

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL CULT STATUES IN GREECE



THE SETTING AND DISPLAY  
OF  
CULT IMAGES  
IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS  
IN GREECE

By

SHERRI DAWSON, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

© Copyright by Sherri Dawson, June 2002

MASTER OF ARTS (2002)  
(Classical Studies)

McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE:           The Setting and Display of Cult Images in the Archaic and Classical  
                  Periods in Greece.

AUTHOR:           Sherri Dawson, B. A. (University of Alberta)

SUPERVISOR:       Dr. Gretchen Umholtz

NUMBER OF PAGES:    xii, 257.

## ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is on ancient archaic and classical Greek cult statues and how their placement reflects both the role of the statues themselves and the continuity in worship. Greek sanctuaries generally exhibited a strong continuity of cult in terms of building successive temples directly on top of the remains of their predecessors. The sanctuary of Hera on Samos and the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma are two such sanctuaries in Asia Minor that exhibit this type of continuity even though their early temples were replaced by large superstructures. The temple of Athena Nike in Athens is another example of continuity, since the larger Classical temple was built on the same site as the archaic one. The Athenian Parthenon, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Classical Heraion at Argos and the Classical temple of Dionysos on the south slope in Athens, however, were not built on the same site as the archaic temples. The relation to the archaic site varies in each instance, but old statues or old sites continue to play a role. The erection of these temples seems to correspond with a recent political victory in each city; I believe that these achievements provided the impetus for the building of these large temples and statues. This seems quite evident considering that each temple

contained quite vivid victory imagery: the architectural sculpture was usually symbolic of various conquests made by the Greeks, and the colossal statue housed in the cella often depicted the same themes. Were they built primarily to showcase their newly acquired power and prosperity? They certainly would have provided the sanctuary with a new and very impressive physical focus, monumental in both scale and expense. But did they also serve as a new spiritual focus? I do not think that they became the new focus of the cult, although they were likely involved in it to some degree. I believe that the focus remained on the ancient cult site and on the ancient cultic traditions. I think that the new adjacent temple was primarily built as a type of victory monument, as an ostentatious display of wealth and power that was meant to both impress the visitor and to thank the deity for helping the city achieve their success. This study will examine the traditional religious conservatism evident in the archaic period and see how it relates to the new needs of the fifth century *polis*. The study of the location of the cult statues seems to reveal evolving priorities in Greek religious life from the sixth to fifth centuries BC.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, I would like to extend my most heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Gretchen Umholtz, for the countless ways she has helped me during the course of writing this thesis. I have really appreciated her guidance, insight, patience, and understanding as well as her encouragement and enthusiasm. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee: Dr. Michele George and Dr. Peter Kingston for their insights, observations, and helpful suggestions. And last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my friends and my family, especially my parents, for the many ways they have supported and encouraged me. A special note of thanks to my grandfather for his generosity which enabled me to study at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and to see most of the sites examined in this thesis firsthand.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother in appreciation of her patience, her moral support, and the many hours she has spent listening to my ideas, tutoring me in French, and proofreading my work in its final stage.

S.D.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations.....	vii
I: Introduction.....	1
II: Continuity in Asia Minor.....	14
The Sanctuary of Hera on Samos.....	14
The Sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma.....	27
III: Continuity on the Mainland.....	43
The Sanctuary of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in Athens.....	43
IV: Continuity and Adjacent Temple on the Akropolis in Athens.....	64
The Temple of Athena Polias.....	66
The Parthenon.....	85
V: Adjacent Temples in the Peloponnesos and in Athens.....	109
The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.....	109
The Sanctuary of Hera at Argos.....	131
The Sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens.....	153
VI: Conclusions.....	175
Appendices.....	187
I: <i>IG I<sup>3</sup>.474.1-92</i> .....	187
II: Argive Heraion: Marble Head of Hera.....	189
Illustrations.....	192
Bibliography.....	245



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1.1 Wooden votive statuette, perhaps depicting the cult image of Hera from Samos, ca. 650-625 BC. Height: 28.7 cm. Stewart, 1990, v. 2, fig. 14.
- 1.2 Cult statues from Dreros, Crete: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Stewart, 1990, v. 2, fig. 17.
- 1.3 Dreros, Temple of Apollo: plan, elevation, sections. The cult statues shown in fig. 1.2 are depicted standing on a platform north of the central column. Coldstream, 1977, fig. 102.
- 1.4 Reconstruction of the interior of the temple of Apollo at Dreros (Crete) in the seventh century BC. The cult statues shown in fig. 1.2 are depicted standing on a platform north of the central column. Stewart, 1990, v. 2, fig. 16.
- 1.5 Reconstruction of the Heraion at Samos with cult statue placed north of the central colonnade. Stewart, 1990, v. 2, fig. 15.
- 2.1 Eighth century temple of Hera at Samos with central colonnade. Buschor and Schleif, 1934, p. 160, fig. 13.
- 2.2 Eighth century temple of Hera at Samos with central colonnade and added peristyle. Coldstream, 1977, fig. 105 (a).
- 2.3 Phased plan of the sanctuary of Hera at Samos including buildings and monuments ranging in date from the eighth century BC until Early Christian times (sixth century AD). Kyrieleis, 1993, fig. 7.2.
- 2.4 State-plan of "monopteros". Ohly, 1953, fig. 1.
- 2.5 Restored plan of "monopteros". Buschor and Schleif, 1934, p. 214, fig. 3.

- 2.6 Base remains from the pronaos of the “Polykrates temple”. Ohly, 1953, fig. 3.
- 2.7 Bronze statuette from the British Museum, probable copy of the bronze image of Apollo by Kanachos from Didyma. Frazer, 1913, v. 4, fig. 45.
- 2.8 Early remains in adyton of temple of Apollo at Didyma. Remains of late geometric enclosure walls and early naiskos remains. Drerup, 1964, fig. 12.
- 2.9 Restored plan of Archaic temple of Apollo at Didyma and naiskos in adyton. Gruben, 1963, fig. 5.
- 2.10 Restored plan of Hellenistic temple of Apollo at Didyma and naiskos in adyton. Gruben, 1963, fig. 4.
- 3.1 Sanctuary of Athena Nike from the northwest. Travlos, 1971, fig. 204.
- 3.2 Temple of Athena Nike (Stage IV), from the east. Hurwit, 1999, fig. 182.
- 3.3 (a) Repository (Base for the cult statue) from the east (Mark, 1993, Plate 2); and (b) Repository with deposit of figurines from the southeast (Travlos, 1971, fig. 201).
- 3.4 Plan and cross-section of the repository (base for the cult statue). Mark, 1993, fig. 2.
- 3.5 Reconstruction of the base for the cult statue of Athena Nike. Mark, 1993, fig. 3.
- 3.6 Actual-state plan of early Nike Bastion and surroundings. Mark 1993, Plan A.
- 3.7 Plan of naiskos and repository (base for the cult statue). Mark, 1993, fig. 5.
- 3.8 Plan of the late 5<sup>th</sup>-century (Stage IV) Nike Sanctuary and southwest wing. Mark, 1993, fig. 17.

- 3.9 Superimposed plan of the Temple of Athena Nike, showing the Stage IV temple and the Stage III statue base. Mark, 1993, Plate 7 (Balanos Archives).
- 3.10 Longitudinal Section of the Temple of Athena Nike (Stage IV) from the South. Mark, 1993, Plate 11 (Balanos Archives).
- 4.1 Plan of the Late Bronze Age (Mycenaean) Akropolis showing the proposed site of the Mycenaean palace. Hurwit, 1999, fig. 48.
- 4.2 (a) Reconstruction of mid-sixth century Akropolis, with “Bluebeard temple” on north side; (b) Reconstruction of mid-sixth century Akropolis with “Bluebeard temple” on south (Parthenon) site. Hurwit, 1999, fig. 83.
- 4.3 Late Archaic foundations for the Temple of Athena Polias (The Old Athena Temple). Hurwit, 1999, fig. 82.
- 4.4 Plan of Late Archaic Temple of Athena Polias (restored plan and state plan). Travlos, 1971, fig. 196.
- 4.5 Plans of Erechtheion and Old Athena Temple. Rhodes, 1995, fig. 68.
- 4.6 Model of the Akropolis, aerial view from the northwest. Ferrari, 2002, fig. 4.
- 4.7 Model of the Akropolis, view from the Propylaia. Ferrari, 2002, fig. 5.
- 4.8 Superimposed plan of Older Parthenon and Classical Parthenon. Hill, 1912, Plate IX.
- 4.9 Classical Parthenon. (a) cutaway view; (b) plan of temple indicating the sculptural program. Stewart, 1990, v. 2, figs. 317-318.
- 4.10 Parthenos statue reconstructed in the cella of the temple. Royal Ontario Museum model. Leipen, 1971, fig. 60.
- 4.11 Data for the original base in Classical Parthenon. Stevens, 1955, fig. 2.

- 4.12 Lenormant statuette. National Museum, Athens. Leipen, 1971, fig. 1.
- 4.13 Varvakion statuette. Front and side views. National Museum, Athens. Leipen, 1971, fig. 2.
- 4.14 Section through the base of the Parthenos, looking north: restoration. Stevens, 1955, fig. 12.
- 4.15 Longitudinal section through the east of the Parthenon: restoration. Stevens, 1955, fig. 6.
- 4.16 Cross-section through the east cella of the Parthenon: restoration. Stevens, 1955, fig. 7.
- 4.17 Plan of cella of the Parthenon showing 1) the position of the base of the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena; 2) at A, B, and C traces of the rim of a water basin in front of the statue. Stevens, 1955, fig. 1.
- 4.18 Coventry Cathedral, old and new. Williams, 1966, p. 66.
- 4.19 The Kaiser-Wilhelm Memorial Church, Berlin. Ferrari, 2002, fig. 7.
- 5.1 Plan of sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Mallwitz, 1972, fig. 239.
- 5.2 Model of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Mallwitz, 1972, fig. 240.
- 5.3 Plan of Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Rhodes, 1995, fig. 41.
- 5.4 Cross-section of cella of Temple of Zeus illustrating position and size of the colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus: reconstruction. Mallwitz, 1972, fig. 177.
- 5.5 Numismatic representations of the cult statue of Zeus by Pheidias. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, P XX-XXIII and Q XVII.

- 5.6 Bronze votive statuettes portraying Zeus striding forward, a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle poised on his left. Schwabacher, 1961, fig. 2.
- 5.7 Numismatic representations of Zeus from Elis. Schwabacher, 1961, figs. 3 and 4.
- 5.8 Argive Heraion. General plan of the site: restored. Tilton, 1902, Plate V.
- 5.9 The Old Temple Terrace. Wright, 1982, Plate VII (a).
- 5.10 View looking southwest upon the remains of the Old Temple and its platform. Tilton, 1902, Plate X.
- 5.11 State-plan of the Old Temple Terrace. Wright, 1982, fig. 1.
- 5.12 Restored plan of the Old Temple. Tilton, 1902, fig. 50.
- 5.13 Terracotta model from the Argive Heraion, ca. 700 BC. Hägg, 1992, Plate 7, fig. 9.
- 5.14 Limestone flagging of the Terrace and the Archaic temple stylobate. Wright, 1982, Plate VII (b).
- 5.15 Plan of the Classical Temple: restored. Tilton, 1902, Plate XVII.
- 5.16 View looking southwest upon the Classical Temple from the Old Terrace Wall. Tilton, 1902, Plate XIV.
- 5.17 Restored section of Classical Temple showing statue of Hera. Tilton, 1902, fig. 64.
- 5.18 Numismatic representations of chryselephantine statue of Hera at Argos. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, I XII-XV.

- 5.19 Octagonal stone pillar. Front and side views. Athens NM no. 2702. Strøm, 1988, fig. 18 a-c.
- 5.20 Octagonal stone pillar. Surface views. Athens NM no. 2702. Strøm, 1988, fig. 19 a-c.
- 5.21 State-plan of older Dionysos temple on the south slope of the Akropolis. Dörpfeld, 1896, p. 14, fig. 1.
- 5.22 Restored plan of older Dionysos temple. I: the second half of sixth century BC; II: the second half of the fifth century BC. Travlos, 1971, fig. 677.
- 5.23 Numismatic representations of Dionysos. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, CC II-VI.
- 5.24 Younger temple of Dionysos on the south slope of Akropolis: state plan. Dörpfeld, 1896, fig. 4.
- 5.25 Younger temple of Dionysos on the south slope of Akropolis: restored plan. Dörpfeld, 1896, fig. 5.
- 5.26 Restored plan of sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis in Athens. Travlos, 1971, fig. 678.
- 6.1 Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea (4<sup>th</sup> century BC): the sculptural program and reconstruction of the cella and cult statue standing on podium (Stewart, 1990, v. 2, 540-541).
- 7.1 Head of Hera from the Argive Heraion. Waldstein, 1902, Plate XXXVI and Frontispiece.

# I

## INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that Greek sanctuaries generally exhibited a strong continuity of cult in terms of building successive temples directly on top of the remains of their predecessors. These temples housed the sacred image of the deity, the cult statue. Unfortunately, so few cult statues have survived that we must look for peripheral indications in order to appreciate their presence and impact. Ancient authors and remains of statue bases provide primary evidence for an understanding of the ancient cult statues. Literary testimonia provide information about the form and the care of the cult statues, aspects which, when combined with the examination of the location of the statues, helps to illuminate their meaning and function. Venerability, beauty, and size are alluded to in scattered ancient literary references, but many important aspects of how the worshippers related to the images are unknown. One approach to better understand this relationship is to look at where they stood, particularly at the changes made to these places, and the ways in which the statues were presented over the course of two or three centuries. This

thesis will examine patterns of continuity and change in the location of the cult statue in a variety of Greek sanctuaries from the archaic to the Classical period.

Prior to looking at the location of the cult statues it is important to discuss what we actually know about the images themselves, so that we may bear in mind what the statues may have looked like when we are looking at their settings. For the purposes of this study, a brief background will be provided here outlining some of the aspects that are important for our understanding of the early images in particular, but the main work of the thesis will focus on continuity and change in the location of cult statues over time.

Early cult images are referred to by various names by the ancient authors. The word *xoanon* was the word Pausanias used consistently when he was describing a wooden cult image.<sup>1</sup> This word literally means "something scraped".<sup>2</sup> The *xoana* are generally regarded as the most ancient forms of the cult image. Other words used to describe them are ἄγαλμα and βρέτας. Clement of Alexandria informs us of the meaning of the word βρέτας when he is discussing the image of Hera at Samos:

The statue of Samian Hera, as Aëthlius says, was at first a wooden beam, but afterwards, when Procles was ruler, it was made into human form. When these rude images (ξόανα) began to be shaped

---

<sup>1</sup> I. B. Romano, "Early Greek Cult Images" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 13.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*. (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1988), 1.



to the likeness of men, they acquired the additional name *brete* (βρέτη), from brotoi (βροτῶν) meaning mortals.<sup>3</sup>

The cult image was representative of the deity and was the focus for cult worship.

It was the most sacred of the cult objects, being considered even more sacred if it could trace its origins back to the Bronze Age in Greece, to the heroic past.<sup>4</sup> For example, Pausanias tells us of the legendary Bronze Age origins of the cult image of Artemis

Orthia:

The wooden image there [at Limnaeum] they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lacedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king.<sup>5</sup>

In the Iron Age they were mostly anthropomorphic in form and symbolized the presence of the deity; the anthropomorphic images usually resided in a temple or other special setting.<sup>6</sup> Cult statues could also be aniconic, not representing a human form, such as piles of stones or pillars; these were always found outdoors in a *temenos*. They could also be semi-anthropomorphic, such as the mask and pillar representations of Dionysos or the herms of Hermes; these types of images were usually kept in outdoor shrines. The

---

<sup>3</sup> Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, IV, 40-41P.

<sup>4</sup> I. B. Romano, "Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices", in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, ed. R. Hagg, N. Marinatos and G. C. Nordquist (Stockholm, 1988), 127.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, 3.16.7.

<sup>6</sup> Romano, 1988, 127.

anthropomorphic or partially anthropomorphic images were thought to need protection and were therefore given a home in a temple.<sup>7</sup>

Due to the perishable nature of the wooden cult statues, there are no known surviving wooden statues that can be definitely identified as cult images and so we must rely on other sources of information in order to learn about their appearance.<sup>8</sup> Literary descriptions offered by ancient authors can be quite useful for learning about an ancient cult statue's appearance; Pausanias is a particularly rich source.<sup>9</sup> Epigraphical evidence such as temple inventories also provide important information for cult images in the Archaic period. These inscriptions can tell us about the clothing and attributes associated with the images, the number of images in a temple, and sometimes the image's pose. The inscriptions are often very short, however, and are often open to many different interpretations; therefore, in most cases, they must be used in conjunction with other sources of information. The inscriptions are closer in time to the image than the literary descriptions are, but they do not exist prior to the fifth century BC.<sup>10</sup>

Archaeological evidence is another important source of information, especially with respect to the cult statue bases. Often, the size of the statues can be determined by

---

<sup>7</sup> Romano, 1980, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Romano, 1982, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Romano based much of her work on him.

the size of the base.<sup>11</sup> Numismatic representations can be another reliable source of information, if we are able to ascertain that the coins do depict the original statue. Most of the coins were produced during Hellenistic or Roman times and thus it is hard to be sure that the images depicted are the ancient ones. The information obtained from numismatic representations should therefore also be used in conjunction with other sources of information.<sup>12</sup> Vase paintings provide us with a generalized view that reflects the vase painters' interpretation of the early *xoana* and other early cult images. Many *xoana* survived into the Roman period so depictions on the vases may be informative if a specific image can be identified.<sup>13</sup> Small and large scale representations are also only useful when used in conjunction with other sources of information because they may reflect the artist's interpretation as well (fig. 1.1).<sup>14</sup>

What is the nature of divine presence? The source of reverence or prestige and the nature of sacredness are not easy to ascertain. What made the image so important? Romano doubts that any Greek person actually thought that the cult image was the actual

---

<sup>10</sup> Alroth, 1989, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Romano, 1980, 21-22.

<sup>12</sup> Romano, 1980, 24-28; Alroth, 1989, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Romano, 1980, 22-24; Alroth, 1989, 16.

<sup>14</sup> Romano, 1980, 28-32; Alroth, 1989, 17; Stewart, 1990, 104 and fig. 14. A small wooden votive statuette, perhaps depicting the cult statue of Hera, was found at the Heraion. It dates ca. 650-625 BC and is 28.7 cm. tall.

deity; she thinks that they probably regarded the image as a representation of the god or goddess.<sup>15</sup> Stefan Hiller, however, argues that the ancient Greeks thought that the cult statue embodied the living god.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the Greeks viewed their cult statues in a way that was similar to the Egyptians. The Egyptians did not think that the image and the deity were one and the same, but instead thought that if certain rituals were performed each morning on a daily basis by the priest then the statue would be given vital force and would ensure that the god would reside in the image.<sup>17</sup> Pausanias seems to imply that divine presence was embodied in at least one ancient image at one particular time. When describing a ritual sacrifice involving the whipping of youths in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, he relates that the cult image of Artemis became heavier if it wished for more bloodshed; the implication is that the goddess herself is present in the cult image and in this manner expresses her desires:

By [the lads being whipped at the altar] stands the priestess, holding the wooden image (ξόανον). Now it is small and light, but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So

---

<sup>15</sup> Romano, 1980, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Stefan Hiller, "Mycenaean Traditions in Early Greek Cult Images", 1983, 92.

<sup>17</sup> Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, trans. Ann E. Keep (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973), 87-88.

the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood.<sup>18</sup>

In order to ascertain the role that the cult images played in the cult functions, it is important to look at the descriptions, given by the ancient authors, of the festivals associated with the particular cults. During the festivals the small wooden *xoana* were sometimes bathed, given meals, and were often carried in processions, suggesting that they were small and easy to transport.<sup>19</sup> Pausanias mentions the transportation of the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus from its temple near the theatre to the Academy: "...there is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they carry the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus."<sup>20</sup> The cult image of Hera on Samos was also carried in a procession down to the sea to be purified during the Tonaia festival; after she was bathed in the sea she was given a meal of barley cakes.<sup>21</sup> The cult statue of Artemis at Ephesos was also carried in a procession to the sea and given a meal on the shore, a meal of salt.<sup>22</sup>

Other rituals associated with the cult image involved dressing it and giving it gifts, including clothing, jewellery, and other accessories. Homer, in the *Iliad*, tells us

---

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias, 3.16.10-11.

<sup>19</sup> Romano, 1988, 128.

<sup>20</sup> Pausanias, 1.29.2; Romano, 1988, 128.

<sup>21</sup> Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, XV, 672 = *FGrHist* III, p. 103; Romano, 1980, 251-252 and 1988, 129.

about Hecuba presenting Athena with her finest robe: "and fair-cheeked Theano [Athena's priestess] took the robe and laid it upon the knees of fair-haired Athene...".<sup>23</sup>

This shows that this ritual was practised at least as early as the eighth century BC, the time of Homer's writing. Early cult images, especially the female images, were probably commonly dressed in real clothing. The early Greek cult statues that were dressed in real clothing were usually made of wood. Examples include Athena Polias in Athens, Hera on Samos, Leto on Delos, the ancient statue of Artemis at Brauron, Orthia in Sparta, Hera at Olympia and Artemis at Ephesos.<sup>24</sup> The dressing of the image probably had a sacred significance but Romano suggests that it may have originated in order to hide the crude workmanship of the early wooden images. This would also help to transform them into anthropomorphic, dressed, images. The images that we know wore real clothing were referred to as "simple" or "plain" by the ancient authors.<sup>25</sup>

Small statue bases of the early cult statues indicate that they were under life size.

