the lower reaches of the Alpheios River and in the former Alpheios River delta in order to obtain information on the mid- to late-Holocene alluvial stratigraphy and sedimentation history. Vibracores recovered from the west of Epitalio yielded evidence that the Agoulenitsa Lagoon, which had been drained in the 1960s, had been in existence for several millennia and that the Alpheios River, at least temporarily, flowed into it.

2.2.2.5 SECONDARY VALLEYS NEAR EPITALIO AND AGIOS GEORGIOS

Detailed geomorphological studies were carried out in two secondary valleys not far from Epitalio (*fig. 62*), both aligned in an approximate south-north direction towards the lower Alpheios River valley and terminating in a distinctive edge of the OT along the Epitalio-Alphiousa road. Based on these detailed investigations, it can be demonstrated that the hilly country east of Epitalio reaching eastwards at least until Olympia represents a region of tectonic uplift. Specifically, the uplift amounts at least to 12–13 m up to a maximum of 30 m for the last 6400 years alone¹²⁰. It is obvious that this strong uplift, the dimension of which was unknown so far, has a large influence on landscape formation, namely on fluvial processes and sea level stands.

Based on recent studies and taking into account the major uplift, it was possible to reconstruct potential mid-Holocene shorelines and conclude that tsunami events – representing a well-known phenomenon in the Gulf of Kyparissia during the entire Holocene (and probably beyond), were able to penetrate much farther into the Alpheios River valley than suggested by modern-day topographic conditions¹²¹. The tsunami flow patterns reconstructed on the basis of numerical simulations are consistent with the stratigraphic sequences and geomorpholog-

¹¹⁹ See above p. 135 f., cf. Eder et al. 2017.

¹²⁰ Vött et al. 2015.

¹²¹ Röbbke et al. 2013; Röbbke et al. 2015; Röbbke et al. 2016.

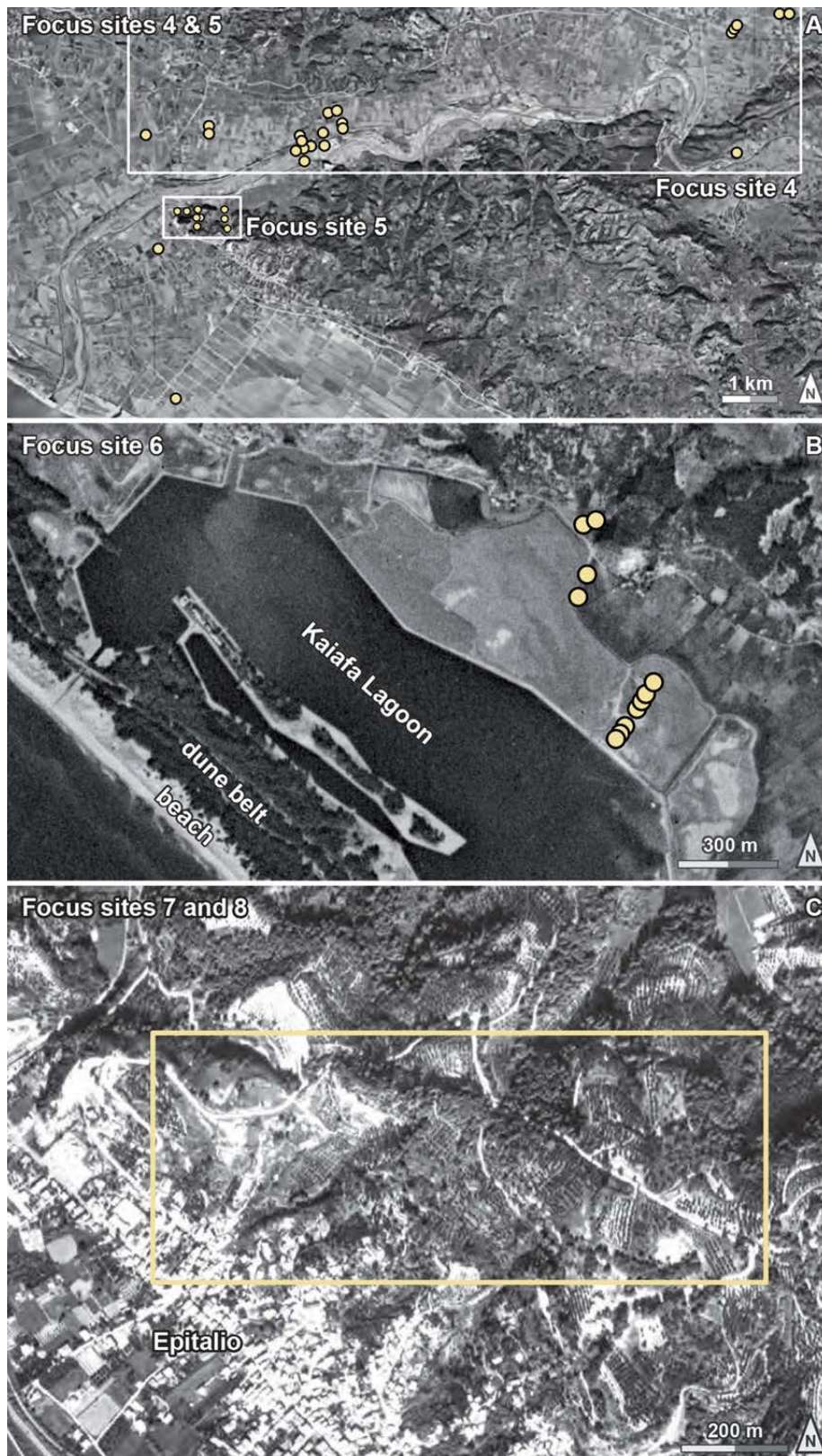


Fig. 62 Topographical overview of focus sites 4 to 8. A. Focus sites 4 and 5: Lower Alpheios River valley. – B. Focus site 6: Kaiafa Lagoon. – C. Focus sites 7: Epitalio and Dartisa. White dots mark vibracoring and Direct Push sites and areas of geophysical investigations

ical-sedimentological evidence found in the two secondary valleys. Overall, it can therefore be expected that at least some of the older high-energy flood events recorded for Olympia and the Kladeos Valley were connected with the effects of far-inland tsunami inundation¹²².

2.2.2.6 THE EASTERN SHORE OF THE KAIIFA LAGOON

We also investigated the influence of more recent tsunami events on the coastal development, sufficiently remote from any fluvial influences from the hinterland. These investigations were carried out on the eastern shore of the Kaiafa Lagoon (*fig. 62*). Our studies were realised exactly where convincing geomorphological, sedimentological and palaeontological evidence for tsunami events had already been found and described in detail¹²³.

On the basis of preliminary results, it can be assumed that several strong tsunami events, only several hundreds of years ago, hit the coastal lagoons existing at that time, flooded them with large amounts of water from the sea side and led to the deposition of up to 200 m wide sandy overwash structures on the east side of the present lagoon¹²⁴. Due to the superlocal nature of tsunami waves, the events that affected the Kaiafa Lagoon certainly had similar impacts on the Alpheios River delta and the lower reaches of the river and caused widespread flooding. Detailed radiocarbon dating of tsunami-related sediments is in progress. We finally aim at comparing the geochronological pattern found for high-energy flood events around Olympia with age data of clear tsunami evidence on the coast. Doing so, direct (tsunami) or indirect (seismo-tectonic) influence of earthquake-related processes can be either identified or ruled out.

2.2.2.7 THE HILLS ABOVE EPITALIO

Interesting archaeological finds collected during the archaeological survey to the north of the village of Epitalio suggested the existence of chamber tombs. Therefore, the site was systematically explored using geophysical ERT measurements (*fig. 62*, see above, East Area). Comparable methods had already been applied at Kioupia in the Kladeos River valley upstream of Olympia, where Bronze Age chamber tombs with rich burial gifts were found¹²⁵. Similar ERT-based evidence was obtained near Epitalio testifying to the existence of several chamber tombs¹²⁶. Ground radar measurements (GPR) confirmed this assessment. Thus, in the framework of the ›Olympia and its Environs‹ Project, a hitherto unknown site of a Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery was discovered and examined in its spatial dimensions¹²⁷. Current rescue excavations by the Ephorate confirmed the results by unearthing a chamber tomb close to the road.

2.2.2.8 THE PLATEAU AT DARTISA

Geophysical prospection was also carried out on the Dartisa plateau to the east of the newly discovered chamber tomb cemetery (*fig. 62*). In the course of the archaeological survey, a concentration of surface finds with a chronological focus on the 1st millennium B.C. in-

¹²² See Vött 2013; Vött et al. 2019.

¹²³ Koster et al. 2015.

¹²⁴ Obrocki et al. 2020.

¹²⁵ Mageiras-Kioupia: Vikatou 2012; Βικάτου 2014a; Βικάτου 2014b; Βικάτου 2014c; Βικάτου 2016.

¹²⁶ Obrocki et al. 2019.

¹²⁷ Obrocki et al. 2019.

dicates a settlement area. High-resolution ERT, seismic and GPR measurements on a flat, shield-shaped hill rising on the plateau revealed evidence of cist graves near the surface (ERT). However, no evidence for further chamber tombs has been found so far¹²⁸.

2.3 Historical research

Within the framework of the project, historical research emphasises a fresh analysis of the written sources according to the historical-philological method with special consideration for concepts drawn from discourse analysis and religious history, as well as to phenomenological concepts. Klaus Hallof (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, *Inscriptiones Graecae*) has agreed to analyse any new epigraphical finds. Two areas receive special attention: On the one hand, all ancient sources relevant to the project work are compiled in a file (currently, August 2018, largely completed). It includes translations as well as a commentary which is constantly updated by the project participants. This file will be integrated into a topographically structured gazetteer, which allows a swift correlation of texts with material remains and geoarchaeological conditions.

On the other hand, the results of the interpretations of the ancient sources are constantly updated with respect to the current results of the survey and the geoarchaeological investigations – and vice versa. To refine the interpretation, especially with consideration toward the anthropogenic design of space, recent concepts of spatiality are applied. In particular, phenomenological approaches following Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phénoménologie de la perception* (1945) have proved helpful (see 3.2). In conjunction with the analysis of mythistorical discourses and perspectives on religious history, they allow new insights into specific ancient spatial concepts that become tangible in the study area.

2.3.1 Topographical research and identifications: Methods

This section presents the results that have been achieved so far in the study of the historical topography. They are part of a rather detailed discussion which provides, as it were, a network of coordinates for the assessment of space, namely in respect of the localisation of places that are attested in the sources and the identification of sites with traditional names. The following section summarises the results of research in recent years that has amplified or modified the traditional perspective.

Due to the sources available, in particular due to the importance of Strabo, some basic methodological comments need to be made in advance. The prominence of the Homeric geography in the work of this author entails a very specific problem that pertains particularly to the region of interest to us and can be explained very well on the basis of Strabo¹²⁹. This

¹²⁸ Obrocki et al. 2019.

¹²⁹ Strabo 8, 3, 24: »ἦν δὲ λέγει νῦν Θρύον, ἐν ἄλλοις καλεῖ Θρυόεσσαν ἔστι δὲ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη, ἢ τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ. Ἀλφειοῦ δὲ πόρον φησὶν, ὅτι περὶ περατὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον: καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Ἐπιτάλιον τῆς Μακιστίας χωρίον. τὸ εὐκτιτον δ' Αἶπυ ἐνιοι μὲν ζητοῦσι πότερον ποτέρου ἐπίθετον, καὶ τίς ἢ πόλις, καὶ εἰ αἱ νῦν Μαργάλαι τῆς Ἀμφιδολίας: αὗται μὲν οὖν οὐ φυσικὸν ἔρυμα, ἔτερον δὲ δείκνυται φυσικὸν ἐν τῇ Μακιστίᾳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦθ' ὑπονοῶν φράζεσθαι ὀνομά φησι τῆς πόλεως τὸ

Αἶπυ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος φυσικῶς, ὡς Ἴλος καὶ Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ ἄλλα πλείω: ὁ δὲ τὴν Μαργάλαν τοῦμπαλιν ἴσως. Θρύον δὲ καὶ Θρυόεσσαν τὸ Ἐπιτάλιον φασιν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν αὕτη ἡ χώρα θρυώδης, μάλιστα δ' οἱ ποταμοί: ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ διαφαίνεται τοῦτο κατὰ τοὺς περατοὺς τοῦ ῥέθρου τόπους. τάχα δὲ φασὶ Θρύον μὲν εἰρησθαι τὸν πόρον, εὐκτιτον δ' Αἶπυ τὸ Ἐπιτάλιον: ἔστι γὰρ ἐρυμνὸν φύσει: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις αἰπεῖαν κολώνην λέγει ἔστι δὲ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη, ἢ τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ, πυμάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος.»

is not least because the geographer's description, as is often the case, is »undoubtedly«¹³⁰ based on Apollodorus' commentary on the Catalogue of the Ships. This creates a problem with the temporal assignment of the traditional place names, since even in antiquity the location of the places mentioned by Homer was unclear. In other words, our ancient informants were faced with similar questions of identification as we are.

In order not to lose track in this labyrinth, we need to distinguish three stages in this exemplarily selected section (as well as in other corresponding passages):

1. the Homeric text, which is frequently quoted, which we however first and foremost need to view simply as Homeric text. The beginning of this section refers to a passage from the Catalogue of the Ships, which describes the ›kingdom‹ of Nestor.
2. the later (Archaic-Classical-Hellenistic) references (cf. the »vũv« in Strabo).
3. the interpretations of Homer by later authors, not least Strabo, who established – partly in a similar way as we do – identifications based on various indications.

First of all, one needs to clearly differentiate between these, as in this case there existed no direct ancient links between these three stages, for example in the continuity of the settlement or the tradition of names (the problem would otherwise not have occurred). Moreover, as is the case with Pylos, these names may scatter locally, be identified with different sites or occur several times. In the present passage, we have (1) a Homeric layer with places called »Thryon« (also »Thryoessa«) and »Aipy Euktiton«¹³¹. In addition, there is (2) a later layer or toponymy, which in this case enables a clear localisation, also due to the existence of a parallel tradition (see below). Moreover, there exist (3) Strabo's (or Apollodorus' and others') conjectures as to which places can be associated with the Homeric names: in this case, the Homeric Thryon (or Thryoessa) is identified with Epitalion by Strabo due to the ford at the Alpheios (a) and because the area there is »reedy« or »θρυνώδης« (b). Strabo (or his source) also considers it possible that Aipy (unless he intends to read it as an adjective to Euktiton, which he apparently rejects) also refers to this area; then Thryon would lie in the plain at the mouth of Alpheios and Aipy on the hills above modern-day Epitalio (Agoulénitsa).

In the present context, our primary focus must rest on the names mentioned in the first and second stages. The ancient interpretations (stage three) carry no more weight than our own. In this specific case, this means that we need to deal with three unrelated toponyms in the literary sources: besides the Homeric places Thryon and Aipy (Euktiton) there is Epitalion, known as such from Classical times. Of these places the references indicate the location of Thryon and Epitalion at a ford across the Alpheios, namely at its mouth (at least in the case of Epitalion, see below).

»The city which the poet now calls Thryum he elsewhere calls Thryoessa: ›There is a certain city Thryoessa, a steep hill, far away on the Alpheius‹ [Hom. II. 11, 711. 712]. He calls it ›fording-place of the Alpheius‹ because the river could be crossed on foot, as it seems, at this place. But it is now called Epitalium (a small place in Macistia). As for ›well-built Aepy‹, some raise the question which of the two words is the epithet and which is the city, and whether it is the Margalæ [editorial comment by H.-J. Gehrke: the spelling of the manuscripts is probably incorrect, and one should read Marganae with e.g. Radt 2007] of today, in Amphidolia. Now Margalæ is not a natural stronghold, but another place is pointed out which is a natural stronghold, in Macistia. The man, therefore, who suspects that the latter place is meant by Homer calls the name of the city ›Aepy‹ from what is actually the case in nature (compare Helus, Aegialus, and several other names of places); whereas the man who

suspects that Margala is meant does the reverse perhaps. Thryum, or Thryoessa, they say, is Epitalium, because the whole of this country is full of rushes, particularly the rivers; and this is still more conspicuous at the fordable places of the stream. But perhaps, they say, Homer called the ford ›Thryum‹ and called Epitalium ›well-built Aepy‹; for Epitalium is fortified by nature. And in fact he speaks of a ›steep hill‹ in other places: ›There is a certain city, Thryoessa, a steep hill, far away on the Alpheius, last city of sandy Pylus‹« (Translation: Jones 1927).

¹³⁰ Radt 2007, 412.

¹³¹ In the case of Aipy Euktiton, it is not clear which part of the compound designates the proper name and which the epithet, as both are originally adjectives (›steep‹ and ›well-founded‹).

¹³² The basic topographic conditions are discussed by Meyer 1950. The area south of the Alpheios belongs (at least from the Classical period) to Triphylia, name-

Aipy provided a challenge already to the ancient authors: it was identified with Marganai, but also with a steep rock in the Makistia (between the Alpheios and the Lapithos)¹³². Strabo's idea to place it in the immediate vicinity of Thryon, which was supposedly situated in the plain, and to identify it hypothetically with Epitalion, appears rather unlikely: The Catalogue of the Ships offers an overall view of Nestor's contingent, and that should pertain to a much larger territory.

When we try to name or identify sites in our survey, we must accordingly also clarify whether we can clearly relate the ›Homeric‹ names to Mycenaean, Submycenaean, possibly even Protogeometric settlements, as is the case in the ancient texts, without having to assume settlement continuity. For example, Thryon (not Aipy, see above) could be paired with a Mycenaean site at Epitalio. Petros Themelis has interpreted the Mycenaean remains on the Agiorgitika hills in this way (see above 2.1.2.3)¹³³. The Classical (and possibly even Archaic) Epitalion could then be associated with the rich site at Dartisa¹³⁴. However, it should be clarified whether the find complexes of the survey can be differentiated in this way.

2.3.2 Direct identifications

2.3.2.1 EPITALION

The example chosen for the basic notes on the method is ideal in that the location of Epitalion can be regarded as unambiguous. The starting point must be Xenophon's reports of the Spartan campaign against Elis in 401 B.C.¹³⁵. When the Spartans (and their allied contingents) under King Agis II approached Elis from the south, first Lepreon, then Makistos and finally Epitalion split from Elis (they were Elean *symmachoi*). Afterwards, the invading army crossed the river (namely the Alpheios), whereupon the »Letrinoi, Amphidoloi and Marganeis« joined them as well. Then Agis was able to sacrifice to Zeus in Olympia and continue his march directly towards Elis¹³⁶. Retreating at the end of the campaign, he again crossed the Alpheios, leaving a garrison in Epitalion, »near the Alpheios« (πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ)¹³⁷. From there the latter devastated the Elean territory during the winter, so that the Eleans eventually sued for peace¹³⁸.

From this report, the position of Epitalion (at least the Classical one) emerges with sufficient clarity: it is linked to the territory of the Makistians, who settled in the Triphylian area south of the lower Alpheios¹³⁹. The Alpheios River could be crossed near Epitalion. There

ly to the Makistia; the range of hills that runs parallel to and south of the Alpheios thus forms a border between the Makistia and the Pisatis (see Str. 8, 3, 13).

¹³³ See the references in Παπαχατζής 1979, 223; Pritchett 1989, 75 f. (with further bibliography), cf. also McDonald – Hope Simpson 1961, 228.

¹³⁴ The results of the survey (see 2.1.2.3) confirm and expand the observations of Meyer 1957, 50, who assumes »a safe ancient location« here. Later, this place would have been extended or shifted towards the plain to the west of the Agiorgitika hills, where it would have remained until Roman times (as the excavations of P. Themelis have shown, see Παπαχατζής 1979, 223). This is also the findspot of the Roman milestone (see above 1.2 with n. 59).

¹³⁵ On the date of the Elean-Spartan War (402–400 B.C.) cf. Gehrke 1985, 53 with n. 7; we are here in its second year, 401 B.C. (X. HG 3, 2, 24 f.)

¹³⁶ X. HG 3, 2, 25.

¹³⁷ X. HG 3, 2, 29.

¹³⁸ X. HG 3, 2, 30.

¹³⁹ Cf. above n. 133. It is not certain how far this area extended geographically at the time of Xenophon. The centre, Makistos, is located at Skillountia (Mazi) and marked by the remains of an impressive Doric temple for Athena (for this, see Νακάσης 2004, and the information in Taita 2007, 44 with n. 12), cf. Minon 2007, 186–189 (with further references); Heiden – Rohn 2015, 333. The inscription found in the temple (Minon 2007, no. 28) with a grant of civil rights by the Makistians is also crucial for the purpose of localisation. Meyer 1957, 67 f.; Siewert 1987, 276 and still Taita 2007, 44 with n. 13 (with further details) identify Makistos with Samikon, see however Minon 2007, 187 n. 60. In addition to the argument of the find spot of the inscription, it should be noted that this localisation does not suit the topographical information on Samikon very well. The relationship between the Makistians and Samikon can also be explained differently.

was also a good place for a garrison that could cause serious damage to the territory of Elis in the course of the armed conflict¹⁴⁰. The information points to the area of modern-day Epitalio (Agoulenitsa). This matches the references to the »ford« and the proximity to the Alpheios estuary in Strabo¹⁴¹ as well as the »mountains of Triphylia separating the Makistia from the Pisatis« mentioned there¹⁴². This pertains to the chain of the hills that begin at Epitalio and then continue eastwards south of the Alpheios¹⁴³. This corresponds with the account of Polybius¹⁴⁴, who names Epitalion alongside Phrixa, Stylangion, Aipion, Bolax and Pyrgos as the cities who voluntarily joined Philip V after his occupation of Samikon (218). Apart from Pyrgos, which lies to the south, all of these are counted among the Triphylian cities north of the Lapithos¹⁴⁵.

As we have already seen, the archaeological constellation of finds corresponds well with this localisation. However, their detailed definition and in particular their relation to the Homeric or Mycenaean topography remains problematic. One would have to ask whether the Homeric topography (Thryon, Aipy) can be separated or isolated from the later ones. There is also an important note in Strabo¹⁴⁶ that at the Alpheios estuary there is a grove of Artemis Alpheionia or Alpheiousa, which is 80 stades away from Olympia. In this regard a comment by Joseph Partsch¹⁴⁷ deserves attention: »A landowner told me that at the end of the Katarachi (a slight and elongated soil elevation southwest of Pyrgos)¹⁴⁸ at a short distance from the modern-day mouth of the Alpheios River, he had lifted large poros blocks of an old building from the ground and used them for building.«

2.3.2.2 HERAKLEIA AND SALMONI

The sites, both of which are clearly distinguished in the sacral and memorial topography of Pisa, lay close together¹⁴⁹. According to Diodorus Siculus¹⁵⁰ Salmone was located »beside« or »near« (»παρά« with accusative) the River Alpheios. One should not overstretch this point, but the place cannot be too far away from the Alpheios River or from its plain. Even more important is the aforementioned proximity to Herakleia, because this can be located with a high level of probability. It lay 40 (according to Strabon¹⁵¹) or 50 (according to Pausanias¹⁵²) stades away from Olympia¹⁵³, and it was close to the river Kytherios / Kytheros, which was fed by a spring where a sanctuary of the Ionidian nymphs was located. The water of this spring supposedly cured various pains and states of exhaustion¹⁵⁴. For good reasons, the sanctuary has been linked to the sulphur spring of Loutra near the small village of Pournari (one is reminded of the well-known springs near the Kaiafa Lagoon), and the site of Herakleia has been supposed to lie in the nearby field of Marmara (between Pournari and Pelopion)¹⁵⁵. This accords with the distances mentioned and also offers an indication for the

¹⁴⁰ Cf. also, succinctly, the modern »classics« Meyer 1957, 49 f. 60 f. and Pritchett 1989, 75 f.

¹⁴¹ Str. 8, 3, 12; 8, 3, 24.

¹⁴² Str. 8, 3, 12.

¹⁴³ This is why Strabo here speaks of the northern side of the Pisatis in a broader sense. This identification was already made by Partsch 1897, 14 with n. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Plb. 4, 80, 12 f.

¹⁴⁵ Walbank 1957, 533.

¹⁴⁶ Str. 8, 3, 12.

¹⁴⁷ Partsch 1897, 14.

¹⁴⁸ See the Partsch map. – On the question of the Artemis sanctuary and the problem of the distance values see below n. 165. 168.

¹⁴⁹ Str. 8, 3, 32; in general, on both places cf. Roy 2004, 492. The to date oldest preserved lease agreement between private individuals (IvO 18 = Minon 2007, no. 25, ca. 425–400 B.C.), which deals with land in Salmone (Salamone, line 3 f.), does not add to the question of localisation.

¹⁵⁰ Diod. 4, 68, 1.

¹⁵¹ Str. 8, 3, 32.

¹⁵² Paus. 6, 22, 7.

¹⁵³ The difference should not be overemphasised, cf. Maddoli et al. 1999, 373.

¹⁵⁴ Str. 8, 3, 32; Paus. 6, 22, 7.

¹⁵⁵ First and foremost, Panayotopoulos 1991, 275–277 (276 f. for instructive information on the modern

course of the Mountain Road, which one would have to assume here. The river Kyther(i)os would then have to be identified with the modern-day Pournariko, into which the aforementioned spring flows.

It is said of Salmone that it lies close (»πλησίον«) to a spring of the same name which was also the source of the Enipeus River, something which is also firmly associated with its mythistory. Since it is very common to identify the most important tributary of the Alpheios River in the area with the Enipeus, Salmone has been located near Neraida, at the source of the Lestenitsa River¹⁵⁶. However, taking into account the two relative indications of Salmone's location, i.e. the proximity to the Alpheios and to Herakleia, it immediately becomes apparent that this localisation is unacceptable¹⁵⁷: The distance from Marmara to Neraida is longer than from Marmara to Olympia.

One therefore needs to seek alternatives and consider the river Manna, which has its source near modern Herakleia (Brouma)¹⁵⁸. There, Partsch saw strong springs, which in his opinion – he identifies the place with Herakleia – join to become the Kyther(i)os stream¹⁵⁹. In addition, he refers to information from locals that »some decades ago [there were] remains of an old building«; and he took with him from this place a small lamp with the inscription »Πασφόρου«. One could thus identify the Manna River with the Enipeus and would thereby find a good site for Salmone (near Herakleia = Marmara, with the Kytherios = Pournariko).

A major objection, however, is the size of the rivers: There is no reason to associate the name of the powerful Thessalian river with this modest watercourse, and this is the reason why the Lestenitsa River has been considered a more appropriate candidate. It has already been emphasised that this causes other difficulties. Partsch may offer a solution: he considers one of the strong springs south of Landzoï / Latzoï which are counted among the sources of the Lestenitsa a good candidate; it would suit all aforementioned criteria¹⁶⁰. In general, one has to keep in mind that we do not know enough about the development of the hydrogeographical conditions since antiquity to draw far-reaching conclusions about the course and water level of rivers or even streams. Since the area in question is not part of our survey area, no further observations can be contributed from our perspective. While Herakleia can be identified with some degree of certainty, the case of Salmone remains obscure, as Claudia Ruggeri succinctly remarks: »La questione della localizzazione sembra quindi difficile da risolvere«¹⁶¹.

2.3.3 *Relative topography*

The observations and interpretations presented here allow the identification of at least two places in the region of interest with a degree of certainty. In addition, a new analysis of the relevant sources in comparison with the topographical conditions and the results of the survey enables the establishment of two topographical sequences. The order in which certain places are reported apparently corresponds to a spatial arrangement. This produces a kind

bathing activity between 1909 and 1972, of which the current state hardly gives any idea); cf. Ruggeri 2004, 195.

¹⁵⁶ Panayotopoulos 1991, 277–281. For the identification of the Lestenitsa with the Enipeus see Partsch 1897, 4–6; Taita 2013, 367.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. also Mandl – Ruggeri 2000, 52 f. and Ruggeri 2004, 195.

¹⁵⁸ For the localisation of Salmone in this place, cf. also Ruggeri 2004, 196 with n. 641.

¹⁵⁹ Partsch 1897, 5 f. He also speaks of a stinking spring in a field south of Brouma, with which he associates the place name.

¹⁶⁰ Partsch 1897, 5. For the location of Latzoï, cf. the plan in Panayotopoulos 1991, 279.

¹⁶¹ Ruggeri 2004, 196.

of relative topography which at the very least enables us to narrow down the area in question for the localisations. This is particularly evident in the area west of Olympia towards the mouth of the Alpheios River.

2.3.3.1 WEST OF OLYMPIA

Here, too, Xenophon provides us with the key text, namely his account of the Spartan invasion¹⁶²: the Epitalians had already joined Agis, as we have seen. He then crossed the Alpheios (obviously at the ford at Epitalion), and then the people of Letrinoi, Amphidolia, and Marganai went over to his side¹⁶³. Accordingly, they were located north of the Alpheios, and everything indicates that the arrangement is topographical in terms of direction¹⁶⁴: first Letrinoi, then Amphidolia, then Marganai; afterward, Agis sacrificed to Zeus in Olympia.

In addition, there are clear indications that Letrinoi lies furthest to the west: it can be accommodated near the Alpheios or possibly also at the Alpheios estuary, because of the temple of Artemis Alpheiaia¹⁶⁵. Even more important is the information provided by Pausanias¹⁶⁶ that Letrinoi lies on the Plain Road 120 stades from Olympia and 180 from Elis¹⁶⁷. This leads to the area of Pyrgos or the monastery Agios Ioannis, where Letrinoi has previously been localised¹⁶⁸.

That the other places mentioned lie further to the east is also very plausible; for in their campaign against Elis in 365 B.C., the Arkadians move through the Akroreia to Olympia, then take Marganai by betrayal and finally attack Elis¹⁶⁹. This may indicate that Marganai

¹⁶² X. HG 3, 2, 25.

¹⁶³ They remained in league with Sparta for a while (until Leuktra): All three are mentioned together as Spartan allies (with a total of 400 slingers) in the battle near the Nemea Stream in 394 B.C. (X. HG 4, 2, 16). The low number of combatants and their military function shows that they obviously did not act as major poleis.

¹⁶⁴ Meyer 1950, 1736, cf. Niese 1910, 10, who also sees a connection, and now Ruggeri 2004, 171.

¹⁶⁵ Paus. 6, 22, 8–10; the relation of this temple to the sanctuary of Artemis Alpheiousa and Alpheionia (Str. 8, 12, 12) should be considered (see Maddoli et al. 1999, 374; Ruggeri 2004, 175 f.; however, otherwise Partsch 1897, 6; Taita 2013, 379 f.), if one takes Paus. 6, 22, 8 to refer to the territory of Letrinoi (see also above). Older travel reports show that before the great changes of the last century the broad floodplains of the Alpheios came close to Pyrgos (see esp. Cockerell 1903, 70, quoted above in n. 28).

¹⁶⁶ Paus. 6, 22, 8.

¹⁶⁷ This suits Str. 8, 3, 30, who gives 300 stades from Olympia to Elis, cf. also Maddoli et al. 1999, 374 and see also above.

¹⁶⁸ The previous localisations are not compelling, but roughly plausible: At Pyrgos (already Partsch 1897, 6) or at the monastery Agios Ioannis between Pyrgos and Katakolo (Leake 1830, vol. 1, 33; Buchon 1843, 503 with the most detailed information; Curtius 1852, 73; Curtius 1882, 7; Meyer 1950, 1736), further references in Παπαχατζής 1979, 392 n. 1; Maddoli et al. 1999, 374; Roy 2004, 499 f.; Ruggeri 2004, 171; Taita 2007, 47 with n. 20. According to

Str. 8, 3, 12, however, the port of Pheia (where the distance is shortest from the sea to Olympia) lies 120 stades from Olympia (see Taita 2013, 346 f.), and this would rather support a localisation of Letrinoi at Agios Ioannis. However, Taita 2013, 349 puts the distance into perspective. She localises Letrinoi at Pyrgos, and that is why (she calculates a stade to cover 180 m) she considers Pausanias' indication an ›overestimation‹ (120 stades = 21.6 km instead of ›real‹ 19.6 km). Apart from the fact that this specification is not supported by any archaeological evidence, one could then also consider Agios Ioannis. However, Agios Ioannis is a relatively far distance from the assumed route of the Plain Road, as well as from the ridge of Katarachi, which connects Pyrgos with the Alpheios estuary (see n. 266). In general, however, as the comparison with Strabo and other examples in our region (see above) show, the ancient numbers, which are typically rounded, leave certain margins for calculation. The lake mentioned in Paus. 6, 22, 1 can no longer be identified; Chandler 1776, 287 refers to a lake near the monastery of Panagia Skaphidia north of Katakolo; Curtius 1882, 7 identified this with the northern part of the Mouria Lagoon (and localised Dysponton near Pyrgos, further details in Taita 2013, 366 n. 99), Partsch 1897, 6 of the Mouteli depression south of Pyrgos; according to Παπαχατζής 1979, 394 n. 1, the lake came into contact with the Lagoon of Mouria and has since accordingly been drained. All of this remains quite uncertain; on Letrinoi cf. also Roy 2004, 499 f.

¹⁶⁹ X. HG 7, 4, 14.

was immediately adjacent to Olympia and was near the Mountain Road, closer to it than Amphidoloi. Thus, Marganai would also be located near Alasyaion. However, taking into consideration Xenophon¹⁷⁰, one should not move too far away from the Alpheios River. In any case, Amphidoloi also borders Alasyaion¹⁷¹, which in turn can be associated with the Akroreia, quite in the sense of a direct neighbourhood¹⁷². In reference to Xenophon¹⁷³ one could draw a line: Letrinoi – Amphidoloi – Marganai – Alasyaion (on the Mountain Road)¹⁷⁴.

Thus we have a topographical sequence Letrinoi (= Pyrgos / Agios Ioannis), then eastwards Amphidolia – Marganai – Alasyaion – Akroreia¹⁷⁵. Specifically, besides the location of Letrinoi near Pyrgos / Agios Ioannis, one could suggest the following correlations: Amphidoloi may have been located northeast of Pyrgos, to the north of Vrochitsa, where remains from the early 4th century B.C. have been identified¹⁷⁶. In view of the ambiguities, one should apply a wider perspective and follow Ernst Meyer's consideration of the »hilly country of Varvasaina-Labeti«¹⁷⁷.

Another candidate for Amphidolia could also be Salmoni (Koukoura). However, because of the close proximity to Olympia, which is evident from Xenophon's¹⁷⁸ report on the Arkadian attack of 365 (see above), one should associate this place with Marganai. The findings and observations made in our campaigns support this perspective¹⁷⁹. Alasyaion

¹⁷⁰ X. HG 3, 2, 25.

¹⁷¹ Str. 8, 3, 10; see in general Roy 2004, 247.

¹⁷² Nafissi 2003, 25 n. 17 (west of Lasion on the slopes of the Pholoe); on the neighbourhood see Meyer 1950, 1737.

¹⁷³ X. HG 3, 2, 25.

¹⁷⁴ Amphidolia or Amphidolis (Str. 8, 3, 24 and 8, 3, 9) probably addresses the territory of the polis Amphidoloi (X. HG 3, 2, 30 – without textual change – and St. Byz. s. v.). According to Strabo (24) Marganai also belonged to it. This creates a problem for the topography, because we have to use the term Amphidoloi in a stricter or broader sense (for this distinction, see also Nafissi 2003, 25). How to explain the relationship between the two remains open (see also Ruggeri 2004, 170, esp. 172). If one assumes the Amphidoloi to have been a small federation, Marganai would have been a part, as well as Alasyaion. However, this is not very plausible as both (Amphidoloi and Marganeis) are mentioned side by side as distinct units in Xenophon (25 and 30). One could think of a later »incorporation« or something of the sort, but the most plausible explanation is to assume that Str. 8, 3, 24 follows the category of order used by Apollodorus: Amphidolia as an Elean perioicic area and part of Triphylia north of the Alpheios (in distinction to the Makistia south of the river (Meyer 1950, 1740 f.); see also Ruggeri 2004, 170, who in consideration of Str. 8, 3, 24 supposes that in the Hellenistic era Amphidolis was much larger than in the Classical period. In any case, for the time of Xenophon we should consider Amphidolia or Amphidoloi a polis territory (see also Roy 2004, 494).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Nafissi 2003, fig. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Ruggeri 2004, 172, 189; similar Taita 2007, 47 with further references.

¹⁷⁷ Meyer 1950, 1736.

¹⁷⁸ X. HG 7, 4, 14.

¹⁷⁹ Esp. the Classical-Hellenistic remains on Palaiopyrgos, see above; for the identification cf. Roy 2002, 230 with further references; Roy 2004, 500. However, one has also to consider the information of

Str. 8, 3, 24 on Homeric Aipy and its identification – as advanced by others – with Marganai: According to Strabo Marganai was not a naturally fortified place (»ἔχυμα φυσικόν«) and not located on a steep hill. This would speak against the identification with Palaiopyrgos. However, one has to keep in mind that the information that was shaped by subjective perceptions and local impressions leaves a certain measure of wiggle room. Because of the Greek character of the landscape, a »natural bulwark« suggests a rather rugged elevation. On the other hand, the Arkadians got hold of Marganai by »surrender on the part of some« (X. HG 7, 4, 14), that is by betrayal (365), cf. also Ruggeri 2004, 169 (»efficacemente difeso, forse di mezzo di mura, o almeno per la posizione geografica strategica che lo rendeva difficile da prendere«; own translation: »effectively defended, perhaps by means of walls, or at least because of its strategic geographical position, which made it difficult to take.«). However, she also notes the possible contradiction to Strabo (170). Remains of walls have not been found so far, but there may have existed wooden fortifications. However, the connection with Salmoni (Koukoura) is not unattractive: the site in question (the hill Palaiopyrgos, possibly including the hill with the church of Prophetis Ilias), is on the one hand not a steep rock (especially according to the aforementioned criteria for steepness), but not entirely without defences, even without fortification walls (examples of which have not yet been detected anywhere in the entire region), so that for the Arkadians betrayal was still more economical than an attack. This is also supported by the fact that Diod. 15, 77, 4 uses the term polis in view of Marganai as well as of Kronos Hill (X. HG 7, 4, 14) that had just been »fortified« by the Arkadians (Bölte 1930, 1681). – Meyer 1950, 1736 (following Bölte 1930, 1681) brings the plain between Strephi and Flokas into play, cf. also Ruggeri 2004, 171 f. However, a localisation in the plain is not very plausible in view of the extent and activity of the Alpheios.

lay »near Amphidolia [...] on the Mountain Road from Elis to Olympia«. It had »earlier« belonged to the Pisatis¹⁸⁰. In all likelihood, it also bordered on the Akroreia¹⁸¹. In general, Alasyaion is located at the upper reaches of the Lestenitsa¹⁸². Since this zone was outside of our survey area, we have no further information to offer.

2.3.3.2 NORTH AND EAST OF OLYMPIA

Here, a relative topography may likewise be deduced, albeit not with the same degree of certainty. The starting point is a note in Strabo¹⁸³, which suggests that the places Harpina, Kikysion and Dysponton formed a line: Harpina, which belonged to the »Eight Cities« (*oktapolis*) of the Pisatis and through which the Parthenias River¹⁸⁴ flowed, was on the road leading to the Pholoe and Pharaia / Pheraia (see above). There (»αὐτοῦ«) also Kikysion (also belonging to the *oktapolis*) and Dysponton were located. The location »there« is not exactly precise. However, Dysponton is also said to lie on the road from Elis to Olympia, in the plain. Since Harpina is situated on the road to Arkadia, and Dysponton towards Elis, one may conclude that Harpina is the easternmost, Dysponton the westernmost site. We could then draw a line between the two with Kikysion in the middle.

The well-known story of the suicide of Peregrinus Proteus after the Olympics of A.D. 165 in Harpina, which drew quite some attention at the time, makes it possible to add further details¹⁸⁵. Lucian offers precise information on the distance – 20 stades (3.7 km) – this place lay east of Olympia¹⁸⁶. The passage can be regarded as very reliable because the event attracted a lot of attention and the location is integrated firmly into the narrative. Of the three candidates proposed so far for the place of Harpina – a hill on the right bank of modern-day Viliziko / Vilizeiko¹⁸⁷, the hill of Frangonisi south of

¹⁸⁰ Str. 8, 3, 10.

¹⁸¹ Roy 2002, 230. Meyer 1950, 1737 reached this conclusion from the joint dedication IvO 258; Roy's arguments against it (2002, 230), with the spatial distances Amphidolia-Alasyaion-Akrokreia, are not compelling.

¹⁸² Ruggeri 2004, 150 f. 196; Taita 2007, 47, similar to Partsch 1897, 4, who takes into consideration the »convergence of the sources of the Enipeus [= Lestenitsa] near Karatula« [mentioning a local »fort« Xylakastro east of the pond Mavroli].

¹⁸³ Str. 8, 3, 32.

¹⁸⁴ One problem lies in the mention of the two rivers Parthenias here in Strabo and Paus. 6, 21, 7 as well as in the designation of the river at Harpina as Harpinates by Paus. 6, 21, 8: According to Strabo the Parthenias flows through Harpina, which according to Pausanias apparently flows into the Alpheios from the south (Maddoli et al. 1999, 360). Following Paus. (8) the Harpinates runs next to the ruins of Harpina. Firstly, it should be noted that one has to remain to the right of the Alpheios (see above all Bölte 1912, 2408, and for explanation, see Maddoli et al. 1999, 357 f.). The difference between Parthenias and Harpinates could be explained by assuming two different streams in the territory of Harpina (Bölte 1912, 2408 and Maddoli et al. 1999, 360). In contrast, Baladié 1980, 297 identifies the Harpinates of Pausanias with the Parthenias of Strabo. – The Parthenias is usually identified with the modern-day Bakireiko, which originates in the Lala area and

flows into the Alpheios near Mouria (Graefinghoff's map; Puillon Boblaye 1835, 129; Bölte 1912, 2408; Meyer 1949; Pritchett 1989, 35 f.; Maddoli et al. 1999, 360; Roy 2002, 235 with n. 18). This however would be too far to the east for the aforementioned localisation of Harpina according to Lucian (see below). The Harpinates is equated with the Vilizeiko further west originating in Pefkes (formerly Viliza or Veliza) and flowing into the Alpheios east of Miraka (Puillon Boblaye 1835, 129; Bölte 1912, 2408; Παπαχατζής 1979, 382 n. 7; Maddoli et al. 1999, 361 have Viliziko, similar to Graefinghoff's map where it is named Parthenias). This again is further east than Lucian's description would allow. In the small area in question, next to the Vilizeiko and the Bakireiko there is yet another stream, which flows directly west of Panagia (Curtius – Adler 1882 and Graefinghoff's Harpinates). The identification of the rivers sadly does not enable the establishment of clear criteria for localisation due to the problems associated with them. The key must remain Lucian. – For Harpina cf. also Roy 2004, 492.

¹⁸⁵ According to Paus. 6, 21, 8 there were only »ruins« (ἐρείπια) and altars, but because of Lucian the place must have had some importance.

¹⁸⁶ Lucianus Peregr. 35.

¹⁸⁷ Near the village of Linaria (former Saraka): Παπαχατζής 1979, 382 n. 7, 8; Maddoli et al. 1999, 361. However, because of Lucian's statement (though one should not overstretch it), the distance would be too far away from Olympia.

Miraka¹⁸⁸, and the church of Panagia¹⁸⁹, – this information seems to suggest the latter as the most plausible due to its distance from Olympia.

Moving northwest from Harpina according to this reconstruction, Kikysion came first and finally Dyspontion. The path indicated on Partsch's map (1897) suggests that Kikysion could be sought in the area of Archaia Pisa (Miraka), Mageiras or Koskinas¹⁹⁰ and Dyspontion in the area of Platanos¹⁹¹. At any rate, Kikysion was the largest among the places of the *oktapolis*, and was near a spring called Bisa¹⁹². Dyspontion is no longer attested in the sources for the period after 570 B.C. and therefore had probably been abandoned already in the 6th century B.C.¹⁹³.

In this respect, our research allows for some tentative conclusions: Within the area of the relative topography, only in the area northwest of Koskinas (see *figs. 6 no. 3. 4; 7 no. 3. 4; 27*) a sufficiently large find complex with documented Classical-Hellenistic material which could indicate a site was located. We consider this a serious candidate for Kikysion. The dominating site in the fertile and extensive area of the middle reaches of the Kladeos suits Strabo's statement¹⁹⁴ that Kikysion was the largest community of the *oktapolis*, and the land distribution that is mentioned in a recently published inscription¹⁹⁵ may well pertain to this area.

The connection between the Kladeos River valley and the Alpheios Plain to the west (see *fig. 7 no. 1*) near Platanos can be associated very well with the Mountain Road, as is visible already on the map by Partsch of 1897. To the west and on a lower level, one could then tentatively assume the location of Dyspontion, that is between Platanos and Pelopion (formerly Kriekouki)¹⁹⁶, which already comes close to the place assumed for Herakleia (see above).

¹⁸⁸ Roy 2002, 235 with n. 18, citing McDonald – Rapp 1972, 320 no. 723; 306 no. 323 f. The site would be only about 2 km away from Olympia.

¹⁸⁹ Just east of the first stream east of Miraka: Map Curtius – Adler 1882; Map Partsch 1897 (Graefinghoff records Harpina on a hill further north on the same river, which he calls Harpinates), cf. Bölte 1912, 2408 and see also above n. 184. Ross 1841, 108 n. 63, also because of Lucian, considers a location near a »little river east of Miraka« (translated from German text), and Gell (1817, 37) notes before crossing the first stream he mentions after Miraka »fragments of tiles«.

¹⁹⁰ For the remains near Miraka (now »Archaia Pisa«) documented so far see above n. 100; for those of Koskinas see Παπακωνσταντίνου 1992, nos. 22. 23. 34. 48 (tombs of LH III A–B and of Hellenistic-Roman chronology, with Hellenistic pottery in the surrounding area), for Mageiras see Παπακωνσταντίνου 1992, nos. 29. 31–33: »prehistoric«, LH III, Classical-Hellenistic tombs).

¹⁹¹ According to Str. 8, 3, 32 it lies »on the way from Olympia to Elis in the plain«. This obviously refers to the Mountain Road, where its course runs through the plain (Meyer 1950, 1737, cf. above n. 54); otherwise that would not have been explicitly stated, nor would it fit the other topographical indications; also Roy 2002, 234 f.; Ruggeri 2004, 193. One would thus arrive in the area of Platanos, for finds there see Παπακωνσταντίνου 1992, nos. 24–28. 30 (LH III B, early Archaic, Roman, Late Antiquity). Curtius 1882,

8 had suggested Pyrgos, because he understood the name as »coastal town, which had no favourable seaside location«; Partsch 1897, 7 had thought of the area of Salmoni (Koukoura): The name could indicate that the Alpheios at Dyspontion (about 50 stades from its mouth) stopped »[being] a navigable river. That points to the area of Koukoura.«

¹⁹² Str. 8, 3, 31; Mandl – Ruggeri 2000, 53 hypothetically suggest the place of Neraida / Persaina, which corresponds to a larger settlement site. Although this cannot be excluded, it must remain open given the archaeological documentation as a whole and the relatively long distance from Olympia.

¹⁹³ Roy 2002, 34 f.; Roy 2004, 494.

¹⁹⁴ Str. 8, 3, 21.

¹⁹⁵ For this assignment see NIO 5 A (= Minon 2007, no. 16), 3 f.

¹⁹⁶ There was an old road (see Map Partsch 1897) from Pyrgos to Lalas (across the pass at Platanos and then up the Kladeos); this is well documented in Sibthorpe 1820, 79: The Oxford botanist was on his way from Pyrgos to Lalas, when at »Cracouchi« (i.e. Kriekouki = Pelopion) a broken bridge (across the stream west of the village, which was heavily swollen – on March 2nd, 1795) delayed his journey. He apparently crossed the pass at Platanos, made a detour to Olympia and then moved via »Stavrokephalo« (today Kladeos) along the Kladeos upstream towards Lalas. He notes that after the passage at Kriekouki »the size of the mountains increased«, and mentions »pine trees of majestic height«.

3 FIRST HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

3.1 Olympia and Pisa

In his 10th Olympic Ode, Pindar¹⁹⁷ sings of Herakles' deeds after his victory against Augeias, the king of Elis¹⁹⁸: »But the brave son of Zeus gathered the entire army and all the spoils together in Pisa and measured out a sacred precinct for his supreme father. He enclosed the Altis all around and marked it off in the open, and he made the encircling area a resting-place for feasting, honouring the stream [i.e. the ford]¹⁹⁹ of the Alpheios along with the twelve ruling gods. And he named the Hill of Kronos«.

We should certainly not read this text as a report on the establishment of the cult of Zeus in Olympia, nor should we look for a historical kernel communicating past events in mythical guise. However, the text contains information on the situation at the time of Pindar. We can easily recognise the ford of the Alpheios River, the Altis and Kronos Hill. The author had previously already mentioned the »tomb« of Pelops there, which refers to the Pelopion²⁰⁰. Above all, however, the text – and this is of crucial importance here – offers a view of how space was perceived and manipulated at the time (and certainly not only in the time of Pindar). The essential point is the following:

The area bears the name Pisa. There is a sacred place in it, a τέμενος marked and enclosed as such²⁰¹. It has the name Altis. With the establishment of the cult, the (nearby) ford (πόρος) of the Alpheios, in addition to the Twelve Gods, is particularly honoured. The surrounding land (πέδον) is intended for the ritual meal. A hill, which is apparently also located here, is named after Kronos. At the same time, there is a venerable cult place, the tomb of the hero Pelops. The geographical indications refer to the landscape itself, the Alpheios ford and an apparently distinctive hill. Qualitative categorisation takes place through the specific definition of a »sacred«, »divine« (ζάθεος) place, from which an activity (the meal) connected with the cult but separated from the numinous place is excluded. The fact that this extends »in a circle« around the sacred place forms a classification in terms of the qualitative assessment of the area and appropriately emphasises the centrality of the sanctuary in relation to its immediate surroundings²⁰².

If we now take the aforementioned »meal« metaphorically in terms of the activities associated with the cult in a broader sense, this amounts to a kind of operational description for the small-scale settlements located »in the circle«, thus all around. This is what the scho-

¹⁹⁷ On this text and other passages in Pindar (including the ones used subsequently) see also Ulf 1997, 13–25.

¹⁹⁸ Pi. O. 10, 43–50 (Translation: Svarlien 1991).

¹⁹⁹ The πόρος of the Alpheios also appears in Pi. O. 1, 92 (with reference to the Pelopion) and 2, 12 f. (with reference to Kronos Hill). Taita 2001, 127 f. points out that in the poetic language πόρος can indicate not only the ford but also the bed of a river as a whole, but rightly sticks to the meaning of »ford«. There is a clear spatial reference to the three places, and the extension to the »bed«, i.e. the course of the river or the whole river, would make no sense in view of the desired local precision, which has a poetic-literary function. In addition, such a striking point of passage could quickly acquire a sacred meaning (for Olympia in this context, see Eder 2019, 39 f. If there was a lake in the immediate vicinity (see above 2.2.2.2), this could have enhanced the effect. In any case, in the Archaic literature (and possibly also in

the legal language) there was a clear correlation between Olympia and the Alpheios (Alonso Troncoso 2013, 219 with corresponding references; regarding the Alpheios as a sacred figure see below) – Paus. 6, 20, 1 testifies to a cult for Kronos, in which priests named βασιλῆαι carried out sacrifices for the god; for potential »Kronika« see above n. 12. The Olympics were also traced back to a wrestling match between Kronos and Zeus (Paus. 8, 2, 2).

²⁰⁰ Cf. Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 52.

²⁰¹ On the meaning of such a »staked space«, see generally Michaels 2006, 280, with reference to Ernst Cassirer; on the ambivalence of such areas, which we also have to consider here, Michaels 2006, 282. On ritual spaces in ancient Greece see Cole 2004, 30–65, and on different degrees of the sacred within the sanctuary of Olympia Cole 2004, 61.

²⁰² On the role of the centrality of sanctuaries, see Cole 2004, 75–79; on Pindar's passage cf. Eckerman 2013, 28 f.

liast to Pindar already said with reference to authors named Aristodemos²⁰³, Leptines, and Dionysius²⁰⁴, as follows: »It is not in Elis where those banquet who have come to the festival [πανήγυρις], but Pisa; because the area, »in the circle« [κύκλος] around the sanctuary« is occupied by hostels [καταγωγαί]«²⁰⁵. The term Pisa thus refers to the landscape around the sanctuary of Olympia, in the complementary sense already mentioned (see above 1.3).

These important relations gain a starker profile in the light of modern concepts of spatiality²⁰⁶, which go back to phenomenological concepts, in particular to M. Merleau-Ponty and his »Phénoménologie de la perception«. The »experienced space« or »espace vécu« interacts with the human being and his body and is perceived, classified and evaluated in many ways and in constant interaction. Irrespective of its objective, physically given presence, and yet closely related to it, this space is thus an »espace existentiel«²⁰⁷.

Individuals move within this space and their perception of it is shaped not least by the society which they are part of. Thus, this space may also be referred to as »a sacred, symbolic and mythic space replete with social meanings wrapped around buildings, objects and features of the local topography providing reference points and planes of emotional orientation for human attachment and involvement«²⁰⁸. We therefore have to assume a corresponding understanding of space. The locality of Olympia was heavily charged with sacred meaning²⁰⁹ which already became manifest in the early cultic practices. We may therefore also assume that this was of special significance even for the social organisation of the inhabitants in the immediate surroundings. Indeed, their primary habitat, their vital living environment was related to the sanctuary.

One could also speak of »amphictyons«, as it were *avant la lettre*, for the concept of an amphictyony presupposes the existence of ethnic-political units that share the organisation of a cult or sanctuary²¹⁰. Conversely, we must remember that the sanctuary or cult in Olympia precedes or substantially shapes the social organisation²¹¹. This leads to another, hypothetical, conclusion, especially when we think of the aforementioned Pisa problem. We should not from the outset – as most recently M. Köiv²¹² – assume or ask whether Pisa or the Pisa-

²⁰³ One is tempted to identify him with the historian Aristodemos (Schwartz 1895a, 925; FGrHist 414), but F. Jacoby did not include this quotation in his collection. Since it is essentially a text-critical note, it may also refer to the philologist A. of Alexandria (Schwartz 1895b, 925) who commented on Pindar.

²⁰⁴ Cohn 1905, 984.

²⁰⁵ Sch. Pi. O. 10, 55 b; own translation. For an interpretation in the sense of area see esp. Meyer 1950, 1737, cf. also Niese 1910, 28 f. (Pisa is an »area«, »it is as much as Olympia«). As such, as an area in the southern part of Elis, Pisa may also appear as ἀκροτήριον Ἀλίδος in Pindar (O. 9, 7). That someone can receive land »in Pisa« (IvO 11 = Minon 2007, no. 12, 5) may refer to the area, but could also refer to the territory of a settlement (which is less likely, however, if it was not a »real« polis; and that is not the case, at least on the basis of what we know about the region through texts and archaeological observations). The scholiast continues: »but Pisa lies three stades away from Olympia«. This is contradictory insofar as he himself speaks of the environment, thus of no fixed point. Sch. Pi. O. 1, 28 b has Pisa as χωρίον next to Elis, at a distance of 50 stades (sic!). Herodian (Hdn. Gr. vol. 1 p. 226, 19–22) calls Pisa »polis and source of Olympia«, but also speaks of a »chorion in which the Temple of Zeus is built and the Olympic contest

is organised«. These late and contradictory statements are unhelpful and ultimately worthless when compared with what can be linked to Pindar.

²⁰⁶ Cf. the important overview in Hofmann 2014/2015.

²⁰⁷ Merleau-Ponty 1945, 337, cf. esp. Ingold 1993, 152, 154; the recent criticism of Ingold's phenomenological approach (Hicks 2016, with the following discussion) concerns methods and working procedures of current archaeology, not the approach to the – past – life-world.

²⁰⁸ Tilley 1994, 16 f., on these perspectives cf. also Bintliff 2009.

²⁰⁹ For such »strong places«, cf. also Dally – Metzner-Nebelsick 2006, 205 (with further references); Michaels 2006, 278.

²¹⁰ On this distinction, see now the very clear statement of Funke 2016, 20–22. This difference is also a major reason why the idea of an amphictyony around the sanctuary of Olympia, which was developed by Kahrstedt 1927 and last advanced by Siewert in 1994 (see Ebert – Siewert 1999) and Taita 2000, has not become accepted; cf. already Gauthier 1972, 43–45.

²¹¹ Schlesier 2000, 146 n. 9, has rightly pointed out the significance of religious phenomena prior to the formation of the polis; cf. now also Funke 2016, 19 f.; Eder 2019.

²¹² Köiv 2013.

tans were an ethnic or political entity, but initially apply an open, unspecified term of social group or ›number‹, ›amount‹.²¹³ The centrality of the sacred place, which they were most aware of and which had a significant impact on their existence, was probably essential for their formation. The religious sphere (in its relation to a certain area²¹⁴, i.e. a ›strong place‹ and its surroundings) here obviously became constitutive for community building.

In specific terms, however hypothetically, one could envisage the following scenario: The descendants of the post-palatial warlords and their neighbours (and maybe newcomers from the northwest), who are archaeologically attested in the surroundings of Olympia²¹⁵, were particularly aware of certain topographical features which were also important for their everyday lives: a ford across a powerful river (where it might have expanded to a lake in former times), a conspicuous hill nearby with some remains of earlier use²¹⁶, but also a flat mound covered with limestone slabs that looked like a burial tumulus. Therefore, they revered the place where all this was concentrated as especially numinous²¹⁷. It became a ›hub‹, a ›crystallisation point‹²¹⁸. There they worshipped gods from the 11th century onwards, consulted an oracle, met in peaceful athletic competitions, sacrificed and shared their sacrificial meals, joined in celebrations, processions and dance – and organised themselves according to rules that provided the necessary framework. The area they set out for communication and competition was particularly dependent on such rules that had to be accepted by the participants²¹⁹. This was also the way to promote inner coherence, without necessarily becoming the basis of a more far-reaching, political-ethnic collective organisation. Cult and oracle received attention beyond the site²²⁰ and expanded

²¹³ Consider, e.g., the sort of neutral concept of the ›multitude‹, which Bernbeck 2012 introduced to the archaeological discussion. On the role of local groups in the formation of pre-state communities, cf. the references in Ulf 2006, 27 (who, however, does not pursue this track because of his focus on the ›big men‹).

²¹⁴ However not the area as such, cf. Simmel 1908, 688: »Nicht der Raum, sondern die von der Seele her erfolgende Gliederung und Zusammenfassung seiner Teile hat gesellschaftliche Bedeutung. Diese Synthese des Raumstücks ist eine spezifisch-psychologische Funktion, die, bei aller scheinbar ›natürlichen‹ Gegebenheit, durchaus individuell modifiziert ist; aber die Kategorien, von denen sie ausgeht, schließen sich allerdings, mehr oder weniger anschaulich, an die Unmittelbarkeit des Raumes an.«

²¹⁵ LH III C warlords at Mageiras: cf. Vikatou 2012; see above 2.1.2.1 with n. 97; Mycenaean settlement in Elis: Βικάτου 1999; Νικολέντζος 2011; on Late Mycenaean and Early Iron Age finds in and close to Olympia: Eder 2001b; Eder 2003; Eder 2006; Eder, forthcoming. In the meantime, our research project has provided more material (see above 2.1.2).

²¹⁶ Kronos Hill: Mycenaean pottery in alluvial layers suggests some sort of Mycenaean occupation on and around Kronos Hill. However, Kronos Hill has suffered from extensive erosion over the course of the centuries and the nature of the Late Bronze Age use of the site must therefore remain obscure. Even in view of the head of a Mycenaean figurine found in the northern bank of the stadium, the existence of a Mycenaean cult place on Kronos Hill can neither

be effectively substantiated nor totally excluded. Cf. Eder 2001b, 202; Eder 2006, 189–192.

²¹⁷ Is it a coincidence that in the three relevant passages in Pindar (O. 1, 20; 2, 12 f.; 10, 24. 43–50) the Alpheios Ford, Kronos Hill, and the Pelopion (this was the venerable ruin) are mentioned? The sacred-numinous quality ascribed to certain places is normally preserved over long periods of time. On ford and hill cf. Taita 2001, 126 f.; on the role of crossroads, passes and fords in this context see Eder 2019, 39 f.; on Pelops, the Pelopion and the Bronze Age remains, above all the partly still visible tumulus from the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Early Helladic II) in the area of Pelopion see esp. Kyrieleis 2006, 55–61. 79–83; cf. summaries in Rambach 2002; Kyrieleis 2002b; Kyrieleis 2011, 22.

²¹⁸ Such terms are used in Georg Simmel's sociology of space (Simmel 1908, 706–708).

²¹⁹ For this constellation in the Late Bronze / Early Iron Age transitional period, see now generally Eder 2019, 39–42. – On the role of competition among the Greek elite of the Archaic period cf. Stein-Hölkeskamp 2015, 187–189; for the ›socialising force‹ of such rivalry see Hölkeskamp 2017, 118 f., who draws on the insights of Georg Simmel: »Die Normierung des Kampfsportes ist oft eine so rigorose, unpersönliche, beiderseitig mit der Strenge des Ehrenkodex beobachtete, wie Vereinigungen zu Kooperationen sie kaum aufweisen« (Simmel 1908, 304 f.).

²²⁰ According to Kiderlen 2010, the tripod dedications that range from the 11th to the 8th century B.C. illustrate the (supra)regional significance of the sanctuary at Olympia.

in importance in the 8th century in ever-larger dimensions, as the dedication of bronzes demonstrates²²¹.

Using the example of sacred spaces in the Himalayas, Axel Michaels has shown that the particular numinous uniqueness of a place can be combined with »eine[r] Öffnung nach außen und damit Pluralität. [...] Daher kann die *sakrale* Kraft eines Ortes zu Vergrößerungen, Ausdehnungen und komplexen Strukturen führen; zu Göttergruppen, Wallfahrten, Verbindungen von Dörfern, Tempeln oder Häusern. Fokussierung und Öffnung wirken zusammen, wenn es zu Vorstellungen von sakralen Landschaften kommt«²²². A similar opening to the outside seems to have taken place relatively early in Olympia.

In this context it is necessary to mention the role of those who played a significant part in the practical expression of this *imaginaire*. No direct information is available from the area of our concern, but phenomena that are otherwise known from Greek cultural and literary history provide a clear idea. We need to consider those who inhabited this area and worshipped the gods here, during their symposia, but also in the frame of the festivals and athletic competitions²²³. They did so with increasing outside perception paired with the external relations so characteristic of Greek elites. Singers visited their homes and farmsteads, comparable to the Homeric Phemios or Demodokos or the later real-world Bacchylides and Pindar. These, usually mobile in their turn, captured their clients' religious experiences and memories in words, sounds and rhythms, thus shaping and designing them. In view of the growing importance of the cult, the prominence of such heralds certainly grew, and they, too, progressively contributed to the expansion of the network of the sanctuary.

As mentioned before, already at an early stage of its development it had gained more than local importance. However, when the sanctuary and its cult became more and more prominent as a centre of Panhellenic significance from the 8th century onwards, the local people, the people of Pisa, may have reached their limits in organising a rapidly growing and increasingly complex festival. One needs to merely consider the enormous effort of announcing the games by the *theoroi*²²⁴. In the course of the expansion of the »people of the valley« the cult came under the control of the well-organised Eleans. In other words, the moment the cult obtained a particular superregional importance, the dimension of the activities was subjected to the regulations of a contemporary and professional organisation. This is by no means a compulsory, but a hypothetical line of argument which all our observations, concepts, and considerations fit best.

This assumption can be related to what can be said about the flexible and yet effective sociopolitical and administrative structure of the Elean union. The local groups were able

²²¹ Gehrke 2012, 30. For the beginning of the Olympic Games, the currently prevailing argument is based on Mallwitz's observations on the use of the temporary wells in Olympia (see Mallwitz 1988; Mallwitz 1999, 193–199; cf. now also Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 64 f.). The reflections and observations of Christesen 2007 point in the same direction (around 700 B.C., 158 f.). On the other hand, the overall complex of finds and their range make one rather sceptical in this respect, especially since one can imagine accommodation of participants and guests (and thus the existence of ephemeral water supply) in other areas as well. In fact, the Early Archaic wells close to the stadium merely indicate that the games from ca. 700 onwards attracted such a large number of people that provisions for their supply with water had to be made in advance. The prominence of Early Iron Age charioteers among the votive figurines may

suggest that also chariot races were part of the early games (from the start in the 11th century) that added to the attraction of the Olympic festival. – Stein-Hölkeskamp 2015, 206–213 offers an important overview of Olympia and its development under the aspect of an elite lifestyle.

²²² Michaels 2006, 278.

²²³ For the symposium, the role of agonism and the performative aspects in this context, Rossi 1997, 762–767 offers vivid details (and emphasises that Odysseus as guest of the Phaeacians – i.e. in the 8th song of the Odyssey – was honoured by young men through athletic competitions, dances and the performance of epic poetry, 760); on the role of poetry and poets in the symposium see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, 112–116 and now also Wecowski 2014, 9 f. 48 n. 108 (with rich bibliographic references).

²²⁴ Cf. Gehrke 2013.

to participate in political life at an appropriate level, in well-respected autonomy, and to express their identity in the framework of mythistorical ideas, such as the eponymous figures Pisos and Pise. Pisos, the son of Perieres, son of Aiolos²²⁵, appears on the chest of Kypselos, i.e. in the 6th century²²⁶, as one of several competitors in a chariot race during the funeral games for Pelias, a first (but ultimately the only) indication for a certain independence of the Pisatans. Pise, on the other hand, another well-known eponymous figure²²⁷, was considered the daughter of Endymion, who played a key role in the genealogy of the Eleans²²⁸. Apparently, such openness in the organisation of the games, which extended well beyond Elis²²⁹, contributed to the fact that this cult was not perceived as a specific (polis, ethnos) cult of Elis, but as a general one – despite the role that Elis played in it.

Against this background, the concept of the *oktapolis* of Pisa, which is attested only later, can also be easily classified. J. Roy has made sufficiently clear that these were not poleis in the literal sense²³⁰. They were, however, some of the small villages and hamlets which formed a characteristic part of the landscape and which, even in 400 B.C., to the Spartans appeared unsuitable as being the organisers of the games. However, one can well imagine that the people in the area felt challenged by this negative assessment (which classified them as *χωρίται*), so that they themselves chose to speak of eight ›poleis‹, created an appropriate past, and finally, taking advantage of a favourable foreign political constellation established their own state, with everything that belonged to it. During a state crisis in Elis, in 364 B.C. things went so far that they eventually hosted the Olympics, which they claimed rightfully belonged to them – admittedly only as a puppet of the Arkadian Federation. Thus, the Pisatan moment of glory was quickly over, when the Arkadians withdrew from the fight for Olympia out of religious respect and the Eleans proceeded to pursue a policy of reconciliation, which also included the Pisatans²³¹.

3.2 Aspects of a sacred-memorial topography: rivers, gods and heroes

It is worthwhile to continue in the chosen direction. The multidimensionality of the space around Olympia emerges under the perspective of an environment that was shaped by historical, so to speak emic ideas, not least by myths²³² that related the sacred and the ritual with the narrative and thus simultaneously attached memories to the landscape, memories usually of a mythical-religious character. This »mythical phenomenon« is characterised by the fact that it »*n'est pas une représentation, mais une véritable présence*«; »*Toute ›apparition‹ (Erscheinung) est ici une incarnation*«²³³. Trees, springs, watercourses are not (just) natural

²²⁵ Paus. 5, 17, 9; 6, 22, 2 (Perieres as son of Aiolos already Hes. Fr. 10 [Merkelbach – West 1967]); according to another version (Sch. Theoc. 4, 29–30 b), a generation later, as son of Aphareus, son of Perieres (Apollod. 3, 10, 3–4). Other versions are later: Phleg. FGrHist 257 Fr. 1 (cf. Sch. Pl. R. 465 d p. 230) mentions Peisos as one of the first founders of the Olympic Games, alongside Pelops and Heracles. According to Giangiulio 2009, 71 f. this version is related to the *παλαιαὶ ἀποδείξεις*, which the Pisatans compiled around 400 B.C. in order to justify their claims to the organisation of the games (cf. Köiv 2013). Oros ›ethnica‹ apud EM 623, 16 f. (more in Giangiulio 2009, 69 n. 30) refers to Pisos as husband of Olympia, who is a daughter of Arkas. This is certainly a reflection of the alliance between Pisa and Arkadia around 364 B.C., cf. Giangiulio 2009, 69 and

esp. 72 f. and, more recently and explicitly, Zingg 2016, 245 f.

²²⁶ This has been more recently met with scepticism by Zingg 2016, 243–245.

²²⁷ Polem. Hist. Fr. 121 = Sch. Pi. O. 1, 28 d; Sch. Theoc. 4, 29–30 b.

²²⁸ Gehrke 2005, 28–32.

²²⁹ Gehrke 2013.

²³⁰ Roy 2002.

²³¹ For the events in the 4th century see esp. Ruggeri 2004, 197; Giangiulio 2009, 75–78; Köiv 2013, 352–355.

²³² Illuminating in this respect Vernant 2007, 1957–1960 (»La mythologie constitue, pour la pensée religieuse des Grecs, un des modes d'expression essentiels«, 1957); so quoted by Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 109.

²³³ Merleau-Ponty 1945, 342 f.

phenomena or emotionally and romantically perceived phenomena, but are independent living beings with numinous power. They can be virtually imagined as gods, demons, spirits, etc.²³⁴ From our etic perspective we have to re-enchant the scholarly disenchanted space in order to advance to an understanding of the landscape as a lifeworld²³⁵. Everything in it, not only the physical, but also the man-made, was »full of gods«²³⁶. The myths and stories in turn lead into this world, indeed forming a kind of royal road toward it²³⁷.

When examining this dimension of the landscape, one engages – as always in the perspective of religious history – with rituals. The attached explanations are usually covered in myths that the social agents themselves have found or passed on. We may therefore speak of a sacred-memorial topography. The sacral bond among these agents is reinforced by the fact that it is embodied in figures and stories that the participants relate to themselves. This orientation to sacral aspects of space has occasionally been the subject of research in the area around Olympia as well²³⁸. The relatively widespread concept of the *lieux de mémoire* has also been applied to Greek sanctuaries²³⁹. However, one must take the implications of mythical interpretation quite seriously. Unlike the modern understanding of memorial sites where museum-based, (historical-)political, ideological or propagandistic, in any case rather secular aspects predominate, we have to consider that in our case the memorial topography is deeply rooted in the religious sphere. In that sense, these places were also an integral part of experienced reality. Upon closer inspection, we are convinced that one can transcend the current state of research. We summarise our first impressions as far as they relate to the area under study. They illustrate how features of the physical geography of the Lower Alpheios Valley evoked mythical stories that were part of the ancient perception of the surrounding landscape, which we study under very different perspectives.

3.2.1 *The Alpheios River and the Seers of Olympia*

Regardless of the specific significance of the aforementioned location of the ford across the Alpheios, this river plays a special ritual and mythical role²⁴⁰. Because of the abundance and quality of its waters²⁴¹, it stood out among the Greek rivers, »the loveliest among the

²³⁴ This also makes possible, for instance, the geoarchaeological-geomythological interpretation of the Acheloos-bull-man myth, see Vött et al. 2017.

²³⁵ Merleau-Ponty 1945, 345: »Comprendre le mythe n'est pas croire au mythe, et si tous les mythes sont vrais, c'est en tant qu'ils peuvent être replacés dans une phénoménologie de l'esprit qui indique leur fonction dans la prise de conscience et fonde finalement leur sens propre sur leur sens pour le philosophe.« – One is tempted to add in our case: for history. Incidentally, this does not mean that, in this understanding, space is purely imaginary. At the same time, it is always also effective in its tangible, physical and to this extent objective reality. Especially the interdependence of existing ambience and interpretation is characteristic (see Merleau-Ponty 1945, 340 f. and see also Michaels 2006, 276–278).

²³⁶ Thal. 11 A 22 [Diels – Kranz 1951], cf. esp. Schlesier 2000, 144. On the aspects of religion and landscape in classical studies cf. recently also the edited volumes of Olshausen – Sauer 2009 and Käppel – Pothou 2015; on Olympia see Eckerman 2013, 13.

²³⁷ »Telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to

cover up the world, it is rather a way of guiding the attention of listeners or readers into it« (Ingold 1993, 153).

²³⁸ The important works of religious history by L. Weniger remain a significant starting point; recently see esp. Sinn 1981; Sinn 2004, passim; Taita 2001; Taita 2009; Moustaka 2002; Μουστάκα 2009/2010; Kōiv 2013, 338–349, cf. also the overview by Roy 2015b.

²³⁹ Cf. e.g. Haake – Jung 2011.

²⁴⁰ On the Alpheios cf. Wentzel 1894; Palagia 1981; Griffith 2008; Eckerman 2013, 5–13 – Johannes Bernhardt (Mannheim – Karlsruhe) is preparing a study on the river and its mythistorical form. See also Gehrke, forthcoming (a slightly extended and differently focused version of the following observations).

²⁴¹ Pausanias mentions (5, 7, 1) that its waters are »in abundance much [πλήθει πολύ] ... and very sweet [ῥῆδιστον]«; in Bacchylides (3, 6 f.) it is called (very appropriately capturing its extension and current in one expression) »whirling wide« (εὐρυδίνας) and »tirelessly flowing« (ἀκαμαντορόας); on the quality and importance of the river see also the sources quoted in Taita 2013, 368 n. 110; 371 n. 128.

rivers»²⁴². At the central point of the cult in Olympia, on the ash altar itself, this water had a special meaning: On a fixed day of the year, about the end of March or early April, i.e. in the context of the spring equinox (the 19th Elaphion, sacred to Artemis²⁴³), the seers of the sanctuary mixed the ashes of the sacrificial animals kept in the prytaneion with water of the Alpheios and thus shaped the ash altar. The fact that they were the seers reminds us of the important role of the oracle that was directly attached to this altar and operated through burning (so-called fire oracle). Pausanias, to whom we owe this information, adds that for this reason the Alpheios was considered »of all the rivers the favourite of Olympian Zeus«²⁴⁴.

Over time, the connection between the Alpheios River and the power of divination was reinforced in a very distinctive narrative, as the sixth Olympic Ode of Pindar illustrates. This was composed for Hagesias of Syracuse on the occasion of his victory in the mule-cart race (472 or 468 B.C.)²⁴⁵. He belonged to the Olympic family of seers, the Iamids, who enjoyed particular prominence at the time. Pindar's Ode refers to his progenitor, Iamos, grandson of Poseidon and son of Apollo, who as he reached adolescence, that is as an ephebe, »went down into the middle of the Alpheios« and called on his grandfather Poseidon and his father Apollo at night (57–59). Apollo then brought him to »the steep rock of the lofty hill of Kronion« (64 f.) and gave him »the double treasure of the art of divination [μαντοσύνα]«. He could understand Apollo's unerring voice and in the very moment Herakles founded the games, he commanded him »to establish an oracle on the highest altar of Zeus« (70 f.). Thereafter, the family of the Iamids enjoyed the highest fame (»πολύκλειτον γένος«) among the Greeks.

Here again we meet the connection of the specific place with the competitions, but at the same time, the oracle is also anchored quite concretely in the centre of the sanctuary at the great altar. In ritual as well as in mythical respect, both are seamlessly connected to the Alpheios. A rather indirect, but still clearly recognisable relationship connects the Alpheios to the equally famous seer and healer (both qualities often come together) Melampous²⁴⁶, the son of Amythaon, grandson of Aiolos. The Klytiads, the other renowned family of seers of Elis and Olympia, traced their origins (via Amphiaraos and his son Alkmaion and grandson Klytios) back to Melampous. One could therefore plausibly identify figures in the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus with the ancestors of these seer dynasties, Iamos (left) and Klytios (right), as well as the paradigmatic seer Melampous²⁴⁷.

According to mythistory, Melampous (together with his brother Bias) is related to the area of Triphylia and Pisa before moving to Argos²⁴⁸: Near the sanctuary of the Anigriad nymphs at Samikon, Melampous purified the daughters of Proitos – which was thought to explain the smell around the sulphurous springs at the Lagoon of Kaiafa (which is still noticeable today)²⁴⁹. The springs were supposed to help against white rash (ἀλφός), as were

²⁴² D.P. 410.

²⁴³ Paus. 6, 20, 1; it was the »spring month« with the equinoxes, cf. Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 258; Trümper 1997, 199–201; on that vividly Weniger 1907, 96 f.

²⁴⁴ Paus. 5, 13, 11.

²⁴⁵ On Pi. O. 6, see now Adorjáni 2014, esp. 34–37 (on Hagesias, cf. also Luraghi 1997); 53–55 (on the date); 78 f. 125. 233 f. 241 (on divination and the fire oracle); 101. 222 (on the water and the Alpheios).

²⁴⁶ See already Hom. Od. 11, 285–297; 15, 225–255. For more information, also for his family tree, see Maddoli et al. 1999, 304, cf. also Kōiv 2013, 340 with n. 170.

²⁴⁷ Fundamental Simon 1968, 157–165, see now also Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 77, who proposes for the

(right) bearded seer, whom Simon had identified as Melampous' father Amythaon, the eponyms of Klytios instead, which seems likely because of the parallel to Iamos. The so-called adolescent seer (figure E) was identified as Melampous by Simon 1968, 161 f. (affirmative now also Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 79), who points his finger at his eponymous foot.

²⁴⁸ Str. 8, 6, 10.

²⁴⁹ Str. 8, 3, 19; Paus. 5, 5, 10.

²⁵⁰ Str. 8, 3, 19. The water of the Alpheios is also said to have been effective against epilepsy (Sch. Hom. Od. 3, 489). On the connection of the Alpheios with the root »white« see Pilz 2020, 38 with further references (n. 274). – Another explanation goes back to Günther Neumann, who thought of an -es root

the waters of the Alpheios thus explaining the name of the river²⁵⁰. Melampous was said to have become the best seer after his encounter with Apollo at the Alpheios²⁵¹.

The healing powers of the sulphurous waters in the sanctuary of the Anigriad nymphs remind us of a similar spring that was situated near the Pisatan village of Herakleia. This was the place of the Ionidian nymphs, who were also connected to the Alpheios. They were said to have offered violet wreaths to their namesake Ion, after he had taken a bath in the Alpheios. Perhaps this is the reason why the river received the learned name Iaon in Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus (22)²⁵². And thus, one need not wonder at a folk custom that is documented at least for later times: During the Olympics, gifts were thrown into the river, who presented them to his beloved Arethusa as a bridal gift²⁵³.

3.2.2 *Alpheios as personified deity*

Alpheios, associated with the powers of healing and divination, was at the same time an important deity, a son of Okeanos and Thetys, to whom already Nestor had sacrificed a bull²⁵⁴. The phenomenon of nature or in our case landscape thus met the numinous-divine. For Iamos who had grown up on its riverbank, the Alpheios was evidently at the same time a *kourotrophos*, i.e. a deity protecting and promoting children²⁵⁵. Such divine beings remained part of nature, but could also be imagined as deities and appear as such, according to Greek concepts, in anthropomorphic guise, and thus as social agents such as for example mothers and fathers²⁵⁶. This is specific to the mythical-religious interpretation of the landscape. The divine could not only be experienced as a natural force, but also take shape as a person and therefore as a figure in a narrative and participant in an event. It could therefore also be imagined quite concretely as an actor in the landscape. It was a physical part of it, but also a part of its mythistory and at the same time a religious figure worshipped in a cult²⁵⁷.

and an adjective ἀλφειός derived from ἀλφῆσιος. That would suggest the meaning ›profit‹ (the verb ἀλφάνω means ›yield‹), Alpheios would be thus the ›profitable‹ (Weiß 1984, 227 n. 901). Furthermore, the root ἀλφι- in the sense of barley flour has also been considered (and the month Ἀλφιῶνιος dated accordingly, see below with n. 276) (Minon 2007, vol. 1, 179); but all of this remains uncertain.

²⁵¹ Apollod. 1, 9, 11.

²⁵² On Ion, see Nic. Fr. 74 [Gow – Scholfield 1953] (apud Ath. 15, 683 a. b). For the connection with Iaon (as Arkadian river also in D.P. 416 [GGM II 128]) cf. the conjecture of K. Müller ad loc. This is supported by a literarily suggested etymology of Iamos, who according to Pi. O. 6, 89–93 was exposed among violets after his birth.

²⁵³ Ach. Tat. 1, 18, 2; see also Nilsson 1906, 425. On the mythical explanation see below.

²⁵⁴ Hes. Th. 338; Hom. Il. 11, 728. In Euripides' ›Iphigenia in Aulis‹, Nestor's ships have at the stern a sign (»σημα«) with the illustration of the ›neighbouring‹ Alpheios with bull's feet (273–276).

²⁵⁵ Weiß 1984, 134; Griffith 2008, 5, this is further supported by the sacrifice of hair of Oinomaos' son Leukippos, see below; for this aspect see also Pilz 2020, 141 with further references.

²⁵⁶ For the Alpheios as ancestor see Weiß 1984, 139 f.

²⁵⁷ For this polyvalent character, see Weiß 1984, 14 f.

with reference to Nilsson 1955, 237, who speaks of the »Verbindung der Gottheit mit ihrem Natursubstrat« (cf. also now Saloway 2017). In Ovid's ›Metamorphoses‹ (5, 586–609), this forms the point of an erotically charged story: suffering in the heat, the nymph Arethusa gets rid of her clothes on the river banks of the Alpheios and bathes naked in the water. This arouses his sexual desire, he speaks to her in the murmur of the water. She flees, and he then pursues her in human form through Arkadia and Elis. – Alpheios was revered as a god in various places besides Olympia: »eine Art Trauerfest« for Alpheios took place in Elis (Wentzel 1894, 1632), during which the Eleans, in tears, symbolically escorted the Alpheios on its journey (Him. 12, 7 Colonna, this is about the pursuit of Artemis / Arethusa, see below). Alpheios also had a cult in Heraia (Plb. 4, 77, 5; 4, 78, 2; St. Byz. s. v. Heraia); and the image of the god represented the Alpheios in human form (Ael. VH 2, 33). A recently published Archaic cult calendar from Arkadia (we owe the reference to Oliver Pilz) mentions animal sacrifices (ram, piglet) for the Alpheios (Carbon – Clackson 2016, 122, lines 1. 4. 12; 125. 134). In Asea, wreaths were apparently dedicated to the Alpheios (Str. 6, 2, 9). More on this (especially with reference to a dedication to Alpheios in a spring of the Sarandopotamos in Tegea) in Pilz 2020, 141.

