

TERRACES, TOMBS, AND THE EARLY ARGIVE HERAION

(PLATES 23–26)

DESPITE more than a century of investigation at the Argive Heraion, disagreement still reigns over such fundamental matters as the date of the earliest temple on the site, the relationship of the Hera sanctuary to the Bronze Age site of Prosymna, and the motivations for activity at the Mycenaean tombs after the Bronze Age.¹ This article adds information on the excavations at the Heraion and Prosymna recovered from recently located notebooks. The following pages will outline the evidence for use of the site and reconsider the structure and function of the so-called Old Temple Terrace, including previous evidence for and arguments about its date. A different point of view on the early development of the site will emerge in the context of competition and struggle for hegemony between the

¹ This article developed from my 1987 Princeton University doctoral dissertation, "The Archaeology of Early Greek 'Hero Cult'." I wish to thank Steven G. Miller, former Director, and Robert Bridges, Secretary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for their assistance and permission to quote from archival material. I am indebted to F. Cooper, C. Pfaff, R. Rhodes, and C. K. Williams, II for discussion and to E. Meyer, S. Petrakis, C. Pfaff, and P. Stecone for their company and observations on site. A. M. Moore, C. Pfaff, and E. Meyer read early drafts, and C. Maines provided both much encouragement and practical suggestions. All, including the anonymous referees, have my thanks. Any errors of omission or commission, however, I claim as my own. I also wish to acknowledge E. T. Blackburn, G. Cohen, and C. Hershenson at the University of Cincinnati, who in response to my queries located excavation notebooks kept by Blegen's trench supervisors. Part of my research in Greece was supported by the Spears Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology and a Stanley Seeger Fellowship at Princeton University and by a Project Grant from Wesleyan University.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

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|--------------------|---|
| <i>AH</i> | = C. Waldstein, <i>The Argive Heraeum</i> , New York 1902–1905 |
| Blegen I | = C. Blegen, <i>Prosymna</i> , Cambridge, Mass. 1937 |
| Blegen II | = C. Blegen, "Post-Mycenaean Deposits in Chamber Tombs," <i>Ἀρχ'Εφ</i> 1937, A', pp. 377–390 |
| Blegen III | = C. Blegen, "Prosymna: Remains of Post-Mycenaean Date," <i>AJA</i> 43, 1939, pp. 410–444 |
| Caskey and Amandry | = J. L. Caskey and P. Amandry, "Investigations at the Heraion of Argos, 1949," <i>Hesperia</i> 21, 1952, pp. 165–221 |
| RSD 1927 | = R. S. Darbishire, excavation notebook (1927), now in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens |
| Friedländer | = P. Friedländer, "Die Frühgeschichte des argivischen Heraions," <i>AM</i> 34, 1909, pp. 69–79 |
| Kelly | = T. Kelly, <i>A History of Argos</i> , Minneapolis 1976 |
| Morris | = I. Morris, "Tomb Cult and the 'Greek Renaissance': The Past in the Present in the 8th Century B.C.," <i>Antiquity</i> 62, 1988, pp. 750–761 |
| Snodgrass | = A. Snodgrass, <i>An Archaeology of Greece: Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline</i> (Sather Classical Lectures 53), Berkeley 1987 |
| Whitley | = J. Whitley, "Early States and Hero Cults: A Re-Appraisal," <i>JHS</i> 108, 1988, pp. 173–182 |
| Wright | = J. Wright, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid," <i>JHS</i> 102, 1982, pp. 186–201 |

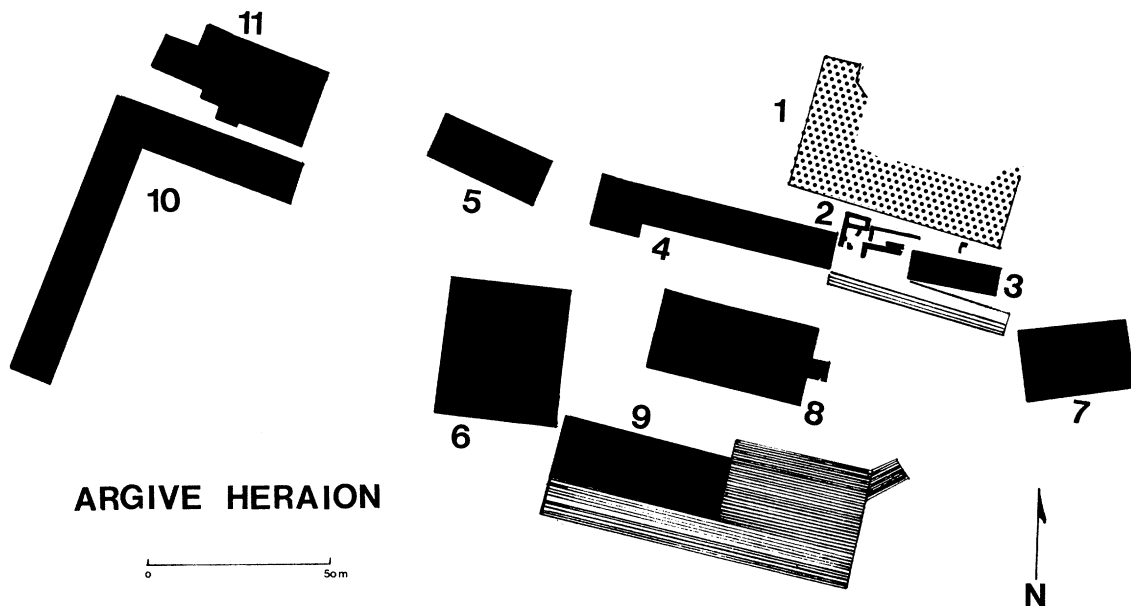


FIG. 1. Plan of Argive Heraion sanctuary (after *AH* I, fig. 2). 1) Old Temple Terrace. 2) Late Helladic remains. 3) Northeast Stoa. 4) North Stoa. 5) Northwest Building. 6) West Building. 7) East Building. 8) Second Temple. 9) South Stoa and steps. 10) Lower Stoa. 11) Roman Building

communities of the Argive plain at the close of the Dark Ages and interstate competition in the early Archaic period.

The history of the excavations complicates any discussion of the area: work has been conducted on the site since the mid-19th century and disparately published. Apart from the early and limited operations of Gordon, Rangabe, and Schliemann,² the work at the Heraion proper was mostly accomplished by Charles Waldstein and the American School of Classical Studies from 1892 to 1895 (Figs. 1 and 2); a further brief investigation was carried out in 1949 under John L. Caskey and Pierre Amandry.³

The exploration of Prosymna, the prehistoric settlement on the same site, and its tombs in the hills to the north and west was conducted under Carl Blegen in 1925, 1927, and 1928 (Fig. 3).⁴ Many of the Mycenaean chamber tombs were frequented in the Geometric and Archaic periods. Blegen was the first to observe and publish this phenomenon, termed “hero cult”, the worship of powerful former inhabitants from the Bronze Age. Prosymna remains a focus of recent discussions of “hero cult”, fifty years after Blegen published his study. Little notice has been taken, however, of the variety of activities at the tombs. Much effort has gone toward explicating the purposes, motivations, and attitudes of the actors. Not

² For the early investigations see *AH* I, pp. 64–70; Friedländer, pp. 74–78; cf. Blegen I, p. 1, note 3.

³ Cf. *AH*, as well as the report by C. Brownson in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies* VI, 1890–1897, pp. 225–255 (= *AJA* 8, 1893, pp. 205–225), Caskey and Amandry, and H. Lauter, “Zur frühklassischen Neuplanung des Heraions von Argos,” *AM* 88, 1973, pp. 175–187. Christopher Pfaff is now working on the Classical sanctuary, and Carol Lawton is studying the sculpture from the Second Temple.

⁴ Final report, Blegen I; see also Blegen II and Blegen III.

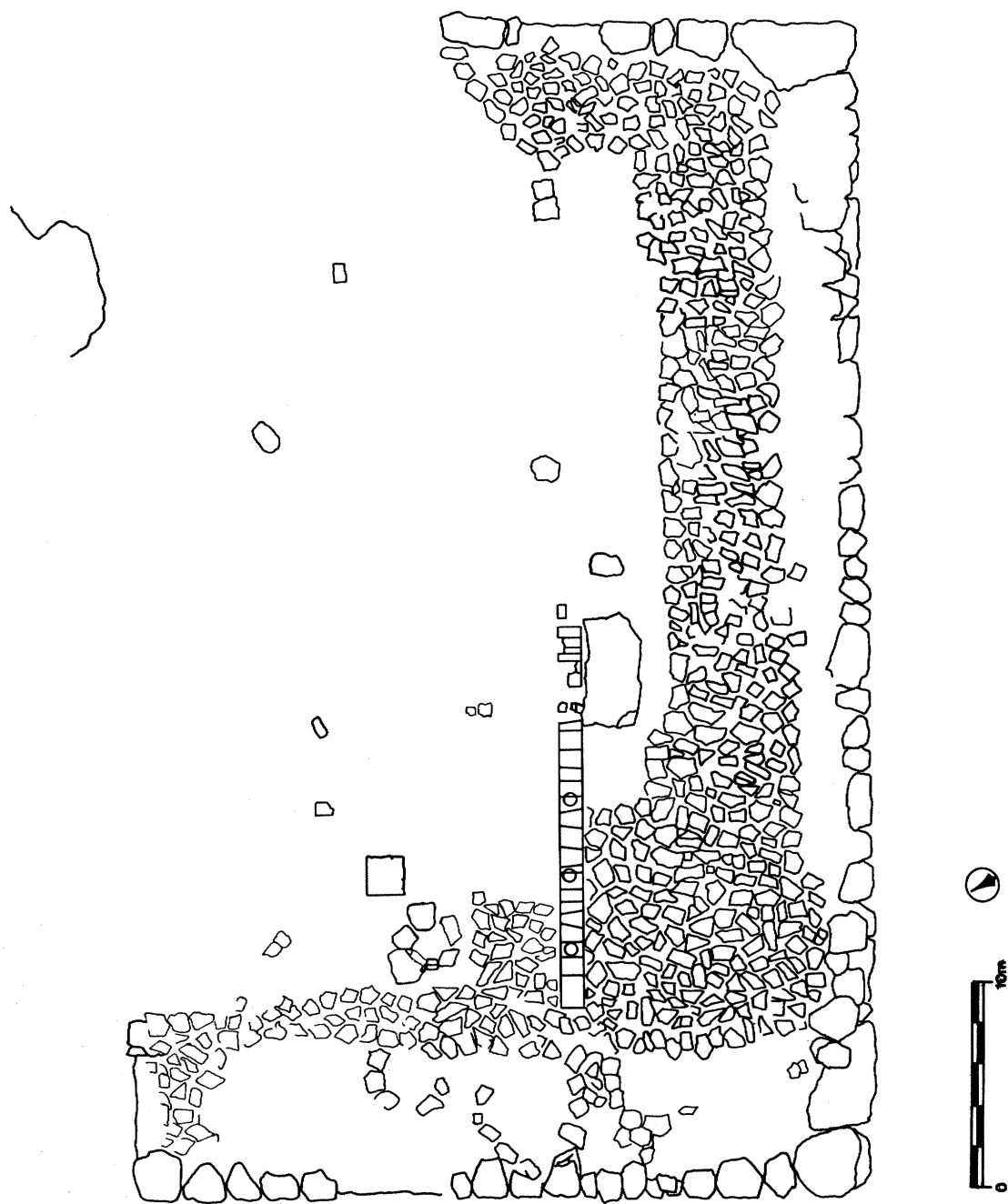


FIG. 2. Plan of Old Temple Terrace (drawing by Clark Maines, after *AHI* I, pl. VIII)