The base for Athena at Emborio on Chios, for example, was approximately one metre

---

<sup>22</sup> R. Heberdey, "Daitis: Ein Beitrag zum Ephesischen Artemiscult," *ÖJh* 7 (1904), Beiblatt, col. 44ff.; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Daitis; Romano, 1980, 242.

<sup>23</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), VI, 303-304.

<sup>24</sup> Romano, 1988, 129-130.

<sup>25</sup> Romano, 1988, 130.

square.<sup>26</sup> Pausanias also directly mentions that some of the images were small: "At Delos, too, there is a small wooden image (*xoanon*) of Aphrodite..."<sup>27</sup>; "[Hera's] oldest image is made of wild-pear wood... I myself saw it, a small, seated image."<sup>28</sup>

The development of temples and the development of anthropomorphic cult statues follow a parallel course.<sup>29</sup> Within the temple the image was usually placed at the back of the cella on a raised podium, in line with the temple's entrance. From this position the image would then be able to see the sacrifices being performed on the exterior altar in honour of the deity it represented.<sup>30</sup> There were exceptions to the positioning of the cult image along the central axis of the temple: in early Cretan temples such as the ones found at Dreros, Prinias and Gortyn, a hearth, with two columns on either side to support the roof, stood in the centre of the temple and the image stood to the side of the central axis (figs. 1.2,<sup>31</sup> 1.3 and 1.4).<sup>32</sup> Temples which had a single central row of columns also

---

<sup>26</sup> J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955 – Greek Emporio*, 1967, plan p. 11, fig. 7, p. 6, fig. 5.; Romano, 1980, 273 and 1988, 128, n.5.

<sup>27</sup> Pausanias, 9.40.3.

<sup>28</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.5.

<sup>29</sup> Romano, 1982, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Romano, 1988, 127-128.

<sup>31</sup> Stewart, 1990, 105 and fig. 17. The only surviving images thought to have been early cult statues are those from Dreros on Crete, the figures of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, ca. 700 BC (fig. 1.2). They are made out of bronze in the sphyrelaton technique. The central figure of Apollo is 80 cm. high and the two figures flanking him are 40 cm. high. These figures are currently housed in the Herakleion Museum, 2445-7.

<sup>32</sup> Romano, 1980, 5-6, 33.

would have had the cult image positioned to the side of the central axis. The desire for the central prominence of the cult statue placement within the temple had to be balanced against the practical limitations arising from the desire to build large scale temples, requiring internal supports. The eighth century BC temple of Hera at Samos, for example, had a single row of wooden columns on the central axis and the cult statue of Hera was placed on the north side of the central axis at the back of the cella (fig. 1.5).<sup>33</sup> The place where the cult image was positioned within the temple became a particularly sacred area. This can be seen by the continuity of the location of the cult statue base in the Heraion on Samos throughout its numerous phases.<sup>34</sup>

The early cult statues were supplemented in the fifth century BC by larger images, such as the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena in Athens. These new images seem not to have taken over the physical place occupied by the earlier statues, but rather were housed in temples built adjacent to the temples where the ancient images resided. How did they relate, then, to the earlier images? What was their status and function in the sanctuary? Strabo provides us with one indication when describing the temple of Zeus at Olympia and its chryselephantine image:

---

<sup>33</sup> Romano, 1980, 6, 258; this temple is discussed further in chapter two of this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> See chapter two for detailed discussion.



The temple was adorned by its numerous offerings... the greatest of these was the image of Zeus made by Pheidias of Athens, son of Charmides; it was made of ivory, and it was so large that, although the temple was very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry, for he showed Zeus seated but almost touching the roof with his head, thus making the impression that if Zeus arose and stood erect he would unroof the temple.<sup>35</sup>

His characterization of the statue as the greatest of the numerous offerings suggests that this and other large gold and ivory statues were considered votive gifts offered to the gods, and not considered cult images themselves.<sup>36</sup>

This focus of this thesis will be to study changes in the placement of cult statues over time in a variety of sanctuaries. Although particular local conditions give rise to much variety, some larger patterns can still be identified. The discussion will be organized according to these broad patterns: strong continuity exhibited by building successive temples on the same site as their predecessors and multiple temples built on adjacent sites. I will begin my discussion by first examining sanctuaries which exhibit a strong sense of continuity. Two sanctuaries from Asia Minor will be examined, the Heraion on Samos and the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. They are both good examples of this type of continuity even though they replace the earlier temples with huge superstructures. It was not only the colossal Ionic temples of Asia Minor which

---

<sup>35</sup> Strabo, 8.353-354.

exemplified this adherence to continuity; smaller temples on the mainland also built successive temples on the same site. The temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in Athens is one such example of a small mainland temple exhibiting continuity in terms of same-site temple building; this will be the focus of chapter three. I will then examine four sanctuaries containing Classical temples which were not built on top of archaic remains: the sanctuaries of Athena Polias in Athens, Zeus at Olympia, Hera at Argos, and Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens. They seem to represent a new phenomenon in that they appear to break from the established tradition of building successive temples on the ancient sacred site. I have noticed a strong connection between the introduction of a new type of image and the location of the new image in a new place, often in an adjacent or substitute temple. In order to ascertain why this may be happening I will be examining the political situation at each of these sites. These sanctuaries are in a process of development and change in the fifth century BC; the political is assuming an ever larger role. I believe that the growing political atmosphere in the sanctuaries reflects the ideals of the new fifth century *polis* and provides the impetus for some monumental votive offerings of which the new colossal images seem to be a part. These images and, for the most part, their settings seem to be both votive and political in nature. They also appear

---

<sup>36</sup> I will discuss this in detail in chapters 4 and 5.

to generate competition between the cities studied. Chapter four will focus on the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Akropolis in Athens and chapter five will examine the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia, Hera at Argos, and Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens.

This study will provide a glimpse of some of the ways in which reverence for the old and mysterious existed side by side with admiration for artistic, intellectual, financial and political prestige in the images the Greeks made of their gods, and in their display and placement of these images.

## II

### CONTINUITY IN ASIA MINOR

Cult practices in ancient Greek sanctuaries were very conservative; the sacred spot where the cult figure was placed was usually honoured throughout the life of the sanctuary. Asia Minor affords a number of sanctuaries which exhibit this reverence for the sacred area of the cult statue by maintaining a strict conservatism with respect to the cult statue placement. Even when the sanctuary was rebuilt after a period of apparent disuse, even up to a two hundred year gap, the cult statue placement kept its Archaic position into the Hellenistic age. Two sanctuaries illustrate particularly well this conservative attitude apparent in Asia Minor: the sanctuary of Hera on the island of Samos, and the sanctuary of Apollo Philesios in Didyma.

#### **The Sanctuary of Hera on Samos**

The sanctuary of Hera on the island of Samos exhibits a long history of continued activity. The remains of an early bronze age settlement were found underneath the

northern area of the sanctuary of Hera<sup>1</sup> and even though the area was destroyed and abandoned by the end of the bronze age, a cultic tradition may have been preserved; this is indicated by the building of the sanctuary of Hera on that particular site, which was located ca. 6 km. west of the actual town of Samos.<sup>2</sup> The sanctuary was located near the sea, in a low-lying area by the Imbrasos river. This proximity to the river made the sanctuary prone to flooding and the land marshy.<sup>3</sup> The seventh and sixth centuries seem to have been the most important years for the cult of Hera at Samos, judging by the architecture and the votive offerings found.<sup>4</sup> A series of temples was built from the eighth to sixth centuries BC, forming quite a remarkable sequence (fig. 2.3). An altar was located to the east of the temple site, and although it was rebuilt in the mid-sixth century, it maintained its position.<sup>5</sup> During the Classical period Samos was dominated by the Athenians, and the sanctuary did not see any new construction; an almost complete lack of votive offerings suggests that the sanctuary was not in use during this period. The Hellenistic period has yielded many inscriptions and honorary statues of a political

---

<sup>1</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 124; Kyrieleis, 1993, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 124; Kyrieleis, 1993, 125.

<sup>4</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Berquist, 1967, 43-47; Tomlinson, 1976, 124-127.

nature, which indicates that the sanctuary was used at this time.<sup>6</sup> During the Roman period a new temple was built to the east of the Late Archaic foundations, nearer to the altar, but it was much smaller than its Archaic predecessors. This temple probably served as the home of the goddess until her cult was destroyed in the fourth century AD. The Christians then built a church in the fifth century beside this temple, reusing material from the Roman temple of Hera to construct their building.<sup>7</sup> In this manner the site maintained its continuity of cult use.

There is not much discussion in the literary sources about the sanctuary of Hera at Samos; therefore, the archaeological evidence must be relied upon almost exclusively for information concerning the sanctuary, especially with respect to the cult statue placement.<sup>8</sup> The earliest temple of Hera on Samos has been dated, by a Middle Geometric pottery deposit, to the beginning of the eighth century BC.<sup>9</sup> It was a long and narrow mud-brick temple measuring 32.86 m. in length and 6.50 m. in width, and had a single row of twelve wooden columns down its central axis (fig. 2.1).<sup>10</sup> The cult statue of

---

<sup>6</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 129.

<sup>7</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 127.

<sup>8</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 125

<sup>9</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 97 and fig. 30 (d) for example of the pottery found in the MG deposit.

<sup>10</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 126; Romano, 1980, 6, 258; Coldstream, 1977, 97.

Hera was placed on the north side of the central axis at the back of the cella, on a base consisting of slabs of stone measuring 0.96 by 1.46 meters (Base 1) (fig. 1.5).<sup>11</sup>

The place where the cult image was positioned remained a sacred area for the cult statue throughout the numerous building phases of the Heraion, judging by the apparent continuity of the location of the cult statue base. The Geometric eighth century temple was remodeled and a peristyle was added, probably during the later eighth century, but the same base was reused for the cult statue (fig. 2.2).<sup>12</sup> The temple was then rebuilt near the middle of the seventh century BC after a branch of the Imbrasos river flooded the sanctuary in ca. 660 BC.<sup>13</sup> In this rebuilding the interior supports of the temple were placed against the walls as buttresses, removing the central row of columns which had necessitated the original off-center placement of the cult statue base. The cult statue base of the Geometric temple had been buried, but a new cult statue base (Base 2) was constructed and maintained not only the same dimensions and building material as its predecessor, but it was also placed in the same off-center position as the old one, even though the central row of columns no longer existed.<sup>14</sup> The new base was also

---

<sup>11</sup> Romano, 1980, 6, 258.

<sup>12</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 253, 326-327 figure 105 (a); Romano, 1980, 258.

<sup>13</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 254.

<sup>14</sup> Romano, 1980, 258.

constructed out of flat stone slabs and protruded 0.20 m. above the temple's floor.<sup>15</sup> The upper block of this base, which would have indicated how the cult image was set upon it, is not extant.<sup>16</sup>

This temple was replaced before the mid-sixth century BC by a colossal dipteral temple, measuring approximately 52.9 m. by 95.5 m., known as the "Rhoikos temple".<sup>17</sup> It was completed by ca. 560 BC, having been started near the beginning of the sixth century BC.<sup>18</sup> The huge enlargement of scale also involved more drastic revision in the treatment and location of the cult statue base. The new temple extended further to the west of the old temple. The westward expansion required the diversion of the Imbrasos river and the temple was then built in the marshy basin.<sup>19</sup> The new temple's pronaos was located over the spot where the cult statue had stood in the previous temples (fig. 2.3).<sup>20</sup> A new cult statue base (Base 3) was placed close to the centre of the cella in the new temple, surrounded by a paved area measuring 9 by 5.5 meters, almost filling the center aisle. Three slabs of this base survive, and it is thought that a fourth block originally completed the base's rectangular perimeter, which is approximately 1.6 meters wide; the

---

<sup>15</sup> Romano, 1980, 258.

<sup>16</sup> Romano, 1980, 258; Ohly, 1953, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 125-127.

<sup>18</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 134.



center was probably filled with earth to support the cult statue. The cult statue base from the seventh century temple was still visible within the pronaos of this temple, positioned to the south of the center column on the south side.<sup>21</sup> The “Rhoikos temple” thus had two cult images or at least two bases.<sup>22</sup>

What does this multiplication of bases imply? Would there also have been multiple cult statues within the same temple, or would one statue have been moved from one base to the other at different times? An inscription from two centuries later indicates that there were two statues in the fourth century BC; despite the gap in the building accounts and in the votives, this may indicate that there were already two statues, not just two bases, in the sixth century. The two statues were mentioned in inventory accounts, dating to 346/5 BC: one statue was referred to as “the goddess” and the other as “the goddess behind”.<sup>23</sup> This inscription helps to explain the multiple bases within the temple, at least in the fourth century.

---

<sup>19</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 125-127.

<sup>20</sup> Romano, 1980, 258.

<sup>21</sup> Romano, 1980, 259, 262.

<sup>22</sup> For state-plan of “Rhoikos temple” see E. Buschor, “Heraion von Samos: frühe Bauten,” *AthMitt* 55 (1930), Pl. XVIII. It is, however, difficult to read.

<sup>23</sup> C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 1976, no. 832; Ohly, 1953, 46-49, Romano, 1980, 255.

The inventory accounts of 346/5 BC catalogued the clothing dedicated to Hera.<sup>24</sup>

The items mentioned under the heading κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ “clothing of the goddess” include 13 chitons, two chitoniskoi, five mitrai (used to tie up long hair), two shoulder wraps, eight veils, an apron or girdle, a hairnet, three cushions, five curtains, three rugs, four birds and one hair piece.<sup>25</sup> “The goddess” actually wore a shoulder wrap, six chitons, and a hair wrap, whereas an image referred to as “the goddess behind”, ἡ ὀπισθε θεός, wore one piece of clothing, a white himation.<sup>26</sup> The image referred to as “the goddess behind” is probably a newer statue placed behind “the goddess”. “The goddess” is most likely the ancient statue, and the most important cult statue, judging by the number of garments dedicated to it and by the number of garments the statue actually wore.<sup>27</sup> Based on the archaeological evidence already discussed, “the goddess behind” probably resided in the cella on the newer base, and “the goddess” or the most revered image, likely stood in the pronaos on the more sacred spot.

Perhaps the image placed in the cella of the “Rhoikos temple” served to glorify the goddess Hera to a greater extent because it was probably larger and it may have been

---

<sup>24</sup> Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 1976, no. 832; Romano, 1980, 255-256.

<sup>25</sup> Romano, 1980, 255-256.

<sup>26</sup> Romano, 1980, 132, 255-257.

<sup>27</sup> Romano, 1980, 257-258.

made out of a more valuable material such as stone or marble.<sup>28</sup> The original cult statue of Hera was most likely a small wooden image, probably under life-size, which would have been easy to transport.<sup>29</sup> Clement of Alexandria refers to the image as a *xoanon* when he is discussing it. He quotes Aëthlius concerning the appearance of the ancient cult statue of Hera:

The statue of Samian Hera, as Aëthlius says, was at first a wooden beam (σανίς), but afterwards, when Prokles was ruler, it was made into human form. When these rude images (ξόανα) began to be shaped to the likeness of men, they acquired the additional name *brete* (βρέτη), from *brotoi* (βροτῶν) meaning mortals.<sup>30</sup>

This statue was small enough to carry since it was transported down to the sea for a ritual cleansing during the annual purification festival called the Tonaia.<sup>31</sup> Possible archaeological evidence for carrying the cult image in a procession may be found in a wooden stool-like piece of furniture, which was found on the site and was well preserved due to the marshy soil conditions. The sides of the “stool” were boards carved to

---

<sup>28</sup> Romano, 1980, 266 suggests that it may also have been wooden.

<sup>29</sup> Romano, 1980, 262.

<sup>30</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, IV, 40-41P. Aëthlius was a local historian in the Classical period (Coldstream, 1977, 269 n. 32). Romano, 1980, 254 notes that it is not clear if the Prokles referred to in this passage is the legendary Prokles, who was thought to have led colonists from Argos to Samos, possibly in the tenth century BC, or the mid-seventh century tyrant from Epidauros.

<sup>31</sup> Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, XV, 672; Romano, 1980, 251-252;

resemble horses.<sup>32</sup> Coldstream describes it as a piece of sacred furniture and dates it ca. 720-700 BC due to its style of decoration. He believes that it may have served as a stand meant for carrying the ancient cult image in religious processions.<sup>33</sup> The wooden *xoanon* of Hera may have been placed on top of the stand and carried by one or two of the worshippers down to the sea shore to be bathed. The “goddess behind” probably did not need to be easily transportable since it does not seem to have been the focus of the cult activities. The ancient statue was likely considered to be the most venerated image, and

---

<sup>32</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 256, and fig. 83 (b); Kyrieleis, 1993, 143-145, and fig. 7.11.

<sup>33</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 256; Kyrieleis, 1993, 143-145, however, mentions that wooden stools of this sort were regularly found during the excavations at Samos, and he therefore believes that they were probably stands for votive figurines offered to Hera. He takes the size of the stools into account; apparently the largest stools found were approximately 35 cm. wide, while others were much smaller. In my opinion, however, this does not necessarily discount the possibility that one of the larger stands was used to transport the small wooden cult image of Hera during festival days. The practice of carrying a cult image of a god or goddess was common in Mesopotamian cult practices; the cult image was solemnly carried in a procession through the temple compound or through the city, in this way it could be seen by the people. (Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 187; Romano, 1988, 133) Near Eastern cult practice also involved processing the cult image; Hittite tablets from the fifteenth or fourteenth centuries BC from Bogasköy describe one such ritual: “In the morning a decorated carriage stands ready in front of the temple; three ribbons, one red, one white, one blue, are tied to it. They harness the chariot and bring out the god from the temple and seat him in the carriage.” Several women lead the way with lit torches “and the god comes behind and they take the god down through the Tawinia gate to the wood.” The text goes on to say that the statue is bathed in a brook. (Hittite tablets cited in K. Bittel, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 13; Romano, 1988, 133) Near Eastern art often depicts images of the gods on pedestals which are supported by animals; perhaps this artistic depiction is representing the cult statue on a chariot. A Near Eastern style bronze statuette depicting a deity on a pedestal flanked by animals has been found at Samos (Kyrieleis, 1993, 145). The fact that the wooden stand found at Samos resembles a miniature chariot with the carved horses on either side indicates that the Mesopotamian and Near Eastern practices of processing the cult image may have been adopted at Samos.

therefore would have been the one involved in the traditional cult activities such as the annual procession to the shore. The “goddess behind” may have in fact functioned more as a votive offering to the ancient image rather than as the focus of worship.

After the mid-sixth century the “Rhoikos temple” was destroyed in a fire and a stepped “monopteros” was built in order to house the cult image of Hera until a new temple could be built.<sup>34</sup> This “monopteros”, which survived into Roman times, was built on the most sacred spot for the cult statue: the site of the geometric cult statue base (fig. 2.4 and 2.5).<sup>35</sup> The statue had stood on this spot in the eighth century temple (on Base 1), in the seventh century temple (on Base 2), and then in the “Rhoikos temple” (still on Base 2) in the pronaos, which had encompassed that sacred base site.

The “Rhoikos temple” was replaced by another great dipteral temple, known as the “Polykrates temple”, which was under construction in the third quarter of the sixth century BC.<sup>36</sup> This, the last temple started during the Archaic period, was also colossal in size but was even larger than its predecessor, measuring 55.2 x 108.6 meters with 155 columns in total.<sup>37</sup> It was still under construction in the Roman period but was never

---

<sup>34</sup> Ohly, 1953, 29-31; Romano, 1980, 260-261; Tomlinson, 1976, 127.

<sup>35</sup> Romano, 1980, 259-261.

<sup>36</sup> Romano, 1980, 258-259.

<sup>37</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 126.

completed.<sup>38</sup> The construction of this temple involved a shift in location, approximately 40 meters to the west of the “Rhoikos temple”. The marshy river basin may not have been stable enough to support a temple of colossal dimensions and so the new location, ca. 40 km. west of the “Rhoikos temple” may have been a more suitable building site.<sup>39</sup> The westward shift of the “Polykrates temple” meant further revision in terms of the treatment and location of the cult statue bases: the newer temple incorporated the site of the cult statue base in the cella of the “Rhoikos temple” (Base 3) within its pronaos as the “Rhoikos temple” had done with the seventh century temple’s cella base (fig. 2.3).<sup>40</sup> A new base (Base 4) was likely constructed for the cella of the “Polykrates temple”. Unfortunately, however, no traces of it have survived.<sup>41</sup> The base which had stood in the cella of the “Rhoikos temple” (Base 3) had been buried 1.5 meters beneath the floor of the “Polykrates temple”, probably during the reconstruction, and so another base was constructed (Base 5) and placed in the pronaos of the “Polykrates temple”.<sup>42</sup> This base was much larger than the previous ones, measuring 4.5 by 2.1 meters according to its foundations. It stood on axis with the front door, blocking the central aisle access,

---

<sup>38</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 127.

<sup>39</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 134.

<sup>40</sup> Kyrieleis, 1993, 127; Romano, 1980, 259-260.

<sup>41</sup> Romano, 1980, 259-260.

perhaps making the pronaos resemble a large naiskos (fig. 2.6). The foundations for this base were made out of green poros blocks and measured approximately one meter in thickness. Ohly does not believe that this particular base belonged to the archaic period because green poros had only been found in monuments dating from the Hellenistic to the Roman Imperial periods.<sup>43</sup> Even if this base were post-archaic, it most likely was built on the site of an older archaic base.<sup>44</sup> This would correspond to the tradition evident in the various phases of the Heraion at Samos of preserving and maintaining the sites of the cult statue bases. The ancient image likely stood on the base in the pronaos, as it had in the “Rhoikos temple” and the newer, larger image, which had stood in the cella of the “Rhoikos temple”, probably also stood in the cella of the “Polykrates temple”.<sup>45</sup>

The “Polykrates temple” did not enclose the sacred area of the Geometric cult statue base within its pronaos as the “Rhoikos temple” had, but the ancient image probably still resided in its pronaos as it had in the “Rhoikos temple”. It was likely transported to the “monopteros” on the most sacred festival days so that the worshippers

---

<sup>42</sup> Romano, 1980, 260.