Accordingly, the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus of Olympia features the personification of the Alpheios. There he appears on the left side, clearly marked by his position in the south²⁵⁸. The artistic execution also emphasised its importance: »Der breite, durch die Ebene strömende Alpheios ist durch eine Gestalt charakterisiert, die ruhig daliegt, ihre ganze Körperbreite dem Betrachter darbietet und ihren rechten Arm entspannt auf der Hüfte ruhen lässt. Der Kopf ist bequem auf die Hand gestützt, die ganze Gestalt strahlt Gelassenheit und ruhige Fülle aus.«²⁵⁹ In general, the Alpheios is associated with Oinomaos and the chariot race. His son Leukippos allegedly did not shave his hair in honour of the god²⁶⁰. On a picture, which survives in the description of the sophist Philostratus²⁶¹, Alpheios hands Pelops the olive wreath, the prize for the winner at Olympic Games. Accordingly, Alpheios appears on Roman sarcophagi together with Pelops²⁶².

3.2.3 *Alpheios and Artemis: mythical stories of the lower Alpheios Valley and beyond*

In addition to the aforementioned ritual acts, Alpheios the god was at the centre of very specific stories, which in turn related to certain ritual acts and cult sites. They do not always testify to classic ›serenity‹. For the region around Olympia his love for Artemis appears particularly characteristic: Alpheios fell in love with the virgin goddess, according to Pausanias²⁶³, but he could neither convince her by the power of persuasion (»πειθώ«) nor by wooing her to marry him and therefore tried to rape her. Thus he went to Letrinoi, where the goddess celebrated a nocturnal feast (»παννυχίς«) together with the nymphs of her entourage. However, Artemis had already entertained suspicion and therefore smeared her own face and the faces of her companions with clay, so that Alpheios withdrew again without having achieved anything. The Letrinians therefore called the goddess Artemis Alpheiaia²⁶⁴.

Here we have an *aition* for the temple of Artemis Alpheiaia in Letrinoi and a nocturnal cult practised there by unmarried women, as well as a very strong indication of a close connection of the aforementioned deities Artemis and Alpheios. In addition to Zeus, his mother and his wife in Olympia itself as well as the important river god, Artemis was a dominant deity throughout the region west and south of Olympia, very often associated with Aphrodite and the nymphs. Numerous groves and sanctuaries in the fertile and water-rich country were dedicated to them²⁶⁵. This included a grove of Artemis Alpheionia or Alpheiousa

²⁵⁸ Paus. 5, 10, 7 with Weiß 1984, 126–141; Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 57. 63 (with further references). Paus. 5, 24, 7 refers to a dedication of a statue in Olympia by the Cherronesian Knidians representing Zeus flanked by Pelops and Alpheios, cf. Kahn 1970, 202; Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 66. Ael. VH 2, 33 apparently also refers to this representation of Alpheios.

²⁵⁹ Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 63: »The wide Alpheios, flowing through the plain, is characterised by a figure lying quietly, presenting his full body width to the observer and letting his right arm rest relaxed on his hip. The head is comfortably supported by the hand, the whole figure radiates serenity and calm fullness« (own translation) – For the Alpheios and the Kladeos on Elean coins of the Hadrianic period see Weiß 1984, 131 f.

²⁶⁰ Paus. 8, 20, 2 f.

²⁶¹ Philostr. Im. 1, 17, 4.

²⁶² Palagia 1981, 577 no. 10–12, see also Weiß 1984, 135 and for the connection with Pelops (in Pindar) see Griffith 2008, 1 f.

²⁶³ Paus. 6, 22, 8–10.

²⁶⁴ According to Sch. Pi. N. 1, 3 and Sch. Pi. P. 2, 12 the epithet was Alpheioa or generally Potamia. To Curtius 1852, 73 the story with the mud reflects episodes of flooding caused by the Alpheios. – For the *παννυχίς* see Weniger 1907, 105; he considers a dance with the re-enactment of the attack of the Alpheios and his disappearance in the sea, with reference to Luc. Salt. 45, according to whom this was a particularly good dancing motif, which is easy to imagine.

²⁶⁵ Str. 8, 3, 12; Sinn 2004, 87–89; Taita 2013, 383, cf. also the references in Maddoli et al. 1999, 364; Moustaka 2002, 304; on the general connection of Artemis with river gods see Weiß 1984, 117; with further references 219 n. 769. On the connection between topography and the cult of Artemis see Cole 2004, 175–197 in particular: Although she does not elaborate on the cultic and narrative connection between Artemis and Alpheios, the elements she considers characteristic (meaning of the location in dangerous transitional zones, especially near the sea, the importance of water in general, inside and outside, centre and periphery, 184 f. 191–197) can be observed here particularly well.

at the mouth of the Alpheios. This sanctuary, which may be identified with that of Artemis Alpheiaia in Letrinoi, housed three famous images of the Corinthians Kleanthes and Aregon depicting the conquest of Troy, the birth of Athena, and Artemis on a griffin. They apparently belonged to the 7th century B.C.²⁶⁶.

An annual festival for Artemis Alpheionia / Alpheiousa took place in Olympia itself²⁶⁷. In addition, not only the Alpheios had an altar in Olympia, but there was also a common altar of Alpheios and Artemis, which could relate to the aforementioned story in Letrinoi and was included in the monthly sacrifices of the Eleans²⁶⁸. One can clearly see how the two deities, who were so important for the whole region, related to each other – even if the goddess had to keep her virgin status. One remembers the similarly imperfect connection between Hephaestus and Athena on the Athenian acropolis. Just as these two deities connected to τέχνη and handicraft appeared side by side, those here stood for nature, a wild and dangerous nature. The cult was designed to soothe and appease it. At the same time, here too one may understand how the sacred shaping of the landscape and its attachment to mythical-religious figures can influence social cohesion and interaction²⁶⁹.

This applies not only to the links between the centre of Olympia and the surrounding micro-region, i.e. the lower reaches of the Alpheios with its estuary, but also to the special connection with the comparatively important place of Letrinoi, which characteristically lay on the ›Sacred Road‹. The oldest evidence consists in a dedication »of the Letrinians« (Λεδρίνων / Ledrínōn) to the Olympian Zeus, a bronze wine strainer, which is dated to the time between 525 and 475 B.C.²⁷⁰. The place, which Pausanias calls »πόλισμα« and of which only »few buildings« existed apart from the aforementioned temple of Artemis, certainly had its own tradition. It was considered the foundation of Letreus, son of Pelops, and according to Lykophron (53 f. with scholion) the bones of Pelops were kept there (he speaks of Letrina)²⁷¹. Letrinoi was friends with Elis »from the beginning«²⁷². During the Spartan-Elean war, the place split from the Eleans and remained independent for a time; the events around 402–400 B.C. indicate that Letrinoi belonged to the Elean allies²⁷³.

²⁶⁶ Str. 8, 3, 12; Ath. 8, 346 b. c (with the bizarre clue that in the illustration of the birth of Athena Poseidon presents a tuna to Zeus ›in labour‹); on the dating of these works of art Taita 2013, 378 (with further references, on further cultic aspects with regard to Poseidon and Artemis Taita 2013, 383–387); for the sanctuary and cult see also Weniger 1907, 103–108 (with partly speculative thoughts on the connection with the cult of Dionysus). Walbank 1957, 525 plausibly connects this sanctuary with the Artemision mentioned by Plb. 4, 73, 4. Letrinoi is most likely to be located in the area of modern Pyrgos or Ag. Ioannis (see 2.3.3.1), and its territory should have reached, adjacent to Epitalion, to the mouth of the Alpheios. Therefore, one can consider the identification of the temple of Alpheiaia (Paus. 6, 22, 8–10) with the sanctuary or grove of Artemis Alpheionia or Alpheiousa (see Maddoli et al. 1999, 374 and Ruggeri 2004, 175 f.), if one relates Paus. 6, 22, 8 to the territory of Letrinoi (Partsch 1897, 6 argues against it, and also very decidedly Taita 2013, 379 f.). The different distance values are also problematic. Paus. 6, 22, 8 indicates 120 stades from Olympia to Letrinoi, Str. 8, 3, 12 from the Alpheios estuary to Olympia 80 stades. However, Taita 2013, 360 rejects the last statement with reference to the important observations of Partsch 1897, 6. 13 f. on ancient remains on

the terrain ridge Katarachi southwest of Pyrgos (cf. also Sperling 1942, 85 no. 33 and see above 2.3.3.1).

²⁶⁷ Str. 8, 3, 12.

²⁶⁸ Herodot. FGrHist 31 Fr. 34 (Sch. Pi. O. 5, 10); Paus. 5, 14, 6 (thereto Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 213 with Weniger 1907, 98–101. 108 f.); Sch. Pi. N. 1, 3, cf. also Maddoli et al. 1999, 376; Ruggeri 2004, 175 f.; Sinn 2004, 175 f., who incidentally considers an annual procession between the Artemis Alpheiaia temple and Olympia (Sinn 1981, 41). At the mouth of the Kladeos in 1975 the mask of a river god was found, which one could associate with the Alpheios cult (Μουστάκα 2009/2010, cf. Pilz 2020, 139 f.).

²⁶⁹ On the connection between geography and politics in the artistic representation of river deities cf. Weiß 1984, 21–25, for another example (Strymon) see Tiverios 1991, 133–136. On the relationship between river and territory in general, see also Cole 2004, 29.

²⁷⁰ NIO 207, cf. Taita 2007, 47.

²⁷¹ According to Lyc. 158 f. (with Sch.) Zeus sent Pelops to the area of the Letrinians, and nearby the chariot race with Oinomaos took place cf. Taita 2007, 139; generally for the young Pelops see Pache 2004, 84–94).

²⁷² Paus. 6, 22, 10.

²⁷³ X. HG 3, 2, 25; 3, 2, 30; 4, 2, 16; 6, 5, 2; cf. Gschnitzer 1958, 12–14; Maddoli et al. 1999, 375.

This case illustrates very well how this community connected not only to Olympia, but also related to Elis or was part of the connection between Elis and Olympia. In addition to the course of the ›Sacred Road‹, Artemis Alpheiaia again shows this particularly well: The Eleans had a cult for Artemis Elaphiaia, which was so important to them that an Elean month was named (Elaphion) after the epithet of the goddess²⁷⁴. They now associated this cult and its activities with that of Artemis Alpheiaia, so that it was also called Elaphiaia²⁷⁵. Both rituals thus merged, signifying a high degree of cultic, but also socio-political integration. Significantly, however, the Elean calendar also contained a month named Alphiōios, which refers to a corresponding cult²⁷⁶. The entanglement was thus reciprocal, and at this point one may comprehend very well the types of mechanisms with which the Eleans internally held together their complex union²⁷⁷. One is reminded of Axel Michaels' comments quoted above (p. 165) on the links in sacred landscapes. At the same time, it should be noted that such connections were reinforced again and again, especially through ritual processions²⁷⁸.

However, the links reached even further, to the island of Sicily and to Syracuse, and its main spring on the Ortygia, the Arethusa. At the beginning of Pindar's 1st Nemean Ode for Chromios of Syracuse, close follower and brother-in-law of Hieron of Syracuse, victor »with the horses«, 476 B.C.?) Ortygia is called a »venerable resting place« (ἄμπνευμα σεμνόν) of the Alpheios and »bed« (δέμνιον) of Artemis²⁷⁹, at the beginning of the 2nd Pythian Ode on Hieron himself, winner in the chariot race, 470/469 B.C. »seat« (ἔδος) of Artemis Potamia²⁸⁰. Apparently, in the centre of ancient Syracuse, and in relation with the important Arethusa spring, there was a temple of Artemis²⁸¹. Moreover, in the same place we also find the Alpheios!

The scholia to the passages in Pindar offer the mythistorical explanation²⁸², where the love story continues to develop: Alpheios has not unsuccessfully absconded in this version, but has pursued Artemis through the sea²⁸³, and the hunt ends only in Ortygia. Just at this point lies the spring of Arethusa. She is also imagined as a hunter and worshipper of Artemis²⁸⁴ and apparently a surrogate of Artemis. At the same time, the waters of the Alpheios supplied the spring²⁸⁵ – something like a symbolic union of the lovers²⁸⁶.

²⁷⁴ Paus. 6, 20, 1; cf. above n. 243. By the way, besides the Alpheiaia and the Artemis Daphnia she also had an annual festival in Olympia, Str. 8, 3, 12.

²⁷⁵ Paus. 6, 22, 10.

²⁷⁶ Weniger 1907, 108; Trümpy 1997, 199–201; Ruggeri 2004, 174 f. with n. 556; Pilz 2020, 139, who considers the related cult to be »undoubtedly old«. Could it be related to the aforementioned mourning ritual?

²⁷⁷ A similar example may be Eurykyda, who was worshipped in a grove near Samikon in Triphylia (Str. 8, 3, 19), i.e. in the Elean territory of the *symmachoi*: Eurykyda was on the one hand imagined as the lover of Poseidon, who was the dominant deity at Samikon (Str. 8, 3, 13). At the same time, however, she was also considered to be the daughter of Endymion (Paus. 5, 1, 4), who already relatively early occupied a central position in Elean mythology (see Gehrke 2005, 28 f. with further references, cf. also Köiv 2013, 338 with n. 141).

²⁷⁸ Cf. above 1.2 and see generally Nilsson 1951; Graf 1995; Graf 1996.

²⁷⁹ Pi. N. 1, 1–3.

²⁸⁰ Pi. P. 2, 7.

²⁸¹ Likewise Sch. Pi. P. 2, 12; cf. also Diod. 5.3.5, where Artemis receives Ortygia as her share of Sicily, and for her sake the nymphs there create a spring. See also Ov. met. 5, 640 f.; on the 1st Nemean in this context see also Griffith 2008, 3 f.; Morgan 2015, 384 f. For the important temple of Artemis on Ortygia (which one could connect with these passages), see Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 118 and cf. the overview in Mertens 2006, 244–247, with further references. On Pindar cf. Eckerman 2013, 8–13.

²⁸² Sch. Pi. N. 1, 3; P. 2, 12.

²⁸³ The oldest version of the escape of Artemis from Alpheios appears in Telesilla of Argos (early 5th century), Fr. 1 Page.

²⁸⁴ Ov. met. 5, 577–579; Paus. 5, 7, 2.

²⁸⁵ Paus. 5, 7, 3; Sch. Pi. P. 2, 12. For the Syracusan tetradrachms of Gelon illustrating a river god, which is most likely to be identified with Alpheios, see Morgan 2015, 62 f. This also serves as further evidence for the old age of the story (see also Griffith 2008, 3–6, and see below on Ibycus).

²⁸⁶ The very popular love story is then developed further, but related to Alpheios and Arethusa,

The story of the Alpheios, who crosses the sea and emerges in Syracuse, was widely known. The earliest reference can be found in Ibycus, i.e. already in the 6th century B.C., who mentioned a bowl originating from Olympia and appearing in the Arethusa spring, which proved that the water really was that of the Alpheios²⁸⁷. Strabo²⁸⁸, who quotes the beginning of the first Nemean and refers above all to Timaeus²⁸⁹, rejects the story as ψεῦδος. However, it was powerful²⁹⁰. It is obvious that it was not fictitiously created without reason. Rather, it dresses a particular issue in a mantle of sacred relations that are explained narratively.

Nautical experience may be behind the idea that one can reach Syracuse from the mouth of the Alpheios by a direct route across the sea²⁹¹. This experience must have contributed to the already abstract perception of space which transcends the immediately visual and perceptible. Such a process takes place in the artistic-intellectual milieu, where social and religious experiences were exchanged and negotiated in the interplay between the poets and their audience, especially the elites.

That is why it still seems very plausible – despite some scepticism – that there was a direct relationship between Olympia, Elis and Syracuse²⁹². The oracle for Archias, quoted by Pausanias²⁹³, is doubtful in respect of its authenticity²⁹⁴. But the reference to a Syracusan Iamid, Hagesandros, in Pindar's 6th Olympic Ode (see above), could nevertheless be interpreted as an indication that there was a special relationship between Elis and Olympia on the one hand and Syracuse on the other²⁹⁵, possibly in connection with the founding of the colony, and that this was preserved in ritual-cultic form and mythical narrative. After all, Hagesandros is almost presented by Pindar as »co-founder [συνουκιστήρ] of the famous Syracuse«²⁹⁶.

in a story of metamorphosis. In Paus. 5, 7, 2 f. Alpheios and Arethusa are hunters; she did not want to marry him and escaped from him to the island of Ortygia. Eventually she turned into a spring, the Alpheios into a river. This is also suggested by a Delphic foundation oracle for Archias of Corinth, which mentions Ortygia, »where the mouth of the Alpheios pours out and mingles with the springs of the beautifully flowing Arethusa«. According to Ov. met. 5, 487–501, 572–641 (see above) Alpheios was already a river when the nymph and huntress Arethusa bathed naked in his waters, which aroused his lust and led to the long flight of Arethusa from him to Ortygia, where eventually the »mingling« took place. Apparently even later, the story becomes »civilised«: Alpheios becomes a decent bridegroom and approaches Arethusa with a »wreath from Olympia« (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 208; Nonn. D. 13, 344; 37, 170; Anth. Pal. 9, 362, 1; Apoll. Sid., Carmina 9, 101–105) or a κότινος (Mosch. 7, 2), and he brings her leaves, flowers and »holy dust« as bridal gifts (Mosch. 7, 3, Nonn. D. 37, 173); this is evidently the background for the throwing of gifts into the Alpheios (Ach. Tat. 1, 18, 2); for the other versions see also Wentzel 1894, 1635.

²⁸⁷ Ibyc. Fr. 323 = Sch. Theoc. 1, 117 (p. 67 f. Wendel), with Str. 6, 2, 4; see also Braswell 1992, 32, 34; Morgan 2015, 89 f.; Gehrke 2019; Pilz 2020, 140.

²⁸⁸ Str. 6, 2, 4.

²⁸⁹ Tim. FGrHist 566 Fr. 41. Jacoby has mentioned additional versions in his commentary.

²⁹⁰ Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 212 f. offer an excellent overview of the story and its implications (also with reference to comparable »rivers below the sea«); for the different versions on the whole see Wentzel 1894, 1634.

²⁹¹ See now Bilić 2009, who assumes concrete nautical practices behind the story. Stanhope 1824, 55 considered the idea that the whitish colouring of the river water was visible for a while in calm seas and contributed to the formation of these stories. – In this context it may be taken into account that according to ancient geographical conceptions the »Sicilian Sea« encompassed a large part of the Peloponnese (Str. 2, 5, 20; D.P. 85, 100–102; 85, 401–402).

²⁹² See the references and considerations in Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 213 and cf. Griffith 2008, 3–6; Morgan 2015, 89 f.; for a more sceptical approach, see Luraghi 1997.

²⁹³ Paus. 5, 7, 3, cf. above.

²⁹⁴ Strabo also has other versions (6, 2, 4).

²⁹⁵ Cf. Weniger 1915, 68 f.; Hönle 1968, 68–76; Griffith 2008, 4; Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 80 f.; Gehrke 2013, 48 with n. 51. – Two fragments of kerykeia from Olympia in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Hamburg dated to the 2nd quarter of the 5th century are epigraphically evident as public property of the Syracusans (Hornbostel – Hornbostel 1988). They may also reflect this special relationship, but may of course be explained differently.

²⁹⁶ Pi. O. 6, 8 f. Cf. also Sch. Pi. O. 6, 8 a.

This indicates a further dimension of space around Olympia, which already leads beyond the closer (Pisa) and further (Elis) surroundings, into the Panhellenic orbit²⁹⁷. In other words, the connection between Olympia at the Alpheios to its mouth and Letrinoi, which we have already mentioned, extends with the further flow of the Alpheios (the departure, which Elean ritual commemorates) far into the distance. The mouth of the Alpheios, where there was, after all, a harbour (see above 1.2), becomes a symbolic ›gateway to the world‹.

3.2.4 *The Kladeos and Enipeus Rivers*

In the context of our region the two tributaries of the Alpheios, the Kladeos and the Enipeus, also deserve to be mentioned. At the northern end of the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus, the Kladeos is clearly related to the Alpheios (on the south side), and its representation stresses the sometimes torrential and ›unpredictable‹ character of the river »durch die schraubenförmige Bewegung des Körpers, die aktive und aufmerksame Haltung des Kopfes und die energisch vorwärtsdrängende Bewegung der Arme«²⁹⁸. In this context, Pausanias mentions that the Eleans also worshipped the Kladeos most among the river gods after the Alpheios²⁹⁹. Near the Heraion he had an altar, incidentally also close to an altar of Artemis³⁰⁰. Immediately west of the Kladeos, opposite the gymnasium, the alleged grave of Oinomaos was located, and above (ὑπέρι) the remains of a wall were considered his horse stables³⁰¹.

Even more interesting is the Enipeus, which in turn leads us beyond the purely local context. In addition to the aforementioned overseas connection to Syracuse, the mythical figures, previously mentioned in connection with Alpheios and the Elean-Olympian seers, show clear links within the Peloponnese³⁰²: Pitane, the grandmother of Iamos, a daughter of Eurotas, points to Sparta. Her daughter Euadne, Iamos' mother, grows up with Aipyros, a leading Arkadian mythical figure³⁰³. The seer Melampous finally moves with his brother Bias to Argos, where they gain a share in ruling (see above). At the same time, heroic figures indicate connections with Messenia, but also beyond the Peloponnese, to Boeotia and Thessaly, the latter via Amythaon, son of Kretheus and grandson of Aiolos³⁰⁴.

This Thessalian connection is of great significance for Elis and Olympia in general, as a variety of quite different elements illustrate, above all place names and important mythical narratives. The battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs in the west pediment of the Temple

²⁹⁷ Another track leads to Kroton: The Iamid Kallias had served here first the Sybarites, then the Krotoniates, and his descendants still had possessions in Croton at the time of Herodotus (Hdt. 5, 44 f., cf. Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 81 n. 70 with further references).

²⁹⁸ Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 63. Own translation: »through the helical movement of the body, the active and attentive posture of the head and the energetic forward pushing movement of the arms«.

²⁹⁹ Paus. 5, 10, 7.

³⁰⁰ Paus. 5, 15, 7.

³⁰¹ Paus. 6, 2, 3; the remains have been identified with older finds at Drouva (where earlier travellers had already reported remains, see e.g. Dodwell 1819, 336; for the trenches of N. Yalouris, which are said to have contained much Mycenaean pottery, see Herrmann 1987, 432, cf. Maddoli et al. 1999, 355), but this is purely hypothetical. Whether Oinomaos had a

cult connected to his tomb is a matter of conjecture (loc. cit.). His grave may well have looked like the Pelopion (loc. cit.).

³⁰² Cf. also Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 81.

³⁰³ Pi. O. 6, 46–61. Aipyros was the son of Elatos and grandson of Arkas, ruler of Arkadia (see esp. Paus. 8, 4, 16 f.).

³⁰⁴ Rhian. FGrHist 265 Fr. 11 (= St. Byz. s. v. Amythaonia): »The Amythaonia was a part (μοῖρα) of Elis, named after Amythaon, the son of Kretheus«; Hom. Od. 11, 259 (Amythaon was a son of Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus); Diod. 4, 68, 4; 4, 68, 6 (from Aglaia he had the sons Melampous and Bias). He is to be found (in addition to his sons) also in Pylos, Triphylia and the Pisatis (Str. 8, 6, 10, cf. 8, 3, 19 and Paus. 5, 5, 10) and is also considered one of the founders of the Olympic Games (Paus. 5, 8, 2); he is related to the strongly Elean Endymion, who was

of Zeus expresses this in an emblematic manner³⁰⁵. There are the Lapiths in Thessaly and a Lapithos mountain in Triphylia, and Centaurs live in Thessaly as well as on the plateau of Pholoe in Elis (see above 1.3), and much more³⁰⁶. These include the river names, the important Peneios, main river in Thessaly and in the ›hollow Elis‹, but also the Enipeus, which we meet in Thessaly and near Olympia, as a tributary of the Alpheios.

A special love story is also attached to him and features time-honoured mythical figures as protagonists. Already Homer testifies to its essential ingredients. When Odysseus comes into the underworld and shades of women cluster around him, he meets as ›the first‹ Tyro, ›offspring‹ (ἐκγονος) of Salmoneus and wife of Kretheus, son of Aiolos³⁰⁷. She loved the Enipeus, by far the most beautiful among the rivers, whom she visited often. Poseidon, who desired her, therefore took his shape, slept with her and then told her that she would give birth to two sons. So she gave birth to Pelias, who was at home in ›wide Iolkos‹, and Neleus, who lived in ›sandy Pylos‹³⁰⁸. She then had three other sons with Kretheus, namely Aison, Pheres and the ›horse-fighter‹ Amythaon.

The story spread early, also in the context of the dramatic demise of her father Salmoneus, a famous evildoer, who had challenged Zeus and was plunged by him together with his house into Tartarus, except for Tyro, who loved the gods³⁰⁹. The question that interests us in the first place is the localisation of this story in space. Which Enipeus River is referred to? In the oldest texts, in Homer and Hesiod or the Ehoiai, this is not specified. Because of the importance of the two rivers – the Thessalian one is decidedly larger and particularly characteristic for its area³¹⁰ – but also because of the role of the descendants of Aiolos in the story, their connections with Thessaly³¹¹ and the proximity to Iolkos, one has to think of Thessaly.

However, there are versions according to which Tyro's father, Salmoneus, moved from Thessaly to Elis and founded the city of Salmone next to or at (παρά with accusative) the Alpheios³¹². According to Strabo the place Salmone even lies at the eponymous source of the Enipeus and is now called Barnichios³¹³. For the fact that Salmoneus had lived there, Strabo refers to the ›Aiolos‹ of Euripides (Fr. 14): Consequently, in Ephorus he is a king of the Epeians and Pisatans³¹⁴. As a result, the Enipeus, with whom Tyro fell in love, is the Elean-Pisatan one. It must, however, be doubted that this localisation of Salmoneus is original³¹⁵. Apart from the aforementioned arguments for an original settlement in Thessaly, the par-

his cousin (Paus. 5, 8, 2, for Endymion's stemma see Gehrke 2005, 30 with n. 41, and Endymion's tomb was located in the stadium of Olympia near the starting-mark, where he enjoyed cultic worship, Paus. 5, 1, 5; 6, 20, 9 with Taita 2000, 183 f.); see also Kōiv 2013, 339–341 and see below.

³⁰⁵ See now esp. Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 94–108.

³⁰⁶ See esp. Yalouris 1996, 17 f.; Heiden 2003; Gehrke 2005, 40 f. n. 77; Simon 2006; Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 96 f. – It remains to be considered how these massive (and also wide-ranging) similarities can be historically explained, see below.

³⁰⁷ Hom. Od. 11, 235–237.

³⁰⁸ Hom. Od. 11, 238–259.

³⁰⁹ Hes. Fr. 10 [Merkelbach – West 1967] (Sch. Pi. P.4, 235), esp. 30 (POxy. 2481 Fr. 1; 2484 Fr. 2; 2485 Fr. 1 coll. I Lobel) (agrees with Homer, cf. also Apollod. 1, 9, 7; 1, 9, 10; Diod. 4, 68, 1–4; Str. 8, 3, 32; further information in Wagner 1905). Salmoneus see Kōiv 2013, 338 f., cf. also Simon 1994. A satyr play of Sophocles was about him (TGF IV Fr. 537–541 [Radt

1999]), apart from two tragedies titled ›Tyro‹ (TGF IV p. 463–472 [Radt 1999]).

³¹⁰ It has its source in several headstreams in the Othrys Mountains, then flows through the western Thessalian plain and meets the Peneios somewhere between Triikka and Larisa (Philippson 1905).

³¹¹ According to Apollod. 1, 7, 3 Aiolos, the progenitor, is located in Thessaly; cf. Kōiv 2013, 339.

³¹² Apollod. 1, 7, 3 and Diod. 4, 68, 1. However, according to Apollodorus it was destroyed in the course of the punishment of Salmoneus. How does one explain its continued existence?

³¹³ Str. 8, 3, 32. It is commonly identified with the modern Lestenitsa River, mainly because of its importance. However, this creates topographical difficulties, see above 2.3.2.2. – The passage in Strabo probably goes back to Apollodorus, cf. Meyer 1950, 1739–1741.

³¹⁴ FGrHist 70 Fr. 115.

³¹⁵ Most recently again Kōiv 2013, 339 n. 156 with further bibliography.

tially contradictory line of the story in the later sources also argues against it: Both in Apollodorus and Diodorus Salmoneus actually comes from Thessaly, from where he moved to Elis. Why should one locate him in Thessaly in the first place, if he originally belonged to the Alpheios region?

These authors also locate the story of his grandchildren Pelias and Neleus in Thessaly, as Neleus, after a conflict with his brother, who was based in Thessalian Iolkos, was forced to flee to Messenia, where he founded Pylos. Incidentally, he is said to have taken along his half-brother Amythaon and his sons Melampous and Bias, as well as other people from Achaea Phthiotis and Aioliens³¹⁶. How do the children of Tyro come from Elis to Thessaly? The stories thus always make sense in Thessaly, but in their Elean surroundings they always refer to Thessaly. The movement regularly goes from Thessaly to Elis. All this argues in favour of the idea that the whole story was later relocated to the Alpheios area – certainly before the »Aiolos« of Euripides³¹⁷. Apparently, the similarity of the names of the village Salmone (with Salmoneus) and the Enipeus³¹⁸ played a relevant role. What is decisive, however, is that now the place, the area and the river gained a special nimbus through these mythistorical reminiscences and through the divine reference, and that relations with Thessaly, which was perceived in a certain way as a homeland, received a special profile. In any case, the status of the area around Salmone was thus greatly enhanced.

The question of what lies behind this transfer is unclear. If we choose to attempt to answer this question, and assume that these Thessalian-Elean relations reflect the migration of bearers of Thessalian-Aeolian traditions, or think of a reflection of certain relationships that were thus clad in a specific mantle, we could make sense of this relationship by taking into account the Pisatans. The inhabitants of the surroundings of Olympia (Pisa, the Pisatans) tended to refer to Salmoneus as their own king, who was of course a particularly suspicious figure! He was at least able to lend more prominence to one of their most important rivers. Of course, one might equally consider the larger community, Elis and the Eleans. For example, Amythaon, who plays a minor role in the stories outlined here, is in any case a »migrant« and as such neither specifically associated with Pisa or Elis. He belongs to the Pisatis or Triphylia, but is also related to the rather Elean Endymion.

In summarising the Thessalian references in a general perspective, we offer another explanation which, however, has to remain highly hypothetical. We present it here as a first suggestion, since the whole Thessalian-Elean or rather Thessalian-West-Peloponnesian connection needs further study. This explanation has to do with the role Elis played during the games, but especially with their increasing Panhellenic character. We can certainly begin with the Enipeus River, which, as we saw, plays a significant role. Its sources in the Othrys Mountains are situated in the area of Achaea Phthiotis, which belonged to the Thessalian perioecic region³¹⁹, and it takes its course mainly through the Thessalian Phthiotis, which has Pharsalos as its centre. In general, Thessaly, especially the east and the area around the Gulf of Pagasai, was an important area in Greek mythology³²⁰. This is certainly related to the important Mycenaean centre(s) in the area of Volos, which should be identified with the legendary Iolkos. There was, as we have seen, also the home of Pelias, son of Tyro and brother of Neleus. The Catalogue of the Ships in the Iliad mentions »Phthia« in addition to

³¹⁶ Diod. 4, 68, 4.

³¹⁷ Cf. also Gehrke 2005, 42.

³¹⁸ It is also conceivable that it only got this name because of the relocation of the story; after all, it was called differently in Strabo's times (or those of his source).

³¹⁹ Cf. Th. 8, 3, 1; Arist. Pol. 2, 9, 1269 b 6, and see now Bouchon – Helly 2015, 233.

³²⁰ According to Visser 1997, 644 the Spercheios Valley and the area around the Gulf of Pagasai, i.e. the southeast of Thessaly, formed »mythologisch ausgesprochen prominente Gebiete«. On the connection between myth and landscape from a primarily Thessalian perspective, see now Aston 2017.

»Hellas of the beautiful women«³²¹. It belongs to the ›kingdom‹ of Achilles³²² and was identified already by ancient authors with Pharsalos³²³. Thus the great hero controlled much of southern Thessaly.

The inhabitants are also called »Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans«, according to the Catalogue of the Ships as well³²⁴. This is the key, as one immediately recognises a special combination of groups of different quality. The Myrmidons are rather a legendary people with no visible connection to later *ethne* or poleis. With them, however, both an older (Achaean) and more recent (Hellenic) collective concept of the Greeks emerge, and, characteristically, Hellas was primarily located in the Phthiotis³²⁵. This region of Thessaly could therefore represent all Greeks or the whole of Greece. Although this ambivalence caused great confusion already in antiquity³²⁶, it has remained intact. In fact, very early and elemental events in Greek mythistory were located in Thessaly. Even Deucalion, the son of Prometheus and husband of Pyrrha, daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, was ruler of Phthia. Together with his wife, he survived the Greek flood in a box. This affected most of Greece. The mountains of Thessaly had broken apart and all of Greece outside the Isthmus had been flooded. After their rescue, Deucalion and Pyrrha had a son, Hellen, the eponymous ancestor of the Greeks. This paradigmatic Greek figure belongs to Thessaly as well³²⁷.

If we are looking for an explanation for the Thessalian connections in the area of Elis and Olympia, then we should perhaps not primarily – as in the case of the well-documented and also for other reasons plausible Aetolian element³²⁸ – think of some kind of migration from (southern) Thessaly, but rather consider a transmission of Panhellenic elements. This, of course, is likely to be related to the development of the sanctuary. The local or regional elites and the singers and artists would have associated widespread or general Greek narratives and figures with their region, and thus give it a common Greek character beyond its micro-regional or certain supralocal framework and at the same time link it to old layers of myth. The ›Thessalian‹ would refer here to the ›Hellenic‹. The Panhellenic dimension would become tangible in the narratives of a micro-region: a kind of Greek ›glocalisation«!

This may have played a role in the early connection with the Endymion saga (via Amythaon³²⁹). Moreover, the figure of Melampous could be mentioned in this context, who represents something like the exemplary Greek seer, who already has a clear profile in the Odyssey³³⁰ and appears there already attached to the area of Pylos. Via Amythaon he also points to Thessaly (see above), but he also appears as a ruler in Argos. At the same time, he is already genealogically embedded in Homer³³¹ and associated with later seers. Therefore, a prominent mythical figure without any apparent local attachment was integrated into various regional mythistorical traditions and transformed into a native character, especially in the southwestern Peloponnese and around Olympia.

Naturally, we have to leave many issues unresolved. However, an equally Panhellenic figure could provide not only a parallel, but also offer a reference to a specific component

³²¹ Hom. Il. 2, 683.

³²² Hom. Il. 1, 155, cf. 16. 594–596, where Hellas and the Myrmidons are joined; see also Th. 1, 3, 3. Accordingly, Peleus is localised here, Stenger 2000. For the area of Achilles according to the Catalogue of the Ships and possible equivalences in historical times, see Stählin 1936, 78 f. Cf. now also Visser 1997, 649–655, for Hellas and Phthia (653–655); generally see also Morgan 2003, 102–105.

³²³ Stählin 1924, 135 f.

³²⁴ Hom. Il. 2, 684.

³²⁵ Th. 1, 3, 2; Heraclides Criticus 3, 2.

³²⁶ Cf. e.g. Heraclides Criticus 3, 1–8 (thereto Arenz

2006, 162–166. 223–230); generally see esp. Hall 2002, 125–133.

³²⁷ The story follows Apollod. 1, 7, 3; cf. also Hes. Fr. 2–4. 6 f. [Merkelbach – West 1967]; Hecat. FGrHist 1 Fr. 14 (there also the reference to the Thessalian connection of Deukalion's offspring; further information in Jacoby FGrHist ad loc.)

³²⁸ Gehrke 2005.

³²⁹ See above n. 304.

³³⁰ Hom. Od. 15, 225–246.

³³¹ Hom. Od. 15, 240–246; on his descendants see above.

of the memorial space around Olympia, behind which one can at least hypothetically recognise a particular intention, namely a connection of the Panhellenic to the regional and local, ultimately Elean. The fact that this relation is less connected to the original local constellation finds its expression in its sparse, or even absence of, ritual presence. It certainly has a ›setting in life‹, but rather in the intentional history than in the sacrally grounded and ritually embodied understanding of space. When we return to Olympia and its surroundings, we begin to grasp the connection between the sacred and the memorial in the configuration of a complex founding activity as charter myth and its concrete local-ritual setting.

3.3 Oinomaos of Pisa, Hippodameia and Pelops

The observations and ideas of Helmut Kyrieleis, both archaeologically and historically sound, form an ideal starting point. Following his line of arguments, the Pelopion together with a cult of Pelops was set up only in the course of the restructuring of the sanctuary of Olympia by the Eleans in the 6th century B.C. A hero, who was not yet tied to a specific Greek region, an emphatically Panhellenic figure, who gradually obtained a strong Peloponnesian character³³², was claimed now by Elis as a kind of ›state hero‹³³³.

This also invests the story that establishes and explains the rule of Pelops over Olympia and its surroundings, the Pisatis, with a character of its own. The earliest traditions of Oinomaos and Hippodameia speak of the victims of Oinomaos, the dead suitors of Hippodameia. The Ehoiai had apparently 13 names, the Great Ehoiai 16³³⁴. The names are not very characteristic³³⁵, especially not for the immediate area; in part, they point to Arkadia, Sparta and to Aetolia, the latter of which is important in view of the mythical origins of the Eleans.

After the restructuring of the sanctuary, the mythical events become more focused and reach their climax in the chariot race between Oinomaos and Pelops, as the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus demonstrates in a grandiose and expressive manner. The race is located in space, almost becoming anchored in the landscape: Pindar names the place metonymically ›racetracks of Pelops‹ (δρόμοι Πέλοπος)³³⁶. Oinomaos is in a very specific way the king of this land, the king of Pisa. He lived there, kept his horses, founded cities, and, after his defeat, died there³³⁷.

Moreover, these events and their agents were ›inscribed‹ into Olympia and its closer surroundings in various ways. Their stories and destinies were related to certain points in the topography, which one could visit and where one performed cultic actions. This created a special memorial space, which also carried elements of a sacred space. It was particularly prominent in the immediate vicinity of Olympia, in Pisa. We cannot determine precisely when each of these marks were set. What is certain, however, is that they follow the special emphasis on the character and the cult of Pelops. So they do not represent older traditions (it is conceivable, however, that there were local traditions here and there). They cannot be taken as evidence of a solid, peculiar development of Pisa in early times, that is, in the time

³³² Th. 1, 9, 2.

³³³ For relics in Olympia associated with Pelops, see Paus. 5, 13, 4–6 (shoulder, cf. below); 6, 19, 6 (a knife with golden handle in the treasury of the Sicyonians, interpreted as sacrificial knife, see Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 318, with further references; for the chronology loc. cit. and Hartmann 2010, 80 n. 177, with further bibliography). For Pelops east of Olympia see below; for Pelops in Letrinoi see above 3.2).

³³⁴ Hes. Fr. 259 a [Merkelbach – West 1967] (Paus.

6, 21, 10 f.; Sch. Pi. O. 1, 127 b); for the division between the two texts see Maddoli et al. 1999, 362 f.

³³⁵ Cf. already Paus. 6, 21, 10.

³³⁶ Pi. O. 1, 94–95. For the reasons given by Krummen 1990, 166 f., we prefer to connect δρόμοι with Pelops; hyperbaton κλέος...Πέλοπος (93–95) is possible too (Gentili 2013, 383). In the end, the difference is not critical for our purposes.

³³⁷ For the horse stables and the tomb see above 3.2; for the foundation of Harpina see below.

when Pisa allegedly hosted the Olympics before the Eleans. However, these traditions describe a peculiarity of the space around Olympia, that is to say the localities which, like the so-called *oktapolis*, can be associated with Pisa – a place that is included in the mythistorical-sacral conception of the Eleans, which, however, gave the local dimension its own place.

In detail, the following *lieux de mémoire* can be pointed out in this memorial-sacral topography: First, in the sanctuary itself the Pelopion as well as the tomb and the stables of Oinomaos were already mentioned. In addition, remnants of the house of Oinomaos were visible, which had been destroyed by a thunderbolt of Zeus, and next to its ruins an altar of Zeus Herkeios (protector of the house within the fence) and Zeus Keraunios, the »hurler of the thunderbolt« were situated. In addition, a wooden pillar of this house was allegedly preserved, framed by metal rings and covered by a canopy with four pillars, located on the route from the ash altar to the Temple of Zeus, approximately south of the Metroon and east of the Pelopion. Even by the time of Pausanias a bronze inscription bore witness to the house and the events³³⁸. Moreover, when a Roman senator erected a victory monument there, they found weapons, reins and kerbs during the excavation work for its base. Pausanias himself allegedly witnessed this³³⁹.

Furthermore, there was a sacred precinct of Hippodameia, the Hippodameion, an open sanctuary of about 30 × 30 m, which was located within the Altis at the entrance of the Processional Road and was surrounded by an enclosure wall. Only women were permitted access once a year to make sacrifices in honour of the heroine and to perform ritual acts³⁴⁰. Hippodameia is also said to have set up the penteteric festival for Hera, the Heraia, in gratitude for her marriage to Pelops. The major Elean priestesses' college of the Sixteen Women hosted this festival³⁴¹. In the Temple of Hera Pausanias saw a couch which was considered a dedication of Hippodameia. She herself – she had been involved in the murder of a son of Pelops born to a nymph – allegedly fled to Midea and died there. However, on the basis of an oracle the Eleans retrieved her bones and buried them in Olympia³⁴². In the Temple of Zeus itself, the barriers that sheltered the throne of Zeus had been painted by Panainos, probably a brother of Phidias³⁴³, and there, amongst others, Hippodameia was represented with her mother Sterope. The illustrations of both women in the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus should merely be mentioned in this context.

Significantly, at one end of the hippodrome, at the turning point of the Meta associated with the finish of the race, was a bronze statue of Hippodameia, who was about to tie a band around the head of the victorious Pelops³⁴⁴. In the hippodrome, the legendary chariot race for the hand of Hippodameia and the rule of Olympia and its surroundings could sym-

³³⁸ According to philological arguments, the text belongs to the Hellenistic period, Hartmann 2010, 158 n. 675.

³³⁹ Paus. 5, 14, 7; 5, 20, 6–9; for the location Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 307 and cf. esp. Brulotte 1994. The Roman senator is identified with L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus, who won the chariot race in A.D. 129 (IvO 236) and after his proconsulate in Africa (A.D. 153) had the statue built (Gurlitt 1890, 421 n. 37; Habicht 1985, 183–185, Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 308) – a (not undisputed) identification important for the dating of Pausanias' stay in Olympia (see Maddoli – Saladino 1995, pp. XXIII–XXV).

³⁴⁰ Paus. 6, 20, 7; on the localisation cf. Mallwitz 1972, 245; Maddoli et al. 1999, 338. For the entrance gate in the Processional Road see above 1.2; for the cult cf. Maddoli et al. 1999, 335 f. with further references.

³⁴¹ Paus. 5, 16, 2–4, cf. 6, 24, 10 and Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 284 with further references; on the Sixteen Women of Elis cf. also 1.2.

³⁴² Paus. 6, 20, 7; for other versions and a possible date for the transfer of the bones (McCauley 1997/1998) see Maddoli et al. 1999, 338 f.; cf. now also Neri 2010, 141–146.

³⁴³ On Panainos cf. Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 241. Incidentally, he had painted the picture of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile in Athens.

³⁴⁴ Paus. 6, 20, 19; it is also mentioned in the Byzantine metrological text that gives the dimensions of the hippodrome, on that Maddoli et al. 1999, 345 f. (with further bibliography); for a translation see Sinn 2004, 136. The place lay apparently west of the Meta, opposite the Taraxippos (see below).

bolically be repeated every four years during the games. That is why this race was always present in the hippodrome:

Near a passageway through one of the earthen banks that framed the hippodrome, probably at the eastern end of the Meta, there was an altar of Taraxippos (»horse disturber«), a hero who disturbed the course of the horses and thus personified one of the great dangers of the chariot race, the accident in the hot phase of the competition. Here the charioteers sacrificed to appease the hero and thus to ward off the danger. Pausanias lists various explanations and derivations explaining the character of the hero, some of which are related to the famous chariot race. Thus it may have been a cenotaph of Oinomaos' charioteer Myrtilos built by Pelops. According to an old and popular version he had supported Pelops through deceit by removing the linchpins from the chariot of his master or replacing them with wax. However, the victor had him thrown into the sea, and Myrtilos was said to have uttered a curse. Other versions relate Taraxippos directly to Oinomaos and his victims, the suitors of Hippodameia³⁴⁵. Of course, in this context one is reminded once again of the scenes in the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus. In this form, the sanctuary was literally overflowing with memories, which at the same time could be celebrated in the cult and ritually revived in various forms of religious re-enactment.

The same was hardly less true for the surrounding area. Let us start with the places attributed to Pisa or the Pisatis, first of all the ones belonging to the *oktapolis*: Harpina, located about 20 stades to the east of Olympia³⁴⁶, conspicuously stands out: Oinomaos is said to have founded the city and named it after his mother³⁴⁷. For Ares had begotten him in Pisa with Harpina³⁴⁸, a daughter of Asopos, the river god of Phlious³⁴⁹. A little further east was the Parthenias River, named after Parthenia, one of Marmax's two horses (the other named Eripha), which was buried there. Marmax had been the first suitor killed by Oinomaos³⁵⁰. West of Harpina in the direction of Olympia even the tomb of the suitors was evident, »a high mound«³⁵¹. The suitors had been only hastily buried by Oinomaos³⁵². Only later did Pelops have a sanctuary erected in honour of them and as a favour to Hippodameia, and annual sacrifices were offered to the dead³⁵³.

³⁴⁵ Paus. 6, 20, 15–19; for the localisation Maddoli et al. 1999, 346. For Myrtilos see Heinze 2000; for his fall into the sea between the Alpheios estuary and the port of the Eleans see Paus. 8, 14, 12 (cf. also Taita 2013, 351). On the connection between Pelops, the hippodrome and the Alpheios (at least in Pindar) see Griffith 2008, 1 f.

³⁴⁶ Luc. Peregr. 35; it is probably to be found near the church of Panagia (as indicated on the maps of Curtius – Adler 1882, sheets 2 and 3), for more see above 2.3.3.2.

³⁴⁷ Paus. 6, 21, 8.

³⁴⁸ Diod. 4, 73, 1; for Harpina as daughter of Asopos see also Paus. 5, 22, 6, who characteristically features in a dedication of the Phliasians in Olympia (Asopos and his daughters), cf. also Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 114; according to Diod. 4, 73, 3, there was even a racing track from Pisa to the altar of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth (does this reflect a connection between the Olympic and Isthmian Games?); for further relations of Oinomaos to the northeastern Peloponnese, especially to Argos, see Maddoli et al. 1999, 361. According to Paus. 5, 1, 6 the father of Oinomaos was, in one version, Alxion; but according to Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 186 this is to be interpreted as an epithet (from ἀλκίη) of Ares; the same is likely to be valid for Hyperochos who is mentioned in Tzetzes,

Sch. in Lyc. 219 (Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 186); for other mothers of Oinomaos see Fiehn 1937.

³⁴⁹ Maddoli et al. 1999, 361.

³⁵⁰ Paus. 6, 21, 7; for the river and the topography see above 2.3.3.2 on Harpina. For Marmax see also the further references in Maddoli et al. 1999, 363.

³⁵¹ Paus. 6, 21, 9. »Not far« (οὐ πολὺ) from Harpina: The older maps in Curtius – Adler 1882 (see above) locate the mound southeast of Miraka; but this is far from certain. One could also imagine a position further to the west in the area of Frangonisi and the hill connected to Pisa (see Παπαχατζής 1979, 384 with reference to Dörpfeld 1908, 192) (see above 2.1.2.1); because Harpina can be placed farther west than is usually the case. In any case, our on-site investigations have documented Hellenistic and possibly Roman remains there (see 2.1.2.1).

³⁵² Paus. 6, 21, 9; according to others he had dismembered them and nailed their heads to his house (S. TGF IV Fr. 473 [Radt 1999]; Ps.-Apollod. Epit. 2, 5).

³⁵³ Paus. 6, 21, 9; 6, 21, 11. Philostr. Im. 1, 17, 4 refers to a representation of the chariot race between Oinomaos (who, incidentally, is called Arkadian in 17, 1) and Pelops, where Alpheios leapt from his waters and presented Pelops with a wreath of the wild olive tree as a prize and sign of victory. This happened near the »tombs at the racetrack«, where the

Nearby, there were two other significant places of worship and memory: the sanctuary of Artemis Kordaka lay only one stade from the so-called Hill of the Suitors to the west. Here, as the aetiological explanation has it, the victory of Pelops was celebrated, with the Kordax dance, which was said to be customary in his home country in Asia Minor, on Mount Sipylus (»ἐπιχώριος«)³⁵⁴. In this case the small space, which was specifically construed and designed, was again related to a broader framework and connected with the immigration of the hero. At the same time, his death was also remembered in the immediate vicinity, because not far (»οὐ πόρρω«) from this sanctuary was a large house with a bronze box (»κιβωτός χαλκή«) containing the bones of Pelops³⁵⁵.

Taking everything into consideration, one can observe the clear marking of the area with memorial and cultic sites in a zone merely 3000–4000 m east of the sanctuary. Even just in the vicinity of the Tombs of the Suitors, we have the impression of a certain ›burial landscape‹, where significant concentrations of burials can be pointed out, even down to Roman times, if one considers the important Roman cemetery near Frangonisi (see above 2.1.2.1)³⁵⁶. Therefore, it is perhaps no coincidence that after the games of 165 the notorious cynic Peregrinus Proteus committed suicide in this area, in Harpina, as he had already announced at the Olympics of A.D. 161. One could envisage beforehand that this would become a new memorial place of numinous events – which in this case was also staged as such³⁵⁷. The landscape, with its corresponding connotation, already endowed with memories of this kind, could be considered a particularly suitable setting for theatrical suicide. This would indicate that this area was mythically, numinously charged.

In this context, one may also think of the shrine of Demeter Chamyne a short distance away near the eastern end of the hippodrome, which has recently been excavated³⁵⁸. The cult, whose priestess held a prominent position in Olympia, had a decidedly chthonic character. The aetiological explanation (the verb χάνειν, gape, is connected with the epithet of the goddess) has it that here the earth had opened up for the chariot team of Hades and closed again³⁵⁹.

suitors, thirteen in number, were buried. This may refer to the same place, because the aforementioned hippodrome does not necessarily refer in a technical sense to the structure built in Olympia, but to the site of the race itself. Incidentally, the distance between the mound of the suitors and the hippodrome was not very great.

³⁵⁴ Paus. 6, 22, 1; for the dance see Warnecke 1922; Calame 1977, 297–304; for the cult see also Weniger 1907, 112 f. In his description of the Pelopion in Olympia Pausanias (5, 13, 7) mentions that Pelops had a throne on the summit of the Sipylus mountain and that on the occasion of his marriage with Hippodameia he founded a sanctuary of the Mater Plastene there (on this and the situation there, and at the same time on the meaning of this information for the biography of Pausanias see the references in Maddoli – Saladino 1995, 256).

³⁵⁵ Paus. 6, 22, 1; for the bones of Pelops in Letrinoi see above 2.3.3.1 (Lyc. 53 f. with Sch.); that such ›relics‹ could be multiplied (if one does not want to dismiss Lykophron as learned speculation, though this is not easy, especially after Hornblower 2015), should not be surprising. In one case, it concerns the direct ties to Olympia, in the other the connection between Elis and Letrinoi. Then there is the complex story of the artificial shoulder of Pelops (see Paus. 5, 13, 4–6; cf. Neri 2010, 100–116 and Gehrke 2013, 47 f. n. 48, with

further references). According to Plin. HN 28, 34 it should have been in Elis, but that obviously stands for Olympia, for Paus. 5, 13, 4–6 speaks of it in connection with the Pelopion in Olympia (even though nothing was to be seen of it in his time, Paus. 5, 13, 6). The stories about this shoulder point to the old Panhellenic meaning of Pelops (here for the Trojan War), but also to other relationships (between Elis and Eretria).

³⁵⁶ Fittingly, in this area Roman finds stand out particularly.

³⁵⁷ Luc. Peregr. 28–39 with Hartmann 2010, 400 f. – Gell 1817, 36 saw east of the crossing of the stream west of Miraka »a spot where are several ancient sepulchres«, likewise Dodwell 1819, 336 (both travelled together here, Dodwell 1819, 308). The scholars of the Expédition de Morée note Turkish tombs in the area of the so-called Pisa hill.

³⁵⁸ Liangouras 2012.

³⁵⁹ Paus. 6, 21, 1. In addition, there was (loc. cit.) an explanation that was anchored in the mythistory of Elis and Pisa (but recognisably represents a late and anachronistic construction and was developed from the epithet of the goddess): The tyrannical ruler Pantaleon of Pisa killed his opponent Chamynos, who opposed his apostasy from Elis, and from his fortune donated the temple. – For the priestess and the cult cf. Paus. 6, 20, 9; Sinn 2004, 91–93.

It is important to note that Pausanias³⁶⁰ in connection with Pelops' ossuary points to the absence of walls and remains that one would have to assume for an urban settlement of Pisa: but there were only vineyards (ἄμπελοι). However, this is exactly what reflects the particular character of this landscape, which is determined by agricultural use and scattered settlement. Polis centres did not shape this specific character, but rather sacred places and memories of mythical-numinous events did.

Three other places that are explicitly attested as part of the Pisatan *oktapolis* also provide interesting insights. They transcend the major theme of the chariot race and offer other mythological and cultic references. We have already mentioned Salmone with its legendary founder Salmoneus and his daughter Tyro and the transplantation of the related stories from the Thessalian mythological cycle (above 3.2). And just as the river (god) Enipeus, who featured prominently in these stories, was linked as a tributary to the Alpheios, the Pisatan Herakleia is also connected with it, through the Ionidian nymphs and their gifts of violet wreaths to Ion (see above 3.2).

A mythical genealogy indicates an interesting relationship between Herakleia and Alasyaion, which probably also belonged to the *oktapolis*: Ion, the son of Gargettos, who actually belonged to Athens and went from there to Elis³⁶¹, appears in connection with one version of the origin of Alesios, the eponym of Alasyaia³⁶². Alesios figures here also as a son of Gargettos and a companion of Pelops. Ion of Herakleia, the namesake of the local Ionidian nymphs, and Alesios, the eponymous hero of Alasyaion, were thus brothers.

For Kikysion, the largest place in the *oktapolis*³⁶³, we are forced to make assumptions. After all, a relationship can be established with the hero Amythaon, the son of Tyro and the Aeolid Kretheus, the father of Melampous and Bias (see above), and thus with the region of Amythaonia³⁶⁴. Hipponax has a Kikon, who appears as son of Amythaon³⁶⁵. He could thus have featured as the eponym of Kikysion. Apart from the fact that this reasoning is already hypothetical, one must certainly consider that the information on the father is not based on Hipponax himself, but relies entirely on the late-antiquity lexicographer Hesychius³⁶⁶, and may thus represent a later variant.

Two places commonly counted among the ›Eight Cities‹³⁶⁷ are again associated with the Oinomaos-Pelops constellation: Alesios, the namesake of Alasyaion, is regarded, as we have seen, as either the son of Skillous and suitor of Hippodameia or the son of the Athenian Gargettos and companion of Pelops³⁶⁸. The eponym of Dyspontion, Dysponteus or Dyspontios appears – transparently enough – as the son of Oinomaos³⁶⁹ or Pelops³⁷⁰.

We have already seen (cf. above 3.2) that the Amythaonia was considered »part of Elis«, which was named after Amythaon, son of Kretheus. The region of origin of his sons, Melampous and Bias, is explicitly referred to as »Pisatis and Triphyli« by Strabo³⁷¹, and one could

³⁶⁰ Paus. 6, 22, 1.

³⁶¹ Paus. 6, 22, 7.

³⁶² St. Byz. s. v. Alesion; the other version recognises him as a suitor of Hippodameia and son of Skillous; but he does not appear in the lists of suitors (Hes. Fr. 259 [Merkelbach – West 1967]; Paus. 6, 21, 10 f.). However, a connection to Triphylian Skillous should not be dismissed, consequently we are probably dealing with competing variants.

³⁶³ Str. 8, 3, 31.

³⁶⁴ Roy 2002, 236 with n. 22 brings the following connection as one possibility into play.

³⁶⁵ Hippon. Fr. 4, possibly 4a [West 1971].

³⁶⁶ s. v. Kikon; from this Friedrich Wilhelm Schneidewin ingeniously deduced the Hipponax fragment 4a

(because of the second part of a choliambic verse) and joined with Fr. 4 (where Hipponax is explicitly cited by Tzetzes).

³⁶⁷ Cf. Roy 2002, 233–237; Meyer 1950 cautiously limits his suggestions to two more places, Alasyaion and Dyspontion, which, significantly, are also related to Oinomaos and Pelops. Roy's other candidates (236 f.), Lenos (Phleg. FG rHist 257 Fr. 7, St. Byz. s. v.; see Roy 2004, 499) and Pharaia (Plb. 4, 77, 5; Str. 8, 3, 32) provide nothing mythistorical at all.

³⁶⁸ Cf. also Toepffer 1893.

³⁶⁹ Paus. 6, 22, 4.

³⁷⁰ St. Byz., s. v. Dyspontion.

³⁷¹ Str. 8, 6, 10.

identify it with the small region Amythaonia. However, one would expect it rather in the area of Pisa, because Amythaon was considered one of the first organisers of the Olympic Games and a relative of Endymion³⁷². Melampous on the other hand was, as we have seen, the progenitor of the family of seers of the Klytiads; as such he was in all likelihood represented in the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus. The sacral and mythological relations are therefore particularly pronounced in the area immediately surrounding Olympia that can be identified to a large degree with Pisa.

From Istros' Eliaka, a place named Phaisana has been inferred in Pisa³⁷³. This would have been located near the Alpheios, have been connected with the Arkadian Aipyros and thus related to the aforementioned Iamos, the progenitor of the Iamids. However, the identification and localisation of the place remains unclear. The affiliation of Phrixia, with which Phaisana has been associated, is also uncertain: the city, located near the knee of the Alpheios at Mouria, about 9 km east of Olympia, probably belonged to Triphylia for most of the time³⁷⁴. It also has a very different mythological profile from that of Elis and Pisa: originally, it was said to be Minyan, and its eponym is the famous Phrixos, who is associated with the story of the Golden Fleece³⁷⁵. However, even here we find a reference to the chariot race in Pisa: at the temple of Athena Kydonia in Phrixia Pelops is said to have sacrificed to the goddess before the race against Oinomaos³⁷⁶.

Let us summarise our reflections on the conception of sacred and memorial space. They related to the religious-cultic formation of social interaction and organisation around the sanctuary of Olympia itself. This pertains to the immediate vicinity as well as to the emerging ethnic-political and at the same time cultic unity of Elis that appear to have been established from the 6th century B.C. onward (3.1). In addition, the landscape and the corresponding practice of communication were perceived and interpreted as a divinely interwoven and mythical space (3.2), where the major event of the chariot race of Oinomaos and Pelops was firmly inscribed, especially in Olympia and Pisa (3.3).

The stories that recount the various phenomena and interpretations seem complicated to us – especially in their mostly fragmentary tradition – and appear difficult to understand. However, one has always to remember that for the ancient contemporaries they described parts of their lives, even a particularly important, indeed the most important part: It was about the worship of the gods, the exploration of their will, images pertaining to their lives and their interventions. Equally important was their connection with demigods and humans: later generations thus considered themselves related to them, as relatives and descendants, and grouped themselves accordingly.

As inaccessible and unclear as all these narratives, versions and variants may seem to us, they imply a vital world of gods and men, a mythical-sacral space as a separate reality and at the same time as part of the experienced reality of the historical agents and thus indissolubly connected³⁷⁷. Last but not least, social relationships existed in this complex space, primarily in a mythical-ritual way, within and between communities, in close proximity as

³⁷² Paus. 5, 8, 2.

³⁷³ FGrHist 334 Fr. 41 (Sch. Pi. O. 6, 55 a). However, the place has also been identified with Phrixia (Roy 2000, 153 n. 24, with the pertinent bibliography) or localised in Phrixia (Meyer 1950, 1743).

³⁷⁴ Nielsen 1997, 131 f.; for the location at the hill Palaiophanaro see Pritchett 1989, 70 f.

³⁷⁵ Hdt. 4, 148; 7, 197; Pl. Min. 315 c; Apollod. 1, 7, 2 f.; 1, 9, 1 f.; Paus. 9, 24, 1; 9, 34, 5; Sch. A. R. 2, 513, cf. also Köiv 2013, 342 with n. 182.

³⁷⁶ Paus. 6, 21, 6; for a possible pictorial representation see Maddoli et. al. 1999, 360.

³⁷⁷ Plb. 4, 73, 9–4; 4, 74, 8 also points to the sacral character of life and landscape in Elis – even if the asyilia mentioned there did not formally exist (thus Walbank 1957, 526 with further references). Ernst Curtius had already seen that the numerous shrines »der ganzen Landschaft [this refers to the region of the lower reaches of the Alpheios] einen gottesdienstlichen Charakter gaben« (Curtius 1852, 7).

well as in the framework of an overarching entity, in Pisa and above all in Elis. Internally, everything was interrelated, and externally there existed an intense network of connections: community was endowed and affirmed in multiple ways, especially through the cohesion of firmly believed myth and strictly practised ritual. The point where everything crystal-
lised was the sanctuary of Olympia: the awe-inspiring place at the ford, the hill, the plain, the monument where a sacred place was marked and ›performed‹. This was the centre of a truly sacred landscape.

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Zur Chronologie und kulturhistorischen Bedeutung früharchaischer attischer ›Stempelidole‹

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Die hier behandelte Gruppe der attischen ›Stempelidole‹, handgemachte Tonidole mit zylindrischen Körpern und ›vogelförmigen‹ Gesichtern, ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten durch zahlreiche (Neu-)Funde stark angewachsen. Dieser Beitrag hat zum einen eine Klärung der noch immer problematischen Chronologie der Gattung mithilfe einer systematischen Auswertung der Fundkontexte zum Ziel. Zum anderen wird die Bedeutung der spätestens ab etwa der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis um 580/570 v. Chr. produzierten Figurinen für die sozio-kulturelle Entwicklung im früharchaischen Attika hervorgehoben: die Gattung kann als erste große Gruppe einfacher Votive in der Region gelten und belegt die etwa gleichzeitige Ausbildung umfangreicher neuer bzw. die Erweiterung bestehender Kultgemeinschaften an vielen Orten Attikas. Dieser Prozess wiederum kann im Kontext gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen gesehen, aber nicht allein auf die Ausbildung der athenischen Polis bezogen werden.

Schlagwörter Attika; Athen; früharchaische Zeit; Figurinen; Heiligtümer und Weihungen.

Chronology and historico-cultural significance of the Early Archaic ›Stempelidole‹ from Attica

ABSTRACT The number of the known Attic ›Stempelidole‹, handmade terracotta figurines with cylindrical bodies and ›bird-like‹ faces, has grown significantly with numerous new discoveries over the last few decades. This contribution aims first at shedding light on the group's yet problematic chronology by aid of a systematic evaluation of the find contexts. It then stresses the type's significance for the socio-cultural development in Early Archaic Attica throughout its production from at least the mid-7th century B.C. to around 580/570 B.C. This category of figurines may be considered the first large group of simple votives in the region, whilst indicating to the virtually simultaneous formation of large new, and expansion of already extant cultic communities in many places of Attica. This process may in turn reflect social change, but cannot directly be related only to the emergence of the Athenian polis.

Keywords Attica; Athens; Early Archaic period; figurines; sanctuaries and votive offerings.

Σχετικά με τη χρονολόγηση και την πολιτισμική-ιστορική σημασία των πρώιμων αρχαϊκών αττικών «Stempelidole»

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Το άρθρο εξετάζει την ομάδα των αττικών «Stempelidole», χειροποίητων πήλινων ειδωλίων με κυλινδρικό σώμα και «πτηνόμορφο» πρόσωπο, των οποίων ο αριθμός έχει αυξηθεί αισθητά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες με πλήθος (νέων) ευρημάτων. Στόχος του άρθρου είναι αφενός να ρίξει φως στην προβληματική ακόμα χρονολόγηση του συγκεκριμένου τύπου ειδωλίων, με τη βοήθεια μιας συστηματικής αξιολόγησης των ανασκαφικών συνόλων. Αφετέρου, να αναδείξει τη σημασία των ειδωλίων, που παράγονταν το αργότερο από τα μέσα του 7ου αι. π.Χ. ως το 580/570 π.Χ., για την κοινωνικοπολιτισμική εξέλιξη της Αττικής κατά την πρώιμη Αρχαϊκή περίοδο: Το συγκεκριμένο είδος ειδωλίων μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως η πρώτη μεγάλη ομάδα απλών αναθημάτων στην περιοχή και τεκμηριώνει την ταυτόχρονη σχεδόν συγκρότηση πιο εκτεταμένων, νέων, καθώς και τη διεύρυνση των ήδη υφιστάμενων λατρευτικών κοινοτήτων σε πολλά μέρη της Αττικής. Η διαδικασία αυτή, με τη σειρά της, μπορεί να συνδεθεί με κοινωνικές αλλαγές, αλλά όχι να ιδωθεί σε αποκλειστική συνάρτηση με την ανάδυση της αθηναϊκής πόλεως.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Αττική. Αθήνα. Πρώιμη Αρχαϊκή περίοδος. Ειδώλια. Ιερά και αναθήματα.

Die Gruppe der früharchaischen ›Stempelidole‹ Attikas wurde erstmals in M. Küppers 1990 erschienener Publikation der Exemplare aus dem Heiligtum in Kiapha Thiti eingehend besprochen; seitdem wurden hunderte weitere Stücke, insbesondere aus Eleusis und Brauron sowie von der Akropolis, dem Heiligtum der Nymphe und dem Demeterheiligtum in Athen vorgelegt und mehrere tausend neue Exemplare, beispielsweise am Nymphenhügel in Athen bzw. im Athenaheiligtum von Pallene, gefunden¹. Deshalb ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass die Forschung sich dieser bescheidenen Votivgattung in den letzten Jahren verstärkt zugewandt hat². Die umfangreichste Behandlung des Themas stellt die Bearbeitung der Exemplare von der Akropolis von Athen und aus dem Heiligtum der Nymphe an deren Südhang in der Dissertation von V. Georgaka dar, deren Ergebnisse in mehreren kurzen Beiträgen publiziert wurden³. Georgaka kam zu dem Schluss, dass die ausschließlich aus Heiligtümern weiblicher Gottheiten⁴ bekannten handgemachten Idole trotz des Fehlens eindeutiger Geschlechtsmerkmale weiblich gemeint sind, und dass weiterreichende Überlegungen zum Bedeutungsgehalt der Figurinen müßig seien, da es gerade die wenig konkrete Form sei, welche die so zahlreichen Weihungen in verschiedenste Heiligtümer ermöglicht hätte⁵. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Kontextualisierung bzw. Interpretation der attischen ›Stempelidole‹ steht dagegen noch immer aus⁶. Dies ist umso überraschender, als es sich um die erste tausendfach in attische Heiligtümer geweihte Votivgattung handelt. Grundlegend zur Einschätzung ihrer Bedeutung für die soziokulturelle Entwicklung Attikas und die historische Auswertung ist allerdings eine Klärung der noch immer umstrittenen Chronologie der Gruppe: Während sich Küpper für eine Produktion ausschließlich in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aussprach, und so immerhin bereits bemerken konnte, dass sich die vergleichsweise kurzlebige Form »in das Bild allgemeiner Kultintensivierung in dieser Zeit in Attika gut eingliedern«⁷ ließe, und vergleichbare Stücke auch andernorts ähnlich datiert wurden⁸,

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¹ Küpper 1990. Vgl. zum Nymphenhügel in Athen Γεωργακά 2008, 87; Ντούρου 2013, 219 f. Abb. 13; Gavalas u. a. 2017, zur Akropolis von Athen Βενιέρη – Χαράλαμπίδης 2005, 48 Abb. 15 und die folgende Anmerkung und zu Pallene u. Anm. 41.

² Vgl. zuletzt Γεωργακά 2008; Georgaka 2011; Georgaka 2013a; Γεωργακά 2013b; Γεωργακά 2014; Parisi 2014; Gavalas u. a. 2017; vgl. auch die z. T. ausführliche Vorlage weiterer Idole z. B. bei Παλαιοκρασσά 1991; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009; Καλογερόπουλος 2013; Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015.

³ Γεωργακά 2008; Georgaka 2011; Georgaka 2013a; Γεωργακά 2013b; Γεωργακά 2014; Gavalas u. a. 2017. Zu ihrer Typologie vgl. insbesondere Γεωργακά 2008, 31–65; Georgaka 2013; Γεωργακά 2014, 69–72.

⁴ Dieser Umstand wurde schon oftmals bemerkt, vgl. z. B. Küpper 1990, 23 f.; Γεωργακά 2008, 123; Καλογερόπουλος 2013, II, 64 f.; Γεωργακά 2014, 78; Doronzio 2018, 42. 53. Hier ist allerdings zu bedenken, dass aus dem früharchaischen Attika mit Ausnahme der zahlreichen, zumindest teilweise dem Zeus geweihten, aber grundsätzlich eine ganz eigene Grup-

pe bildenden Gipfel- und Höhenheiligtümer fast ausschließlich Heiligtümer weiblicher Gottheiten bekannt sind (Athen, Akropolis; Athen, Nymphe; Athen, Nymphen; Athen, Demeter; Pallene, Athena; Eleusis, Demeter und Kore; Brauron, Artemis; Piräus, Artemis; Halai Araphenides, Artemis; Sounion, Athena) oder solche, die zumindest aufgrund der Funde weiblichen Gottheiten zugewiesen werden (Lathuressa; Kiapha Thiti). Die einzigen relativ sicheren Heiligtümer männlicher olympischer Gottheiten stellen das Poseidonheiligtum in Sounion und das wahrscheinliche Apollonheiligtum in Prasiai / Porto Rapti dar, und tatsächlich wäre prinzipiell möglich, dass einige der von Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015 nicht mehr kontextualisierbaren Idole aus Sounion, vgl. dazu Anm. 38, aus dem dortigen Poseidonheiligtum stammen, und auch im Heiligtum in Prasiai mögen ›Stempelidole‹ gefunden worden sein, vgl. Anm. 40. Vgl. zur Abstimmung des Geschlechts der archaischen Statuenweihungen auf die verehrte Gottheit z. B. Meyer – Brüggemann 2007, 33–35. 119. 131 f.; die Probleme damit stellt Franssen 2011, 279 zusammen.

⁵ Γεωργακά 2008, 123 f. 126.

⁶ Vgl. nur die implizite Verbindung mit der ›Entstehung der Polis‹ bei Parisi 2014, 23. 35 und allgemein z. B. Καλογερόπουλος 2013, II, 65.

⁷ Küpper 1990, 23.

⁸ Vgl. z. B. Scholl 2006, 40; Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 373–375; Scafuro 2015b, 18 Anm. 28; Meyer 2017, 24, welche die ›Stempelidole‹ aus dem Bereich des Athena-Nike-

vertraten V. Mitsopoulos-Leon und insbesondere V. Georgaka kürzlich eine Datierung fast ausschließlich ins 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.⁹, wie bereits M. Szabó bei seiner Behandlung der böotischen Terrakotten für die ›primitiven‹ attischen Exemplare annahm¹⁰. V. Parisi dagegen votierte zuletzt erneut für eine Datierung in das 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr., konkretisierte diese jedoch nicht und bot erneut keine systematische Zusammenstellung der vielen inzwischen bekannt gemachten Kontexte¹¹. Diese Kontexte und somit die verfügbaren Daten zur Chronologie der Objektgruppe werden deshalb im Folgenden skizziert. Zuvor ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass stilistische Datierungen innerhalb der Gattung insgesamt aufgrund der einfachen Gestaltung kaum möglich sind. Die Technik der Bemalung erinnert immerhin an diejenige der protoattischen Vasenmalerei, und mag somit allgemein ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. weisen – ohne dass freilich eine unveränderte Gestaltung im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. auszuschließen ist¹². Die einfachen geometrischen Motive, mit denen die Figurinen im Regelfall verziert sind (*Abb. 1*), ähneln ebenfalls denjenigen der protoattischen Vasenmalerei¹³. Für eine bessere Einordnung der Gruppe können nur die anderweitig datierbaren Fundkontexte herangezogen werden.

Die Grundlage für Küppers frühen Ansatz der Gattung bildeten die Stücke aus Kiapha Thiti¹⁴. Während 42 ›Stempelidole‹ dieses Fundorts wie große Teile der Votivkeramik in späteren Phasen umgelagert wurden und somit nicht stratifiziert sind¹⁵, sollen sechs Exemplare aus der »praktisch ungestörten Schicht des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.« 1PR und fünf in dieses Stratum eingetieften Brandgruben, die H. Lauter ins frühe 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierte, stammen¹⁶. Allerdings zeigt ein Blick auf die von J. Christiansen aufgearbeitete und erst zehn Jahre nach Küppers Beitrag vorgelegte Keramik aus der Schicht, dass ein durchaus beachtlicher Anteil des Materials dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angehört, die spätesten Stücke sogar erst dessen Ende¹⁷. Wenngleich Funde des 7. und des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in dem Stratum am zahlreichsten sind, besitzen die Idole also nur einen terminus ante quem

Tempels jeweils in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. datieren möchten; vgl. nun auch z. B. van den Eijnde 2018, 77 mit Anm. 70, der ein Einsetzen der Produktion noch in spätgeometrischer Zeit impliziert.

⁹ Γεωργακά 2008, 81–117. 123. 129 (Datierung vom späten 7. Jh. v. Chr. bis ins frühe 5. Jh. v. Chr.; im Katalog werden alle Stücke pauschal dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. zugerechnet); Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 11 mit Anm. 50; 43 mit Anm. 218 (Datierung vor allem ins 6. Jh. v. Chr.); Georgaka 2011, 8 (Datierung vom Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. bis an den Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.); Γεωργακά 2013, 35. 38 (Datierung vom späten 7. Jh. v. Chr. bis ins frühe 5. Jh. v. Chr.); Georgaka 2013, 5 (Entstehung zwischen dem 7. und dem frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr., Datierung der Exemplare von der Akropolis ins 6. Jh. v. Chr.); vgl. z. B. auch Βλασσόπουλου 2003, 93 f.; Ντούρου 2013 mit einer Datierung zwischen das späte 8. und das frühe 5. Jh. v. Chr. oder Doronzio 2018, 42. 259 mit einer Datierung zwischen das Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. und den Beginn des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.

¹⁰ Szabó 1994, 85–91. Vgl. auch z. B. Παλαϊοκρασσά 1991, 103; Mark 1993, 32 mit Anm. 7. Higgins 1967, 42 f. führt dagegen korrekterweise nur die Datierungen der Kontexte an.

¹¹ Parisi 2014, 23. 27–30.

¹² Vgl. zur Technik, insbesondere der Bemalung, nun Γεωργακά 2008, 67–77; Γεωργακά 2014, 72. Zur Imitation der matten attischen Bemalung in Böotien im 7. Jh. v. Chr. vgl. Szabó 1994, 24 f. 68.

¹³ Γεωργακά 2008, 115–117.

¹⁴ Küpper 1990; Christiansen 2000, 67.

¹⁵ Lauter 2000, 6. 11; Christiansen 2000, 74 f.

¹⁶ Lauter 2000, 8; Küpper 1990, 19 f.: Die Brandgruben wurden in die Schicht 1P eingetieft und reichten teilweise bis in die bronzezeitliche Schicht 1AA; drei davon enthielten die ›Stempelidole‹ Küpper 1990, Nr. 1–4. 24. 26.

¹⁷ Die Schicht 1PR besteht aus den Abhüben P und R, die allerdings stratigraphisch nicht zu trennen sind. Ersterer enthielt Christiansen 2000, Nr. GA 170. 175 aus dem zweiten Viertel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr., GA 155. 250. 257 aus dessen erster Hälfte, GA 163. 164 aus dessen zweiter Hälfte und GA 212 aus dessen viertem Viertel; GA 197 wird allgemein dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. zugewiesen. Abhub R beinhaltet GA 250. 258 aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. und GA 138 vom Ende dieses Jahrhunderts; GA 302 wird nur allgemein ins 6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – die Funde von Kiapha Thiti sind für die Chronologie der Gruppe deshalb von geringer Bedeutung.

Die dahingehend wichtigsten Befunde stammen aus dem Demeterheiligtum von Eleusis: ›Körbeweise‹ einfache handgemachte Terrakotten aus den Füllschichten im Bereich des Telesterions, wohl über 8000, verblieben weitgehend unpubliziert. Die meisten Stücke im Museum von Eleusis sowie einige Exemplare in der Sammlung der Philips-Universität Marburg und der Sammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen können entgegen früherer Datierungen in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.¹⁸ nur sehr wahrscheinlich den Füllungen verschiedener Terrassierungsmaßnahmen bis etwa 580/570 v. Chr. zugeschrieben werden¹⁹. Neben diversen anderen Figurinen²⁰ ließen sich allerdings noch mindestens 42 ›Stempelidole‹²¹ der Brandopferstelle α zuweisen, die im späten 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. eingerichtet wurde und bis ca. 580/570 v. Chr. in Gebrauch blieb²². Die direkten Nachfolger dieses Opferplatzes, Pyrai β und γ , enthielten dagegen keine solchen Terrakotten, sondern nur einige ›Brettidole‹, einzelne Pferde- bzw. Reiterfigurinen sowie diverse weiterentwickelte, matrizengeformte Typen²³. Dieser Befund macht deutlich, dass die Produktion und Verwendung handgemachter zylindrischer Tonidole in Attika nicht über das erste Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. hinausreichte. Von den anderen bekannten Kontexten bestätigen einige diesen zeitlichen Ansatz, und keiner widerspricht ihm.

Ein ›Stempelidol‹ ist so mit dem verschiedene Figurinen umfassenden protoattischen Votivdepot über dem spätgeometrischen Ovalhaus am Nordhang des Areopag in Athen verbunden, das um 640/630 v. Chr. datiert werden kann²⁴. Eine große Zahl weiterer Exemp-

¹⁸ Vgl. z. B. Küpper 1990, 22; Scholl 2006, 40.

¹⁹ Noack u. a. 1927, 10–12. Vgl. auch Φίλιος 1884, 76; Kourouniotes – Mylonas 1933, 279 mit Anm. 2 Abb. 10; Τραυλός 1983, 337 Abb. 15; Küpper 1990, 22. 28 f. Nr. a–g; Γεωργακά 2008, 89 f.; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 170; Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 375 mit Anm. 50. Zu den Exemplaren aus diesem Fundzusammenhang in der Sammlung der Philipps-Universität Marburg vgl. Küpper 1990, 22. 28 Nr. a–g Taf. 12. Zu den 74 Stücken aus Noacks Grabungen in Eleusis in Tübingen vgl. nun Rönnberg 2020 (und zuvor Noack u. a. 1927, 12 Abb. 3).

²⁰ Darunter sitzende Figuren, Gespanne, Wagenlenker, Reiter, Pferde und andere Tiere und vor allem verschiedene ›Brettidole‹, vgl. dazu Κόκκου-Βυζίδη 1999, 105–117 Nr. A 70. 71. 105. 113. 117–164.

²¹ Κόκκου-Βυζίδη 1999, Nr. A 72–104. 106–112. 114–116; hervorzuheben sind A 114 mit aufwändiger Bemalung mit Vogel und Krieger, A 111 mit weit ausschwingendem Kleid sowie A 115 und 116 mit Kind.

²² Vgl. Κόκκου-Βυζίδη 1999, bes. 39–44, sowie z. B. Mylonas 1961, 56; Binder 1998, 134 f.; Lippolis 2006, 156; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 169 f.; Cosmopoulos 2016, 134. Brandopferstelle α befand sich außerhalb der frühesten Terrasse E1/5 und wurde im Zusammenhang der Errichtung der archaischen Terrasse Z1/7 durch Brandopferstelle β ersetzt. Vgl. zu Mauer E1/5 Kourouniotes – Mylonas 1933, 279; Mylonas 1961, 56 f.; Travlos 1988, 92; Binder 1998, 134 f.; Mazarakis Ainiian 1997, 149; van den Eijnde 2010, 155; Schipporeit 2013, 370; Cosmopoulos 2016, 132. 134; zu Treppe E2 Κουρουνιώτης 1930/1931, 26 Abb. 6; Kourounio-

tes – Mylonas 1933, 279; Mylonas 1961, 56; Travlos 1988, 92; Palinkas 2008, 32; Cosmopoulos 2016, 132 mit Anm. 3; zu Terrasse Z1/7 Mylonas 1961, 64–66; Cosmopoulos 2016, 139 und zu ihrer Datierung Κόκκου-Βυζίδη 1999, 142–144. Vgl. bereits Travlos 1988, 92 f. mit Datierung in solonische Zeit bzw. ins 6. Jh. v. Chr.; für die frühere Datierung ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. vgl. z. B. Mylonas 1961, 64; sie wird auch bei Cosmopoulos 2016, 139 wiedergegeben, der allerdings in Anm. 42 die Problematik anmerkt; Parisi 2014, 30 datiert die Brandopferstelle α nur allgemein ins 7. Jh. v. Chr.

²³ Κόκκου-Βυζίδη 1999, 117–130.

