

The Power of Ruins

*A Historical Analysis of Cult Activity Related to
Mycenaean Remains in the Argolid*



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Thesis under the supervision of
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[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Tholos_Tomb_of_Clytemnestra_at_the_archaeological_site_of_Mycenae_on_26_March_2019.jpg]

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Abstract

This thesis looks into the diachronic and geographical distribution of post-Helladic cult activity at Mycenaean ruins within the Argolid and how this is influenced by historical developments. Part I consist of a catalog with all the archaeological evidence of this cult activity. Part II presents the analysis of the data acquired in Part I in three chapters. The first, diachronic, chapter determines the peaks and depths of post-Helladic cult activity throughout time, which results in a chronology. This chronology revealed an enormous decline in cult activity during the Classical period. The origin of these Classical finds are uncovered in the second chapter, which were used to create a geographical pattern. It turned out that almost all Classical finds came from the Sanctuary of Apollo Maeleatas in Epidauros, the Heraion Sanctuary at the Prosymna Settlement or several sites within Argos. All the other sites were more or less abandoned. The last chapter presents the idea of territoriality of cult activity, influenced by politics. In 462 B.C., both Tiryns and Mycenae were sacked by Argos, which damaged the networks of worshippers in that area. Other sites in the area of Tiryns and Mycenae also lacked cult activity, probably caused by Argos as well. However, Epidauros, Argos and Prosymna continued to thrive and were less affected by the decline of cult activity. This shows that these areas, some more than others, all were under the control of Argos.

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Introduction

‘For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.’¹

Religion was an inextricable part of Ancient Greek life. Religious life was intertwined with philosophy, politics, arts, education; just to name a few. Cults were initiated at sacred sites to satisfy and thank the gods, heroes, or ancestors for the services they provided. Some sites were considered more sacred than others, which resulted in the development of sanctuaries. How did the Greeks determine which site was sacred, and which was not? One significant facet was the natural environment. However, Ancient Greeks were also highly receptive of the history of their lands, which was displayed in the ruins scattered across the landscape. These magnificent ruins of prehistoric palaces, large building complexes and royal tombs ignited the creation of many stories, myths and legends by Greeks who were in awe of their grandiosity. This is, obviously, not new information but the result of many years of archaeological and historical research.

Most of this previous research has been centered on tomb cult. One of the most prominent experts of this subject is Nicolas Coldstream. He attributed the rise of tomb cult to the distribution of Homeric epics, which were circulating throughout mainland Greece during the late Geometric and early Archaic periods. Coldstream focuses mainly on what he calls the ‘Age of Homer’, which he dates between 750 and 650 B.C. Important for tomb cult is that the offerings at prehistoric tombs must have been dedicated after a gap of several centuries after the original burials, so that ancestor cult can be ruled out. His notion of tomb cult is that cult reflects saga, which means that people were inspired by these stories about the heroic past. The Argolid and Messenia were most susceptible to these influences, because these regions were covered with Mycenaean tholos tombs; the Argolid and Messenia were essentially ‘the heartlands of the Mycenaean world’.² Another important element of his argumentation is the burial circumstances of the Geometric and Archaic periods. The enormous tholos tombs of the Mycenaeans had become obsolete in most parts of Greece. People buried their dead in simpler, individual graves. So, imagine the impact of seeing an enormous beehive construction used for burials, including the many valuable offerings which were

¹ *Thuc.* II 43 (transl. Jowett)

² Coldstream 1976: 12.

placed in them. These finds instigated wonderment, which resulted in the dedication of offerings at these sites. This was inspired by the circulation of Homeric epics of that time. Coldstream argued that '[...] the new Dorian settlers paid them no respect until the spread of Homeric epic impelled them to do so'.³ While the Geometric and Archaic periods were indeed significant for the emergence of tomb cult, this strong emphasis on the influence of Homeric works is outdated and an excellent example of 'Homer-centrism' (which is a typical product of its time). It is misleading that Homer's works were the only epics that caused these tomb cults.

In his *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City state*, François de Polignac focused both on tomb cult and on the placement of Greek sanctuaries.⁴ Just like Coldstream, he mainly emphasizes sanctuaries that were established in the 8th century. He argued that a plethora of the 8th century sanctuaries were situated in extra-urban areas and that these were at least, if not more, important than their urban counterparts. These extra-urban sanctuaries were usually located on the edges of a city state's territory. Processions were held from the city center, conventionally the agora or acropolis, to the extra-urban sanctuaries to establish a strong connection with the countryside of the city state. Furthermore, in his last chapter he describes the role of tomb cult in claiming territory by the local elite. While the content of this last chapter seems a rather arbitrary addition to the first three chapters about extra-urban sanctuaries, a connection between the two phenomena can be made. De Polignac relates both phenomena to the formation of the *polis*. Hero cult could be constructed on tombs of the city founders, but also appeared at Mycenaean tombs. Tombs of an ancestor or hero were used to justify territorial claims, in the same way the extra-urban sanctuaries functioned. Furthermore, De Polignac also reacts to previous research on hero cult in this chapter. He mainly agrees with Coldstream's time frame and argues the practice originated between 750 and 700 B.C. He does not, however, agree with Coldstream's theory that the distribution of Homeric poems were the cause of this practice. Instead, he argues that "The coincidence of the diffusion of both epic poems and offerings in ancient tombs, far from pointing to a strictly causal relationship, testifies rather to a general interest in the memory of the "heroic ages" that look two close but separate forms".⁵

Ian Morris also researched the phenomenon of tomb cult. Morris agrees with Coldstream that tomb cult was popular during Coldstream's 'Age of Homer', but sees an earlier origin around 950 B.C. It was only after 750 B.C. that tomb cult was redefined and manipulated for power. Morris

³ Coldstream 1976: 14.

⁴ De Polignac 1995 (English translation of his work from 1984). His work has been highly influential in the way archaeologists and historians interpret sanctuaries and their placements. His theory deflects from a central focus towards a more peripheral emphasis.

⁵ *Idem*: 139.

also relates tomb cult to heroes from epic but downplays the effect of Homeric epic for which he reiterates Anthony Snodgrass' arguments, which are as follows. Snodgrass' first argument against the impact of Homeric epic is art-historical. He states that vases of the 8th century do not represent Homeric scenes. The second is archaeological: Homer's heroes cremated their dead, while most Mycenaean tombs included inhumations. This is a significant inconsistency that cannot be satisfactorily explained. The third is philological, Snodgrass argued that the word *heros* had two definitions: "In epic, it describes a living man, usually a warrior, with no special afterlife. In later writers, it refers to someone already dead, often but by no means always from the legendary past, who is now worshipped at his tomb".⁶ Snodgrass proposes that the burials in the Mycenaean tombs were not associated with Homeric heroes, but rather with the heroes of the Silver race of Hesiod. While Morris generally agrees with his argument, he argues that cults had long histories and probably worked in complex ways, so that perhaps only one interpretation does not suffice. He concludes that tomb cult must have been varied and ambiguous.

Susan Alcock takes Coldstream's and Morris' arguments a step further. She argues that cult activity at Mycenaean tombs also experienced a significant growth during the Hellenistic period. She explains this growth by the idea that the communities of Greece were subjected to powershifts, with internal and external pressures, which created a new social order. These tensions created periods of "crisis" in Greek history and tomb cult was a way to express and resolve internal conflicts. This theory is also applicable to the climax of cult activity during the Archaic period.⁷

James Whitley explores the connections between tomb cult and hero cult. He agrees with the above authors that these cults are related to the territory of Greek city states and that most of these originate in the Archaic or Geometric period. He adds that these cults were used to confirm, question or legitimize existing power relations. He classifies four different kinds of hero cult: 'Cults to named heroes from epic', 'Cults to minor, named, heroes', 'Cults to the recently dead and posthumously heroized' and 'Cults established in or over Bronze Age tombs'.⁸

Carla Antonaccio, specialized in Mediterranean archaeology, is one of the most prominent scholars in the field of tomb cult and has done extensive research on the subject. Her book *An Archaeology of Ancestors* gives an overview of hero cult and tomb cult in early Greece.⁹ While her research is very extensive, only tombs and heroes are included in her research, leaving aside any other type of ruins or cults dedicated to gods. Her work is an overview of the archaeological

⁶ Morris 1988: 754.

⁷ Alcock (1991) shows that the emphasis on the Archaic period is somewhat deceiving, since other periods might reflect similar effects.

⁸ Whitley 1995.

⁹ Antonaccio 1995.

evidence on hero cults, but misses a discussion of broader trends or patterns.

And finally, David Boehringer's research *Heroenkulte in Griechenland von der geometrischen bis zur klassischen Zeit* is also dedicated to hero cult.¹⁰ He uses archaeological findings as a basis for further historical interpretations. He argues that heroes were worshipped with a specific function in mind, which, according to him, was the function of border guardians. However, he states that one theory providing a singular explanation for all cases that include hero cult is not sufficient for the phenomenon that is called hero cult, since it is very complex and different in each context. The locality of each case of hero cult is important. To show this, he examines Attica, the Argolid and Messenia in detail. In fact, he is the first scholar that does not limit itself to Mycenaean tombs as places of worship, but also includes other types of monuments, such as houses. He does, however, limit his subject to hero cult and only treats the archaic period.

What these studies lacked, however, is the incorporation of other types of Post Helladic cult activity based on Mycenaean ruins. Some of the included sites are not only related to hero cult but might also entail other types of cult. This is most clearly represented in **The Aphrodision in Argos**, which was not dedicated to a hero, but to the goddess Aphrodite. Also, most studies focus mainly or only on tombs, and do not include other types of Mycenaean remains. In this study, the remains of Mycenaean houses (e.g. **Profitis Ilias**), a fortress (**The Larissa Hill Fortress in Argos**), palaces (e.g. **The Citadel of Mycenae**), tombs (e.g. **The Deiras Valley Cemetery in Argos**) and a sanctuary (**The Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Epidauros**) all reflect Post Helladic cult activity. Furthermore, most historical interpretations are focused mainly on the formation of *poleis* during the Geometric period, while other historical developments might be of interest as well in this context. I chose to investigate the Argolid region because it includes many Mycenaean remains and its size is suitable as a subject for this research. The intention of this research is to uncover to what extent the historical developments can explain the sacred landscape of the Argolid based on Mycenaean ruins. This has led me to the following research question: "How is the diachronic and geographical distribution of post-Helladic cult activity at Mycenaean ruins within the Argolid influenced by historical developments?"

To provide an answer to this question, I have assembled all the archaeological evidence for post-Helladic cult activity at Mycenaean remains within the Argolid region in Part I of this thesis. This catalog includes both old and new archaeological evidence that, when combined, offer an overview of cult activity at Mycenaean ruins in the Argolid. What new insights will this evidence

¹⁰ At first glance, Boehringer's research (2001) looks very similar to mine. While he also investigates the Argolid, he fails to mention sites like Epidauros, Magoula and Midea, which are very important sites within the Argolid and must be taken into consideration within this topic. Also, he only focuses on the Archaic period.

spawn? The catalog is structured in such a way that the reader can make sense of the information that is provided by the excavators. The evidence of each site is shortly presented in a table, which includes the Mycenaean remains found at this particular site, the dating of the finds, a short description of the location, an enumeration of the pottery finds, an inventory of the Post Helladic (Sub-Mycenaean to Hellenistic) cultic remains, the archaeological report(s) of the site, the archaeological summaries presented in archaeological magazines, a bibliography of the site used in later research, the ancient literature that refers to this site and the hyperlinks of Chronique- and Helladic-pages which summarize the archaeological material found on site. Chronique is a search engine that provides a synopsis of the information gathered from archaeological reports.¹¹ This is useful to locate Post Helladic cult activity, which might have been located at Mycenaean ruins. Helladic.info is another search engine which provides the locations and finds of Helladic sites, which is useful to locate Mycenaean ruins that might have received Post Helladic cult activity.¹²

To be able to gather the material evidence of cult activity, it is important to know how to recognize cult activity in the archaeological record. Floris van den Eijnde provides a suitable framework for this purpose. He defines cult as follows:

*A religious cult is defined by a coherent set of material correlates that are indicative of the habitual performance of sacred acts.*¹³

This definition reflects the importance of material evidence that is the result of cult activity. Cult activity can be identified by several indicators, such as votive offerings (such as figurines), sacrifices (animal bones), a public display of wealth (dedication of statues), religious architecture (e.g. temples), religious iconography (a cult statue) and facilities for ritual practice (e.g. an altar). There are several degrees of cult activity. The first degree is feasting. Feasting could also have a cultic meaning but is trickier to detect than other types of cult activity. A way to find evidence of feasting in the archaeological record is by its connection to food and the material needed for that, such as specific kinds of pottery (related to food preparation or consumption). The amount, quality and state of pottery is also important for the interpretation of a feast. Drinking vessels can be related to libations, but also to drinking, an important part of symposia. Another indicator is the consumption of meat, because these leave traces (animal bones, teeth and ash) that are more durable

¹¹ The somewhat older archaeological reports from the Chronique website (<https://chronique.efa.gr>) are mainly from French journals, but newer reports also include journals from other countries.

¹² The Helladic website (<https://helladic.info>) is developed by Robert Consoli, with contributions from Dr. Sarah Murray from the University of Nebraska.

¹³ Van den Eijnde 2010: 50.

than for instance vegetarian dishes. To grill this meat, a hearth is needed, which is another possible indicator for feast. However, these elements are usually not enough to discern ritual banqueting from a regular meal. If no votive gifts are found on site, the best indication of a feast is when the finds are located near Bronze Age remains or a sanctuary.¹⁴ One site which reflects these elements of feasting is **105 Irakleous Street in Argos**.

The second degree of cult activity is a shrine. This is a site that is generally considered as sacred and has received one or a small amount of votive offerings. A typical site where a shrine could be situated might for instance be a cave or, indeed, Bronze Age remains. A passerby might dedicate one or two votive offerings to this sacred site, which can now be classified as a shrine. If others follow, or there seems to start a continuous flow of votive offerings, the shrine might evolve into a sanctuary. A good example of a shrine is **Tripoleos Street in Argos**.

A sanctuary represents the highest degree of cult activity, in which cult activity is formalized and set in stone. The most important indicator is not a temple, but an altar. It is essential that sacrifices can be made at a sanctuary, but most sanctuaries also include a temple. This was the case, for instance, at **The Heraion of Prosymna (settlement)**. Thus, while monumentality is not a requirement, it is a useful indicator to detect a sanctuary. At a sanctuary, feasting and votives are usually also incorporated into its religious architecture.

The problem with identifying cult is that most rituals are invisible in the material record. Many offerings, for instance, were made of organic materials, such as cakes. These offerings are not as visible in the material record as for instance a relief made of stone, which is much more durable.

Another problem that is significant in the field of archaeology is the enormous difference in quality of excavation achievements. Early excavators were not as precise and careful as excavators are today. Some types of material evidence, such as plain pottery, were discarded because it was not perceived as valuable, while other types of material evidence, such as jewelry, were considered valuable and were displayed in museums. Early excavators essentially pillaged the ancient sites. Furthermore, some early archaeologists considered certain periods more interesting than others (e.g. the Mycenaean period was considered more appealing than the later 'Dark Ages'), which resulted in the discarding of most materials that did not fit in this context. This is most evident at **The Citadel of Mycenae**. These practices give a distorted view of the evidence, which do not represent the original circumstances of these finds. Some sites are excavated by early archaeologists when documenting the post-Mycenaean finds was not considered a priority. Documentation of

¹⁴ Van den Eijnde (2010: 45-50) has written a whole chapter about identifying a feast.

excavations is important to unravel the context of the finds, which is important for the dating and interpretations of the material. Another troubling matter is the fact that valuable goods were looted throughout history, which is most noticeable in tombs. A great example of this is Chamber Tomb XII in **The Deiras Valley Cemetery of Argos**. This means that possible indicators of cult activity may have been lost forever. However, some ruins still contain evidence that might indicate cult practice, which are presented in this thesis.

Part II deals with the analysis of all the data acquired in the catalog of Part I. Part II consists of three analytical chapters. The aim of the first chapter is to determine the peaks and depths of cult activity throughout time. This results in a chronology of cult activity at Mycenaean remains, which is based on the archaeological evidence presented in Part I. Insights in the chronology offer some new perspectives on cult activity. The second chapter investigates the material evidence further, to see if some connections can be made with the chronology established in Chapter 1 and the different cult sites of the Argolid. The different types of material evidence of cult activity are presented and then pinpointed to their provenance. This reveals a geographical pattern between certain cult sites. The last chapter presents the idea of territoriality of cult activity as an explanation to the patterns which are uncovered in the first two chapters. The territoriality reflects certain historical developments that can be linked to these increases and decreases in cult activity. The outcome of these chapters provide an answer to the research question posed above. In this thesis, I thus explore the historical developments that influenced Post Helladic cult activity near Mycenaean remains within the Argolid.

Chronology

The chronology provided below is based upon the chronological divisions used by Floris van den Eijnde.¹⁵ Almost all dates are estimations and cannot be taken at face value. The accuracy of some of these dates are debated to this day.

Period	Subdivisions	Absolute Dates	Abbreviation
Bronze Age (BA)	Early Helladic	ca. 2800–2100	EH
	Middle Helladic	ca. 2100–1550	MH
	Late Helladic I	ca. 1550–1500	LH I
	Late Helladic II	ca. 1500–1400	LH II
	Late Helladic IIIA	ca. 1400–1300	LH IIIA
	Late Helladic IIIB	ca. 1300–1200	LH IIIB
	Late Helladic IIIC	ca. 1200–1075	LH IIIC
	Sub-Mycenaean	ca. 1075–1025	SM
Early Iron Age (EIA)	Proto-Geometric	ca. 1025–900	PG
	Early Geometric	ca. 900–850	EG
	Middle Geometric	ca. 850–760	MG
	Late Geometric	ca. 760–700	LG
Archaic		ca. 700–480	A
	Sub-Geometric/Early Archaic	ca. 700–600	SG/EA
Classical		480–338	Cl
Hellenistic		338–31	H
Roman		31–395 (AD)	R
Byzantine		395–1453 (AD)	Byz

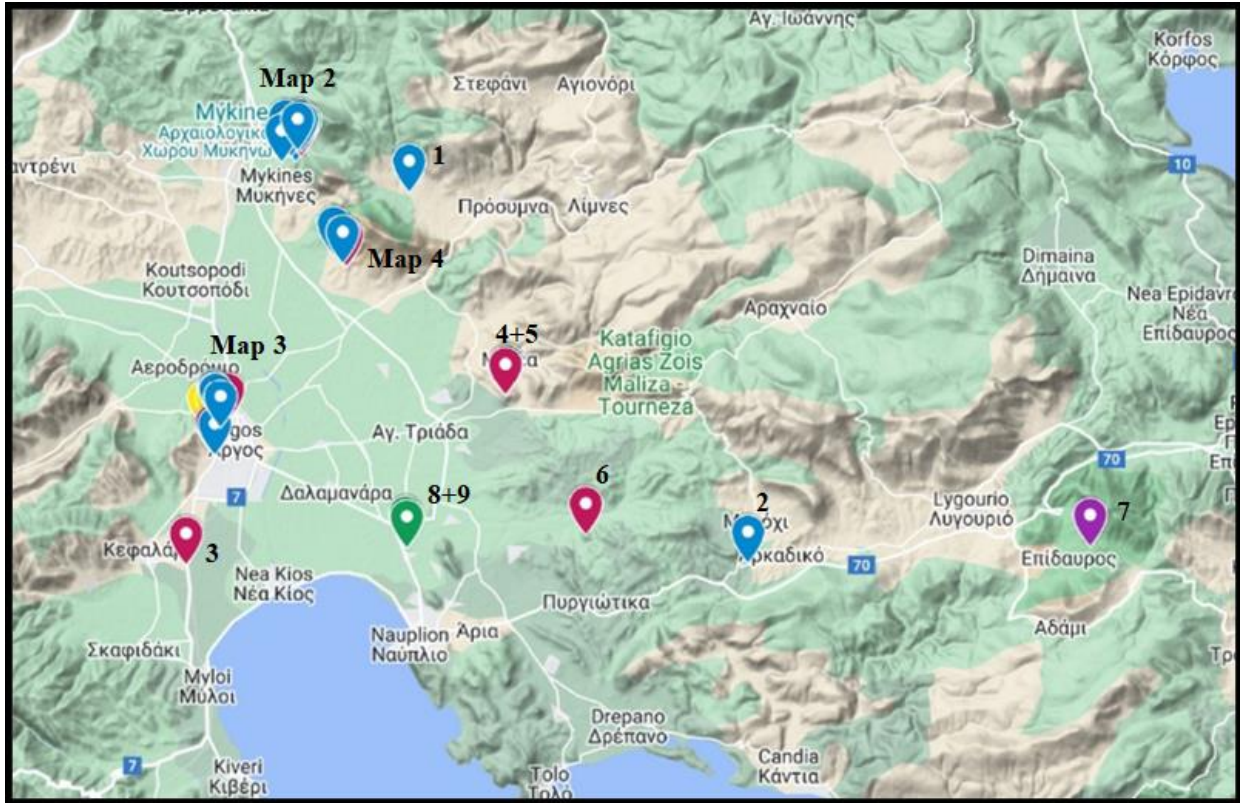
¹⁵ Van den Eijnde 2010: 58. The chronology presented above is a simpler version of his.

Part I: Catalog

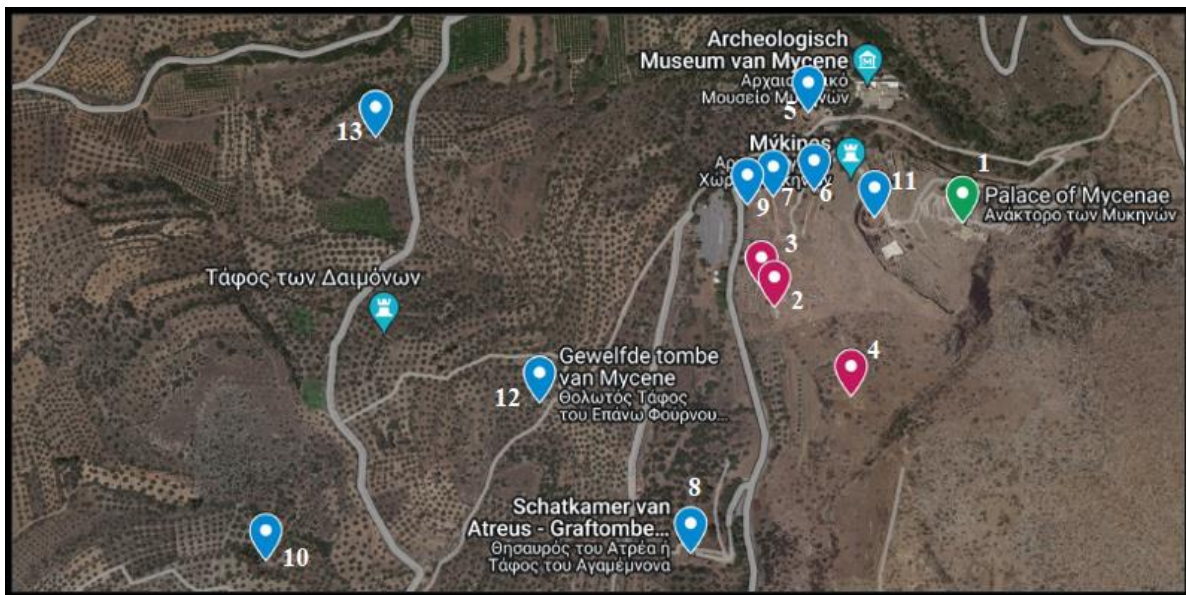
Table 1: All sites of Map 1, 2, 3 and 4.¹⁶

Map 1	Map 2	Map 3	Map 4
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Berbati: Tholos Tomb 2) Kazarma: Tholos Tomb 3) Magoula 4) Midea: West Gate Area 5) Midea: Palace 6) Profitis Ilias 7) Epidauros: Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas 8) Tiryns: Lower Castle 9) Tiryns: Upper Castle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Mycenae: Citadel 2) Mycenae: East House 3) Mycenae: House of the Oil Merchant 4) Mycenae: Lower Town 5) Mycenae: Lion Tomb 6) Mycenae: Tomb of Aegisthus 7) Mycenae: Tomb of Clytemnestra 8) Mycenae: Treasury of Atreus 9) Mycenae: Chamber Tomb 222 10) Mycenae: Chamber Tomb 513 11) Mycenae: Grave Circle A 12) Mycenae: Epano Phournos 13) Mycenae: Kato Phournos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Argos: 105 Irakleous Street 2) Argos: 22 Karantza Street 3) Argos: 22 Karantza Street 4) Argos: 44 Karantza Street 5) Argos: The Aphrodision 6) Argos: Aspidos Street 7) Argos: Deiras Valley (Trench L, Chamber Tomb XXIX and XXX) 8) Argos: Deiras Valley (Dromos X) 9) Argos: Deiras Valley (Dromos XIX, Trench JO, Chamber Tomb XII) 10) Argos: Larissa Hill Fortress 11) Argos: Tripoleos Street 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Prosymna: Cemetery 2) Prosymna: Tholos Tomb 3) Prosymna: Settlement

¹⁶ Table made by author. The blue bullet points are tombs/cemeteries, the red ones houses/settlements, green are palaces, purple are sanctuaries and yellow are fortresses.



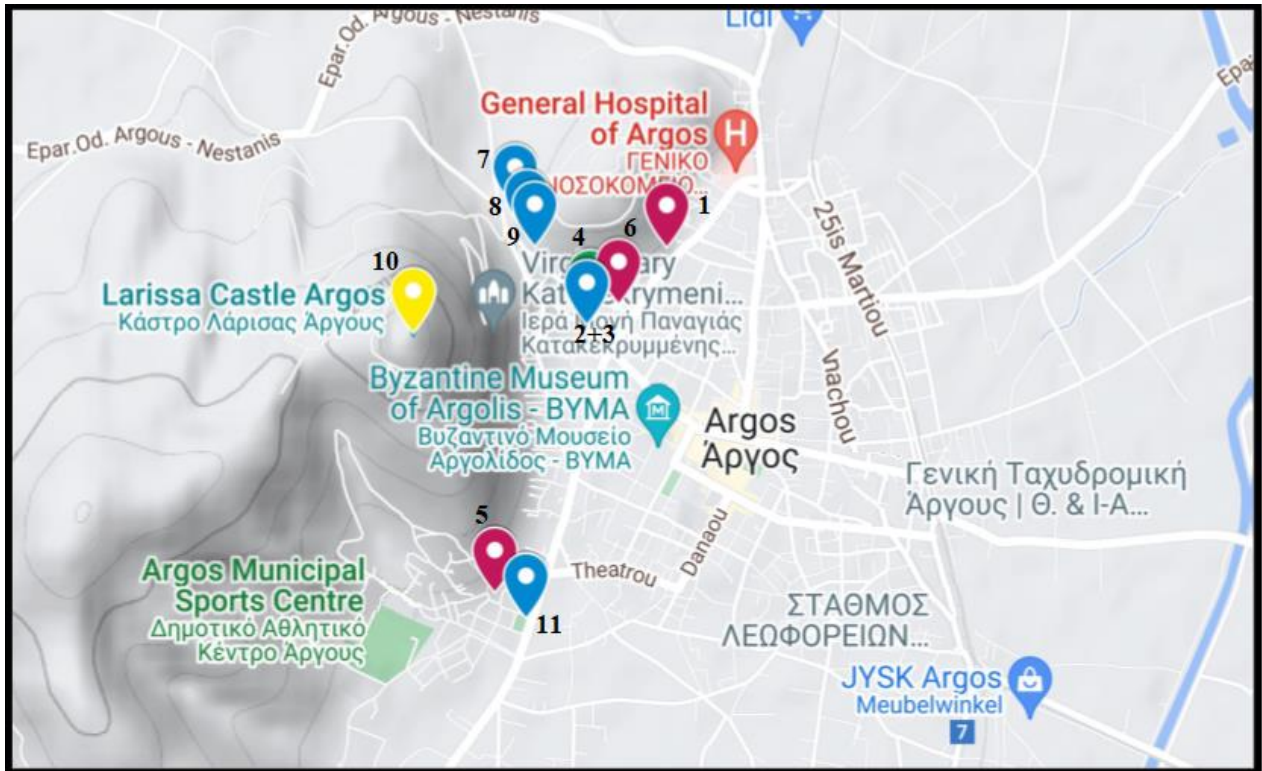
Map 1: Overview Map of Cult Sites located at Mycenaean Remains in the Argolid.¹⁷



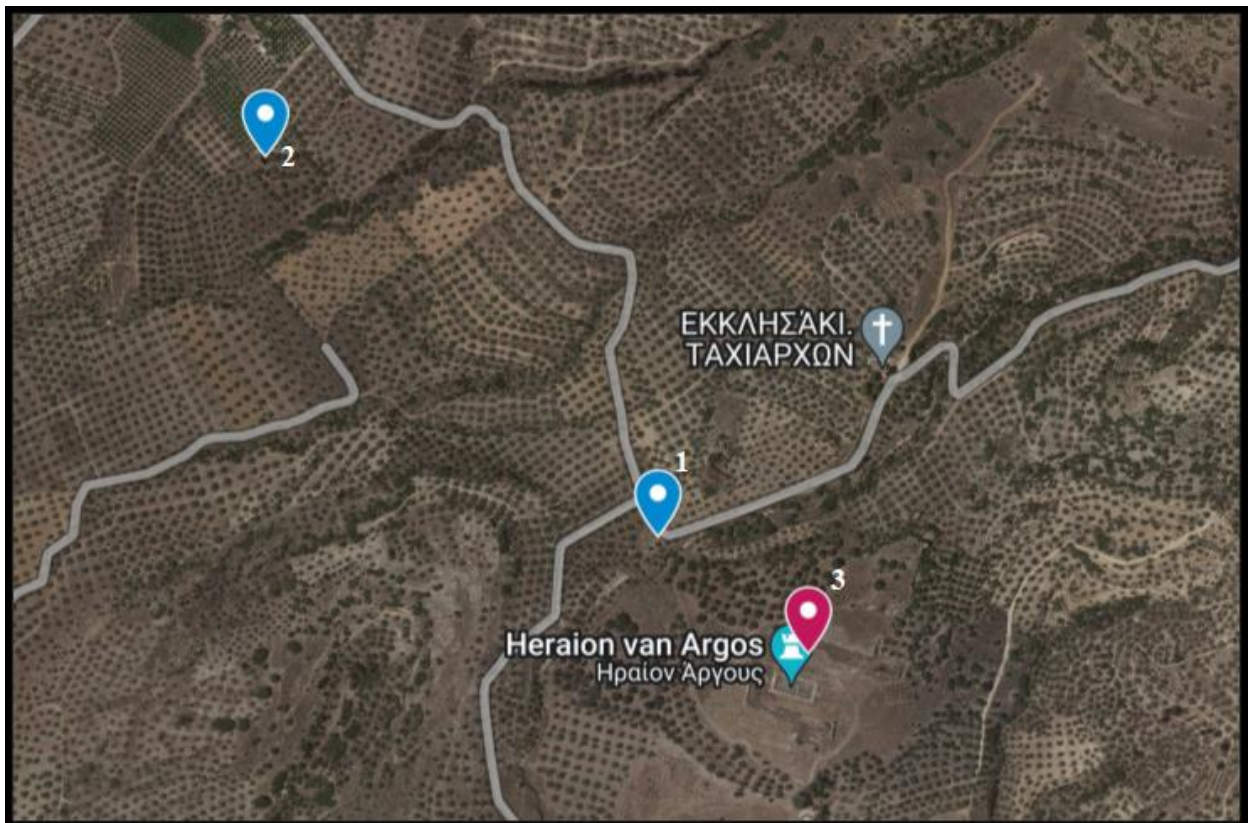
Map 2: Map of Mycenae Area with Cult Sites located at Mycenaean Remains.¹⁸

¹⁷ This map is created by the author on Google My Maps. If you use the following link (<https://rb.gy/iyr8hd>), you can operate the interactive map, which is a lot more accessible. This interactive map also includes the caption, explaining the different colors. This overview map is created in the map setting 'Terrain'.

¹⁸ This map is also subtracted from my interactive map (<https://rb.gy/iyr8hd>). This time, the map settings are changed to 'Satellite', so that the area is easier to visualize.