<sup>43</sup> Ohly, 1953, 34; Romano, 1980, 260.

<sup>44</sup> Romano, 1980, 260.

<sup>45</sup> Romano, 1980, 259-261.

could see it and so that it could see the sacrifices being offered.<sup>46</sup> It was very important for the cult statue to see the sacrifices because it was regarded as the physical manifestation of Hera; the sacrifices were being performed to honour her.<sup>47</sup>

Continuity of cult statue placement is evident in the various phases of the temple of Hera at Samos. The site of the geometric cult statue base, in particular, was highly revered throughout the life of the sanctuary; this is evident by the fact that a cult statue base stood on this original site, in one form or another, from the Geometric Period through to Roman times. Although the “Polykrates temple” did not manage to incorporate this most sacred base site within its walls as the previous temples had done, a special structure, the “monopteros”, was built on top of it. The building of that structure, on that particular site, shows how sacred it was and how important it was to be able to place the cult statue there. The “monopteros”, therefore, preserved the continuity of the cult statue base placement, which Samos had long maintained. Despite the relocation of the temple, great care was taken to accommodate the position of the previous temple’s statue base within the new temple. In the colossal temples, which were expanded to the west of the older temples, the predecessor’s cella base was incorporated into the pronaos

---

<sup>46</sup> Romano, 1980, 261; Romano, 1988, 127-128.

<sup>47</sup> Romano, 1988, 127-128; Ohly, 1953, 27.



of the newer temple. A new cult statue base, which probably supported a newer image, was then placed in the cella of the new temple, but this placement did not necessarily mean that the statue within the cella was the most revered image. In fact, the dedications offered to the statues indicated otherwise: the fourth century inventory accounts tell us that “the goddess behind”, which was probably the image in the cella, was only given one piece of clothing in contrast to the numerous offerings given to “the goddess”. The number of offerings, plus the consistent placement of the cult statue base on the same site throughout the numerous rebuilding phases of the temple, indicate that it was the ancient, most revered image of the goddess which was placed on the most sacred spot.

### **The Sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma**

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma was located ca. 16 km. south of the Ionic city of Miletus on the coast of Asia Minor, and stood roughly opposite the island of Samos and the Temple of Hera.<sup>48</sup> This temple also exhibits a long period of continued activity. It differs in nature from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos principally because it was an oracular sanctuary, and the main focus was thus on the sacred oracular spring around

---

<sup>48</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 124, 132.

which the sanctuary was constructed.<sup>49</sup> The oldest building evidence on the site belongs to the period around the end of the eighth century BC, and the first stone naiskos structure has been dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.<sup>50</sup> The building of a huge dipteral stone temple began in the mid-sixth century BC.<sup>51</sup> In 494 BC the Persians destroyed the sanctuary and exiled the priestly family, the Branchidai. This caused a significant decline in the use of the site, but there is evidence suggesting that the sanctuary did not see a complete break in cult activity during this period. The Hellenistic period saw a revival of the sanctuary, after Alexander conquered the Persians and established domination over the Milesians. The temple of Apollo was rebuilt on a colossal scale during this period but was never fully completed.<sup>52</sup>

The temple of Apollo at Didyma had an unusual design in that it had an unroofed court in the cella portion of the temple, which contained a small naiskos that stood in the position normally occupied by a cult statue, at the back of the cella.<sup>53</sup> Strabo tells us that

---

<sup>49</sup> Romano, 1980, 226.

<sup>50</sup> Drerup, 1964, 362-363; Tuchelt, 1970, 194-203; Gruben, 1963, 101-102, 140; Romano, 1980, 226-228.

<sup>51</sup> The sanctuary seems to have been quite prestigious in the sixth century BC, according to ancient literary testimonia; Herodotus tells us that "... the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi." (Herodotus 1.92.2).

<sup>52</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 135.

<sup>53</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 133.

this hypaethral court also contained a grove of sacred laurel trees.<sup>54</sup> This type of arrangement was quite different from that found at the sanctuary of Hera on Samos. The remains of the Hellenistic temple at Didyma are still standing today, and traces of the remains of earlier structures have been found beneath this temple. Some of the earlier remains may lie beneath its foundations, which is problematic because they cannot be fully excavated; the Hellenistic temple would have to be virtually destroyed in order to complete a full excavation. This makes the archaeological evidence for the early architecture of the site much harder to interpret.

Due to the oracular nature of the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, the existence of a cult statue as the focus of the cult of Apollo may not have been necessary. The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi was also an oracular sanctuary, and a cult image of Apollo has never been found or attested in connection with the temple of Apollo there.<sup>55</sup> However, there is literary evidence for a cult statue of Apollo at Didyma by the late sixth century BC. Pausanias mentions the image of Apollo at Didyma, which was also called Branchidai,<sup>56</sup> in relation to the image of the Ismenian Apollo from Thebes:

---

<sup>54</sup> Strabo 14.634; Tomlinson, 1976, 136.

<sup>55</sup> Romano, 1980, 230-231.

<sup>56</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 3. Branchidai was the name of the priestly family in control of the sanctuary up to 494 BC.

The [Ismenian Apollo's] image is in size equal to that at Branchidae; and does not differ from it at all in shape. Whoever has seen one of these two images, and learnt who was the artist, does not need much skill to discern, when he looks at the other, that it is a work of Kanachos. The only difference is that the image at Branchidae is of bronze, while the Ismenian is of cedar-wood.<sup>57</sup>

Pliny also mentions the image of Apollo at Didyma, saying that it was bronze and that it was a nude sculpture represented with a stag.<sup>58</sup> There are numismatic representations dating from the late Hellenistic period which depict an image of Apollo matching the literary descriptions: he is represented as nude and stocky, in an archaic kouros style stance, holding a deer in his right hand and a bow in his left.<sup>59</sup> A relief found at Miletos, in the theater, also depicts Apollo in a similar way: nude, in a kouros stance, holding a deer in his right hand and a bow in his left. His hair is long and cascades over the front of his chest and snail shell curls frame his forehead. This relief dates to the third century AD.<sup>60</sup> Another third century AD relief, also found at Miletos, depicts Apollo with snail shell curls.<sup>61</sup> A small bronze statuette depicts a similar image of Apollo in a kouros

---

<sup>57</sup> Pausanias 9.10.2

<sup>58</sup> Pliny, *NH* 34.19.75.

<sup>59</sup> Romano, 1980, 221-222; Lacroix, *Reproductions*, 221-224, pl. XVIII, 6-13.

<sup>60</sup> Romano, 1980, 222; E. Simon, "Beobachtungen zum Apollon Philesios des Kanachos," *Charites*, 1957, Pl. VII, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Romano, 1980, 222-223; Simon, 1957, Pl. VIII, 2.

stance with his left foot advanced, holding a deer in his right hand and a bow in his left (fig. 2.7).<sup>62</sup>

Pausanias refers to Kanachos, the sculptor of the image of Apollo Phileios, as a contemporary of Kallon, who was a sculptor from Aegina working in the last quarter of the sixth century.<sup>63</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Kanachos sculpted his image of Apollo in the late sixth century BC. This date would also correspond to the stylistic features found on the later reproductions of the image of Apollo from Didyma: the kouros-style stance, the stocky proportions and the snail shell curls on the forehead.<sup>64</sup>

The archaeological evidence from the 1962 German excavation of Didyma confirms an early date for the sanctuary of Apollo. The oldest remains were found in the Hellenistic temple's unroofed court. The excavators uncovered the foundations for an enclosure wall, which, according to the pottery sherds found in the wall bedding, dates to either the Late Geometric period or to the late eighth or beginning of the seventh century BC (fig. 2.8).<sup>65</sup> This enclosure wall would have been at least 24 m. long and 10.20 m.

---

<sup>62</sup> Romano 1980, 223; Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, Vol. IV, 1913, 429f., fig. 45. This statuette is now housed in the British Museum.

<sup>63</sup> Pausanias, 7.18.12; Romano, 1980, 224.

<sup>64</sup> Romano, 1980, 224.

<sup>65</sup> Romano, 1980, 226; Tuchelt, 1970, 194f; Drerup, 1964, 351, 362 f.

wide. These walls probably enclosed the sacred oracular spring, although the spring has not yet been found.<sup>66</sup>

A huge stone temple was under construction in the mid-sixth century and was completed ca. 530-520 BC.<sup>67</sup> It had a dipteral colonnade consisting of eight columns across the front, twenty one down each side, and nine across the back, with eight to twelve columns in the pronaos.<sup>68</sup> It also had an unroofed adyton. Foundations for a naiskos, measuring approximately fifteen meters by five meters, were found in the western half of the adyton, within the foundations of the Hellenistic naiskos (fig. 2.8 and 2.9).<sup>69</sup> Scholars disagree on the date of this earlier naiskos. Gruben believes that there were two building periods associated with this naiskos: that an earlier naiskos was built prior to the archaic temple, and that a later one was built at the same time as the temple, ca. 550 BC.<sup>70</sup> Drerup and Tuchelt both believe that the naiskos was built ca. 575 BC,

---

<sup>66</sup> Romano, 1980, 226; Drerup, 1964, 358.

<sup>67</sup> Romano, 1980, 228 and 234 n.37; Fontenrose, 1988, 9; Tuchelt, 1970, 203 f.

<sup>68</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 9; Lawrence, 1983, 166. Gruben, 1963, 153 f.

<sup>69</sup> Gruben, 1963, 101-102, 140; Tuchelt, 1970, 194-203; Drerup, 1964, 333-384; Fontenrose, 1988, 9, 11, 34; Romano, 1980, 227.

<sup>70</sup> Gruben, 1963, 101-102, 140; also discussed by Romano, 1980, 227-228.

before the construction of the larger temple.<sup>71</sup> All seem to agree, however, that a naiskos preceded the building of the temple.

If the naiskos had been built before the archaic temple, it would have preceded the sculpting of the bronze image of Apollo by Kanachos, which was made in the late sixth century. Would the naiskos have stood empty or would it perhaps have housed an earlier image of Apollo? There is no literary evidence supporting the existence of a cult statue prior to the one by Kanachos,<sup>72</sup> but the existence of the naiskos would indicate that shelter was necessary for an earlier image. Gruben suggests that the Kanachos Apollo would have replaced the original image of Apollo.<sup>73</sup> Hahland also believes that an earlier image must have existed if a naiskos was built prior to the archaic temple.<sup>74</sup>

Unfortunately, no base remains have been found in this naiskos. Part of the western foundations of the naiskos have survived, and Gruben proposes that these remains, instead of supporting a wall, were the foundations to support a bench or some other

---

<sup>71</sup> Drerup, 1964, 362-363; Tuchelt, 1970, 197-203 and 1973, 14; also discussed by Fontenrose, 1988, 34.

<sup>72</sup> Romano, 1980, 229.

<sup>73</sup> Gruben, 1963, 100-102; also discussed by Fontenrose, 1988, 34.

<sup>74</sup> Hahland, 1964, 234; Romano, 1980, 228-229.

support for the cult image, approximately one meter in width. This proposal, however, cannot be proven because the back wall is not extant.<sup>75</sup>

The archaic dipteral temple was destroyed by the Persians in 494 BC in the sack of Miletos, which ended the Ionian revolt.<sup>76</sup> The temple of Apollo was burned and its treasures were taken to Susa. Herodotus recounts the Persian attack on the Milesians in Book VI: "... for the most part their men were slain by the long-haired Persians, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt."<sup>77</sup> Pausanias tells us that the Persians took the bronze statue of Apollo from Didyma and brought it to Ecbatana; it was eventually returned by Seleucus.<sup>78</sup> The temple was not rebuilt until the Hellenistic period and the Oracle was not active again for approximately 160 years.<sup>79</sup>

Apparently, though, not all cult activity ceased in the intervening years.

Archaeological and epigraphical evidence from the Classical period highlights the potential for complexity and flexibility in cult activity. An inscription from ca. 100 BC, which had been originally inscribed in 450/49 BC, outlines the activities at the sanctuary

---

<sup>75</sup> Gruben, 1963, 100-101; also discussed by Hahland, 1964, 235, and Romano, 1980, 227-228.

<sup>76</sup> Herodotus, 6.1-21; Fontenrose, 1988, 12.

<sup>77</sup> Herodotus 6.19.

<sup>78</sup> Pausanias, 8.46.3 and 1.16.3.



of the Molpoi, a cultic group of Milesian singers.<sup>80</sup> Their activities included a procession along the Sacred Way from the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos to the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma.<sup>81</sup> This procession, to the ruins of the temple of Apollo, occurred annually for almost two hundred years.<sup>82</sup> It is likely that certain rituals would have been performed upon arriving; one was that they were to place γυλλοί at the doors.<sup>83</sup> Fontenrose interprets this to mean that a basket of offerings (the γυλλοί) were placed at the doors of the sixth century temple of Apollo, but he does not specify what he thinks the offerings comprised.<sup>84</sup> Although the word γυλλοί can refer to blocks of stone, it can also refer to garments, which is a more likely interpretation in this case.<sup>85</sup> Garments were often dedicated to cult images on an annual basis and were either used to clothe the cult image or were placed around its feet. The offering of garments to Apollo every year by the Molpoi thus suggests that they were meant to clothe an image. Since the bronze image by Kanachos had been taken by the Persians, it is likely that another, perhaps earlier, image of Apollo existed which survived the Persian sack. This other

---

<sup>79</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 12.

<sup>80</sup> *Milet*, I.3.133; Fontenrose, 1988, 14; Hahland, 1964, 143-144.

<sup>81</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 14.

<sup>82</sup> Hahland, 1964, 234.

<sup>83</sup> *Milet* I.3.133, line 25; Fontenrose, 1988, 14; Hahland, 1964, 234.

<sup>84</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 14.

image may have been wooden and therefore not considered valuable to the Persians; it may also have been the recipient of the clothing since garments were usually dedicated to wooden *xoana*. The inscription also refers to other cult activity: sacrificial animals were part of the procession, which implies that they were to be sacrificed at the sanctuary.<sup>86</sup>

The German excavators also found evidence that the naiskos, which had been destroyed by the Persians, went through makeshift repairs during the fifth century BC.<sup>87</sup> The repairs to the naiskos and the performance of sacrifices also suggest that an image of Apollo survived the Persian sack; a naiskos would have been needed to house and protect the statue, especially if it were wooden, and the sacrifices would have been performed in honour of this earthly manifestation of Apollo.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> γυλλοί is a rare or local word and according to Hesychios γυλλοί = στολμοί (LSJ suppl. s.v. γυλλός).

<sup>86</sup> *Milet* I.3.133, line 19; Hahland, 1964, 144.

<sup>87</sup> Hahland, 1964, 144-145, 234; Fontenrose, 1988, 14-15. Part of the evidence for restoration during the fifth century include small pillar capitals, which Hahland believes belonged to two fifth century altars to Zeus and Leto erected within the adyton. Zeus and Leto were worshipped as the parents of Apollo and Artemis. These four deities comprised the holy family of Didyma (Hahland, 1964, 146; Fontenrose, 1988, 14, 109-110, 134 ff.).

<sup>88</sup> Parke, however, believes that there was a complete break in terms of the cultic activity and administration of the sanctuary from the time of the Persian sack until the Hellenistic revival; he argues that the literary testimonia disprove this reuse of the site by citing both Herodotus I, 157.3 who refers to the oracle in the past tense, and Callisthenes, a contemporary of Alexander, who wrote about Alexander overthrowing the oligarchic pro-Persian government in 334 BC and the subsequent revival of the oracular spring whose waters suddenly burst forth and began to prophesy the future success of Alexander (Parke, 1986, 123-4; Herodotus 1.157.3; Callisthenes *FG+H* 124 F14).

The Oracle of Apollo at Didyma apparently began to operate again in 331 BC<sup>89</sup> after Alexander “liberated” the Milesians from the Persian domination; Fontenrose suggests that the fifth/fourth century naiskos was probably used during this resurgence.<sup>90</sup> The actual rebuilding of the temple, however, would not begin for approximately thirty more years due to the expenses incurred in the rebuilding of the city after the siege and the levies imposed by Alexander. The construction of the new Hellenistic temple of Apollo continued for many centuries, even during the reign of Caligula in 37-41 AD, but was never completed.<sup>91</sup> The temple was similar in plan to its archaic predecessor, although it was a much larger structure, with a 10 x 21 dipteral Ionic colonnade, and twelve columns in the pronaos, for a total of one hundred and twenty columns on the temple’s exterior.<sup>92</sup> The construction of the new naiskos, located at the back of the adyton of the Hellenistic temple,<sup>93</sup> was finished at some point in the third century BC, but the actual period of construction is disputed; some scholars believe it was started in the

---

<sup>89</sup> Parke, 1986, 123, however, states that the oracle first began to be revived in 334 BC.

<sup>90</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 15.

<sup>91</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 16-17.

<sup>92</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 35-37, 40.

<sup>93</sup> Romano, 1980, 227.

late fourth century, others think it was started in the middle of the third century.<sup>94</sup> The Hellenistic naiskos was a tetrastyle, prostyle Ionic marble building measuring approximately 14.2 meters in length, 8.5 meters in width, and 10 meters in height, with columns that were over seven meters tall. It had the form of a small temple with a pronaos measuring about 2 meters in depth and a cella approximately 8 meters in length and 5.6 meters in width (fig. 2.10).<sup>95</sup> The bronze statue of Apollo by Kanachos, after it was returned to Didyma in ca. 295 BC, stood within this Hellenistic naiskos.<sup>96</sup>

The sanctuary of Apollo and the Oracle thrived during the Roman period, and it survived until 363 AD but not for much longer, probably ending completely by 390-400 AD at the latest, after the Christians took over Didyma.<sup>97</sup> The Christians incorporated the naiskos of Apollo into the western end of the basilica which they built in the adyton of the temple.<sup>98</sup> A Turkish mosque now resides close to the site of the ancient sanctuary of Apollo; the mosque replaced a Greek Orthodox church, which had also been built on the

---

<sup>94</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 18; Tomlinson, 1976, 133; Hahland, 1964, 234, believes it was started in the late 4c; Voigtländer, 1975, 34-35, believes that it was started in the middle of the 3c.

<sup>95</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 39.

<sup>96</sup> Hahland, 1964, 234; Fontenrose, 1988, 16; Dinsmoor, 1975, 233.

<sup>97</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 20-25.

<sup>98</sup> Fontenrose, 1988, 25.

same site.<sup>99</sup> This reuse of the sacred area demonstrates the religious conservatism even into the modern era.

The architectural history of the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma is still a matter of debate for scholars, at least in terms of the early remains of the site, which are not yet fully understood.<sup>100</sup> However, it appears that the architectural sequence was as follows: the original naiskos preceded the building of the archaic temple. In the mid-sixth century the naiskos was incorporated in a temple within a roofless part, in the adyton. The incorporation of the naiskos within the temple's design, and its central placement within the temple, in the unroofed adyton, emphasizes the importance of maintaining this sacred spot. The bronze statue of Apollo by Kanachos was added to the naiskos at the end of the sixth century. When the temple was destroyed by the Persians, and the bronze image by Kanachos was stolen, cult activity did not cease but continued in the fifth and fourth centuries: the Molpoi processed to the ruins of the temple of Apollo on an annual basis for over two hundred years, bringing offerings and sacrificial animals with them; makeshift repairs were also made during this time to the naiskos. After the revival of the oracle in the Hellenistic period the makeshift naiskos may have continued to serve the

---

<sup>99</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 132.

<sup>100</sup> Romano, 1980, 228.

cult until the new Hellenistic naiskos was built. Around the end of the fourth century BC the construction of this naiskos began; it was incorporated in the design of the Hellenistic temple, on the same sacred site, in the hypaethral adyton. The bronze image of Apollo was then returned to Didyma and housed once more in the naiskos.<sup>101</sup>

Scholars agree that an earlier naiskos existed before the one associated with the huge archaic temple, and before the archaic cult statue by Kanachos was made. However, the use for that earlier naiskos remains a matter for speculation. Perhaps an earlier cult image was housed in it, or perhaps it served some oracular purpose for the sanctuary.<sup>102</sup> Since the focus of the cult of Apollo at Didyma was on the oracular spring, an early naiskos could have served as the seat for the prophetess of Apollo rather than for an earlier cult statue.<sup>103</sup> However, an earlier image could explain the necessity of building a naiskos before the main temple was completed; it would have been required to house and protect the image. The existence of an earlier image could also explain the need to repair the naiskos in the fifth century after the destruction of the sanctuary and the cessation of the Oracle; the naiskos would have been necessary to house a surviving cult statue.

---

<sup>101</sup> Hahland, 1964, 234.

<sup>102</sup> Romano, 1980, 229.

If an earlier image did exist, then the question that naturally arises concerns the need for the later cult image made by Kanachos. If we look to other sites, however, such as to Samos and the temple of Hera, we can see that it was possible for more than one image of the deity to exist within the temple. If the original image of Apollo was made of wood, as was the original image of Hera at Samos, then the sculpture made by Kanachos in bronze may have been an addition to the temple and perhaps stood alongside the earlier image. The existence of an earlier image could also explain the continued cultic activity at the sanctuary in the fifth and fourth centuries, before the rebirth of the Oracle in the Hellenistic period. Since the Kanachos Apollo had been taken by the Persians, perhaps the original image was the focus of the fifth-century cult activities performed by the Molpoi. Their offering of the γυλλοί, placed at the doors of the temple of Apollo, may have been an offering of garments to an earlier image of Apollo. Garments had been offered and worn by the cult statue of Hera on Samos, perhaps they were also draped on the original statue of Apollo at Didyma. Whether or not an earlier naiskos housed an earlier cult image before the Kanachos Apollo, or the prophetess for the oracle, the site of the naiskos was most likely a sacred area, judging by the continuing

---

<sup>103</sup> Romano, 1980, 231; Tuchelt, 1970, 194-6.

architectural focus on this spot, through the rebuilding on the site from the archaic to the Hellenistic periods.