²⁴ Vgl. insbesondere Burr 1933; Brann 1962, 87. 111. 128 f.; D’Onofrio 2001, 277. 285; Parisi 2014, 31; van den Eijnde – Laughy 2017, 234; Doronzio 2018, 184; Laughy 2018, bes. 636. Die Argumentation bei Γεωργακά 2008, 85 f., die Terrakotten wären zwischen 630 und 600 v. Chr. entstanden, da das Material, wie Burr 1933, 637 f. vermutete, aus dem Heiligtum der Semnai stammen würde, das in den Jahrzehnten nach dem Tod des Kylon, also zwischen 630 und 600 v. Chr. gereinigt wurde, ist zurückzuweisen, da nichts anderes aus dem umfangreichen Depot nach 630 v. Chr. entstanden ist und die Zuweisung völlig hypothetisch bleibt. Laughy 2018, bes. 670 vermutete zuletzt einen Ursprung des Depots im nahen Demeterheiligtum, dem späteren Eleusinion. Besonders relevant ist seine Beobachtung, dass es sich bei dem einzigen eindeutigen ›Stempelidol‹, das dem Depot H 17:5 zugeordnet wurde, T 416, um die einzige Terrakottafigurine handelt, die keiner der wohl verschiedenen Deponierungen, die als ›protoattisches

lare stammt aus dem nahen Areal des Eleusinions: Zwei ›Stempelidole‹ und verschiedene andere Figurinen sind hier in dem in das spätere 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierten Motivdepot T 19:3 belegt, das jedoch insbesondere Funde der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. enthielt²⁵. Sechs ›Stempelidole‹ beinhaltete auch die ebenfalls viel frühes Material umfassende, im späteren 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angelegte Füllschicht T 20:3²⁶. 23 ›Stempelidole‹ und verschiedene andere Figurinen stammen aus dem ansonsten vor allem geometrisch-früharchaische Keramik enthaltenden späarchaischen Motivdepot T 20:2²⁷. Zuletzt sind insgesamt 58 ›Stempelidole‹ und andere frühe Terrakotten aus dem ebenfalls hauptsächlich spätgeometrisch-früharchaische Keramik beinhaltenden, aber wohl erst im späten 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angelegten Depot T 20:4²⁸ und ein Stück aus der ins dritte Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datierten Schicht 25H / 8 zu nennen (*Abb. 1 b*)²⁹. Unmittelbar nördlich des Eleusinions wurden schließlich etwa 300 frühe Terrakotten, vor allem ›Stempelidole‹, allesamt Töpfereiabfälle, im Brunnen R 17:5 und der Grube S 17:2 freigelegt, die beide in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datiert werden; sie dürften nicht viel früher in der an diesem Ort erschlossenen Tonwerkstatt produziert worden sein (*Abb. 1 c*)³⁰. Zuletzt sei Brunnen J 18:8 am Nordhang des Areopag genannt, der im dritten Viertel des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. verfüllt wurde und drei ›Stempelidole‹ enthielt (*Abb. 1 a*)³¹. All diese Befunde belegen also eine Herstellung und Weihung der einfachen Idole in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Nachdem es sich meist um Deponierungen älteren Materials handelt, ist eine Datierung in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nicht auszuschließen, während eine allzu kurze Laufzeit der einfachen Form andererseits unwahrscheinlich anmutet³². Tatsächlich sind vergleichbare ›Stempelidole‹ auch aus späteren Kontexten bekannt.

So stammen aus dem Bereich des Athena-Nike-Heiligtums 210 handgemachte Idole, meist ›Stempelidole‹, aus einem Motivdepot in der Statuenbasis³³ und einige weitere aus

Motivdepot‹ zusammengefasst wurden, entstammte, sondern einer Grube im selben Areal, außerhalb des Hauses, vgl. Laughy 2018, 643 mit Anm. 36. Da diese Grube gleichfalls im dritten Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. bei Planierungen zur Anlage einer Straße von dem Material, welches die anderen früharchaischen Terrakotten enthielt, überdeckt worden zu sein scheint, hat Laughys verdienstvolle erneute Untersuchung des ›protoattischen Motivdepots‹ allerdings keine Auswirkungen auf die Chronologie der hier behandelten Figurinen. Nicht verschwiegen sei, dass die Bemalung ebendieses Fragments mit einem vertikalen, und nicht etwa horizontalen, Streifen auf der Walze eine mykenische Datierung andeuten könnte; auf der zugehörigen Inventarkarte heißt es jedoch »The shape appears to be a descendant of the Mycenaean standing goddess type, but the technique is subgeometric.«

²⁵ Miles 1998, 16. 110 f.; die Datierung um 675 v. Chr. bei Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 375 Anm. 49 scheint ein Missverständnis darzustellen. Andere Figurinen: ein Gespann, ein Wagenlenker, Tiere. Vgl. zu den Terrakotten aus dem Eleusinion allgemein auch Parisi 2014, 30; Doronzio 2018, 194.

²⁶ Miles 1998, 16. 112.

²⁷ Miles 1998, 16. 109 f. Andere Figurinen: Ein Wagenlenker, drei Pferde, weitere Fragmente.

²⁸ Miles 1998, 16. 112 Taf. 25. Andere Figurinen: ein ›Brettidol‹, ein Tier, ein Wagenlenker.

²⁹ Miles 1998, 133 Taf. 24 (T 3653, oben rechts).

³⁰ Miles 1998, 17 f.; Papadopoulos 2003, 143–187, bes. 175–182; Laughy 2018, 670. Die anderen Terrakotten umfassen wenige sitzende Idole und Gespanne, einige Pferde und einzelne andere Tiere.

³¹ Young 1938, 420 Kat. Nr. D 30–34 Abb. 10 (Reiter T 1305; ›Stempelidole‹ T 1306. 1307. 1319; Pferd T 1320); Brann 1962, 129; Küpper 1990, 21; van den Eijnde 2010, 297 Nr. 3, 3.

³² Nicht näher eingeordnet werden können Fragmente mehrerer 1965 gefundener ›Tonidole des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.‹ aus einer Grube an der Kreuzung der Straßen Ροβέρτου Γκάλλι und Παρθενώνος in Athen (Makrygianni), vgl. Φιλιππάκη 1966; Δημητριάδου 2012, Kat. Nr. X, 5.

³³ Welter 1939, 11; Walter 1940, Abb. 22; Οικονόμος 1948, 105; Μπαλάνος 1956, 785; Küpper 1990, 21; Mark 1993, 22. 145; Scholl 2006, 40 f. Abb. 12; Γεωργακά 2008, 25–27. 154–183. 190 f. Nr. 82–283. 327–335; Torelli 2010, 102 mit Anm. 53; Georgaka 2011, 7 mit Abb. 2; Γεωργακά 2013, 30. 35–37 Abb. 2; Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 373 mit Anm. 40; Γεωργακά 2014, 73 f.; Parisi 2014, 27–29; Gavalas u. a. 2017; Doronzio 2018, 53 f. Die nicht in der Basis, aber in der direkten Umgebung gefundenen Stücke scheinen ursprünglich auch aus dem Depot zu stammen; die damit vergesellschaftete, unpublizierte Keramik wurde nicht näher beschrieben.



Abb. 1 Drei ›Stempelidole‹ aus dem Areal der späteren Agora von Athen (M. 1 : 1): a. T 1319 (aus Brunnen J 18:8, Kontext drittes Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.) – b. T 3653 (aus Schicht 25H / 8 im Areal des Eleusinions, Kontext drittes Viertel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.) – c. T 3623 (aus Grube S 17:2 nördlich des Areals des Eleusinions, Kontext zweite Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.)

dem Bereich des rechteckigen Altars östlich des Tempels³⁴. I. Mark datierte die Basis zwischen 600 und 560 v. Chr.³⁵, was aber nur als terminus ante quem für die offenbar einer früheren Phase des Heiligtums angehörenden und bei der Errichtung hier deponierten Figuren gelten kann. Georgakas Argumentation, die Terrakotten würden gleichzeitig datieren, weil die im Bereich des Altars gefundenen Idole mit schwarzfiguriger Keramik vergesellschaftet gewesen seien³⁶, ist zurückzuweisen, da es sich auch hierbei um vermisches früheres Material handelt zu haben scheint, das zudem nicht publiziert und damit nicht näher einzuordnen ist; demnach spricht nichts gegen eine deutlich frühere Datierung der ›Stempelidole‹ aus dem Bereich des Athena-Nike-Tempels³⁷. Das gilt auch für das Athenaheiligtum von Sounion, wo noch mehrere ›Stempelidole‹ und andere Figuren dem sog. ὄρυγμα zugewiesen werden können, das vom späten 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis ins frühe 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zur Niederlegung von Votiven diente³⁸. Ähnliches trifft auf das Tholosgrab I in Thorikos zu, an dem der Kult um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. einsetzte³⁹; Streu-

³⁴ Walter 1940, 152; Georgaka 2011, 7; Γεωργακά 2013, 37 f.; Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 375 Anm. 52; Parisi 2014, 28; Gavalas u. a. 2017; Doronzio 2018, 54.

³⁵ Mark 1993, 22–30.

³⁶ Γεωργακά 2008, 81 f.; Γεωργακά 2014, 76; vgl. auch Doronzio 2018, 54.

³⁷ Scholl 2006, 40 datierte die Terrakotten so schon ins frühere 7. Jh. v. Chr., Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 375 in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.

³⁸ Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, 29–33. 163–173 Kat. Nr. 42–45. 47–55. 56 c–g. 57–61. 63. 64. 69–71 (dem ὄρυγμα waren noch Kat. Nr. 47. 58. 62. 63 zuzuweisen, der Füllschicht östlich des Athenatempels Kat. Nr. 50).

³⁹ Servais 1968, 38; Boehringer 2001, 55; Laughy 2018, 661 mit Anm. 131.

funde aus Trachones, Panagia Thiti und Höhlen in Korakovouni und Kastela-i-Spilja sind nicht näher datierbar, einzelne Funde aus Merenda, Rhamnous und Neo Phaliro noch nicht publiziert⁴⁰. Das scheint auch für die größtenteils aus späteren Schichten stammenden, fast völlig unpubliziert gebliebenen mehreren tausend Stücke aus dem Athenaheiligtum von Pallene zu gelten⁴¹. 43 ›Stempelidole‹ sowie andere einfache Terrakotten aus dem Artemis-Taupolos-Heiligtum in Halai Araphenides sind ebenfalls nicht stratifiziert⁴², ebenso wie sieben Fragmente und wahrscheinlich mehrere hundert oder gar tausend unpublizierte Stücke aus Lathuresa⁴³ und 24 publizierte sowie zahlreiche unpublizierte Exemplare aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Mounichia im Piräus⁴⁴. Auch in Brauron sind leider keine geschlossenen Kontexte zur Datierung der wohl mehreren tausend einfachen Idole vorhanden⁴⁵. Die vielen in einem 2009 entdeckten ländlichen Heiligtum in Tavros freigelegten Idole sind noch nicht ausführlich publiziert; sie scheinen sich aber zumindest teilweise in geschlossenen Opferdepots des 7. und früheren 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. befunden zu haben⁴⁶.

Georgaka führte als Beleg für ihre Einordnung ins 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. schließlich die Idole aus dem Heiligtum der Nymphe am Südhang der Akropolis an⁴⁷; die Vergesellschaftung mit verschiedenen hellenistischen Funden zeigt aber bereits, dass der Kontext keine konkrete Datierung erlaubt⁴⁸, und das keramische Material setzt bereits um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. ein⁴⁹. Auch hier ist eine Einordnung in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. also durchaus möglich. Keineswegs als Belege einer Herstellung bis ins frühe 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. können auch die über 100 ›Stempelidole‹ vom Nordhang der Akropolis gelten, da sie ursprünglich vom Akropolisplateau stammen dürften

⁴⁰ Küpper 1990, 20. 23. 29; Lauter 1993, 92 Taf. 25 c; Κακαβογιάννη 2001–2004, 336; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου 2001–2004, 475; Κακαβογιάννη 2009, 60; Κακαβογιάννη – Αργυρόπουλος 2009, 180 f. Abb. 9; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 173 Anm. 44. Auch die bei Kakavogianni 1984, 45; Alexandridou 2017, 70 genannten vielen ›geometrischen Figurinen‹ aus Prasiai/Porto Rapti mögen ›Stempelidole‹ darstellen; sie sind nicht weiter publiziert. Von dort könnte auch das Idol Schürmann 1989, 26 f. Nr. 34 Taf. 8 stammen.

⁴¹ Πλάτωνος-Γιώτα 1994, 72; Πλάτωνος 1995; Πλάτωνος 1997b, 90 f.; Πλάτωνος 1997a, 92; Πλάτωνος 1998; Πλάτωνος-Γιώτα 1999, 107; Blackman 1999/2000, 17; Whitley 2002/2003, 11; Πλάτωνος-Γιώτα 2005, 132 Abb. 18. 27; Whitley u. a. 2005/2006, 13; Γεωργακά 2008, 91; Γιαλλελή 2010, 226 f. 229; Laughy 2010, 244 f. Kat. Nr. 8, 1; van den Eijnde 2010, 232 Kat. Nr. 1, 38.

⁴² Kalogeropoulos 2010, 173 Taf. 43, 1; Καλογερόπουλος 2013, Kat. Nr. M 1–43.

⁴³ Die mehreren tausend Terrakotten der frühen Grabungen, von denen Walter 1940, 178 spricht, scheinen insbesondere viele einfache ›Stempelidole‹ umfasst zu haben; einige davon sind auf den erstmals bei Μαζαράκης Αινιάν 1994, Taf. 4 publizierten Fotografien zu sehen. Bei den neueren Untersuchungen Lauters konnten immerhin noch sieben Fragmente solcher ›Stempelidole‹ gesammelt werden, vgl. Lauter 1985, 53 Nr. m–p Taf. 14 a–d; Seiler 1986, 19 mit Anm. 64 Abb. 11 a–g; dazu kommen ein Fragment eines anderen, aber wohl vergleichbar frühen Exemplars und wenige späarchaische Terrakotten.

⁴⁴ Θρεψιάδης 1935, 183. 195 Abb. 22; Palaiokrassa 1989, 10. 21 Kat. Nr. 13–21 Taf. 3, 3; Παλαιοκρασσά 1991,

53 f. 103 f. Nr. E 6–12 Taf. 12; Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2017, 245.

⁴⁵ Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 46. Sie spricht (S. 9) von insgesamt 3700 inventarisierten Terrakotten; wenn gleich keine genauen Zahlen publiziert sind, dürften die Figurinen hauptsächlich der archaischen Zeit entstammen, da in der Klassik ein Zurückgehen der Terrakottenweihungen bemerkt wird und im Band zu den jüngeren Phasen nur 190 Stücke vorgelegt wurden; mit Abstand am häufigsten scheinen aber einfache handgemachte ›Stempelidole‹ zu sein, vgl. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 46 Kat. Nr. 33–108. Vgl. zur großen Zahl der einfachen Terrakottaidole auch Γεωργακά 2008, 91.

⁴⁶ Πετριτάκη 2009, Abb. 2. 20; Πετριτάκη 2011, 139–141 Abb. 12. Das Heiligtum wurde anscheinend in spätgeometrischer Zeit angelegt und bis in frühklassische Zeit, allerdings vor allem im 7. und früheren 6. Jh. v. Chr., genutzt; bei Πετριτάκη 2011, 140 wird insbesondere protoattische und korinthische Keramik genannt.

⁴⁷ Γεωργακά 2008, 84; Γεωργακά 2014, 76.

⁴⁸ So auch Γεωργακά 2008, 83. 85 f.

⁴⁹ Μηλιάδης 1957b, 25 Taf. 4 β; Μηλιάδης 1957a, 11 Abb. 9; Daux 1958, 660 Abb. 11; Wycherley 1970, 293; Travlos 1971, 361 Abb. 466; Brouskari 1974, 91; Wycherley 1978, 197; Morris 1984, 10 Anm. 47; Morris 1987, 67; Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου 1997, bes. 33–46; Μπούσκαρη 2002, 37; Γεωργακά 2008, bes. 29 f. 83; Bernardini – Marchiandi 2010, 200; Laughy 2010, 223; van den Eijnde 2010, 104; Alexandridou 2011, 153–163; Γεωργακά 2014, 75; Panderimalis u. a. 2015, 59.

und nicht kontextualisiert sind⁵⁰. Das gilt auch für mehrere hundert einfache handgemachte Terrakotten, größtenteils ›Stempelidole‹, vom Akropolisfelsen, die insbesondere im Areal nordöstlich der Propyläen⁵¹ sowie dem Bereich des Arrephorions gefunden wurden⁵². Schließlich kann auch keiner der bereits mehrfach dafür herangezogenen⁵³ Befunde am Nordhang der Akropolis und des Areopag eine Herstellung und Verwendung der Idole bis ins 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegen, da die verschiedenen Kontexte jeweils nur einzelne solche Stücke beinhalteten, die deutlich früheren Phasen angehören können: Das gilt für ein ›Stempelidol‹ in der Füllung des frühen 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im sog. *Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft* am Osthang des Kolonos Agoraios⁵⁴, die auch »a scattering of geometric and proto-Attic sherds which are almost always present in small numbers in fills of the archaic and classical period« umfasste⁵⁵. Auch die ins dritte Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datierte Füllung des Brunnens 19:NB, die ein fragmentiertes ›Stempelidol‹ aufwies, beinhaltete spätgeometrische, protoattische und mittelkorinthische Scherben⁵⁶. Die vier fragmentierten ›Stempelidole‹ in dem in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. verfüllten Brunnen V stellen in ihrem Kontext ebenfalls Ausnahmen dar⁵⁷. Wollte man jeden dieser Kontexte für einen Beleg für eine zeitgenössische Herstellung der ›Stempelidole‹ werten, ließe sich angesichts eines einzelnen Fragments von der Pnyx bis ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hinabgehen⁵⁸.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich also einerseits festhalten, dass diverse Kontexte eine Herstellung bzw. Verwendung der einfachen handgemachten Idole mit zylindrischen Körpern spätestens im dritten Viertel des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. beweisen (*Tab. 1*). Die späteren Kontexte andererseits sind zur Festlegung der unteren Datierungsgrenze leider nur in einem einzigen Fall wirklich aussagekräftig: So spricht das Fehlen solcher Figurinen in den ab etwa 580/570 v. Chr. genutzten Brandopferstätten β und γ in Eleusis für ein Fertigungsende der attischen ›Stempelidole‹ noch in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Einen deutlich späteren zeitlichen Ansatz kann keiner der bislang bekannten Kontexte wahrscheinlich machen. Zur näheren Bestimmung dieser unteren Grenze seien zuletzt einzelne Ausnahmestücke genannt, die nicht den üblichen, einfachen geometrischen Dekor tragen, sondern figürlich verziert sind. Hier ist einerseits ein einzelnes Idol aus Pyra α in Eleusis anzuführen, dessen Dekor mit einem Schwan und einem Krieger Vergleiche in der mittel-

⁵⁰ Morgan 1935, 189. 193 f. 195; Parisi 2014, 29 f. Abb. 10; Doronzio 2018, 42 mit Anm. 223. Die Datierung in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. bei Λεμπιδάκη 2013, 375 Anm. 48 scheint aus der dort angeführten Einordnung der gesamten Gruppe und nicht aus den Kontexten abgeleitet zu sein.

⁵¹ 116 Stücke lassen sich noch diesem Fundort zuweisen, vgl. Γεωργακά 2008, 143–154. 197 f. 203 f. Nr. 1–81. 365–371. 394–400. 402; Georgaka 2011, 7; Γεωργακά 2013, 30; Γεωργακά 2014, 73; Gavalas u. a. 2017.

⁵² 28 Stücke lassen sich noch diesem Fundort zuweisen, vgl. Γεωργακά 2008, 184–188. 194. 201 Nr. 289–311. 317. 355. 390–392; dazu kommen bis zu 80 Neufunde von 2005, vgl. Βενιέρη – Χαραλαμπίδης 2005, 48 Abb. 15, die aber wohl zu großen Teilen aus dem Abraum der Grabungen von Καββαδίας und Kawerau stammen; vgl. auch Gavalas u. a. 2017.

⁵³ Vgl. z. B. Mark 1993, 32 Anm. 7; Szabó 1994, 86 Anm. 22; Γεωργακά 2008, 87. 92.

⁵⁴ Vgl. zum ›Stempelidol‹ T 491 Vanderpool 1946, Kat. Nr. 324 Taf. 68; Küpper 1990, 22; van den Eijn-

de 2010, 296 Nr. 3, 1; ähnlich früh mögen auch das Wagenpferdepaar T 343, vgl. Vanderpool 1938, Kat. Nr. 48 Abb. 41, sowie die Pferde T 489. 490. 492. 495, vgl. Vanderpool 1946, Kat. Nr. 325. 326 Taf. 68, datieren.

⁵⁵ Vanderpool 1946, 268 Anm. 9.

⁵⁶ Zum ›Stempelidol‹ und zwei anderen, möglicherweise ähnlich frühen Terrakottafragmenten vgl. Vanderpool 1939, 264 Nr. 29 Abb. 19 sowie zu geometrischer Keramik ebenda 259. 262 Nr. 21 Abb. 16, zu protoattischer Keramik ebenda 259, zu mittelkorinthischer Keramik ebenda 262 Nr. 20 Abb. 16; allgemein zum Charakter einer gemischten Füllung ebenda 259.

⁵⁷ Broneer 1938, 200 Abb. 35. Um eine solche Ausnahme mag es sich auch bei dem Idol bei Πετριτάκη 2009, Abb. 20 aus dem Kybele-Heiligtum in Neo Phalirro handeln, denn das dortige Material datiert zwar größtenteils ins späte 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr., allerdings mit einigen Ausnahmen, vgl. Πετριτάκη 2009, 468.

⁵⁸ Davidson – Thompson 1943, 135 Nr. 1. 2 Abb. 152; Küpper 1990, 21; van den Eijnde 2010, 298 Nr. 3, 4; Parisi 2014, 30.

bis spätkorinthischen bzw. der frühschwarzfigurigen Vasenmalerei, also in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., findet⁵⁹. Andererseits sind fünf Idole von der Athener Akropolis und ein eng verwandtes, vielleicht vom gleichen Ort stammendes Exemplar in der Bonner Antikensammlung zu nennen, die jeweils in mehreren Registern mit Frauenprozessionen und Mischwesen verziert sind und dem schwarzfigurigen Polos-Maler zugewiesen werden können; sie mögen um 580/570 v. Chr. entstanden sein⁶⁰. Während vier der fünf Stücke von der Akropolis noch nicht publiziert sind⁶¹ und der Kopf des kürzlich von A. Moustaka ausführlich vorgelegten Exemplars fehlt, weist das Exemplar aus Bonn plastisch aufgesetzten Halsschmuck und plastisch angegebene Haarsträhnen auf⁶². Auch deshalb dürfte es bereits ganz am Ende der einfachen ›Stempelidole‹ stehen – was auch für die Figurinen desselben Malers von der Akropolis gelten dürfte⁶³. Das deutet ein Auslaufen der Produktion der einfachen handgeformten Terrakottaidole mit zylindrischen Körpern in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an; eine Datierung des Produktionsendes um 570 v. Chr. wäre mit den Befunden aus Eleusis vereinbar⁶⁴.

Die in Attika insgesamt deutlich selteneren⁶⁵ ›Brettidole‹ können hier nicht ausführlich besprochen werden; die Vergesellschaftungen mit ›Stempelidolen‹ zeigen aber, dass auch diese Gruppe spätestens ab den ersten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. produziert wurde. Diese Figurinen mögen jedoch etwas länger in Gebrauch geblieben sein; tatsächlich gibt es hier verschiedene Untergruppen mit plastischen Applikationen bzw. teilweise formgefertigten Köpfen, deren Entstehung im fortgeschrittenen 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. durchaus plausibel erscheint⁶⁶. Selbiges gilt für die ebenfalls bereits im späteren 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. einsetzenden Protomen⁶⁷. Die hier besprochenen ›Stempelidole‹ dürften also im Laufe des

⁵⁹ Κόκκου-Βυγίδη 1999, 208 Nr. A 114 Taf. 15. Vgl. dazu bereits Γεωργακά 2008, 115, die auf die Oinochoe P 4601 aus dem frühen 6. Jh. v. Chr. von der Agora (Tholos-Nekropole, Grab II, vgl. Moore u. a. 1986, Nr. 727; Alexandridou 2011, 130 Athenian Agora 257) bzw. den korinthischen Aryballos Payne 1931, 320 Nr. 1244 Abb. 160 aus Grab 86 in Rhitsona, das um 580/570 v. Chr. datiert wird (vgl. Payne 1931, 320; Østergaard 1991, 148 f.; vgl. auch Ure 1934, 38–40 Taf. 8 für weitere vergleichbare Exemplare), verweist.

⁶⁰ Zum Idol im Nationalmuseum Athen (Inv. Nr. 15148) vgl. Moustaka 2009, 46 f.; Moustaka 2011; zur umstrittenen Datierung des Polos-Malers ins erste oder zweite Viertel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. vgl. M. Pipili in: CVA Athen, Nationalmuseum (4) 18. Moustaka 2011, 60 Anm. 38 spricht sich gegen die Herabdatierung des Polos-Malers aus und möchte zumindest die Tonstatuetten eher als Frühwerke ansehen; H. Kyrieleis in: Gabelmann 1969, 43 Nr. 46 Abb. 27 datiert das Stück in Bonn, das ebenfalls dem Polos-Maler zugewiesen wird, um 570 v. Chr.

⁶¹ Nationalmuseum Athen Inv. Nr. 26058–26061, vgl. ABV 47, 129–131; Moustaka 2009, 57 Anm. 24.

⁶² Kyrieleis in: Gabelmann 1969, 43 Nr. 46 Abb. 27.

⁶³ Dazu sei auf die ähnliche Entwicklung der ›Brettidole‹ verwiesen, die im 6. Jh. v. Chr. sukzessive mit Applikationen versehen werden, vgl. dazu z. B. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 12. 86–88. Ans Ende der Produktion der attischen ›Stempelidole‹ mögen auch die wenigen Beispiele, in denen mehrere Idole zu Gruppen zusammengefügt oder inhaltlich

ergänzt wurden, datieren, so ein Teig knetendes (?) Idol der Sammlung Sparkes, vgl. Sparkes 1962, 134 Nr. 25 Taf. 7, 4; Küpper 1990, 24, eine aus fünf Idolen zusammengesetzte Bäckergruppe in der Sammlung Loeb, vgl. Sieveking 1916, 2 Taf. 3; Küpper 1990, 24, eine weitere Bäckergruppe im Nationalmuseum Athen (Inv. Nr. 4431), vgl. Κουρουγιώτης 1896, 205 f. Taf. 11, 2; Amyx 1958, 234 Taf. 50; Küpper 1990, 25, eine allerdings eher aus Böotien stammende Gruppe mit einem ›Stempelidol‹ und vier Vögeln im Musée du Louvre Paris (Inv. Nr. CA 1937); vgl. Mollard-Besques 1954, Nr. B 101 Taf. 13 (böotisch); Küpper 1990, 24 (attisch). Nicht unbedingt spät müssen dagegen Reigentanzgruppen wie ein Beispiel im Kannelopoulos-Museum, Γεωργακά 2008, 187 Nr. 313 Taf. 53, oder jene aus dem Nymphenheiligtum am Nymphenhügel, Γεωργακά 2008, 187 f. Nr. 314 Taf. 53; Ντούρου 2013, 222 Abb. 18, sein, wie Papadopoulos 2003, 176 f. Abb. 2.110 (aus einem Kontext des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.) belegt.

⁶⁴ Selbstverständlich ist nicht völlig auszuschließen, dass die Produktion der hier behandelten Idole z. B. in Athen ein bis zwei Jahrzehnte nach jener in Eleusis endete; die Befunde deuten dies jedoch nicht an.

⁶⁵ Vgl. z. B. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 52.

⁶⁶ Vgl. z. B. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 12. 86–88. Die bekannten Kontexte sind bei Γεωργακά 2008, 96–108 zusammengestellt.

⁶⁷ Vgl. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 12. 85 zu den frühesten Protomen; eine Zusammenstellung derartiger Protomen aus Attika findet sich bei Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 86.

Fundort	Befund	Datierung Kontext	Zeitlicher Schwerpunkt des Materials	Publizierte ›Stempel-idole‹	Unpublizierte ›Stempeldidole‹
Eleusis, Demeterheiligtum	verschiedene Füllschichten innerhalb der Terrassierungen für die ›solonische‹ Phase	vor 580/570 v. Chr.	geometrisch/früharchaisch	16	mehrere Tausend
	Pyra α	ca. 580/570 v. Chr.	ca. 700–580 v. Chr.	42	
Kiapha Thiti, Heiligtum	Pyrai in Schicht 1PR	spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr.	spätes 8. bis frühes 6. Jh. v. Chr.	6	0
	nicht stratifiziert	keine	spätes 8. bis frühes 6. Jh. v. Chr.	42	0
Athen, nördlich des Areopag	Grube neben geometrischem Ovalhaus, unter ›protoattischem Votivdepot‹	ca. 640/630 v. Chr.	2. Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	1	0
	Brunnen J 18:8	3. Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	1.–3. Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	3 (Abb. 1a)	0
Athen, Heiligtum im Areal des Eleusinions	Votivdepot T 19:3	späteres 7. Jh. v. Chr.	1. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	2	0
	Füllschicht T 20:3	späteres 7. Jh. v. Chr.	1. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	23	0
	Votivdepot T 20:2	späteres 6. Jh. v. Chr.	spätgeometrisch/früharchaisch	6	0
	Votivdepot T 20:4	späteres 6. Jh. v. Chr.	spätgeometrisch/früharchaisch	61	0
	Schicht 25H/8	3. Viertel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.	archaisch	1 (Abb. 1b)	0
Athen, Töpferwerkstatt nördlich des Eleusinions	Brunnen R 17:5	2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	7. Jh. v. Chr.	63 (Abb. 1c)	0
	Abfallgrube S 17:2	2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.	7. Jh. v. Chr.		0
Tavros	Heiligtum O. Πειραιώς 180	7. bis frühes 6. Jh. v. Chr. (?)	unbekannt	8	unbekannt
Athen, Akropolis, Athena-Nike-Heiligtum	Votivdepot in früharchaischer Statuenbasis	5. Jh. v. Chr.?	unbekannt	211	unbekannt
	Bereich des rechteckigen Altars östlich des Tempels	frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr.?	Keramik nicht publiziert, es werden schwarzfigurige Scherben genannt		einige
Sounion, Athenaheiligtum	Sog. ὄρυγμα (Bothros-Schacht)	frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr.	spätes 8. bis frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr.	4	unbekannt
	Füllschicht im Osten des Peribolos	bald nach 480 v. Chr.	7./6. Jh. v. Chr.	1	unbekannt
	unbekannt	keine	ab dem späten 8. Jh. v. Chr.	23	unbekannt
Thorikos	Heroenkultstätte am Tholosgrab I		ab dem mittleren 7. Jh. v. Chr.	0	mindestens 3
Merenda	Bereich des Artemistempels(?)	keine	unbekannt	6	unbekannt
Rhamnous	Nemesisheiligtum (?)	unbekannt	ab dem späteren 7. Jh. v. Chr.	0	mehrere
Trachones	Demenheiligtum unter Basilika	keine	unbekannt	0	mehrere
Lamptrai	Demenheiligtum bei Panagia Thiti	keine	unbekannt	0	mehrere
Korakovouni	Höhlenheiligtum in der sog. Löwenhöhle	keine	5.–4. Jh. v. Chr.	1	0
Kastela-i-Spilia/Anavyssos	Depot vor Nymphengrotte (sog. Σπηλιά του Νταβέλη)	keine	6.–5. Jh. v. Chr.	1	unbekannt
Pallene	Athenaheiligtum	unbekannt	unbekannt	17	mehrere Tausend
Halai Araphenides	Heiligtum der Artemis Tauropolos	keine	ab 8., besonders ab 7. Jh. v. Chr.	43	unbekannt
Lathuresa	Heiligtum (Tholos)	keine	7./6. Jh. v. Chr.	7	hunderte/tausende
Brauron	Heiligtum der Artemis Brauronia	keine	ab 7. Jh. v. Chr.	76	mehrere Tausend?
Piräus	Heiligtum der Artemis Mounichia	keine	ab spätgeometrischer Zeit	24	unbekannt
N. Phaliro	Heiligtum (der Kybele?)	unbekannt	6./5. Jh. v. Chr.	1	unbekannt
Athen, Akropolis-Südhang	Nymphenheiligtum	keine	ab mittlerem 7. Jh. v. Chr.	66	0

Tab. 1 Kontexte mit ›Stempeldidolen‹

früheren 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sukzessive von diesen Typen – und den bald darauf einsetzenden hoch- und spätarchaischen Formen – abgelöst worden sein⁶⁸. Diese Entwicklung folgte aus der allmählichen Verwendung von Matrizen, welche noch im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ihren Anfang nahm⁶⁹; sie führt allerdings bereits weit über das Thema dieses Beitrags hinaus. Die hier behandelte Gruppe ist in jedem Fall weitgehend auf Attika begrenzt⁷⁰; von den handgemachten Idolen der umliegenden Landschaften unterscheiden sich die Figuren deutlich, und auch im noch die engsten Vergleiche bietenden Böotien sind zylindrische Körper selten⁷¹. Dennoch sei erwähnt, dass sich der Produktionsbeginn diverser handgemachter Terrakottentypen auch in anderen Landschaften ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datieren lässt⁷².

Das Ergebnis, dass die tausenden attischen ›Stempelidole‹ als charakteristische Fundgruppe hauptsächlich des 7. und nicht des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. gelten können, ist historisch bedeutsam – insbesondere wenn man die sehr geringe Zahl (spät-)geometrischer Terrakotten in Attika berücksichtigt, die zudem fast ausschließlich aus Gräbern stammen⁷³. So wurde beispielsweise bislang vielfach die Seltenheit einfacher Votive aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. von der Akropolis von Athen hervorgehoben⁷⁴ – eine Lücke, welche die ›Stempel-

⁶⁸ Ein Zwischenstadium stellen auch die beiden Idole Ντούκου 2013, Abb. 14 (mit stempelidolartigen, doch massigeren handgemachten Körpern und matrizengeformten, aufgesetzten Köpfen) dar.

⁶⁹ Vgl. dazu z. B. Κόκκου-Βυρίδη 1999, 121; Γεωργακά 2008, 76; Parisi 2014, 26.

⁷⁰ Küpper 1990, 22 verweist auf ein Stück aus dem Louvre mit wenig verlässlicher Herkunftsangabe ›Megara‹; außerdem wären hier zumindest ein Exemplar im DAI Athen mit verlässlicher Angabe ›Salamis, Heiligtum der Athena Skiras‹ zu nennen, vgl. Brommer 1972, 273 Nr. 330; Küpper 1990, 23; Stroszek 2017, 35 dagegen spricht von zwei inzwischen nicht mehr vorhandenen figürlichen Terrakotten. Aus Ägina ist nur ein einziges sitzendes Brettidol attischen Typs bekannt, vgl. Spathi 2007, 21 Taf. 6 Nr. 24; Σπάθη 2007/2008, 163 f. Nr. 18 Abb. 5 (aus dem Aphaiaheiligtum); aus dem Heiligtum von Ägina Kolonna sind dagegen nur drei einfache zylindrische Idole korinthischer Produktion anzuführen, vgl. Margreiter 1988, 21 f. Taf. 7 Nr. 122–124.

⁷¹ Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 45 mit Anm. 251.

⁷² Bei Γεωργακά 2008, 93–95 sind Vergleiche aus Korinth, Lerna, Perachora, Argos, Nemea, Epidauros, Sparta und Thasos zusammengestellt. Vgl. nun auch Barfoed 2013, 87. 91. 99 f. zur Produktion eines handgemachten, sitzenden weiblichen Terrakottentyps in der Argolis spätestens ab der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., der sich dort allerdings bis in das frühe 5. Jh. v. Chr. hielt und in der nordöstlichen Peloponnes weiterverbreitete, aber zunächst ebenfalls ein regional vergleichsweise stark beschränktes Phänomen in Heiligtümern verschiedener Gottheiten darstellte.

⁷³ Auf der Athener Akropolis ist das weitgehende Fehlen mehrfach bemerkt worden, vgl. z. B. Scholl 2006, 45–47; Γεωργακά 2008, 24 f. 28 f. 206 Nr. 408–411 Taf. 90 konnte nur vier Exemplare verzeichnen (die freilich kaum ins späte 7., sondern eher ins späte 8. Jh. v. Chr. gehören); im Heiligtum der Artemis Mounichia im Piräus mögen einzelne Figuren noch der geometrischen Zeit angehören, vgl. Θεοψιάδης 1935, 183; Παλαιοκρασσά 1991, 53 f. Terrakotten der zweiten Hälfte des 8. und des frühen 7. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Gräbern sind in Attika nicht ganz so selten, vgl. immerhin Κουρουγιώτης 1911, 250 Abb. 16. 17; Young 1939, 42–67; Καλλιπολίτης 1965, 117 Taf. 87 b; Kranz 1972, Taf. 3, 3. 4; Küpper 1990, 17 Anm. 5; Xagorari-Gleissner 1996, 79–97 Kat. Nr. 15–29. 32. 39–42. 44–53. 57–59; Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 24 f. 70 f. Kat. Nr. 164–166; Γεωργακά 2008, 88 f.; Scafuro 2015a, 71 f.; Parisi 2014, 24 f. Abb. 3. 5. An möglicherweise direkt vergleichbaren handgemachten zylindrischen Idolfragmenten sind jedoch nur zwei frühe Streufunde aus dem Kerameikos zu nennen, vgl. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 5 f. Nr. 11. 14. Zwei spätgeometrische Idole aus Eleusis und der Mesogeia in Oxford, vgl. CVA Oxford (4) 21 f. Taf. 48, 3–6 Abb. d, haben keinen Kontext, ebenso wie ein (attisch-)spätgeometrisches Idol im Metropolitan Museum in New York, vgl. Higgins 1967, 22 Taf. 7 F. G.

⁷⁴ Vgl. Morris 1984, 9; Parker 1996, 40 Anm. 44; Glowacki 1998, 80 mit Anm. 18; Whitley 1994, 54; Scholl 2006, 112; Alexandridou 2008, 68; Alexandridou 2009, 512; skeptisch Doronzio 2018, 27. 52.

idole« angesichts ihrer Neudatierung zumindest zum Teil schließen mögen⁷⁵. Im geradezu exponentiellen Ansteigen der Terrakottenweihungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. lässt sich dann eine tiefgreifende Veränderung der Kultpraxis fassen, die den gesellschaftlichen Wandel spiegeln dürfte. Dies erinnert an die Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Mounichia, wo L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa aufgrund der Quantität der Vasenfunde und insbesondere deren differierender Qualität auf die Teilnahme einer großen Zahl an Personen unterschiedlicher sozialer Gruppen an gemeinsamen Ritualen, also letztlich auf eine gesellschaftliche Verbreiterung der Kultgruppe, schloss⁷⁶, oder an die Befunde aus dem Zeusheiligtum auf dem Hymettos, wo Keramikfunde des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. außergewöhnlich zahlreich, meist jedoch recht anspruchslos gestaltet sind⁷⁷. Das mit den »Stempel-idolen« fassbare starke Ansteigen der Menge der Votive mag nicht nur ein Wachsen der Zahl der in den Heiligtümern präsenten Personen reflektieren, sondern belegt zugleich, dass diese Besucher dort mit der Weihung eines eigens dafür hergestellten Objekts – wenn auch in bescheidenem Maßstab – an die Öffentlichkeit traten⁷⁸. Dabei entschied man sich offenbar in den meisten Fällen nicht für Pferde, Reiter und Gespanne, also ältere Formen, die den Status des Weihenden vermittelten⁷⁹, sondern für die wenig konkreten, aber gerade dadurch konsensfähigen, von allen Weihenden verwendbaren Frauengestalten – seien sie nun Darstellungen der verehrten Gottheit, abstrakte Zeichen, symbolhafte Abbildungen der Weihenden oder ἀγάλματα einfachster Form, die der Gottheit gefallen sollten⁸⁰. Eine Verbindung dieser Veränderungen mit der Formierung der athenischen Polis scheint naheliegend⁸¹ – zumal dies nicht nur gut zu den zuletzt mehrfach geäußerten Bedenken an der gängigen Annahme einer Entstehung der Polis im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. passen würde⁸², sondern sich

⁷⁵ Ob das bedeutet, dass eine Lücke in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. verbleibt, muss angesichts der aus Neefts Chronologie protokorinthischer Aryballoi folgenden, bislang kaum berücksichtigten Möglichkeit einer geringfügigen Herabsetzung des Produktionsendes attisch-spätgeometrischer Keramik vom runden Datum von 700 v. Chr. bis etwa 680 v. Chr., vgl. Neeft 1987, 380, sowie des vielleicht bereits in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. zu setzenden Produktionsbeginns der hier behandelten »Stempelidole« offenbleiben. Die kürzlich von Papadopoulos 2015, 185; Papadopoulos – Smithson 2017, 30 Anm. 158 angedachte Herabdatierung des Produktionsendes attisch-spätgeometrischer Keramik bis 670 oder gar 650 v. Chr. dürfte an den Synchronismen attisch-spätgeometrischer und protoattischer sowie protokorinthischer Produkte scheitern.

⁷⁶ Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa – Vivliodetis 2015, 161; Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2017, 245. 248 f.

⁷⁷ Langdon 1976, bes. 75–77 (auf 12 Stücke aus der Phase Mittelgeometrisch I, 91 Stücke aus der Phase Mittelgeometrisch II, 82 Stücke aus der Phase Spätgeometrisch I und 294 Stücke aus der Phase Spätgeometrisch II folgen 589 Stücke des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.).

⁷⁸ Dies lässt an die in denselben Zeitraum – das frühe 7. bis frühe 6. Jh. v. Chr. – datierenden Graffiti aus dem Zeusheiligtum auf dem Hymettos denken, bei denen Langdon nachweisen konnte, dass die Beschriftung selbst das geweihte Gut darstellte, vgl. Langdon 1976, 9–50, bes. 41. 45–47.

⁷⁹ Vgl. z. B. zu Pferde- und Reiterterrakotten Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 34 f., zu Bronzeperdchen Zimmermann 1989, 322. 334 und zu Reitern Zimmermann 1989, 328 f. Derartige Terrakotten des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. fanden sich in Athen z. B. auf der Akropolis, vgl. Georgaka 2014, im Votivdepot über dem spätgeometrischen Ovalhaus am Nordhang des Areopag, vgl. hier Anm. 24, im Eleusinion, vgl. hier Anm. 25–30, im Brunnen J 18:8 am Nordhang des Areopag, vgl. hier Anm. 31, im Votivdepot nordöstlich des Arestempels, vgl. Thompson 1958, 151 Nr. g. i Taf. 42.

⁸⁰ Vgl. zum Konzept des ἀγάλμα für die Weihung von Korenstatuen bzw. deren Wertung als abstrakte Zeichen z. B. die im Detail abweichenden Deutungen bei Richter 1968, 4; Schneider 1975; Kyrieleis 1995, 28 mit Anm. 60; Meyer – Brüggemann 2007, bes. 28; Franssen 2011, 95. 98 f.; vgl. für (früh-)archaische Terrakotten z. B. auch Brüggemann 2015, 244, die einfache weibliche Terrakottafigurinen als »Symbol für typische Tugenden und Werte, in diesem Fall Schönheit und Erhabenheit« wertet und andererseits bemerkt, dass auch bei späteren Terrakotten »die Figur anscheinend als Symbol für den Akt des Opfern zu verstehen und nicht situativ gebunden« sei.

⁸¹ So impliziert von Parisi 2014, 23. 35; vgl. auch allgemein z. B. Καλογερόπουλος 2013, II, 65.

⁸² Vgl. z. B. Hall 2007, 67–81, bes. 83; Mohr 2013, bes. 106; Kistler 2014, 189 f.; vgl. auch Foxhall 1995, 249; Rönnberg 2021, 8–19; Rönnberg – Sossau 2022.

der Produktionszeitraum der Idole und der Zeitraum, in dem die Schriftquellen eine fortschreitende Institutionalisierung des athenischen Stadtstaats andeuten, in bemerkenswerter Weise überschneiden⁸³. Ein allzu direkter Rückschluss vom Einsetzen massenhafter Terrakottenweihungen allein auf die Poliswerdung Athens wird allerdings problematisch, wenn man bedenkt, dass die attischen ›Stempelidole‹ keinesfalls nur auf der Athener Akropolis, dem wenig zuvor entstandenen »Zentralheiligtum der Polis Athen«⁸⁴, hundertfach belegt sind, sondern in diversen Heiligtümern in ganz Attika (Abb. 2). Nachdem F. de Polignacs ursprüngliche Wertung der besonders häufig in spätgeometrischer Zeit entstehenden, außerhalb größerer Siedlungen gelegenen Heiligtümer als Markierungen territorialer Ansprüche entstehender Poleis inzwischen zurückgewiesen wird, vielmehr immer deutlicher wird, dass viele griechische Heiligtümer als ›intergruppale Treffpunkte‹ entstanden und erst später in nahe Staaten integriert wurden⁸⁵, scheint die direkte Verbindung des Aufkommens von Heiligtümern beispielsweise in Brauron, Sounion oder Eleusis mit der athenischen Polis fraglich⁸⁶. Gerade da zahllose neue Funde der letzten Jahrzehnte inzwischen eine dichte Besiedlung Attikas im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegen⁸⁷, ließen sich diese Kultplätze ebenso wie zum Beispiel jene von Kiapha Thiti, Thorikos oder Trachones als Begegnungsstätten lokaler Umwohner begreifen. Besonders deutlich wird dies bei der Gruppe der zahlreichen im späten 8. und im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entstehenden Höhenheiligtümer, die bereits lange als auf die umgebenden Ebenen bezogen verstanden werden (Abb. 2)⁸⁸. Auch die vielen tausend hier thematisierten Figurinen sind somit zunächst in ihren jeweiligen lokalen Kontexten zu betrachten, das heißt mit den jeweiligen lokalen Kultgemeinschaften zu verbinden, und erst anschließend in den größeren Rahmen der sozio-kulturellen Entwicklungen, die das 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. prägten, zu stellen. Eine gedankliche Befreiung bzw. Trennung vom späteren Bild der athenischen Polis als ganz Attika umfassender Staat mit dem Zentrum der Stadt Athen⁸⁹ ermöglicht es, die attischen ›Stempelidole‹ als Indizien für ein Ablaufen ähnlicher gesellschaftlicher Prozesse an verschiedenen Orten in Attika aufzufassen⁹⁰ – in diesem Fall konkret der Ausdifferenzierung bestehender bzw. erstmaligen Schaffung neuer,

⁸³ So wird der Putschversuch des Kylon traditionellerweise um 630 v. Chr., die Gesetzgebung des Dracon 621/620 v. Chr., das Archontat des Solon 594/593 v. Chr. und die Durchsetzung der solonischen Reformen oft ins Jahrzehnt 580/570 v. Chr. datiert. Wenngleich diese Daten auf der wenig vertrauenswürdigen athenischen Archontenliste aus dem späteren 5. Jh. v. Chr., der im späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. konstruierten olympischen Siegerliste und anderen Angaben bzw. Berechnungen spät- und nachklassischer Autoren beruhen und somit letztlich Konstrukte darstellen, ist anzunehmen, dass sie bis auf einige Jahrzehnte genau sein dürften. Vgl. zur Auswertung dieser wichtigsten Daten im Zusammenhang der sukzessiven Institutionalisierung der athenischen Polis, welche den athenischen Staat erst im eigentlichen Sinne schuf, z. B. Walter 1993, 185–200; Welwei 2011, 133–206; Dreher 2012, 17–27; Rönnberg 2021, 23–82.

⁸⁴ Scholl 2006.

⁸⁵ Vgl. z. B. Hall 1995; Malkin 1996; Hall 2007, 86 f. gegen de Polignac 1984; zur Funktion von frühen Heiligtümern als intergruppale Versammlungsplätze der örtlichen Bevölkerung z. B. de Polignac 1994, 5 f.; Hall 2007, 87; Mohr 2012, 523–526; Mohr 2013, 17–20; vgl. auch Ulf 1997.

⁸⁶ Vgl. so bereits Anderson 2003, 19.

⁸⁷ Für eine aktualisierte Zusammenstellung der bislang bekannten geometrischen und früharchaischen Befunde aus Attika vgl. Rönnberg 2021, 286–389; die Zahl der bekannten Befunde hat sich seit der Publikation von Mersch 1996 stark vergrößert.

⁸⁸ Vgl. z. B. de Polignac 1998, 148; Baumer 2004, 14–17. 71 f.; Baumer 2009, 180 f.; Penttinen 2011, 123; Sporn 2013, 466.

⁸⁹ Vgl. dazu grundlegend Anderson 2003; Andersons Interpretationen führten z. B. Hall 2007, 222–224; Flament 2011; Paga 2012, bes. 425 f. 429. 437. 557. 563 fort; vgl. auch die Zustimmung z. B. bei Raaflaub 2006, 412; Hawke 2011, 240 Anm. 70.

⁹⁰ Zur direkten Verbindung der Gründung des ›athenischen Zentralheiligtums‹ auf der Athener Akropolis mit der Poliswerdung vgl. Scholl 2006; für eine kritische Beurteilung des Rückschlusses von der Entstehung von Heiligtümern auf die Polisgenese vgl. z. B. Hall 2007, 83–87; Mohr 2013, bes. 17–39; zu den geometrischen und früharchaischen Heiligtümern Attikas vgl. Laughy 2010; van den Eijnde 2010; Rönnberg 2021, 217–258.

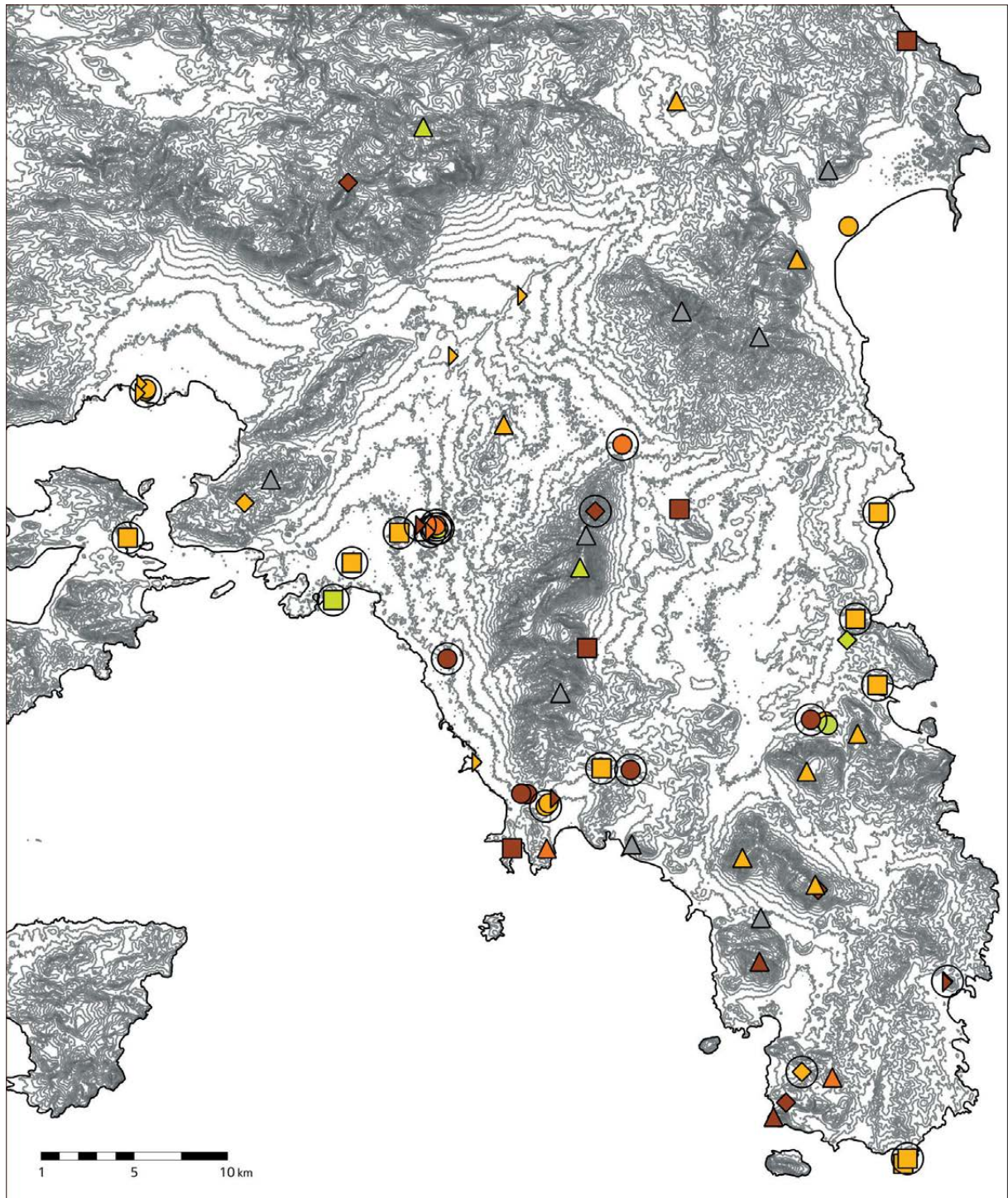


Abb. 2 Spätgeometrisch-früharchaische Heiligtümer in Attika. Hellgrün: bis Late Geometric I bestehende Heiligtümer – hellorange: bis Late Geometric IIb bestehende Heiligtümer – orange: bis um 650 v. Chr. bestehende Heiligtümer – braun: bis um 600 v. Chr. bestehende Heiligtümer – grau: weitere möglicherweise früharchaische Heiligtümer – Kreise: Heiligtümer mit bekanntem Siedlungszusammenhang – Quadrate: Heiligtümer ohne bekannten Siedlungszusammenhang – Dreiecke: Gipfel- und Höhenheiligtümer – Rauten: Höhlenheiligtümer – halbe Rauten: andere Heiligtümer, d. h. Grab- und Heroenkulte sowie unbestimmbare Deponierungen – Verbreitung von ›Stempelidolen‹: mit Kreisen versehene Fundorte

großer Kultgemeinschaften. In jedem Fall können die attischen ›Stempelidole‹ als ein weiterer Beleg für die ausgesprochen intensive Kulttätigkeit in dieser Region in früharchaischer Zeit gelten⁹¹. Diese wird nirgendwo so deutlich wie im bereits im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. mit tausenden Terrakotten ausgestatteten und dann im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. großflächig erweiterten Heiligtum von Eleusis – dem Ort, für den häufig von einer späten Eingliederung in die athenische Polis erst im 7. / 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ausgegangen wird⁹².

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⁹¹ Vgl. so zuletzt Scholl 2006, 117; Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2017, 248 f. Kalogeropoulos 2010, 181 bezeichnete die einfachen Tonidole bereits als »Leitmotiv dieser Kultphase«.

⁹² Vgl. z. B. Noack u. a. 1927, 47; Nilsson 1951, 36–39; Walton 1952, 109; Mylonas 1961, 63; Travlos 1971, 198; Richardson 1974, 5–10, bes. 9 f.; Kron 1976, 30; Andrewes 1982, 362; Garland 1984, 96; Stahl 1987,

205 Anm. 2; Travlos 1988, 92; Smarczyk 1990, 174 mit Anm. 61; Hayashi 1992, 25; Mersch 1996, 1; Lippolis 2006, 156; Houby-Nielsen 2009, 190; Rönnberg 2020.

Abbildungsnachweis: *Abb. 1*: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations. – *Abb. 2*: Autor.

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›Ptoiketas kalos‹

A view from the Boeotian grave

VICTORIA SABETAI, WITH THE CONTRIBUTION OF EFTHYMIA NIKITA

À la memoire de François Lissarrague

›Ptoiketas kalos‹. Der Blick aus einem böotischen Grab

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Dieser Beitrag präsentiert die verzierte und mit Inschriften versehene Keramik eines böotischen Grabes des ersten Jahrzehnts des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., welches zumeist schwarzgefirnisste Kantharoi sowie ein Messer enthielt und bespricht es im Zusammenhang seiner Grabgruppe. Der Textteil wird von einer osteologischen Analyse sowie einer Fundliste ergänzt. Die einzigen mit Bildern verzierten Gefäße sind zwei schwarzfigurige Skyphoi, während ein Kantharos mit dem Graffito ›Ptoiketas kalos‹ beschriftet ist. Der Zeichenstil ist mittelmäßig und dargestellt sind generische Szenen aus dem Wettkampf (Faustkampf und Ringen) sowie eine sitzende Frau. Folgende Themen werden erörtert: 1. Die bestattete Person in Verbindung mit den Grabbeigaben. 2. Verzierte Gefäße und solche mit Inschriften als Teil einer Inszenierung, die geschlechtsspezifische und soziale Identitäten hervorhebt. 3. Die wechselseitige Ergänzung der gemalten Szenen und der Inschrift im Gedenken an den männlichen Verstorbenen. 4. Konsum- und Niederlegungsmuster von Grabbeigaben im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. in Böotien.

Schlagwörter Akraiphia; 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.; (geschlechtsbestimmte) Bestattung; verzierte und mit Inschriften versehene Keramik; *agon* um die Braut.

ABSTRACT This paper presents the figured and inscribed pottery from a Boeotian tomb of the first decade of the 5th century B.C., which contained mostly black-glazed kantharoi as well as a knife, and discusses it in the context of its grave group. The text is supplemented with an osteological analysis and a find list. The only vessels decorated with images are two black-figure skyphoi, while there is one inscribed kantharos bearing the graffito ›Ptoiketas kalos‹. The style of drawing is mediocre and the depicted scenes are generic ones of athletics (boxing and wrestling) as well as the one of a seated woman. The paper discusses the following topics: 1. The tomb's occupant in association with his grave offerings. 2. Figured and inscribed vessels as part of a *mise en scène* exalting gender values and social identities. 3. Complementarity between painted scenes and inscription in commemoration of the male deceased. 4. Patterns of consumption and deposition of grave furnishings in early 5th century B.C. Boeotia.

Keywords Akraiphia; 5th century B.C.; burial (sexed); figured and inscribed pottery; *agon* for the bride.

«Πτωικέτας καλός». Άποψη από τον Βοιωτικό τάφο

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Στο άρθρο παρουσιάζεται η εικονιστική και ενεπίγραφη κεραμική ενός Βοιωτικού τάφου της πρώτης δεκαετίας του 5ου αιώνα π. Χ. ο οποίος είχε κτεριστεί κυρίως με μελαμβαφείς κανθάρους καθώς κι ένα εγχειρίδιο. Τα ευρήματα συζητώνται στο ταφικό τους πλαίσιο και, κυρίως, ως συναπαρτιζόντα ενιαίο σύνολο. Η μελέτη πλαισιώνεται με οστεολογική ανάλυση και κατάλογο ευρημάτων. Τα μοναδικά εικονιστικά αγγεία είναι δύο μελανόμορφοι σκύφοι, ενώ υπάρχει κι ένας μελαμβαφής κάνθαρος που φέρει την χαρακτή επιγραφή «Πτωικέτας καλός». Οι απεικονιζόμενες αθλητικές σκηνές (πάλη και πυγμαχία) καθώς και μια καθιστή γυναικεία μορφή λειτουργούν συμπληρωματικά εικονοποιώντας την έννοια του νυμφικού αγώνος. Στο άρθρο θίγονται τα εξής: 1. Τα κτερίσματα του τάφου σε σχέση με τον κάτοχό του. 2. Εικονιστικά και ενεπίγραφα αγγεία ως μέρος ενός ταφικού «σκηνικού» που εξαίρει την κοινωνική θέση του νεκρού ανακαλώντας συνδηλώσεις που σχετίζονται με το κοινωνικό φύλο. 3. Διαλεκτική σχέση μεταξύ εικόνων και επιγραφής στην κατασκευή ενός μνημονικού τύπου. 4. Μοτίβα στη διευθέτηση ταφικών συνόλων στη Βοιωτία του πρώιμου 5ου αιώνα π. Χ.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Ακραίφια. 5ος αιώνας προ Χριστού. Ανδρική ταφή. Εικονιστική και ενεπίγραφη κεραμική. Νυμφικός αγών.

INTRODUCTION: THE GRAVE T. 166

In the pit grave T. 166 at the necropolis of Akraiphia an adult male was buried with an iron knife and 17 vases laid on and around his body (*fig. 1 a. b; 2*)¹. Only two skyphoi in the pottery group bear figured decoration: one depicts combat sports, the other a woman and they date to ca. 500–490/480 B.C. The rest of the ceramic assemblage is comprised of five Corinthian vases (three exaleiptra and two skyphoi), a Droop cup of local make and nine black-glazed pots (seven kantharoi, one mug and one skyphos) of which one kantharos bears the graffito ›Ptoiketas kalos‹ (*fig. 3*)². In what follows I focus on this specific grave as a case-study to argue that vase-imagery plays an important role in the funerary context, and plead for a holistic approach in the treatment of each burial as a totality. The discussion revolves around the following points, all reflecting the cultural performance of death in early 5th century B.C. Boeotia: 1. The tomb's owner in the mirror of his grave offerings. 2. Figured and inscribed vases as part of a *mise en scène* exalting gender values and social identities. 3. Complementarity between painted scenes and inscription in the commemoration of the male dead. 4. Patterns of consumption and deposition of grave furnishings in early 5th century B.C. Boeotia.

›PTOIKETAS KALOS‹: A GRAFFITO FOR THE PRAISE

Before examining the tomb's figured pottery, we may inquire about the dead man's identity and the interaction between text and image on the basis of the glazed kantharos 10 which bears the graffito ›ITTOIKETAS KALOS‹ in the Boeotian alphabet (*fig. 4 a. b*). Its two words were incised in small and regularly spaced letters in a slanting line. Although apparently not engraved by a professional, it is legible and visible, unfolding across the conspicuous place below the vessel's lip³. The graffito constituted a sort of decoration meant to be seen and read. In addition, a single crossed theta which was scratched on its resting surface was visible only when the vase was held horizontally for drinking (*fig. 4 c*)⁴. Since this was the only inscribed vase in its pottery group, we may assume that it was the dead man's own kantharos, which es-

I thank the staff of the Ephorate of Boeotia for study amenities. An earlier version of this article was presented at the conference ›Oikos – Taphos – Temenos, Iconography in Greek context‹ which was organized by the Dutch School at Athens and the University of Thessaly (W. van de Put and D. Paleothodoros) on 26.–27.02.2016. A related version was presented in a conference organized by F. Villard in Paris, EHESS, on 27.11.2021. Sadly, this occasion proved to be my last encounter with François Lissarrague, influential scholar and cherished colleague before he left us all too soon. This paper is a small tribute to his memory.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper, in addition to those commonly employed under DAI guidelines:

BAPD Beazley Archive Pottery Database. <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk> (12.07.2019)

Dm_{Rim} Rim diameter

Dm_{Base} Base diameter

¹ Fieldwork and drawings: Dr. Olia Peperaki. For this excavation (Highway Athens – Thessaloniki; kilometric point 102.350) see Sabetai 1995, 301 f. The

pit was covered with irregular limestones. Dimensions: 1.87 × 1.10 m (exterior); 1.70 × 0.60 m (interior). Height of pit: 0.33 m. Depth from ground surface: -2.04 / -2.29 m (slabs); -2.35 / -2.41 m (pit's rim); -2.55 / -2.65 m (skeleton); -2.68 m (floor). Orientation: North-South, head at North. Finds: Appendix, 1.; osteological data: Appendix, 2. The depth of the pit and the weight of the earth above it, the hard soil and the inundation of the cemetery by lake water over the centuries resulted in a taphonomic environment that caused damage on the surface of the vases, most of which were found cracked or broken, with some of the sherds smashed into tiny fragments or pulverized.

² Some of the non-figured vases may date after 490 B.C., to ca. 480 B.C. All finds were retrieved from the tomb's interior; nothing was found at its exterior.

³ For a professional potter's graffito see, e.g., the kantharoi by Teisias: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) pl. 6. »His incised signature as artist was an additional beauty to his black glaze vases«: Burrows – Ure 1909, 340.

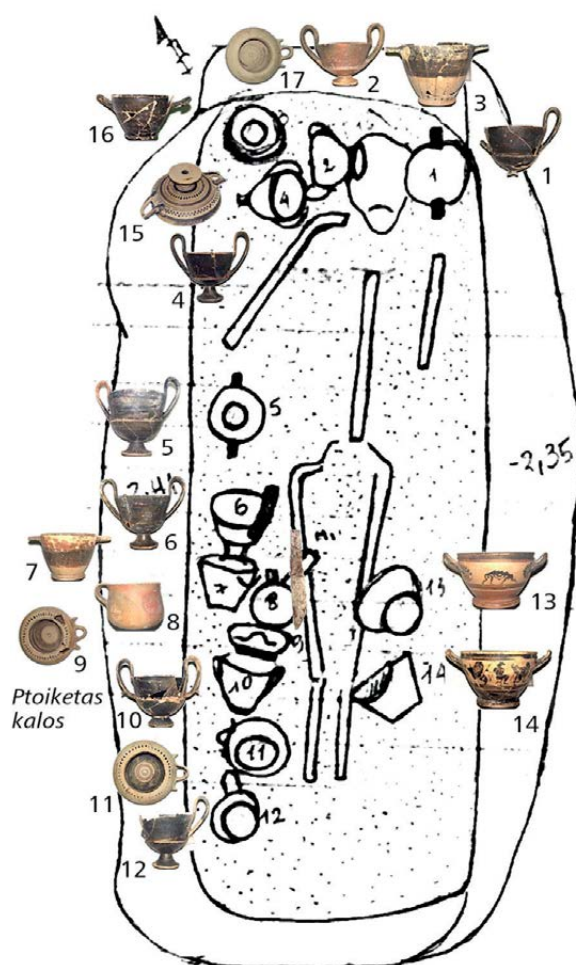
⁴ For the aesthetics of words on vases see Lissarrague 1999; for their viewership including the space of the grave see Pappas 2012.



Fig. 1 a. b Akraiphia, grave T. 166

Fig. 2 Akraiphia, grave T. 166 with grave-goods in situ

corted him to his grave in order to praise him by name as »kalos«, handsome. *Kalos* inscriptions praise the beauty of boys in a homoerotic context usually related to the realm of athletic education and pederasty and thus in the sphere of socialization of youths in the polis system⁵. However, since the man was middle-aged at the time of his death, the inscribed kantharos may have had a more complex »biography«. It may have been a love-gift at adolescence or at his funeral in order to commemorate a fulfilled stage in his life or praise his beauty in general⁶. The exact date



⁵ Scanlon 2002, 64–97. 199–273.

⁶ For a kantharos with the graffito »ANTIXΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ« from the grave of an adult male (30–40 years old) in Rhitsona and for questions regarding its owner see Burrows – Ure 1909, 308. 315 f. 343 (grave 40, ca. 550 B.C.). Other hypotheses regarding our kantharos' owner could comprise the *eromenos* of the deceased who may have brought it to the grave as a memento of their former relationship or even a woman, as suggested by Attic examples: Lang 1976, 11.



Fig. 3 Akraiphia, grave T. 166, vase-group

of the vessel is difficult to ascertain on the basis of shape morphology. Its form with conical foot and spurred handles, unique in its group of kantharoi, occurs usually in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., but may cross this border. If the kantharos is dated earlier than the rest of its counterparts, a use-life prior to its deposition in the grave could be hypothesized. However, shape morphology is not always a sound criterion for too close a dating as kantharoi of the late 6th–early 5th century B.C. present variation, may continue earlier forms and differ from one another even when they are part of the same grave group⁷. As to the inscription, although dating graffiti is notoriously difficult, the letter forms here seem of the first decades of the 5th century B.C.⁸, so perhaps contemporary to the man's funeral and written for the event. A complexity for the scholar is the aforementioned crossed theta on its underside, perhaps the potter's, the merchant's or somebody else's initial⁹. It is notable that the Ptoiketas kantharos accompanied the deceased together with items such as a cup and a knife, objects associating him with the symposium and war. Regardless of its exact date, antedating its assemblage or contemporaneous with it but fashioned in an archaizing form, the inscribed kantharos is here regarded as the deceased's own and is interpreted as an index which evaluates him as a person of status.

⁷ Typology of glazed kantharoi: Ure 1913, 4–19 pls. 1–8; Ure 1927, pls. 10–11. For parallels to ours see Rhitsona graves 12, 26, 31 and 80 dated from 515 to 480 B.C.: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 99. The simultaneous presence of several kantharoi with different formal features (as seen in their feet and bowls) in the same late Archaic assemblages may be variously explained. One possibility is that different people purchased them from various potteries, each mourner bringing his own kantharos as a grave offering. For a funerary assemblage of kantharoi with engraved initials of various individuals, possibly their owners, see Andreiomenou 2019, 15–17, nos. 21–26 (ca. 520 B.C.). Men bearing vases in a (non-funerary) procession: cf.

M. Pipili, CVA Athens (4) pl. 3. In the Classical period kantharoi from graves present greater uniformity.

⁸ The E is not tailed, perhaps suggesting a date at the beginning of the 5th cent. B.C.: Jeffery 1990, 89 (E4). For the A and the Π see ibidem (A4, Π3).

⁹ The crossed theta occurs as late as ca. 470 B.C.: Jeffery 1990, 89. Single engraved letters presumably referring to initials are common on Boeotian ceramics: Burrows – Ure 1909, 338–344; Andreiomenou 2019, 5. Inscriptions by different hands and at subsequent moments occur in Boeotia from the 7th cent. B.C. on. Polignac 2005, 20 f. thinks that the most important aspect of graffiti is the »performance« of writing in a ritual context.



Fig. 4 a. b. c Akraiphia, grave T. 166, inscribed kantharos

Having discussed the date and function of the inscribed vessel in its grave group, we may now examine the role of such objects in the Boeotian cultural milieu. The kantharos as carrier of the *kalos* inscription enhances the dead man's elevated status, for it was the Boeotian ritual vessel par excellence and was charged with religious, heroic and ethnic symbolism. It has a copious and diachronic presence in Boeotian public space and is associated with gods and heroes of local origin such as Dionysos, Herakles, the Kabiros and Ptoos¹⁰. In this grave two kantharoi flanked the head of the deceased. A further two were found in the area of his right hand, while the inscribed kantharos lay by his right knee, set between two exaleiptra and slightly below his knife and mug.

Glazed vases bearing graffiti with *kalos* names are known in the Boeotian funerary record from around the (late?) second quarter of the 6th to the 5th century B.C. They occur usually

¹⁰ Kantharoi in sanctuaries and tombs: Kilinski 2005; Tomei 2008; Sabetai 2012a, 129; Segal 2014.

on drinking pots, i.e. kantharoi, skyphoi, a mug and a cup and are mostly in Boeotian lettering. About a dozen are known, almost all from graves except for one from the Kabirion, but unpublished examples may also exist¹¹. *Kalos* names appear also as dipinti on Boeotian black-figure vases, but rarely, the earliest being an exaleiptron inscribed with ›Polytimidas kalos‹ and dating to the second or early third quarter of the 6th century B.C., thus a little earlier or contemporary with its first Attic counterparts¹². They are further attested among Attic imports, as, e.g., three lekythoi by the Providence Painter from Thebes naming ›Hipp-pon kalos‹¹³. ›Ptoiketas‹ is a compound name formed with Πτωι- and ἱκέτας, meaning suppliant or pilgrim. The adjective Ptoios is cult epithet of Apollo, as well as the name of a local Akraiphian hero and can be traced back to prehistory¹⁴. The cult gave rise to numerous personal names in Πτωι- all over Boeotia from the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. onwards with a concentration in its Northern part including Akraiphia¹⁵. Yet, Ptoiketas is not otherwise attested in the epigraphical record, which makes it a welcome addition in the field of onomastics. The inscribed name implies further the self-confidence of the individual in this time-period and should be studied in the context of a general boom in engraved objects reaching the Boeotian sanctuary and grave from the early Archaic period on¹⁶.

Kalos inscriptions, usually seen as homoerotic praise of elite youths, have been debated mainly on the basis of the Attic record of dipinti which repeat a few select names of boys¹⁷. Outside Attica they usually occur as graffiti which state various names. Their acclamatory function must have been similar to the Attic one while the pots on which they appear may have been love-gifts, as already assumed for the Ptoiketas kantharos. A cup by the Pithos Painter from nearby Phokian Elateia depicting a symposiast and mentioning a *kalos*-boy in a humoristic pederastic acclamation composed in a pentameter and engraved on its underside highlights the homoerotic hue of *kalos* vases¹⁸. The cup dates to 510–500 B.C., but the graffito falls in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. on the basis of its letter forms, which recalls the discrepancy attested also on our kantharos. In publishing it Rousset noted that, although its literary and visual imagery is consonant with the Archaic aristocratic ethos, namely banquet, pederasty and poetry, one should not conclude further that on a pragmatic level literacy was widespread at the time in the area, nor that feasts in which such vessels figured were exclusively aristocratic¹⁹. The case may rather be of ideals communicated visually to the mourning community on the occasion of the funeral, an interpretation that could be argued also for our deceased. In the *mise en scène* of the grave T. 166 the dead man's knife (no. 18) in his right hand (*figs.* 2. 5) casts him as a man able to bear arms, perhaps specifically as a cavalryman, or as a sacrificer²⁰,

¹¹ Kilinski 1990, 52 f., esp. 52 n. 82 (bibliography); Wachter 2001, 7 f. 18. 23. 279–281; Andreiomenou 2015, pl. 231, 1; Andreiomenou 2019, 5 no. 1 fig. 1 and 7 f. no. 6 fig. 6. In Attica *kalos* graffiti date from ca. 550–400 B.C.: Lang 1976, 11.

¹² In Attica *kalos* dipinti appear ca. 550 B.C. (Group E). For the Polytimidas exaleiptron see Schöne-Denkinger 2012, 146 f.

¹³ BAPD 207426. 207427. 207428. Regarding Hippon see Mannack 2014, 117. 122 who argues that the person thus praised would have been alien in a Boeotian's grave, thus the dipinto merely enhanced the vessel's cultural status. Yet, the name's associations with horsemanship would be much at home in the region and may have somehow reflected on the Boeotian dead too.

¹⁴ It appears as ›Ptoia‹ (po-to-a2-de) in a Linear B tablet, suggesting a Mycenaean (Theban) cult place in the area of the later Ptoion sanctuary: Ganter 2013, 91.

¹⁵ Jeffery 1990, 85; Kilinski – Maffre 1999, 35–37 (name as dipinto on a black-figure kantharos depicting a monoposias); Fraser – Matthews 2000, 365 f. s. v. Πτωι...

¹⁶ Wachter 2001, 9–25; Polignac 2005, *passim*. For other inscribed names on Akraiphian pots see Andreiomenou 2019, 63 table 1.A. For other kinds of inscriptions on Boeotian black-figure see Kilinski 1990, 52 f. Cf. further Vassilopoulou – Matthaiou 2013.

¹⁷ They date ca. 550 to 450 B.C. and rarely later. In the Classical era they occur also in the feminine, praising female beauty. See recently Mannack 2014; Mannack 2016; Hedreen 2016; Müller 2016, 111–127.

¹⁸ Rousset 2012, from a grave. For another Boeotian *kalos* metrical graffito on a kantharos see Gaunt 2014, 105 f.

¹⁹ Rousset 2012, 34 f.

²⁰ The knife was a weapon and utensil in daily life and cult. Its continuous use in the course of the centu-



Fig. 5 Knife (scale: 1 : 2)

while his kantharoi as a symposiast of elevated status as well as a partaker of Boeotian ethnic identity²¹. The man's inscribed kantharos celebrated him as *kalos*, handsome, once partaker of an education that comprised initiatory pederasty and athletics as characteristic aspects among others²². The heroized colouring of the man's qualities via the kantharos and weapon surrounding his corpse functioned as his praise at death and was complemented by the tomb's figured vessels as we shall see next.

WHAT IMAGERY FOR A DECEASED BOEOTIAN MALE?

The figured pottery of grave T. 166 comprises the two modest black-figure skyphoi 13 and 14 which depict athletes and a woman. Although scholars usually look down on hackworks of this kind, their stylized scenes functioned as pictograms²³ that were able to render well-known artistic motifs succinctly. Furthermore, these conventional depictions were not meaningless but iconic, as they visualized aspects of citizen identity and facets of the value system of early 5th century B.C. Boeotia. Crystallized into emblems, cursory scenes with token rather than narrative character reveal the depth of their meaning when analyzed in their iconographic, archaeological and cultural context. Below I argue that the grave's figured vases were thematically associated with one another and reflected aspects of the dead man's social persona.

ries makes it iconic and symbolic, i.e. a prop of male identity. According to van Wees 1998 bearing iron (*siderophorein*) was part of the hero's apparel; the funerary display of weapons highlights manly prowess and family strength while picturing the dead as capable of using force in general. Daggers and knives may feature as attributes of the deceased and as iconic shorthands of the whole armour, which is not placed in the tomb but may have been displayed at the funeral before being handed over to the relatives. Yet, given the importance of horsemanship in Boeotia, one should further consider Xenophon's view of the knife as the most suitable offensive weapon for cavalymen (X. Eq. 12, 11) which may also explain

why not all male burials are equipped with it. Knives in Akraiphian tombs: Andreiomenou 2001, 486 n. 44 figs. 13, 14; Andreiomenou 2019, 5 n. 6; in the Kalapodi sanctuary: Schmitt 2007, 509–517, esp. pl. 106 no. 491. For the characterization of reclining heroes as *thysia* slaughterers (*mageiroi*) rather than feasters see Giuliani 2013, 150.

²¹ Cf. St. Petersburg 4305 (BAPD) 207605 depicting a kantharos superseded by the dipinto BOIOTIOS as shield-device.

²² For an inscribed kantharos that may have served as a prize at an athletic contest see Andreiomenou 2019, 42 f. no. 118 fig. 98.

²³ Lissarrague 1997.

A. Athletics: βαρέα ἄθλα

The skyphos 13 depicting in silhouette a wrestling and a boxing match on either side associates Ptoiketas *kalos* with athletics (fig. 6 a. b. c. d)²⁴. Its sturdy shape, brownish fabric, thin, misfired and irregularly applied glaze, the thick, uneven dotted circle at the underside, and the glaze stains on its resting surface, all suggest that it was locally made²⁵. The shape and the system of glaze bands framing the figure zone vaguely recalls the CHC Group²⁶, while the rendering in silhouette has parallels in skyphoi by the Haimon Group and other painters of the early 5th century B.C.²⁷ However, the source of inspiration of Boeotian silhouette should not be sought solely in contemporary Attic vase-painting, for it has a diachronic presence in Boeotia starting in the mid 6th century B.C., with the so-called Geometricizing vases²⁸. Further, this vessel's horizontal handle palmettes are unusual and point to a link with Ure's Class of skyphoi A1, which date to the latter part of the 6th century B.C. and are known in Boeotia through imports and copies²⁹. The eclectic combination of earlier and contemporary elements is typical in regional fabrics and may suggest traditional tastes. The adherence to customary aesthetics may also lie behind the choice of subject-matter, as combat sports appear among a few other select themes already in the Boeotian vase-repertoire of the Geometric period, where they are often featured with a prize-tripod³⁰. Their thematization in early art is reflective of the fact that wrestling and boxing were old athletic events, celebrated in the epics and charged with heroic connotations. Despite their brutal character, they were highly esteemed for the skill and lengthy training required³¹. Winners were praised in epinician odes by Pindar, who exalted their manly excellence and fame in the frame of one's family and polis³². Herodotos (5, 60) described a tripod with an epigram naming the victorious boxer Skaïos, who offered his award to the Theban sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios. Such a costly dedication and revered symbol of wealth, political power and heroic status³³ commemorated publicly the athletic victory as well as the prestige ensuing from it. The testimonia mention also Boeotian Olympic victors (boys and men) in combat sports throughout antiquity³⁴.

²⁴ The boxers' thong is clearly seen only on one's fist; yet, the thickness of their raised palms, especially when compared with the wrestlers' on the reverse, implies that these were also gloved. A thong only on one hand occurs on a Boeotian krater of ca. 690 B.C. (Ruckert 1976, pl. 17 no. Kr2) and earlier, in the famous Thera fresco with boy boxers. The theme was long-lived, the latest being on a Hadra hydria (ca. 240 B.C.), see Wünsche 2004, 161 fig. 18.4.

²⁵ For a silhouette skyphos with wrestlers between on-lookers see Andreiomenou 2015, 320 pl. 217 no. 15, from an Akraiphian grave (see also n. 70 below).

²⁶ ABV 617–626; Beazley, Para., 306–308. See also n. 48 below. Other 'narrow band' silhouette skyphoi, derivatives from or imitative of the CHC Group, also exist: Moore – Pease-Philippides 1986, 293 no. 1610 pl. 106.

²⁷ Cf., e.g., M. Pipili, CVA Athens (4) pl. 63; CVA Louvre (27) pl. 23 (Athena Painter).

²⁸ Kilinski 1990, 60 n. 58 (bibliography). This archaizing fabric is influenced by earlier Geometric and contemporary Corinthian vase-painting.

²⁹ For another hybrid with horizontal palmettes see Andreiomenou 2015, 239 no. 13 pl. 134 no. 26.13; cf.

also Ure 1927, pl. 17, 102.86 A–B. For A1 skyphoi in Boeotia see Kilinski 1990, 59; V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) pls. 40–42. For boxers and wrestlers see M. Pipili, CVA Athens (4) pl. 22, 3–4; CVA Laon (1) pl. 24, 3–4 (BAPD 350850, late, with minimal incision).

³⁰ CVA Louvre (17) pl. 2; Ruckert 1976, pl. 2, 2–4 no. Oi8; pl. 17, no. Kr 2. For the theme in other fabrics (8th – 6th cent. B.C.) see Sakowski 1997, 243–249.

³¹ Wrestling and boxing are mentioned in Hom. Il. 23, 681–739, who refers to tripods and women as prizes (702–704). Boxing appears also in 16th cent. B.C. Aegean art. For wrestling and pugilism see Poliakov 1987, 23–53, 68–88; Wünsche 2004, 148–157, 158–171; Kyle 2007, 124–126. For the semantics of boxing in Etruria cf. Steiner – Neils 2018, 25–44.

³² Scanlon 2002, 17. Pindar praised the boxer Diagoras in O. 7 and the young Hagesidamos in O. 10 and 11. For the sociology of pugilism and the sport's aristocratic underpinnings in the Pindaric odes see Nicholson 2014. For the victor's status in Pindar see Kurke 2010.

³³ See Papalexandrou 2008, esp. 259.

³⁴ Moretti 1957, 102 no. 302; 122 no. 427; 124 no. 444; 132 no. 504; 141 no. 584.



