Remembering the Mycenaeans: How the Ancient Greeks Repurposed their Prehistoric Past

by

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This thesis argues that in Archaic and Classical Greece (700-336 B.C.E.), the construction of social and civic identities relied on the redeposition and repurposing of older artifacts, including architecture, dating from the Mycenaean period (1600-1100 B.C.E.). By considering the distribution of Mycenaean artifacts in later contexts, this work aims to demonstrate that discernible patterns emerge. From 1000 to 700 B.C.E., the deposition is primarily limited to private burials, but from 700 to 336 B.C.E. deposition switches to sanctuaries, as there is a shift from constructing familial identities to communal identities. This process is intimately linked with the emergence of the political institution known as the *polis*. Interacting with the prehistoric ruins dotting their landscape, both by building on them, as well as imitating them, the ancient Greeks engaged in the process of memory modification. Because these ruins served as the loci of memory, their survival or loss had a profound effect on historical narratives. Nowhere is this more apparent than in ancient Athens. By tracing the development of Athenian interaction with Mycenaean artifacts and architecture, this thesis demonstrates the profound role Athens' prehistoric past had on the construction of a singular Athenian identity.

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Abbreviations

All abbreviations for ancient texts follow the guidelines set out in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd Ed. 1996. Oxford).

All abbreviations for journals or edited volumes are in accordance with the guidelines set by the American Journal of Archaeology, available online at <.http://www.ajaonline.org/pdfs/AJAInstructions.pdf>.

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Introduction

> They are fond of hearing about the genealogies of heroes and men, Socrates, and the foundation of cities in ancient times and, in short, about antiquity in general, so that for their sake I have been obliged to learn all sort of thing by heart and practise it thoroughly (Pl. *Hp.mai*. 285D).[1]

The relationship between memory and archaeology has been the subject of scholarly discourse for some time, but archaeologists in Greece have only relatively recently focused on it.[2] Some studies have considered aspects of hero-cult in detail, looking at the relationship between Greek heroes recorded in early literature and developments in early Greek society.[3] A recent monograph explored Greek and Roman interactions with fossils, who figured as fantastic, monstrous creatures of the past in the Greek imagination.[4] Many scholars have remarked on chance finds of prehistoric objects deposited in later contexts, yet no comprehensive synthesis of this phenomenon was undertaken until Boardman's *The Archaeology of Nostalgia* (2002). While providing an excellent introduction to the phenomenon, as well as highlighting the extensive literary tradition provided by early literary sources, Boardman's objective was to lay a foundation on which others may build.[5] A focused approach to the question of how Greeks viewed their past will reveal new information about early Greek society and identity. The objective of this thesis is to show that Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods (700-323 B.C.E.) had a particularly strong connection with their prehistoric past, and that they were actively involved in the repurposing artefacts, both objects and architecture, in order

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[1] *Hippias major* is thought to be one of Plato's Early Dialogues, dating to ca. 390 B.C.E. While the primary focus of the work is on what defines beauty, Plato demonstrates the prominent role of memory for his Greek audience.

[2] Assmann 1992; Kwint *et al.* 1999; Alcock *et al.* 2001; Alcock 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Georgiadis and Gallou 2009; Borić 2010; Bommas 2011.

[3] Farnell 1921; Nagy 1979; Antonaccio 1995.

[4] Mayor 2000.

[5] "The material for this book has been collected in a desultory way over very many years, starting from a general interest in Greek dedicatory practices. The way it is presented here will, I hope, instruct the general reader about a subject which he may not have thought to have existed, and for students give a further dimension, much neglected for many years, to their consideration of what ancient Greeks believed…This is not, therefore, a detailed account of the worship of relics, or of the perception and inventions of ancient authors, or of the iconography of myth, although these will find their places." (Boardman 2002, 15).

to create their own Greek identity.[6] Such an approach considers repurposed Late Bronze Age material, dating from the Mycenaean period (16th through 12th centuries B.C.E.), used in later contexts spanning the 10th through fourth centuries B.C.E. In addition, this work examines the idea that prehistoric ruins, especially at Mycenaean palaces, created a landscape of memory during the 'Dark Ages' of Greece (11th through ninth centuries B.C.E.).

Landscape and individual prehistoric items acted as loci of social memory, a concept developed from Halbwachs' theory of 'collective memory'.[7] As loci, both landscapes and objects served to foster the construction of identities in early Greece, both at an intra-*polis* and inter-*polis* level.[8] This idea is especially evident in the rise of liminal sanctuaries of the early Archaic period (ninth to seventh centuries B.C.E.), as well as in the genealogical tradition of joint ancestry that can be traced back at least to the eighth century B.C.E.

Collective Memory

Halbwachs suggested a functionalist approach to the idea of 'collective memory,' where competing memories arose within a group, but ultimately a single narrative prevails.[9] The single narrative that won out is attributed to an 'affective community,' one who saw to it that what individuals remembered was 'in harmony' with the other narratives. More recently, Green has identified two types of collective memory.[10] The first focuses on a 'memorial culture,' one that relies on memory and commemoration in order to negotiate history, a history which is defined by group commemoration and the active participation of large numbers of people engaging in public memory (e.g., war memorials). The second definition of collective memory holds it to be the process of

[6] Cretan material is by and large omitted. Both the size of the corpus and the non-Greek elements that persist here from the Minoan culture make it prohibitive to the current study. Also, to a certain extent attempts have been made to deal with this re-use elsewhere (For instance, Wallace 2003).

[7] Halbwachs, M. 1950. *La Mémoire collective*. Buchenwald; Halbwachs, M. 1980. *The Collective Memory*, trans. F.J. Ditter and V.Y. Ditter. New York

[8] For the definition of the Greek *polis*, see Hansen 2006.

[9] Halbwachs 1980.

[10] Green 2004, 36-37.

representing the past and disseminating it publically through 'vehicles of memory,' such as books or other written records. Although scholars have tended to distance themselves from Halbwachs initial theory, his theoretical 'affective community', one that mediates competing narrative memories is not without parallel in early Greece. Greek sanctuaries figure heavily in early Greek culture and one way of understanding their role is as a regulatory body, perhaps further, a vehicle for the transmission of memory to individuals and the state. More importantly, in Greece, sanctuaries seem to have played an important role, not only in the construction of *polis* identity, but also in Hellenic identity, that is, what made Greeks Greek. This can be seen particularly at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia.

Cultural/Social Memory

Building on Halbwachs' concept of collective memory, Assmann distinguished the idea of 'cultural memory' as a storehouse of memories accumulated over decades or centuries.[11] He viewed cultural memory as a dynamic body of material comprising "texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each epoch" that served to "stabilize and convey that society's self-image."[12] This idea is largely consistent with the concept of social memory, and both acknowledge that memory is a shared experience within a group. Social memory, however, acknowledges that memory practices occur as a part of everyday life and that they are not necessarily tied solely to large-scale commemorative events.[13] Social memory acknowledges individuality in memory both at a personal level and a group level, but seeks to emphasize the shared network of memories that construct the bonds of social practice, such as marriage patterns, alliances, language, and customs within a cultural group.[14] Greek culture can be considered just such a cultural group, as it is only through some form of shared experience that we can explain the homogeneity of Greek culture. This can be seen and mapped archaeologically through material objects

[11] Assman (1992; English translation, 2011) was the first to define 'cultural memory'.

[12] 1995, 132.

[13] Fentress and Wickham 1992; Olick and Robbins 1998; Climo and Cattell 2002.

[14] The recent rise of network theory in scholarship has greatly contributed to this. This has been actively promoted in realm of Classical archaeology by Malkin (2003; 2011) and Knappett (2011).

which form permanent loci of memory, extending the objects longevity, while at the same time legitimizing these things in the eyes of a particular social group.

Landscape and Memory

Anyone who has been to Greece knows that the landscape, the natural environment, is highly evocative. Greece is of course not alone in this, and ethnographic parallels may help us understand better the impact of the landscape on Greek conceptions of their past. Australian dreamwalkers, for example, use specific permanent features of the landscape as mnemonic devices to recall a particular story or aetiology. Rumsey has shown that "landscape is the main locus of social memory, with both myth and history inscribed in the landscape." [15] His studies of the social memory of the Aboriginal population of Australia have demonstrated that, in an oral culture such as theirs, myths are often structured around the landscape itself, whether this landscape is natural or modified by the actions of mankind. This approach is paralleled in the second century A.D. travel writing of Pausanias, for example. Even though we consider Pausanias to be on a tour of Greece, his writings give the impression of a journey not dissimilar to that of the Australian dreamwalkers, where the physical remains within the landscape around him prove to be mnemonic triggers for aetiologies, histories, and folklore.

Memory and History

> I shall argue that early Greek historical thinking began in (perhaps) the eighth century as an interaction between a present (which featured colonization) and a non-existent past that had to be assembled from pieces of heroic myths (especially concerning Heracles), which were organized into narratives and projected onto the past (Shrimpton 1997, 87).

Shrimpton's view that Greek historical thinking began in the eighth century B.C.E. is a sound hypothesis. He does emphasize, however, that written Greek 'history' was the result of the interaction between a real 'present' and a non-existent 'past'. This relies on the assumption of cultural discontinuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age of Greece, one which archaeological evidence is showing is not quite so 'discontinuous'. It also shows some disregard for the physical landscapes and the archaeological ruins

[15] Rumsey 1994, 127-128.

which would have obviously been visible to early Greeks. In contrast, I would argue that the past was manifestly evident: the landscape contained extant physical remains from the past Mycenaean culture which was modified and incorporated into Greek identity.

Historians have focused on the connection between memory and history.[16] According to Olick and Robbins this link is mutually exclusive since "memory inevitably gives way to history as we lose touch with our pasts."[17] Olick and Robbins do, however, allow for a transitional period in between memory and history, what they call historical memory, whereby we celebrate something which we did not experience directly, but the memory of which we are preserving.[18] Memory to the Greeks was an important skill and studies have shown that mnemonic skills were much sharper among them than among present Western cultures.[19] This has enormous implications for the construction of the Greeks' own history. It is evident that the Late Bronze Age element was never entirely erased from the social memory of the Greeks. As a result of this, we should not look at fifth century B.C.E. Greek narrative histories of their prehistoric past to be mere fables and myths entirely disconnected from what we would call a historical reality.

At the same time, one should also not say that the later Greek understanding of their prehistory is rooted entirely in inarguable facts either. Although the Greeks may have begun with a general recollection of their own past, by the time of Thucydides, elements of mythology had certainly begun to creep into their prehistory, namely the descent of the race of heroes from the gods, and the direct interference of the gods in their day-to-day affairs. The advantage that the Greeks had in preserving these social memories was the physical remains still standing from their past. Using the landscape around them, the Greeks were able to preserve the memories of their ancestors by attaching stories and whole epics to the physical evidence that lay scattered about the landscape. Through the preservation of these memories, the Greeks were able to construct an identity for themselves which was rooted in their interpretation of Late

[16] Burke 1989; Hutton 1993; Shrimpton 1997.

[17] 1998, 111.

[18] Olick and Robbins 1998, 111.

[19] Shrimpton 1997, 54; Foley 1991; Parry 1930.

Bronze Age culture. It should be stressed that this was an interpretation and certainly not an actual revival of Mycenaean culture, and for this reason, the term repurposing is of key importance to my analysis.

The organization of this work is designed to balance chronological considerations against thematic ones. Chapters one and two follow a chronological framework, considering the period spanning the 10th through eighth centuries B.C.E. and the eighth through fourth centuries B.C.E. respectively. These chapters deal almost exclusively with portable objects. These items, because of their mobility, have cultural biographies which can be traced from manufacture to final deposition. In chapter one, the focus is on the repurposing of prehistoric objects found in or at private burials. The objects were used by the individual in some manner during his/her lifetime and then deposited in their grave. This deposition in the archaeological record represents a significant amount of capital. The chapter highlights the association of these archaeological finds with elite individuals, and thus suggests that certain individuals had a particularly vested interest in them. Chapter two continues to trace the biographies of objects, but the distinction is in the find context: objects are no longer deposited in private burials but rather they are dedicated at sanctuaries, presumably for the whole community to see. This patterning is consistent with material wealth in general at this time, but again suggests that these objects played a role greater than mere trinkets.

Chapter three breaks with the chronological scheme and considers the repurposing of prehistoric architecture. This can be through the modification of earlier buildings, or through the memories attached to a given prehistoric structure (e.g., the walls of Mycenae). This chapter maps the ways in which landscape influenced ancient Greek identity. This concerns both prehistoric landscapes that survived the collapse of Mycenaean civilization – the visible ruins dotting the landscape – as well as those landscapes constructed at a later period in order to manufacture a sacred, 'ancient' landscape.

Chapter four presents a case study examining Athens. Athens preserves the best case of archaeological evidence matched with literary sources. On account of this it is possible to demonstrate that prehistoric objects and architecture played a prominent role

in the development of Athenian identity. In particular it examines the political changes of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. and considers the role that Mycenaean objects and imagery played in the formation of the Athenian *polis*, with particular reference to contemporary architecture as well as historical sources.

Chapter 1 – Flames from Embers

Introduction

The Greeks' interaction with their ancestral past has roots extending back to the Late Bronze Age, if not earlier.[20] This chapter examines the formative role of the collapse of the Mycenaean place-system, around 1200 B.C.E., on later Greek practice. Gradually centers ceased to focus on individual families and emerging urban centers developed distinct social identities, ones which were collective, a key characteristic of the emerging *polis*, or city-state.

The emergence of ancestral awareness and its appearance in the archaeological record of Late Bronze Age (1600-1200 B.C.E.) Greece is considered. In particular, the aftermath of the palatial destructions is examined to show that, rather than breaking sharply from previous palatial traditions, the post-palatial inhabitants of Mycenaean centers such as Tiryns, were actively engaging with the physical remains left by their predecessors to legitimize their own social position. This chapter continues by examining the rise of new elites during the period 1000 B.C.E. – 700 B.C.E., as well as considering the transition from generic tomb cult to specific hero cult. The chapter concludes with the unusual practice of bone transferrals, which I argue is a key feature in the formation of new group identities in early Greece.

Palatial Practice

By 1250 B.C.E., Mycenaean culture dominated mainland Greece, Crete, the Dodecanese and parts of coastal Anatolia (Figure 1). In addition, there is strong evidence to suggest that Mycenaeans also had a substantial presence on Cyprus, even if it never fell completely within the Mycenaean sphere of cultural influence.[21] Studies of Mycenaean trade demonstrate that they operated within a trade network that included the entire Eastern Mediterranean: Mycenaean pottery has been found at numerous sites in

[20] Aravantinos and Psaraki (2012) have recently highlighted the practice of erecting tumuli over domestic spaces in the Early Helladic period. A similar practice has also been noted in the Argolid with the erection of a tumulus over the ruins of the so-called 'House of the Tiles,' also in the Early Helladic period (Caskey 1956, 165).

[21] Steel 1998.

southern Italy, Egypt, and the Levant, sometimes in local fabrics and quantities great enough to suggest the presence of Mycenaean craftspeople operating abroad, as well as the local imitation of Mycenaean ceramics.[22]

The Mycenaean palace system dominated these regions until 1200 B.C.E., when abrupt destructions occurred at important palatial centers across Greece. Tiryns, Thebes, Pylos, and Mycenae all exhibit the tell-tale signs of devastation: massive conflagrations perhaps caused by human agents, but some of which could also be attributed to earthquakes.[23] The destructions preserved, in many cases, palace complexes with sophisticated architecture and decoration. They also preserved clay tablets written in the Linear B script, which is the earliest form of written Greek. The tablets primarily refer to economic activity, but they also provide information on the social organization and religion of the people of Late Bronze Age Greece, the Mycenaeans.

That the Mycenaeans focused attention on their ancestors has long been noted in Bronze Age studies.[24] Grave Circle A at Mycenae, a Middle Helladic III to Late Helladic I burial plot later incorporated inside the Late Helladic citadel walls centuries after the final burial, has been a focus of Mycenaean research since Heinrich Schliemann's work in the 1870s (Figure 2).[25] In particular, the date of construction for the ring of orthostate blocks that encircle and monumentalize Grave Circle A has been debated.[26] Schliemann, in his original publication suggested that the practice of marking out ancestral graves foreshadows the establishment of heroic burials in the agora of a *polis*.[27] Although this hypothesis has been derided because of anachronisms with the idea of a Greek agora and *polis* at Mycenae, recent scholarship has begun to move closer to Schliemann's original

[22] Taylour 1958; van Wijngaarden 2003; 2008.

[23] The causes of the end of the Bronze Age is major point of contention in Mycenaean studies. Drews (1993) provides a thorough summary of the arguments.

[24] What follows here is only the barest summary. For a good starting point, see Gallou 2005. S. Morris (1992, 209) suggests that the Mycenaean cult of the dead is a distinguishing feature from the Minoan culture of Crete, making it a truly Greek practice.

[25] This includes the very first excavations at Mycenae, undertaken by Schliemann (1880). More recent consideration has been given to this matter by Gates (1985), Graziado (1991) and Button (2007).

[26] Gates (1985) provides an in depth analysis of the taphonomy of the graves in an attempt to sort out the stratigraphy that was all but ignored by Schliemann.

[27] 1880, 126-129.

idea that Grave Circle A's elaboration served to heroize deceased ancestors. Also of contention among scholars is the date of an altar above Grave IV of Grave Circle A. Although some have suggested that this is a relatively late feature, dating from the Classical or Hellenistic period, recent work provides good reason to believe that this altar was built in the Bronze Age.[28] This further suggests direct ancestor veneration within the Grave Circle, although this altar likely went out of use following the palatial destructions in LHIIIB.[29] As such, the dedication of Grave Circle A as a monument to memory is all but certain.[30] Indeed, Strøm, reviewing the work of Schliemann and Keramopoullos that focused on Grave Circle A, came to the conclusion that there was clear evidence for Bronze Age cultic activity in a cavity located between Graves I and IV, suggesting a long-standing interest in those buried within the circle.[31] Furthermore, van Leuven went so far as to suggest that the entire Temple Complex, a Mycenaean cult center located adjacent to Grave Circle A, may have been associated with a cult of the dead buried within Grave Circle A. He cited the chthonic nature of the ceramic figures found there: snakes and anthropomorphic figures he compared to the later Greek Furies, spirits of the dead.[32] Although Schliemann would have the hero cult at Grave Circle A continue in an unbroken line through the Dark Ages, it is more likely that formalized hero cult emerged sometime between the 10th and eighth centuries B.C.E.[33] Lupack suggests that at Pylos there was an institutionalized cult to the ancestral wanax (the highest ranking individual in the palatial hierarchy). This figure would have been seen as a mythical dynastic founder, supporting the assertion that the Mycenaean wanakes legitimized their right to rule through the deification of some legendary or semi-legendary founding figure.[34] Similar evidence for just such a practice can be found at Mycenae, with the votive deposit

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[28] Albeit the LH III period refurbishing of Grave Circle A, rather than the initial burial in LH I (Gallou 2005, 22-24). For the original publication of the altar, see Schliemann 1880, 212-213, Plan F.

[29] Gates 1985, 268.

[30] See Button 2007.

[31] 1983. Reviewing Schliemann (1880) and Keramopoullos (1918).

[32] 1989.

[33] See Antonaccio 1995, 254.

[34] *In press*. Even the word wanax may demonstrate ancestral links. Palaima (2006) makes a compelling argument for the connection of wanax with 'birth/generation,' as demonstrated in other Indo-European words for ruler. An alternate view, most recently advanced by Willms (2010) suggests 'leader in victory.'

and the altar above Grave IV located within Grave Circle A.[35] At Pylos again, the reference in Linear B documents to an individual *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, perhaps related to the later Greek τρις ἥρωας or 'thrice hero,' appears in lists of deities and is given offerings equal to the gods. This again suggests some sort of institutionalized ancestor worship sanctioned by the palace.[36] Further evidence for the Mycenaean use of the past for the legitimization of power has been identified by Burke in the Mycenaean appropriation of Minoan symbols of power, most notably in the iconography of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus on Crete.[37] In all cases, however, the link established with the past is meant to connect the contemporary rulers with a former elite, whether they were truly ancestral or not.

Ruins Rebuilt

The palatial destructions led to profound social restructuring: in the immediate aftermath there is rebuilding around Mycenaean centers, but the palatial structures are largely left in ruin. One striking exception to this is at Tiryns, where an LH IIIC megaron, known as Building T, is constructed neatly within the ruins of the LH IIIB megaron that preceded it (Figure 3). The new structure, however, is much narrower than the old, most likely limited by the timber that was used for the reconstruction project. Indeed, megara of a similar design, long and narrow, have also been convincingly attested at Midea and Dimini, although these sites were never the dominant powers in their respective regions.[38] The structures likely indicate that the wanax attested to in the LH IIIB texts was either replaced or reinstated in LH IIIC, but in a greatly diminished role. Despite the destructions, habitation continued at almost all of the major palatial centers and, indeed, some parts of Greece experience a boon in both population and standards of living during the LH IIIC, or post-palatial period.[39] The recent confirmation of the LH IIIC date of

[35] Keramopoullos 1918.

[36] For the Greek equivalent of *ti-ri-se-ro-e* see Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 222-4) and Vermeule (1974, 63-64).

[37] Burke 2005; 2008, 80.

[38] The megaron of Midea has been fully published in two volumes by Walberg (2007). The architectural remains at Dimini have only been partially published, but preliminary reports have been provided by Adrimi-Sismani (2003; 2004/5; 2006).

[39] Thomatos (2006) discusses the renewal evident in the LH IIIC Middle period.

Building T at Tiryns highlights the resumption of practices imitative of former elites.[40] This includes the practice of using LH IIIB pottery and other items in feasting events during the LH IIIC period.[41] The smaller size of Building T, as well as the appearance of similar structures outside the citadel walls, suggests that rather than a consolidated rule under a single individual or family, multiple families were now vying for power.[42] Such a hypothesis seems to be supported by the Tiryns Treasure, a curious mixture of LH IIIC material and earlier insignia, such as a large LH IIIA gold signet ring among other heirlooms.[43] Such a horde may have been used by elites to legitimize their rule by linking themselves with previous elite families. Ultimately, this strategy may have resulted in the demise of these newly established elite families, as those subjected to their rule became increasingly disillusioned with the legitimacy of said families. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that steps towards the abandonment of the wanax-ideology were already well underway elsewhere. Settlements such as Lefkandi on Euboea have produced abundant evidence for a thriving LH IIIC community, with two story houses laid out on a neat grid, yet no convincing evidence for a megaron has been found,[44] perhaps indicating that this LH IIIC community operated under a different political framework.[45]

Maran has recently published extensively on the relationship between Building T at Tiryns and its predecessor.[46] His argument, that there is ideological discontinuity between the two as evidenced by the differences between the megara (no hearth, long and

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[40] Initially, Building T was thought to be an 8th century structure (see Frickenhaus 1912; Wright 1982). Blegen (1921, 130-134), followed by Älin (1963, 33-34), were the first to suggest that a LH IIIC date may actually fit the archaeological evidence better. Archaeological excavations undertaken by Maran (2000; 2001) have since verified Blegan and Alin's suggestion of an LH IIIC dating. It is worth pointing out however that structurally, Building T does show much closer affinities to architecture of the 8th and 7th centuries than the 13th century, perhaps indicating the more dramatic nature of the former transition (See Wright 1982, 196-197).

[41] See Stockhammer 2007, 302-307; 2009, 165-169.

[42] Maran 2006a.

[43] See Aravantinopoulos (1915) and Karo (1930).

[44] For the post-palatial remains excavated by the British School from 1964-1966, see the recently published volume, edited by Evely (2006). For recent claims of a LH IIIC megaron with a Protogeometric successor, see reports on the renewed excavations undertaken by Lemos (2007; 2008; 2009).

[45] Thomatos 2006, 258, citing Lemos 2002, 218.

[46] Maran 2006a; 2006b; 2011; Maran and Stavrianopoulou 2007.

narrow, no frescoes, and no surrounding complex of structures) is strong. He suggests that the new elites, attempting to legitimize their claim to rule, built Building T among the ruins of the former megaron to give the impression of continuity, where in reality memory of actual elite practice had been lost. Despite the ultimate failure of this tactic and the gradual decline of Tiryns, it is worth noting that this new building seems at some point in the Late Geometric or Early Archaic period (700 – 600 B.C.E.) to have been converted into a temple. This is evidenced by a stray Doric capital, ritual masks, and votives found in the early excavations and the lack of any foundations later than Building T with which to associate them.[47] Such a transition is of incredible importance because it represents a shift in how members of the society were constructing their group identity. Rather than gathering at the megaron for large feasting celebrations, where the wanax was in a position to dictate the social narrative,[48] the megaron became disassociated with a particular ruler, and instead becomes the locus of early Greek cult.

From the study of the Linear B tablets, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that there was a cult of the dead wanax,[49] emphasizing the unbroken lineage of the existing wanax. Control over the seat of power was achieved through legitimization, which was demonstrated through the manipulation of material objects.[50] Such a strategy was necessitated by the political instability of the time, with multiple families vying for control, rather than a stable and acknowledged lineage. The most obvious material remains with which to establish legitimacy would have been items associated with the previous rulers and thus, in the Tiryns Treasure, we find the large signet ring that undoubtedly was associated with the ruling elite, if not a former wanax himself. The architectural transition from megaron to temple likely coincides with the gradual

[47] Frickenhaus (1912) has published the archaeological evidence for the early Greek cult activity at Tiryns.

[48] It is interesting to note the prominence of the lyre player fresco in the Throne Room at Pylos. The location of the lyre-player may suggest a relationship between ruler and bard that would have been mutually beneficial to both. Certainly the portrayal of the relationship between Alcinous and Demodocus (esp. *Od.* 8.256-399) suggests a similar practice. By developing relations with bards, the wanax would have been in a position to influence if not directly control the formation of said narratives. Especially in preliterate societies, bards tend to be the preservers of historical narratives, although they have may play an important role even after the introduction of written texts. Foley (2002) has recently considered the transmission and reception of oral histories across several cultures, including the ancient Greeks.

[49] See above, no. 35.

[50] Maran 2012, in particular 123-125.

abandonment of the site, as the population became more dispersed. It is probable that the activities that took place in Building T were ritual in nature and it is even possible that as early as its reconstruction in the 12th century B.C.E. it was no longer an administrative structure but solely a ritual one,[51] in which case it would seem to be Greece's first free standing monumental temple. Whether the structure was already a temple is debatable, but it is certain that Tiryns marks the beginnings of an innovative Greek ideology. I. Morris identifies a similar change taking place in Attic burials around 1100-1050 B.C., when competition seems to increase and formal cemeteries emerge reserved solely for an elite class.[52] The transition that took place at Tiryns therefore marks the beginning of a broader pattern that was happening across Greece and truly came to dominate the politics of power until the eighth century B.C.E. An ideology that resulted in an agonistic political landscape dominated by a few powerful elite families, who relied on prehistoric objects, powerful links between the past and the present, to legitimize their rule.

The Dark before the Dawn

For reasons still not fully understood, the LH IIIC period was to be the final florescence of Mycenaean culture. By 1050 B.C.E., sites throughout Greece are thoroughly depopulated and in most cases completely abandoned.[53] Explanations for these abandonments cite increased warfare, famine, earthquakes, and population migrations.[54] In all likelihood, however, it was a combination of multiple factors, including the restructuring of major trade networks throughout the eastern Mediterranean that delivered the final blow. As families returned to subsistence-based agriculture to earn a living, the complex social institutions epitomized by the palatial system were largely abandoned.[55] Religion was an exception to this pattern. Evidence for at least some form

[51] This is supported by the fact that auxiliary structures of the LH IIIB palace were never rebuilt, only the main hall. For the ritual nature of the megaron already in the LH IIIB period see Rehak (1995) and Lupack (2010).

[52] 1987, 173; also 94-96. I. Morris' casual reference (1987, 173) to changing ideologies supports the hypothesis that similar changes were occurring throughout Greece.

[53] Snodgrass 1971, 364-367; Morris 2004, 711.

[54] For a good summary of the prevailing theories see Drews (1993) and Middleton (2010).

[55] Snodgrass (1971, 193-209) and Jameson *et al.* (1994, 291) have proposed an extreme view, suggesting a pastoralist society. The pastoralist theory of Snodgrass has been challenged by Cherry (1988) and Morgan (2009). Antonnacio (1995: 254-256) and Dickinson (2006, 98-104) provide a good middle-ground,

of continuity is seen in the names of deities preserved in the Linear B texts from the LH IIIB period, some of whom correlate with the later Greek pantheon, including Zeus, Poseidon, Hera and Dionysos.[56] In addition, it is sites of ritual activity that preserve the strongest evidence for continuous use through the following Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods.[57] In fact, these loci of ritual focus may have been the only defined places of congregation known to an otherwise thinly dispersed culture. Such places would have played a crucial role, not only in the preservation of memory, but also as places where social memory was enacted to construct group identities. Such a hypothesis helps to explain the rapid elaboration of these liminal sites in the ninth and eighth centuries,[58] well before comparable architecture was built in burgeoning urban centers.

Accompanying the changes in social organization, around 1000 B.C.E. a new phase of material culture, known as the Protogeometric style, begins in Greece.[59] The fifty years or so preceding this had witnessed the degeneration of the Mycenaean forms and motifs found on ceramics of the Late Helladic IIIC Late period, which was known as the Submycenaean phase by many scholars.[60] This relatively brief lapse of social

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suggesting small-scale domestic production. Certainly social complexity was much lower than in the preceeding Mycenaean period. The Mycenaean official known as the *qa-si-re-u* has been linked with the later Greek βασιλευς and while tempting, this can again be explained as a legitimizing title, and so is not in itself proof of continuity.

[56] Stahl (2008) discusses the various interrelations between religious continuity and memory in Ghana. She determines that continuity of religion may persist even with the arrival of a new people. Similarly, Burke (2005) sees Minoan religious practices continuing after the Mycenaean conquest of Crete. For the interpretation of the Linear B texts, see Gérard-Rousseau 1968. Additional members of the pantheon may also appear, including Apollo (Smintheus), Hermes, Ares (Euanalios), and Athena.

[57] The strongest claims center around the Amyklaion in Laconia (Coulson 1985; Pettersson 1992; Demakopoulou 1982; 2009), Kalapodi in Phokis (Felsch 2007; New excavations resumed in 2004 and, although only available through annual reports, seem to confirm the continuity of occupation [Niemeier 2008, 2009]) and Thermon in Aetolia (Wardle and Wardle 2003). For a literary interpretation of religious continuity Nilsson (1932) remains the most comprehensive account. More recently Palaima (2009) has reopened this discourse.

[58] de Polignac 1995 and Morgan 1991; 2003.

[59] Desborough (1972, 343 n.5) suggests a date of 1050 B.C.E., which was followed by I. Morris (1987, 11). More recently, Lemos (2002, 26) has presented a revised chronology that moves the transition to Protogeometric from Submycenaean at 1020 B.C.E. and the fully developed style at 1000 B.C.E.

[60] The existence of the Submycenaean period as a distinct phase is debated. It is possible that the dying trend of Mycenaean motifs overlapped with the new Protogeometric style. For current dating, see Papodopoulos *et al.* 2011. Even with the most generous dates give a span of less than 50 years for this ceramic phase. Lemos (2002: 7-8) argues that stratified deposits from Tiryns, Asine, Mycenae and Kalapodi support the

cohesion is thought to have been accompanied by a precipitous population decrease,[61] the final blow to the struggling Mycenaean settlements of Greece. The most often cited evidence for this decline is the absence of settlements from 1050 – 950 B.C, except for a few very well-known sites such as Lefkandi on Euboea and Zagora on Andros.[62] Overall, the evidence suggests that social strains, possibly accentuated by increased warfare, population migrations, lack of access to raw materials, and even famine, finally resulted in the total collapse of political hierarchies. The people of Greece dispersed, some undoubtedly seeking out prospects of a better life elsewhere, but most remaining in Greece, no longer concentrated around palatial centers but dispersed across the landscape.

Pottery of the Protogeometric style may indicate a new period of settled communities because the ceramic technologies are sophisticated enough to warrant the specialized craftsmen.[63] Shortly after the appearance of the Protogeometric style, other changes begin to take place as well. The most notable is the widespread adoption of iron smelting, a discovery which, although predating the utter collapse of 1100 – 1050 B.C.E., nonetheless was not fully adopted until more peaceful conditions developed to favour its transmission and widespread adaptation.[64] By 1000 B.C.E., the process of iron smelting can be discerned on Crete, in Attica, on Euboea, and even up north to Thessaly.[65] Although in no way conclusive, this is highly suggestive that to some degree, routes of

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existence of a distinct ceramic phase. In reality, the actual picture may be a combination of the two, with co-existing Protogemetric and Submycenaean pottery at sites where Protogeometric developed more quickly and a more distinct Submycenaean phase where it took longer for Protogeometric to appear.

[61] Snodgrass 1971, 364-367; Morris 2004, 711.

[62] Although this logic is somewhat circular, the continuing paucity of evidence supports the dispersal of the population, both from urban centers and from Greece as a whole. Evidence from Cyprus (Iacovou 1998; Voskos and Knapp 2008) and the Levant (Dothan and Dothan 1992; Yasar-Landau 2010) support the idea of population movement coinciding with the LH IIIC period.

[63] Most notable among the features of Protogeometric pottery is the introduction of the fast wheel and high firing temperatures, resulting in a much finer product than the Submycenaean wares, especially in the Attic sequence (Snodgrass 1971, 45; Lemos 2002, 199).

[64] The development of iron working in Late Bronze Age Anatolia has been well established (Muhly *et al.* 1985; Yalçin 1999). The transmission of the technology to the Aegean is disputed. Sheratt (1994) argues that LH IIIC finds originate from Cyprus rather than the mainland, however Muhly *et al.* (1985, 77-79) cite evidence for local production at Tiryns as early as LH $IIIB_2$. In either case, iron objects remained limited to a small range of forms in the LH IIIC period, likely as a result of their elite commoditization (Dickinson 2006, 146-147).

[65] Dickinson 2006, 148-149.

communication were beginning to reopen, at least at an interregional, if not international level. Every night has its dawn however, and in Greece, this seems to have been the settlement of Lefkandi on the island of Euboea.

Lefkandi[66]

Population declines bottom out sometime around 1050 – 1000 B.C.E. Just how extreme the depopulation of the mainland was is a matter of some debate.[67] Two points are clear in the archaeological record, however: there was a decline in population and many urban settlements were abandoned.[68] The population of Greece is difficult to determine outside of urban settlements, as archaeological evidence is dispersed throughout the landscape. Even further complication is introduced if semi-nomadic subsistence herding is adopted as a model. These activities could prove almost invisible in the archaeological record, yet could still have maintained significant populations.[69] In any event, it is evident that populations began to stabilize, and in all likelihood they begin to grow around 1000 – 950 B.C.E. During this period, we see the return of monumental architecture in Greece, at Lefkandi on the island of Euboea.[70]

At Lefkandi, in approximately 1000 B.C.E., a man and a woman were buried within the remains of a monumental apsidal structure, on top of which was erected a large

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[66] Lefkandi has been excavated by the British School since 1964. Rescue operations at the heröon took place in 1981-1983. Excavations of tombs have been necessitated by construction, most recently in 1994. New excavations occurred at the site of the prehistoric tell from 2003 to 2008. The results have been published in five major works: Lefkandi I (Popham *et al*. 1980), Lefkandi II.1 (Catling and Lemos 1991), Lefkandi II.2 (Popham *et al*. 1993), Lefkandi III (Popham and Lemos 1996), and Lefkandi IV (Evely 2006).

[67] For the minimalist view, see Morgan 2009, esp. 49 & 52.

[68] The evidence varies from region to region, but the Argolid and Messenia seem to have been particularly devastated. Foley (1988, esp. Tab. 2) demonstrates the precipitous fall in habited settlements in the Argolid during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. Harrison and Spencer write that "the effects on Messenia of the destruction of the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos were immense (1998, 148)." They go on to note that while 240 settlements were settled in LH III period, fewer than two dozen are documented in the following Dark Ages.

[69] For the pastoralist debate, see no. 56. On the archaeological invisibility of subsistence agriculture/pastorialism, see Chang and Koster 1986; Forbes 1995.