PROSYMNA

- 1 ACROPOLIS
- 2 TERRACE
- 3 REVMA TOU
- 4 L.H. HOUSE
- 5 L.H. BRIDGE
- 6 THOLOS
- 7 "SECONDARY SHRINE"
- KA STROU

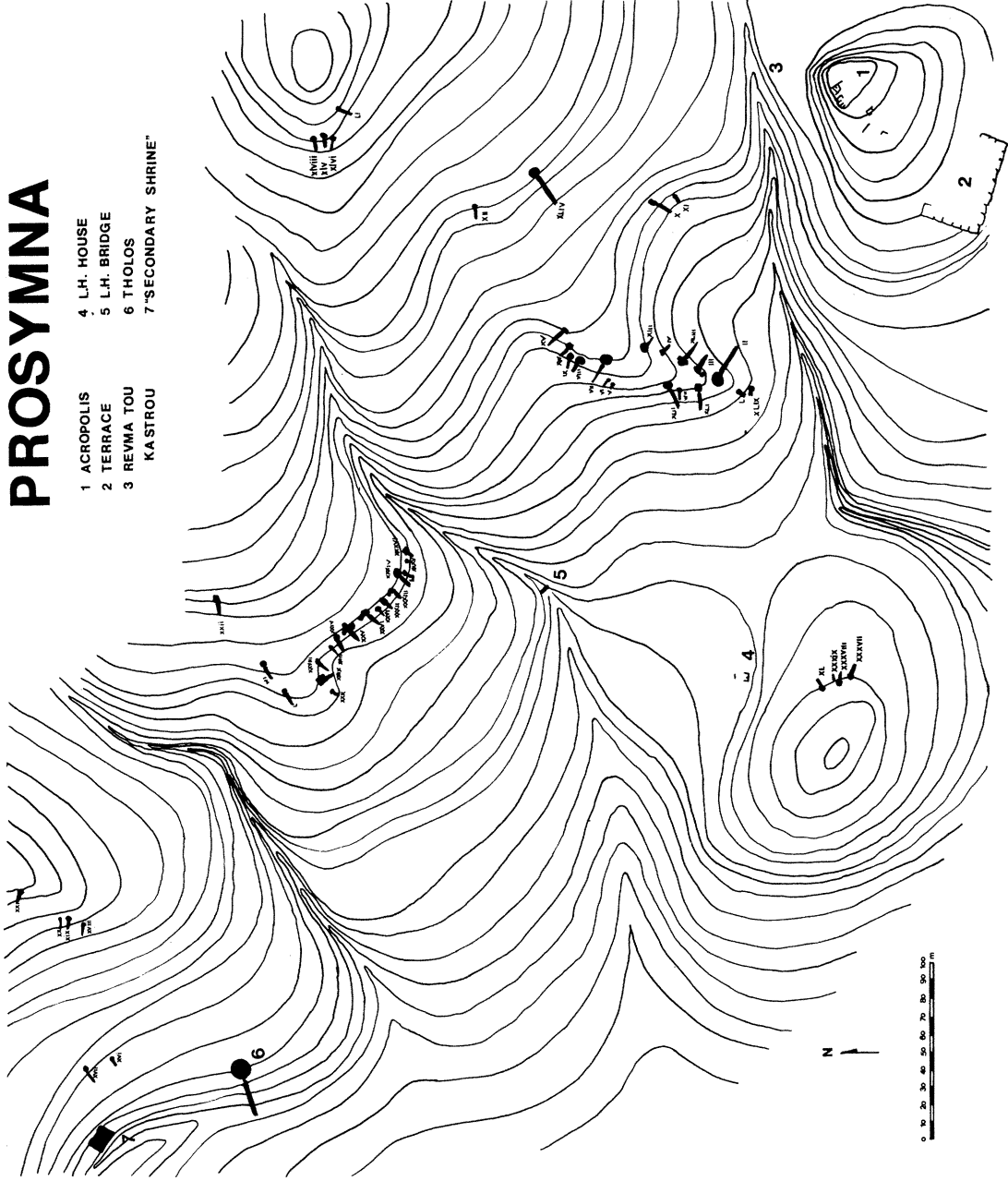


Fig. 3. Map of Prosymna tombs (after Blegen I, pl. I)

enough attention has been paid to archaeological contexts and to evaluating all the evidence and the major premises behind the categorization as “hero cult”. Resolution of this general issue is beyond the scope of the present study, but it lies at the heart of the questions posed here about the factors motivating the choice of the site and the date of the Old Temple and its Terrace.⁵

THE SITE BEFORE THE SANCTUARY

Prehistoric use of the area can be traced back to the Neolithic period and continued until LH IIIB or possibly slightly later. Settlement remains were excavated on the rock outcrop (acropolis) above the Old Temple Terrace and southwest down the whole slope later occupied by the Second Temple and ancillary buildings (Fig. 1).⁶ A tholos and a cemetery of chamber tombs are located to the northwest of the settlement, later the sanctuary site. No palace remains or fortifications have been located, however, which would complement the tholos and place Prosymna among the Mycenaean citadels in the Argolid.⁷ The sanctuary may not have been established on top of a Mycenaean megaron as at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens.⁸

⁵ See pp. 101–105 below. For the present, note should be made of the work which has focused on Prosymna as paradigmatic of Geometric hero cult. The most recent discussions known to me include R. Hägg, “Gifts to the Heroes in Geometric and Archaic Greece,” in *Gifts to the Gods* (Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985, *Boreas* 15), T. Linders and G. Nordquist, edd., Uppsala 1987, pp. 93–99; Snodgrass, pp. 159–166; Whitley, pp. 173–182, esp. pp. 178–181; Morris, pp. 750–751, esp. p. 755. Morris’ is the most recent and thorough restatement of the problem of early “hero-cult” and its interpretation, although he does not attempt to re-evaluate the evidence itself; see especially his comments on p. 758: “. . . the theories proposed so far are based on disturbingly uniformitarian reconstructions of the worshippers’ attitudes.”

⁶ P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenische Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, Lund 1962, pp. 37–38; V. R. d’A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors, An Archaeological Survey*, Oxford 1964, pp. 77–78. No Neolithic remains were found on the “acropolis”. There are no Early Helladic graves, although EH pottery was recovered from the acropolis, below the South Stoa, and between chamber tombs LI and X/XI; cf. Blegen I, p. 376. At the other chronological end, there is no evidence for use of the chamber-tomb necropolis as late as Late Helladic IIIC; a few pieces led Ålin to suggest and Desborough to conclude that the final abandonment was probably in IIIC or during the transition to it.

⁷ Blegen’s excavations concentrated on the hill above the Old Temple Terrace and the necropolis of chamber tombs. Waldstein’s work, however, had uncovered sections of prehistoric walls elsewhere on the slope below this Terrace: between the Terrace and the stoas; inside the foundations of the Second Temple; between the Second Temple and the South Stoa; and between the Second Temple and the West Building. Blegen probed these walls and assigned the first set to the LH III period, the second to post-Mycenaean (Geometric?) times, and the third and fourth to LH III, on analogy to “similarly built structures within the Lion Gate and to the south of the Grave Circle at Mycenae” (Blegen I, p. 12); cf. *AH* I, pp. 27, 108, pls. IV and VIII (Figs. 1 and 2); *AH* II, pp. ix–x; Blegen I, pp. 11–13; and the remarks of Friedländer, who wrote before Blegen’s excavation. Thus, Kelly’s contention (p. 62) that the settlement belonging to the necropolis has never been found is incomprehensible to me. Cf. Blegen I, p. 18.

⁸ Wright, p. 197 and note 65. Blegen, however (Blegen I, pp. 20–21), believed that the Old Temple Terrace replaced Mycenaean structures and that a palace is indicated by the presence of the tholos and extensive necropolis and settlement. All traces of the putative palace were removed to build the Old Temple Terrace, according to his view, as well as Friedländer’s (p. 75). At other Mycenaean sites, the megaron remains were incorporated into or simply covered over by the new temple construction. But doubt has been cast on the Geometric date of the construction over the megaron at Tiryns: cf. C. Blegen, *Korakou*, Cambridge, Mass. 1921, pp. 130–134; he argues that it represents a LH IIIC reconstruction of the megaron. Evidence for LH IIIC occupation of the Upper Citadel is now provided by the work of K. Kilian: cf. Wright in an appendix, p. 201 and *AR* 1983–1984, pp. 84–85. See also B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, Lund

Continuity of habitation or other use of the site from the Bronze Age to the Dark Age is possible, although the evidence is very scanty. The few Protogeometric sherds which have been recovered do not prove establishment of the sanctuary at that time, but the Protogeometric pins, if indeed they are to be dated so early, are generally associated with either burials or dedications⁹ and indicate some form of regular activity. The site therefore was probably reoccupied after the end of the Bronze Age and not continuously used; the sanctuary was a new foundation of the Dark Ages or their end.¹⁰

THE OLD TEMPLE TERRACE

The area of the sanctuary is still dominated by the Old Temple Terrace, retained by a massive construction of huge conglomerate blocks, just south of the acropolis, which was built into the slope above the second, Classical temple (Pl. 23:a). The Terrace measures 55.80 m. in length on the south, 34.40 m. in width on the west, and 19.50 m. on the east. The blocks are up to 6.10 m. in length and 3.20 m. wide. There is a short northern side of 8.70 m. which returns 4.10 m. south at its east end, but the north side is level with the hill, and the construction consists of thin slabs of limestone bedded into the surface of the hillside. These thin slabs then dogleg southeast for *ca.* 5 meters.¹¹ The surface of the terrace is flagged with irregular slabs of limestone, which cover approximately one-third of the area, mostly on the south and west. The Terrace supported the earliest known temple on the sanctuary site, the "Old Temple"; a small section of stylobate belonging to this structure still remains on the flagging in the southwest part (Fig. 2; Pl. 23:b). The Old Terrace itself, however, is usually considered to date in the later 7th century. Most accounts of the sanctuary state that the Terrace was originally constructed for a hut-like shrine, which was replaced after a time by the Old Temple. The Terrace has been called a "platform" and the flagging a limestone "pavement" for the temple or earlier shrine.¹² The question of function will be considered below.

1967, pp. 19–20, A. Mazarakis-Ainian, "Contribution à l'étude de l'architecture religieuse grecque des âges obscurs," *AntCl* 54, 1985, pp. 5–48, esp. pp. 37–38 and *idem*, "Early Greek Temples: Their Origin and Function," in *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, June 1986), Stockholm 1988, pp. 105–119; in the later work, but not the earlier, Ainian adheres to a LH IIIC reconstruction of the megaron but also states that there is a mid-8th-century phase (pp. 113–114).

⁹ I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Nadeln der frühhelladischen bis archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes (Prähistorisches Bronzefunde XIII, viii)*, Munich 1984, no. 202, pp. 70, 75; no. 226, pp. 72, 76.