Fig. 6 a–d Akraiphia, grave T. 166, Skyphos 42228

Combat sports, especially boxing, are documented in the record of Attic imports³⁵ and of Archaic Boeotian vase-painting³⁶. Characteristic is their depiction in vignettes on the legs of an exaleiptron by the Boeotian Dancers Group with multi-figured scenes of celebratory character³⁷. An important mid 6th century B.C. Boeotian example adhering to Geometric models and thus attesting to continuation in theme and style is a kantharos depicting the boxers with one leg on a tripod. This piece, in silhouette like our skyphos from half a century later, belongs to the aforementioned archaizing Boeotian Group of miniatures called »Geometricizing«³⁸. The popularity of combat sports scenes continues in the late Archaic period in the oeuvre of the Camel Painter, a craftsman influenced by Lydos and probably immigrant in Boeotia, who favoured particularly boxers on skyphoi³⁹. In short, this iconography is tenacious and has already had a long life in the Boeotian fabric at the time of its appearance on our skyphos ca. 500–490/480 B.C.⁴⁰ The preferred moment is the initial phase of the athletes' engagement, a common type in late black-figure which pictures it as the contest of equals. The athletes are beardless, and thus young, which may inscribe their match in the context of education, *paideia*, where athletics, competition and pederasty contributed to socializing the youth, as is documented also in the case of Archaic Boeotia⁴¹. The literary sources mention the story of the ideal athlete-ephebe Iolaos, companion and lover of Heracles, whose cult comprised a festival and athletic contests and who was venerated near the stadium in Thebes. In the same vein is also the legend of Diocles and Philolaos, whereby the homosexual couple comprises a lawgiver and his eromenos who is cast as an athlete-ephebe⁴². Homoerotic relationships continued to foster male bonds in the Boeotian military as late as the 4th century B.C., as in the Sacred Battalion, the Theban elite corps which was formed of homosexual couples⁴³.

Understanding combat sports in the context of initiatory education comprising athletics and pederasty may be further highlighted by a cup by Douris contemporary to our scenes and bearing *kalos* dipinti above a boxing scene on the exterior and around a youthful boxer at the intaglio⁴⁴. The dead man's skyphos was not complemented by any such – enlightening – dipinti integrated in its images. Yet, a combined look at the skyphos's athletic scenes and the kantharos with the graffito Ptoiketas *kalos* may have produced similar meanings and may have contributed in exalting aspects of the deceased's qualities and social identity against the backdrop of the grave. This complementarity is further enriched when the grave's second figured skyphos is adduced in the discussion.

B. The female as prize in an *agon*

The skyphos 14 features a seated woman framed by sphinxes at either side (*fig. 7 a. b. c*). It may be connected to the CHC Group and to the Group of Thebes R.102, the latter thought Attic by Beazley but Boeotian by Kilinski and originally comprising 10 skyphoi⁴⁵. Nine have

³⁵ See, e.g., BAPD 31340 (amphora); 300633 (cup); 14365 (CHC skyphos); 330272 (cup); 332236 (miniature Panathenaic amphora).

³⁶ Kilinski 1990, 15, 1; 17, 1; 18, 1; 19, 4.

³⁷ BAPD 300333; Kilinski 1990, 15, no. 1 pl. 7, 1–2; Sabetai 2014, 24 f. Second quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.

³⁸ Ure 1929, pl. 13 no. 18; cf. further pl. 11, no. 8 (top).

³⁹ BAPD 300863. 300864; cf. BAPD 300866; Kilinski 1990, 22–24.

⁴⁰ Micrographic scenes like ours, but with onlookers and prize-vases, occur also in the work of Attic late Archaic band-cup painters, which may have been another source of inspiration. For a silhouette Kassel cup of the 530s B.C. cf. CVA Kassel (1) pl. 29, 4; 30, 4 (BAPD 1206).

⁴¹ Scanlon 2002, 93–95.

⁴² They were Corinthians who lived and died in Thebes: Scanlon 2002, 93–95. 328.

⁴³ Ma 2008, 83; Schachter 2007, 125 f. In Athens homoerotic ideals fade after the fall of the tyrants, but such bonds continue to be seen as pivotal in the defence of the homeland: Zografou 2010, 333.

⁴⁴ CVA London (9) pls. 24. 25 (BAPD 205073).

⁴⁵ ABV 623–626, esp. 624 f.; Ure 1927, 63–66 (Type E); Kilinski 1990, 30 f. Distinct features: poor glaze and draughtsmanship; direct application of white on the clay surface (as here for female's arms).



Fig. 7 a–c Akraiphia,
grave T. 166, Skyphos
42230

a Boeotian provenance, Rhitsona, but more examples have appeared since then, some from Akraiphia⁴⁶. The Group's skyphoi are connected with Ure's Class of Skyphoi C⁴⁷ regarding shape, and with the CHC Group in style of drawing. CHC skyphoi were especially popular in late Archaic Boeotia, where they were imported and copied⁴⁸. Some sloppy Boeotian variants may fall late in the series reaching down to the first decade of the 5th century B.C. and were consumed locally, notably at a time when Attic red-figure masterpieces invade the Etruscan graves as well as some major Greek sanctuaries. The repertoire of the Group of Thebes R.102 is comprised of a single or a few generic figures, mostly youths and sphinxes, and occasionally women⁴⁹. In some instances, only the lateral sphinxes appear as sole decoration and a kind of workshop trademark⁵⁰. This kind of frugal decoration is executed sloppily, yet it does not fail to focus the viewer on the essential, which, in our case, is the iconic image of the seated female. Its occurrence in the man's grave may have functioned as a visual reference to the womenfolk of his household and particularly as a token image of his bride or wife and a memorialization of their marital relationship against the backdrop of the cemetery⁵¹. The interpretation of the generic female figure as signifying womenfolk gains depth when the skyphos bearing it is seen in tandem with its pair in the tomb, namely the one depicting combat sports. Their combined reading may suggest that what underpins the visual rhetoric in this grave's *mise en scène* is the concept of the woman as prize in an agonistic context.

The particular semantic association between the participant in combat sports and the woman is highlighted on a contemporary CHC skyphos from Rhitsona, perhaps a Boeotian copy, which depicts a filleted and thus victorious boxer on its obverse and a striding woman on its reverse (*fig. 8 a. b*)⁵². Her posture identifies her as a reluctant, fleeing bride in a figural type that was used commonly in amorous pursuit scenes whence it was further excerpted. The bridal female was not chosen at random as the victorious boxer's thematic pair on the Rhitsona skyphos: in fact, she was meant as his trophy at a contest. The concept of a woman as prize is known from the epic poems, where females are mentioned among metal vessels and animals offered to winners⁵³. It finds early artistic expression on an architectural model from the sanctuary of Poseidon Heliconius in Achaia (720–700 B.C.) which depicts chariots, men at a prize-tripod and an »elite maiden« being surrendered to a man⁵⁴. The unified narrative of victory at chariot races, tripod dedication and capture of a maiden is so important to the dedicant's *oikos* that the decorative area chosen for this scene is the architectural model's culminating point, namely its roof. The cultural ideal and widely diffused folktale motif which combines wedding and *agon* underpins further several myths of marriage by contest

⁴⁶ Andreiomenou 1990, 133 pl.93 (Grave 25); Andreiomenou 1994, 203 and 207 fig.71 a. b (Grave KOL / 100); Andreiomenou 1995, 141–145, esp. 143 f.; pl. 21, 4 (Grave ΔΔ / 34); cf. Andreiomenou 2001, 480 fig. 18; 483 (Grave Mara / 20). For other similar examples see CVA Nantes pl. 17, 1; CVA Jena (1) pl. 64, 1–2.

⁴⁷ M. Pipili, CVA Athens (4) 52. These derive from the Attic Heron Class.

⁴⁸ Kilinski 1990, 59. M. Pipili in: CVA Athens (4) 52–63 dates them in 510–490 B.C. See also n. 26 above.

⁴⁹ BAPD 306360. 306362. 306368 depict a youth seated on a stool between sphinxes in a compositional type identical to our scene. For a woman see Andreiomenou 1990, 133 pl.93 (Grave 25). Cf. also an earlier skyphos of better quality in drawing and ornament in Andreiomenou 1995, 144 n. 215 pl. 21, 4 which depicts a running woman. This repertoire is featured also on late CHC skyphoi.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., Thebes R. 102. 100 (BAPD) 306366.

⁵¹ For the woman as emblem of the *kalos kagathos* see Vilatte 1986. The seated posture imparts elevated status; the female may be understood as an iconographic shorthand for the matronly bride. The male-female relationship may have also been conveyed on a skyphos by this Group depicting a male and a female head on either side: see Kilinski 1990, 30 cat. no. 1.

⁵² V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 60 pl. 53, 4–6, where the woman is described as stepping dancingly. When seen in association with the boxer on the obverse her posture may be interpreted as echoing the maiden's erotically charged and quasi choreographed flight.

⁵³ Kefalidou 2007, 205. 213.

⁵⁴ Gadoulou 2015, 271–274. I thank A. Gadoulou for drawing my attention to this find that tells the same story as our grave's imagery, albeit in a different context and date.

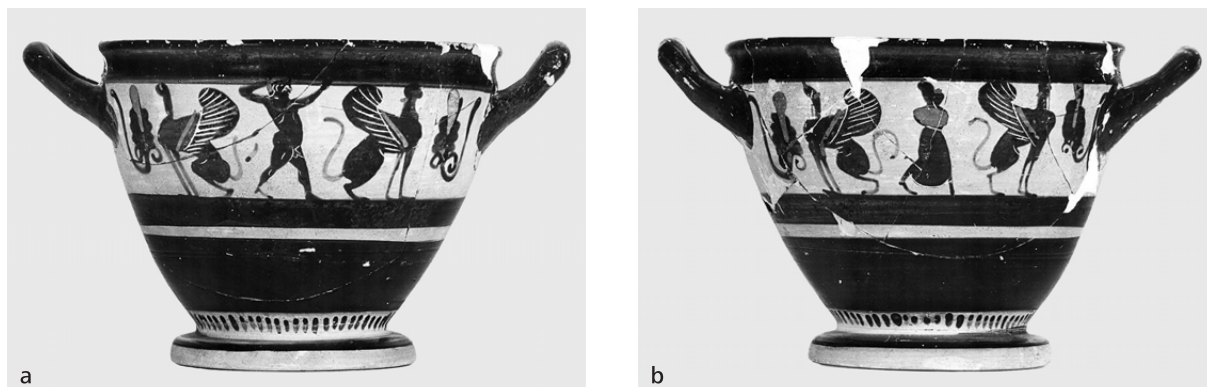


Fig. 8 a. b Rhitsona, Skyphos R.31.175

with the bride as prize, such as Peleus' wrestling with Thetis and Atalanta, the archery contest for Iole and Penelope, the chariot race for Hippodameia, the struggle between Herakles and Acheloos for Deianeira and that of Apollo versus Idas for Marpessa, among others⁵⁵. That this ideal reflected but also shaped real life habits is suggested by Herodotos' story of Megakles' marriage to the daughter of the Sicyonian tyrant Kleisthenes after a lengthy *agon* at all levels⁵⁶. In literary imagery, Euripides portrays Herakles and Thanatos wrestling over the loyal consort Alcestis⁵⁷, while the marriage theme underpins the victor's praise in one of Pindar's odes which celebrate Telesikrates as a winner entitled to a fine wife⁵⁸.

The long-lived association between *agon* and the woman as award continues to underpin Attic and Boeotian red-figure of the Classical period but it has not always been recognized as such. Images of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. picture boxing or wrestling as a contest for love in the presence of the bride herself. This may be the theme of a small group of Attic vessels of the 440s B.C., such as a skyphos in Bochum by the Penelope Painter (440–430 B.C.) with boxers on the obverse and a female judge before a prize-tripod beneath which stands a girl on the reverse⁵⁹. A *kalos* dipinto has been tentatively reconstructed above the boxers and a *kale* above the woman⁶⁰. Kunisch rightly interpreted the imagery as a prize in the unfolding boxing contest on the basis of Homer's epics. Modestly wrapped in her mantle, the prize-maiden is placed under the tripod as if being part of it in order to suggest that she also was a prestigious award. The girl and the tripod are offered to a double, internal and external viewership, for they can be seen by the contesting boxers in the image but also by the beholder of the vessel⁶¹. The identity of the female umpire standing next to the girl is enigmatic, but a pyxis and a fragment of a nuptial lebes by the Washing Painter (430–420 B.C.) with two wrestling Erotes suggests that this figure must be Aphrodite herself⁶². In the latter vase she watches the entangled Erotes holding the judge's wand, while in the former she

⁵⁵ Kakridis 1971, 33–39; Hansen 2002, 56–62 (»Bride won in a Tournament«); Scanlon 2002, 28 f.; Neils 2013, 120–123.

⁵⁶ Hdt. 6, 126–131.

⁵⁷ E. Alc. 1025–1036. Love as agonistic activity is further attested in other 5th cent. B.C. poetry on a metaphorical level: Scanlon 2002, 260 f.

⁵⁸ P. 9.97–100 (474 B.C.); Scanlon 2002, 222–226.

⁵⁹ BAPD 9031676; N. Kunisch, CVA Bochum (2) text to pl. 26, 4–5. For a different interpretation see Tiverios 2011, 349–353, arguing that the female was meant as a statue supporting the tripod. Yet, her statuery look may just be a way to highlight the girl's solemn appearance as a prize. For an example of a figure ap-

pearing as a living statue see Lissarrague 1999, 369 f. fig. 9. The Penelope Painter's choice of theme makes his skyphos an appropriate wedding gift; its mending holes suggest use-life before reaching the grave, a habit also attested in Boeotia.

⁶⁰ Although the former is uncertain, a *kalos*-tag is not incompatible with the boxers, as suggested by the already mentioned cup by Douris (BAPD 205073; see above, n. 44).

⁶¹ Epics and tragedy insist on the bride's visibility during the contest: Kakridis 1971, 33–39.

⁶² Pyxis Würzburg H 4455 (BAPD 215006); fragment Munich 8926 (BAPD 214887); see Sabetai 1993, 102–117; Gambogi 1998, pl. 53, 3; Scanlon 2002, 260–262.

observes the contest seated with a sceptre. Aphrodite, wearing chiton and himation as on the Bochum skyphos, appears often to the bride with Eros in nuptial scenes by the Washing Painter⁶³. On the painter's pyxis the Erotes wrestle under her auspices for the sake of their object of desire, the bride herself, who is binding her hair on her nuptial couch in the presence of a third Eros and a loutrophoros-bearer. The idea that erotic love wins the trophy bride is pervasive in red-figure nuptial imagery. It may be seen as the continuation on a metaphorical level of the Archaic concept of competing for an elite maiden who will become the bride of the winner's aristocratic *oikos*. Boeotia followed such trends in Attic imagery of the Classical period. The Painter of the Dancing Pan (ca. 420 B.C.) painted an amusing variant whereby two Erotes undertake a proxy contest via cocks who are shown fighting at the louterion, the iconographic space of female embellishment and bridal preparation. The victorious cock will win his erotic mates, the hens, while the Eros owning and supervising him will win the seated bride and possibly also the female companions populating the rest of the vessel's decorative area, which functions as a conceptual women's room⁶⁴. The Boeotian painter's parallelism between the Erotes and the cocks as fighters for love encapsulates visually the interconnected themes of the agonistic and the nuptial in a humorous way.

To return to the dialogue of images in the Akraiphian tomb, the marital meaning conveyed by the combined vase-iconography of boxers / wrestlers and a trophy wife highlights the importance of marriage as the foundation of one's *oikos*. Such nuptial ideals are not at odds with the *kalos* acclamation on the kantharos which may have recalled the dead man's initiatory pederasty, as already said, but also, more generally, that he was cherished, once handsome and entitled to a good wife⁶⁵.

In sum, the juxtaposed images of combat sports and a woman in an early 5th century B.C. Boeotian tomb hint at an intricate nexus of interconnected meanings and values. Despite the scholar's difficulty to recover them effortlessly, they must have been readily apparent in antiquity, embedded, as they were, in the common canvas of shared knowledge. At the funeral such images would have reflected the values permeating Ptoiketas' life when still a master of his Akraiphian *oikos* and would have prompted familiar recollections among the mourning audience.

THE FIGURED POTTERY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS POTTERY-GROUP: FABRICS, NUMBERS, SHAPES, COMPOSITION OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

Let us now look at the occupant of tomb T. 166 through a wider lens zooming out from the figured skyphoi with complementary iconography to the rest of his grave furnishings and their placement around his corpse. These fall into two categories, i.e. ceramics and metal. Missing are two classes of objects occurring in other Boeotian graves, namely figurines, usually accompanying children and women as well as jewellery, such as hair-spirals, usually associated with young individuals⁶⁶.

⁶³ Her comely allure resonates with her matronly iconography in the Parthenon frieze: Mark 1984, 295–302; Sabetai 1993, 91–101; Sabetai 2019, 41–44.

⁶⁴ Sabetai 2012a, 125 f.

⁶⁵ Ferri 1962. Yet, examples of the heterosexual *kalos* are a little later than our grave: see, e.g., Romiopoulou 1987 (janiform male / female head-vase bearing the graffiti *kalos, kale* in a presumed humorous context);

also BAPD 275017 (alabastron from nearby Ela-teia).

⁶⁶ Thus, the osteological analysis which identified the occupant of grave T. 166 as an adult man (see Appendix below) is in accordance with his furnishings both in what is present and what is absent. No nails suggesting a coffin, or funerary wreaths were deposited either.



Fig. 9 a. b Akraiphia, grave
T. 66, Droop Cup inv. 42231

As to the arrangement of the grave-goods, the bulk of the ceramics were placed in two areas in the interior, namely one cluster around the head, the other along the right side of the corpse's lower part (*fig. 1 b. 2*). Seven vases packed in three layers flanked the skull: at the bottom was an exaleiptron, above which lay the Droop cup (*fig. 9*) and a glazed skyphos, and on top a skyphos and three kantharoi, two touching the cheek-bones. Along the body and at the dead man's right side were eight vases, namely four kantharoi, among them the inscribed one lying by his knee, two exaleiptra, a kotyle and a mug. Also on the right and on top of his femur bone was his iron knife, put in his palm or attached to a belt. The figured skyphoi were the only vases that were found together beside his left femur.

The number of offerings seems scanty in comparison with some wealthy, late Archaic Akraiphian graves, but is not frugal when seen against the rather poorly furnished burials of the first half of the 5th century B.C. However, as development and variation in the number of furnishings in Boeotian tombs has not been quantified yet, any such remarks remain preliminary. It may be generally said that the wealth of objects varies according to time period, social status, sex and age of the deceased.

We are on safer ground with observations regarding our tomb's repertory of shapes which comprises 14 drinking vases (seven kantharoi, five skyphoi, one Droop cup and one

mug) and three ointment vases (exaleiptra). Although in the Archaic period unguent vessels, especially Corinthian aryballoi, predominate, the turn of the century sees a gradual shift towards drinking equipment, particularly skyphoi. Ointment vessels still appear, but now in the form of Corinthian exaleiptra and locally produced glazed plemochoai. In this tomb feasting is suggested by the skyphoi, kantharoi and cup, while mixing bowls do not occur, as is the norm in Boeotian necropoleis. The absence of complete wine sets may be seen in the context of local funerary customs, where personal drinking equipment is preponderant but the more communal krater must have stayed home with the living. As regards figured vessels, these are a minority in funerary assemblages and usually occur in select burials.

Looking at this grave assemblage as a whole complements the picture from other viewpoints too. Regarding workshops, we note an assortment of Atticizing black-figure and Boeotian glazed drinking pots with Corinthian ointment containers. Although Attic imports of figured pottery continue through the course of the 5th century B.C. in Boeotia, a preference for local ware is attested in the tomb. Both its figured vases adhere to Attic prototypes, but the skyphos depicting athletics, in particular, further amalgamates elements from earlier regional artistic sources in an effort to look respectful of tradition. This tendency in art seems suggestive of cultural continuity in social attitudes and customs which is evident also in the plethora of glazed kantharoi.

A final word should be said about the assortment of the grave's furnishings, by comparison to the general patterns of burial deposition in Boeotia. The fact that skyphoi connected to the CHC Group are recurrent in contemporary tombs at Akraiphia⁶⁷ and Rhitsona⁶⁸, as well as the fact that the funerary shape-repertory consists of ointment and drinking vases indicate similar patterns in various Boeotian necropoleis around 500 B.C. Comparison of figured vessels from several contemporaneous tomb groups suggests that there may also exist patterns in the assortment of images. As an example of scenes associating the agonistic with the female realm we may cite, e.g., an Akraiphian grave which comprised a skyphos depicting a tripod and others picturing seated women⁶⁹. In other grave groups the agonistic and female / erotic themes may underpin scenes that do not immediately reveal their interconnectedness to the modern eye⁷⁰. The relative uniformity of contemporary assemblages as attested in combinations of shape-types and imagery does not seem fortuitous nor imposed solely by what was readily available in the Boeotian markets and homes, as often assumed. This type of explanation tends to leave the agency of the buyer and the burying group unaccounted for. On the contrary, the selection of specific shapes and imagery at various Boeotian sites (Rhitsona, Akraiphia) seems suggestive of conscious choices which must be understood as reflecting common ground and cultural habits. This realization could further contribute to the study of Boeotia as a network of poleis also on the evidence of mortuary evidence⁷¹.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., Andreiomenou 1990, 133 pl. 93 (Grave 25): male burial comprising a knife and 19 vases, among them eleven black-glazed (nine kantharoi, a mug and a skyphos), one Corinthian and seven black-figured, of which five are by the Group of Thebes R.102 (single figures). See also Andreiomenou 2015, 318–326 pls. 216–222: grave with 65 vases, among them a silhouette skyphos with wrestlers and Droop cups (see n. 25, above).

⁶⁸ In graves 5. 18. 26. 31. 80. 82. 102. 112. 130; see Ure 1927, pls. 18–21 *passim*.

⁶⁹ Andreiomenou 2015, 236–243 pls. 132, 26.1 and 134, 26.16–26.17 (grave no. 26). The skyphoi depicting the seated female may be attributed as close to the CHC Group.

⁷⁰ Andreiomenou 2015, 318–326 pls. 217–222, esp. 217 f. (grave no. 90): wrestlers, cocks and hens, monoposist on the ground with seated woman, riders, chariot, Dionysiac thiasos, animals (see also n. 25, above).

⁷¹ Cf. Mackil 2013 on common polity.

CONCLUSION

Funerals are highly staged activities encoding cultural values and embedded concepts, re-affirming or negating aspects of personal and collective identities at the time of the formal deposition of the corpse⁷². In this paper an effort was made to sketch the profile at death of an adult male who was buried in Boeotia ca. 500–490 B.C. To do so we jointly assessed the various elements contributing to the characterization of his social persona against the backdrop of the cemetery. The figured but also the inscribed and the undecorated pots, as well as the knife, all have a story to tell by their painted scenes, inscriptions, shape-types, use-life, function and placement around the corpse. The combined reading of the evidence reveals how the man was memorialized, which may reflect also how he lived, or, more correctly, how he aspired to live. At the time of his burial Ptoiketas, memorialized by name as *kalos*, was staged as capable of bearing a weapon. The images surrounding him, informed by traditional aesthetics in style and theme, complement one another and function as visual praise of citizen role models ca. 500 B.C.: excelling in athletics and specifically in the venerated combat sports, being entitled to a trophy wife, initiating an *oikos* via marriage⁷³. The place of honour held by the many kantharoi adds an ethnic and heroic dimension to the funeral; these ritual vases can be seen as attributes construing and reflecting his last self-image⁷⁴. Note that clay vases were an important medium in expressing ideological issues via image and shape and communicating them to the citizen community. The cumulative identities of being a former partaker of *paideia* in conjunction with athletics, a man bearing arms and a husband, can be seen as pebbles in the same mosaic of values in early 5th century B.C. Boeotia. Issues of this kind are best researched when one analyzes the totality of the grave furnishings and their relationship to the dead person.

APPENDIX

1. The Finds of Grave T. 166

Vases⁷⁵ (figs. 2. 3).

Around the skull:

- 1 Inv. 42243. Black-glazed kantharos. Maximum height 15.5 cm. Dm_{Rim} 14 cm.
- 2 Inv. 42233. Black-glazed kantharos, misfired red⁷⁶. H 13 cm. H at rim 9 cm. Dm_{Rim} 11.5–12.5 cm. Dm 18.5 cm. Dm_{Base} 6 cm.
- 3 Inv. 49014. Corinthian ray kotyle⁷⁷. H 12 cm. Dm_{Rim} 15 cm. Dm 22.5 cm. Dm_{Base} 8.4 cm.
- 4 Inv. 42234. Black-glazed kantharos⁷⁸. H 17 cm. Dm_{Rim} 13.3 cm. Dm 20 cm. Dm_{Base} 7 cm.

⁷² »An inhumation presents the body as a unit or a totality in the grave«: Oestigaard 2013, 500; Sofaer – Stig Sørensen 2013, esp. 527 f.

⁷³ Pindar in P. 11, 55–58 represents the victor Thrasydaeus of Thebes as a restrained citizen and family man: Nicholson 2016, 61. Boeotian images of men and women as »prosopographies«: Sabetai 2012a, 131.

⁷⁴ For similar methodology regarding other cultural contexts see Langner 2012; Herring 2014.

⁷⁵ Numbers 1 to 17 (followed by the Museum invento-

ry number) refer to vases in the excavation drawing (fig. 3) and reflect the sequence of their unearthing; the overlapping pieces 3, 15 and 16 do not feature in the drawing.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ure 1927, pl. 10 no. 80.223 (grave 80, 500–490 B.C.: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 100).

⁷⁷ Cf. Stillwell – Benson 1984, 190 f., pl. 44 no. 1006. Latter part of 6th–early 5th cent. B.C.

⁷⁸ Similar shape: Ure 1913, pl. 4 no. 12.66 and 26.140 (graves 12 and 26, 510–480 B.C.: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 98 f.). Cf. CVA Reading (1) pl. 33, 4.

Below these, still around the skull at the NW side of the pit:

- 15 Inv. 42231. Droop cup⁷⁹. H 8 cm. Dm_{Rim} 19 cm. Dm 25.5 cm. Dm_{Base} 7.8 cm (*fig. 9*).
 16 Inv. 42237. Black-glazed skyphos. H 9 cm. Dm_{Rim} 12.5 cm. Dm 20 cm. Dm_{Base} 7 cm.

At the lowest level:

- 17 Inv. 42240. Corinthian exaleiptron. H 5 cm. Dm_{Rim} 8 cm. Dm 17.2 cm. Dm_{Base} 10.1 cm.
 Concentric lines.

Alongside the body, right side:

- 5 Inv. 42238. Black-glazed kantharos. H 19 cm. Dm_{Rim} 15.2 cm. Dm 22 cm. Dm_{Base} 7.9 cm.
 6 Inv. 42235. Black-glazed kantharos⁸⁰. H 18.1 cm. Dm_{Rim} 14.5 cm. Dm 22 cm. Dm_{Base} 7.6 cm.
 7 Inv. 42229. Corinthian skyphos⁸¹. H 9 cm. Dm_{Rim} 11.4 cm. Dm 17.5 cm. Dm_{Base} 7.2 cm.
 8 Inv. 42232. Black-glazed mug, misfired red⁸². H 8.8 cm. Dm_{Rim} 9.9–10.5 cm. Dm 11.8 cm. Dm_{Base} 6 cm.
 9 Inv. 42239. Corinthian exaleiptron. Lanceolate leaves⁸³. H 5 cm. Dm_{Rim} 7.5 cm. Dm 16.8 cm. Dm_{Base} 11 cm.
 10 Inv. 42242. Black-glazed kantharos, ὙΠΟΙΚΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ⁸⁴. H 16.5 cm. Dm_{Rim} 12.4 cm. Dm 18 cm. Dm_{Base} 6.3 cm. It lay broken with its inscribed side facing down (*fig. 4 a. b. c*).
 11 Inv. 42241. Corinthian exaleiptron. Lanceolate leaves. H 6 cm. Dm_{Rim} 8.2 cm. Dm 17 cm. Dm_{Base} 9.5 cm.
 12 Inv. 42236. Black-glazed kantharos. Missing one handle and part of its upper body. Streaked glaze⁸⁵. H 19 cm. Dm_{Rim} 14.9 cm. Dm_{Base} 7.5 cm.

Alongside the body, left side:

- 13 Inv. 42228. Black-figure skyphos. A. Wrestling. B. Boxing. H 10.3 cm. Dm_{Rim} 15.5 cm. Dm 21.6 cm. Dm_{Base} 10 cm. It lay with the wrestling scene upwards, facing the viewer (*fig. 6 a. b. c. d*).
 14 Inv. 42230. Black-figure skyphos. A–B, seated woman flanked by a sphinx at either side. H 11 cm. Dm_{Rim} 16 cm. Dm 22.4 cm. Dm_{Base} 9.3 cm (*fig. 7 a. b. c*).

Other (fig. 4c)

- 18 Inv. 52633. Metal: a knife with one cutting side. Length: 0.28 m; Width 0.04 m. Complete, once with wood handle. It lay diagonally on the right femur (*fig. 5*).

⁷⁹ Cf. Pipili 2009.

⁸⁰ Cf. Ure 1927, pl. 11 no. 80.118 (grave 80, 500–490 B.C.: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 100).

⁸¹ Cf. CVA Reading (1) text to pl. 2. 12 f. (A. D. Ure). Date: latter part of 6th–early 5th cent. B.C.

⁸² Mug in Akraiphian graves: Sabetai 2012b, 308. 311. Cf. Andreiomenou 1973/1974, pl. 280 c and Andreiomenou 1988, 9–11. Date: last quarter of 6th–beginning of the 5th cent. B.C.

⁸³ Date: latter part of 6th–early 5th cent. B.C.; 138 specimens were found in 18 graves at Rhitsona: A. D. Ure, CVA Reading (1) text to pl. 6, 6.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ure 1913, pl. 2 no. 31.243 (grave 31, 515–480 B.C.: V. Sabetai, CVA Thebes (1) 99); Ure 1927, pl. 11 no. R.80.108 (for the date of grave 80 see above, n. 76).

⁸⁵ Cf. Ure 1913, pl. 3 no. 31.262 (for the date of grave 31 see above n. 84).

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1 a. b*; 2: excavation photographs and drawing: O. Peperaki. – *Fig. 3. 4 a–c*; 6 *a–d*; 7 *a–c*; 9: A. Santrouzanos. Copyright Ephorate of Boeotia. – *Fig. 5*: V. Sabetai. Copyright Ephorate of Boeotia. – *Fig. 8 a. b*; 10: Copyright Ephorate of Boeotia.



Fig. 10 Akraiphia, Skeleton of grave T. 166

2. Sex and age assessment for T. 166 (Efthymia Nikita)

Based on the preliminary osteological study of the skeleton retrieved from tomb T. 166, the sex of the individual was assessed as male using cranial morphological characters (*fig. 10*).

In specific, the skeleton had a pronounced mental eminence and occipital protuberance as well as gonial eversion. It must be stressed that no pelvic sex markers were preserved; however, the combination of the above cranial features and the absence of any indicators of sexual dimorphism suggestive of a female sex, render rather safe the identification of the sex of this skeleton as male. Regarding age, the only skeletal marker available for study was the degree of dental wear on the maxillary molars. The fact that the third molar had completed its eruption suggests an adult individual, while the rather extensive dental wear identified on this tooth appears to support a middle-aged individual (35–50 years old). Note that the reason the third molar was primarily examined is that this is the last tooth to

erupt (usually at the age of 18 years although marked variation may be seen among individuals). Therefore, although the first and secondarily the second molar exhibited even more pronounced dental wear due to their eruption at the age of 6 and 12 years, respectively, the extensive dental wear on the third molar indicates that it had erupted several years before the death of the individual. However, it must be stressed that numerous factors, including dietary patterns, oral hygiene and others, affect the rate of dental wear; therefore the above age assessment is tentative. For this reason, histological analyses need to be performed in the future in order to complement the macroscopic study of the remains and provide a more accurate age estimation.

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Beobachtungen zum Erechtheion

Zu Form und Funktion der Anthemienfriese

BERNHARD SCHMALTZ

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Die Anthemienfriese des Erechtheion werden von der schlichten Ostseite bis hin zur Nordhalle zusehends reicher ausgestaltet. U. Schädler hatte darauf bereits 1990 hingewiesen und an die zunehmend vegetabilen Anthemien der gleichzeitigen Grabreliefs erinnert. Somit war für ihn ein sepulkraler Aspekt angesprochen: Die Nordhalle führe zum Grab des Erechtheus. Die farbigen Glas- und Goldappliken an den Kapitellen der Nordhalle sowie die Goldrosetten an der großen Tür haben schwerlich sepulkrale Konnotation, vielmehr betonen sie die Bedeutung dieses Anbaus, der offensichtlich der Haupteingang zum Gebäude ist und zum kultischen Zentrum führt, zum Alten Kultbild. Die bislang vorherrschende Meinung geht davon aus, dass dieses Athenabild im Ostteil des Baues aufgestellt war. Die Argumente, die sich auf Inschriften, literarische Nachrichten sowie Baubefunde stützen, erweisen sich bei sorgfältiger Prüfung als weitgehend fragwürdig. Die Option für die Aufstellung im Westen des Baues gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Die ungewöhnliche Ausgestaltung des Hyperthyron-Anthemions weist auf Älteres, sowohl im Motivischen wie im Stil. Dies mag man teilweise mit der römischen Renovierung des Bauteiles begründen, muss aber weitgehend dem originalen Befund entsprochen haben. Auch dadurch wird der Eingang formal betont.

Schlagwörter Athen, Erechtheion; Anthemien schmuck; Standort des *archaion agalma*; Hyperthyron-Dekor.

Observations on the Erechtheion. On the form and function of the anthemion friezes

ABSTRACT Starting off from the more basic eastern side, the anthemion friezes of the Erechtheion become more lavish as one progresses towards the north porch. U. Schädler called attention to this already in 1990 while pointing to the increasingly vegetal character of anthemion friezes on contemporaneous graves, and hence also to their funerary undertone: the north porch would give access to the grave of Erechtheus. However, the coloured glass and gold appliques on the capitals of the north hall as well as the gold rosettes on the large door hardly evoke any sepulchral connotation, but rather underscore the significance of this extension, which perceptibly was the building's main entrance and access to the cultic shrine and the ancient cult statue. Thus far, the prevailing opinion holds that this Athena image was placed in the eastern part of the building. After careful examination, these arguments based on inscriptions, literary information, and architectural findings, prove chiefly to be uncertain, whereas the likelihood for its location in the western part of the building is growing. The unusual design of the hyperthyron anthemion points to something more ancient, both in terms of motif and style. This may be due partly to the Roman renovation of the component, but still largely must have corresponded to the original layout. This also emphasises the entrance formally.

Keywords Athens; Erechtheion; anthemion ornaments; location of *archaion agalma*; hyperthyron decor.

Παρατηρήσεις για το Ερέχθειο. Σχετικά με τη μορφή και τη λειτουργία των ζωφόρων με τα ανθέμια

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Ξεκινώντας από τη λιτή ανατολική πλευρά, με κατεύθυνση προς τη βόρεια πρόσταση, οι ζωφόροι με τα ανθέμια του Ερέχθειου φέρουν προοδευτικά πλουσιότερη διακόσμηση. Ο U. Schädler το είχε επισημάνει ήδη το 1990 τονίζοντας τον ολοένα εντονότερο φυτικό χαρακτήρα των ανθεμίων στα επιτύμβια ανάγλυφα της ίδιας περιόδου και συμπεραίνοντας ότι υπήρχε μια ταφική αναφορά στη διακόσμηση αυτή: Η βόρεια πρόσταση θα οδηγούσε στον τάφο του Ερεχθέα, κατά τον Schädler. Τα επιθέματα από χρωματιστό γυαλί και χρυσό στα κιονόκρανα της βόρειας πρόστασης καθώς και οι χρυσοί ρόδακες στη μεγάλη θύρα είναι μάλλον απίθανο να έχουν ταφικές συνδηλώσεις. Πολύ περισσότερο τονίζουν τη σημασία αυτής της προέκτασης του κτίσματος, η οποία προφανώς αποτελεί την κύρια είσοδο στο κτίριο και οδηγεί στον λατρευτικό πυρήνα του, στο παλαιό λατρευτικό είδωλο. Η έως τώρα κυρίαρχη άποψη υποστηρίζει ότι αυτό το είδωλο της Αθηνάς ήταν στημένο στο ανατολικό τμήμα του κτίσματος. Τα επιχειρήματα, που βασίζονται σε επιγραφές, πληροφορίες της αρχαίας γραμματείας και αρχιτεκτονικά ευρήματα, αποδεικνύονται εν πολλοίς αμφίβολα σε μια ενδελεχή εξέταση. Η τοποθέτηση του λατρευτικού αγάλματος στο δυτικό τμήμα του κτιρίου φαίνεται πιο πιθανή. Η ασυνήθιστη διαμόρφωση του ανθέμιου στο υπέρθυρο παραπέμπει σε κάτι παλαιότερο, όσον αφορά τόσο το μοτίβο όσο και την τεχνολογία. Αυτό μπορεί κανείς να το συσχετίσει εν μέρει με τη ρωμαϊκή ανακαίνιση του δομικού στοιχείου αλλά θα πρέπει να αντιστοιχούσε σε μεγάλο βαθμό στο πρωτότυπο εύρημα. Η είσοδος τονίζεται και μορφολογικά από αυτό. **Λέξεις-κλειδιά** Αθήνα. Ερέχθειο. Ανθεμωτή διακόσμηση. Θέση του αρχαίου αγάλματος. Διάκοσμος υπέρθυρου.

Die Anthemienfriese des Erechtheions im Bereich der Epikranitis und der Säulenhäse vertreten drei Grundtypen (bei geringfügigen Abweichungen im Einzelnen). Im Osten wird an den Antenkapitellen und an den Säulenhäsen der stete Wechsel von Lotusblüte und Palmette von schlichten Spiralhaken getragen. Diese setzen unter den drei Basisblättern der fünfblättrigen Lotusblüten¹ (*Abb. 1 und 3*) oder unmittelbar unter den Akanthuskelchen der dreiblättrigen Lotusblüten² (*Abb. 2*) an und rollen sich unter den Palmetten in eineinhalb Windungen ein. In den Zwickeln der gegenständigen Voluten hängt nach unten ein Spitzblatt herab, nach oben erhebt sich dagegen eine kleine geschlossene Palmette oder ein Spitzblatt als ›Boden‹ der großen elfblättrigen Palmetten³.

An den Langseiten des Baues stehen die gleichen Motive, Lotusblüte und Palmette auf einer Ranke, die aus aneinandergereihten, liegenden S-Spiralen besteht (*Abb. 4*). Diese rollen sich ihrerseits unter den Palmetten in eineinhalb Windungen nach oben hin ein und unter den Lotusblüten in einer Windung nach unten⁴. An den Voluten stehen kleine Hüllblätter nach unten ab. Der ›Boden‹ der Palmetten ist in der Regel im Sinne einer ganz flachen Palmette bezeichnet. Im Vergleich zum Anthemienband im Osten ist an den Langseiten die fortlaufende Bewegung der Ranke stärker betont, wogegen das stets neue Einsetzen der Spiralhaken unter den Lotusblüten im Osten gleichsam retardierend als Hiat wirkt.

Im Bereich der Nordhalle kommt an der Epikranitis, an den Seiten der Antenkapitelle und an den Säulenhäsen ein neues Motiv hinzu (*Abb. 5. 6*). Die Voluten unter den Palmetten entlassen zur Seite hin je eine Ranke, die in kurzem Abstand vertikal nach oben wächst, sich in zwei kleinen Voluten aufrollt, erst zur Palmette hin, dann von der Palmette weg. Auch in diesem Fall steht je ein kleines Hüllblatt zur anderen Seite ab, und aus der oberen Gabel wächst ein dünner glatter Stiel, der im Gegensinn zur Volute darunter ausschwingt, also zur Palmette hin, und in einer sechsblättrigen *en-face*-Blüte endet. Hinzu kommt, dass dort, wo sich die Spiralen unter den Lotusblüten nach unten einrollen, zwischen den Voluten eine kleine Lotusblüte steht, aus deren Mitte der dünne Stiel des Akanthuskelches der großen Lotusblüte aufwächst. Die vegetabilen Elemente haben gegenüber den zuvor beschriebenen Anthemien zugenommen.

An den Stirnen der Nordhallenanten sowie an der Südseite der Nordwest-Ante kommt noch eine unscheinbare Bereicherung hinzu. Denn nun wächst auch unter den Lotusblüten eine kleine Ranke zur Seite und nach oben, ein kurzer glatter Stiel, der eine winzige *en-face*-Blüte trägt (*Abb. 7*).

Schließlich bietet das Anthemion des Hyperthyron in der Nordhalle noch eine weitere Variante. Aus den liegenden S-Spiralen der ›Grundranke‹ sind nun dreigliedrige Elemente geworden, die jeweils unter den Lotusblüten ihren Ausgang nehmen (*Abb. 8*): Mittig unter

J. Raeder danke ich einmal mehr sehr herzlich für kritische Lektüre und wichtige Hinweise. H. Kienast danke ich sehr, dass er es auf sich nahm, vom Anthemion des Hyperthyron in der Nordhalle Aufnahmen zu machen, die er mir großzügig zur Verfügung stellte (*Abb. 8*). Auch danke ich ihm für kritische Lektüre des Manuskripts. Für hilfreiche Hinweise danke ich sehr W. Ehrhardt (Freiburg), für die Bereitstellung der Fotos der Säulenhäse des Roma-Augustus-Tempels danke ich J. Heiden (ehemals Athen).

¹ Diese Variante wird an den Antenkapitellen der Korhalle aufgegriffen sowie an der Südwest-Ante (Südseite).

² Diese leicht ›sparsamere‹ Variante ist für die Außen-

seiten der Antenkapitelle genutzt. – Ähnlich wird auch an den Antenkapitellen der Nordhalle jeweils die Front etwas reicher gestaltet als die Seiten. Der Schluss liegt nahe, dass es sich nicht um Eigenheiten von Werkstätten handelt, sondern um bewusste Maßnahmen einer Hierarchisierung. Schädler 1990, 368–373 sieht darin eine ionische Eigenart.

³ Eine Variante zu diesem Anthemion bieten die Häse der Halbsäulen im Westen, insofern die Reihe der Spiralhaken nach unten gespiegelt wiederholt wird. Doch sind diese Kapitelle einer römischen Renovierung zu verdanken.

⁴ Die Lotusblüten wachsen stets aus einem Akanthuskelch auf, die reichere Variante mit den drei Basisblättern darunter fehlt.

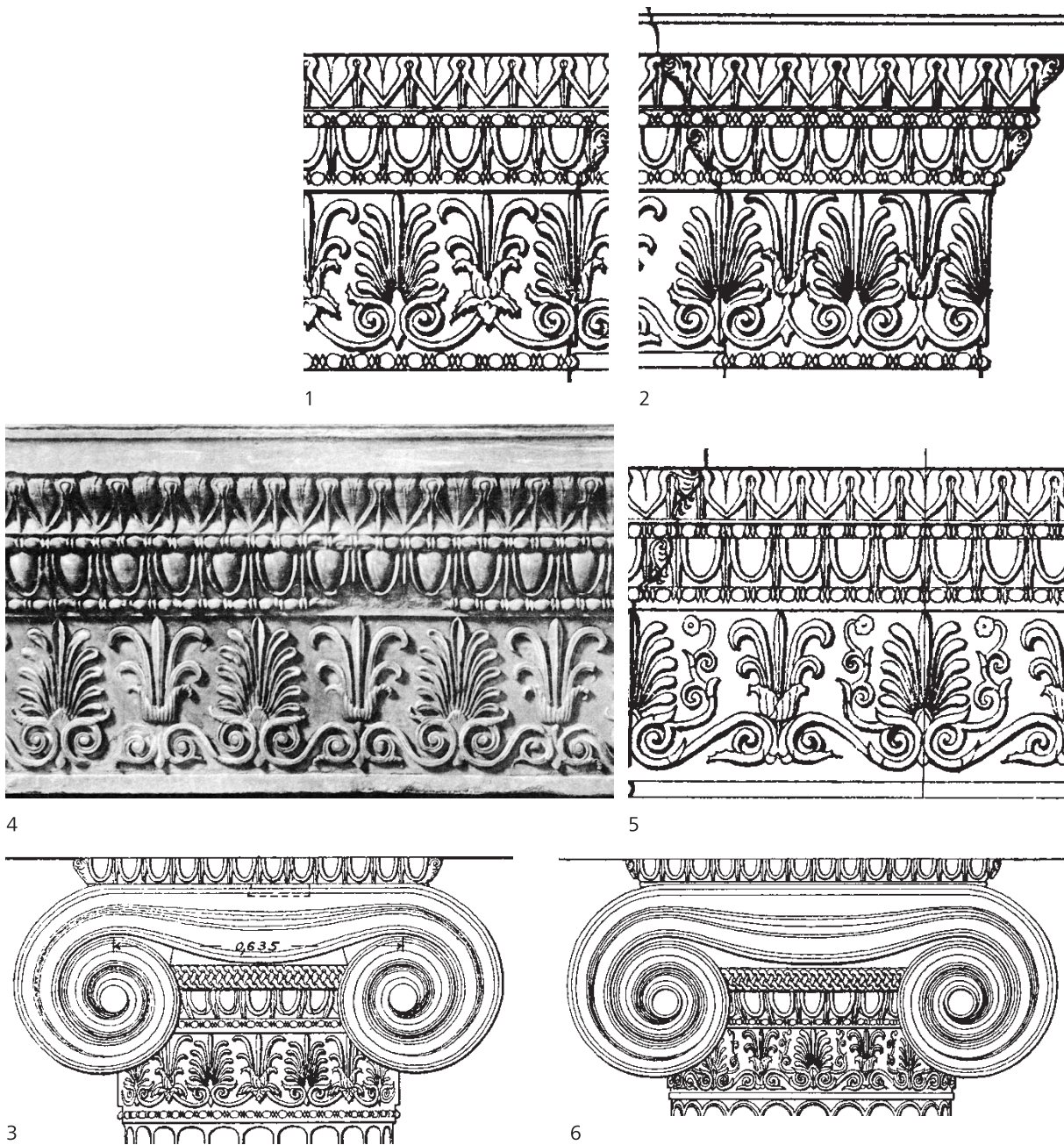


Abb. 1 Ost-Anten, Antenstirn. – Abb. 2 Ost-Anten, Außenseite. – Abb. 3 Kapitell der Ost-Portikus. –
 Abb. 4 Epikranitis des Hauptbaues (Südseite). – Abb. 5 Epikranitis der Nordhalle. –
 Abb. 6 Kapitell der Nordhalle

ihnen biegt die Ranke unvermittelt \cap -förmig um⁵ und rollt sich dann beidseitig rasch im Gegensinn zur ersten Volute auf. Es folgen zwei weitere Aufrollungen der Ranke jeweils im Gegensinn. Seitlich der Lotusblüten steht zwischen der ersten und zweiten Volute je eine kleine geflammte Palmette. Der weite Raum zur folgenden Palmette hin wird wieder gefüllt von einer weit ausladenden Ranke, die sich von der Volute unter der Palmette zunächst waagerecht löst, um dann wenig vor der geflammten kleinen Palmette nach oben zu wach-

⁵ Diese Lösung findet sich gelegentlich wieder, so z. B. an Dach 48 in Olympia (Heiden 1995, 120 f.), an den Dächern 58, 80, 81 und 84 in Delphi (Le Roy 1967, 133. 154. 156. 174; hinzu kommt eine Sima aus dem Ptoion: Le Roy 1967, 145). Allerdings rollt sich hier die Ranke nur zu je einer Volute unter den Palmetten auf.

sen. Aus dem Zwickel zwischen einer kleinen Endvolute und einem großen Akanthusblatt »schießt« ein langer dünner, gebogener Stiel nach oben und endet in einer ungewöhnlichen Palmette. Sie verfügt über vier leicht ausladende Kolbenblätter, das übliche Mittelblatt *fehlt*, und sie wächst über einem Spitzblatt aus einem gedrunken-breiten Blattkelch auf, wie er bei Lotusblüten die Regel ist, wobei sich die Spitzen der beiden Kelchblätter fast abrupt einrollen. Da Hyperthyron und Türsturz in römischer Zeit renoviert werden mussten, geht man davon aus, dass die Ornamente kopiert wurden⁶.

Schon Paton hatte seinerzeit die Unterschiede zwischen den verschiedenen Anthemien beschrieben und zusammenfassend gewürdigt: Die Nordhalle biete »the most elaborate decoration«⁷. Und die meisten, die sich mit dem Schmuck am Erechtheion beschäftigten, sind dieser Einschätzung gefolgt und haben es bei dieser Feststellung belassen. Nur U. Schädler ging, soweit ich sehe, einen Schritt weiter⁸. Die durch Blüten bereicherten Anthemien träten nur an der Nordhalle auf, das Motiv sei vom Alten Athenatempel übernommen, doch habe es nun eine bestimmte Bedeutung bekommen. Der »üppige vegetabile Charakter« des Ornamentes lasse »an eine Art Fruchtbarkeitssymbolik denken«⁹. Doch sei eine solche Bereicherung auch an anderen Denkmälern bezeugt, so an der Löwenkopfsima des argivischen Heraion oder am großen Athena-Altar südöstlich des Erechtheions, aber auch an Grabdenkmälern des späten 5. bzw. frühen 4. Jahrhunderts. Und ebendiese letzteren Zeugnisse legten für Schädler eine sepulkrale Bedeutung nahe, weshalb er die Nordhalle als Grabmonument für Erechtheus deutete.

Mit diesem Vorgehen überträgt Schädler die sepulkrale Bedeutung der Grabmäler auf deren vegetabilen Dekor und übersieht dabei, dass dieser Dekor mit dem Hinweis auf Fruchtbarkeit und Leben ganz offensichtlich die Aussage der Grabmäler erweitert, indem er über die konkrete Funktion der Grabmäler, über Grab und Tod hinausweist. Auch ist das von ihm selbst zitierte Vorbild des Alten Athenatempels denkbar ungeeignet, eine sepulkrale Aussage nahezulegen. Es bleibt jedoch Schädlers Verdienst, die zunehmende Bereicherung im Anthemienschmuck des Erechtheions herausgestellt zu haben, und zwar im Sinne einer sichtbaren Steigerung von der Ostfront des Baues bis hin zur Nordhalle¹⁰. Die Frage ist, ob sich diese Steigerung auch anderweitig beobachten lässt, und ob daraus Folgerungen zu ziehen sind.

Vor gut einer Generation ist E. M. Stern¹¹ an den Kapitellen der Nordhalle penibel den Spuren nachgegangen, die keinen Zweifel daran lassen, dass die ausgebohrten Augen des Flechtbandes zwischen den Kapitellvoluten mit Glaseinlagen unterschiedlicher Farben ge-

⁶ Gerade die Klammerformen deuten auf römische Renovierung, ebenso auch das lesbische Kymation mit seinen dicht gereihten Bohrlöchern (s. Abb. 8). Man geht von einer mehr oder weniger getreuen Kopie eines klassischen Originals aus (Paton 1927, 102). Dieser Vermutung steht jedoch entgegen, dass für die *vierblättrige* Palmette über einem Blattkelch in der Zeit Vergleichbares zu fehlen scheint. G. Hübner wies mich freundlicherweise auf zwei »Erechtheion-Zitate« des frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr. hin, das Bruchstück einer Terrakottasima im Kerameikos (ohne die kleine Palmette) sowie einen Marmortürsturz im Athener Nationalmuseum (Hübner 1973, Taf. 73, 2 und 1). Der vollständige Türsturz stimmt bis auf die Blattzahl der kleinen Palmetten motivisch mit dem Hyperthyron überein: Die fünfblättrige Palmette erhebt sich über einem entsprechenden Kelch, allerdings ohne Spitzblatt als Basis. – Weder Paton noch Schädler gehen auf die eigenartige Form dieser kleinen Palmetten ein.

⁷ Paton 1927, 204

⁸ Schädler 1990, 368–373. S. Altekamp, Zu griechischer Architekturorenamentik im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr. Exemplarische archäologische Auswertung der nicht-dorischen Blattornamentik, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Archäologie 37 (Frankfurt am Main 1991) 68 bestreitet hingegen jegliche »sozusagen hierarchische Gliederung« als »sicher abwegig«.

⁹ Schädler 1990, 371.

¹⁰ Die Eigenart, dass die Seiten der Antenkapitelle jeweils die »sparsamere« Variante gegenüber den Antenstirnen bieten (von Schädler 1990, 371 als kleinasiatisch-ionische Besonderheit gewertet), beleuchtet, mit welcher Sorgfalt die Varianten des Anthemienschmuckes ausgewählt und eingesetzt wurden.

¹¹ E. M. Stern, Die Kapitelle der Nordhalle des Erechtheion, AM 100, 1985, 405–426.

Abb. 7 Antenstirnen
der Nordhalle

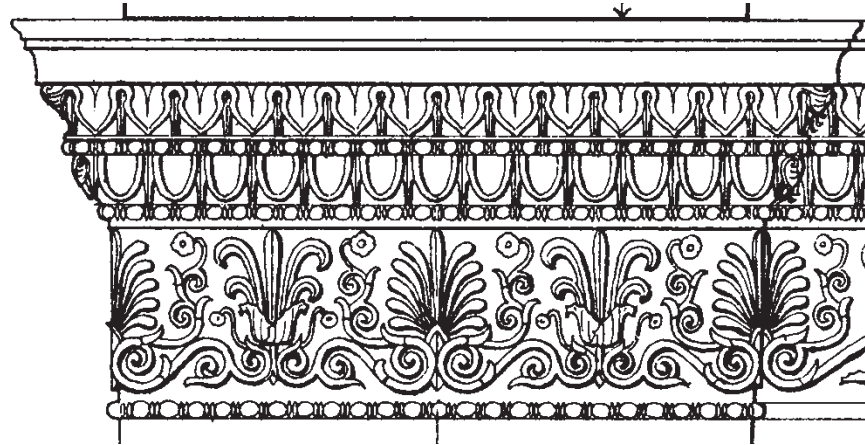


Abb. 8 Nordhalle, Hyperthyron und Türsturz

füllt waren. Hinzu kommen Reste von Bronzestiften bzw. feine Bohrungen, die darauf deuten, dass in den Volutenaugen vergoldete Rosetten befestigt waren, dass in den Zwickeln zwischen Voluten und Torus vergoldete Bronzepalmetten appliziert waren, und dass in den vertieften Spiralen der Voluten bzw. des *Kanalis* vergoldete Bronzestreifen eingelassen waren – eine, wie G. Gruben meinte, »ganz märchenhaft anmutende«¹² Ausstattung.

Ein Jahr später hat Stern¹³ zu den Glaseinlagen an die Parallele im mykenischen Palast in Tiryns erinnert, wo im großen Megaron die Seitenwände im Sockelbereich mit einem ornamentalen Fries aus Alabaster verkleidet waren, der mit Einlagen aus blauer Glaspaste bereichert war. Ein entsprechendes, von Homer genanntes Detail im Palast des Alkinoos¹⁴ habe den Betrachter der Erechtheion-Glaseinlagen an »homerische« Paläste denken lassen und ergänze die Deutung der besonderen Architektur der Nordhalle als Wiedergabe eines mythischen Palastes, wie ihn Vasenbilder wenig später vor Augen führen. Noch bei Pausanias klinge diese Vorstellung an, insofern er den Bau als »οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον«¹⁵ bezeichnete.

Die ähnliche Verwendung farbiger Glaseinlagen in Tiryns und am Erechtheion als dekorativer Bauschmuck ist in der Tat verblüffend. Und doch erscheint es eher zweifelhaft, dass

¹² G. Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* 5 (München 2001) 184. Ähnlich M. Brouskari, *The Monuments of the Acropolis* (Athens 1997) 176: »exuberant, yet delicate decoration«.

¹³ E. M. Stern, *Das Haus des Erechtheus*, *Boreas* 9, 1986, 51–64, hier 53.

¹⁴ Hom. Od. 7, 87.

¹⁵ Paus. 1, 26, 5 (Edition: M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausanias. Graeciae descriptio* 1 [Leipzig 1973]).

bei Homers Schilderung des mythischen Palastes des Alkinoos mit all seiner märchenhaften Ausstattung gerade die Erwähnung eines blauen Simses / Frieses (θριγκὸς κυάνοιο) dem Betrachter der Erechtheionkapitelle die Palastassoziation wirklich nahegelegt haben soll. Eher bietet es sich an, angesichts der ›Goldaccessoires‹ der Kapitelle auch die 29 großen vergoldeten Rosetten ins Auge zu fassen, die am äußeren Rahmen der großen Tür in lockerer Reihung appliziert waren¹⁶ und dieser Tür besonderen Glanz verliehen¹⁷. So scheint die Zunahme an vegetabilen Elementen im Anthemienschmuck bis hin zum Hyperthyron über der Tür und die Bereicherung der Nordhallenkapitelle mit Gold und buntem Glas nun in der auffallend großen Prachttür zu kulminieren. Es drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass die große Tür den Zugang bildete zu dem, was in diesem Bau und für ihn besondere Bedeutung hatte (vgl. Abb. 10).

Die Nordhalle des Erechtheions somit als Eingang zum zentralen Kultraum zu verstehen, würde eine Erwähnung des Baues bei Vitruv verständlich machen. Im Zusammenhang von Tempeln mit Eingang an der Längsseite nennt er auch das Erechtheion¹⁸. Zumindest in augusteischer Zeit scheint also an dieser Stelle der Eingang zum Athenaheiligtum gelegen zu haben – doch wohl in alter Tradition, wie der Aufwand an Nordhalle und großer Tür vermuten lässt.

Die Bauurkunde von 409/408 v. Chr.¹⁹ nennt gleich in der ›Überschrift‹ den Bau »ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἐμὲ πόλει ἐν ἡδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα«, wobei das Wort ›ἄγαλμα‹ sicherlich das alte Kultbild der Athena aus Olivenholz meint. Sollte tatsächlich die Prachttür in der Nordhalle den Zugang zu ebendiesem ›ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα‹ gebildet haben? Dann müsste es im Westteil des Baues aufgestellt gewesen sein. In diesem Sinne ist auf die Anthemienfriese zurückzukommen. Die oben erwähnte Zunahme an vegetabilen Elementen in den Anthemienfriesen der Nordhalle und über der Tür kann man als Steigerung einer primär formalen Ausstattung verstehen, deren Intention allerdings auch zu hinterfragen ist – etwa im oben skizzierten Sinne. Mit Schädler ist die Aussage der vegetabilen Elemente, zumal der Ranken und Blüten (neben den eher konventionellen Palmetten und Lotusblüten) herauszustellen. Sie verweisen wohl auf Leben und Fruchtbarkeit. Und in diesem Zusammenhang ist an das Fest der Arrephorie zu erinnern. Wie Deubner feststellte, »zeigen die geheimen Begehungen der Arrephoren uns Athena als die Beschützerin der menschlichen und vegetabilischen Fruchtbarkeit«²⁰.

¹⁶ Zu Einzelheiten ihrer Form und Entstehung vgl. Paton 1927, 101 f.

¹⁷ Meyer 2017, 59 konstatiert, dass die Nordhalle die größte und am reichsten verzierte Tür des Baues enthalte und »den Zugang zur Westhalle weit hin sichtbar« mache. Dabei ist zu bedenken, dass die Tür die längste Zeit des Tages im Schatten der Nordhalle liegt und von außen bei Sonnenschein im Gegenlicht ohnehin schlecht zu sehen ist. Zudem blieben nach Norden hin nur ca. 13 m Abstand bis zur Akropolismauer (Stern 1986, a. O. [Anm. 13] 53). Diese verdeckte beim Blick von unten, z. B. von der Agora etwa die untere Hälfte der Nordhalle und ließ von der Tür nichts erkennen – s. Travlos 1971, Abb. 641. 642. Von der römischen Agora gesehen war von der Nordfront der Nordhalle noch weniger sichtbar – vgl. z. B. A. Χωρέμι-Σπετσιέρη, Ακρόπολη – Αρχαία και ρωμαϊκή αγορά, Πνύκα, Φιλοπάππου, Βιβλιοθήκη Αδριανού, Θέατρο Διονύσου, Ηρώδειο: Μουσείο Ακρόπολης (Athen 2009) 344 f.

¹⁸ Vitruv. 4, 8, 4; dazu A. Corso, Vitruvius and Attic Mo-

numents, BSA 92, 1997, 373–400, hier 385 f. Während Paton 1927, 477 die von Vitruv genannten römischen Tempel noch unbekannt waren, zeigt Corso a. O. mit den Grundrissen der genannten Tempel anschaulich, worum es geht. Er stellt auch klar, dass nach Vitruv die Nordhalle als Eingang anzusehen ist (so auch Lesk 2005, 111) und schließt sich daher der Rekonstruktion von Travlos 1971, Abb. 281 (hier Abb. 10) ausdrücklich an. Paton hingegen geht es beim Vitruv-Zitat nur um die Identifikation des Tempels und Meyer 2017, Anm. 294 um die Bezeichnung (auf den Beitrag von Corso verweist sie nicht).

¹⁹ Zum Stellenwert dieser Urkunde vgl. Buchert 2000, 212; dagegen sprechen für Buchert »zahlreiche Nennungen eines ἀρχαῖος νεὸς, welche zunächst sicher den Alten Athenatempel bezeichnen und dann bis ins erste Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegbar sind«. Anders Meyer 2017, 93–95.

²⁰ Deubner 1932, 15. Dazu vgl. U. Kron, Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen, AM Beih. 5 (Berlin 1976) 40 mit Anm. 137. Zur Arrephorie vgl. zuletzt Meyer 2017, 279–283.

Diese Qualität der Göttin scheint sich auch im alltäglichen Leben niedergeschlagen zu haben. Denn in Athen war es üblich, dass »nach der Hochzeit die Priesterin der Athena mit der ›heiligen‹ Ägis angetan bei der neu vermählten jungen Frau erschien, durch jenes Kleidungsstück, das dem Kultbild der Polias abgenommen werden konnte, zweifellos als Vertreterin der Göttin selbst charakterisiert, die auf diese Weise die Ehe segnen und wahrscheinlich ganz speziell ihre Fruchtbarkeit garantieren sollte«²¹. Auch wenn dieser Brauch erst durch das byzantinische Lexikon, die Suda überliefert ist, so bietet dieses Kompendium antiken Wissens weit ältere Befunde²². Entsprechendes gilt auch für »die προτέλεια, bei denen die Eltern die Braut zur Akropolis hinaufführten und εἰς τὴν θεὸν opferten« – nahe liegt es, an Athena zu denken, zumal es ihre Priesterin war, die den zuvor geschilderten Brauch nach der Hochzeit durchführte²³. Vor diesem Hintergrund scheint die Zunahme an Ranken mit Blüten im Anthemiendekor in der Tat unmittelbar auf die Zuständigkeit der Stadtgöttin Athena für Ehe und Fruchtbarkeit zu verweisen. Folgt man hingegen der weithin akzeptierten Vorstellung²⁴, dass hier im Westteil des Baues hinter der großen Tür die drei Altäre für Poseidon, Boutes und Hephaistos standen, dann fragt man sich, welchen inhaltlichen Bezug die speziellen vegetabilen Elemente im Dekor zu diesen Kulturen hätten haben sollen.

Der geschilderte Befund: die Zunahme an vegetabilen Bestandteilen im Anthemiendekor von der Ostfront zur Nordhalle hin sowie die Bereicherung der Nordhalle durch bunte Glaseinlagen und Goldaccessoires sind zweifellos ein archäologischer Baubefund²⁵. Offensichtlich wurde er dank seiner Unscheinbarkeit bzw. Bruchstückhaftigkeit bislang kaum thematisiert. Doch ist dabei zu bedenken, dass die archäologischen Befunde insbesondere zur inneren Gestaltung des Erechtheions (und damit zur Deutung des Baues) geradezu desolat²⁶ und damit auch ganz unterschiedlich interpretierbar sind, weshalb selbst ein unscheinbarer Befund nützlich sein könnte – etwa im oben skizzierten Sinne. Es läge daher nahe, die geschilderte Eigenart der Anthemienfriese im Hinblick auf die Frage nach dem Standort des ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα nun in den Kontext der Argumente zu stellen, die bislang vorgebracht wurden – zuletzt 2017 von M. Meyer eindrucksvoll zusammengestellt.

Im Fall des Erechtheions spielen neben den Baubefunden noch weitere Quellen eine besondere Rolle, die gelegentlichen epigraphischen Zeugnisse sowie die in der antiken Literatur. Bei letzteren, zumal bei Berichten von Historikern sind wir geneigt, Hinweise zum Erechtheion als sachliche Information zu werten. Dass auch diese Historiker ein Publikum, das Publikum *ihrer* Zeit im Auge hatten, auf das hin die Aussagen formuliert sind, dass sie von ihren Quellen oder Vorbildern her geprägt sind oder auch recht eigenen Vorstellungen folgen, tritt beim heutigen Rezipienten nur allzu leicht in den Hintergrund. Doch gerade dadurch büßen die literarischen Hinweise nicht selten an Eindeutigkeit ein, verlieren an angeblich unzweifelhafter historischer Evidenz. Zudem ist stets zu bedenken, dass sie nur zufällig erhalten sind und für die Zeit Selbstverständliches oft wohl gar nicht erwähnen.

Nicht viel anders steht es mit den epigraphischen Zeugnissen, die ebenso zufällig erhalten sind. Sie beziehen sich, wie etwa die Bauurkunden zum Erechtheion, auf eine konkrete

²¹ Deubner 1932, 16. Dazu Meyer 2017, 326 im Kapitel »Athena als die Göttin der Kultivierung und Zivilisation«.

²² In diesem Sinne ist an die Nachricht bei Athenaeus zu erinnern, wonach für die Arrephoren spezielle Brote oder Kuchen gebacken wurden, die die Form von Phalloi hatten und ἀνάστατοι hießen: Deubner 1932, 16 Anm. 11.

²³ Zitat nach Deubner 1932, 16. Deubner möchte freilich nicht ausschließen, dass die προτέλεια der Artemis

Brauronia auf der Akropolis galten, da eine Kanephorie der athenischen Bräute zu deren Ehre überliefert ist.

²⁴ Vgl. Meyer 2017, 54.

²⁵ Hinzu kommen natürlich noch die Flechtbänder, die die Säulen- und Antenbasen der Nordhalle bereichern im Unterschied zu den sonst schlichteren Tori.

²⁶ Dies gilt vor allem auch im Hinblick auf die noch ausstehende Vorlage der durch A. Papanikolaou u. a. geleisteten Bauaufnahme seit den 1980er Jahren.

Situation, sind für einen bestimmten Zweck abgefasst und ihre Terminologie ist von daher bestimmt. Daher genügen mitunter stichwortartige Hinweise zur Örtlichkeit oder Kennzeichnung von Bauteilen – die Mitglieder der Baukommission wussten ohnehin gut Bescheid. Wir hingegen tun uns oft schwer, nachzuvollziehen, was genau gemeint sein könnte.

Es ist diese Situation, die im Fall des Erechtheions die Diskussion erschwert oder gar ins Uferlose treibt. Alle drei Befunde, die Baubefunde, die epigraphischen und die literarischen Zeugnisse werden gerne wie eigenständige Fäden gebündelt, meist bei selektiver Gewichtung, und führen so zu einem Dickicht von Meinungen, nicht selten nur als Thesen formuliert, das kaum zu überschauen oder gar zu durchdringen ist²⁷. Aus diesem Grunde erscheint es mir sinnvoll, nicht von der skizzierten Eigenheit der Anthemienfrieze ausgehend die Diskussion um den Standort des ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, um die zentrale Frage an das Bauwerk breit zu entfalten, um alle Wenn und Aber zu berücksichtigen. Vielmehr möchte ich ausgehend von der gründlichen Arbeit von M. Meyer nur einige Aspekte genauer betrachten, die mit der Bewertung von Nordhalle und großer Tür bzw. mit dem Standort des ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα zusammenhängen.

Nach Meyers Ansicht²⁸ kann die Ostcella »aus folgenden Gründen als Standort des *agalma* erschlossen werden: Sie liegt dem Altar am nächsten, ist ihm zugewandt und von der Seite des Altarplatzes aus zugänglich. Die Wand πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος wird in den Bauinschriften zusätzlich zu Wänden genannt, die sicher auf die Westcella zu beziehen sind. Cassius Dio²⁹ überliefert, das *agalma* der Athena auf der Akropolis sei nach Osten ausgerichtet gewesen« (insgesamt hat sich diese Ansicht von der Aufteilung der Cella insbesondere seit Patons und Stevens weitgehend durchgesetzt – s. Abb. 9).

In der Reihung der Argumente wirkt die Aussage des Cassius Dio wie eine Bestätigung – ist es doch ein Historiker, der sich zu Wort meldet. Doch ist dabei zu bedenken, dass es sich um eine höchst wundersame Geschichte handelt, von der Cassius Dio berichtet, um ein Prodigium. Auf dem Wege in den Osten, so Cassius Dio, machte Augustus Station in Sparta, das er mit seinem Aufenthalt ehrte. Den Winter 21/20 v. Chr. verbrachte er in Aegina, und von dort aus verfügte er, dass die tributpflichtigen Städte Aegina und Eretria den Athenern weggenommen würden, weil diese, wie einige sagen, die Partei des Antonius ergriffen hatten. Auch verbot er ihnen, ihr Bürgerrecht beliebig zu Geld zu machen. Den Athenern schien es, dass dies ihr Missgeschick damit zusammenhänge, dass sich das Bild der Athena auf der Akropolis, das nach Osten ausgerichtet war, nach Westen umgedreht und Blut gespuckt habe³⁰.

Historikern ist nicht entgangen, dass Cassius Dio sehr an Prodigien glaubte und sie deutlich häufiger anführt als z. B. Tacitus³¹. Hinzu kommt, dass insgesamt Prodigien Glaube »besonders in der römischen Religion weit verbreitet« war, anders als im griechischen Bereich. Die Frage stellt sich also, ob Dios Bericht als historischer Bericht zu werten ist³² oder nicht eher einen Einschub des prodigiengläubigen Cassius Dio darstellt, um die Bedeutung

²⁷ z. B. umfasst Meyers Bibliographie über 1500 Arbeiten – allerdings gilt ihre Arbeit nicht dem Erechtheion allein, sondern dem umfassenden Komplex von Kult und Mythos auf der Akropolis bis in klassische Zeit.

²⁸ Meyer 2017, 49.

²⁹ Cass. Dio 54, 7, 3.

³⁰ Meyer 2017, 150 erwähnt die erstaunliche Geschichte im Zusammenhang mit der Frage, ob es sich beim *agalma* um ein Sitz- oder Standbild gehandelt habe.

³¹ Vgl. z. B. J. W. Rich, Cassius Dio. The Augustan Settlement: Roman History 53–55.9 (Liverpool 1990, Nachdr. Liverpool 2007) 12; J. H. W. G. Liebeschütz,

Continuity and Change in Roman Religion (Oxford 1979) 56. 155 f.; allgemeiner: Luterbacher 1904.

³² So zuletzt auch F. Hölscher, Die Macht der Gottheit im Bild (Heidelberg 2017) 65 f. – obwohl Hölscher selbst in Anmerkung die zitierte Einschätzung vornimmt. Zum Prodigien Glauben vgl. bereits Luterbacher 1904 passim; G. Wissowa, HdArch V 4 (1912) 59 f. 390 f. 538 f. s. v. Religion und Kultus der Römer; P. Händel, RE XXIII (1959) 2283–2295 s. v. prodigium. Dazu vgl. E. Riess, RE XVIII 1 (1942), 350–378 s. v. omen, K. Kerényi, Die Antike Religion (Stuttgart 1995) 88–93.

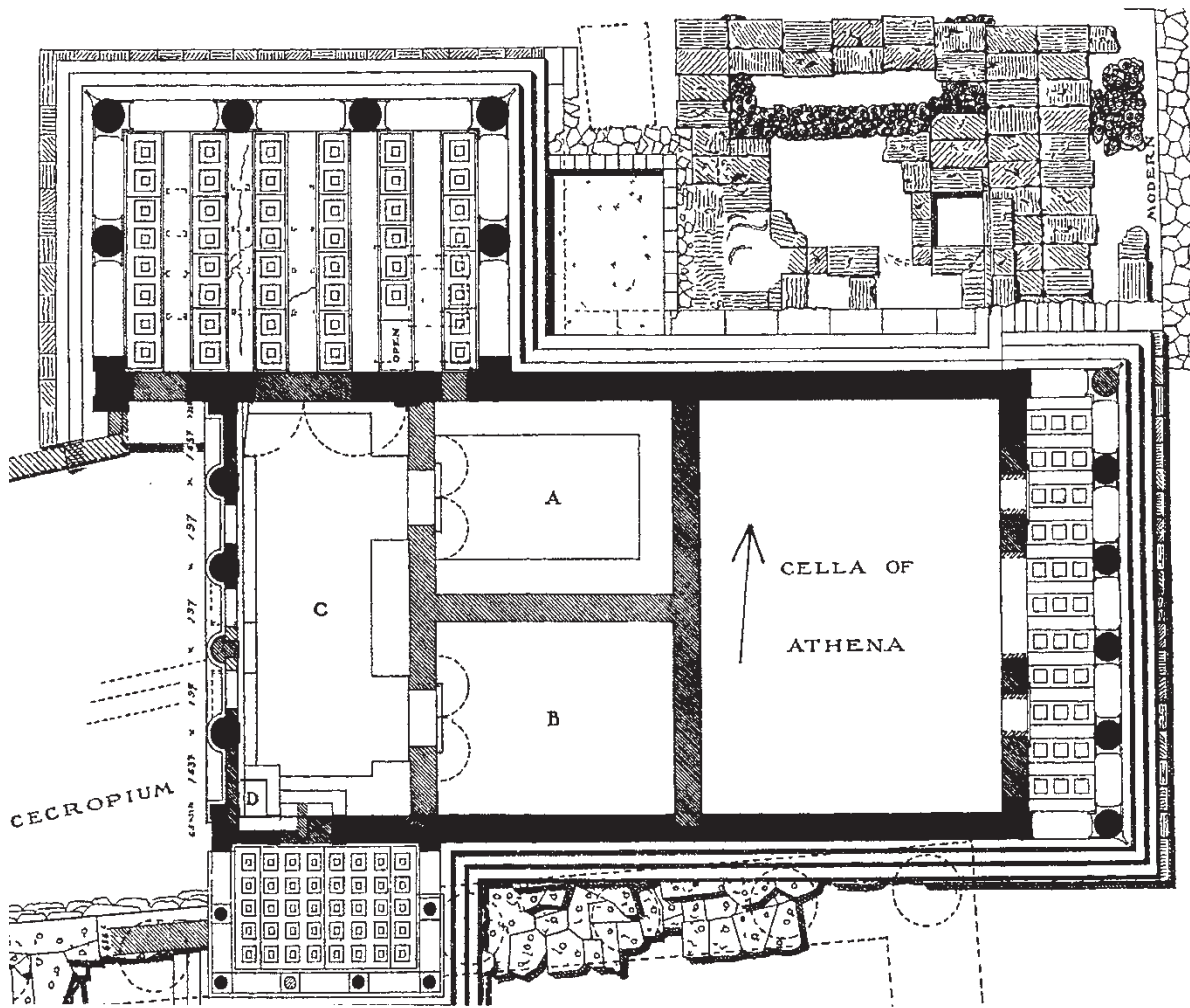


Abb. 9 Erechtheion, Grundriss nach Paton & Stevens (1927)

des Geschehens zu erhöhen. Da Götterbilder in der Regel nach Osten orientiert sind, könnte die von Dio erwähnte Ausrichtung ein bloßer Topos sein.

Hinzu kommt, worauf R. Bernhardt hinwies³³, dass es »merkwürdig ist, dass Augustus den Athenern ihre Parteinahme für Antonius erst jetzt verübelt haben soll, obwohl er unmittelbar nach der Schlacht bei Actium in Athen erschienen war.«³⁴ Zu diesem Zeitpunkt wäre die Bestrafung der Athener natürlich verständlich, nicht aber zehn Jahre später: »Bei Dios Angabe [...] ist also Datum oder Motiv falsch [...]. Vermutlich hat Dio irrtümlich beide Ereignisse (Abtrennung von Eretria und Aegina 31 v. Chr. und Augustus' Aufenthalt in Aegina 21/20 v. Chr.) als eins aufgefasst«. Dios Bericht erweist sich also auch von dieser Seite her als nicht historisch.

Der scheinbar so sachliche Hinweis des Cassius Dio auf das nach Osten ausgerichtete *agalma* der Athena auf der Akropolis stellt sich demnach bei näherem Hinsehen als Bestandteil eines eher fragwürdigen Prodigiums dar, das seinerseits Teil einer Geschichte ist, wie sie Cassius Dio aus seiner Sicht skizziert. Welch historischer Anspruch kommt dann der Aussage zur Orientierung des *agalma* zu?

³³ R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria* (Diss. Universität Hamburg 1971) 199 Anm. 539.

³⁴ Plut. Ant. 68.

Eine epigraphische Bestätigung für den Standort des ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα in der Ostcella sieht Meyer in der bereits erwähnten Bauurkunde von 409/408 v. Chr. Die dortige Nennung der Wand πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος bezieht Meyer³⁵ im Anschluss an Caskey auf die Ostseite der großen Trennwand zwischen Ost- und Westcella des Erechtheions. Dabei ist freilich nicht zu vergessen, dass Caskey von der Annahme ausgeht, das Götterbild habe in der Ostcella gestanden: »if the image of Athena is assumed to have stood in the East Cella«³⁶, und vor diesem Hintergrund bezieht er die zitierte Bezeichnung auf die Rückwand der Ostcella: »[...] is certainly the rear wall of the cella«. Die Präposition πρὸς mit Genitiv geht bei einer Ortsbestimmung stets vom Gegenstand aus³⁷, dem die Präposition zugeordnet ist, weshalb Caskey auch übersetzt: the wall »towards the image« – dies wäre aber die Wand gegenüber dem ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, da man ein *agalma* doch wohl von vorne betrachtet und nicht von hinten³⁸. Demnach müsste es sich also, wenn das ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα tatsächlich in der Ostcella stand, um die Ostwand der Ostcella handeln (mit Tür und seitlichen Fenstern).

Trotz seiner richtigen Übersetzung bezieht Caskey die Worte auf die Rückwand der Ostcella, da er in der Reihung der Wände, wie sie in der Inschrift genannt werden, eine logische Abfolge sieht. Da die Wand πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος (an vierter Stelle genannt) in der Ostcella liege und da die beiden davor genannten Wände ohnehin in der Westcella lägen, wäre auch die an erster Stelle genannte Wand ὁ ἐντός im Westen zu suchen. Es wäre die Westseite der großen Trennwand, deren Ostseite dann merkwürdigerweise erst an vierter Stelle aufgeführt wird. Geht man hingegen dem Text folgend von der ersten Position, der Wand ὁ ἐντός aus und bezieht dabei in Analogie zu der zwölf Zeilen vorher genannten Südwand des Baues beide Wandseiten auf die noch ausstehende Fertigstellung, dann wären die drei folgenden Wände auf die Westcella zu beziehen. Die Wand πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος wäre dann die Innenseite der Westwand des Erechtheions³⁹, die gerade in ihrem Untergeschoss eine nahezu geschlossene Wand ist, unterbrochen lediglich von einer Tür von ca. 1,30 m Weite⁴⁰ – im Gegensatz zur Ostcellatür von fast doppelter Weite.

Es bleibt der dritte Grund, den Meyer dafür anführt, das *agalma* habe in der Ostcella gestanden. Die Ostcella liege dem Altar am nächsten, sei ihm zugewandt und von der Seite des Altarplatzes her zugänglich. Dies gilt sicher im unmittelbaren Vergleich zur Westcella, und in vielen Heiligtümern ist in der Tat diese nahezu kanonische Anordnung anzutreffen: Der Altar mittig vor dem Tempel bzw. vor der Cella. Doch mag man sich z. B. die Situation in Olympia vergegenwärtigen. Dort wird kurz vor der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts ein gewaltiger Tempel gebaut, südlich des großen Aschenaltares, doch mit seiner Front deutlich weiter nach Osten vorgeschoben. Und etwa eine Generation später wird von Phidias das Gold-Elfenbein-Götterbild geschaffen – beide, Götterbild und Tempel offenbar ohne engeren Bezug zum kultischen Zentrum, zum Aschenaltar. Neuere Untersuchungen⁴¹ haben gezeigt, dass der von Pausanias als Heratempel angesprochene ältere Bau wahrscheinlich ursprünglich Zeus galt und erst später im Zuge der Neugestaltung des Heiligtums unter der Vorherrschaft der Eleier von Hera »mit genutzt« bzw. an sie »übertragen« wurde. Dem alten

³⁵ Meyer 2017, 50. Lesk 2005, 95 übersetzt: die Wand »towards« or »by the image« und hat die Ostseite der westlichen Querwand im Auge; die zweite Übersetzung ist sicher ungenau und wohl gewählt, weil es bei wörtlicher Übersetzung von πρὸς mit Genitiv bei Lesks topographischer Rekonstruktion keine Wand »vor« dem *agalma* gibt. Auch ist eine lokal nachvollziehbare Abfolge in der Auflistung der Wände nicht erkennbar.

³⁶ L. D. Caskey, The Inscriptions, in: Paton 1927, 277–422, hier 311.

³⁷ Vgl. Liddell – Scott 1961, s. v. πρὸς.

³⁸ Auch Meyer 2017, 50 bietet erstaunlicherweise eine Seite später (S. 51) die richtige Übersetzung »die Wand vor dem Kultbild«.

³⁹ Süd-, West- und Nordwand der Westcella sind von Türen unterbrochen, eine Aufstellung des Götterbildes vor ihnen kann man sich schwer vorstellen. Es bleibt also nur die Ostwand der Westcella, vor der das Kultbild stand.

⁴⁰ Paton 1927, 59. Dazu vgl. jedoch unten Anm. 81.

⁴¹ Dazu zuletzt K. Herrmann – A. Moustaka, Untersuchungen am Heraion-Altar, in: H. Kyrieleis, *OlBer* 13 (Tübingen 2013) 100–121, hier 120 f.

Tempel zugeordnet liegt östlich vor ihm ein Altar⁴², der möglicherweise der Nachfolger des älteren Aschenaltares ist, der vermutlich etwas westlich am Nordrand des Pelopions⁴³, also südlich des Heraions gelegen haben dürfte. Der von Pausanias beschriebene große Aschenaltar wäre dann wohl im 5. Jahrhundert im Zuge der Neugestaltung des Heiligtums angelegt worden, eben bei Etablierung des Herakultes, und dürfte etwas weiter westlich gelegen haben als bisher angenommen. Die meist zu beobachtende enge Verbindung von Tempel und Altar scheint also gelegentlich keine Gültigkeit gehabt zu haben.