[70] The precise character of the first monumental architecture is as yet opaque. Mazarakis Ainian's attempt (1997) to sort through the complexities of identifying the character of early structures is a good example of the obstacles that inhibit any archaeologist.

earthen tumulus (Figure 4).[71] The grave goods buried alongside them highlight the resurgent nature of this period. Most important was the urn chosen to hold the cremated remains of the man: a bronze krater. Although crushed by the weight of the soil thrown onto the burial, the bronze vessel has been admirably restored (Figure 5). The form and style of the vessel, however, still present a puzzle. Unlike the Protogeometric style, which peaks at this time, this urn was decorated with naturalistic friezes of recumbent ibexes and floral motifs, a style more consistent with the height of Late Helladic art, LH IIIA – LH IIIB (1450 – 1200 B.C.E.).[72] Thus, this object, carefully selected to serve the most important role of containing the ashes of the deceased, has a biography extending back into the Bronze Age. As Lemos points out, it is difficult to deny the significance of this object given that the female inhumed beside the urn cremation was also buried with an heirloom amulet – a golden bead in a unique style.[73] How the individuals buried within the tumulus chanced upon these items is an impossible question to answer, although two probable scenarios can be envisioned: the man may have received the item as an heirloom, either handed down through his own family, or as a gift of guest-friendship handed down through another family. Such a suggestion relies heavily on the customs indicated by the poetry of Homer some two hundred years later. Using Homeric culture to explain Early Iron Age Greek practice, however, it is not outside the realm of possibility given the early date ascribed to the composition of these texts although this should be practiced with caution.[74] The second scenario that might be envisioned is the discovery of an ancient tomb from which the bronze was taken. The latter, while possible, seems less probable given the reverence that tombs seem to have been shown at this time. In either what was clearly most valuable about the item was its antiquity. As

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[71] The publication of the heröon and its burials is available as *Lefkandi II*.1 (Catling and Lemos 1991) and *Lefkandi II*.2 (Popham *et al*. 1993). For a discussion of the use of this structure prior to its burial, see Pakkanen and Pakkanen 2000.

[72] Popham *et al*. 1993, 87.

[73] According to Lemos (2002, 131-132), the amulet finds its closest parallels with examples from the Near East dating from 1700 – 1600 B.C.E. Although it is possible that this item was imported in the Protogeometric period, given the coincidence with the bronze urn Lemos proposes, correctly in my opinion, that the object is likely a venerated heirloom. The object shows signs of damage in antiquity, further emphasizing its continuing use.

[74] Finley (1978) has been the most ardent supporter of the Homeric corpus as a source for Iron Age Greece. Most scholars today see the texts as a blend of periods.

mentioned above, the naturalistic frieze on the vessel's rim was in stark contrast to the geometric motifs that dominated contemporary ceramics and metalwork. This is a clear indication of a profound desire on the part of re-emergent elites to connect with their Late Helladic predecessors. In a strategy reminiscent of their Mycenaean ancestors some two hundred years earlier, the past proved a powerful legitimizer of contemporary politics. Ultimately, the practice observed in this single burial is indicative of the ideology of power that is well documented archaeologically during the next two hundred years.

The double burial in the heröon at Lefkandi could, by itself, be easily explained as a case of heirlooms held over from the Bronze Age. It might be said that the heröon burials were only a century or so removed from the latest Mycenaean burials, and it should not be forgotten that the objects they contained were deposited two to four hundred years after their respective manufacture. Indeed, Lemos seems to suggest just this when she says that "a particularly important consideration may be the sacrifice of heirlooms, which may previously have signified continuity of rule. This abnormal destruction, however, should be seen as marking a new start."[75]

In what follows, I hope to refute this claim by demonstrating that the heröon burial, far from being an aberration, is actually a remarkably consistent act of constructing social identity. Indeed, this method of constructing identity, through the use of ancient objects to legitimize the current ruler, has already been shown to extend back in time, at least to the beginning of the LH IIIC period, if not to the very beginnings of the Mycenaean palatial period, around 1450 B.C.E.

A careful examination of the Lefkandi cemeteries reveals that it was not just the heröon burial that contained Late Helladic objects. One grave, also Protogeometric in date, contained a single bronze piece of scale armour,[76] a type of armour that became popular in the LH IIIC period on the mainland.[77] The burial of a single piece may suggest that it was repurposed as a pendent or amulet worn by the deceased in day to day life. A Middle Protogeometric tomb (T12B) contained two glass paste seals, which the

[75] 2002, 168.

[76] Popham *et al.* 1980, 251.

[77] Finds of scale armour have come from Tiryns and Mycenae, see Maran 2004, 18-24.

excavators concluded could only have been manufactured in the LH IIIA period, some 500 years beforehand. According to the excavators, these objects were "probably cherished for their material as well as their venerability."[78]

This raises an interesting question; was it the material or the object itself that was valued? The fact that these seals were not re-cut suggests that it was not just the material that mattered to the ancient inhabitants of Lefkandi.[79] When Snodgrass was confronted by the corpus of Late Helladic weapons found in Protogeometric and Geometric tombs, it was only natural that he concluded that there must have been a bronze shortage in the Early Iron Age.[80] Such a shortage would seem to fit well with the archaeological evidence for the collapse of long-distance trade networks, the appearance of iron working, and the apparent recycling of Bronze Age weapons. Yet if the technology for working iron was in place, why did they not melt down the bronze weapons and forge new ones, as iron blades are often found in the same tombs as heavily worn bronze weapons.[81] A logical answer is that it was not the material that was being sought out, but the objects themselves.

In order to confirm such a hypothesis, we need only consider the corpus of objects that were buried which had no perceivable value on account of their material alone: in particular, the Bronze Age ceramics that have been found deposited in Protogeometric and Iron Age tombs. It is curious that Snodgrass himself was among the first to record this phenomenon, seemingly without realizing the contradiction they presented to his own argument for the re-use of bronze weapons. So we find that a piriform jar, clearly of LH IIIA date, in a burial at Serraglio on Kos (grave 10), alongside pottery of the

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[78] Popham *et al*. 1980, 225.

[79] For instance, consider the horde of lapis lazuli seals uncovered in Mycenaean Thebes (Porada 1981). Their broad range of dates and workshop find-spot indicates that they were destined to be reworked. Thus, the value of these objects was not in the foreign patterns of decoration on them, but the material itself. For a discussion of the reworking of foreign materials into meaningful symbols of power see Burns (2010, 131-137).

[80] 1971, 238, again 241.

[81] Snodgrass (1971, 241) does speculate that the Mycenaean style of manufacture may have persisted in some areas into the Early Iron Age as an explanation for the appearance of the bronzes in tombs. Ultimately, however, this does not fit with the well-worn nature of many of the bronzes.

Protogeometric period, assigned by Snodgrass to 950 B.C.E. (Figure 6). [82] Two other examples from the Dodecanese highlight the fact that this was a more widespread phenomenon. Lambrinoudakis identified a LH IIIC hydria that had clearly been deposited as a grave offering in association with a Geometric tomb, on Naxos (Figure 7).[83] In addition, a pithos burial, dated to the Late Geometric period, at Kameiros was found by Jacobi to contain a "coppetta su alto piedo,"[84] which upon examination in the Rhodes Museum is clearly a monochrome kylix of LH IIIC date. But the practice was not limited to the islands; a Geometric grave (grave 2) outside the Elektran Gate at Thebes also produced a repurposed Mycenaean vessel.[85] Even if we consider only the bronze finds, the aforementioned examples from Lefkandi of the bronze krater and scale armour suggest that bronze objects were not being melted down and re-forged even when material was available, but utilized by individuals and buried with them. This supports the idea that all these objects were deposited for a common reason: their perceived antiquity.

The Last of the Line

The culmination of the practice of placing prehistoric objects in graves seems to have occurred in the mid eighth century B.C.E. A tomb located just outside the west gate of Eretria provides evidence for the burial of an elite individual with elaborate grave goods including a bronze spear point, certainly Late Helladic in date (Figure 8).[86] This tomb was later monumentalized in the form of a heröon, and similar to Lefkandi, later burials were clustered nearby. The well-worn bronze spear point appears in contrast to the rich offerings of jewellery and gold found in the tomb, however, this single spear point was an heirloom over four hundred years old by the time of its deposition and therefore an equally cherished possession. At this point, it seems almost inconceivable to

[82] *Ibid*. 75, Fig. 34. The original publication of the vessel can be found in Morricone 1982.

[83] 1988, 235. The placement of this vase, on top of the geometric grave, suggested to the excavator that it had been placed there as a *sema*. As such, it would have been a stark contrast to other Geometric vases used in the cemetery, according prestige upon the individual buried within.

[84] Jacopi 1932/33, 32-34.

[85] Keramopoullos 1917, 25.

[86] Bérard 1970, 15-17.

envision the item as having been handed down through a single family continuously. If it had been, it must have been a truly exceptional item. The uniqueness of this item has even suggested that by this time the spear point was repurposed as part of a sceptre, instead of a weapon.[87] The late date of the spear's interment is of great significance, because it ties in closely with the rise of the Greek sanctuaries, and their growing significance within the Greek world. While it is tempting to attribute the cessation of this practice with a growing paucity of prehistoric objects since elites were constantly burying them in the ground, this is not borne out by the archaeological evidence. In fact the archaeological evidence suggests that the practice did in fact continue; however, the objects were no longer being deposited in tombs, but rather in the sanctuaries themselves. On account of this, a closer examination of the sanctuaries and their role in the construction of group identities is necessary to connect the ancient fetish with their prehistoric past.[88]

Tomb Cult and the Emergence of Heroes

Antonaccio has made a clear distinction between tomb cult and hero cult.[89] The first is seen as the sporadic deposition of offerings to an unnamed ancestor at ancient tombs. Hero cult is associated with offerings made to a specific individual, who is explicitly named or identified through explicit imagery, over a substantial period of time. Lefkandi is often claimed to be the first evidence for hero cult, since after the erection of the tumulus with the double burial around 1000 B.C.E., a cemetery arose around it which continued in use until the eighth century B.C.E.[90] As noted by other scholars, however, the burial at Lefkandi with its near contemporary fellow burials does not follow a pattern consistent with that seen in later hero worship.[91] In addition, hero cults during the

[87] This idea was elaborated on by Bérard (1970). The use of this object as a spear may not be entirely unconvincing given the Chaironaean worship of a spear taken from a tomb, as recorded by Pausanias (9.40.11). Also, the sceptre of Agamemnon may also reflect the custom of handing down ancient insignia through a line of descent, signifying their right to rule (*Il.* 2.100-108). A further example is the spear of Achilles, inherited from his father, whom had received it from Chiron the centaur (*Il.* 16.143-144).

[88] See chapter 2.

[89] 1993; 1994a.

[90] Popham *et al*. 1982: 169-174.

[91] Whitley 1976, 8-9; I. Morris 1988, 752.

historical period tended to be isolated from other burials, either on the margins of a city or in its very heart, the agora, a place where no citizen could ever be buried.[92] Rather than being demonstrative of hero cult, Lefkandi seems to indicate a greater importance being placed on ancestral lines. Later burials, likely of the same clan,[93] surrounded the grave in an attempt to emphasize their connection to the founder of their clan, whether real or imagined. This emphasis on descent should not surprise Greek scholars, since our earliest Greek sources place a heavy emphasis on descent. This is especially apparent in Hesiod's *Theogony*, an epic poem recounting the genealogy of the Greek gods. Thus, although we cannot make a definitive connection between these burials and the later hero cults, they clearly represent the first stage in the formation of a culture based around the veneration of ancestral deeds.[94]

For the earliest traces of tomb cult, we should look for later dedications deposited at Mycenaean cemeteries. There is only the barest evidence to suggest any intentional deposition of material in Bronze Age tombs during the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.E.[95] By the eighth century B.C.E., however, the situation dramatically changes, and what was formerly a sprinkling of offerings now becomes a torrent.[96] A great deal of scholarly debate occurred a generation ago concerning these offerings and their connection to the rise of Greek epic, since their deposition seemed to be chronologically linked to the composition of the first surviving works of epic.[97] The problem with this connection is the assumption that the genre of epic poetry was simultaneously created in conjunction with the first *written* epic. Recent scholarship has clearly indicated the opposite; namely that epic is originally an oral poetic form. Because it was originally an oral form, it is exceedingly difficult to date the origins of epic, other than to say that the poems predate

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[92] Antonaccio 1999, 110.

[93] Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 36.

[94] Antonaccio (1993, 47) emphasizes that early tomb cults, such as Lefkandi, were established by families claiming a direct genealogical connection to the deceased, whereas a genealogical connection was not important in the establishment of later hero cults.

[95] Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 18-19. I. Morris (1988, 753) highlights the fact that it is only around the eighth century that attention seems to turn to Mycenaean graves, prior to this cult seems to have conglomerated around the tombs of the recently deceased.

[96] I. Morris 1988, 755-756, see especially fig. 2.

[97] Coldstream 1976, 15-16.

the written versions of the eighth century B.C.E. Stories concerning the heroic exploits of ancestors must have existed well-back in the Protogeometric period, and it has even been suggested that the genre may derive its roots from oral poets of the Mycenaean period.[98] If this is the case, it is unlikely that the sudden spike in Greek tomb cult at this period is related to the appearance of written epic. But if there is no correlation, then why is there such a spike in interest? The answer likely lies in the sudden increase in Greek population, as well as the formation of early Greek *poleis*. Both these factors would have contributed to an increase in competition between the elites of Greece at this time for political influence and territory. One of the easiest ways in which elites could stake a claim to leadership or land, would be through their ancestral heritage.[99] Indeed, some of our earliest inscriptions record family lineages which span multiple generations, leading back to a heroic ancestor of the Mycenaean period.[100] Rather than taking these lineages at face value, we should assume that the processes at work were not dissimilar to those that drove families in the Roman Republic to connect their tribes to early Latin 'heroes,' men who could often trace their descent back to Trojan/Greek lineages.[101]

Considering the areas with the highest concentration of tomb cult, we find that there is often a strong correlation with places where population pressures are likely to have been the greatest. Attica, the Argolid, and parts of Messenia all exhibit the highest concentrations of offerings at Mycenaean graves.[102] Although Messenia experienced a sharp decline in population following the collapse of Bronze Age society,[103] Messenia must have recovered relatively quickly given that it was capable of fighting an extended war against Sparta in the late eighth century B.C.E. It has been suggested that the tomb cults in Messenia may be directly correlated to this conflict, as Messenians sought strength in their ancestral heroes.[104] I partially disagree with this view. Certainly, there

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[98] This has been discussed from a linguistic perspective by West (1988), while S. Morris (1989) has considered the narrative structure of Bronze Age wall paintings as indicative of early epic roots.

[99] Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 34-35.

[100] See Finkelberg (2010, 24-41) for a more complete discussion of Greek genealogical tradition.

[101] Wiseman 1976.

[102] Whitley 1988, 174.

[103] Luraghi 2008, 110-111.

[104] de Polignac 1995, 143.

is intensification in interest concerning ancestral cult, emphasized by the quantity of tomb offerings deposited at graves. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that this is state-organized or sponsored. Thus it still seems that the focus is on the individual, possibly including their entire clan as well, constructing an identity based on their ancestral heritage.[105] It is towards the end of this period, the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.E. that we find the first evidence for a shift in focus: from individualized tomb offerings to state-organized hero worship.[106]

Defining Edges[107]

The earliest archaeologically attested hero cult in Greece was established by Sparta at Therapne, a site known today as the Menelaion (Figure 9).[108] This cult was, according to the sources, dedicated to Menelaus and Helen, although it is not until the fifth century B.C.E. that we have our first evidence for dedications to Menelaus here. Founded in the late eighth century B.C.E., it is situated in the foothills of the Taygetos Mountains.[109] Sparta, having just defeated the Messenians in the first Messenian War needed to construct a civic identity for themselves that legitimized their unique position in the Greek world.[110] They were the first Greek state that we know of to institute a state-sponsored hero cult.[111] The choice of Helen was appropriate, since she was a daughter of Zeus, but she was also a member of the earliest Spartan dynasty: her mother, Leda, was

[105] See Mazarakis Ainian 1999.

[106] Antonaccio 1995, 254.

[107] This title and theme is indebted to Carson (1998). It is interesting to note how the 'edges' defined by Carson in the literature of the time (1998, esp. 53-61) are mirrored by the archaeological evidence for increasingly well-defined heroic figures in art and inscriptions.

[108] Antonaccio 1995, 155-166.

[109] Catling 1976.

[110] Antonaccio 1999, 120.

[111] Antonaccio 1993, 57. This is particularly interesting given that there is strong circumstantial evidence suggesting that tomb cult was limited under Spartan rule. The clearest example of this is the fact that Messenia exhibits very early tomb cult, but upon Sparta's annexation of its territory, such cult apparently ceases until the 4th century (Antonaccio 1994b, 98). It is interesting to note an absence of tomb cult in Laconia as well as Messenia after the eighth century B.C.E. This may suggest that state-sponsored hero cult quickly replaced tomb cult, an idea that fits well with the totalitarian nature of the Spartan state.

the wife of Tyndareus, an early Spartan king.[112] Whether or not Menelaus was initially worshipped here or only added later, he further cemented this connection, as he represented another of the early Spartan kings, although he only became king by marriage, rather than by blood, thus making Helen the 'king-maker' in their relationship and making her the more important in legitimizing Spartan claims to authority over the land. Such state-sponsored cult activity promoted the Spartan claim to their territory, since they linked themselves to their Mycenaean ancestors. This was further emphasized by establishing the cult at Therapne, where it is probable that Mycenaean ruins were at this time still visible above ground.[113] The significance of its location therefore lies in the fact that it was situated with respect to these ruins, being the nearest visible Mycenaean remains to Sparta, as well as a dominating point in the landscape, with a viewshed encompassing the entire Eurotas Valley.

Following the innovative stroke of propagandistic brilliance of the Menelaion, other Greek states soon sought to define their own positions through the foundation of similar hero cults in the landscape. The most demonstrative cases are undoubtedly found in the Argolid, where population growth was sparking an increase in conflicts between the various small proto-poleis that had been developing in the area. It is on account of this that we find the construction of the so-called Agamemnoneion on the bank of the Chaos River, about 1 km outside of Mycenae.[114] Such a cult would have been intended to emphasize the former lineage of Mycenae, even though it was now no more than a large village, in light of increasing pressure from Argos. The citizens of Mycenae had the added benefit of lying within the imposing cyclopean fortifications of their Mycenaean predecessors, as well as having impressive tomb facades such as the Tomb of Atreus, to highlight the validity of their claims.[115] Other cities, such as Argos, their greatest rival, lacked such visual proof of their heroic ancestry. Their solution, according to recent

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[112] Coldstream 1976, 15. The Dioskouroi may also have been worshipped here (Antonaccio 1993, 57; 1994b, 97). This again strongly suggests an association between Spartan kingship in particular and the site, on account of the parallel nature between the two brothers and the two kings.

[113] Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 15.

[114] *Ibid*. 1999, 15. For the original publication of finds from the Agamemnoneion, see Cook 1980, 30-68.

[115] I. Morris 1988, 750. At least some of the tholos tombs were apparently visible, as Pausanias makes clear reference to them in his visit to Mycenae (2.16.6).

studies, conceived at a fairly early date, was to construct a prehistoric past for themselves.[116] This again emphasizes how states could adopt the use of heroes to define their own position and furthermore, the increasing necessity of doing so. In fact, contemporary with the rise of epic poetry and tomb cult there had been significant developments in Greek art, particularly in the development of Greek vase painting.

The Ceramic Evidence

Following the collapse of Mycenaean society, pottery styles still retained a strong Mycenaean character for some time.[117] The exact length and geographical distribution of this style of pottery is highly debated, but it has been all lumped together, despite regional variation, under a single term: Submycenaean. The chief characteristics of this pottery are the continuity of simple Mycenaean motifs and Mycenaean forms, albeit with a decline in quality and quantity. Around 1000 B.C.E., changes begin to take place that would lay the foundation for pottery style in Greece for the next 300 years.[118] Perhaps most interestingly, however, is the early continuity seen in the forms of Protogeometric pottery and LH IIIC.[119] New vessel forms begin to appear, normally adaptations of old styles, possibly due to the adaptation of the fast wheel around this time. Some basic motifs reoccur, such as the simple wavy band, but as the style matured it moved towards more geometric motifs: banded zones of solid colour, as well as concentric circles. At first these circles are hand drawn in a manner consistent with LH IIIC pottery, but the invention of the compass brush revolutionized their execution shortly after.[120] It should

[116] The fabrication of the past, through landscape modification will be addressed in chapter 3.

[117] Snodgrass 1971, 28-43.

[118] *Ibid*., 43-55.

[119] Lemos (2002, 27-100) presents an excellent catalogue of Protogeometric ceramics, which thanks to extensive photographs, can be seen to have strong connections with the latest LH IIIC material (*contra* Desborough 1964). Although the implications of this are extensive, suffice it to say here that the use of forms from the LH IIIC may exhibit the same tendencies acknowledged by Maran (2011, 174 citing Stockhammer 2007; 2009), namely that imitation of pottery may represent a pattern of artistic stability during periods of political instability, thereby allowing for the construction of continuity where such continuity does not exist. Such an idea is readily acknowledged by Whitley to exist in the proceeding Geometric period: "...distinct preferences for particular vase shapes, particular decorative elements and a particular stylistic logic in the arrangement of motifs can clearly be seen, such that specific motifs, representational and non-representational alike, may be said to have a specific social reference..." [1991, 196])

[120] Snodgrass 1971, 53. More recently Papadopoulos *et al*. (1998) have engaged in experimental work to verify the existence of the multiple brush technique.

be noted that the style is almost without exception non-figural.[121] At about 900 B.C.E., a new ceramic style called Early Geometric can be defined. The geometric motifs have been contained in panels either on the neck or shoulder of the vessel, while the remainder is covered in a solid fill.[122] Gradually, this gives way to Middle Geometric, where horizontal bands of purely geometric motifs become favoured, including some stylized geometrical representations of animals.

Arguably the most important developments take place with the advent of the Late Geometric style around 770 B.C.E.,[123] whereupon figural depictions of humans reappear for the first time since the Late Bronze Age. These depictions quickly coalesce into two groups: scenes of deceased family member being mourned and scenes that seem to allude to epic themes.[124] At this stage there is no distinct identification of the hero on the vase and often the hero seems intentionally ambiguous.[125] This parallels what is happening in early tomb cult: offerings left at tombs do not appear to be dedicated to any particular hero, but rather they are made to create a link between heroic ancestors and specific individuals or clans. The imagery is particularly appropriate for Late Geometric vases, since many of the preserved examples of figural design were intended as sanctuary dedications or grave markers, where they would have highlighted the heroic ancestry of the deceased or dedicator.[126] Again, the focus remains on the individual rather than on any communally-constructed narrative. By the seventh century B.C.E. however, changes in ceramic motifs resulted in the first identifiable heroes, again paralleling the transition during the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.E. from private tomb cult to public hero cult.

The most prominent examples of the figural ceramic art from this period include the Mykonos Vase (670 B.C.E.), the Eleusis Amphora (650 B.C.E.), and the Tiryns Shield (seventh century B.C.E.). It is interesting to note that the Tiryns Shield, as well as

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[121] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) has considered some of the few very early examples of pictoral painting.

[122] Coldstream 1977, 25.

[123] *Ibid*., 109; Schäfer 1983; Langdon 2006.

[124] The heroic nature of chariot scenes has been emphasized, while abduction scenes have been equated with the rape of Helen. See S. Langdon 2006, 205-215.

[125] Snodgrass 1980, 52; Boardman 1983, 52-53; Langdon 1988.

[126] Too often, the context of Geometric vases has been lost. Langdon (2001) has attempted to react against this by considering the biographies of these vessels in order to glean greater meaning from their context.

relief pithoi like the Mykonos Vase can be traced to ritual contexts,[127] creating a connection between sites of ritual activity and the stories associated with heroes.[128] The Eleusis Amphora demonstrates that monumental vases were no longer being used as *semata*, above ground burial-markers meant to broadcast the status of the individual buried beneath it, but instead it was buried below ground and contained the remains of the individual. Thus, the venue of competition between families that had encouraged this practice seems to have shifted away from broadcasting their family ancestors, and turned towards acknowledging membership within a particular group and thereby constructing collective identities.[129]

Expanding Horizons

The development of hero cult in these early poleis can be studied in a more isolated context by considering the foundation of virgin colonies. Beginning in the eighth century B.C.E., and continuing well into the fourth century B.C.E., Greek *poleis* sent out numerous colonizing expeditions. The sequence of operations carried out in the foundation of a colony was well established by the later part of the seventh century B.C.E. and we can see reflections of it in Homer's *Odyssey*.[130] One of the characteristic features in this sequence of operations was the establishment of a hero cult, a task of such importance that space was specifically set aside for the purpose of establishing a cult at Megara Hyblaea even though a specific hero had not yet been chosen.[131] The importance of choosing a hero is emphasized in Greek literary sources, since this is a task normally

[127]Relief pithoi have been found in Boeotia, Attica, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and on Crete (Schäfer 1957; Caskey 1976). There primary use seems to have been as storage containers, both in domestic and religious structures (Ebbinghaus 2005). It is interesting to note that a number of the ones found in domestic contexts may have connections to andreia, and thus may still have performed a ritual function during banqueting. Such banqueting may have played an important role in the formation of social identities. Frequently, relief pithoi are also found in secondary contexts as coffins. The Tiryns shield (described by Lorimer 1947, 133-138) comes from the Late Geometric votive deposit (Müller and Sulze 1930, 214; Jantzen 1975, 97-99 and 159-161) that contained among other things the ritual masks displayed today in the Nauphlion Museum.

[128] It is interesting to note that Pausanias (10.25.1) states that the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi was used 'in days of old' (τὸ ἀρξαῖον) for speaking of 'serious matters' (τά σπουδαιότερα) and 'all sorts of legendary stories' (ὁπόσα μυθώδη). There seems to be an early co-incidence between ritual and political elites, as exemplified by the so-called hearth-temple on Crete (Most recently, Prent 2007).

[129] Osbourne 1989, 320-321.

[130] *Od*. 6.7-11.

[131] Antonaccio 1999, 119.

requiring an oracle from Delphi to point them in the right direction. Thus, when the Athenian Hagnon was founding the colony of Amphipolis on the Styrmon River, he chose the hero for the new based on an oracle the Athenians had received.[132] The choice of hero could not have been more appropriate, however, since Rhesus, whose bones were brought back from Troy for the purpose of founding the colony, was the heroic Thracian king who died upon his arrival in Troy.[133] According to a play based on his life attributed to Euripides (possibly written at the time of the founding), he was killed, because had he been able to survive, he would have been invincible.[134] Thus, the colonizers of Amphipolis may have wished to emphasize their own identity as Athenians, since it was Athena who had allowed the Greeks to defeat Rhesus before he could join forces with the Trojans. Furthermore, by seizing the bones of Rhesus, the colony also linked themselves to the ancestral line of Thrace perhaps also legitimizing their claims to found a colony here. Certainly the practice of transferring the bones of a hero to a city was not isolated to colonies. In fact, from the sixth century B.C.E. onwards it seems to have become increasingly common throughout the Greek world.

Heroes' Bones (Table 1)

Our earliest record for the transferral of a hero's bones is found in Herodotus,[135] although the alleged bone transferral actually took place about a century earlier than Herodotus' writing. Once again, the alleged trailblazer was Sparta. Herodotus recounts how an oracle was given to the Spartans by the pythia at Delphi, that in order to best the Tegeans in war they must first bring home the bones of Orestes. An additional oracle then revealed that the bones were in fact located within Tegean territory. Unbeknownst to the Tegeans, a smith had turned up a coffin of unusual size which a Spartan elder determined must be the bones of Orestes. Thus, in secret, the bones were transferred from Tegea to Sparta and the Spartans fortunes were reversed. This passage has been

[132] Polyaenus, *Strat.* 6.53.

[133] *Il.* 10.470-530.

[134] Eur. *Rhes.* 309-316.

[135] Hdt. 1.67-68.

cited alongside the transferral of Theseus' bones from Skyros to Athens as evidence for the correlation between bone transferrals and territorial acquisition.[136]

A careful examination of all the extant transferrals of hero's bones indicates that this pattern is not borne out by all the evidence. In fact, a more consistent factor in the transfer of hero bones is the presence of an oracle telling the city in question to move the bones. Boedeker has rightly observed that the hero cults contributed much to the expression of any particular Greek city-state's identity.[137] If we examine the sources even more closely, we find that the real correlation is to be found between the hero and the city state acquiring the bones of heroes. This is not to say that the find spots of the bones are not carefully targeted; they certainly are, but the true meaning of the bone transferral only becomes apparent when careful consideration is given to the link between the hero and the city acquiring his bones.

Thus, when we consider the passage in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus,*[138] we see that it follows the common pattern for bone transferrals: an oracle is alleged to have told Kimon, an Athenian general, to return the bones of Theseus to Athens, and Kimon, going to Skyros, demands the bones. The Skyrians seem to have no idea where the bones are, or deny they have them and the Athenians, after taking the island, find the bones by a divine omen. Here it is clear that the acquisition of the territory in fact precedes the actual acquisition of the bones.[139] So why was it that the Athenians chose to transfer the bones to Athens and institute a formal hero cult? Some scholars have suggested a link between Theseus and the family of Kimon.[140] While such a link is possible and even plausible, let us consider the broader political message the transfer of the bones represented. In Greek mythology Theseus had been the first Athenian king to conquer a foreign island, having conquered Minos when he defeated the Minotaur, thereby freeing Athens from the naval superiority of Minos.[141] Given the context of Kimon's bone

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[136] McCauley 1999, 95.

[137] 1993, 164.

[138] Plut. *Vit.Thes*. 36.1-2.

[139] *contra* McCauley 1999.

[140] McCauley 1999, 91.

[141] Plu. *Vit.Thes*. 19.6.

transferral, probably in 476 B.C.E.,[142] it seems that the Athenians were sending a clear message to the rest of the Greeks: Theseus was an Athenian, the conqueror of a naval empire and therefore the founder of a new naval empire. Any navy that got in the way of Athens would be destroyed in her own ambition to become a naval power. Indeed, just such a policy of aggressive naval expansion was pursued by Athens throughout the fifth century B.C.E.

Many similar parallels can be drawn from the other bone transferrals that are recorded in the Greek literary sources. The Spartans were particularly voracious collectors and are said to have taken the bones of Orestes from Tegea as well as the bones of Tisamenus from Helike in Achaea.[143] Both these heroes were said to have been members of the Atreiadae line of kings, the pre-Doric hegemonic leaders of the Peloponnese and indeed, all of Greece.[144] Another Spartan acquisition, the bones of the heroine Alcmene, seems to be tied to her role as mother of Herakles. Sparta, being of Dorian descent, thought that they were the direct descendants of Herakles and that their ancestors had recently returned to Greece having been driven out in earlier times by the Mycenaean kings.[145] By bringing Alcmene back to Sparta, the Spartans were attempting to emphasize at this particularly crucial moment that they had a greater claim to the land of Greece than Thebes, relative newcomers on the scene, who are said to have arrived from Phoenicia with Cadmus.[146]

Attaching particular importance to the hero who is being transported sheds light on why, for example, Philip II of Macedonia would have transferred the bones of Linus, a relatively unimportant and local hero from Thebes to Macedonia following the battle of Chaeronea. Linus was, according to Apollodorus,[147] an immigrant to Thebes but also the son of a Muse and a teacher of music. In another version, Linus was the son of Psamanthe, the daughter of the king of Argos. With this in mind, Philip's adoption of his

[142] Although a slightly later date cannot be ruled out (Podlecki 1971, 142).

[143] Hdt. 1.67-68 and Paus. 7.1.8.

[144] Finkelberg 2010, 174.

[145] Desborough 1964.

[146] Eur. *Phoen.* 1-10.

[147] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.9.

cult was dually appropriate since Philip himself had spent time in Thebes as a youth,[148] as well as sought to bring Greek culture to the Macedonians. Additionally, as a descendent of the Argive line of kings, perhaps Philip was also attempting to craft an identity for the Macedonians as rightful rulers over the Greeks.

A consideration of the importance of bone transferrals would not be complete, however, without considering the effect that they would have had on the broader population of the city that claimed the bones. Perhaps the best modern parallels for bone transferrals can be found in the repatriation of cultural artifacts or in the construction of national museums. Just like in the formation of a national collection, the goal of bone transferrals was to construct the concept of an 'us' within a particular state.[149] Thus, when Mantinea took the bones of Arcas from Maenalus,[150] a small settlement near Megalopolis, they were attempting to construct an identity for themselves that was not in keeping with that of the Arcadian League, with whom they were frequently at odds, but an identity that relied on their own unique historical narrative. The repatriation of artifacts, an appropriate comparison for the bones of heroes such as Theseus, who already played an important role in the mythos of their state, has a profound psychological effect on the people of the receiving state.[151] Given the crucial timing of a large number of these bone transferrals, as well as their resulting effect,[152] it seems permissible that Greek politicians utilized bones as anchors for Greek identity.

Myth, Memory and the Formation of Greek Identity

The Greeks believed that the heroes whose bones they claimed to be transferring had once lived as mortals on Earth. This much is made clear from Hesiod's description of the ages of mankind, where the heroes are said to have occupied a chronological

[148] Diod.Sic. 16.2.2-3.

[149] Cooney 1996, 146-163.

[150] Paus. 8.9.3-4.

[151] Compare this to the repatriation of bones and artifacts to the First Peoples of Canada (Greenfield 1989, 316-318).

[152] Often victory in war, as demonstrated by McCauley (1999).

position between the age of bronze and the age of iron.[153] Alcock has argued that "people derive identity from shared remembrance – from social memory – which in turn provides them with an image of their past and a design for their future. What people remember of the past fashions their sense of community and determines their allies, enemies, and actions; they will argue over it and kill for it."[154] The Greeks were no exception to this rule. A perfect example of this is the way in which the tyrant of Sikyon, Cleisthenes, expelled the Argive hero Demaratus from the Sikyon tribe names.[155] In doing so, he was not only politically separating Sikyon from the Argives, but also modifying the civic identity of the Sikyonians. Oubina, Boado and Estevez have demonstrated that the ruins are places which are frequently incorporated into cultural traditions, and that the meanings of these ruins are changed by their incorporation into a new cultural tradition.[156] The very same holds true for the transferral of ancient bones from one state to another. Thus, by transferring the bones of a foreign hero into a state, that state was able to shape its identity, while at the same time modifying their historical traditions associated with that particular hero.

Heroes could also be used to construct a new civic identity. As demonstrated above, this aspect was of particular importance to the founding of colonies. In the fourth century B.C.E., one of the most important foundations was not a foreign colony, but the establishment of a fortified city on the slopes of Mt. Ithome, the place of the Messenians final stand in the First Messenian War, when their territory had been ceded to the Spartans.[157] Because it was a new foundation, it was necessary to construct a new civic identity for a people who had been under Spartan rule for the last 400 years. Aristomenes, the legendary fighter of the second Messenian War was chosen as their civic hero.[158] This was a carefully calculated choice, since they chose an individual who had lived much more recently than Hesiod's age of heroes. This may have been done to

[153] Hesiod, as pointed out by Nagy (1979, 159), only uses the term ἥρος to denote men of the 4th generation – those who fought at Troy and Thebes.

[154] 2002, 1.

[155] Sealey 1976.

[156] 1998, 174.

[157] Luraghi 2008, 95-99.

[158] McCauley 1999, 97.

remind other states of Greece that Messenia was not a new foundation, but that they had a history and series of local legends justifying their own claims to the Messenian land. The pinnacle of this would have been the decorative scheme on the temple to Messene that stood in the heart of the new city. According to Pausanias, the temple featured paintings in the opisthodamos showing all of the legendary kings of Messene, culminating in Aristomenes,[159] whose bones had recently been returned to Messene, thereby justifying and legitimizing the Messenian claim to their territory.

Conclusions

Bones could be used by a state in order to construct group identity, thereby staking claims to a historical narrative unique to that state. As Auffarth has observed, "When two local or social groups come together or dissociate, it becomes necessary to reconcile or contradict claims by telling a hero myth and performing a hero cult at her or his grave."[160] Thus, among the Greeks, we have the conscious movement of hero bones from the outside into the state, whereby new historical narratives were created, or pre-existing ones altered. It should not be offputting that the adoption of hero bones allowed for some flexibility in Greek identity over time, but rather be seen as a part of the Greeks' growing awareness of their own cultural heritage and attempts to place them within the framework of this heritage.

Just as Greek vases first depict schematic, heroic images that later take on unique identities and attributes, so we can consider the development of a distinct Greek identity. Thucydides summarized this process nicely when he wrote: "After Hellen and his sons had grown powerful in Phthotis and had been invited as allies into other states, these states separately and because of their connections with the family of Hellen began to be called 'Hellenic'. But it took a long time before the name ousted all the other names."[161] This trajectory is neatly borne out by the archaeological evidence which suggests a rather long period of development in the practice of tomb cult; a practice which developed

[159] Paus. 4.31.11-12; See Luraghi 2008, 273-275 for alternative interpretation.

[160] 1999, 39.

[161] Thuc. 1.3.

alongside the burial of prehistoric objects in the tombs of high status individuals. This simultaneous development cannot be considered coincidental.