Map 3: Map of Argos with Cult Sites located at Mycenaean Remains.¹⁹



Map 4: Map of Prosymna Area with Cult Sites located at Mycenaean Remains.²⁰

¹⁹ See above footnote.

²⁰ This map includes the cemetery, tholos tomb and settlement of Prosymna.

Argos

105 Irakleous Street

Mycenaean remains	Building remains (house?)
Dating	LH; G; C; H
Location	105 Irakleous Street, Argos (Property of K. Theodoropoulou), southeast slope of Aspis Hill
Pottery	LH IA alabastron, Geometric craters, 4 th and 3 rd century B.C. utilitarian pottery (unspecified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Animal bones, <i>bothroi</i>
Archaeological report	▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 63 B1 (2008): 259-261.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	-
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	2411 , 6237 , C979

The evidence for cult at 105 Irakleous Street in Argos is rather scanty. At this address, remains of a Mycenaean building have been found with a late Classical/early Hellenistic stratum on top. This later stratum included three *bothroi* (pits) cut into the deeper LH layer [Figure 7]. The *bothroi* contained the remains of broken horns, utilitarian pottery fragments of the 4th and 3rd century, stones and animal bones.²¹ Unfortunately, it is not known if these remains were burnt. The pottery and horns are found in fragments, but complete, which may indicate deliberate smashing, and hence can be interpreted as ritualistic.²² While the *bothroi* with contents can be interpreted as a feast; they might also have been used for a domestic purpose. The existence of three *bothroi* within such close proximity, is, however, quite peculiar and seems a bit excessive in such a small domestic environment. Furthermore, the *bothroi* are cut into the Mycenaean layers, as if the user wanted to have access to these layers when feasting. Since no votive gifts are found at this site, the best indication for the interpretation of a feast is its proximity to Bronze Age remains.²³ While feasting is a phenomenon which is difficult to discern from archaeological remains only, the connection of the *bothroi* with the underlying Mycenaean layers makes this interpretation very likely. It is probable, though, that these people did not know about the history of this site.

²¹ *ArchDelt* 63 B1 (2008): 259-261. All the information gathered from *Archaiologikon Deltion* is presented in modern Greek, which I do not master, so hopefully the translation is sufficient.

²² Van den Eijnde (2010: 46) describes this phenomenon in his chapter on feasting.

²³ *Idem*: 45-50.

22 Karantza Street

Mycenaean remains	Building foundations (house), cist grave
Dating	MH, LH II-III A, G, A, C, H
Location	22 Karantza Street (Property of P. Marlagoutsou), northwest area of Argos
Pottery	MH pottery; LH pottery (unspecified), cup; Geometric pottery of figurative style with humans and horses, Archaic/Classical black-painted pottery; Hellenistic unguentaria and other (unspecified) pottery
Post Helladic cultic remains	Deposits with Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic female figurines, figurine of African boy and fragment of male statue, Geometric pottery sherds with figurative style
Archaeological report	▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 63 B1 (2008): 256-257.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	-
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	6235

The excavation at 22 Karantza Street in Argos uncovered Mycenaean building foundations of the LH II-III A period [Figure 8]. These foundations were partly covered by the remains of a Hellenistic building. A Hellenistic deposit was found within this building, which included a fragment of a male statue. Several Archaic and Classical deposits, which included three female figurines, were dug up throughout the excavation area. Another fairly unusual find was the figurine of an African boy. Fine ware was also found on site, consisting of Geometric sherds of the Argive vase painting style, which included the portrayal of humans and horses. The pottery shapes are, unfortunately, not disclosed in the excavation report. The three graves were found next to the Mycenaean building, of which two are Late Middle Helladic and one is Mycenaean. The latter is a cist grave which dates to the same period as the Mycenaean building.²⁴

The Mycenaean ruins, which probably included the three graves (even though no later material was found within the graves), received veneration throughout antiquity. The fine ware sherds of the Geometric period might already be interpreted as cultic. The Archaic and Classical deposits are clearly of sacrificial nature. The female figurines allude to the worship of a goddess, while the male statue implies the veneration of a male god or hero. The African boy figurine does not seem to correlate to either option, and might therefore rather be a representation of the worshipper, instead of the deity or hero. Another possibility is that there is no direct relation to the devotee or divinity. Instead, the figurine is just an artistic rendering of an African boy, which

²⁴ *ArchDelt* 63 B1 (2008): 256.

became more popular during the Hellenistic period.²⁵ If the other figurines indeed reflect the deity or hero, the deity or hero venerated at the Mycenaean remains in Archaic and Classical times must have been female, which for some reason shifted to a male deity or hero in the Hellenistic period. Whoever it was that was subject to veneration, it is clear that veneration took place here.

²⁵ Listen to the audio fragment via <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250673>. This is not about the figurine described here, but one that is similar.

44 Karantza Street

Mycenaean remains	Building remains (room of palatial building ?), hearth
Dating	MH; LH; G; A
Location	44 Karantza Street (Property of Siambli), northwest area of Argos
Pottery	MH, Mycenaean, Geometric and Archaic sherds (unspecified), Geometric and Archaic small vessels
Post Helladic cultic remains	Rich sanctuary deposit with small vessels, figurines of horses and riders, weapons, many pieces of iron oxides
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 28 B1 (1973): 121-122; ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 29 B2 (1973-1974): 208.
Summaries	▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 104.2 (1980): 596.
Bibliography	-
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	-

Mycenaean building remains were discovered at 44 Karantza Street. The remains included a large room with a gigantic hearth filled with a layer of red earth, charcoal, and traces of fire. The building layout and size of the hearth makes the excavator interpret this building as possibly palatial. A rich sanctuary deposit was found at the plot, which included many Geometric and small Archaic vessels, figurines of horses and riders, weapons, and many pieces of iron oxides (which – according to the excavator – are often found in the vicinity of ancient temples).²⁶ The interpretation of the Mycenaean building as palatial is very promising, but this theory cannot be confirmed with certainty since no further excavations have been executed in this area.

Near the Mycenaean building remains, a rich sanctuary deposit was uncovered. This deposit included Archaic and Geometric figurines of horses and riders. Both Athena and Poseidon were the patrons of horses, and one of them might have been the subject of veneration here.²⁷ Miniature vessels and weapons usually also have a ritual function, which makes the ritual interpretation of the deposit even more likely. The excavator's comment on the pieces of iron oxides is very interesting. This would mean a sanctuary must have been located nearby. Unfortunately, the excavation is – other than a short description in a journal – not published. Not even a plan was provided, which makes further interpretations very difficult.

²⁶ *ArchDelt* 29 B2 (1973-1974): 208.

²⁷ Camp (1998: 5-9) writes about horses and horsemanship in Athens, but much of his writing applies to other sites as well.

The Aphrodision

Mycenaean remains	LH IIIB-C house remains, hearths
Dating	MH; LH; A; C; H; R; Byz
Location	Quartier Sud, on the slopes of Larissa Hill, beyond the theater
Pottery	MH vases (including a kantharos), bowls, shards, polished red pottery, Minyan crater; Mycenaean ceramics, fragments of vessels, small amphora; Archaic stamnos, votive cups, craters, oenochoes and miniature amphorae; late Archaic/early Classical small vases, Classical oenochoe, skyphos, calathos, miniature lekythos, Blisterware, votive dishes, small spouted dishware and other shards; Hellenistic vases, votive dishes, lagynoi, "megarian" bowls, lamps, unguentaria and shards; Roman lamps and shards (sigillata, Pergamenian, Samian); Byzantine shards (unspecified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Temple remains, female and animal figurines, votive material (ornaments, relief fragments, phiale, mirror, rings), dedications to Aphrodite, votive dishes, relief fragments, ash, charcoal, peribolos, altar, miniature pottery, pottery used for libations/feasts
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 92.2 (1968): 1021-1039; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 93.2 (1969): 986-1012; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 96.2 (1972): 883-886; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 98.2 (1974): 759-763.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Darcque 2005: Pl. 8; ▪ Papadimitriou, Philippa-Touchais & Touchais 2015: 168-169.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 20.8
Chronique/Helladic	C978

The Aphrodision has a long history. The area was already in use during the Middle Helladic period and is still inhabited today. It is located in Quarter Sud and was excavated by the French Institute. Two LH IIIB-C houses with hearths were found under the Aphrodision [Figure 9], with several cist or pit graves of the same date in the vicinity.²⁸ The houses were deserted in LH IIIC and not inhabited until the creation of the first Archaic cult site at the end of the 7th century. A vast quantity of Archaic votive material was found in deposits under the pronaos and against the foundation of the Classical temple, which mainly included figurines, miniature pottery and pottery related to the storing and drinking of wine. The figurines were almost all female, either standing or sitting, and were equipped with various attributes, such as a cithara, flower, fruit, dove, deer, bow or shield. Animal figurines were also found on site, of which most were birds. Archaic and Classical dedications to Aphrodite were made, as can be seen by the inscriptions on several sherds.²⁹ Lead figurines, ornaments and two relief fragments were also found, of which one was a medallion of Harpy and the other the scene of a struggle. The bronze objects include a phiale, a mirror, a figurine,

²⁸ Pariente & Touchais 1998: 12.

²⁹ *BCH* 92.2 (1968): 1026-1028.

and some rings. All these objects are clearly interpretable as votives. All the offerings found under the foundations were older than the temple and must have been part of the Archaic cult site. Behind the Classical foundations, some older foundations have been uncovered, which probably were the remains of an Archaic temple. These remains were included in the construction of the new temple.³⁰ Unfortunately, not much is published about these remains.

A peribolos wall was constructed at the end of the 6th century, while the Classical temple was not constructed until 430-420 B.C.³¹ The remains of this temple consist of the foundations [Figure 10] and some architectural pieces scattered over the site. The temple was 13.4m long and 6.2m wide; it entailed only a pronaos and cella.³² A monumental altar also has been uncovered.³³ A plethora of Classical pottery was found, including a variety of dishware, vessels for wine, and small spouted dishware. These were probably used for feasts and/or libations and they might have had a ritual function.

The Hellenistic remains are very sporadic within the *temenos* (sacred enclosure). Many Hellenistic sherds (including lagynoi, bowls, lamps and unguentaria) are found in the area and some Hellenistic strata are found outside the *temenos* as well, but no Hellenistic building remains are found within. Although it seems that the leveling in the Roman period has cut these remains back, the cult site probably also experienced a substantial decline in activity during the Hellenistic period.³⁴ The lagynoi, bowls and unguentaria might have been used in a feast or as a sacrificial deposit.

The Mycenaean house remains were evidently used to form the later cult of Aphrodite.

³⁰ *BCH* 93.2 (1969): 996.

³¹ *Idem*: 1002-1003.

³² *Idem*: 992-994.

³³ *Idem*: 986.

³⁴ *Idem*: 1005.

Aspidos Street

Mycenaean remains	LH IIIA walls and floor (house?)
Dating	MH; LH II-III A; G; A; H
Location	Aspidos Street (Property of Aik. Fotopoulou), southeast slope of Aspis Hill
Pottery	MH pottery (kyathoi, prochooi, kantharos, canthus); LH II sherds (unspecified); Geometric sherds (unspecified), skyphoi and miniature oenochoe; Archaic sherds (unspecified); Hellenistic pottery (bottle, kyathos, lekythoi, skyphos, bowl)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Horse skeletons, figurines, apsidal construction (?)
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 35 B1 (1980): 116-117; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance</i> 113.2 (1989): 602-604.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	-
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	16821

The remains of LH IIIA walls and floor were found at the Property of Aik. Fotopoulou at Aspidos Street in Argos [Figure 11]. These walls and floor were probably part of a house. In the same area, a section of a Geometric arched wall was found, which must have been part of an apsidal construction. Directly on top of this construction, five Archaic decapitated horse burials were unearthed. Spread over the whole area, Hellenistic fragments of figurines were found.³⁵ The Geometric skyphoi and miniature oenochoe reflect the consumption or libation of wine at this location. The Hellenistic pottery includes pottery used for food consumption, the storage of oil or wine, and the drinking or libation of wine.

The ruins of the Mycenaean house seem to have received cultic attention. In Geometric times, apsidal constructions were commonly used for religious purposes.³⁶ While domestic use cannot be ruled out, the interpretation of a cultic building seems credible. The Geometric libation vessels are especially useful for this interpretation. The later evidence, such as the decapitated horse burials and the figurines, also contribute to the interpretation of a cultic function. The five decapitated horse burials are very unusual. Keeping horses was expensive, which only the richest people of society could afford.³⁷ Killing horses does not seem useful, unless they were sick. Unfortunately, evidence of disease was not investigated. However, the connection to the Mycenaean house and the Geometric apsidal building makes it unlikely that the horses were killed because of some disease.

³⁵ *ArchDelt* 35 B1 (1980): 116.

³⁶ Mazarakis Ainian (1997: 112) mentions many examples in his study, not only within the Argolid but many other Greek regions.

³⁷ Thomassen Flogfeldt (2009: 69) describes the meaning, value and history of horses and horsemanship.

The horses were probably sacrificed for the gods. The scattered figurine fragments and pottery also reflect this idea.

Deiras Valley: Cemetery

Mycenaean remains	Cemetery (chamber tombs and pit graves), grave gifts
Dating	MH; LH; G; SG; A; C; H; R; Byz
Location	Southwest of Aspis Hill, in the Deiras Valley (in between Aspis and Larissa Hill)
Pottery	MH sherds (grey minyan, matt-painted ceramics), crater and bowls; Mycenaean sherds, undecorated (footed) bowls, jugs, crater, stirrup vases, vase with holes, pot with feet, spouter pitcher, cup, rhyton, jars, amphora; Geometric sherd (decorated); Sub-Geometric sherds (not specified); Archaic kantharos, cupule and sherds; Classical sherds (skyphos); Hellenistic sherds (bowls, kantaros, amphorae, lamps, unguentaria); Roman sherds (lamps); Byzantine vase
Post Helladic cultic remains	Figurines, architectural remains (antefix ?)
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Vollgraff 1904: 364-399; ▪ Deshayes 1966.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hägg 1992: 12; ▪ Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 122; ▪ Philippa-Touchais & Papadimitriou 2015: 449-467; ▪ Papadimitriou, Philippa-Touchais & Touchais 2015: 168-169; ▪ Papadimitriou, Philippa-Touchais & Touchais 2020: 60-88.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 24.1-24.2
Chronique/Helladic	C969 , C970 , C971 , C972

The cemetery located in the Deiras Valley includes many Mycenaean chamber tombs and pit graves. Some of these contain later material that might be interesting in light of cult practices. Dromos XIX in Trench K [No. 1 in Figure 12] is one of these Mycenaean structures. It dates to LH IIIB. No chamber was built at the end of Dromos XIX, probably because of the hard limestone in this area. A Sub-Geometric sherd and two Sub-Geometric female terracotta figurines (DM 24 + 26) were found under a pavement made of round stones at the northern end of the dromos.³⁸ According to Professor of Classical Archaeology Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, this pavement was used for cult purposes, usually with regard to ritual meals.³⁹

Trench JO [No. 2 in Figure 12] includes two Mycenaean chamber tombs and one Mycenaean pit grave. Somewhere in between these tombs, at the surface, a skyphos fragment, cupule and four Sub-Geometric figurine fragments were found: DM 13a-d. DM 13a is a fragment of a horseman, DM 13 b & c are similar to figurines DM 24 and 26. DM 13d is a seated figure. According to Deshayes, several figurines of this type have been found by Vollgraff, but unfortunately, are not

³⁸ Deshayes (1966: 5-6; 54-55; 226) is a member of the French School of Athens and excavated the Deiras Valley cemetery.

³⁹ Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 122.

published.⁴⁰ The cupule and skyphos might indicate libations, which is the offering of wine, but it could also have been used as a votive, which is the offering of the pottery itself.

Several Mycenaean pit graves have been found in Trench L [No. 3 in Figure 12]. In this trench, an Archaic kantharos, some sherds, and a Sub-Geometric figurine fragment DM79 was found. This fragment is a female figurine of the same type as figurine DM 24 and 26.⁴¹ The kantharos might indicate libation practice or was dedicated as a votive.

Dromos X [No. 4 in Figure 12] did not have a chamber connected to its end, so dromos X also remained unused. It is not clear why. The dromos is not earlier than LH III B. Several later objects were found in the dromos, including some antefix fragments (first half of the 4th century), a Hellenistic sima fragment, Hellenistic lamps, a Hellenistic bowl, and a Hellenistic fragment of what probably is a rooster figurine. Apparently, the dedicator of this figurine did not know about the missing tomb. The figurine fragment did not receive a catalog number during excavations.⁴² Some of the objects might have been debris from the above sanctuary, while others were donated as votive gifts.

A Hellenistic deposit (second half of the 2nd century) was found at the dromos of Chamber Tomb XII [No. 5 in Figure 12]. Both chamber and dromos are dated to LH III A2 and was in use until III B.⁴³ The deposit was collected in the northern part of the dromos, near the hole through which grave robbers entered the tomb. It includes a female figurine head (DM9), some amphorae, many bowls (decorated with leaves and figures), a bronze lamp, and a kantharos fragment.⁴⁴ This deposit is probably a votive dump.

A fragment of a horseman figurine was found in Chamber Tomb XXIX [No. 6 in Figure 12]. The tomb dates to LH III A2, was in use until LH III B and reopened in LH III C. The Sub-Geometric figurine fragment was not labeled when found in the rubble of the collapsed vault.⁴⁵

Chamber Tomb XXX [No. 7 in Figure 12] was in use between LH III A1-B and reoccupied in LH IIIC. It had a collapsed vault, through which some offerings were made. The first being fragment DM 109, a Hellenistic terracotta figurine head.⁴⁶ Other interesting finds were a Geometric decorated sherd from Attica and a sherd with the bust of Athena Parthenos (date unknown). DM 108, a late Archaic (end of 6th, beginning of 5th century) antefix was also found here. Jean Deshayes seems to think this antefix once belonged to the temple of Apollo Pythaios, which stood in the

⁴⁰ Deshayes 1966: 6-7; 226.

⁴¹ *Idem*: 10; 226.

⁴² *Idem*: 26-28.

⁴³ *Idem*: 37.

⁴⁴ *Idem*: 31; 223.

⁴⁵ *Idem*: 90-93; 226.

⁴⁶ *Idem*: 94; 97-98.

sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios (also referred to as Apollo Deiradiotis) close to the Deiras Valley.⁴⁷ Was this antefix sacrificed at the tomb? Or did it simply fall down into the collapsed vault after the destruction of the temple? Can a connection be made between the substantial Mycenaean cemetery and the establishment of an Archaic-Classical sanctuary about 100-200 meters away? Although a likely possibility, this connection has not been made by previous scholars.

Overall, it can be stated that quite some tombs received veneration throughout antiquity. If the Apollo sanctuary is indeed connected to these tombs, the Deiras Valley grew out to be an important cult. If the sanctuary is randomly placed here, the tombs probably received dedications by passengers who wanted to be in favor of the gods and heroes buried here. The few figurine fragments spread out over the many tombs are too few to speak of a cult.

⁴⁷ Deshayes 1966: 94; 97; 229.

Larissa Hill: Fortress

Mycenaean remains	Fortress, Cyclopean walls, gate
Dating	MH; LH; PG; G; SG; A; Byz
Location	On summit of Larissa Hill
Pottery	MH vessels; Cretan import vessels; Mycenaean sherds (vessels, casks, pots); Protogeometric sherds (not specified); Geometric vessels and sherds; Sub-Geometric sherds; Archaic sherds (unspecified); Byzantine vessels
Post Helladic cultic remains	Temple foundations, remains, dedicatory inscription, votive offerings, figurines
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Vollgraff 1928: 315-328; ▪ Vollgraff 1931: 71-124.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hägg 1992: 10-13; ▪ Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 321.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 24.1-24.3
Chronique/Helladic	C973

A Mycenaean fortress with Cyclopean walls [Figure 13] once stood at Larissa Hill. No houses of other building remains of this period were found here.⁴⁸ There is a Venetian castle based on the Larissa, which can still be seen today. In the courtyard of this castle, the foundation remains of two temples were excavated by Wilhelm Vollgraff [Figure 14]. The first was an Archaic temple of Athena [f, g, h, i in Figure 14 and Figure 15], also mentioned by Pausanias (*Paus. II. 24.3*). The temple can be dated to the end of the 7th century.⁴⁹ A wall in the Venetian castle contains one of the temple stones with an inscription dedicating the cult site to Athena Polias. A vast quantity of Archaic votive offerings are found near the walls of Athena's temple including pottery, beads, female and animal figurines, a bronze seal of a woman or goddess with pomegranate apple in her hand, another bronze seal with an inscription (which also depicts a horseman and warrior), a cylinder stone seal with an illustration of four foreign men, an Egyptian scarab made of faience (950-750 B.C.), a lead image of a priestess, and a brick votive plaque decorated with a winged Gorgon.⁵⁰

Pausanias mentions another temple based on the Larissa as well: the temple of Zeus Larisaeon (*Paus. II. 24.3*).⁵¹ The destruction of this temple is more extensive than that of Athena's temple.

⁴⁸ Vollgraff (1928: 320-324) was the first to excavate the Larissa Hill and Papadimitriou et al (2015: 168-169) were the last to excavate here.

⁴⁹ Vollgraff 1931: 121.

⁵⁰ Vollgraff 1928: 319 and Vollgraff 1931: 72-76.

⁵¹ Pausanias (*Paus. II. 24.1*) mentions a third temple located on the slope of Larissa Hill: the temple of Hera Akraia (Hera of the Heights). It might be underneath the monastery of Virgin Mary Katakekrymeni. Unfortunately, this temple has not been found yet. See Hägg 1992: 13.

Although not specifically stated by Vollgraff, it seems that it was located in the east [M in Figure 14].⁵² No associated finds are mentioned.

The temple of Athena Polias was clearly based on Mycenaean remains. It can, however, also be stated that the hilltop was chosen for its sacredness, as many other Greek hilltops were, instead of the ancient remains. In this way of reasoning, the Aspis Hill could also have been chosen for this purpose, which it was not. It was probably the combination of the two: both the sacredness of a high hilltop and the Mycenaean remains were excellent conditions to create a cult site.

⁵² Hägg 1992: 11.

Tripoleos Street

Mycenaean remains	Shaft grave, pit burial, figurine
Dating	LH; C; H; R
Location	Tripoleos Street (Property of N. Anastasiou)
Pottery	Hellenistic amphora, skyphos and thelastron
Post Helladic cultic remains	Early Classical figurines
Archaeological report	▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 64 B 1 (2009): 268-270.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	-
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	6258

A LH III C pit burial and shaft grave were excavated at Tripoleos Street [Figure 16]. These graves were part of a Mycenaean cemetery south of Argos. In the above layers, some Hellenistic pottery related to the drinking or storing of wine and a few Early Classical seated female figurines and horsemen figurines were found.⁵³ While the pottery might have been used for libations or feasting, these figurines were probably votive gifts for the hero buried in the tomb.

⁵³ *ArchDelt* 64 B 1 (2009): 268-270.

Berbati

Mycenaean remains	Tholos tomb, burial
Dating	EH; MH; LH IIIA; G; SG; A; R
Location	About a kilometer northwest of Kastraki (and about 500m north of the Berbati settlement on Mastos Hill)
Pottery	EH sherds and bowl; MH sherds, bowl/kantharos and cup; LH IIA to LH IIIA1 vases, jars, alabastra, miniature alabastron, cup, kylix/bowl and sherds; Cretan import vase; Geometric bowl, pot, skyphoi and cup; Sub-Geometric krateriskos, Archaic kraters, kantharoi, skyphoi, cotylae, kalathoi, krateriskoi, miniature vessels (kantharos, skyphoi, cotyle, dinos), cup, pyxis, krateriskos with female protomes and cooking pots; Roman cooking vessel sherds and bowls.
Post Helladic cultic remains	(Cultic) pottery, figurines, ash, (burnt) bone fragments, (burnt) sherds, relief phiale
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Santillo Frizell 1984: 24-55; ▪ Ekroth 1996: 191-201.
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (1935): 200; ▪ <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (1936): 140; ▪ <i>Illustrated London News</i> (15/02/1936): 276; ▪ Ålin 1962: 38; ▪ Pelon 1976: 177; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 119.3 (1995): 870.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 19 [A7.2]; ▪ Antonaccio 1995: 26-27.
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	C895

A tholos tomb was found about 500 meters north of Mastos Hill, where the prehistoric settlement of Berbati is located. The single burial in this tomb was dated to LH IIIA. The tomb was excavated in 1935 by Axel Persson and in 1984 published by Barbro Santillo Frizell.⁵⁴ The Swedish institute prospected the area in 1934 to look for potential excavation sites, when they found Mastos Hill and the nearby tholos tomb. However, it was not until 1990 that an archaeologist took interest in the tomb again. Gunnel Ekroth discovered that the tomb had been subject to Late Geometric or Early Archaic worship.⁵⁵

The surface material, that was collected before the excavation began, was centered within a small section and could mostly be dated to the Late Geometric or Early Archaic period.⁵⁶ The majority of the surface material was found within a concentrated area of 1 x 1m just a few meters north of the tholos, while the rest of the material was spread out in an area of 10 x 20m to the north

⁵⁴ Santillo Frizell (1984) published Alex Persson's finds after his death at the request of Åke Åkerström (who took care of Persson's notes, manuscript, drawings and photographs).

⁵⁵ Ekroth 1996.

⁵⁶ *Idem*: 190.

and east. These materials were not found *in situ*. The surrounding fields yielded no Geometric or Archaic material.⁵⁷ Gunnel Ekroth also found an archaic deposit in trench 3 [Figure 17], which was closely related to the tumulus (which currently functions as an olive garden). This deposit was generally undisturbed and consisted mainly of pottery related to drinking or libating wine, pottery used for preparing food (possibly a feast), pottery for cultic use (e.g., miniatures and *krateriskoi*), figurines (female, male, rider on horse), a relief phiale, ash, and burnt bone fragments. A few of the sherds in the votive deposit were burnt as well. The deposit could primarily be dated to the late 7th and 6th century.⁵⁸ The Archaic material was carefully arranged near the edge of the stone circle which was laid down around the tumulus of the tholos tomb [Figure 18].⁵⁹ These finds make the interpretation of a shrine concentrated on the tholos tomb very convincing, while it is very likely a feast took place here as well.

The tholos tomb itself also contained some material, even though it was robbed. The upper part of the tholos probably collapsed during Geometric times, which must have happened before the robbery had taken place. Not only Mycenaean material was found, but also Geometric/Archaic and Roman. However, the tholos could not have been completely demolished, since the Geometric or Archaic pottery found in it was probably thrown or placed into the chamber.⁶⁰ The tumulus must also still have been visible during antiquity, which attracted visitors.⁶¹ The Roman material contained bowls and lamps, which reflects the re-use of the tomb as a shelter.⁶²

⁵⁷ Ekroth 1996: 192.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ *Idem*: 190.

⁶⁰ Santillo Frizell 1984: fig. 13 and Ekroth 1996: 195.

⁶¹ Ekroth 1996: 195.

⁶² Santillo Frizell 1984: 31.

Epidauros

Mycenaean remains	Sanctuary, temple remains, stoa, open air altar, figurines, stone vase, bronze axe and spear heads, animal bones, ash layer
Dating	EH I-III; MH; LH I-IIIB; G; SG; A; C; H; R
Location	On the summit of Kynortion Hill, below later sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas
Pottery	EH sherds (unspecified); MH sherds (not specified); Cycladic vase; Mycenaean early pottery of fine quality, utilitarian vessels and sherds; Geometric sherds (not specified); Sub-Geometric small vases and alabastra (one with depiction of Artemis); Archaic bowl, (votive) vases, jars and alabastra, cotyledon and Attic craters; Classical sherds (unspecified), vases and urns; Hellenistic vases; Roman sherds (not specified) and urns.
Post Helladic cultic remains	Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, temple buildings, altars, figurines, votives, (burnt) animal remains, ash layer, charcoal, bronze and iron weapons, small statue of a lion, building inscriptions, gold and silver jewelry, large bronze statues, sculpture fragments, medical instruments
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Papadimitriou 1948: 90-111; ▪ Papadimitriou 1949: 94-99; ▪ Papadimitriou 1950: 194-202; ▪ Lambrinoudakis 1987: 52-65; ▪ Lambrinoudakis 1988: 12-17; ▪ Lambrinoudakis 1991: 70-78.
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 23 (1976): 111-118; ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 24 (1977): 98-105; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 108.2 (1984): 760-762.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 27-29 [A30]; ▪ Lambrinoudakis 2002: 213-224.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 26.1 – 29.1
Chronique/Helladic	9164 ; 10516 ; C862

Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas

In 1896, Panagiotis Kavvadias uncovered the first parts of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary on Mount Kynortion, close to the Epidaurian sanctuary of Asklepios. Unfortunately, other than a few short statements in a book or archaeological summary, no further publications have been made.⁶³ From 1948-1951, Ioannis Papadimitriou conducted a general cleaning of the archaeological site and continued excavations. He was the first to uncover the stratigraphy, and therefore, the first to understand the Mycenaean history of the site.⁶⁴ It was not until 1974, however, that systematic

⁶³ Lambrinoudakis (1988) mentions “The Sanctuary of Asclepius” 1900: 177 and *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας* 1896: 31. These statements are only a few sentences long and no details are included.

⁶⁴ Papadimitriou 1948: 90-111, Papadimitriou 1949: 94-99 and Papadimitriou 1950: 194-202.

excavations were conducted. The Archaeological Society commissioned Vassilis Lambrinoudakis to excavate the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.

At Mount Kynortion, a Mycenaean sanctuary [Figure 19] was found of about 52 x 20 meters. This sanctuary was developed in the 16th century B.C. At the western part of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, a big Mycenaean raised terrace of 8.7 meters long was uncovered. The later Classical temple of Apollo Maleatas was located directly next to it, on top of some small Mycenaean sacred buildings. This close proximity reflects the significance of the Mycenaean buildings within the later sanctuary. A smaller Mycenaean terrace with a round ash altar was found next to the Classical temple.⁶⁵ The whole sanctuary was scattered with Mycenaean, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman figurines, of which most were the standing or seated goddess types and many animal figurines (horses, birds, frog⁶⁶). A small Sub-Geometric statue of a lion, some other large bronze statues (unspecified), sculpture fragments of a dolphin and a man, gold and silver jewelry, and weapons were also found, which clearly reflect the sacrificial nature. The medical instruments found on site reflect the connections with the Sanctuary of Asklepios.

In all likelihood, the Mycenaean terrace remained in use during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, since these were not covered with other buildings [Figure 20]. Despite this, the focus of the cult shifted in Classical times. A Classical temple of Apollo Maleatas was built in between the Mycenaean terrace and the Mycenaean altar. The Classical altar was positioned in the middle of the sanctuary, some distance away from the Classical temple. The Mycenaean terrace was still more or less intact but was no longer the main focus of attention. Still, an enormous number of sacrificial artifacts were found at its eastern end, which suggests the terrace was used by the crowd to make supplementary sacrifices, in addition to the communal sacrifices made at the altar during festivals. The Mycenaean terrace was probably destroyed during the Mithridatic wars (88 – 63 B.C.). After this destruction, the terrace was rebuilt and included a peribolos and an adyton [Figure 21 and Figure 22]. The main cult was now focused here, instead of where the Classical temple or altar once stood.⁶⁷ This shows that even ±1300 years later, the Roman Greeks acknowledged the importance and grandeur of the ancient remains of what they considered their ancestors.

Underneath the Classical temple of Apollo Maleatas, some remains of small Mycenaean sacred buildings were found. The exact function of these sacred buildings is not known but it seems that the excavators based their interpretation of the buildings as sacred by the burnt earth and sherds

⁶⁵ Lambrinoudakis 1987: 52-55.

⁶⁶ A frog figurine is a rare artifact in Ancient Greece, and probably reflects the healing nature of Apollo (the father and forerunner of Asklepios). For more information read Papadimitriou 1948.