¹⁰ *Contra*, Blegen (II, p. 389), who thought the Geometric material in the chamber tombs, which now comes under the heading of "hero cult", was a visible manifestation of continuous, family memory. For Protogeometric (PG) evidence in the form of pottery, see Kelly, p. 62, note 35. Hoppin says there were other fragments of similar type (*AH* II, p. 105, pl. LVI:1; this fragment is not necessarily PG). See also Caskey and Amandry, no. 69, p. 175 and pl. 50, possibly Lakonian PG from the 1949 excavation and W. D. E. Coulson, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta," *BSA* 80, 1985, p. 49, note 72. Paul Courbin thinks the earliest material is Middle Geometric II: *Le céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, p. 565, note 3. Kilian-Dirlmeier identifies two pins from the Heraion as in all probability PG, although she admits the chronology of such dedications at sanctuaries is not secure; it is particularly unclear if their offering was customary as early as Submycenaean times: see Kilian-Dirlmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–83.

¹¹ Measurements are from Tilton's plan (*AH* I, pl. VIII) and Wright, p. 186; see also H. Drerup, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischen Zeit (ArchHom* II, O), Göttingen 1969, p. 57.

¹² See Brownson (note 3 above) and bibliography in note 14 below.

DATING OF THE TERRACE

The appearance of the Terrace retaining wall most closely resembles Mycenaean "Cyclopean" stone construction like that of the walls of Mycenae or Tiryns. On this basis, Waldstein's architect, E. L. Tilton, concluded that the Terrace was Bronze Age in date.¹³ Blegen (I, p. 20) proposed a Geometric date (late 8th or early 7th century) based on the results of trials which he made at the Terrace. Drerup, Kalpaxis, and Mallwitz all down-dated the Old Temple to the later 7th century, Plommer defended Tilton's view that the Terrace is of the Bronze Age, and in the most recent consideration, Wright emphasized that the construction methods used for the Terrace are not Mycenaean and placed it in the late 8th century.¹⁴

The only excavated evidence used to date the Terrace was furnished by Blegen and his team. Blegen made several soundings "about the great Cyclopean Wall [of the Old Temple Terrace] and the platform of the Old Temple" (Blegen I, p. 19). According to his published account, he dug trenches on the slope at the east and west edges of the structure and beneath the limestone flagging "at a point where a large block was already missing" [on the north-west]. (See Figs. 1 and 2; no plan exists which locates these trenches precisely.) None of these tests produced much: the east trial reached bedrock 3.20 m. below the surface, all the fill being disturbed. Most of the sherds were "Geometric", with some Late Helladic and a few Early and Middle Helladic examples. The western probe, outside the face of the wall near the northwest corner, yielded Middle Helladic sherds at a depth of 1.60–1.80 m. "On this side, too" most of the sherds were "Geometric", but some Late Helladic material was also found (Pl. 24:a).¹⁵

Finally, "in and below" the face of the south Terrace wall attempts were made in five spots to extract sherds from between the blocks. One probe retrieved a Middle Helladic sherd and a few others that could not be identified; another two probes produced "nothing identifiable". The fourth and fifth probes "yielded some Geometric fragments at so great a depth from the face of the terrace that it seemed to be impossible to believe that they could have reached their place after the building of the wall."¹⁶ Blegen's results led him to conclude that the Terrace was Geometric in date.¹⁷

¹³ *AH* I, pp. 109–110.

¹⁴ Drerup (note 11 above); A. Mallwitz, "Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert," *AA* (*JdI* 96) 1981, p. 634; A. Kalpaxis, *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Athens 1976, p. 46; H. Plommer, "Shadowy Megara," *JHS* 97, 1977, p. 76; Wright, *passim*; response of H. Plommer, "The Old Platform in the Argive Heraeum," *JHS* 104, 1984, pp. 183–184. In 1984, Plommer maintained a Mycenaean date, unpersuaded by Wright's observations about the character of LH terrace construction. See also the comments of A. Foley: *The Argolid 800–600 B.C. An Archaeological Survey Together with an Index of Sites from the Neolithic to the Roman Period* (*SIMA* 80), Uppsala 1988, esp. pp. 135–139.

¹⁵ Blegen I, p. 19. A carved seal from the east trial and a bronze horse from the west are illustrated in Blegen III, figs. 19:2 and 18, respectively (here Pl. 24:a). On use of the term "Geometric" see note 21 below.

¹⁶ Blegen I, pp. 19–20. He illustrates nothing, but two sherds are shown by A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller ("Aus der Argolis," *AM* 36, 1911, p. 27, fig. 2), retrieved "bei einer genaueren Durchscheidung des Schutts zwischen den grossen Blöcken . . . wo sie nicht anders als beim Bau hineingekommen sein können" (p. 27). The two sherds illustrated are Late Geometric, as were most of the sherds found by these authors; the rest were Early Protocorinthian. On these investigations, Blegen is misquoted by Wright (p. 188, should be "face of the terrace", not "surface"), and Frickenhaus and Müller misunderstood the report (*loc. cit.*, note 2. These sherds are in fact called LG; EPC is mentioned as also present).

¹⁷ Blegen I, p. 20. See also P. Amandry, "Observations sur les monuments de l'Héraion d'Argos," *Hesperia*

In view of Plommer's exasperation with the brevity and vagueness of Blegen's published report, it is gratifying to be able to provide some additional information about these trials from the 1927 notebook of Blegen's colleague, R. S. Darbishire.¹⁸ In addition to the three trenches already mentioned, a fourth was dug under Darbishire's supervision at right angles to the north side of the terrace, 15 meters from the west end, and a fifth trench was dug at the southeast corner. Dimensions of these two trenches are not given by Darbishire. The first struck bedrock almost immediately; this is the side which meets the slope. Both trenches were quickly abandoned. The only recorded find was an unpierced bronze disk from the north trench.¹⁹

Darbishire also reports additional details about Blegen's east and west trenches and the probes between blocks and under the flagging, already described above. According to Darbishire, the east and west trenches were excavated in 0.20 m. passes, the contents of which he recorded in his running notes and then summarized at the end of the account. (Unfortunately, he only gives approximate dimensions of the trenches and only provides sketched top plans. Figures 4–6 are reconstructions of the stratigraphy, based on his descriptions.) Neither trench was stratified; Middle Helladic to Geometric sherds and a fair number of Geometric bronzes (pins, figurines, rings, etc.) were in all levels.²⁰

In the west trench (Fig. 4), 0.20–0.40 m. below the surface soil, a limestone facing began to appear against the conglomerate of the Terrace. It was traced to a depth of *ca.* 1.40 m. At a short distance from the wall, about 0.40 m. in depth, a fill of stones (or a "rough road-bed") extended parallel to the Terrace wall from the corner four to five meters to the south and *ca.* 2.75 m. west. Excavation beneath these stones on their southern limit produced a few sherds, "mixed, but chiefly Geometric". A thin pierced disk of bronze turned up at the edge of the fill. At a depth of 1.40–1.60 m., in the south end of the trench and near the wall, a possible foundation wall was located which appeared to proceed beneath the conglomerate coursing of the Terrace wall itself; "Geometric" sherds came from between its stones.²¹ Work was halted at a depth of 1.80 m., where Middle Helladic sherds lay on the bedrock.

The east trench revealed similar information. It was laid out three meters wide and nine long, at a right angle to the Terrace wall (Figs. 5 and 6). A limestone facing was again located below the surface soil. It was noted that these stones were in four courses traced to a depth of 1.20 m.; just below this level Darbishire recorded a layer of flat fallen stones in the outer, eastern half of the trench and two large stones which projected from beneath the lowest facing course. Two large stones were lying against the Terrace at the bottom of the trench (2.71 m.). They slanted to the east and seemed to the excavator to have fallen from the Terrace itself. (An additional note states that "smaller stones of facing seem to be under the

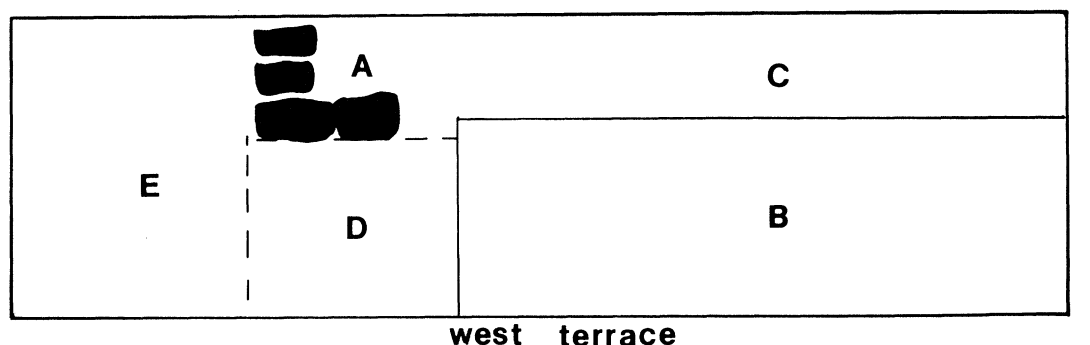
21, 1952, p. 225: sherds found "dans le sous-sol de la terrasse du temple . . . de style géométrique et protocorinthien ancien." His notes 17 and 18 refer to Frickenhaus and Müller and to Blegen.

¹⁸ Blegen's notebooks, in the American School archives, were uninformative. His allusions to other notebooks led to their location in Cincinnati. The author subsequently arranged their transfer to Athens.

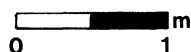
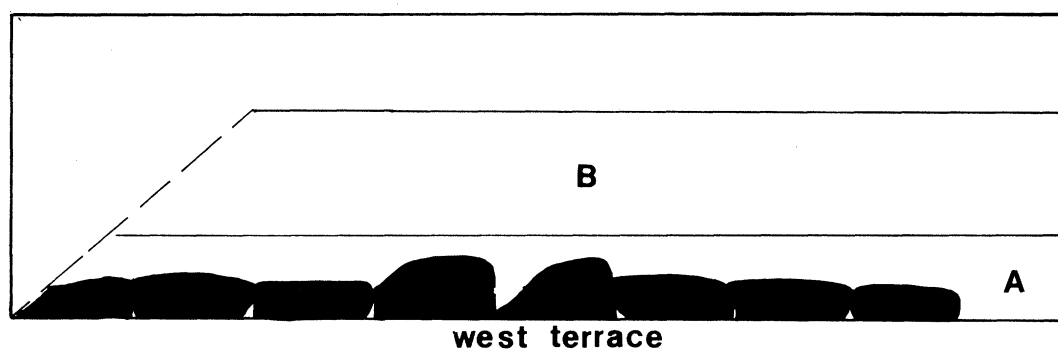
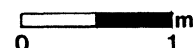
¹⁹ RSD 1927, pp. 77–102.

²⁰ See summaries in RSD 1927, pp. 167, 171.

²¹ RSD 1927, p. 167; see also pp. 81, 91, 99. Darbishire's use of the term "Geometric" is imprecise; he sometimes admits that such a fragment might also be Late Helladic. A sketch in his notebook shows a motif of linked dotted lozenges.



- A** foundations at 1.40
B fill of stones c. 0.60
C edge of fill to 1.20
D heavy stones at - 1.40
E edge of D interrupted at 1.60 to 1.80



- A** stones projecting from under terrace
B stone fill or rough roadbed

FIG. 4. West trench, top plans (after RSD 1927). Above, Level X; below, Level XI

terrace wall as though the fill of heavy stones east . . . antedated the Terrace"; RSD 1927, p. 23, but this passage may refer to the west trench.) The hill slopes north to south along the Terrace wall in this trench from 2.70 to 3.90 m. below datum for the trench; bedrock was found in the trench a short distance from the Terrace at 3.20 m. below the surface.²²

Although nothing later in date than Late Geometric is mentioned in the running account, Darbishire records "Proto-Corinthian", "Corinthian", and "Greek" sherds from several levels in both the east and west trenches in his summary of the pottery. Of the probes

²² See the section in *AH I*, pl. XI.