In the 10th through eighth centuries B.C.E., Greeks were rediscovering the ruins of their predecessors. Whether these had even been entirely 'lost' is debatable. Certainly, there must have been some degree of cultural knowledge lost in the turmoil that accompanied the abandonment of the Mycenaean centers and undoubtedly these pieces were filled in with contemporary practices and customs. In such a manner, we can see how the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* came to represent a patch-work of different periods, as memories were preserved within a contemporary framework. The development of a Hellenic identity went hand in hand with these processes. As regional heroes were defined, lineages were created that linked various cities together and these ultimately intertwined to form the complex genealogies preserved by later Greek authors. It is clear, however, that much of this had already been accomplished by the seventh century B.C.E., for Hesiod was able to write his *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women,* works that relied on a vast corpus of genealogies to create. Furthermore, the construction of the Catalogue marks the first recorded endeavour to link all Greeks to the line of Hellen alluded to by Thucydides some two hundred years later. That these developments had a profound impact on contemporary thought and practice is indicated by the transition seen in the archaeological record from private to public: dedications shift to sanctuaries and with them, prehistoric objects once deposited in tombs. This seems to mark a shift in the way identity was constructed. Rather than being solely focused on the individual, more emphasis was placed on being a part of some larger group. It is my suggestion therefore that the greatest development of the eighth century, undoubtedly inspired by the emergence of large urban settlements, was the development of a common identity.

Chapter 2 – Prehistoric Presents: Repurposing Bronze Age Artifacts as Votive Objects

Introduction

The eighth century B.C.E. marks a period of transition in the Greek world.[162] Among several notable developments during this period are the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet into Greek, the development of the *polis*, the appearance of monumental civic architecture, the rise of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, and the beginnings of Greek colonization.[163] Many recent studies have considered these changes to be the product of increased international connections, particularly with the exchange of commodities and ideas with contemporary Near Eastern societies.[164] Another school of thought has considered the important role of motifs and styles drawn from the preceding Mycenaean culture.[165] My own study falls in with the latter group and considers that these changes in Greek society are a result of a greater awareness of cultural predecessors, the remains of whom were to be found scattered across an eighth century B.C.E. landscape largely devoid of contemporary monumental architecture. Such a landscape must have had an imposing effect on contemporary Greek thought as well as on the gradual emergence of a conscious Hellenic identity.

The first conscious statement of a distinct Hellenic identity, it is generally agreed, is made by Herodotus in response to Xerxes' offer to make peace with the Athenians:

> …there is a common Greek identity, their ancestry and language, their similar temples and sacred rites of their gods, and their customs of a kindred fashion... (Hdt. 8.144.2)

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[162] Among the most important studies of this period are: Snodgrass 1972; Coldstream 1977; Morris 1987; Whitley 1991; de Polignac 1995; Morgan 2003.

[163] See Whitley (1991, 41) for a short summary of each. For other important works discussing the early adaptation of the alphabet, see McCarter 1975; Johnston 2003. For the *polis*, see Hansen 2006. For early activities at sanctuaries, see Morgan 1990. For colonization, see Tsetskhladze and DeAngelis 2004.

[164] For an archaeological perspective, see Burkert 1995; Morris 1995. For the most authoritative literary study, see West 1999; Griffith 2008.

[165] The strongest proponents of this hypothesis are found in the study of Greek art, for instance Webster 1955; Boardman 1963, 95; 2002. More recently, archaeological studies by Le Roy (1984), Whitley (1991: 42) and de Polignac (1995) have stressed the influence of prehistoric remains on the re-emergence of the Greek states. For specific motifs re-used, see Hiller

Indirect evidence, however, demonstrates that the Greek concept of a collective identity preceded the Persian Wars. Hesiod is believed to be the first to attach the eponymous heroes Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus to the ancestral line of Hellen.[166] While not an all-out declaration of a common Hellenic identity, this clearly demonstrates that the groundwork was already in place by the mid-sixth century B.C.E. for Herodotus' statement. Some scholars have even sought to push the origins of a common Hellenic identity into the eighth century B.C.E., when colonization brought Greeks into contact with distinctly non-Greek peoples, thereby forcing them to retrospectively consider their own group identity.[167] Hall has countered this, arguing that Hellenic identity was a constantly shifting paradigm, which lacked a clear form until the fifth century B.C.E.[168] The evidence at hand suggests that early on genealogies played an important role in constructing identity, one that weakened as Greeks colonized new lands,[169] only to be replaced by language, ritual, and action as proposed by Herodotus.[170] This does not mean that genealogies disappeared altogether, but that additional factors began to play a part in defining Hellenic identity.[171] For the purpose of this chapter, Hellenic identity is recognized to be an evolving construction, one which was constantly being negotiated with specific reference to factors such as genealogy, language, and ritual which can be traced in the archaeological record. Sanctuaries for example, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods, played important roles in the construction of identity as meeting places for the Greeks, where such negotiations played out.[172]

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[166] Hes. *Cat*. Fr.9 (Most 2007).

[167] Glotz 1948, 216; Pozzi and Wickersham 1991, 63; Malkin 1998; 2003.

[168] Hall 1997a, xiii; 2001; 2004, 45.

[169] Genealogies lost their primacy through intermarriage with both local peoples and other Greeks during the establishment of colonies. For the practice of intermarriage, see Hall 2004, 40-42.

[170] Hdt. 8.144.2.

[171] Malkin (2011, 61-62) argues that already by the 7th century, common historical experiences, not genealogies were structuring the collective identities of Greece.

[172] Morgan (1990) provides an excellent account of the early economic and social aspects of emerging sanctuaries.

This chapter limits its discussion to prehistoric objects[173] that have been excavated in Greek sanctuaries. In the Archaic and Classical periods these prehistoric objects were repurposed. The discussion begins with contextualizing the emergence of this practice in the eighth century B.C.E. and then, considers the types of objects which were dedicated and the reasons for their dedication. Finally, the value of prehistoric objects is highlighted with respect to the reuse of certain items as cult statues.

Inscribing the Past: Votive Objects and Sanctuaries

The development of the alphabet is particularly important for the role that it plays in extending human memory.[174] Writing became a tool by which memory could not only be preserved, but modified and manipulated to various affect: for supporting claims of authenticity, for recording extensive genealogies, and for cataloguing votive dedications.[175] The early appearance of inscriptions on votive objects and inscriptions at sanctuaries,[176] demonstrates the important changes that the introduction of writing played in memorializing dedicators and their dedications. An early example of this is the bronze Mantiklos Apollo which, based on the inscription on its legs, is thought to have originated in Thebes, likely in the first decade of the seventh century B.C.E.[177] The inscription indicates that votive offerings were made by individuals to a specific deity. After their dedication votive objects did not simply become sacred property; they also served a secondary function as items of display in sanctuaries during public sacrifices. These secondary functions are integral to understanding the role that prehistoric objects played in the construction of Hellenic identity. The fact that these items are displayed to

[173] For the most part these objects are Bronze Age items from the preceding Mycenaean culture, centered on mainland Greece, but a few examples are not. Of particular note is a Neolithic stone axe found at the Temple of Artemis, Ephesus (Cook 1940, 898-900; Boardman 2002, 82, Fig. 51) and a bronze weight found at Sounion which finds its closest parallel in Bronze Age Egypt (Herda 1996, 74-77, Taf. 13).

[174] Sparkes (1989, 127) asserts the importance of writing in the preservation of genealogies.

[175] Notable is the 5th century tombstone of Heropythos of Chios, which traces back his own geneaology 14 generations. See Jeffrey 1990, 344; Boardman 2002, 74-75.

[176] For a good discussion of the earliest inscriptions, see Jeffery 1990. Particularly important is the early appearance of laws inscribed at temples/sanctuaries, Thomas 1992: 13. This demonstrates the early use of temples as loci of collective memory.

[177] Now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, MFAB 03.997.

the public indicates that they served an important role, not only within the sanctuary, but in Greek society in general.[178]

The eighth century B.C.E. ushered in the formative elements of the Classical *poleis,*[179] which created new venues for social competition. The historical and archaeological records indicate that elite families began competing for social prestige in public venues at this time.[180] The eighth century B.C.E. marks the beginning of the decline of elaborate Geometric burials in the Kerameikos of Athens. As I. Morris emphasizes, the decline in evidence for wealth in the burials and associated grave goods at this time in Athens is undeniably connected with the dedication of wealth goods, specifically bronzes, in sanctuaries at the beginning of the eighth century and peaking in the seventh century B.C.E.[181] The shift from the private consumption of wealth to competitive public expenditures of wealth had a major impact on incipient political institutions. Thus, private events of a domestic nature, such as funerals, became lavish displays of investment that were intended to be more public.[182] This is equally true at sanctuary sites, but surely the sudden appearance of the practice of making dedications at prehistoric tombs is equally noteworthy.[183] Snodgrass emphasized the connection between *polis* and hero cult by saying that "the rise of heroes is tied to the rise of the polis."[184] The Greek deposition of prehistoric objects also follows a similar pattern. Whereas in previous periods the deposition of such items seems to have been exclusively

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[178] See Erskine (2005,121) in particular.

[179] These features are found, for example, at Athens and Argos. For the development and definition of the *polis*, see de Polignac 1995 and Hansen 2006. It is worth noting that sanctuaries were equally important points of mediation for *ethne* and their importance in constructing identities here are all the more important in binding together the constituent members. For more on *ethne*, see Morgan 2003.

[180] The most obvious of these is the beginning of athletic competitions and a marked increase in sanctuary dedications. See Morgan 1990.

[181] Morris 1987, 23.

[182] These changes are readily apparent in Homer. The public nature of funerals is apparent in the amount of labour that went into the funerals for heroes. It took nine days to collect wood for Hector's pyre, *Il.* 24.784. For the burial of Agamemnon, the whole Achaean army worked to build a burial mound, *Il.* 24.32. For Patroclus' burial, the distribution of wealth via the funeral games also elevated the status of the deceased, *Il.* 23.249-283.

[183] The phenomenon of 'hero' cults associated with prehistoric graves has been discussed in detail. See Coldstream (1976), Morris (1988), Whitley (1994) and Antonaccio (1994b; 1999), for greater discussion.

[184] Snodgrass 1988, 23.

in private tombs, in the eighth century B.C.E. there is a dramatic shift towards the dedication of prehistoric objects in public venues, particularly the emergent sanctuary sites. This is correlated in some way to an emerging social consciousness on the part of elites, and so, by the sixth century, we see that families are going to great lengths to connect their own genealogies with Homeric heroes.[185] This process likely began still earlier, as even the earliest works of epic place a great emphasis on genealogy.[186] This suggests therefore that these families were interested in providing themselves with a common Hellenic identity, rather than just a familial or regional one.[187] This interpretation is supported by the fact that membership in the early *polis* was more permeable than it was in the later Classical period. The practice of *xenia*,[188] or guest-friendships, was common between elites of different poleis, and it seems to have been common practice to intermarry between states.[189] In order that their own lineage would be recognized in other states, it would be advantageous, especially for elite families, not to pick a localized hero, but rather a Pan-Hellenic hero.[190] The rise of the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, concurrent with the publication and dissemination of the *Iliad*, helped to provide a convenient database of who these heroes were.[191]

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[185] Finkelberg 2005, 25. That this practice was extremely commonplace is emphasized by the opening lines of Hecataeus of Miletus' *Genealogiai* (*FGrH* I, F1a): ᾽Εκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι ἀληθέα δοκέει εἶναι· οἱ γάρ ̋Ελληνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν. Hecataeus is not disregarding all Greek mythology, merely reacting against the proliferation of genealogies, likely spurred by on by elite families.

[186] In *Il.* 6.145-236, Diomedes and Glaukos recount their geneaologies before engaging in combat, only to discover they have an ancestral guest-friendship between them. Hesiod`s *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women* are also structured by successive mythological genealogies.

[187] This is not meant to deny that local genealogies existed, they most certainly did. I only mean to highlight the fact that these genealogies almost always were intermeshed into the main Hellenic stemma, Homeric heroes being particularly popular.

[188] For the practice of *xenia*, see Herman 2002.

[189] Hdt. 1.6 describes a marriage alliance made between Pesistatos and Megakles. Indeed, the description of the suitors of Helen (Hes. *Cat.* Fr.154 and 155) may be an accurate representation of elite marriage practice in Archaic Greece.

[190] Finkelberg (2005, 28-29) demonstrates that even when a local hero is selected, they have to be grafted onto the Pan-Hellenic tradition. She states that "while individual and local genealogies could well fluctuate, the Pan-Hellenic genealogical scheme remained untouched."

[191] Sparkes (1989, 127) emphasizes the importance of the *Iliad* in early inter-*polis* disputes, with specific reference to the conflict between Athens and Megara over the ownership of Salamis. Whitley (1991, 43) cites sanctuaries and the Homeric epics alongside foreign contacts as the primary impetuses for the formation of Hellenic identity.

Dedications and δαίδαλα

One of the primary difficulties in analyzing the Greek reuse of prehistoric objects is determining when they were deposited at a sanctuary. The vast majority of prehistoric objects found at sanctuaries are, unfortunately, decontextualized, either having been excavated before the adoption of more scientific methods or having been found in mixed deposits which render the date of deposition nearly impossible to discern. This is particularly true of sites with some evidence of prehistoric inhabitation, such as Delphi. Additional difficulties are posed by the desire to interpret prehistoric items as evidence for such prehistoric levels.[192] The largest single corpus of prehistoric items is the one comprising of Bronze Age seal stones found at various sanctuaries across the Greek mainland.[193] As highly portable and durable objects of adornment, seal stones are readily reused, as demonstrated by the Cretan custom in the 19th and early 20th century as using them as amulets to ward off bad luck for mothers.[194] The reuse of these seal stones has been documented by Boardman,[195] but he felt that many of these were copies rendered in an archaizing style.[196] Nevertheless, he concedes that these must have been based on ones "they found in their fields or in plundered tombs,"[197] thereby acknowledging that the prehistoric items were deemed of significant importance to be copied. Sakellarakis, on the other hand, identifying 68 examples of reused prehistoric seal stones, speculated that their reuse may be due to their transmission through priestly families as heirlooms.[198] The best explanation for this phenomenon, however, comes from S. Morris. She suggests that the signet rings of the prehistoric period "did not entirely disappear from Greek view, thanks to tomb robbers, heirlooms, and memory. Yet such δαίδαλα also revived with new prosperity in the Archaic period and acquired new narrative powers as the magic

[192] A good example of this is Tegea, see Voyatzis (1990, esp. 240) for the difficulties of interpretation that prehistoric remains at a sanctuary site can cause.

[193] For a comprehensive catalogue of such seal stones, see Sakellarakis 1976.

[194] Evans 1893, 270.

[195] Boardman 1965, 100.

[196] For further discussion of the phenomenon of replicating prehistoric objects and architecture see chapter four.

[197] Boardman 1965, 95.

[198] Sakellarakis 1976, 308.

ring in the tales of kings and gods."[199] Surely it is significant that Sakellarakis was able to identify seal stones in votive deposits at sites such as Brauron, Sounion and Perachora, sites which preserve little extant evidence for prehistoric occupation. A *terminus post quem* may therefore be established whereby the deposition of the objects at the sanctuary must date after the foundation of these sanctuaries.[200] Additional finds from the Temple of Demeter at Knossos, the Athenian Acropolis and Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, augment the total count, but these seal stones may simply be the result of disturbed Bronze Age remains and their deposition, although significant, cannot be fully understood. On account of the troubles that such evidence poses, it is better to focus on objects that can be securely identified as prehistoric objects dedicated in securely dated contexts. While this limits the scope of the evidence, it provides a much clearer picture of this peculiar practice, unsullied by erroneous or misattributed finds.

While the high point of sanctuary dedications seems to be the seventh century,[201] many of the most interesting prehistoric finds were deposited at a later date. A number of prehistoric objects have been found at sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi, and Dodona,[202] and are almost certainly prehistoric. Although I believe it is unlikely that these objects are from disturbed prehistoric contexts, this cannot yet be proven with certainty and therefore they fall outside the scope of this work.[203]

The best evidence for the practice of repurposing prehistoric objects comes from a number of inscribed bronzes dedicated variously from the sixth through fourth centuries (Figure 12).[204] These items have a wide geographical distribution: Boeotia, with three

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[199] Morris 1992, 189. The ring of Theseus (Bacchyl. 17.60-62) and the ring of Polykrates (Hdt. 3.39-43) are the primary examples of this.

[200] This would imply their dedication occurred sometime after the 8th century. See Sakellarakis (1976) for the complete catalogue.

[201] Morris 1987, 192; also, Morgan 2003, 153-154.

[202] For Olympia, see Kunze and Schleif 1944, 150-151, Taf.58d. For Delphi, see Snodgrass 1971, 281. For Dodona, see Carapanos 1878, 102, Pl.LVII.

[203] The lack of a Mycenaean presence in the sanctuary proper at Olympia is discussed by Eder (2001). Recent evidence published by Rambach (2002) highlights the early emergence of the sanctuary of Olympia. Dodona may have had some Bronze Age presence, however this is not as well defined (Carapanos 1878).

[204] Calligas (1980) compiled a collection of 6 such inscribed bronzes from across the Greek mainland. Their date of deposition is established by the votive inscriptions placed on them.

inscribed objects represents the highest regional concentration, but other examples come from Dodona, Arcadia and Megara, indicating that the practice was not restricted to any particular region. Based on their stylistic characteristics and method of manufacture, these objects can be securely dated to the Bronze Age, yet they were only dedicated in sanctuaries in the Archaic and Classical Periods, in some cases almost a full millennium after their manufacture. The Archaic and Classical inscriptions on the Bronze Age objects clearly demonstrates their later repurposing. The inscriptions make them invaluable as evidence for the deliberate deposition of prehistoric items. Unfortunately, the inscriptions tend to be very brief, and not very informative as to whether the true nature of the item in question was known to the dedicator. The most common inscription,[205] '(H)ἰαρόν,' occurs on two Boeotian swords and denotes, in the neuter gender, nominative case, 'an offering' or 'a sacrifice.' The third Boeotian bronze, a chisel, is inscribed with the adjectival form, Ηιαρός, in the nominative masculine, simply meaning 'sacred.' The other examples provide the names of dedicators and (sometimes) the divinity to whom the offering was dedicated. The interpretation of these objects therefore may seem to be a dead end, after all the inscriptions on these votive objects differ very little from standard votive inscriptions. Indeed, it likely would be a dead end if it were not for the fact that these objects are found over such a wide geographic area, share a number of characteristic features, and are specifically mentioned in literary sources in association with heroic ancestors.

Prehistoric Objects in Pausanias

Pausanias,[206] writing in the second century A.D., was able to view objects within various temples and sanctuaries throughout the Greek world which were allegedly from the time of heroes.[207] This suggests that the votive objects discussed previously may in fact have been recognized as ancient, if not by those who dedicated them, then by the priests of the sanctuaries. One apparent obstacle to this interpretation is the utilitarian

[205] See Calligas (1980) for the transcriptions mentioned here.

[206] For current approaches to the study of Pausanias' writings, see Alcock *et al.* 2001, Hutton 2005 and Pretzler 2005.

[207] For example, Paus. 2.7.9; 6.19.6; 9.41.1. This is by no means an exhaustive list. See Boardman (2003: 216-227) for a thorough listing of all 'prehistoric' objects mentioned by Pausanias.

character of the objects discussed: seal stones, swords, chisels, and axes. If anything, however, utilitarian objects would have been even more recognizable, as they had a wide socio-economic distribution and consequently unusual forms would have stood out. Giuliani has recently argued that iconographic distinctions between past and present in Greek art only begin as late as the 18th century A.D., [208] implying that the Greeks were incapable of identifying something 'ancient' based on its appearance, as they had no standardized imagery to identify with the past. Thucydides, writing in the fifth century, and thus contemporary with the actual practice of dedicating such objects, challenges this view and makes it clear that the Greeks did conceptualize changes in material culture. For Thucydides writes:

> And the fact that these districts of Hellas still retain this custom is an evidence that at one time similar modes of life prevailed everywhere. But the Athenians were among the very first to lay aside their arms and, adopting an easier mode of life, to change to more luxurious ways. And indeed, owing to their fastidiousness, it was only recently that their older men of the wealthier class gave up wearing tunics of linen and fastening up their hair in a knot held by a golden grasshopper brooch; and this same dress obtained for a long time among the elderly men of the Ionians also, owing to their kinship with the Athenians (Thuc. 1.6.1-3).

Thucydides clearly acknowledges that there are differences in ancient and current practice among the Greeks. He also cites material evidence as proof that Carians, not Greeks, once inhabited Delos: when the Athenians exhumed the burials on Delos during the Peloponnesian War, the tombs of Carians were discovered, "being recognized by the *form* of their weapons and in the manner of burial, which even now they bury (their corpses)."[209] This further demonstrates that the Greeks not only had a conception of difference between past and present, but also believed that they could identify these differences in the archaeological record.[210] These passages also suggest that, in antiquity, group identity was recognized to be related to material culture. The crux of this for my

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[208] 2010, 50. He begins his study with the reappearance of figural art in the seventh century B.C.E.

[209] Thuc. 1.8.1. Emphasis mine.

[210] Note the use of other, not Other. Thucydides statement implies that the Greeks had a common idea of a Greek style burial. Cook (1955) disputes the Greek ability to discern the difference, arguing that archaeological finds suggest that the exhumed burials can be identified on neighbouring Mykonos and are clearly Greek.

argument is that the genealogies created in the Archaic and Classical Periods may be constructed with the aid of prehistoric items.[211] Indeed, Helms has highlighted the social prestige of goods and ideas acquired from locations separated by great spatial distance.[212] The same conceptual framework may in fact inform the analysis of ancient objects, whereby objects of great temporal distance would be imbued with greater social prestige.

Pausanias demonstrates that the identification of prehistoric weapons was commonly done by material, based on Homer. "I have evidence that in the heroic age weapons were universally of bronze in the words of Homer about the axe of Peisander and the arrow of Meriones."[213] Writing at such a late date, however, Pausanias was hesitant to base such a statement on literary evidence alone, and so he turned to the archaeological material most readily available to him, objects that were on display in temples across the Greek world. Following this grand statement on the nature of heroic weapons, he continues:

> My statement is likewise confirmed by the spear of Achilles dedicated in the Sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the Nicomedian temple of Asclepius. The point and butt-spike of the spear and the whole of the sword are made of bronze. The truth of these statements I can vouch for (Paus. 3.3.8).

Although this logic may seem circular and should be examined critically, taken with the existing archaeological evidence, namely that prehistoric bronze objects have actually been recovered in sanctuaries, it is surely worthwhile to give a little more thought to the matter. In doing so, I will demonstrate two important facts: that these bronze finds were in fact connected with heroes; and that the dedication of prehistoric objects can be shown to have roots extending well before Pausanias' day.

The Significance of Double-axes

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[211] A particularly literal account of this comes from Akousilaos, the Argive historian, (*FGrH* 2, T1) who allegedly compiled his family's genealogy from bronze tablets which his father found while working their land.

[212] Helms (1988) provides a full discussion of this phenomenon from an anthropological perspective, spanning numerous cultures.

[213] Paus. 3.3.8.

Double-axes form the largest component of the inscribed votive objects. Double-axes were an item of some curiosity by the Archaic and Classical periods. Although miniature axes were fashioned in bronze as votive offerings in later sanctuaries,[214] the practice of forging bronze axes for use in everyday life had long since given way to iron. In fact, by the Archaic and Classical periods, double-axes were mundane objects and seem to have been confined to two strict categories of use: as a utilitarian tool for working wood, most commonly chopping down trees, and as a sacrificial instrument, commonly used to employ the *coup de grâce*, particularly in bull sacrifices.[215] In Athens, a bronze-axe played a key role in the Dipoleia, a major festival to Zeus Polieus.[216] One possible explanation for the dedication of bronze axes therefore is that they were dedicated on account of their use in ritual contexts for performing sacrifices. Indeed, stele listing temple holdings contain references to double-axes (Gk. ὁ πέλεκυς) among their holdings.[217] It is impossible to say, however, whether the objects listed in these accounts are prehistoric objects being reused as sacrificial implements, or if they are contemporary tools.

Explaining these objects as mundane offerings is somewhat unsatisfying. For when we consider the Greek word for double-axe, ὁ πέλεκυς, it is likely that the word is derived etymologically from an Indo-European root referring to an axe, perhaps more precisely a battle-axe.[218] Turning to our extant literary sources we find that this meaning is preserved in the Greek language even into the Classical period as the name of battle-axes wielded by Easterners.[219] In addition, the practice of axes being used by heroic

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[214] Rouse 1902, 387.

[215] A bronze inscribed axe from Magna Graecia is a perfect example of such an axe, see *IG* XIV, 643; Br. Museum Catalogue of Bronzes 252. According to Jeffrey (1990, 253) this axe from Magna Graecia dates to the 6th century B.C.E.

[216] The main accounts of this festival with unusual origins are found in Pausanias (1.24.4) and Porphyry (*Abst.* 2.10; 2.29-31). According to Simon (1983, 8-12), this practice may have its roots in the Bronze Age religious practice of the Athenians implying a continuity of religion. She even suggests that the axe in question is a prehistoric object.

[217] One is from the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, dating to the 5th century (*IG* I^3, 1456, line 16). The other is from Delos, likely Hellenistic in date (*IG* XI(2), 199, face B, line 89).

[218] For a good summary of the discussion concerning the origins of ὁ πέλεκυς, see Makkay 1998. It is likely that this root is borrowed from a Semitic root, *pilakku-/pilaqqu-*.

[219] Hdt. 7.135.3.

figures is attested in Homer, where Peisander is depicted as using a battle-axe for close range fighting against Menelaus.[220] In art, double-axes are associated with a range of deities and mythological figures, the majority of whom wield it as a weapon.[221]

The imagery showing Zeus with a double-axe is particularly interesting, as much of it comes from Lycia in Asia Minor. At Labraunda, there was an important cult to Zeus Labradeus, particularly from the fourth century B.C.E (Figure 13).[222] Halikarnassos issued a series of coins throughout the fourth century that show Zeus holding a double-axe, likely the cult statue of Zeus Labradeus at Labraunda.[223] The reason for this lies in the name of the site itself, for Labraunda seems to be linguistically related to *labrys*, a word for double-axe known in Greece as early as the Mycenaean period but likely originating from south-western Anatolia.[224] Plutarch goes even further and recounts that the cult axe was one of the sacred[225] objects handed down through the line of Lydian kings, who received the axe from Herakles via Omphale.[226] This provides an excellent literary example of the dedication of a bronze axe in an ancient sanctuary, as well as emphasizing the importance of the ancestry of such a dedication.

In Attic vase painting, Theseus is also often represented with a double-axe.[227] His use of the axe is exclusively as a weapon. The combination of the artistic representations and vast quantity of votive axes found in Archaic Greek contexts, suggest that the Archaic and Classical Greeks used the double-axe to denote power or authority – a

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[220] *Il.* 13.612-613.

[221] Despite their appearance in association with multiple gods and heroes (esp. Hephaestos, Theseus and Klytemnestra), double-axes never seem to have become the attribute of any particular god, but rather were from the eighth century onwards common votive dedications, especially in the miniature. Rouse (1902, 386-390) provides a good discussion of find spots and deities.

[222] For recent work at Labraunda and related bibliography, see Karlsson and Carlsson 2011.

[223] Fellows (1840) was the first to describe the cult and coinage. For the coin types themselves as well as their dating, see Brett 1974, 252-253.

[224] Pugliese Caratelli 1939. In Linear B, KN Gg(1) 702, preserves the record of an offering of honey for the goddess named as *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-a*. This has been linked with the Attic Greek πότνια λαβύρινθου or 'lady of the labyrinth.' Plutarch specifically attributes the name of this god to λάβρυς, which he says is the Lydian word for axe, *Quaest.Graec*. 45.

[225] In the Greek, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν. Note the use of ἱερόν, the same word used to denote the inscribed bronzes from Boeotia, since in the Boeotian dialect α is subtituted for ε (Buck 1910, 129).

[226] Plut. *Quaest.Graec*. 45.

[227] *LIMC*, 927-928; 933-934; "Theseus" figs.126-132, 134-144.

suggestion that may find support in Mycenaean Greek texts in Linear B. The word *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* has been linked to πελεκυϜάναξ, a compound word linking πέλεκυς and Ϝάναξ, denoting the title of an administrative position or personal name.[228] Such an individual would likely be high ranking, as the Ϝάναξ is believed to occupy the highest position in the Mycenaean hierarchy. As such, the double-axe is an appropriate attribute for gods, heroes and kings. Pausanias clearly indicates that he considers double-axes to fall into the category of old Greek weapons.[229] The memory of battle-axes as weapons seems to have persisted and the dedication of these double-axes likely had more to do with their association with a previous age, rather than with their use in sacrifices.

Prehistoric bronzes were readily available in the Archaic and Classical periods for Greeks to find. Even today, large finds of Mycenaean bronzes are relatively common in the archaeological record, both hidden in pits at Mycenaean settlements such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens, and Anthedon,[230] and deposited in large quantities in elite burials like at Mycenae, Dendra, and the 'grave circle' at Pylos.[231] Pausanias confirms that goods from ancient tombs could be repurposed in this manner when he discusses the Phokians and Boeotians dividing up the contents of a tomb.[232] The Phokians chose to claim the gold found within the tomb, while the Boeotians claimed what they thought to be the sceptre of Agamemnon. It is interesting to note that a single tomb found during the construction of the new museum at the site of Mycenae, produced a staggering 21 double-axes similar to those used as votives.[233]

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[228] Aura Jorro 1999, 105. Alternatively, it is suggested that *pe-re-ku-* derives from πρέσβυς, meaning 'old,' not πέλεκυς.

[229] Paus. 3.3.8.

[230] For Mycenae, see Schliemann 1880, 111; Tsountas 1891; Stubbings 1954; Mylonas 1959. For Tiryns, see Arvanitopoulos 1915; Karo 1930. For Athens, see Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, 37-103. For Anthedon, see Rolfe 1890, 104-107.

[231] For the Mycenaean burials of Grave Circle A, see Schliemann 1880. For those of Grave Circle B, see Mylonas 1957, 128-175. For the Dendra burials, see Persson 1931. For the Pylos Grave 'circle,' see Blegan *et al*. 1973, 134-176.

[232] Paus. 9.40.12; for interpretation as a tomb see Frazer 1898, 210-211. A similar account of the division of a tomb's goods is found in Plutarch (*Mor.De gen.* 577e-579a); this is the account of the opening of the tomb of Alkmene at the command of Agesilaos.

[233] This burial lends its name the House of the Tomb of the Tripods. In addition to the axes, the burial contained other bronzes including the eponymous tripods. The excavation has been published in a

The Lindian Chronicle

Up to this point, the literary evidence for the dedication of prehistoric items in the Archaic and Classical periods has been confined to relatively late sources. Earlier evidence exists, however, beginning with the Lindian Chronicle. This stele was found at its eponymous city on the island of Rhodes, in the Byzantine Church of St. Stephen, at the base of the ancient acropolis by Danish excavators in the early 20th century B.C.E.[234] Having been reused as a paving stone face up, the inscription has significant parts worn away. Nevertheless, the remaining portion is immensely important for investigating the use of prehistoric objects in sanctuaries. Erected on the acropolis of Lindos around 99 B.C.E., this stele purports to be an account of the dedications made at the temple of Athena Lindia from heroic times down to the date of its erection, as well as an account of epiphanies of Athena Lindia, normally to aid the city in times of crisis. This stele demonstrates that, as early as the Hellenistic period, temples were beginning to attract visitors by making claims about the antiquity and authenticity of objects within their treasuries. In the case of the Temple of Athena Lindia, many of these dedications had been destroyed or damaged in a fire, which the stele dates to 392 B.C.E., and thus could no longer be displayed or viewed.[235] The erection of the stele contributed to preserving the glorious lineage of dedicators, which included mythological figures such as Herakles and his son, Tlapolemos, who became a king of Rhodes,[236] and historical persons such as Amasis of Egypt and Alexander the Great, by compiling a definitive list of important dedications. Each item is carefully recorded by dedicant, date, and what was offered. Additional information may also be supplied in the form of ancient bibliographic references. A typical entry includes the following:

> Tlapolemos, a phiale. On which had been inscribed,
> 'Tlapolemos to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus,
> a votive', as Gorgon states in the first book of his work on
> Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter,

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monograph by Onassoglou (1995). The finds from the tomb are currently displayed in the Mycenae Museum.

[234] Higbie 2003, 6.

[235] *Ibid.* 8-9.

[236] For the best account of the mythos of Tlapolemos, see Pind. *Ol.* 7.

Hieroboulos in his letter (B.37-41, trans. Higbie 2003).

It is noteworthy that the inscription listed on the *phiale* Tlapolemos dedicates is remarkably similar to the formula found on the inscribed bronze objects listed above. Both the stele and existing dedications demonstrate the use of a word to denote the object as offering,[237] as well as the names of the dedicator and recipient.

Of additional interest is the bibliography listed. Ancient bibliography is particularly vulnerable to attacks over its veracity because so little ancient literature survives. It is almost never possible to say if the professed bibliography existed and is accurate. In the case of the Lindian Chronicle, however, a single reference in the inscription does survive. In column C, line 38-39, the history written by a Thurian named Herodotus is mentioned.[238] While at first this might seem to be an error, Herodotus of Halikarnassos was actually commonly known as Herodotus of Thurii in antiquity, apparently because he served as a colonist to Thurii.[239] The fact that we can identify this reference convincingly within Herodotus[240] provides at least circumstantial evidence that the items listed on the stele may have been visible at the temple prior to their destruction in the fire. Furthermore, it demonstrates that temples were making such objects visible to travellers as early as the fifth century B.C.E. Additionally, they were claiming that some of these objects were old enough to be connected with mythological figures. This demonstrates that there must have been some prestige attached to the age of these objects.

The many dedications listed on the stele corroborate nicely with the archaeological evidence afforded by the inscribed bronzes actually found in Greek sanctuaries discussed above. While not all the items listed as votive objects on the Lindian Chronicle, are present in the archaeological record, a great number are textiles, the items listed on the stele nicely parallel the actual physical objects, both weapons and other votive objects, found at Archaic and Classical sanctuaries. Thus, Herakles dedicates

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[237] Although in this case the word εὐχάν is substituted for ἱερόν.

[238] Higbie 2003, 115-116.

[239] See Higbie (2003, 115) for a complete discussion. Arist. *Rh*. 3.9.2 preserves this form of Herodotus' name. Strabo 14.2.16 offers the solution that Herodotus served as colonist to Thurii.

[240] Hdt. 2.182.

two shields; the companions of Tlapolemos dedicate shields, daggers, and grieves; and the general of Darius a curved sword: all items known from archaeological investigations at major sanctuaries. It seems probable therefore, that the practice described by Pausanias in the second century A.D., namely of sanctuaries presenting ancient objects as the dedications of mythological figures had already been well established during the Hellenistic period and possibly even earlier in the fifth century B.C.E. In order to confirm the earlier date, however, it is necessary to seek solid evidence for this practice in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E., when we find the actual practice of dedicating prehistoric bronzes at its height.

Such evidence exists in a passage from Euripides' *Ion*. Written in the mid-fifth century this work falls perfectly within the midst of the archaeological evidence. The passage, describing a ritual feast being prepared by Ion at Delphi, reads as follows:

> Then he took sacred tapestries from the storerooms and draped them for shade over the frame, a marvelous site for men to see. Forst on the top he put a covering of garments dedicated by Heracles, garments which the son of Zeus offered the god as spoils from the Amazons (Eur. *Ion*. 1141-1145).

Here, we see both how sanctuaries stored objects dedicated by heroic individuals and displayed them at public events. The importance of this fact will be emphasized further, but note the two phases of use to the dedications: the primary role as objects dedicated by an individual and the secondary use of the objects by the sanctuaries during public events. The chief difference between this passage and our evidence from the Roman and Hellenistic periods is the control exerted over the dedication. Here the votive objects are only taken out for the special occasion, thus it seems correct to assign a level of prestige to these objects which supersedes that of votives in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. If there is any doubt as to the votive nature of the tapestries in question, it should be noted that the word translated as 'sacred' in the above passage, ἱερά, is derived from the same adjective, ἱερός, used to denote the inscribed bronzes from Boeotia and used by Plutarch to describe the axe handed down by the Lydian kings; a word that clearly denotes a votive object.

The most notable feature of the *Ion* passage is the intent to "… invite the entire population of Delphi to dine."[241] In accordance with the evidence gathered from Pausanias and the Lindian Chronicle, it is clear that the purpose to which the sacred votives dedicated by individuals is put is inherently public. These items are meant to be viewed by the public, whether by having the temples open to itinerant travellers, as was the case in Pausanias' day, presenting a written account of the holdings of a temple on a public stele as the Lindian Chronicle demonstrates, or holding a festival whereupon the sacred objects would be displayed to the guests in attendance as is the case in Euripides' *Ion*.