⁶⁷ Lambrinoudakis 1987: 55-56.

found within, which they interpret as “clear evidence of religious use”.⁶⁸ I would argue, rather, that their interpretation is based upon the position of the buildings within the Mycenaean sanctuary. The buildings were not intact in Archaic times, since an Archaic religious building (and later the Classical temple) is built on top of it.⁶⁹ Not much is known about the Archaic building, because it was mostly destroyed when the Classical temple was built on top of it. What it does make clear, is that the small Mycenaean sacred buildings connect the Mycenaean big terrace and the Mycenaean altar together.⁷⁰

The Mycenaean open-air ash altar, located next to the Classical temple of Apollo Maleatas, was not reused after the Mycenaean period. A layer of black ash with vase fragments and animal bones was found next to the remains of a curved Mycenaean retaining wall that ran from the northern part of the Mycenaean sanctuary to underneath the Classical altar [see Figure 19]. This Classical altar was built on top of Mycenaean levels, including the Mycenaean retaining wall. The Classical altar was destroyed, like the temple, during the Mithridatic wars. Its fragments were buried in a pit below the foundations, which intersected the Mycenaean ash layer filled with votives from the altar.⁷¹ The area west of the Mycenaean retaining wall was covered with Mycenaean sherds and other small objects. East of this wall no Mycenaean remains were found. The retaining wall seems to delimit the Mycenaean sanctuary, functioning as a peribolos enclosure. In Mycenaean times, the area east of the wall had a slope, which was not leveled until the Classical period.⁷² The Mycenaean altar was not in use after LHIII B but was reused in the 9th century B.C.⁷³ Some Geometrical ostraca at the altar indicate a resurrection of the older Mycenaean cult practices.⁷⁴

The excavations made clear that the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros did not emerge alone but was probably derived from the earlier sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. Asklepios first received dedications at the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary, but the sanctuary soon became too small to house both. A second sanctuary emerged in the valley nearby, which became the famous sanctuary of Asklepios.⁷⁵ The healing practices at the sanctuary of Asklepios therefore probably originated from the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary.⁷⁶

The Mycenaean sanctuary was probably based on the EH tombs found on Mount Kynortion. It seems that the Mycenaean believed these tombs contained the remains of heroes. It has been

⁶⁸ *Ergon* 1977: 103.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ Lambrinouidakis 1987: 55.

⁷¹ *BCH* 108.2 (1984): 760-762.

⁷² Lambrinouidakis 1987: 59.

⁷³ Lambrinouidakis 1988: 13.

⁷⁴ *Ergon* 1976: 114.

⁷⁵ Lambrinouidakis 2002: 214.

⁷⁶ Lambrinouidakis 1988: 12-17.

suggested one of these heroes was Malos, the mythical king of Epidauros and great grandfather of Asklepios. This lineage reflects the chronology of the Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios sanctuaries. Apollo probably merged with Malos into Apollo Maleatas.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Richard Hope Simpson claims that the later cult cannot be firmly linked with the Mycenaean cult because of a gap between LH IIIB and the Geometric era.⁷⁸ Even though the Mycenaean and later cult may have been different, it is interesting to see the reviving of cult at this particular site and the importance given by the later Greeks, as early as the Geometric era, up until Roman times.

⁷⁷ Papadimitriou 1948: 90-111.

⁷⁸ Hope Simpson 1981: 27-29.

Kazarma

Mycenaean remains	Tholos tomb, burials, pits, remains of pyre, sacrifice on altar (animal remains)
Dating	LH IIA-III B; PG; R
Location	About 200 m. east of Agios Joannis and about 10 m. north of the road
Pottery	Cretan amphora; Mycenaean vases, amphorae, skyphos, alabastra and miniature vases; Protogeometric skyphos; Roman vase sherds
Post Helladic cultic remains	Sacrificial remains of animals
Archaeological report	-
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (1939): 83; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 79 (1955): 246; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 94 (1970): 961; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 95 (1971): 867, 873-874; ▪ <i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i> 1 (1968): 236-238; ▪ <i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i> 2 (1969): 3-6; ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 22B (1967): 179-180; ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 24B (1969): 104-105; ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 28B (1973): 94.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 27 [A28]; ▪ Antonaccio 1995: 28-29.
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	C866

At Kazarma a Mycenaean tholos tomb was found, about 10 meters north of the road that leads to the Agios Joannis Church, which is about 200 meters east. Kazarma is located between Epidauros and Nauplion. A Mycenaean bridge and acropolis have also been found close nearby. The tomb was excavated by Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki in 1968-1969.⁷⁹ The tomb is rather small and poorly preserved. Two people were buried in the tomb, and they received many grave gifts (pottery, lamps, swords) during LH I-II, which is probably when the persons were buried here. In LH IIIC the tomb was repaired and sacrifices (animal remains) were made on an altar in the doorway and a pyre was placed above the burial pits [Figure 23]. During the Protogeometric period the altar in the doorway was re-used for sacrifice.⁸⁰ A Protogeometric skyphos was found at the altar [Figure 24]. This shows that the tomb was still known during the Protogeometric period and received veneration at this time. It was, however, quickly forgotten.

⁷⁹ *BCH* 94.2 (1970): 961.

⁸⁰ Hope Simpson 1981: 27 [No. A28].

Magoula

Mycenaean remains	Settlement remains
Dating	N; EH II-III; MH; LH IIIB; G; A; C; H; R
Location	The hamlet of Magoula (part of community of Kephalaria) is centered on a prehistoric mound, west of the Argos-Tripolis road, and about 5 km. south of Argos
Pottery	Neolithic pottery; EH pottery (vases, bowls); MH kantharoi, vessels and bowl; Mycenaean sherds and kantharos; Geometric sherds; Archaic miniature vases and pottery votives; Classical sherds (unspecified), Hellenistic sherds (not specified); Byzantine sherds (not specified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Sanctuary deposit, figurines, marble statue fragment, remains of small temple
Archaeological report	-
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 31 (1907): 179-180; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 109.2 (1985): 776; ▪ <i>Praktika tes Archaïologikes Etaireias</i> (1916): 79; ▪ <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (1939): 271; ▪ Kritzas 1973-1974: 246-247.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bintliff 1977: 325-326; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 25 [A18]; ▪ Dousougli 1987: 171-175.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 24.5? (Mount Lykoni > temple of Artemis?)
Chronique/Helladic	C881

Magoula is a small town about 5 km south of Argos. Not a lot is known about this town. What we do know is that the modern village overlays a Bronze Age tell settlement. In 1907 Archaic material was also found on the north side of Magoula, which included many pottery votives, figurines, a marble statue fragment, and architectural remains of an Archaic cult site (including the remains of a small temple).⁸¹ In 1973 excavations were carried out by Greek archaeologists. They found Neolithic, EH, MH, LH, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman remains. The tell was bigger than expected, since significant BA buildings were found. No extensive publication has been made. The short description by John Bintliff and a part of the article by Angelika Dousougli is probably the best we have.⁸² In 1984, the Archaic sanctuary was excavated which included several hundred miniature vases and figurines.⁸³ Unfortunately, this excavation has not been published either.

⁸¹ *BCH* 31 (1907): 179-180.

⁸² Bintliff 1977: 325-326 and Dousougli 1987: 171-175.

⁸³ *BCH* 109.2 (1985): 776.

Midea

Mycenaean remains	Citadel, acropolis, building remains, fortifications (Cyclopean walls), fortress, settlement (house foundations), spring, tombs, tools/weapons, figurines, plaster, rooftiles, seeds, charred figs, inhumations, jewelry
Dating	EH; MH; LH I-IIIB2; A; H; R; Byz
Location	Acropolis of Midea, about a kilometer southeast of the modern village Dendra
Pottery	Palace: EH pottery (unspecified); MH pottery (not specified); Mycenaean stirrup jar, bowls, jar, kylix; Hellenistic pottery (unspecified); Roman pottery (not specified); Byzantine pottery (not specified) West Gate: MH sherds, cooking pots; Mycenaean stirrup jars, bowls, vase fragments, jugs, kraters, kylikes, storage vessels (pithoi, hydrias, vats, basins, jars), cooking vessels, coarse pottery, sherds, cups, amphora, dippers, scuttles, mugs; Archaic sherds, cup; Roman sherds (storage vessels); Byzantine sherds (unspecified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Archaic figurines, bronze needle, tools/weapons
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hägg 1962: 79-102; ▪ Walberg 1967: 161-175; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 1996: 13-32; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 1997-1998: 57-90; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2000-2001: 35-52; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2002: 27-58; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2003: 7-28; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2004: 9-27; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2005: 7-34; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2006-2007: 7-29; ▪ Demakopoulou et al 2008: 7-30.
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 19 B1 (1964): 134; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 88.2 (1964): 729-730; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 120.3 (1996): 1149-1152; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 122.2 (1998): 758-760; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 124.2 (2000): 802.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bintliff 1977: 283-285; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 19-20 [A8+A9].
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 25.9-10 <i>Strabo</i> VIII. 6.11
Chronique/Helladic	115 ; 751 ; C840 .

The acropolis of Midea was excavated for the first time in 1939 by Swedish scholar Axel Persson. He confirmed that Midea was a Mycenaean citadel and excavated the city walls, the East Gate area, and small parts of the Lower Acropolis, plus its peak. Work was resumed in 1963 by Paul Åström and Nikolaos Verdellis in the East Gate Area. In 1983, both Greek and Swedish excavators worked

together to excavate different areas within the city walls, with a main focus on the two Gate Areas.

Palace

The acropolis of Midea consists of several excavated areas. There is an East Gate Area, a West Gate Area, the Palace, and the South-West Slope [Figure 25]. The Palace is located at the northern part of the Lower Acropolis. Its megaron dates to LH IIIB2. At the southern part of its northern wing, an Archaic figurine fragment was found [Figure 26]. The fragment consists of the figurine's neck to below the breast. A necklace is situated around the neck.⁸⁴ There is, however, only one Archaic fragment that can be interpreted as cultic. This is not enough evidence to support the idea of an Archaic cult at the palace.

West Gate Area

Excavations in the West Gate Area were done in 2005, when the excavators stumbled upon some post-Mycenaean finds. They continued excavating in Trench Si, which was opened in 2002⁸⁵ and situated in a Mycenaean complex built against the rampart. They found Middle Helladic, LH IIIB, Archaic, Roman and Byzantine sherds. The later finds were found in the upper layers. The Archaic finds contained a 6th century cup with black varnish [Figure 27] and three terracotta figurines [Figure 28]. The figurines were a model of an offering table, the upper part of a seated female figure (probably a goddess) and the lower part of a seated figure, probably a male rider.⁸⁶ These figurines clearly indicate cultic practices, especially the offering table-model. These objects allude to the existence of an Archaic shrine in the West Gate Area of the acropolis of Midea.

⁸⁴ Walberg 1967: 170.

⁸⁵ Demakopoulou et al 2002: 32-33.

⁸⁶ Demakopoulou et al 2006-2007: 17-19.

Mycenae

Citadel

Context	Palace building remains, citadel, megaron
Dating	EH; MH; LH I-III C; SM; PG; G; SG; A; C; H; R
Location	Acropolis
Pottery	EH pottery; MH pottery, sherds; Mycenaean ceramics, kylix, sherds, Vapheio cup; Sub-Mycenaean sherds; Protogeometric sherds, cup fragment, bowl, skyphoi; Geometric pottery, sherds, pots, coarse ware, skyphoi, bowls, kraters, amphorae, kantharos, cotyle, cup; Sub-Geometric pottery fragment, jug, pyxis, cotylae, skyphos; Archaic sherds, pottery, skyphoi, bowls, pyxis, cup, miniature pots; Classical sherds, bowls, cup; Hellenistic pottery, plain wares, sherds, bowls, jug
Post Helladic cultic remains	Temple remains, inscribed bronze plaque, sculptured reliefs, altars, bronzes, figurines, <i>temenos</i> , votive material
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tsountas 1886: 59-79; ▪ Stubbings 1939; ▪ Digital Library of the University of Cambridge, <i>Mycenae Archive</i>.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wace 1949; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 11-13 [A1.1+1.2]; ▪ Klein 1997: 247-322; ▪ Klein 2002: 99-105.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 15.4-16.7
Chronique/Helladic	294 ; 750 ; 9140 ; C829 ; C6596 ; C6598 ; C6599

The citadel of Mycenae has a long history of occupation, which already started in the Neolithic age. The Mycenaean people likely moved to Mycenae around 1700 B.C. However, the Mycenaean palace was not built until ca. 1350 B.C. After its destruction around 1180 B.C., the citadel was left abandoned. Even though this was the end of Mycenaean civilization, it was not the end of Mycenae. The citadel was inhabited again quickly after its desertion. Evidence of this is the Geometric building located in the forecourt of the megaron, as can be seen in [Figure 29] (referred to as ‘METAIEN TOIXOI’). This building was likely residential, but a religious function cannot be ruled out since there is no record available of the contents.⁸⁷

The first temple built in stone dates to the seventh century B.C., which is said to have been located on top of the Mycenaean palace. The evidence is, however, scarce: many remains of the Archaic temple were lost or reused in a later temple, and therefore, not found *in situ* [Figure 30]. Since there is little Archaic material left to analyze, much of this identification as an Archaic temple is based on the early archaeologists’ excavation notebooks and plans, presented by Nancy Klein.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Klein 1997: 277.

⁸⁸ Klein 1997.

These are very important to the identification of this temple, since a vast amount of the later layers on the citadel were removed by the early archaeologists to have access to the older, Mycenaean, layers, which were considered more noteworthy.

The Geometric Cult Site

Nancy Klein argues that the earliest evidence related to cult after the decline of the Mycenaean palace is a Geometric cult site. A northern terrace and retaining wall were constructed during this time. According to her, these were used as a base for a cult site, as can be seen by the votive offerings that were buried in the terrace fill. These offerings include some pottery, bronze pins, and rings.⁸⁹ Klein states that these show the existence of cult practices throughout the Geometric period.⁹⁰ While these artifacts could have been used in a cultic setting, other interpretations, such as residential use, cannot be ruled out.

No evidence of a temple has been found on the terrace. If there was a temple, it might have been made of organic material, or perhaps it did not exist at all. Whichever the case, much effort and planning was needed to create this platform, which indicates the significance of the building(s) that must have been situated on top. The interpretation of the terrace associated to a cult sounds persuasive, but since there is little evidence to work with, other possibilities must be taken into consideration. It can therefore not be concluded (but also not ruled out) that a cult was situated here at this time.

The Archaic Temple

The earliest building on top of the Mycenaean palace that can be related to cult activity seems to be an Archaic temple. The excavation notes make clear that there must have been an Archaic building placed on top of the Mycenaean megaron. How can we be certain that this was a temple? Are there any typical signs of cult practices?

Since the foundations of the Archaic building are lost, its exact size and shape cannot be determined. This makes it more difficult to identify the building as a temple. The layout, material and monumental design usually are important indicators for identifying the type of building. Also, no altar was found, it was probably completely replaced when the Hellenistic temple was built. An altar is a significant sign for cult. Without this, the interpretation for cult is more difficult.⁹¹

However, some architectural elements have been saved, such as some terracotta rooftiles, parts of reliefs, and building blocks, which were reused in the Hellenistic temple. Unfortunately,

⁸⁹ Klein 2002: 101.

⁹⁰ Klein 1997: 274.

⁹¹ Wace has argued a few of the Archaic reliefs were part of the altar. See Wace 1949: 85.

most of the reused building blocks have been removed by the excavators in 1939. They were, however, thoroughly documented and photographed.⁹² The Archaic reliefs are still preserved today (as the early excavators probably deemed them worth saving) and are now displayed in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens [Figure 31]. These reliefs were found in the southern part of the building, above the Mycenaean forecourt. The reliefs have a rocky backside with sleek sides, which indicates they were part of a stone construction. A lot of effort and time has been spent on making them, which makes them a plausible indicator of cult practices. It is not likely they were merely used to decorate a residential building; therefore, these reliefs were probably created to honor the gods. However, they cannot be taken at face value: more evidence is needed to support the idea of an Archaic cult.

Not many offerings have been found in the temple area that can be linked to the Archaic cult, and for those that could, a substantial amount of those found have been lost. Fortunately, a catalogue in the excavation notebooks describes many of the missing objects. Many of the uncovered items found in the temple area were made of bronze: pins, fibulae, rings, hooks, disks, and a handle. Klein states that these have been interpreted as cult indicators.⁹³ While these certainly could have been votive offerings to the gods, they also have a practical function. Pins and fibulae, for instance, were used to fasten garments, which could also be left behind in a residential building. The other items also had practical, residential functions, which is why they cannot be conclusive in the identification of cult practice. However, some objects that are useful for identifying cult practices are the fragments of the Archaic figurines that were discovered in the temple area.⁹⁴ Regrettably, there is not enough material and data available that can provide evidence of a feast or sacrifice such as animal remains, burnt pottery, a hearth, etc.

Despite the scarcity of archaeological evidence, it seems likely that the Archaic building on top of the Mycenaean citadel was a temple. The majestic building blocks and Archaic reliefs show a high degree of effort and value that were put into this construction. The few Archaic offerings found on the premises probably did have a cultic connotation, which are most evident in the figurines. The location of the building on top of the Mycenaean palace is also very striking. It seems the Greeks of the Archaic period wanted to exploit the prestige of (what they saw as) their ancestors and to use this to fit their own needs, which was honoring the gods.

The Archaic temple probably still existed at the dawn of the Classical period. Unfortunately,

⁹² The Digital Library of the University of Cambridge has uploaded these at the Mycenae Archive (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/mycenae>). This is also where all the scans of the early excavator's notebooks, plans and drawings can be found. See MCNE-2-2-08 and MCNE-3-2-09.

⁹³ Klein 1997: 291.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem* and Stubbings 1939: 30.

little is known about the sanctuary during this time. It might have survived the Argive invasion of 468 B.C. but must have fallen into decay or it was deliberately destroyed somewhere in the Classical period.

The Hellenistic Temple

The Archaic temple was not the only Greek building on the citadel of Mycenae. Today, the ruins still show part of the foundations of a later, probably Hellenistic, building. The same questions arise as with the Archaic structure: how can we be certain this building was a temple? Is there, besides the building itself, any cultic evidence?

The foundations of the Hellenistic building are fortunately much better preserved than the Archaic ones. This provides a better estimation of its size and shape. The building must have been about 60 meters long and 18 meters wide. The plan of the building seems to coincide with the floorplan of a temple [Figure 32]. The length of the building, however, was not common in Argolis during the fourth century and later, which might suggest the building was mirrored after the Archaic temple.⁹⁵ This would imply that the Archaic temple might have had the same orientation and size, which is inconsistent with the orientation and building plan of the palace buildings. Did the Archaic Argives still have access to the ruins of the Mycenaean palace? If so, that would mean they intentionally ignored the Mycenaean alignment. Or were the ruins not visible at all? Either way: the people using the later Hellenistic temple probably did not have access to the ruins of the Mycenaean palace, since the ruins of the Archaic temple were covering these.

The early archaeologists were mostly interested in the Mycenaean ruins on the citadel. This meant they had to remove the later layers to reach the ruins of the palace. In doing so, the southern part of the Hellenistic temple did not survive. The dimensions of the temple are known, however, because the excavator Tsountas sketched a plan of the temple foundations [Figure 29]. Unfortunately, the altar, which was usually located in front of the temple, was not preserved because of these inferences, and, unlike the temple, it was not rendered in Tsountas' plan. This altar might have contained a lot of sacrificial evidence but, as it is, no sacrificial evidence remains.

⁹⁵ Klein 1997: 293.

East House

Mycenaean remains	House remains
Dating	LH IIIC; H
Location	About 200 meters southwest of the citadel; in front of House of the Sphinxes
Pottery	Mycenaean plate
Post Helladic cultic remains	Figurine
Archaeological report	▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας 57</i> (2010): 15-19.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	▪ Burns 2007: 111-119.
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	2082 ; 2403 ; C6592

In the area outside the citadel of Mycenae a residential site which fit into the scope of this research is the East House. The East House is located west of the citadel, as can be seen in Figure 33. This house was first explored by Nikolaos Verdelis in 1962. Unfortunately, this excavation has not been published. In 2010, Spyros Iakovidis resumed excavations and discovered the house continued in a northern direction [Figure 34]. The western part of the residence was also further examined, which was where a Hellenistic figurine was found.⁹⁶ This figurine could be an indicator of a shrine. However, since the evidence is very scarce, it is unlikely a cult was situated here.

⁹⁶ *Ergon* 2010: 15-29 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=2082>).

House of the Oil Merchant

Mycenaean remains	House remains
Dating	LH; PG/G; A; C; H
Location	About 200 meters west of the citadel; in front of House of the Oil Merchant
Pottery	Protogeometric/Geometric sherds, miniature votive vessels; Archaic sherds (unspecified); Classical sherds (not specified); Hellenistic material (unspecified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Apsidal building, miniature votive vessels, figurines
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 9 (1962): 104-108; ▪ Verdellis 1962: 82-88; ▪ Verdellis 1963: 107-113.
Summaries	▪
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Drerup 1969; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 13-14 [A1.4A]; ▪ Foley 1988: 447; ▪ Hägg 1992: 16; ▪ Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 67-68.
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	C6591

The cultic reuse of the Oil Merchant House was mentioned by both Anne Foley and Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian.⁹⁷ The site was excavated by Verdellis in 1962 and 1963. He discovered the remains of an apsidal building in front of the entrance to the House of the Oil Merchant [Figure 35]. Although the excavators do not make a direct connection between the two buildings, regarding their close proximity a simple coincidence is too simplistic. In Mycenaean times, this area functioned as a road, which probably lead from the Lower Town to the legendary Lion Gate.⁹⁸ The building has a north-south orientation and is about 9 meters long and 3.5 meters wide. The building consists of a portico in the front, where the entrance must have been, and two consecutive rooms of which the latter ends in an arch [Figure 36]. Even though Verdellis also refers to this part as a portico in his text, this designation is not very clear in his drawing, as Verdellis seems to depict the portico as an anteroom enclosed by walls. However, as Mazarakis-Ainian argues, it seems more likely this area was a portico since the width of this room would only be 0.75 meter [Figure 37].⁹⁹

According to Verdellis, the structure can be dated to the Protogeometric era, derived by the way the building was constructed, its shape and the numerous pottery fragments (dated to the second

⁹⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 67-68 and Foley 1988: 447.

⁹⁸ Verdellis 1963: 111.

⁹⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 67.

half of the 10th century B.C.) found within.¹⁰⁰ However, Heinrich Drerup argues for a later Geometric date and Foley thinks an Archaic date cannot be ruled out, based on the finds found within.¹⁰¹ What is undeniable is that the building remained in use during the Archaic period, with some minor evidence of the Classical period. The fill was heavily disturbed in Hellenistic and even later times.¹⁰²

What made Verdelis think this building was a temple or related to cult? The excavation of the apsidal building did not only yield Geometric pottery fragments, but also some miniature votive vessels and Archaic animal (horse) figurines [Figure 38], which he interpreted as votive offerings. Furthermore, he argued, the apsidal end of the building would be used to house the cult statue. He stated that these finds, in combination with the apsidal shape of the building, prove that the building was used as a temple.¹⁰³ Whether the use of the apsidal room (since no cult statue has been found) is rightly interpreted or not, the figurines do indicate cultic use. However, as Foley rightly disputes, the earliest conclusive evidence for cult is Archaic, so it cannot be ascertained that a cult was already established in the tenth century B.C.¹⁰⁴ The building could already have been a cult building in Geometric times, if the apsidal room is rightfully interpreted to have been used for housing a cult statue. It is not known to whom the cult site was dedicated, but Mazarakis-Ainian argues for a chthonic deity or ancestor veneration, since the building was situated among Geometric graves and the horse figurines found on site are usually dedicated to chthonic deities.¹⁰⁵

Even though the apsidal building is not located on top of Mycenaean ruins, it is interesting to see its close proximity to the Mycenaean ruins of this house. The cultic interpretation of the building makes the connection with the House of the Oil Merchant apparent. The question remains: why was the apsidal structure built next to it, instead of on top? It seems unlikely the Mycenaean house was still intact at the time of the apsidal building's construction. Nevertheless, the ruins may still have been majestic and intriguing to the later Greeks. They might therefore have decided to not deconstruct it or build on top of it - to keep the ruins as intact as possible – but in front of it, so they could still make a connection with their past. This is, however, all speculation.

¹⁰⁰ Verdelis 1962: 85.

¹⁰¹ Drerup 1969, 28 and Foley 1988: 447.

¹⁰² *Ergon* 1962, 107 and Foley 1988: 447.

¹⁰³ Verdelis 1962: 85.

¹⁰⁴ Foley 1988: 447.

¹⁰⁵ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 68.

Lower Town

Mycenaean remains	Settlement, house remains, building remains, figurines, animal bones
Dating	MH; LH IIIA-C; PG; G; A; H
Location	Lower town on the banks of the Chavos ravine
Pottery	MH sherds (unspecified); Mycenaean vessels, miniature cup, stirrup jar; PG pottery, sherds; Geometric vessels, jars, pithoid vase, pyxis, cup, kantharos, pithos, cookware; Archaic pottery, phiale; Hellenistic sherds (not specified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Hearths, figurines, fire traces, ash, charcoal, burnt animal bones, burnt olive pits, carbonized organic remains (grains and seeds), carbonized wood, seal stone with relief of female body, bronze jewelry, ivory objects
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Archaeological Department Dickinson College, <i>Mycenae Excavations: Lower Town</i>.
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 54 (2007): 33-36; ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 55 (2008): 38-41; ▪ <i>Τό Έργον τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας</i> 56 (2009): 29-32.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 13-14 [A1.4A].
Ancient literature	-
Chronique/Helladic	294 ; 750 ; 1430 ; 2082 ; 2403 ; C6586

The Lower Town is located along the west bank of the Chavos ravine, which can be seen in Figure 39 (SWB II). After extensive surveys around the citadel of Mycenae between 1991 and 2009, the Lower Town of Mycenae along the west bank of the Chavos ravine was discovered. The Athens Archaeological Society started excavations in 2007, which lasted four years. The Lower Town was Mycenaean in origin but was inhabited again in Geometric and Archaic times.¹⁰⁶ Was this habitation, however, also cult oriented? Can any ‘typical’ signs of cult be detected?

A hearth was found in trench 21 (the northern part of the excavation area, see Figure 40) above Mycenaean ruins. This hearth preserved material from its phases of use: Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic and Hellenistic.¹⁰⁷ It contained strong fire traces and held remains of ash, charcoals and burnt animal bones. Around the hearth remains of burnt olive pits, pottery sherds and Mycenaean figurines were found.¹⁰⁸ These remains clearly show that offerings were made here. After the decline of the Mycenaean Lower Town, it seems that starting from the Geometric era the hearth was used repeatedly throughout ancient history. This evidence shows that there was continuous interest in the Mycenaean settlement ruins by later Greeks.

¹⁰⁶ Mycenae Excavations, Lower Town: Introduction (http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html).

¹⁰⁷ *Ergon* 2009: 29-32 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=1430>).

¹⁰⁸ Mycenae Excavations, Lower Town: North Sector (http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html).

This is not the only location within the Lower Town that reflects cultic reuse of the Mycenaean ruins. Further south, in trench 42, another (Hellenistic) hearth - square-shaped this time - was found.¹⁰⁹ This hearth was surrounded by cooking wares, burnt animal bones, charcoal, carbonized organic remains (grains and seeds) and figurine fragments.¹¹⁰ Without the figurine fragments, it would seem plausible the remains were used only for food preparation. This would suggest the hearth is not related to cult. The presence of figurine fragments, and the fact that the animal bones are burnt, reflect the high probability of a cultic function.

In the southern part of the excavation area (trench 74-75), an early 6th century oblong building was found, covered by Hellenistic remains. The underlying, Mycenaean building has the same orientation and shape. This building contained several ivory objects, animal bones, metal objects, sherds, Archaic figurines and cookware (Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic and Hellenistic).¹¹¹ Even though no traces of fire have been found, or at least it has not been indicated in the archaeological report, the combination of these figurines and animal bones can function as a cult indicator. It is interesting to see another part of the Mycenaean Lower Town being reappropriated by later Greeks. This time even the outline of the building is copied and reused. This might also have had practical reasons, but it shows that some if not all Mycenaean ruins were visible in historical times and these might have been considered important enough to duplicate in a new building above. The material found may indicate offerings being made at this building, but since no traces of fire are found, it cannot be confirmed.

The last part of the Lower Town excavation area with signs of cult can be found in trench 55. A pit was discovered in the eastern room of a building with multiple rooms, which generated figurines, pottery of several periods and animal bones.¹¹² Again, no traces of fire are found or indicated. It is not clear which periods are represented in the pottery, but since the building is Geometric and there has been a Mycenaean predecessor, it seems logical to assume that these periods are included in the pottery as well. The combination of animal bones and figurines are again an indicator of cult practices, but without traces of fire it cannot be ascertained. The animal bones and figurines have been found in the Geometric building, which could indicate a Geometric origin, but this is also not certain. The occurrence of these elements again shows the interest in the older Mycenaean building, with a high cultic character.

¹⁰⁹ *Ergon* 2007: 33-36 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=294>).

¹¹⁰ Mycenae Excavations, Lower Town: West Sector (http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html).

¹¹¹ *Ergon* 2007: 33-36 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=294>); *Ergon* 2008: 38-41 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=750>) & Mycenae Excavations, Lower Town: Central Sector (http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html).

¹¹² *Ergon* 2009: 29-32 (<https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=1430>) & Mycenae Excavations, Lower Town: Central Sector (http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html).

Tombs

Mycenaean remains	Cemetery, tholos tombs, chamber tombs, grave circle, gold jewelry
Dating	EH; MH; LH I-III; PG; G; SG; C; H
Location	In the vicinity of Mycenae Citadel, mostly in southern and western directions
Pottery	EH sherds; MH ware; Mycenaean vessels, pottery, sherds, kraters, bowls, kylikes, alabastra, stirrup-vases, mugs, jugs, goblets, domestic ware, cups, amphorae, jars, rhytons, saucers, pithoi; Protogeometric sherds; Geometric ware, bowls, sherds, kraters, pitchers, plates, skyphoi, kantharoi, amphorae, jugs, pyxides; Sub-Geometric sherds; Archaic pitchers, cotylae, pyxis, miniature phiale fragments, vases; Classical ware, sherds, aryballos, kylix, cotylae; Hellenistic ware, sherds, pottery, cup, vases.
Post Helladic cultic remains	Blackened soil, ash, cremated animal bones, altar, hearth, inscription on sherd, burned earth, figurines, lead sheets, statue, triglyph (of altar?), deposits
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Schliemann 1878; ▪ Evangelides 1912: 127-141; ▪ Wace et al 1921-1923; ▪ Wace 1939: 203-228; ▪ Papadimitriou 1952: 427-472; ▪ Papadimitriou 1953: 205-237; ▪ Papadimitriou 1955: 218-223; ▪ Wace, Hood & Cook 1953: 69-83; ▪ Taylour 1955: 199-237.
Summaries	▪ Tsountas 1893: 6-9.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 13-15 [A1.3+1.5+1.7+1.8]; ▪ Antonaccio 1995: 30-53; ▪ Boehringer 2001: 160-172.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 16.6-16.7
Chronique/Helladic	C1583 ; C1584 ; C1586 ; C1587 ; C1589 ; C1590 ; C6582 ; C6585 ; C6645 .

The citadel of Mycenae is surrounded by a large number of tombs, most of which contain evidence of later reuse. A lot of post-Mycenaean pottery is found within or in close relation to these tombs. These may be interpreted either as signs of habitation or as offerings made to the tombs. This division is not always clear, which is why my focus is mainly based on other types of evidence.

Chamber Tombs

The first chamber tomb that shows cultic reuse is Chamber Tomb 222 [No.1 in Figure 44]. This tomb is located southwest of Grave Circle B, built against the peribolos, as can be seen in Figure 41. Ioannis Papadimitriou excavated this tomb in 1952-1953. He found evidence of blackened soil, ash and cremated animal bones combined with Geometric and Archaic sherds, in three different

layers, which he interprets as a Geometric ancestor cult.¹¹³ Only one piece of pottery was specified in the excavation report: a Geometric krater found in the upper level. An apsidal Geometric building was found on top of the chamber tomb. This may have been, according to Papadimitriou, an altar.¹¹⁴

Another interesting case is Chamber Tomb 513 [No.2 in Figure 44]. This tomb is located at the Kalkani Cemetery [see Figure 42]. A round hearth was found in the dromos of the tomb, probably dating to the Hellenistic period. The hearth was covered in fire marks and surrounded by sherds. Wace interprets this hearth as a kiln, and thinks the kiln was built without any knowledge of the chamber tomb beneath it.¹¹⁵ However, the so-called ‘kiln’ is exactly aligned with the chamber tomb [Figure 43]. Also, no signs were found that can indicate its use, so the designation as a kiln cannot be firmly established and a cultic use cannot be ruled out.