Ein weiteres Beispiel in diesem Sinne bietet der Befund in dem Athen näher liegenden Heiligtum der Athena *Sounias*. Dort ist ein Fundament südlich vor der Längsseite des Tempels erhalten, das sehr wahrscheinlich einen Altar trug⁴⁴. Und dies scheint kein Einzelfall zu sein⁴⁵. Hinzu kommen noch Beispiele, bei denen die Lage unsicher ist, wie etwa im Artemisheiligtum in Brauron. Dort fehlen östlich vor dem Tempel jegliche Baubefunde, die auf einen Altar deuten könnten, weshalb z. B. J. Kontis⁴⁶ vermutete, dass der Altar südlich des Tempels am Standort der heutigen Kirche Agios Georgios nahe dem Vorgängertempel zu suchen sei, was andere freilich ablehnen⁴⁷.

Es bleibt noch ein Befund unmittelbar vor Ort, der zumindest nachdenklich stimmt im Hinblick auf das ›kanonische‹ Zuordnungsverhältnis von Tempel zu Altar. In einem Überblick skizziert Meyer die baulichen Veränderungen auf der Akropolis innerhalb von etwa zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten, dokumentiert in ihren Abbildungen 22–27⁴⁸. Dabei bildet der Athena-Altar einen Fixpunkt, zunächst in vermutlich bescheidenem Format und gegen Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. beträchtlich nach Süden erweitert. Eine winkelförmige Abarbeitung im Fels, von etwa 5 m West-Ost-Länge bzw. 0,8 m Süd-Nord-Länge, liefert den maßgeblichen Baubefund, etwa 16 m östlich des ›Dörfeld-Fundamentes‹ gelegen⁴⁹. Zu dem auf diesem Fundament rekonstruierten Bau, dem Alten Athenatempel besteht eine eindeutige Nähe, wiewohl *keine* axiale Beziehung des Altars. Die mutmaßlichen Vorgänger und Nachfolger dieses Tempels sowie die Tempel im Bereich des späteren Parthenon liegen dagegen sichtlich weiter ab und ihre Bindung an das kultische Zentrum ist deutlich lockerer – obwohl z. B. der Parthenon mit seiner Friesdarstellung des Panathenäenzuges unmittelbar Bezug nimmt auf das zentrale Fest der Gottheit, das im Opfer am Altar seinen Höhepunkt fand.

Kommen wir auf die zitierten, von Meyer angeführten Gründe zurück, die ihrer Meinung nach als Standort des *agalma* die Ostcella »erschließen« lassen, so mögen die angeführten Einwände gezeigt haben, dass diese Gründe in ihrer Schlüssigkeit nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben sind. Man hat sogar den Eindruck, dass Meyer selbst der eigenen Argumentation nicht ganz traute, denn sie schiebt im gleichen Kapitel noch einen Grund gleichsam nach, der die Ostcella als Standort des *agalma* sichern soll. Denn im Bereich der Ostcella gäbe es »archäologische Indizien [...] für die Existenz einer früheren Anlage«⁵⁰, die ihrer Meinung

⁴² »Eine präzise axiale Bindung [sc. des Altares zum Tempel] besteht nicht [...]« – so Herrmann – Moustaka a. O. (Anm. 41) 100 Anm. 1. Zu entsprechenden Abweichungen vgl. bereits C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars* (Saint Louis 1949) 56 f.

⁴³ H. Kyrieleis, *Anfänge und Frühzeit des Heiligtums von Olympia*, OF 31 (Berlin 2006) 35–55.

⁴⁴ Barletta 2017, 42 f.

⁴⁵ Barletta 2017, 43. – Seitlich versetzt sind auch großer und kleiner Altar im Dionysosheiligtum am Theater in Athen (Travlos 1971, Abb. 678). Von einem Altar vor dem archaischen Tempel haben sich keine Spuren erhalten.

⁴⁶ I. D. Kontis, *Ἀρτεμις Βραυρωνία*, *ADelt* A 22, 1967, 156–206, 168 f.; Goette 1993, 223.

⁴⁷ Vgl. G. I. Despinis, *Die Kultstatuen der Artemis in Brauron*, *AM* 119, 2004, 261–315, hier 194–199.

⁴⁸ Meyer 2017, 34. 73. 92. Vgl. im Übrigen U.-W. Gans, *Ein Altar für zwei Tempel. Fallbeispiele aus Athen und Attika*, in: G. Kalaitzoglou – G. Lüdorf (Hrsg.), *Petasos. Festschrift für H. Lohmann* (Paderborn 2013) 205–212.

⁴⁹ P. Kavvadias – G. Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabungen der Akropolis (Athen 1907) Taf. II* (bei der Höhenmarke 153,66).

⁵⁰ Meyer 2017, 50 f.

nach als Standort des *agalma* diene, als das Erechtheion selbst noch ohne Dach war und ebendieses *agalma* schon beherbergte, wie die Bauurkunde von 409/408 v. Chr. deutlich mache. Da »das *agalma* bereits während der Bauzeit im Tempel stand, diesen bezeichnete und als räumlicher Bezugspunkt diene [sc. laut Urkunde], muß es sich bereits zuvor an diesem Ort befunden haben«. Im Sinne einer Kulttradition habe es eine wetterfeste Installation, einen Naiskos gegeben.

Wenige Seiten später geht Meyer ausführlich auf die lange Diskussion des seinerzeit von L. B. Holland beschriebenen Befundes ein und gibt für diesen Naiskos sogar konkrete Dimensionen an, eine Tiefe von ca. 7 m und eine Höhe von mindestens 2 m⁵¹. Ausgangspunkt ihrer Überlegungen sind die Nordfundamente des Alten Athenatempels. Auf ihnen sitzt die Südmauer des Erechtheions teilweise auf. Diese Fundamente sind nachweislich unter der Korenhalle kursorisch geglättet, und zwar über eine Strecke von ca. 2,25 m. Nach Osten anschließend vermutet Meyer eine weitere Glättung von ca. 3 m Länge, dort in Abb. 89 als »hypothetische Verlängerung der Glättung« eingetragen, und diese Glättung beweise, dass hier die Fundamente des Alten Athenatempels auf Ansicht hergerichtet seien, da nördlich vor ihnen alte Kultmale und Kultstätten in offenen Bezirken angesiedelt waren. Weiter östlich seien die Fundamente des Alten Athenatempels hingegen auf eine Länge von 7 m *nicht* geglättet worden, da das Porosfundament der späteren Erechtheionsüdwand vor das Fundament des Alten Athenatempels gesetzt worden sei⁵².

Ebenso gut könnte man freilich vermuten, dass auch dieser östliche Abschnitt der Alten Athematempelfundamente kursorisch geglättet war wie der westlich anschließende Teil⁵³. Er wäre dann gleichfalls auf Ansicht berechnet gewesen und würde daher gut zu dem von Holland⁵⁴ vermuteten offenen Bezirk passen, der vermutlich nur eine ca. 1 m hohe Einfassung aufwies⁵⁵. Dabei hatte sich Holland an den unscheinbaren Rücksprüngen im Porosfundament der Erechtheionostseite (Innenseite) orientiert, die seiner Meinung nach auf nur schwache Fundamente jener Einfassung schließen lassen⁵⁶. Und in dieser Einschätzung war ihm immerhin W. B. Dinsmoor gefolgt, der einen »baldachino« in dem offenen Bezirk zum Schutz des alten *agalma* vermutete⁵⁷.

Andere hingegen, wie z. B. M. Korres⁵⁸, vermuteten einen Schrein in Form eines regelrechten Naiskos, der nach Meinung von A. Papanikolaou⁵⁹ sogar mit einer viersäuligen Pro-

⁵¹ Meyer 2017, 59–62.

⁵² Meyer 2017, 62.

⁵³ So z. B. H. Riemann, Der peisistratidische Athenatempel, *MdI* 3, 1950, 7–39, hier 15. M. Korres, An Early Attic Ionic Capital and the Kekropion on the Acropolis, in: O. Palagia (Hrsg.), *Greek Offerings*, Festschrift J. Boardman (Oxford 1997) 95–107, hier 101, meint, dass diese Fundamente »are generally rough«, macht aber die Einschränkung in Klammern »or were before they underwent later treatment«. Eine Entscheidung hängt offensichtlich davon ab, ob dieser Teil sichtbar war oder nicht.

⁵⁴ Holland 1924, 312.

⁵⁵ Dazu vgl. das Modell bei Korres 1994, 46 (wobei allerdings das Verhältnis zum Fundament des Alten Athenatempels nicht berücksichtigt ist).

⁵⁶ In Hollands Rekonstruktion ist die Wand der Einfriedung 0,25 m stark, der tragende Sockel 0,4 m. Eine gewisse Parallele bietet der Zwölfgötteraltar auf der Athener Agora, dessen Temenosbegrenzung (ältere Fassung) auf einem Sockel von 0,45–0,465 m Stärke ruhte (M. Crosby, *The Altar of the Twelve Gods in*

Athens, in: ohne Hrsg., *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 [Princeton 1949] 82–103. Vergleichen mag man auch den offenen Temenos in Korinth: C. W. Williams II – J. E. Fisher, *Corinth 1972: The Forum Area*, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, 1–44, hier 7–9.

⁵⁷ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens*, *AJA* 36, 1932, 307–326, hier 318. Er weist auf eine entsprechend leichte Konstruktion in Korinth als Parallele (R. Stillwell – H. E. Askew, *The Peribolos of Apollo*, in: R. Stillwell – R. L. Scranton – S. E. Freeman, *Architecture, Corinth 1, 2* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 4–54, hier 5 f.). 15 Jahre später spricht Dinsmoor von einem »temporary shrine, erected for the ἀρχαίων ἄγαλμα in 478 B.C.« (W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis*, *AJA* 51, 1947, 109–151, hier 109 Anm. 4).

⁵⁸ Korres 1994, 46 f. und Korres 1997, 229 und 242.

⁵⁹ S. V. Lambrinoudakis, *Le mur de l'enceinte classique de l'Acropole d'Athènes et son rôle de péribole*, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 143 H. 2, 1999, 551–561,

stase ausgestattet war. In diesen Fällen fragt man sich allerdings, ob der von Holland beobachtete Befund damit in Einklang zu bringen ist. Immerhin mag man z. B. an die Reste des Naiskos der Artemis *Aristoboule* des Themistokles erinnern, der bei etwas kleinerem Format und einer Grundfläche von $3,6 \times 5,4$ m eine Wandstärke von etwa 0,45 m und entsprechend belastbare Fundamente aufwies⁶⁰. Für stärkere Fundamente scheint jedoch der von Holland skizzierte Befund in keiner Weise zu sprechen.

Natürlich mag man den von Holland dokumentierten Befund in Frage stellen und mit Stevens und Paton zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass »the nature of this earlier structure is unknown«. Die Alternative: »part of the enclosing wall of a sacred precinct or front of an ancient temple«⁶¹ bleibt dann völlig offen – oder wird mit Verweis auf den südlich angrenzenden Alten Athenatempel entschieden. So hatte bereits Dinsmoor den von ihm vermuteten *temporary shrine* mit dem ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα verbunden, das nach dem Persersturm eines Daches bedurfte⁶² – der Alte Athenatempel sei eben zerstört gewesen. Dieser Vorstellung folgt weitgehend auch Meyer⁶³, wenn sie feststellt, dass der alte Tempel »niedergebrannt« wurde; nur Teile der Cella hätten den Persersturm überstanden, da ja Xenophon für das Jahr 406 v. Chr. berichte, dass der παλαιὸς νεὸς »niedergebrannt« sei⁶⁴. Dabei habe es sich, so Meyer, um den westlichen Teil der Cella gehandelt, das von Herodot erwähnte Megaron⁶⁵. »Zur Ostcella schweigen die Quellen. An ihrer Stelle wird das *agalma* kurzfristig behelfsmäßig untergebracht worden sein, bevor es der Naiskos E 1 aufnahm. Eine Instandsetzung des westlichen Teiles der Cella war wohl erforderlich, um den der Göttin gehörenden Schätzen und Gaben einen angemessenen Aufbewahrungsort zu bieten«.

»Das Schweigen der Quellen« ist für Meyer demnach der Grund für die Annahme, dass die Ostcella durch das Feuer so zerstört war, dass sie als dauerhafter Standort des *agalma* nicht mehr infrage kam, und dass es deshalb des Naiskos unmittelbar nördlich der Nordostecke des Alten Athenatempels bedurfte. Dies ist geradezu wörtlich ein Schluss *ex silentio*, dessen Fragwürdigkeit offenkundig ist, wenn man sich vor Augen hält, dass die Inschriften und die Hinweise der antiken Literatur nur zufällig erhaltene Dokumente sind, dass wir

hier 556 Abb. 3. Die Prostase läge genau im Bereich des Porosfundamentes, das die Ostwand und die Ostporticus des Erechtheions trägt – in diesem Fall wären aber der Stylobat und eventuelle Fundamente des Naiskos vollständig abgeräumt im Gegensatz zur Türwand, von der die Rücksprünge, die Holland beobachtete, noch Zeugnis ablegen. Zur Existenz eines wie auch immer rekonstruierten Naiskos bemerkt Lesk 2005, 92 »it was not necessary, nor is there any evidence«.

⁶⁰ J. Threpsiades – E. Vanderpool, Themistokles' Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule, *ADelt* A 19, 1964, 26–36. Die Euthynterie ruht teils auf anstehendem Fels (so die Südante), teils auf ausgleichenden größeren, z. T. wiederverwendeten Blöcken sowie auf Bruchsteinen. Freilich scheinen die erhaltenen Baureste aus spätklassischer Zeit zu stammen, als eine gründliche Renovierung erfolgte. – Oder man mag an den etwas größeren πολυγωνικός ναός in Rhamnus denken (westlich des Nemesis-Tempels; V. Petrakos, Ο δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνούντος I [Athen 1999] 201), der bei einer Fläche von $6,15 \times 9,9$ m eine Wandstärke von 0,57 m aufweist (V. Petrakos, *Ανασκαφή Ραμνούντος*, Prakt. 1982, 127–162, hier 145). Die unregelmäßigen Blöcke des Fundamentes reichen z. T. bis zu 0,8 m tief bis zum gewachsenen Fels. Selbst der zierliche

Naiskos der Aphrodite *Pandemos* mit einer Grundfläche von $3,16 \times$ ca. 2,95 m weist eine Wandstärke von etwa 0,32 m auf (L. Beschi, *Contributi di topografia Ateniese*, *ASAtene* N. S. 29/30, 1967/1968, 511–536, hier 521–525). Die Wände stehen unmittelbar auf der abgeglichenen Felsfläche. – Schließlich mag man z. B. an das gut dokumentierte Schatzhaus von Sikyon in Olympia denken (E. Curtius – F. Adler [Hrsg.], *Olympia II*, Die Baudenkmäler [Berlin 1892] 40 f.), das bei einer Grundfläche von $6,4 \times 11,78$ m eine Wandstärke von etwa 0,55 m aufweist; die Fundamente sind meist etwa 1,15 m tief, im Süden aber bis zu 3,4 m. – Gerade ein solches Beispiel gibt im Hinblick auf die Gestaltung der Innenseite des Erechtheion-Ostfundamentes zu denken. Der Rücksprung der Schichten 18 und 19 (vgl. Holland 1924, Taf. I D und S. 412) und die anschließende Verbreiterung des Fundamentes in den tieferen Schichten 20–22 passt nicht recht zu einem stabilen Fundament des vermuteten Naiskos, sondern eher, wie Holland annahm, zu einem flachen Fundament eines leichten Bauwerks mit Erdreich darunter.

⁶¹ Paton 1927, 146.

⁶² Dinsmoor 1947, 109 Anm. 4.

⁶³ Meyer 2017, 91 f.

⁶⁴ Xen. *hell.* 1, 6, 1.

⁶⁵ *Hdt.* 5, 77.

eben über keine Annalen verfügen, die neben den jährlichen Beamten die wichtigsten Ereignisse eines Jahres aufführen.

Hinzu kommt eine Unschärfe in der Übersetzung des Verbums »ἐμπύμπρημι«. Die Nachricht des Herodot⁶⁶ wird übersetzt mit: der Tempel wurde »niedergebrannt« – unwillkürlich denkt man an schwelende Grundmauern als Resultat. Doch geht Meyer davon aus, dass die westliche Cella soweit noch erhalten war, dass sie nur »instandgesetzt« werden musste, um funktionsfähig zu sein. Denn für das Jahr 406 v. Chr. überliefere ja Xenophon⁶⁷, dass der παλαιὸς νεὸς »niedergebrannt« sei, wobei Meyer diesmal davon ausgeht, dass der »Restbau« endgültig zerstört worden sei. In beiden Fällen wird das gleiche Verbum gebraucht, das »in Brand setzen« bedeutet, wie bereits Paton klar herausstellte⁶⁸. Über Umfang, Intensität und Ergebnis des Brandes ist damit aber nichts Konkretes ausgesagt – und zwar in beiden Fällen, sowohl 480 v. Chr. wie 406 v. Chr.

Die mutmaßliche Intensität des Brandes spielt noch in einem weiteren Zusammenhang eine wichtige Rolle. Die genannte Xenophon-Nachricht wertet Meyer als Beweis dafür, dass vom alten Tempel lediglich die Westcella noch aufrecht stand⁶⁹. Denn »wenn das Gebäude in diesem Jahr abbrennen konnte, ohne das Erechtheion ernsthaft zu gefährden, werden seine Reste im westlichen und nicht unmittelbar an der Seite des Neubaus gelegenen Teil des Alten Athenatempels gestanden haben«. In der Tat misst der Abstand zwischen Korenhalle und Cellamauer des Alten Athentempels an der engsten Stelle (an der Südostecke der Korenhalle) nur ca. 1,80/1,90 m, wogegen die Südwestecke der Korenhalle etwa 2,5 m von der Nordostecke der Westcella entfernt liegt⁷⁰. Gewichtiger als dieser Unterschied von gut einem halben Meter ist indessen, dass bei einem Brand des Celladachstuhles die brennenden Balken so gut wie ausschließlich ins Innere der Cella stürzten, wobei sich auch die Last der Dachdeckung sicherlich auswirkte, so der Fachmann für vorbeugenden Brandschutz bei der Kieler Feuerwehr⁷¹. Bei einer Höhe von vermutlich etwa 10,6 m und einer Stärke von knapp 1 m⁷² dürften die Längswände der Cella aus Poros⁷³ wie eine Isolierung gewirkt

⁶⁶ Hdt. 8, 53.

⁶⁷ Xen. hell. 1, 6, 1.

⁶⁸ Paton 1927, 460. Paton geht auch davon aus, dass so viel vom Bau noch übrig war, dass er gut zu reparieren war. Zur Xenophon-Nachricht vgl. auch Buchert 2000, 216.

⁶⁹ Meyer 2017, 92.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Travlos 1971, Abb. 196.

⁷¹ Sehr danke ich Herrn Dipl. Ing. M. Liebig vom Amt für Brandschutz in Kiel für ein ausführliches Gespräch. Nach seiner Einschätzung ließ die fast 1 m dicke Porosmauer »so gut wie nichts von der Hitze seitlich nach außen dringen«. Einschränkend sei freilich zu berücksichtigen, dass natürlicher Kalkstein thermisch empfindlicher reagiere als z. B. moderner Kalksandstein, und dass die Dichte/Härte des Materials die Wärmeleitfähigkeit beeinflusse. Doch spielten angesichts der Dicke der Wand solche Unterschiede so gut wie keine Rolle. – Zudem sei zu bedenken, dass das Brandgut des Dachstuhles (als Beispiel diene der Dachstuhl des Aphaia-tempels in Aegina) der Menge nach überschaubar sei und wohl nicht »auf einen Sitz« vom Feuer erfasst wurde, sondern nach und nach bzw. wohl von verschiedenen Stellen her in Flammen geriet. Nur wenn die Cella Fenster hätte, wäre seine Einschätzung zu korrigieren. – Das Dach des Alten Athenatempels war wohl mit marmornen Dachziegeln gedeckt (Kissas 2008,

112; dazu vgl. A. Ohnesorg, Rez. zu K. Kissas, Archaische Architektur der Athener Akropolis. Dachziegel – Metopen – Geisa – Akroterbasen, Archäologische Forschungen 24 [Wiesbaden 2008] GFA 13, 2010, 1151–1164, hier 1151). Ob bei der Wiederherstellung der Cella nach dem Perserkrieg wieder marmorne Ziegel verwendet wurden oder tönerner, ist unbekannt. Wahrscheinlicher sind tönerner Dachziegel, da es sich um eine plötzlich anstehende, eilige Reparatur handelte, die zudem billiger war, was im Hinblick auf die Wiederherstellung der Verteidigungsanlagen sicher zu bedenken war (vgl. Paton 1927, 448).

⁷² Von der Cella ist abgesehen von der Breite des Fundamentes nichts Konkretes nachweisbar (Holland 1924, 415 f. vermutet, dass die Blöcke des Porospflasters nördlich der Erechtheion-Ost-Cella von der Cella des Alten Athenatempels stammen). Die Wandstärke lässt sich ungefähr abschätzen (s. Travlos 1971, Abb. 196); die Höhe der Cellamauern ist anhand der Säulenhöhe des Peristyls grob zu kalkulieren, wobei man an das Heraion in Olympia bzw. an die beiden Tempelbauten im Aphaiaheiligtum auf Aegina als Parameter denken mag (vgl. A. Mallwitz, Das Heraion von Olympia und seine Vorgänger, JdI 81, 1966, 310–376, Abb. 18; E.-L. Schwandner, Der ältere Porostempel der Aphaia auf Aegina [Berlin 1985] 108 und A. Furtwängler, Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia [München 1906] Taf. 37).

haben gegenüber der knapp 6 m hohen Korenhalle bzw. der 8,8 m hohen Erechtheions süd- wand. Allenfalls Funkenflug könnte für Ausbreitung des Feuers gesorgt haben, was sich al- lerdings im Fall des Erechtheions mit seinen Marmorwänden und dem Marmordach kaum ausgewirkt haben dürfte.

Die Einschätzung des Brandschutzfachmannes dürfte auch im Hinblick auf den von den Persern gelegten Brand des Alten Athenatempels hilfreich sein. Zwar ist in diesem Fall der Dachstuhl sicherlich beidseitig der Cellamauern in Brand geraten und Teile sind somit auch in die Peristase gefallen, wo der freie Luftzug das Feuer beförderte, doch sei angesichts der verfügbaren Holzmenge die dicke Poroswand der Cella nicht ernstlich in Gefahr gewesen. Allenfalls die Mauerkrone dürfte in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden sein, da etliche der dicken Balken, die die Kassettendecke trugen, unmittelbar auf den Mauern auflagen. Doch ließ sich ein solcher Schaden wohl relativ rasch beheben⁷⁴. Und dies war wegen der unver- zichtbaren Ausübung des Kultes sicherlich geboten. Folgt man diesen Überlegungen, dann gab es nach den Perserkriegen zunächst keinen Bedarf für jenen Naiskos, der neben der Nordostecke des Alten Athenatempels für das alte *agalma* vermutet wird. Wann es später, jedoch vor Errichtung des Erechtheions einen solchen Bedarf gab, ist, soweit ich sehe, nicht ersichtlich. Darüber hinaus deckt sich der skizzierte Befund mit dem Bild, das U. Buchert aufgrund der wenigen Inschriften und literarischen Zeugnisse zum ἀρχαῖος νεώς für das 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entwickelt hat⁷⁵.

Die obige Skizze mag gezeigt haben, dass es wohl angebracht ist, über den Standort des ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα erneut nachzudenken. Meyer plädiert wie viele andere vor ihr dafür, es habe in der Ostcella des Erechtheions gestanden. Doch erwiesen sich ihre Argumente bei näherem Hinsehen weitgehend als fragwürdig. Und vor diesem Hintergrund könnte der fast unscheinbare Befund an Gewicht gewinnen, dass die Nordhalle und ihre große Tür durch den reichen vegetabilen Reliefschmuck sowie durch Zufügung von buntem Glas und Gold aufgewertet sind. Dies umso mehr, als der Reliefschmuck sicherlich bemalt war⁷⁶ und seine Bereicherung in der Nordhalle dadurch augenfälliger wurde. Der großen Tür kam of- fensichtlich besondere Bedeutung zu⁷⁷, gerade auch im Vergleich mit der Tür der Ostseite⁷⁸, und diese Bedeutung wurde augenfällig unterstrichen durch die architektonische Form der Nordhalle mit ihrer – im Vergleich zur Ostfront – mehr als doppelt so tiefen Prostase und einer um etwa ein Sechstel gesteigerten lichten Höhe. Die Tür führte wohl mittel- oder un- mittelbar zum ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα⁷⁹ (Abb. 10), dem wichtigsten Inventarstück des Baues, wie die Bauurkunde von 409/408 v. Chr. gleich in der Überschrift festhält.

⁷³ Dörpfeld 1919, 11 spricht von Porosquadern. Wie- gand 1904, 59 scheidet einen »rötlichen, harten Kalk- stein« (»nicht eigentlich Poros«), wahrscheinlich von Karà stammend von dem »gewöhnlich porösen, tertiären Süßwasserkalkstein (Kalktuffe) von gelbli- cher oder weißlicher Färbung« (»Piräuskalk«). Beide Steinsorten seien an einzelnen Bauteilen wie z. B. den Triglyphen verwendet. Meist ist nur von Poros die Rede, so z. B. bei Travlos 1971, 143. Kissas 2008, 55 spricht sowohl von Kalkstein wie von Poros, of- fenbar synonym.

⁷⁴ So schon Dörpfeld 1919, 11 und Paton 1927, 448 f. »it is reasonable to believe that the building [sc. die Cel- la] was sufficiently repaired to serve some purpose in the economy of the Acropolis«. Vgl. auch E. Buschor, Die Tondächer der Akropolis 2 (Berlin 1933) 76. Vgl. auch Korres 1994, 42: »the cella, or at least part of the cella of the temple of Athena Polias was repaired and maintained for worship«.

⁷⁵ Buchert 2000, 218–225.

⁷⁶ Vgl. Paton 1927, 222 mit Anm. 1.

⁷⁷ A. Büsing-Kolbe, Frühe griechische Türen, JdI 93, 1978, 66–174 hat S. 128 f. die große Erechtheiontür eingehend als attisch-ionischen Typus beschrieben, dessen einziger erhaltener Vertreter in Attika sie selbst ist. Ihre typologische Sonderstellung könnte ein zu- sätzliches Argument für ihre Bedeutung am Bau sein.

⁷⁸ Neu gefundene Fragmente veranlassten Lesk 2005, 100 f. (mit Abb. 543) zu einer Korrektur, wonach die- se Tür schmaler war als von Stevens errechnet (statt neun nur fünf attische Fuß weit), und die Fenster la- gen etwas höher.

⁷⁹ So bereits R. E. Wycherley, The Stones of Athens (Princeton 1978) 150. Für Travlos gaben die literari- schen Nachrichten des Pausanias und Philochoros sowie die Monumentalität der Nordhalle den Aus- schlag, hier den Haupteingang des Bauwerkes zu sehen – s. Travlos 1971, 213.

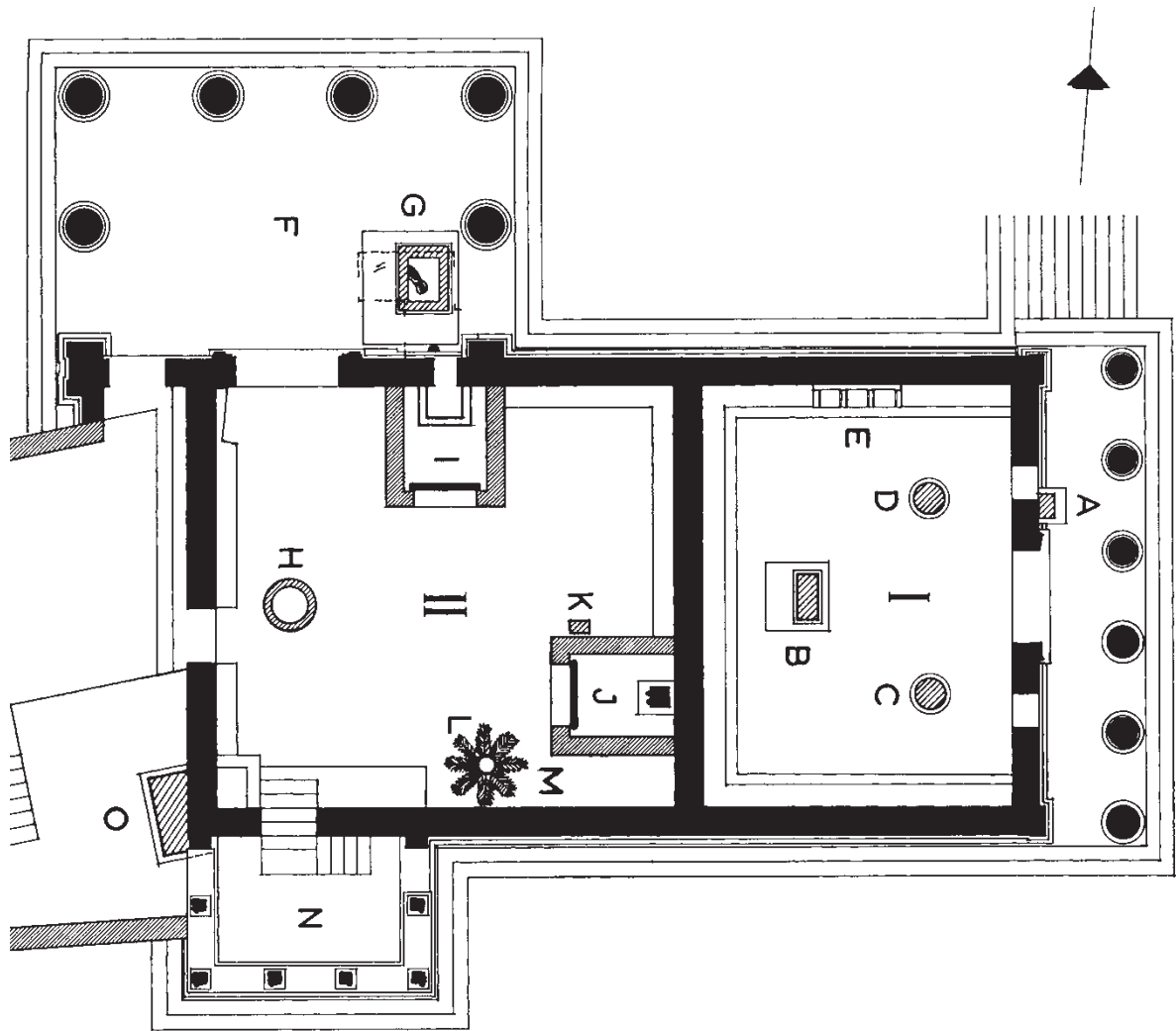


Abb. 10 Erechtheion, Grundriss nach Travlos (1971). J: Adyton für das ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα

Es bleibt noch ein Nachtrag zu der weithin akzeptierten Vorstellung, das alte Kultbild habe in der Ostcella gestanden (s. Abb. 9), auf höherem Niveau im Vergleich zur Westcella – eine Vorstellung, die insbesondere auf Stevens & Paton zurückgeht, die sie in einer Zeichnung auch dokumentiert haben⁸⁰. Im Kapitel zur Ostcella widmen sie einen ganzen Abschnitt dem Niveau des Fußbodens⁸¹, dessen Oberfläche sie als bündig mit der Unterkante der Quaderschicht 13 annehmen (»we may fairly assume«), sodass im Vergleich zur Türschwelle noch etwas Platz frei bleibt für das Öffnen der Türflügel, wie es weithin üblich ist. Auch wird die Frage einer möglichen Treppe entlang der Längswände zwischen den beiden Ebenen der Ost- und Westcella erörtert und abschlägig beschieden. Merkwürdig aber ist, dass die Autoren kein einziges Wort zum Material dieses Fußbodens verlieren⁸², ebenso wenig zu seiner Unterfütterung. Die Zeichnung (Taf. XV a) gibt eine homogene Schicht von ca. 25 cm Dicke an, die schraffiert ist wie die marmornen Wandquader im Schnitt, und unter diesem Boden scheint eine einheitliche Füllung eingebracht zu sein, ähnlich wie in der Westcella, wohl Erde oder Füllschutt.

⁸⁰ Paton 1927, Taf. XVa.

⁸¹ Paton 1927, 150.

⁸² Im Index auf S. 669 findet sich das Stichwort Pavement, East Cella mit Verweis auf S. 150, wo ebendieser Begriff nicht auftaucht.

Sollten Stevens & Paton bei diesem Fußboden an Marmor gedacht haben, wie es bei einem Marmorbau wie dem Erechtheion geradezu unausweichlich ist, dann wäre an den seitlichen Quaderwänden der Nord- und Südseite die Angabe einer Anathyrose zu erwarten, um den sauberen Anschluss des Plattenbodens zu gewährleisten. Diese Anathyrose fehlt aber durchgehend, wie bereits A. Lesk nachdrücklich feststellte⁸³. Sie wies auch darauf hin, dass im Falle eines Fußbodens jeweils an Nord- und Südwand mit Orthostaten⁸⁴ als Wandsockel zu rechnen wäre, wie sie an der Ostwand mit Sicherheit zu rekonstruieren sind⁸⁵. Ferner ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass genau in der Schicht 14 von Nord- und Südwand, in der Stevens & Paton den fraglichen Fußboden vermuten, Quader mit Hebebossen und einem feinen Spiegel bzw. Randschlag verlegt sind. Sie machen einen engen Anschluss eines Fußbodens aus Marmorplatten unmöglich⁸⁶ – in der Nordwand ist es ein Quader, im Süden sind es vier Quader mit Bosse sowie der Rest eines weiteren mit leicht erhöhtem Spiegel⁸⁷.

Schließlich ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass ein marmorner Plattenboden natürlich eine solide Unterfütterung braucht, ein Fundament. Man mag z. B. an das Hephaisteion denken, wo Porosquader von etwa 0,44 m Dicke die Marmorplatten trugen⁸⁸. Dieses Porosfundament ruhte im dortigen Pronaos auf den leicht vorspringenden und tiefer reichenden Wandfundamenten. Im Fall des Erechtheions fehlt gerade an der Innenseite der Nordwand, aber auch im Süden jegliches Indiz für die Verankerung eines Bodenfundamentes. Noch problematischer wird die Rekonstruktion eines Marmorfußbodens bei Annahme eines Untergeschosses unmittelbar unter dem Fußboden der Ostcella, wie es von Meyer favorisiert wird⁸⁹ – in einem solchen Fall wären schlanke, tragfähige Balken notwendig, die ihrerseits in den seitlichen Wänden zu verankern wären.

Die skizzierten Baubefunde schließen die Rekonstruktion eines marmornen Plattenfußbodens knapp unterhalb der östlichen Türschwelle aus. Umso mehr verwundert es, dass Stevens & Paton diese Baubefunde nicht zur Kenntnis nahmen bzw. »übersahen«. Gerade Stevens erweist sich bei der Baubeschreibung mit seinen Hinweisen zum Quaderzuschnitt, zur Oberflächengestaltung, zu den verschiedenen Klammer- oder Dübellöchern sowie zur Mauerfügung als profunder Kenner griechischer Bautechnik. Wie konnten ihm die genannten Details entgehen? Einen Hinweis gibt, wie mir scheint, eine Bemerkung zu Beginn des Abschnittes⁹⁰. »The higher eastern half of the temple was separated from the lower western half [...]« – der markante Höhenunterschied zwischen Ost- und Westcella wird hier als gegeben hingestellt, wird weder hinterfragt noch begründet. Dahinter steht offenbar die traditionelle Vorstellung (begründet mit den auch von Meyer genutzten Indizien), dass das alte Kultbild in der Ostcella aufgestellt und nach Osten hin ausgerichtet war zum Altar hin, und dass es natürlich auch auf angemessenem Niveau zur Türschwelle gestanden haben muss. Die Folge ist, dass die beiden Zellen dann eben auch durch einen beträchtlichen Höhenunterschied gekennzeichnet sein müssten. Es ist demnach eine vorgefasste Meinung, die das »Lesen« der Baubefunde beeinträchtigte.

Versucht man möglichst ohne Voreingenommenheit das Erechtheion zu betrachten und zu bewerten, stößt man rasch auf die Schwierigkeit, allein anhand der Baubefunde eine schlüssige Rekonstruktion des Bauwerkes erarbeiten zu können. Denn aufgrund der spä-

⁸³ Lesk 2005, 86.

⁸⁴ Meyer 2017, 51 spricht von der auf den Porosblöcken der Südwand (innen) »aufsitzen, auf Sicht gearbeiteten Marmorwand (Krepis, Orthostaten und Wandblöcke) [...]«, was nicht zutrifft – vgl. Paton 1927, 148 sowie Abb. 17 und 31.

⁸⁵ s. Paton 1927, 148.

⁸⁶ Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Stevens das skizzierte Problem an anderer Stelle durchaus selbst sah: Dort,

wo die rekonstruierte Querwand auf die Nordmauer trifft, weist der Orthostat einen leicht tiefer liegenden, fein geglätteten Randschlag auf. Stevens spricht von einem »irregular joint« (Paton 1927, 148).

⁸⁷ Vgl. Paton 1927, Taf. XII und XIII.

⁸⁸ Vgl. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 5 (Amsterdam 1941) 70–73.

⁸⁹ Meyer 2017, 50 f. mit Abb. 56.

⁹⁰ Paton 1927, 146.

teren Eingriffe, zumal im Inneren des Baues und vor allem in spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit sind viele Befunde zerstört, sodass die erhaltenen Baubefunde über die Lücken hinweg oft unvollständig oder gar widersprüchlich bleiben. Vor diesem Hintergrund hat z. B. A. Lesk versucht, mit unverstelltem Blick das Bauwerk erneut zu betrachten, und dabei gelang es ihr, altbekannte Befunde anders zu deuten oder neu zu gewichten sowie auf bisher unbeachtete Befunde aufmerksam zu machen. Bedauerlicherweise hat sie ihre Arbeit nur mit Fotos dokumentiert, die oft schwer zu bewerten sind. Es fehlt eine exakte zeichnerische Bauaufnahme, die die Befunde klar erfassbar machen würde.

Als Ergebnis der Betrachtung zeichnet sich ab:

Ein Baubefund, die Zunahme an vegetabilen Elementen im Anthemienschmuck zur Nordhalle und zur dortigen großen Tür hin sowie die materielle Bereicherung durch farbige Glaseinlagen und Goldappliken eben dort deuten darauf, dass hier der Haupteingang zum Tempel liegt, d. h. der Zugang zu seinem kultischen Zentrum, zum uralten Kultbild aus Olivenholz. Es scheint demnach im westlichen Teil des Erechtheions gestanden zu haben.

Auf der anderen Seite steht die Nachricht des Historikers Cassius Dio, wonach dies Kultbild nach Osten hin ausgerichtet war, sowie die Aussage der Bauurkunde von 409/408 v. Chr., wonach die Wand πρὸς τὸ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος die Ostseite der Querwand sei. Daher sei die östliche Cella der Standort des Kultbildes, so die weit verbreitete Meinung, womit auch die Verbindung zum nahen Altar gegeben sei. Prüft man indessen literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse sowie die ›Faustregel‹ der engen Verbindung von Altar und Cella / Kultbild sorgfältig, dann erweisen sie sich, wie gezeigt, als eher zweifelhaft. Und ebendies gilt auch für die Vermutung, unter der Ostcella habe sich nach dem Persersturm ein Naiskos befunden, in dem das Kultbild bis zur Fertigstellung des Erechtheions gestanden habe.

Umgekehrt spricht der Baubefund an den Innenseiten von Nord- und Südwand der Ostcella klar dagegen, dass hier knapp unter dem Niveau der östlichen Türschwelle ein marmorner Fußboden eingezogen war. Es fehlt jede Spur einer Anathyrose, die einen sauberen Anschluss der Fußbodenplatten an die Marmorwände gewährleistet hätte, und der Randschlag mancher Wandquader sowie etliche Hehebossen würden sichtbare Abstände zu den vermuteten Bodenplatten zur Folge haben. Schließlich fehlt jegliches Fundament für solch einen Plattenboden bzw. jegliche Vorrichtung dafür. D. h. der Baubefund widerspricht entschieden der Annahme eines Gehhorizontes im Niveau der Türschwelle, der Zugang zum Kultbild im Ostteil des Tempels geboten hätte. Wie der Raum unmittelbar westlich der Eingangstür gestaltet und genutzt war, muss vorerst offenbleiben⁹¹.

EXKURS ZU DEN EINZELFORMEN DES HYPERTHYRON-ANTHEMIONS

Bei der Beschreibung des Anthemions über der großen Tür der Nordhalle wurden oben auch die verschiedenen Palmetten kurz angeführt, und zwar im Rahmen einer quantitativen Zunahme an vegetabilen Motiven von der Ostfront her bis hin zur Nordhalle und zur großen Tür. Unberücksichtigt blieb bislang, dass es sich in diesem Dekor des Hyper-

⁹¹ Eine Möglichkeit skizziert immerhin Goette 1993, 27.



Abb. 11 a. b Nordhalle, Hyperthyron, Ausschnitte

thyrons um drei grundlegend verschiedene Palmettenformen handelt (Abb. 8. 11)⁹². Neben den beiden Hauptmotiven, den elfblättrigen Palmetten und den fünfblättrigen Lotusblüten, die im Schema den Motiven der übrigen Anthemien des Baues folgen, steht seitlich der Lotusblüten je eine kleine geflammte Palmette über der ersten Gabelung der Grundranke. Dabei handelt es sich um eine sechsblättrige Palmette, deren mittlere Blätter in leichter S-Bewegung im Sinne einer Zange konvergieren und so mit ihrer Spiegelbildlichkeit die Mittelachse klar ansprechen. Die beiden jeweils folgenden Blätter entsprechen kaum oder nur recht verhalten dieser S-Bewegung. Die Blätter erheben sich über dem wulstigen Rand eines glatten Kernblattes, das unmittelbar in der Rankengabelung sitzt. Die Palmettenblätter sind weitgehend schlichte, rundliche Kolbenblätter, nur die mittleren sind leicht zugespitzt.

Neben den elfblättrigen großen Palmetten entwickelt sich zu den Seiten hin je eine horizontale Ranke, die seitlich der Palmette nach oben aufwächst, sich zur Palmette hin zu einer Volute aufrollt und zur anderen Seite hin ein großes Akanthusblatt entlässt. In der Gabelung erhebt sich eine Fortsetzung der Ranke, wendet sich in flachem Bogen von der Palmette ab und endet in einem breiten Blattkelch, der über einem Mittelblatt eine vierblättrige Palmette trägt. Ihre rundlichen Kolbenblätter biegen sich leicht zur Seite, ohne dass eine Mittelachse klar angesprochen wäre. Zu erwähnen ist noch, dass der »Basiskelch« auffallend breit ist, dass seine Blattspitzen seitlich fast abrupt umkippen, und dass der glatte Kelch nach oben hin von einem flachen Wulst eingefasst ist.

⁹² Die Aufnahme fertigte freundlicherweise H. Kienast auf meine Bitte hin an. Es ist die erste fotografische Detailaufnahme dieses Schmuckgliedes. Um 1930 hat W. Hege die ganze Tür fotografiert (Foto D-DAI-ATH-Hege-2378) mit entsprechendem Abstand, weshalb das Hyperthyron auch weniger von unten gesehen ist, als in der Aufnahme von Kienast (ein Ausschnitt der Aufnahme abgebildet bei H. Möbius, *Studia Varia* [Wiesbaden 1967] Taf. 25, 1). Hege fotografierte gegen Abend bei tief stehender Sonne, die entsprechend Schlagschatten wirft. Daher kommt der Hintergrund kaum zur Geltung, die hellen plastischen Werte und die reichlichen Schatten bewirken, dass die Motive dichter zu stehen scheinen und dadurch stärker in ihrer Vertikalität betont sind,

Flächenwerte spielen kaum eine Rolle. – H. Möbius veröffentlichte 1927 die Aufnahme eines Teilabgusses (Möbius 1927, 178–181 Beilage XX1, 1), die Grundlage seiner Bewertung ist. Dabei geht er auf die »rundstabartigen Ranken« ein. Doch zeigt unsere Abb. 11 deutlich, dass diese Ranken zumindest teilweise kanneliert erhalten sind. »Besonders sorglos sind [...] die kleinen Blüten behandelt« – dass es sich dabei um Palmetten handelt, scheint Möbius entgangen zu sein. Die Frage nach eventuellen Vorbildern stellte sich ihm daher nicht. Offenbar im Sinne einer solchen sorglosen Handwerklichkeit des Kopisten hat Möbius auch die anderen Eigentümlichkeiten des Anthemions betrachtet, auf die im Folgenden eingegangen wird.

Erstaunlich ist das Nebeneinander von vierblättriger, elfblättriger und geflammter Palmette, das nur hier am Hyperthyron zu beobachten ist. Für die vierblättrige Palmette scheint es im zeitlichen Umkreis des Erechtheions keine Parallele zu geben, und die geflammte Palmette scheint unter dem Einfluss des Parthenonakroters in dieser Zeit eingeführt zu werden, wie z. B. ein Athener Grabrelief bezeugt⁹³. Doch gewinnt sie erst gegen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts an Beliebtheit, in der Regel ohne Mittelblatt⁹⁴.

Neben diesen motivischen Besonderheiten verdient aber auch die Form der beiden Hauptmotive Beachtung. Denn sie weichen von den entsprechenden Motiven der übrigen Anthemien des Baues augenfällig ab. Bei den großen elfblättrigen Palmetten sind die schlichten Kolbenblätter leicht nach außen gebogen und allein das gerade Mittelblatt ist etwas länger und endet spitz. Meist ist die Mitte der Blätter als nur flache Kante ausgearbeitet. Vergleicht man diese Palmetten mit denen der Epikranitis über dem Hyperthyron oder mit denen der Süd- und Nordseite (z. B. *Abb. 4*), dann fällt auf, dass dort die Blätter dichter stehen und steiler aufwachsen, und dass ihre Oberfläche deutlich gekehlt ist⁹⁵. Am Hyperthyron hingegen kommt der Reliefgrund mehr zur Geltung, die Palmetten sind stärker ausgebreitet und ihnen fehlt die aufstrebende Dynamik, die jene anderen Palmetten prägt. Als Basis der Palmettenblätter zwischen den Voluten ist zudem ein breites, glattes Spitzblatt mit flacher Mittelkante und abgesetztem oberem Rand verwendet, wogegen bei den meisten anderen Palmetten des Baues eine kleine flache Palmette angegeben ist⁹⁶.

Ähnliche Abweichungen sind auch an den fünfblättrigen Lotusblüten zu beobachten, die am Hyperthyron gleichfalls stärker die Breitendimension betonen, deren Blattoberflächen kaum gegliedert sind und die mit ihren Blattspitzen in gespanntem Bogen nach außen weisen, statt sich etwa halbkreisförmig aufzurollen, wie es sonst am Bau fast durchgehend üblich ist⁹⁷. Hinzu kommt, dass die Blüten nicht über einem Akanthuskelch aufwachsen, sondern über einem glatten, betont breiten Kelch mit eckig-breiter Basis und mit abgesetztem oberem Rändchen. Übrigens ist auch die Grundranke breiter ausgezogen.

Die meist wenig gegliederte Blattoberfläche an Palmetten und Lotusblüten des Hyperthyrons lässt im Vergleich zu den übrigen Anthemien des Baues zunächst daran denken, dass es sich hier vielleicht um die vereinfachende Arbeit eines Kopisten handelt – sind doch nach den Beobachtungen von Stevens die Blöcke vom Türsturz an nach oben hin in römischer Zeit renoviert worden⁹⁸. Andererseits verwundert aber, dass die von den Palmetten ausgehenden horizontalen Ranken seitlich der kleinen Volute je ein ausgeprägtes Akanthusblatt tragen, das mit seinem gezahnten Rand und der gerippten Blattfläche eine

⁹³ Athen Nationalmuseum 715: CAT 1.550; Möbius 1929, 17 f.; Hübner 1973, 121 zu Taf. 69,3. Zu den scharfkantigen, gelegentlich geknickt verlaufenden Falten auf dem Oberschenkel des Jünglings vgl. das Fragment 24 der Nikebalustrade (R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* [Cambridge, Mass. 1929] 36). An vergleichbaren Figuren des Erechtheionfrieses (vgl. z. B. P. N. Boulter, *The Frieze of the Erechtheion*, *AntPl* 10 [Berlin 1970] 7–28, hier Taf. 11 und 20) haben hingegen Körper und Gewand jeweils an Eigenwert gewonnen. Die Falten sind sowohl in ihrem graphischen wie in ihrem plastischen Wert gesteigert und setzen sich vom Körper deutlich ab, der seinerseits großflächiger wie unter nassem Gewand vortritt. Die Grabstele muss deutlich älter sein.

⁹⁴ Vgl. Möbius 1929, 20 f.; A. Mallwitz, *Die Werkstatt des Phidias in Olympia*, *OF* 5 (Berlin 1964) 122 f.

⁹⁵ Vgl. die Beschreibung bei Hübner 1973, 120.

⁹⁶ An der Epikranitis über dem Hyperthyron sowie an den Halsen der östlichen Säulen ist die Basis der Palmettenblätter im Sinne eines – allerdings schmaleren – Spitzblattes mit Mittelkante und flach abgesetztem oberem Rand gekennzeichnet. – Das Kernblatt der Palmetten mit abgesetztem oberem Rändchen findet sich z. B. an den Anthemien der Säulenhäse des polykratischen Heraion in Samos: Gruben 2014, Taf. 20.

⁹⁷ Lediglich an den Außenseiten der östlichen Anten (hier dreiblättrige Kelche) und an den Halsen der östlichen Säulen sind die Lotusblüten als schlanke, steil aufwachsende Kelche gebildet, deren Blattspitzen *nicht* umkippen, sondern nach den Seiten gerichtet sind.

⁹⁸ s. oben Anm. 3 und 6.

ausgesprochen sorgfältige Arbeit dokumentiert. Hinzu kommt, dass die Lotusblüten mit ihrem betont eckig-breiten und glatten Basiskelch und den steil, in flachem Bogen sichelförmig aufgefächerten Blättern durchaus motivische Abweichungen von den Akanthusbasiskelchen bzw. den fast senkrecht aufwachsenden und sich einrollenden Blättern der Lotusblüten an südlicher und nördlicher Epikranitis aufweisen. Und schließlich ist festzuhalten, dass sich an den Basiskelchen der Hyperthyron-Lotusblüten der flache obere Rand⁹⁹ in der Mitte überschneidet und nach unten zu einem sorgsam gearbeiteten Kringel verbindet. Derartige Abweichungen stehen der Annahme einer schlichten Vereinfachung durch den Kopisten entgegen. Daher ist insbesondere zu den Lotusblüten des Hyperthyrons zu fragen, ob sie denn wirklich mit ihren beschriebenen, eigenwilligen Formen Kopien von Lotusblüten sind, wie wir sie vom übrigen Bau kennen – der Kopist hätte dann die Vorlage stark verändert (nach welchem Vorbild?) –, oder ob sich bereits das ursprüngliche Anthemion mit der markanten Lotusblütenform von den übrigen Anthemien des Baues absetzte.

Für die Frage nach einer Kopie läge es zunächst nahe, die Kapitelle der Westwand heranzuziehen, die gleichfalls einer Renovierung römischer Zeit zu verdanken sind¹⁰⁰. Doch sind sie nicht nur schlecht erhalten, sondern vor allem fotografisch nicht erschlossen¹⁰¹. Daher erscheint es gerechtfertigt, die Säulenhäse des Roma-Augustus-Tempels heranzuziehen (*Abb. 13*), die offensichtlich recht genaue Kopien der östlichen Erechtheionsäulen sind (*Abb. 12*). Dies lässt sich z. B. deutlich an den Akanthuskelchen der Lotusblüten ablesen sowie am Verlauf der Blätter dieser Lotusblüten, ebenso am Basisblatt der Palmetten und an der Kehlung der Palmettenblätter. Die Übereinstimmungen sind erstaunlich eng¹⁰². Andererseits sind ebenso klar Unterschiede zu fassen, die auf die Arbeitsweise des Kopisten deuten. So sind am Roma-Augustus-Tempel die Palmettenblätter durch tiefe Bohrungen getrennt, die nach außen / oben breiter werden, und die vertikal zum Grund gerichtet die Blätter aus der ursprünglichen Fläche scherenschnittartig ausschneiden. Ganz Entsprechendes gilt ebenso für die beiden tiefen Bohrrillen seitlich des Mittelblattes der Lotusblüten. Am Erechtheion hingegen sind die einzelnen Blätter zur Seite hin abgeschrägt oder abgerundet. Als motivischer Unterschied ist noch zu erwähnen, dass die seitlichen Blattspitzen der Lotusblüten ein wenig mehr nach unten kippen als beim Vorbild. Und an den Palmetten bilden die untersten Blätter mit den Hüllblättern der Volutenranke eine eigenwillige Schlaufe, die als graphisches Motiv ins Auge fällt.

⁹⁹ Dieser feine Wulst als obere Umrandung des Kelches scheint höchst ungewöhnlich zu sein. Soweit ich sehe, bietet die äußere Peristasis des polykratischen Heraions in Samos eine gewisse Parallele. Denn dort zeigen die Kelche der Lotusblüten am Säulenhals einen schmalen oberen Rand, der mittig weit nach unten reicht: Gruben 2014, Taf. 10 Fragment 15a und Taf. 16 Fragment 20a.

¹⁰⁰ Paton 1927, 66.

¹⁰¹ Nur im Fall der beiden mittleren Säulen ist der Säulenhals mit dem Anthemion leidlich erhalten, doch fotografisch nicht erschlossen. Soweit ich sehe, sind die allein verfügbaren Aufnahmen 1976 bei Beginn der Restaurierung angefertigt worden und im Fotoarchiv des griechischen Restaurierungsdienstes ΥΕΜΑ einsehbar. Sie zeigen lediglich Ausschnitte und Schrägansichten. Soweit zu erkennen ist, stimmen die Motive mit den Anthemien der Ostsäulenhäse recht eng überein. Die Palmettenblätter sind zumindest teilweise ebenso gekehlt wie im Osten,

und manche der Lotusblütenblätter scheinen auch kantig gestaltet zu sein wie im Osten. Doch könnte es gut sein, dass dies nicht durchgehend gilt.

¹⁰² Die Akanthuskelche der Lotusblüten scheinen am Roma-Augustus-Tempel meist durch äußerst flache vertikale Rippen gekennzeichnet zu sein (vgl. J. Fouquet, *Der Roma-Augustus-Monopteros auf der Athener Akropolis*, Thetis 19, 2012, 47–95, hier 63 *Abb. 20*). – Fouquet beschreibt die Gemeinsamkeiten der Säulenhäse des Monopteros und der Erechtheionosthalle sorgfältig auf S. 63, weist aber auch auf feine Unterschiede hin. Die Datierung der Reparaturen am Erechtheion (Westwand und Türsturz in der Nordhalle) anhand des Vergleiches mit dem Monopteros stellt Fouquet allerdings infrage. Auf S. 79 beschreibt er detailliert die Eigenart des Hyperthyron-anthemions im Stil und in den Motiven, fragt aber nicht, inwieweit diese Eigenart dem originalen Bauglied geschuldet ist oder der römischen Reparatur.



Abb. 12 Nördliche Säule
der Ost-Portikus



Abb. 13 Roma-Augustus-
Tempel, Säulenhals

Insgesamt ist offenkundig, wie eng sich der augusteische Bildhauer am Vorbild orientierte. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass die beschriebenen eigenwilligen Formen des Hyperthyronanthemions dem Kopisten zuzuschreiben sind¹⁰³. Eher ist davon auszugehen, dass bereits das Vorbild in diesem Sinne gekennzeichnet war.

Die Eigentümlichkeit des Dekors wird noch deutlicher, wenn man ein ›Zitat‹ des Hyperthyrons aus dem frühen 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr., einen Türsturz in Athen heranzieht¹⁰⁴. Denn dieser zeigt eindeutig die Motive des Hyperthyrons mit dreigliedriger Ranke, dem Wechsel von Lotusblüten und Palmetten, mit den kleinen geflammten Palmetten zwischen diesen und mit der kleinen Palmette über dem Akanthusblatt, das aus einer von den Palmetten ausgehenden Ranke aufwächst. In der Ausführung lehnen sich jedoch die gekehlten Blätter der großen Palmetten, die gerippten und leicht überkippenden Blätter der Lotusblüten

¹⁰³ Für die Arbeitsweise des Hyperthyronkopisten ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass an manchen Stellen Bohrlöcher stehen blieben, so etwa am Umriss einiger Akanthusblätter, unter der Lotusblüte am rechten Rand von *Abb. 8* oder in manchen Volutenzentren. Zu fragen ist, ob ursprünglich die Umrisse der Motive mit feinen Bohrlöchern markiert waren wie am lesbischen Kymation des Türsturzes (vgl. *Abb. 8*), deren Zwischenstege am Anthemion fast

durchgehend beseitigt worden wären, wogegen sie am lesbischen Kymation darunter stehenblieben – aus welchem Grund auch immer.

¹⁰⁴ Vgl. Hübner 1973, 127 f. und Taf. 73,1. Dort S. 117–125 auch wenig ältere Beispiele. Zu weiteren Zitaten zumeist des 4. Jhs. vgl. Möbius 1927, 178–180. Bei den entsprechenden Lotusblüten besteht der Basis Kelch stets aus akanthisierenden Blättern, und die kleine Palmette ist stets fünfblättrig.

über ihren ausgeprägten Akanthuskelchen¹⁰⁵ und die kannelierten Ranken klar an die Formen der Anthemien an Nord- und Südwand des Erechtheions an (bei etwas gestreckteren Proportionen). Dies gilt auch für die Dichte und vertikale Orientierung der Motive. Dieser Anlehnung an den Zeitstil entsprechen auch die kleinen Palmetten seitlich der großen, insofern sie fünfblättrig sind, das Mittelblatt gelängt und die Blattoberflächen gekehrt zeigen. Lediglich der ungewöhnliche Basiskelch¹⁰⁶ dieser kleinen Palmetten zitiert wiederum klar das Hyperthyron. Gerade vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgemäßen Gestaltung dieses Türsturzes sticht die Eigenart des Erechtheion-Hyperthyrons mit seinen markant abweichenden Formen ins Auge. Will man diese Eigenart des Hyperthyronanthemions nicht einfach ausblenden, dann bleibt nur, nach Vergleichbarem Ausschau zu halten.

Ausgangspunkt mag die Form der kleinen Palmetten sein, gekennzeichnet durch ihre vier Blätter, also durch eine gerade Anzahl¹⁰⁷, womit ein Mittelblatt fehlt, das den Umriss der Palmetten schon seit Generationen im Sinne eines leichten oder auch markanten Spitzbogens akzentuiert. Bleibt man im Bereich der Architektur, dann liegt es nahe, die Antefixe heranzuziehen, bei denen die Palmette das gewichtige Mittelmotiv bildet. Fasst man beispielsweise die tönernen Stirnziegel der Akropolis ins Auge, die immerhin so zahlreich erhalten sind, dass sie einen groben Überblick ermöglichen¹⁰⁸, dann lassen sich die Veränderungen unschwer ablesen. Die frühen Palmetten sind als flachbogige Fächer gegeben, deren Umriss dann an Höhe gewinnt. Es folgt die rundbogige Form, die sich rasch ovalbogig streckt bei leichter Betonung des Mittelblattes, und die schließlich einen spitzbogigen Fächer beschreibt. Dabei gewinnt die Palmette im Verhältnis zu den tragenden Voluten des unteren Teiles zusehends an Bedeutung, sowohl dank der steigenden Blattzahl wie dank der vertikal orientierten Ausrichtung: Die Palmette ist schließlich klar das Hauptmotiv der Front. Zudem zeigt sich ein Wandel im Verhältnis von Antefixdekor zum Querschnitt des Deckziegels hinter dem Stirnziegel. Denn sind zunächst Palmette und Volutendekor eingebunden in den fünfeckigen Umriss der flach-rechteckigen, mit einem niedrigen Giebel akzentuierten Stirnziegelfront, wie sie mit dem Querschnitt des anschließenden Deckziegels vorgegeben ist, so gewinnen beide Elemente rasch an Eigenständigkeit und bestimmen mit dem aufragenden Blattfächer bzw. den ausladenden Wölbungen der Voluten Aufbau und Umriss der Schaufront ohne jeglichen Bezug zum Deckziegel¹⁰⁹.

So klar sich dieser Wandel aufs Ganze gesehen abzeichnet, so offensichtlich sind gelegentliche Abweichungen. Dabei dürften z. B. regionaltypische Prägungen eine Rolle spielen, so etwa bei Buschors Stirnziegeln I und II, die dem ›argivischen System‹ verpflichtet sind¹¹⁰. Oder es kann bewusste Stilisierung wie etwa konservatives Festhalten an altertümlichen Formen vermutet werden wie etwa im Fall von Buschors Stirnziegel XIV. Gewichtiger ist indessen in unserem Zusammenhang, dass sich unter den frühen \triangle -förmigen Stirnziegeln ein Beispiel in Tiryns findet, das ganz ungewöhnlicherweise eine sechsblättrige Palmette

¹⁰⁵ Die Blätter des Akanthuskelches reichen freilich höher und die Blätter der Lotusblüten kippen nur zur Seite statt sich einzurollen.

¹⁰⁶ Ein solcher Basiskelch für eine Palmette ist gelegentlich in der Vasenmalerei bezeugt, nicht im Rapport, sondern bei aufwendigen Blüten in Händen von Menschen: vgl. z. B. ARV² 437, 116 und 438, 133 (Douris).

¹⁰⁷ Ausgeklammert sind hier die geflammten Palmetten ohne Mittelblatt, also gleichfalls mit gerader Blattzahl, die jedoch aufgrund ihrer spiegelbildlichen Anlage eine eindeutige Mittelachse aufweisen.

¹⁰⁸ Buschor 1933, Stirnziegel III bis XVI. Dazu vgl. Chr. Vlassopoulou, *Decorated Architectural Terra-*

cottas from the Athenian Acropolis, Hesperia 59, 1990, I–XXXI, hier VII–XXXI. Entsprechend lässt sich dieser Wandel auch an den reichen Beständen in Delphi nachvollziehen, vgl. z. B. Le Roy 1967, Antefix A 1 (Taf. 30); A 27 (Taf. 16); A 23 (Taf. 7); A 13 (Taf. 40); A 32 (Taf. 13); A 186 (Taf. 48); A 46 (Taf. 37) und A 59 f. (Taf. 57). Zu Korinth vgl. z. B. Winter 1993, 64 und 74.

¹⁰⁹ Bei einem Stirnziegel wie Buschors Stirnziegel XVI bildet der \triangle -förmige alte Antefixumriss gewissermaßen den Unterbau des darüber sich aufbauenden Voluten-Palmetten-Dekors.

¹¹⁰ Vgl. Winter 1993, 161 Abb. 9.

aufweist, also eine gerade Blattzahl¹¹¹. Hinzu kommt, dass sich zwischen den Palmettenblättern und dem zwischen den Voluten liegenden hellgelben Palmettenherz ein violettbrauner Segmentbogen spannt, der durch drei hellgrundige Rechtecke gegliedert ist. Andere Ziegel dieser frühen Zeitstufe weisen einen roten, vereinzelt auch schwarzen Bogen über dem roten Palmettenherz auf¹¹², in der Regel verbunden mit siebenblättrigen Palmetten.

Der eigenwertige ›Blütenboden‹ zwischen Palmettenblättern und Palmettenherz sowie die gerade Blattzahl der Palmettenblätter sind Merkmale, die in einer Tradition zu stehen scheinen, die bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hinaufreicht und dort vor allem in der Vasenmalerei zu fassen ist, sowohl im Attischen wie außerhalb, dazu gelegentlich auch im Bereich der Bronzen (*Abb. 14–16*)¹¹³. Dabei bringt es die beliebte Vielblättrigkeit der Palmetten mit sich, dass immer wieder auch eine gerade Blattanzahl neben der ungeraden bezeugt ist. Ganz Entsprechendes gilt für orientalische Blattfächer, wie sie insbesondere durch die Elfenbeine von Nimrud überliefert sind. Dort finden sich flache Bogenfächer mit gerader und ungerader Blattzahl¹¹⁴ ebenso wie axial durch betontes Mittelblatt akzentuierte Fächer¹¹⁵, der ›Blütenboden‹ kann ausgeprägt sein¹¹⁶ oder durch einen knopfartigen Kern ersetzt sein¹¹⁷ und die sich gabelnden Voluten können auch fehlen¹¹⁸. Vor allem über Zypern scheinen dergleichen Denkmäler nach Westen gelangt zu sein und haben dort nachhaltig das Formengut geprägt¹¹⁹.

¹¹¹ Vgl. G. Hübner, Dachterrakotten im Magazin des Museums von Nauplia, Tiryns 8 (Mainz 1975) 117 f.; Winter 1993, 180. Winter weist darauf hin, dass der Stirnziegel ältere Züge bewahrt habe, insofern im Dekor die sechs Ecken des Deckziegels angesprochen werden. – Zu erwähnen ist in diesem Zusammenhang wohl auch der delphische Stirnziegel A 1 (Le Roy 1967, Taf. 30), dessen Lotusblüte über dem ›Blütenboden‹ statt der üblichen drei oder fünf Blätter vier Kolbenblätter aufweist. Vgl. ferner die pergamenische Giebelsima Å. Åkerström, Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasien (Lund 1966) Taf. 9,1 (sechsblättrige Palmette) sowie die Sima aus Larisa am Hermos *ibid.* Taf. 32, 4 (sechs- und achtblättrige Palmetten). – Dazu vgl. vor allem die Abschlusspalmetten der Schildbänder, die zunächst acht Blätter über reich gegliedertem ›Blütenboden‹ zeigen und erst in einem weiteren Schritt um die Mitte des 6. Jhs. zur neunblättrigen Palmette mit leichter Betonung ihrer Mitte übergehen: Kunze 1950, 205 f. Taf. 74 f.

¹¹² Vgl. z. B. Le Roy 1967, A 1 (Taf. 30; in diesem Fall rahmen zwei rote Bänder den breiten gelblichen Bogen); A 27 (Taf. 16); A 23 (Taf. 7); A 12 f. (Taf. 40); dazu Buschor 1933, Stirnziegel V. – In der attisch schwarzfigurigen und rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei begegnen Palmetten mit gerader Blattzahl gelegentlich, im Rotfigurigen vor allem bei vielblättrigen Palmetten, die fast kreisförmig von einer Ranke umschlossen sind (vgl. z. B. P. Jacobsthal, Ornamente griechischer Vasen [Berlin 1927] Taf. 46b, 47b, 94a und 106a). Dazu vgl. z. B. den Nackenschutz der Ostgiebel-Athena vom Aphaia-Tempel (H. Bankel, Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina [Berlin 1993] 158 Abb. 89 b).

¹¹³ Die Kore des Kraters aus Vari *Abb. 14* trägt eine vierblättrige ›Blüte‹, die zweite Kore vor ihr trägt eine sechs- und eine fünfblättrige ›Blüte‹. Im Übrigen

vgl. z. B. Kübler 1976, Taf. 5. 10. 16. 68. 77 (Inv. 192) und 82 f. (hier *Abb. 15*): 6-, 10-, 16- und 20-blättrige Palmetten; S. P. Morris, *The Black and White Style* (New Haven 1954) Taf. 3 und 12. Für Samos vgl. E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefäße des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Samos 6,1 (Bonn 1973) Abb. 28. 57. 104. 141. 156. 159. 167. 170 f. Für die Kykladen vgl. z. B. Ph. Zaphiropoulou, *Προβλήματα της μυλιακής αγγειογραφίας* (Athen 1985) Taf. A 4, B 1 + 2, E 5, ΣΤ 4 + 6, ΙΖ 11, ΙΗ 23, Λ 9, ΛΑ 6. Böotische Amphora Athen Nationalmuseum 15300: A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens* (Bern 1976) BA 25. – Bronzen: Neben dem Kaineus-Blech Olympia BE 11a (A. Mallwitz – H.-V. Herrmann [Hrsg.], *Die Funde von Olympia* [Berlin 1980] Nr. 42. Hier *Abb. 16*) vgl. vor allem die Lotusblüten-Palmetten-Girlanden der Bleche II und III in Olympia: B. Borell – D. Rittig, *Orientalische und griechische Bronzereliefs aus Olympia*, OF 26 (Berlin 1998) 147 f. Taf. 42, 5. 6 sowie Taf. 59, 5). Auch darf man wohl an die Blütensterne der Schildbänder erinnern, die neben drei- und fünfblättrigen ebenso vierblättrige Palmetten zeigen: Kunze 1950, 195 f. Beil. 16, 1. 2.

¹¹⁴ Vgl. z. B. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains 2* (London 1966) Abb. 456 und 517; Mallowan – Herrmann 1974, Kat. 57; Barnett 1975, Taf. 136.

¹¹⁵ Vgl. z. B. Mallowan – Davies 1970, Kat. 164; Barnett 1975, Taf. 13 (H 2), 114. 147 (Suppl. 2).

¹¹⁶ Vgl. z. B. Mallowan – Davies 1970, Kat. 164; Mallowan – Herrmann 1974, Kat. 46. 63.

¹¹⁷ Vgl. z. B. Mallowan – Herrmann 1974, Kat. 87; Barnett 1975, 133 (Suppl. 24).

¹¹⁸ Vgl. z. B. Mallowan – Herrmann 1974, Kat. 63 f.; Barnett 1975, Taf. 12 (F 2).

¹¹⁹ So bereits E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart 1931) 98 f. Dazu vgl. z. B. Mallowan – Herrmann 1974, 57 f. sowie K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Berlin 1967) 18–21.



Abb. 14 Athen, NM 16384



Abb. 15 Kerameikos Inv. 151

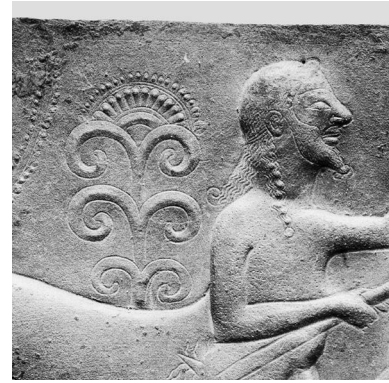


Abb. 16 Olympia BE 11a

Die knappe Skizze mag genügen, um für die eigenwillige Form der kleinen Hyperthyronpalmette ein früher bezeugtes Formenspektrum in Erinnerung zu rufen. Da ihr vierblättriger Blattfächer ohne axiale und im Umriss markierte Mitte im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und in den Generationen davor ohne Parallele zu sein scheint, muss man sich fragen, ob diese Form möglicherweise auf jene deutlich ältere Tradition Bezug nimmt, die nach Ausweis der Denkmäler in den Jahrzehnten um und nach 600 v. Chr. noch lebendig war. Warum es beim Hyperthyron gegebenenfalls zu so einem Rückgriff kam, und welcher Vermittlung sich der entwerfende Meister der großen Tür dabei bediente, muss vorerst völlig offenbleiben.

Ganz ähnliche Schwierigkeiten zeigen sich bei Betrachtung der Lotusblüte des Hyperthyrons (Abb. 11). Auch sie scheint im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in ihrer speziellen Form nicht zeitgemäß zu sein. Deutlich wird dies, wenn man sich zunächst die Lotusblüten der östlichen Säulenhäule des Erechtheion ansieht (Abb. 12), die mit ihren fünf Blättern und dem eigenständigen Kelch akantisierender Blätter motivisch den Blüten des Hyperthyrons recht genau entsprechen. Mit ihrer hohen schlanken Form und den nach außen abbiegenden Blattenden unterscheiden sie sich aber markant von den Hyperthyronblüten, die sich etwa doppelt so breit entfalten, und deren seitliche Blätter in lang gestreckter Sichelform ausgreifen. Jene schlanke, hohe Blütenform der östlichen Säulenhäule mit einem ausgeprägten Blütenkelch als Basis ist in gemalter Form an der inneren Epikranitis des Niketempels bezeugt (Abb. 17)¹²⁰, nur dass hier alle fünf Blätter bis zum oberen Rand des Frieses geführt sind, während am Erechtheion die äußeren Blätter bereits in halber Höhe mit ihren Spitzen nach außen gerichtet sind¹²¹. Auch scheint am Niketempel der Blütenkelch nicht aus Akanthusblättern zu bestehen und schließt nach unten nicht in einer schlichten U-Form ab, sondern mit zwei flachen Einbuchtungen, sodass der Kelch nach unten eigenwillig ›eckig‹ in zwei seitlichen ›Zipfelchen‹ endet.

Die schlanke, hohe Kelchform der Lotusblüte begegnet wenig früher gleichfalls gemalt an den Simen des Hephaisteions und des Ares-Tempels (Abb. 18)¹²², allerdings mit dem bezeichnenden Unterschied, dass die Blüte nur aus drei Blättern besteht, dem zentralen, etwas höheren Mittelblatt und den beiden seitlichen Blättern, deren obere Hälfte in flachem Bogen ausschwingt. In beiden Fällen stehen die schmalen Blüten auf Nebenranken, die unter den Palmetten aus den Voluten der liegenden S-Ranken zur Seite wachsen. Ganz ähnlich schlanke

¹²⁰ Vgl. Hübner 1973, 122.

¹²¹ So auch an der ›Blassen Sima‹ in Olympia: Heiden 1995, 42 f. Dach 12.

¹²² Vgl. H. Koch, Studien zum Theseus-Tempel in Athen (Berlin 1955) 65 f. Abb. 67 (nach L. Roß) und W. B. Dinsmoor, The Temple of Ares at Athens, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 1–52, hier 32 f. Abb. 12.



Abb. 17 Athen, Nike-Tempel

Abb. 18 Athen, Ares-Tempel

Abb. 19 Athen, Parthenon

und hohe dreiblättrige Blütenformen sind auch in der Vasenmalerei der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts zu beobachten, meist ohne eigenen Basiskelch sich direkt über dem Zwickel der Voluten erhebend¹²³. Bemerkenswert ist noch ein deutlich älterer Vorläufer von ähnlich schlanker Form, dreiblättrig und über kleinem Basiskelch aufwachsend, die Lotusblüten im Anthemion auf der Innenseite des Türsturzes des Athener Schatzhauses in Delphi¹²⁴.

Natürlich ist hier auch der Lotus-Palmetten-Fries der Giebelsima des Parthenon zu erwähnen (Abb. 19)¹²⁵, dessen Lotusblüten wie am Niketempel und Erechtheion fünfblättrig sind, sich aber stärker als dort in gespanntem Bogen ihrer Blätter weit auffächern bei Betonung des Mittelblattes. Zudem weist ihr Basiskelch eine eigenwillig stilisierte Form auf. Insgesamt setzt sich die Parthenonblüte klar von der Hyperthyron-Lotusblüte ab, bei der die Spitzen der seitlich ausschwingenden Sichelblätterpaare fast in einer Linie liegen mit den Spitzen der ausschwingenden Basiskelchblätter, womit im Umriss einschließlich der Grundlinie des Basiskelches eine Rechteckform beschrieben wird¹²⁶, wogegen am Parthenon die Grundform eines Dreiecks angesprochen ist, aus der nur die Spitze des Mittelblattes ausbricht. Zudem wirkt die Parthenonlotusblüte insgesamt filigran-graphisch, während an der Hyperthyronblüte die einzelnen Blätter mit ihrem Flächenwert handgreiflich-substantiell anmuten. Ebendieser Unterschied gilt genauso für die in den Kassetten des Parthenon verwendete Variante der Lotusblüte¹²⁷, bei der die fünf schlanken Blätter an ihrer Basis von einem hohen U-förmigen Kelch gerahmt werden, dessen Blattenden oberhalb der Blütenmitte fast ebenso weit zur Seite ausgreifen wie die darüber folgenden äußeren Lotusblütenblätter. So gibt es zwischen den Lotusblüten des Parthenon und denen des Erechtheion-Hyperthyron über die motivischen Gegebenheiten von Fünfblättrigkeit und Basiskelch hinaus nichts Verbindendes in ihrer formalen Gestaltung.

Hält man über die genannten Beispiele hinaus Ausschau nach weiteren Vergleichen, dann liegt es nahe, die Tonsimen der Akropolis heranzuziehen, die in vier eng entsprechenden Vertretern aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts erhalten sind¹²⁸. Zunächst sind Lotus-

¹²³ Vgl. z. B. Moore 1997, Nr. 88; ARV² 1313,6 (Palmetten in Kreisranke eingeschlossen); ARV² 1346, 1; 1152, 7 (mit eigenständigem Basiskelch).

¹²⁴ Vgl. H. Büsing, Das Athener Schatzhaus in Delphi, MarbWPr (Marburg 1992) Taf. 21. – Auch in der Vasenmalerei der Zeit sind gelegentlich solche Formen zu beobachten, sowohl als schwarzfiguriges wie als rotfiguriges Ornament: Vgl. z. B. ARV² 3, 2 (seitlicher Bildrahmen) und Moore 1997, Nr. 585.

¹²⁵ Vgl. Orlandos 1978, 556 f. Abb. 386 (zur Vorzeichnung der Motive; bereits Penrose [Mitte des 19. Jhs.] konnte von Farben nichts mehr erkennen) sowie 648 (zur Vergoldung; eine farbige Rekonstruktion bietet Orlandos 1978, S. 644 f.). Deutlich abweichend die Rekonstruktion von M. Lambert von 1877, die M.-Ch. Hellmann, L'Architecture Grecque I (Paris 2002) 319 nutzte. – Erstaunlich ähnlich der Lotus-Palmetten-Fries an der Sima des Athena-Nike-Tempels (A. K. Orlandos, Nouvelles observations sur la construction du temple d'Athéna Niké, BCH 71/72, 1947/1948, 1–38, hier 32 und Taf. II). – fünf-

blättrig auch die Lotusblüte (auf Spiralranke) eines Volutenkraters der Mitte des 5. Jhs. (Moore 1997, Nr. 244).

¹²⁶ Eng entspricht die Lotusblüte der Sima des Heraion in Argos, deren Basiskelch freilich akanthisierende Blätter aufweist und insofern zeitgemäß ist (Möbius 1927, Beil. 21, 5, bessere Abb. im Nachdruck von 1967, Taf. 26, 3).

¹²⁷ Vgl. Orlandos 1978, 493 f.; Orlandos spricht von »sehr vagen Spuren« der Zeichnung; eine farbige Rekonstruktion bietet er vor S. 645 – Im Unterschied zur Sima sind die beiden Blätter seitlich des Mittelblattes zu Strichen verdünnt und das Mittelblatt der Lotusblüte ragt nur wenig über die seitlich ausbiegenden Blätter hinaus. Nahe steht die freilich nur dreiblättrige Lotusblüte der Sima des Poseidontempels in Sunion (A. K. Orlandos, Το ἀέτωμα τοῦ ἐν Σουνίῳ ναοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ADelt 1, 1915, 1–27, hier 15 Abb. 11).

¹²⁸ Buschor 1929, Sima XIII. XIV. XV. XVI und XVII. Die Simen XXII f. bilden klare Nachfolger.

Abb. 20 Akropolis, Sima XIV

Abb. 21 Akropolis, Sima XVI

Abb. 22 Akropolis, Sima XVII



blüte und Palmette in rhythmischem Wechsel einander gegenübergestellt, verbunden durch eine Ranke, die jeweils die Palmetten umschreiben (Sima XIII und XIV, *Abb. 20*¹²⁹). Diese verbindende Ranke wird dann ersetzt durch eine Kette liegender Spiralhaken oder Leiermotive, die entschiedener die horizontale Achse betonen, wodurch Lotusblüten und Palmetten sich eigenständiger und freier entfalten (Sima XV und XVI, *Abb. 21*). Und schließlich setzt sich die axiale Bindung durch, insofern Lotusblüten und Palmetten jeweils spiegelbildlich einander gegenüberstehen (Sima XVII, *Abb. 22*). Stets liegt der Lotusblüte der gleiche Typus zugrunde. Bestimmend sind die beiden kräftigen, weit ausladenden Sichelblätter, die den Blütenkelch bilden. Aus ihrer Mitte wächst ein zentrales Spitzblatt, das die Blütenfüllung, den einfarbigen ›Blütenboden‹ und den aufsitzenden Saum feinerer Blätter in zwei spiegelbildliche Hälften teilt. Der ›Boden‹ der beiden Kelchblätter folgt mit seinen beiden Kehlungen den Rankenbögen, auf die der Blütenkelch Bezug nimmt, so wie die Sichelblätter in ihrer Ausladung dem Kreisbogen der Ranken folgen, die die benachbarte Palmette umschreiben. Beide Merkmale bleiben auch bei den beiden letzten Simen erhalten, obwohl nun die Palmetten nicht mehr von Ranken umschlossen werden und auch die ›tragenden‹ Rankenvoluten aufgegeben sind (*Abb. 22*).

Eine Einzelheit verdient noch Erwähnung. Bei der Sima XVI werden die beiden Sichelblätter im unteren Bereich gegliedert, indem so etwas wie ein Basiskelch abgetrennt wird. Bei der folgenden Sima XVII (*Abb. 22*) hat dieser Basiskelch an Höhe gewonnen und seine Blattspitzen kippen deutlich nach außen. Darüber setzen die schmalen Sichelblätter des Blütenkelches an – die Gesamtform ist reicher gegliedert und wirkt vegetabler. Es ist diese Form des Basiskelches, an die das Hyperthyron (*Abb. 11*) am ehesten erinnert, sowohl der Kelch der Lotusblüte wie insbesondere auch der der kleinen vierblättrigen Palmette. Nicht ganz so weit geöffnet wie dieser Kelch ist der der Lotusblüte am Satrapensarkophag¹³⁰, der ionischen Vorbildern zu folgen scheint¹³¹.