This evidence, taken as a whole, undoubtedly lends credence to the idea that Bronze Age weapons were intentionally dedicated in later Greek temples, but to what end? Why not just create forgeries and claim an illustrious age? The answer to this is two-fold. On the one hand, as discussed above a Greek audience could be expected to discern fakes, at least to a certain extent. It is worth noting again the passage from Plutarch describing the axe held by Zeus Labradeus. For in this passage, Plutarch says that the axe was handed down the line of Lydian kings until the reign of Candaules, but "thinking it of little value, he gave it to one of his companions to bear.[242]" The axe is only recognized as important by Arselis, the founder of the cult of Zeus Labrandeus, who obtained it by defeating Candaules and his companion in battle. Thus, this passage seems to imply that understanding the significance of prehistoric objects is in some way tied to Hellenizing.[243] This does not preclude the fact that sanctuaries did make false claims, as is apparent in Pausanias,[244] but surely these false claims only emphasize the importance of the objects that were real. Forgeries are generally derived from objects of great intrinsic value, not commonplace tools.

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[241] *Ibid*. 1135-1136.

[242] Plut. *Quaest.Graec*. 45 (302a).

[243] We are lead to believe that Arselis is at least somewhat knowledgeable in Greek custom, as he establishes a cult to Zeus.

[244] For example, Paus. 9.41.1-5.

The Value of Prehistoric Objects

Porphyry, a Neo-Platonist scholar of the third century CE, sheds some much needed light on the value of prehistoric objects. He writes in his work *De abstintentia*:

> On account of this, they make use of ceramic, wooden, and basketry vessels regularly for public rites, believing the divine presence to rejoice in such things. For which reason even the oldest ceramic and wooden sculptures are generally thought to possess rather more divine presence, on account of the material and simplicity of their construction. Hence, they say Aeschylus, when the people of Delphi requested that he write a paian for Apollo, said that the best possible had been written by Tynnichos. And, putting his own in competition with Tynnichos' would be like holding new cult statues in the same regard as the old ones. For although these statues are simply made they are regarded as divine, while the new statues, being fashioned with excessive attention to perfection, are amazing to see, yet they are thought to hold less of a divine presence (Porph. *Abst*. 2.18.1-2.).

This passage emphasizes the fact that the Greeks were interested in their ancient past because they believed that these objects were in some way more prestigious. The abundance of ancient sculptures mentioned by Pausanias certainly suggests that there was a great appreciation for ancient works, even down to his own day. The so-called ξόανα, wooden statues of the gods often described as being ancient, and δαίδαλα, archaic objects often with a magical connotation, were of particular note.[245]

Indeed, some of the earliest evidence for the Greek collection and deposition of prehistoric relics comes in the form of anthropomorphic objects. At Delphi, one of the largest collections of Mycenaean terracotta figurines was discovered in a foundational deposit under the Temple of Athena Pronaia (Figure 14).[246] Although it has been disputed by various scholars as to whether this deposit is a genuine Mycenaean shrine built over by the later Greeks,[247] or whether it is a later Greek votive deposit reusing ancient

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[245] For ξόανα, see Bennett 1917. Morris (1992, 55-56) and Donohue (1988) have disputed the case for ξόανα as ancient sculptures, but rather define them as a broad category of sculptures carved from wood. Morris (1992, 55) does point out however that the usage in Pausanias may carry a sense of archaism unattested elsewhere. For δαίδαλα, particularly as votive objects, see Morris 1992, 67. It is not inconceivable that some of the δαίδαλα mentioned by ancient authors might have been prehistoric objects repurposed. In particular, debate has swirled around the δαίδαλον of Odysseus, *Od.*19. 225-231.

[246] Demangel 1926, 6-14.

[247] For instance, Coldstream 1977, 330; Fontenrose 1978, 4; Rolley 1990, 10.

objects, the analysis by Müller,[248] suggests that the latter view is correct. She cites the mixed date of the figurines themselves, which span from LH IIIB to LH IIIC in a single, well-defined deposit as well as the fact that only anthropomorphic figurines were found; normally animals are found mixed with anthropomorphic figurines in Mycenaean deposits. She also cites the absence of any Mycenaean architecture in the vicinity; the Mycenaean village of Delphi and its associated cemetery are further upslope and the objects are in a defined group, not in a wash deposit. The author attractively speculates that the Mycenaean figurines may have been unearthed in tombs when foundations were dug for the buildings comprising the Classical sanctuary of Apollo. These were assembled and deposited as a foundational deposit for the Temple of Athena Pronaia sometime in the seventh century B.C.E.[249] This date is arrived at by the relation of the votive deposit to the temple foundations as well as an abundance of pottery sherds of this date associated with the deposit.

Additional evidence for the reuse of prehistoric figurines can be found at Tegea, where a bronze LH IIIC figurine, potentially of Cypriot manufacture was dedicated to Athena Alea. Although there is still some debate as to whether there may still be an undiscovered Mycenaean shrine at the site, the rarity of Mycenaean ceramics and this isolated prehistoric figurine suggest that this figurine is likely a later votive dedication. A conclusion that was hinted at by the excavator, Voyatzis:

> One can conclude that these objects either were heirlooms which were dedicated at the site sometime during or after the Protogeometric period, when the cult was established, or that they mark an earlier phase of the cult at the site which resumed tangible activity in the late tenth – ninth centuries (1990, 240).

[248] 1992, 484-486; also Morgan 2003, 121.

[249] Müller 1992, 481. A similar deposit, composed entirely of Mycenaean ivories, may also have been assembled for the foundation of the Temple of Artemis on Delos in the late 8th century BC (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947/48, 247). This suggestion has found less support, however, largely on account of the friable nature of the ivories. Recent analysis by Tournavitou (1995, 526-527) shows that the ivories bear the closest resemblance to tomb material, although with a few unfinished pieces. This may suggest that the items were stumbled upon in a similar manner to that proposed by Müller for Delphi. Poursat (1973) has also pointed out the mixed provenance of the items, again suggesting that they come from a variety of sources.

It is noteworthy that the excavator assumed that the finds[250] from Tegea were heirlooms, if they were not from a Mycenaean phase for which there is no conclusive proof. Heirlooms imply something continuously handed down, and therefore something with continuity of meaning. This point is strikingly different from my preceding chapter. Many of the prehistoric objects found in tombs were deposited in the window from the 10th century to the eighth century B.C.E., in many cases within a few generations of the objects' manufacture. In the case of the prehistoric objects in the sanctuaries, however, almost a millennium had passed by, a seemingly insurmountable period of time for an heirloom to be handed down without being discarded or broken.

The most impressive and incontrovertible reuse of a prehistoric sculpture however comes from the shrine at Ayia Irini on Keos.[251] This structure was in use at various periods, although not continuously, from at least the Middle Minoan III period until the Hellenistic period (Figure 15).[252] The most interesting finds at the site are the only well preserved examples of large scale prehistoric sculpture to survive anywhere in the Aegean.[253] Made of terracotta, these sculptures are representations of women, whether deities, priestesses, or participants in religious rites, ranging in size from half to just-over life size.[254] Impressive in their own right, these sculptures owe their preservation to their burial in the destruction of the temple by a massive earthquake. After a short interval, the remains of the temple were explored, sometime in the Geometric period, and reutilizing parts of the prehistoric architecture, the inhabitants of Keos once again founded a shrine on the same site. Most interesting, however, was the reuse of a terracotta head from one of the prehistoric sculptures as a cult statue.[255] The god with whom the head was

[250] Two incomplete stirrup jars were also found in a deposit of Geometric pottery (Voyatzis 1990, 64).

[251] Most recently, Gorogianni (2012) has recounted the find circumstances of the statues and their ongoing biographies.

[252] Eisner 1972, 123.

[253] Other examples include the 'sphinx' head from Mycenae (Rehak 2005), as well as fragments from: Juktas, see Karetsou 1974, 235; Petsophas, see Myres 1902-1903, 375-376; and Knossos, see Evans 1964, 522-525; Hägg 1983: 543-549.

[254] Caskey 1986, 35-36.

[255] Eisner 1972, 124-125; Caskey 1986, 39.

identified is uncertain due to the early date of its reuse, yet by at least the sixth century, a preserved inscription indicates that the shrine was associated with Dionysos.[256] On account of the decipherment of the Linear B script, we now know that, at least on the mainland, the worship of Dionysos extended back into the prehistoric period.[257] It is therefore possible that this site represents a continuity of cult extending from the prehistoric period to the later Greek period.[258] Although this single head was the best preserved example of the reuse of an ancient sculpture at the site, being clearly placed within a circular ring of clay in the center of the shrine (Figure 16), the excavators suggest that other heads may have been removed from the sculptures, since they were commonly missing among the discovered fragments of the sculptures, despite being one of the most durable parts of the sculptures and on account of the discovery of several more clay rings which contained nothing in them.[259] The significance of this site is that on account of its careful excavation, the archaeological remains demonstrate incontrovertibly that the prehistoric head was reused in a later ritual context.

But how is the reuse of ancient sculpture connected to the dedication of other prehistoric items, such as weapons? Can the inscribed weapons be regarded in the same light as sculpture, as possessing a certain divine nature on account of their age? Other objects, even more commonplace than weapons have also found their way into Greek sanctuaries: a bronze weight in the shape of a bovine at Sounion,[260] the inscribed chisel from Boeotia and perhaps the pottery from Tegea. These archaeological findings support the idea that it was the age of the objects that made them important and, indeed, a passage in Pausanias seems to hint that even seemingly commonplace objects could be imbued with the same divine presence as sculpture. For he recounts that:

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[256] Eisner 1972, 6. More recently, Caskey (2009) has more fully explored the presence of Dionysos at the temple.

[257] In Linear B, he appears as *di-wi-nu-so*. See Aura Jorro (1999, 183-184) for a complete bibliography.

[258] Caskey 1986, 40-41.

[259] *Ibid*. 40.

[260] See Herda 1996. The inclusion of these bronzes as repurposed prehistoric objects is debatable. Their dedication could equally be on account of their Eastern origin. See Helms (1988) for the value of Eastern imports in Greece in antiquity.

> Of the gods, the people of Chaeroneia honour most the sceptre which Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, Hermes received from Zeus and gave to Pelops, Pelops left to Atreus, Atreus to Thyestes, and Agamemnon had from Thyestes. This sceptre, then, they worship, calling it Spear (Δόρυ). That there is clearly something peculiarily divine about this sceptre is most clearly shown by the fame that it brings to the Chaeroneans (Paus. 9.40.11).

This further begs the question, why? Why were temples proudly displaying these objects? Yes, their divine nature was important for the primary deposition of the objects by dedicators, but it still does not entirely explain the secondary use of these votive objects by sanctuaries in public displays.

Le Roy concluded that "si le <<temoin>> avait une valeure religieuse pour ses premiers possesseurs et se retrouve encore, quelques siècles après, dans une context cultuelle, il peut avoir change de sens en changeant d'epoque."[261] In doing so, he warned against interpreting artifacts based on our preconceived notions about them, but rather to consider the context in which the finds are made, for it is only through understanding the context of a find that it can be interpreted in any meaningful way. Heeding Le Roy's advice, I have attempted to limit my discussion to objects with a secure context. Fortunately, since these objects are found in Archaic and Classical contexts, I have not had to limit myself to an archaeological context, but have been able to draw on concurrent literary sources for interpreting their social context. I believe that this marks a fundamental distinction with works that have too often considered either literary sources or archaeological finds, but rarely both.[262]

Collective Memory and the Construction of Group Identity

The development and spread of the alphabet in the eighth century rapidly led to literacy among elite classes. Higbie makes the argument, in her analysis of the Lindian chronicle, that the increasing literacy of travellers in the Hellenistic period led to the necessity of providing greater evidence, of a wider variety, in order to back-up claims of a mytho-historic nature.[263] While she sees this solely as a product of the Hellenistic

[261] 1984, 165.

[262] An exception being the shrine at Ayia Irini, see Eisner 1972; Caskey 1986.

[263] Higbie 2003, 289-290.

period, the same trend can actually be detected much earlier, albeit to a lesser extent. With the introduction of the alphabet in the eighth century, the Greeks gained the ability to record dedications permanently. Thus, visitors to sanctuaries could take in massive displays of accumulated objects. Undoubtedly, certain of these objects were given places of prominence such as many of the most famous dedications we think of: the *kouroi* of Sounion, the Delphi Charioteer, or the Hermes and Child from Olympia to name but a few. It is clear from our sources that travelers, such as Pausanias, were immensely interested in objects that were of a much less impressive scale. While it is quite enjoyable to hear descriptions of the works of master sculptors, we ultimately find that Pausanias devotes as much time in his description on items such as swords, shields and axes that must have been commonplace objects even in the second century A.D. The only way to fully explain the prominence of these objects is to accept that these objects played an equally important role in the ancient temples. Of particular note are those objects which were traced to a previous age, objects ascribed to heroes and demi-gods. These prehistoric objects were considered particularly valuable and as I will argue below, this is on account of their use as loci of collective memory.

The idea that an object could serve as a loci of collective memory was not a foreign one to the ancient Greeks. Turning again to Porphyry, the following passage proves a useful starting point. For continuing his discussion cited earlier, concerning the greater divinity of ancient icons, Porphyry says "The reminders of former times from the sheaf-bearing Hyperboreans were revered on Delos."[264] Here the word translated as 'reminders' is τά ὑπομνήματα, from the Greek noun τό ὑπόμνημα. This word first appears in the fifth century, in the writing of Thucydides,[265] and is known from the fourth century from tomb inscriptions,[266] where it is clearly used to denote a physical item that recalls a past event. The use of the word here to describe votive objects at Delos, allegedly dedicated by the Hyperboreans is particularly enlightening as it suggests that objects in sanctuaries were used to recall past events. Pausanias demonstrates this in

[264] Porph. *Abst.* 2.19.3.

[265] Thuc. 2.44.

[266] For example, *IG* XII(9).192.5; *IG* IV^2(1).121.39.

practice when he describes the dedication of a group of axes at Delphi by the Teneans,[267] followed by the reason for the dedication, which is tied to a myth integrating the Teneans. There is no reason to assume that this was a late development, however, as the basic groundwork for it is seen in the works of Homer. Thus, in book ten of the *Iliad*, Homer describes the arming of Diomedes and Odysseus for a night raid on the Trojans. When he arrives at the description of a boar's tusk helmet that Odysseus is given to wear, an object which was itself an antique by the time the *Iliad* was written down, the author digresses to discuss the history of this unique object:

> Autolykos, breaking into the close-built house, had stolen it
> From Amyntor, the son of Ormenos, out of Eleon,
> and gave it to Kytherian Amphidamas, at Skandeia;
> Amphidamas gave it in turn to Molos, a gift of guest-friendship,
> and Molos gave it to his son Meriones to carry.
> But at this time it was worn to cover the head of Odysseus (*Il*. 10.266-271).

This passage demonstrates that, from an early date, the idea that memory could be attached to a specific object seems to have been recognized and even utilized by the Greeks to construct personal ties of ξενία or 'guest-friendship' as indicated in the above passage. I believe that this concept can be taken even further and applied to the emergence of Hellenism, that is to say a common Hellenic identity with which Greeks from all city-states could identify.

Conclusions

Group identity is constructed from the process of collective memory. It is an important social construct as it dictates such basic social practices as marriage and burial. The ancient Greeks show a particular concern with constructing identity, both at a state and even Hellenic level, beginning in the eighth century, but even down to the fourth century, as evidenced by Macedonian attempts to 'Hellenize' their identity.[268] Early genealogical epics such as Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women* provide some

[267] Paus. 10.14.1-4. This was also immortalized in their coinage, which prominently featured a double axe from the 5th-4th centuries, see Brett 1974, 213-214.

[268] See Hall (2001) for a full discussion.

the first evidence for conceptualizing a common Greek identity.[269] Although some have taken Thucydides' comments on the absence of a single word for 'Greeks' in the Homeric epics as evidence that no common identity existed prior to the Persian Wars,[270] stress should be placed on the importance of the creation of these early genealogies which clearly worked to create a common Greek identity, and in particular the role of sanctuaries in promoting such genealogies.[271] The early genealogical works clearly demonstrate an attempt to formalize Greek myth. While this may have been partially driven by a desire to appeal to a broader audience, it also served to create connections between the emerging Greek poleis, regardless of present attitudes towards each other. Group identity was therefore constantly being negotiated between various groups, and undoubtedly collective memory played an important role in these negotiations. As S. Morris has highlighted, Greek myth is frequently modified to suit the needs of the present.[272] Thus, in order for various groups to negotiate their own identity in relation to a common Hellenic identity they turned to physical evidence. The presentation of prehistoric objects by sanctuaries could be used to recall a long-deceased ancestor, mythological figure or ancient encounter. In fact, a concurrent trend to the display of prehistoric objects was the reclamation of hero-bones, a topic which is covered by an extensive bibliography.[273] In general, this practice seems to have thrived from the sixth to fourth centuries. Both of these processes connected individual poleis with a general Hellenic identity, often through connections with the Homeric epics.

In his work *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece*, Whitley comments that "the physical remains of the Bronze Age were re-used and integrated within the civic and cultural life of the city,"[274] acknowledging the same phenomenon that I highlighted at the

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[269] For the use of mytho-historic connections in the creation of group identity, see Hall 1997a; Antonaccio 2001; Morgan 2003, 187-188.

[270] Thuc.1.3.

[271] See Finkelberg (2005, 24-41) for a discussion of the importance of these early genealogies in creating a common Hellenic identity. In particular, see Finkelberg (2005, 37-38) for the importance of sanctuaries in promulgating genealogical narratives.

[272] Morris 1992, 329.

[273] Coldstream 1976; Morris 1988; Auffarth 1999; McCauley 1999. The practice may in fact originate from colonization, again beginning in the eighth century B.C.E., see Antonaccio 1999.

[274] Whitley 1991, 42.

beginning of this chapter, namely the coincidence in the eighth century of the rise of the *polis* and sudden interest in ancient remains. I am by no means the first person to note such a connection.[275] De Polignac in particular described the phenomenon of reusing ancient objects in Archaic and Classical sanctuaries as a form of "religious archaeology." He saw the reuse of ancient artifacts as a means of connecting with a past, whether it was in actuality part of their own past.[276] The evidence discussed above certainly supports this view, namely that the ancient Greeks sought to strengthen the connection between past and present. Being such a long-lived and widespread phenomenon, the reuse of prehistoric objects suggests that they played an important role; the Greeks did not simply draw on the past to strengthen their own political positions, but as a means of actively constructing and negotiating group identity.

[275] Certainly Coldstream (1976), Wright (1982), de Polignac (1995), Antonaccio (1994b), and Mazarakis Ainian (1999) to name but a few, have highlighted the importance of this connection.

[276] de Polignac 1995, 28.

Chapter 3 – Σήματα in the Plain: Constructing Landscapes of Memory

Introduction

> But the disasters of the Messenians, and the length of their exile from the Peloponnesus, even after their return wrapped in darkness much of their ancient history, and their ignorance makes it easy for any who wish to dispute a claim with them (Paus. 3.13.2).

In the wake of the destructions and abandonments that mark the end of the Late Bronze Age, one might think that very little remained visible of the architecture. Being made of mud brick and timber, these structures would have quickly deteriorated and been lost to memory. This was certainly the prevailing view among most archaeologists until only just recently. New research, however, into the afterlife of Mycenaean structures, in particular the Palace of Nestor on the hill of Ano Englianos, is revealing that Mycenaean structures remained visible and active parts of the ancient landscape.[277] No longer can we apply the simple model of manufacture, use, and destruction. Ruins must be considered to have afterlives that extend beyond their initial destructions to include periods of reuse, modification, and, in some cases, even reconstruction. This discovery has obvious implications for the study of how ancient Greeks viewed their Mycenaean predecessors, as the standing remains were visible marks on a landscape largely denuded of its former inhabitants. The appearance of the walls of Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens, Thebes[278] and Midea, to name only the most notable, would have had a profound effect on people who had abandoned the practice of erecting monumental architecture. Some have even stressed the seemingly significant stylistic affinities between the re-emergence of monumental architecture and the crumbling palatial structures.[279]

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[277] For the most recent research see LaFayette (2011) and Davis and Lynch (In press).

[278] Although the walls of Thebes are no longer visible, archaeological investigation has revealed traces of their existence. A recognizable section of the wall may even have been still standing when Leake passed through in the 19th century (1835, 226). Although the section observed by Leake has been questioned by Keramopoullos (1917, 304), Aravantinos (1991) has published new results confirming the existence of the circuit. In combination with this archaeological evidence, the formidable body of legends which surround the walls of Thebes, almost certainly indicate the survival of at least parts of the Mycenaean enceinte past the palatial destructions of 1200 B.C.E.

[279] For the earliest temple at the Argive Heraion, see Tomlinson 1972, 231-232. has I would even hazard to say that the polygonal style of masonry is inspired by Mycenaean cyclopean architecture. This suggestion may find confirmation in the use of the polygonal style for constructions on the Acropolis in Athens during

This chapter seeks to explore the evidence for later Greek interaction with prehistoric ruins, disregarding the evidence for reuse of burial sites presented in chapter two, although these certainly played an important role in constructing a landscape of memory. I will begin by further considering the intimate link between landscape and memory. Evidence will be drawn from a handful of well-established examples of reused architecture attested to in the archaeological record, as well as from a diverse range of literary sources making reference to structures perceived to be prehistoric. Finally, consideration will be given to the construction of a prehistoric past through archaizing architecture. In doing so, I will present a new way of approaching these ruins, not as accidental discoveries, but rather as revered sites that help to construct group identities in their role as mnemonic devices.

The Link between Landscape and Social Memory

Rumsey has shown that "landscape is the main locus of social memory, with both myth and history inscribed in the landscape."[280] His studies on the social memory of the Aboriginal population of Australia have demonstrated that, in an oral culture, myths are often structured around the landscape itself, whether this landscape is natural or modified by the actions of mankind. Oubina, Boado and Estevez demonstrate that the modification of the landscape can be directly related to the rewriting of the landscape and thereby, we can infer, to the rewriting of social memory:

> We may also see how the process of inventing a tradition incorporates the use of previously existing sacred spaces: rewriting tradition is also rewriting landscape. Maintaining similar forms of landscape throughout time provides the medium for writing landscape. It enables us, as archaeologists, to evaluate the temporality of that landscape (Oubina *et al.* 1998, 174).

Although often studies on landscape focus on the physical landscape and how it dictates the location of settlements or ritual sites, it is clear that the constructed landscape plays an equally important role in the preservation of memory.[281] Furthermore, constructed

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the sixth century, as well as the recent find of a polygonal wall abutting cyclopean architecture at the site of ancient Eleon in Boeotia.

[280] 1994, 127-128.

[281] See for instance Dietler (1998) on the reuse of Celtic *oppida*.

landscapes can be shown to have a powerful ability to shape identity, through the visual repetition of cultural values and social norms.[282]

Landscape also serves to shape the human experience. Dietler has convincingly demonstrated that mankind can "imbue certain places in the landscape with special symbolic value and turn them into historical 'memory factories,' whereby historical narratives are generated."[283] A great example of this is seen in Homer's *Odyssey*, when Odysseus, upon returning to Ithaka, encounters his father:

> Then in turn Laertes answered him and said to him:
> 'If in truth you are Odysseus, my son, who have come back
> here, give me some unmistakable sign (σῆμα), so I can believe you.'
> Then resourceful Odysseus spoke in turn and answered him:
> 'First, then, look with your eyes upon this scar and know it.
> The wild boar inflicted it with his white tusk, on Parnassos,
> When I went there; for you and my queenly mother had sent me
> to Autolykos, my mother's dear father, so I could be given
> those gifts, which he promised me and consented to when he came to us.
> Or come then, let me tell you of the trees in the well-worked
> Orchard, which you gave me once. I asked you of each one, when I was a
> child, following you through the garden. (*Od*. 24.327-338).

This passage illustrates Odysseus' appeal to the landscape to convince his father of his identity. The word σῆμα is commonly used to denote a tomb marker, and is intimately tied to the recollection of memory.[284] For it is only through the memories stored in the landscape itself that he can prove his identity. Although his scar is also used as a σῆμα, recalling the story of the fateful boar hunt where he received it, it is ultimately the fruit trees and the memory of a shared event from Odysseus' childhood that matters, since the shared childhood event was limited to Odysseus and his father, whereas the story of Odysseus' injury was a well-known feature of

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[282] This practice can be used to great effect, as demonstrated by the Roman transformation of Gaul into a Roman province through the establishment of *capitolia* and *fora* on the sites of native ritual, such as marshes and groves. In doing so, the Roman's were actively engaging in landscape modification which deprived the former inhabitants of their accumulated memories, while simultaneously creating new venues for the formation of distinctly Roman ones. For example, the construction of Lugdunum on a Celtic *oppidum*.

[283] 1998, 72.

[284] Nagy 1990.

Odysseus. Thus, this passage illustrates how σῆμα act as loci of memory and are formative to the construction of identities.

Another rich source for the 'reading' of landscape are travel writers such as Pausanias and Aelius Aristides. Pausanias often makes reference to the landscape in order to recall past events or stories.[285] His contemporary Aelius Aristides provides an insider's perspective on this practice when he writes:

> While traveling about the city you would find wisdom and you would learn and hear it from its inanimate objects. So numerous are the treasures of paintings all about it, wherever one would simply look, throughout the streets themselves and porticoes. And further the gymnasiums and schools are instruction and stories (Aristid. *Or*. 46.28. Trans. Petsalis-Diomidis 2008,142.).

Although, Pausanias and Aristides are both Romans visiting Greece, the experience of a Greek travelling through the landscape must have been much the same, with specific landmarks recalling past events or stories. Cities with long histories such as Athens and Thebes would have been chock full of monuments of various periods and thus would have presented many competing memories.

Considering the opening of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, known as the *Archaiologia* (1.1-1.19), it is possible to see how social memory, imbedded in the physical landscape, is also capable of being transformed through the modification of the landscape.[286]

> Still more addicted to piracy were the islanders. These included Carians as well as Phoenicians, for Carians inhabited most of the islands, as may be inferred from the fact that, when Delos was purified by the Athenians in this war and the graves of all who had ever died on the island were removed, over half were discovered to be Carians, being recognized by the fashion of armour found buried with them, and by the mode of burial, which is still in use among them (Thuc. 1.8).

In 'purifying' the island of Delos in the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians were actually engaging in the age old process of landscape modification. In officially uprooting the

[285] Birge (1992) has considered the role of trees as memnonics to recall past events.

[286] Luraghi (2000) sees the *Archaiologia* as a rhetorical device, used to sway Thucydides' audience. This should not affect the relevance of the text for the present study.

graves and transferring them off the island, the Athenians changed how a visitor to the island would view the sacred space. In fact, the Athenians were able to gain complete control over the historical narratives of the island since they removed any elements that were not in keeping with the new Athenian construction of the social memory of Delos. Furthermore, we are told by Thucydides that this was not the first Athenian attempt at the modification of the landscape of Delos. Peisistratos had undertaken to clear any tombs within site of the temple during his tyranny.[287] Obviously the modification of Delos was of some social significance to the Athenians, since they expended both considerable time and resources on the island. Although this particular action could be undertaken in the guise of a pious deed, demanded by an oracle no less, the underlying motive may have been the removal of any history that did not agree with Athens' new world view, namely unchecked Athenian superiority in the Aegean Sea.

Landscapes Lost

The earliest evidence for the deliberate reuse of Mycenaean ruins comes from the sites most visible in the Greek landscape, the palatial centers themselves. As explored in previous chapters, sites such as Tiryns remained active in the Post Palatial, LH IIIC period, as well as in the Early Iron Age, allowing for the maintenance and even reconstruction of certain architectural features destroyed at the close of the LH IIIB period. In order to emphasize the significance of the reused and repurposed Mycenaean architecture, it is equally important to consider the phenomenon of landscapes lost. At Pylos, which has been shown archaeologically to have been the seat of a significant Bronze Age state, temporary visitations have been traced in unique floor deposits preserved in a select few rooms.[288] These deposits seem to indicate that parts of the palace continued to be standing and therefore were used as temporary shelter for itinerate individuals even after its fiery destruction. Indeed, small parts of the palace were potentially modified shortly after the destruction following the pattern observed at Tiryns.

[287] Thuc. 3.104.

[288] A dissertation by LaFayette has recently re-examined the stratigraphy of the Palace of Nestor to reveal a more gradual destruction than previously believed (2011, esp. 282-290).

Unlike Tiryns, however, there was ultimately a loss of memory that accompanied these transformations.[289]

Pylos therefore provides us with an interesting perspective on the processes that prevailed throughout the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. Pylos is remembered in the epic poems of Homer as "Sandy Pylos." This attests to at least some cultural memory of the site of Pylos and its importance in the Bronze Age geography of Messenia.[290] Despite this memory, it neglects the actual location of Pylos, for the Bronze Age palace is not located on a beach, but rather several kilometers inland. The epithet recorded in Homer is therefore a reflection of the geography more familiar to a Classical Greek. This indicates that before the Homeric poems reached their final form, the site of Bronze Age Pylos had been lost from memory, and the memories were transferred onto the site of Classical Pylos on the coast. The migration of this name is undoubtedly due to the fact that Pylos was abandoned after its destruction and only sporadically revisited, rather than resettled.[291]

The recent study of the process of destruction of the palace shows that by the eighth century B.C.E., the palace had experienced total collapse and the rooms that show signs of post-palatial reuse are completely filled in.[292] As has been often remarked in scholarly literature, Pylos did not possess the kind of cyclopean masonry walls evident at Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea and even Athens, but rather may have had a fortification wall largely of mud brick, or no wall at all.[293] The final collapse of the palatial ruins therefore essentially erased Pylos from the geographical map of Greece. When populations began to reassemble into communities during the Geometric period, the final remnants of the

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[289] Lafayette 2011, 40.

[290] Considerable debate has existed over the identification of ancient Pylos. Strabo says that there were three sites in his day that claimed to be Pylos (8.3.1-3). Cooley (1946) pushed for the identification of the Bronze Age site of Kakovatos as Pylos, on account of its coastal location. The fact that the Bronze Age palace on the Ayo Englianos ridge was the original Pylos has since been confirmed by the Linear B texts found there that clearly refer to the site as *pu-ro* (Bennet 1998, 122). Davis (1998, xx-xi) discusses the migration of the name.

[291] Griebel and Nelson (1998) report that the scant Geometric material is exclusively domestic in nature.

[292] LaFayette 2011, 285.

[293] Traces of a possible fortification wall were discovered during geophysical examination of the surrounding landscape under the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP). These are possibly compatible with a stone socle for the erection of a mudbrick wall (Zangger *et al.* 1997, 610-613, Fig. 40).

Palace of Nestor had collapsed and likely were covered over by mud brick and swallowed by vegetation. Certainly the Spartan conquest of Messenia in the eighth century B.C.E. must have also exasperated the loss of local memories as the populations were moved and forced to engage in Spartan social practices.[294] The ridge of Ano Englianos is not a distinct rocky formation such as the Athenian Acropolis or Tiryns and thus the location was lost and the memories were moved to a place that better fit the description of Homer, namely the nearby sandy shore.[295]

But Pylos is not the only ancient site that seems to fall into this pattern of cultural amnesia, whereby the location that memories are attached to is lost. The case of migrating myth has been summed up most eloquently by S. Morris in her discussion of the transposition of the Trojan myth cycle onto an available visible ruin, when the original site was lost:

> Likewise, Aegean coastal cities which suffered repeated raids by Hittites, their vassals or renegades like Piyaramadu, preserved too little of their Bronze Age remains, buried under alluvial fill and later classical cities, for a credible past. Instead, conspicuous citadels like Pergamon or the mound of Troy dominated the imagination of early Greek (and modern) travelers, settlers and poets, with their visible heights and walls. No wonder such visitors fixed on these locales for early epic campaigns by Greeks in a foreign land. Meanwhile, we lack similar stirring tales for Miletus and Ephesus, where the real action must have taken place in the Late Bronze Age (S. Morris 2001, 427-428).

Here we have Troy, an extremely well-fortified site with impressive stone-masonry walls, but a site that may have in fact played a minor role in the politics of the Bronze Age conflict between the Aegean and Anatolian worlds. For, as S. Morris demonstrates, the most compelling evidence for Mycenaean and Hittite conflict are found far to the south of Troy. Despite this, a vast narrative cycle sprang up around the ruins of Troy, almost certainly having been transposed there from the long disintegrated ruins further south. Thus, whereas the actual site of Pylos was lost and forgotten, the site of Troy was given

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[294] Antonaccio 1994b, 98.

[295] It is surely significant that the memory of a Pylos persisted and was applied to the Classical city, although it could easily argued that this city took its name to capitalize off of the popularity of the Homeric corpora.

greater prominence than it likely ever played in actual Mycenaean affairs simply because it remained a visible part of the physical landscape.

Arguably this particular transposition of myth was one of the single most important events of the Iron Age, as it provided the anchor for a mythical cycle that would become the legitimizing factor for political power as geographically and temporally separated as the Augustan principate in Italy and the Norman kings of France.[296] This demonstrates that ruins could easily be repurposed to serve the social narratives of the present in a way that is integral to the formation of identity. It also demonstrates the malleability of memory, since this transposition also allowed for the retention of memories that would have otherwise been lost.

Megaron to Temple[297]

> It is quite true that virtually all the sanctuaries, particularly the non-urban ones, were – in most cases quite deliberately – built on top of ruins from the Bronze Age (de Polignac 1995, 27).

Those ruins which did not suffer the fate accorded to Pylos, and whose location was a fixed feature of the landscape, became loci for social memories. As emphasized by de Polignac, reused Mycenaean ruins were frequently chosen for the placement of early Greek sanctuaries or temples (Figure 17).[298] The presence of tumbled ruins was an integral component in the structure of the sacred landscape, even though the reused ruins largely lacked any sort of ritual connection in the Bronze Age. In fact, the greater part of our evidence comes from the reused rubble of Mycenaean citadels, normally the most visible ruins in a given area. Pausanias proves a useful source for understanding the ancient practice of locating temples on ancient ruins. In particular, his description of the temple of Dionysos on the Kadmeia at Thebes, which by virtue of its narration in the text should be located near the ruins ascribed by the Thebans to the house of Kadmos. The

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[296] For the resonance of the Trojan mythological cycle, and its political ramifications, see Sheratt 2010.

[297] Mazarakis Ainian (1997; 2006) has discussed at length the relationship between megaron and temple. He has also emphasized the difficulty in distinguishing between the two during the Dark Ages. He sees the form of the Classical Greek temple as the descendant of Early Iron Age megara (1997, 396).

[298] Klein (1997) discusses the temples built on the megaron of Mycenae.

house of Kadmos represents an even more intriguing case, where the destroyed Bronze Age remains were themselves venerated as sacred space:

> The Thebans assert that on the part of their citadel, where to-day stands their market-place, was in ancient times the house of Cadmus. They point out the ruins of the bridal-chamber of Harmonia, and of one which they say was Semele's; into the latter they allow no man to step even now (Paus.9.12.3).

Symeonoglou sought to use this as proof of religious continuity, yet it seems clear from the above passage that this is another example of the Greek tendency to construct their sacred landscape around ancient ruins.[299]

Pausanias' testimony is not the only evidence that attests to this practice. One of the most striking patterns that can be observed in the Geometric period is the establishment of temples on the ruins of former Mycenaean structures, most notably the palaces, although other Mycenaean sites also exhibit evidence for the reuse of Mycenaean sites for early ritual practice.[300] The pattern of reuse is most striking in the Argolid where sanctuaries at Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, and the Argive Heraion seem to be located on former ruins and cemeteries. Meanwhile, outside the Argolid, Thebes, Athens, the Menelaion, Amyklaion, Kalapodi and Thermon all exhibit some level of engagement with in their Mycenaean past.

Argive Archaisms

One of the earliest and most compelling cases for landscape modification in Iron Age Greece comes from the site of the Argive Heraion. Located in the heart of the Argolid, Argos seems to have been one of the centers that recovered most quickly after the Bronze Age collapse. Contemporary with the emergence of Geometric pottery, a dramatic change is observed in the power dynamic between the main settlements of the Argolid with Argos rising to dominance over the important Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns. As new excavations are showing, however, Tiryns was quickly closing the gap. New evidence suggests that Tiryns would have presented a formidable

[299] 1985, 59.