Grave Circle A [No.3 in Figure 44] shows signs of grave cult already in LH IIIC, derived from the altar, burned earth, psi figurines, *temenos* and the acquisition of the grave circle within citadel walls.¹¹⁶ However, for later tomb cult the evidence is fairly scarce, most likely because of the early excavators’ disinterest in post-Mycenaean archaeology. One vital artifact in favor of tomb cult is the Archaic sherd engraved with the text “το ἡρώος ἐμ[ι]”, which translates to: “I belong to the hero”.¹¹⁷

Tholos Tombs

An interesting tholos tomb of Mycenae is called Epano Phournos [No. 4 in Figure 38]. This tomb is located southwest of the Mycenaean citadel. A part of the tomb was excavated for the first time by Christos Tsountas in the 1890s. Alan Wace continued excavations here and was able to complete these in 1950. Much pottery has been found during excavations, including Geometric pitchers, kraters, skyphoi, kantharoi, plates and bowls, Sub-Geometric pitchers and cotylae, an Archaic pyxis, miniature phiale and vases and a Classical kylix and cotyle. Most pottery found in the rubble are related to the storing or drinking of wine (pitchers, kraters, skyphoi, kantharoi, cotylae, phiale, kylix) which might indicate libations or feasting. Other pottery types are related to eating (plates, bowls) and might have been used for feasting or presented as votive offerings. The Archaic pyxis is not related to either category and may be a votive offering. Some other Archaic artifacts found in the tomb are some lead sheets and a terracotta warrior’s head, which probably were votives as well.¹¹⁸ The rock slabs covering the stomion had two rectangular cuttings, which could have housed

¹¹³ Papadimitriou 1953: 208.

¹¹⁴ Papadimitriou 1952: 465-466.

¹¹⁵ Wace 1923: 47.

¹¹⁶ Antonaccio 1995: 49-50.

¹¹⁷ This graffito is labeled as IG IV 495. See Schliemann 1878: 129.

¹¹⁸ Wace, Hood & Cook 1953: 71 & Plate 27c.

stelae or statues.¹¹⁹ While Wace interprets these finds as evidence for habitation, both Antonaccio and Boehringer interpret them as being a deliberate deposit, and therefore cultic.¹²⁰ I think the many pottery pieces related to the drinking of wine in combination with the lead sheets and figurine fragments have to be interpreted as cultic.

Another tholos tomb that shows signs of cult practices is named Kato Phournos [No. 5 in Figure 44]. This tomb is located about 500 meters west of the citadel and was excavated by Tsountas in 1893.¹²¹ He, however, never published an excavation report. Wace was the first to publish more information about this tomb. He reported the discovery of many Archaic terracotta female figurines and some Hellenistic sherds.¹²² The figurines can – without a doubt – be interpreted as cultic.

In 1892, Tsountas also excavated the Lion Tomb [No. 6 in Figure 44]. Again, no excavation report was published. Wace was, once more, the first scholar to issue more information about this tomb in 1921-1923.¹²³ The tomb is located northwest of the citadel, which is now in front of the Archaeological Museum of Mycenae. While not recorded in his excavation report, his excavation notebook records a figurine head “like that from Aegisthus tholos” near the entrance of the tholos.¹²⁴ This would probably have been an Archaic figurine, since these are the only figurines found in the Aegisthus tholos. Some Geometric, Archaic and Hellenistic sherds were found as well. Despite the meager evidence - which is probably due to the fact that the early excavators were less interested in post-Mycenaean material and extensive documenting the finds - it is likely there was some kind of cultic interest in the Lion Tomb.

Tsountas discovered another tomb that year: the Tomb of Aegisthus [No. 7 in Figure 44], of which he excavated the upper doorway. Wace excavated the biggest part in 1921-1923¹²⁵ and Ioannis Papadimitriou finished this tomb’s excavations in 1954-1957.¹²⁶ The tomb is located about 50 meters west of the citadel. Geometric, Sub-Geometric, Archaic, late Classical and Hellenistic sherds have been found in the tholos or dromos. Other pottery included a Geometric bowl, Archaic bowls, jugs, a krater and a pithos or “krater-like” vessel. These might indicate habitation or feasting. Classical coins and some Hellenistic lamps were found as well. Wace found ‘the upper part of a rough Archaic female figurine in terracotta’ in the tholos and four female terracotta figurine

¹¹⁹ Wace, Hood & Cook 1953: 71.

¹²⁰ Antonaccio 1995: 34 and Boehringer 2001: 166.

¹²¹ Tsountas 1893: 8-9.

¹²² Wace et al 1921-1923: 320.

¹²³ *Idem*: 325-330.

¹²⁴ Antonaccio 1995: 37, footnote 110; Excavation Notebook Wace: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-CLASSICS-MCNE-00001-00001-00001/1>

¹²⁵ Wace et al 1921-1923: 296-316.

¹²⁶ Papadimitriou 1955: 218-223.

fragments in the dromos.¹²⁷ The tomb was filled with a thick layer of ash, which both Wace and Papadimitriou interpret as evidence of habitation.¹²⁸ However, a cultic interpretation cannot be ruled out. The combination with the figurines shows the likelihood of cult practices. This is not the only evidence that points in the direction of a cultic interpretation. Several architectural elements have been found, including an Archaic triglyph, which might have been part of an altar.¹²⁹ Furthermore, a marble torso of a female statue has been found.¹³⁰ This statue possibly functioned as the cult image. A structure was built south of the dromos during the Archaic period. In the center of the building blackened earth was found, which Papadimitriou interprets as a hearth. He calls the structure a “Sacred House”.¹³¹

The Tomb of Clytemnestra [No.8 in Figure 44] was first excavated in 1876 by Sophia Schliemann and completed in 1897 by Tsountas. Wace recorded the structure extensively in 1922.¹³² This tomb is located right next to the Tomb of Aegisthus, on the west side. Schliemann found Geometric and Archaic female and animal figurines (mostly horses), made of both lead and terracotta.¹³³ The many figurines found in the tomb reflect the existence of a cult in the Geometric and Archaic period. Geometric, (very little) Classical and Hellenistic pottery was also unearthed.¹³⁴ Most were unspecified sherds, but one Archaic aryballos and some Hellenistic vases with female figures were also part of the tomb’s contents. A Hellenistic theater was built on top of the dromos and it seems like the builders were aware of the underlying tomb since some of the theater seats are placed precisely on top of the dromos wall.¹³⁵ It seems the tomb was still known in the Classical and Hellenistic period, but no clear signs of cult can be attested – unless the Hellenistic theater is interpreted to be a cultic celebration of their relation to the tombs. What is also interesting is that Demetrios Evangelides excavated several Geometric burials east of Clytemnestra’s tomb¹³⁶ and Tsountas found a Geometric grave near the Lion Gate.¹³⁷ This probably indicates the existence of a Geometric necropolis in this area, which reflects the interest in and prestige of the older, Mycenaean tombs during the Geometric era.

And finally, the Treasury of Atreus [No.9 in Figure 44] was already well-known and partly dug out before it was officially excavated in 1876 by Schliemann. After the efforts of the many

¹²⁷ Wace et al 1921-1923: 311-312 & 315.

¹²⁸ *Idem*: 302 and Papadimitriou 1955: 219-220.

¹²⁹ Papadimitriou 1955: 219.

¹³⁰ Papadimitriou 1957: 129-131.

¹³¹ Papadimitriou 1955: 222-223.

¹³² Wace et al 1921-1923: 357-376.

¹³³ *Idem*: 364 [Nos. 70+71+72].

¹³⁴ Antonaccio 1995: 39 and Boehringer 2001: 162-163.

¹³⁵ Antonaccio 1995: 40.

¹³⁶ Evangelides 1912: 127-141 and Foley 1988: 223-224.

¹³⁷ Evangelides 1912: 128.

early excavators, there was not much evidence left for Wace to be found.¹³⁸ It is probably also very likely much of post-Mycenaean material was eliminated. However, apparently a deposit of Archaic votives was found near the tholos, which might have been left there in the seventh century B.C.¹³⁹ Some bronze objects were also found, including two rings, a rod, a piece of bronze, a small projectile, and a pin. Another interesting find is a perforated pottery disc. Unfortunately, no additional information has been published.

¹³⁸ Wace et al 1921-1923: 338-357.

¹³⁹ French 1989: 126.

Profitis Ilias

Mycenaean remains	House foundations, fortifications (Cyclopean wall)
Dating	LH II-IIIB; A; C; R
Location	Profitis Ilias / Katsingri
Pottery	Mycenaean pot, sherds; Archaic sherds, vases, miniature skyphoi, other votive pottery; Classical pottery; Roman sherds, pottery
Post Helladic cultic remains	Temple remains, votives (figurines, vases, pins, lead plate of archaic fibula, bronze phiale)
Archaeological report	-
Summaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Megaw 1963: 16; ▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 87.2 (1963): 748; ▪ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1963: 65-66; ▪ <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 78 (1974): 149; ▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 60 B1 (2005): 261-262;
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Alexandri 1964: 525-530; ▪ Bintliff 1977: 307-308; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 23-24 [A13]; ▪ Kilian 1990: 185-197.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 25.9
Chronique/Helladic	4407 ; C893

Profitis Ilias is known for its Christian chapel, located on the summit of the hill [Figure 45]. This chapel is situated on Archaic temple foundations [Figure 46: East side of the ancient temple foundations underneath the modern chapel. Figure 46]. A votive pit was found near this temple, which included several figurines and other votive objects such as vases, pins and a bronze phiale. Most of these were Archaic, but some Mycenaean and Roman votives were also found.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, these votives have not been published.

The temple is oriented east-west and is estimated to be about 6 by 12 meters long. It is believed to be dedicated to either Athena or Hera and/or Zeus. The excavator Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki linked Profitis Ilias to ancient Lessa, described in Pausanias (*II* 25.9).¹⁴¹ If this interpretation is correct, the temple is devoted to Athena. However, an Archaic-Roman votive deposit - discovered in 1962 – provides a different interpretation.¹⁴² This deposit was found in a cave. This cave was situated near the temple, which was built on top of Mycenaean house foundations.¹⁴³ One of the main finds was an Archaic votive, a fibula with a depiction of a man and a woman. Olga Alexandri interprets these figures as Hera and Zeus.¹⁴⁴ If this interpretation is indeed

¹⁴⁰ *BCH* 87.2 (1963): 748.

¹⁴¹ Protonotariou-Deilaki (1963): 65-66.

¹⁴² *ArchDelt* 60 B1 (2005): 261-262.

¹⁴³ Hägg 1990: 190-193.

¹⁴⁴ Alexandri 1964.

correct, this fibula makes it plausible that the temple was dedicated to Hera and/or Zeus.

The entire acropolis, including the Archaic temple, is encircled by the remains of Mycenaean fortifications [Figure 47]. Below the acropolis, traces of a lower town have been found. The acropolis is strategically located, since the citadels of Mycenae, the Heraion, Midea, Tiryns and Asine can be seen at this location.¹⁴⁵ It seems likely that a Mycenaean town was situated here, of which the remains were cultically appropriated during the Archaic period.¹⁴⁶ Archaic sherds have been confined to the Profitis Ilias hill. Unfortunately, other than the short archaeological summaries, no extensive archaeological report has been published.

¹⁴⁵ Protonotariou-Deilaki (1963): 65-66.

¹⁴⁶ Megaw 1963: 16.

Prosymna

Cemetery

Mycenaean remains	Cemetery, tholos tomb, chamber tombs, jewelry, weapons, bronze vessels
Dating	LH I-IIIB; G; SG; A; C; H; R
Location	Northwest of the ancient Argive Heraion at Prosymna
Pottery	Mycenaean pottery, amphorae, vases, jug, goblet, miniature amphorae, hydriai, miniature kalathos, jug; Geometric sherds, pots, krater, dish, jug, basin, bowls, phiale, miniature jug, pottery, mug, cups, miniature skyphos, pyxides, aryballos, oinochoe, kalathos, skyphos, vases (utilitarian pottery); Sub-Geometric skyphoi, sherds, krater, jugs, vase; Archaic aryballos, bowls; Classical pottery, sherds; Hellenistic pottery (not specified); Roman sherds (unspecified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Votive deposits (figurines, miniature shield, pottery, bronzes, jewelry), secondary shrine
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stamatakis 1878: 271-286; ▪ Waldstein 1902: 51-263; ▪ Wace 1923: 330-338; ▪ Blegen 1937a; ▪ Blegen 1937b.
Summaries	▪ <i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> 25B (1970): 156.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Blegen 1937c: 377-390; ▪ Blegen 1939: 410-444; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 18-19 [A6.2+6.3]; ▪ Antonaccio 1992: 85-105; ▪ Van Leuven 1994: 42-60; ▪ Antonaccio 1995: 53-65; ▪ Deoudi 1999: 92-96, 112; ▪ Boehringer 2001: 144-160; ▪ Mazarakis Ainian 2004: 135.
Ancient literature	Paus. <i>II</i> . 17.1 – 17.7
Chronique/Helladic	8727 ; C834 ; C835 ; C836 ; C837 ; C838 ; C839 ; C6555

The area of Prosymna, northwest of the Heraion sanctuary to be exact, is covered with tombs [Figure 48]. More than 50 Mycenaean chamber tombs were found, and a LH II tholos tomb was found about 1 kilometer northwest of the Heraion sanctuary. The tholos tomb was excavated by Panagiotis Stamatakis in 1878 and fully published by Alan Wace in 1923.¹⁴⁷ While this tomb did contain later material which indicates the tomb was used as a shelter in antiquity – as can be detected from the utilitarian pottery, lamps, iron fragments – no distinct cultic artifacts were recovered. It is, however, possible that the tomb once did contain cultic evidence since it was robbed and therefore largely cleared. Moreover, an Archaic shrine was found about 100 meters northwest of the tholos

¹⁴⁷ Stamatakis 1878 and Wace 1923: 330-338.

tomb. Even though the shrine was not built directly next to the tomb, it seems plausible that the shrine was used to venerate the heroes buried in the tholos tomb, and maybe even to venerate others buried in the nearby chamber tombs as well. This so-called “Secondary Shrine” was built on a terrace platform of about 12 by 8 meters. The center of the terrace contained a round altar with a diameter of 1.20 meters. The terrace was scattered with burnt pottery fragments and terracotta figurines. The pottery dated from the Geometric period into the Hellenistic period, but activity was most intense in the 7th century. A crater with a dedicatory inscription to Hera was also found here. The designation of hero veneration does then not seem suitable. James Wright argues, however, that Hera was the protector of Argivian heroes, which is mentioned in the Iliad (III 51; IV 908). This would suggest that the categorization of a hero shrine could still be possible.¹⁴⁸ Maria Deoudi disagrees with him: she argues that it is difficult to infer a hero cult at Prosymna from a mere mention in the Iliad. Deoudi also states it is pure speculation to identify the robbed tomb as a cult site, as is the cultic connection between the tholos tomb and the shrine. She also doubts a relation between the chamber tombs and the shrine, since the cult in the tombs and the cultic activities at the shrine indicate that these were two separate cults.¹⁴⁹ Even though I mostly agree with her arguments, I disagree with her last statement. The fact that these activities coincide with each other cannot rule out a relation between the two, it might even make sense to connect the cultic activities because of their simultaneousness. Why else would a shrine turn up - during the Geometric era – in this area full of tombs? No other constructions or natural distinct elements are found in this area which could initiate veneration. As Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian shortly states: the Secondary Shrine most likely formalized the cult of the tombs.¹⁵⁰

Evidence of cult practices were also found in some of the chamber tombs. The first Mycenaean chamber tombs date back to LH I, but most were built in LH III. The cemetery was large: in total 53 chamber tombs and one shaft grave were discovered. These tombs were built by the middle class of the Prosymna community. The lower-class people were buried in simple cist-tombs or earth graves.¹⁵¹ The earliest offerings and intrusions started in the Late Geometric period and continued into the Archaic period.¹⁵² These finds can therefore be interpreted as remains of ritual activity. Some Classical and later finds (mostly pottery) were also recorded.

While Antonaccio, Deoudi and Boehringer all mention more tombs that according to them show signs of hero cult, I decided to only include the tombs that show signs of significant cultic

¹⁴⁸ Wright 1982: 197.

¹⁴⁹ Deoudi 1999: 112.

¹⁵⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 2004: 135.

¹⁵¹ Bintliff 1977: 287-289.

¹⁵² Hope Simpson 1981: 19; Mazarakis Ainian 2004: 135 and Antonaccio 1995: 53.

value. These are tombs 9, 10, 19 and 34. The objects found in tomb 9 were Geometric pottery, bronze objects, bronze and lead jewelry and sword fragments, all of which are common votive offerings. Animal bones, black earth and carbonized material were also found. These elements can be interpreted as a sacrificial pit of the Geometric period, where burnt offerings were made.¹⁵³ At tomb 10 some Geometric sherds, fragments of iron and a remarkable yellow-greenish faience bird was uncovered. The bird was made during the Archaic period and probably had Egyptian influences.¹⁵⁴ At the same tomb, a fragmentary figurine was found. This figurine of a seated woman is also Archaic and made from terracotta. The figurine was found with some bronze fragments, a bull's horn, and an Archaic aryballos near a layer of burnt earth, ash and charred bone fragments.¹⁵⁵ Another figurine was found in tomb 19, this time with a Late Geometric date. The terracotta figurine was made in a seated position.¹⁵⁶ The figurine is a seated goddess type, which is also known from the Heraion and the whole Argolis.¹⁵⁷ Other finds included some Geometric pottery (krater, dish, jugs, basin, bowls, phiale) which might be related to feasting or were donated as votive offerings.¹⁵⁸ Tomb 34 included many pottery finds: two large hydriai, a small kalathos, a small jug, a skyphos, bronze disc and an oinochoe, which probably indicate libations, votive offerings and/or feasting. A remarkable find in this tomb was the skeleton of a small goat.¹⁵⁹ The goat remains were found in the vicinity of two human skulls, but from a later layer. The goat bones are from the Late Geometric period. Despite the fact that the bones were not burnt, it was probably an offering made for the heroes buried in the tomb.¹⁶⁰

While more tombs were in use after the Mycenaean period, only the four tombs above show distinctive ritual activity. This does not mean the other tombs did not receive cultic attention, some of them probably did, but these artifacts were most likely taken by grave robbers.

¹⁵³ Deoudi 1999: 92; Antonaccio 1995: 61-62 and Boehringer 2001: 155-156.

¹⁵⁴ Blegen 1937c: 382; Deoudi 1999: 95 and Boehringer 2001: 158-160.

¹⁵⁵ Antonaccio 1995: 56.

¹⁵⁶ Deoudi 1999: 95 and Antonaccio 1995: 62.

¹⁵⁷ Boehringer 2001: 146.

¹⁵⁸ See footnote 152.

¹⁵⁹ Antonaccio 1995: 58.

¹⁶⁰ Boehringer 2001: 149-151.

Settlement

Mycenaean remains	Settlement, house remains, streets, fortification wall, spring, gateway, palace?
Dating	EH; MH; LH I-III B; G; SG; A; C; H; R
Location	Prosymna, the ancient Argive Heraion
Pottery	EH pottery fragments, vessels; MH potsherds (not specified); Mycenaean sherds (not specified); Geometric pottery fragments, vessels; Sub-Geometric pottery fragments (unspecified); Archaic pottery (not specified); Classical pottery (unspecified); Hellenistic pottery (not specified)
Post Helladic cultic remains	Sanctuary, temple remains, terracotta model of building, altar remains, peribolos, Egyptian scarabs, seal stone of steatite, Egyptian bronze statuette, bronze objects, weapons, ivory objects, bronze figurines (horse, man, bird), sculpture fragments
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Waldstein 1902: 11-21; ▪ Blegen 1937a; ▪ Blegen 1937b; ▪ Blegen 1939: 410-444; ▪ Caskey & Amandry 1952: 165-221.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tomlinson 1972: 203-204, 230-247; ▪ Schoder 1974: 89-94; ▪ Bintliff 1977: 285-289; ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 18-19 [A6.1].
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 17.1 – 17.7
Chronique/Helladic	8727 ; C1078

The Heraion sanctuary was discovered in 1831 by General Gordon, who excavated it briefly in 1836. From 1892-1895, Charles Waldstein carried out excavations. He published his reports in 1902. Carl Blegen studied the prehistoric remains in 1925-1928, which he published in 1937.

Mycenaean Settlement

The Prosymna acropolis was first inhabited in EH II. Occupation continued without a break until LH III B. Some LH house remains were found at the summit of the acropolis (above the later sanctuary) [Figure 49], at the middle terrace and in between the upper terrace and the middle terrace [Figure 50]. Another, more isolated, LH III B house has been found on a small hill named Kephalaria about 350 meters west [Figure 51]. John Caskey and Pierre Amandry found LH houses below the East Building as well [Figure 52].¹⁶¹ This shows that it was likely the summit, the upper terrace and the middle terrace formed a Mycenaean settlement which carried the name Prosymna. The settlement must have been about 150 by 100 meters big, although constructions – e.g. the Old Temple Terrace – have obscured or destroyed older remains in parts of the settlement. Blegen states

¹⁶¹ Caskey and Amandry 1952.

that the middle terrace probably formed the center of the settlement, because most buildings were concentrated here.¹⁶² It cannot be ruled out, however, that the upper terrace (where later the Old Temple Terrace was built) was the center of Mycenaean occupation. The settlement was abandoned in LH IIIB and not reused until the Geometric period.¹⁶³

Even though no remains of a palace were found, probably because of the Old Temple Terrace constructions, Blegen finds it plausible that a palace was located at the Prosymna settlement. The first indicator is the size of the settlement - Prosymna is large and includes many houses. A cemetery with more than 50 chamber tombs also implies a big settlement. Another indicator which Blegen mentions is the tholos tomb found nearby. Tholos tombs were only used to bury the royalties of a certain settlement, since large amounts of labor, skilled craftsmen and expensive building materials were needed to build such a majestic construction, which only the richest and most important people could afford and organize.¹⁶⁴ John Bintliff supports Blegen's theory. According to Bintliff, spatial regularity also accounts for the palatial status of Prosymna. The distance to other palatial centers, such as Mycenae and Midea, is about one hour of walking. This fits into the spatial regularity that also applies to the distance between other Mycenaean palaces in the area. Furthermore, Bintliff considers the terrace of the Early Temple at Prosymna certainly suitable for the placement of a Mycenaean palace. And last but not least, he also states: "[...] finally we could add the ancient references to a cult center of regional importance here in Mycenaean times".¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, he fails to cite these references. Carla Antonaccio, however, does not agree with his line of reasoning. She argues that the remains of the megarons at other Mycenaean sites were always incorporated into or covered by the construction of the Early Temple, which would suggest that some traces of this palace must still have been visible.¹⁶⁶ And while this is usually true, I think Bintliff's argument has more merit because of the many similarities with other Mycenaean palaces. Furthermore, if Antonaccio's argument holds true and Prosymna is just a Mycenaean settlement, why are the settlement remains not incorporated into or covered by the temple construction? Why would this only be done with megaron remains? No remains of Mycenaean houses were found underneath the temple, so it seems that the construction of the temple erased all previous remains. This means that it might be possible that a palace was located here.

Others argue that a Mycenaean cult site must have existed at Prosymna. Raymond Schoder states that the water streams were used to perform purification rites. Moreover, he claims it was the

¹⁶² Blegen 1937a: 17-18.

¹⁶³ Bintliff 1977: 286.

¹⁶⁴ Blegen 1937a: 20-21.

¹⁶⁵ Bintliff 1977: 288-289.

¹⁶⁶ Antonaccio 1992: 89 (footnote 8).

place where the Greeks assembled to support King Agamemnon in the war against Troy.¹⁶⁷ The existence of water streams and this mythological legend is, however, not enough to support this idea. More evidence is needed to confirm (or refute) this theory, since the oldest sanctuary monuments found on the site are from the 8th century B.C.

The Geometric Cult Site

Unfortunately, not much is known about Prosymna in Geometric times. What we do know, is that the old settlement was reoccupied somewhere during the Geometric era, where the foundations of the later sanctuary were laid. Some Geometric figurines made of bronze were found at the higher terrace, including a male figurine, horse, and a small bird, which could indicate ritual value.¹⁶⁸ This is, however, not enough evidence to ensure the area was used as a cult site.

The Archaic Sanctuary

The Heraion sanctuary was firmly established in the Archaic period by the building of a stone temple located on the highest terrace. Its orientation was probably directed towards the west, because of some remains that were found in the western front of the temple which can be interpreted as the altar. The terrace on which the Old Temple was built, was carefully constructed, supposedly in the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. based upon the pottery found within the terrace. Some remarkable objects found within the foundation were two Egyptian scarabs, a bronze figurine and a steatite seal stone.¹⁶⁹ A terracotta model of a building was also found at the sanctuary (the exact findspot is not mentioned). The model might represent the Old Temple and shows LBA influences.¹⁷⁰ The terrace was supported by a massive retaining wall built in Cyclopean fashion, probably imitated from a predecessor Mycenaean wall. Most scholars argue that the temple was built later – around 650-625 B.C. – in Doric style. The general idea is that the temple replaced an earlier shed-shrine, which is based on a terracotta model found at the sanctuary.¹⁷¹ Another option is that only an altar existed, without any additional building. However, as Carla Antonaccio argues, a terrace of this grandeur and size would not be needed for merely a shed or altar; its construction would be quite pointless to say the least. The pottery within the terrace might not date its construction at all, since it was part of the fill to create the surface for the Old Temple. According to Antonaccio, there is no reason to separate the construction of the terrace with the construction of

¹⁶⁷ Schoder 1974: 89-90.

¹⁶⁸ Blegen 1939: 432.

¹⁶⁹ Blegen 1937: 17.

¹⁷⁰ Tomlinson 1972: 231.

¹⁷¹ Wright 1982: 186-192.

the Old Temple. Therefore, the terrace and temple were constructed at the same time – which would be between 650 and 625 B.C., based on Old Temple’s stylobate features.¹⁷² The Old Temple was accidentally destroyed by fire in 423 B.C.

In the sixth century, building activities started at the middle terrace as well. The first constructions were two stoas (the North Stoa and the North-East Stoa) and a large square structure (West Building) which may have functioned as a banquet hall for worshippers.¹⁷³

The Classical Sanctuary

In Classical times, the sanctuary developed quickly. First, the South Stoa was built around 450 B.C. on the lowest terrace. Some interesting finds were discovered underneath the South Stoa, including an Egyptian bronze statuette, some pieces of ivory and an iron dagger.¹⁷⁴ The ‘East Building’ was built around the same time at the most eastern part of the terrace. It seems plausible that sacred gatherings were held at its hypostyle hall. The New Temple was built later: between 420 and 400 B.C. The planning of the New Temple constructions might have started before the Old Temple was destroyed.¹⁷⁵ The temple was in Doric style and had an Argive architect called Eupolemos. The temple once held a massive gold and ivory cult statue of crowned Hera made by Polyclitus.¹⁷⁶

The Heraion sanctuary was the principal shrine of Argos, and it may have been seized from Mycenae at some point.¹⁷⁷ Why her principal sanctuary was not in Argos, which was politically dominant in the Classical period, but in a different part of the Argolid which was more important during the Bronze Age, is significant.¹⁷⁸ This reflects the importance of tradition and legacy. It also functioned as a way to define territorial boundaries. By claiming this sanctuary, the territory of Argos is clearly designated.

The Hellenistic Sanctuary

The sanctuary was still thriving in Hellenistic times, which is reflected in the umpteenth stoa that was added in the west. It was L-shaped and adjoining the stoa was a gymnasium. Some blocks taken from the Heraion have been used to build a Byzantine church at Merbaka, which may have come from an altar of the third century B.C.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² Antonaccio 1992: 96-97.

¹⁷³ Schoder 1974: 90-91.

¹⁷⁴ Blegen 1937: 19.

¹⁷⁵ Tomlinson 1972: 239-240.

¹⁷⁶ Schoder 1974: 92-93.

¹⁷⁷ Bintliff 1977: 286; Antonaccio 1992: 103-104; De Polignac 1995 & Hall 1995.

¹⁷⁸ Tomlinson 1972: 203-204.

¹⁷⁹ *Idem*: 246-247.

Tiryns

Anta Building, Upper Castle

Mycenaean remains	Palace building remains, citadel
Dating	EH; MH; LH I-III C; G; A; C
Location	The center of the southern and upper part of the citadel
Pottery	EH pottery, gravy boats, cup, jug, amphora; MH pottery; Mycenaean ceramics, sherds, vessels, kitchen ware, cups, pithoi, skyphos, rhyton, miniature vessels, krater; Geometric vessels, hydriai, jugs, cotylae, kylikes, pithoi, pottery; Classical miniature vessel
Post Helladic cultic remains	Anta building remains (?); Doric capital (?)
Archaeological report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Schliemann, Adler & Dörpfeld 1886; ▪ Kilian 1978: 449-470; ▪ Kilian 1983: 277-327; ▪ Frickenhaus 1912.
Summaries	▪ <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> 106.2 (1982): 547-549.
Bibliography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hope Simpson 1981: 20-21 [A10.1]; ▪ Schwandner 1988: 269-284; ▪ Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 321; ▪ Maran 2000: 1-17.
Ancient literature	<i>Paus.</i> II. 25.8
Chronique/Helladic	C842

Just as in Mycenae, the citadel of Tiryns barely provides any evidence of cultic re-use. There has been much debate about this matter, which already started with the beginning of excavations in 1884 with Heinrich Schliemann and Wilhelm Dörpfeld. They excavated the Upper Castle, where the palace and its megaron were located. Within the megaron, they found the remains of a slightly smaller building (an anta building), which Dörpfeld referred to as the foundations of a Greek temple.¹⁸⁰ Several Archaic architectural elements that were found throughout the Upper Castle remains, were linked to this anta building, including a Doric capital. Unfortunately, the foundation remains of this so-called temple were dismantled to expose the underlying Mycenaean megaron. This and the scarce documentation reflect the minor importance that was given to this anta building during this time. Only one map – with scale 1:300 – was made of this anta building, which can be seen in Figure 53. Many interpretations of this building are based upon this map, even though it not very detailed.

August Frickenhaus published a new interpretation of the anta building in 1912. He discussed this structure with greatest detail and believed it to be an Iron Age cult building.¹⁸¹ This meant the

¹⁸⁰ Schliemann 1886: 260.

¹⁸¹ Frickenhaus 1912: 2-13.

Mycenaean palace had to be destroyed beforehand, probably during the Sub-Mycenaean or Protogeometric period. He assumed that two of the original pillars and the Mycenaean throne were reused in this cult building, with the throne being used for the cult image. Another perspective was presented by Carl Blegen in 1921. He was the first to refute the interpretation as a temple and believed the anta building was not built during the Iron Age or in the Archaic era but had to be dated in late Mycenaean times. He saw great similarities between the anta building and a house he excavated in Korakou, which was dated in LH IIIC. Blegen stated that the anta building would not have survived the end of the Mycenaean era and it could also not have been a temple yet. He argued that the Doric capital had to be from a different, later building.¹⁸²

George Mylonas, however, did not support the idea of a chronological continuation. He stated in 1966 that there had to be a lot of time between the decline of the Mycenaean palace and the construction of a new building, which he considered to be a temple.¹⁸³ James Wright also defended this thesis. He believed the megaron was rediscovered in late Geometric times, and a temple to Hera was constructed over it.¹⁸⁴

Klaus Kilian was a big supporter of Blegen's theory and decided to test it during excavations. Unfortunately, this did not yield any results.¹⁸⁵ Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian agreed with both Blegen and Kilian that the anta building would originate in LH IIIC. Contrasting Blegen and Kilian, he believed the building continued to exist throughout the Iron Age up to the Archaic period. He saw the building as a "Ruler's Dwelling" and claimed the building was converted into a temple around 800 B.C.¹⁸⁶

Salvation finally came in 1998, when Joseph Maran did conservation excavations in the megaron area [Figure 54]. He found a stone slab underneath a thin cement cover, which attracted immediate attention, since it was not mentioned in previous records. Furthermore, he found pits for wooden posts. Both the slab and the posts were located on the main axis of the anta structure. He stated that the two posts must therefore belong to the anta building. The wooden post had charcoal remains, which were used in C14 dating. This provides a date in the 12th century B.C.¹⁸⁷ The building must have been short lived, since the posts were not replaced after this time (which was done regularly in the Mycenaean megaron). The excavation and dating results make clear the anta building in the megaron was not Archaic or Geometric in origin and therefore, it probably did not

¹⁸² Blegen 1921: 130.