### III

#### CONTINUITY ON THE MAINLAND

The colossal Ionic temples in Asia Minor were not the only temples which exhibited continuity of same-site temple building. Smaller temples on the mainland, such as the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis, also exemplify this same phenomenon.

##### **The Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in Athens**

The temple of Athena Nike in Athens is located on the Akropolis, south west of the Propylaia, on an artificial bastion (fig. 3.1 and 3.2).<sup>1</sup> The remains of two temples were found here, one dating to the late fifth century, the Classical Ionic temple, and an earlier shrine dating to the mid-sixth century, which was found on the same site, 1.40 m. below the Classical temple.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Romano, 1980, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Romano, 1980, 59, 62.

The archaeological excavation of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis initially began as a restoration project in the 1930's, under the direction of Nikolaos Balanos.<sup>3</sup> The project required the dismantling of the Classical temple, which led to the discovery of an earlier, smaller temple, otherwise known as the naiskos, in the Classical temple's foundations. The remains of a statue base were also uncovered on the same level as this naiskos, and a block dating to the mid-sixth century BC was found inscribed as the "Altar of Athena Nike".<sup>4</sup> This sixth century phase of the sanctuary had been built on a terrace which showed evidence of an even earlier, Mycenaean occupation.<sup>5</sup> The Nike Sanctuary had ceased to operate by 392 AD, the year in which the Emperor Theodosios ordered the cessation of pagan worship.<sup>6</sup> From that time on the sanctuary has been reused, altered, and, unfortunately, damaged. The understanding of the history of the ancient cult site is affected by its subsequent history and reuse. The earliest significant damage can be traced to the Frankish occupation of the Akropolis; it appears that the monumental altar of Athena Nike, dating to the late fifth century BC, was destroyed during this period. The temple and the parapet, though, did not seem to

---

<sup>3</sup> Ira Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens*, 1993, 1; Romano, 1980, 59.

<sup>4</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 596.

<sup>5</sup> Mark, 1993, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Mark, 1993, 7.

suffer much damage during this occupation.<sup>7</sup> However, during the 16th century AD, the Turks made the temple into a powder magazine, and at the end of the 17th century they destroyed the temple, leveling it to the krepidoma; they then built a battery on the Nike Bastion, as a defense against the Venetians. Many of the architectural components of the Nike Temple, fortunately, were preserved by their inclusion in the battery foundations.<sup>8</sup> It also appears that extensive damage was done to the foundations of the Nike Temple during this rebuilding by the Turks. In 1835, after the Greeks expelled the Turks, the battery was dismantled and the blocks of the Nike Temple, nearly all of which had been built into the bastion, were recovered. The temple was restored under the direction of Ludwig Ross, and the architects Eduard Schaubert and Christian Hansen.<sup>9</sup>

Ira Mark studied the Nike Bastion as part of his doctoral work during the 1970's. During his research he became aware of numerous unpublished excavation notes and plans belonging to the 1930's restoration project under Nikolaos Balanos. He undertook a re-examination of the Nike bastion during the 1980's with the purpose of publishing Balanos' papers.<sup>10</sup> Mark's study of the excavation notes and the subsequent re-examination of the Nike bastion was published in 1993. He has distinguished four main

---

<sup>7</sup> Mark, 1993, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Mark, 1993, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Mark, 1993, 10.

stages of the sanctuary: Stage I corresponds to the archaic period; Stage II represents the period following the destruction by the Persians; Stage III corresponds to the mid-fifth century; and Stage IV belongs to the amphiprostyle temple of the Periclean Building Program. For the purpose of this study, the remains pertaining to the placement of the cult state base will be the focus.

No direct evidence has been found to support the existence of a cult of Athena Nike predating the archaic period, or Stage I; but the Bronze Age bastion suffered a major collapse prior to this stage. If the cult of Athena Nike existed before this then the collapse would have likely destroyed all, or nearly all, of the evidence.<sup>11</sup>

The remains belonging to Stage I are few, and were found because they were reused in the mid-fifth century, during Stage III. They include two blocks from the original, Stage I, statue base<sup>12</sup> which formed part of a repository during Stage III, and an inscribed block of the Stage I altar, which was found as part of the support for one of the Stage III altars.<sup>13</sup> The inscription on the altar block consists of five lines, which, when translated read: "Altar of Athena Nike. Erected by Patrokledes".<sup>14</sup> The letter forms

---

<sup>10</sup> Mark, 1993, v.

<sup>11</sup> Mark, 1993, 16, 128.

<sup>12</sup> Mark, 1995, 384.

<sup>13</sup> Mark, 1993, 20-30, 32-34, 41, 42-52.

<sup>14</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 596*; Mark, 1993, 33.

indicate that the block was inscribed in the mid-sixth century; Meiggs believes that it belongs to the period between 580 and 530 BC.<sup>15</sup>

The remains of the base corresponding to Stage I, include two rectangular poros blocks, with anathyrosis on their joining faces.<sup>16</sup> When joined they formed a square that was 1.08 m. long and 0.96 m. wide and approximately 0.28-0.41 m. high; its right side and back were broken when found.<sup>17</sup> The centre of the two blocks has a cavity that consists of three levels (fig. 3.3 and fig. 3.4). The bottom two levels were carved in Stage III and will be discussed later. The top level of the cavity belongs to Stage I and has a back wall that is slightly curved; the remaining three walls are straight. It measures 0.54 m. wide, 0.53 m. long and 0.095 m. deep.<sup>18</sup> The Stage I cavity, with its shallow depth, corresponds to the characteristic plinth cutting for a statue base in the Archaic period. The square shape of the base with three straight sides and one curved indicate that it was perhaps used to support the seated or enthroned type of statuary that was prominent during the Archaic period.<sup>19</sup> Due to their size and shape, Mark is confident that the

---

<sup>15</sup> Mark, 1993, 33 and n. 12; Meiggs, 1972, 498.

<sup>16</sup> These two blocks are still *in situ*.

<sup>17</sup> Mark, 1993, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Mark, 1993, 20.

<sup>19</sup> Mark, 1993, 24 and n. 4. The bases for enthroned images usually consisted of a front wall which was curved to accommodate the feet and garment of the statue. In this case, however, the back wall was curved. This difference may be explained by the fact that the two blocks of the Stage I base were found reused in Stage III as a repository, buried underneath the floor of the Stage III naiskos. Perhaps

blocks originally functioned as a statue base; he has estimated that the base would have been able to support a seated image about 1.0 m. high, which corresponds to approximately four-fifths life-size.<sup>20</sup> A raised collar of stone surrounds the cavity and Mark points out that this base is unusual for the Archaic period because of this raised stone collar; no other known base from this period has a similar type of raised collar around the cavity.<sup>21</sup> Cuttings for statues were not usually made out of more than one block because this required the statue to be set over the join between the blocks. Mark thus does not believe that the base is complete because the blocks would have had to have been held together by some means: perhaps they had been clamped together, although no evidence for clamps has survived, or they had been part of a larger base setting.<sup>22</sup>

The masonry technique of the base provides us with an indication of when it was made. The outer sides of the collar surrounding the base cavity were worked unevenly and Mark believes that this technique is a distinctive feature of the earliest bases which support marble statues; he cites the bases for the kouroi at Sounion, the Moschophoros

---

when the blocks had been repositioned they had been unintentionally turned around so that the curved wall was at the back. The positioning of the base, probably on the original Stage I site, was probably more important than the orientation of the blocks. Maintaining the curved wall at the front would have been important if the statue were to be replaced on this base, but since it was now serving as a repository the orientation of the blocks may not have been as important.

<sup>20</sup> Mark, 1993, 24.

<sup>21</sup> Mark, 1993, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Mark, 1993, 25.

base, and other bases from the early phases of the Athenian Akropolis as comparanda.<sup>23</sup>

Mark states that the masonry technique provides us with 560 BC as a *terminus ante quem*, because apparently from this time forward masonry techniques become more precise with the consistent employment of straight rules and plumb lines. He also states that the inferred material of the statue provides us with a *terminus post quem* of ca. 600 BC for the Stage I base due to the fact that marble was first introduced to Athens around this time.<sup>24</sup>

The cult statue of Athena Nike is mentioned three times in the ancient sources, but it is referred to as a *xoanon*, which is a term usually used when describing an ancient statue made out of wood.<sup>25</sup> Pausanias refers to the cult statue of Athena Nike in Book V: “Kalamis is said to have made [the image of Athena dedicated by the Mantineans at Olympia] without wings in imitation of the wooden image (ξόανον) at Athens called Wingless Victory.”<sup>26</sup> Pausanias’ mention of the sculptor of the image at Olympia helps to date the image of Athena Nike in Athens because it would have had to have been in existence prior to, or at least around the same time as, Kalamis’ career since he was using

---

<sup>23</sup> Mark, 1993, 27 and n. 19.

<sup>24</sup> Mark, 1993, 27-28.

<sup>25</sup> Pausanias 3.15.7, 5.26.6; Heliodorus, *FGrHist* IV, 425f.; Mark, 1993, 97-98 and n. 26. Pausanias in particular is quite consistent with the use of this term; he uses it in a very limited sense, usually when he describes an early wooden statue.

it as a model for the Olympian statue. Kalamis was working in the second quarter of the fifth century BC<sup>27</sup> so the image of Athena Nike probably dates prior to this time and may be Archaic.<sup>28</sup> Heliodoros, in the second century BC, also uses the term *xoanon* when describing the cult image of Athena Nike: he describes it as wingless, holding a helmet in its left hand and a pomegranate in its right.<sup>29</sup> Pausanias also describes the image as wingless and tells us why he thinks that is: "... the Athenians think that Victory, having no wings, will always remain where she is."<sup>30</sup> Mark does not believe that Pausanias actually saw the statue of Athena Nike on the Akropolis; he thinks that Pausanias learned of it from another source, perhaps from Heliodoros.<sup>31</sup> Mark, therefore, does not think that Pausanias' employment of the term *xoanon* means that the statue was wooden, and instead believes that it was marble, based on his analysis of the uneven workmanship of the base described above. Romano, however, does believe that Pausanias saw the wooden *xoanon* when he visited Athens in the second century AD.<sup>32</sup> I also believe that it was wooden, for two reasons: 1) both Heliodoros and Pausanias refer to it as a ξόανov,

---

<sup>26</sup> Pausanias 5.26.6.

<sup>27</sup> Raubitschek, 1949, 505-508.

<sup>28</sup> Romano, 1980, 58.

<sup>29</sup> Heliodoros, *FGrHist* IV, 425f.; Romano, 1980, 58.

<sup>30</sup> Pausanias, 3.15.7.

<sup>31</sup> Mark, 1993, 95.

<sup>32</sup> Romano, 1980, 63. She believes that he either saw the original wooden *xoanon* or a facsimile.



and 2) a wooden *xoanon* of Athena Polias was housed in another temple on the Akropolis. The image of Athena Polias was made out of the sacred olive-wood, and survived the Persian destruction because she was light enough to have been carried away.<sup>33</sup> The *xoanon* of Athena Nike also seems to have survived the Persian destruction, which implies that she too was carried away. If she were made out of marble, however, and approximately one meter tall, she would have been very heavy, too heavy, I think, to have been rescued by the Athenians as they fled the Akropolis before the Persians leveled the sanctuary. The statue may have been in a seated pose, as Mark suggests (fig. 3.5); examples of wooden *xoana* in seated positions include that of Dionysos Saotes in Lerna, Artemis Kedreatis in Orchomenos, and Black Demeter in Phigalia.<sup>34</sup>

No remains have been found *in situ* for a temple that would have provided the setting for the Stage I base.<sup>35</sup> This does not necessarily mean that a temple did not exist during this period, but since no remains of it have been found on the Nike bastion, Mark believes that its remains may have been included in the “floating temples” category of finds from the Akropolis. He suggests that the two structures known as the A-

---

<sup>33</sup> See chapter 4 for further discussion pertaining to Athena Polias.

<sup>34</sup> Pausanias, 2.37.2 (Dionysos in Lerna); Pausanias, 8.13.2 (Artemis in Orchomenos); Pausanias 8.42.4-5 (Demeter at Phigalia); F. Bennett, “A Study of the Word Xoanon,” 1917, 16 and tables A and B, 12-16.

<sup>35</sup> Mark, 1993, 34-35.

architecture may in fact be the remains from the Stage I temple; their dimensions correspond to those of the bastion, and they have been dated to 580-550 BC, which also corresponds to the date of the Stage I base.<sup>36</sup> The lack of surviving evidence for the Stage I temple suggests that it was either completely destroyed due to some catastrophic event or in preparation for the building of the Classical amphiprostyle (Stage IV) temple.<sup>37</sup>

Stage II belongs to the period following the destruction of Stage I. This was probably a result of the Persian destruction of the Akropolis. Stage II thus consisted of “a stony, rutted mound.”<sup>38</sup>

The sanctuary in Stage III consists of a naiskos, a rectangular altar located to the east of the naiskos, a square altar located to the northeast of the naiskos, a portion of a retaining wall on the north edge of the bastion, with an irregular trapezoidal type of masonry, and a repository (fig. 3.6).<sup>39</sup> This repository was constructed using two blocks from the Stage I cult statue base; it was found in the northwest corner of the naiskos (fig. 3.7). The repository/base and the naiskos both stood directly on top of the Stage II ground level which indicates that they were contemporary.<sup>40</sup> The naiskos was in the form

---

<sup>36</sup> Mark, 1993, 35.

<sup>37</sup> Mark, 1993, 40-41.

<sup>38</sup> Mark, 1993, 41.

<sup>39</sup> Mark, 1993, 42.

<sup>40</sup> Mark, 1993, 52.

of a small cella, and had no wall on its eastern side; it measures 2.47 m. in width and has an estimated length of 3.65 m.<sup>41</sup> The eastern end of the naiskos is 2.2 m. away from the Stage III rectangular altar.<sup>42</sup> Mark believes, based on the masonry of the naiskos and the cyma-reversa moldings of the rectangular altar, that this stage, Stage III, was built in the mid-fifth century BC, after the Persian invasion. The naiskos would have been the immediate precursor to the amphiprostyle temple of Stage IV.<sup>43</sup>

Stage III does appear to have followed a destruction, which damaged the two surviving blocks of the Stage I base. It also appears that the base was put to a different use during this stage. The cavity of the base was cut through, forming a deeper two-stepped cavity. This cavity contained finds characteristic of a votive deposit: terracottas, pottery sherds and bones.<sup>44</sup> In total then, the cavity of the base/repository consists of three levels: the top level being the plinth cutting for the Stage I cult statue, and the lower two levels belonging to the Stage III repository (fig. 3.3 and fig. 3.4). Mark cites a fifth century repository found in the Athenian Agora as comparandum for the Stage III base/repository; it is approximately twice the size of the Nike base but has the same two-

---

<sup>41</sup> Mark, 1993, 42.

<sup>42</sup> Mark, 1993, 67.

<sup>43</sup> Mark, 1993, 58-68.

<sup>44</sup> Mark, 1993, 29-30, 52-53.

stepped form.<sup>45</sup> The middle level of the Nike base/repository cavity is 0.38 m by 0.335 m. and 0.08 m deep and the lowest level is a bit narrower than the middle level; it measures 0.33 m. by 0.335 m and is 0.09 m. deep.<sup>46</sup>

The votive deposit, consisting of some terracotta figurines, small vase fragments and two very small bones, was found at the lowest level of the Stage III repository cavity.<sup>47</sup> This deposit has since been lost but fortunately Balanos' excavation notes and an excavation photograph provide us at least with a general indication of the appearance of the figurines: they varied in size between four to ten centimeters tall and according to the photograph we can see that their bodies are in a thin cylindrical shape, which has been flared at the bottom to form a base, the arms appear to be triangular in shape and their heads seem to have been pinched with a headdress flared at the top (fig. 3.3 (b)).<sup>48</sup> They seem to resemble the typical Mycenaean "goddess" figurines that are commonly found at Mycenaean sanctuaries in Greece and on Crete.

Mark states that the figurines belong to a series produced in Attica which apparently ceased near the end of the Archaic period; similar finds of this type of

---

<sup>45</sup> Mark, 1993, 29; H.A. Thompson, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1957," *Hesperia* 27, 1958 (145-160), 148-153.

<sup>46</sup> Mark, 1993, 20.

<sup>47</sup> Mark, 1993, 22 and Appendix A (excerpts from Balanos' excavation notes) under the heading of "Page 10" for the description of the finds in the base cavity.

figurine have nearly all been associated with Archaic deposits.<sup>49</sup> In fact, a stratum underlying the Stage III altar of Athena Nike contained Archaic pottery sherds and terracotta figurines resembling those found in the base/repository deposit.<sup>50</sup> This stratum may have been the source of the figurines placed in the repository. The Stage I and Stage III levels had been disturbed during the building of the Stage IV temple foundations, and it is impossible to know when the terracotta remains might have been accidentally unearthed; it could have been during the building of the Stage III altar, or during the laying of the Stage IV temple foundations.<sup>51</sup> Mark suggests that “[c]onfronted with these primitive, unfamiliar images, the workmen, we may imagine, were quick to enforce their reburial.”<sup>52</sup> The burying of votives is rarely found in Greek temples; Mark only cites approximately six other examples of this type of foundation deposit. In particular the Hellenistic temple of Artemis on Delos affords a very close parallel for the Nike deposit: the deposit in the temple of Artemis also included pottery sherds, a few bones, and

---

<sup>48</sup> Mark, 1993, 22, Appendix A, Plate 2:b.

<sup>49</sup> Mark, 1993, 66.

<sup>50</sup> Mark, 1993, 31.

<sup>51</sup> Mark, 1993, 66.

<sup>52</sup> Mark, 1993, 67.

votives, and was also found against the foundations for the temple near an interior corner.<sup>53</sup>

Continuity of placement of the cult statue base may be seen in at least two stages of the temple of Athena Nike. The rim of the Stage I statue base/repository was found 0.25 m. below the floor level of the Stage III naiskos.<sup>54</sup> It appears that the Stage III naiskos was constructed to incorporate the Stage I base within its walls (fig. 3.7). Even though the Stage I base would not have been visible within the cella of the Stage III naiskos, the walls did not overlap the Stage I base, but seemed to be constructed so to preserve the statue base almost directly beneath the new base that would have probably been placed within the naiskos. No remains survive, but the new base would likely have been placed at the centre of the back wall of the naiskos, a customary position. This position would be almost directly over the Stage I base, which shows that the same type of continuity exhibited at Samos was followed here as well. The cult statue of Athena Nike, described by Heliodorus and Pausanias as a *xoanon*, or an ancient wooden figure, apparently survived the Persian destruction, which is indicated by the presence of the Stage III naiskos; it would have been constructed most likely in order to house the cult statue in the period following the Persian Wars and before the Stage IV temple was

---

<sup>53</sup> Mark, 1993, 52-53.

built.<sup>55</sup> The small size of the naiskos probably also indicates that the image of Athena Nike was small. Romano suggests that the statue was probably one-half life size or even smaller, considering that the naiskos was only 1.77 m. wide on the interior.<sup>56</sup>

A second cult statue seems to have been in existence at the end of the fifth century BC, according to the inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A*<sup>57</sup> which mentions a competition for creating something ivory for the temple of Athena Nike; some scholars, including Bundgård and the decree's initial editors, Pogorelski and Hiller von Gaertringen, believe that the competition refers to a cult statue for the amphiprostyle Athena Nike temple, the temple belonging to Stage IV (fig. 3.1, 3.2, and 3.8).<sup>58</sup> Mark, however, believes that it refers to something architectural in nature, because the text mentions an architect twice and requires the submission of a drawing in lines six to eight. He suggests that the contest was not over a cult statue but rather an ornate coffered ceiling for the cella.<sup>59</sup> However, another inscription, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403*, also indicates that another statue of Athena Nike existed.<sup>60</sup>

The inscription documents that the statue of Athena Nike was in need of repair:

---

<sup>54</sup> Mark, 1993, 52.

<sup>55</sup> Mark, 1993, 123.

<sup>56</sup> Romano, 1980, 63.

<sup>57</sup> This inscription, according to its lettering, dates to ca. 440-415 BC. Mark, 1993, 108.

<sup>58</sup> Mark, 1993, 139; Pogorelski and Hiller von Gaertringen, 1922, 189-190; Bundgård, 1976, 130 and 190 n. 304; Romano, 1980, 58-59.

<sup>59</sup> Mark, 1993, 139-140.

<sup>60</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403*; Mark, 1993, 113-114.

Of the presiding board, ... of the deme of Kerameis called the vote. ... son of Lakiades so moved. Concerning the report of the committee of the demos on the restoration of the statue (ἄγαλμα) of Athena Nike dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils of the Ambraciots and the army in Olpai, the insurrectionists at Korkyra, and the Anaktorians: the Boule counsels that the people call the committee before it ... in the first Ekklesia and deliberate the matter. And add the Boule's resolution to the demos on the sacrifice to the goddess, that the priestess of Athena should make the propitiatory offering on the people's behalf.<sup>61</sup>

This statue would have been dedicated ca. 425 BC since the defeat of the Ambraciots and the victory in Olpai occurred in 426/425 BC and the victory on Korkyra and the Anaktorion occupation took place in 425 BC.<sup>62</sup> The dedication of a chryselephantine statue following political achievements would also correspond to the dedication of the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos on the Akropolis.<sup>63</sup> The fact that the repair of the Athena Nike statue concerned the counsel indicates that it may have been quite valuable and that its restoration may have incurred considerable expense. The inscription *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403* has been dated to the Lykourgan period, ca. 338-326 BC. Lykourgos initiated numerous projects to revitalize the city of Athens, the greatest, perhaps, being the

---

<sup>61</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403*, translation by Mark, 1993, 113.