[300] See Antonaccio 1994b.

opponent to Argos during the ninth, and especially eighth centuries B.C.E.[301] Of course Tiryns, with its massive cyclopean walls would have been able to present a legitimate claim to the territory and, despite its smaller size, Mycenae also shows signs of renewal by the ninth century, and it too possessed imposing fortifications (Figure 18).[302] Such a landscape of ancient fortifications surely loomed large in the minds of the Argives. At some point in the early eighth century B.C.E. therefore, Argos seems to have embarked upon an ambitious building program at the site of Prosymna, known today as the Argive Heraion (Figure 19).[303]

As demonstrated by Antonaccio, among others, the choice was not haphazard – besides being connected visually with the city of Argos across the plain, the hill adjacent to it was the site of a Mycenaean cemetery.[304] Evidence indicates that a tholos tomb located nearby the sanctuary may also have served as a locus of ancestor worship.[305] From the foundation of the sanctuary therefore, it is evident that the Argives were making an ancestral claim to the territory. In order to enhance the prestige of the site, the Argives may also have deliberately created a Mycenaeanizing terrace wall with cyclopean blocks. They certainly seem to have achieved their goal, as Pausanias records that the Argive Heraion was ruled over by the prehistoric king Proteus, thereby acknowledging its alleged antiquity.[306]

The temple terrace is an imposing work. Composed of conglomerate, roughly ashlar, blocks, the terrace has a monumental quality which is only made more impressive by the early date assigned to the construction of it. The manner of this terrace's construction is in fact so convincing that early archaeologists identified it as a Mycenaean

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[301] Morgan 1991, esp. 87-88. I. Morris (1999, 76) highlights the influx of foreign imports in Tirynthian graves around 900 B.C.E., while noting no increase at Argos.

[302] Morgan 1991, 88-89.

[303] Antonaccio 1992; Auffarth 2006. Hall (1995; 1997b) rejects this view and instead sees the Argive Heraion as a regional sanctuary where the inhabitants of Argos, Tiryns, and Mycenae celebrated their shared identity.

[304] Antonaccio 1992, 99-100. Antonaccio (1992, 101) also discusses the possibility that LH III house remains were still visible.

[305] Antonaccio 1994b, 94.

[306] Paus. 2.16.2

construction (Figure 20).[307] More recent research suggests that construction began in the eighth century B.C.E., with the erection of the temple terrace at Prosymna, designed to mimic the architecture of Mycenaean citadels such as Tiryns and Mycenae with which the Argives must have been all too familiar. A secondary effort to emphasize their own heroic lineage seems to have been the erection of an altar on a second terrace, also of Mycenaeanizing character, directly in front of the single tholos tomb found on the Prosymna ridge,[308] once again emphasizing their own claim to descent from the former inhabitants of the land.

A complex political manoeuver, the building of the Heraion involved a particularly clever manipulation of social memory. Not only was the landscape modified to create a prehistoric past for the Argives, but memories were created to rival Mycenae's claims to the territory. Further modification was undertaken by transferring an archaic cult statue from Tiryns, perhaps after subduing these neighbours in battle.[309] By depriving the Tirynthians of their ancient icon, the Argives would have come to control local narratives. It is worth noting that this sanctuary may have presented a considerable threat to the Argive Heraion, as it too was dedicated to Hera and located in the ruins of a Mycenaean citadel. The success of the Argive machinations in challenging rival narratives, however, is well-evidenced by the fact that during the Classical period ancient authors had transferred the seat of Agamemnon's power to Argos, not Mycenae![310] This is all the more impressive given that the Mycenaeans still had their imposing walls and tholoi tombs to display. Clearly Argive propaganda was able to overcome this, almost certainly on the strength of its rival narratives. There is strong evidence for Argive interest in the *Iliad*, which of course indicates an interest in making sure that their city was well-represented. In Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, a Late Greek epic of

[307] Wright 1982; Antonaccio 1992. The temple terrace at the Argive Heraion was at first thought to be Mycenaean (Waldstein *et al.* 1902, 109-110). Plommer (1984) continued to maintain this view, even in light of stratigraphic excavations undertaken by Blegen (1937, 20) that suggested a date, now generally agreed upon, in the eighth century B.C.E.

[308] Blegen 1939, chapter four.

[309] Paus. 2.17.5.

[310] Aeschylus in particular favored Argos over Mycenae.

the first century A.D., the Argive Heraion is the place where the Homeric heroes formalize their alliance and elect Agamemnon their leader.[311]

Crafting the Past

The radical changes in Greek art that preceded the re-emergence of the Greek state have been attributed to various social and political causes.[312] Whatever the origins of this new style, it represents a clear stylistic divergence from the previous Mycenaean style. Despite this, however, the style provides hints that it was not entirely ignorant of its preceding cultural heritage. The question of the reuse of Mycenaean motifs in Geometric pottery is one that has been suggested and debated vigorously. The arguments on both sides have been somewhat subjective, as no ancient texts exist which say that a prehistoric object was the model for a particular vase, and no pottery workshop contain prehistoric sherds on a bench has been excavated which would have provided inspiration. The simplest path to tread, and indeed the least controversial, is to simply feign ignorance: the Mycenaean culture had vanished and therefore all their material cultural was lost.

As is evident in Greece even today, however, prehistoric remains were readily available. Sites that were reoccupied in the Geometric period would have proven to be goldmines of Mycenaean material. Any foundation trench dug into the ruins of Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes or Athens would have turned up ample Mycenaean material, as they still do today. The soil deposits that cover these sites are from thousands of years of soil formation and deposition, much of it the result of the later occupation of these very sites. In the Geometric period, there was only perhaps 300 years since the final abandonment of most of these sites, meaning material would only be buried beneath whatever rubble had collapsed on top of it and the negligible amount of new soil created from the decay of mudbrick and vegetation growing on the ruins. The availability of Greek material

[311] 1.16. Today this work survives mainly through a Latin translation of the fourth century A.D. by L. Septimius. Several fragments of papyri (P.Teb. 2.268; P.Oxy. 31.2539; 73.4943; 73.4944) discovered in Egypt do confirm, however, that this version is a close translation of the Greek original (Griffin 1908; Merkle 2004). While this work is late, it indicates that the Argive Heraion, successfully established itself as an important landmark in the Argive Plain.

[312] Whitley 1991; Coldstream 2008.

remains has been amply documented in chapters one and two and needs no further discussion here, suffice to say the argument that the Greeks would not have had access or even be exposed to Mycenaean material is patently unjustified. Considering the broader Greek use of imitations therefore, it is possible to see a greater variety of reuse of Mycenaean motifs and architectural styles than previously thought. Taken with the broader re-use of actual prehistoric items, I believe that this pattern reflects a deeper cultural importance accorded to material remains than previously contemplated.

There are several examples of objects which suggest a more nostalgic approach to the past. These objects represent a small class, but an important one, as they provide clear evidence that the ancient Greeks were not oblivious to the antiquities they found, whether by accident or intentionally. Depending on the circumstances, this was either a method of harkening back to former styles, as retro-fads do today, or it was a crafty attempt at marketing forgeries. One of the first to note such objects was Boardman, who wrote about the manufacture of early seal stones to replicate prehistoric motifs and styles, sometimes rendering them difficult to tell apart.[313] Various uses have been put forward for these seal stones. As demonstrated in chapter two, actual prehistoric seal stones were being dedicated as small sanctuary votives, so this was one potential group of clientele for the workshops manufacturing them, but their appearance as grave-offerings suggests that the objects had long life histories before their deposition at sanctuaries. Crielaard has suggested that the reuse of Bronze Age seals was on account of perceived apotropaic properties, perhaps paralleling their ancient use with the early 19th century practice on Crete.[314] Whatever the case, the demand for such items was apparently great enough to encourage the manufacture of modern copies.

About the same time as these gemstones were coming into vogue in ancient Greece, a sword was buried among the cemeteries at Lefkandi. In the publication of the tomb, the excavators were able to confidently assert:

> A sword such as T14, 4, so close to Group I bronze swords of the late 13th and early 12th century BC seems only explicable if we assume that the

[313] Boardman 1963, 92; Boardman 2002, 182.

[314] 2011, 100.

> swordsmith had direct experience of such a prototype, particularly when it is recalled that most contemporary swords stand much further apart from the Bronze Age pattern (Popham *et al.* 1980, 254).

Such a sword would have distinguished the warrior buried here from his contemporaries in life. Without textual evidence it is difficult to trace just what the meaning of such a weapon would be. Perhaps it was used to justify ancestral claims, or perhaps it simply accorded its owner greater status by appearing ancient.

A final, particularly interesting object published by Boardman, is a curious vase found today in the British Museum (Figure 21).[315] Acquired in Italy, there remains some confusion as to its origins. The official catalogue lists it as a product of Etruria or Campania of Western Greek type.[316] Boardman disagrees, however, and places its origin, based on stylistic affinities, in Corinth.[317] Either way, the date of manufacture can be placed in the early part of the sixth century B.C.E.[318] Most strikingly, the vase clearly is meant to replicate the form of a prehistoric stirrup-jar. An origin in Corinth is certainly supported by this fact, as there were ample burials in the area where such an ancient model could be acquired in contrast to Italy. While apparently never produced en masse, as this is the only extant example, the object clearly is meant to harken back to a vase form that had not appeared in the ceramic record in roughly 300 years. It is impossible to say what the original context of the find was, although coming from Italy, it is likely to have been acquired from a tomb. Functionally, it likely mimicked its larger ancient predecessors as a container for scented oil.

This small find attests to a feeling of nostalgia among the Greeks in general, a feeling inspired no doubt by the landscape around them. At a time when the progression of man was seen as a perpetual decline, and the ancient walls that dotted the landscape

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[315] British Museum 1970,0910.2.

[316] The British Museum Collections Database. Retrieved on 29 July 2012 <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=399614&partid=1&searchText=imitation+stirrup+jar&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&currentPage=1>

[317] Boardman *et al.* 1976, 192; Boardman 2002, 182.

[318] *Ibid*. 2002, 182.

were rationalized as the work of giants, Cyclopes, or even the gods themselves, chance finds of ancient artifacts would have represented tangible links to past peoples. Much as they do today, these artifacts piqued the interests of individuals, some of whom sought to imitate the objects whether on account of their aesthetic appeal or perceived value.

Tumuli Transformed

> Near the city but apart from it there is a steep hill
> in the plain by itself, so you pass by one side or the other.
> This men call the Hill of the Thicket, but the immortal
> gods have named it the burial mound (σῆμα) of dancing Myrina
> (*Il.* 2.813-814).

The Greek landscape of the Iron Ages was dotted with tumuli, both ancient and recent. These tumuli formed a landscape of memory that would have justified land claims as well as formed bonds between various social groups. To the ancient Greeks, tumuli were the markers (σῆμα) of burials. As such, they represented the physical proof of an individual's existence which anchored their memory in the landscape. The greatest fear therefore was that a tomb be forgotten and its occupant's story lost forever. The above passage demonstrates just such an occurrence in the *Iliad*, when the Trojans marshal alongside a long forgotten tomb, only remembered by the gods themselves.

Loraux has written concerning Athenian autochthony that, rather than just being a matter of Athenians having remained in the same place, there is a second criteria, "implicit but imperative, which adds to the transmission of the soil that of *memory*."[319] Thus, it was imperative to preserve the memory of former times, or to risk losing one's identity, just as the unremembered tumulus in the plain risks losing its identity as a σῆμα, and thus the memory of Myrrhine, and becoming a simple geographic feature. It is clear from Pausanias' visit to Greece in the second century A.D. that any important sanctuary also doubled as the resting place of a hero. Although some evidence shows that actual physical remains were present, a number of sites seem to have taken it upon themselves to elaborate or construct tumuli, which were the standard mark of a notable grave even into the Classical period.

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[319] 2000, 15. Emphasis mine.

The monumentalization of tombs in the Archaic and Classical periods likely resulted from the same processes that encouraged the reuse of Mycenaean ruins, namely the construction of sacred landscapes. Initially, these landscapes were allowed to speak for themselves, but by the Classical period, competition between states/sanctuaries led to monumentalization. This is best defined by the Periklean building programme on the Athenian acropolis in the fifth century B.C.E., which was clearly conceived as a way to enhance the prestige of Athens. It is no surprise therefore that the same process resulted in the embellishment, or even fabrication, of some prehistoric monuments in order to enhance the prestige of a sanctuary. This is a process which can still be seen today at numerous archaeological sites, where restoration projects seek to enhance the prestige of sites by elaborating the visible remains.[320] While it is a constant debate among conservators today, the ancients had no qualms about heavily modifying ancient sites to enhance their appeal, as demonstrated by the elaboration of sites such as the Pelopeion at Olympia (Figure 22), the Ophelteion at Nemea (Figure 23) and the Phroteion at Sounion. One feature common to all three is a large tumulus.

In the case of Olympia, this tumulus seems to have been constructed in the Early Bronze Age.[321] In the other two cases, however, the tumuli seem to have been created first in the Archaic period, perhaps suggesting that these mounds were erected in imitation of Olympia, although they may equally have been inspired by the spread of Homeric epic, with its standardized model for what constituted a heroic burial. The monumentalization of these sanctuaries followed a common pattern, namely the construction of a temenos wall which, separated the tumulus from the sacred space in which it was constructed, and the deposition of arms appropriate to a warrior along with numerous drinking vessels.[322] The temenos also served to mark out the tumulus as not a mere hill, but the tomb of a venerable ancestor. The need for such demarcation is made clear as the above passage demonstrates that a loss of memory will accompany the unmarked tomb.

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[320] Schmidt 1997.

[321] Rambach 2002, 189.

[322] Weapons buried in Ophelteion include an iron sword in a seventh century B.C.E. layer (Bravo 2006, 5-6) and 2 iron spearheads in a sixth century B.C.E. layer (*Ibid.* 29).

As noted above, the process of monumentalization seems to coincide nicely with the writing down of epic, as well as the deposition of ceramics at some Mycenaean graves, suggesting that the intentional memorialization of ancestors was becoming more prevalent at this time.[323] A temenos was established around a cluster of Mycenaean graves at Eleusis as early as the eighth century B.C.E.[324] The Pelopeion at Olympia was similarly elaborated at this time.[325] Taken in combination with the presence of a monumentalized tomb in the heart of the sanctuary at Nemea, likely by the seventh century B.C.E. and the likely tomb at Sounion established around the sixth century B.C.E., it seems that there was a pattern of fixing the heroic founders memory with a monumental tomb.

Sounion has long captured the attention of scholars, not only for its dramatic setting, but for its unusual northern sanctuary to Athena.[326] The sanctuary of Athena, however, is also notable in that it represents a clear case of confusion on the part of Pausanias who identifies the temple of Poseidon as a temple to Athena. The conventional explanation for this is that the temple of Athena had been dismantled and carted off to Athens, where its architectural elements have been found in the Athenian Agora. No doubt Pausanias was also tripped up by the Ionic frieze on the temple of Poseidon, which shows motifs more commonly associated with Athena, including a centauromachy, a gigantomachy and the deeds of Theseus. Inscriptional evidence from the site itself, however, clearly marks this temple out as the temple to Poseidon.

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[323] A 'which came first' style debate has raged over this issue for some time. Some attempt to show that hero-cults precede the rise of epic, others argue for the primacy of epic in generating hero-cult. In truth, the matter is likely not so simple. New evidence suggests that epic likely does have its origins in the Bronze Age, thus epic as a genre is likely to precede the interest in hero-cult by almost a millennium! On the other hand, until the wide circulation of the Homeric texts, there was no standard narrative to integrate local myths into. One of the primary successes of the Homeric corpus was to provide a 'whose who' of Greek mythology. By connecting local myths to this corpus, greater prestige could be accorded to a sanctuary, especially those seeking Panhellenic recognition. But, it is clear that attempts were made to force local myths onto the Homeric corpus, such as Peisistratos' modification of the Iliad and Hesiod, therefore we must assume that local myths could also play a role in shaping epic. Presumably this became much more difficult after the sixth century B.C.E. canonization of the text.

[324] Mylonas (1961, 62-63). This may represent a similar practice to the tumulus enclosure, especially when ancient graves were conveniently located within the sanctuary.

[325] Kyrieleis (2002, 218-219) suggests that the cult of Pelops only begins during the Archaic period or later.

[326] The construction of this temple, in the fifth century B.C.E., is sufficiently unusual as to generate a new book devoted just to its design. Barletta has just recently completed a full restudy of the architecture of the Temple of Athena, due to be published as a monograph.

The precinct of Athena at Sounion was clearly demarcated and separated from the rest of the sanctuary (Figure 24). Excavators have noted the remains of two peribolos walls: the first wall, dated by Dinsmoor, Jr. to the sixth century B.C.E., is a roughly oval enclosure built with "rough stone hewn from the local bedrock."[327] Interestingly, no temple or significant structure has been located within this temenos. The scant remains that were found in its southern portion are described by Dinsmoor, Jr. as an "incomplete lowest course of rubble construction."[328] He continues that these remains cannot be dated, yet suggests that they may have been a house for the priests of Athena. Considering their location, however, within the temenos wall, this interpretation seems dubious. The primary reason to doubt this is the fact that the temenos continued to be sacred space into the Classical period, as demonstrated by the way in which the later Classical temenos wall was deliberately cut to fit against the older temenos wall, thus connecting it with the new.[329] Thus, whatever the original function of this space, it seems to have continued to function in the same manner throughout the Classical period.

Returning to the Archaic temenos, the very shape of the temenos is perplexing. Bergquist, in her examination of Archaic temenoi recognizes no examples of temenoi which are not rectangular, triangular, or a combination of the two.[330] Thus, the oval shape of the temenos at Sounion is as exceptional as its later temple design. Considering the two sanctuaries just examined, however, it seems more likely that a simple explanation exists. Perhaps the Archaic 'temenos' is actually the foundation for a tumulus, constructed in the manner of the tumulus described in Homer for the burial of Patroclos:

> …then laid out the tomb and cast down the holding walls
> around the funeral pyre, then heaped the loose earth over them
> and piled the tomb (σῆμα), and turned to go away. But Achilleus
> held the people there, and made them sit down in a wide assembly,
> and brought prizes for games out of his ships… (*Il.* 23.255-259).

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[327] Dinsmoor, Jr. 1974, 39.

[328] *Ibid.* 51.

[329] *Ibid.* 39.

[330] 1967, 62-68. Bergquist does not even include the temenos at Sounion in her study.

Such a temenos at Sounion would fit well with what we know about the construction of similar tumuli at Olympia and Nemea. Bravo calls the tumulus at Nemea, "a large earthen mound, reinforced in places with internal rubble walls, lined with red clay, and surfaced along its slopes with rubble and larger stones."[331] This would explain the remains Dinsmoor, Jr. identified with the vestiges of a house, despite a lack of associated finds. As evidenced by Nemea, this would not necessarily have been a substantial construction. Bravo estimates the total height of the Nemean mound between one and a half and two meters.[332] This fits with what we know from the excavations at Olympia, which revealed a similarly low mound faced with rubble (Figure 25). Pausanias describes of the mounds at Olympia and Nemea as enclosures containing altars, statues, and trees.[333] Stais' dating of the small Archaic temple *outside* the temenos wall, supports the identification of the wall at Sounion as a retaining wall for a tumulus.[334] Since the temple of the Archaic period would in fact be located outside of the temenos, this would confirm that the wall was meant to retain a mound, rather than to define the sacred space of the Archaic temple.

In the case of Sounion a tumulus for a hero would make perfect sense. The site was associated as early as the seventh century B.C.E. with the burial of a hero, and therefore the construction of said hero's grave in the sixth century B.C.E. would not only have served to enhance the prestige of the sanctuary, but also would have been seen as a pious act of remembrance. Many have located a hero cult devoted to Phrontis at Sounion, but definitive proof has been lacking.[335] Abramson, found support for a cult in votive deposits found at the sanctuary, included among them was a plaque of a ship with an oarsman, reflecting the Homeric myth of Phrontis as a drowned helmsman (Figure 26).[336]

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[331] 2006, 211.

[332] *Ibid.* 211.

[333] Olympia, Paus. 1.13.1-2; Nemea, Paus. 2.15.3.

[334] Stais 1920, 42; Dinsmoor, Jr. (1974, 50) argued for a later date in the Classical period, but Barletta (2012) has recently presented evidence that confirms and refines the Archaic date of this temple, placing its construction right around 500 B.C.E.

[335] Stais 1920; Picard 1940; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1974, 4; Abramson 1979.

[336] 1979, 4, following closely the evidence adduced by Picard (1940).

Stais has even gone so far as to argue that the sanctuary at Sounion was originally solely devoted to the cult of the hero.[337] Antonaccio rightly questions this conclusion, as the evidence used to support an earlier hero cult, namely some ninth century B.C.E. iron swords deposited as votives, are ambiguous at best. I believe, however, that if we consider the remains identified as an Archaic temenos as a tumulus construction, paralleled at other sanctuary sites, the evidence for Phrontis is incontrovertible.

Indeed, the literary sources indicate that tumulus burials were rather common features of sanctuary sites.[338] The references to these tombs were so compelling that even Pausanias went out of his way to visit some of the more famous tumuli, although by his day, they were somewhat less notable features of the landscape:

> The grave of Aepytus I was especially anxious to see, because Homer in his verses about the Arcadians makes mention of the tomb of Aepytus. It is a mound of earth of no great size, surrounded by a circular base of stone. Homer naturally was bound to admire it, as he had never seen a more noteworthy tomb, just as he compares the dance worked by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to a dance made by Daedalus, because he had never seen more clever workmanship (Paus. 8.16.3).

Wace suggests that the association of mounds with heroes' tombs comes from the tholos mounds at Mycenae and Prosymna, which had stone retaining walls for their mounds.[339] It is equally possible, however, that the form is derived from Asia Minor, where tumuli burials were common and associated with the rich quasi-mythical kings such as Midas. During the time of the Homeric composition perhaps such a burial was simply the ultimate expression of a ruler's power.

Interestingly, no comparable evidence for a hero's burial mound has been uncovered at Isthmia or Delphi, which, as Panhellenic sanctuaries, would be expected to follow the lead of Olympia. A hero cult to Melikertes-Palaimon is attested from archaeological remains of the Roman period (first century A.D.) at Isthmia, but no earlier archaeological remains can be attested.[340] A literary reference does exist, however, in a

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[337] Stais 1920, 41.

[338] Hdt. 4.33-35 tells us a tumulus marked the burial of the Hypoborean maidens on Melos.

[339] 1954, 170.

[340] Morgan 1999, 341-342.

fragment of Pindar that refers to a cult, perhaps suggesting the remains have not been located or that they are archaeologically invisible today.[341] At Delphi also, we only possess literary evidence for a hero cult, although in Pausanias' time a temenos certainly did exist to Neoptolemos.[342]

One of the most important features of these hero cults at sanctuaries concerns their relation to the agonistic competitions that occurred there. These competitions bear striking resemblance to the funeral games of Patroclos, where prizes were given out to winners in various competitions. The early relationship of the burial tumuli at Olympia and Nemea to the stadia at their respective sites cannot be ignored.[343] Perhaps the link between these tumuli and agonistic competitions, suggests an intentional re-enacting of the funeral games of the hero.[344] In doing so, the Greeks would have honoured and maintained their ancestors' memories in order to ensure they were not forgotten. After all, as demonstrated above, it was necessary to constantly maintain the memory of one's ancestors in order to maintain one's own identity. By associating festivals with the funeral games of a hero, not only was a Hellenic pedigree given to the sanctuaries with burials, but the funeral games of the hero were perpetually re-enacted stressing continuity from the past into the present.

Dining with the Dead

A further feature of hero cult that links it to heroic funerals is feasting. While feasting is a practice commonly associated with sanctuaries in general, the evidence from Olympia, Nemea, and Sounion suggests a close link between the hero's temenos and feasting activity. At Olympia, this evidence may extend back as early as the eleventh

[341] For a complete discussion of the fragment and its bearing on the cult, see Gebhard and Dickie (1999). The remains of a tumulus, if not monumentalized by the addition of stone retaining walls would have degraded rapidly. Only careful examination of the stratigraphy of the excavations at Nemea and Olympia reveal the tell-tale signs of an eroded tumulus.

[342] Pouilloux (1960, 49-60) discusses the archaeological evidence for the temenos.

[343] Bravo provides a discussion of the connection at Nemea, commenting on the discovery of a starting line near the Opheltion (2006, 213). Miller (2002, 248) strongly emphasizes the connection between the Pelopeion at Olympia and the stadium as well as the hippodrome. See also, Brulotte 1994.

[344] While this argument is vulnerable to the usual 'which came first?' argument, the fact that the Opheltion was only elaborated in the 7th century BC and the Olympic games began traditionally around 776 B.C.E., suggests that the form of these games takes their cue from the games described in the Iliad.

century B.C.E. and constitutes a thick deposit of black ash and bone (Figure 27).[345] Although this has also been associated with an early cult to Zeus, there is a definite correlation between some of these deposits and the Pelopeion mound, suggesting it was an early focus of cult at Olympia. Indeed, the fact that the Pelopeion was so prominently located, in the heart of the later Classical sanctuary, suggests that the tumulus played an important role in constructing the sacred landscape of Olympia. At Nemea, Bravo cites evidence for feasting associated with the monumental mound from the sixth century B.C.E.[346] These remains consisted of a large number of ritually broken vessels, mostly for drinking or mixing wine.[347] Further evidence for this practice can be derived from the faunal remains uncovered at the site. The bone fragments preserved suggest that the animal remains buried in the mound were not just burnt *in totum*, but would have been eaten, as there are disproportionate ratios of the various body parts represented.[348] Finally, at Sounion, Dinsmoor, Jr. describes circular cuttings in stone blocks found in the Classical temenos for the erection of an awning as well as stone supports for tables, presumably used in public banqueting.[349]

Bober has written that "what one does and does not eat, how one prepares it, and in what context one consumes it, has always provided from infancy a means to develop selfhood as well as, from nationhood, chauvinist pride in ethnic identity."[350] In her eyes public feasting played a particularly strong role in constructing communal identity among the Greeks. She points out that there is a powerful link between hero and ritual banqueting attested to in literary sources as well as in the archaeological evidence from Melos and Samothrace.[351] Here, Mycenaean or Mycenaeanizing architecture became the focus of ritual feasting, just as the archaeological evidence from the tumuli at Olympia,

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[345] Kyrieleis (2002, 216-217) notes the deposit, but rejects its connection with Pelops. The concentration of drinking vessels (kylikes) and burnt remains however are consistent with later feasting at tumuli.

[346] Bravo 2006, 29.

[347] *Ibid.* 25-29.

[348] *Ibid*. 228.

[349] 1974, 49.

[350] 1991, 50.

[351] *Ibid.* 52. The suggestion that the Mycenaeanizing architecture at Melos was the site of ritual banqueting was first proposed by McCredie (1974).

Nemea and Sounion also attest. Such feasting was important as it provided a venue for the recounting and remembering of ancestors. It was through the mutual acknowledgement of these ancestors that the Greeks were able to distinguish between self and other. Sanctuary sites, as the venues for such events, became important loci of memory and therefore were also extremely valuable politically, as demonstrated by the conflict over control of the two most important Panhellenic sanctuaries: Olympia and Delphi.

Sanctuaries, Shrines and Social Memory

Georganas connects the sudden rise of tumuli burials around Halos in the early Iron Age with a desire to construct a new identity.[352] The use of tumuli at sanctuary sites in Greece during the Archaic period reflects a similar attempt to construct group identity. This identity was constructed not only through the physical σῆμα, but also through the recitation of mythological events and genealogies. Lucian tells us that Herodotus was the first person to perform his work at Olympia.[353] He presents this as a dramatic recounting of his histories set in the Temple of Hera, conveniently located in the heart of the sanctuary near the burial mound of the great founding hero. But this is not the only hint that sanctuaries were important places for the recitation of the past. We can trace the public recounting of historical tales back to Plato, who wrote that the Spartan's were particularly insatiable in their appetite for such lore.[354]

At Delphi, such stories were codified in physical form. One of the most famous structures of antiquity, as demonstrated by Pausanias' long exegesis on it, was the *Lesche* of the Cnidians. The reason for its fame was the paintings that adorned its walls, done by the great Greek master Polygnotos. These paintings depicted two themes, Odysseus' voyage to the underworld and the Sack of Troy.[355] They presented a great many of the Panhellenic Greek heroes, providing an appropriate backdrop to a building that,

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[352] 2002, 295.

[353] Lucian. *Her*. 1

[354] Pl. *Hp.mai*. 285D.

[355] Stansbury-O'Donnell reconstructed both the sack of Troy (1989) and Odysseus' trip to the underworld (1990).

according to Pausanias, was a place that was used to meet and talk about ancient things.[356] These activities are alluded to in the name of the building itself, Λεσχε, clearly derives from the Greek verb λεγω, 'to say/speak.' The structure is further interesting for its connection to the temenos of Neoptolemos, thought to have been located immediately in front of it.[357] Neoptolemos, played a prominent role in the scene located on the rear wall of the Lesche and thus, the building would have served as a visual reminder of how Delphi's hero fit into the greater Panhellenic history.

Giangiulio has written that "it is social memory that lends continuity to the awareness of the distinctive nature of one group's experience. Thus, to recollect one's own past is immediately to identify oneself."[358] In ancient Greece sanctuaries provided a necessary point of gathering where identities could be negotiated through the telling of stories. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, these stories were reinforced by the presentation of ancient artifacts which could attest to the veracity of the histories recounted, here, the landscape itself can be seen to play an equally important role. Sanctuaries were meant to create collective identities for the purpose of moderating social tension, as well as forging connections between communities.

Mycenaean Messene?

A further example of the Greek use of Mycenaeanizing architecture comes from the important Peloponnesian center of Messene. The origins of this city are well known today. The city was founded in the fourth century B.C.E. by Epaminondas as a stronghold for the freed Messenian people against the Spartans. Thus, even in antiquity the newness of this settlement must have been well-known. Despite this, the Messenians seem to have crafted themselves an extraordinarily rich history, one preserved for us especially in the writings of Pausanias. The construction of Messenian histories has been greatly discussed

[356] Paus. 10.25.1.

[357] Paus. 10.26.4. For a discussion of the relationship between this temenos and the Lesche of the Cnidians, see Suárez de la Torre 1997, 156; footnote 18.

[358] 2001, 117.

in modern literature, as well as the extent to which it represents an artificial construct.[359] This debate becomes important to my own discussion of the architecture in that it demonstrates a remarkably concerted effort on the part of the Messenians to embellish and establish their version of history as viable, while simultaneously refuting any opposing traditions. To a certain extent this analysis is reliant on the words of Pausanias and the reliability of his observations, as certain aspects of civic art, such as paintings, do not survive for verification.

Beginning with the archaeological evidence, there are two major monuments to discuss: the Arkadian Gate, likely the major entrance to the city and elements of the theatre. The gate is rather unusual by Hellenistic standards. Among its unique features are the two niches found in the inner courtyard of the gate, one on each side as one enters. Furthermore, the gate was crowned by a simply massive monolithic block of stone. Reconstructions demonstrate that a relieving triangle would have been necessary to prevent such a large span of stone from cracking from the weight of stones placed on top (Figure 28 and Figure 29).[360] On account of this, the gate would have taken on the appearance of the imposing Mycenaean entranceways known at Mycenae, namely the Lion Gate, but also seen on the tholos tombs known as the Treasury of Atreus and the Treasury of Clytemnaestra (Figure 30). Such an allusion was surely intentional. We are told in the sources that the walls were built in a very short period of time, but in order to facilitate such construction, normally one would use small, easily moved stones. The Arkadian Gate, however, flies in the very face of this as it was composed of stones of a truly monumental character. There is clear evidence therefore that the form of this gate was deliberate. The double niches as one entered only emphasize the Mycenaeanizing character of the gate by calling to mind similar niches in the circuit walls around Mycenae, Tiryns, and Gla. Despite the fact that the city was obviously a recent foundation, such an architectural program would have displayed continuity of

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[359] Pearson (1962) and Luraghi (2002) have argued for the fourth century B.C.E. Shero (1938, 504) was an ardent supporter of the continuity of historical narratives among the enslaved Messenians. Alcock (1999) provides a middle-ground.

[360] The reconstruction of the Arcadian Gate can be found discussed in Blouet (1831, 39-41 and Pl. 44-45). The relieving triangle was believed to be necessary on account of the size of the lintel, but see Orlandos (1994, 313, No. 2) for a dissenting view.

architectural traditions with their heroic ancestors and therefore legitimized the Messenians claims to independence.

Corbelled vaults in the retaining wall of the Messenian theatre created an imposing monument which easily dominated the view shed of one entering through the gate (Figure 31). Corbelled vaulting, was of course widely used in the architecture of the Mycenaeans, but rarely employed in later Greek masonry.[361] Thus, the first impression of a visitor arriving at Messene would have called to mind the architectural wonders of the ruined Mycenaean centers of the Argolid, so strongly associated with the Homeric heroes.

If the architectural elements were not enough to emphasize the long independent history of the Messenians, a visitor continuing into the heart of the city would come to the temple of Messene. This temple served an important role as a *pinakotheke*, or painting gallery. The opisthodamos of the temple, according to Pausanias' description, contained painted icons of all the Messenian line of kings creating an unbroken line of Messenians stretching into the depths of prehistory.[362] The final strength to the Messenian claims would of course be provided by the tomb of Aristomenes which contained his bones, having been acquired from the Rhodians on the advice of an oracle from Delphi.

Whether the Messenians maintained an oral tradition concerning their pre-conquest past remains a source of contention, but a Messenian past constructed in the fourth century B.C.E., in tandem with the appearance of Mycenaeanizing architecture, would have served the function of legitimizing the Messenians' claims as well as staking further claim to a Panhellenic lineage.

Conclusion

> People derive identity from shared remembrance – from social memory – which in turn provides them with an image of their past and a design for their future. What people remember of the past fashions their sense of community

[361] Nakassis (2000, 363-364) provides a summary of extant examples, which primarily date to the Late Bronze Age or Hellenistic period.

[362] Paus. 4.31.

> and determines their allies, enemies, and actions; they will argue over it and kill for it (Alcock 2002, 1).

Social memory can be summed up as "sets of practices like commemoration and monument building and general forms like tradition, myth, or identity."[363] The Greeks seem to have followed a path often blazed by other oral cultures, that of embedding their social memories within their landscape. With the rise of literacy among the Greeks and the writing of the first histories, Greeks replaced oral history and memory with written words. Despite the advent of writing, there is no reason to suppose that the social memory contained within the landscape was lost, indeed Gosden and Lock have demonstrated the continuity of the importance of British Bronze Age sites well after the advent of writing.[364] When the Greeks utilize what seems to be archaeological evidence, they are actually drawing upon mnemonics etched across the landscape to help them recall the stories that they would have heard and in turn passed on to the next generation. In fact, Hiller once wrote "some scholars assert epic poetry grows only on ruins."[365] This quote makes obvious reference to the interplay between early epics such as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the archaeological evidence that seems to correlate with them. Greeks interacted with their Bronze Age, as well as with earlier and later remains consciously, this is clear. Their interaction with these remains was largely for the purpose of defining the Greek ethnos and the construction of identity.

The Greeks were more than willing to manufacture their own landscapes of memory however, even if this meant starting from the ground up. Although sometimes the ruins of their heroic ancestors served as the starting points for hero cults, they could just as easily spring from nowhere. Certainly a great proportion of the myths in any given landscape were attached not to man-made structures but to the landscape itself. By attaching memories to the very landscape, the memories would be made more permanent, since the features of the geological landscape would have lasted much longer than any

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[363] Olick and Robbins 1998, 106.

[364] 1998, 11.

[365] Hiller 1983, 12.

man-made structure. Thus, in Euripides *Ion*, it is terrain of the acropolis that Ion invokes to stir his sister's memory, rather than a personal item of his own.[366]

The fact that temenos enclosures containing tumuli were made a regular feature of sanctuaries within a relatively small temporal period suggests that they served a common function throughout Greece. The most simple explanation for this is that they served to fix mythological events to a specific landmark. Such markers would have been quite important to early Greek sanctuaries, as prior to this time, there was likely to have been numerous locations competing for 'ownership' of a particular hero. In many ways, the construction of prehistoric landscapes, whether legitimate or not, followed a similar pattern to the transferral of bones discussed in chapter one, whereby the collective identity of a given city-state could be shaped by the heroes who were linked to the landscape.

[366] Eur. *Ion* 283-284.

Chapter 4 – Athens and Autochthony

Introduction

> But the men who held Athens, the strong-founded citadel,
> The deme of great-hearted Erechtheus, whom once Athene
> Zeus' daughter tended after the grain-giving fields had born him,
> and established him to be in Athens in her own rich temple;
> there as the circling years go by the sons of the Athenians
> make propitiation with rams and bulls sacrificed;
> of these men the leader was Peteos' son Menestheus (*Il*. 2.546-552).