EAST TERRACE WALL

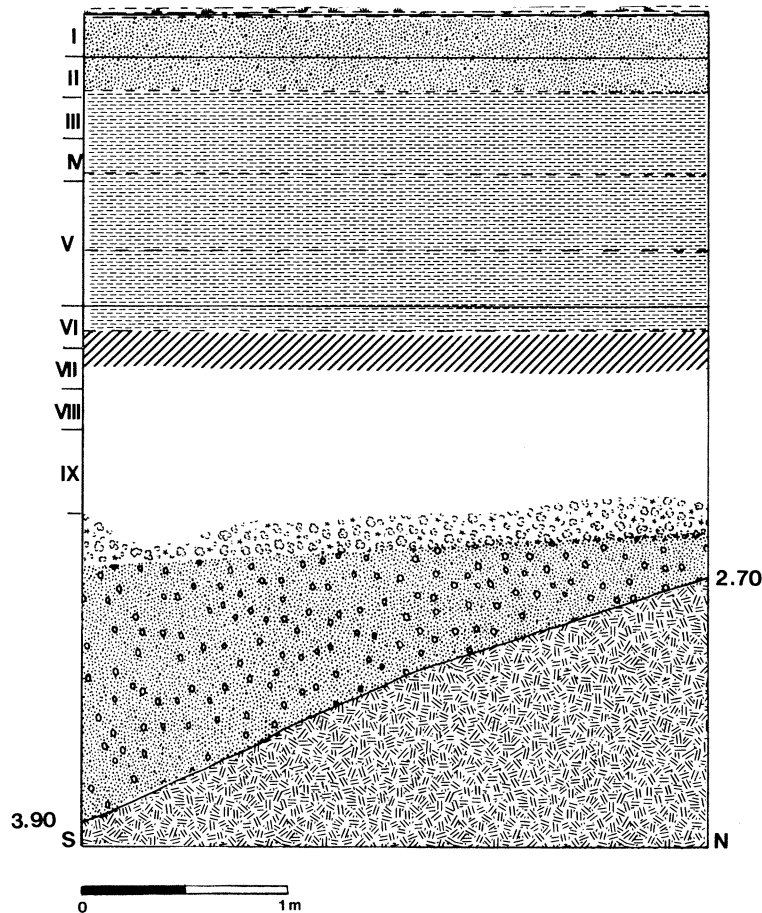


FIG. 5. East trench, north-south section (after RSD 1927)

between the blocks of the Terrace he also notes that the south face produced “sherds mainly Mycenaean, one fragment probably 7th century Corinthian.”²³ He also probed a hole in the surface flagging of the Terrace, “from west *ca.* 10 m. from north *ca.* 10 from south *ca.* 26.” (Mentioned by Blegen as noted above; a gap is in fact visible on the plan at roughly these coordinates, and on the site several slabs are still displaced at that point.) At a depth of one meter, in wet, hard earth, he came up with a few sherds, not described, and a broken bronze disk; at 1.30 m. he struck bedrock. At another spot towards the southwest corner of the Terrace, where the paving was also missing, he sought to clear down to a “poros substructure” on the chance of finding another such hole down into the Terrace itself. He was unsuccessful but observed a “subpavement” that was roughly laid and ran up onto a cyclopean block of the outer Terrace wall. Direct observation of the area shows that the “subpavement” is not the limestone flagging to be seen on the Terrace surface and on which the

²³ RSD 1927, p. 167.

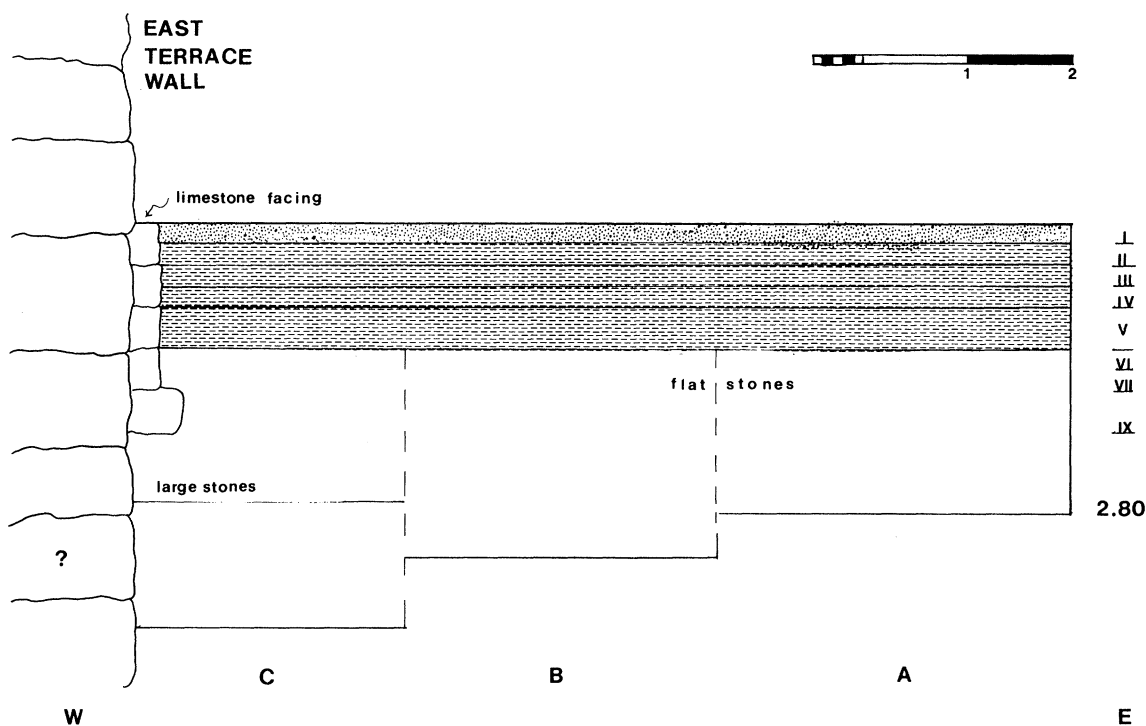


FIG. 6. East trench, east-west section (after RSD 1927)

Old Temple stylobate rests but a lesser patchwork of limestone which lies underneath.²⁴ There are no photographs, and the few sketches of trenches do little to help explain these reported features. A depression now visible at the north edge of the east side of the terrace may represent one of these trials. All questions of dating aside, one possibility which emerges from Darbishire's account is that a limestone facing originally covered the conglomerate courses of the Terrace. If so, no deliberate imitation of Mycenaean cyclopean masonry was intended, since the conglomerate would have been invisible.²⁵

None of these details can be clarified without further excavation. The presence of Corinthian and "Greek" material recorded by Darbishire, however, undercuts Blegen's reasoning in favor of a Geometric date for the Terrace: if Geometric sherds were too deep inside to have found their way there after construction, what of later material? The difficulty with Blegen's arguments about the Geometric sherds from the Terrace wall is apparent and was alluded to by Plommer. Their context is a fill, not a sealed deposit, and therefore all material from it is essentially meaningless for dating; it may have come from anywhere at any time. The samples taken by Blegen at random from the face of the wall can be used to suggest a *terminus post quem* but not to date the construction. Material in his

²⁴ At one point Darbishire seems to think the limestone facing found in the west trench is "projecting from under [the Terrace's] top or pavement layer" (RSD 1927, pp. 99–100).

²⁵ At the east end, the Terrace wall is particularly ragged in appearance: the pavement blocks actually project out over the visible courses of the wall.

trial trenches represents fill and debris from the Terrace itself. In the west trench, Middle Helladic sherds were recovered at bedrock, but in the east, “mainly Geometric” sherds were found. The “Geometric” sherds associated with possible earlier walls in Darbishire’s west trench may have some value in fixing a *terminus post quem* for the Terrace.

CONSTRUCTION AND FUNCTION OF THE OLD TEMPLE TERRACE

The uncertainty about the date of the Old Temple Terrace is attended by disagreement over its purpose. Before considering its date further, its function and relationship to the Old Temple must be discussed. Few scholars suggest that the Old Temple Terrace was constructed for the Old Temple. Rather, construction of the Terrace in the late 8th or early 7th century is thought to have been followed by an interval of up to a century before the Old Temple was built (dated independently on the basis of the features of the stylobate). A simple, hut-like shrine was supposedly erected on the Terrace immediately after its construction, on the evidence of a terracotta model found on the site.²⁶

Drerup denies that the pottery from within the Terrace dates its construction. Instead, he places both it and the Old Temple late in the 7th century.²⁷ Mallwitz follows Blegen’s early 7th-century date for the Terrace and believes the Terrace and temple on it form “eine bauliche Einheit”, in keeping with a monumentality claimed to be generally characteristic of the Late Geometric period.²⁸ Actual remains of Geometric construction in near-by Corinth, however, indicate a lack of both skill in construction and monumentality compared to the remains at the Heraion.²⁹

²⁶ On the model, see G. Oikonomos, *Ο εκ του Αργείου Ηραίου πήλινος οικίσκος κατά νέαν συμπλήρωσιν*, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ 1931, pp. 1–53 and S. Markman, “Building Models and the Architecture of the Geometric Period,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson I*, St. Louis 1952, pp. 259–271. No findspot is recorded for the Heraion model.

²⁷ Drerup (note 11 above), p. 59: “Die Schürfung ist in den meisten Fällen auf durchwühlte Erde mit mykenischem und geometrischem Inhalt gestossen, es ist also denkbar, dass für Terrasse und Terrassenfüllung Abraumschutt aus älteren Perioden verwandt wurde.”

²⁸ Mallwitz (note 14 above), p. 634. Bergquist (note 8 above) dates the Old Temple itself to the mid-6th century, based mostly on Caskey and Amandry’s discovery of a votive dump to the east, which she associates with a major renovation of the sanctuary at that time, including a temple (that is, the Old Temple) to replace an earlier, flimsier structure on the Terrace. Her argument does not persuade, although her query (p. 21) concerning the relationship of the Old Temple to the Terrace is well taken: “Why is the temple regarded as not having been constructed at the same time as the terrace?” See also R. Rhodes, “Early Corinthian Architecture and the Origins of the Doric Order,” *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 477–480; he believes the early 7th-century temple of Poseidon at Isthmia was a solid-walled building with a hipped roof. This view may need to be altered by the results of new excavation and study at Isthmia: see F. Hemans, “New Discoveries in the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia” (lecture, San Francisco 1990), abstract in *AJA* 95, 1991, pp. 301–302.

²⁹ Cf. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, as well as A. C. Brookes, “Stoneworking in the Geometric Period at Corinth,” *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 285–290 (comments by R. Rhodes, “Early Stoneworking in the Corinthia,” *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 229–232). Brookes publishes a few fragments of sandstone and limestone, from MG to LG contexts, in the form of drum fragments and slabs. Rhodes discusses a Late Geometric terrace wall north of the Sacred Spring; it is built of roughly coursed conglomerate blocks, 1.10 m. long, 0.57 m. wide, and 0.45 m. high on average. Another “Cyclopean” wall, at Eretria, possibly a late 8th-century or early 7th-century fortification wall, is likewise far different in scale (and the regularity of its coursing) from the monumental construction of the Old Temple Terrace, though still remarkable. See P. Themelis, “An 8th Century Goldsmith’s Workshop at Eretria,” in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C. Tradition and Innovation* (Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981), R. Hägg, ed.,

Mallwitz also remarks, “Nicht auszuschliessen bleibt, dass die Terrassenmauer . . . zunächst einem ringhallenlosen Tempel [i.e. prior to the Old Temple] galt.” Alternatively, Mallwitz suggests that an altar without any other structure preceded the Old Temple on the Terrace.³⁰ The terracotta model is analogous to examples from Samos, Perachora, and Thera. There is no reason, however, to associate the model, which may not represent a shrine at all, with the Terrace.³¹ An altar or simple structure built before the late 7th century could have been set on a level piece of ground anywhere on the site (and perhaps was; see pp. 100–101 below). The monumental Terrace would have been quite unnecessary for such a construction.