<sup>62</sup> Thucydides 3.108, 111 and 4.46, 49; Mark, 1993, 114.

<sup>63</sup> For a detailed discussion pertaining to the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos see chapter four of this thesis.



monumentalization of the Theatre of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis.<sup>64</sup> He also restored or replaced statues and objects made of precious metal from the High Classical period, including many Golden Nikai and processional vessels made of gold and silver.<sup>65</sup> The statue of Athena Nike also belonged to the High Classical period and may also have been made of precious materials; this may have been why he chose to restore it to its former glory.<sup>66</sup> An ivory and gold cult statue would have been an appropriate addition to the Classical temple, considering that Athena Nike was a goddess who represented victory in war; the fact that it was dedicated following victory in war and funded by the spoils is worth noting.<sup>67</sup> An elaborate chryselephantine statue of Athena Nike, in my opinion, would have made quite a statement about Athens' victory in war, and would have complemented the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos housed in the Parthenon.

If a chryselephantine statue of Athena Nike was the focus of the competition mentioned in *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A*, and was the statue in need of repair a century later as documented in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403*, where would this statue have stood in the temple? The

---

<sup>64</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 253-260.

<sup>65</sup> For expenses incurred in the replacement or restoration of the Nikai and the *pompeia* see *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1493, 1494 and 1495 (334/333)*: Mark, 1993, 113-114; Hurwit, 1999, 256.

<sup>66</sup> Mark, 1993, 113-114; Hurwit, 1999, 256.

inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A* has been dated by its letter forms to ca. 440-415 BC, which does correspond to the time period of the Stage IV amphiprostyle temple, but no remains for a cult statue base have been identified for this stage. Four paving slabs in the temple's cella were torn up by the Turks when they were building their powder magazine beneath the cella floor, and thus no setting for the base has been identified either.<sup>68</sup> Mark suggests that one fragment in the Akropolis Museum, AcrM 6470, may belong to a sculpted cult statue base for Athena Nike; the fragment is an exterior corner of a relief which has a winged figure carved to incorporate the corner. The fragment was found between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon and has been dated to the late fifth century BC, which corresponds both to the building of the Stage IV Athena Nike Temple and to the date of the inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A*. Mark states that this type of sculpted figure on the corner is appropriate for a sculpted base and cites the corner figures on the cult statue base of Nemesis at Rhamnous as a comparison.<sup>69</sup>

The later damage to the floor of Temple IV leaves us with many unanswerable questions for the base placement within the temple, but we may entertain some suggestions. The likely placement for the statue would be in the centre along the back

---

<sup>67</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 403*; this same pattern of a chryselephantine image being dedicated following a recent victory will be seen in the adjacent temples discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>68</sup> Mark, 1993, 75.

wall, as was customary in Greek temples. Michael Djordjevich<sup>70</sup> has suggested that this was the position for the statue in this temple, and he has made the observation that if the statue did stand there, it would have had a direct view to the Parthenon. It also would have stood on the same axis as the statue of Athena Parthenos.

The inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A*, concerning the competition for something ivory for the Classical temple, mentions the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, “the ancient image”, near the end of the text, in line 21. This ancient image was most likely the one mentioned by Pausanias and Heliodoros, the image which had stood in the Stage I and III temples.<sup>71</sup> If a chryselephantine statue had been added to the temple in the late fifth century and had perhaps stood in the centre of the cella’s back wall, where would the ancient statue have stood? I believe that the ancient statue would have remained on its sacred spot, in the northeast corner of the temple, directly above the remains of the Stage III base/repository. The Stage III naiskos remains are located directly below the Stage IV temple, under the northeast corner of the cella (fig. 3.9 and 3.10). Perhaps the venerated *xoanon* stood on that sacred spot, and perhaps the newer, probably larger chryselephantine statue stood in the centre of the back wall looking towards the Parthenon. The fact that the temple was

---

<sup>69</sup> Mark, 1993, 75, and n. 34.

<sup>70</sup> Michael Djordjevich was the guest lecturer for the Temple of Athena Nike during the American School of Classical Studies in Athens’ 1999 Summer Session, of which I was a member.

secured by means of grilles<sup>72</sup> rather than with solid doors also supports the placement of the older statue in the northeast corner of the one-room temple. From this position, the cult statue would have still been able to witness the sacrifices being performed on the altar in her honour, since the grilles would not have formed a solid barrier. The worshippers, in turn, would also have been able to see her.

Within a smaller space and on a much smaller scale, the Athena Nike Temple seems to have followed a pattern similar to that seen at the Heraion on Samos. Older statue bases at both sites were buried under the floor of later, larger temples, but the space above them was likely the location for the display of older cult images. Changes to the sanctuary were significant, but continuity was still maintained. The addition of another image of Athena Nike is also similar to the pattern seen in the Heraion on Samos. Since the *xoanon* of Athena Nike likely resided in the cella of the amphiprostyle temple with the newer image, it is likely that the cult activity was focused on the older, more revered image as it was at Samos. Perhaps the newer image served more as an aesthetic focus for the worshipper, more as an *epiphany* of the goddess rather than an object of reverence.

---

<sup>71</sup> Mark, 1993, 94, 108-110.

<sup>72</sup> A δρυφαχο[ς] is mentioned in line 14 of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 64A*; Mark, 1993, 109, 120 and 139, believes that the temple was secured by wooden lattice grilles. He cites the term applied to the workman who installed the wooden grilles on the Erechtheion's west wall for comparison: διαφάρχσαντι τὰ μεταχίονια (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 475*, lines 256-257; Mark 1993, 139).

The gold and ivory statue would have been an impressive addition to the temple, especially in the fifth century when Athens was in her political height. At this time Athens was the leader of the Empire; a chryselephantine statue of Athena Nike, the goddess of Victory, would have made quite a political statement. It may have served largely as a political votive offering to Athena Nike, to thank her for her help in achieving victory. This new expensive image likely impressed both the worshipper and the deity.

## IV

### CONTINUITY AND ADJACENT TEMPLE ON THE AKROPOLIS IN ATHENS

Evidence of same-site successive building may also be seen in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Athenian Akropolis. This chapter will include both same-site and adjacent-site examples and will examine the implications for the addition of another temple, housing a new image of the same deity, within the same sanctuary. The cult of Athena Polias on the Akropolis in Athens has a very long and complicated history. The Akropolis, which is a rocky outcrop located in the heart of Athens, has been occupied since the Neolithic period, ca. 5000 BC<sup>1</sup>, and during the Late Helladic period served as the location for the Mycenaean palace complex.<sup>2</sup> During the Archaic and Classical periods it was the religious heart of Athens, where Athena Polias, the patron goddess of Athens, was worshipped.<sup>3</sup> Two temple sites have been found in the sanctuary of Athena

---

<sup>1</sup> John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1971), 52. Neolithic pottery has been found on the Akropolis and around it as well as 22 wells and the remains of a Neolithic house on the south slope.

<sup>2</sup> Travlos, 1971, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Athena Polias is known due to the direct mention of her by Pausanias in 1.27.1.

Polias on the Akropolis, a site on the north side, where foundations belonging to an archaic temple of Athena Polias were discovered by Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1885,<sup>4</sup> and a site on the south side, where the remains of the Classical Parthenon still stand. Each temple housed an image of Athena, an old olivewood statue stood in the temple on the north side, and a newer image stood in the temple on the south side. Multiple images of the deity existed at Samos in the Heraion, possibly at Didyma in the temple of Apollo, and probably in the temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis, but they were housed in the same temple. The images of Athena in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Akropolis, however, were housed in two different temples. I will begin my study of the cult of Athena Polias on the Athenian Akropolis with a discussion pertaining to her cult statue followed by an examination of the evidence for a succession of temples on the same site to house her ancient image. I will then turn to the temple now known as the Parthenon and discuss its history as well as its possible relationship to the temple of Athena Polias.

---

<sup>4</sup> Travlos, 1971, 143.

### The Temple of Athena Polias on the Akropolis in Athens

The cult statue of Athena Polias was highly revered. This is indicated by the fact that Pausanias refers to it as “the most holy symbol,” which “fell from heaven,” a gift from the gods as it were. He describes it as follows:

Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honour. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image (ἄγαλμα) of Athena which is on what is now called the Akropolis, but in early days the Polis (City). A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that Pausanias relates that the *agalma* of Athena “fell from heaven”, according to a legend, and that it was considered holy “by all many years before the unification of the parishes” indicates that the statue was quite ancient.<sup>6</sup> The statue’s antiquity is also attested to by Philostratos who relates that the image of Athena Polias is one of the most ancient cult statues in Greece.<sup>7</sup> Plutarch also says that Athena Polias is one of the first cult statues.<sup>8</sup> Hurwit and Kroll both suggest that it may have been Mycenaean in origin.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, 1.26.6.

<sup>6</sup> Herington, 1955, 22 n. 4; Romano, 1980, 43.

<sup>7</sup> Philostratos, *Vita Apoll.* III.14.; Romano, 1980, 43.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, frag. 158; Romano, 1980, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 74, 88; Kroll, 1982, 73.



Although Pausanias does not describe the appearance of the Athena Polias statue, a few other ancient writers provide a few hints which we may use to form a basic picture of what it looked like. It was apparently made of olive wood<sup>10</sup> and was small enough to be transportable: the Athenians carried it to Salamis with them when they fled the city during the Persian invasion of 480/79.<sup>11</sup> Tertullian also mentions that the statue of Athena was made of wood and likens it to a log, a pole with no shape.<sup>12</sup> The ancient *xoanon* of Hera on Samos was also described as a crude wooden beam, a rude plank.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the *xoanon* of Athena also might have been originally aniconic and primitive in nature. An aegis with a gorgon's head in the centre may have been attached to the ancient image in some way; Plutarch mentions that the gorgon's head was lost from the *agalma* of Athena when the Athenians fled with it to Salamis.<sup>14</sup> The ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias may have been carved into an anthropomorphic form by the sculptor Endoios in the sixth century BC.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Herington, 1955, 17; Scholiast on Demosthenes (cont. Androt. 13).

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10.4; Herington, 1955, 22.

<sup>12</sup> Tertullian, *Apologeticus* XVI, 6; Romano, 1980, 45.

<sup>13</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, IV, 40-41P.; see also Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 10.4; Romano, 1980, 45.

<sup>15</sup> Endoios' career spanned the second half of the sixth century BC (Raubitschek, 1949, 495). It is not certain, however, that the *xoanon* of Athena Polias was carved into an anthropomorphic image by Endoios because this attribution is based on a corrupt text of Athenagoras (Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 17.3). There is a great debate among the scholars as to the interpretation of this text. Herington and Romano

Like the *xoanon* of Hera on Samos, the *xoanon* of Athena in Athens was also probably clothed. Fourth century inventory accounts, the best preserved being *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1424 a*, lines 362-6, which dates to 368/7 BC, list various pieces which belong to “ἡ θεός” in the “ἀρχαῖος νεώς”, Athena Polias.<sup>16</sup> These include a *stephane*, which Herington believes is a tiara,<sup>17</sup> a neck-band, which was described as being “on the neck” (ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ), five necklaces, an aegis made of gold, with a gorgoneion also made of gold. A gold libation bowl, a phiale, was held in her hand (ἐν τῇ χειρὶ).<sup>18</sup> The inventories also mention that she had a golden owl, which Herington believes sat on her shoulder.<sup>19</sup> Three festivals in honour of Athena Polias also, in part, involve clothing the ancient statue: the Plynteria, the Kallynteria and the Panathenaia.<sup>20</sup> The Plynteria and the Kallynteria involved stripping the statue of her clothing, her peplos, veiling the statue

---

believe that the text is referring to the statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, which Pausanias attributes to Endoios (Herington, 1955, Appendix pp. 69-70; Romano, 1980, 44-45, 55 n.10; Pausanias VIII.46.1). Kroll, however, interprets the passage as referring not to one, but to two statues of Athena on the Akropolis in Athens: the olive-wood *xoanon* of Athena Polias and a seated statue of Athena. He believes that both were sculpted by Endoios (Kroll, 1982, 67). The seated statue of Athena was also mentioned by Pausanias (1.26.4-5); it has been identified as a votive marble statue sculpted by Endoios for Kallias, ca. 528 BC (Raubitschek, 1949, 491-495). Hurwit also suggests that the *xoanon* of Athena Polias may have been “refurbished” by Endoios in the sixth century BC (Hurwit, 1999, 111).

<sup>16</sup> Romano, 1980, 45-46; Herington, 1955, 23 and n. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Herington, 1955, 23.

<sup>18</sup> Herington, 1955, 23; Romano, 1980, 46.

<sup>19</sup> Herington, 1955, 23 and n. 3; Romano, 46 and 55 n. 12.

<sup>20</sup> Romano, 1980, 47-52.

while her garments were being cleaned and then re-adorning it.<sup>21</sup> The Panathenaia festival culminated with the presentation of a newly woven peplos to Athena. The ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias was either adorned with this peplos, which Herington believes,<sup>22</sup> or it was, perhaps, laid at her feet.<sup>23</sup>

Where did the cult statue of Athena Polias stand? Scholars tend to agree that the location of the ancient cult of Athena Polias was on the north side of the Akropolis.<sup>24</sup> Temple remains have been found on the north side, but unfortunately no traces of the cult statue base have been found within any of the temples associated with Athena Polias. The exact location of where her statue stood, therefore, is virtually impossible to determine. The examination of the early history of the site suggests some possibilities.

The worship of Athena Polias on the Akropolis in Athens may have begun in the Mycenaean period. Homer, in the *Odyssey*, 7.79-81 implies that Athena had a home, a shrine, in Erekhtheus' palace which likely stood on the Akropolis. There is archaeological evidence supporting the existence of a palace on the Akropolis in the Late Helladic IIIB period, ca. 1300-1190 BC.<sup>25</sup> The remains of five artificial terraces,

---

<sup>21</sup> Herington, 1955, 29-30; Romano, 1980, 47-49.

<sup>22</sup> Herington, 1955, 32.

<sup>23</sup> Romano, 1980, 50-52; Herington, 1955, 31-34.

<sup>24</sup> Romano, 1980, 42; Herington 28-34; Stewart, 1990, 45.

<sup>25</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 72.

belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century BC, were found on the north side of the Akropolis. These terraces varied in terms of their size and height, some were supported by two to three metre high walls. The terraces were built to level the area and to support a major building complex, likely a Mycenaean palace (fig. 4.1).

Unfortunately, the only remains found which may have belonged to the palace itself include one limestone column-base and fragments of sandstone steps.<sup>26</sup>

Mycenaean palaces often had shrines within the palace complex; many mainland sites with Mycenaean origins also have Greek temples located on the ancient palace site. Nilsson states that "... it is a characteristic feature that the later chief temple of the goddess, who protected the Greek town, is built upon ruins of the palace of the Mycenaean king."<sup>27</sup> He names three Greek cities in particular which erected the temple of their patron goddess on the ruins of the Mycenaean palace: Mycenae, Tiryns and Athens. He believes that in the Mycenaean religious tradition the king served as the high priest of the cult and this is why the later Greek temples are found on top of the earlier palace remains;<sup>28</sup> the sacred site is preserved through the continuity of temple placement.

---

<sup>26</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 72-73.

<sup>27</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 473.

<sup>28</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 483-485.

The foundations of the Archaic temple, found by Dörpfeld, were found on the Mycenaean terrace, which was originally constructed to support the ancient palace.<sup>29</sup>

Nilsson compares the Minoan tradition of the ‘priest-king’ to the Mycenaean tradition and believes that they were similar. The cult practised inside the palace with the king as the high-priest would have been considered the cult of the state.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the Greek temples built on top of the palace remains also housed the state cults.<sup>31</sup> There is also a striking similarity between the Mycenaean palace goddess and the later goddesses of the Greek city-states, in particular Athena. The patron Greek city goddess protected her city, functioning in a similar way to the goddess who protected the Mycenaean palace. Nilsson indeed suggests that Athena was originally Mycenaean and begins his investigation by examining her name, the origin of which he believes is pre-Greek.<sup>32</sup> Athena was also represented in a similar fashion with the same type of attributes as the Mycenaean palace goddess.<sup>33</sup> The Mycenaean house goddess was a war

---

<sup>29</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 73.

<sup>30</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 486-487.

<sup>31</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 487.

<sup>32</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 488ff. See 489-491 for a discussion on name etymology which supports his theory.

<sup>33</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 491-498: the Minoan/Mycenaean palace goddess evolved out of the cult of the guardian snake and Athena in particular was associated with snakes, she is often represented with a snake by her side (the representations include copies of the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias as well as vase depictions. Snakes in connection with Athena are also mentioned in Pausanias I.24.7; Herodotus, VIII, 41; and Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, vv. 758) and her temple on the Akropolis was thought to have housed a

goddess, responsible for protecting the inhabitants of the house or palace. Athena was also a war goddess, and Nilsson argues that this was yet another aspect she had in common with her Minoan/Mycenaean ancestress.<sup>34</sup>

If the ancient image of Athena, the olivewood cult statue, did originate in the Mycenaean period, then what became of it following the demise of the Bronze Age palace? Hurwit suggests that in the sub-Mycenean period, ca. 1065-1000 BC, the Akropolis was still occupied by a small settlement, probably located either in the old palace itself or in its ruins. This settlement was perhaps ruled by a chief, or *basileus*, whose house may have also served as the religious centre, housing the olivewood statue of Athena.<sup>35</sup> The tenth century BC to the Late Geometric period has very scarce archaeological evidence but the Late Geometric period finds suggest that the Akropolis

---

guardian snake. (Herodotus VIII, 41 and Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, vv.758, both mention the guardian snake of Athena. The Minoan/Mycenaean house/palace goddess was also associated with birds as a form of epiphany, and Athena was also associated with birds: Homer describes her as changing into bird form (Homer, *Odyssey*, I.v.320, III.vv.371, XXII, vv.239 and *Iliad*, VII, vv.58, V, v. 778). In later times she was often associated with an owl.

<sup>34</sup> Nilsson, 1971, 498-501. A painted tablet discovered at Mycenae may depict the goddess whom Nilsson calls the “forerunner of Athena”. The figure is female, which is discernible from the white pigment commonly used to represent a female’s skin colour, and her body is covered by a figure eight shield, which represents war (Nilsson, 1971, 345, 499 and 344, fig. 156; Hurwit, 1999, 13-14). A gold ring, also discovered at Mycenae, may also depict this goddess: a small figure of a cult statue may be seen in the top right hand corner, also covered by a figure eight shield (Hurwit, 1999, 13 and fig. 10). Due to the striking similarities between the Mycenaean palace goddess at Mycenae and Athena, it becomes clear why remains of the temple of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens were also found on top of the remains of the Mycenaean palace: Athena, the Greek goddess who protected Athens and her people, evolved from the Mycenaean palace goddess.

was now functioning as a major sanctuary. The remains of a large number of votive offerings were found dating to this period including thousands of pieces of pottery and over seventy bronze tripod fragments.<sup>36</sup> A small Geometric temple may have stood on the north side of the Akropolis at this time, in the eighth century BC, on the site of the palace remains.<sup>37</sup> This temple, however, is unfortunately hypothetical since no remains have been found belonging to one.<sup>38</sup>

The seventh century, however, does yield evidence of a temple on the north side of the Akropolis: two column bases, made out of poros-limestone, were found within the foundations of the later archaic temple. Hurwit believes that these belonged to a temple built ca. 700-650 BC on the old palace site, but it is not certain where the columns would have stood. They may have stood on the porch, or they may have been interior supports. A bronze disk found on the Akropolis, dating to the seventh century, may have been affixed to the temple's roof as an *akroterion* or placed in a pediment.<sup>39</sup> The ancient olivewood statue of Athena was likely housed in the cella of this temple.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 88.

<sup>36</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 89-94.

<sup>37</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 93-94; Dinsmoor, 1947, 109; Travlos, 1971, 143.

<sup>38</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 93.

<sup>39</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 97-98 and fig. 70. This disk is housed in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, NM 13050.

<sup>40</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 95.

Remains have been found belonging to the superstructure of an archaic temple, ca. 560 BC,<sup>41</sup> on the Akropolis, now commonly referred to as the “Bluebeard temple.” The remains consist of architectural fragments such as Doric column capitals and architectural sculpture such as pedimental figures. The most famous of these pedimental sculptures is a three headed snaky creature, which has been nicknamed “Bluebeard”.<sup>42</sup> The remains were not found *in situ*, they were found buried in an area southeast of the Parthenon<sup>43</sup> and have therefore generated a great deal of debate with respect to their provenance. Two theories have been put forth: one is that they belonged to a temple which stood on the north side of the Akropolis, and the other is that they belonged to a temple which stood on the south side and was the predecessor of the Parthenon (fig. 4.2).<sup>44</sup> The crux of this debate lies in the interpretation of the inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 4*, also known as one of the “Hekatompedon Decrees.”<sup>45</sup> It was carved in 485/4 BC on a metope from the “Bluebeard temple” and regulated the sacrifices and conduct of the priestesses,

---

<sup>41</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 109: this date is based on the stylistic analysis of its architecture and sculpture.

<sup>42</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 107-112 and figures 77-81.