Der beschriebene Typus der Lotusblüte ist bei geringer Variation auf der Akropolis in der ›H-Architektur‹ (*Abb. 23*)¹³² bezeugt sowie in der Vasenmalerei noch etwas früher beim Nessos-Maler (*Abb. 24*)¹³³. Vorherrschend aber ist in der attischen Vasenmalerei eine weitere Variante der Lotusblüte, bei der die prägenden Sichelblätter mit dem mittigen Spitzblatt und dessen seitlich anschließenden Bögen feiner Kolbenblätter von einem massiven rechteckigen ›Blütenboden‹ unterfangen werden (*Abb. 25*). Bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts

¹²⁹ Als vereinfachte Weiterbildung dieses Ornamentes könnte man den einreihigen Lotus-Palmetten-Fries im Rotfigurigen, vor allem an Peliken des 3. Viertels des 5. Jhs. werten. Bei ihnen rahmen die Sichelblätter des Blütenkelches nur drei kleine Kolbenblätter, der Kontext der die Palmetten umschließenden Ranke aber ist gewahrt – vgl. z. B. S. B. Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Wisconsin 1995) 10. 22. 89 f. 169, spiegelbildlich erweitert S. 112 und 196.

¹³⁰ Vgl. Kleemann 1958, Taf. 19.

¹³¹ Vgl. Kleemann 1958, 58 mit Nachweisen. Zu den Vorläufern gehören natürlich auch die Anthemien der Säulenhäule des polykratischen Heraion, vgl.

oben Anm. 99. Wohl ein später Nachfolger die Sima XXIII der Akropolis (Buschor 1933, Taf. 12, ein Beispiel aus der Vasenmalerei ARV² 1152, 7.

¹³² Vgl. Wiegand 1904, Taf. II A und IX 1a; dazu vgl. Korres 1997, 223 und 233; Kissas 2008, 103. – Ohne Mittelblatt, aber mit Basiskelch die Lotusblüte der Epikranitis am Aphaia-tempel in Aegina (Bankel a. O. [Anm. 112] 160 Abb. 90).

¹³³ ABV 4 f., 1. Freilich liegt eine Variante vor, insofern das Mittelblatt nicht zwischen den beiden großen Kelchblättern ansetzt, sondern zusammen mit den seitlich anschließenden kleinen Kolbenblättern auf dem Bogen eines kleinen ›Blütenbodens‹ zwischen den Kelchblättern sitzt.

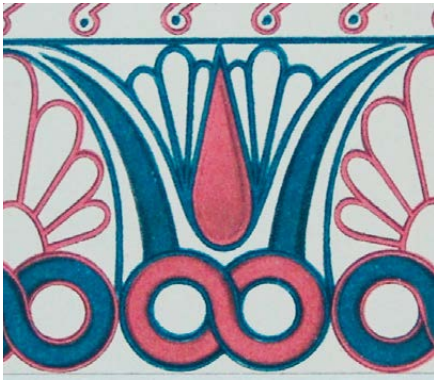


Abb. 23 Akropolis,
Sima der H-Architektur



Abb. 24 Athen, NM 1002



Abb. 25 Florenz,
Museo Archaeologico 4209

wird das Mittelblatt aufgegeben, die schmalen Sichelblätter rahmen lediglich noch drei Kolbenblätter, und die ganze Blüte ist in ihrer gestreckten Höhe fast auf ihren graphischen Wert reduziert¹³⁴.

Von dem durch die Akropolis-Simen vertretenen Typus der Lotusblüte setzt sich der dreiblättrige Typus korinthischer Simen klar ab, ablesbar z. B. an den Simen in Delphi. Der zunächst weit geöffnete Kelch der beiden signifikanten Sichelblätter in schwarzfiguriger Technik rahmt ein einzelnes keulenförmiges Mittelblatt, gerne in Rot abgesetzt (Abb. 26), in rhythmischem Wechsel mit der gegenständigen Palmette durch eine schlichte Wellenranke verbunden¹³⁵. Im Folgenden wird der Kelch schmaler, das Mittelblatt wird als Raute stilisiert, und die Farbwerte kehren sich im Sinne des Rotfigurigen um¹³⁶. Der bislang nahezu rechteckige untere Umriss der Lotusblüte wird im Folgenden als U-Form wiedergegeben und wirkt dadurch vegetabiler (Abb. 27)¹³⁷. Zugleich wird die durchlaufende Wellenranke durch Spiralhaken ersetzt, die unter der Lotusblüte ansetzen¹³⁸. Gegen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts sind die Motive stark vertikalisiert (Abb. 28)¹³⁹, die Lotusblüte ist mit einem Blattkelch mit nach außen kippenden Blattspitzen versehen, der über einem kleinen Querriegel ansetzt, über dem die beiden seitlichen, recht breiten Blütenblätter steil aufwachsen und erst im oberen Teil nach außen biegen. Das Mittelblatt ist stark reduziert und fast nur noch Andeutung eines schmalen Kolbenblattes. Eng vergleichbar ist die Lotusblüte der Epikranitis des Niketempels (Abb. 17).

Der knappe Überblick mag gezeigt haben, dass die Lotusblüte des Erechtheion-Hyperthyrons in ihrer motivischen Gestaltung und stilistischen Ausarbeitung in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts kaum zeitgemäß ist, eher altertümlich wirkt, wie es ebenso für die kleine vierblättrige Palmette gilt. Denn die meist leicht gewölbte Oberfläche der schlichten kolbenförmigen Palmettenblätter fällt gleichfalls im späteren 5. Jahrhundert als fremd ins Auge gegenüber den in der Regel gekehlten oder mit Mittelkante versehenen zeitgenössischen Blättern¹⁴⁰. Und schließlich ist nochmals im Rückblick darauf hinzuweisen, dass die einzelnen Motive wie Palmette oder Lotusblüte und die jeweiligen Zwischenräume stark in ihrer Breitendimension

¹³⁴ Vgl. z. B. E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (München 1976) Abb. 48, 61, 67, 72, 74, 80 und 84. Zu den Veränderungen vgl. E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik in Attika, Lakonien und Ostgriechenland* (Athen 1938) 39 f.

¹³⁵ Vgl. z. B. Le Roy 1967, Dach 42 und 45.

¹³⁶ Vgl. Le Roy 1967, Dach 49 und 50.

¹³⁷ Le Roy 1967, Dach 52. Die Lotusblüte der Soffitte wird von 3 kleinen Keulenblättern gefüllt: Le Roy 1967, Taf. 44 unten.

¹³⁸ Vgl. Le Roy 1967, Dach 55 und folgende.

¹³⁹ Vgl. Le Roy 1967, Dach 70.

¹⁴⁰ Nur ausgesprochen handwerkliche Arbeiten wie z. B. das Grabrelief CAT 2.120 halten an altertümlichen Formen fest.

betont sind, wogegen die Anthemien klassischer Zeit dichter wirken und deutlicher auf die Vertikalität ihrer Einzelelemente hin ausgerichtet sind. Auch wenn für diese Merkmale des Hyperthyronanthemions in keinem Fall ein konkretes Vorbild benannt werden kann, so scheint jene Ausbreitung in der Fläche z. B. einige frühe korinthische Simen in Delphi (s. Abb. 26) oder Olympia¹⁴¹ ähnlich zu kennzeichnen, weshalb man sich fragen mag, ob im Hyperthyron recht allgemein auf eine ältere Gestaltungsweise Bezug genommen wird.

Ein Rückgriff auf vorklassische Formen im Ornament scheint in augusteischer Zeit gelegentlich bezeugt zu sein (ohne dass ein genaues Zitat vorliegt). So hat schon P. Zanker den Lotus-Palmetten-Fries im nördlichen Saal der Nordportikus des Augustusforums (*Aula del Colosso*) mit einem spätarchaischen Anthemion zusammengestellt, das zweifellos nahesteht¹⁴². Ein weiteres Beispiel bietet am vollständigsten eine vor etlichen Jahren in Nikopolis ausgegrabene halbrunde Basis¹⁴³. Hier sind Lotusblüte und Palmette durch eine Ranke verbunden, die in einem Volutenpaar unter der Palmette ansetzt, hinter den breiten Kelchblättern der benachbarten Lotusblüte nach oben geführt wird und die fünfblättrige Füllung der Lotusblüte umschreibt¹⁴⁴. Das gleiche Ornament bezeugen Fragmente von der Bühne des Odeion des Agrippa auf der Athener Agora, ein kleiner archaischer Pfeiler in Athen und das Fragment einer Rundbasis in Korinth¹⁴⁵. Offensichtlich liegt eine gemeinsame Vorlage



Abb. 26 Delphi, Dach 42



Abb. 27 Delphi, Dach 52



Abb. 28 Delphi, Dach 70

¹⁴¹ Vgl. Le Roy 1967, Dach 42 bis 45; Heiden 1995, Dach 3 und 6.

¹⁴² Vgl. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen 1968) 20 zu Abb. 18.

¹⁴³ K. Α. Ζάχος, Τα γλυπτά του βωμού στο μνημείο του Οκταβιάνου Αυγούστου στην Νικόπολη, in: K. Α. Ζάχος (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις* (Preveza 2007) 414 Abb. 3 f.

¹⁴⁴ Ein recht ähnliches Schema bereits im frühen 6. Jh., vgl. Homann-Wedeking a. O. (Anm. 135) 40.

¹⁴⁵ Vgl. F. Harl-Schaller, *Archaistischer Reliefpfeiler im Nationalmuseum zu Athen*, AM 87, 1972, 241–253, hier 251 Taf. 89. Im Falle des Reliefpfeilers in Athen sind Blüten und Palmetten deutlich schmaler proportioniert, auch ist der Fries fast um die Hälfte niedriger.

zugrunde. Eine unmittelbare Entsprechung in der Verbindung von Lotusblüte und Palmette findet sich mehrfach beim Maler Euphronios – mit dem feinen Unterschied, dass die Ranke meist hinter dem Oberteil der Lotusblüte verschwindet¹⁴⁶ bzw. gelegentlich¹⁴⁷ nur von Mittelblatt und Kelchblättern der Lotusblüte überschritten ist, sodass die Ranke zugleich den ›Boden‹ für die kolbenförmigen ›Blütenblätter‹ der Lotusblüte bildet. Ein marmorner Ornamentfries ebendieser Zeit dürfte den augusteischen Bildhauern als Vorlage gedient haben.

Für die frühere, im eigentlichen Sinne griechische Zeit gibt es zumal für Athen eine Denkmälergruppe, die über Generationen hin an alten, archaischen Formen auch im Ornament festhält, die panathenäischen Preisamphoren. Mit Lydos scheint sich der Schmuck des Halses durchzusetzen, eine Reihe von Lotusblüten und Palmetten, jeweils gegenständig beidseits einer horizontalen Kette von Kreisen angeordnet. Mit fortschreitender Zeit verlieren die Motive an Farbigkeit, vor allem an Flächenwert und werden mitunter zu Strichen verdünnt (Lotusblüte). Doch erst mit der Wende zum 4. Jahrhundert tritt ein unscheinbarer motivischer Wechsel ein, insofern die Kette von Kreisen durch liegende Spiralhaken ersetzt und der Strahlenkelch über dem Fuß aufgegeben wird¹⁴⁸. Im Folgenden wird die Tradition gelockert, an die Stelle des Lotus-Palmetten-Bandes können auch mittig sich treffende Olivenzweige treten oder die einfache Reihe von Lotusblüten und Palmetten, doch bleibt der Charakter des schwarzfigurigen Dekors gewahrt¹⁴⁹. So beiläufig dieser Schmuck neben den figürlichen Bildern wirkt, so unterstreicht er doch den altertümlichen Charakter dieser Preisamphoren. Offensichtlich hat man bewusst an diesem traditionellen Dekor festgehalten, obwohl sein Stil längst nicht mehr zeitgemäß war.

Dem gleichen Umfeld, den Panathenäen, gehört noch ein Bildmedium an, das gerade im Zusammenhang mit dem Erechtheion von Interesse sein könnte und von einem Zeitgenossen im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. spontan als Beispiel für eine Götterkampfdarstellung genannt wird. Im Euthyphron erwähnt Sokrates »furchtbare Feindschaften und Kämpfe«¹⁵⁰ der Götter gegeneinander, wie sie von Dichtern erzählt werden oder an heiligen Orten von guten Malern abgebildet wurden, und, so fügt er hinzu, »von dergleichen buntem Beiwerk sei der Peplos voll, der an den großen Panathenäen auf die Akropolis hinauf getragen wurde«. Dabei bezieht sich Sokrates sicher auch auf die Darstellung der Gigantomachie. Sie war anderen Quellen zufolge ein zentrales Thema im Schmuck dieses Peplos, wohl seit Einrichtung der Panathenäen um 560 v. Chr.¹⁵¹. Seitdem scheint dieses und wohl auch manches andere Thema in dem alle vier Jahre neu gewebten Peplos abgebildet worden zu sein, eine Tradition, wie sie bei im Kult genutzten Utensilien auch anderweitig zu beobachten ist¹⁵². Wie weit dabei mit dem alten Thema auch altertümliche Formen tradiert wurden, ist na-

¹⁴⁶ Vgl. L. Giuliani – W. D. Heilmeyer, Euphronios, der Maler, Ausstellung Berlin 1991 (Mailand 1991) Kat. 2–4. 6. 11. 13. 16.

¹⁴⁷ Vgl. Giuliani – Heilmeyer a. O. (Anm. 146) Kat. 5. 19. – Gegenüber den von Euphronios gewählten Lösungen bieten die genannten Relieffriese ein übersichtlicheres, aber auch vereinfachtes Schema.

¹⁴⁸ Vgl. M. Bentz, Panathenäische Preisamphoren (Basel 1998) Taf. 7 (Lydos) bis 95 (Kuban-Gruppe 410–390 v. Chr.), Taf. 99 (mit liegenden Spiralhaken: Philokles 392/391 v. Chr.). Bentz geht auf den schwarzfigurigen Dekor an Hals und Gefäßunterteil nicht ein.

¹⁴⁹ Bei hellenistischen Amphoren besteht der Dekor der Henkelansatzzone nur noch aus einer Abbräviatur einer Palmette. Der obere Teil einer siebenblättrigen Palmette ragt unvermittelt über der Grundlinie auf, die Enden der kolbenförmigen Blätter sind

meist unförmig verdickt. Gerahmt wird das Motiv von spiegelbildlich angeordneten ›Blättern‹ – vgl. z. B. D. Tsouklidou, New Panathenaic Amphorae of the Hellenistic Period, in: M. Bentz – N. Eschbach (Hrsg.), Panathenaïka, Symposium zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauschholzhausen 25.11.–29.11.1998 (Mainz 2001) 33–40 Taf. 12 f. Offensichtlich wird auf die alte Kolbenform der Palmettenblätter (etwa des späten 6. Jhs.) Bezug genommen, doch ist es nur ein Ausschnitt und die verdickten Enden der Blätter zergliedern bzw. bereichern die alte Einheit.

¹⁵⁰ Plat. Euthyphr. 6 b. c. (Edition: R. Rufener, Platon. Die Werke des Aufstiegs. Euthyphron – Apologie – Kriton – Gorgias – Menon [Zürich 1974]).

¹⁵¹ Vgl. Meyer 2017, 162–164. 213.

¹⁵² Man denke z. B. an mittelalterliche Antependien mit ihrem Bildprogramm, das zumindest im Hinblick

türlich offen, und dies gilt ebenso für die Ornamentstreifen, die zwischen den erzählenden Figurenfriesen angebracht waren¹⁵³. Immerhin mag man – analog zu den panathenäischen Amphoren – erwägen, ob auf diesem Wege vielleicht altertümliche Palmetten oder breit sich entfaltende Lotusblüten bis ins späte 5. Jahrhundert hinein bekannt blieben. Auf sie könnten die beiden genannten Ornamente des Hyperthyrons Bezug nehmen, was ihre unzeitgemäße Form erklären könnte. In diesem Fall wäre die spezielle formale Gestaltung des Hyperthyronanthemions ein zusätzliches Argument dafür, dass die große Prachttür der Nordhalle zum alten Kultbild führte, dem der Peplos dargebracht wurde.

Natürlich basiert der skizzierte Deutungsvorschlag allein auf Vermutungen und man mag daher skeptisch sein. Doch bleibt bezogen auf das spätere 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. auf der anderen Seite die beschriebene Altertümlichkeit von vierblättriger Palmette und Lotusblüte bestehen. Diese formale Gestaltung verleiht der großen Tür der Nordhalle unübersehbar einen besonderen Akzent. Über die quantitative Bereicherung durch materiellen Aufwand und Vielfalt an vegetabilen Schmuckelementen hinaus wird eine formale Besonderheit ins Bild gerückt, die der großen Tür zusätzliches Gewicht verleiht: Sie dürfte zum zentralen Raum des Baues geführt haben.

ANHANG ZUM FRAGMENT EINES SANDSTEINFRIESES IN PUTBUS / RÜGEN

Ausgangspunkt für die detaillierte Betrachtung der Anthemienfrieze des Erechtheions war ein Zufallsfund, das Fragment eines Sandsteinfrieses in Putbus (*Abb. 29*) mit einem Lotus-Palmetten-Fries (*Abb. 11*)¹⁵⁴. Die Formen der Ornamente lassen keinen Zweifel, dass Klassisches zitiert wird. Der Vergleich führte rasch zum Erechtheion und dort speziell zum Dekor des Hyperthyrons über der großen Tür der Nordhalle. Gerade hier findet sich die dreigliedrige Ranke als Basis der Lotusblüten und Palmetten, und ebenso die eigenwillige kleine und asymmetrische Palmette. Diese sitzt wie am Hyperthyron als Bekrönung auf jener Nebenranke, die seitlich der großen Palmette von der Volute der Grundranke zur Seite hin abzweigt und sich nach oben biegend dann in einer kleinen Volute neben einem Akanthusblatt aufrüllt.

Andererseits sind die Abweichungen nicht zu übersehen. Denn es fehlt die kleine geflammt Palmette seitlich der Lotusblüte. Diese selbst entspricht aufs Engste jenen der Epikranitis an Nord- und Südseite des Baues (*Abb. 4*), so in der Art, wie sich die Blätter der Blüte seitlich neigen und dann mit ihren Enden aufrollen, und auch der akanthisierende Basis-

auf die Christusfigur in der Mitte, meist in einer Mandorla, typologisch wie inhaltlich weitgehend geprägt war (für Auskunft und Hinweise danke ich sehr dem Kollegen vom Kunsthistorischen Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel, Herrn U. Kuder).

¹⁵³ Vgl. z. B. M. Vickers, *Images on Textiles* (Konstanz 1999) *Abb. 4* und *15*. Dazu vgl. ARV² 1336,1. Auch mag man an die panathenäischen Amphoren erinnern, deren Athenabilder in Technik und Stil an Altem festhalten.

¹⁵⁴ Dem Besitzer, Herrn M. Sklorz (Putbus) danke ich sehr für sein liberales Entgegenkommen, das Fragment untersuchen, fotografieren und publizieren zu dürfen sowie für Auskünfte zur Herkunft des Fragmentes. Er bekam kurz nach 2000 das Frag-

ment von einem alten Freund geschenkt, der seinerzeit in Hochdorf (an der Enz) bei Ludwigsburg wohnte. Dieser hatte es auf einem ›Trödelmarkt‹ Mitte der 1990er Jahre erworben, wusste aber leider nicht mehr, an welchem Ort dieser Markt damals stattfand. Zu jener Zeit waren viele Antiquitäten aus der früheren DDR im Angebot, wie er berichtete, gerade auch Dekorfragmente. So ist über die Erwerbungs-geschichte des Fragmentes kein Hinweis zur ursprünglichen Herkunft zu gewinnen. – Mit Hilfe der Steinqualität eine Zuordnung des Bruchstückes zu ermitteln stößt auf die Schwierigkeit, dass Fachleute nur nach Autopsie eine Aussage in Aussicht stellten. Man müsste also solche Fachleute einzeln ins abgelegene Putbus einladen.



Abb. 29 Putbus / Rügen,
Privatbesitz

kelch kehrt wieder. Bei ihm fallen allerdings der gezahnte Umriss und die Binnengliederung ins Auge, die vergleichbar nur an der Epikranitis der Nordhalle vertreten sind. Andererseits sind die Blätter der Lotusblüte nicht kanneliert wie meist sonst am Erechtheion, sondern einfach gekehrt – am Mittelblatt seitlich einer tiefen Mittelfurche – wie am Hyperthyron, allerdings tiefer als dort.

Ferner wachsen die Blätter der großen Palmette dichter und steiler auf als am Hyperthyron und ähneln insofern offensichtlich denen an Nord- und Südseite des Baues, sind allerdings nicht in ihrer Oberfläche gekehrt wie dort, sondern weisen eine flache mittige Kante auf. Und auch an der Grundranke sind Unterschiede zu registrieren. Während am Hyperthyron die Ranke in einer Schlaufe unter der Lotusblüte ansetzt und sich zur Seite hin in drei der Bewegung folgenden Voluten aufrollt, scheint am Sandsteinfragment die Ranke unter der Palmette zu beginnen. Denn zur Lotusblüte hin rollt sie sich dann in dieser Richtung zu zwei Voluten auf, und die beiden unter der Lotusblüte sich treffenden Voluten werden durch einen starken Querriegel klammerartig zusammengehalten, wie er am Erechtheion überhaupt nicht bezeugt ist.

Schließlich ergeben sich selbst an der so auffälligen kleinen Palmette erstaunliche Unterschiede. Der Basiskelch ist ebenso breit angelegt wie am Hyperthyron, doch sind aus den kleinen zur Seite gerichteten Blattspitzen kolbenförmige Blätter geworden, die sich eher den Palmettenblättern darüber zuordnen und mit ihnen eine fünfblättrige, allerdings stark asymmetrische Palmette ergeben statt einer vierblättrigen.

Offenkundig hat der Bildhauer des Sandsteinfragmentes die Anthemien des Erechtheions gut gekannt und hat bemerkenswert frei aus dem verfügbaren Formenschatz ausgewählt. Dabei lassen die Übereinstimmungen im Einzelnen keinen Zweifel an dieser Bezugnahme, wiewohl der Bildhauer auch noch andere Vorbilder nutzte, wie die ungewöhnliche Volutenklammer unter der Lotusblüte zeigt¹⁵⁵. Diese Freiheit gegenüber dem Vorbild scheint

¹⁵⁵ Klassische Vorbilder hierfür scheint es nicht zu geben. Lediglich an den Cella Säulen des Heraions in Samos scheint eine ähnliche Lösung bezeugt zu sein, wenn die Rekonstruktion von Gruben aufgrund eines arg zerstörten Porosfragmentes zutrifft (Gruben 2014, Taf. 4. 5 und 119). Erst in römischer

Zeit scheint eine solche ›Verklammerung‹ der Volutenbänder wieder aufzutauchen: vgl. W.-D. Heilmeyer – E. La Rocca – H. G. Martin (Hrsg.), Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik, Ausstellung Martin-Gropius Bau, Berlin 7. Juni – 14. August 1988 (Berlin 1988) 169 Kat. 63 und 212 Abb. 105 (die

sich bereits in den Dimensionen niederzuschlagen. Denn das Anthemion des Sandsteinfragmentes misst in seiner Höhe ziemlich genau 0,37 m gegenüber 0,21 m am Hyperthyron (die Gesamthöhe des Fragmentes in Putbus beträgt 0,465 m), ist also fast doppelt so hoch wie die Vorlage. Darunter folgen in Putbus ein 5 cm hoher Rundstab, der 6 cm weit auslädt, sowie eine flache Kehle, wogegen in Athen eine glatte Leiste das Hyperthyron abschließt (es folgt der Perlstab des Türsturzes).

Die Platte ist 10,5 bis 11 cm stark und das Anthemion lädt etwa 1,8 bis 2,6 cm aus. Auffällig ist, dass die erhaltenen Anschlussflächen jeweils ganz unterschiedlich bearbeitet sind. Die Stoßfuge zur rechten Seite hin scheint weitgehend geglättet, aber auch verkratzt zu sein, nur vereinzelt sind Spuren eines Zahneisens zu erkennen sowie flache und lange parallele Furchen wie sie das ganze Unterlager kennzeichnen¹⁵⁶. Sie erinnern an die Spuren einer groben Raspel in Holz und verlaufen parallel zur Frontfläche¹⁵⁷. Vorher war das Unterlager mit einem Zahneisen geglättet worden, dessen senkrecht zur Rückseite verlaufende Spuren weitgehend getilgt wurden.

Die rechte Stoßfläche trägt über ihrem unteren Drittel ein Dübelloch von 2 × 2,2 cm Fläche und 4 cm Tiefe. Derartige Dübellöcher werden im antiken Steinverbund auf Unter- und Oberlager angebracht, um die Steinlagen zu fixieren. Um den seitlichen Zusammenhalt zu sichern werden üblicherweise Klammern genutzt¹⁵⁸. Das Dübelloch in der Stoßfuge des Sandsteinfrieses zeigt, dass sich der Bildhauer nicht an antiken Arbeitsverfahren orientierte.

Das Oberlager zeigt teils dichte, teils lockere Schläge des Flachmeißels in vier engen Reihen nebeneinander und senkrecht zur Frontfläche¹⁵⁹. Die Ränder der Stoßfuge und des Oberlagers sind – wie auch im Fall des Unterlagers¹⁶⁰ – nicht eigens geglättet, um im Sinne der griechischen Anathyrose den »fugenlosen« Anschluss des folgenden Blockes zu sichern.

Die Rückseite schließlich zeigt reichliche Spuren des Zahneisens mit wohl sieben Zähnen¹⁶¹. Im rechten Teil verlaufen die Spuren schräg von rechts oben nach links unten, im größeren linken Teil verlaufen sie im Gegensinn, vereinzelt vertikal. Nachträglich wurden mit dem Spitzeisen in lockeren Abständen bis zu 3 cm lange schräge Kerben eingeschlagen.

von Th. Kraus genannten Vorbilder in Didyma und auf rotfigurigen Vasen des 5. Jhs. kennen die Verklammerung jedoch *nicht*) sowie Ch. F. Leon, Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums (Wien 1971) Taf. 6–10. – Erwähnt seien noch Stirnziegel wie z. B. die von der Akropolis (Buschor 1933, Taf. 1 f und 6), deren Volutenpaare durch mehr oder weniger starke Bänder oder Riegel verklammert sind. Doch waren sie zu Zeiten des wohl klassizistischen Bildhauers des Fragmentes in Putbus noch unbekannt (nur vereinzelt scheinen entsprechende Antefixe schon vorher erfasst worden zu sein, so etwa von dem Architekten des Thorvaldsen Museums, M. G. Bindesbøll – vgl. J. Christiansen, The Rediscovery of Greece [Kopenhagen 2000] 69 Kat. 71). Eher könnten Campanareliefs anregend gewirkt haben, die bereits in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jhs. geschätzt waren, und deren Aufsatzplatten als oberen Abschluss einen Palmettenfries tragen, deren tragende Rankenbögen sich unter den Palmetten zu Voluten aufrollen, die durch einen Riegel (gerne mit Mittelfurche) zusammengehalten werden, vgl. z. B. A. H. Borbein, Campanareliefs (Heidelberg 1968) Taf. 12. 14. 18. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Vergleichbar erscheinen die Bearbeitungsspuren der Zylinderbasis in Samos: Dirschedl 2017, 77 Abb. 12a,

doch sind am Putbus-Fragment die Rillen gleichmäßiger.

¹⁵⁷ Der frühere Restaurator an der Antikensammlung zu Kiel, Herr M. Filipiak vermutet, dass es sich um Spuren maschineller Bearbeitung handelt. Dies sowie die jeweils unterschiedliche Bearbeitung der anderen Anschlussflächen legen für ihn die Vermutung nahe, dass die Platte in Zweitverwendung hergerichtet wurde.

¹⁵⁸ Vgl. z. B. W. Müller-Wiener, Griechisches Bauwesen in der Antike (München 1988) 82–86.

¹⁵⁹ Vgl. z. B. E. P. Sioumpara, Zahneisen – Werkspuren und ihre Bedeutung für die Topographie der archaischen Akropolis von Athen, in: D. Kurapkat – U. Wulf-Rheidt (Hrsg.), Werkspuren. Materialverarbeitung und handwerkliches Wissen im antiken Bauwesen, Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 13.–16. Mai 2015 veranstaltet vom Architekturreferat des DAI im Henry-Ford-Bau der Freien Universität Berlin, DiskAB 12 (Regensburg 2017) 41–62, hier 50 Abb. 8 b.

¹⁶⁰ Am Unterlager ist allerdings zur Rückseite hin ein schmaler Saum mit dem Flacheisen geebnet, auf den im antiken Verfahren in der Regel verzichtet wird.

¹⁶¹ Vgl. z. B. Dirschedl 2017, 82 Abb. 16 b.

Am unteren Rand blieb ein etwa 4 cm hoher Streifen minimal erhaben stehen, mit dem Flacheisen sorgfältig geglättet, ganz ähnlich dem Streifen am hinteren Rand des Unterlagers. An keiner Stelle waren irgendwelche Reste einer ursprünglichen Befestigung, etwa mittels Mörtel erhalten.

Die oben beschriebenen Zitate der Anthemien des Erechtheions lassen fragen, welche vermittelnden Vorlagen dem Bildhauer des Sandsteinfragmentes zur Verfügung standen. Der naheliegende Gedanke an Stuart und Revett führt zu einem negativen Ergebnis. Denn trotz ihrer vielen Zeichnungen von den Bauten der Akropolis haben sie das Hyperthyron eben nicht erfasst¹⁶². Dies ist vielleicht kein Zufall, denn möglicherweise registrierte ihr an klassischen Formen geschulter Blick das Unklassische des Hyperthyronanthemions.

Etwa eine Generation später, 1828 fügte A. Boeckius seinem ersten Band der *Inscriptiones Graecae* einen Stich von W. Voß bei, der eine Auswahl an Architekturproben des Erechtheions bietet¹⁶³. Doch sind die Motive gerade des Hyperthyrons fehlerhaft, und die geflammte Palmette seitlich der Lotusblüte fehlt gänzlich. 1837 legte Th. L. Donaldson seine *Portes monumentales* vor, ein sorgfältig dokumentierter Überblick, in dem naturgemäß nur die große Tür der Erechtheionnordhalle berücksichtigt wurde¹⁶⁴. Diese Zeichnungen nutzte J. Bühlmann 1893 in seinem Werk der ›Architektur des klassischen Altertums und der Renaissance‹¹⁶⁵, das wiederum G. Gruben als Vorlage diente¹⁶⁶.

Nur wenige Jahre vor Donaldson wurden in mehreren Lieferungen die ›Vorbilder für Fabrikanten und Handwerker‹ vom preußischen Staat herausgegeben¹⁶⁷, angefertigt von Johann Mathäus Mauch, Zeichner an der königlich-preußischen Eisengießerei und persönlich bekannt mit K. F. Schinkel, der seinerseits selbst die Publikation beförderte. Dort finden sich auf Blatt 93 der 1. Abteilung des 1. Teiles von 1831/1836 die ganze Tür der Nordhalle sowie vergrößert Ausschnitte einzelner Türteile wie auch des Hyperthyronanthemions. Lediglich im Falle der kleinen geflammten Palmette ist offensichtlich, dass das Athener Vorbild leicht klassizistisch geschönt ist. Blatt 8 der gleichen Lieferung bietet Ausschnitte von »Verzierungen« verschiedener Denkmäler, darunter von Anthemien der Ostportikus (Nordante), der westlichen Halbsäulen sowie der Epikranitis der Nordhalle. Soweit ich sehe, ist dies die erste und umfangreichste Vorlage von Anthemien des Erechtheions, aus der sich der Bildhauer des Sandsteinfragmentes bedient haben könnte. Er mag dann wenig später, vielleicht um die Jahrhundertmitte den Fries geschaffen haben.

Die bemerkenswerte Höhe des Sandsteinfragmentes (0,465 m) und die klassizistische Gestaltung in Anlehnung an Formen des Erechtheions lassen nach seiner Zuordnung fragen.

¹⁶² J. Stuart – N. Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* (London 1762–1794). Dennoch muss es Zeichnungen gegeben haben. Denn an der Londoner Kirche St. Pancras (New Church), errichtet 1819–1822 von William und Henry Williams Inwood, finden sich zahlreiche Zitate des Erechtheions, so die große Nordtür als Eingangstür (recht getreue Kopie), die Ostportikus des Erechtheions an der Front der Kirche sowie an der Südseite des Baues die Korenhalle. Auch an der Kirche All Saints Cathedral, Camden Street benutzten die gleichen Architekten das Erechtheion als Vorbild. – Die Kenntnis der Bauten verdanke ich der Hilfsbereitschaft und dem scharfen Auge von J. Raeder.

¹⁶³ IG I 2, 269.

¹⁶⁴ Th. L. Donaldson, *Collection des exemples des plus estimés des portes monumentales* (Paris 1837). In den gleichen Jahren (1835/1836) hat Chr. Hansen einen Ausschnitt des Hyperthyrons gezeichnet, abgebildet

bei M. Bendtsen, *Sketches and Measurements. Danish Architects in Greece 1818–1862* (Aarhus 1993) 201 ChrH. 108. Die Zeichnung stimmt bemerkenswert eng mit dem Original überein (ihre Kenntnis verdanke ich dem freundlichen Hinweis von K. Fittschen). Im Fall der von Hansen entworfenen Athener Universität (1839–1849) hat er sich beim Hauptportal zwar an der großen Tür der Erechtheionnordhalle orientiert, für das Hyperthyron aber einen Lotus-Palmetten-Dekor gewählt, der der Sima des Parthenon nahesteht.

¹⁶⁵ J. Bühlmann, *Die Architektur des klassischen Altertums und der Renaissance*² (Stuttgart 1893) Taf. 35.

¹⁶⁶ Gruben a. O. (Anm. 12) 217.

¹⁶⁷ Ein Exemplar dieses Werkes befindet sich im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, das digital abrufbar ist: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1517477&viewType=detailView> (08.06.2022; hier Teil 2, Abteilung 1, Blatt 6).

So haben etwa K. F. Schinkel und seine Schüler die reichen Kapitelle der Erechtheionnordhalle samt ihrer Säulenhäuse wiederholt zitiert und variiert. Doch finden sich bei ihnen im Außendekor der Bauwerke kaum Anthemien oder entsprechende Friese. In der folgenden Generation hingegen wird die ›klassizistische Sparsamkeit‹ durch reicheren Dekor aufgelockert, wie z. B. die Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel 1840–1870 zeigt¹⁶⁸. Ein herausragendes Beispiel scheint das Wohnhaus neben dem Bankhaus Mendelssohn in der Jägerstrasse 52 in Berlin zu sein, 1872/1873 von M. Gropius errichtet, an dem gleich drei unterschiedliche Lotus-Palmetten-Friese als Schmuck eingesetzt wurden¹⁶⁹. Der anspruchsvollste dieser Friese schließt die Hauswand über dem dritten Geschoss im Sinne einer Epikranitis ab und verbindet die Lotusblüten und Palmetten mit gegenläufigen Spiralhaken. Zwischen den Hauptmotiven scheinen kleine Ranken mit *en-face*-Blüten zu stehen, wie sie ganz ähnlich in der Erechtheionnordhalle verwendet sind. Der Fries des Hauses besteht aus Sandstein und ist nahezu 0,5 m hoch – entspricht also dem Fragment in Putbus recht eng. So mag dies Berliner Palais eine gewisse Vorstellung vermitteln von dem Ambiente, aus dem das Putbus-Fragment vermutlich stammt – ohne dass damit eine andere Herkunft ausgeschlossen ist¹⁷⁰.

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¹⁶⁸ Vgl. dazu E. Börsch-Supan, *Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel 1840–1870* (München 1977).

¹⁶⁹ Vgl. Börsch-Supan a. O. (Anm. 168) Abb. 207 (die Aufnahme lässt leider manche Details nur erahnen). – Bei A. Körte, *Martin Gropius* (Berlin 2013) 444 ist Abb. 535 eine Zeichnung wiedergegeben, die Details erkennen lässt. Demnach ist die ›Basis-Ranke‹ zweigliedrig, die große Palmette ist geflammt, die fünfblättrige Lotusblüte hat nur einen kleinen Basiskelch und die kleine Ranke zwischen den Hauptmotiven steigt von der Palmette schräg nach außen / oben und entlässt aus zwei kleinen Voluten im Gegenschwung die dünne Ranke mit der Blüte (Dreiviertelansicht). Das Putbuser Fragment stammt also sicher nicht vom Mendelssohn'schen Bankhaus.

¹⁷⁰ So hat z. B. der klassizistische Architekt G. L. F. Laves an der Portikus des Leineschlusses in Hannover (1834) über dem Architrav einen (deutlich höheren) Fries eingefügt. Die fortlaufende Spiralranke verbindet große Palmetten mit eigenwilligen Blüten,

die nur noch von Ferne an Lotusblüten erinnern (R. R. M. Borchard, *Hannoverscher Klassizismus* [Hannover 1989] Taf. 48 f.).

Abbildungsnachweis: Abb. 1–7: nach Paton 1927, Taf. 18. 16. 37, 1; 23; 22; 23. – Abb. 8: Foto H. Kienast. – Abb. 9: nach Paton 1927, Taf. 1. – Abb. 10: nach Travlos 1971, Abb. 281. – Abb. 11: Foto H. Kienast. – Abb. 12: nach Paton 1927, Taf. 36, 2. – Abb. 13: Foto D-DAI-ATH-1975-0509 (G. Hellner). – Abb. 14. 24: nach S. Papaspiridi-Karousou, *Αγγεία του Αναγυροῦντος* (Athen 1963) Taf. F und Taf. 84. – Abb. 15: nach Kübler 1976, Abb. 83. – Abb. 16: Foto D-DAI-ATH-OL-772. – Abb. 17: nach Hübner 1973, 122. – Abb. 18: nach Hübner 1973, 117. – Abb. 19: nach Hellmann a. O. (Anm. 125) Abb. 438. – Abb. 20–22: nach Buschor 1929, Taf. 4. 6. 7. – Abb. 23: nach Wiegand 1904, Taf. 9, 1a. – Abb. 25: nach G. Maetzke (Hrsg.), *Vaso François, BdA serie speciale 1* (Rom 1981) Abb. 93. – Abb. 26–28: nach Le Roy 1967, Taf. 1. 44. 54. – Abb. 29: Foto Verf.

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Hellenistische bemalte Putzfragmente aus den Grabungen von Olympia

BARBARA MAURINA

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG In diesem Beitrag wird eine Fülle an bemalten Gipsfragmenten präsentiert, die in den Jahren 1978–1980 bei den Ausgrabungen von Alfred Mallwitz im südöstlichen Bereich von Olympia gefunden wurden. Die Funde stammen aus umfangreichen Abfallschichten, welche Schutt und andere Materialien enthielten. Diese Schichten waren durch den Abriss einiger Gebäude in der Umgebung entstanden und dienten in der augusteischen Zeit als Ausgleich zur Aufhöhung des Prozessionsweges. Obwohl viele Fragmente Teile von polychromen Ornamenten auf weißem Grund zeigen, konnten die dekorativen Muster nur in wenigen Fällen rekonstruiert werden. Diese bestehen hauptsächlich aus extrem stilisiert wirkenden geometrischen und pflanzlichen Friesen, die in manchen Fällen originell umgedeutet scheinen. Vergleichstücke hierzu sind vor allem im späthellenistischen Ornamentrepertoire zu suchen.

Schlagwörter Olympia; archäologische Ausgrabung; profilierter Stuck; hellenistische Malerei.

Hellenistic painted plaster fragments from the excavations at Olympia

ABSTRACT This paper presents a profusion of painted plaster fragments discovered in the southeast area of Olympia during the excavations of Alfred Mallwitz between 1978–1980. The finds were part of a large deposit of dump layers containing rubble and other materials. The layers originated from the demolition of a number of buildings in the area and served to raise the level of the processional way in the Augustan era. Even though many fragments show parts of polychrome ornaments painted onto a white background, the decorative patterns could only be reconstructed in few cases. These consist mainly of extremely stylised looking, geometric and vegetal friezes that sometimes seem to have been reinterpreted in an original way. Parallels are especially to be sought in the late Hellenistic ornamental repertoire.

Keywords Olympia; archaeological excavation; moulded wall plaster; Hellenistic painting.

Θραύσματα ελληνιστικών γραπτών κονιαμάτων από τις ανασκαφές στην Ολυμπία

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζεται πλήθος θραυσμάτων γραπτών κονιαμάτων, που βρέθηκαν κατά τα έτη 1978–1980 στις ανασκαφές που διενήργησε ο Alfred Mallwitz στον νοτιοανατολικό τομέα της αρχαίας Ολυμπίας. Τα ευρήματα προέρχονται από πλούσια στρώματα απορριμμάτων, τα οποία περιείχαν μπάζα και άλλα υλικά. Αυτά τα στρώματα είχαν δημιουργηθεί από την κατεδάφιση ορισμένων κτιρίων στην περιοχή και κατά την εποχή του Αυγούστου χρησίμευσαν ως επίχωση για την υπερύψωση της πομπικής οδού. Παρότι πολλά θραύσματα φέρουν πολύχρωμα κοσμήματα σε λευκό βάθος, τα διακοσμητικά μοτίβα μπόρεσαν να αποκατασταθούν σε ελάχιστες περιπτώσεις. Αποτελούνται κυρίως από έντονα στυλιζαρισμένες γεωμετρικές και φυτικές ζώνες, που σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις δείχνουν να έχουν επανερμηνευθεί με πρωτοτυπία. Παράλληλά τους πρέπει να αναζητηθούν κυρίως στο ύστερο ελληνιστικό διακοσμητικό ρεπερτόριο.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Ολυμπία. Αρχαιολογική ανασκαφή. Ανάγλυφο κονίαμα. Ελληνιστική ζωγραφική.

EINLEITUNG

In diesem Aufsatz wird eine Assemblage von bemalten Putzfragmenten vorgestellt, welche während den Grabungen in den Jahren 1978–1980 im Südostgebiet des Heiligtums von Olympia gefunden wurde¹. Es handelt sich im Ganzen um 2371 Fragmente von kleinen Abmessungen, welche von der Autorin anlässlich einer vom DAI finanzierten Dokumentationskampagne erforscht wurden. Die Funde waren in 29 Kassetten aufbewahrt, die einige zusammenfassende Notizen zum Kontext der Herkunft trugen. Unter diesen insbesondere der generelle Hinweis »Süd-Ost«, das Datum des Fundes (Mai, November und Dezember 1979) und ein Kennzeichen bestehend aus Buchstaben mit zugehörigen Nummern, die man als Herkunftsquadrant der Fragmente (B 10–11, B / C 13–14, E 1–8, E 11–12, E 15, E / F 5, F 2) deuten kann. Wie wir aus dem Grabungsbericht von Alfred Mallwitz im 11. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia² erfahren – wo u. a. ein Foto von einigen hier untersuchten Fragmenten veröffentlicht ist³ – stammen die Funde aus einer einheitlichen Aufschüttung, Schicht II e genannt, die aus verschiedenen Schichten von Schutt besteht, mit denen im Zeitalter des Augustus das Niveau der Prozessionsstraße erhöht wurde, wobei auch Schutt aus umliegenden abgerissenen Gebäuden⁴ verwendet wurde. Neben den Fragmenten aus bemaltem Verputz fanden sich auch Baumaterial und Terrakottafragmente, die einem nicht klar definierbaren Gebäude in ionischer Ordnung zuzuschreiben sind⁵.

TECHNISCHE BEOBACHTUNGEN

Die Bruchstücke weisen untereinander viele Ähnlichkeiten in Bezug auf den Aufbau des Putzsystems, die Farbwahl und die Ausführung der Malerei auf, was auf die Zugehörigkeit zum selben Dekorationskomplex schließen lässt. Das Profil der Oberfläche der Bruchstücke weist in manchen Fällen mehr oder weniger scharfe Kanten auf, manchmal mit rechten und manchmal mit stumpfen Winkeln, während sie in anderen Fällen kaum merkbare Wellungen, ähnlich einer Kehlung, aufweisen. Aus diesem Grund wäre es vielleicht besser von »Stuck« als von Malerei zu sprechen. Stuck bezeichnet eine architektonische Reliefdekoration aus feinem, weißen plastischen Material, dessen Zusammensetzung und Technik sich in nichts von denen der Wandmalereien⁶ unterscheiden. Die leichten horizontalen Streifen, die auf der Oberfläche einiger Exemplare⁷ sichtbar sind, lassen auf den Gebrauch einer Holzschablone schließen, mit der das Profil⁸ im feuchten Putz geformt wurde.

Der größte Teil der Bruchstücke zeigt eine gemalte Dekoration, die auf einen gleichförmigen weißen Grund aufgebracht wurde, das heißt auf einen kahl gelassenen Verputz. Die in Freskotechnik gemalten Ornamente sind relativ einfach und scheinen in einer eher fließenden und eiligen Weise angebracht worden zu sein, und deshalb erscheint die Zeichnung oft ungenau und oberflächlich. Das Farbspektrum ist eher begrenzt: am häufigsten kommt das intensive Ockerrot vor, zusammen mit Graublau, Blau-Hellblau und manchmal

Ich möchte meinen Dank an Ulrich Sinn für seine Unterstützung und Auskünfte über die Ausgrabungsstätte ausdrücken, sowie auch an Mariette de Vos für ihre großzügigen Hinweise und Ratschläge zur Identifizierung und stilistischen Eingruppierung der Materialien. Zudem danke ich Trude Hofer und Mariette de Vos für die Übersetzung.

¹ Mallwitz 1999a.

² Mallwitz 1999b, 66 f.; Mallwitz 1999c, 268.

³ Mallwitz 1999c, 269 Abb. 171.

⁴ Mallwitz 1999b, 66; Beil. 1. 8.

⁵ Mallwitz 1999c, 264–268.

⁶ Frizot 1977, 3–5; Barbet 1998, 106; Adam 2003, 245.

⁷ Insbesondere Abb. 1 Nr. 3. 4. 9. 11. 14–17; Abb. 2 Nr. 4. 18; Abb. 3 Nr. 10. 14–16. 21. 24. 27; Abb. 4 Nr. 13. 19.

⁸ Bragantini – de Vos 1982, 65 f.



Abb. 1 Auswahl von Putzfragmenten mit verschiedenen Dekorationsteilen (M. 1 : 4)

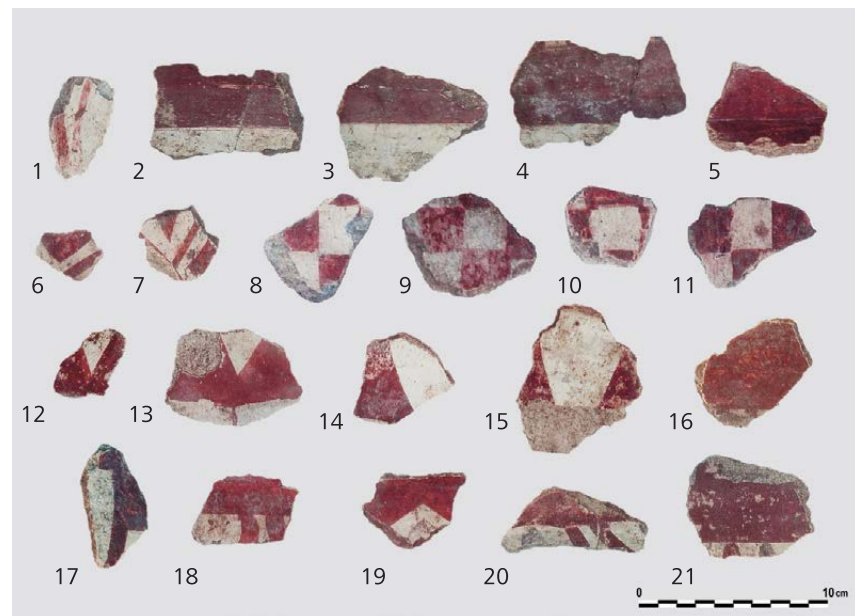


Abb. 2 Auswahl von Putzfragmenten mit verschiedenen Dekorationsteilen (M. 1 : 4)

Gelb und Grün. Der sehr feste und kompakte Putz scheint aus maximal vier Schichten mit einer Gesamtdicke von ungefähr 4 cm zu bestehen, doch es ist nicht sicher, dass der Verputz vollständig erhalten ist, da auf der Rückseite der Bruchstücke keine deutlichen Abdrücke von Mauerwerk sichtbar sind. In der makroskopischen Analyse zeigten die vorbereitenden Schichten folgende Charakteristiken, angefangen von jener ursprünglich der Mauerstütze am nächsten stehenden: 1–3) mit grauer Farbe und mit einer Dicke von jeweils 15 mm, 10–20 mm und 10–25 mm bestehend aus Kalk, Sand und zerstoßenem Schutt; 4) von weißer Farbe, meist 1–3 mm stark, zusammengesetzt aus Kalk und stellenweise feinem Sand; auf dieser Schicht wurde die Dekoration aufgebracht.

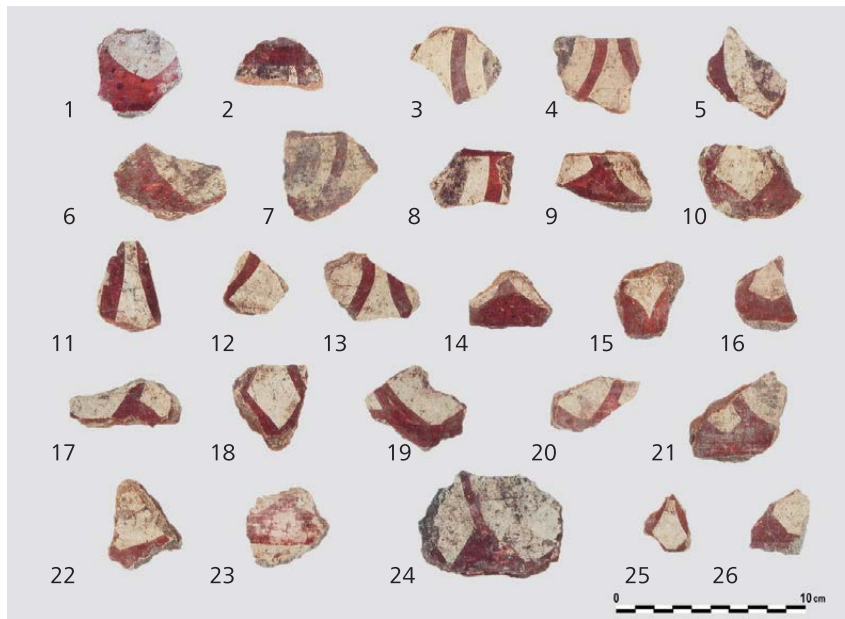


Abb. 3 Auswahl von Putzfragmenten mit verschiedenen Dekorationsteilen (M. 1 : 4)

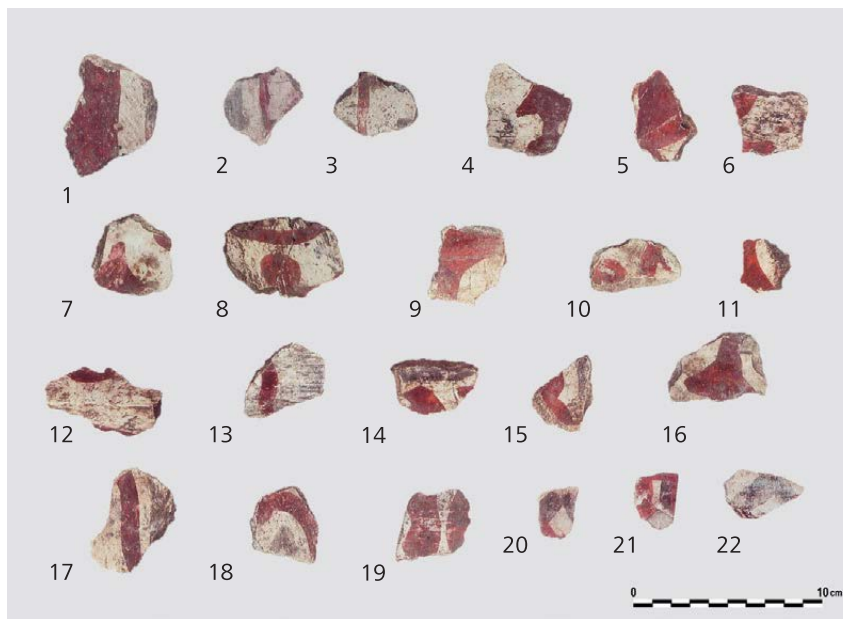


Abb. 4 Auswahl von Putzfragmenten mit verschiedenen Dekorationsteilen (M. 1 : 4)

REPertoire DER ORNAMENTE UND CHRONO-TYPOLOGISCHE EINORDNUNG

Fast alle Fragmente tragen mehr oder weniger deutliche Spuren von gemalter Dekoration; neben klar lesbaren ornamentalen Motiven gibt es wegen der Lückenhaftigkeit des Erhaltenen viele nicht identifizierbare Elemente, wie gewundene Striche, die vielleicht auf Lotuskelche mit doppeltem Umriss zurückzuführen sind, Teile von Rauten und Ranken, Linien und Streifen in verschiedenen Farben und Feldern in roter, blauer und gelber Farbe (Abb. 1–4). Unter den klar identifizierbaren Ornamenten befinden sich auch des Öfteren Motive, die auf verschiedene Typen von Friesen mit sich wiederholenden Elementen zurückzuführen sind. Sie setzen sich aus einer Abfolge von geometrischen und floralen Verzierungen zusammen, welche sich in linearer Weise entwickeln. Sie stammen meistens aus

dem Repertoire der Bauornamentik, scheinen jedoch vereinfacht und in einigen Fällen in ganz origineller Weise neu überarbeitet zu sein; so erscheint dasselbe Muster mehrmals wiederholt mit veränderten Maßen. Dies ist bei mindestens drei Friesen mit verschiedenen Maßen der Fall, die aus der Stilisierung eines ionischen Kymations herrühren (*Abb. 5*). Die Eierstäbe erscheinen ausgespart auf rotem Grund, die Eier ebenso wie die dazwischengesetzten Pfeile; die Eierschale ist durch kleine Spitzbögen dargestellt, die innen eine graublaue Farbe aufweisen. Die obere Begrenzung kann aus einem roten Band bestehen und auf der entgegengesetzten Seite sind verschiedene Lösungen angewandt: der mittelgroße Fries scheint zum Beispiel in einigen Fällen von einem blauen Band, in anderen von einem gelben Band begrenzt. Bei einigen größeren Exemplaren ist das Kymation hingegen mit einem wolfszahnartigen Fries in roter Farbe verbunden. In allen Fällen zeigt das Profil der Fragmente einen stumpfen Knick in verschiedener Form und an wechselnden Stellen. Wie bekannt, ist das ionische Kymation ein verbreitetes Motiv der bemalten Dachterrakotten des archaischen und klassischen Griechenlands⁹, doch in der hellenistischen Zeit erscheint es öfters auch in der Wandmalerei. Zum Beispiel im frühen Hellenismus (zweite Hälfte des 4. bis erste Jahrzehnte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.) finden wir es als Trennungsfries der beiden figürlichen Szenen in der Kuppel des Kammergrabes von Kazanlak in Thrakien¹⁰; es erscheint in vereinfachter Form oberhalb der Kampfszene des Grabes 114 der Nekropole von Andriuolo in Paestum¹¹. Später in der hellenistischen Phase (3.–2. Jh. v. Chr.) erscheint dieses Ornament an den Wänden des Grabes von Sidi Gaber in Alexandrien¹². Auch das Muster der Wolfszähne kommt in archaischen und klassischen Dachterrakotten oft vor¹³. Es stammt aus den Textilien¹⁴ und wird ebenso in der Wandmalerei als Motiv der Einordnung und Begrenzung verwendet: in den etruskischen Grabfresken wird es in verschiedener Weise dargestellt, besonders von Zierleisten¹⁵ herabhängend, und in der hellenistischen Epoche kommt es in der Wandmalerei vor, z. B. in den Decken in Gräbern von Nea Paphos¹⁶ und Dion¹⁷ und in einem Haus in Delos¹⁸.

Auf den hier berücksichtigten Fragmenten kommt in mindestens drei Varianten verschiedener Größe auch ein anderer Fries vor, den man als eine sehr persönliche und originelle Überarbeitung eines Kymations auffassen kann (*Abb. 6*). Die Verzierung ist vereinfacht, geometrisiert und besteht aus einer Reihe von viereckigen, abwechselnd rot und graublau gehaltenen Feldern auf weißem Feld, die durch vertikale, trichterförmige graublaue Stege getrennt sind, unterhalb einer horizontalen begrenzenden Leiste anschließen und im Inneren einen schematischen weißen Blütenkelch aufweisen. In der kleineren Variante wird der Fries auf der einen Seite begrenzt durch einen gelben Streifen, der von einer graublauen Bordüre eingefasst ist, und auf der anderen von einer blauen Bordüre, deren Rand mit der Kante im Profil übereinstimmt. Denn auch in diesem Fall ist das Profil der Oberfläche der Fragmente kantig und die Ornamente wurden auf ein vorspringendes Gesims gemalt. Vom Blickpunkt der grundsätzlichen Anlage der Zeichnung und der Farbgebung aus gesehen, ist diese Art von Fries mit der Malerei des dorischen Kymations¹⁹ in hellenistischen Wanddekorationen vergleichbar, wie jene von Lefkadia²⁰, Delos²¹, Anfushi in Alexandrien²²,

⁹ Vgl. Ginouvès – Martin 1985, Taf. 61, 2–6.

¹⁰ Baldassarre u. a. 2006, 30–34; Moreno 2010 Abb. 103. 104.

¹¹ Baldassarre u. a. 2006, 39 f.

¹² McKenzie 2007, 106 Abb. 173.

¹³ Vgl. Ginouvès – Martin 1985, Taf. 55, 6.

¹⁴ Guimier-Sorbets 2001; Alabe 2003, 248 f.

¹⁵ Naso 1996, 38–42 Abb. 12–14.

¹⁶ Alabe 2003, 239 Abb. 7 (Grab von Ammoi).

¹⁷ Guimier-Sorbets 2001, 228 Abb. 2.

¹⁸ Alabe 2003, 241 Abb. 11 und 243 Abb. 14 (Decke 3, Haus der Siegel).

¹⁹ Ginouvès – Martin 1985, Taf. 55, 8. 9.

²⁰ z. B. das Palmettengrab: Rhomiopoulou – Schmidt-Dounas 2010, 78 u. Farbtaf. 4–8.

²¹ Alabe 2003 Abb. 14 (Decke 3, Haus der Siegel).

²² Savvopoulos 2011, 71. 73. 75 Abb. 23. 26. 29; Venit 2002, 87 Abb. 72 und Taf. 4 (Anfushi V, Room 5).

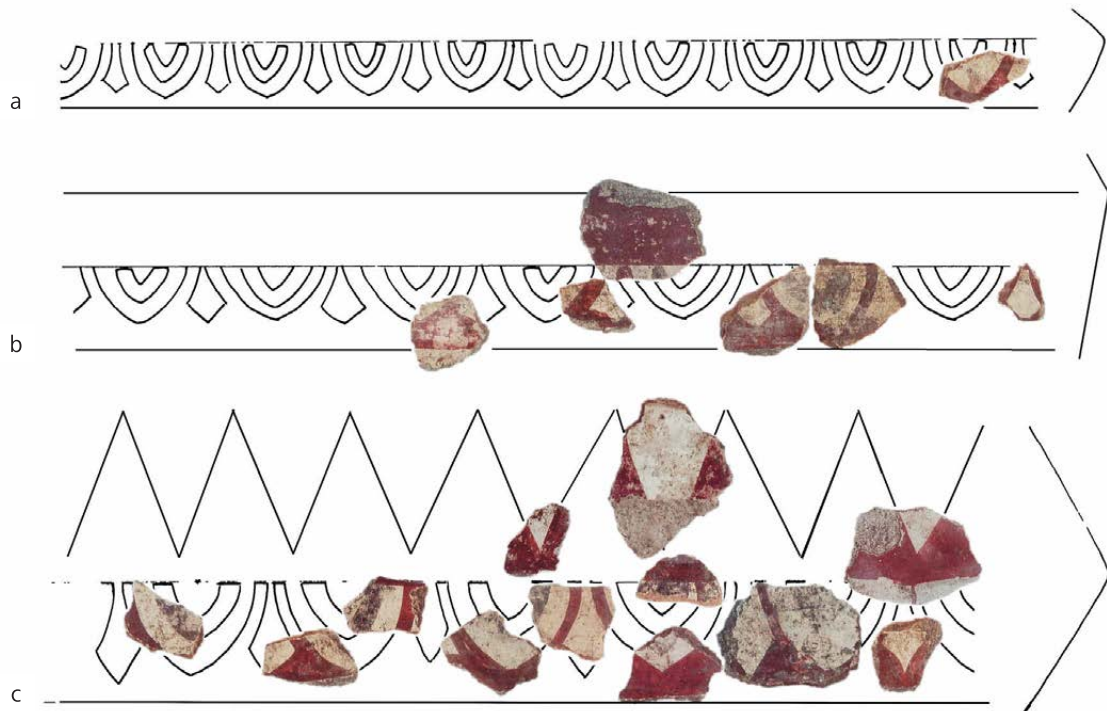


Abb. 5 Ionische Kymationfriese, in einem Fall mit Wolfszahnmuster (M. 1 : 4)

Tarquini²³ und Pompeji²⁴, wo das Motiv der aneinandergereihten Wasserblätter drastisch schematisiert wird, bis es wie eine Folge von nach oben oder nach unten offenen quadratischen Feldern aussieht²⁵. In unserem Falle jedoch führt das Einfügen des kelchartigen Elements im Inneren der Felder, wenn sich dafür auch keine genauen Parallelen finden, auf die Überlegung, das Motiv einem lesbischen Kymation zuzuordnen und vielleicht an eine freie und sehr persönliche Verschmelzung zwischen dem dorischen und dem lesbischen Kyma zu denken.

Auch ein dritter, größerer Fries lässt auf eine originelle Auslegung des lesbischen Kymations²⁶ schließen (Abb. 7 a), wo die Halbblätter durch gebogene Segmente aufscheinen, die an den Rändern in zwei Kugeln enden, symmetrisch zwischen lanzenförmigen Elementen angeordnet, mit roter Farbe gemalt und weiß umrahmt, auf einem graublauen und größtenteils verschwommenen Grund. Der Fries erhebt sich über einem gelben Astragal, der abwechselnd aus ovalen Perlen und Linsen besteht. Der Verputz scheint so modelliert zu sein, dass er ein nur angedeutetes Profil bildet. Für das hier dargestellte schematisierte Kyma finden sich keine Vergleiche in den bisher veröffentlichten Malereien. Man kann den Typus jedenfalls generell einerseits den stilisierten lesbischen Kymatien zuordnen, welche in Malerei wie Plastik auf Keramik von Lilybaeum und Licata in Sizilien erscheinen²⁷, und ihn auf der anderen Seite neben einige Fragmente von hellenistischen Wandleisten stellen (Ende des 3. bis Anfang des 2. Jh. v. Chr.), die kürzlich bei den Untersuchungen unter dem

²³ Grab der Caronti: Vaccaro 2011 Abb. 101 a.

²⁴ Das Motiv liegt über dem lesbischen Kyma der Leisten, welche bei der Grabung unter Haus VI 16, 26–27 gefunden wurden: Seiler 2011, Taf. 31, a. b.

²⁵ Vgl. auch Ginouvès – Martin 1985, Taf. 61, 7.

²⁶ Eine ausführliche Diskussion der Entwicklung die-

ses Ornaments im architektonischen Bereich bei Ganzert 1983.

²⁷ Mollo 2011, 152 f. Abb. 59 b; 60 a. b. In der Lekythos auf Abb. 60 ist das Kymation mit einem Perlstab verbunden, mit Wolfszähnen hingegen in Abb. 59 b des Lekanisdeckels.

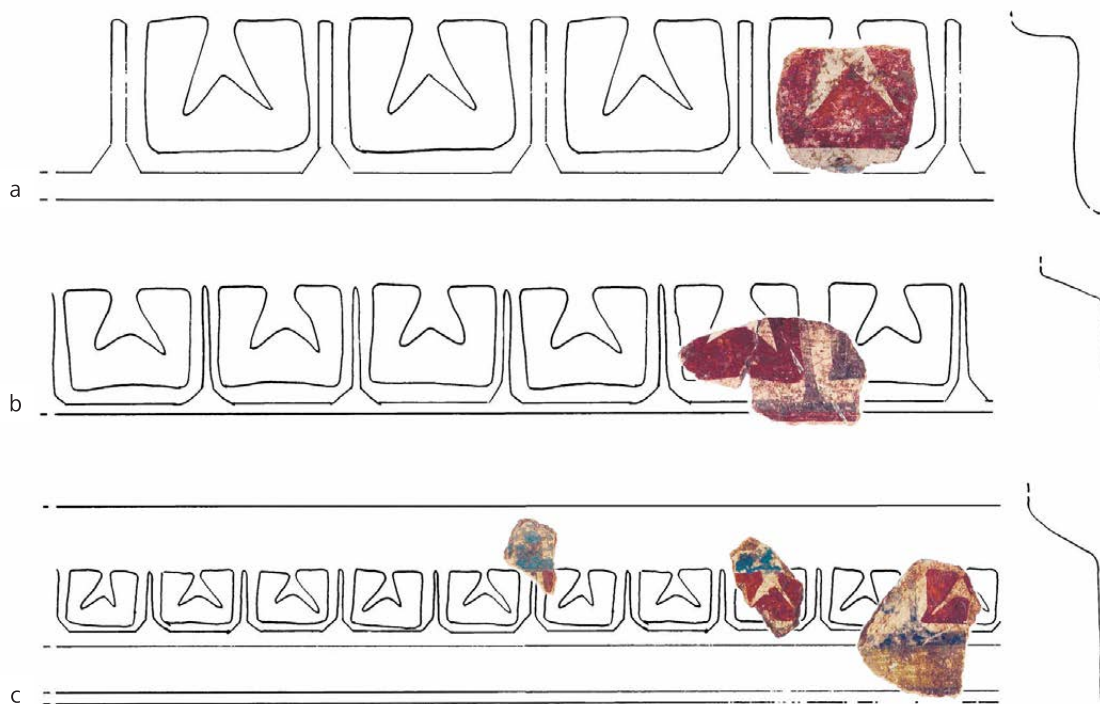


Abb. 6 Lesbische Kymationfriese (M. 1 : 4)

Haus VI 16, 26–27 in Pompeji gefunden worden sind²⁸, sowie neben eine Zierleiste von Licata – Monte S. Angelo in Sizilien²⁹. Dort löst sich das Ornament des lesbischen und dreilapigen Kymas gleichsam auf, bis die einzelnen Elemente, aus denen es besteht, ihren organischen Charakter verlieren und sich in abstrakte Formen verwandeln³⁰. Interessant ist auch der Vergleich mit einer gemalten Leiste, die aus dem Haus der Siegel von Delos stammt³¹.

Auch der Mäanderfries in Weiß auf einem breiten roten Band (Abb. 7 b) ist ein Leitmotiv der Bauornamentik. Entlang der einen Langseite verläuft eine abgefaste leichte Stufe, während rechtwinklig zur Richtung, in der sich das Gesims entwickelt, eine Kante von ungefähr 45 Grad ausgebildet ist. Das könnte darauf hindeuten, dass das Band dazu bestimmt war, die äußere Verkleidung einer Struktur auf viereckigem Grundriss zu krönen. Wie bekannt, kommt das Mäandermotiv sehr häufig bereits seit archaischer Zeit bei gehauenen wie auch bei bemalten Leisten vor³²; in hellenistischer Zeit findet man das Muster auch im Bodenmosaik³³ und in der Wandmalerei³⁴. Es wird fortwährend bis in die römische Kaiserzeit verwendet³⁵, wie u. a. aus einigen Fragmenten aus den Grabungen im Leonidaion in Olympia aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. hervorgeht³⁶.

²⁸ Seiler 2011, Taf. 31.

²⁹ Mollo 2011 Abb. 61 a und Taf. 12 b.

³⁰ Seiler 2011, insbesondere 503.

³¹ Siebert 1987, 631 Abb. 5. 6.

³² Vgl. Ginouvès – Martin 1985, 181 f. Taf. 52. 55, 1. 3. 5; 61, 1–6.

³³ Vgl. z. B. Bell 2011, 110 f. Abb. 44–46 a; Taf. 7–9.

³⁴ Vgl. z. B. das Fresko von dem François-Grab von Vulci in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Baldassarre u. a. 2006, 34–39) und das Fresko des Hauses unter dem Berg Mitridat in Kertsch im 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Barbet

1985, 19 Abb. 5). Zahlreiche Beispiele findet man auch bei den Wanddekorationen in den Häusern von Delos, vornehmlich zwischen dem 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. datiert: Andreou 1988, Taf. 37, 2 (Kat. Nr. 89); 41, 1 (Kat. Nr. 94); 42, 3 (Kat. Nr. 98); 46, 2 (Kat. Nr. 105); 47, 1. 2 (Kat. Nr. 108).

³⁵ Über die Entwicklung des Mäandermotivs in der römischen Kunst: Polito 2002.

³⁶ Sinn u. a. 1996, 219 Abb. 4 und 223 f. für die Datierung.

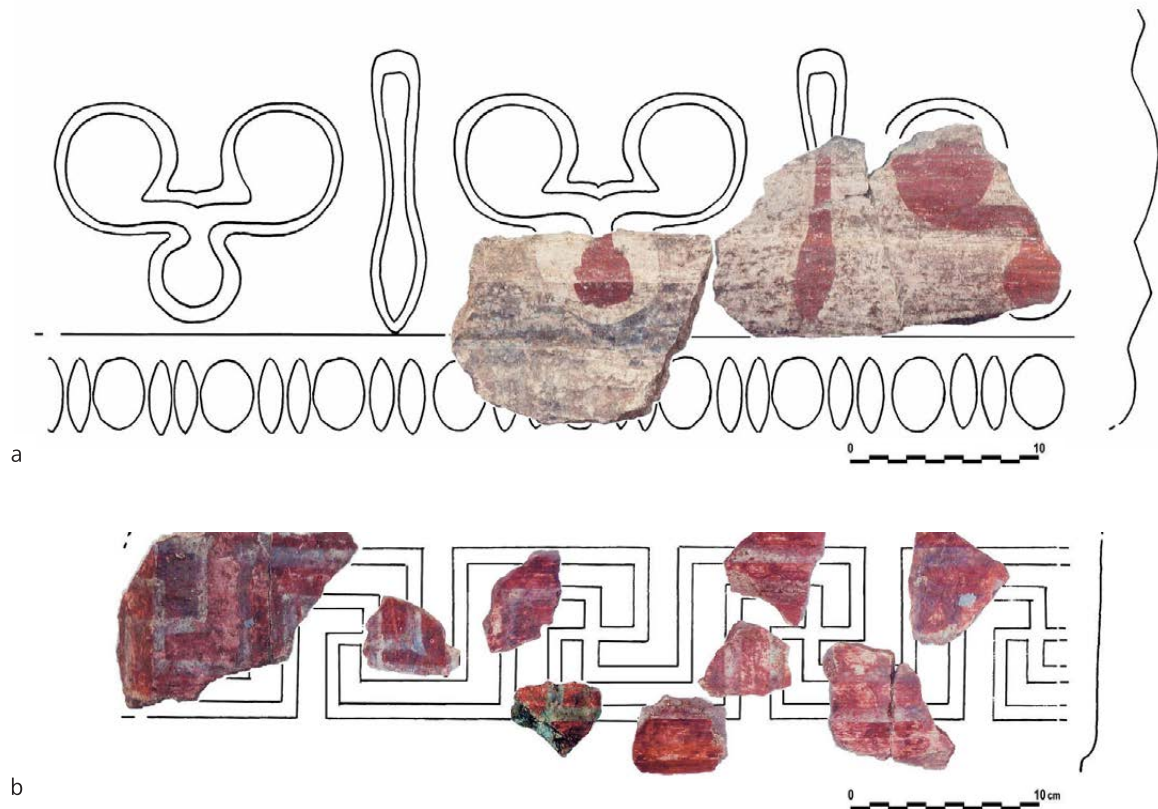


Abb. 7 a. Dreiblättriges lesbisches Kymation mit Astragal. – b. Mäanderfries (ca. M. 1 : 4)

Auch das Schachbrettmuster (*Abb. 8 a*), das auf den Fragmenten von Olympia in roter Farbe auf weißen Grund angebracht wurde und allem Anschein nach ein flaches horizontales Band bedeckte, war in der griechischen Bauornamentik klassischer Zeit üblich, wo es neben anderen Mustern wie dorischem Kymation und Mäander auftritt³⁷. In der hellenistischen Periode erscheint es auch in der Wandmalerei, wie einige Putzfragmente aus Delos bezeugen³⁸. Das Gleiche kann man vom Laufenden Hund sagen, der auch in roter Farbe auf weißem Grund umgesetzt ist, eine Verzierung, die bereits im Repertoire der archaischen Bauornamentik aufscheint und sich in allen Schmuckformen des Altertums wiederfindet und als Innendekoration auch noch während der Römerzeit Verwendung fand³⁹. Das Motiv kommt auch häufig in der Vasenmalerei vor⁴⁰. In hellenistischer Zeit verwendet man es bei Mosaikböden⁴¹ ebenso wie in der Wandmalerei von Gräbern wie Wohnhäusern. Das zeigen z. B. das Fresko am Grabe des Kriegers von Nola⁴², einige Deckenfragmente des Hauses des Schwertes und des Hauses der Siegel in Delos⁴³, die Decke des Loculus eines Grabes von Anfushi in Alexandrien⁴⁴ und außerdem bemalte Verputze von Gräbern des 4.–3. Jhs.

³⁷ Vgl. z. B. Ginouvès – Martin 1985, Taf. 55, 7 und 61, 1–6.

³⁸ Alabe 2003, 238 Abb. 6; 240 Abb. 9; 241 Abb. 10 (Decke 1, Haus des Schwertes; Decke 2, Haus der Siegel).

³⁹ Alabe 2003, 249 f., außerdem bezüglich der Römerzeit Pagani – Mariani 2016, 155 f. mit Beispielen und Literatur.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Mollo 2011, 152 e Abb. 52 b. 53 a. 54 b. 56. 57 b–c. 59.

⁴¹ Alabe 2003, 249 f.; als Beispiel siehe Bell 2011, 112 Abb. 44 und Taf. 8.

⁴² Baldassarre u. a. 2006 Abb. auf S. 55; Moreno 2010, 124 Abb. 127.

⁴³ Alabe 2003, 238 Abb. 6; 240 Abb. 9; 241 Abb. 10; 242 Abb. 13.

⁴⁴ Venit 2002, Taf. 4; Guimier-Sorbets 2003, 624. 595 und Abb. 3 (Grab V, Raum 5; die Dekoration ist hier auf textile Vorbilder zurückzuführen).

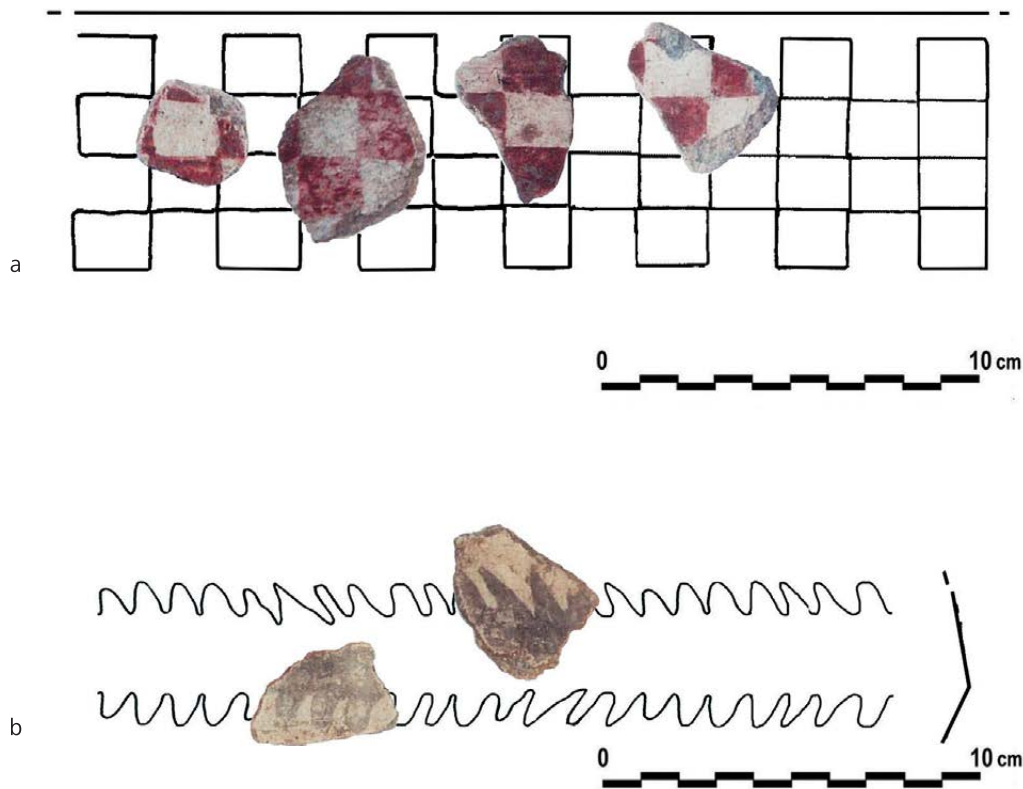


Abb. 8 a. Schachbrettdекoration. – b. Girlande (ca. M. 1 : 2)

v. Chr. aus Etrurien, Kampanien, Apulien und Lukanien sowie von Häusern der mittleren republikanischen Zeit in Pompeji⁴⁵. Zum Dekorationsrepertoire der hellenistischen Wandmalerei gehört schließlich auch das Muster der stilisierten Girlande, die hier in grau auf weißem Grund gemalt ist (Abb. 8 b). Mehr oder weniger realistische Girlanden und Festons, die in verschiedenen Formen und Größen ausgeführt sind, findet man sehr häufig in der Grabmalerei bereits seit dem 3. Jh. v. Chr., sodass das Phänomen von einigen Gelehrten als »Girlandenmanie« bezeichnet wurde⁴⁶.

SCHLUSSBETRACHTUNGEN

Der Zustand der hier untersuchten Bruchstücke des bemalten Verputzes ist zu fragmentarisch um eine zusammenhängende Wiederherstellung der originalen Dekoration insgesamt und die Feststellung ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu ermöglichen. Nicht einmal die einzelnen Dekorationsmuster können immer identifiziert und als Ganzes wiederhergestellt werden; es handelt sich jedenfalls meist um Frieze mit sich wiederholenden Elementen, welche in einigen Fällen miteinander in Verbindung stehen. Während die Oberfläche des Verputzes in Stucktechnik zur Bildung von horizontalen Faszien, hervorragenden Gesimsen und leicht angedeuteten Profilleisten modelliert ist, sind die dekorativen Frieze nicht plastisch, sondern durch die Malerei hergestellt. Die Verzierung ist also mit einer gemischten Tech-

⁴⁵ Pesando 2008, 170; Brun 2008, 65 f. Abb. 9. 10; Torelli 2011, 404 Abb. 110 a und Taf. 21.

⁴⁶ Baldassarre u. a. 2006, 55; zudem Moreno 2010, 123 f. und Abb. 125–127.

nik umgesetzt, die Entsprechungen z. B. in einigen Fragmenten aus dem Hause der Siegel von Delos⁴⁷, aus den Hanghäusern von Ephesos⁴⁸ und aus den Grabungen unter dem Haus VI 16, 26–27a in Pompeji⁴⁹ findet. Dort sind auch die Zahnschnittfriese durch Malerei in einer Art ›Stuckimitation‹ dargestellt und die Muster aus dem Repertoire der Bauornamentik sind, wie in unserem Fall, durch die Betonung der linearen Kontur der Ornamente⁵⁰ zu abstrakten Elementen reduziert worden. Eine Reihe von oben bereits im Einzelnen vorgestellten gemalten Wanddekorationen in Grabstätten und seltener in Wohnhäusern im griechischen, alexandrinischen und etruskischen Bereich bietet Vergleiche für das dekorative Repertoire und die Farbwahl. Damit ließ sich gleichzeitig die Datierung in die späthellenistische Zeit bestätigen, die schon von Mallwitz vermutet wurde⁵¹. Anhand ihres Aussehens lassen sich die hier erörterten Fragmente mit ihren unterschiedlich modellierten Oberflächen der Verkleidung von Mauerstrukturen zuschreiben, die Teil eines nicht definierbaren Gebäudes waren, wie z. B. Wannen, Bänke oder der Unterbau für Klinen. Die durch die Bauornamentik inspirierten Zierfriese können in verschiedener Position als Verzierung von derartigen Strukturen verwendet worden sein. Die eher oberflächliche und ungenaue Ausführung der gemalten Motive wäre andererseits eher Funktionsräumen zuzuschreiben, und lässt gleichzeitig repräsentative Bereiche ausschließen. Wie bereits angedeutet, kann das Gebäude, zu dem die Fragmente gehören, nicht sicher identifiziert werden: die Verputze könnten zu dem Gebäude ionischer Ordnung gehören, von welchem das viele Baumaterial stammt, das im selben stratigraphischen Kontext gefunden wurde, und von dem Mallwitz nicht ausschließt, dass es sich um eine Badeanlage handeln könnte⁵². Das Baujahr dieses Gebäudes, das in die spätklassische Periode einzustufen und mithin älter ist, stünde nicht notwendigerweise im Widerspruch zum jüngeren Datum der Verputze.

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⁴⁷ Siebert 1987, 631 Abb. 5. 6.

⁴⁸ Ladstätter u. a. 2005, 269 f. Abb. 28; Tober 2010, 238. 255 Abb. 1; Tober 2014, 723 f., Taf. 407. 408, mit umfangreicher Vergleichsliteratur in Anm. 14.

⁴⁹ Seiler 2010; Seiler 2011.

⁵⁰ Seiler 2011, insbesondere 501 und 503.

⁵¹ Mallwitz 1999c, 268.

⁵² Mallwitz 1999c, 268.

Abbildungsnachweis: Abb. 1–8: Verfasserin.

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Von Alexandria nach Actium: Zur Evidenz späthellenistischer Bronze- gruppen von Lastesel und Treiber

NORBERT FRANKEN

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Durch die gemeinsame Betrachtung der Bronzestatuetten zweier mit Tragekörben beladenen bzw. zu ergänzenden Esel in London und Stuttgart sowie der Statuette eines in gebückter Haltung voranschreitenden und anscheinend einst eine schwere Last hinter sich her ziehenden afrikanischen Sklaven in Baltimore rekonstruiert der Verfasser das Idealbild einer ehemals als luxuriöses Tischgerät dienenden kleinformatigen Bronzegruppe in Gestalt eines Sklaven, der sich abmüht, einen störrischen, schreienden Lastesel zum Weitergehen zu bewegen. Aus stilistischen Gründen und aufgrund literarischer Erwähnungen lassen sich die hier untersuchten Bronzen dem späthellenistischen Tafelluxus der ägyptischen Metropole Alexandria zuweisen und in das 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datieren. Der Beitrag endet mit der Betrachtung zweier literarisch bezeugter Weihgeschenke in Gestalt großformatiger Eseltreibergruppen aus den Apollonheiligtümern von Delphi und Nikopolis.