Athens represents one of the most fruitful sources of information for the intentional repurposing of both Mycenaean ruins and iconography. The main citadel of Athens since prehistoric times was the acropolis, in continuous use since the Neolithic period.[367] Evidence for Mycenaean remains are almost invisible today, buried beneath centuries of rebuilding and terracing programs, but strong evidence exists to suggest that they remained visible well into the Classical period. Various clues to the repurposing of Mycenaean remains are nevertheless quite visible on the Athenian landscape. Based on archaeological evidence for the modification of the acropolis of Athens, it seems likely that the pinnacle of this repurposing occurred in the Archaic period. It was the Classical building programs in particular which largely buried the Mycenaean remains, yet even then small windows onto the past were literally preserved. In order to consider the impact these Mycenaean remains had on construction projects on the acropolis during the Archaic and Classical periods, it is necessary to examine several specific areas where modifications were made with specific reference to the former Mycenaean architecture as well as to consider the contemporary historical developments within Attika that may have influenced these modifications.

Tenth through Eighth Centuries B.C.E.: A Gradual Emergence

The political development of Attika from the tenth through eighth centuries B.C.E. is almost completely obscured by the passage of time. There are no contemporary literary sources for this period and any later attempts to deal with this period fall deeply

[367] For the prehistory of Athens, see Mountjoy 1995 and Iakovidis 2006.

into mythological tropes, rather than historical reality. The most important development was clearly the emergence of an elite group of oligarchs and the apparent rejection of a single ruler.[368] The significance of this development may perhaps be seen in the restructuring of the acropolis of Athens at this time. For it is in the late ninth century or early eighth century B.C.E. that the Athenian acropolis seems to have begun transitioning from urban to sacred space. By the mid-eighth century B.C.E. there is a massive increase in the number of ceramic dedications and the first monumental bronzes – mainly tripod dedications – take place.[369] Despite this, burials seem to have continued, indicating that the entire Acropolis had not yet been given over to sacred space. The final burial on the Acropolis seems to occur during the Late Geometric period, around 700 B.C.E.[370] This may find a nice correlation with the construction of the first permanent temple to Athena.

Based on the oral tradition preserved in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is likely that a temple, like the early temples at Tiryns and Mycenae, was established on the ruins of the former Mycenaean palace.[371] Holland, examining the archaeological evidence for pre-Classical remains in the area of the Erechtheion, concluded that some remains of this palace were still *in situ*, including two circular column bases (Figure 32).[372] While Holland's dating of the pre-Classical remains is now questioned – the two column bases probably actually are part of an early peripteral temple – it remains common practice to associate the location of the Erechtheion, the most important temple to Athena on the acropolis of Athens, with the former Mycenaean palace.[373] Indeed, the archaeological

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[368] It is interesting to associate this transition with the statement by Aristotle that it was after the reign of Acastus and Medeon that the archon came to rule Athens, that is the end of the rule of the basileus.

[369] Glowacki 1998, 81, citing Touloupa 1972.

[370] Gauss and Ruppenstein 2000, 41.

[371] *Il.* 2.546-551; *Od.* 7.78-81. For the modern interpretation, see Camp 2001, 19-20.

[372] 1924, 162-163, Pl. VII.a & a1; 1939, 289.

[373] For the rejection of Holland's dating, see Nylander (1962) and Iakovides (2006, 35, also 65-68). Camp (2001, 24) assigns the column bases identified by Holland to a temple of the late seventh century (620-600 B.C.E.), however the first temple of Athena must have been established before the coup of Cylon in the mid-seventh century, as the historical sources make it clear that he took refuge in the temple of Athena (Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126). It is possible that an earlier temple preceded the current archaeological remains or that the remains are slightly earlier than Camp supposes. Glowacki (1998, 82) suggests that stylistically they seem comparable to column bases of the late-eighth or seventh-centuries, lending support to this suggestion. An early-mid seventh century date is likely. Glowacki associates this temple with a large painted plaque found by Broneer (1938, 224-228) and a bronze Gorgon *akroterion* published by Touloupa (1969).

evidence presents at least three successive post-Mycenaean structures on this spot.[374] Certainly, the fact that the Erechtheion continued to be regarded as the most sacred temple on the acropolis, housing the ancient image of Athena Polias, suggests that there was a special quality afforded to this location well into the Classical period.

Obscurity: The Archaeological Absence of Athens in the Seventh Century B.C.E.

Despite Athens' apparent prosperity in the eighth century B.C.E.in particular, the archaeological evidence for the seventh century B.C.E. has often given pause to scholars. After the florescence of burials in the Kerameikos and Agora marked by the elaborate geometric amphorae and kraters and laden with a wealth of bronze weapons and gold jewellery, suddenly burial numbers plummet and almost no wealth is deposited or even much pottery. Various scholars have tackled this issue in order to explain this abrupt discontinuity. Camp has cited a sudden drop in the number of wells in Athens, as well as an increase in votives at the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on Mount Hymettos as evidence for a severe drought, likely beginning late in the Eighth century B.C.E and extending into the seventh century B.C.E.[375] Such a drought would have led to disease and famine and increased infant mortality in such a way that the population of Attika would have experienced a sharp decline that took the better part of a century to recover from. Another argument, put forward by I. Morris, suggests that either no or very little population decline is needed to explain the sudden paucity of burial remains. He proposes that the material record has been skewed by selective burial practices, with the result that it looks like the population has shrunk, but in reality just a smaller group of individuals are being admitted for burial in funerary plots.[376] Finally, an economic crisis has been proposed by S. Morris, who suggests a combination of drought and warfare resulted in a weakened Athens, one that was dominated by a powerful Aegina.[377] During a weakened economic

[374] The archaeological evidence suggests a seventh, sixth and fifth century B.C.E. building phase.

[375] 2001, 24. For a thorough discussion of the phenomenon, see Camp 1979.

[376] 1987.

[377] S. Morris' analysis is based on her study of the black and white style (1984, esp. 107-119), an experimental style of figural pottery that appears in the seventh century and seems to have actually originated on Aegina, perhaps indicating that Aegina is dominating trade markets occupied by Athens in the eighth century B.C.E. Camp (2001, 23) also acknowledges the economic weakness of Athens at this time stating that "the early seventh century is perhaps the only period within a span of several centuries in which the Athenians imported more pottery than they exported."

period powerful and wealthy families took advantage of the economic situation to expand their own land holdings, claiming the former owners of the land as dependent labourers.

According to the chronology recorded on the Parian Chronicle, a stele of the fourth century listing dates of significant events in Greek history, sometime in the early seventh century the rule of Athens passed from the hereditary archon to an elected archon.[378] This was no doubt necessitated by the rise of powerful factions outside the city vying for political power; a rotating power shared between the most powerful families being preferable to all parties than their exclusion from any share at all. The deme of Thorikos, the traditional homeland of the Alkmaionidai, is described by Camp in the following terms: "Thorikos with its Bronze Age traditions, its two tholos tombs, its extensive geometric cemetery and an archaic theatre was for centuries a rich deme."[379] He goes on to highlight possible connections between this site and the early importance accorded to Sounion. It is interesting to note that Antonaccio also finds striking archaeological evidence for tomb cult in Attika at Thorikos, Sounion and the Athenian Agora.[380] Eleusis, however, also exhibits strong evidence for tomb cult,[381] fitting well with the suggestion that these sites were still reaching out to their own perceived ancestral lines in the seventh century B.C.E., rather than a common Athenian one.[382] It seems likely therefore that the sites of Eleusis and Thorikos were semi-autonomous entities at this time ruled by powerful hereditary *gene*, or clans. The fact that each of these sites exhibits renewed activity at prehistoric burial plots suggests that each of these rivals was staking an ancestral claim to their territory in a manner not dissimilar to contemporary Argos. Indeed, these communities are also likely to have controlled the sanctuaries within their respective regions: the Eleusinion, Sounion, and possibly Brauron.

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[378] *FGH* 239 A 32.

[379] 1994, 9.

[380] 1994, 100-101.

[381] Mylonas (1961, 62-63) describes a Geometric enclosure wall built around a group of tombs in the west cemetery. He identified these as the sepulchres of heroes mentioned in Paus.1.39.2 and Plu.*Theseus*.29.

[382] Whitley 1994, 224. It is interesting to note that the Homeric Hymn to Demeter has often been thought to be an Eleusinian rather than Athenian account of the history of Eleusis, one that prefigures Athenian authority over the sanctuary. If true, this places the date of consolidated Athenian power at least as late as the early seventh century B.C.E. or the late sixth century B.C.E. (Faulkner 2011,10).

Pelasgian Walls

Through the seventh century B.C.E., however, few changes had taken place in Athens to distance it from its Mycenaean past. With the exception of the erection of an early temple, likely to Athena, in the early seventh century B.C.E., the acropolis of Athens was still quite Mycenaean in character. Like the citadels of the Argolid, Athens was heavily walled in the LH IIIB period with fortifications in the so-called Cyclopean style.[383] The wall had a dramatic setting on the Acropolis of Athens, which even unfortified would have easily been the most important landmark on the Attic plain. These walls can be shown to have survived relatively complete until the fifth century B.C.E., thereby maintaining the Mycenaean character of the Athenian acropolis until the Persian destruction. These walls almost certainly served as the Archaic city-wall, as no archaeological trace of any sixth century B.C.E. wall has ever been reported.[384]

The south wall of the acropolis represents one of the most heavily modified portions of the entire acropolis. Much of this construction work was undertaken in preparation for the construction of the Parthenon and its uncompleted predecessor. Deposits of fill up to 11 meters deep were established to provide a level foundation.[385] As a result, several terrace walls were created, the final phase of which is still present today and completely covered any Mycenaean remains in this area. The remarkable excavations that took place here in the late 19th century, however, demonstrated that this fill had also served to preserve the remains of early constructions. The Mycenaean fortification wall, which would have ringed the entire acropolis, was discovered to have been partly preserved by this fill. Of most interest for the present discussion, however, is the Archaic

[383] Iakovidis 2006, 251. The ancient date of the Acropolis walls has been challenged by Bundgaard (1976, 17), suggesting a date in the Late LH IIIC/Submycenaean phase rather than commonly accepted LH IIIB. This has received little support.

[384] Papadopoulos (2008) is the most recent scholar to doubt the existence of the walls, however this view was also taken by Harrison (1906, 31) and Dörpfeld (1937, 22–29). Several notable scholars have also accepted their existence on the basis of literary evidence. Most notably Travlos (1960, 40-42), Winter (1971, 61-64) and, most recently, Frederiksen (2011, 32 and 46-47) and Theocharaki (2011, 73-76). It should be emphasized that the latter base their views solely on the basis of literary testimonia and the appearance of encircling walls at other major sixth century B.C.E. Greek cities. To date, not a single piece of archaeological evidence can be offered to suggest a encircling wall of Athens pre-dating the fifth century B.C.E. other than the cyclopean wall encircling the Acropolis.

[385] Hurwit 1999, 130.

terracing efforts that were discovered in the fill. The earliest retaining wall built here, unglamorously known as wall S2, almost certainly predates the Persian destruction.[386] It is therefore particularly interesting how it related to the Mycenaean wall. It is clear from the section provided that wall S2 was built at a level above the highest preserved surface of the Mycenaean wall. A staircase was built into wall S2 that gave direct access onto the Mycenaean wall, which was still presumably the main fortification in this area.[387] Even after the Persians had laid waste to the Acropolis and pulled down the walls in 480 B.C.E., the sections that remained partly intact, rather than being torn down, became more hallowed.[388] This is demonstrated by the fact that parts of the wall were repaired, such as the extant stretch of wall located on the west side of the acropolis behind the Nike Temple bastion (Figure 33).[389] Although this may have partially been an emergency defensive measure prior to the construction of the Themistoklean Walls, the fact that this stretch of wall was deliberately preserved through the Classical building of the Propylaia, suggests that a further importance was bestowed upon it.

If we consider the literary tradition of Athenian autochthony, the preservation of the ancient walls of Athens afforded Athens a prestige that found few parallels elsewhere.

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[386] Bundgaard (1976, 14-22) prefers to see wall S2 as the successor to the Mycenaean wall, where the Persians most heavily disturbed it. It is striking to note the similarities between the construction of wall S2 and the ramp approaching the acropolis, suggesting an Archaic date may be more likely. Also, the sections which Bundgaard presents in Pl. C suggest that wall S2 clearly underlies the Persian destruction material and the Parthenon building debris (21). Dinsmoor (1934, 439) comes to the conclusion on the basis of a single sherd, II 731, that wall S2 predates the Persian destruction in 480BC, but not by more than a decade. His own data however (presented 426-428) suggests a date contemporary with the late black figure style of which almost all the sherds barring a handful of earlier sherds belonged. It is instructive that the material Dinsmoor himself dated (1934, 437-439) almost all the black-figure sherds that were datable to 510-500 B.C.E. Stewart (2008, 309-402) also falls into this trap. The later sherds could easily come from the cutting required to build the Parthenon foundation down to bedrock, usually dated to just after 490 B.C.E. Wall S2 was not established on bedrock and therefore any resumed stratigraphical relationship between the Parthenon foundations and S2 is impossible to determine.

[387] Even Bundgaard (1976, 19-20) concedes that the Mycenaean wall along the south slope must have been in excellent shape until the Persians pulled it down.

[388] A jumble of rocks found in the fill to the south of the Acropolis is surely the remains of the southern line of wall destroyed by the Persians (Iakovidis 2006, 127). The direness of the situation is emphasized by the hasty construction of the Themistoklean walls.

[389] Eiteljord, II 1995, 84; Shear 1999, 97; Hurwit (2004, 62) emphasizes that the wall must have had a revered quality. I think that the latter is supported by the fact that the repairs were made to look Archaizing, thereby preserving the aesthetic of the original. The walls of Mycenae were similarly repaired in the third century B.C.E. using a polygonal style (Wace 1949, 52 and 98; Mylonas 1966, 16-17). Unlike Shear (1999, 97, footnote 69) I believe the polygonal style was meant to maintain their prehistoric character, despite being obvious repairs.

Sites such as Tiryns and Mycenae, despite offering equal credentials in their imposing fortifications never managed to rebound in the same way as Athens. The growing power of Argos, especially early in the Geometric period, resulted in the eclipse of their prestige. (The implications of Argos' rise to power have already been discussed in chapter three.) It is quite evident from this pattern of temple construction on ancient ruins, however, that sites with former ruins were alluring to the Geometric and Archaic builders. These sites were rich in historical lore, serving as loci to which memories could be anchored. The fact that the names of Mycenaean centers such as Pylos, Thebes and Knossos (*pu-ro*, *te-qa-i*, and *ko-no-so*) survived the Mycenaean period to be remembered attests to the ability of ruins to aid and abet the continuity of memory. The walls of Mycenaean citadels, made of massive interlocking stones, fitted tightly with small chinking stones, proved to be almost indestructible to the passage of time. Without a doubt, the strength and durability of citadel walls account, at least to a certain degree, for the power accorded to the Argolid during the Mycenaean period. To the ancient Greeks, this area, possessing no less than three imposing citadels (Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea) must have presented an aura of regal authority well into the Archaic period. In the same manner, Athens seems to have capitalized on its own enceinte to highlight its authority in the Geometric and Archaic periods, perhaps justifying its rule over the whole of Attika.

The most impressive fact about the Mycenaean fortifications of Athens is their afterlife. Even though they were destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.E., they remained important to Athenian lore. So, it is not out of the ordinary that we find a fifth century B.C.E. representation by the Penelope Painter of Athena directing a giant to build the walls of Athens (Figure 34).[390] The fact that the date of this skyphos 440-430B.C.E. falls at the height of the Periklean building program may suggest an attempt to link this new building program with the achievements of their illustrious forbearers.[391] Indeed, the reverse of the skyphos represents two architects at work, all but confirming some relation

[390] Boardman 2002, 45. Cromley (1991) rejects this identification on the grounds that a giant is not attested in any of our surviving sources as being involved in the construction of the wall. The connection of this scene with the reverse however seems to be irrefutable proof that it represents the prehistoric builders.

[391] For the date of the cup, see Cromey 1991, 167.

to the ongoing building programme.[392] Further prominence is given to these walls in the literary record.[393] Indeed, Callimachus, writing in the fourth century B.C.E., wrote an *aetion*, or origin story, solely on the Pelasgian Walls of Athens despite the fact that they had long since been destroyed by the Persians.[394] Although the poem itself is referenced in a summary of the second book of his collection of *Aetia,* we have only the first line of the poem preserved. Knowing the historical sources Callimachus had at his disposal, this poem no doubt would have alluded to the rich Athenian mythology behind the construction of this wall.

Terraces

Perhaps the most enduring evidence for the prehistoric occupation of Athens was the terrace walls constructed to level parts of the acropolis in the prehistoric period. By nature, the acropolis of Athens is a hard limestone massif rising above the surrounding plain. Its natural surface was full of crags and rendered uneven by the erosive powers that formed it. Any significant structures on the acropolis required significant terracing to create the prerequisite level terrain. The earliest of these efforts were made during the Late Bronze Age, likely in the LH IIIA period.[395] The Mycenaean terraces that can be traced today largely focused on the northern part of the acropolis, although it is not clear whether prehistoric terraces may also have occupied the region that was later heavily modified to provide the foundation for the Parthenon and its predecessor. The remains of the northern terraces are visible even today, as exposed by early excavations, albeit in a poor state of preservation.[396] These terraces were likely used extensively into the Classical period, and although certain areas were modified or repaired, for the most part,

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[392] *Ibid.* 167; Boardman 2002, 45-46.

[393] Hdt. 6.137.1; Thuc. 2.17.1; Even the Parian Marble mentions the Pelasgian Walls with respect to the expulsion of the tyrants (*FGH* 239, A 45).

[394] Our knowledge of this poem comes from the *Diegesis*, containing summaries of each *aetion* and their first line. In the case of the Pelasgian Walls, this single line is all that is extant. Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελασγικὸν εἶχέ με γαῖα – The land held me, a Pelasgian wall, built by the Tyrrhenians (Fr. 97).

[395] Mountjoy 1995, 22-23.

[396] The exact extent of these terraces has been debated (Wright 1980 is the most critical). The best preserved and therefore most securely dated remains are in the vicinity of the Classical Erechtheion. Further traces of terrace walls to the west seem to be indicated by foundation trenches which were robbed of their stones. The character of these western trenches has been questioned by Beyer (1977, 50) and Wright (1980, 64-65), who went as far to question whether it is even a man-made feature.

the Mycenaean terraces likely still stood in their original configuration. In certain places, these terraces would have provided a dramatic reminder of the Mycenaean heritage of Athens.

The statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias was located directly in front of one of these terrace walls, creating an authoritative reminder of the prehistoric pedigree of the Athenians (Figure 35). Indeed, the terrace walls may also have influence the unusual ground plan of the Classical Erechtheion, and, as mentioned above, even responsible for its very location. As demonstrated in chapter three, Mycenaean palaces were favored locations for Geometric and Archaic temples. Literary sources confirm that a similar pattern was observed at Athens, where there was a cult to Poseidon Erectheus in the Classical period, clearly establishing a link between god and ancestral king.[397] This suggests that Athens followed the same pattern of development observed at other sites, transitioning between palace and temple at an early date. While there is no evidence to suggest that the megaron which presumably occupied the summit of the Athenian Acropolis survived the Bronze Age, its ruins must have made a significant mark on the surrounding landscape.[398] Certainly well into the Classical period the terrace walls formed an impressive backdrop to some the Acropolis' most important dedications.[399]

Seisachtheia and other Shake-Ups in the Sixth Century B.C.E.

Up until the sixth century B.C.E. Athens was still largely defined by its visible Mycenaean ruins, with the exception of a likely eighth or seventh century B.C.E. temple on the acropolis. In the sixth century B.C.E., Athenian power was stretching over Eleusis and Salamis bringing Athens into conflict with Megara.[400] Evidence that an Athenian propaganda rooted in their illustrious past was used to justify Athenian claims to Salamis has been detected in the *Iliad*, where lines 546-556 and line 558 of book two have long

[397] Compare this with Thebes, where the cult of Dionysos Kadmeios was supposedly located in the remains of the Palace of Kadmos (Symeonoglou 1985, 57).

[398] Glowacki 1998, 80.

[399] Hurwit 2004, 63.

[400] This became mythologized as the battle between Eumolpos and Erectheus.

been considered Athenian modifications of the sixth century B.C.E.[401] Indeed, the very fact that the Athenians were collecting versions of the *Iliad* and codifying them at this time suggests an interest in controlling past narratives. It is difficult to say how effective this strategy was outside of Attika, especially given that later authors' mentions of Athenian tampering, yet within Attika this dialogue must have reinforced Athenian narratives concerning their own history. It is not surprising therefore that such a desire to express their history would manifest itself in the architecture and art of the Acropolis as well.[402]

The literary sources provide important information on the history of this period, which is largely devoid of contemporary inscriptional evidence. Three important events defined this period. First, was the reforms of Solon, which took place very early probably right around the turn of the century, perhaps 594/3 B.C.E., next, the rise of Pesistratos and the rule of the tyrants, spanning 561 to 510 B.C.E., and finally, the reforms of Cleisthenes and the emergent democracy, perhaps sometime between 510 and 504 B.C.E. This period can be seen as several important political developments punctuated by periods of political instability, largely due to the ongoing struggle for power among the elite families of Attika.[403]

Solon is known to have been appointed arbitrator between the people of Attika, who had fallen into class warfare. His own writings assert the precariousness of this position.[404] The idea that Attika in the sixth century B.C.E. was a unified state is in fact undermined by the archaeological evidence that suggests regionally powerful centers, rather than being singularly dominated by Athens. In addition, the historical sources of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. make much of the factions of Attika, divided up geographically, that roughly co-ordinate with these archaeological findings.[405] This was a

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[401] Andersen (2012, 669) provides a useful summary of current opinion. Nagy (2004, 27-35) emphasizes the fact that multiformity continued to exist even after the Athenian modification of the text.

[402] Others have also considered the interplay between history and myth in Athenian art and architecture. For some recent studies, see Spaeth 1991; Castriota 1992; S. Morris 1992, 271-317; Ferrari 2000.

[403] Camp (1994, 7) emphasizes that the 6th century was a time of struggles for power among the elite.

[404] For example, Frs. 5, 34, 36.

[405] Arist. *Ath.Pol*. 13.4 and Hdt.1.59.

continuation of the formation of centers of power that emerged in the seventh century B.C.E. due to the weakness of Athens at that time. Three major centers outside of Athens were Eleusis, Brauron, and Thorikos. The fact that these three regions went on to produce important sanctuaries with strong ties to Athens itself, suggests that their early independence may have required a strong hand to put them in line.[406] At the dawn of the sixth century B.C.E. therefore, Solon may have set in motion what would ultimately lead to the formation of the polis of Athens, by creating new historical narratives to both bind together Attika, but also highlight the pre-eminence of Athens.

Hekatompedon

Solon's reforms seem to have mitigated the poverty of the lowest classes to a certain extent and provided a mechanism to prevent the pattern from repeating itself. This had the added benefit of limiting the resources which the richest families could control. Furthermore, Solon may have enriched Athens by securing naval supremacy with an attack on Salamis – a move that would have helped assert Athenian influence over Eleusis. If this is the case, such a naval attack may also have provided wealth for the public purse that allowed for the first major building program on the acropolis. The most important remnants of this program are the architectural elements and sculptural decoration of a large poros temple often referred to as the Hekatompedon in current literature, although this designation is disputed.[407] An important monument, considerable architectural fragments survive even today thanks to their burial in deep pits on the acropolis, likely the result of clean-up operations after the Persian destruction.[408] Most

[406] Particularly interesting is the establishment of sacred processions to sites such as Eleusis and Brauron. These almost certainly worked to bind these sites to Athens, as small temenoi were established in the heart of Athens itself, binding these sites to the core of Athenian life. This can be seen as a centralization of political and religious life at Athens.

[407] The name Hekatompedon comes from the so-called Hekatompedon inscription. This inscription is most notable for the stoichedon style in which it was cut, as well as being carved on a re-used metope from Hekatompedon. This inscription seems to imply the existence of a 100 foot temple in the topography of the early Acropolis. The poros remains of the early 570-560 B.C.E. temple are often attributed to this structure, which would have been the grandfather of the Classical Parthenon. Bancroft (1980, 11-25) provides one of the most concise and level-headed discussions of the evidence.

[408] The so-called *Perserschutt* deposits. Recently, the chronology of their deposition has been reconsidered by Stewart (2008, 406-407).

importantly, large portions of its pedimental sculpture have survived, allowing us to consider the artistic programme executed upon it.

The pedimental sculpture itself should be described in some detail, since it represents our first major Athenian public monument to survive in a reasonable state of preservation (Figure 36). The fragments of sculpture that can be assigned with certainty to the Hekatompedon, are the following:

Secure:

1. The Bluebeard Group: Three hybrid man-snakes with their body/tails coiled together to form a collective grouping. In addition surviving fragments render the clear outline of wings associated with the figures. A winged figure seems to have faced them to the left. Designed to fit the right gable of the pediment.
2. Two lions mauling a bull: The positioning of the bull, as well as the placement of the lions mounting it suggest that this sculptural group filled the apex of one pediment. The prominence of the placement of this iconography should not be ignored.
3. Herakles battling a triton: Herakles engages the triton in a headlock type position designed to fill the left gable of the pediment.
4. Two snakes, one facing right, the other facing left: These are clearly designed to fill the gables of the other pediment.
5. A lion mauling a bull: The position of this bull covering the entire bull, as well as the size/shape of the sculptural group suggests that on the second pediment, bulls mauling lions flanked a central scene. Some discrepancy initially existed as to whether this group could date to the same period as the other lion and bull group due to stylistic differences, but this may simply be the result of two different artists/schools.[409]
6. Fragments of wings: Thought to be parts of a gorgon that would form the center of the second pediment. Such an apotropaic device would agree well with the evidence from the Temple of Artemis at Corfu.

[409] Ridgway 1977, 199-200.

Questionable:[410]

1. A group of small scale figures depicting the introduction of Herakles to Olympus.
2. A group of small scale figures depicting the birth of Athena.

The imagery shown on the Hekatompedon is therefore an interesting mixture of motifs, one which may seem slightly confusing considering the temple is thought to have been dedicated to Athena. Perhaps the most fascinating feature of this temple, if it was the only early sixth century B.C.E. temple on the Acropolis, is the complete omission of Athena from the sculptural program (accepting the argument that the 'Questionable' remains are actually parts of treasury pediments). In fact, all evidence available seems to suggest that the central scenes, where we might expect to find the scenes of greatest importance, in both pediments were dominated by the motif of lions mauling bulls. On account of the predominance of this motif, it deserves further investigation.

The simplest explanation put forward, suggests that lions attacking bulls are an apotropaic device. Yet, this answer is somewhat dissatisfactory on account of the evidence for gorgons elsewhere on the temple; whether on the pediment or on as an *akroterion*.[411] An alternative suggestion therefore, and one in keeping with the Mycenaean character of the acropolis, is that this motif is a repurposed Mycenaean motif. The large central sculptural group comprising two lions mounting a single bull bears a striking resemblance to a common Mycenaean motif found on gem-stones. Gem-stones being made of stone are extremely durable and, as demonstrated in chapter two, particularly common at sanctuary sites. This is further supported by literary references found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* likening heroes to lions and bulls during warfare. Markoe records 12 similes in the *Iliad* alone that compare heroes to lions attacking cattle/bulls.[412] In fact, it just so happens that a roughly contemporary black figure oinochoe, called the

[410] Boardman (1978, fig. 192) accepts the argument made by Beyer (1977) that these groups should be placed in the space between the lions mauling bulls and snakes. Ridgway was skeptical of this reconstruction before it was even fully published (1977, 198-204). Further rejection has followed based on discrepancies with the depth and scale of the sculpture (Hurwit 1999, 113).

[411] Beyer (1977) reconstructs a gorgon from the wing fragments listed above. Ridgway (1977, 198-199) rejects this reconstruction as unsubstantiated, and goes on to demonstrate that the surviving pediment blocks prohibit it.

[412] 1989, 115.

Colchos Oinochoe, shows a main scene of heroic battles, but a band beneath the main scene contains lions attacking bulls, thrusting the simile into view (Figure 37).[413] It is further interesting that Mycenaean parallels provide for both the group attack scene, as well as for the nippled lion found on the other pediment.[414]

The nippled lion is particularly interesting as it must depict a lioness, yet lionesses do not possess manes as the animal in the sculpture does (Figure 38). This may indicate the unfamiliarity of theartist with its subject material, yet we see the same stylistic feature on some Mycenaean seal stones, perhaps suggesting an alternative model for this motif (Figure 39). Others have argued that this motif was adopted by the Greeks from the East, yet it is clear from both the literary and archaeological evidence that the Greeks associated the motif with their heroic ancestors and not with foreigners.[415] By adopting and adapting this imagery, the Athenians of the sixth century B.C.E. would have emphasized their ancestral heritage and proven the continuity they claimed by adopting motifs from these periods among their own repertoire.

Of Myths and Monsters

Having considered the most prominent motif on the temple, let us move on to the remaining sculptural elements. The most perplexing sculptural unit from the Hekatompedon pediments is today known as the Bluebeard group (Figure 40). Comprising three men with monstrous characteristics, sinuous snake tails twisted together to form a single body, as well as wings, they are clearly intended to form a distinct unit. Much debate has focused on the items held in their hands. One holds a bird, readily identifiable, but the other two hold less distinct objects. Conventional interpretations have designated them water and fire, although the "fire" is badly mutilated and any interpretation of it is open to questioning. Upon their discovery in the 19th century, numerous suggestions as to who they were intended to represent were proposed. Typhon, a dreaded multi-bodied monster fought by Herakles, was particularly popular

[413] Luce (1922, 181-182) provides a description of the oinochoe.

[414] For the group attack see *CMS* I, 186. For the nippled lion see *CMS* VI, 355.

[415] Markoe 1989, 109.

given his representation wrestling a triton, almost certainly from the same pediment.[416] There is no indication from the surviving sculpture, however, that a similar Herakles was in any way engaging the Bluebeard group, and indeed they seem to sport dashing smiles. Another suggestion proposed that they were an iconographic representation of the 'body-politic' of Attika.[417] This interpretation was largely based off Herodotus' description in book one of Peisistratos' rise to power, in which Herodotus mentions that Attika was divided into three factions of men from various parts of Attika (from the shore, from the plain, and from beyond the hills).[418] Although rather ingenious, it required the interpretation of the objects held by the three Bluebeards to be iconographic representations of these three terrains. Thus, the fire became restored as a sheaf of wheat, indicative of the plains, while the bird evoked the mountains and the water referenced the coast, despite itself having the form of a river.

An alternative suggestion proposed by Furtwängler, and followed up by Schweitzer and Benton, was quietly forgotten.[419] They all came to the conclusion that the sculptural group represented a shadowy and poorly attested mythical-triad known as the Tritopatores or collectively as Tritopatreis, 'the three fathers'. The idea was not well-received by contemporary scholars.[420] Yet despite this early rebuttal, there is good evidence to support this identification, and at the same time to help in the interpretation of the sculptural program of the Hekatompedon as a whole.

The Tritopatores are known from fragments of ancient sources cited in later lexicons and encyclopaedic collections, as well as a handful of inscriptions, many of which have been found either in Attika, or by individuals who were from Attika.[421] The earliest secure attestation of the Tritopatores is an inscription from the Kerameikos that was used to mark the temenos of the Tritopatores located there.[422] Conveniently this

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[416] Cook (1940, 140) and Harrison (1906, 27) were avid supporters of this suggestion.

[417] Hurwit 1999, 108-109.

[418] Herod.1.59-64.

[419] Furtwängler 1905, 435-38, Schweitzer 1922, 72 and Benton 1965.

[420] Cook (1940, 140) disregarded the suggestion and Typhon and Howe (1955) stated authoritatively that "".

[421] For the best compilation of the relevant sources, see Jameson *et al.* 107-114.

[422] The best source for this temenos is the excavation report published by Brueckner (1910).

inscription can be dated to the sixth century B.C.E., correlating nicely with the archaeological evidence for the construction of the Hekatompedon. The earliest literary attestation of the Tritopatores are citations of fourth century B.C.E. atthidographers preserved in the *Lexikon* of Harpokration (entry Tritopatores, trans. Harding 2008, 17-18):

> Demon in the Atthis says that the Tritopatores are winds. Philokhoros says that the Tritopatores were born first of all things. For the men of that time used to consider the earth and the sun, whom at that time they also called Apollo, as their parents, and those born of them (they used to call) third fathers (tritouspateres). And Phanodemos in the sixth (book) says that only the Athenians sacrifice and pray to them for the birth of children, when they are on the point of getting married. In the Physikos of Orpheus the Tritopatores are named Amalkeides and Protokles and Protokreon, and they are doorkeepers and guards of the winds. He who wrote the Exegetikon says that they were born from Ouranos (Sky) and Ge (Earth), and that their names were Kottos, Briareus and Gyges.

This entry provides single-handedly almost all that is known about the Tritopatores, and yet the information provided seems to correlate well with the Bluebeard sculpture itself. First off, "the Exegetikon says that they were born of Ouranos and Ge," this calls to mind the snake-bodies of the Bluebeards, commonly used to reference earth-born figures, but also explains why they also possess wings. Wings are also appropriate for a wind-spirit. It is furthermore interesting that in the entry, the names Kottos, Briareus and Gyges, which are assigned to the Tritopatores are in fact identical to the names of the Hundred-Handers in Hesiod's *Theogony*.[423] These names are significant however because of their association with weather, particularly lightning and thunder. Taken with the evidence that suggests that the Tritopatores were winds, we are left with the image of weather spirits.[424] This is significant because of the attributes found in their hands, a bird (air/wind), a stream (water/rain), and fire, perhaps better interpreted as a lightning bolt.

If the Bluebeards do represent the Tritopatores, what is their significance? As noted in the above entry, people prayed to the Tritopatores for children and they were known as first fathers. Scholars agree that these are clear indications that the Tritopatores

[423] Hes. *Theog*. 149.

[424] See Gagné 2007.

played a role in ancestor worship of some form, perhaps being identified with ancestral spirits. Indeed, it may be possible to connect the Tritopatores with the deity known as *ti-ri-se-ro-e* in the Linear B tablets from Pylos.[425] The inscriptional evidence from Attika certainly supports this hypothesis as festival calendars indicate that sacrifice to the Tritopatores was made on behalf of Attic phyle (tribes), but also there is evidence for sacrifice made at the household level, and furthermore, the evidence of the temenos in the Kerameikos indicates that sacrifice may also have been performed at the *genos*-level. Thus, the old interpretation of the sculptural group representing the people of Attika may not in fact be far from the truth, but it is the people embodied as the ancestral spirits who control aspects of fertility, through their role as weather spirits, rather than alluding to specific political divisions. The three men may also be looked at as a typical generational unit, grandfather, father, and son. This aspect is highlighted by the temenos of the Triptopatores built just outside the Sacred Gate of Athens. The location of this temenos is clearly in direct relation to the family burial plots of the Kerameikos.[426] Also, its prominent location alongside the Sacred Way would have meant that it was highly visible, particularly during processions between Athens and Eleusis. This is particularly significant as the sixth century B.C.E. probably saw the first regular processions to Eleusis, as the first Telesterion, the structure used in the Eleusian Mysteries, was elaborated into a major structure under the Peisistratids.[427] The establishment of the temenos of the Tritopatores encouraged the worship of the ancestral spirits of the gene, or perhaps even a particular, Athenian *genos*, reflecting on ancestral claims of legitimacy. The entire building program of the sixth century B.C.E. can therefore be shown to be targeted towards emphasizing Athenian ancestry. Eleusis, as a contested periphery between Athens and Megara, just as Salamis, was claimed as the territory of Athens. The embodiment of this propaganda was the Hekatompedon.[428]

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[425] Antonaccio (2006, 384-385) has suggested a relationship between *ti-ri-se-ro-e* and the later Greek cult of the Tritopatreis/Tritopatores.

[426] For a detailed study of these burial plots, see Closterman 1999. Her focus is primarily on the Classical remains.

[427] Mylonas 1961, 77-105.

[428] This fits nicely with Spaeth's suggestion (1991) that the Parthenon can be read as an allusion to Athenian victory over Eleusis.