<sup>43</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 121 n. 92.

<sup>44</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 106-112 and fig. 83; Dinsmoor refers to this temple as the “Hekatompedon” or the “grandfather of the Parthenon.” For a thorough discussion of his views pertaining to the placement of this temple see Dinsmoor, 1947, 109-151.

<sup>45</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 111 and fig. 38 p. 52. This inscription is housed in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 6794 and is dated to 485/4.



the sacrificers, and the treasurers of Athena.<sup>46</sup> A distinction is made in the inscription between the *Neos* (νεώς), and the *Hekatompedon* (Ἡεκατόμπ[ε]δον). The *Neos* most likely refers to the *Archaïos Neos*, the late archaic temple which stood on the north side of the Akropolis, and so the problem lies in determining what was being referred to by the term *Hekatompedon*, and where it was located.<sup>47</sup> Some scholars think that the *Hekatompedon* was a hundred foot temple which stood on the Parthenon site.<sup>48</sup> Hurwit, however, although he does not discount the possibility that the “Bluebeard temple” stood on the Parthenon site, also notes that “the word *hekatompedon* in the inscription may refer not to a single building at all, but to an area *in which* there were buildings.”<sup>49</sup> Recent excavations have uncovered Archaic building remains underneath the floor of the Parthenon; it is not yet known, however, how large these buildings were or what type they were.<sup>50</sup> Poros architectural remains and terracotta roof fragments belonging to approximately six small buildings, dating from the second quarter of the sixth century, have been found on the Akropolis but their provenance is unknown.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps they originally stood on the south side of the Akropolis, on the Parthenon site. Small scale

---

<sup>46</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 51 and 111.

<sup>47</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 111.

<sup>48</sup> Dinsmoor, 1947, 109-151; Travlos, 1971, 258.

<sup>49</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 112.

<sup>50</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 112.

limestone pediment remains were also found; they could have adorned these small buildings. The inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 4* refers to “the *oikemata* in the *hekatompedon*,” which were to be open three times a month for the public to see. These *oikemata* may have been small treasuries set up in an open area on the south side of the Akropolis, measuring one hundred feet long (fig. 4.2 a).<sup>52</sup>

I believe that the “Bluebeard Temple” was most likely a temple to Athena Polias which stood on the north side of the Akropolis (fig. 4.2 a). Enough of its remains have been found to suggest its size and appearance. It was a Doric peripteral temple, measuring approximately 41 m. in length and approximately 21 m. in width.<sup>53</sup> Another source of controversy related to this temple, however, concerns the possible reconstruction of it. Hurwit suggests that the surrounding colonnade was probably 6 x 12 or 13 columns. He also suggests that the east pediment contained two lions savaging a bull in the central position, Herakles wrestling Triton on the left, and “Bluebeard” on the right. The west pediment may have also contained two lions, the lioness was savaging a bull, in the central position, and snakes may have filled the angles.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 112.

<sup>52</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 112-116.

<sup>53</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 107.

<sup>54</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 107-112 and figures 76-81.

This temple was replaced in the later sixth century by another temple of similar dimensions. This new temple to Athena Polias stood on the foundations discovered by Dörpfeld on the north side of the Akropolis, immediately to the south of the Erechtheion (fig. 4.3). These are the only sixth century temple foundations preserved on the Akropolis.<sup>55</sup> The new temple has been dated to the end of the sixth century.<sup>56</sup> Hurwit suggests that construction commenced around 506 BC, which would have corresponded with a Greater Panathenaia festival and a military victory achieved by Athens over the Chalkidians and Boiotians.<sup>57</sup> The temple was a large Doric, peripteral, amphidistyle in antis structure made largely out of poros limestone.<sup>58</sup> It measured 21.34 m. in width and 43.44 m. in length, with a 6 x 12 colonnade.<sup>59</sup> The interior of the temple is very unusual (fig. 4.4). Dinsmoor refers to it as a “double temple”<sup>60</sup>; the cella was divided in two with a solid wall dividing the two halves. The eastern half, which was divided into three aisles by two rows of columns, was almost certainly the cella of Athena Polias (fig. 4.4). The

---

<sup>55</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 109-111, 121-124; Travlos, 1971, 143; Dinsmoor, 1947, 109-117 and 1975, 90; Stewart, 1990, 129-130.

<sup>56</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 121: “There has never been any doubt that a new Temple of Athena Polias was constructed on the Dörpfeld foundations in the last quarter on the sixth century. It is increasingly accepted, however, that it was built at the very end of the century, after the expulsion of Hippias...”

<sup>57</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 121.

<sup>58</sup> Travlos, 1971, 143.

<sup>59</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 121.

<sup>60</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 90.

ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias most likely stood in this cella.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, however, no traces of the base for the cult statue were found. The western half was divided into three rooms, two of which were side by side, and a third which Dinsmoor describes as an “ante-room”.<sup>62</sup> Pink Kara limestone was used for the stylobate, one block of which was found on top of the foundations, and imported island marble was used for various architectural features as well as for the pedimental sculptures.<sup>63</sup> Some of the pedimental sculptures which have been associated with this temple have been preserved. The east pediment probably contained two lions savaging a bull as did its predecessor, the “Bluebeard temple”; this type of imagery was most likely apotropaic in nature, designed to ward off evil spirits.<sup>64</sup> The west pediment probably contained a Gigantomachy with Athena and Zeus occupying central positions.<sup>65</sup> This temple was burned by the Persians in 480/479 BC when they sacked Athens after defeating the Greeks at Thermopylai.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 122.

<sup>62</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 90.

<sup>63</sup> Travlos, 1971, 143; Dinsmoor, 1975, 90.

<sup>64</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 123.

<sup>65</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 123 and figures 96 and 97. Travlos, 1971, 143 suggests that the Gigantomachy occupied the east pediment and the lion group occupied the west.

<sup>66</sup> Travlos, 1971, 143; Hurwit, 1999, 135-136.

Since the original excavation reports did not adequately document the original findspots of the architectural remains and the sculptural pieces, it is virtually impossible to know for certain the state of the temple after the Persian sack.<sup>67</sup> Many scholars believe that the Old Athena Temple was almost completely destroyed by the Persians, and that, in compliance with the Oath of Plataia, it was not rebuilt. This oath, sworn by the Greeks prior to the battle of Plataia, forbade the rebuilding of temples destroyed by the Persians so that they would serve as a constant visual reminder of their sacrilege and of the atrocities committed.<sup>68</sup> Where would the sacred *xoanon* of Athena Polias have been housed after the war was over? Literary references indicate that it had survived, that it had been rescued from the Akropolis prior to the Persian sack.<sup>69</sup> Different theories have been put forth such as that a marble shrine was built to the north of the old temple site, on the site of the Erechtheion.<sup>70</sup> The Erechtheion, built ca. 421–405 BC, has long been thought to have served as a replacement temple for the Old Athena Temple, incorporating the cult of Athena Polias within it.<sup>71</sup> This theory has largely been based on a passage in Pausanias wherein he describes the Erechtheion and then mentions the ancient cult statue

---

<sup>67</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 22.

<sup>68</sup> Diodoros 11.29.3; Hurwit, 1999, 136-141.

<sup>69</sup> Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10.4.

<sup>70</sup> Dinsmoor, 1932, 318 ff. and 1975, 151.

of Athena Polias.<sup>72</sup> Since there is no clear indication that he saw the ancient *xoanon* of Athena in another temple, it has been thought that he saw the image in the Erechtheion.<sup>73</sup>

This theory has recently been challenged by Gloria Ferrari. She proposes that the Old Temple of Athena was not totally destroyed by the Persians but that it was repaired and continued to house the ancient olivewood cult statue of Athena.<sup>74</sup> An inscribed construction account, found on the Akropolis, and dated to 409/8 BC, has usually been interpreted as referring to the Erechtheion as the new *Archaïos Neos*, which contained the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα; this interpretation has been challenged, however, by Ferrari (appendix I).<sup>75</sup> The progress of the construction on the Erechtheion is documented in the body of the inscription but its heading also mentions the temple of the ancient image; this is found in line one: [ἐ]πιστάται τῷ νεῷ τῷ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ἡοῖ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα.<sup>76</sup> This is why many people have thought that the Erechtheion now contained the ancient image and that the name of the old temple, the *Archaïos Neos*, had been transferred to the Classical temple. Ferrari suggests that the *epistatai*, the title of the board responsible for

---

<sup>71</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 187-88; Herington, 1955, 18-20; Travlos, 1971, 213-214; Hurwit, 1999, 200-209.

<sup>72</sup> Pausanias, 1.26.6-27.1.

<sup>73</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 200-202; Herington, 1955, 20.

<sup>74</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 15-16.

<sup>75</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>.474; Ferrari, 2002, 16 ff., and appendix.

<sup>76</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>.474.1; Ferrari, 2002, 17 n. 34.

overseeing the construction, were not restricted to the Erechtheion project alone but were in charge of other buildings as well, in particular the restoration of the Old Temple of Athena.<sup>77</sup> She suggests that the building referred to at the beginning, lines 8-39 is the Old Temple of Athena Polias and that the subject then switches to the Erechtheion in line 40.<sup>78</sup> An image is mentioned in the Erechtheion section, line 75, τὸ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος, but this was probably referring to a statue of Erechtheus in the Erechtheion, and not to the ancient image of Athena Polias mentioned in the heading.<sup>79</sup>

Ferrari proposes that the charred remains of the Old Athena temple served as the focal point of the Periklean Building Program (fig. 4.7). The burnt temple would have served as a type of war memorial, preserving the sacred site of Athens' patron goddess and also providing a visual reminder of the Persian impiety. She believes that the central section of the Old Temple was destroyed. This would mean that a gap existed between the temple's eastern cella and its opisthodomos, that the two halves of the temple were detached.<sup>80</sup> One of the biggest issues when considering the possibility that the Old Athena Temple still stood at the time of the construction of the Erechtheion lies in the fact that the south "Karyatid" porch of the Erechtheion was built overlapping the northern

---

<sup>77</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 17-18.

<sup>78</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 21.

<sup>79</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 474.75; Ferrari, 2002, 21.

foundations of the Old Athena Temple (fig. 4.5 and fig. 4.4 state plan). If the Old Athena Temple had been preserved and had been standing alongside the Erechtheion, it would have totally obliterated the view of the beautiful Karyatid porch. However, if the central section of the temple had been destroyed, as Ferrari suggests, then the porch takes on a new meaning. It was likely built in this open section so that it would have been framed by the burned halves of the Old Temple, the cella on the east side and the opisthodomos on the west (fig. 4.6).<sup>81</sup> The porch would have been visible to the worshippers as they processed by the Old Temple on their way to the Altar at the east end of the Old Athena Temple. The juxtaposition between the new porch of the Karyatids and the scarred remains of the old temple must have been very dramatic and moving.

Ferrari suggests that the Erechtheion was built as an “ornate and elegant appendate to the temple of the Polias.”<sup>82</sup> It was constructed just to the north of it; its unusual design indicates that it had a unique relationship with the Old Athena Temple. This relationship is quite evident in terms of the placement of the south “Karyatid” porch of the Erechtheion (fig. 4.5 and fig. 4.4 state plan). The porch’s overlapping of the older foundations has been interpreted as a means to maintain an intentional physical and

---

<sup>80</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 16 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 24.

<sup>82</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 21.



*spiritual connection* to the ancient temple site.<sup>83</sup> Other elements of the design of the Erechtheion also indicate the relationship between the two temples (fig. 4.5): the eastern wall of the Erechtheion's cella, not including the pronaos, is basically in line with the eastern peristyle of the Old Athena Temple; and the western wall of the Erechtheion is aligned with the western wall of the old temple's cella, that is, the back foundation wall of the eastern half of the temple.<sup>84</sup> The long stretch of blank wall on the Erechtheion's south side has always been a curious feature of this temple but if the Old Temple stood beside the Erechtheion then the reason for the blank south wall seems obvious: it would have remained blank because it was built right up against the north wall of the Old Athena Temple.

The central section of the temple may have suffered most extensively but the temple likely would have been damaged in many other areas as well. The roof had probably collapsed and the northeast part of the peristyle had probably been destroyed, since the Erechtheion's south wall overlaps the Old Temple's foundations at this point (fig. 4.5).<sup>85</sup> Although some of its architectural pieces were built into the north wall of the Akropolis, this does not contradict the fact that parts of the temple may still have been

---

<sup>83</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 34.

<sup>84</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 21-22.

<sup>85</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 22-23.

standing, it just means that parts had been removed. Parts of its Kara limestone stylobate may have been built into the terrace ramp west of the Parthenon but those parts may have come from the northeastern section of the peristyle, and were possibly removed to allow for the construction of the Erechtheion.<sup>86</sup> A number of column drums were built into the north wall of the Akropolis, but it is possible that more than half of the colonnade remained standing. Another interesting fact to note is that the pedimental sculptures were not found either in the deposits of Persian debris, or in the Akropolis wall, or in the deposits buried during the Classical reconstruction;<sup>87</sup> this implies that they remained in use on their original building. It is likely that the surviving parts of the Old Athena Temple were repaired and that the eastern cella of the Old temple continued to house the ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias; unfortunately, it is not known exactly where the statue would have stood within the cella since no base remains have survived in the Old Athena Temple.

Successive temples seemed to have been built on the north side of the Akropolis, perhaps on the site of the ancient Mycenaean palace. The late sixth century temple of Athena Polias, which would have stood on the Dörpfeld Foundations may have been the

---

<sup>86</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 23.

<sup>87</sup> None of the sculptures were found in a closed deposit and the head of the pedimental sculpture of Athena was found in a deposit which also yielded later finds (Ferrari, 2002, 23).

fourth Polias temple built on this site. A small Geometric temple may have existed in the eighth century BC, a seventh century temple likely succeeded it, followed by the “Bluebeard temple” and finally the Old Athena Temple, which may have remained functional well into Roman times.<sup>88</sup> Continuity of the cult would, therefore, have been maintained by this same-site temple building.

### **The Parthenon**

The temple now known as the Parthenon is located on the south side of the Akropolis in Athens. Today, it is probably the most well-known temple of the ancient world. The Parthenon has often been referred to by scholars as one of the two temples to Athena on the Akropolis, the temple to Athena Parthenos. Rhodes actually describes the Parthenon as “...the great temple of Athens’ patron goddess: Athena’s Parthenon.”<sup>89</sup> Were there then two aspects of Athena worshipped in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Akropolis, Athena Polias on the north side and Athena Parthenos on the south? There are very differing opinions with respect to this issue. Travlos believes that two temples dedicated to Athena did exist from an early time in this sanctuary, but he refers to only

---

<sup>88</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 11 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 116.

one cult, that of the city's patron goddess, Athena Polias.<sup>90</sup> Why then were there two temples if they were both for the same cult? I will attempt to outline the reasons for the two conflicting views and try to determine which view seems the most plausible considering the patterns we have seen elsewhere.

The earliest architectural evidence for a predecessor of the Parthenon was found immediately below the Classical temple structure. The foundations of an "Older Parthenon" were found during the 1885-1890 excavations. Travlos believes that the construction of this temple began between 490-485 BC based on a *terminus post quem* provided by pottery fragments found in the fill.<sup>91</sup> This date would correspond to the victory the Athenians achieved at the Battle of Marathon.<sup>92</sup> The temple did not survive the Persian sack of the Akropolis in 480/79 BC and was destroyed along with all of the other buildings. Many of the blocks of this temple were found in the north part of the Akropolis wall, some were re-cut and reused in the construction of the Parthenon and some were found beneath the Parthenon.<sup>93</sup> The temple measured 26.19 m. by 69.616 m. (fig. 4.8).<sup>94</sup> It was tetrastyle prostyle at either end with a 6 x 16 peristyle. The cella was

---

<sup>90</sup> Travlos, 1971, 53.

<sup>91</sup> Travlos, 1971, 444.

<sup>92</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 130.

<sup>93</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 150.

<sup>94</sup> Hill, 1912, 535-558; Travlos, 1971, 444.

long and was divided into three aisles by two interior colonnades. Work had not yet been completed before the temple's destruction by the Persians.<sup>95</sup>

After the Older Parthenon was destroyed, approximately thirty-two years lapsed before construction began on the Classical Parthenon on the south side of the Akropolis. It was built directly on top of the remains of the "Older Parthenon" and was constructed by the finest architects and sculptors and from the finest Pentelic marble available.<sup>96</sup> Some of the old column drums and possibly some of the old metopes and parts of the entablature of the Older Parthenon were reused in the building of the Parthenon.<sup>97</sup> These most likely would have been incorporated to serve as a reminder of the Persian sack of Athens. The construction of the temple began in 447 and was finished in 438 BC and the temple itself was dedicated during the Panathenaic festival in 438 BC.<sup>98</sup> At the time of the dedication the architectural sculpture was still being worked and was finally completed in 432 BC.<sup>99</sup> The design of the temple was unique in that it incorporated elements from both the Doric and Ionic architectural orders: the temple itself was Doric, with an 8 x 17 peristyle, but it had an Ionic frieze that ran around the external walls of the

---

<sup>95</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 150; Travlos, 1971, 444.

<sup>96</sup> Travlos, 1971, 444.

<sup>97</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 40-41, and 86.

<sup>98</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 159.

<sup>99</sup> Travlos, 1971, 444; Dinsmoor, 1975, 159-160.

cella (fig. 4.9).<sup>100</sup> The cella's interior colonnade was also originally Doric, with 10 columns on either side and five across the back.<sup>101</sup> The temple was built on a high platform, one which was originally built for the "Older Parthenon".<sup>102</sup> The size of the temple combined with its setting on the platform made it very imposing. Its unusual width allowed for more internal space for framing the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena housed in the cella.

No remains of the cult statue exist today, but literary testimonia and smaller copies of the original statue have fortunately survived and provide us with an indication of what the original statue must have looked like.<sup>103</sup> Neda Leipen has studied the remaining literary evidence and the copies in detail and has created a small scale reproduction based on the available evidence (fig. 4.10).<sup>104</sup> The original statue was awe-inspiring, a work of the sculptor Pheidias. It was colossal in size; Pliny reported that the statue was 20 cubits high, which translates into 11.544 m.<sup>105</sup> It has been suggested that the temple was in fact built to such a scale in order to accommodate this statue of Athena;

---

<sup>100</sup> Stewart, 1990, 150-151.

<sup>101</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 163.

<sup>102</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 86.

<sup>103</sup> The sculpting of the Parthenos statue began in 447/6 BC (*IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 453-60) and was completed in 438/37 BC (Scholium to Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605 (*Philochoros*, *FGH 328 F 121*); Stewart, 1990, 257-258, T48.

<sup>104</sup> Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: a reconstruction* (Royal Ontario Museum, 1971), 1-95; and Neda Leipen, "The Athena Parthenos by Phidias," *Phoenix* 17 (1963): 119-122.

Rhodes writes that “[t]he physical and symbolic magnitude of Pheidias’ Athena Parthenos required an appropriately scaled and appropriately beautiful display case, the largest and most elaborately decorated Doric cella ever created on the mainland.”<sup>106</sup>

Many ancient authors have commented on the beauty and splendour of the statue and also on the expense. The materials were very precious, gold and ivory, so the expense would have been enormous. Thucydides reported that 2,500 pounds of gold was used in the Parthenos statue.<sup>107</sup> The end result was a magnificent and imposing statue, a wonder for the worshipper to behold; people came from all over the Greek world to see it.

Fortunately, traces of the statue base have survived in this temple; they are indicated on the pavement of the cella. Blocks of the base have also been preserved. Thirty poros blocks of the base foundation were found *in situ*, which determines the exact location of the base within the temple’s cella. They are positioned on the temple’s axis at the west end of the cella and cover a large area which indicates that they were needed to support a colossal statue.<sup>108</sup> The base foundation measures 8.065 m. in width.<sup>109</sup> Six marble blocks, which were reworked at a later date to serve another purpose, were placed

---

<sup>105</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 18; Stevens, 1955, 252.

<sup>106</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 87-88.

<sup>107</sup> Stewart, 1990, 152; Thucydides, 2.13.3-5.

<sup>108</sup> Stevens, 1955, 240.

<sup>109</sup> Stevens, 1955, 255.

in position on top of the poros foundations in ca. 1925. Stevens has studied these marble blocks and has determined that they were placed in their original positions for the most part. The only discrepancy is that one, block “J” on his plan, needed to be turned around so that its dowel cutting was facing in the proper direction (fig. 4.11). After close and careful examination, Stevens has determined that these six marble blocks formed part of the interior of the first level of the statue base.<sup>110</sup> The fact that they did not show any signs of burning, which was evident on the east cella’s pavement,<sup>111</sup> indicate that they were interior blocks.<sup>112</sup> In order to determine the height of the base and the statue Stevens has studied the proportions of two copies of the Parthenos, the Lenormant and the Varvakion (figs. 4.12 and 4.13).<sup>113</sup> The base of each copy is comprised of three courses: the bottom and the top were mouldings and the centre course of the Lenormant held a frieze.<sup>114</sup> Another probable copy of the Parthenos statue base is from Pergamon.<sup>115</sup> The statue has a base which includes a partially preserved frieze carved on a block of white Pentelic marble. Stewart believes that the sculptor, originally from Pergamon, must have traveled to Athens to “rough out his figure”, based on the original statue of

---

<sup>110</sup> Stevens, 1955, 258-261.

<sup>111</sup> Stevens, 1955, 270.

<sup>112</sup> Stevens, 1955, 257.

<sup>113</sup> Stevens, 1955, 249.

<sup>114</sup> Stevens, 1955, 249; Leipen, 1971, 84, fig. 63.