Schlagworte Alexandria; Bronzegerät; Landleben; Sklaven; Weihgeschenke.

From Alexandria to Actium: On the evidence of Late Hellenistic bronze groups of donkeys and slaves

ABSTRACT By looking at the bronze statuettes of two donkeys laden with panniers in London and Stuttgart as well as an African slave in Baltimore in a stooping posture and seemingly once pulling a heavy burden, the author reconstructs the ideal image of a small-scale bronze group, formerly used as a luxurious table-top device in the form of a slave struggling to persuade a stubborn donkey to move on. For stylistic reasons and after the testimony of several literary mentions, the bronzes discussed here can be attributed to the late Hellenistic table luxury of the Egyptian metropolis of Alexandria and dated in the 1st century B.C. The article concludes with a look at two monumental votives known only from ancient literature in the form of groups of donkeys and drivers from the Apollo sanctuaries at Delphi and Nicopolis.

Keywords Alexandria; bronze device; rural life; slaves; votive offering.

Από την Αλεξάνδρεια στο Άκτιον: Σχετικά με τα τεκμήρια υστεροελληνιστικών συνόλων χάλκινων όνων και σκλάβων

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Μέσω της κοινής εξέτασης των αποσπασματικών χάλκινων ειδωλίων δύο φορτωμένων με κοφίνια όνων από το Λονδίνο και τη Στουτγκάρδη, καθώς και του ειδωλίου ενός Αφρικανού σκλάβου από τη Βαλτιμόρη που παριστάνεται να προχωρά σκυφτός και πιθανότατα να τραβούσε κάποιο βαρύ φορτίο, ο συντάκτης του άρθρου ανασυνθέτει την εξιδανικευμένη μορφή ενός μικρού συνόλου χάλκινων αντικειμένων που κάποτε θα χρησίμευε ως επιτραπέζιο σκεύος πολυτελείας και θα είχε τη μορφή ενός σκλάβου που πασχίζει να κάνει ένα πεισματάρικο υποζύγιο που γκαρτίζει να προχωρήσει. Λόγω της τεχνοτροπίας και με βάση τις αναφορές σε αρχαία κείμενα, τα υπό μελέτη χάλκινα θα πρέπει να αποδοθούν στα υστεροελληνιστικά επιτραπέζια σκεύη πολυτελείας της αιγυπτιακής μητρόπολης Αλεξάνδρειας και να χρονολογηθούν στον 1ο αιώνα π.Χ. Το άρθρο ολοκληρώνεται με την εξέταση δύο γνωστών από την αρχαία γραμματεία, μεγάλου σχήματος αναθημάτων από τα ιερά του Απόλλωνα στους Δελφούς και στη Νικόπολη που παριστάνουν ομάδες από αγωγιάτες όνων.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Αλεξάνδρεια. Χάλκινο σκεύος. Αγροτική ζωή. Σκλάβοι. Αναθήματα.

Über alexandrinische Genrekunst ist gerade in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten viel geschrieben worden, wobei es sowohl um figürliche Bronzen ging, die unmittelbar aus Ägypten stammen, als auch um solche, die nur indirekt auf ptolemäisch-römische Vorbilder zurückgreifen¹. Auch der Verfasser hat sich bei seinen Forschungen zu ›realistischen‹ Darstellungen in der antiken Bronzekleinkunst mit ausgewählten Beispielen dieser formal und inhaltlich außerordentlich reichhaltigen und vielseitigen Kunstgattung beschäftigt und vor allem nach der thematischen Einordnung bzw. Benennung einzelner Figuren und Figurentypen gefragt². In einem weiteren zeitlichen und geographischen Rahmen standen dabei neben Männern in alltäglicher Tracht, wie Wettkampfrichtern, Tänzern mit Halbmasken und Elefantenreitern³, auch Darstellungen von Sklaven, wie etwa Begleitern siegreicher Athleten, Bädersklaven und Lastenträgern⁴, im Mittelpunkt des Interesses.

Leider fanden antike Kleinbronzen in dem neuen, nicht nur für Althistoriker höchst nützlichen ›Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei‹ keine angemessene Berücksichtigung⁵, weshalb sich noch genügend archäologisches Material für zukünftige Studien anbieten dürfte. Namentlich zu Darstellungen von gefesselten Sklaven, Rudersklaven und zu Sklaven mit Tätowierungen bzw. Brandzeichen hat der Verfasser zwischenzeitlich eine neue Untersuchung vorgelegt⁶.

EINE SKLAVENSTATUETTE IN BALTIMORE

Hier aber soll es um Figuren gehen, die vom Konzept her als Teil einer Gruppenkomposition anzusehen sind⁷. Besondere Beachtung verdient in diesem Zusammenhang die 10,2 cm hohe, hellenistische Bronzestatuetten (*Abb. 1 a. b*) eines in gebückter Haltung voranschreitenden und sich dabei umblickenden Mannes im Walters Art Museum (bis 2001 Walters Art Gallery) in Baltimore (Maryland, USA)⁸. Durch seine Bekleidung mit einer gegürteten Tunika sowie die ethnischen Charakteristika seiner Physiognomie ist er leicht als Sklave mit afrikanischen Wurzeln zu erkennen. Die Bronzefigur ist unbekannter Herkunft, wurde 1951 aber von einer Firma erworben, die vornehmlich mit archäologischen Funden aus Ägypten und dem Nahen Osten Handel trieb. Tatsächlich macht das typische Merkmal einer weitgehend rau belassenen Oberfläche, wie schon frühere Bearbeiter richtig erkannten, die Entstehung in einer Werkstatt des ptolemäischen Ägypten mehr als wahrscheinlich⁹.

Die Figur wurde erstmalig von Dorothy Kent Hill als »A Bronze Statuette of a Negro« im *American Journal of Archaeology* von 1953 ausführlich besprochen¹⁰, während Berta Segall

Dieser Beitrag ist Teil eines von Juli 2017 bis August 2020 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität (JGU, Mainz) laufenden DFG-Projekts zu hellenistischen, römischen und spätantiken Bronzen im Nahen Osten und auf der Arabischen Halbinsel. Detlev Kreikenbom (JGU) und Thomas M. Weber-Karyotakis (German Jordanian University, Amman) ist für ihre Unterstützung sehr herzlich zu danken. Ebenso danke ich Uta Dirschedl, Hans R. Goette, Sascha Kansteiner, Andreas Oettel, Veit Vaelske, Henning Wrede und den Zuhörern im DAI-Hauskolloquium (Berlin) für wichtige Anregungen und kritische Diskussion, Lisa Anderson-Zhu (WAM, Baltimore) für die Vermittlung von Fotos sowie der Leiterin der Fachabteilung Archäologie Nina Willburger und der Depotverwalterin Anke Wolf (Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart) für die Unterstützung bei meiner Autopsie von Bronzen der ehemaligen Sammlung v. Sieglin am 15.11.2018.

¹ Dazu vielfach anregend: Himmelfmann 1983.

² Franken 2019.

³ Franken 2003; Franken 2002b; Franken 1999.

⁴ Franken 2009; Franken 2018; Franken 2020a.

⁵ Heinen 2017.

⁶ Franken 2020b.

⁷ Auch hierzu plant der Verfasser weitere Untersuchungen.

⁸ Baltimore, Walters Art Museum Inv. 54.2372. Fundort unbekannt, 1951 erworben. H 10,2 cm.

⁹ In diesem Sinne Hill 1953, 266 (»[...] Egyptian origin seems almost certain«); Reeder 1988, 144 (»The work was certainly made in Egypt, an attribution indicated by the subject, the roughly finished surface, and the momentary action.«).

¹⁰ Hill 1953, 265–267 Taf. 75.



Abb. 1 Bronzestatuette eines afrikanischen Sklaven. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

sie in ihrem 1966 als Berliner Winckelmanns-Programm erschienenen Beitrag »Tradition und Neuschöpfung in der alexandrinischen Kleinkunst« nur kurz erwähnt¹¹. In seinen reich illustrierten Untersuchungen zu Darstellungen von Schwarzafrikanern in der griechisch-römischen Kunst erkannte Frank M. Snowden 1976 die Haltung der Statuette zwar zutreffend als »a pose that could be held only momentarily«, hielt den Mann – wenn auch mit einem Fragezeichen versehen – aber für einen möglichen Tänzer¹², was mangels überzeugender Vergleichsbeispiele wenig glaubhaft erscheint. Auch Nikolaus Himmelmann zitiert die Figur nur kurz und enthält sich dabei jeglicher Deutung¹³. Später behandelte Ellen D. Reeder die Figur als »Statuette of a Black Slave« in ihrem 1988 erschienenen Katalog hellenistischer Kunstwerke der Walters Art Gallery¹⁴. Schließlich sprach sich Gifty Ako-Adounvo in ihrer 1999 an der McMaster University im kanadischen Hamilton abgeschlossenen Dissertation wieder für eine Deutung als Tänzer aus¹⁵.

Die Haltung des Sklaven ist in jedem Fall ungewöhnlich, unter Kleinbronzen vielleicht sogar ganz ohne Vergleich. Zweifellos befindet sich der junge Mann in einer für ihn schwierigen Situation. Eine präzisere Festlegung wird durch das weitgehende Fehlen der Arme erschwert. Auf den ersten Blick könnte man denken, der Dargestellte versuche sich einer von hinten nahenden Gefahr durch Wegducken oder Flucht zu entziehen, wobei die von der Mitte der Oberarme abwärts fehlenden Arme dann abwehrend ausgestreckt gewesen sein müssten. Vielleicht floh der Diener vor dem drohend erhobenen Stock seines zornigen Herrn, wie es die Szene eines spätantiken Jagdmosaiks aus der Villa von Piazza Armerina (Sizilien) zeigt¹⁶.

¹¹ Segall 1966, 45 f. Anm. 173.

¹² Snowden 1976, 210 Abb. 270 Anm. 210.

¹³ Himmelmann 1983, 91.

¹⁴ Reeder 1988, 144 Nr. 58.

¹⁵ Ako-Adounvo 1999, 56 mit Anm. 42 (»a damaged

statuette probably from Egypt, [...], of a youth with corkscrew locks, wearing a tunic, who appears to be dancing«).

¹⁶ Vgl. das entsprechende Detail aus dem Korridor der Großen Jagd: Pappalardo-Ciardiello 2018, Abb. S. 30 f.

Obwohl die Züchtigung von Sklaven mittels Schlägen durchaus römischem Recht entsprach¹⁷, erscheint es uns – nicht zuletzt wegen des großen zeitlichen Abstands zwischen der Bronze und dem Mosaik – doch angeraten, auch nach anderen Erklärungsmöglichkeiten Ausschau zu halten. Anders als Hill, die nach kurzer Überlegung über eine mögliche Gruppenzugehörigkeit zu dem Schluss kam »[...] it seems to me most likely that the figure was dancing alone«¹⁸, hatte Reeder den kompositorischen Charakter der Figur richtig gesehen, als sie schrieb »one might easily envision behind the figure a heavily laden cart or horse«. Ganz ähnlich formulierte es auch der anonyme Autor einer Beschreibung in der online verfügbaren Museumsdatenbank, wo man liest »This figure's struggle, probably against the strain of a heavily laden cart, is eloquently communicated by his posture«.

Tatsächlich würde nur das mit großem Kraftaufwand betriebene Ziehen einer schweren Last eine derartige Körperhaltung begründen¹⁹. So erkennen wir auf einem vielfach abgebildeten Reliefblock eines gallo-römischen Grabbaus in Avignon (Provence, Frankreich) die Darstellung eines von zwei Männern in ähnlicher Haltung und Bekleidung gezogenen Weinschiffs²⁰. Auch auf dem Nil wurde noch bis in jüngste Zeit das Treideln von Lastschiffen betrieben, weswegen eine entsprechende Darstellung aus Ägypten nicht verwundern müsste. Auch wenn sich aus antiker Zeit durchaus kleinformatige Bronzeschiffe, zum Beispiel als figürliche Lampen und / oder als Votive, erhalten haben, dürfte die rundplastische Darstellung eines von Menschen gezogenen Treidelkahns, nicht zuletzt aus kompositorischen Gründen, ein für kleinformatige Bronzegruppen denkbar ungeeignetes Bildthema sein, sodass wir uns zweifellos nach einer sinnvolleren Erklärung umschauchen müssen.

Tatsächlich kam schon Reeder dem eigentlichen Charakter der Statuette sehr nahe, indem sie in ihrer einfühlsamen Beschreibung weiter formulierte »Struggling under the strain of the burden he pulls, this figure leans forward, his posture and the turn of his head masterfully calculated to create an elegant silhouette, [...]« Wie aber müsste der zu ergänzende Gegenstand beschaffen sein, der Reeder's Anforderungen »certainly a substantial enough element that we can speak of the piece as belonging to a sculptural group« erfüllen würde?

ZWEI ALEXANDRINISCHE ESELSTATUETTEN

Glücklicherweise lassen sich hier zwei aus Ägypten stammende Kleinbronzen mutmaßlicher bzw. nachgewiesener Lastesel benennen, die für die Ergänzung mit einer menschlichen Figur wie dem gebückt schreitenden Negersklaven in Baltimore in idealer Weise geeignet scheinen, zumal sie für sich alleine stehend ebenso wenig einen befriedigenden Sinn ergäben, wie der eingangs erwähnte Sklave. Die erste dieser Bronzen gelangte zusammen mit anderen Funden der auf den Stuttgarter Unternehmer und Antikenliebhaber Ernst von Sieglin (1848–1927) zurückgehenden »Expedition Sieglin« in das heutige Landesmuseum Württemberg²¹ in Stuttgart (Abb. 2)²².

Die 10,6 cm lange und im heutigen Zustand noch 5,4 cm hohe, hohl gegossene Statuette, deren ursprüngliche Höhe von ca. 6,4 cm sich wegen der größtenteils fehlenden Beine nur annähernd schätzen lässt, besitzt in der Mitte des Rückens eine große ovale Öff-

¹⁷ Gerhold 2017.

¹⁸ Hill 1953, 266.

¹⁹ Reeder 1988, 144.

²⁰ Avignon, Musée Lapidaire Inv. 16274: Cavalier 1988, 30 f. mit Abb.

²¹ Bis 2005: Württembergisches Landesmuseum.

²² Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg Inv. 3.820 (Nr. der Slg. v. Sieglin laut altem Papieretikett »S. S. 172«). Aus Ägypten. L 10,6 cm. H (des Erhaltenen) 5,4 cm. Lit. Pagenstecher 1923, 78–80 Abb. 82 Taf. 31, 5.

Abb. 2 Bronzestatuetten eines Esels. Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg



Abb. 3 Bronzestatuetten eines Esels mit Tragekörben. London, Britisches Museum



nung²³, die zum Zeitpunkt der Erwerbung mit der Figur eines musizierenden Amor verschlossen war, wie auch heute noch ein auf den schwarzen Marmorsockel aufgeklebtes, historisches Etikett mit der Aufschrift »Amor auf einem Esel musizierend / Röm. Zeit« verrät. Die vom Verfasser nicht in Augenschein genommene Amorstatuette könnte durchaus bereits in antiker Zeit mit dem Esel verbunden gewesen sein. Doch kann sie aus stilistischen Gründen keinesfalls von Beginn an zugehörig sein, wie Rudolf Pagenstecher (1879–1921) bei der Veröffentlichung der Gruppe bereits richtig gesehen hatte²⁴. Der kleine Amor kann zu unseren Überlegungen somit nichts weiter beitragen.

In der Autopsie zeigte die Stuttgarter Statuette des mit unnatürlich weit vorgestrecktem Kopf die Zähne zeigenden Esels trotz oder gerade wegen ihrer bemerkenswerten künstlerischen.

²³ Schöne hellolivgrüne Patina. In der Öffnung ein modernes Gips- oder Holzstück, wohl zur Fixierung des von unten eingeführten Sockelungsstifts. Drei Beine, die Ohrenspitzen und das Geschlecht alt abgebro-

chen. Rechter Vorderlauf nachantisch abgebrochen (Bruchfläche nicht patiniert).

²⁴ Pagenstecher 1923, 79.

schen Qualität eine offenbar beabsichtigte Asymmetrie. Indem die Schwanzspitze, die eine für den afrikanischen Esel (*Equus asinus* bzw. *Equus africanus*) typische Quastenform besitzt, die linke Ferse des Tieres berührt und der Kopf zudem leicht nach rechts gebogen ist, gibt sich das rechte Profil als bevorzugte Ansichtsseite zu erkennen. Auch die handwerkliche Arbeit ist trotz des kleinen Formats hervorzuheben. Ein großer, rechteckiger Gussfehlerflicken auf dem hinteren Rücken sowie vermutlich ein weiterer Flicken am Ansatz des linken Vorderlaufs zeugen ebenso von hohem Anspruch wie von besonderer Sorgfalt des ausführenden Meisters.

Tatsächlich bestätigt eine besser erhaltene, 6,3 cm hohe und 10,1 cm lange, also fast gleich große Eselstatuette im Britischen Museum (Abb. 3)²⁵, wie ebenfalls bereits Pagenstecher richtig erkannte, die für die Stuttgarter Statuette mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit zu vermutende Ergänzung mit einem aus zwei miteinander verbundenen Tragekörben bestehenden, separat gefertigten und danach an die Tierfigur angestückten Element. Letzteres separat zu fertigen, dürfte sich zur Erleichterung des Gussvorgangs ebenso wie zur Verminderung der Gefahr von Fehlgüssen angeboten haben, da entsprechende Bronzestatuetten üblicherweise auf dem Kopf stehend, d. h. von den Füßen her gegossen wurden, wodurch immer die Gefahr entstand, dass sich die flüssige Bronze vor ihrem Erkalten nicht in der gewünschten Gleichmäßigkeit bis in die weiter außen liegenden Bereiche der Körbe verteilte und sich auf diese Weise so genannte Lunker (Gussfehler) bildeten.

Wie andere Beispiele ptolemäisch-römischer Bronzestatuetten vermuten lassen, könnten die Körbe darüber hinaus – zur Wiedergabe eines Farbunterschieds – aus einer anderen Legierung oder aus edlerem Metall, namentlich aus Silber, bestanden haben²⁶. Doch können wir darüber vorläufig keine sichere Entscheidung treffen.

Die Art und Weise, in der im wirklichen Leben die Körbe, sowie alternativ auch Amphoren oder verschiedene andere Geräte, aus Gründen der optimalen Gewichtsverteilung zu beiden Seiten auf den Rücken verschiedener Tragtiere, von Eseln ebenso wie von Kamelen, gepackt und festgebunden wurden, entspricht einer über viele Jahrtausende – von vorgeschichtlicher Zeit bis in die Gegenwart – währenden Praxis. Ablesen lässt sich das auch an einer römischen Bronzelampe in Form eines mit zwei großen Packtaschen beladenen Phallus in Innsbruck²⁷, die darüber hinaus an die Bedeutung des Esels als Symboltier für Fruchtbarkeit erinnert²⁸. Eindeutige Darstellungen finden sich zudem bei bronzezeitli-

²⁵ London, British Museum Inv. 1868,0520.50. FO unbekannt (aus Ägypten?), ehemalige Sammlungen Denon und Fejérváry-Pulszky. H 6,3 cm. L 10,1 cm. Lit.: Duval 1829, o. Pag. Taf. 31, 3 (»[...] L'âne que l'on voit ici braire est chargé de deux paniers, qui [...] s'enlèvent à volonté de dessus son dos, et qui cependant ont toujours appartenu à cette figure. Ses jambes de devant sont en partie détruites.«); Liber Antiquitatis. Fejervary's Sammlung gezeichnet von J. Bucher und W. Böhm (unpubliziertes Zeichenwerk, datiert 1842; Bibliothek des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums Budapest) Taf. 24 unten = <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/antiquitas/library/source/2-33-43> (02.06.2022); Catalogue des antiquités grecques, romaines, du moyen âge et de la renaissance composant la collection de Mm. de Fejervary – de Pulszky dont la vente aura lieu Hôtel Drouot [...] Paris, 18–23. mai 1868 (1868) 16 Nr. 255 ohne Abb. (»Ane brayant, portant deux paniers; publié dans la description de la collection Denon. [...]«);

Reinach 1908, 745, 3; Walters 1899, 280 Nr. 1790 Abb. 28 (»Donkey, with panniers, braying, with head raised and legs set stiff. [...]«); Reinach 1930, 157, 5. Vorderbeine im unteren Teil modern ergänzt.

²⁶ Vgl. dazu: Franken 2002a. – Ferner besitzt das Ägyptische Museum und die Papyrussammlung – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Inv. ÄMP 8007 den 10,5 cm hohen Torso einer größeren Bronzestatue eines mit einer Exomis bekleideten Mannes, vielleicht eines Sklaven afrikanischer Herkunft, an den man die fehlenden Teile (Kopf, Arme und Beine) aus anderer Legierung angestückt hatte. Hierzu jetzt Franken 2022.

²⁷ Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum. Lit.: Noll 1937, Sp. 232 Nr. 20 Abb. 77; Gualandi Genito 1986, 475 f. Nr. 262; Bolla 2010, 63 f. Abb. 28.

²⁸ Zu parodistischen Darstellungen geiler Esel vgl.: Hermayr 2018, 32–43.

chen²⁹, griechischen³⁰ und zyprischen³¹ Terrakotten einzelner Tragtiere. Aber auch Esel treibende Sklaven gehörten sicherlich zum üblichen Straßenbild antiker Städte und Dörfer, wie sich abgesehen von den bildlichen Darstellungen auch an der Überlieferung differenzierter Berufsbezeichnungen für Esel- oder Maultiertreiber im Griechischen wie im Lateinischen ablesen lässt³².

AUF DER FESTTAFEL DES TRIMALCHIO

Unser Wissen darüber, dass mit Tragekörben ausgestattete Eselstatuetten aus Bronze nicht nur theoretisch, sondern auch praktisch als Geräte zur Darreichung kleiner Mengen von Speisen dienten, verdanken wir der als ›Gastmahl des Trimalchio‹ (*Cena Trimalchionis*) bekannten Erzählung aus dem Roman ›Satyricon‹ des römischen Schriftstellers Petronius (ca. 14–66 n. Chr.). Danach stand auf der Tafel des neureichen Emporkömmlings Trimalchio eine Eselstatuette, in deren beiden Körben den Gästen schwarze und grüne Oliven angeboten wurden: »ceterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras.«³³

Rundplastische Eseldarstellungen sind in der hellenistisch-römischen Kleinkunst nicht sehr häufig anzutreffen³⁴. Trotz der relativen Seltenheit bronzener Esel, Maulesel und Maultiere, von denen sich letztere gerade bei stärker stilisierten Statuetten nicht immer zuverlässig von den sehr viel häufigeren Pferdedarstellungen unterscheiden lassen, erscheint eine gründlichere Untersuchung aller Beispiele für unsere Fragestellung kaum lohnend, da diese Tiere zumeist ruhig stehend oder gemächlich voranschreitend dargestellt sind und sich auf diese Weise von den Statuetten in Stuttgart und London motivisch unterscheiden³⁵.

EIN REKONSTRUKTIONSVORSCHLAG

Auch wenn wir vor dem Hintergrund bekannter Darstellungen der Flächenkunst, insbesondere auf Mosaiken und Bildlampen³⁶, auch alternative Lösungen der Ergänzung, wie zum Beispiel mit einem Kamel³⁷ oder einem anderen Nutztier³⁸, nicht ganz ausschließen können, erscheint es doch verlockend, den Typus des eingangs vorgestellten Sklaven in Baltimore

²⁹ Mitchell 2018, 75 Abb. 4.2; Mitchell 2018, Taf. 13.

³⁰ Vgl. u. a. Zimmer 1994, 108 f. Nr. 27 mit Abb. (mit weiteren Belegen).

³¹ Vgl. u. a. Karageorghis 1996, 28 f. Kat. H 4–H 6. H 9 Taf. 14 f.

³² Kolb 2017.

³³ Petron. 31,9 (Edition: Müller – Ehlers 1965).

³⁴ Vgl. z. B. London, British Museum 1961, 1016.1. Aus dem Jemen. H 10 cm. Lit. Barnett 1963, 87 Taf. 43 b; Seipel 1998, 315 Nr. 220 mit Abb.; Sima 2000, 90 Anm. 303; Āli Āqil – Antonini 2007, 173 Nr. I.B.b.4 mit Abb.; de Romanis 2009, 67 f. Abb. 1.; Wien, KHM. FO unbekannt. H 8 cm. Lit. von Sacken 1871, 121 Taf. 52, 3 (»Maulthier«); Kunsthandel. FO unbekannt. L 10,2 cm. Lit. Kat. New York 2004, 125 Nr. 464 mit Abb. (Gerätbronze unbekannter Verwendung).

³⁵ Nur ein wenig größerer Esel unbekannter Herkunft in Neapel, der durch struppiges Fell und unsicheren Stand deutliche Altersmerkmale zeigt, scheint

sich jedem weiteren Schritt verweigern zu wollen, was ihn als Teil einer Gruppe mit einem ihn treibenden Sklaven bestens geeignet erscheinen lässt. Doch ist der antike Ursprung dieses Stücks ohne Autopsie nicht verifizierbar. Vgl.: Borriello u. a. 1986, 186 Nr. 95 Abb. S. 187 (»statuetta di vecchio asino«).

³⁶ Vgl. u. a. Baur 1947, 54 Nr. 329 Taf. 8.

³⁷ Wegen der sehr ähnlichen Form der Körbe dürfte es sich auch bei einer bronzenen Kamelstatuette in Neapel (Reinach 1908, 765, 2) um einen Tischaufsatz handeln. Weitere Informationen hierzu sind mir nicht bekannt.

³⁸ Formale Bezüge in der Körperhaltung zeigt auch der afrikanische Pferdeknecht des bekannten Marmorreliefs in Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv. 4464: Masségla 2015, 172–174 Abb. 4.10, doch knickt die Bronze in den Knien stärker ein und unterstreicht so die größere Kraftanstrengung.

(Abb. 1 a. b) versuchsweise mit einer Eselfigur, ähnlich den Stücken in Stuttgart (Abb. 2) oder London (Abb. 3), in Verbindung zu bringen. Auf diese Weise ergäbe nicht nur das starre Stehen der Tiere sondern auch die Haltung ihrer mit geradem Hals vorgestreckten Köpfe mit gebleckten Zähnen einen unschwer nachvollziehbaren Sinn³⁹. Offenbar bockte der störrische Esel und widersetzte sich laut schreiend dem Bemühen seines Führers, ihn durch kräftiges Ziehen an einem um den Hals gebundenen Seil zum Weitergehen zu bewegen. In dem sich gegenseitig aufhebenden Auseinanderstreben der Figuren läge ohne Zweifel die kompositorische Stärke einer solchen Gruppe und machte sie neben ihrem praktischen Nutzen als Gegenstand der luxuriösen Tischkultur Alexandrias zu einem mit Freude und Vergnügen zu betrachtenden Schaustück.

Nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund, dass nach damaligem Verständnis Sklave und Esel gesellschaftlich auf gleicher Stufe standen, dürfte den Gästen des Hauses das vergebliche Bemühen des Sklaven reichlich Anlass zu heiterem Spott, wenn nicht gar zur Schadenfreude geboten haben⁴⁰. Auch im Hause des fiktiven Freigelassenen Trimalchio gewänne wohl nur eine Figurengruppe von Esel und Sklave die literarisch intendierte Doppelbödigkeit⁴¹.

Hintergründig könnte die als Idealtypus zu rekonstruierende Figurengruppe von Esel und Sklave als ein denkmalartig erstarrtes Sinnbild für die Mühen des Landlebens stehen und so mit einigem Recht als Vorläufer frühkaiserzeitlicher Bukolik gelten⁴². Beladen mit Körben voller Weintrauben oder anderem Naschwerk fände eine solche Gruppe auch innerhalb eines von dionysischen Anspielungen geprägten Interieurs einen inhaltlich stimmigen Platz. Die anhaltende Wirkung der Bildidee bezeugen schließlich auch wenigstens vier frühchristliche Bodenmosaiken des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Beth Shean in Israel⁴³ bzw. aus Suwayfiyah⁴⁴, Khirbet al-Mukhayyat⁴⁵ und vom Mount Nebo⁴⁶ in Jordanien (Abb. 4), auf denen eng verwandte Kompositionen im Kontext einer mit ländlichen Szenen belebten Weinranke erscheinen.

Obwohl wir unseren Ergänzungsvorschlag nicht wirklich beweiskräftig absichern können, ist bei der Aufzählung der positiven Argumente doch immerhin darauf zu verweisen, dass die Figuren des Sklaven in Baltimore (Abb. 1 a. b) und der Esel in Stuttgart (Abb. 2) und London (Abb. 3) nicht nur aus demselben Material (Bronze) und von annähernd gleichem Maßstab sind. Ihnen scheint auch die Bewegungsrichtung bzw. die bevorzugte Ansichtsseite nach bzw. von rechts gemein. Zudem gehören sie aufgrund der erwiesenen Entstehung im ptolemäischen Ägypten nicht nur derselben Epoche, dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr., sondern auch demselben Kunstkreis an.

Auch eine Bronzestatuetten im Cabinet des Médailles der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, die einen afrikanischen Sklaven darstellt, der – wenn auch in anderer Weise – ebenfalls an einem Seil zu ziehen scheint, kann unserer Hypothese nicht wirklich widersprechen⁴⁷. Zudem lassen sich mit dem von Alain Pasquier untersuchten Typus hellenistischer Bronzelampen andere Luxusartikel aus mutmaßlich alexandrinischen Werkstätten benennen, an denen ebenfalls kleine Dienerfiguren dem Spott des antiken Betrachters ausgesetzt wa-

³⁹ Alternativ könnte man die wiedergegebene Haltung der Esel auch als das für sie typische ›Flehmen‹ auffassen, wodurch die sexuelle Dimension der Tierdarstellung zusätzlich betont würde.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Hindermann 2017.

⁴¹ Eigler – Lämmle 2017.

⁴² In verschiedener Weise anregend: von Hesberg 1986, passim.

⁴³ Ovadiah – Ovadiah 1987, 29 Nr. 26 (Raum L) Taf. 24.

⁴⁴ Habas 2018, 135 Abb. 37.

⁴⁵ Balty 1986, 133 Taf. 4; Mitchell 2018, Taf. 17.

⁴⁶ Piccirillo – Alliata 1998, 338 Abb. 184.

⁴⁷ Babelon – Blanchet 1895, 440 f. Nr. 1009 mit Abb.; Snowden 1970, 187. 245 Abb. 109 (›laborers pulling cables‹). – Der schräge Stand der Statuette könnte die Folge einer Beschädigung sein oder dem Fehlen einer Stütze unter dem rechten Fuß geschuldet sein. Gerade aufgerichtet würde sich für die 17,5 cm hohe Statuette eher eine Ergänzung der fehlenden Arme mit einem Tablett anbieten.

Abb. 4 Ausschnitt aus
einem spätantiken Boden-
mosaik vom Mount Nebo
(Jordanien)



ren⁴⁸. Oben auf den Lampen liegt jeweils in unvorteilhafter Körperhaltung bäuchlings ein kleinwüchsiger, nur mit einem Schurz bekleideter Sklave afrikanischer Herkunft und müht sich – wie ein Heizer im *Praefurnium* – scheinbar nach Leibeskräften, das Feuer anzublasen. Bemerkenswerterweise fehlt bei der einzigen fast vollständig erhaltenen Lampe dieses Typs im Louvre hinter dem Liegenden ein Deckel über der Öffnung zum Einfüllen des Öls. Der fehlende Klappdeckel, dessen Scharnier sich erhalten hat, dürfte nach Ansicht des Verfassers die Form eines Vogels mit langem Hals gehabt haben. Der eigentliche ›Witz‹ dieser Lampen bestand nämlich ohne Zweifel darin, dass hier in Anspielung an die aus dem Genre der Nillandschaften bekannten Kämpfe der Pygmäen gegen die Kraniche gerade ein Vogel dabei war, dem vor ihm liegenden Zwerg hinterlistig ins Gesäß zu beißen. Als starkes Argument für die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme kann eine formal verwandte, nur wenig spätere Bronzelampe im Archäologischen Museum von Aquileia dienen, deren Griff – gleichsam als ›typologisches Rudiment‹ die Gestalt eines großen angriffslustigen Wasservogels besitzt⁴⁹.

Die bis in nachantike Zeit weit verbreitete Sitte, kostbare Gefäße, Lampen und Tischgeräte aus Bronze mit Figuren zu schmücken oder den Statuetten von Männern, Frauen und Kindern ein Tablett oder ein Schälchen in die Hand zu geben und ihnen so eine ganz praktische Funktion zu verleihen, steht bekanntermaßen in einer älteren orientalischen und griechischen Tradition. Bedauerlicherweise wurden solche Bronzestatuetten, zu denen neben realistischen Gestalten auch Erogen, Silene und andere Figuren des dionysischen Kreises gehören, bisher noch nicht zusammenhängend untersucht, was nicht zuletzt daran liegen dürfte, dass die bruchstückhafte Erhaltung vieler Figuren und Figurengruppen einen vollständigen Überblick über das gesamte Material erschwert⁵⁰. Über einzelne Aspekte zu diesen als ›Stumme Diener *en miniature*‹ zu bezeichnenden Bronzestatuetten hat der Verfasser schon an anderer Stelle berichtet⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Pasquier 2008.

⁴⁹ di Filippo Balestrazzi 1990, Sp. 233–242 Abb. 2–6.

⁵⁰ Gerne wüsste man z. B. mehr über den ursprünglichen Kontext der 1994 bei Ausgrabungen in Valencia (Spanien) gefundenen, 11 cm hohen, sehr quali-

tätvollen, römischen Bronzestatuetten eines bewegstehenden alten Mannes in Exomis: Arasa i Gil 2008, 444–446 Abb. 9 (›mimo‹).

⁵¹ Franken 1999, 156 Anm. 117; Franken 2004; Franken 2018; Franken 2020a.

EIN GUTES OMEN: OCTAVIAN IN ACTIUM

In dem hier vorgetragenen Versuch, das dem alexandrinischen Tafelluxus zuzuschreibende Idealbild einer kleinformatigen Bronzegruppe aus einem störrischen Lastesel und einem sich damit abmühenden Sklaven zu rekonstruieren, unterstützt uns möglicherweise auch die in der Antonius-Biographie des Plutarch (ca. 45–125 n. Chr.)⁵² sowie in der Augustus-Biographie seines jüngeren Zeitgenossen Sueton (ca. 70–122 n. Chr.)⁵³ überlieferte Anekdote, der zufolge Octavian nach der Schlacht von Actium die Statue eines Esels mit seinem Treiber in das dortige Apollonheiligtum weihte. Wörtlich schreibt Sueton »Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit, homini Eutychnus, bestiae Nikon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.« Als Erklärung für dieses erstaunliche Motiv tischen uns beide Autoren eine geradezu absurde Geschichte auf, indem sie davon berichten, dem späteren Kaiser Augustus wäre – gleichsam als günstiges Omen – vor der Schlacht ein Mann namens Eutychnos (»glücklich«) mit seinem Esel Nikon (»siegend«) begegnet.

Statt dieser in unseren Ohren allzu aitiologisch klingenden und darum fraglos nachträglich erfundenen Geschichte dürfte die als »simulacrum aeneum« beschriebene Gruppe unseres Erachtens sehr viel wahrscheinlicher aus einem der erbeuteten Schiffe der ptolemäischen Kriegsflotte stammen. Möglicherweise gehörte sie zum persönlichen Besitz von Marc Anton, der – wie uns berichtet wird – sein Flaggschiff im Verlauf der Schlacht zurücklassen musste. Nach üblicher Praxis könnte Octavian seinem Schutzgott Apollon die Gruppe also aus der Beute der Seeschlacht gestiftet haben⁵⁴, wobei davon auszugehen ist, dass ein von der Tafel Marc Antons oder Kleopatras VII. stammender Tafelaufsatz, im Gegensatz zu den uns im Original erhaltenen, qualitativ eher bescheidenen Bronzen, deutlich größere Abmessungen und eine höhere künstlerische Qualität besessen haben dürfte und so ein durchaus würdiges und dem Anlass angemessenes Weihgeschenk dargestellt hätte.

Die an typisches Fremdenführerlatein erinnernde Anekdote vom Esel Nikon und seinem Treiber Eutychnos mag ihren Ursprung in Actium gehabt haben, denn dort bestand am ehesten die Notwendigkeit, Octavians ungewöhnliches Weihgeschenk den Zeitgenossen gegenüber zu begründen. Wahrscheinlich erleichterte aber auch die Tatsache, dass Eutychnos / Eutychnus zu damaliger Zeit einer der beliebtesten Eigennamen unter Sklaven und Freigelassenen war, die Intention ihres Erfinders, Figurengruppe und Anekdote glaubwürdig miteinander in Verbindung zu bringen. Aus Octavians Sicht dürfte sich die der dionysischen Bilderwelt angehörende Szene aber gerade deshalb als Weihung in das Apollonheiligtum angeboten haben, weil man in dem militärischen Erfolg seinerzeit auch einen Sieg des Apollon über Dionysos zu erkennen glaubte.

EIN MÖGLICHES VORBILD: DER EHERNE ESEL DER AMBRAKIOTEN IN DELPHI

Als ein ideales Weihgeschenk an Apollon erscheint das Motiv des Octavian nicht zuletzt aber auch deshalb, weil es einen in diesem Zusammenhang bislang übersehenen Vorläufer besitzt, nämlich den in der Beschreibung Delphis von Pausanias⁵⁵ als ein offizielles Weihgeschenk der griechischen Polis Ambrakia erwähnten Bronzeesel. Das wohl aus hochklas-

⁵² Plut. Antonius 65, 5.

⁵³ Suet. Aug. 99 (Edition Rolfe 1951).

⁵⁴ Zu Bronzestatuetten aus antiken Schiffswracks vgl. Kaufmann-Heinimann 2004, 255 f.

⁵⁵ Pausanias 10, 18, 4.

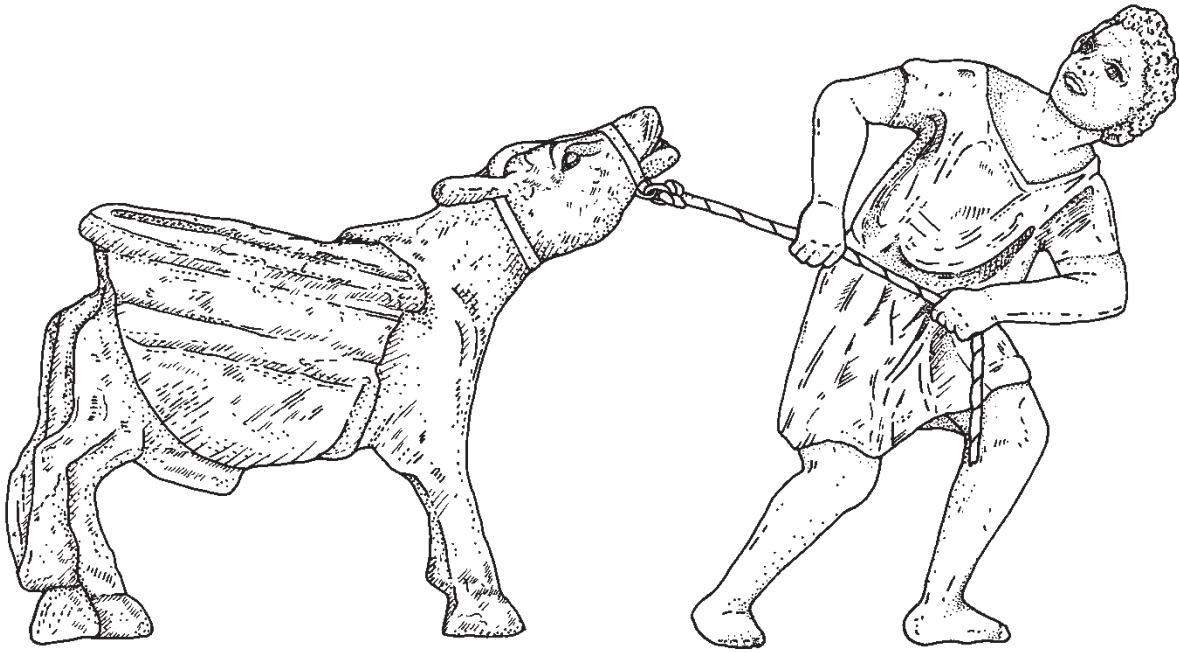


Abb. 5 Unmaßstäblicher Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für eine Bronzegruppe aus Esel und Sklave

sischer Zeit stammende Monument in Delphi⁵⁶ könnte auch den gebildeten Bewohnern der nur rund 40 km Luftlinie südwestlich von Ambrakia (heute Arta) gelegenen und ebenfalls zu Epirus gehörenden Stadt Nikopolis nicht unbekannt gewesen sein. Darum mag es aus heutiger Sicht ein politisch kluger Schachzug gewesen sein, wenn Octavian mit seinem Weihgeschenk in das Apollonheiligtum der von ihm im Jahre 28 v. Chr. selbst gegründeten Stadt Nikopolis an ein bekanntes historisches Denkmal von regionaler Bedeutung anknüpfte.

Die Parallelen zwischen den überlieferten Gründen zur Stiftung eines Weihgeschenks in Form eines Esels sind nicht zu übersehen. Im Falle des delphischen Denkmals erinnerte der Esel an ein kriegerisches Ereignis, bei dem der Versuch der Molosser, die Stadt Ambrakia bei einem nächtlichen Angriff einzunehmen, durch das Schreien eines liebestollen Esels verraten wurde. Pausanias berichtet die Geschichte wie folgt: »[...] und auch die Ambrakioten weihten einen bronzenen Esel, als sie die Molosser in einem Nachtkampf besiegt hatten. Die Molosser legten ihnen nämlich in der Nacht einen Hinterhalt. Als nun ein Esel, der damals gerade vom Feld fortgetrieben wurde, eine Eselin mit dem sonstigen Ungestüm und wildem Gebrüll verfolgte und ebenso auch der Mann, der den Esel trieb, undeutlich und wüst rief, da standen die im Hinterhalt liegenden Molosser verwirrt auf, und die Ambrakioten entdeckten, was gegen sie geplant war, griffen sie in der Nacht an und besiegten die Molosser in der Schlacht«⁵⁷.

Wir wissen nicht, wie der eherne Esel der Ambrakioten im Einzelnen aussah, ob zum Beispiel auch die Figur eines Treibers dazugehörte. Wir können aber feststellen, dass ein schreiender, ithyphallischer Esel, wie ihn die Statuette in London (Abb. 3) zeigt, durchaus konkret Bezug auf das delphische Monument genommen haben könnte. Schließlich gibt

⁵⁶ Lacroix 1992, 163 f.; Jacquemin 1999, 309 Nr.015 (»statue d'un âne. [...] V^e s.?«).

⁵⁷ Übersetzung nach Ernst Meyer (Edition: Eckstein – Bol 1989).

es, ähnlich wie bei Mosaiken und Wandmalereien, auch bei den im Umfeld luxuriöser Wohnhäuser verwendeten Bronzegegeräten späthellenistischer Zeit vielfach eindeutige Bezüge auf die Bilderwelt antiker Heiligtümer, die wir als ›sakralidyllisch‹ bezeichnen⁵⁸. Dass das Maß an Abhängigkeit der kleinformatigen Bronzegegeräte von tatsächlich existierenden Monumenten bisweilen durchaus hoch und auch heute noch fassbar sein kann, bezeugt unter anderem ein aus den Vesuvstädten stammender Kandelaber in Neapel⁵⁹. Der aus drei ineinander verdrehten Schlangenkörpern bestehende römische Leuchter scheint jedenfalls ohne das offensichtlich zugrunde liegende Vorbild des delphischen Plataërdreifusses nicht vorstellbar.

FAZIT

Nach gründlicher Abwägung aller archäologischen und literarischen Argumente und Indizien ist die hier wiedergegebene unmaßstäbliche Zeichnung (*Abb. 5*) nur als ein hypothetischer Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion einer kleinformatigen hellenistischen Bronzegruppe zu verstehen. Doch können die aufgezeigten Rückbezüge auf zwei literarisch überlieferte großplastische Weihgeschenke aus den Apollonheiligtümern von Delphi und Nikopolis zumindest ein gewisses Maß an Plausibilität und Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich beanspruchen.

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⁵⁸ Vgl. auch: Franken 1996.

⁵⁹ Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 109715; Tarbell 1909, 108 Nr. 54 Taf. 53.

Abbildungsnachweis: *Abb. 1 a. b.*: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. – *Abb. 2*: Landesmuseum Württemberg (Foto: N. Franken). – *Abb. 3*: The Trustees of the British Museum. – *Abb. 4*: Repro nach: Piccirillo – Alliaia 1998, 338 Abb. 184 (Detail). – *Abb. 5*: Zeichnung: A. Karl- sen (Archäologische Illustrationen, Berlin).

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Wilhelm Dörpfeld als Architekt

HERMANN J. KIENAST (†)

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Wilhelm Dörpfeld, ein Pionier der archäologischen Bauforschung und Mitbegründer dieser Disziplin, hat sich neben seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit sein Leben lang auch als entwerfender Architekt betätigt. Diese kaum bekannten Aktivitäten werden hier zusammenfassend dargestellt. Dörpfeld hat rund zwanzig Bauten unterschiedlicher Größe und Bedeutung entworfen. Die vier wichtigsten, die Sommerresidenz des Botschafters in Istanbul, das Gebäude des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen, sein Sommerhaus in Kephissia sowie der geplante Neubau des Instituts werden ausführlicher behandelt. Alle vier Projekte zeigen, dass Dörpfeld die praktische Entwurfsarbeit sehr ernstnahm, dass er aber als Architekt keinen eigenen Stil entwickelte. Es ging ihm wohl eher darum, dass er nicht nur als erfolgreicher Wissenschaftler, sondern auch als entwerfender Architekt wahrgenommen werden wollte.

Schlagwörter Sommerresidenz Therapia; DAI Athen; Institutsgebäude; Sommerhaus Kephissia; Neoklassizismus.

Wilhelm Dörpfeld as an architect

ABSTRACT Wilhelm Dörpfeld, a pioneer within the field of architectural research in archaeology and co-founder of this discipline, worked throughout his life as an architect in addition to his occupation as a researcher. This little-known activity is summarised here. Dörpfeld conceived around twenty buildings of varying size and significance. The four most important ones which consisted of the ambassador's summer residence in Istanbul, the building of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, his own summer house in Kephissia, and the envisaged new building of the institute are discussed in more detail. All four projects show that Dörpfeld took his practical designing work very seriously, but also that he fell short of developing his own architectural style. It was probably more important for him to be perceived not only as a successful scientist, but also as a devising architect.

Keywords summer residence Therapia; German Archaeological Institute Athens; the building of the DAI Athens; summer house Kephissia; neoclassicism.

Ο Wilhelm Dörpfeld ως αρχιτέκτονας

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Ο Wilhelm Dörpfeld, πρωτοπόρος στην αρχαιολογική αρχιτεκτονική έρευνα και συνιδρυτής του συγκεκριμένου κλάδου, παράλληλα με το επιστημονικό του έργο, σε όλη του τη ζωή εργάστηκε ως αρχιτέκτονας, σχεδιάζοντας κτίρια. Αυτή η ελάχιστα γνωστή δραστηριότητά του παρουσιάζεται εδώ συνοπτικά. Ο Dörpfeld σχεδίασε γύρω στα είκοσι κτίσματα που ποίκιλλαν σε μέγεθος και σημασία. Τα τέσσερα σημαντικότερα, δηλαδή η θερινή κατοικία του πρόσβη στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, το κτίριο του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου στην Αθήνα, το προσωπικό του εξοχικό στην Κηφισιά αλλά και το σχεδιαζόμενο νέο κτίριο του Ινστιτούτου, εξετάζονται διεξοδικότερα. Και τα τέσσερα αυτά εγχειρήματα δείχνουν ότι ο Dörpfeld αντιμετώπιζε πολύ σοβαρά την πρακτική εργασία του σχεδιασμού, αλλά ότι ως αρχιτέκτονας δεν ανέπτυξε ένα προσωπικό στυλ. Εκείνο που φαίνεται πως τον ενδιέφερε πιο πολύ ήταν να θεωρείται όχι μόνο επιτυχημένος επιστήμονας αλλά και εν ενεργεία αρχιτέκτονας.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Θερινή κατοικία στα Θεραπεία της Κωνσταντινούπολης. Γερμανικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αθηνών. Κτίριο του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου. Εξοχική κατοικία στην Κηφισιά. Νεοκλασικισμός.

Leben und Werk von Wilhelm Dörpfeld haben vielfache Würdigung erfahren; seine Vita ist ausführlich erforscht und dargestellt¹. Bekannt ist seine Herkunft und auch, dass sein Vater, der visionäre Schulmeister Friedrich W. Dörpfeld, immer gehofft hatte, sein Sohn Wilhelm würde sein Lebenswerk fortsetzen. Wilhelm entschied sich jedoch anders: Trotz seiner pädagogischen Fähigkeiten und entgegen der väterlichen Vorstellung zeigte Wilhelm schon in den Jahren seiner Gymnasialzeit ein deutliches Interesse am Baufach². Auch wenn sich sein Ruhm dann ausschließlich auf seine Erfolge als archäologischer Bauforscher gründete – Dörpfeld machte eine Ausbildung als Architekt, der seinen Wirkungskreis tatsächlich auch im Entwerfen und Ausführen von Bauten sah. Es ist dieser Aspekt, der hier näher untersucht werden soll³.

Mit nicht ganz zwanzig Jahren trat Wilhelm Dörpfeld 1873 in die Berliner Bauakademie ein und nach dreijähriger Studienzeit meldete er sich zum Bauführerexamen an. Seine heute noch vorhandenen Studienarbeiten zeigen, dass er sein Studium ernst nahm, die gestellten Aufgaben mit großem Eifer erledigte und die Zeichnungen mit aller Hingabe zu Papier brachte⁴. Er bestand das Examen mit Auszeichnung, und die Tatsache, dass ihm im Nachhinein sogar noch eine Prämie zugesprochen wurde, lässt erahnen, welche Erwartungen man an den »Baukunst-Beflissenen« Dörpfeld stellte⁵.

Der Lehrplan an der königlichen Bauakademie von Berlin war ähnlich aufgebaut wie an heutigen Hochschulen: ein Grundstudium, das Fachwissen vermitteln und die Voraussetzungen schaffen sollte für das anschließende Vertiefungsstudium, in dem dann komplexere Aufgaben gestellt wurden. Das Studium allerdings war breiter angelegt als heute und umfasste alle Aspekte des Bauwesens⁶. Die eigentliche Entwurfsarbeit beschränkte sich dagegen auf einfachere Projekte und entsprechend schematische Lösungen – beides unverkennbar dem Zeitgeist verpflichtet. Die Entwurfsthemen sind Vorboten der kommenden Gründerzeit und die von Dörpfeld vorgelegten Studienarbeiten sind geprägt von der eklektizistischen Manier der überkommenen Stilarchitektur (*Abb. 1 a. b.*).

Dass Dörpfelds Werdegang dann doch eine andere Richtung nahm, ist bekannt: Friedrich Adler, Dozent für Baugeschichte an der Akademie und zusammen mit Ernst Curtius Ausgräber von Olympia, war auf Dörpfeld aufmerksam geworden, weil der als Einziger seiner Klasse in der Lage war, den Grundriss der Propyläen des Mnesikles richtig

¹ s. die Biographien von P. Goessler 1951 und U. Eckhardt 1988. Die zahlreichen Würdigungen von Dörpfelds Werk zusammengefasst bei Eckhardt 1988, 315. Die Unterlagen und Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken von W. Dörpfeld sind heute auf drei Archive verteilt: Stadtarchiv Wuppertal, DAI Berlin und DAI Athen.

² Eckhardt 1988, 304 »[...] besaß eine ausgeprägte pädagogische Begabung«. Goessler 1951, 19 »längst waren ja auch seine Nebenbeschäftigungen der Gymnasialzeit darauf eingestellt, dass er das Baufach wählte«; Eckhardt 1988, 288 »der sonntägliche Zeichenunterricht [...] und die privaten Mathematikstunden sprechen dafür, dass sich Wilhelm Dörpfeld schon früh für das Studium des Baufaches entschieden hatte«.

³ Der vorliegende Aufsatz ist die aktualisierte und erweiterte Fassung eines Beitrages, den ich 1990 für die geplante Gedenkschrift zum 50. Jahrestag von Dörpfelds Tod erarbeitet hatte. Die Publikation, in der die verschiedenen Aspekte von Leben und Werk Dörpfelds in einzelnen Beiträgen erfasst und dargestellt werden sollten, ist leider nicht zustande gekommen. Klaus Herrmann (†), der die Gedenkschrift heraus-

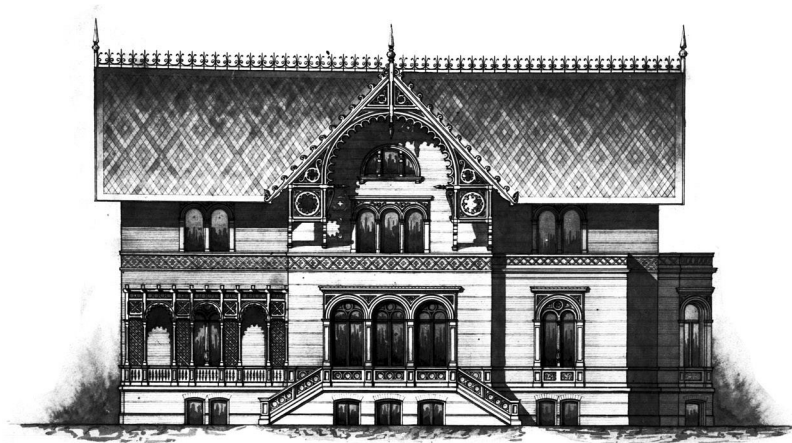
geben sollte und dazu auch schwer zugängliche Unterlagen zusammengetragen hat, habe ich manchen Hinweis zu verdanken.

⁴ Eckhardt 1988, 289. Im Archiv des DAI Berlin ist eine Mappe mit 32 Studienarbeiten Dörpfelds aufbewahrt, die vom März 1874 bis Mai 1876 datiert sind. s. dazu auch Hoepfner – Schwandner 1979, Nr. 683. 684. 730 und 731.

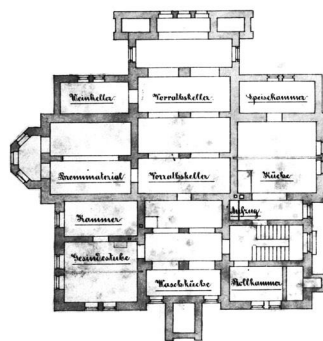
⁵ Laut Urkunde vom 21.07.1877 (Wuppertal) wurde ihm eine Prämie von »Neunhundert Mark zum Zwecke einer Kunstreise« zuerkannt, die er aber erst 1881 antreten konnte; s. Eckhardt 1988, 289. Nach Goessler 1951, 20 war es das »einzige Stipendium, das er genoss – er hat sich nie um eines bewerben wollen [...]«.

⁶ Goessler 1951, 20. Auf dem Zeugnis vom 09.12.1876 (Wuppertal) sind neben Zeichnungen in verschiedenen Disziplinen folgende Fächer ausgewiesen: Reine Mathematik, Angewandte Mathematik, Feldmess- und Nivellierkunst, Physik und Chemie, Oryktognosia und Geognosie, Konstruktionen der Landbaukunst, Formenlehre, Einrichtung von Gebäuden, Wasserbau, Wege- und Eisenbahnbau sowie Maschinenbau.

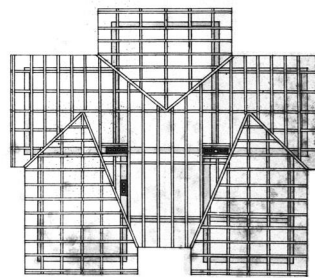
Entwurf zu einer Villa.



Ansicht vom Garten.



Kellergeschoss.

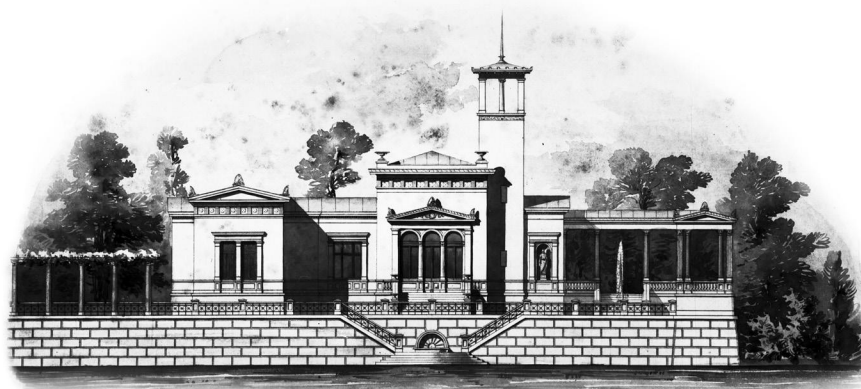


Dachgeschoss.



W. Dörfeld für Berlin, 20. 2. 78.
H. Schaper
1. 24. 78.

a



RESTAURATION AM SEE.

W. Dörfeld, Berlin 1878.



H. Schaper
1. 24. 78.

b

Abb. 1 Studienarbeiten: a. Entwurf zu einer Villa. – b. Restauration am See

zu zeichnen⁷. Dörpfeld hat die Prüfung als Bester bestanden und wurde in das Privatbüro Adlers aufgenommen, wo er neben anderem Planaufnahmen von dessen Ausgrabungen umzeichnete. 1877 wurde er Mitarbeiter von Richard Bohn, der mittlerweile die technische Leitung in Olympia übernommen hatte. Als Bohn nach Pergamon versetzt wurde, übernahm schließlich Dörpfeld dieses Amt und entfernte sich damit endgültig von der praktischen Tätigkeit eines entwerfenden und ausführenden Architekten. Er wandte sich der archäologischen Bauforschung zu und die schnellen Erfolge dort verhinderten sogar einen ordentlichen Abschluss seines Studiums. Das von Dörpfeld abgelegte Examen hatte einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt auf dem technischen Bereich und beschränkte sich auf diejenigen Kenntnisse, »welche von einem Bauführer verlangt werden«; ein Baumeisterexamen hat er jedoch nie absolviert⁸.

Trotz dieser Weichenstellung hat sich Dörpfeld immer als Architekt verstanden. Zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn hat er sogar mehrfach den Gedanken erwogen, in Athen ein eigenes Büro zu betreiben⁹, und auch nach dem Zeitpunkt, da sein weiterer Lebensweg durch eine entsprechende Anstellung am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut gesichert war, ist er dem Entwerfen und Bauen immer zugetan geblieben. Er hat jede Gelegenheit zu eigener Entwurfstätigkeit genutzt, kein Angebot ausgeschlagen und sich wohl auch immer wieder als Architekt angedient.

Dörpfeld hat zeit seines Lebens knapp zwanzig Bauten entworfen (s. Anhang), die Mehrzahl davon kleine, anspruchslose Gebäude, vier jedoch von größerer Bedeutung, die ausführlicher behandelt werden sollen. Eine eigene Formensprache, die seine Bauten charakterisieren würde, hat Dörpfeld nicht entwickelt – von einem Œuvre kann deshalb weder nach Anzahl noch nach Stil seiner Bauten gesprochen werden. Und die Entwürfe selbst lassen unschwer erkennen, dass da kein versierter Architekt am Werke war. Die folgenden Ausführungen können deshalb nur eine beschreibende Darstellung sein, ohne jedoch den Anspruch auf eine architekturgeschichtliche Würdigung zu erfüllen.

Die Liste der eigenständigen Arbeiten Dörpfelds wird angeführt von einer Fabrik in Hammerstein bei Lennep. Pläne dieses Bauwerks sind nicht mehr vorhanden und Neuaufnahmen nicht mehr möglich, da das Gebiet heute von der Wuppertalsperre überflutet ist¹⁰. Wir wissen nur aus Dörpfelds eigenen Notizen, dass er 1875 für seine beiden »Oheime Albert und Gustav Keller« eine Wollwäscherei und -färberei nebst Wohnung des Direktors entworfen hat¹¹. Dörpfeld, damals 21 Jahre alt, hatte sein Praktikum als »Bau-eleve« beim Barmer Stadtbauamt und bei der »Bergisch-Märkischen Industrie-Gesellschaft« absolviert und war während des Militärdienstes Bauleiter bei den Schießständen in der Hasenheide¹². Er war aber letztlich noch Student und es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass diesem Erstlingswerk besondere Bedeutung zukommt.

⁷ Goessler 1951, 22; Eckhardt 1988, 290.

⁸ Im Zeugnis vom 09.12.1876 (s. Anm. 6) wird bescheinigt, dass er »die Prüfung als Bauführer mit Auszeichnung bestanden hat«. Nach Eckhardt 1988, 293 hatte sich Dörpfeld auch nach seinem ersten Aufenthalt in Olympia noch nicht entschlossen, »die Altertumswissenschaft zu seinem Beruf zu machen« und plante »nach seiner Rückkehr nach Berlin die Ablegung des Baumeisterexamens«, in der Hoffnung, dass ihm der Architektenberuf die »notwendige Sicherheit« zur Gründung einer Familie böte. Goessler 1951, 37 betont, dass er als Bauführer »ohne jede direkte Aussicht auf eine feste Anstellung« war.

⁹ In Briefen an F. Adler vom 16.04. und 21.04.1881 (DAI Berlin); hervorgehoben werden darin die günstige

Entwicklung beim privaten Baumarkt in Athen und der Erfolg Ernst Zillers.

¹⁰ In einem Brief vom 24.04.1989 (DAI Athen) teilt Dr. U. Eckhardt vom Stadtarchiv in Wuppertal-Barmen mit, dass er vergeblich nach Unterlagen zu dieser Fabrik im Stadtarchiv von Remscheid gesucht habe.

¹¹ Eckhardt 1988, 289; Goessler 1951, 21 f. berichtet darüber hinaus, dass »in der Familie beschlossen« wurde, dass er »nach dem Studium in diese Fabrik eintrete«.

¹² Eckhardt 1988, 288; Lebenslauf S. 6: »zum Bau der Schießstände in der Hasenheide abkommandiert«. Dörpfeld hat »während des großen Krieges in Friedenau 1916« die Daten seines Lebens zusammenge-

Ganz anders verhält es sich mit seinem ersten Großauftrag, der ihm 1883 angetragen wurde: Die Überarbeitung der Planung einer Sommerresidenz des deutschen Botschafters in Therapia am Bosphorus. Im Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung heißt es dazu: »Aufgabe war, geräumige Sommerwohnungen für den Botschafter, für den ersten Botschaftssekretär und Geschäftsräume für die Kanzlei nebst einigen kleinen Wohnungen für unverheiratete Beamte, sowie endlich die nötigen Räume für die Wirtschaft und zur Unterbringung der Dienerschaft zu erstellen«¹³. Aus ökonomischen Gründen, aber auch aus Respekt vor der einheimischen Bautradition und nicht zuletzt wegen der Erdbebensicherheit »galt der Grundsatz, dass sämtliche Baulichkeiten [...] in Holzfachwerk hergestellt werden sollten«¹⁴. Die Anlage entstand von 1885 bis 1887; sie besteht heute noch in ihrer Gesamtheit und hat lange Jahre als Sommerresidenz des deutschen Botschafters in der Türkei gedient¹⁵.

Die Sommerresidenz ist zweifelsohne das anspruchsvollste Bauvorhaben, das Dörpfeld betreut und wohl das Einzige, um das er sich nicht beworben hat. Dörpfeld war seit Februar 1882 am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Athen angestellt, hatte sich aber vor allem in Olympia aufgehalten und war mit seinen dreißig Jahren alles andere als ein erfahrener Entwurfsarchitekt. Dass er dennoch mit einer solchen Aufgabe betraut wurde, wirft ein Licht auf sein Auftreten und den Eindruck, den er nach außen erweckte. Das Projekt war vom Auswärtigen Amt in Auftrag gegeben worden, war aber wegen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der Berliner Baubehörde und dem Istanbuler Unternehmer ins Stocken geraten, bis schließlich der Botschafter an der Hohen Pforte Joseph Maria von Radowitz in der Hoffnung auf eine Lösung an Dörpfeld herantrat¹⁶. Von Radowitz hatte Dörpfeld in Athen kennengelernt und hatte offenbar uneingeschränktes Vertrauen zu ihm und in seine Fähigkeiten als Architekt¹⁷. Auf sein Gesuch hin wurde Dörpfeld vom Auswärtigen Amt gebeten, im September 1883 nach Istanbul zu reisen, um »als Sachverständiger das Bauprojekt in seinen technischen Einzelheiten zu prüfen«¹⁸. Welchen Anteil Dörpfeld am Entwurf der letztlich entstandenen Anlage hat, ist allerdings nur mit Einschränkung zu entscheiden. Er selbst schreibt von einem Gutachten und von Skizzen¹⁹, während im Centralblatt berichtet wird, dass er »im Anschluss an die Vorschläge [...] einen Plan ausgearbeitet« habe²⁰.

Vor Ort hat sich Dörpfeld zwei Wochen mit dem eingereichten Entwurf beschäftigt. Seinem Tagebuch ist zu entnehmen, dass er Istanbul danach verlassen hat und zusammen mit dem Botschafter nach Troja gereist ist²¹. Das Gutachten, das er in der kurzen Zeit erarbeitet

stellt, die hier als »Lebenslauf« zitiert werden. Die Daten sind stichwortartig in Handschrift niedergeschrieben, wurden aber später abgetippt und bis ins Jahr 1939 weitergeführt. Kopien dieser Lebensläufe befinden sich im Archiv des DAI Athen.

¹³ Wegner 1889, 35.

¹⁴ Wegner 1889, 36.

¹⁵ Die Residenz fand als Beispiel für eine mustergültige Anlage sogar Eingang in das Handbuch der Architektur im Kapitel »Gebäude für Ministerien, Botschaften und Gesandtschaften«. Die Anlage steht heute unter Denkmalschutz und wird seit einigen Jahren als »Haus des deutsch-türkischen Dialogs« genutzt. Im Zuge der vorausgehenden Totalrestaurierung entstand eine ausführliche Publikation des gesamten Komplexes. s. Bachmann 2002 und Bachmann 2003.

¹⁶ Zur Vorgeschichte und zu weiteren Einzelheiten der Planung s. Bachmann 2002, 543–546. Probleme traten auf, weil es im Ministerium ein »Unbehagen« gab, »sich den ortsansässigen Baufachleuten anzuvertrauen« s. Bachmann 2002, 545.

¹⁷ Goessler 1951. Interessant ist, dass in den Erinnerungen von Radowitz, s. Holborn 1925, 226, zwar die Schwierigkeiten rund um Planung und Ausführung der Sommerresidenz geschildert werden, dass Dörpfeld aber mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird.

¹⁸ Brief des Auswärtigen Amtes vom 23.08.1883 an die Zentralkommission mit Gesuch um Freistellung Dörpfelds (Archiv DAI Berlin).

¹⁹ Im Lebenslauf S. 11 (DAI Athen) unter September 1883 vermerkt er »Skizzen zur Sommerwohnung in Therapia« und im Brief an Adler vom 29.11.1883 (DAI Berlin) ein »Gutachten«. Eckhardt 1988, 296 »und entwarf Pläne für die Sommerwohnung des deutschen Botschafters am Bosphorus«.

²⁰ Wegner 1889, 35; diese Mitteilung ist von Gewicht, weil Wegner letztlich als der für die Bauausführung zuständige Architekt firmierte.

²¹ Lebenslauf S. 11 (DAI Athen); in seinem Bericht (Bachmann 2002, 547) ist der Zeitraum 07.–23.09.1883 genannt.

hat, ist jedoch in jeder Hinsicht bemerkenswert. Es zeigt, dass er sich intensiv mit dem Projekt auseinandergesetzt und mit scharfem Blick die Schwachstellen erkannt hat, es zeigt vor allem auch, dass er in der Lage war, wichtige Korrekturen und Verbesserungen – nicht nur in bautechnischen Details – anzubringen²². Sein Gutachten fiel so überzeugend aus, dass von Radowitz alles daran setzte, sich der weiteren Mitarbeit Dörpfelds zu versichern. Nur so ist zu erklären, dass er die gesamten Unterlagen zur weiteren Ausarbeitung nach Athen schickte. Offensichtlich konnte sich Dörpfeld aber nicht zu einem solchen Engagement entschließen, vielleicht fühlte er sich auch überfordert; die endgültige Fertigstellung der Pläne hat er jedenfalls weitgehend Karl Siebold überlassen²³.

Die gesamte Anlage besteht aus drei Gebäuden, sowie drei Nebenbauten für Küche, Stallungen und Bootshaus, die ohne zwingende Ordnung auf dem großzügigen Grundstück verteilt sind (*Abb. 2 a*). Die Botschafterresidenz, die als einzige repräsentativen Charakter hat und von größerem Interesse ist, ist klar gegliedert in einen Mitteltrakt mit Entree und Treppenhaus, an den sich nahezu symmetrisch die Gesellschaftsräume anschließen. Das Bauwerk hat wenig gemein mit der traditionellen osmanischen Holzarchitektur, es ist weit mehr geprägt von einer Formensprache, die sich Dörpfeld während seiner Studienzeit angeeignet hatte. Auch wenn nicht klar ist, welche Eingriffe er in den ursprünglichen Entwurf vornahm, sind die Bezüge zu seinen alten Übungsblättern nicht zu übersehen. Der Grundriss des Hauptgebäudes und noch mehr die Fassadengestaltung mit Bogengiebel über drei Rundbögen sind nichts anderes als eine Erweiterung zu seinem »Entwurf zu einer Villa«, der nur ein wenig großzügiger gestaltet und mit Details seiner »Restauration am See« angereichert werden musste, um den Ansprüchen einer Residenz gerecht zu werden (*Abb. 2 b*). Friedrich Adler, mittlerweile sein Schwiegervater, war offensichtlich sehr angetan von dem Entwurf²⁴, und in der Tat ist das Grundrisskonzept durchaus überzeugend, während das Äußere des Baues eher verspielt und bieder wirkt und mit seinem »viktorianischen Kolonialstil« in der Umgebung am Bosphorus als Fremdkörper empfunden wird²⁵.

Im April 1885 wurde Dörpfeld als 2. Sekretar des Instituts fest angestellt. Das Kaiserliche Institut war mittlerweile zehn Jahre alt, hatte die Anfangsschwierigkeiten hinter sich und hatte sich zu einer zukunftssträchtigen Forschungsstätte entwickelt. Die Unterbringung in einer angemieteten Wohnung erwies sich immer mehr als untragbares Provisorium; Abhilfe war dringend geboten²⁶. In der Hoffnung, dass der griechische Staat ein entsprechendes Grundstück zur Verfügung stellen werde, wurde Dörpfeld beauftragt, Pläne und Vorschläge für ein Institutsgebäude auszuarbeiten²⁷. Da die Reichsregierung aber gegen

²² Der Wortlaut des Gutachtens ist publiziert von Bachmann 2002, 547–549. Dörpfeld vermerkt in einem Brief an Adler am 29.11.1883 (DAI Berlin) Verhandlungen mit Cingria (Architekt der *Constantinople Land and Building Company*, der die Pläne für die Sommerresidenz erarbeitet hatte), »der böse war, weil ich seine Pläne nicht sehr gut fand«.

²³ Dörpfeld hatte Siebold bereits während seiner Studienjahre in Berlin und später dann als Mitarbeiter im Büro von Adler kennengelernt. In einem Brief an Adler vom 21.03.1884 (DAI Berlin) bittet Dörpfeld seinen Schwiegervater: »Ich habe H. v. Radowitz nichts davon geschrieben, dass mir Siebold hilft; erwähne Du das bitte auch nicht.« Andererseits gesteht er in einem Schreiben an das Auswärtige Amt, dass er »einen befreundeten jungen Architekten gewonnen« [...] habe, »der mir bei der weiteren Ausarbeitung helfen wird.« Bachmann 2002, 556.

²⁴ In einem Brief vom 21.03.1884 (DAI Berlin) zensiert F. Adler den Entwurf als »sehr gut«.

²⁵ Bachmann 2002, 566 vermutet, dass die meisten Dekorationselemente der Fassade auf den Architekten Cingria (Anm. 22) zurückgehen. Wegner 1889, 37 beschreibt etwas euphemistisch »die an die deutsche Heimat erinnernden Giebel und Dächer«, die mit Schmuckformen umkleidet seien, »welche Anklänge an die ottomanische Kunstweise zeigen«.

²⁶ Die Wohnung lag in der Odos Akademias 31 im Häuserblock, der von der Hippokratous im Osten und der Trikoupis im Westen begrenzt wird. s. Goessler 1951, 50; Jantzen 1986, 15 und 86; zuletzt Hellner 2016, 13 und Bilis 2018, 25 Abb. 29.

²⁷ U. Jantzen 1986, 79. Der Gedanke, dass der griechische Staat ein Grundstück zur Verfügung stellen werde, entsprach durchaus den Gepflogenheiten: Die großen Ausgrabungen in Olympia und Del-

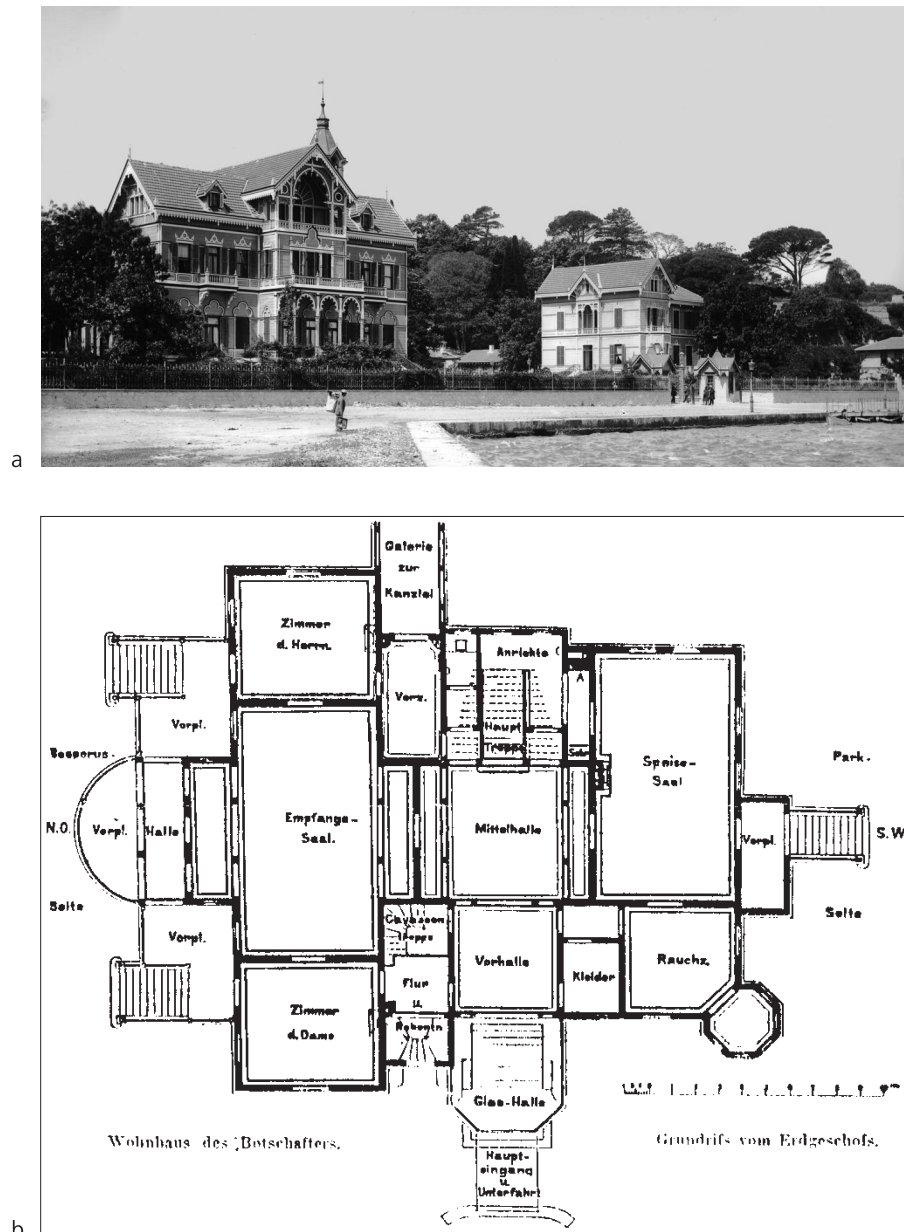


Abb. 2 Sommerresidenz in Therapia: a. Das Botschafterhaus vom Bosphorus gesehen (Foto von 1893). – b. Grundriss

einen Immobilienbesitz in Athen Bedenken äußerte und allen solchen Planungen eine Absage erteilte, hat Heinrich Schliemann – seit zwei Jahren Mitglied des Instituts und mit dessen Raumproblemen bestens vertraut – 1887 angeboten, auf einem seiner Grundstücke ein Haus zu errichten und es gegen Miete dem Institut zu überlassen²⁸. Der Vorschlag wurde

phi erregten weltweit Aufsehen und dem griechischen Staat war es ein Anliegen, das Wirken der ausländischen Archäologen zu fördern. Die ersten Archäologischen Institute stehen deshalb durchweg auf Grundstücken, die vom griechischen Staat bereitgestellt wurden: Das gilt für die Amerikanische und Britische Schule und ebenso für das Österreichische Institut. Einzig das Französische Institut

steht auf einem Grund, der durch Tausch erworben wurde.

²⁸ Goessler 1951, 78; Jantzen 1986, 80. Hellner 2016, 13 weist darauf hin, dass der Mietvertrag zunächst auf 25 Jahre befristet war. Das Grundstück war ursprünglich Teil des Anwesens von Prokesch v. Osten, bis es in den Besitz Schliemanns gelangte. s. Bilis 2018, 26.

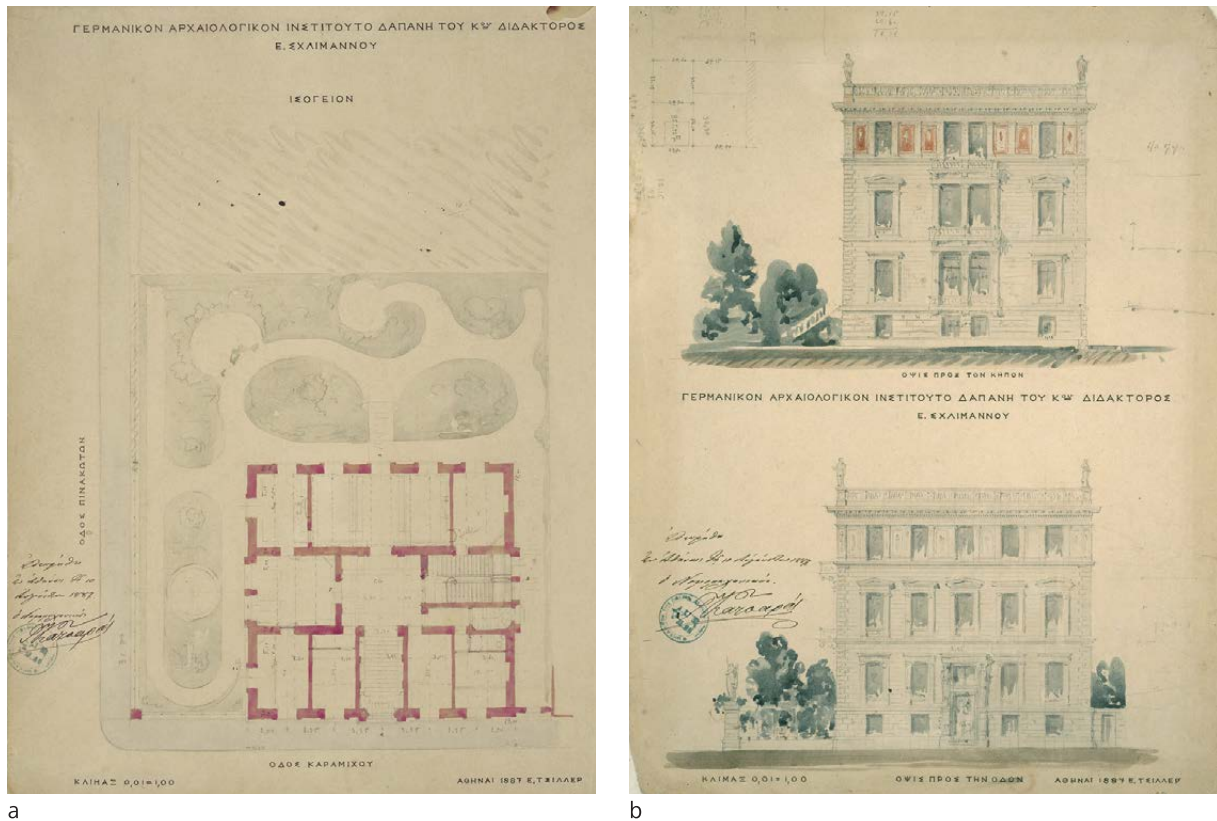


Abb. 3 Pläne des Institutsgebäudes nach Ziller: a. Grundriss. – b. Ansichten der Straßen- und Gartenseite

in der Zentrale positiv aufgenommen und Schliemann beauftragte umgehend seinen Hausarchitekten Ernst Ziller mit der Ausarbeitung eines entsprechenden Entwurfs (Abb. 3 a. b)²⁹.