Another argument for a hiatus between the construction of the Terrace and the Old Temple resides in the observation that the stylobate rests directly on the rough pavement of the Terrace but the lower portion of the stylobate was left unfinished (Pl. 23:c). It is claimed that this roughly worked portion was not meant to be seen and therefore must have been set down into a now-vanished fill over the pavement. Yet the flagged surface of the pavement was meant to be visible, and so the Terrace must have been constructed for another building. The fill would have needed some time to accumulate. Hence, a gap would exist between the construction of the Terrace and that of the Old Temple.³² Wright contends that a 30 cm. layer of red earth over the flagging (observed and removed by Waldstein) represented the floor of the Old Temple and ground level outside it. Kalpaxis interprets this layer as the remains of the mud-brick walls of the cella, burned in the fire which Pausanias (2.17.7) says destroyed the Old Temple in 423.³³

This argument assumes that the pavement of the Terrace was originally meant to be visible and that the lower portion of the stylobate was not; it takes as given that the Old Temple Terrace is “early” and that the Old Temple cannot be. Such evidence as there is for the date of the Terrace has been reviewed above. Arguments about the form of the stylobate are difficult to support or refute completely; given the early date of the architecture (whatever it may be), it is difficult to cite precedents or parallels. Because of the early form of the U-shaped “lifting”, or setting, boss on the stylobate blocks, the single stylobate course, wide spacing of the columns, and the reconstructed proportions of the Old Temple, Wright places it in the third quarter of the 7th century (well after his date for the Old Temple Terrace). But the limestone flagging is not a pavement or floor. The flagging corresponds to the area filled in behind the Terrace wall extending to the hillside. The Old Temple was founded on this flagging and, to the north, on the natural rock and earth which lie in front of the acropolis. The Terrace wall functions as a massive retaining wall; levels at which bedrock

Stockholm 1983, p. 157 with references in notes 4–6. See also A. Mazarakis-Ainian, “Geometric Eretria,” *AntK* 30, 1987, p. 9 with pl. 1:6 and fig. 6.

³⁰ Mallwitz (note 14 above), p. 634.

³¹ See K. Fagerström, *Greek Iron Age Architecture: Developments through Changing Times* (SIMA 81), Uppsala 1988, pp. 155–156.

³² Wright, pp. 188–189 with references to others; cf. Kalpaxis (note 14 above), p. 44 with further references. See here Pl. 23:a–c.

³³ Kalpaxis (note 14 above), p. 46. Cf. Tilton in *AHI*, p. 110; the 0.30 m. at the bottom of a meter of fill on top of the terrace consisted of a hard layer of earth encrusting burned material and charcoal below. See also Brownson (note 3 above), pp. 233–234.

was reached in Blegen's trial trenches indicate that the original slope dropped off rather steeply from the acropolis southward and also fell west to east. The partial flagging of the top of the Terrace is therefore not a pavement but serves as a strong surface on which to support a large construction.

Either the flagstones were in fact meant to be exposed or they served as a level surface for a final flooring, perhaps of clay.³⁴ The consequent visibility of the U-shaped "lifting bosses" on the stylobate need not be troublesome; later Greek construction often shows little concern with the display of bosses and other unfinished features on all sorts of architecture, well used, highly admired, and never considered imperfect so far as we know.³⁵ On the other hand, if the lower part of the stylobate was indeed covered, the fill may have been formed partly of working debris and then finished with a surface of clay to form a floor in a single stage. Wright's date of 650–625 for the Old Temple, based on current evidence for early Greek architecture, seems reasonable.³⁶ Whatever its date, there is no reason to separate the Old Temple from the construction of the Terrace.

THE CHOICE OF THE SITE: IDEOLOGY, MYTHOLOGY, AND BURIALS

If one discounts a Mycenaean date for the Terrace, then the major compulsion to make it late Geometric rather than early Archaic is ideological and not archaeological. Eighth-century Argos, in the argument most fully expounded by Wright, apparently lacking conspicuous Mycenaean remains and needing them to validate political claims, chose the Heraion site for its tombs of Bronze Age "heroes" and fabricated a pseudo-Mycenaean Terrace for a temple to Hera, the goddess of the Argive heroes of epic.³⁷

Fifty-three chamber tombs were excavated by Blegen, and others have since been recorded.³⁸ Blegen was the first to document in a systematic fashion the occurrence of

³⁴ Cf. Tilton, *loc. cit.*: "In order to make a firm foundation and to prevent the earth [sc. of the Terrace] from being washed away by the rains, a pavement was laid in width about 8 m. parallel to the retaining wall. . . . [The] old temple was built partly upon the pavement, but mostly upon the natural earth and rock of the terrace." Christopher Pfaff points out to me that a similar arrangement of retaining wall and "pavement" may be seen in the West Building at the Heraion. The terrain in this area also falls away, and there is a retaining wall packed with irregular blocks of local limestone; the pavement is visible below the floor level inside the building (personal communication, September 1988). The red earth removed by Tilton cannot be the floor, as Wright suggests (*loc. cit.* [note 32 above]), because of the burned material within noted by the excavator; the layer would seem to belong to a destruction.

³⁵ On "unfinished" features in later Greek architecture, see now T. Kalpaxis, *Hemiteles*, Mainz 1986. See R. Rhodes, "Rope Channels and Stone Quarrying in the Early Corinthia," *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 545–551 for channels used for the removal of blocks from the quarry bed; bosses and U-shaped holes were for the maneuvering of blocks into place with levers.

³⁶ See Wright (pp. 188–189) for the date and most recently C. Pfaff, "Three-Peaked Antefixes from the Argive Heraion," *Hesperia* 59, 1990, p. 154.

³⁷ Wright, pp. 193–200; he cites Kelly, p. 62, to the effect that the tombs were not known earlier than the sanctuary was in use. See also Whitley, p. 179: "... the appearance of offerings in these tombs must be intimately related to the construction and foundation of the Argive Heraeum itself." See also Morris (p. 755), citing and agreeing with Wright. The most recent opinion I have seen is Foley's (note 14 above); she does not believe the tombs were the key to site choice and states that there is no evidence that they were known before the cult of Hera was practiced.

³⁸ Blegen I, II; additional discoveries: 'Αρχ'Εφ 1956, Παράρτημα, p. 10; Δελτ 25, 1970, Β' [1972], p. 156. *AH* I, pp. 79–80 mentions two chamber tombs on the west side of the gully, part of the area later explored by Blegen.

Geometric material in Bronze Age tombs, consisting of pottery and bronze bowls for the most part, which he believed indicated continuous family veneration at tombs through the Dark Ages.³⁹ Nevertheless, continuity of tomb cult from the Bronze Age to the historical period at Prosymna cannot be supported. A revival of the idea of continuity by Wright entails an acquaintance through chance discovery that did not require a cult response “before the renaissance consequent upon the rise of the *polis* at the end of the eighth century.”⁴⁰ In this view, 8th-century Greeks believed Bronze Age tombs to be those of epic heroes and the Geometric objects the traces of hero cult. There is also evidence, however, for Geometric (and later) burials in these (and other) tombs after the Bronze Age, which does not speak of hero cult but a link with contemporary funerals of the local inhabitants.⁴¹ As for the date of such activities, the Protogeometric material from the area of the sanctuary and a late MG II skyphos from Tomb XXV are earlier than the end of the Late Geometric period at the site and tombs and predate the formation of the *polis* (Pl. 24:b).⁴²

The close resemblance of artifacts from Mycenaean tombs and those dedicated to Hera has been used as an argument in favor of identifying the cult of Hera with that of “heroes”.⁴³ But the attempted connection of Hera and heroes on this site is a case of special pleading. There is no way to identify a recipient from votives alone, and the many and widely distributed sites where Mycenaean graves were known and frequented cannot be linked with

³⁹ Blegen II.

⁴⁰ Wright, p. 200. The *locus classicus* is N. Coldstream, “Hero-cult in the ‘Age of Homer’,” *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 9–18. See also the references in note 5 above; Snodgrass (pp. 193–209) argues as elsewhere for a conflict over territory arising from an increase in population and changing economy in the Late Geometric period.

⁴¹ Tomb XIII has a burial probably of the 5th century; Tomb VIII, Geometric; and Tomb XXV may have one of the late 8th century (see note 42 below). The two hydriai from Tomb XXXIV (Pl. 24:d; Blegen I, fig. 248) are probably also from such a burial. Although they held no bones, they are appropriate for cremated remains, and they were found together with the skeleton of a goat, disarticulated remains of at least two human individuals, and other pottery and bronzes above the debris of the collapsed roof. Below the debris, finds were purely Mycenaean. See Blegen I, pp. 110–112, with plan no. 19, as well as Blegen II, pp. 378, 384, fig. 10; Courbin (note 10 above), pp. 58, 188–200 (dating pottery to around 710 or somewhat earlier). See also Snodgrass (*Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, p. 204), who lists this as an instance of the re-use of a chamber tomb, and his recent discussion (Snodgrass, pp. 159–166). Hägg ([note 5 above] p. 99) has not made note of later burials in his recently published paper but raises the issue of such a connection. In his earlier work (*Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit* 1, Uppsala 1974, p. 61), he mentions the Geometric remains of an informal burial. Other Geometric burials in the Argolid were made in chamber and tholos tombs at the Deiras cemetery in Argos, Berbati, Asine, Mycenae, and Dendra, with dates ranging from Submycenaean to Roman.

⁴² For Tomb XXV, see Blegen I, pp. 86–92 with plan 14; Blegen II, pp. 177, 380, 386–387 with figs. 13, 14 (here Pl. 24:b). It is possible these finds are offerings accompanying a burial recorded in Blegen’s 1927 notebook (vol. II, pp. 61, 170). The attitude of early Greeks to their Mycenaean predecessors has been explored fully in my dissertation (note 1 above), which has a detailed catalogue of Mycenaean chamber and tholos tombs that were utilized after the Bronze Age for various purposes.

⁴³ Wright, p. 193 and note 34, although he admits that the etymological correspondence of Hero and Hera is not secure. I refer to the later visiting of Bronze Age tombs as “tomb cult” and consider the activity as part of Geometric funerary ritual. See the appraisal of Morris, whose remarks are cogent, although he has only worked with the published summaries of finds and contexts. He draws attention to an iron sickle in Tomb IX “which perhaps shows some concern with fertility and rebirth. We might expect this in a chthonic ritual, but the only parallel is a bronze ploughshare from Sparta” (p. 758). The date of this sickle is not known and may not be ancient, but tools and implements are found at many sanctuaries, sometimes offered as “first fruits”, a portion of a craftsman’s production. See F. Brommer, *Griechische Weihegaben und Opfer*, Berlin 1985, *passim*.

specific heroes or a patron deity by inscription, type of votive, or literary reference. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that discovery of and worship at the tombs led to the choice of this site specifically for a cult of Hera, nor even that the two were simultaneously established. Ritual activity in the area of the sanctuary would in fact seem to have preceded that at the necropolis.