Athena Parthenos, and then completed the carving in Pergamon.<sup>116</sup> Stewart suggests that the statue was completed in the 180s BC and was part of Eumenes' plan to create a "second Athens".<sup>117</sup> Stevens found the Pergamon copy useful for two reasons: 1) it suggests that the Parthenos frieze was also carved only on the front of the base, on white marble blocks, and 2) it likely gives the height of the frieze course background on the Parthenos base due to its similar use of scale.<sup>118</sup> He has thus determined that the frieze course of the base must have measured 7.505 m. in width and approximately 0.937 m. in height; the height also includes a base for the frieze figures, a detail which is evident in the Lenormant copy.<sup>119</sup> The height of the lowest course has been determined from the height of the six marble blocks found *in situ*: 0.30 m. He deems that this would have been an appropriate height for the lowest course of the Parthenos' base (fig. 4.14).<sup>120</sup>

A post hole was located in the centre of the base, on the cella's axis. This hole once held a large wooden beam, which would have formed the "spine" of the colossal chryselephantine statue (figs. 4.11, 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16).<sup>121</sup> The post hole measures

---

<sup>115</sup> Stevens, 1955, 260 and 250 n.9; Leipen, 1971, 84, fig. 64.

<sup>116</sup> The Pergamene Parthenos is one third the size of the Athenian Parthenos (Stewart, 1990, 213).

<sup>117</sup> Stewart, 1990, 213.

<sup>118</sup> Stevens, 1955, 260.

<sup>119</sup> Stevens, 1955, 255-260.

<sup>120</sup> Stevens, 1955, 249-251.

<sup>121</sup> Stevens, 1955, 246, 263.

0.755m. x 0.45 m., and it has been estimated that the beam was 11.50 m. in height.<sup>122</sup> To keep the beam straight a cutting was made in the bottom of the post hole into which fitted a lug, which had been inserted into the bottom of the beam.<sup>123</sup> The chryselephantine statues were not solid constructions of gold and ivory, their monumental proportions would have rendered this far too expensive. Instead the precious materials were pressed into thin segments and then fastened to the wooden core.<sup>124</sup> Stevens has concluded that the core of the statue was a finished statue of wood against which the thin sheets of gold and ivory could be pressed and secured with silver screws or glue.<sup>125</sup> The outer appearance of the statue was therefore one of opulence and great beauty while the inside appearance was quite a different matter. Lucian, who apparently saw the inside of the statue himself, describes it as “a tangle of bars and struts and nails driven right through and beams and wedges and pitch and clay, not to mention legions of mice and rats that hold court there”.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Stewart, 1990, 40; Stevens, 1955, 248 and 265 n. 26.

<sup>123</sup> Stevens, 1955, 246.

<sup>124</sup> Stewart, 1990, 40.

<sup>125</sup> Stevens, 1955, 265 n. 26.

<sup>126</sup> Stewart, 1990, 40; Lucian, *Gallus*, 24.

The ivory on the statue was very fragile and needed moisture to prevent cracking, especially during the very dry Athenian summer months.<sup>127</sup> Pausanias reports that “[o]n the Athenian Akropolis the ivory of the image they call the Maiden is benefited, not by olive oil, but by water. For the Akropolis, owing to its great height, is over-dry, so that the image, being made of ivory, needs water or dampness.”<sup>128</sup> Evidence indicating that a shallow water basin had existed on the cella floor of the Parthenon, was found by Stevens. Cuttings, 0.0025 m. below the cella floor’s surface, were found in the preserved pavement flanking the front of the statue base as well as at point “A” marked on fig. 1 in Stevens (fig. 4.17), which would have probably extended across the width of that area in the cella between the interior colonnades.<sup>129</sup> Indications of a waterproofing substance, perhaps the type used in ship building, were found at points A, B and C on Stevens’ plan, which suggest that this area was used for holding water. A rim would have been needed to hold the water in place and Stevens suggests that it would have been 0.041 m. high, which corresponds to the height of the raised area in the cella that supports the interior

---

<sup>127</sup> Stewart, 1990, 40; Stevens, 1955, 269.

<sup>128</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.10.

<sup>129</sup> Stevens, 1955, 267 ff..

colonnade.<sup>130</sup> This basin also likely acted as a reflecting pool for the image, adding to her presence and glory within the cella.

The size and presence of the Parthenon may suggest that it served as a main temple of worship to Athena on the Akropolis. There are many factors, however, which contradict the theory that the Parthenon was the main temple to Athena on the Akropolis. One is that the temple did not have its own priest or priestess. Athena Polias had a priestess and Athena Nike had a priestess, but Athena Parthenos did not.<sup>131</sup> Another is that the Parthenon did not have its own altar.<sup>132</sup> The altar is the most important element in a sanctuary, as well as the sacrifice performed on it,<sup>133</sup> and they often predate any temple or cult statue. Without an altar a cult cannot exist. The main state cult of Athena had one altar and this was located directly to the east of the “Old Athena Temple”. Since the altar had been in direct alignment with the “Old Athena Temple” there is no question that it belonged to Athena Polias. The fact that this was the altar on which the worshippers sacrificed during the state festivals to Athena indicate that the festivals were for honouring Athena Polias, not Athena Parthenos. No altar remains have been located to the east of the Parthenon, which is where an altar would have been located if a cult to

---

<sup>130</sup> Stevens, 1955, 269-270.

<sup>131</sup> Herington, 1955, 8; the priestess of Athena Nike is referred to in *IG I<sup>2</sup>* 88.

<sup>132</sup> Herington, 1955, 28.

Athena Parthenos had existed on the Akropolis. The fact that the Parthenon has neither a priestess nor an altar indicates that the Parthenon did not function as a temple at all, let alone as the most important temple to Athena.

Another feature which indicates that this temple served another purpose may be seen in the cult statue itself. It was constructed in such a way that if the city of Athens needed any money they could remove a piece of the gold clothing and cash it in, as it were.<sup>134</sup> According to Thucydides, in 431 BC Perikles said, “even if [the Athenians] should be completely bereft of all other resources, they might still use the gold plates with which the goddess herself was overlaid”.<sup>135</sup> In 295 BC the overlaid gold was actually stolen by the tyrant Lachares;<sup>136</sup> Pausanias wrote that “Lachares took golden shields from the Akropolis, and stripped even the statue of Athena of its removable ornament...”<sup>137</sup> Athenaeus also relates that this tyrant “left the statue nude”.<sup>138</sup> Taking this into consideration it appears that she was functioning as a treasury rather than as a cult statue. Cult statues were highly revered and I am sure that the thought of “cashing in” parts of one would have been considered blasphemous. Why then was this practice

---

<sup>133</sup> Stewart, 1990, 44; Herington, 1955, 28.

<sup>134</sup> Stewart, 1990, 44; Thucydides 2.13.5.

<sup>135</sup> Thucydides 2.13.5.; Stewart, 1990, 44.

<sup>136</sup> Stewart, 1990, 159.

<sup>137</sup> Pausanias 1.25.7; Stewart, 1990, 40, 261 T55.

with respect to the statue of Athena Parthenos accepted? Stewart states that the entire Parthenon functioned as a treasury building.<sup>139</sup> In fact, most of the treasures belonging to Athena Polias were stored in the Parthenon, but there is no evidence to indicate that a treasury of Athena Parthenos ever existed.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps the statue was just another part of the treasury of Athena Polias.

Another interesting feature was that bronze barriers were attached to the internal columns in the cella to create an aisle around the cult statue.<sup>141</sup> The internal colonnade continued behind the statue even though this was not necessary in terms of structural support; rather, it appears that it was for purely aesthetic reasons. This was the first time that an internal colonnade had been used as a backdrop for the cult statue in Greek architecture (fig. 4.10 and fig. 4.16).<sup>142</sup> Privileged visitors could then walk around the cult statue, behind the rear colonnade, to view her from every angle. Pausanias was one such visitor and thus was able to describe the statue of Athena Parthenos in detail.<sup>143</sup> It appears that this statue was mainly constructed to be seen and appreciated by the worshippers, but not necessarily as the focus of the worship. This focus would have been

---

<sup>138</sup> Athenaeus II.405 f.; Stewart, 1990, 40.

<sup>139</sup> Stewart, 1990, 152.

<sup>140</sup> Herington, 1955, 8-9, 13.

<sup>141</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 163-164.

<sup>142</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 87.

reserved for the highly venerated ancient *xoanon* which had always embodied the spirit of Athena since it fell from the sky.

Indeed many factors seem to suggest that the Parthenon as a whole, including the statue of Athena Parthenos, was in fact a huge political votive offering to the cult of Athena Polias. Since the Parthenon was the first member of the Periklean Building Program to be constructed on the Akropolis, it may perhaps be viewed as a trophy.

Rhodes states that,

As [the first building to be erected]... it must certainly be associated with the intention to present Athens as final victor over the Persians, as the new leader of Greece... Moreover, by building his new temple out of the ashes of the Older Parthenon, itself conceived in the euphoria of the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon, Pericles reminded the world that Athens had also been the initial defender of the Greeks against the Persians, the founder of the Greek resistance, the miraculous hero of the most magnificent Greek military victory of all history.<sup>144</sup>

The general theme, in fact, of the Parthenon is one of victory.<sup>145</sup> This may be seen in the generically triumphant sculptural program. The sculpted metopes depict Greek victories on every side: the battle of the Greek Lapiths and the barbaric Centaurs on the south side; the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons on the west side; the battle of the Greeks

---

<sup>143</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 163-164; Pausanias 1.24.5.

<sup>144</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 41.

and the Trojans on the north side; and finally the battle of the Greek gods and the barbaric Giants on the east side, which was Athena's greatest victory (fig. 4.9 b).<sup>146</sup> The pedimental sculptures also have themes of victory: the west pediment depicted the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the city of Athens, which Athena won, and the east pediment depicted the birth of Athena from Zeus' head, from which she emerged in full armor, ready for battle.<sup>147</sup> The cult statue inside the cella also displayed themes of victory: the goddess herself was dressed in full armor, and she extended in her right hand a statue of a winged Nike, a symbol of victory.<sup>148</sup> Many of the battles represented on the external architectural sculpture were also repeated on various parts of the Parthenos statue; Pliny tells us that the Amazonomachy was "embossed on the convex side of her shield, the fights between the gods and the giants on its concave side, and those between the Lapiths and Centaurs on her sandals."<sup>149</sup> This was the first time that architectural themes were echoed on the statue itself.<sup>150</sup> The political message conveyed to the worshipper would have been unequivocal and hard to ignore; both the temple and the statue emphasized victory in battle. The repetition of this theme on the statue itself

---

<sup>145</sup> Stewart, 1990, 150.

<sup>146</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 177; Herington, 1955, 60; Stewart, 1990, 154-155.

<sup>147</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 177-178; Stewart, 1990, 152-154.

<sup>148</sup> Stewart, 1990, 157.

<sup>149</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 36.18.



would have really driven the point home: Athens was a powerful and victorious city-state, the leader of the Empire.

The Ionic frieze, however, which is carved around the cella's outside wall, does not depict scenes of victory. The subject of the narrative of this frieze has generated some controversy but it is generally accepted that it represents the Great Panathenaic Procession culminating with the presentation of the newly woven peplos for Athena above the temple's east entrance.<sup>151</sup> This procession made its way through the ancient city from the Dipylon Gate to the Akropolis and encircled the Parthenon before it proceeded to the altar of Athena Polias where the newly woven peplos was presented to the goddess. Why did the procession encircle the Parthenon before proceeding to the altar? Why not proceed directly to the altar? The visualization of the encircling of the Parthenon by the procession suggests to me that this was perhaps a symbolic gesture by the Athenian people; perhaps the physical encircling of the Parthenon by the worshippers was a way to symbolically rededicate this huge votive offering to Athena Polias each year.

---

<sup>150</sup> Stewart, 1990, 157-158.

<sup>151</sup> Stewart, 1990, 152, 155-157. For alternate view see Connelly, 1996, 53-80.

All of the architectural sculpture on the Parthenon, including the sculpture on the base of the statue, honours Athena in some way: the metopes emphasize the victories of the Greeks/Athenians over barbarians, victories which could not have been realized without Athena's support and assistance. The west pediment depicts the contest between Poseidon and Athena for the state of Athens; Athena provided the most useful gift and thus was awarded the victory. The east pediment depicts her birth from Zeus' head, fully armed to help her people. The statue of her in the cella is also fully armed and holds a Nike extended in her right hand, presenting it to her people as her gift of Victory.

The gift theme is also echoed on the base. It depicts the story of Pandora, the first woman, whose name literally means "all gifts".<sup>152</sup> Some scholars have focused on Hesiod's version of this myth which emphasizes the fact that Pandora brought evil to mankind, and thus are confused by the fact that it was represented on the base of the Parthenos, but another version of Pandora did exist. Connelly writes that "[t]here is a tradition in Attica for a beneficent, gift-giving Pandora with earth-goddess associations that is distinct from the tradition of the evil Pandora described by Hesiod."<sup>153</sup> Hurwit also refers to this version of Pandora as "...a chthonic goddess like Gaia herself." Many

---

<sup>152</sup> Pausanias. 1.24.7.

<sup>153</sup> Connelly, 1996, 72.

red-figured vases depict Pandora as this earth goddess and some predate the construction of the Parthenon.<sup>154</sup>

The frieze, if viewed as representing the Panathenaic procession, would also tie into the gift theme, but this time the gift is given by the worshippers to Athena during her birthday celebration. Every year Athena was presented with a freshly woven peplos, in which her ancient image was dressed. The depiction of the procession would fit with the Parthenon as a votive offering because it would be depicting the actual Panathenaic Procession which was in honour of Athena.

Even though Rhodes refers to the Parthenon as “the great temple of Athens’ patron goddess: Athena’s Parthenon”,<sup>155</sup> a temple which, along with the Erechtheion, “...house the most ancient cults of the Acropolis...”,<sup>156</sup> he also refers to it as “...a revolutionary, perhaps blasphemous vision of the temple and of Athens.”<sup>157</sup> Rhodes is obviously noting a contradiction between the temple’s form and apparent function, yet he still believes that it was one of “...the two major temples to Athena.”<sup>158</sup> I believe that this contradiction in terms may be explained if the Parthenon is viewed as a major votive

---

<sup>154</sup> Hurwit, 1995, 177.

<sup>155</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 116.

<sup>156</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 142.

<sup>157</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 89.

<sup>158</sup> Rhodes, 1995, 53.

offering to Athena Polias; a votive which had strong political overtones. Stewart notes that, “Uniquely in Greek architectural sculpture, the titular deity (Athena) was omnipresent, appearing in both pediments, twice on the metopes, and once on the frieze, while Pheidias’s 26-cubit (11.54 m.) high chryselephantine statue of her dominated the cella.”<sup>159</sup> Perhaps these many depictions of Athena on the Parthenon were meant to bestow upon her the greatest honour, which would be fitting for a votive dedication.

Stewart also states that:

Since it housed the cult statue, the temple was thought of as the house (oikos) of the god. Temples are thus, strictly speaking, quasi votives, and indeed from at least the sixth century it was not unknown to erect extra temples to a sanctuary’s presiding divinity as agalmata on a grand scale. The Parthenon is of course the “classic” example...<sup>160</sup>

The statue of Athena Polias “fell from heaven”, according to Pausanias, which is a testimony to its sacredness and ancient mystery. The statue of Athena Parthenos, however, was made by the sculptor Pheidias in the fifth century, a fact which is documented in the building records of the Parthenon. Since the creator of the Parthenos statue was well known, there was no mystery as to its origins. I believe that the ancient Greeks really believed that the statue of Athena Polias was sent to them by the gods. The

---

<sup>159</sup> Stewart, 1990, 151.

history associated with the Polias statue made it all the more sacred whereas the Parthenos had no such history associated with it; it was unquestionably made by human hands and although it probably evoked a sense of awe from its viewer it would not have embodied the goddess as the Polias statue had. The Parthenos statue represented only one aspect of Athena; this statue depicted her as the goddess of war. The colossal image of her as a victorious warrior would have allowed the worshipper to understand this aspect of her in a very vivid way.

### **Conclusion**

The theory proposed by Gloria Ferrari, that the Old Athena Temple was repaired and continued to house the ancient olivewood *xoanon* of Athena Polias, even serving as the focal point around which the Periklean Building Program was constructed, is very appealing. The ancient cult site would have been preserved. This site had served as the cult site of Athena Polias for centuries, her cult may have even originated in the Bronze Age. Many people think that the burned ruins of the Old Athena Temple were cleared away to make way for the new elaborate Periklean Building Program, assuming that they would have been considered an eyesore, greatly detracting from the beautiful marble

---

<sup>160</sup> Stewart, 1990, 46. Stewart defines the term *agalmata* as referring to dedications during the

Classical temples. The theory that it was preserved during this time, standing as a war memorial, however, makes a lot of sense. The impact of the Periklean Building Program, with all its victory symbolism, would have had an even greater impact juxtaposed to the old burnt temple. The message would have been very clear, and the imagery would have had a tremendous visual and emotional impact upon the worshippers visiting the sanctuary. The fact that Athens was able to overcome and triumph in the wake of the Persian sack of their city and sanctuary would have been symbolized in the buildings on the Akropolis. The reminder of the Persian sack would have been ever-present in the Old Athena Temple.

Modern parallels of this type of arrangement attest to the likelihood of the scenario proposed by Ferrari. Coventry Cathedral in England was bombed by the Germans in 1940 and suffered extensive, irreparable damage. The church was terribly burned, reduced to a shell.<sup>161</sup> The old Cathedral, however, is still described as “the sanctuary of the ruins” which is “the heart of Coventry Cathedral.”<sup>162</sup> A new Cathedral was built between 1956-1962,<sup>163</sup> adjoining the old ruins, keeping a physical connection to the burnt Cathedral through a “great porch” (fig. 4.18). This porch “is the link between

---

archaic and classical periods (Stewart, 1990, 45).

<sup>161</sup> Clifton-Taylor, 1970, 256.

<sup>162</sup> Williams, 1966, 29.

the old and the new, declaring that the whole Cathedral is one, with the new growing out of the old.”<sup>164</sup> Another connection has been maintained by having the western entrance to the new Cathedral bring you first into the old ruins; you must pass through these in order to enter the new building.<sup>165</sup> The old cathedral remains roofless but an altar stands at its apse; it was built out of stones collected after the cathedral was destroyed. A charred cross stands on top of the altar, a powerful symbol capable of evoking a powerful response.<sup>166</sup> The cross was made, soon after the bombing, out of two charred ceiling beams fastened together with wire.<sup>167</sup> A cross made out of nails found in the rubble also stands on the altar.<sup>168</sup> An interesting and powerful bronze sculptural group adorns the southwestern wall of the new Cathedral depicting St. Michael overcoming the devil.<sup>169</sup> St. Michael is represented as physically standing over the devil, his arms raised triumphantly, holding a spear in his right hand; the devil is depicted on his back

---

<sup>163</sup> Clifton-Taylor, 1970, 257.

<sup>164</sup> Williams, 1966, 33.

<sup>165</sup> Williams, 1966, 26.

<sup>166</sup> Williams, 1966, 27 for photograph of charred cross and service being performed in the ruins of the old Cathedral. I visited this cathedral in 1979 and there were fresh flowers placed on this altar. The experience of passing through the burned remains of the temple was quite overwhelming and emotional. Even though I was only twelve years old at the time and had not experienced the war myself, the experience of being in the bombed out shell of the church affected me profoundly.

<sup>167</sup> Williams, 1966, 28.

<sup>168</sup> Williams, 1966, 28.

<sup>169</sup> Williams, 1966, 7 for photograph of the bronze sculptural group of St. Michael Overcoming the Devil. This sculpture may be seen in the photograph of Coventry Cathedral in fig. 4.18 of this thesis.

underneath St. Michael's feet. This sculpture, symbolizing the victory of good over evil, may also be symbolic of the victory over the Germans in WWII. The reminder of the sacrilege committed by the Germans when they bombed Coventry Cathedral is ever-present in the physical remains of the old Cathedral. The fact that the English managed to survive as a nation and were able to overcome this horrific period is represented in the construction of the new Cathedral and most likely in the figure of St. Michael. I think that the symbolism evident in Coventry is remarkably similar to that of fifth century Athens.

Another modern example exists in Berlin, Germany (fig. 4.19). The Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church was also bombed in the WWII and suffered extensive damage. The decision was made to tear it down in 1957 but people protested, wanting to keep the remains in place as a visual reminder of their past. New buildings were then constructed around it. The architect of the new buildings explained the meaning of the project: "I want (subsequent generations) to understand those who experienced horrors, those for whom the ruin bears witness to the suffering they had to undergo." He then explains the reasoning for building the new structures around the old: they are "contrasting in spirit, contrasting in material, contrasting in form, but in such a way that



the new buildings make the ruin central; they support it, and do not leave it hopelessly isolated."<sup>170</sup>

I think that it is very likely, in light of these modern day parallels, that the Classical sanctuary of Athena Polias in Athens had the Old Temple of Athena as the central focus of the sanctuary and that the ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias would have been housed in the surviving part of its cella. The Parthenon and the Parthenos statue do not seem to have been the focus of the cult activities. The chryselephantine statue, however, was an image of Athena and although it does not seem to have been the focus of the cult, it may have served as an *epiphany* of the goddess; since the statue of Athena Parthenos emphasized the warrior aspect of Athena, the worshippers would have been able to have understood this part of her nature in a very vivid way when they saw the statue. The Parthenon, with all of its victory symbolism, would have served as an important contrast to the old burned temple, which would have further emphasized the message contained in the buildings, that the Athenians would not be defeated by their enemies, they would emerge victorious, stronger and more powerful than ever.