Der hier geschilderte Ablauf der Planungen für die Errichtung eines Institutsgebäudes zeigt, dass der erste Schritt auf eine Initiative aus der Berliner Zentrale zurückgeht und Ziller erst im zweiten Anlauf tätig wurde. Welchen Anteil Dörpfeld an dem letztendlich entstandenen Institutsgebäude hat, ist jedoch schwer zu beurteilen. Bekannt ist, dass Ziller den Entwurf Dörpfelds im Sinne seines Auftraggebers überarbeitet, dass andererseits aber auch Dörpfeld am Ziller'schen Grundriss noch einige Veränderungen vorgenommen hat³⁰. Wie weit sich Ziller an die Vorgaben Dörpfelds gehalten hat und ob dessen Eingriffe in Zillers Plan wesentliche Verbesserungen brachten oder nur kosmetische Korrekturen betrafen, lässt sich nicht mehr klären. Die von Dörpfeld ausgearbeiteten Pläne sind verschollen und auf denen von Ziller lassen sich keine Änderungen ablesen³¹. Der Vorgang zeigt aber, dass es Dörpfeld ein Anliegen war, dem Neubau seinen Stempel aufzudrücken. Dörpfeld kon-

²⁹ Ernst Ziller (1837–1923), Sohn eines Baumeisters aus Radebeul, gilt als der erfolgreichste Architekt in Athen, dessen Baustil die Architektur Griechenlands bis heute beeinflusst (s. Φιλίππιδης 1984, 125 und Kienast 2004, 114). Das Stadtpalais von H. Schliemann (zuletzt Kienast 2012 mit weiterführender Literatur) gilt uneingeschränkt als eines seiner Hauptwerke. Ein vollständiger Katalog aller von Ziller geplanten Bauten ist nach wie vor nicht zusammengestellt, mit Παπαστάμος 1973 und vor allem mit Κασμάτη 2010 ist aber ein guter Einblick in sein Schaffen gegeben. Von Interesse ist, dass Ziller ebenfalls archäologisch tätig war und vor allem in Athen wichtige topographi-

sche Studien erarbeitet hat. Aus Briefen wissen wir, dass Dörpfeld Ziller bewundert und wegen seines Erfolges auch beneidet hat (vgl. Anm. 9).

³⁰ Die Zusammenhänge ausführlich dargestellt bei Jantzen 1986, 80 (vgl. auch Anm. 36). Aus dem Zitat von Kennell 2010, 283 »Dörpfeld requested a copy of Ziller's groundplan so he could propose alterations« geht hervor, dass Zillers Entwurf offenbar ebenfalls der Zentralkommission vorgelegt worden war.

³¹ Vom Stammgebäude des DAI-Athen gibt es drei von Ziller signierte Pläne, die heute in der Nationalbibliothek von Athen aufbewahrt sind (Grundriss von Erdgeschoss mit Garten, Grundrisse vom 1. und

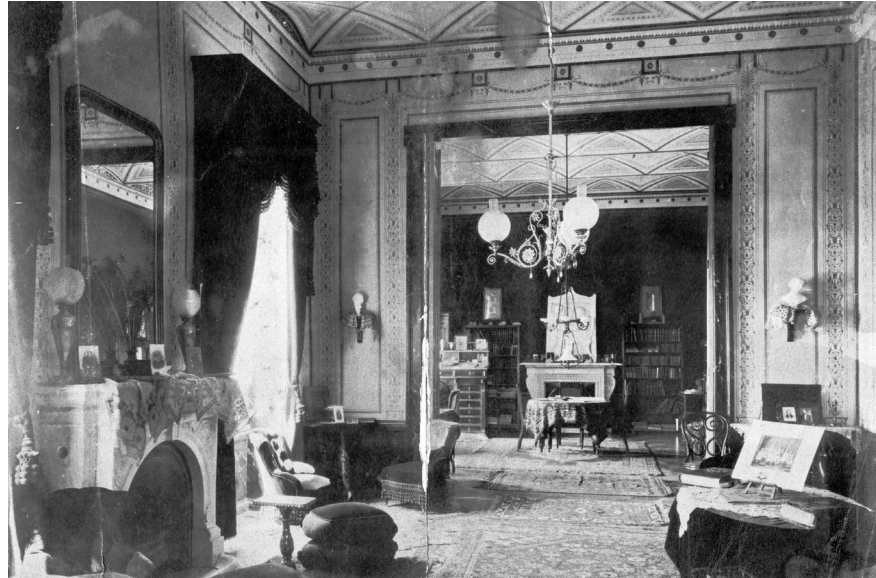


Abb. 4 Wohnung des Ersten Sekretars: Blick vom Wohnraum in das abtrennbare Arbeitszimmer

zediert zwar, dass die Fassadengestaltung ausschließlich auf Ziller zurückgeht³², auf das Grundrisskonzept erhebt er jedoch selbst Anspruch³³.

Das Gebäude ist am Westrand des Grundstücks entlang der Karamichou-Straße³⁴ angeordnet, so dass nach Osten und vor allem nach Süden ein möglichst großer Garten übrigblieb. Ungeachtet der reichen und noblen Ausstattung, sowohl außen als auch innen, ist der Bau gekennzeichnet von einem klar gegliederten Grundriss. Hinter dem in der Mittelachse angeordneten Eingang führt eine breite Treppe, die wegen ihrer bemerkenswerten Höhe als wenig einladend empfunden wird, zum Hochparterre³⁵. Dort liegen die eigentlichen Institutsräume, in der Mitte ein Bibliotheksaal und nach beiden Seiten symmetrisch angeordnete Arbeitszimmer. Durch ein seitliches Treppenhaus sind dann die darüber liegenden Wohnungen für den Ersten und Zweiten Sekretar erschlossen. Beide Wohnungen nehmen jeweils ein ganzes Geschoss ein; sie haben kleine Balkone nach Westen, sind äußerst großzügig konzipiert und unterscheiden sich nur in der Ausstattung: Die Wohnung des Ersten Sekretars hat eine elegante Wanddekoration im pompejanischen Stil sowie bemalte Decken (Abb. 4), die darüber liegende des Zweiten Sekretars ist dagegen schlichter gestaltet;

2. Obergeschoss, Ansichten der Fassaden, alle im Maßstab 1 : 100). s. Παπαστάμος 1973, 71 Abb. 47. 48; Κασσιμάτη 2010, 176 mit Abb. 13, Hellner 2016, 12–15 Abb. 1–4 und Sporn 2018, 48. Ziller vermerkt auf allen seinen Plänen korrekt, wer der Bauträger des Gebäudes ist: ΔΑΠΙΑΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΟΣ Ε. ΣΧΑΙΜΑΝΝΟΥ. Daneben gibt es eine Blaupause des Grundrisses M 1 : 50 im Archiv des Instituts (Sporn 2018, 48 Abb. 56). Die Tatsache, dass diese Blaupause nicht signiert ist, belegt m. E., dass sie nicht als Entwurf von Dörpfeld gewertet werden kann; sie ist offenbar eine für die Verwendung beim Bau erstellte Umzeichnung des Ziller'schen Planes.

³² Jantzen 1986, 80.

³³ Jantzen 1986, 80: »desjenigen Planes [...] welchen ich selbst angefertigt habe, und welcher der Ausführung zu Grunde gelegt wird.« Brief vom 11.09.1887 (DAI Berlin) und im Lebenslauf S. 14 (DAI Athen): »nach meinen Plänen«. Goessler 1951, 86: »Der Bau ging zurück auf Dörpfelds Entwurf, den dann Ziller, im

Material aus dem Vollen schöpfend, ausgeführt hat.«

³⁴ Der ursprüngliche Name der Straße war Karamichou; die Umbenennung in Pheidou erfolgte erst später und offenbar nicht zufällig: Wegen der Ausgrabungen in Olympia, deren Erfolge dem Institut angerechnet wurden, wurde die Straße nach dem berühmten Bildhauer umbenannt. s. Bilis 2017, 12 und Sporn 2018, 8.

³⁵ Dörpfeld schreibt selbst: »Tritt man durch die Haustür ins Haus ein, so hat man noch eine größere Anzahl Stufen einer Marmortreppe zu ersteigen [...]«. Drei bis fünf solcher Stufen sind für Athener Stadthäuser normal, im Institutsgebäude sind es dagegen 16 mit einer Gesamthöhe von über drei Metern. Geschuldet ist diese Sonderlösung zum einen dem Nachbargebäude, von dem die Oberkante des Erdgeschosses übernommen wurde und zum andern dem Gelände, das zum Institut hin leicht abfällt. Bereits die Residenz von Prokesch v. Osten hat 15 allerdings sehr flache Stufen.

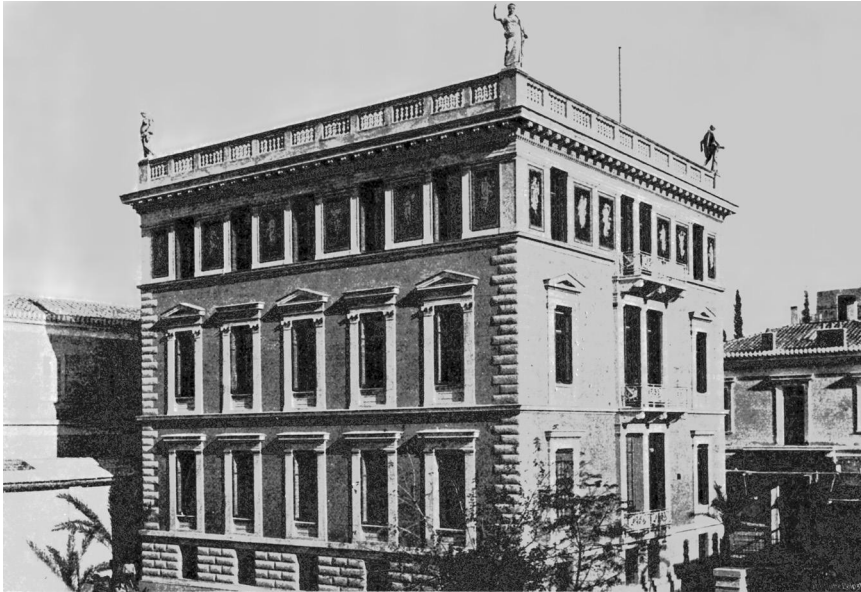


Abb. 5 Das Institutsgebäude von Südosten (Zustand vor Errichtung der Bibliothek; Aufnahme W. Dörpfeld)

die Wände sind nicht bemalt, die Decken nur linear dekoriert. Beide Wohnungen erfüllen aber allein aufgrund ihrer Größe von gut 200 m² jeglichen repräsentativen Anspruch³⁶. Für Dörpfeld war es sicher eine Genugtuung, als nunmehr 1. Sekretar im September 1887 die Bauarbeiten in Gang zu setzen und ein Jahr später dann den Bau beziehen zu können³⁷.

Dem Typus nach ist das Institutsgebäude ein nobles Stadthaus, wie es zu dieser Zeit in Athen mehrfach gebaut und vor allem von Ziller in verschiedenen Varianten entworfen wurde³⁸. Mit seiner reichen und etwas überladenen Fassade gehört es aber zweifelsohne zu den herausragenden Beispielen neoklassizistischer Architektur im Zentrum von Athen³⁹. Welche Vorstellungen Dörpfeld für die Fassade entwickelt hatte, ist unbekannt, der entstandene Bau ist jedenfalls charakteristisch für die Formensprache Zillers: Ein Sockel aus Marmorblöcken und Rustikaquaden, in den beiden Hauptgeschossen angedeutetes Quadermauerwerk, mit Putzquaden gefasste Gebäudeecken und reich gestaltete Fensterrahmungen; darüber dann schlichte Fensteröffnungen mit bemalten Feldern dazwischen und schließlich ein mächtiges Gesims, eine mit Balustern gerahmte Terrasse und Terrakottafiguren an den vier Gebäudeecken⁴⁰. Von der Innenausstattung sind hervorzuheben die

³⁶ Nach Jantzen 1986, 79 gab es einen Entschluss der Zentralkommission »solide aber ohne Luxus nach dem von Dr. Dörpfeld angefertigten Grundriss mit Erdgeschoss für Bibliothek bzw. Sitzungssaal und Stipendiatenzimmern, 1. und 2. Stock als Privatwohnungen zu bauen«. Die Wandmalereien wurden bei der ersten Renovierung nach dem Krieg übermalt; bei der umfassenden Erneuerung nach dem Erdbeben von 1981 wurden der originale Putz und damit auch die Bemalung vollständig entfernt. Erhalten sind nur mehr die Deckenmalereien.

³⁷ Laut Lebenslauf S. 14 (DAI Athen) bezog Dörpfeld nach seiner Ernennung zunächst die bis dato von Ulrich Köhler und Eugen Petersen genutzte Dienstwohnung in der Akademie-Straße.

³⁸ Μπίρης 1987, 41 f. mit Abb. 36. In seinem Kommentar zum Ziller'schen Grundriss schreibt Dörpfeld,

dass die von Ziller vorgenommenen Änderungen »durch den Umstand vorgeschrieben (waren), dass Herr Schliemann die Möglichkeit haben muss, das Haus eventuell auch in anderer Weise an einzelne Familien zu vermieten.«

³⁹ Einen Klassizismus, wie er aus der europäischen Architekturgeschichte bekannt ist, gibt es in Griechenland nicht, wohl aber eine historisierende Nachahmung, die von den Griechen selbst als »Neoklassizismus« bezeichnet wird. Für Φιλίππιδης 1984, 125 ist Ziller der herausragende Repräsentant des »späten Neoklassizismus«.

⁴⁰ Die Darstellung der Musen wurde bei den ersten Renovierungsarbeiten übermalt; ebenso wurden die Terrakottafiguren auf der Terrasse vor dem Krieg aus Sicherheitsgründen entfernt. Vgl. dazu hier die Abb. 4 sowie Sporn 2018, 46 Abb. 53.

Preußischen Kappen, mit denen die Decken überspannt sind, die freitragende Marmortreppe und das kunstvolle Geländer aus Gusseisen⁴¹. Der gesamte Bau trägt unverkennbar die Handschrift Zillers, die Denksprüche über Fenstern und Türen verweisen dagegen auf den Bauherrn Schliemann⁴².

Zu betonen ist, dass das Gebäude – ehemals noch freistehend und in seiner wirklichen Größe erfahrbar – den Rahmen der umgebenden Bauten spürbar sprengte und prätentios und mächtig wirkte (*Abb. 5*)⁴³. Geschuldet ist das vor allem der Proportion des Baukörpers: Auf einem nahezu quadratischen Grundriss von 18 × 19 m erheben sich drei Geschosse, deren Höhe durch den Sockel und die bekrönende Attika auf insgesamt 18 m gesteigert wird; das Gebäude hat somit fast exakt die Form eines Würfels⁴⁴.

Das Institutsgebäude erfüllte in dieser ursprünglichen Form⁴⁵ nur für kurze Zeit seinen Zweck. Schon bald wurde offenbar, dass die Stellflächen in der Bibliothek nicht reichten, dass mehr Diensträume und auch mehr Platz für Stipendiaten geschaffen werden mussten. Realisierbar waren solche Wünsche allerdings erst nach dem Tod von Heinrich Schliemann. Das Gebäude konnte nun von den Erben erworben werden und wurde am 30.10.1899 Eigentum des Instituts⁴⁶. Unmittelbar danach erarbeitete Dörpfeld die Pläne für eine Erweiterung der Bibliothek, die zunächst nur einen Handapparat für die Ausgräber bereithalten sollte, inzwischen aber der zentrale Bereich des Forschungsinstituts geworden war.

Dörpfeld hat den neuen Bibliothekssaal in der Symmetrieachse des Kernbaus angefügt und dafür den nach Süden vorgelagerten Garten geopfert⁴⁷. Die gesamte zur Verfügung stehende Grundstückslänge wurde genutzt, so konsequent, dass er sogar auf eine Rückwand verzichtet hat: die Bibliothek stößt stumpf an die Mauer des Nachbarhauses (*Abb. 6*)⁴⁸. Der Größe des Saales von 8,50 × 13,80 m Rechnung tragend wurde das Fußbodenniveau um vier Stufen abgesenkt, um so eine größere Raumhöhe zu gewinnen. Die Anbindung an das Kerngebäude hat Dörpfeld denkbar großzügig gelöst, indem er den Mittelteil der ursprünglichen Südwand mit drei Fenstern völlig auflöste und durch zwei Marmorsäulen ersetz-

⁴¹ Die als Preußische Kappen bezeichnete Deckenkonstruktion wurde anscheinend von Ziller als Neuheit in Griechenland eingeführt; auch die in eine Wand eingespannte und frei kragende Treppe aus massiven Marmorblöcken ist eine Spezialität, die er im Schliemannhaus ebenso konstruiert hat wie im Rathaus von Syros. Das Treppengeländer im Institut ist identisch mit dem im Schliemannhaus.

⁴² s. Κορρές 1976 und Kienast 2012, 87.

⁴³ Schliemann selbst schwärmt in einem Brief an Schöne vom 02.11.1888: »Das Gebäude ist bloß aus Stein und Eisen gebaut, reichlich mit Marmor versehen, hat Gaseinrichtung und Bäder [...]. Alles ist pompeianisch ausgemalt; in einem Wort: es ist ein des Instituts der größten Nation auf Erden würdiger Prachtbau«. Über dem Eingang wollte Schliemann die Inschrift Πολυμαθείας Φυτώριον anbringen, ein Vorhaben, das aber nicht realisiert wurde. s. dazu Meyer 1958, 290 m. Anm. 300.

⁴⁴ Selbst das benachbarte Residenzgebäude wirkte geradezu bescheiden s. Bilis 2018, 23 *Abb. 27*. Heute haben sich die Verhältnisse umgekehrt; das Institutsgebäude steht im Schatten von weit größeren Bauten.

⁴⁵ Die erste Dokumentation der Bausubstanz als solcher wurde von Θανόπουλος 2007 vorgelegt. Die neue Publikation von Sporn 2018 gibt zum ersten Mal einen guten Überblick über alle Aspekte des Gebäudes und

seiner Entstehung, eine vollständige Beschreibung und Darstellung, vor allem auch seines Bauschmucks, steht aber nach wie vor aus. In der bisherigen Literatur wird die Rolle Dörpfelds vollständig übergangen, der Bau wird ohne Einschränkung E. Ziller zugeschrieben: Russack 1942, 151. Σκαρπία-Χόιπελ 1974, Taf. 144 äußert sich zwar nicht direkt, bezeichnet aber die Abbildungen vom Institutsgebäude uneingeschränkt als Beispiele für Ziller'sche Architektur; bei Κόκκου 1977, 133 *Abb. 54* »έργο του αρχιτέκτονα E. Ziller 1887« und ebenfalls bei Φιλίππιδης 1984, 125 mit *Abb. 145*. In Τραυλός 1967 *Abb. 125*. 126 wird selbst die Bibliothek Ziller zugeschrieben.

⁴⁶ Jantzen 1986, 81.

⁴⁷ Der Garten, der ursprünglich das Institutsgebäude nach Westen und vor allem nach Süden rahmte, ist dargestellt auf dem Plan von Ziller; Sporn 2018, 48 *Abb. 57* (hier *Abb. 3*). In einem Brief vom 09.10.1899 (DAI Berlin) schreibt Dörpfeld zum Bau der Bibliothek: »Ich habe die Pläne gemacht und leite jetzt auch den Bau und komme so nicht ganz aus der Architektenpraxis.«

⁴⁸ Auf dem Plan Nr. B 2852 (DAI Athen) ist dieses Detail eindeutig festgehalten; sichtbar wurde der Sachverhalt beim Erdbeben von 1981, als sich zum südlich anschließenden Bau ein großer Schlitz entlang der Bibliotheksrückwand öffnete.

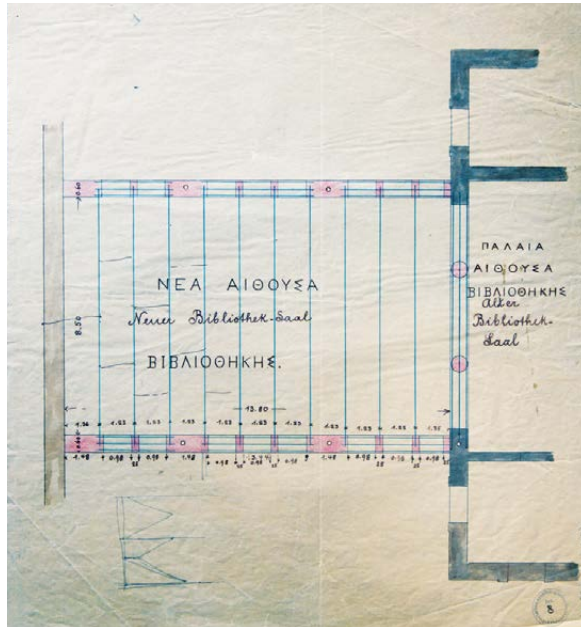


Abb. 6 Der Bibliothekssaal des Instituts: Grundriss

te. Gewonnen war so eine äußerst ansprechende Verbindung von alter und neuer Bibliothek, die zudem die wohl gelungenen Proportionen des großen Saales vorteilhaft steigert. Um möglichst viele Stellflächen für Regale zu schaffen, wurde die Belichtung auf Oberlichtfenster an den beiden Langseiten beschränkt⁴⁹. Die quer zum Saal gespannten Wölbungen der Preußischen Kappen mit ihrer dekorativen Bemalung nehmen der Decke jegliche Schwere. Die Lichtführung, die im Sommer ehemals mit feinen Rollos gedämpft wurde, verlieh dem Bibliothekssaal einen geradezu sakralen Charakter (Abb. 7 b. c).

Untersucht man den Saal nach architektonischen Gesichtspunkten, erkennt man eine Reihe von Einzelheiten wieder: Das Fensterband ist nichts anderes als eine Variante zum Adler'schen Museum in Olympia, das Dörpfeld bestens vertraut war, und

an dem er maßgeblich mitgewirkt hat⁵⁰. Die Gestaltung des Architravs über den Fenstern, eine gemalte Version des Architravs der Korenhalle des Erechtheions⁵¹, allerdings reduziert auf eine Faszie, wurde konsequent von der im gesamten Hochparterre gewählten Wandbekrönung übernommen. Mit seiner niedrigen Proportion und den aufgemalten Rosetten bildet dieses Band einen idealen Übergang zu den Bögen der Decke, impliziert aber im Bibliothekssaal einen echten Schönheitsfehler: Über den dorischen Säulen wirkt es als Architrav nicht nur stilistisch falsch, sondern geradezu unangenehm schwächig. Es ist dieser Stilbruch, der den Verdacht weckt, dass sich Dörpfeld hier von der Architektur der Gebrüder Hansen hat inspirieren lassen⁵². Die Lösung mit zwei Säulen an der Schmalseite und umlaufendem Architrav mit Rosetten ist sowohl im Hauptsaal der Universität als auch im Lesesaal der Akademie zu sehen. Christian und Theophil Hansen haben jedoch in beiden Fällen nicht dorische Säulen, sondern stilgerecht Repliken vom Erechtheion verwendet⁵³. Ungeachtet dieser Einschränkung hat Dörpfeld aber mit dem Anbau einen Bibliothekssaal geschaffen, der ohne Zweifel zu den schönsten in ganz Griechenland zählt⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ Im Vorentwurf waren noch normale Fenster eingezeichnet, die der Fassadengestaltung des Hauptgebäudes angeglichen waren.

⁵⁰ Brief an Adler vom 16.11.1882 (DAI Berlin). Die Realisierung des Museums war mit großen Schwierigkeiten verbunden und zog sich in die Länge. In einem weiteren Brief an Adler vom 20.05.1886 (DAI Berlin) bekennt Dörpfeld, dem Conze mit Schreiben vom 28.03.1883 (DAI Berlin) die Oberleitung der Bauarbeiten übertragen hatte: »wie oft habe ich diesen Museumsbau schon verwünscht«. Zum Fensterband vgl. die Abb. in Jantzen 1986, Taf. 8. ebenso die Fenstergliederung der alten *Boulé* von Athen in der Stadioustraße nach dem Entwurf von F. Boulanger, Travlos 1967, 123 Taf. 110.

⁵¹ Stevens 1927, Pl. XXVI.

⁵² Κασιμάτη 2010, 232 Abb. 4 und Τραυλός 1967, 49 Abb. 32.

⁵³ Dass Dörpfeld für die Bibliothek dorische Säulen – übrigens verkleinerte Versionen der Parthenonsäulen – verwendet hat, lässt sich begründen mit den jeweiligen Proportionen: Die dorischen Säulen sind einschließlich Abakus 4,4 m hoch und haben einen Durchmesser von 70 cm; ionische Säulen hätten bei dieser Höhe einen max. Durchmesser von nur 40 cm und würden zu schwächig wirken. s. dazu auch Bilis 2018, 38 mit Abb. 44.

⁵⁴ Der Saal ist mittlerweile stark verändert und hat viel von seinem ursprünglichen Charakter verloren: Die durchgehenden Regalwände wurden sowohl nach Osten als auch nach Westen von einem Durchgang unterbrochen; der Einbau der Klimaanlage hat nicht



a



b

Abb. 7 a. b. Innenansichten der Bibliothek (ursprünglicher Zustand)

Nach außen dürfte der Bibliotheksanbau dagegen eher wie ein schwerer Riegel gewirkt haben. Weil das Hochparterre des Kernbaus bereits mehr als drei Meter über Gelände liegt und weil das Grundstück nach Süden abfällt, ist unter der Bibliothek ein Durchgang angeordnet, dem nach Süden Lagerräume folgten. Der Bibliothekssaal hatte so zur Trikoupistraße hin eine Höhe von weit über 8 m und nahm sich neben der Architektur des Kernbaus wuchtig und sperrig aus (Abb. 8). Der erwähnte Durchgang dürfte diesen Eindruck eher verschärft haben. Unabhängig davon hatte der Anbau aber auch einen positiven Aspekt:

nur die Unterkante der Fenster überdeckt, sondern auch die natürliche Lichtführung verändert, so dass eine neue künstliche Beleuchtung notwendig wurde; der Einbau einer Empore an der Südwand erleichtert zwar den Zugang zu den Büchern, hat aber die ursprünglich klare Anordnung der Regale völlig verändert.

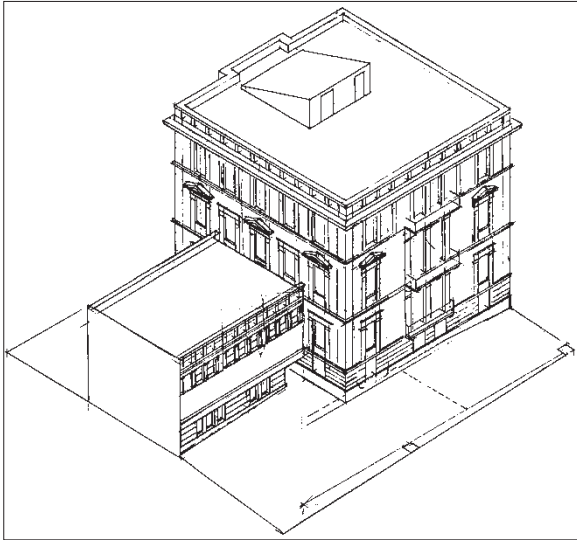


Abb. 8 Schematische Darstellung des Kernbaus mit dem angebauten Bibliothekssaal

Die Flachdecke über der Bibliothek ergab eine großzügige Terrasse für die Wohnung des Ersten Sekretars, die auch heute noch für Sommerveranstaltungen genutzt wird.

Der Bibliothekssaal wurde im Jahre 1900 seiner Nutzung zugeführt, das Anliegen, zusätzlichen Raum für die so dringend benötigten Dienst- und Stipendiatenzimmer zu schaffen, war damit aber nicht gelöst. Dörpfeld arbeitete zunächst an einer Erweiterung des Gebäudes nach Westen – wohl aus dem naheliegenden Gedanken heraus, dass sie am einfachsten im Bereich des bestehenden Treppenhauses zu verwirklichen sei und dass die Bebauung der dortigen Restfläche auch kein Verlust wäre⁵⁵. Er stellte sich einen zweigeschossigen Anbau mit Π-förmigem Grundriss vor, der mit einem Lichthof an das vorhandene Treppenhaus anschließen und fast bis zum Nachbarhaus,

der ehemaligen Residenz von Prokesch v. Osten, reichen sollte⁵⁶. Auf zwei Geschossen wären auf diese Weise je vier Zimmer gewonnen gewesen, die nach Bedarf auch zu Appartements hätten zusammengeschlossen werden können (Abb. 9 a. b). Für die Raumprobleme wäre so eine brauchbare Lösung gefunden gewesen, ob aber der einhöftige Anbau dem Kernbau optisch gutgestanden hätte, muss bezweifelt werden. Letztendlich wurden diese Überlegungen gegenstandslos, da der Grundstückskauf nicht realisiert werden konnte⁵⁷; Dörpfeld musste sich nolens volens einer anderen Lösung zuwenden.

Auf eigenem Grundstück gab es nur noch an der Trikoupistraße eine Auswegmöglichkeit, die natürlich eine ganz andere Konzeption erforderte. Der Entwurf wurde auf eine eingeschossige Erweiterung beschränkt, die die Grundstückslänge voll ausnutzt, aber – um die Belichtung der Bibliothek nicht zu beeinträchtigen⁵⁸ – von dieser abgesetzt ist, so dass ein Innenhof entsteht. Die Vorstudien zeigen, dass der Anbau zunächst auf einen 6,5 m breiten Streifen entlang der Straße beschränkt war. Der Anbau sollte den Kernbau an seiner Südostecke in Raumbreite überlappen, das Souterrain sollte durch eine mittig angeordnete Treppe erschlossen werden (Abb. 10 a). In einem nächsten Schritt änderte Dörpfeld diese Erschließung durch eine einläufige Treppe entlang der Innenwand – zunächst bündig und schließlich leicht vor die Außenflucht vorstehend. Im Westen fügte er einen zusätzlichen Querflügel an. Die gefundene Lösung zeigt eine deutliche Verbesserung und muss als gelungen bezeichnet werden (Abb. 10 b).

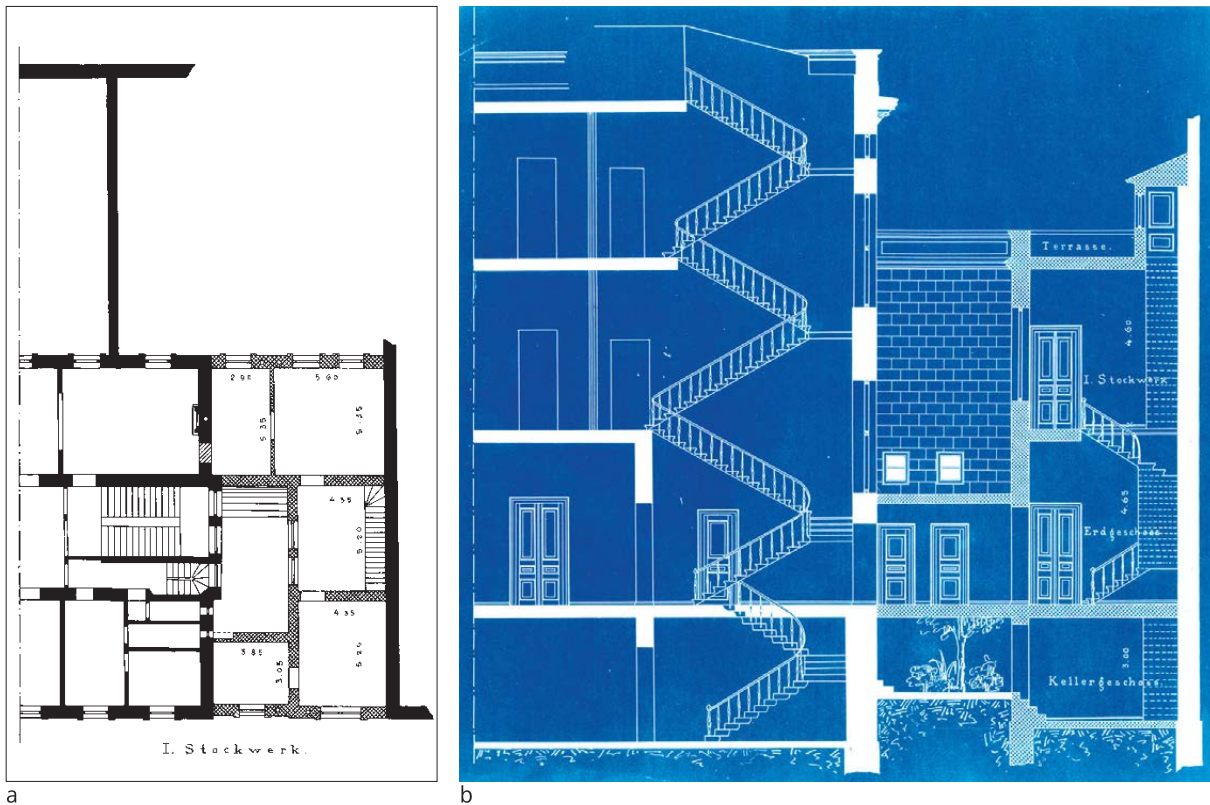
Alles in allem erbrachte der Erweiterungsbau einen stattlichen Gemeinschaftsraum an der überlappenden Ecke, vier Zimmer, die zu zwei Wohneinheiten zusammengefasst werden konnten, und infolge des Geländeabfalls eine gleich große Anzahl von voll nutzbaren Räumen im Untergeschoss. Der Querflügel im rückwärtigen Teil stellte eine Verbindung her zur Bibliothek und bot geradezu en passant zusätzlichen Stellplatz für Bücherregale. Noch

⁵⁵ Dörpfeld hat dazu mehrere Lösungen konzipiert. s. dazu Sporn 2018, 14–16 mit Abb. 16. 17.

⁵⁶ Zur Residenz von Prokesch v. Osten, dem späteren Odeion von Athen, s. Ορφανουδάκης 1997.

⁵⁷ Jantzen 1986, 82.

⁵⁸ Plan Nr. B 2848 (DAI Athen), aus dem die diesbezüglichen Überlegungen hervorgehen.



△

Abb. 9 Der geplante Anbau nach West: a. Grundriss. – b. Aufriss

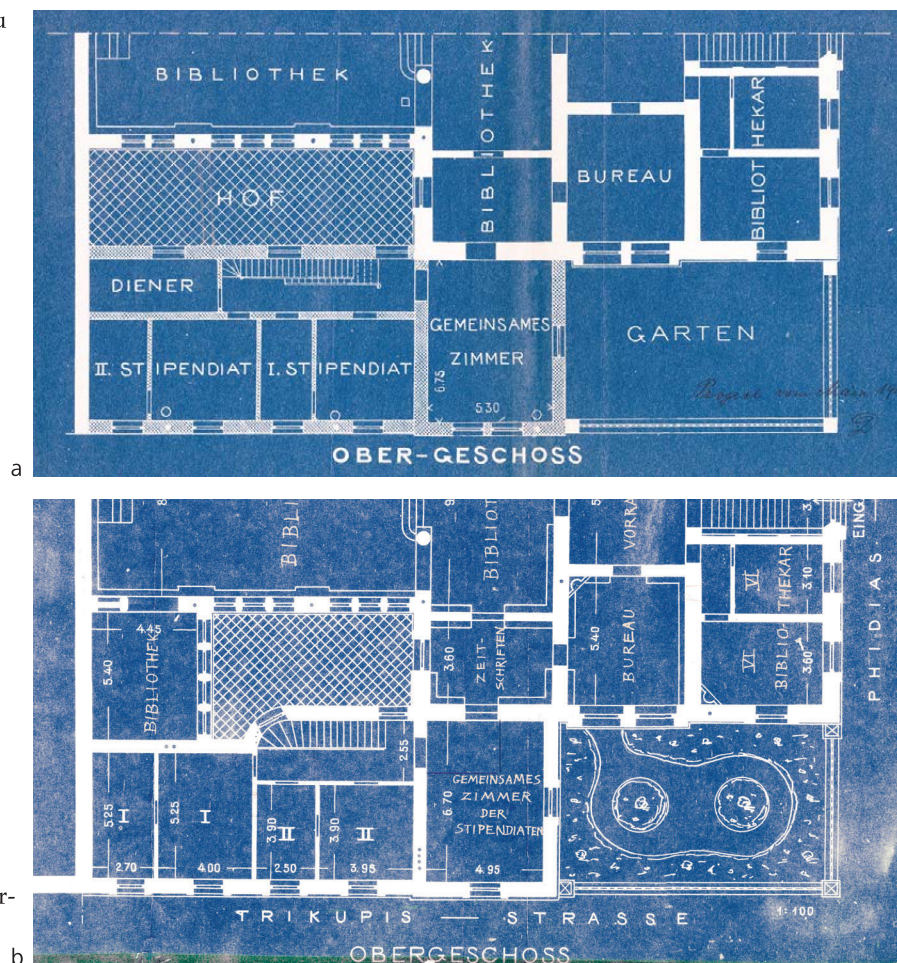


Abb. 10 Stipendiatenflügel an der Trikupistraße: a. Vorentwurf. – b. verwirklichte Version



Abb. 11 Ansicht des Institutsgebäudes mit Trikoupi-flügel von Nordost

wichtiger ist, dass die wuchtige Erscheinung des ursprünglichen Hauptgebäudes entschärft wurde; durch den langgestreckten Anbau, dessen Höhe auf die Oberkante von Hochparterre und Bibliothek abgestimmt war, wurde der gesamte Komplex vorteilhaft erweitert und bereichert. Der sogenannte Trikoupi-flügel wurde 1909 erstellt; der ehemalige Garten ist seitdem reduziert auf ein kleines Geviert an der Südostecke des Kernbaus (Abb. 11).

Im Zuge dieser Erweiterung wurde auch ein Aufbau auf das Stammgebäude konzipiert. Für Dörpfeld, der als einer der Ersten die Bedeutung der Fotografie für die Archäologie erkannt und seit seinem Amtsantritt dafür gesorgt hatte, dass auf den Ausgrabungen mit diesem neuen Medium dokumentiert wurde, war klar, dass dazu auch ein entsprechendes Labor erforderlich sei. Warum das nicht im Untergeschoss des Anbaus eingerichtet wurde, sondern in einem Aufbau auf der Dachterrasse, ist schwer erklärlich, zumal die Temperaturen im Sommer die Laborarbeit eher erschwert haben dürften. Der schlichte Aufbau wurde um das Treppenhaus herum konzipiert, zwei Räume auf der einen, drei auf der anderen Seite, und beschränkt sich auf diesen Bereich⁵⁹. Die große Dachterrasse wurde damit mehr als halbiert, bot aber immer noch genügend Platz für ein geselliges Zusammensein.

Die akuten Bedürfnisse des Instituts waren damit gestillt, die Erweiterungsmöglichkeiten aber auch vollständig ausgeschöpft, und als nach dem Kriege die archäologische Forschung wieder ihre volle Dynamik entwickelt hatte, zeigte sich schnell, dass die Offerte Schliemanns eben nur eine Kompromisslösung war, die für die Forschungsstätte immer mit Einschränkungen verknüpft sein würde. Vor allem der Vergleich mit den anderen Instituten drängte zu völlig neuen Konzeptionen⁶⁰, bei denen Dörpfeld selbstverständlich eine führende Rolle übernahm – als Organisator und auch als Architekt –, obwohl seine aktive Zeit bereits vorüber war.

Bevor wir dieses Schlusswerk betrachten, müssen wir jedoch wieder zurückblenden. Bereits im Jahre 1882 hat sich Dörpfeld an der Dexameni ein Haus gekauft, offensichtlich

⁵⁹ Das Labor wurde nach dem Krieg in das Unterschoss des Trikoupi-flügels verlegt, die Räumlichkeiten auf der Dachterrasse wurden zu Gästezimmern umfunktioniert.

⁶⁰ Das Französische Institut bestand seit 1842, das Amerikanische seit 1882 und das Britische seit 1886;

alle diese Institute hatten nicht nur ein eigenes weitläufiges Grundstück, sondern auch Gebäude, die für ein Institut ausgelegt waren (vgl. Anm. 27). Jantzen 1986, 82 f.; ebenso Goessler 1951, 86.

als Vorbereitung für die bevorstehende Eheschließung mit Anna Adler. Das Haus stand an abschüssiger Straße, hatte ein Untergeschoss, ein Hochparterre und ein Obergeschoss – für den »Hilfsarbeiter« am Institut eine stattliche Bleibe⁶¹. 1883 folgte seine feste Anstellung als Architekt, 1886 als 2. und am 3. Juli 1887 als 1. Sekretar des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Athen. Mit der Fertigstellung des Institutsneubaus ein Jahr darauf stand Dörpfeld eine noble Dienstwohnung zu, die er auch umgehend bezog; das Haus an der Dexameni wurde verkauft.

Für Dörpfeld brachte die Beförderung eine merkbare finanzielle Verbesserung⁶² und eröffnete ihm auch neue Möglichkeiten. So erwarb er im Jahre 1891 in Kephissia zu Füßen des Penteli einen großen Garten und machte sich an die Planung eines Sommerhauses⁶³. Es sollte seine Dienstwohnung im Institut nicht ersetzen und war von Beginn an in bescheidener Größe geplant mit zwei Geschossen und Außenmaßen von rund 10 × 10 m. Die ersten Skizzen dazu lassen erahnen, dass sich Dörpfeld ein Landhaus vorstellte in der Art, wie es Ernst Ziller mit so leichter Hand mehrfach entworfen hatte⁶⁴; das tatsächlich entstandene Haus kann aber schwerlich mit diesen Vorbildern konkurrieren. Dörpfeld wollte offensichtlich mit einem Minimum an Verkehrsflächen auskommen und hat deshalb die Treppe ins Zentrum des Hauses verlegt. Der Gewinn an nutzbarem Raum ist aber teuer erkauft durch gefangene Zimmer und eine äußerst umständliche Erschließung⁶⁵. Der Eingang über Eck, der überdachte Sitzplatz davor und der Balkon darüber geben dem Haus von außen etwas Offenes, Einladendes, das Innere dagegen ist eng, verwinkelt und entbehrt jeglicher Großzügigkeit (*Abb. 12 a. b*).

Bereits fünf Jahre nach dem Einzug entschloss sich Dörpfeld zu einer Erweiterung des Hauses⁶⁶, bei der die Probleme des ursprünglichen Grundrisses in verschärfter Form sichtbar wurden und ihn vor eine fast unlösbare Aufgabe stellten. Mit dem 5 m breiten Anbau sollte ein vom Esszimmer getrennter Salon und ein eigenes Dienstmädchenzimmer geschaffen und vor allem auch die Küche vergrößert werden. Die Erschließung des Anbaus war aber durch das innenliegende Treppenhaus nur mit abgeschnittenen Ecken und einem verwinkelten schmalen Gang zu realisieren (*Abb. 13*). Dörpfeld gewann mit diesem Anbau merklich mehr Platz, der Grundriss seines Hauses verlor dadurch aber jegliche Konsistenz. Ob darin auch der Grund zu sehen ist, dass er das Anwesen bereits 1901 wieder verkauft hat, ist nicht zu entscheiden. In Briefen an den Schwiegervater erwähnt er, dass das Haus nach der Erweiterung nun doch teurer käme und dass vor allem bald größere Reparaturen fällig wären⁶⁷ – Andeutungen, die jedenfalls nicht für die Vorzüge des Hauses sprechen⁶⁸.

⁶¹ Brief an Adler vom 16.11.1882 (DAI Berlin); Lebenslauf S. 10 (DAI Athen); Grundrisszeichnungen dieses Hauses, sowie ein Foto und eine Ansichtsskizze im Archiv des DAI Berlin. Goessler 1951, 53: Haus am Südwest-Abhang des Lykabettos unterhalb der städtischen Wasserversorgung (sog. Dexamini); Eckhardt 1988, 300 »das bereits 1882 erworbene Haus«.

⁶² Laut Goessler 1951, 64 schrieb Dörpfeld seinem Schwiegervater damals zur Rückzahlung seiner Schulden, dass er »bei seinem größeren Gehalt jetzt die bisherige Gewohnheit, alle zwei Jahre nach Deutschland zu reisen, besser aufrecht erhalten könne«.

⁶³ Seit der Antike galt Kephissia als Sommerfrische für Athen; seit 1886 gab es sogar eine Bahnverbindung mit der Stadt. Dörpfeld 1889: »[...] kaufte von Herrn Lindermayer einen Garten in Kephissia und erbaute im Laufe des Winters darin ein Wohnhaus für den Sommer [...]« Goessler 1951, 93; »das Haus, das nach seinen Plänen und unter seiner Leitung gebaut wurde, konnte bereits Mitte Mai 1892 bezogen werden«.

⁶⁴ Im Archiv des DAI Berlin befinden sich mehrere Skizzen aus der Hand von Dörpfeld, die seine ersten Überlegungen zu diesem Sommerhaus widerspiegeln und an die Arbeiten von Ziller erinnern. Zu den Entwürfen Zillers Παπαστάμος 1973 und Κασμάτη 2010.

⁶⁵ So ist der südöstliche Teil des Hauses mit Mädchenzimmer und Kammer zugänglich nur an der Wende der Treppe. s. dazu auch die aufschlussreiche Skizze im Brief an Adler vom 09.10.1891 (DAI Berlin).

⁶⁶ Laut Lebenslauf S. 20 (DAI Athen): »Im Winter Anbau am Haus in Kephissia ausgeführt«.

⁶⁷ Brief an Adler vom 20.01.1901 (DAI Berlin). Im Lebenslauf S. 23 (DAI Athen): »Im Februar verkaufte ich das Haus in Kephissia.« S. 21 ist vermerkt, dass er das Haus (wohl um Kosten zu sparen) auch vermietet hat. Goessler 1951, 93 »bis er Haus und Garten nach 10 Jahren verkaufte«.

⁶⁸ Das Haus steht heute noch an der Ecke Strophylou und Pezmasoglou und wird als Wohnhaus Dörpfelds auch gewürdigt. s. Καράβια 1988, 97.

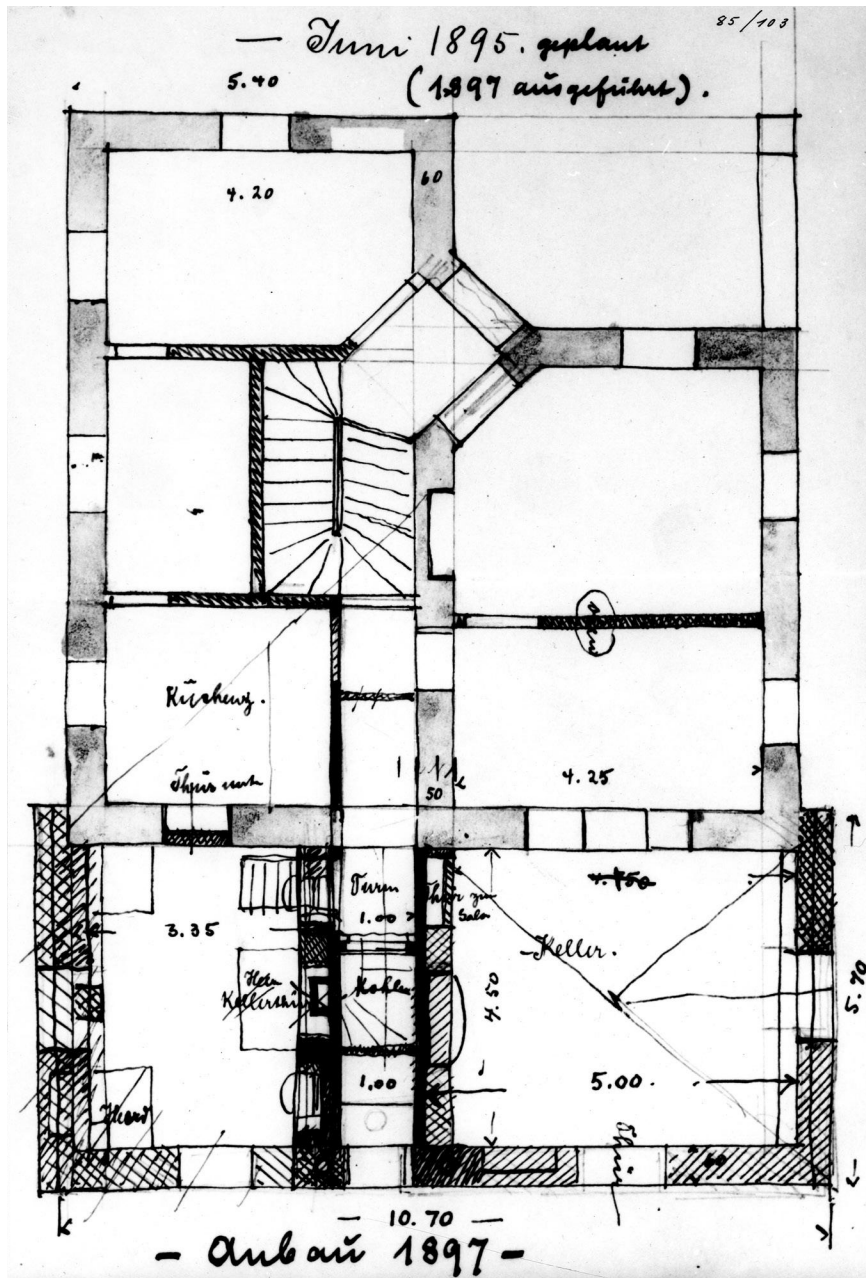


Abb. 12 a Sommerhaus
in Kephissia, Grundriss



Abb. 12 b Sommerhaus
in Kephissia, Fotografie

Dörpfeld war damals längst eine führende Größe in der Welt der Altertumsforschung. An fast allen bedeutenden Ausgrabungen in Griechenland war er beteiligt mit eigenen Projekten oder als Berater und Gutachter. Die archäologische Bauforschung war als Disziplin noch nicht etabliert, gewann aber zunehmend an Bedeutung – nicht zuletzt durch seine Aktivitäten. Charakteristisch für Dörpfeld war, dass sich sein Engagement am Grabungsplatz in der Regel nicht auf seine wissenschaftliche Aufgabe beschränkte; er fühlte sich verantwortlich für die Organisation vor Ort und betätigte sich als Architekt. Unser Thema betreffend ist auf drei Bauten hinzuweisen, die nach seinen Plänen entstanden sind. Bereits 1885 zeichnete er einen Entwurf für ein Museum in Eleusis. Der schlichte Einraumbau misst 7 auf 15 m und ist durch große Doppelfenster mit Keilsteinbögen belichtet; vier Mittelstützen tragen das Flachdach (*Abb. 14*)⁶⁹. In Pergamon wiederum ließ er ein Haus für die Unterbringung der Grabungsmannschaft errichten sowie ein Depot, das auch »der interessierten Öffentlichkeit zugänglich« sein sollte. Beide Bauten zeichnen sich aus durch eine der örtlichen Bautradition verpflichtete Fassadengestaltung der jeweiligen Funktion entspricht (*Abb. 15*) Bauten von Pergamon stehen inmitten des leichten Veränderungen bis heute in Betrieb

Ein weiterer Bereich in Dörpfelds Schaffen und Wirken war die deutsche Kolonie. Vor allem für die Belange des Deutsch-Griechischen Vereins ›Philadelphia‹ entwickelte er ein unermüdliches Engagement – von 1896 bis 1899 sogar als dessen Vorsitzender⁷¹. Seine diesbezüglichen Verdienste wurden mehrfach gewürdigt, hier soll sein konkreter Beitrag als Architekt zur Sprache kommen. Ein großes Anliegen des Vereins war die Gründung einer Deutschen Schule, wofür Dörpfeld im Jahre 1895 die Initiative ergriff. Er schrieb Bittbriefe um finanzielle Unterstützung und entwarf selbstverständlich auch die Pläne für einen ersten Bau: »einfach und gediegen und nach den Grundsätzen der Hygiene«⁷². Die Zeichnungen

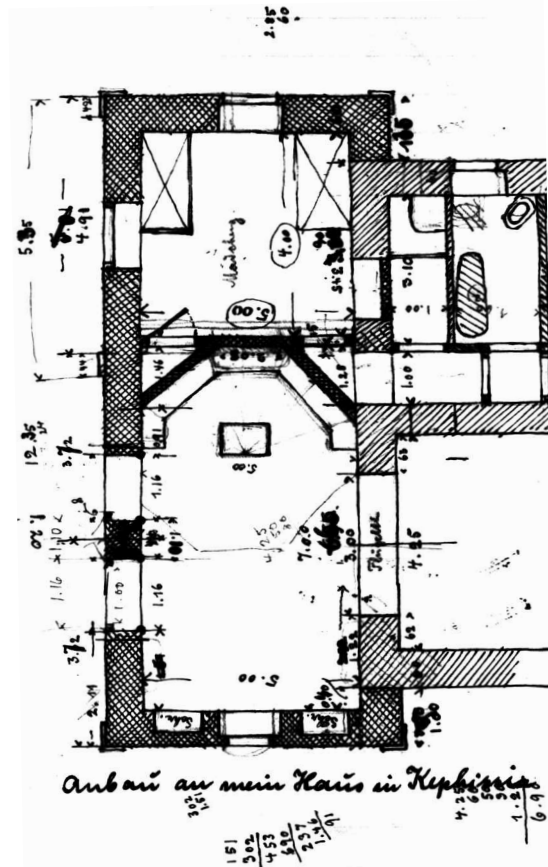


Abb. 13 Erweiterung des Sommerhauses, Grundriss

⁶⁹ Πετράκος 1987, 67 Abb.35.

⁷⁰ Das Flachdach des Museums in Eleusis ist heute durch ein Walmdach ersetzt. Das Haus an der unteren Agora von Pergamon wurde später leicht erweitert. Radt 1988, 349 und Radt 1999, 294 Abb. 226 und S. 322. Radt weist darauf hin, dass das Depot der Vorgänger des heutigen Lokalmuseums von Bergama ist.

⁷¹ Die »Philadelphia« wurde 1837 gegründet, um die deutsch-griechischen Beziehungen zu pflegen. Der

Verein ist der älteste seiner Art; er besteht bis heute und unterhält seit mehreren Jahren ein großzügiges Kulturzentrum in Maroussi.

⁷² Eckhardt 1988, 301: »Das Schulhaus baute er nach eigenen Plänen«. Barth 1937, 5 f. berichtet von mehreren Stiftungen und erwähnt ebenfalls, dass »der deutsche Kaiser Wilhelm II, sein hoher Gönner, den noch erforderlichen Betrag zum Ankauf eines Grundstücks und Bau des Schulhauses zur Verfügung (stellte)«.

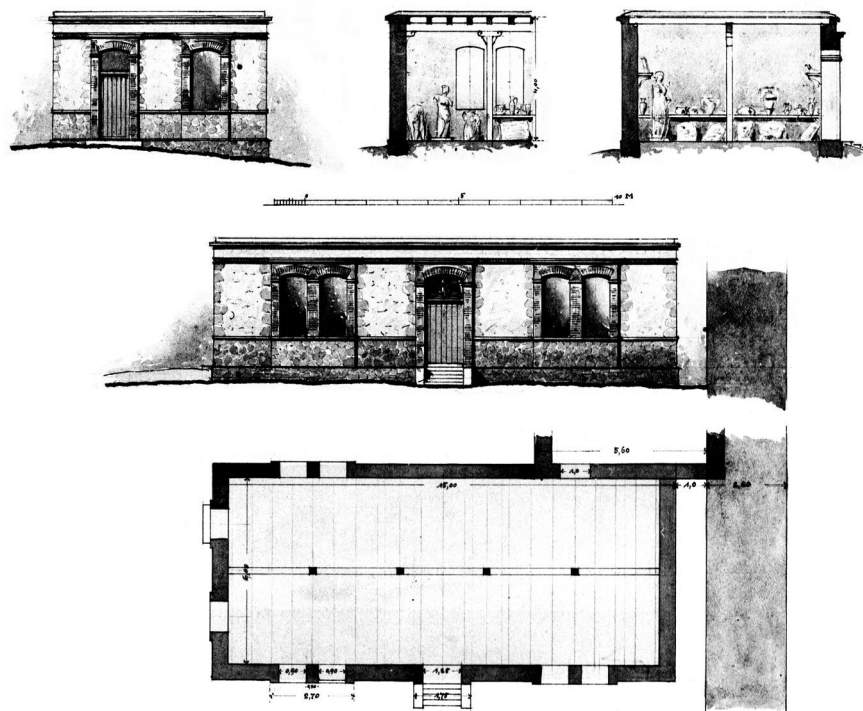
Museum des Epheires.

Abb. 14 Museum von Eleusis

Abb. 15 Grabungshaus von Pergamon



existieren heute anscheinend nicht mehr, jedoch ist das Schulhaus selbst noch vollständig erhalten, wenn auch verändert⁷³. Das Gebäude mit einem quadratischen Grundriss hat ein Souterrain und zwei Geschosse. Je drei Fensterachsen beherrschen die Fassaden; die aus Werkstein gearbeiteten Laibungen, Gesimse und Hauskanten sind die einzigen Schmuckelemente. Lediglich zum Hof hin ist ein Akzent gesetzt mit einem Balkon auf mächtigen Marmorkonsolen⁷⁴, ansonsten aber ist die äußere Erscheinung des Baus an Schlichtheit kaum zu übertreffen (*Abb. 16 a*). Ungeachtet dessen war es eine »erhebende Feier, als am 22. März 1898, dem Geburtstag des verehrten Kaisers Wilhelm I, das neue Schulhaus eingeweiht wurde«⁷⁵.

Zehn Jahre später, im Jahre 1908/1909, entstand der erste Erweiterungsbau für den Kindergarten, den ebenfalls Dörpfeld entwarf. Auch dieser Bau steht noch, er ist aber an einer Ecke erweitert und um zwei Geschosse aufgestockt, so dass seine ursprüngliche Gestalt kaum mehr ablesbar ist⁷⁶. Lediglich ein Foto zeigt, wie der Bau ehemals ausgesehen hat (*Abb. 16 b*) – ebenfalls quadratisch, ein Souterrain, ein Hauptgeschoss und darüber eine einheitliche Terrasse mit Attika. Gesims und Dachrand sind dem Trikoupiflügel des Institutsgebäudes nachempfunden, der damals ebenfalls im Entstehen war; die Baluster sind allerdings durch eine gemauerte Brüstung ersetzt. Erwähnenswert sind die nebeneinandergestellten Fenster, die der Fassade eine gewisse Spannung verleihen. Alles in allem hat Dörpfeld mit diesem Gebäude einen redlichen Zweckbau entworfen, geprägt vom neoklassizistischen Formengut und sicher gefälliger als die erste Schule, wie diese jedoch ohne repräsentativen Anspruch.

Ein letztes Mal wurde Dörpfeld im Jahre 1927 von der Schulverwaltung gebeten, an einem beschränkten Architektenwettbewerb teilzunehmen. Den Ansprüchen der mittlerweile hochrenommierten Anstalt entsprechend sollte die Deutsche Schule ein völlig neues Gebäude bekommen. Wie Dörpfeld dieser Aufgabe begegnete, ist nicht mehr auszumachen. Wir wissen nur, dass neben ihm zwei weitere Architekten einen Entwurf vorgelegt haben und dass er der Jury »in selbstloser Weise empfiehlt«, den Entwurf seines Mitkonkurrenten Eglau auszuführen⁷⁷.

Dass dieser Schritt nicht mit einer prinzipiellen Resignation gleichzusetzen ist, geht aus der Tatsache hervor, dass Dörpfeld zwei Jahre später, nun schon 75-jährig, einen Entwurf für den geplanten Neubau des archäologischen Instituts ausarbeitete. Dörpfeld, mittlerweile seit 17 Jahren in Pension, aber unentwegt für die Belange des Instituts aktiv, war es gelungen, für die so dringend notwendige Vergrößerung des Institutsgebäudes ein geeignetes Grundstück ausfindig zu machen. Nicht zuletzt in Anerkennung seiner persönlichen Verdienste war die griechische Regierung bereit, dem Institut zur Feier seines 100-jährigen Bestehens im Jahre 1929 ein 2000 m² großes Grundstück an der Regillastraße zu übereignen⁷⁸. Dörpfeld machte

⁷³ Abgebildet bei Kriekoukis – Bömer 1938, Nr. 33. Der Bau steht am Abhang des Lykabetos an der Ecke Prassa- und Arachovisstraße. Laut Hansen 1971, 21 f. wurde der Bau im Sommer 1941 aufgestockt (Hansen 1971, 48; s. auch die Abb. nach S. 40).

⁷⁴ Vom Balkon, der inzwischen beseitigt ist, zeugen nur noch die Konsolen; die Türe wurde durch ein normales Fenster ersetzt.

⁷⁵ Barth 1937, 9. Laut Lebenslauf S. 31 (DAI Athen) wurde Dörpfeld im Jahre 1912 Ehrenmitglied des Deutschen Schulvereins. Hinzuweisen ist hier auch darauf, dass die neue Deutsche Schule von Athen, erbaut in den 60er Jahren im Stadtteil Maroussi, nach seinem Gründer Dörpfeld-Gymnasium benannt ist.

⁷⁶ Hansen 1971, 24 und 30.

⁷⁷ Hansen 1971, 31. Die von Eglau entworfene Schule ist heute noch erhalten, allerdings mit einem nach-

träglichen Aufbau auf der Terrasse. Der Bau beherbergt heute das 29. Lykeion Athens.

⁷⁸ In seinen Erläuterungen zum Neubau (s. folgende Anm.) schreibt Dörpfeld wörtlich: »Das von mir ausgesuchte und von der griech. Regierung geschenkte Grundstück [...]«, s. auch Jantzen 1986, 83; laut Lebenslauf S. 44 (DAI Athen) gab es bereits im Februar 1926 »Verhandlungen mit Ministerium wegen Schenkung eines Bauplatzes für das Institut« und erneut im April 1927. Auch Goessler 1951, 86 vermerkt für Februar 1926 »wegen eines neuen Platzes für das Institut, um es aus der Unruhe und Enge der lauten, staubigen Großstadt herauszubringen«. Im Lebenslauf S. 49 (DAI Athen) steht dann unter 21./25.04.1929: »Grundstück in Athen fürs Institut von der griech. Regierung geschenkt«.



Abb. 16 Deutsche Schule
Athen:
a. Das Gebäude von 1898. –
b. Der Kindergarten von 1909

sich umgehend an die Planung eines Institutsgebäudes, das den gewachsenen Ansprüchen gerecht werden sollte. Ob Dörpfeld je vollständige Pläne dazu erarbeitet hat, ist unbekannt, es existieren jedoch alle Blätter des Vorentwurfs sowie eine ausführliche Baubeschreibung, die eine summarische Beurteilung des Vorhabens erlauben⁷⁹.

Das Gebäude ist mit seiner Breitseite zur Regillastraße angeordnet und als streng symmetrischer Bau mit einem Souterrain und zwei Geschossen darüber konzipiert. Seine Länge war mit 40 m vorgesehen, seine Tiefe mit 20 m. Ein repräsentatives axial angeordnetes Entree führte direkt in die Bibliothek, die zur Rückseite hin um weitere 20 m vor den Hauptbau vorsteht. Die Diensträume waren rechts und links vom Vestibül angeordnet, die Wohnungen für die Angestellten und Direktoren, durch seitliche Treppen erschlossen, im ersten Geschoss. Die Zimmer für Stipendiaten, immerhin 15 an der Zahl, waren im zweiten Geschoss vorgesehen. Vorgesehen waren außerdem ein Innenhof sowie eine große Terrasse über der Bibliothek (*Abb. 17 a*).

Dörpfelds Entwurf ist klar inspiriert vom bestehenden Institutsgebäude, sollte aber weitaus großzügiger werden und allen erdenklichen Bedürfnissen Rechnung tragen. Seiner Beschreibung ist zu entnehmen, dass er sich vor allem Gedanken gemacht hat über die erforderlichen Nutzräume, über Verschränkungen und Verknüpfungen der verschiedenen Zimmer und ihrer jeweiligen Funktion sowie über Repräsentation, Publikumsverkehr und Privatbereich. Insgesamt aber ist den »Erläuterungen« zu entnehmen, dass Dörpfeld ein Forschungsinstitut vorschwebte, das die großen Zeiten der Archäologie nicht nur fortsetzen, sondern erst einläuten sollte: Die Wohnungen der Direktoren sind mit sieben Zimmern vorgesehen; Dörpfeld spricht von »größeren Gesellschaften«, von einem »Tanzsaal« für »größere Festlichkeiten, von einem Speisesaal, der mit einem Aufzug mit der Küche verbunden« ist, von »Lieferanten der Bibliothek und der Küchen« und nicht zuletzt von einem großen »Raum für mehrere Autos«. Erstaunlich bleibt demgegenüber, dass weder Planschränke erwähnt werden noch Laborräume für eine Fotoabteilung.

Die Fassade des geplanten Instituts ist durch das Schema des Grundrisses klar gegliedert. Der Mitteltrakt springt leicht aus der Bauflucht hervor und ist betont durch eine anspruchsvolle Loggia, die von zwei ionischen Säulen mit flachem Architrav ohne Fries geprägt ist. Die anschließenden Wände weisen große, aber schlicht gefasste Fenster auf. Der gesamte Komplex ist von einem Flachdach – gerahmt von einer mächtigen Balustrade – gedeckt. Die Gestaltung der Fassade ist geprägt von den klaren Linien der klassizistischen Formen, die dem Bauwerk einen höchst prätentiosen Charakter verleihen. Hält man sich die beachtliche Größe vor Augen, hätte es nicht nur im Kreis der sonstigen Institutsbauten einen unübersehbaren Anspruch auf eine besondere Rolle ausgestrahlt (*Abb. 17 b*).

Der Entwurf wurde nicht weiterverfolgt. Georg Karo, damaliger Direktor des Instituts, kritisiert in einem persönlichen Brief an Dörpfeld eine Reihe von Einzelheiten, die überarbeitet werden müssten, zwischen den Zeilen ist aber unschwer zu lesen, dass ihn das Konzept als solches nicht überzeugte⁸⁰. Wie Dörpfeld darauf reagiert hat, ist nicht überliefert, Tatsache ist, dass auch der von dem jungen Kollegen Heinz Johannes ausgearbeitete Alternativentwurf nicht zur Ausführung kam⁸¹. Das Projekt »Institutsneu-

⁷⁹ »Erläuterungen zum Entwurf für das neue Archäologische Institut in Athen von Wilhelm Dörpfeld« vom August 1929 im Archiv des DAI Berlin (Kasten 14). Die auf DIN-A4-Blätter gezeichneten Pläne des Komplexes (M 1:200) können schwerlich als endgültig ausgearbeitete Entwürfe verstanden werden. Sie sind eindeutig als Vorentwurf zu verstehen, auch wenn sie z. T. sogar mit Lavierung angelegt sind. s. Bilis 2018, 18.

⁸⁰ Brief vom 15.10.1929 (DAI Berlin). Karo moniert u. a. den geplanten Innenhof, die kleinen Oberlichter der Bibliothek und die Entfernung von Direktorenwohnungen zur Bibliothek; er schlägt vor, auf Marmorsäulen, Estraden und Marmortreppen zu verzichten und die Terrasse durch Loggien zu ersetzen.

⁸¹ Vorentwürfe dazu in mehreren Varianten im Archiv des DAI Athen.

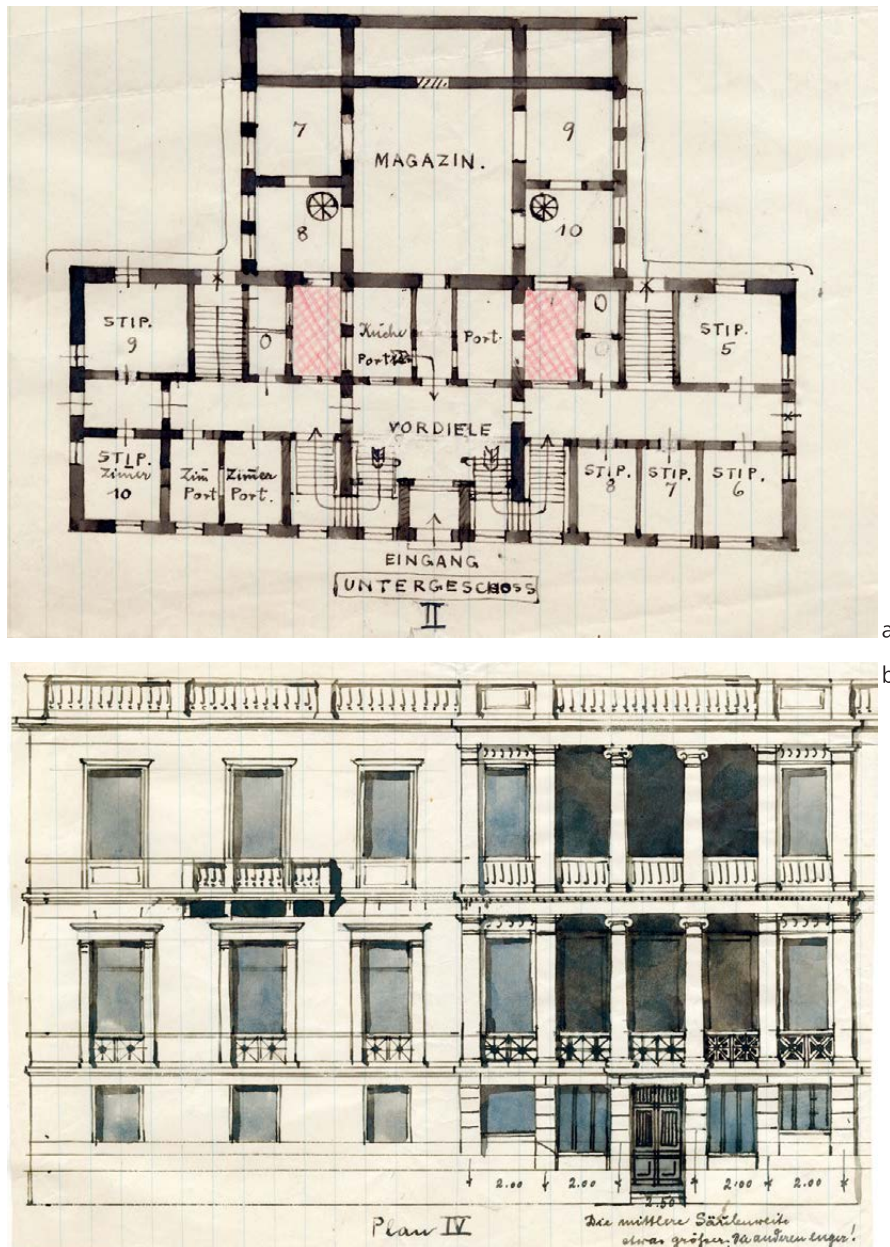


Abb. 17 Der geplante Institutsneubau an der Regillastraße:
a. Grundriss. –
b. Teilansicht der Eingangs-fassade

bau« wurde von den Zeitläuften überholt, an eine Realisierung wird heute nicht mehr gedacht⁸².

Mit dieser letzten Großaufgabe – es wäre tatsächlich das größte Bauvorhaben Dörpfelds geworden – schließt sich der Kreis. Dörpfeld hat zwar selbst zehn Jahre später noch auf Leukas ein Sommerhaus für den befreundeten Konsul Diel entworfen⁸³, das sich aber ohne Besonderheiten einreicht in die Zahl der Bauten, die er sonst aus beruflichem Engagement oder aus freundschaftlicher Verbundenheit konzipiert hat.

⁸² Hinzuweisen ist hier auf die Bemühungen von Ulf Jantzen, der zu Beginn der 1970er Jahre erneut den Gedanken aufgriff, einen Neubau des Instituts in die Wege zu leiten und mich zu Beginn meiner Anstellung im Institut mit der Raumbedarfsplanung beauftragte.

⁸³ Lebenslauf S. 66 (DAI Athen); das Haus ist heute bis auf die Grundmauern zerstört (Hinweis K. Herrmann).

Wilhelm Dörpfeld hat sich immer als Architekt verstanden, hat sich mit großem Selbstbewusstsein für alle möglichen Bauaufgaben als zuständig erachtet und nicht gescheut, selbst Überlegungen zur Stadtplanung von Berlin zu formulieren⁸⁴. So ist es nur folgerichtig, dass er neben den zahllosen Ehrungen, die ihm zuteilwurden, auch aus dem Kreis der Architekten eine beachtliche Anerkennung erfahren hat. Dörpfeld war korrespondierendes, ordentliches und sogar Ehrenmitglied mehrerer Architektenkammern, er hat zwei Goldmedaillen für seine Verdienste um das Bauwesen in Empfang nehmen dürfen, war Mitglied der Akademie des Bauwesens in Berlin und wurde von der TH – Berlin – Charlottenburg zum Dr. Ing. E. h. ernannt. Gewürdigt wurde aber wohl mehr seine Auseinandersetzung mit der antiken Architektur als seine Entwurfsarbeit.

Dörpfeld war kein Künstler, und er sagte von sich selbst, dass, was nicht zu messen und zu präzisieren sei, insbesondere stilistische und ästhetische Erwägungen, ihn nicht interessiere⁸⁵. Dörpfeld war auch kein herausragender Zeichner. Die wenigen Blätter, die mit Sicherheit aus seiner Hand stammen, zeigen das in aller Deutlichkeit, und die Pläne, die auch als Zeichnung Gefallen erregen, sind aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht von ihm angefertigt worden⁸⁶. Dörpfeld war der erste Architekt, der sich hauptamtlich der antiken Bauforschung gewidmet hat. Er wurde so zum Wegbereiter einer Disziplin, die nicht nur ihren Platz behaupten konnte, sondern über Jahrzehnte zu einem tragenden Pfeiler der archäologischen Feldforschung geworden war – mittlerweile aber wieder an Bedeutung verliert. Die Prämisse, dass einen Entwurf nur nachvollziehen kann, wer selbst gelernt hat zu entwerfen, hat sich als richtig erwiesen und hat offensichtlich zu großartigen Ergebnissen geführt. Sie impliziert aber ein Dilemma, dem alle Vertreter dieser »nachentwerfenden Zunft«⁸⁷ ausgeliefert sind: Die Qualifikation, die man sich im Studium erwirbt, ist nur Voraussetzung, um sich in der Folge, und zwar autodidaktisch, das anzueignen, was von einem archäologischen Bauforscher erwartet wird. Die geweckte Architektenseele lebt dann zwar weiter fort, ist fürderhin aber zu einem verkümmerten Dasein verurteilt. Dörpfeld war erster und prominenter Repräsentant dieses Konflikts.

München

Hermann J. Kienast

⁸⁴ Im Lebenslauf S. 150 (DAI Athen) berichtet er, dass er sich veranlasst sah, sich »nebenbei privatim auch mit der besseren Ausgestaltung der Gegend zwischen Museum und der Universität zu beschäftigen« und 1933 wiederum unterbreitet er in einem Brief vom 11.11.1933 (Kopie im Archiv DAI Athen) an seinen Vetter Baurat E. Fürstenau »einen Vorschlag für das Bauproblem der Straßen bei der Reichsbank«.

⁸⁵ Gerkan 1940, 428; noch schärfer urteilte nach Eckhardt 1988, 304 L. Curtius: »Seiner rein verstandesmäßigen phantasiearmen (sic!) Natur, die nur auf die zähl- und messbaren Inhalte der Welt gerichtet war, blieb jede Art von Poesie und Kunst fremd.«

⁸⁶ vgl. Brief an Adler vom 03.04.1903 (DAI Berlin). Dörpfeld hat für die Reinzeichnung seiner Skizzen und Entwürfe schon früh Mitarbeiter eingesetzt, so W. Wilberg, K. Siebold, P. Soursos und K. Sejk.

⁸⁷ Koenigs 1985, 447.

Abbildungsnachweis: *Abb. 1a*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-129. – *Abb. 1b*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-134. – *Abb. 2a*: D-DAI-IST-10137 (Repro nach Fotografie Sébah & Joaillier no. 547, 1893). – *Abb. 2b*: Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung

1889, S. 36. – *Abb. 3a*: Griechische Nationalgalerie – Museum Alexandros Soutzos Ziller 74. – *Abb. 3b*: Griechische Nationalgalerie; Κασιμάτη 2010, 177 *Abb. 3*. – *Abb. 4*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-0118 (Fotograf unbekannt). – *Abb. 5*: D-DAI-ATH-1985-0351 (Reproduktion nach Foto W. Dörpfeld). – *Abb. 6*: DAI Athen Plan Nr. B 2852. – *Abb. 7a, b*: D-DAI-ATH-AV-583 und 584 (E. Kunze). – *Abb. 8*: Th. Bilis. – *Abb. 9a*: DAI Athen Plan Nr. B 2881. – *Abb. 9b*: D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-Z-02882 (W. Dörpfeld). – *Abb. 10a*: D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-IG-00049 (W. Dörpfeld). – *Abb. 10b*: D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-IG-02847 (W. Dörpfeld). – *Abb. 11*: D-DAI-ATH-2018-13636 (H. Birk). – *Abb. 12a*: D-DAI-ATH-1985-0103. – *Abb. 12b*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-0030. – *Abb. 13*: D-DAI-ATH-1985-0106 (Reproduktion nach Plänen des DAI Berlin). – *Abb. 14*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-679 (Repro Archiv der Archäologischen Gesellschaft Athen). – *Abb. 15*: D-DAI-ATH-Pergamon-666 (Fotograf unbekannt). – *Abb. 16a*: Kriekoukis – Bömer 1938, *Abb. 33* (Presseabteilung der königlich-griechischen Gesandtschaft, Berlin). – *Abb. 16b*: D-DAI-ATH-1990-0038 (Reproduktion Archiv DAI Berlin). – *Abb. 17a, b*: D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-IG-00303.

ANHANG

In der vorausgehenden Betrachtung der architektonischen Hinterlassenschaft Wilhelm Dörpfelds wurden nur seine wichtigsten Werke ausführlicher behandelt, die Sommerresidenz in Therapia, das Institutsgebäude mit Bibliothek, sein Sommerhaus in Kephissia und der geplante Institutsneubau an der Regillastraße. Es sind die Bauten, deren Entstehungsgeschichte wir einigermaßen gut kennen, die den Anspruch von Architektur erfüllen und Dörpfelds diesbezügliches Schaffen charakterisieren. Dass dabei dem Gebäude des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen eine Sonderrolle zukommt, liegt nicht nur an den nahezu lückenlos vorhandenen Dokumenten und Plänen; es ist innerhalb der von Dörpfeld entworfenen Bauten architektonisch sicher der bedeutendste und mit den diversen Erweiterungen auch der umfangreichste.

Dem Gesamtwerk Dörpfelds kann man mit dieser Auslese aber kaum gerecht werden. Es sollen deshalb hier in einer Zusammenschau nochmals alle von ihm entworfenen Bauten aufgeführt werden, von denen wir Kenntnis haben. Der Einfachheit halber – aber auch um eine Entwicklung nachzuzeichnen – sind die Entwürfe und Bauvorhaben chronologisch aufgezählt und mit zusätzlichen Hinweisen versehen.

1875	Hammerstein bei Lennep, Wollwäscherei und -färberei für Oheime Keller Keine Pläne, kein Bestand; s. S. 314.	1900	Barmen, Wohnhaus für seine Schwester Anna in der Richard-Strauß-Allee Pläne verschollen; Haus noch bestehend; Zeitungsartikel und Brief von E. und H. Zimmermann vom 26.06.1991 im Archiv DAI Athen
1883/1884	Therapia (heute Tarabya) am Bosporus, Sommerresidenz des Botschafters Pläne publiziert, Bau noch bestehend; s. S. 315–317.	1900/1902	Pergamon, Grabungshaus Mit einer Erweiterung heute noch stehend; s. S. 329 f.
1883/1885	Olympia, Änderungen an Friedrich Adlers Museumsentwurf Bau noch bestehend; s. Lebenslauf S. 11	1902/1903	Pergamon, Depot/Museum Mit leichten Veränderungen heute noch in Betrieb; s. S. 329 f.
1885	Eleusis, Entwurf für ein Museum Bau noch bestehend, Pläne im Archiv der Archäologischen Gesellschaft von Athen; s. S. 329 f.	1908/1909	Athen, Kindergarten Bau noch bestehend mit verschiedenen Veränderungen; s. S. 331 f.
1885	Athen, Grabstele für Panagiotis Stamatakis Nach Περράκος 1987, 211: »nach Plänen von Dörpfeld«	1910	Athen, DAI Stipendiatenflügel an der Trikoupistraße Bau noch bestehend, Pläne im DAI Athen; s. S. 324–326
1887	Athen, Entwurf für ein Theater nach antikem Muster Brief an Adler vom 24.02.1887; Georg Kawerau zeichnet den Plan nach seinem Entwurf.	1915	Berlin Dahlem, Grabmal für seine Schwester Anna Keine Pläne; Lebenslauf S. 33.
1887	Athen, Vorentwurf für DAI Athen Keine Pläne vorhanden; s. S. 318 f.	1925/1926	Maguliana, Haus für den Vorarbeiter von Olympia Angelis Kosmopoulos Unterlagen im Dörpfeld-Archiv DAI Athen
1891/1892	Kephissia, Sommerhaus Bau noch bestehend, Pläne im Archiv DAI Berlin; s. S. 327–329	1929	Athen, Vorentwurf für Neubau des DAI Vorentwürfe und Baubeschreibung im Archiv DAI Berlin; s. S. 331–334
1896/1898	Kephissia, Anbau an Sommerhaus Bau noch bestehend, Pläne im Archiv DAI Berlin; s. S. 328 f.	1936	Leukas, Obelisk als Denkmal für Ithaka und Odysseus heute noch stehend; Lebenslauf S. 60 im Archiv des DAI Athen
1896/1898	Athen, Deutsche Schule und Lehrerwohnung Bau noch bestehend, aber aufgestockt (1941) s. S. 331 f.	1937/1939	Leukas, Sommerhaus für Konsul Diel Lebenslauf S. 66 im Archiv des DAI Athen
1899	Athen, Bibliothek des DAI Bau noch bestehend, verschiedene Veränderungen, Pläne im DAI Athen; s. S. 321–324		

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HINWEISE FÜR AUTOREN

In den *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, werden Beiträge zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands von der Vorgeschichte bis in die Spätantike publiziert. Es gelten die Richtlinien für Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, die im AA 2005/2, 309–399 und AA 2012/2, 275 f. sowie stets aktuell auf der Homepage des DAI unter <www.dainst.org> veröffentlicht sind. Dort finden Sie die allgemeinen Hinweise der Herausgeber zum Begutachtungsverfahren und zu Zitiernormen, außerdem die Anleitungen zur formalen Gestaltung und Abgabe von Manuskripten.

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ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ

Στο περιοδικό *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* δημοσιεύονται μελέτες που αφορούν στην αρχαιολογία και ιστορία της τέχνης της Ελλάδας από τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους έως και την ύστερη αρχαιότητα.

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