There is another piece of evidence to consider in evaluating the location of the sanctuary. During the 1927 campaign at Prosymna, Blegen located a built terrace 75 meters northwest of the tholos that had been discovered by Stamatakis 50 years before.⁴⁴ This construction consisted of a "massive wall" of conglomerate and limestone on the southwest side, forming a platform 12.50 by 8.50 m. (Pl. 26:b). A shallow stream bed at the northwest and rough walls on the northeast and southeast formed the other limits of the structure. The only wall meant to be seen was the southwestern, standing two meters high. It may have had two phases: a well-built stretch 4.70 m. in length, continued to the southeast by a less substantially built section 5.70 m. in length.⁴⁵

No architectural remains were recovered from this terrace. The surface was composed of large stones and a fill of rocks and gravel. In the 0.55 m. of accumulated soil, mostly Classical and Hellenistic sherds were encountered, but some earlier ones were found as well. At the approximate center of the terrace was a burnt irregular area *ca.* 1.20 m. in diameter and 0.20 m. in depth, perhaps representing an ash altar. Within it were fragments of bronze, one of iron, and Protocorinthian "and associated" sherds. Poorly preserved sherds were found all over the platform, but large amounts of votive material in much better condition turned up in the deeper fill at the northeast and southwest sides of the terrace.⁴⁶ This fill was partially stratified: at the very lowest level were a few Mycenaean sherds, followed by Geometric sherds mostly in the lower part of the deposit; the rest were Protocorinthian.

Activity at this terrace, then, dates from the late Geometric period but was most intense in the 7th century. The presence of Classical and Hellenistic material was taken to indicate continuing offerings until some time in the Hellenistic period, after which the terrace was no longer used.⁴⁷ In addition to 15 baskets of pottery, a fairly large amount of bronze, a number of terracotta female figurines, and a few terracotta horses and riders, some terracotta wreaths(?) and spools, and a conical loomweight were recovered (Pl. 25).⁴⁸ The similarity of this material to that from the Heraion itself and, to a lesser extent, from the tombs has been noted by all commentators.⁴⁹ A black-glazed sherd with the inscription H|PAΣ EM|I was taken by Blegen as evidence that the platform was "merely an outlying altar belonging to Hera herself" (Pl. 25:a).⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Blegen I, pp. 6, 263; see Fig. 3. For Stamatakis' excavation of the tholos see *AM* 3, 1879, pp. 271–286 and note 51 below.

⁴⁵ Blegen III, p. 410 and Fig. 1. The excavation was supervised by D. H. Cox; see her notebook (1927, vol. I), esp. p. 123 for a sketch plan, *passim* for drawings of objects not illustrated elsewhere. Her account is supplemented by Blegen's own notebook (1927, vol. II).

⁴⁶ Blegen III, p. 411.

⁴⁷ Blegen III, pp. 412; 423–427, figs. 12–14; cf. Pl. 25.

⁴⁸ Blegen III, pp. 412–420, figs. 3–9 (bronze); pp. 420–428, figs. 10, 11 (Pl. 25:a).

⁴⁹ Blegen I, p. 263; Blegen II, pp. 378, 388–389; Blegen III, p. 412; Hägg (note 5 above), p. 61; Wright, pp. 193–194.

⁵⁰ Blegen II, p. 412, fig. 11 (here Fig. 4:a). The only other inscription was enigmatic: a retrograde line on

Wright suggested that this shrine “formalized” worship at the tholos and chamber tombs. Offerings made there, if begun in late Geometric times, would be later than the earliest material at the tombs and Heraion site.⁵¹ Very little post-Mycenaean material seems to have been recovered from the tholos by its excavator, although this fact is inconclusive. The tombs in the immediate vicinity of the terrace, however, besides being few in number, were with one exception (Tomb XIX) undisturbed and presumably unknown to later inhabitants.⁵² Although there is evidence of earlier activity in the vicinity of the Old Temple Terrace (p. 90 above), there is none of monumental construction until late in the 7th century. If the Terrace is in fact of that date, the “secondary shrine” may actually be the predecessor to the Old Temple (see pp. 103–104 below).⁵³

PAST AND PRESENT IN THE CHOICE OF THE SITE

Possible motivations for choosing the site and locating the Old Temple Terrace may now be examined. The Terrace is situated on the slope above earlier walls to its south and was built over any remains between the Second Temple and the acropolis slightly to the north, including Late Helladic house walls still visible on the rising ground between the Northeast Stoa and Old Temple Terrace (see Fig. 1). The choice of site seems best paralleled by that of the Menelaion at Therapne in Lakonia, which was also built at the site of a large and important Bronze Age settlement, traced in recent British excavations from Middle Helladic (III) to LH IIIB2 times.⁵⁴ Like the Heraion, the Lakonian site does not seem to have been a sanctuary in the Bronze Age. The votives from the shrine (perhaps offered to Helen before Menelaos) begin in the late 8th century, as do the first certain examples offered at the Heraion. In Lakonia, architectural remains are also lacking from this earliest period; the “Old Menelaion”, fragments from which were located in fill to the northeast and in a cistern to the north of the extant remains, seems to date to the late 7th or early 6th century.⁵⁵ The original position of the Old Menelaion is not certain, but it is suggested that

the rim of a small kantharos reading ΧΟΣΙΕΜΙ (Blegen III, fig. 13). Blegen read *χῶση εἰμί* (Doric for *χουσή*); cf. L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1990, no. 11, pp. 149–150; pl. 25: *χος {η}εμι* (Pl. 25:b); early 7th century. Jeffery observes (p. 149, note 1) that this term would not indicate an Attic chous, which would equal the contents of 12 kotylai, but a local measure or simply a “vessel”. See also note 67 below.

⁵¹ Wright, pp. 193–194.

⁵² See the map, Blegen I, pl. I (Fig. 3) for the relationship of the features. Finds from Tomb XIX: Blegen I, pp. 59–61 with plan 5; Courbin (note 10 above), pp. 194–195, and here Plate 24:c, previously published as Blegen III, figs. 7, 9. See also Snodgrass, pp. 159–166, with the plan, fig. 47. The tholos was republished by A. J. B. Wace in *BSA* 25, 1921–1923, pp. 330–338 with pl. 54. On the location of the “secondary shrine”, see pp. 103–104 below.

⁵³ Drerup ([note 11 above] p. 57) dates the secondary shrine to the 7th century but notes that it “zeigt eine wesentlich kunstlosere und kleinstenige Fügung.” See note 27 above. It would compare better with the Corinthian and Eretrian constructions mentioned in note 29 above.

⁵⁴ See the summary by H. Catling, “Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973–1976,” *AR* 1976–1977, pp. 24–42, esp. pp. 28–34.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 35–37 and the note following. See also Coulson ([note 10 above] p. 31, note 18), who dismisses possible PG (“Dark Age”) sherds from the Menelaion in the collections of the Sparta Museum and American School of Classical Studies at Athens as having migrated from the Amyklai sections of the trays or as being earlier or later in date.

it stood on the conglomerate foundations which also supported an early 5th-century shrine; the date of this conglomerate construction is not known.

An important distinction exists between the recipients of cult worship at the Heraion and at the Menelaion; one is an Olympian, the others heroes. Initial cult activity in both cases, however, probably dates to the late 8th or early 7th century; and if the date of the Heraion Terrace is not Late Geometric (8th century) but contemporary with the first monumental building attested on the site, the Old Temple, it is also close in time to the Old Menelaion.

The pattern of extramural sanctuaries which grow up around the perimeter of the territory belonging to a nascent *polis* has recently been described.⁵⁶ Thus, the choice of site at both the Heraion and the Menelaion may stake a claim to control of an area. Part of the claim is framed as actually a reclamation of territory held in the past. In Argos, such a claim might have been strengthened by the location of new burials in some of the ancient tombs at Prosymna, as well as by votive offerings in others, steps perhaps taken earlier than the state-sponsored and organized worship of Hera. No tombs are known at Therapne, and Catling suggests that Lakonians regarded the two hills at Therapne as the tumuli of Helen and Menelaos.⁵⁷ The suggestion is predicated on the view that bones or a tomb is required for hero cult, which is not the case. In any case, the Late Helladic site itself may have been reason enough to choose this location on the frontier.⁵⁸

Another characteristic of polities undergoing growth and change is competition predicated on communication (architectural and ceramic styles, literary forms, and ritual). The enmity between Argos and Sparta which characterized their relations in the 6th century may go back to the 8th century.⁵⁹ Both the Argives and the Arkadians would have had an interest in Sparta's expansion into Messenia by way of the northern route around Taygetos,

⁵⁶ F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espace et société VIII^e–VII^e s. avant J.-C.*, Paris 1984, esp. chaps. 1 and 2 (pp. 23–92). Further on such activity in the Argolid, see Whitley, pp. 180–181.

⁵⁷ Cited by Morris, p. 753.

⁵⁸ See C. LeRoy ("Mémoire et tradition: réflexions sur la continuité," in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce [Hommage à H. van Effenterre]*, Paris 1984, pp. 163–173), who stresses the transformation of social and religious structures during the Dark Ages. C. Rolley ("Les grandes sanctuaires panhelléniques," in the volume edited by Hägg [note 29 above], pp. 109–114, esp. pp. 112–113) discusses the growth of major Greek sanctuaries and considers briefly their prehistoric phases. Friedländer's discussion of the site early in this century was remarkably foresighted (cf. p. 78, where he discusses the destruction of the Bronze Age settlement: "... war es etwa ein Bund argivischer Staaten, der hier gemeinsam vollbrachtes Werk durch die Gründung eines Centralheiligtums krönte? Dafür liesse sich geltend machen, wie auch das später Heraion nicht ausschliesslich der Stadt Argos gehört, sondern den religiösen Mittelpunkt der ganzen Landschaft bildet"). It is Whitley's contention (*passim*) that the placing of offerings in Mycenaean tombs was part of the setting of boundaries and reclamation of territory. In his view, Mycenae was independent in this period and the tomb cults in the chamber tombs around the citadel were a Mycenaean response to the aggressive staking of territory by the Argives near by at Prosymna. See further, note 67 below.

⁵⁹ This is not the place to review the whole question of Pheidon of Argos, and his dates and achievements, but the matter must be mentioned. His rule is usually put at ca. 680–657, and to him are ascribed the establishment of a standard system of weights and measures, the first silver coins, hoplite tactics, and the seizure of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia during the Games (in 668?). His leadership may be responsible for some of the events and activities recounted here. See L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City-States c. 700–500 B.C.*, New York 1976, pp. 134–136 and p. 143, notes 2 and 3. It should be noted that some wish to put Pheidon in the late 8th century; see Kelly, pp. 94–111, with references in note 1.

probably during the last quarter of the 8th century during the First Messenian War. According to Pausanias (2.24.6), in 669/8 the Spartans were defeated at Hysiai in Argive territory, probably while making an attempt on Thyreatis. In the Second Messenian War, sometime in the second quarter of the 7th century, the Messenians were aided by Argos, the Arkadians, Sikyon, Pisa, and some of the Eleans. Asine, although in Argos' vicinity, supported the Spartans, and at the end of the war the inhabitants were expelled by the Argives and resettled by Sparta in Messenian territory. The conflict over territory in the border areas of Arkadia and Kynouria continued down to the 6th century, ending with the decisive defeat of Argos at Thyrea in 545.⁶⁰

Perhaps the competition between Argos and Sparta was also carried out by competitive emulation in the display activity of building on the impressive scale seen at Therapne and Prosymna in the later 7th century; the consolidation of power and territory was marked by both with construction.⁶¹ Construction of the Heraion and the choice of its site, therefore, may not have been wholly dependent on the chamber tombs and their prehistoric incumbents (whether or not connected specifically with Hera), although they did represent a claim of ancestry and continuity, even if none truly existed. Although such figures are often invoked, for instance, as "powerful ancient beings, from whom they [later Greeks] could draw authority,"⁶² the recurrence of burials located in these tombs points to a desire on the part of post-Mycenaean Greeks for links of kinship with their prehistoric ancestors.