¹⁸³ Mylonas 1966: 48.

¹⁸⁴ Wright 1982: 195.

¹⁸⁵ Kilian 1978: 470 and Kilian 1983: 160.

¹⁸⁶ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 159.

¹⁸⁷ Maran 2000: 4-10.

function as a temple. It was most likely a smaller megaron, still used by people who had known the old megaron and tried to revive its grandiosity. However, the new megaron could not be matched with the monumental megaron of the 13th century B.C. The smaller size and its modest execution show that the people of the 12th century B.C. did not have the money and power to rebuild and maintain the palace as it once was. What happened to the megaron ruins? It seems, however, that it was not reused since there is no evidence of any Iron Age or Archaic presence in the megaron area. If there was an Archaic or Geometric temple in Tiryns, it was not in the megaron area.

Cult Building, Lower Castle

Mycenaean remains	Palace building remains, citadel
Dating	MH; LH I-IIIC; SM; PG; A; H
Location	The northern (and lower) part of the citadel
Pottery	MH pottery, kylix, jugs, amphorae, skyphoi, craters, goblet, bowls, cups; Mycenaean pottery, shards, stirrup jugs, kraters, skyphoi, kylikes, cooking pots, amphorae, jugs, bowls, pithoi, open vessels, cups, hydriai, rhytons; Sub-Mycenaean pottery, skyphos; Protogeometric ceramics; Hellenistic pottery
Post Helladic cultic remains	Doric capital, architectural elements (ashlar fragments, round base fragments, column fragments, anta capital)
Archaeological report	▪ Kilian 1988: 105-151.
Summaries	-
Bibliography	▪ Schwandner 1988: 269-284.
Ancient literature	Paus. <i>II</i> . 25.8
Chronique/Helladic	C842

As is stated above, it seems that there was no temple or cult building located on top of the megaron in the Upper Castle. However, there must have been a cult building located somewhere else on the citadel. The Doric capital found in the megaron area is one sign of this. One scholar who took a deep dive into this discussion is Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner. His argumentation is based upon the information retrieved in the excavations carried out by Klaus Kilian in 1982/1983. Kilian found a defensive trench near Westgate 4 (in area's LVIII 41 – LX 41) in front of the lower castle [Figure 55]. The surface of this ditch was burnt and the ditch itself was filled with Archaic architectural elements.¹⁸⁸ The architectural elements found in this trench consisted of ashlar fragments, round base fragments, column fragments and an anta capital. These components all add up to a prostyle temple building, closed with barriers and consisting of a sophisticated anta capital. Schwandner shows that the anta capital found in the trench can be related to the well-known Doric capital already found in the Upper Castle during initial excavations in 1886. The material, processing, dimensions and the stage of development show high similarities. However, he also states that the anta building on top of the megaron in the Upper Castle is not a prostyle structure and does not allow this anta to be reconstructed here.¹⁸⁹ This means that none of these temple remains are to be located in the Upper Castle area, which corresponds with the excavation results of Joseph Maran a few decades later. Schwandner goes so far as to claim the temple remains cannot be positioned in the castle at all, which would also exclude the Lower Castle. This seems too rigid to me, since the remains are found in the Lower Castle area, and this area has not been completely excavated yet. It seems likely

¹⁸⁸ Kilian 1988: 105-106.

¹⁸⁹ Schwandner 1988: 283-284.

that the remains are part of a prostyle temple which might have been located in the Lower Castle.

Part II: Analysis

Chapter 1: The Chronology of Cult Activity at Mycenaean Remains

In this chapter, the material evidence of the Argolid will be analyzed with the question “when?” in mind. Can we develop a timeline or a chronology of cults emerging at Mycenaean remains from the Early Iron Age onwards? If we gather the evidence of all sites described in Part I in a table or diagram chronologically and include the type of cult activity found on site, what will this reveal? Part I shows, for example, that many sites in the catalog lacked cult activity during the Classical period. This is the case, for instance, at **44 Karantza Street in Argos**. However, many sites received cult activity again during the Hellenistic period, such as the **Lower Town of Mycenae**. Is there some trend that can be deduced here? Much of previous research seem to have focused mainly on the Geometric and Archaic period. Does my dataset reflect a different pattern? What have experts stated exactly about this topic in previous research? This chapter will dive into the highs and lows of cult activity at Mycenaean ruins in the Argolid area.

Much of the previous research about the reuse of Mycenaean ruins is focused on tomb and hero cult. Some scholars who have studied this subject include Nicolas Coldstream, Ian Morris, Susan Alcock, François de Polignac, and James Whitley. Nicolas Coldstream states that veneration of the Mycenaean tombs by later Greeks started in the ‘Age of Homer’, which he dates from 750 to 650 B.C. Homeric poems were circulating in Greece, which inspired the Greeks – and especially people of the Argolid – to make a connection with their heroic past. According to Coldstream, the fact that most of the 8th century Greeks buried their dead in individual cists or pits, and therefore did not know how to build a tomb as majestic as the tombs of the Mycenaeans, made sure that the Greeks of the 8th century were in awe when they stumbled upon them. This explains the many Archaic votives found in Mycenaean tombs.¹⁹⁰ Coldstream’s statement would then also imply that there cannot be any earlier evidence of votives in the tombs, since the Homeric epics were not established hitherto. Coldstream argues that this attention to older burials was a new concept for the Greeks: “Respect for older burials is something quite new at this time; it is foreign to the practice of the Mycenaeans, who were continually sweeping out older burials to make room for new incumbents in their family tombs; and it is also foreign to the Dark Age, when older graves were continually being cut by new [...]”.¹⁹¹ Can this idea still be maintained? Or does the material gathered in Part I of my research reflect something else? Before we dive into these questions, let us first see what other experts argue regarding tomb cults.

¹⁹⁰ Coldstream 1976: 8-10.

¹⁹¹ *Idem*: 11-12.

Ian Morris has a broader view; he claims that tomb cults already started in 950 B.C., but they were not redefined until after 750 B.C. to be used as a source of power.¹⁹² He does not, however, agree with Coldstream's strong emphasis on Homer's works. It seems more plausible to him that most tomb cults were not inspired by Homer, but by other local heroes. Cults have long histories and work in complex ways. They are therefore "ambiguous, meaning different things to different people".¹⁹³ This is an important statement to consider, so that generalizations can be avoided.

Susan Alcock sees another wave of tomb cults in the Hellenistic period. She argues that in times of tension, people turn to tomb cults to claim land by alleging a line of descent to a certain hero. This was true for both the Geometric period and the Hellenistic period, of which the latter was a period when the Greek communities experienced a state of transition, which were "subject to new geopolitical and internal pressures".¹⁹⁴ Aristocratic families started to claim a lineage with heroes and by doing so legitimized their authority. In this way, a new social order was created and maintained. Tomb cults became a method to shape identity and to find resolutions for internal conflicts.

De Polignac does not go into depths about the chronological developments of hero cult, but he does acknowledge the popularity of tomb cult during the Archaic period. He does not focus on the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, he regards Coldstream's explanation of this popularity, which was the diffusion of epic poems, as inadequate. He claims the cults of Homeric heroes were not centered at tombs at all. According to him, the simultaneous dispersion of epic poems and offerings in ancient tombs are not causally related, but reflect an overall interest in the heroic ages.¹⁹⁵ He also states that in Greece, most offerings in the Geometric period were deposited in graves.¹⁹⁶ Is this indeed true for the Argolid?

James Whitley focuses mainly on hero cult, which he divides into four categories. Most of these hero cults originate in the Archaic period. The first category is 'Cults to named heroes from epic'. According to him, these cults are a late Archaic phenomenon, but became widespread in Greece during the Classical period. The second category is 'Cults to minor, named heroes'. He places this category no earlier than the end of the sixth century. The third category is called 'Cults to the recently dead and posthumously heroized'. He claims these were already known in the "Dark Ages", but they continued into the Archaic period. The last category is 'Cults established in or over

¹⁹² Morris 1988: 750.

¹⁹³ *Idem*: 758.

¹⁹⁴ Alcock 1991: 448.

¹⁹⁵ De Polignac 1995: 138-139.

¹⁹⁶ *Idem*: 14.

Bronze Age tombs’, which he connects to Coldstream’s ‘Age of Homer’ of ca. 750 to 650 B.C.¹⁹⁷ Whitley mentions nothing about the Hellenistic period. Of all the Mycenaean ruins in the landscape, tombs have an enormous focus in scholarly literature. However, the following question arises: do other types of Mycenaean ruins also receive cult activity or does cult activity only appear at tombs? The material presented in Part I already indicated a broader distribution of cult activity.

To find out if the data acquired in Part I matches or clashes with the studies summarized above, I have created Table 2, which is a schematized overview of the chronological distributions of archaeological remains in the Argolid. It shows what types of evidence have been found in which time periods. I have dissected five categories of (cult) activity:

1. Pottery (x): Pottery sherds, which show habitational activity, but cannot distinctly be linked to cult activity;
2. Feasting or Sacrifice (F): Signs of feasting or sacrifice, for instance animal bones, a hearth, much ash, traces of fire, and pottery used for food preparation or consumption;¹⁹⁸
3. Shrine with Votives (V): Votive gifts, including figurines, fine ware, weapons, jewelry, plaques, tripods and mini shields;¹⁹⁹
4. Cult site (C): Temple or cult building without both a formalized altar and a *temenos*;
5. Sanctuary (S): Religious architecture, including at least a formalized altar and *temenos* but usually also a temple or cult building, a cult statue, etc.

These five categories all show a different degree of cult activity. The Pottery category (x) has no cultic value. The Feasting or Sacrifice category (F) has some cultic value but since commensality also has a practical function, it does not have as much cultic value as the Shrine category. Sacrifice is a part of feasting. The Shrine category (V) includes higher quality votives which are generally not useful for everyday purposes; thus, items in this category indicate a cultic function. Shrines often received feasting or sacrificing practices as well. The Cult site category (C) includes a temple or cult building, which has significant cultic value, but cannot be called a sanctuary because there is no formalized altar and/or *temenos* to enclose the sanctuary territory. The Sanctuary category (S) has the highest cultic value because a cult has actually been institutionalized here with clear boundaries and a formalized altar for sacrifices. A sanctuary also requires the most time, effort and

¹⁹⁷ Whitley 1995: 53-54.

¹⁹⁸ Read Van den Eijnde 2010: 45-50 about the material correlates of feasting. Especially Table 1 (p.49) is useful in this matter.

¹⁹⁹ Read Van den Eijnde 2010: 51-53 about the material correlates of cult activity. Especially Table 2 (p.52) is useful for this purpose.

money to maintain.²⁰⁰ A sanctuary usually includes elements of all categories. The Mycenaean ruins are classified in function:

- House or Settlement (H);
- Tomb or Cemetery (T);
- Palace (P);
- Fortress (FO);
- Sanctuary (S).

Table 2: Chronological Distribution of Archaeological Remains in the Argolid.²⁰¹

Era	EH	MH	LH	SM	PG	G	A	C	H
Site									
Argos									
– 105 Irakleous Street			H			x		F	F
– 22 Karantza Street		T	H/T			x	V	V	V
– 44 Karantza Street		x	H/P?			V	V		
– The Aphrodision		x	H				C/V	S/V/F	F/V
– Aspidos Street		x	H			C/F	F		F/V
– Deiras Valley: Cemetery		x	T			V	V/F?	x	V
– Larissa Hill: Fortress		x	FO		x	x	C/V		
– Tripoleos Street			T					V	F
Berbati	x	x	T			x	V/F		
Epidaurus, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas	T	x	S/V/F			F	C/V	S/V	C/V
Kazarma			T		F				
Magoula	x	x	H			x	V/C	x	x
Midea									
– Palace	x	x	P				V		x
– West Gate Area		x	H				V		
Mycenae									
– Citadel	x	x	P	x	x	C?/V?	C/V	x	C
– East House			H						V
– House of the Oil Merchant			H		C?	C?	V	x	x
– Lower Town		x	H		x	F/V	F/V		F/V
– Chamber Tombs	x	x	T		x	F/C	F/V	x	F
– Tholos Tombs	x	x	T		x	F/V	F/V/C?	F?	x
Profitis Ilias			H				C/V	x	
Prosymna									
– Cemetery			T			V/F	V/F	x	x
– Settlement	x	x	H/P?			V	S/V	C/V	C

²⁰⁰ While this is not the place to elaborate on this, it might be interesting to research in the future what is required to maintain a cult site and what those efforts looks like in the archaeological record.

²⁰¹ This table is based on a similar table made by Floris van den Eijnde (2010: p.334). I made some adjustments to make it suitable for my own research.

			/C?						
Tiryns									
– Upper Castle	x	x	P			x		x	
– Lower Castle		x	P	x	x		C		x
Total	8 x 1 T	17x 1 T	1 FO 12 H 8 T 6 P? 1 C? 1 S	2 x 0 F 0 V 0 C 0 S -23	6 x 1 F 0V 1C? 0 S -17	6 x 6 F 6 V 4 C? 0 S -8	0 x 6 F 18 V 8 C? 1 S -5	8 x 3 F 5 V 1 C 2 S -10	6 x 6 F 7 V 3 C 0 S -7

Abbreviations

- x = Pottery (just habitation activity, not specifically cultic);
- F = Feast/Sacrifice (signs of feast/sacrifice: animal bones, hearth, ashes, traces of fire, pottery for food consumption);
- V = Shrine with Votives (gifts: figurines, fine ware, weapons, jewelry, plaques, tripods, mini shields);
- C = Cult site (temple or cult building without formalized altar and/or *temenos*)
- S = Sanctuary (religious architecture: including a formalized altar and *temenos*, and usually also a temple/cult building, cult statue etc.);
- H = House/Settlement;
- T = Tomb/Cemetery;
- P = Palace;
- FO = Fortress.

Table 2 displays the following developments. Firstly, most sites have some kind of activity during the EH and MH periods, most of which is habitational. This indicates if a particular site has a longer history. A clear example that illustrates this is the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**. It goes without saying that the different buildings included in this research are created during the Mycenaean period. After the ‘collapse’ of the Mycenaean world, nearly all sites are abandoned in the Sub-Mycenaean period. Only two sites are still inhabited, but no cult activity remains. These are the **Citadel of Mycenae** and the **Lower Castle of Tiryns**. Cult activity starts in the next era, the Protogeometric period: six sites are inhabited, one site receives a sacrifice and one other site possibly received cult activity. More and more Mycenaean ruins start to receive cult activity during the Geometric period: six sites had signs of feasts or sacrifices, six sites included votive gifts, one site was definitely a cult site and two other sites might have been a cult site as well. The Archaic period witnessed a climax of cult activity.²⁰² Only five sites showed no signs of cult activity at this time, six sites had evidence of a feast and/or sacrifice, 18 sites contained votive gifts, cult sites were established at seven sites, one other site might have been a cult site as well and one site was a sanctuary. While some sites still show signs of cult activity, much of the earlier cult

²⁰² Archaic cult activity includes Sub-Geometric pottery as well, which can be seen as Early Archaic. For structural purposes, the Sub-Geometric period is not discussed separately.

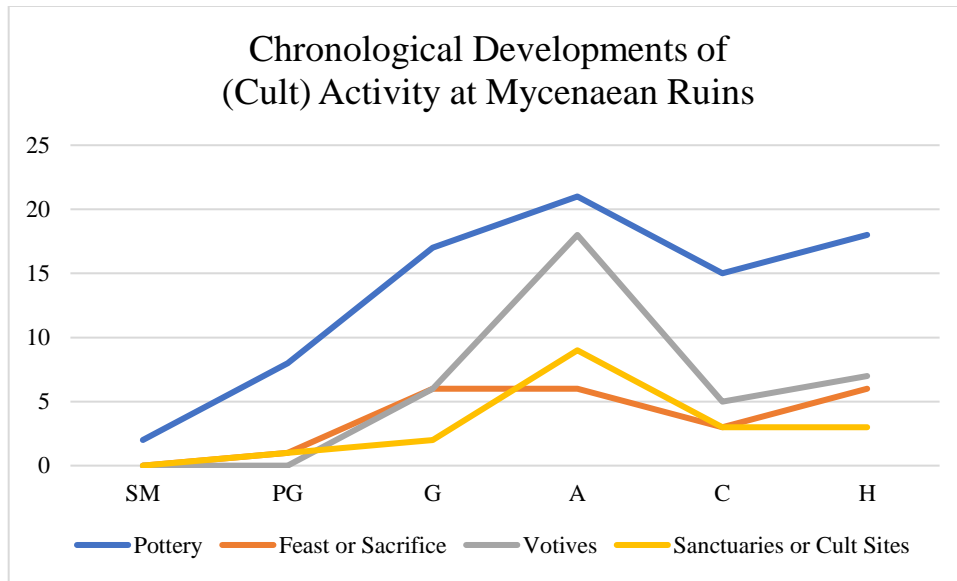
activity vanishes during the Classical period. It seems that the few sanctuaries/cult sites that remained active during the Classical period, originated from the Archaic period. Only two Mycenaean ruins are initiated with new cult activity (in this case a feast or sacrifice and votive offerings) during the Classical period. These are **105 Irakleous Street in Argos** and **Tripoleos Street in Argos** as well. After the decline of cult activity during the Classical period, the Hellenistic period shows an increase in cult activity again, including six sites with evidence of a feast or sacrifice, seven sites with votive gifts and three cult sites.

Chart 1 shows the chronological developments of (cult) activity at Mycenaean ruins. However, two things must be taken into account when reading Chart 1. First, every site that shows evidence of a feast/sacrifice, votive, cult site or sanctuary, also included the existence of pottery, which is why the blue line is always higher than all the others. This blue line shows that in difficult times cultic remains might have been absent, but this does not mean that no cultural practices took place, but simply that these cults took certain forms which are too similar to habitation to have left anything discernable. If there was no habitation at all, it is evident no cult activity could have taken place there. Second, in some cases the evidence for a sanctuary, a cult site, a votive or a feast is not obvious, which only shows why it is so hard to make a quantitative representation of what is essentially qualitative research. In these cases, I chose the most credible possibility. This means that for the **House of the Oil Merchant in Mycenae**, I think it is most credible that the apsidal cult building is dated to the Protogeometric period, and not the Geometric period because of the evidence Verdélis mentions.²⁰³ At **Aspidos Street in Argos**, I chose to interpret the apsidal construction as a cult building as well, which is why this site is included as a cult site. While it cannot be confirmed a Geometric cult site was located at the **Citadel of Mycenae**, it seems some votives have been deposited here. I also think an Archaic cult site might have been located at the **Tholos Tomb of Aegisthus at Mycenae**, indicated by the architectural elements found at the tomb and an Archaic structure built near the dromos. Chart 1 is therefore more generalized than Table 2.

While making a chart has its challenges, as described above, it can also offer some fascinating insights. Chart 1 shows at a single glance how cult activity developed from the Sub-Mycenaean period up until the Hellenistic period. It also shows, for instance, that evidence of votives is more common than evidence of feast or sacrifice. While Table 2 is much more precise, at the same time it can include doubts about interpretation; it might stir confusion, which is why it requires the clarifications made above.

²⁰³ Read the scholarly debate about this structure in the 'House of the Oil Merchant' chapter at pages 49-50.

Chart 1: The Chronological Development of (Cult) Activity at Mycenaean Ruins (made by author)



So how can we place these data points into a wider historical context? Some results are consistent with the previously discussed views. The first is the outcome that the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods rarely provide any cultic activity. Continuity of habitation can sometimes be surmised, as was the case on the **Citadel of Mycenae** and at the **Lower Castle of Tiryns**. However, these are the only two sites that reflect this; all other sites seem to have been abandoned. People presumably preferred to live in highly fortified areas, such as these citadels, in these instable and risky times. Continuity of cult cannot be detected during these periods. Strict continuity of cult is a rare occurrence in Greece; most cults arise after a disruption of a century or two.²⁰⁴ This is also reflected in this research. It is not until the Protogeometric period that we discern cult activity, as can be seen clearly in Chart 1. Two cases reflect this, the first being the **Kazarma Tomb**, which received offerings during the Protogeometric period. The other example is a possible cult building at the **House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae**. (There is, however, some debate about the dating of this building; it might also be Geometric in date).

Another parallel with prior studies is the growing interest in Mycenaean ruins during the Geometric era. This is a phenomenon already noted by Coldstream and Morris.²⁰⁵ Examples of these, which have been included in this thesis, are **Chamber Tomb XXX of the Deiras Valley in Argos**, **Chamber Tomb 222 at Mycenae**, the **Epano Phournos Tholos Tomb at Mycenae**, the **Tholos Tomb of Clytemnestra At Mycenae** and all four tombs of the **Prosymna cemetery**. While the tombs are an understandable starting point for cult activity, houses/settlements, sanctuaries,

²⁰⁴ Whitley mentions Olympia, Amyklai, Isthmia, Artemis in Mounychia, Mount Hymettos as examples (2009: p.281).

²⁰⁵ Coldstream 1976 and Morris 1988.

fortresses and palaces were honored also. Cult activity of the Geometric period can also be extended to other Mycenaean ruins, such as the Mycenaean houses located at **44 Karantza Street in Argos**, **Aspidos Street in Argos**, possibly the **House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae**, the **Lower Town area at Mycenae**, and the **Prosymna Settlement**. The Mycenaean sanctuary, which preceded the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**, also attracted Geometric cult activities. Furthermore, the Mycenaean palace located at the **Citadel of Mycenae** also reflected the existence of cult practices. What contradicts previous research, in this case it was François De Polignac, is that most offerings of the Geometric period were not deposited in Mycenaean graves. At least in the Argolid, most Geometric offerings are placed near Mycenaean house remains.

It is clear from previous research that interest in Mycenaean remains was high during the Archaic period. My investigation shows that the Archaic era is the best represented period with regard to cult activity located at Mycenaean ruins of the Argolid. At six sites signs of feasting or sacrifice were found, 18 sites had votive gifts, seven sites were transformed into cult sites (and possibly one more) and one site became a sanctuary. Four of the five sites that actually did not receive any cultic activity were quite small and probably not known at this time indicated by the lack of any Archaic pottery.

My data shows a significant decline in cult activity at Mycenaean remains during the Classical period, which has previously gone unnoticed. Table 2 reveals a substantial decrease in cult activity compared to the Archaic period. Classical cult sites or sanctuaries with a Mycenaean history are only based at sites where an Archaic predecessor cult site exists. Only two – relatively small – sites receive Classical cult activity without any previous Archaic cult activity. This is the case at **105 Irakleous Street** and **Tripoleos Street**, both located in the city of Argos. All the other sites either do not have Classical cult activity (which is the case for 18 sites) or are continued cult activity from the Archaic period on (five sites). This shows that new cults on prehistoric remains were usually not created during the Classical period. There seems to have been no interest in initiating new cults at Mycenaean remains, but why? The polis reached the peak of its independence as a state during the Classical period. If we follow Alcock's argument, which was the idea that factors such as tension and pressures were needed to initiate an interest in the past (so that these could be manipulated for their own benefit), this decline in cult activity should indicate a time of peace and tranquility. We know that the Classical period was not so peaceful and tranquil (indicated by the many wars during this time), but if we start speculating, we might interpret this reduced level of tension and pressures as a result of a steady polis identity.

Another new insight is related to the breaks in cult activity. All the sites that show breaks in between periods of cult activity pertain to the Classical period, which is the case for **Aspidos Street**

in Argos, the Deiras Valley cemetery in Argos, the Lower Town of Mycenae and the Citadel of Mycenae. This is a discovery unnoticed by previous research that, again, reflects the decrease of cult activity in the Classical period.

Alcock already saw a trend where cult activity was initiated at Mycenaean tombs during the Hellenistic period. This finding is also reflected in my dataset. Three more sites (compared to the Classical period) show signs of feasting or sacrifice, and two sites received votive gifts. Three cult sites remain, with no proof of formal sanctuaries. No remains of Hellenistic sanctuary buildings were found at **The Aphrodision in Argos**. The older buildings might have been in use still. The cult site at the **Citadel of Mycenae** was renewed in the Hellenistic period after receiving minimal attention during the Classical period (the Archaic cult site was probably still in use during the Classical period, but there are no signs of new constructions). The data shows that interest in the past grew during the Hellenistic era; new cults were introduced and maintained. Cult activity is noticeably higher compared to the Classical period. However, I do not see the huge bursts of cult activity that Alcock speaks of. The peak of cult activity in the Archaic period is not matched at all. The growth of the Hellenistic cult activity might therefore be better explained by the decline of the Classical period before. The Archaic period remains the era in which cult activity at Mycenaean ruins was most significant.

Some types of cult activity have less chance to become visible in the archaeological record. This is most evident in feasting. If we look at Chart 1, it seems like feasting was an unpopular way of cult activity. However, this was probably not the case at all, because feasting has a smaller chance of showing up in the data. This can be attributed to the two interpretations that can be applied to the evidence: it is hard to discern a feast or sacrifice from a normal meal. In these cases, the archaeological context is usually decisive in the choice between sacrificial or not. The proximity to Bronze Age remains are generally a good indicator for the interpretation of the meal as a sacrificial feast. Other indicators are the quality and quantity of the elements used for feasts (pottery related to the preparation or consummation of food and wine; animal remains).²⁰⁶ Votives are the most popular category of cult activity. This is probably explained by the fact that votive gifts are easier to interpret as cult activity and it is less labor-intensive as well. Sanctuaries and cult sites require a lot of work and money and therefore are a lot harder to maintain.

²⁰⁶ Van den Eijnde 2010: 45-50.

Summary of Conclusions

Some concluding remarks can be made from the evidence presented above. Firstly, the Iron Age and Ancient Greek cult activity at the Mycenaean ruins of the Argolid seems to consist of two peaks: one big peak during the Archaic period (which originated in the Geometric period) and the smaller one in the Hellenistic period. This is in correspondence to previous research. The cult activity of the Hellenistic period might have continued into the Roman era as well, but that period is out of the scope of this research. The second finding is that the Classical period shows clear signs of decline in cult activity and reduced interest in Mycenaean ruins. The Classical cult sites with Mycenaean history are only based at sites where an Archaic predecessor exists. 18 sites have no Classical cult activity at all, while five sites continued cult activity from the Archaic period. All sites that have a break in cult activity between periods, lack cult activity in the Classical period. No other study has detected these trends.

Chapter 2: Classical Material Evidence of Cult Activity at Mycenaean Remains

In Chapter 1 we discovered that the Classical period experienced a decline in cult activity near Mycenaean remains in the Argolid region. Why did that happen? To answer this question, it seems logical to look at the material evidence of cult activity from the Classical period. Where does this material come from exactly? Is there a pattern that can be deduced here?

I here present the material evidence in a table. Table 3 represents the different types of finds related to cult activity, which is organized chronologically. The numbers in this table are represented by the number of cult sites that produced a certain type of object within this period. Table 3 indeed shows that most finds are dated to the Archaic period, and that the amount of Classical material is significantly reduced compared with the period before, which we already saw in Chapter 1. The provenance of the Classical finds has to be identified to get some answers to the questions posed above. This way, some patterns might be revealed which can help explain the evidence.

Table 3: Different types of finds related to cult activity, organized chronologically.²⁰⁷

Era	LH	SM	PG	G	A	C	H
Finds							
Figurines	3			3	18	4	6
Fine ware			1	2	4		
Weapons				2	1	2	
Jewelry				3	3	1	
Plaques					2		
Tripods							
Mini shields					1		
Altar	1		1	?	? + 1	2	?
Cult building/temple			?	?x3	7 + 1?	3	1
<i>Louterion/ perirrhanterion</i>							
Peribolos	1				2		
Cult statue					2		1

The Classical material evidence is found at four sites with figurines, two sites with weapons, one site with jewelry, two sites with altars, three sites with a cult building or temple and one site with a cult statue. The four sites that produced Classical figurines are **22 Karantza Street in Argos**, **Tripoleos Street in Argos**, the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros** and the **Prosymna Cemetery**. The two sites that provided Classical weapons are the **Prosymna Settlement** and the

²⁰⁷ Made by author.

Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. The Classical jewelry was found at the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Epidauros** as well. The Classical altars were built at the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros** and at **The Aphrodision in Argos**. The three Classical temples are built at the **Prosymna Settlement, The Aphrodision in Argos** and the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**. This enumeration immediately demonstrates a pattern. All material evidence of cult activity from the Classical period is either from Argos, Prosymna or Epidauros. We know that the Heraion sanctuary at the **Prosymna Settlement** was under control of the Argos *polis* from the Archaic period on. Epidauros was not in the Argive plain and therefore probably not in hands of Argos. How can we explain this division of the Classical cult material between Epidauros and Argos? Why is there no Classical cult activity at any of the other Mycenaean ruins in the Argolid?

This evidence has been found in Mycenaean tombs, near Mycenaean house remains and at the Mycenaean sanctuary in Epidauros. No Classical cult activity was found at the remains of Mycenaean palaces or fortress. What could be the reason for that? And where can we find these answers? It seems that Table 3 provides more questions than answers. A good solution to answer these questions could be found in the political circumstances of the time. What was happening during the Classical period in the Argolid to have caused this immense decline in cult activity?

Summary of Conclusions

To find out why the Classical period experienced such a significant decline in cult activity, which we determined in Chapter 1, the origin of the Classical finds have to be identified. The Classical finds included four sites with figurines, two sites with weapons, one site with jewelry, two sites with altars, three sites with a cult building or temple and one site with a cult statue. These finds were all derived from either the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**, or several cult sites/shrines that were under the control of Argos (Prosymna included). Why do only these sites show signs of cult activity in the Classical period?

Chapter 3: The Territoriality of Post-Helladic Cult Activity at Mycenaean Remains

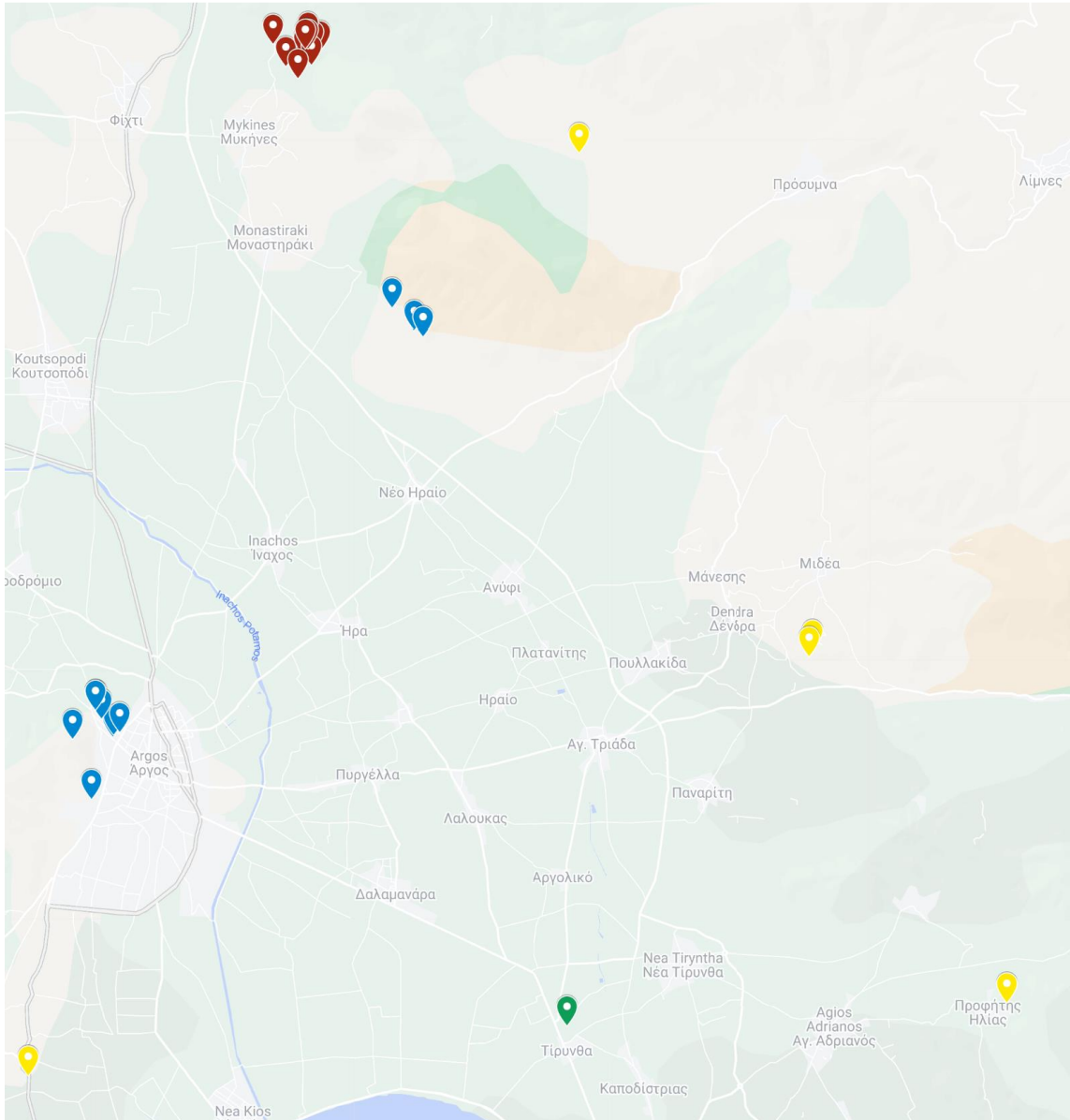
This last chapter entails the analysis of the material evidence derived from the Argolid with the question “where?” in mind. Is it possible to develop geographical patterns or connections between the sites where cults appeared at Mycenaean remains from the Early Iron Age onwards? What have experts stated about this topic in previous research?