Because of the monumentality of the construction project undertaken on the acropolis, it is uncertain when exactly the building program was completed. Hurwit has argued that the final completion of the Hekatompedon may even have overlapped with the earliest periods of Peisistratos' rule, 561 B.C.E. Although Peisistratos himself had only a tendentious grip on power at this time, his party was clearly on the ascendency and may have had some part in dictating the subject matter of the artistic programme that accompanied the major civic monuments. Jeffery Hurwit asserts that given the political turbulence of the mid-sixth century, it is almost certain that if Peisistratos was not responsible for the construction of the Archaic temple of Athena, he was almost certainly responsible for its completion and it came to be associated with him.[429] Certainly, the appearance of Herakles battling a triton on one of the pediments suggests connections with Peisistratos, under whom Herakles image flourished throughout Athens.[430]

Others see the Hekatompedon purely free of Peisistratos' influence and instead choose to highlight the artistic decoration as allegorical for the struggles the emergent Athenian state was facing. Most notably, the battle with Megara over Salamis and the civil strife of a land divided into three political factions. Either can be supported readily by the archaeological evidence, and the paucity of historical sources for the period make the chronology equally malleable. An explosion in Attic exports seems to indicate that Athenian trade flourished in the later part of the first half of the sixth century B.C.E., while the building exploits of the tyrants are well-documented by the Olympeion, the creation of the agora, and Thucydides:

> For he did not generally so exercise his authority as to be oppressive to the mass of the people, but maintained it without giving offence. And indeed the Peisistratidae carried the practice of virtue and discretion to a very high degree, considering they were tyrants, and although the exacted from the Athenians only five percent of their incomes, not only had they embellished their city, but they also carried on its wars and provided sacrifices for the temples.[431]

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[429] 1985, 248.

[430] Boardman 1989.

[431] Thuc. 6.54.5.

Most importantly, however, is the coincidence of the construction of the Hekatompedon with the foundation, or rather refoundation, of the Panathenaic festival. This festival was traditionally founded around 566 B.C., perhaps under the influence of Pesistratos, to whom its historical origins were traditionally assigned in antiquity.[432] Of course, the premier Athenian festival was also mythologized and its roots were cast back into the Bronze Age. The original founder was said to have been Erichthonios, an autochthonous king of Athens, the offspring of the ill-conceived attempt by Hephaestos to rape Athena. Later, Theseus was also said to have had a hand in reforming the festival. In collusion with his *synoikism* of Athens, Theseus was said to have reformed the festival, formerly called the Athenaia to be the festival of all Athenians, therefore the Panathenaia. This story, however, carries the typical etymological explanation one would expect of a later interpolation of the festival's aetiology. The association of this event with the mythical rule of Theseus, who has been characterized by a wide range of scholars as an artificial construct of the Athenians of the 6th century B.C.E., seems to suggest that the myth may reflect a contemporary reform of the festival in the sixth century B.C.E. An interesting hypothesis, recently proposed by Neils and Schultz, suggests that the chariots depicted on the Parthenon are not in fact part of the Panathenaic procession as generally conceived, but rather represent the apobatic competition that played so prominent a role in the festival.[433] In supporting this identification, they point out the prominence of a certain individual in the frieze, who may be a representative of the Erechtheid tribe. The authors suggest that the prominent role of an Erechtheid may be indicative of an earlier iteration of the festival where the focus of the festival was on Erechtheus and thus the Erechtheid line of kings.[434] Even more interesting is of course the recent astronomical

[432] Neils (2007) challenges the traditional assignment of the reorganization by Peisistratos, but rather places it in the years preceding him.

[433] 2012. Neils (2007, 43) has previously pointed out that the apobates competitions are strongly resonant of Bronze Age tradition and "may have been deliberate attempts on the part of the Athenians to forge a link to the heroic past."

[434] It has even been radically proposed by Connelley (1996) that the whole focus of the Parthenon frieze is on the sacrifice of Erectheus' daughter, not a direct representation of the Pananthenaia as commonly held. While this is an extreme view, it highlights the prominence of the Erectheid mythos on the Acropolis. Evidence from other nearby sanctuaries suggests a strong connection between *genos* and festival in the Archaic period. Thus, the festival of the mysteries at Eleusis was founded by Eumolpos and continued to be operated by priests of the Eumolpid line (Mylonas 1961, 233-235). A similar pattern at Athens may be

observations made by Boutsikas, which seem to correlate the date of the Panathenaic festival with the rising of the constellation Draco.[435] Draco has been identified as a fixed constellation since the Classical world, and evidence from the ancient sources confirm its ongoing identification as a serpent. Boutsakis therefore also makes a connection between the constellation and Erechtheus, perhaps indicating the initial importance of Erechtheus in a festival that came to be associated solely with Athena.

From *Genos* to Demos

The casual disappearance of Erechtheus from the Panathenaic festival can be nicely explained by our present observations on the restructuring that seems to have taken place on the Acropolis at this time. In an Attica divided frequently, first by class divisions, and later by factional politics, the most likely way to establish stability would be to unite the Athenians under a common identity rather than continuing to allow the emphasis to be on clan-based identities tied to ancient heroic lineages. Here I will propose that a pre-Athena iteration of the Panathenaic festival perhaps in existence well before 566 B.C.E. may indeed have existed. This festival was almost certainly connected with the continuity of the Athenian line, perhaps embodied by a *eupatrid genos* claiming a heroic descent from the Erectheids.[436] Such a festival may indeed have had a destabilizing effect on the Athenian state, by exalting one family line above the others. Indeed, such a festival may have attempted to solidify this family's continuing claim to the rule of Athens. Although historical sources indicate that by this time the kings were distant memories, with the last king traditionally said to rule in 1048-1012 B.C.E., the hereditary archonship which followed until 753 B.C.E. can basically be seen as an extension of the kingship under a new name. In the *Athenian Politeia*, however, it is made quite clear that power was still restricted to a small group of families known collectively as the eupatrids.[437] Furthermore, the continuing prominence of officials such

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evidenced by the closing lines of Euripides' *Erectheus* (Fr. 65.90-97) which recounts Athena commanding Praxithea to found the Erechtheion and herself become the first priestess, thus casting the Erectheid line as the founders of both cult and priestess.

[435] Boutsakis 2011.

[436] Eur. *Ion* 24-26 mentions a clan of the Erectheidae. Hopper (1963, 3) emphasizes that they claimed Erectheus as their founder.

[437] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 3-13.

as the Archon Basileus, with such clear archaistic connotations, indicates at least some attempt to maintain a perceived continuity with the ancestral past. Indeed, Thucydides is able to write that "For the rest, the city was left in full enjoyment of its existing laws, except that care was always taken to have the offices in the hands of some one of the family."[438] A statement confirmed by the discovery of a partial archon list including Cleisthenes for 525/4 B.C.E.,[439] almost certainly the head of the rival Alcmaeonid family which Herodotos incorrectly states to have been exiled throughout the tyranny.[440] The reforms made to the Panathenaic festival, perhaps the creation of the Panathenaic festival in place of a festival controlled by the Erechtheid *genos* would have been a dramatic break with this system. It would have marked a rejection of the tradition *genos*-based narratives in favour of a polis-driven narrative. If, as historical accounts suggest Peisistratos was a great demagogue, his rejection of the *genos*-based identities may have been an attempt to consolidate his own power by unifying the Athenian state. The enduring legacy of such a recasting of Athenian identity is perhaps best seen in fifth century B.C.E. rhetoric. Most notably, the funeral oration of Hyperides, where he says:

> To deal with the achievements of the city as a whole is, as I said before, a task which I shall not attempt, and I will here confine myself to Leosthenes and his companions. At what point, then, shall I take up the story? What shall I mention first? Shall I trace the ancestry of each? To so would, I think, be foolish. Granted, if one is praising men of a different stamp, such as have gathered from diverse places into the city which they inhabit, each contributing his lineage to the common stock, then one must trace their separate ancestry. But from one who speaks of Athenians, born of their own country and sharing a lineage of unrivalled purity, a eulogy of the cdescent of each must surely be superfluous (Hyp. *Fun.Or*. 6-8.).

Herrman states that "the avoidance here of the common theme of the *genos* is very different from other funeral orators and particularly Demosthenes, who discusses the Eponymous Heroes of the Athenian people at length (Dem. 60.27-31)."[441] I disagree, since it is clear that this passage still is deeply concerned with *genos*, as demonstrated by the use of multiple related words in section 7, including γενεαλογεῖν, γένεσις and

[438] Thuc. 6.54.6.

[439] IG i^3 1031.

[440] Hdt. 1.64.3; 6.123.1.

[441] 2009, 73.

εὐγένειαν. Hyperides also seeks to contrast men from other cities with men from Athens (τούτων μὲν δεῖ...περὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀνδρῶν...). These men must trace their own gene, but for the Athenians this is superfluous (περίεργον), since they share a common origin (ἡ κοινὴ γένεσις). This demonstrates that while Athenians acknowledged their division into gene like the other states, there was no need to highlight them, but rather the emphasis was on their common origin, which was from the land (αὐτόχθοσιν). This demonstrates a weakening of individual *genos* narratives in favour of a single Athenian narrative, as summed up nicely by Hyperides in the phrase, "I believe that praising the ancestors *individually* is beside the point" (ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἰδίαι τὰ γένη ἐγκωμιάζειν). While it has been argued that this fifth century B.C.E. rhetoric emerges from the reforms of Cleisthenes, whereby the citizens of Athens became more or less equals, I believe that this ought to represent the culmination of Peisistratos' own attempt to weaken the power of individual gene in order to maintain his own rule. Certainly this view also accords well with his reputation as a demagogue. I. Morris' burial evidence also suggests a gradual breakdown in the *genos*-system.[442] Burials are at first restricted to plots for the agathoi, organized by *genos*. From 550-523 B.C.E. there is some evidence for more groups being permitted, and after Cleisthenes 508/7 B.C.E. we see the first 'citizen cemeteries.' This idea was to profoundly change Athens. As I. Morris succinctly puts it: "he (Cleisthenes) substituted citizenship for dependency in the ideology of power."[443]

Peisistatos' refounding of the festival to the eponymous patron goddess of the city would have been the perfect venue for the construction of such a narrative. Indeed, the little we know about the festival makes it clear the festival's primary goal was the consolidation of Athenian identity. The two most prestigious events of the festival, the apobatic competition and the pyhrridic dance, were closed off to all but Athenian citizens, suggesting that while foreigners were brought in to heighten the prestigious reputation of the festival including by means of generous prizes, the core festival was carefully designed to emphasize Athenian identity, precisely by means of their exclusion.

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[442] 1987, 205-210.

[443] *Ibid.* 209.

The Reforms of Theseus?

Another interesting point concerning this refounding is the amalgamation of the refounding within the mythos of Theseus. As much as the Athenians used the remaining vestiges of their Mycenaean past to justify their ancestral claims and highlight their autochthony, the Athenians crafted their history with specific reference to the past as well. It is telling that very little about the reforms of the sixth century B.C.E. cannot be assigned also to Theseus. If we turn back to the suggestion that Theseus is an artificial construct of the sixth B.C.E. century himself, however, a clearer picture emerges.[444] Considering again, the civil strife that threatened Athens throughout this period, it seems that a solution on the part of the emergent democracy created by the reforms of Cleisthenes may have been to mythologize the events of this period under the vast blanket of Theseus' accomplishments. This certainly would not have been the only time Theseus usurped the role of another, as a similar process is seen in Theseus' usurpation of Herakles' role as hero.[445] Furthermore, Theseus seems to have become the embodiment of the ideal Athenian and as such an important figure in the construction of Athenian identity. By assigning to Theseus the achievements of the various leaders of the 6th century B.C.E., the emergent democracy may have made the transition to Athens' new political scene more palatable. The fact that the tyrants were still quite popular necessitated the continuity of some aspects of their program. In order to do this without seeming to follow in step, the attachment of these achievements to a mythical king of Athens would have kept them within the history of Athens while simultaneously attempting to expunge the prominent role of the tyrants as reformers and demagogues from the public record.

Something Old and Something New

At some point, the Hekatompedon went out of use and a new temple, the Archaios Naos or Old Athena Temple, was built on the Athenian acropolis. This structure almost

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[444] S. Morris 1992, 336-361.

[445] Hall (1997a) demonstrates that heroes can be used to construct inter-ethnic identities. Thus, by having the same hero worshipped in more than one city a bond is created between those, inversely by rejecting a hero such bonds may be broken. Perhaps then, the Athenian rejection of Herakles in favour of Theseus, represents the deterioration of relations between the two cities.

certainly occupied the so-called Dörpfeld foundation. Fragments of marble sculpture from two Archaic pediments should also be associated with the Dörpfeld foundation, the immediate predecessor of the Classical Erechtheion.

The question that lingers is whether the preceding Hekatompedon also occupied the same foundation. Some have even suggested that pedimental sculpture was merely replaced as was the case at the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, with marble swapping out poros upon the expulsion of the tyrants.[446] Bancroft emphasizes the use of the claw chisel on the blocks of the foundation, which is not apparent on any of the poros architecture associated with the Hekatompedon.[447] As such she concludes that the two temples were unlikely to have both been placed on the same foundation. She also dispels the myth of two-phase construction in the Dörpfeld foundation. In doing so she follows Dinsmoor in assigning a date around 525 B.C.E. for the foundation.[448] More recently, however, Child has suggested a date of construction at 508/7 B.C.E. with sculpture completed around 500 B.C.E.[449]

Child rightly emphasizes the fact that the iconography of the Hekatompedon was deliberately imitated on the Archaios Naos.[450] In particular, the motif of lions attacking bulls, seems to directly reference the pediments of the Hekatompedon. This would tend to suggest that the Hekatompedon had already gone out of use by the time the Old Athena Temple was finished. Logically, this would tend to support the argument that the pediments were replacements, yet it is possible that two temples existed that employed the same motif. Either way, the most important feature of the pediments is their date. Dating to approximately 510 B.C.E., these seem almost certain to have been the product of the new democracy in Athens. As such, their retention of the ancient motif of lion

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[446] Boardman 1978, 153-154.

[447] 1980, 18.

[448] Dinsmoor (1947) argues for the existence of a separate structure called the Hekatompedon beneath the present day Parthenon, as well as a late sixth century B.C.E. date for the construction of the Archaios Naos, although it places it earlier, c. 525B.C.E., than the sculpture itself suggests. This is not too much of a concern however, as the construction may have been approaching its final days of completion when the Pesistratids were ejected. It may then have taken some time before the pediments could be finished.

[449] Child 1994, 3.

[450] 1994, 3-4.

attacking bull is intriguing, suggesting the meaning of the motif continued to be valid even under the new democracy.

Pre-Mneskiklean Propylaia[451]

The entrance to the Acropolis, and its development at the end of the Archaic period is equally important for the way in which Mycenaean remains were repurposed. Like most of the acropolis' structures, considerable debate exists over the form that the early entrance took. Arguments have been advanced suggesting a colonnaded entrance akin to the Mnesiklean propylaia, as well as an uncolonnaded example which may have simply continued to use the Mycenaean gateway. This debate is, on account of the heavy reconstruction of this entire area during the Classical period, largely unsolvable.

The most significant preserved remains of the pre-Mnesiklean propylaia do have great relevance for the continued importance of the Mycenaean remains at Athens however, as alongside the Mycenaean wall adjacent to the Propylaia, at some time during the Archaic period, a monumental plaza was cut into the bedrock, with broad shallow steps providing space for an audience to stand looking towards the area of the Classical Agora. This plaza has been associated with the reorganization of the entrance to the acropolis, likely in conjunction with the initiation of the Panathenaic Festival, as well as the building of the monumental Archaic terrace wall associated with the ramp leading up to the acropolis (Figure 41).[452] This suggests a larger program of monumentalization was going on, again pointing to the initiation, or at least growing popularity, of the Panathenaic festival. Taken as a whole, the evidence suggests a date in the 6th century B.C.E. While the exact sequence of events leading to the construction of the plaza is unknown, the location seems to have been a significant one in Archaic Athens. (Aristotle notes in the *Athenian Politeia* that Peisistratos, on his third attempt to seize power began to make a speech in the Agora, but the crowd could not hear him and urged him to take up a position on the acropolis. Certainly, the location of this plaza fits well with the

[451] The pre-Mnesiklean entrance has produced some controversy. Dinsmoor, Jr. (1980) and Eiteljord (1995; 2011) provide the two strongest voices.

[452] Vanderpool (1974, 159) gives a *terminus post quem* of the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. Eiteljord, II, reviewing the evidence suggests a date around the mid-sixth century (1995, 85).

requirements for this location. That the Mycenaean wall formed an important part of the setting is indicated by the fact that as the area was monumentalized, care was taken to leave the Mycenaean wall exposed.

A marble dado was added to the top of the steps, constructed from the reused metopes of the Bluebeard temple, placing its date as early as 510-500 B.C.E., when the new democracy erected a temple thought to replace or at least modify, the old Bluebeard temple. This dado did not hide the Mycenaean wall, but rather created a sharp contrast between the smooth tightly joined marble and the heavy, interlocking construction of hammer-dressed stones that made up the Mycenaean wall (Figure 42). Such a backdrop would have formed an imposing reminder of an illustrious Athenian past, giving legitimacy to claims of autochthony.

The acropolis is not the only area of Athens to exhibit the reuse of prehistoric ruins. In the agora, the political heart of Classical Athens, there is strong evidence to suggest that a lintel from a Mycenaean tholos was reused as the focal point for the swearing in of archons (Figure 43). The stone can be identified in literature as early as Aristotle, where it is referred to simply as ὅ Λιθος, 'the Stone.'[453] An additional reference in Plutarch's Life of Solon suggests ο κηρυκος λιθος may be synonymous with this stone and, as interpreted by Shear, this would indicate that the oath stone was in use at least from the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.[454] Important as the site of the swearing in of the archons, the stone seems to have also served as the spot from which the *kerux* made public proclamations at the behest of the Archon Basileus. Furthermore, evidence from the sources also indicates that the stone doubled as an altar, on which sacrifices were performed prior to the swearing in of the archons.[455] The oath stone has been confirmed archaeologically by excavations undertaken by Shear. The stone itself is rather ordinary, 2.95m long and 0.95m wide, unworked poros limestone with a surface

[453] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 7.1; 55.5.

[454] Plut. *Vit.Sol*. 8.1-2. Shear 1994, 244. We must be cautious however, as both of our sources are considerably removed from the sixth century B.C.E. and the authors may have retrograded the stone as a legitimizing piece of evidence.

[455] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 55.5.

that seems to have been smoothed from frequent use.[456] According to Shear, "the great stone formed the physical link between them (the archons) and their predecessors and the lawgiver (Solon) himself."[457] Vermeule first made the suggestion that the oath stone in its present form may actually be the displaced lintel block of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, either destroyed or discovered in the clearing of the agora.[458] This suggestion provides some reasoning for the use of a natural, seemingly unworked stone, as one of the most important public monuments in the agora. Certainly, the stone seems to need no explanation in any of our extant literature, and no author even bothers to explain where the stone was located until the second century A.D. author Pollux mentions it is located at the at the Royal Stoa.[459] Placed as it was, in front of the Stoa Basileus, outside the building designed specifically to hold the laws of Solon for public display, this location represented the heart of the Athenian democracy.

The date of the stone's placement is contemporary with the initial building phase of the Stoa, securely placed around 500 B.C.E., and undoubtedly undertaken by the newly established democracy to house the Laws of Solon. Shear has suggested that literary evidence hints that the stone may in fact have originally been located to the east of the Acropolis at the old Prytaneion.[460] This only serves to highlight the importance accorded to this seemingly plain stone that the Athenians went through the effort to move the stone when the political heart of the city shifted to the newly established agora. The Royal Stoa itself likely dates to end of the sixth century, but was badly damaged by Persians and extensively rebuilt in fifth century B.C.E.[461] Whether the function of this structure was also altered at this time is unknown. Papadopoulos accepts Miller's assertion that the Agora was not formally organized until after the Persian destruction.[462] This would suggest that the Lithos was likely moved on account of the destruction of its

[456] Camp 1986, 101. In contrast, Shear (1994, 244) suggests that the stone is "rough-hewn on all sides."

[457] 1994, 245.

[458] This suggestion has been met with some enthusiasm from scholars, despite only casual references to it in scholarly publications (Camp 1986; Papadopoulos [1996, 114] cites Vermeule as the originator of the idea).

[459] Pollux 8.86.

[460] 1994, 244.

[461] Camp 1986, 100; Shear 1994, 237-239.

[462] 1996, 125-126, citing Miller (1995).

former location. Interestingly, this would place the movement of the stone *after* the destruction of the Acropolis walls by the Persians. One suggestion may be therefore that the Lithos is actually the lintel of one of the gateways to the ancient citadel rather than a tholos tomb.[463] Either way, the motive behind the movement of the stone should be sought in the Classical reuse of the past.

Classical Continuity or Pickling the Past

In the Classical period motives changed. As ancestor worship came to be state controlled, the past was more tightly controlled. This is best seen in the gradual covering up of much of the acropolis' history. Although this was partly necessitated by practical concerns, as most of the fortification wall seems to have been in particularly bad shape following the Persian Wars (see inscription posting guards). In doing so, attention could also be directed to specific points where the skin of marble was left open to reveal Athens antique past.[464] Indeed, following the Persian Wars, Athens was able to also reflect on its more recent past and thus, new monuments also had to negotiate the more recent past. The remains of temples burnt by the Persians were built into the North Wall of the acropolis, boldly challenging any who visited the city to recall the devastation Athens had endured at the hands of the Persians. Further structures were also preserved. The construction of the Parthenon has been shown to specifically incorporate, and even highlight the preservation of a small *naiskos* within its northern colonnade (Figure 44).[465] This *naiskos* likely dates originally to the archaic period, and may have held an archaic image of Athena. A strong connection has been made between this *naiskos* and the metope above where it was located, which depicts what is presumably an archaic *xoanon*. In addition to this *naiskos*, the greatest monument to memory may have been part of the Old Athena Temple. The evidence for the preservation of part of this structure into the

[463] In such a scenario, the passage purporting that Solon exhorted the Athenians from the stone would have to be retrojected upon the past. It is interesting to note in support of this idea, the tradition that the area in front of the Mycenaean gate was an important site for oration. After all, when Peisistratos attempted to seize power the crowd exhorted him to speak from here so that they could hear him.

[464] An interesting idea is that the concealment of the past may actually help to preserve its memory, see Mills 2008.

[465] Hurwit 1999, 23.

Hellenistic period has recently been reviewed.[466] Although there are strong arguments on both sides of the debate, the preservation of part of this structure would fit the pattern of maintaining monuments to memory on the acropolis of Athens.

One of the most distinguishing features of the Athenian acropolis today is the Nike Bastion, on which the Classical temple to Athena Nike was perched. Today, this is the first temple that greets an individual as he/she climbs the ramp leading towards the Propylaia. Archaeological investigation has revealed the reason for this rather unusual architectural embellishment, namely that it is established upon the remains of a Mycenaean fortification bastion, similar to the organization of the Lion Gate at Mycenae. This bastion was heavily modified under the Periklean building program, eventually being sheathed almost entirely in a marble skin that at first glance hid the Mycenaean structure beneath. This skin, however, was not designed to be impenetrable, in fact, in the face visible to anyone approaching the acropolis via the Classical ramp, a small, double-niche or window was left open. Such a niche allowed and even invited anyone passing by, upon closer inspection to look through into the Athenian past.[467] Rather than closing off Athenian history therefore, the marble cladding restricted access to the Mycenaean remains. Perhaps this belies a similar change in Athenian control over their portrayal to other Greeks, standardization in the message they were presenting. There is some debate over the exact nature of this double niche – the most contentious point concerns the Mycenaean remains that were left visible. According to Iakovides, the window opened onto an almost identical Mycenaean niche.[468] Similar niches, normally located within the walls of a citadel are known from Mycenae, Tiryns and Gla.[469] At other Mycenaean citadels, these niches have been associated with cult activity, the most apparent evidence for which comes from Tiryns. Presumably such a cult would have been dedicated to a

[466] Ferrari (2002) in addition to renewing the debate, provides a good discussion of past scholarship.

[467] Hurwit 2004, 65.

[468] Iacovides 2006, 118-121.

[469] At Mycenae, a similar niche, also known as the 'guardhouse' exists on the left-hand side as one enters through the lion gate. At Tiryns, various proposals have been made for the wall niches, which are found not only by the main gate, but also in the *ünterburg* enceinte, where at least one exhibits evidence for cult practice (Kilian 1983, 303-309). Finally, at Gla, these niches are found at the major entrances into the citadel, however there is no conclusive archaeological evidence for their function. It is important to note that in all these cases the niches occur inside the enceinte wall, whereas the purported niche at Athens is on the external bastion.

protective deity. Iakovides therefore concludes that the niche was actually preserved architectural feature of the Mycenaean bastion. There remains some debate over the exact form of the Mycenaean niche.[470]

These examples of fifth century B.C.E. repurposing go to show that Athenians were consciously aware of the power of memory. Using these monuments, Athens was able to highlight the dramatic changes rendered to their city by the Persians. This strengthened their own claims as hegemonic leader of Greece, since they were also the ones who drove the Persians back and even liberated Ionia. But even in the midst of this, the Athenians also maintained their links with their prehistoric past. The best preserved section of the Mycenaean wall, to the south of the propylaia was left exposed, and the Classical propylaia was carefully built around the remains. The Nike Bastion was completely rebuilt in marble, yet its core held the precious proof of its antiquity, and so the niche on the front of the Nike bastion was left as a window onto the past (Figure 45). And while these are the best examples today, the Athenians would have been able to point to dozens of other proofs of their past, some of these such as the marks of Poseidon's trident and the olive tree of Athena were natural features no doubt, but other objects were almost certainly ancient relics. It has even been suggested that the altar and bronze axe, which played a prominent role in the Classical Dipoleia was a Mycenaean relic.[471]

Conclusions

Athens presents a remarkable opportunity to study the repurposing of prehistoric motifs, artifacts and architecture diachronically. The changing attitudes of Athenians towards their past in just the short span of 200 years, suggests that future studies may bear even more fruit. One of the most surprising differences that the Athenian acropolis exhibits compared to other sites is the lack of a burial mound associated with a heroic figure. This is almost certainly due to the extensive rebuilding of the Acropolis in the fifth century B.C.E. Holtzmann suggests that the north porch of the Erechtheion

[470] See Wright (1994) for a comprehensive account of the arguments.

[471] Simon 1983, 9.

functioned as the marker of the former burial place of Erechtheus.[472] While a hypothetical Kekropeion, a predecessor to the Classical Erechtheion, was posited as a burial mound by Dörpfeld.[473] Perhaps, on account of its many visible ruins, the Athenians never needed such a monument to legitimize their ancestral claims. For them, no attempts were made to construct a landscape, but there does seem to have been a conscious attempt made to maintain the aesthetic of the prehistoric remains through the sixth century B.C.E. as evidenced by the ramp up to the acropolis and wall S2.

The Athenians were careful managers of their historical narratives, and perhaps the greatest manipulators of their history. The dramatic changes observed following the Persian destruction, including the elision of many of the political and social developments of the sixth century B.C.E. with Theseus, was a unique solution to relieving social tensions. By creating a singular Athenian identity, the Athenians were engaging in one of the first instances that can be seen as true nationalism.

The Athenians carefully preserved, conserved, and repurposed their Mycenaean past as suited their needs. But, no matter the end goal, Mycenaean ruins were considered powerful reminders of past events. In the Athenian case, prehistoric material allowed the formation of an identity distinct from the rest of Greece, through the careful repurposing of art, artifacts, and architecture. The importance of the Sacred Way in Athens cannot be denied in this process. By the end of the sixth century B.C.E., important ancestral monuments existed on the acropolis, in what would become the agora, and in the kerameikos. A visitor to Athens therefore, would be forced to engage with the historical narratives these monuments presented. The fifth century B.C.E. addition of important historical paintings in the *pinakotheke* of the propylaia to the acropolis and the Painted Stoa just across the Sacred Way from the Royal Stoa, further emphasizes the ongoing use of this route to promote Athenian narratives.

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[472] 2003, 164.

[473] Although this was explicitly based on a comparision with Olympia (1947, 25-27, see also Abb. 2).

Conclusion

> There is an important distinction to be made between continuity and repurposing. One implies a continuity of memory, whereas the other does not. Greece in the 8th century emerged into a new era, no longer dominated by the palatial systems of the Bronze Age. The ideologies that emerged at this time represent a distinct break from the preceding era, no matter how enticing the continuity of a handful of words and motifs may be (S. Morris 2007, 67).

As Greek social practices changed from the tenth to fourth centuries B.C.E., so did the manner in which they repurposed Mycenaean artifacts and architecture. What this work has shown, however, is that no matter what the period, the repurposing of Mycenaean artifacts was intimately involved in the construction of identities. From the tenth to eighth centuries B.C.E., this was personal or clan identities, but as the Greek population grew, and the *poleis* developed, personal and clan identities became secondary to civic identities. From the eighth through fourth centuries B.C.E., therefore, we see a heavy emphasis placed on the development of heroes specific to a given *polis*. This is most apparent in the prominence given to heroes in the colonies established around the Mediterranean at this time, but it was equally important on the mainland of Greece, as demonstrated by the Athenians and their hero, Theseus.

Malkin has recently considered the construction of Greek identity as a series of intermeshed networks.[474] Such a model is perfectly compatible with the evidence gleaned from the present study. Prehistoric remains acted as loci for anchoring memories, and these memories were instrumental in the construction of group identities. As suggested by Malkin, these identities were not mutually inclusive or exclusive, but a single Greek could have multiple identities depending on: where they came from, what was their social class, and to where were they moving.

> Thus, in order to create a link to the past, two requirements were necessary, on the one hand, a credible claim of genealogical relation to important persons of the past, and, on the other, the appropriation of moveable and immovable symbols of past greatness and their integration in institutionalized social communication evoking the meaning of the symbols and visualizing the relation to past persons and events (Maran 2011, 175).

[474] Malkin 2011.

In order to construct identities, it was necessary to generate historical narratives. These narratives were remembered over generations, through the use of material artifacts and architecture as loci of memories. In the eighth century B.C.E., sanctuaries became important repositories for artifacts, and so it is not unusual that they also acquired Mycenaean artifacts, which, because of their age and rarity, not only increased their prestige, but anchored the historical narratives which the sanctuaries promoted. Sites preserving vestiges of Mycenaean architecture became equally hallowed, and it is not coincidental that many of these sites wound up becoming sanctuaries or temple sites.

The historical narratives generated from these memories were not necessarily based on historical events, however, as demonstrated by the manipulation of memory seen in replicas or forgeries. The construction of the terrace at the Argive Heraion is the best example of this, but the Athenian manipulation of the *Iliad* demonstrates that historical narratives could also be changed in a more outright fashion. Also, the destruction of an existing site could have an equally important effect on the transmission of memory. This is demonstrated by the transposition of historical narratives onto the site of Troy, or away from the ruins of Pylos, when it no longer remained a visible landmark.

The use and manipulation of the past is of course not unique to the Greeks. Contemporary with the early Greek poleis on the mainland, much was being mined from the Minoan past on Crete. In the Near East, kings, such as Sargon II, based the source of their power and their dynastic reigns on strong ties to their mythical history.[475] Examples could be found among the Inca and the powers in Asia.[476] What is hoped with this thesis is that a clearer picture emerges from a very important period of history, the beginning of what we know of as the Greek city-state. I have tried to examine in detail the myriad ways Greeks used their past, in particular their Mycenaean past, for the purpose of creating not only identities within a single polis, but also a unified Panhellenic identity of what it meant to be Greek.

[475] Nigro 1998.

[476] In the case of the Inca, see Hastorf 2003; Lau 2008; Mantha 2009. For ancient China, see Liu 1999.

Tables

Table 1 - Literary attested hero bone transferrals

Date (if known)	Hero*	From	To	Reference
~560 B.C.E.	Orestes	Tegea	Sparta	Hdt. 1.67-68
476-470 B.C.E.	Theseus	Skyros	Athens	Plu. *Vit.Thes.* 36.1-2
~437 B.C.E.	Rhesus	Troy	Amphipolis	Polyaenus *Strat.* VI.53
421 B.C.E.	Arcas	Maenalus	Mantinea	Paus. 8.9.3-4
420 B.C.E.	Hippodameia	Midea	Olympia	Paus. 6.20.7
~382 B.C.E.	Alcmene	Haliartus	Sparta	Plu. *Mor.* 577
371 B.C.E.	Aristomenes	Rhodes	Messene	Paus. 4.32.3
338 B.C.E.	Linus^	Thebes	Macedonia	Paus. 9.29.8-9
-	Oedipus	Thebes	Athens	Paus. 1.28.7
-	Eurytus	Argolid	Messene	Paus. 4.33
-	Pelops	Eretria	Olympia	Paus. 5.13.6
-	Tisamenus	Helike	Sparta	Paus. 7.1.8
-	Hector	Troy	Thebes	Paus. 9.18.5
-	Orpheus	Libertha	Dion	Paus. 9.30.9-12
-	Actaeon	-	Orchomenos	Paus. 9.38.5
-	Minos	Sicily	Crete	Diod.Sic. 4.79.2

*Heroes names underlined if an oracle is attested as the reason for the bone transfer.
^Linus' bones were transferred on account of a dream that Philip had (Paus. 9.29.8).