CONCLUSIONS

The placement of major sanctuaries dedicated to locally prominent figures defines territory and community. Cartledge makes this observation in assessing the impact of the subjugation of Messenia by the Spartans: "... the establishment of a sanctuary of the Homeric king of Lakedaïmon, brother of Agamemnon and alleged occupant of a fine palace, was a matter of political convenience for Dorians seeking to bolster their claim to rule the south-east Peloponnese by right."⁶³ Amyklai in Lakonia, with its cult of Apollo Hyakinthos, may also have been a part of the Spartan pattern of reclamation and growth.

On the Argive plain, the locations of settlements suggest who is making burials in and venerating Bronze Age tombs. Of post-Bronze Age settlements known, closest to the Heraion is Mycenae, not Argos.⁶⁴ Perhaps the Argives, who were using the Deiras chamber-tomb cemetery close to the heart of their own settlement, and the contemporary Mycenaeans, who used the chamber tombs of Kalkani, came to conflict over the boundaries of their territories in a dispute over burying rights in the old tombs at Prosymna on the edge of

⁶⁰ Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 117. Kelly (pp. 75–77 and 86–88) does not support a conflict between Argos and Sparta before the 560's.

⁶¹ On competition see, for example, *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-political Change*, C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, ed., Cambridge 1986, especially the paper by A. Snodgrass, "Interaction by Design: The Greek City State," pp. 47–58.

⁶² Morris, p. 750.

⁶³ P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History 1300–362 B.C.*, London 1979, p. 212; on the period in general, see chaps. 8 and 9.

⁶⁴ The suggestion made by Foley ([note 14 above] p. 51) that Mycenae functioned at this time almost entirely as a sanctuary rather than a habitation site seems unlikely.

the plain. Argos responded by building the secondary shrine near the tombs. At the Chaos ravine in Mycenae, the shrine usually thought to belong to Agamemnon may have been the Mycenaean response of staking their territory; it is comparable to the "secondary shrine".⁶⁵ The Mycenaeans also founded a shrine to Enyalios in the early 7th century in the area of Asprochomata, northwest of the citadel on the route to Kleonai, as part of the delimitation of territory.⁶⁶ But to speak of the *polis* of Mycenae or of Tiryns is inaccurate. Temple construction at these communities in the early Archaic period does not necessarily indicate the work of a *polis*; any community could build a temple. Independence is not a synonym for *polis* status. For example, in the "syrinx inscription" from the citadel of Tiryns, the community called itself a *δᾶμος* in the early Archaic period. But Tiryns used the Argive script, as did Mycenae, not a local alphabet, and thus any argument for Tirynthian or Mycenaean independence before the 5th century cannot use the existence of an epichoric script in support.⁶⁷ Mycenae and Tiryns may already have been dependent on Argos in the early Archaic period.

A multi-faceted building program at the Heraion in the later 7th century is possible. The builders of the Old Temple Terrace (and Old Temple) provided a ramp to facilitate access to the top of the Terrace and may also have leveled the area where the 5th-century temple was ultimately built.⁶⁸ The building activity probably entailed renewal of the old Bronze Age road from Mycenae to Prosymna, including the bridge at Agios Georgios on the Chaos below Mycenae on the road to the Heraion by the "Agamemnoneion" (Pl. 26:a). Blegen investigated another bridge at a gully (Reuma tou Kastrou) near the Terrace (Pl. 26:c). The renewal of the ancient routes would be called for with the construction of the monumental Terrace and Temple, expressing the corporate claims and abilities of the Argives.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ See B. Steffen and H. Lolling, *Karten von Mykenai*, Berlin 1884, pl. I for Mycenae and its environs. I agree with Morris that "we cannot reduce the cults to one message" (p. 752), and "the cults seem ambiguous, meaning different things to different people" (p. 758), but there are certain patterns discernible in the use of Mycenaean tombs in the Geometric period. Not every instance of post-Bronze Age activity at Mycenaean tombs is cult (worship), nor does the existence of a literary record give us the key to interpretation. Our literary record is at least as fragmentary and incomplete as the archaeological, and the varieties of interpretations Morris himself allows for indicate the difficulties inherent in its use.

⁶⁶ Sanctuary to Enyalios: G. Mylonas in *Ἔργον* 1965, pp. 68–71; *Πρακτικά* 1965, pp. 95–96, pl. 110:a, b; 1966, pp. 111–114, pls. 95–97; T. L. Shear, Jr., "A Classical Sanctuary near Mycenae," *AJA* 70, 1966, p. 195. The sanctuary was in use from the 7th to 3rd centuries. I am indebted to Professor Shear for discussion and access to his notes.

⁶⁷ *Contra*, Whitley (p. 179, note 43), who cites Jeffery's first edition of the *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, but seems unaware of the M. Jameson and N. Verdelis publication of the Tiryns inscription: *Ἀρχ'Εφ* 1975, pp. 150–205. See also U. Jantzen, *Führer durch Tiryns*, Athens 1975, pp. 189–191 with references and Jeffery (note 50 above), pp. 144–174, p. 433, no. 99; p. 444: "The script of Tiryns is now attested as similar to Argive. . . ." Jameson and Verdelis (p. 205) insist on the *polis* status of Tiryns because of the use of the term *δᾶμος*, reference to the *ἁλιαία*, and mention of patron deities of the community (Athena and Zeus). The date of the inscription is late 7th or early 6th century B.C. On the early *polis*, see C. Mossé, "Ithaque ou la naissance de la cité," *Archeologia e storia antica* 2 (Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico), Naples 1980, pp. 7–19.

⁶⁸ Lauter published photographs of the remains of conglomerate walls below the southwest corner of the Terrace and a plan of the "Geometric" sanctuary: note 3 above, Abb. 3, 4; pls. 83:3 and 84:1.

⁶⁹ Cf. Pl. 26:a; Blegen III, pp. 427–430; *pace* Wright (p. 192 and note 27), the Bronze Age date of the bridge below Mycenae has not been questioned because of a garbling of Blegen's report. Cf. R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece*, Park Ridge, NJ 1981, pp. 15–17. On the bridge at Mycenae, see also J. M. Balcer,

The Old Temple and terrace at the Heraion do not belong to early competition during the struggle between communities. Rather, they mark its end, which saw the destruction of Asine and the expansion of the settlement of Argos itself and the consolidation of the Argive plain under the hegemony of Argos. And while the Heraion sanctuary may have been placed so as to serve the various communities of the plain, it is not necessary to revive the idea of an amphictyony under Argos at this time to account for the Heraion.⁷⁰ The foundation of the Heraion functioned on several levels, sending messages both to other states and to the smaller communities of the Argive plain itself.

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ADDENDUM

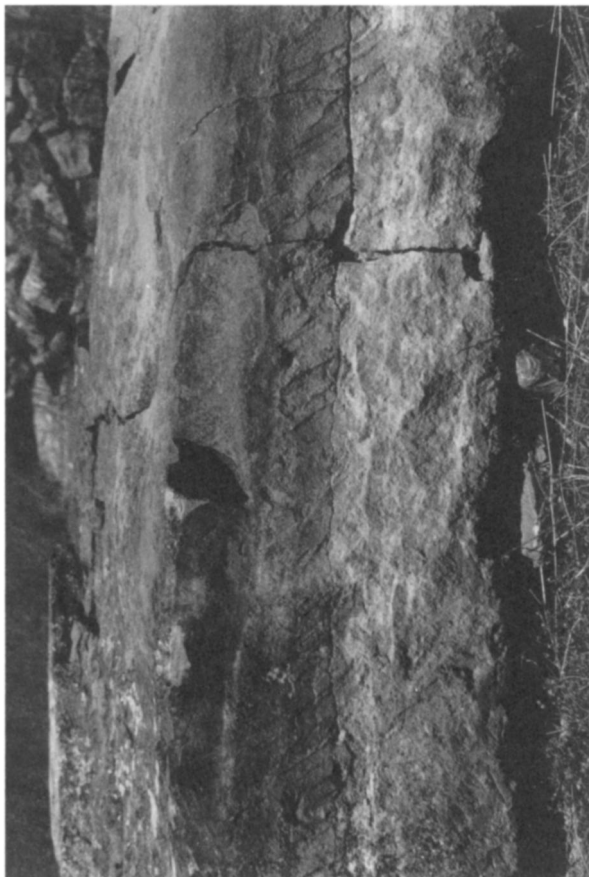
Since the final revision of this paper (April 1990) the following have appeared: G. Daverio Rocchi, *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia Antica* (Centro Ricerche e Documentazioni sull'Antichità Classica, Monografie 12), 1988 (with additional bibliography on the archaeology of frontiers and boundaries; this work has only now become available to me); *Monuments and the Monumental*, R. Bradley, ed. (*WorldArch* 22, no. 2, 1990), especially the paper of B. Trigger, "Monumental Architecture: A Thermodynamic Explanation of Symbolic Behaviour," pp. 119–132; C. Morgan and T. Whitelaw, "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State," *AJA* 95, 1991, pp. 79–108; S. Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," *AJA* 95, 1991, pp. 447–467 (with additional discussion of Prosymna).

"The Mycenaean Dam at Tiryns," *AJA* 78, 1974, p. 148. For the bridge foundations near the Terrace see Blegen III, pp. 427–428 (Pl. 26:b); 7th-century bronzes were the earliest material associated with it. I was not able to locate this foundation in June, 1985 or July, 1989. The excavator did not think this bridge lay on the main Bronze Age road; it may, however, be part of a secondary route for which the remains of a Mycenaean predecessor may be seen in the bridge at Mycenae across the Chaos just south of the citadel (cf. Hope Simpson, *loc. cit.*). The view given here differs slightly from that of Whitley (p. 181), who concentrates on the tomb activities.