One of the first scholars who acknowledged the importance of the territory of cult was François de Polignac. He researched the influence of extra-urban sanctuaries in the formation of the Greek *poleis*. He argued that extra-urban sanctuaries were located on the edges of *poleis* territories and that these extra-urban sanctuaries were just as important and popular as the cults located in the urban centers. Sanctuaries at the edges of territories were of significant symbolic importance because they marked the outer limit of the *polis* territory. The area adjacent to the territory could include the wilderness of nature or the territory of other *poleis*. Crossing the latter meant leaving behind the terrain controlled by the *polis*. Processions from the urban center (usually the acropolis or agora) to the extra-urban sanctuary were performed to show supremacy over the *polis* territory. This is why these sanctuaries were often subject to conflicts between different neighboring *poleis*.²⁰⁸ Was this also the case in the Argolid? Or are there other theories that fit better with the data?

The remains included in this dataset are all in or close to the Argive Plain, the most distant site being Epidauros. The two biggest sites of the Argolid during the Mycenaean period were Mycenae and Tiryns. These cities included a palatial system that exerted influence on the whole region of the Argolid. Argos might have been an important contender as well, but since a palatial status cannot be assured, it is not certain. However, Argos grew bigger and became more influential during the Geometric and Archaic periods. The Argolid, just as any other Greek region, included networks of worshippers who visited and maintained the sanctuaries. The Heraion sanctuary at Prosymna was created on top of Mycenaean remains and Argos exerted its control over the sanctuary quickly, with barely any resistance from Mycenae and Tiryns.²⁰⁹ Argos was situated about eight kilometers from the Heraion, Mycenae five and Tiryns nine kilometers. While Mycenae was closest to the Heraion, some mountains are located in between the two sites. The Heraion could therefore be reached easiest by the *polis* of Argos. The sanctuary became the place where Argos displayed its regional supremacy.

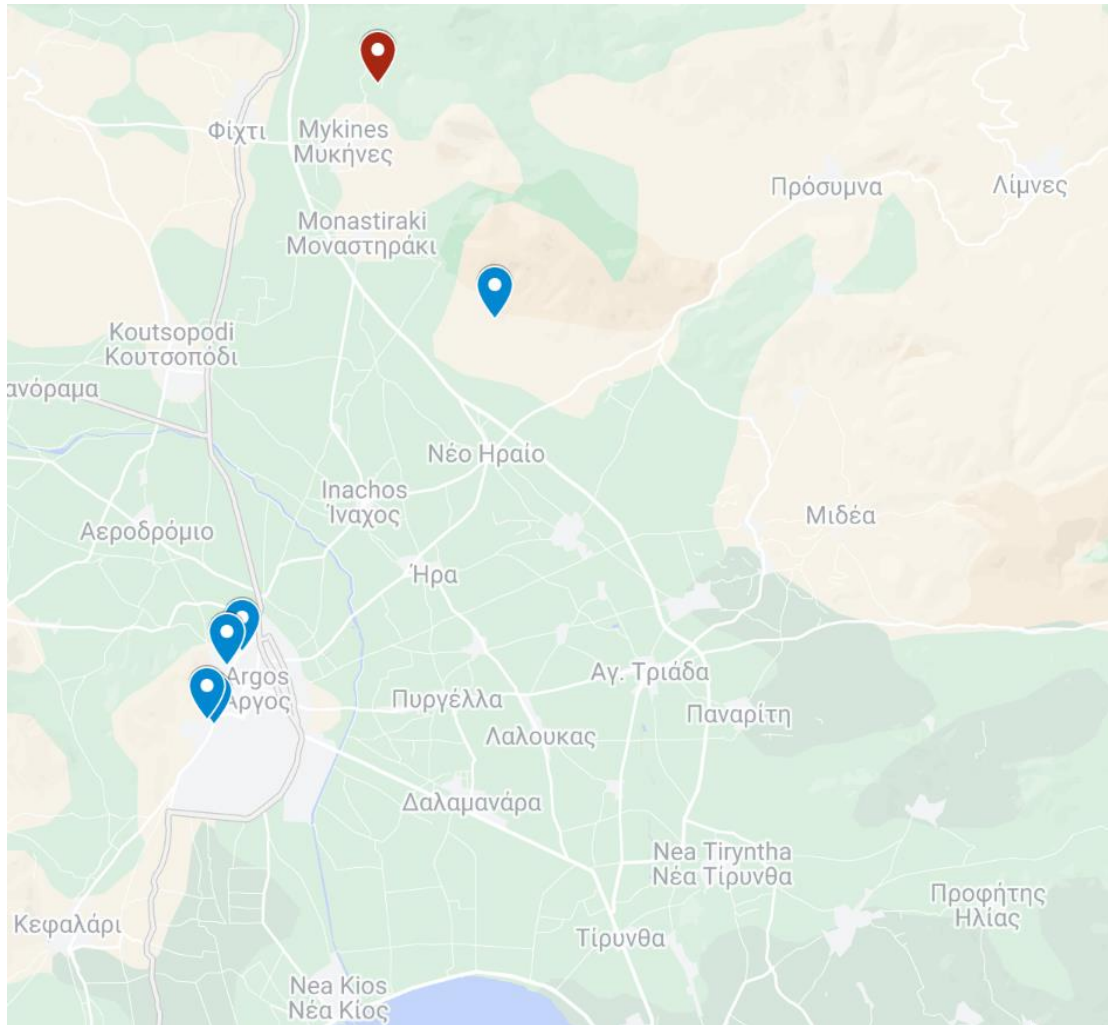
²⁰⁸ De Polignac 1995: 22-25, 33-34, 50-51.

²⁰⁹ *Idem*: 53.



Map 5: Archaic cult activity in the Argolid divided in territories.²¹⁰

²¹⁰ This map is created by the author on Google My Maps (<https://rb.gy/n2l60f>). The sites of Tiryns are given in green, Mycenae in red, Argos in blue and other sites (Berbati, Magoula, Midea and Profitis Ilias) are in yellow. Epidauros is omitted in this map because the scale would be too small to discern all sites.



Map 6: Classical cult activity in the Argolid divided in territories.²¹¹

The Territoriality of Cult

The political situation of the Argolid provides a possible answer to the questions of Chapter 1 and 2. The ancient Argolid was known for its political turbulence, created by three major strongholds which all three wanted a claim to the area. As stated above, De Polignac showed that *poleis* created cults at extra-urban sites to show the extent of their territory. The Argolid was divided into different territories, which were mostly controlled by the three main *poleis* of the Argolid: Tiryns, Mycenae and Argos. These three strongholds had continuous conflicts over territory throughout the Archaic period. The data from Part I fits into the framework of this political situation, which I indicated with different colors in Map 5. The conflicts ended in 462 B.C., when Argos had destroyed both Mycenae and Tiryns, the other two strongholds of the Argolid.²¹² While the original networks of worshippers were damaged, the raiding by Argos resulted in a decline of tensions that had been going on for

²¹¹ This map is created by the author on Google My Maps (<https://rb.gy/on23w0>). The sites of Mycenae are given in red and Argos in blue. Epidauros is omitted in this map because the scale would be too small to discern all sites.

²¹² Mycenae: *Diod.* XI 65.1-5; *Strab.* VIII 6.19. Tiryns: *Hdt.* VI 83.1-2; *Paus.* II 25.8; *Strab.* VIII 6.11.

centuries. From this time on, Argos took the lead in governing the Argolid. Both Tiryns and Mycenae were more or less deserted.²¹³ Epidauros seems to have escaped a similar destruction, and remained thriving throughout the Classical period.

As we saw in Chapter 1 and 2, cult activity at Helladic sites experienced a decline during the Classical period. Both **Tiryns** and **Mycenae** barely show any Classical cult activity, which can be related to the raiding by Argos. What is remarkable, however, is that other sites in the area also show disruptions in cult activity. **Midea** and **Berbati** are completely deserted during the Classical period, with no signs of habitation. **Magoula** and **Profitis Ilias** still had some signs of habitation during the Classical period. Cult activity here, however, did not extend to the Classical period, even though these sites had been substantial cult sites in the Archaic period. What was the reason behind these patterns? Were these cult sites destroyed by Argos as well? Or did they simply experienced this decline because the networks of worshippers, who regularly visited these places, were destroyed? Did these worshippers originate from Mycenae and/or Tiryns, who were now deserted?²¹⁴ It seems that **Midea**, **Berbati**, **Magoula** and **Profitis Ilias** were all part of the network of worshippers that were under the sphere of influence of Mycenae and Tiryns during the Archaic period. After the destruction of Mycenae and Tiryns in the Classical period, the networks of worshippers that supported these cult sites were deteriorating. While some sites might have been deserted as a result of these deteriorating networks, others might have been destroyed by Argos as well (for instance Midea²¹⁵).

On the other hand, cult activity within the territory of **Argos** continued for the most part during the Classical period. Argos controlled the Argive Plain, which extended all the way to **Prosymna**. Argos had eliminated its neighbors and left the sites in ruins. Cult activity continued during the Classical period at **105 Irakleous Street**, **22 Karantza Street**, **The Aphrodision** and the Heraion sanctuary at the **Prosymna Settlement**. While some smaller sites in Argos also show signs of disruption during the Classical period, these seem minor in comparison to all the other bigger sites not included in Argos territory. The **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros** was also fortunate and survived the setbacks. This probably meant that the sanctuary was under Argive influence²¹⁶, but for some reason the Argives decided not to destroy Epidauros as they did Tiryns, Mycenae and probably many other cities. Epidauros probably collaborated with Argos which made them integrate with the Argive territory, so they could contain their ancient rituals. One **Tholos**

²¹³ Hall 1995: 589.

²¹⁴ Diodorus explains why Mycenae was deserted in XI 65.5; Pausanias mentions Tiryns destruction in II 25.8.

²¹⁵ Strabo ascribes the destruction of Midea to the Argives in VIII 6.11.

²¹⁶ This view is supported by Thucydides (V 53).

Tomb in Mycenae is the only site outside of Argos territory that remained active during the Classical period. This situation is demonstrated in Map 6.²¹⁷

Summary of Conclusions

The territoriality theory of extra-urban sanctuaries by De Polignac proved useful to explain the data of Part I. Cult activity dropped significantly during the Classical period, which seems to be a result of the Argive invasion of Tiryns and Mycenae in 468 B.C. and 462 B.C. respectively. Most of the sites under the control of Argos had continued cult activity during the Classical period. This included the extra-urban Argive Heraion (**Prosymna Settlement**) and probably also **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**. Other sites, such as **Tiryns**, most sites at **Mycenae**, **Midea**, **Berbat** and **Profitis Ilias**, were abandoned or lacked cult activity. We know that Tiryns, Mycenae and Midea were sacked by Argos, but this is not known about the other sites. Is it possible that Argos had an even bigger impact on the Argolid, and destroyed these sites as well? Or were these sites abandoned as a result of lack of worshippers, because the original networks of worshippers were destroyed due to the wars initiated by Argos?

²¹⁷ Epidauros is not visible on this map because of its distance to the other sites.

Conclusion

Previous research about cult activity at Bronze Age remains were mainly focused on tomb cult. With this thesis, I have tried to show that other types of ruins were subject to veneration as well, as is clearly reflected in the catalog. In the Introduction I wondered if new conclusions could be made with regard to this expanded dataset, which resulted in the question: “How is the diachronic and geographical distribution of post-Helladic cult activity at Mycenaean ruins within the Argolid influenced by historical developments?”. I have tried to answer this question by creating an elaborate catalog, which provided all the existing evidence of cult activity at Mycenaean ruins within the Argolid. This resulted in the discovery of the following trends. First, the two peaks of cult activity took place during the Archaic period and Hellenistic period. Coldstream, Morris and Whitley extensively examined the first peak during the Archaic period, while Alcock discovered the second peak during the Hellenistic period. However, the enormous decline of cult activity during the Classical period remained previously unnoticed. To find out why the Classical period experienced this significant decline in cult activity, I have identified the origin of the Classical finds. It turned out that all these finds, except one find from Mycenae, came from the **Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros**, the Heraion sanctuary at the **Prosymna Settlement** or several cult sites or shrines in **Argos**. Both the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros and the Heraion sanctuary in Prosymna were controlled by Argos. So why do only these three sites reflect Classical cult activity? The political situation of the Argolid provides a suitable answer. We know that both **Tiryns** and **Mycenae** were sacked by Argos in 468 and 462 B.C., which explains the lack of cult activity at these places. However, there are more sites that experience this absence, such as **Midea**, **Berbati** and **Profitis Ilias**. While some of these sites (probably Midea) might have been sacked by Argos as well, others were probably previously managed by networks of worshippers which probably originated from Mycenae and Tiryns. Since these two sites were more or less abandoned, it seems logical that they could not continue worshipping at other cult sites. Midea, Berbati and Profitis Ilias now suddenly lacked most, if not all, of its worshippers. The cult sites fell in decline. Conversely, the sanctuaries, cult sites or shrines under the influence of Argos still continued to thrive and were less affected by the decline of cult activity in the Argolid region. Thus, the political situation of the Argolid resulted in the decline of cult activity at many cult sites during the Classical period.

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Figures

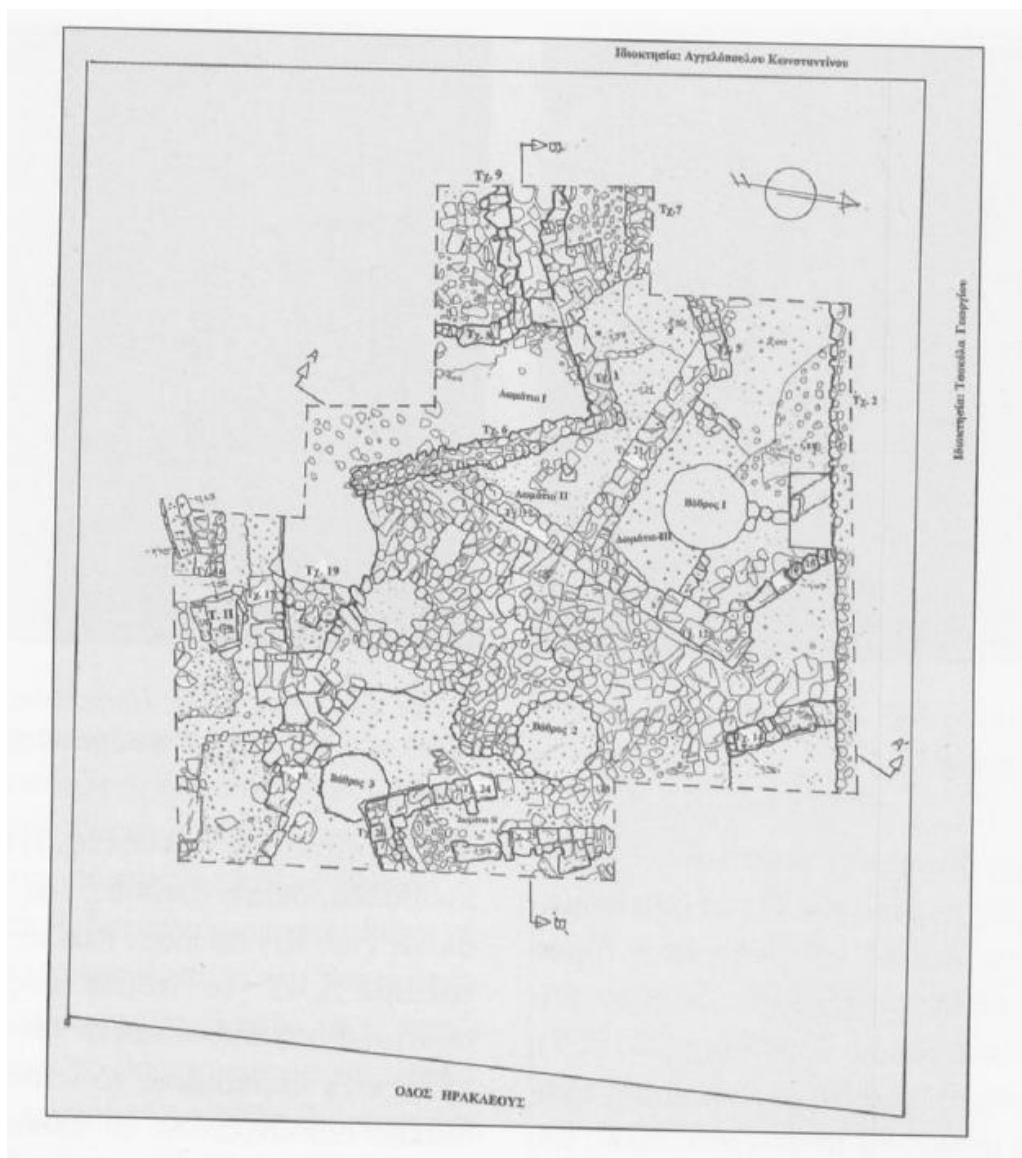


Figure 7: 105 Irakleous Street, Argos. Plan of the Excavation.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ ArchDelt 63 B1 (2008): 259.



Figure 8: 22 Karantza Street, Argos. Plan of the Excavation.²¹⁹

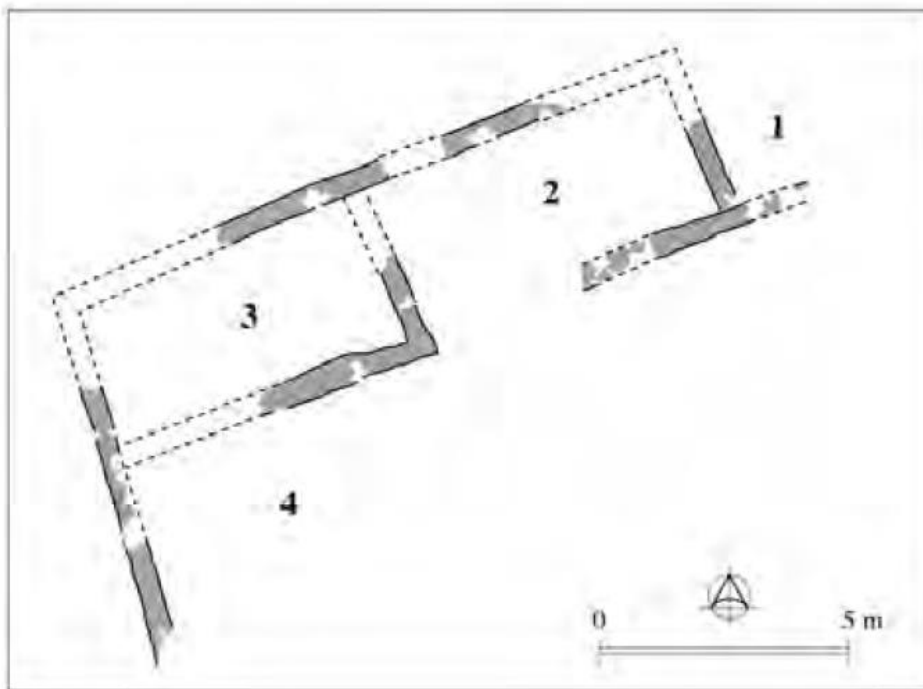


Figure 9: LH IIIB-C house at Quartier Sud.²²⁰

²¹⁹ *ArchDelt* 63 B1 (2008): 257.

²²⁰ Darcque 2005: Pl. 8.

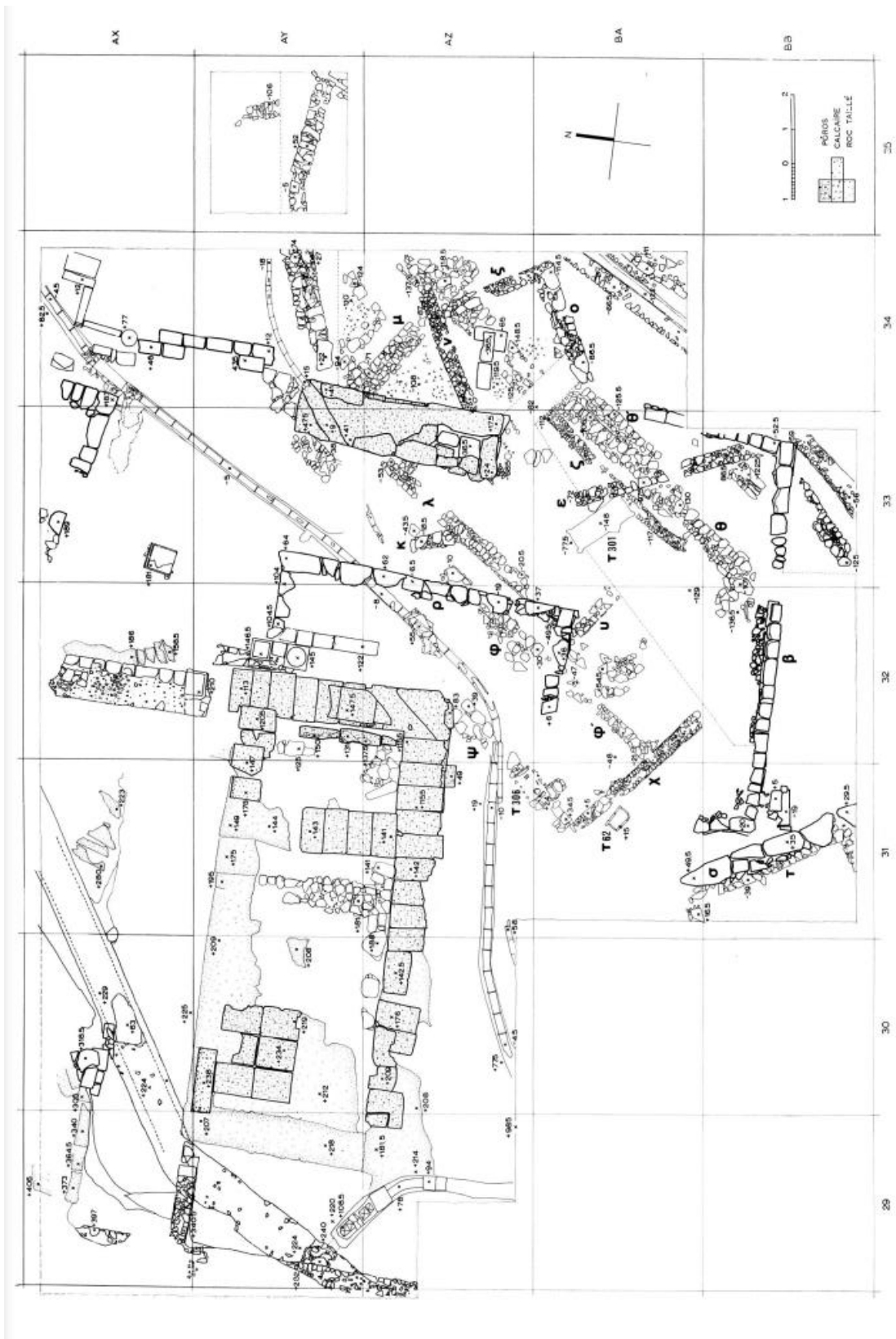


Figure 10: Aphrodision, Argos. State of the excavation at the end of the 1968 campaign.²²¹

²²¹ *BCH* 93.2 (1969): 986-987.

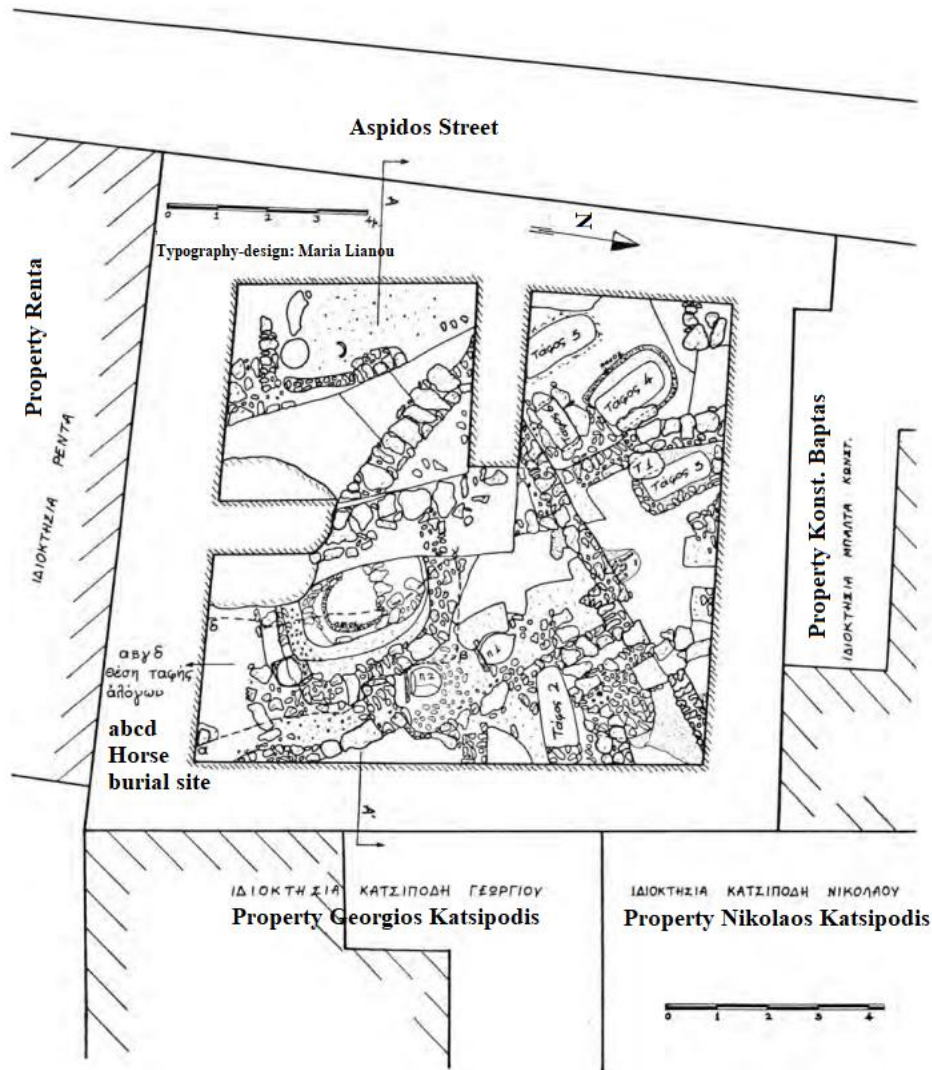


Figure 11: Aspido Street, Argos. Plan of the Excavation. Translation added by author.²²²

²²² ArchDelt 35 B1 (1980): 117.



Figure 13: A Cyclopean wall at Larissa, Argos.²²⁴

²²⁴ Vollgraff 1928: Pl. 10.

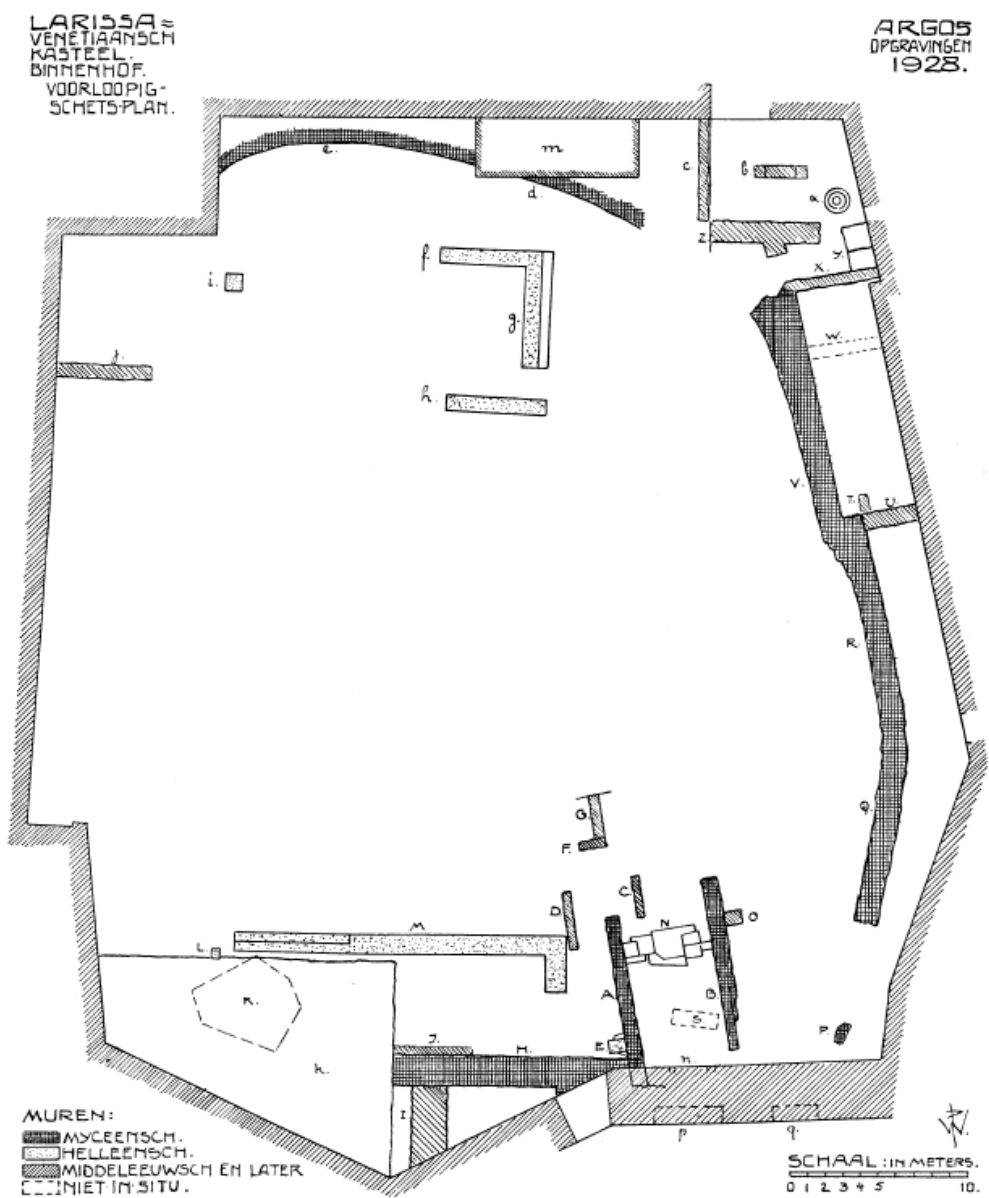


Figure 14: The inner court of the Venetian castle at Larissa Hill, Argos.²²⁵

²²⁵ Vollgraff 1928: Pl. 9.



Figure 15: The foundations of the temple of Athena, Larissa Hill at Argos.²²⁶

²²⁶ Vollgraff 1928: Pl. 7.