Illustrations

Figure 1 - Map showing extent of Mycenaean culture

Figure 2 - View of Grave Circle A at Mycenae

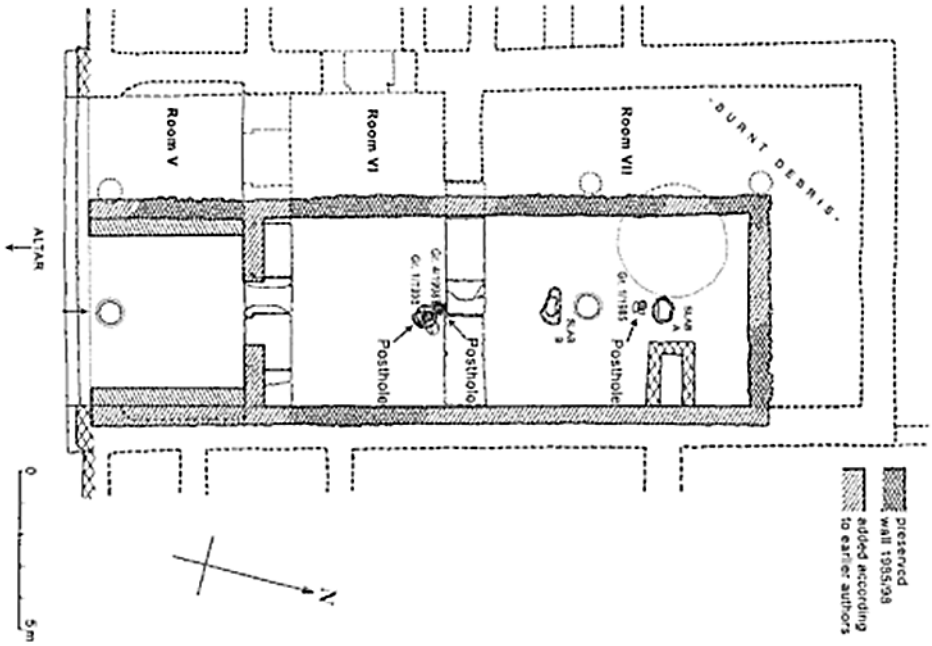

Figure 3 - Plan of Mycenaean megaron and Building T at Tiryns

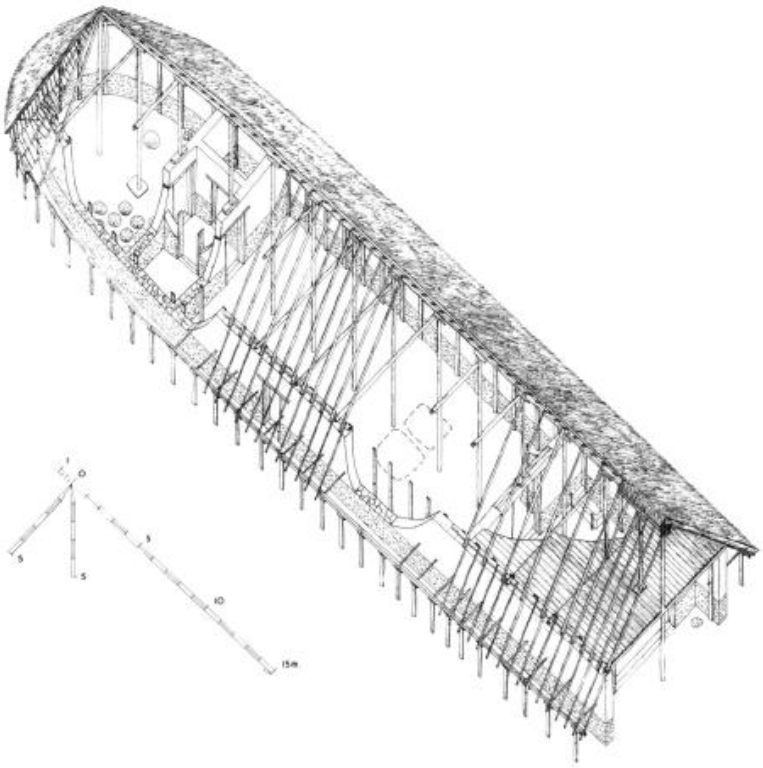

Figure 4 - Reconstruction of the Heröon of Lefkandi

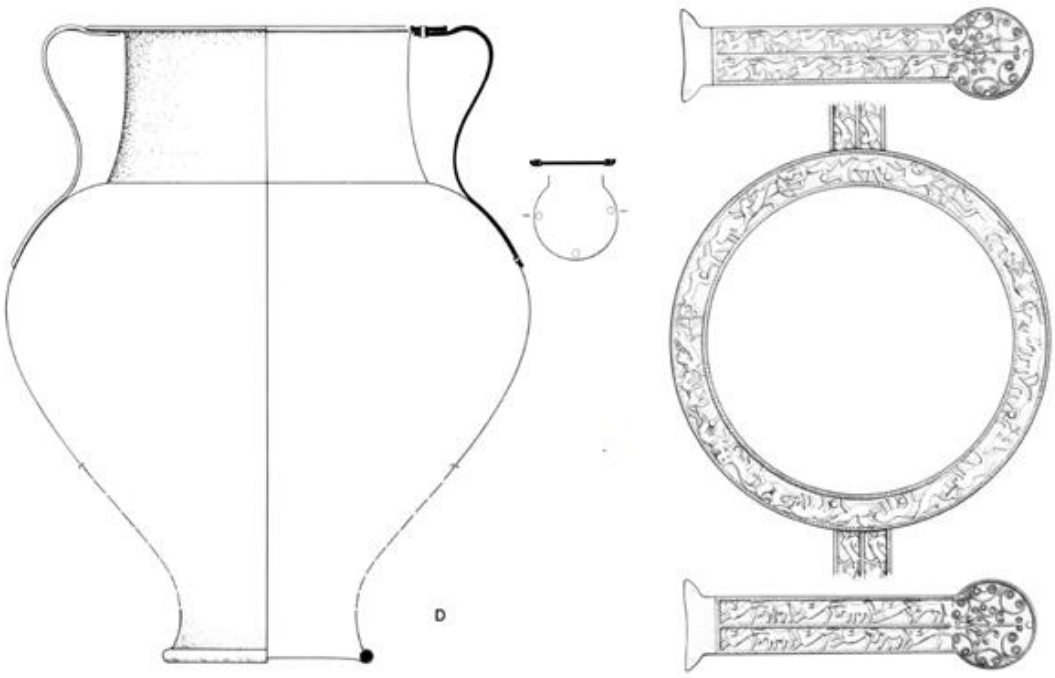

Figure 5 - Bronze Krater from Lefkandi

Figure 6 - LH IIIA Piriform Jar (bottom center) found in Protogeometric Tomb

Figure 7 - LH IIIC Hydria Used as *Sema* for Protogeometric Tomb

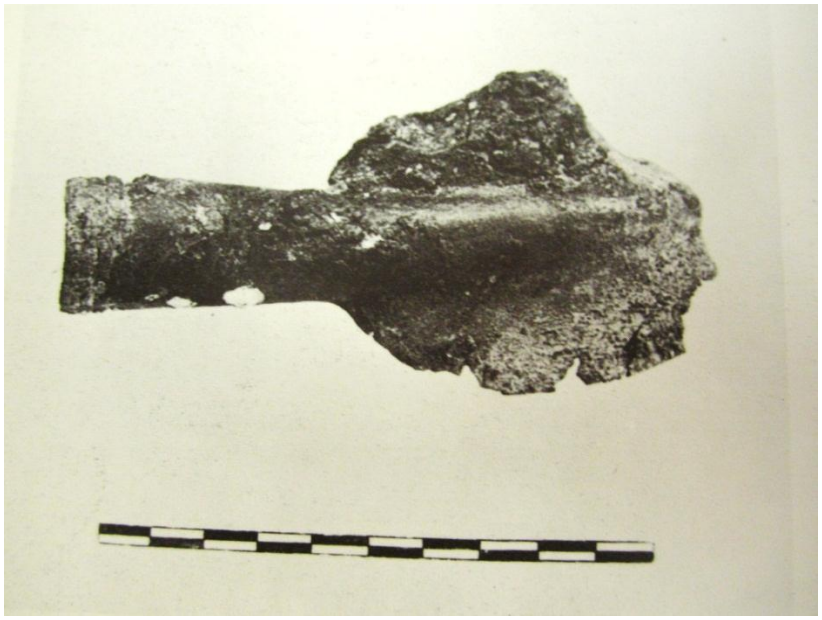

Figure 8 - Mycenaean spear point found in eighth century B.C.E. grave at Eretria

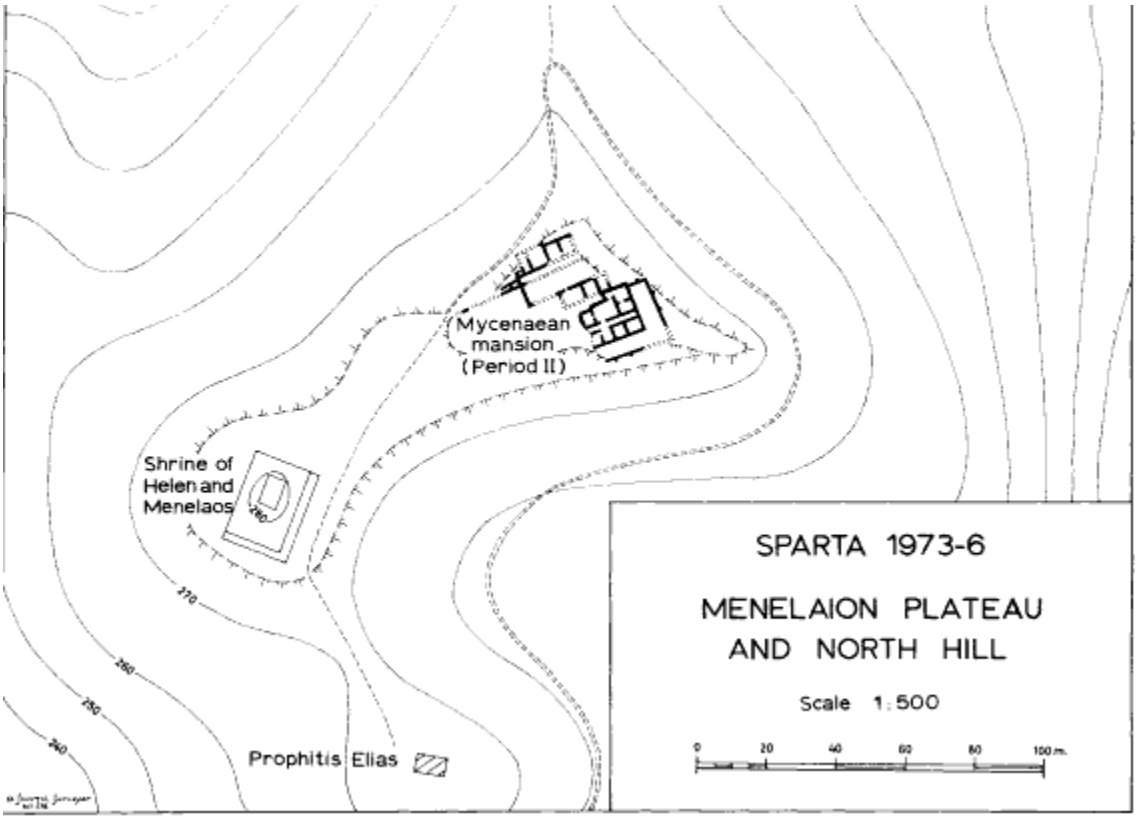

Figure 9 - Map of Menelaion and environs

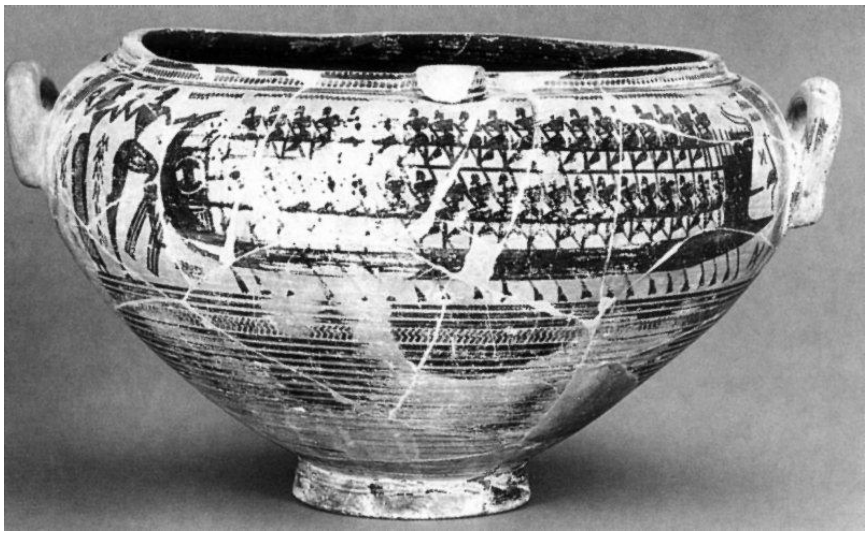

Figure 10 - Late Geometric louterion with abduction scene

Figure 11 - Mykonos Vase showing the capture of Troy

Figure 12 - Mycenaean bronzes repurposed as votive objects

Figure 13 - Coin depicting Zeus Labradeus

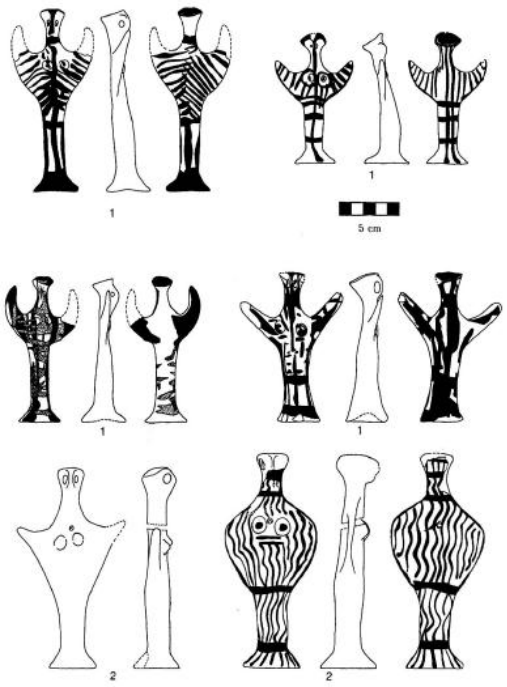

Figure 14 – A selection of figurines from the Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi

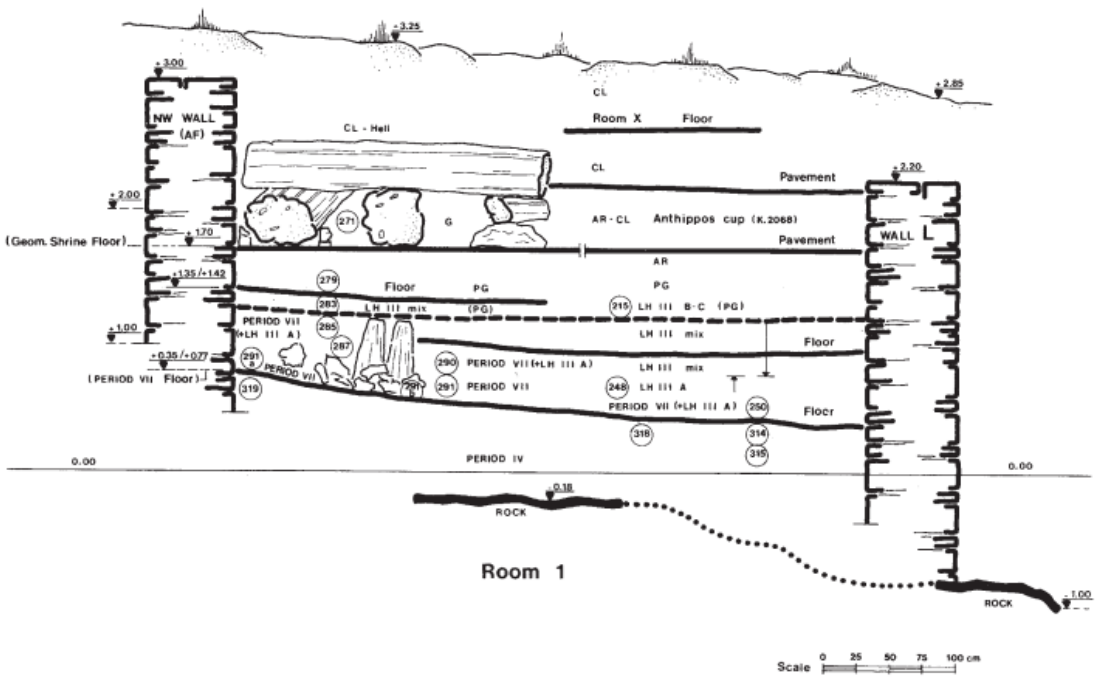

Figure 15 - Stratigraphy of Ayia Irini shrine (note head on Geometric floor level)

Figure 16 - Ayia Irini head in situ

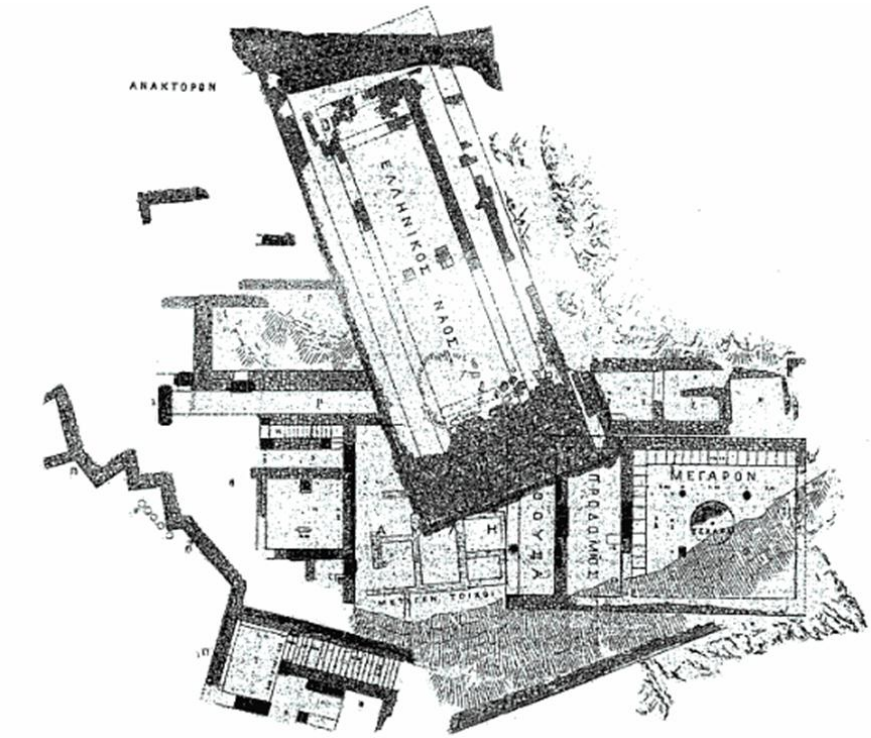

Figure 17 - Seventh century B.C.E temple at Mycenae

Figure 18 - The citadel of Mycenae from a distance

Figure 19 - The Argive Heraion temple terrace

Figure 20 - Detailed view of temple terrace (note difference between eighth century B.C.E. architecture [top] and fifth century B.C.E. [bottom]

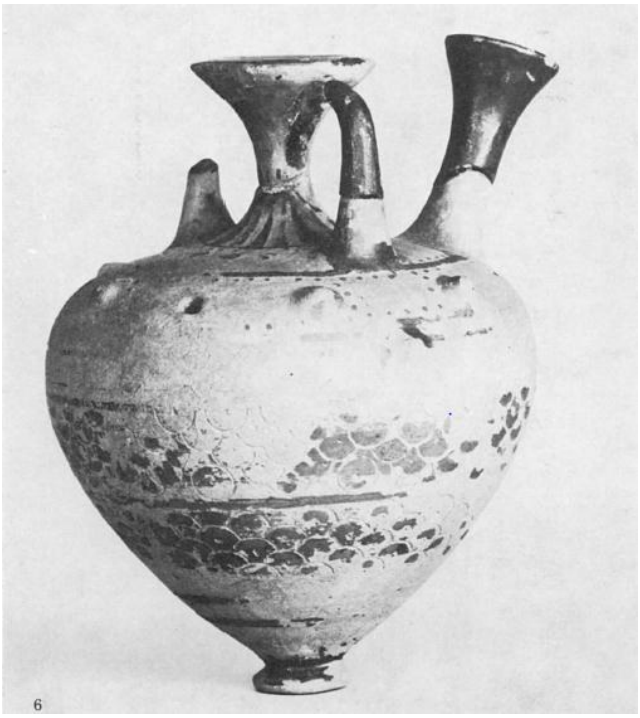

Figure 21 - Corinthian *aryballos* in imitation of a Mycenaean stirrup jar

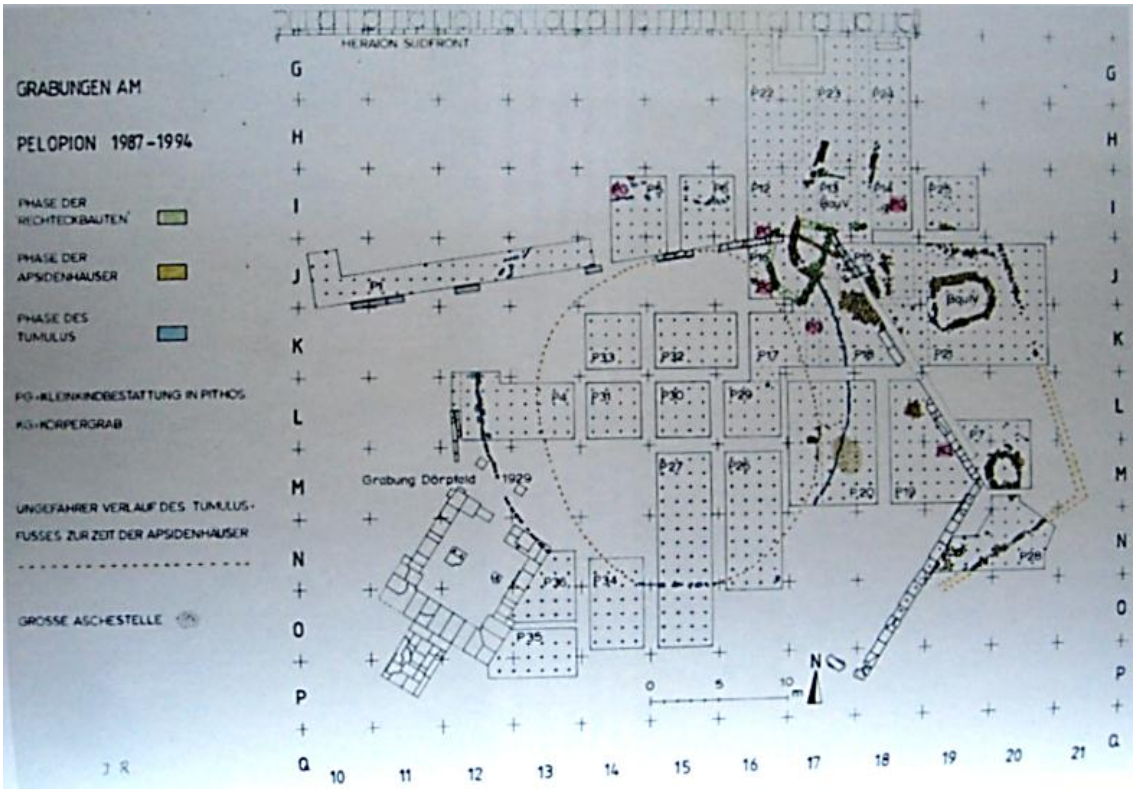

Figure 22 - Plan of Pelopeion at Olympia

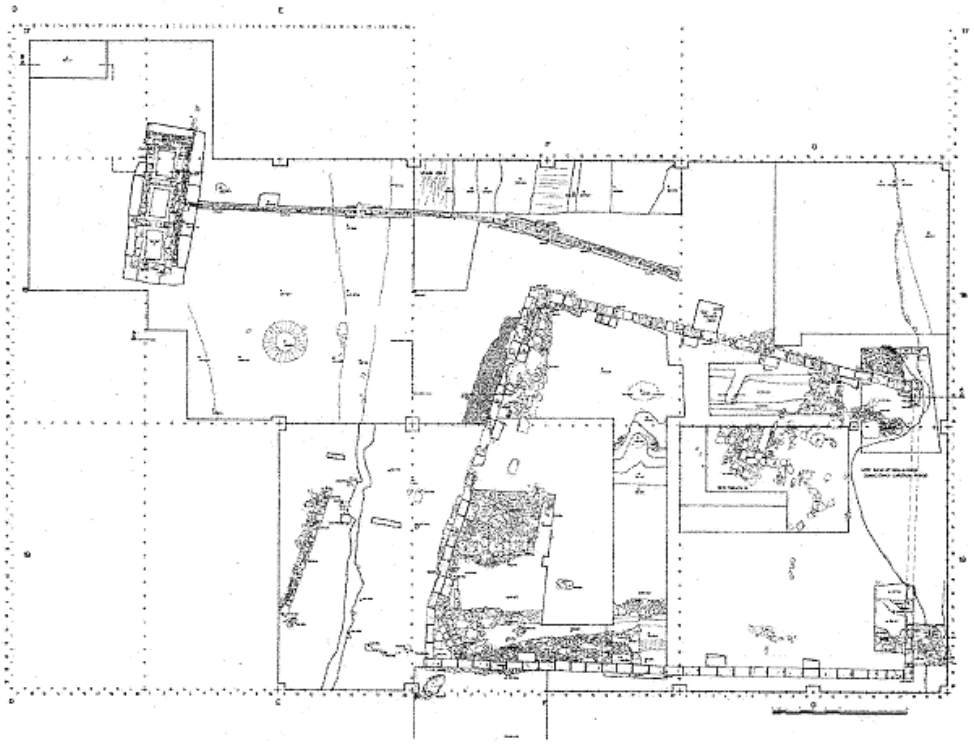

Figure 23 - State plan of Ophelteion at Nemea

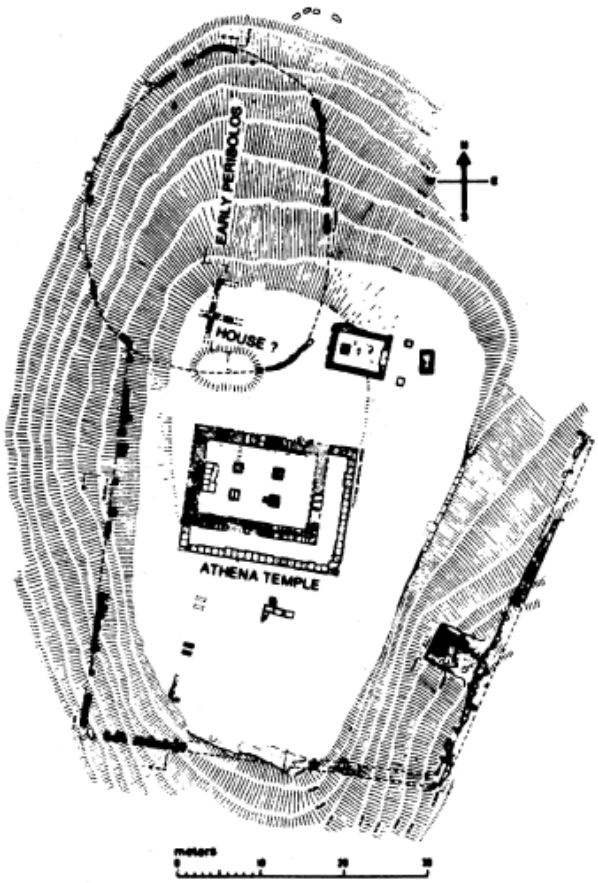

Figure 24 - Plan of Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion

Figure 25 - Rubble facing on Pelopeion tumulus at Olympia

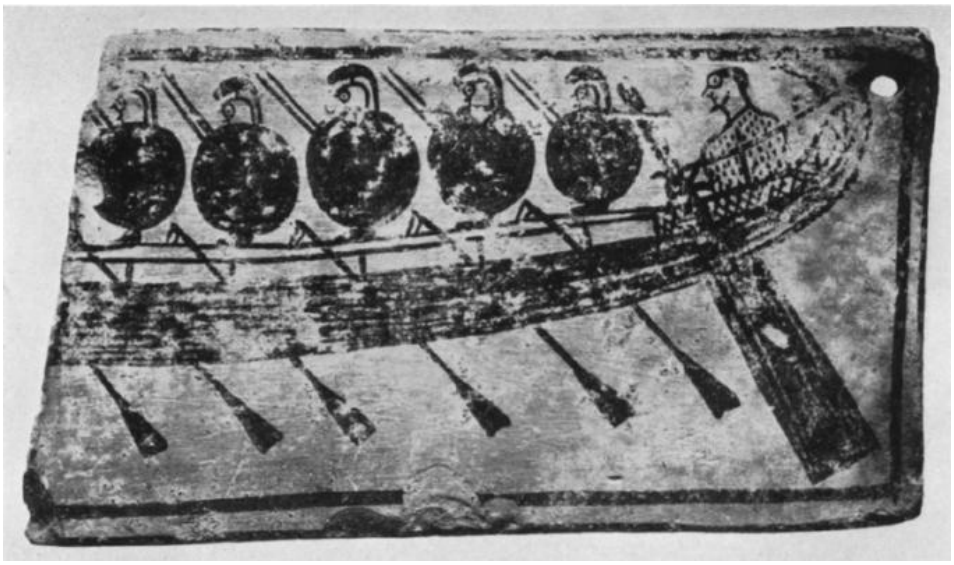

Figure 26 - Votive plaque from Sounion showing helmsman

Figure 27 - Thick layer of burnt material overlying tumulus at Olympia

Figure 28 - Ruins of Arcadian Gate at Messene

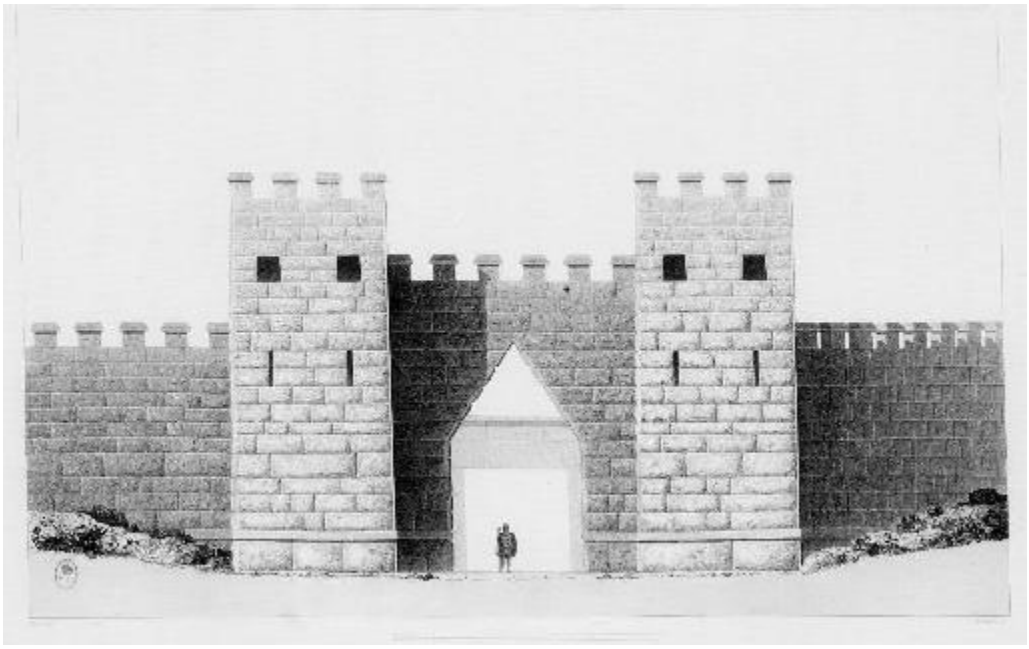

Figure 29 - Arcadian Gate at Messene restored

Figure 30 - Tomb of Clytemnestra at Mycene

Figure 31 - Theatre retaing wall at Messene

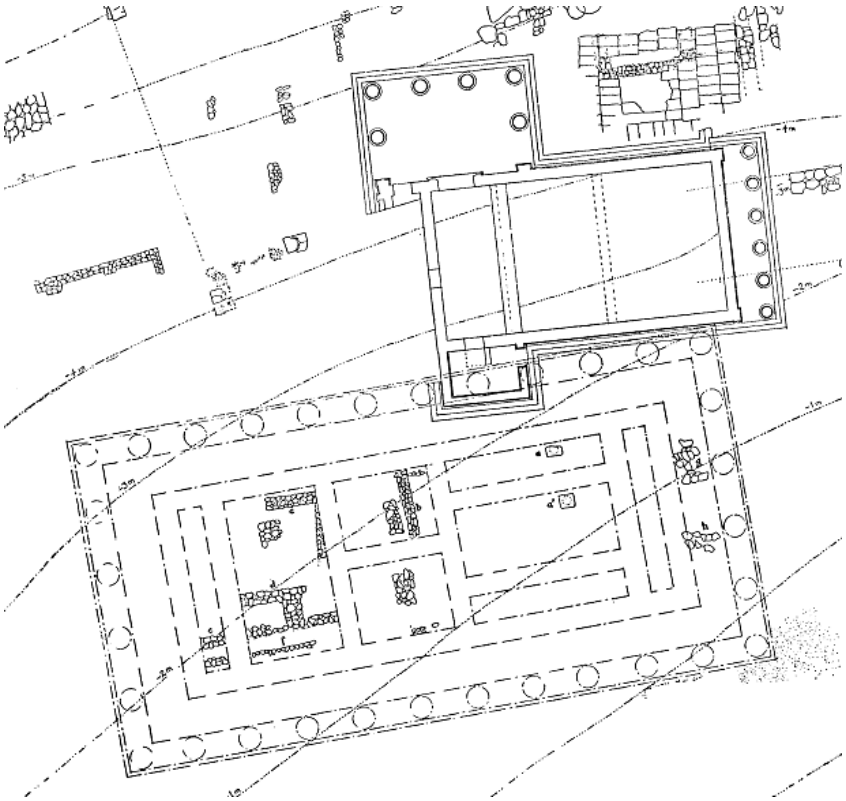

Figure 32 - Plan of Erechtheion showing phases of construction

Figure 33 - Remaining traces of the Mycenaean fortifications of Athens

(*a*) Attic red-figured skyphos, Louvre G372, side A.

(*b*) Attic red-figured skyphos, Louvre G372, side B.

Figure 34 - Skyphos by the Penelope Painter

Figure 35 - Reconstruction of Athena Promachos in front of Mycenaean terrace

Figure 36 - Reconstruction of the Hekatompedon pediments after Beyer

Figure 37 - Colchos Oinochoe showing lions attacking bulls paralleling battle scenes

Figure 38 - Lioness with mane mauling bull from Hekatompedon

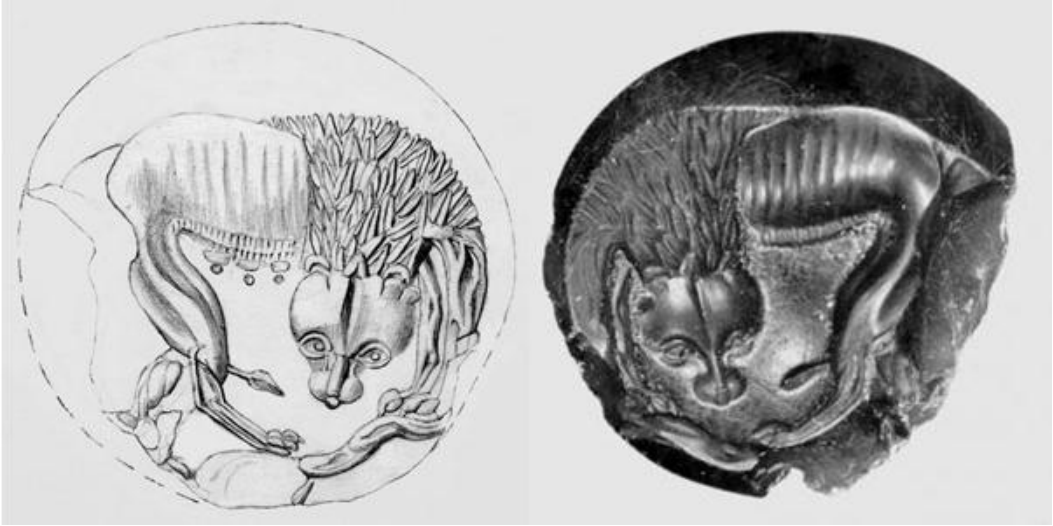

Figure 39 - Lioness with mane on Mycenaean seal stone

Figure 40 - Bluebeard group from the Hekatompedon

Figure 41 - Archaic ramp leading up to the Athenian Acropolis

Figure 42 - Photo showing marble dado built against Mycenaean wall

Figure 43 - The Oath Stone in front of the Royal Stoa in Athens

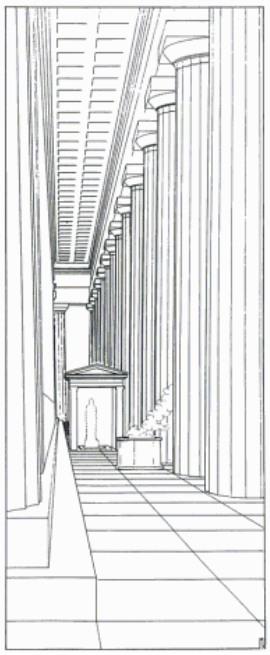

Figure 44 - Preclassical naiskos incorporated into Parthenon

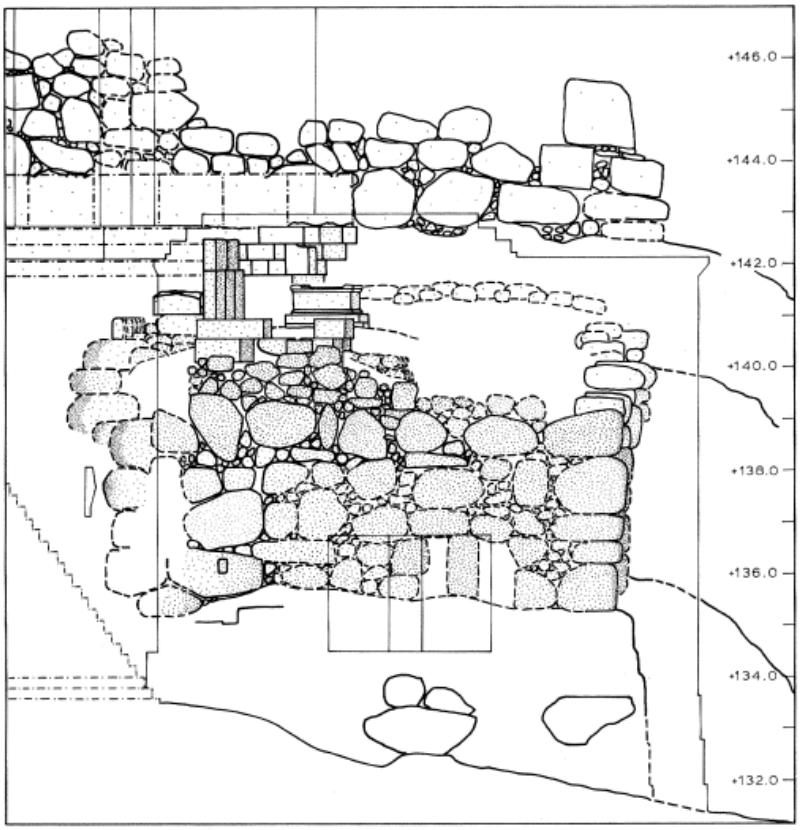

Figure 45 - Elevation of Nike Bastion showing phases of construction

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Appendix – Greek Chronology

Mycenaean Period: 1650-1050 B.C.E.

Late Helladic I – 1650-1550 B.C.E.

Late Helladic IIA – 1550-1400 B.C.E

Late Helladic IIIA – 1400-1300 B.C.E.

Late Helladic IIIB – 1300-1200 B.C.E.

Late Helladic IIIC – 1200-1100 B.C.E.

Submycenaean – 1100-1050 B.C.E.

Iron Age: 1050-700 B.C.E.

Protogeometric – 1050-900 B.C.E.

Early Geometric – 900-850 B.C.E.

Middle Geometric – 850-760 B.C.E.

Late Geometric – 760-700 B.C.E.

Archaic Period: 700-480 B.C.E.

Orientalizing – 700-540 B.C.E.

Classical Period: 480-323 B.C.E.

Hellenistic Period: 323-32 B.C.E.