⁷⁰ See Kelly, pp. 67–68. Brownson ([note 3 above] pp. 225–226) suggested long ago that "although the Heraeum was an Argive temple during almost the whole time of Greek history, it doubtless belonged originally not to Argos but to Mycenae," citing the relative proximity of Mycenae.



a. Old Temple Terrace from the south: second temple in foreground, Northeast Stoa in middle ground, Mt. Euboia behind



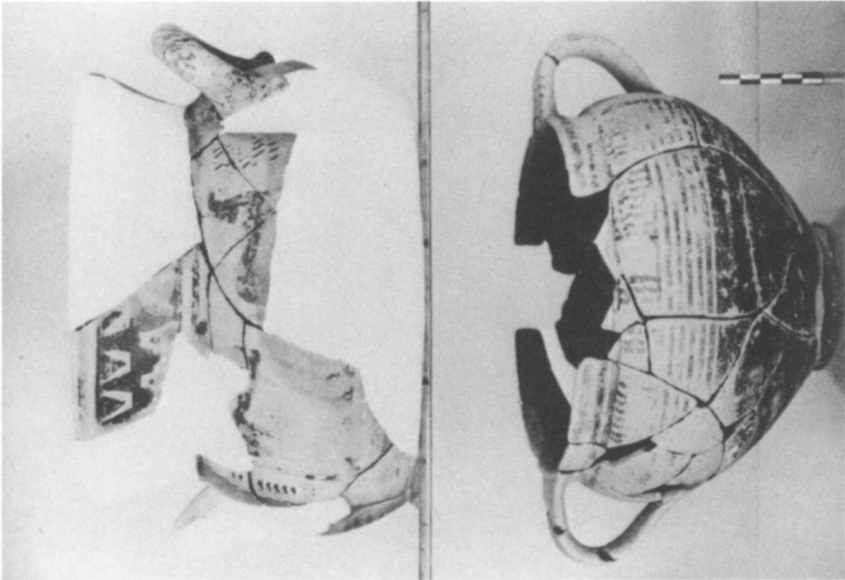
c. Unfinished face of Old Temple stylobate



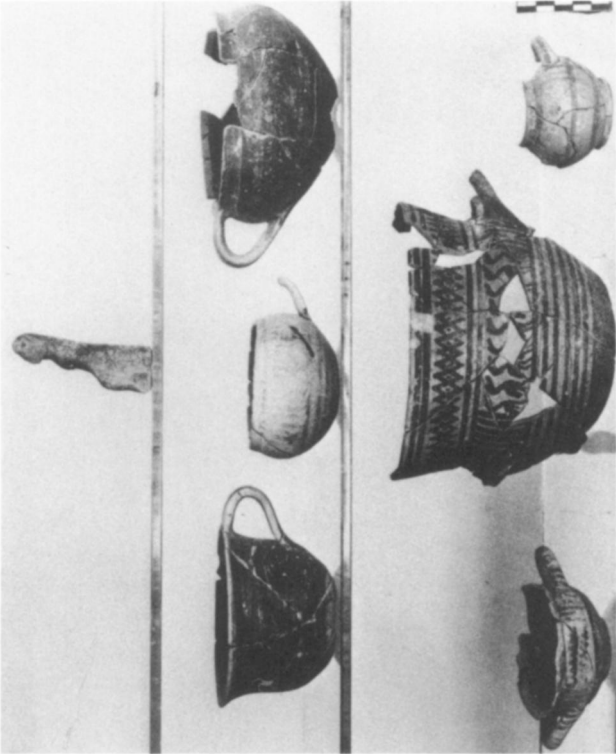
b. Flagging of Old Temple Terrace and stylobate



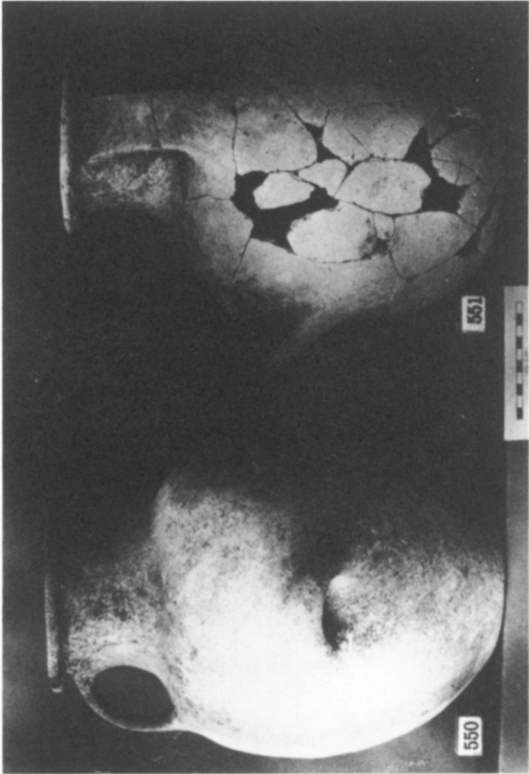
a. Bronze horse from trial trench at west face of Old Temple Terrace



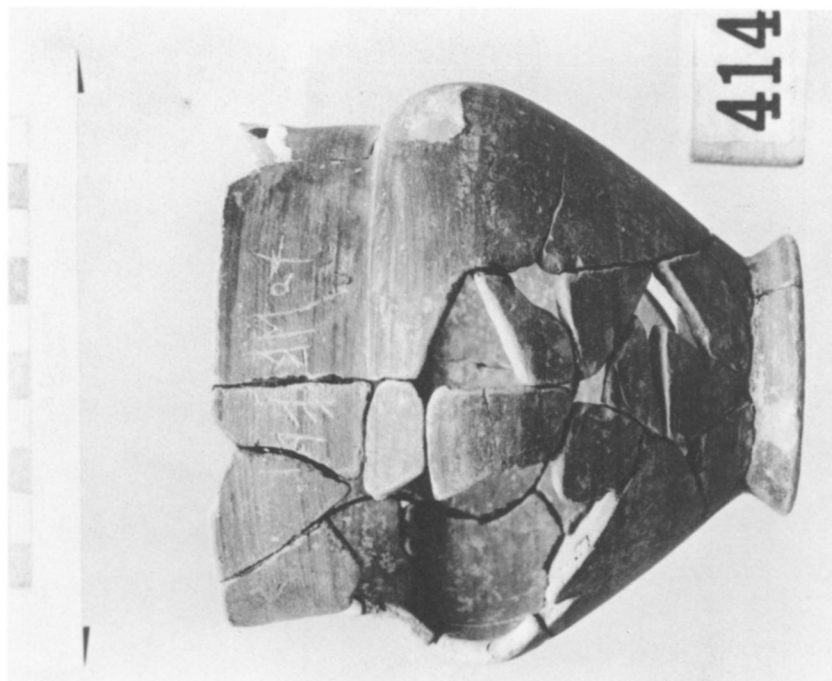
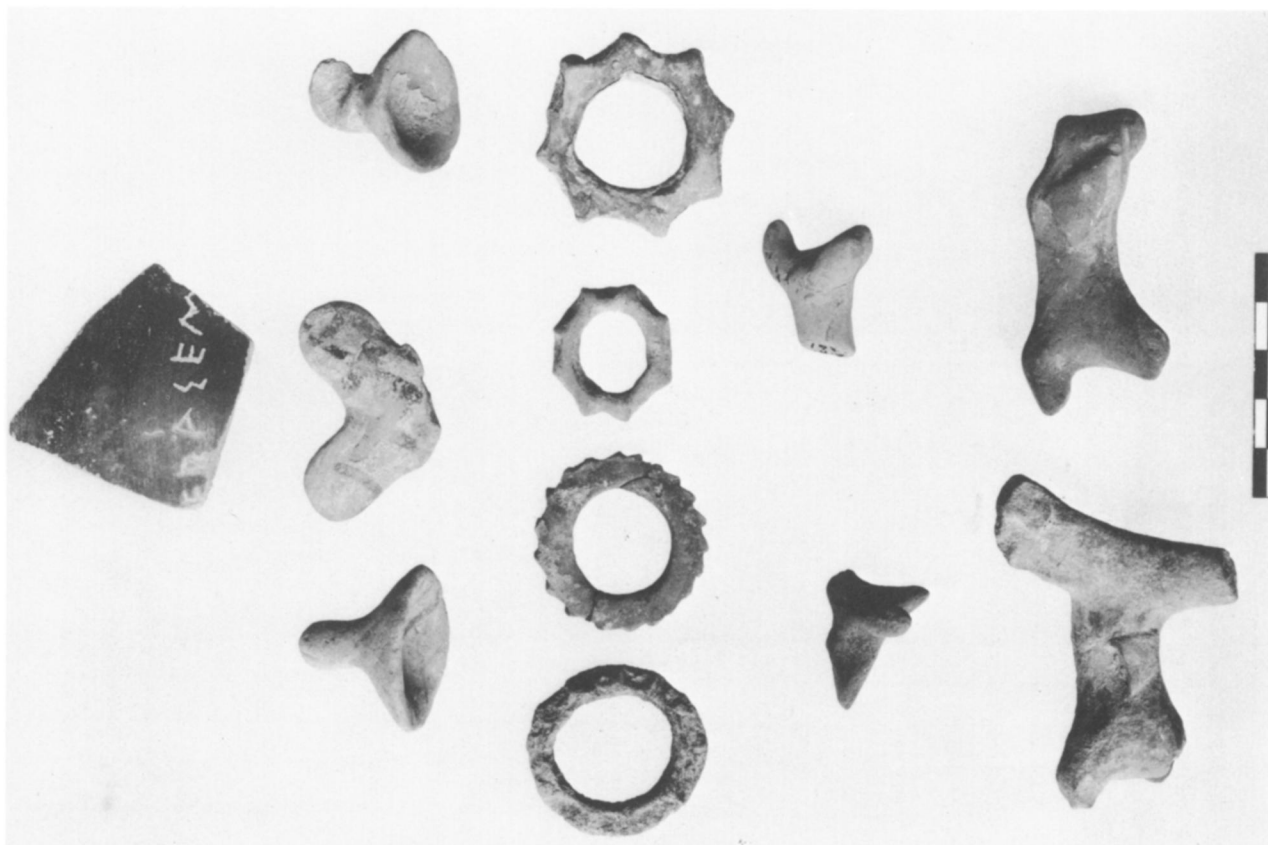
b. Top: krater from Tomb L.
Bottom: skyphos from Tomb XXV



c. Figurine from Tomb XIX. Other finds from Tomb XXVI



d. Hydriai from Tomb XXXIV



b. Chous from "secondary shrine"

a. Finds and sherd with graffito from "secondary shrine"

C. M. ANTONACCIO: TERRACES, TOMBS, AND THE EARLY ARGIVE HERAION

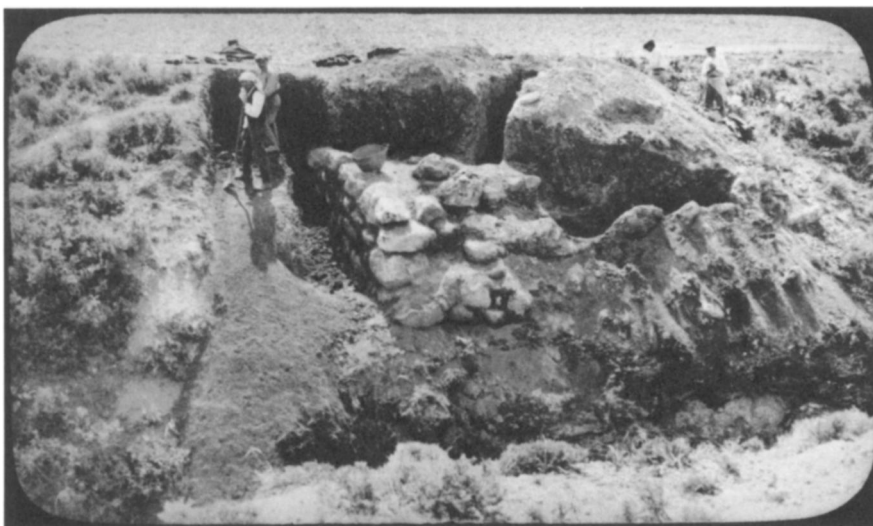
PLATE 26



a. Bridge near Agios Georgios



b. Terrace of "secondary shrine"



c. Bridge foundations at Reuma tou Kastrou