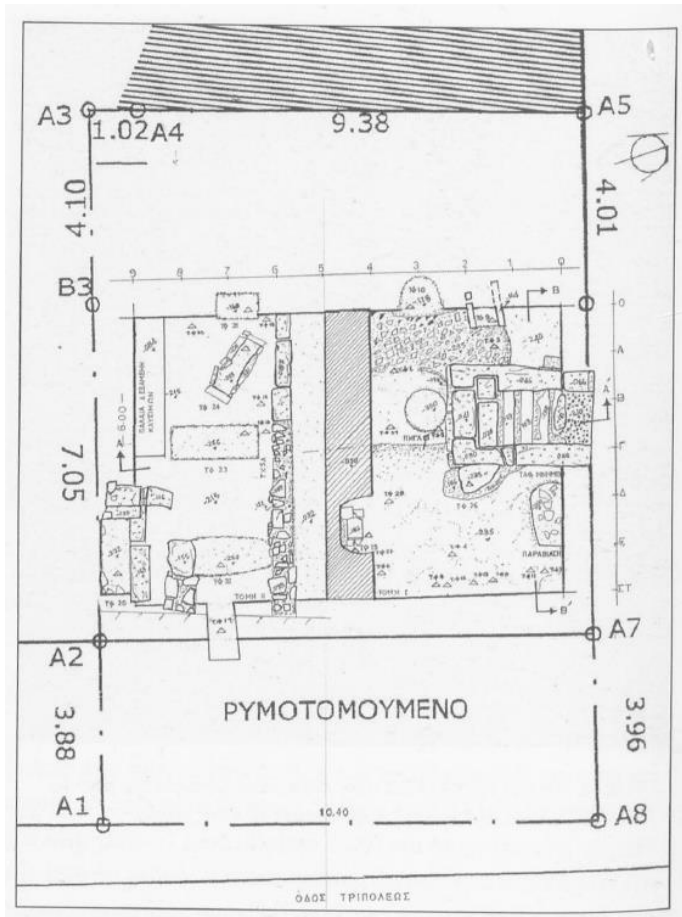


Figure 16: Plot of N. Anastasiou at Tripoleos Street, Argos. Excavation Plan.²²⁷

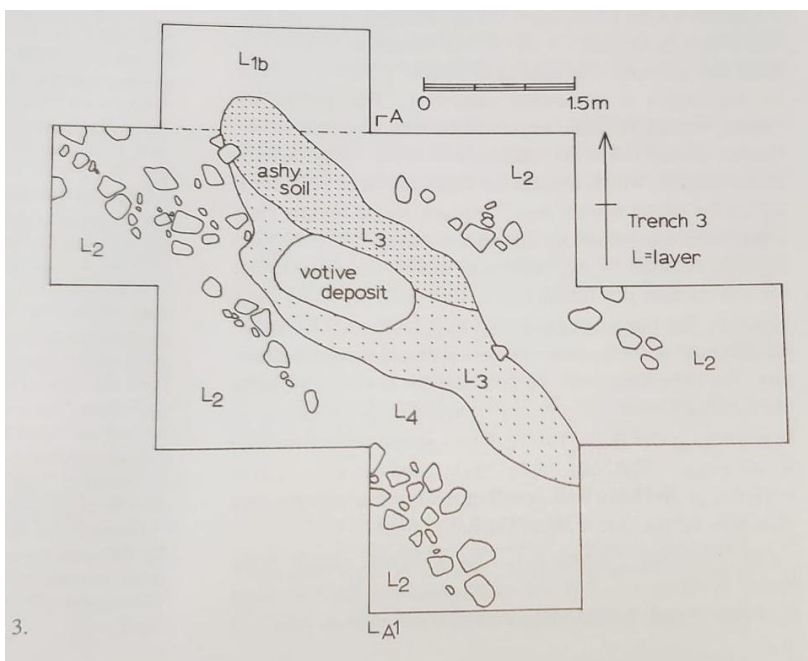


Figure 17: Plan of trench 3.²²⁸

²²⁷ *ArchDelt* 64 B1 (2009): 268.

²²⁸ Ekroth 1996: 193.

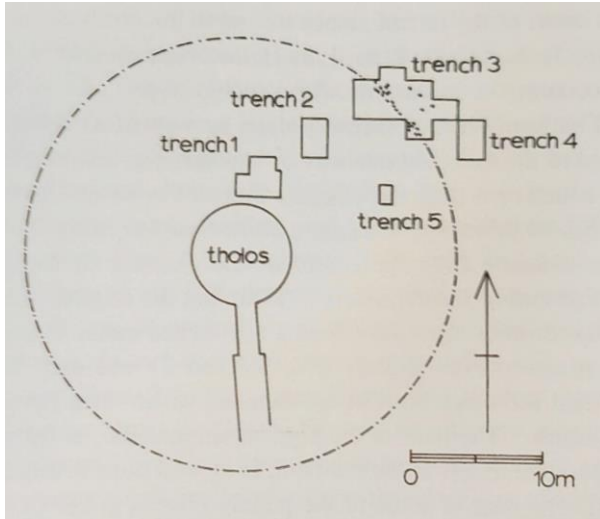


Figure 18: Plan of tumulus with tholos and trenches.²²⁹

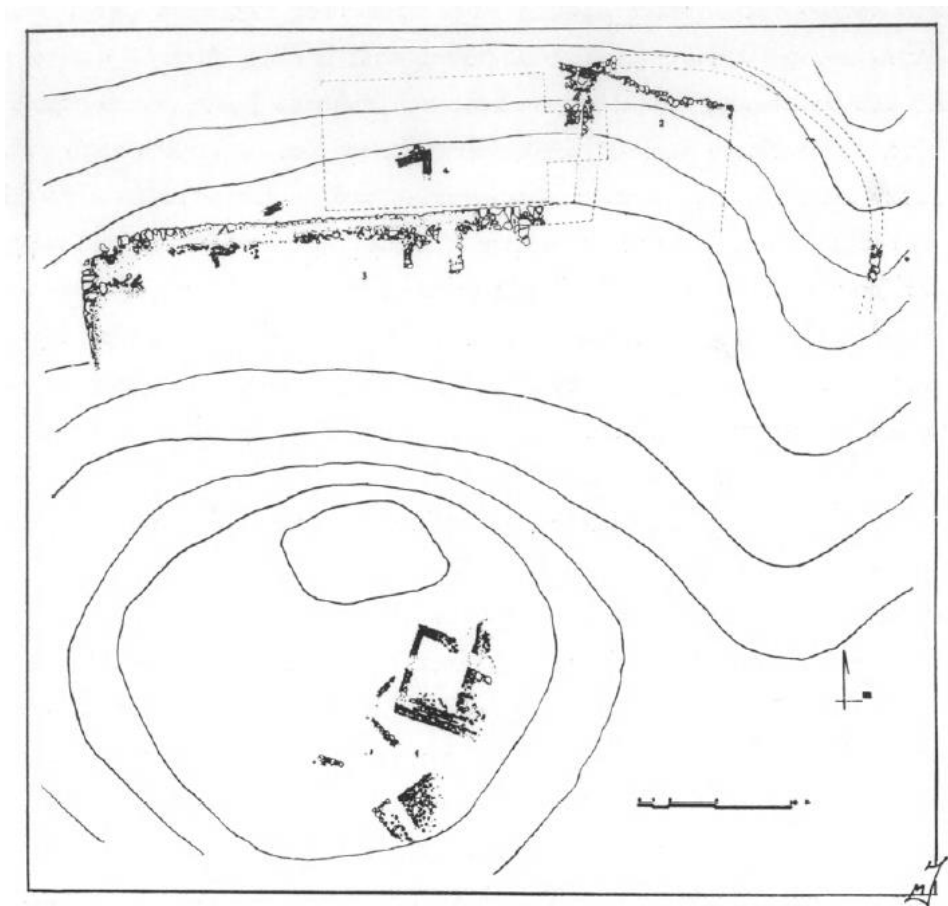


Figure 19: The Mycenaean remains of the sanctuary at Mount Kynortium.²³⁰

²²⁹ Ekroth 1996: 193.

²³⁰ Lambrinoudakis 1987: 56.

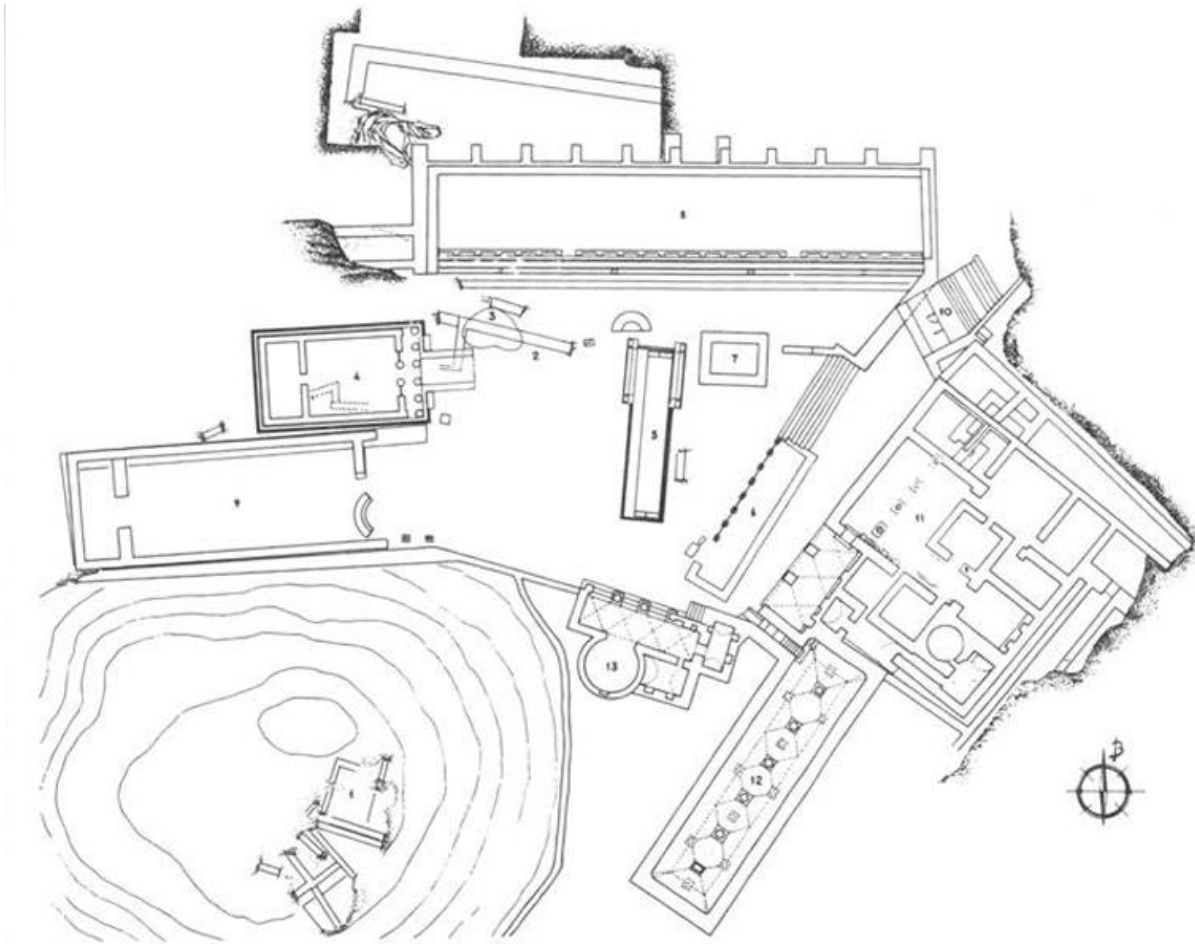
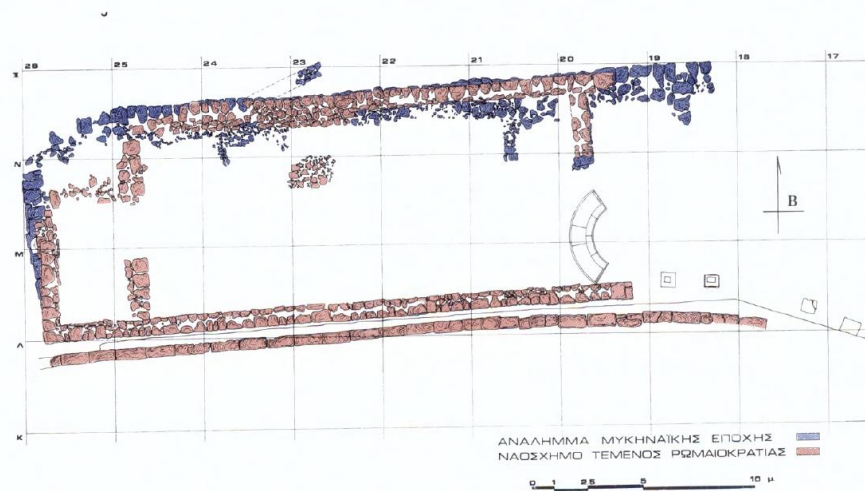


Figure 20: The Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, Epidaurus²³¹

1. Prehistoric (EH-LH) buildings
2. Mycenaean altar
3. Geometric altar
4. Classical temple on the foundations of Archaic and Mycenaean buildings
5. Classical altar
6. Classical temenos of the Muses
7. Classical temple of Asklepios?
8. Hellenistic stoa
9. Big Mycenaean terrace + Roman peribolos with adyton
10. Roman propylaea
11. Roman skana (house of the priests)
12. Roman cistern

²³¹ Lambrinouidakis 1988: 15.



13. Roman nymphaeum

Figure 21: Mycenaean raised terrace and Roman temple enclosure at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, Epidauros.²³²



Figure 22: Western part of the Mycenaean raised terrace and the remains of the Roman temple on top of it.²³³

²³² Lambrinoudakis 1987: 54.

²³³ Lambrinoudakis 1991: Pl. 28B.



Figure 23: The interior of the tholos tomb after cleaning. Pits II and III and the altar are shown.



Figure 24: A vessel from pit II and a skyphos from the altar.

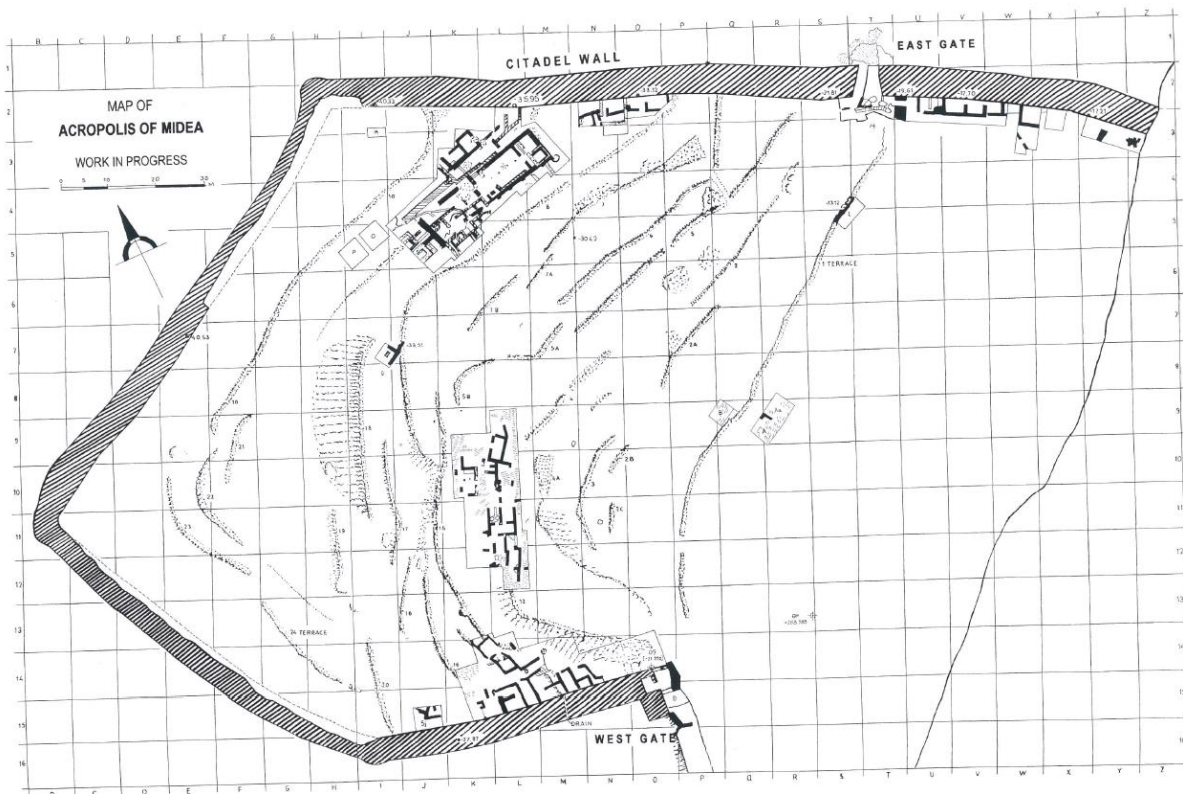


Figure 25: Ground plan of the Acropolis of Midea.²³⁴

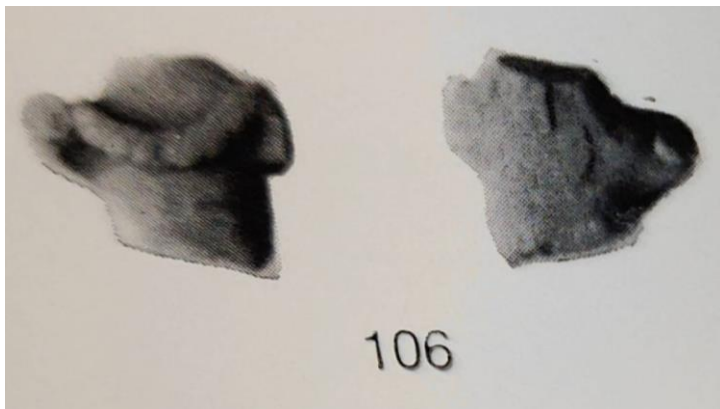


Figure 26: Archaic figurine found at the palace of Midea.²³⁵

²³⁴ Demakopoulou et al 2006-2007: 8.

²³⁵ Walberg 1967: Plate V (No.106).



Figure 27: Archaic one-handled black-glazed cup from Trench Si, West Gate Area at Midea.²³⁶



Figure 28: Archaic fragmentary terracotta figurines from Trench Si, West Gate Area at Midea.²³⁷

²³⁶ Demakopoulou et al 2006-2007: 19.

²³⁷ Demakopoulou et al 2006-2007: 19.

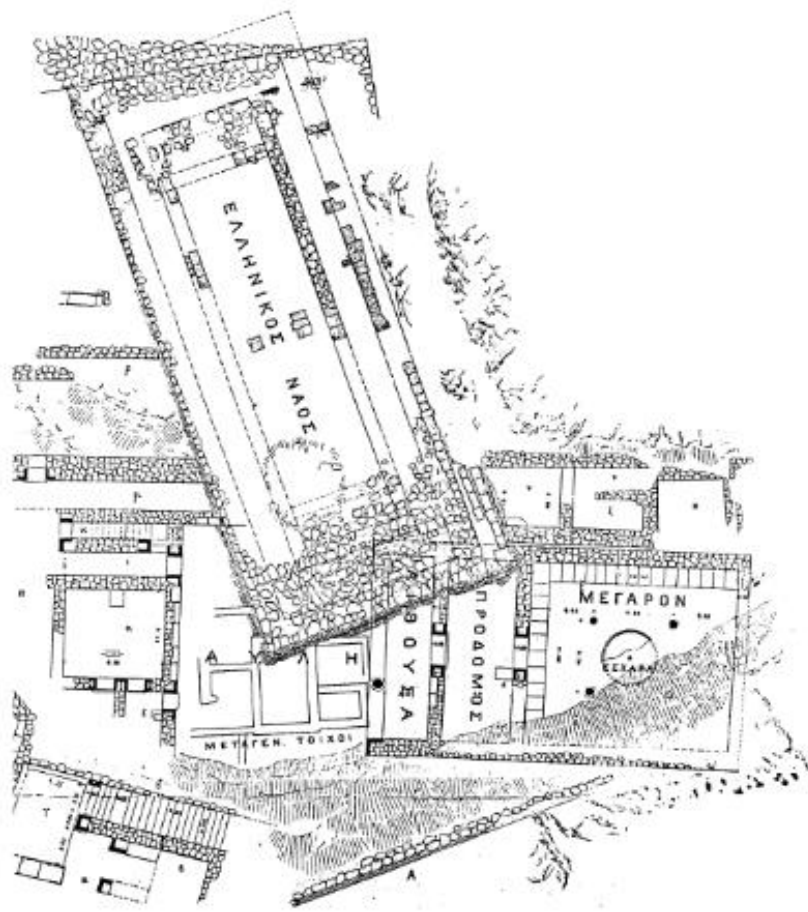


Figure 29: Plan of temple foundations.²³⁸

²³⁸ Tsountas 1886: Plate 4.



Figure 30: Aerial picture of Mycenaean citadel.²³⁹

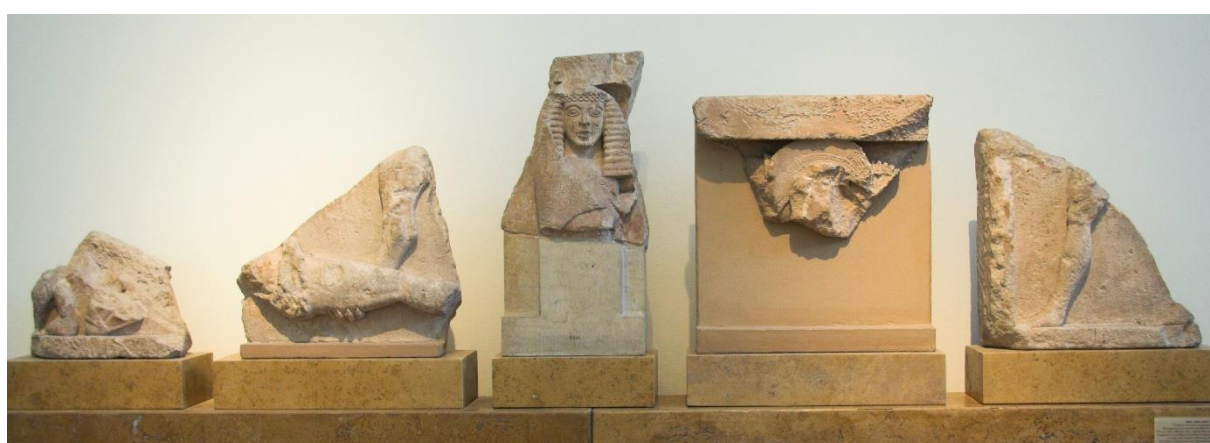


Figure 31: Reliefs of the Archaic temple.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Klein 1997: Pl. 49a.

²⁴⁰ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/Metop_fragments_from_Mycenae_630-620_BC%2C_NAMA_2857%2C_2866%2C_2869%2C_2870%2C_4471_081095.jpg



Figure 32: Plan of Hellenistic temple foundations.



Figure 33: Location of East House, Mycenae.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Red circle added by author; Burns 2007: 112.



Figure 34: Plan of East House, Mycenae.²⁴²

²⁴² <https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=2082>.



Figure 35: The entrance to the house of the Oil Merchant and the street with the apsidal building in front.²⁴³

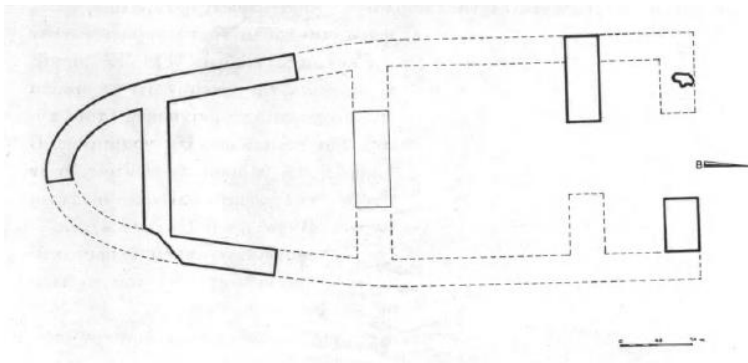


Figure 36: Apsidal Geometric building east of the House of the Oil Merchant.²⁴⁴

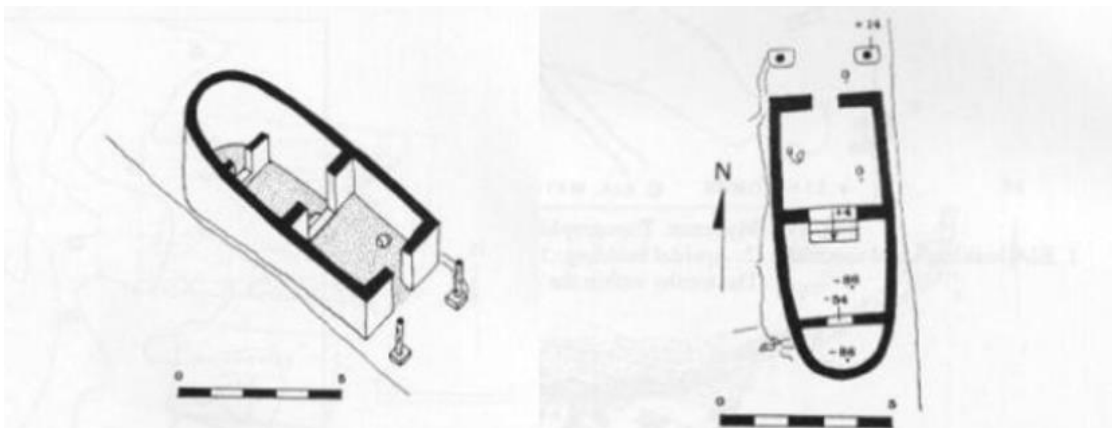


Figure 37A-B: Apsidal building with portico.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Verdelis 1963: Plate 85A.

²⁴⁴ Verdelis 1962: 87.

²⁴⁵ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: fig. 202 + 204.



Figure 38: Offerings from the apsidal building.²⁴⁶

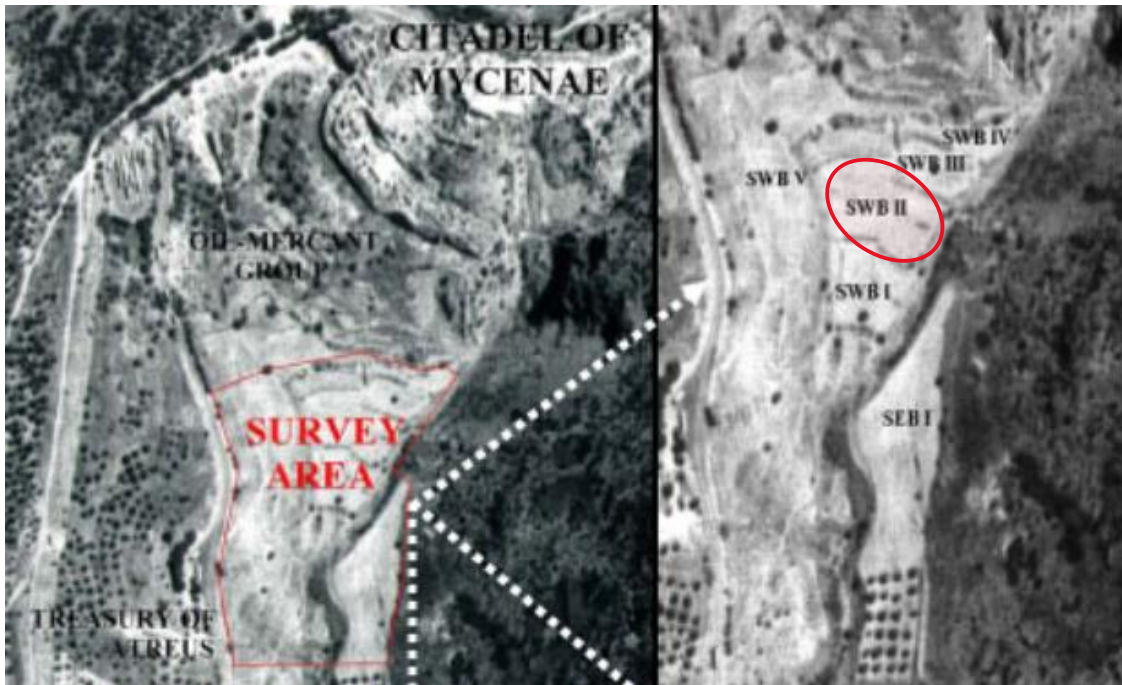


Figure 39: Location of Lower Town of Mycenae.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Verdelis 1962: Plate 91A.

²⁴⁷ Red circle on the right added by author; http://mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html.

**MYCENAE
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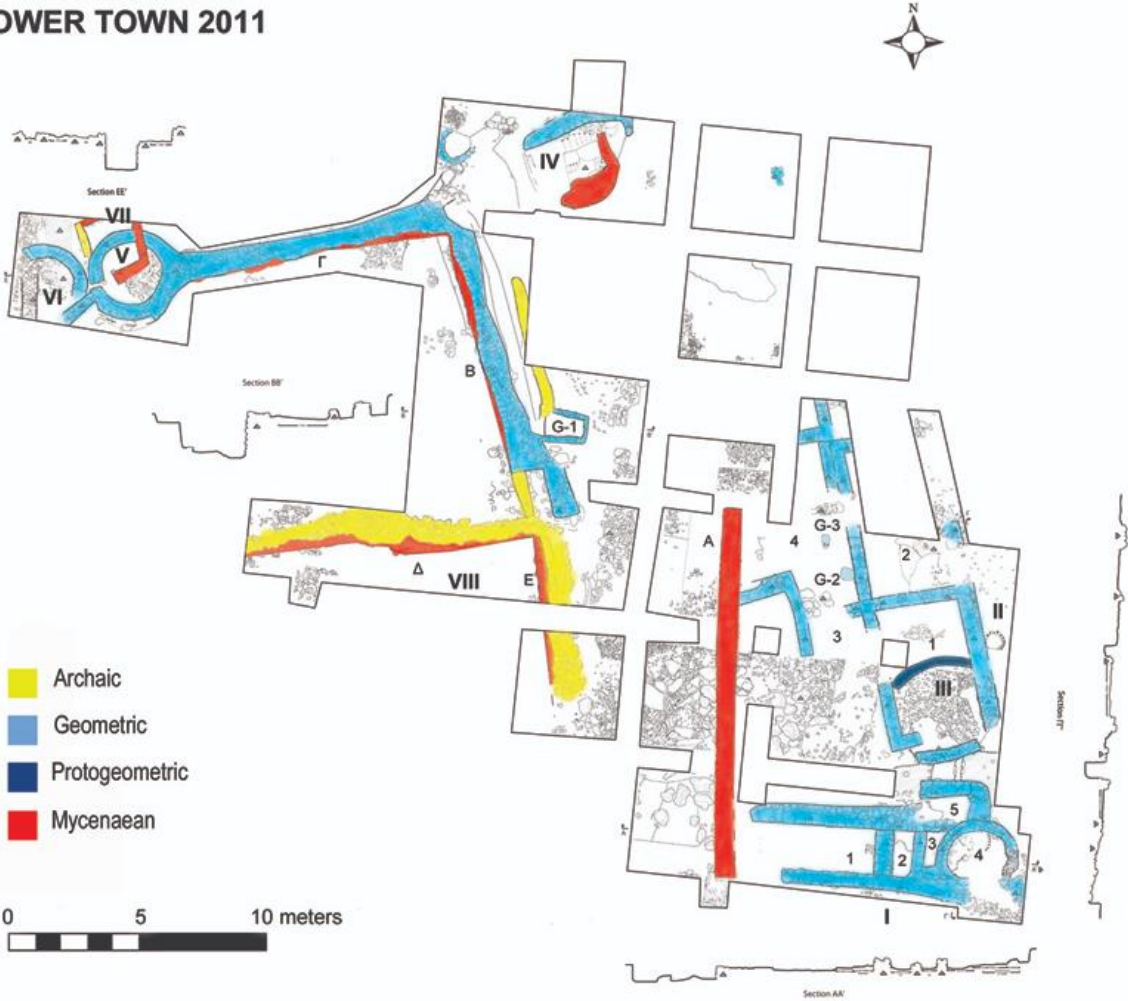


Figure 40: Plan of Lower Town, Mycenae.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ Hellenistic top layer is not included; <https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=2403#true-2>.

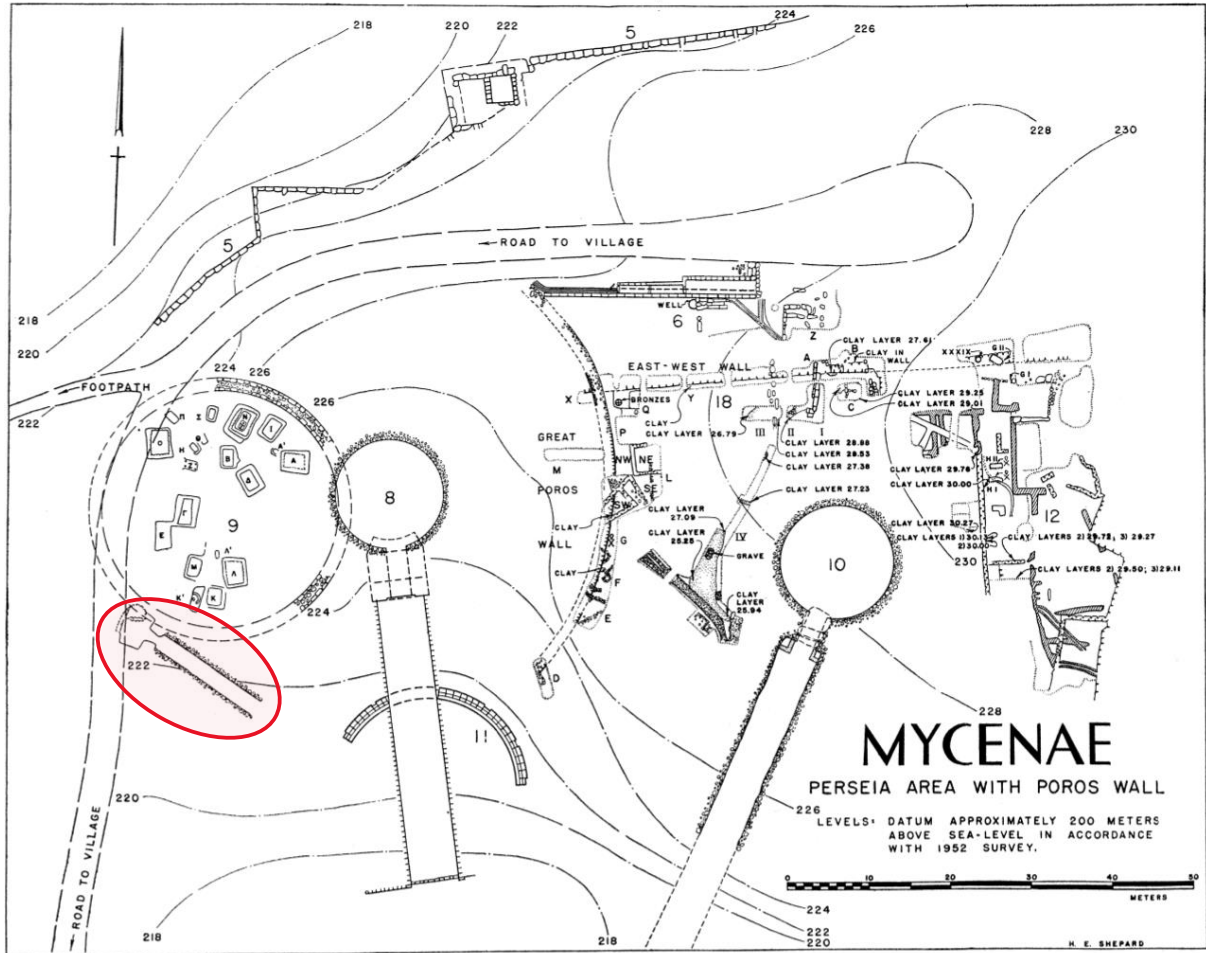


Figure 41: Tombs in Perseia Area, Mycenae.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Red circle added by author, indicating Chamber Tomb 222; Taylour 1955: Plate 36.

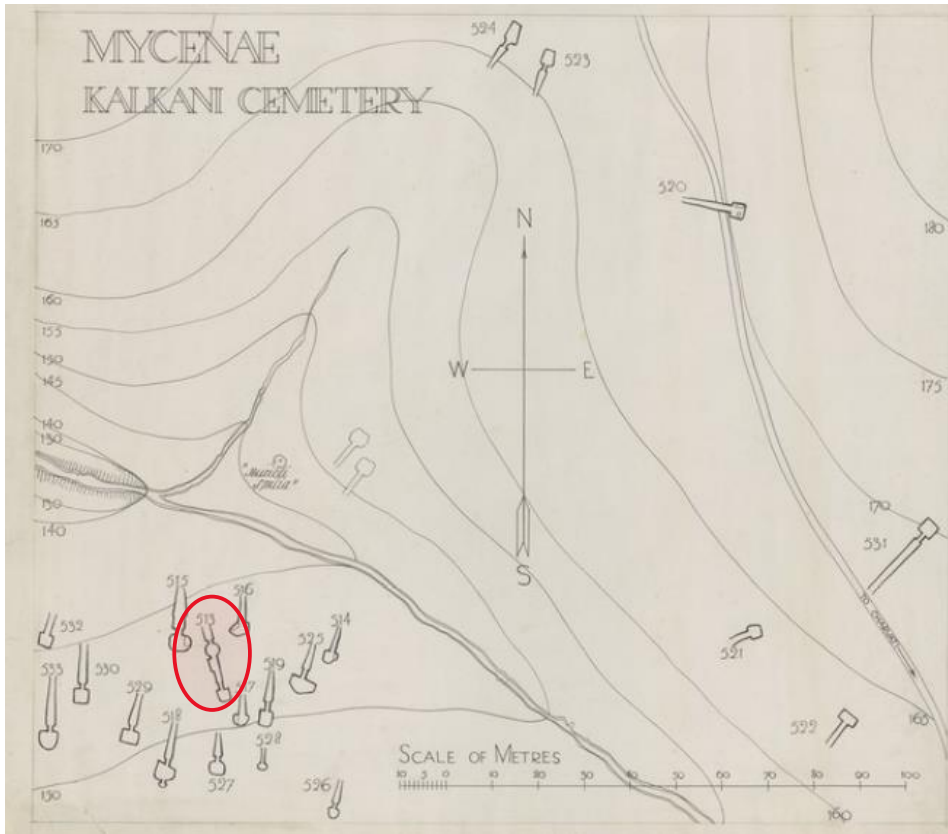
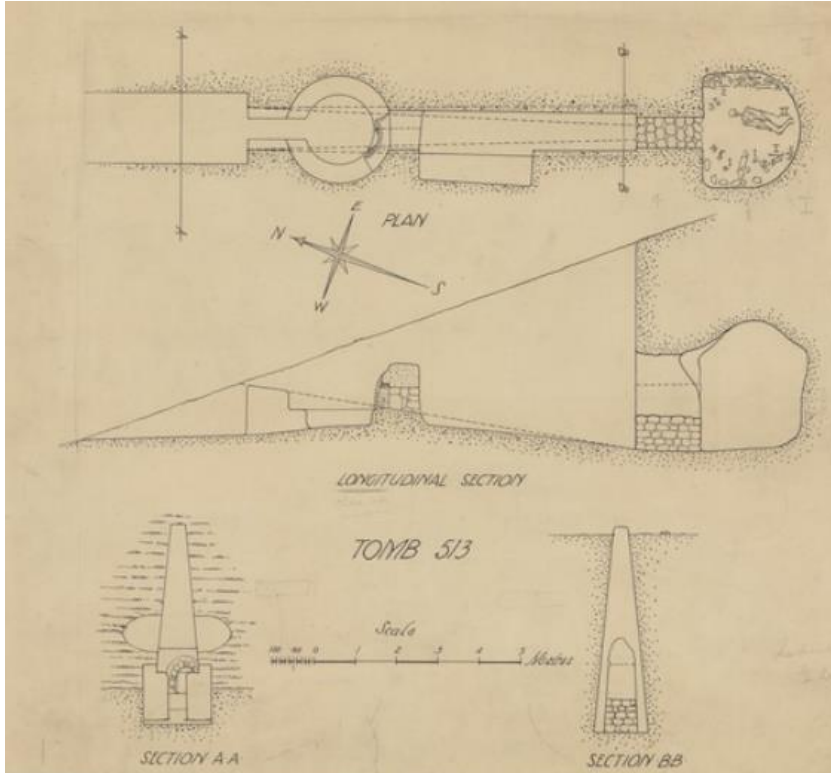


Figure 42: Kalkani Cemetery, Mycenae.²⁵⁰



²⁵⁰ Red circle added by author, indicating Chamber Tomb 513; Wace 1932: 20.

Figure 43: Plan of Tomb 513, Mycenae.²⁵¹

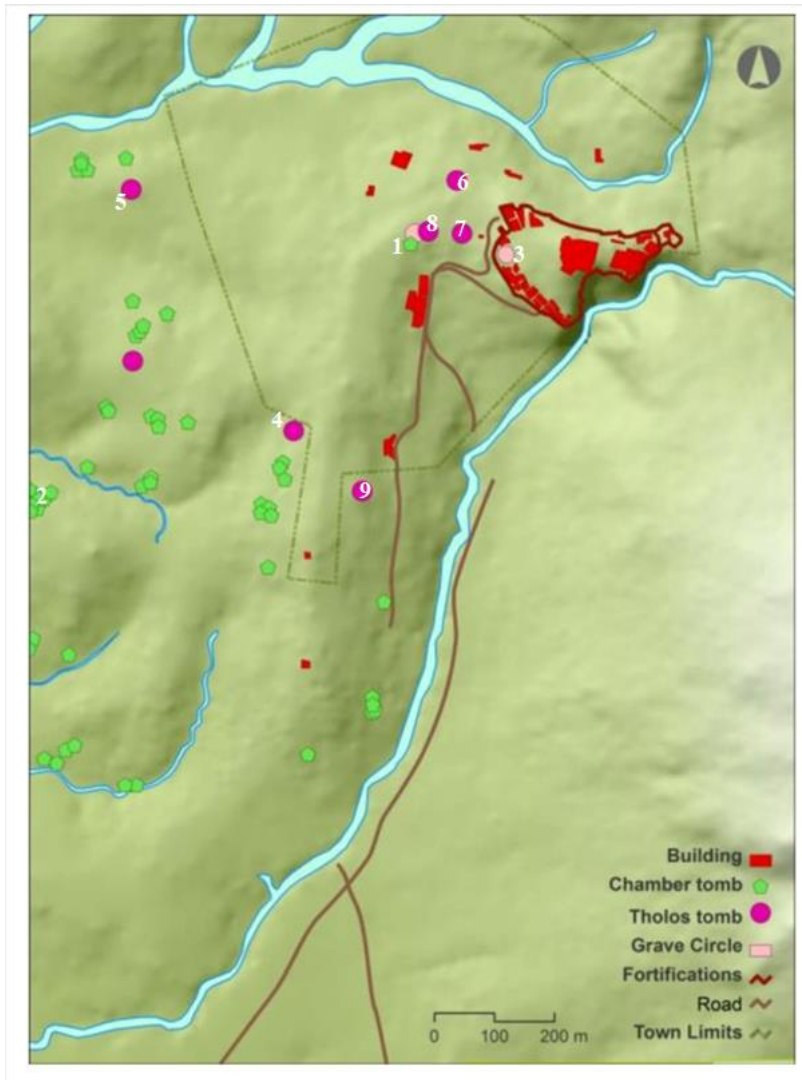


Figure 44: Tombs in Mycenae area.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Wace 1932: 46.

²⁵² White numbers added by author; Koussoulakou et al 2015: 5.



Figure 45: Christian chapel built on top of the Archaic temple foundations.²⁵³



Figure 46: East side of the ancient temple foundations underneath the modern chapel.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Google Maps (satellite image and street view picture).

²⁵⁴ *ArchDelt* 60 B1 (2005): 262.



Figure 47: Mycenaean fortification remains.²⁵⁵

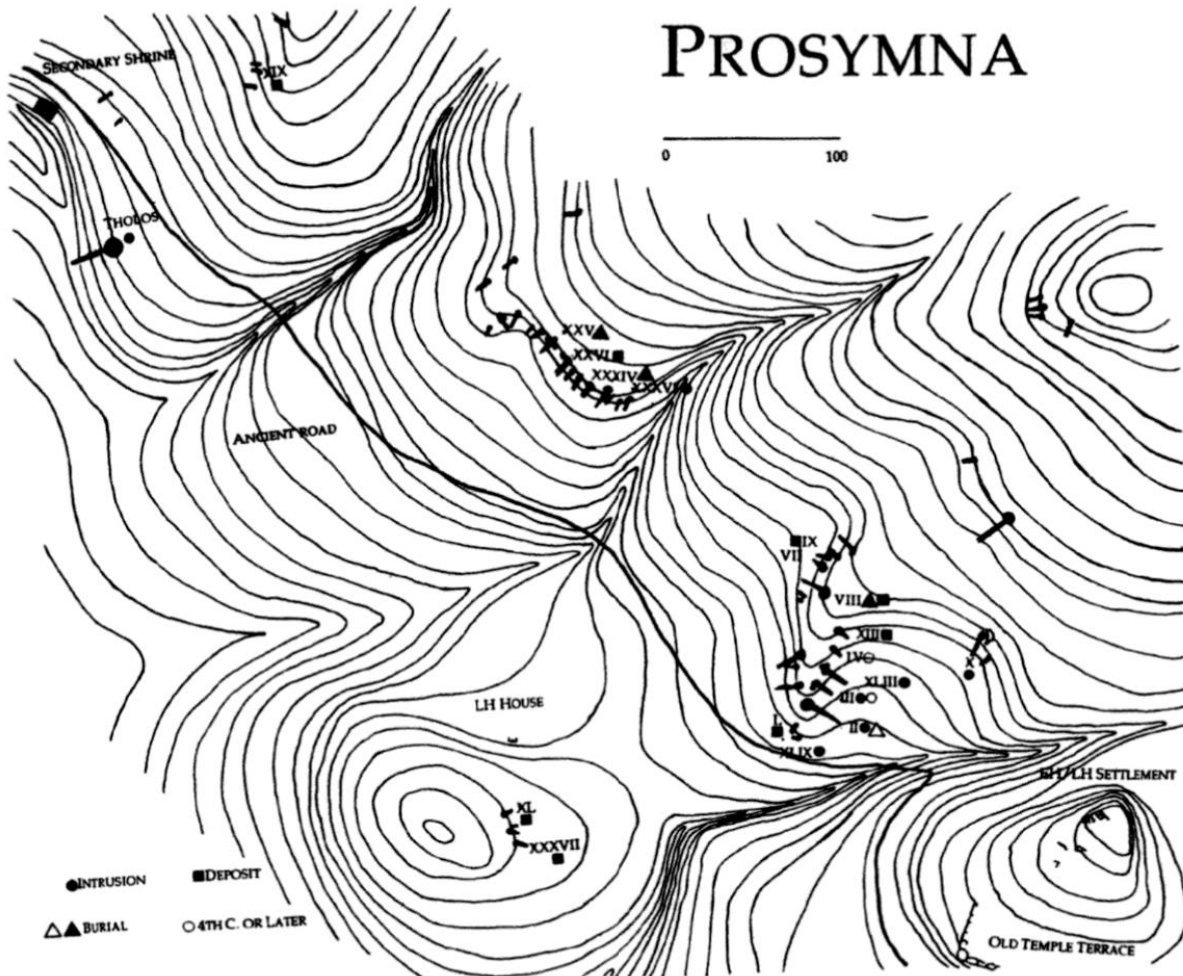


Figure 48: Prosymna Cemetery.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ *ArchDelt* 60 B1 (2005): 262.

²⁵⁶ Antonaccio 1992: 55.

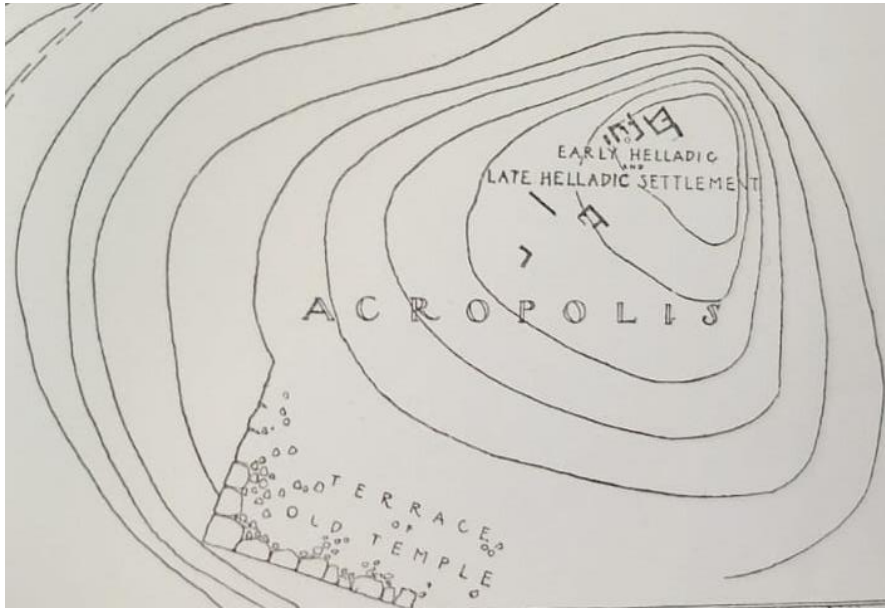


Figure 49: EH and LH house remains on acropolis of Prosymna.²⁵⁷

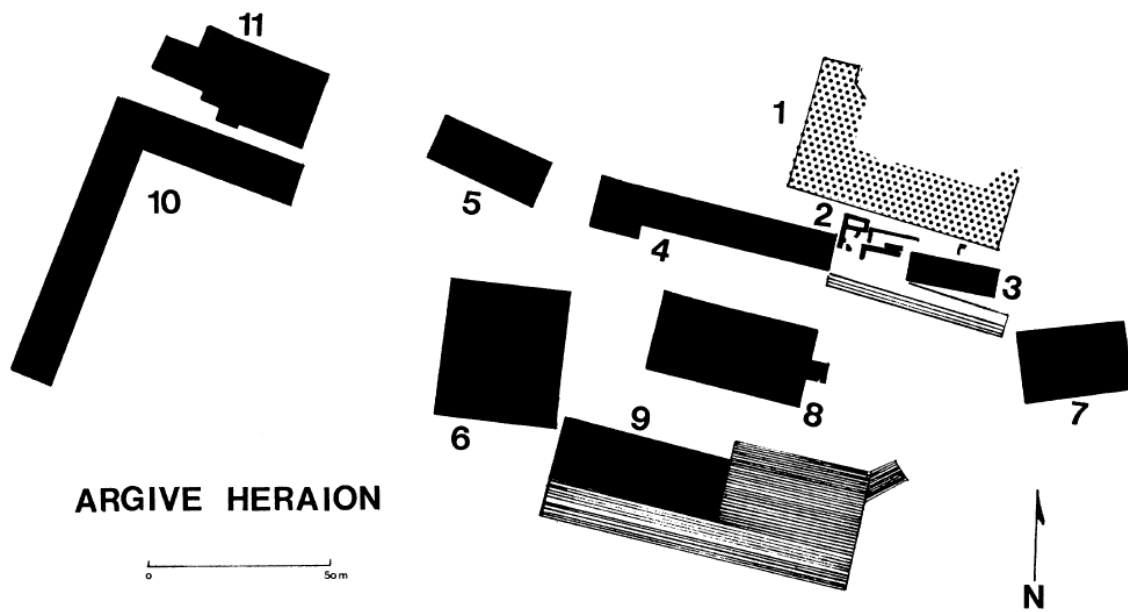


FIG. 1. Plan of Argive Heraion sanctuary (after *AH I*, fig. 2). 1) Old Temple Terrace. 2) Late Helladic remains. 3) Northeast Stoa. 4) North Stoa. 5) Northwest Building. 6) West Building. 7) East Building. 8) Second Temple. 9) South Stoa and steps. 10) Lower Stoa. 11) Roman Building

Figure 50: Plan of Heraion with LH remains (no.2).²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Blegen 1937c: Plan 1.

²⁵⁸ Antonaccio 1992: 86.

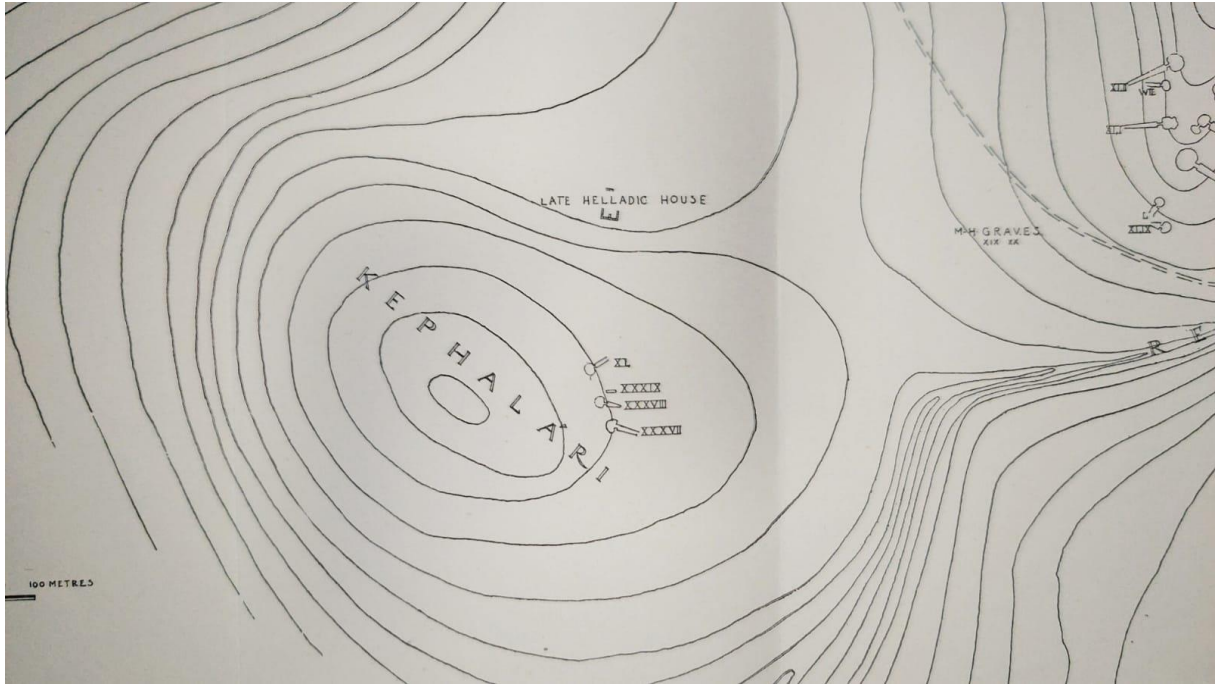


Figure 51: Late Helladic House on Kephalaria Hill.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Blegen 1937c: Plan 1.

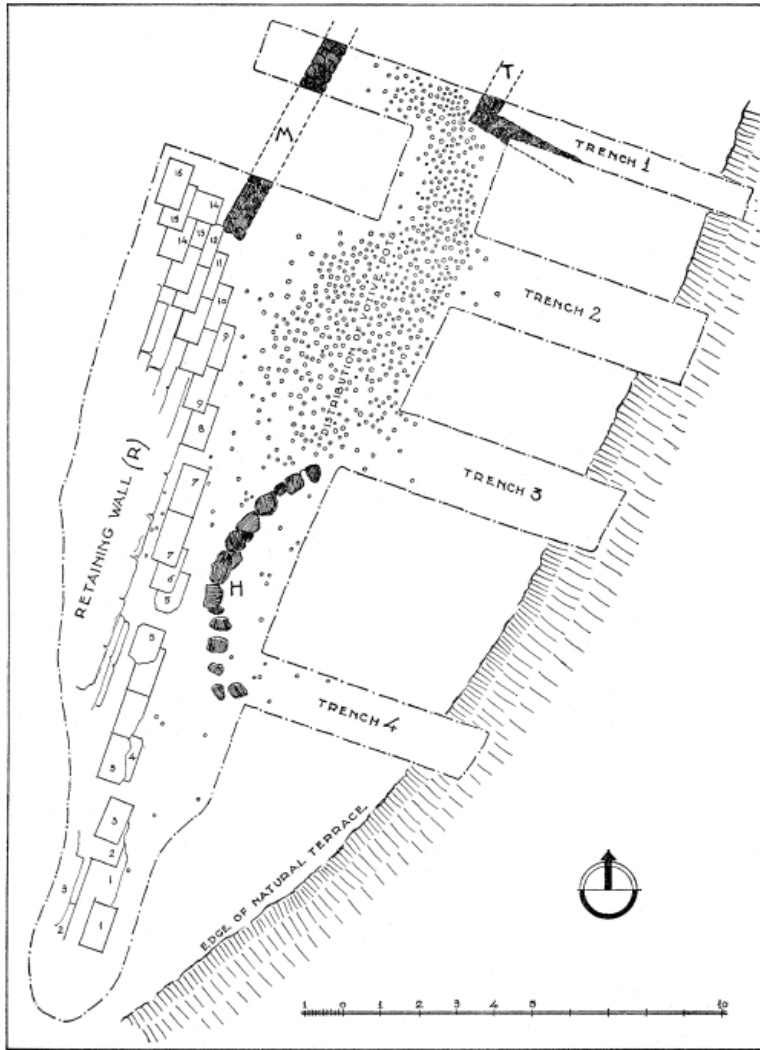


Figure 52: Plan of the Area below the East Building. The M, T and H are Mycenaean walls (house remains).²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Caskey and Amandry 1952: 166.

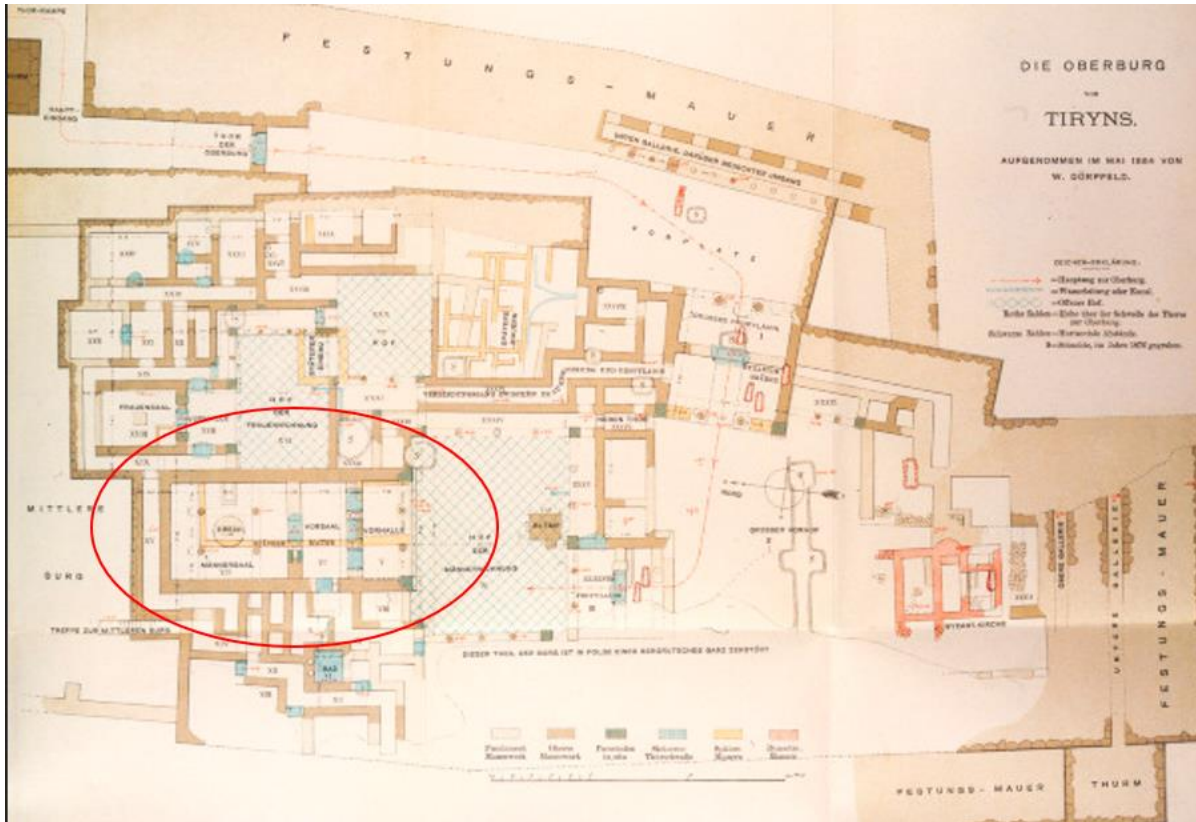


Figure 53: Plan of Upper Castle, Tiryns.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ Red circle - indicating the megaron - added by author; Schliemann 1886: Plate II.

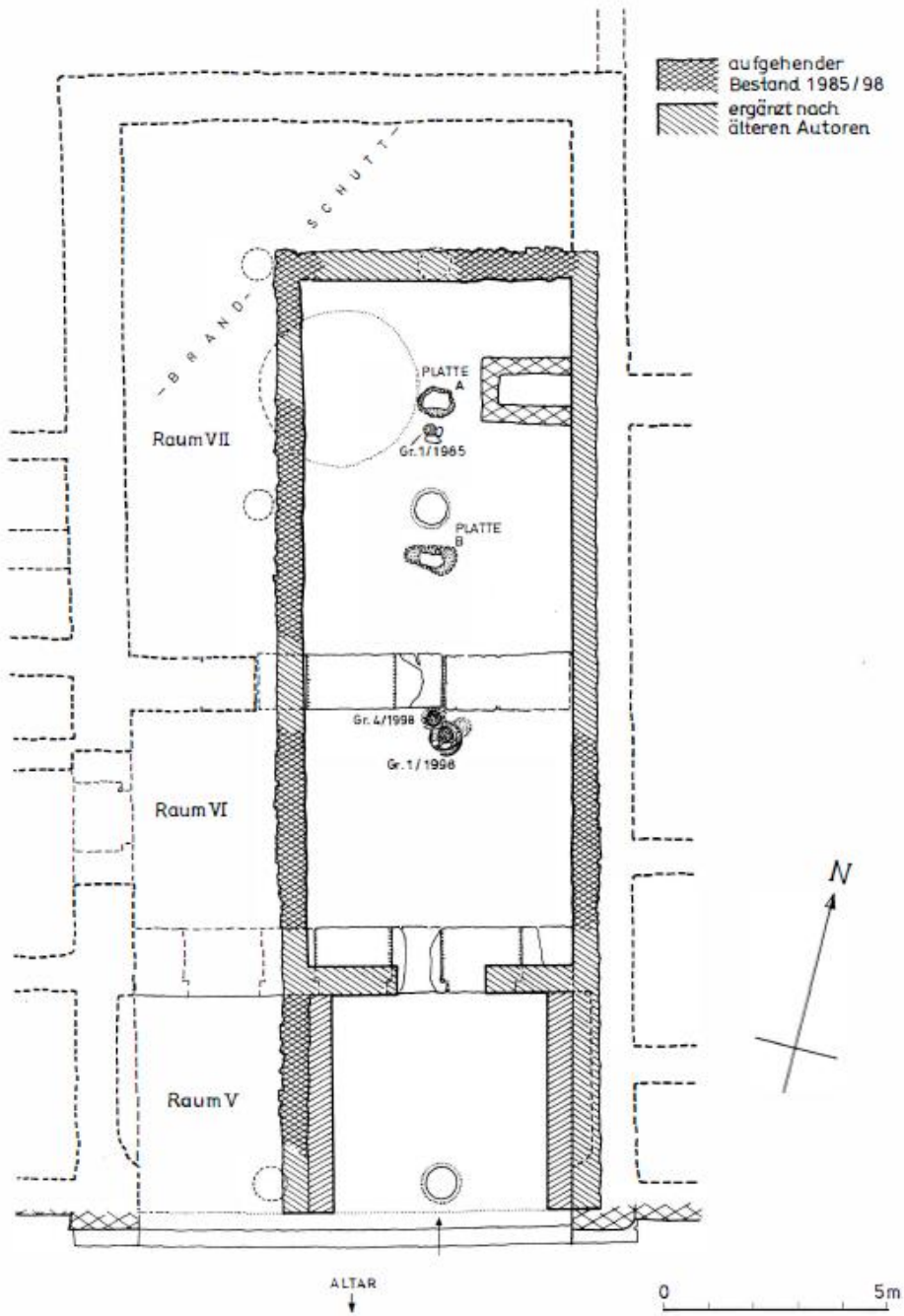


Figure 54: The Anta building on top of the Megaron.²⁶²

²⁶² Maran 2000: 2.



Figure 55: Ditch with architectural spoils, Tiryns.²⁶³

²⁶³ Kilian 1988: 106.