If this was the case in Athens with respect to the relationship between the old temple and its ancient statue of Athena Polias and the new temple and new

---

<sup>170</sup> Taken from Ferrari, 2002, 28, who quoted it from Pehnt 1994, 9-10.

chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, then what is happening at other sites around Greece which also have larger chryselephantine statues of the deities in the sanctuaries?

What is the relationship between them and the earlier *xoana*? Are all of the chryselephantine statues functioning as votives to the original cult statues? I will next examine the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia, the sanctuary of Hera at Argos and the sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope of the Athenian Akropolis to try to determine how the chryselephantine statues were functioning at each respective site.

## V

### **ADJACENT TEMPLES IN THE PELOPONNESOS AND IN ATHENS**

The following three sites also exhibit evidence of building new temples on sites adjacent to the archaic sacred cult site. The sanctuaries which will be examined are the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, the sanctuary of Hera at Argos, and the sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis in Athens.

#### **The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia**

The sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia offers us a striking example of a site which contains a Classical temple adjacent to the original sacred area where the god was worshipped. The sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia was originally an open-air sanctuary,<sup>1</sup> which had a large ash altar as the focus of the cult. Even though the area sacred to Zeus was originally open-air in nature and does not yield any remains of an archaic temple or archaic image of Zeus, it is still an important example for the purposes of this study because the Classical temple which housed the colossal chryselephantine image of Zeus

was built adjacent to the ancient sacred area and not directly on top of it. In this manner it follows the same pattern evident at the other adjacent temple sites discussed in this thesis. The important factor is that the new temple was not built on the ancient sacred site but adjacent to it.

Olympia is located in the western Peloponnesos between the rivers Alpheios and Kladeos, at the foot of the hill of Kronos.<sup>2</sup> This site has a long history; before it became a religious sanctuary it had been inhabited on a continuous basis from 2800-1100 BC, during the early to late Helladic periods.<sup>3</sup> The evidence for this period of habitation consists of small finds, tombs, and the remains of buildings, which were apsidal, elliptical and rectangular in form.<sup>4</sup> According to Mallwitz the cult of Zeus is the oldest cult at Olympia and it dates to the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC based on Submycenaean and Protogeometric finds.<sup>5</sup> The sanctuary was located in the area known as the Altis, the meaning of which Pausanias, perhaps, illuminates: "The sacred grove of Zeus has been called from of old Altis, a corruption of the word "*alsos*", which means a grove."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142; Dinsmoor, 1975, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Yalouris, 1998, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Yalouris, 1998, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Yalouris, 1998, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 89.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.1.

The sanctuary at Olympia had been very active since the Geometric period judging by the plethora of votive offerings found dating to that period.<sup>7</sup> Yet it is interesting that no evidence has been found supporting the existence of an early, archaic temple to Zeus.<sup>8</sup> A similar lack of evidence for an archaic temple to Zeus exists at Dodona, which is another important sanctuary of Zeus.<sup>9</sup> The focus of the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona was a large oak tree, in which Zeus was thought to reside.<sup>10</sup> In fact, Romano states that there is “a conspicuous absence of early cult images of Zeus in Greece.”<sup>11</sup> The lack of early temple remains for Zeus at Olympia and Dodona correspond with the absence of early cult statues of Zeus since the principal function of a temple would have been to house a cult image.

At Olympia, however, at least one apparently early image of Zeus did exist, which has sparked debate among scholars concerning its meaning and function. Pausanias describes it as a simple (*ἀπλῆ*)<sup>12</sup> image, a judgement which has been interpreted as an indication of its age; it was likely earlier than the chryselephantine statue by Pheidias. In Pausanias’ time the image of Zeus stood beside the seated image of Hera, in the Heraion,

---

<sup>7</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 101.

<sup>8</sup> Romano, 1980, 429.

<sup>9</sup> Romano, 1980, 429.

<sup>10</sup> Romano, 1980, 432.

<sup>11</sup> Romano, 1985, 348.

on the base at the western end of the cella. Pausanias describes both images as follows:

“In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is sitting on a throne with Zeus standing by her, bearded and with a helmet on his head. They are simple works of art.”<sup>13</sup> Dörpfeld believed that the statues Pausanias saw were the original Archaic cult statues.<sup>14</sup> Romano also believes that the statues which Pausanias saw in the Heraion were likely the original archaic statues, contemporary with the construction of the Heraion ca. 600 BC.<sup>15</sup> She bases her opinion on the size and form of the original archaic cult statue base, which is still *in situ* today.<sup>16</sup> The base was low and rectangular, measuring 4.07 m. long, 1.30 m. wide, and 0.41 m. high: of suitable dimensions to hold two figures, side by side.<sup>17</sup> It was built out of blocks of shale-limestone and was located at the back of the cella, 1.50 m. away from the rear wall, between the last pair of interior columns.<sup>18</sup> It has been thought that a colossal limestone head of Hera found in 1878 at Olympia belonged to the archaic cult statue of Hera, but Romano disagrees with this attribution because the archaic base was not large enough to support a statue which would

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias 5.17.1.

<sup>13</sup> Pausanias 5.17.1: τῆς Ἥρας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ· παρέστηκε δὲ γένεια τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλᾶ.

<sup>14</sup> Dörpfeld, 1935, 212 f.; Romano, 1980, 144.

<sup>15</sup> Romano, 1980, 139-140.

<sup>16</sup> Romano, 1980, 137-140.

<sup>17</sup> Romano, 1980, 139.

<sup>18</sup> Romano, 1980, 139.

have been approximately twice life-size.<sup>19</sup> Romano believes that the archaic images were made of wood, as were the majority of seated archaic cult statues, and that they were either life-size or smaller.<sup>20</sup> I also believe that they were made of wood, especially considering the fact that Pausanias emphasized that they were “simple works of art”, which suggests that they were primitive in form and material. Another indication that they were made out of wood is that the statue of Hera received a woven robe each year;<sup>21</sup> Romano has noticed that garments were usually dedicated to wooden cult images.<sup>22</sup>

It is clear that the Heraion housed a statue from the beginning since the original cult statue base was found *in situ*. Pausanias’ testimony has led to speculation concerning the nature of the statue of Zeus. Did it function as a cult statue itself or did it exist in the cella of Hera’s temple as her consort? Scholars differ in opinion regarding this question. Dörpfeld, in 1935, put forth the theory, which became widely accepted, that the Heraion was actually a temple of Zeus in the archaic period, and that the archaic image of Zeus was in fact the cult statue of the temple. He believed that this cult image was transferred to the Classical temple of Zeus in 457 BC to serve as the cult image of

---

<sup>19</sup> Romano, 1980, 137-141.

<sup>20</sup> Romano, 1980, 143; Romano, 1985, 348.

<sup>21</sup> Pausanias, 5.16.2.

<sup>22</sup> Romano, 1980, 411. She notes two exceptions: Apollo at Amyklai, made of bronze, and possibly the stone image of Artemis at Brauron.

that temple until the chryselephantine statue was completed. He thought that the archaic statue was then moved back to the archaic temple after the new chryselephantine statue was placed in the cella of the new temple.<sup>23</sup> Dörpfeld explains the discrepancy of the name of the archaic temple, called the “Heraion” by authors like Pausanias, as having been given to the temple during the time period in which the archaic statue resided in the cella of the Classical temple. He believes that this temple continued to be called the “Heraion” despite the return of the statue of Zeus.<sup>24</sup> I do not agree with this since it is highly unlikely that the temple would have lost its identification as the temple to Zeus during a temporary relocation of the cult statue. According to Dörpfeld’s theory the archaic statue was returned to the cella of the archaic temple after the chryselephantine statue was placed in the cella of the Classical temple. It does not logically follow that the temple would have continued to have been called the “Heraion” after the statue of Zeus had been returned, especially if the temple had been dedicated to Zeus, as Dörpfeld suggested.

Some other scholars also believed that Zeus was originally worshipped in the Heraion. Tomlinson, for example, believed that the image of Hera served as a consort of

---

<sup>23</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 153 seems to be agreeing with Dörpfeld’s hypothesis that the archaic statue of Zeus was transferred to the Classical temple until “a more appropriate statue” was made.

<sup>24</sup> Dörpfeld, 1935, 212 f.; Romano, 1980, 144.



Zeus,<sup>25</sup> and Dinsmoor believed that the Heraion was “originally a temple of Zeus and Hera together, but relegated, after the completion of the new temple of Zeus in 460 or 456 B.C., to the worship of Hera alone.”<sup>26</sup>

Romano, in her detailed study of archaic cult images, disagrees with the above theories, saying:

That this statue of Zeus in the Heraion was a cult image in the proper sense of the term, i.e., the focus of worship at the site, is certainly erroneous. The statue of Zeus standing beside Hera in the Heraion had little religious significance for the cult of Zeus at Olympia and was important only as an image of the divine consort of the major deity of the Heraion.<sup>27</sup>

She disagrees with Dörpfeld’s hypothesis that the archaic statue of Zeus served as the interim cult statue in the Classical temple because “New temples are built to house new images... Ancient images are transferred into newer temples, but usually stand alongside the more modern statues.”<sup>28</sup>

I believe that several factors indicate that the Heraion was not ever the temple of Zeus but was always the temple of Hera. The stance of the images probably indicates which one served as the focus of the cult. Zeus was standing, but Hera was seated. In

---

<sup>25</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 59.

<sup>26</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 53.

<sup>27</sup> Romano, 1985, 348.

my opinion, the seated figure would have had a more commanding presence, and would likely have been the focus of worship. The image of Zeus then probably stood beside Hera as her consort. Another indication is that Pausanias directly refers to this temple as “the temple of Hera”<sup>29</sup> He also tells us that a robe was woven for Hera: “Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe (πέπλον) by the Sixteen women...”<sup>30</sup> He does not mention, however, that any garments were woven for the statue of Zeus.<sup>31</sup> The weaving of the robe for Hera suggests that she was the principal deity of the temple; the *xoanon* of Athena at Athens and the *xoanon* of Hera at Samos also received woven robes. Romano states that “The evidence suggests that only cult statues were the recipients of garments.”<sup>32</sup> The fact, too, that Pausanias mentions that a new robe was woven for Hera at regular intervals, in this case every four years, suggests that it had a specific cultic association; the *xoanon* of Athena Polias was presented with a peplos every year at the culmination of the Panathenaia festival in Athens.<sup>33</sup> Romano notes that if the purpose of the garment was to clothe the cult image, it was usually specifically ordered for the

---

<sup>28</sup> Romano, 1980, 144-145.

<sup>29</sup> Pausanias, 5.16.1.

<sup>30</sup> Pausanias, 5.16.2. See also Pausanias 5.16.6 and 7.24.10; also discussed by Romano, 1980, 143.

<sup>31</sup> Although it was more common for the cult statues of goddesses to receive woven garments, it was not restricted to female cult statues only. Pausanias tells us that a chiton was woven for the *xoanon* of Apollo at Amyklai. (Pausanias, 3.16.2); for further discussion see Romano, 1980, 411 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Romano, 1980, 412.

god/dess, and then often became an “integral part of the cult activities associated with the statue.”<sup>34</sup>

Games were also celebrated in honour of Hera; this provides another indication that she was a deity worshipped in her own right at Olympia. Pausanias writes that

[the Sixteen women who weave the robe for Hera] also hold games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens....These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about *one-sixth of its length*. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera.<sup>35</sup>

This passage by Pausanias also tells us that Hera had sacrifices offered to her. These were probably performed at the altar located directly to the east of the Heraion.<sup>36</sup>

The great altar of Zeus, however, was not located to the east of the Heraion, which makes it even more unlikely that the Heraion was the archaic temple of Zeus.

Pausanias describes the altar of Zeus as follows:

The altar of Olympic Zeus is about equally distant from the Pelopion and the sanctuary of Hera, but it is in front of both. Some say that it was built by Idean Herakles, others by the local heroes two generations later than Herakles. It has been made from the ash of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, as is also the altar at Pergamon. ... The

<sup>33</sup> Discussed in Chapter 4, and also in Romano, 1980, 416.

<sup>34</sup> Romano, 1980, 414.

<sup>35</sup> Pausanias, 5.16.2-3.

<sup>36</sup> For altar location see Mallwitz, 1988, 92 and fig. 6.2.

first stage of the altar at Olympia, called *prothysis*, has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; the circumference of the stage on the *prothysis* is thirty-two feet; the total height of the altar reaches to twenty-two feet. The victims themselves it is the custom to sacrifice on the lower stage, the *prothysis*. But the thighs they carry up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there. The steps that lead up to the *prothysis* from either side are made of stone, but those leading from the *prothysis* to the upper part of the altar are, like the altar itself, composed of ashes.<sup>37</sup>

The exact location of the altar of Zeus has not been determined, but it has been approximated based on Pausanias' description;<sup>38</sup> it is thought that it was located south-east of the Heraion (fig. 5.1 and fig. 5.2).<sup>39</sup> Remains of debris, which were characteristic of an altar dumping area, were also found in this approximate area in the first excavations of the site between 1875-1881.<sup>40</sup> The excavators found a very deep, black, ash and charcoal stratum that covered a large area in the northern Altis from the Heraion to the Pelopion to the Metroon (see fig. 5.1).<sup>41</sup> Within this stratum they found thousands of broken bronze and terracotta votive offerings which dated to the Geometric period.<sup>42</sup> Bones were also found within this stratum, making it very obvious that it was an altar

---

<sup>37</sup> Pausanias, 5.13.8.

<sup>38</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 92.

<sup>39</sup> Berquist, 1967, 39; Mallwitz, 1988, 92

<sup>40</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 81.

<sup>41</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 81-85.

<sup>42</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 81.

dump.<sup>43</sup> Mallwitz believes that the altar of Zeus faced east onto an open area where the worshippers would gather to witness the sacrifices performed at the altar.<sup>44</sup> The importance of this altar in the worship of Zeus may be seen in the frequency of the sacrifices performed at this altar. Pausanias informs us that “Even when the festival is not being held, sacrifice is offered to Zeus by private individuals and daily by the Eleans.”<sup>45</sup>

In the Geometric and early Archaic periods in Greece, Zeus would have been worshipped in the open air, at the ash altar. No image of Zeus which can definitely be identified as a cult image has been found at Olympia dating to either period. Dio Chrysostom confirms that an early image of Zeus did not exist at Olympia. He writes:

Pray, do you imagine that it was owing to lack of money that Iphitus and Lycurgus and the Eleans of that period, while instituting the contest and the sacrifice in such wise as to be worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god, although they were, one might almost say, superior in power to their descendants? Or was it rather because they feared that they would never be able adequately to portray by human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 85.

<sup>44</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 103.

<sup>45</sup> Pausanias, 5.13.10.

<sup>46</sup> Dio Chrysostom, XII.54.

Romano states that there are usually no cult images associated with him during the early periods<sup>47</sup>, which is a testament, I believe, to his omnipresence, and fits very well with the nature of a sky god. Since an early cult image of Zeus has not been identified at Olympia, an early temple would not have been required to house it. Romano does not believe that an archaic temple to Zeus ever existed at Olympia.<sup>48</sup> No remains were ever found that belonged to another archaic temple, besides the Heraion, either in the form of foundation remains or as reused architectural fragments.<sup>49</sup> Stewart also does not believe that an archaic temple to Zeus existed. He says that Zeus had been worshipped in an open-air sanctuary at Olympia for centuries.<sup>50</sup>

A temple for Zeus was built in the Classical period, ca. 468 to ca. 456 BC.<sup>51</sup> It was located south of the Heraion and the Altar of Zeus (fig. 5.1 and fig. 5.2). The temple was Doric, with six columns across the front and thirteen down the flanks. It was huge in size, one of the largest Doric mainland temples, and it had a ramp at its entrance on the east from the ground level up to the stylobate (fig. 5.3).<sup>52</sup> Pausanias provides us with

---

<sup>47</sup> Romano, 1980, 432.

<sup>48</sup> Romano, 1980, 145, 429.

<sup>49</sup> Romano, 1980, 145.

<sup>50</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142. Stewart suggested that the decision to build Zeus a temple came after the Greek victory over the Persians which inspired a nationalistic feeling of importance and togetherness.

<sup>51</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 151 and n. 2. Dinsmoor notes that these dates correspond to the style of the architecture and the sculpture.

<sup>52</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 151-152.

some details of the temple: "It is built of native stone. Its height up to the pediment is sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety-five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native."<sup>53</sup> The temple was built out of the local limestone but its pedimental sculptures, its metopes, its roof tiles and simas were carved out of marble.<sup>54</sup>

This Classical temple was funded by the spoils of war between Elis and Pisa.<sup>55</sup>

We know this thanks to Pausanias: "The temple and the image were made for Zeus from spoils, when Pisa was crushed in war by the Eleans, and with Pisa such of the subject peoples as conspired together with her."<sup>56</sup> Elis was victorious in 470 BC;<sup>57</sup> the date of the temple, 468 BC, corresponds to this establishment of supremacy by the Eleans.<sup>58</sup> Mallwitz calls this period in the history of Olympia "the heyday of the sanctuary."<sup>59</sup>

Symbols of victory were placed on the temple; Pausanias describes some of them:

At Olympia a gilt caldron stands on each end of the roof, and a Victory, also gilt, is set in about the middle of the pediment. Under the image of Victory has been dedicated a golden shield, with Medusa the Gorgon in relief. The inscription on the shield declares who dedicated it and the reason why they did so. It runs thus: --

---

<sup>53</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.3.

<sup>54</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142; Pausanias, 5.10.3; Dinsmoor, 1975, 151.

<sup>55</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142.

<sup>56</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.2.

<sup>57</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142.

<sup>58</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 151, n. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Mallwitz, 1988, 98.

The temple has a golden shield; from Tanagra  
 The Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated it,  
 A gift taken from the Argives, Athenians and Ionians,  
 The tithe offered for victory in war.<sup>60</sup>

This shield was dedicated by the Spartans after they defeated the Athenians, in 457 BC, at Tanagra; the shield was probably dedicated after the temple had been completed.<sup>61</sup>

The sculptural program also exhibited themes of victory. The east pediment, which depicted the chariot race between Oinomaos and Pelops,<sup>62</sup> has been interpreted as alluding to the victory achieved by Elis over the Pisa.<sup>63</sup> The west pediment, which depicted the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the wedding of Perithoos,<sup>64</sup> has been interpreted as symbolic of the victory achieved by Greece over Persia.<sup>65</sup> The metopes, which depict the majority of the labours of Herakles,<sup>66</sup> also display a victory theme since Herakles was victorious in completing his daunting tasks. Herakles, the son of Zeus, was also credited with establishing both the sanctuary and the Olympic Games.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.4.

<sup>61</sup> Stewart, 1990, 142.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.6-7.

<sup>63</sup> Tersini, 1987, 140.

<sup>64</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.8.

<sup>65</sup> Tersini, 1987, 140.

<sup>66</sup> Pausanias, 5.10.9-10.

<sup>67</sup> Stewart, 1990, 144.



The chryselephantine statue of Olympian Zeus, which occupied a large portion of the Classical temple's cella, also exhibited many victory themes. The themes represented in the architectural sculpture were repeated on the throne of the statue: Theseus and Perithoos, who were depicted in the Centauromachy; Hippodameia, the daughter of Oinomaos, is depicted with her mother; and Herakles is depicted again in various scenes performing some of his labours.<sup>68</sup> We also saw this repetition of themes on the chryselephantine statue of Athena in Athens.

This statue of Zeus was created in the fifth century, between 440-430 BC, by Pheidias.<sup>69</sup> He created it after he had finished the chryselephantine statue of Athena for the Parthenon in Athens.<sup>70</sup> Since Pheidias created the statue of Zeus on a much larger scale than that of Athena Parthenos, it has been suggested that Pheidias was trying to surpass the grandeur of the Athena Parthenos.<sup>71</sup> The Zeus was larger, more elaborate and more expensive than the Parthenos.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, no copies of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus have survived.<sup>73</sup> We do, however, have some idea of its appearance thanks

---

<sup>68</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.1-8; Tersini, 1987, 157.

<sup>69</sup> Romano, 1980, 145 and 153, n. 38. Pottery found in Pheidias' workshop at Olympia dates between 440-430 BC.

<sup>70</sup> Harrison, 1996, 59; Stewart, 1990, 159.

<sup>71</sup> Harrison, 1996, 59.

<sup>72</sup> Stewart, 1990, 159.

<sup>73</sup> Richter, 1966, 166.

to numismatic representations (fig. 5.5)<sup>74</sup> and the descriptions provided by ancient authors such as Pausanias and Strabo. Pausanias describes the image of Zeus as follows:

The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and - on her head - a garland. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily. The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot.<sup>75</sup>

Pausanias also wrote of the effect that the statue had upon him:

I know that the height and breadth of the Olympic Zeus have been measured and recorded; but I shall not praise those who made the measurements, for even their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image (ἄγαλμα). Nay, the god himself according to legend bore witness to the artistic skill of Pheidias.<sup>76</sup>

Strabo did as well:

But the greatest [of the offerings adorning the temple of Zeus] was the image of Zeus made by Pheidias of Athens, son of Charmides; it was made of ivory, and it was so large that, although the temple

---

<sup>74</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, 70-71, P XX – XXIII, 79, Q XVII.

<sup>75</sup> Pausanias, 5. 11.1-2. See the rest of the passage for a detailed description of the throne as well as 5.11.8 for a description of the statue base.

<sup>76</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.9.

was very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry, for he showed Zeus seated but almost touching the roof with his head, thus making the impression that if Zeus arose and stood erect he would unroof the temple.<sup>77</sup>

It seems as if the temple had not been built for such a large statue (fig. 5.4) and indeed it appears that many alterations were made in the cella before the statue was moved inside. These alterations included the addition of galleries to view the cult statue from the level of the second tier of internal columns. Access to these viewing galleries would have been by means of wooden staircases at the east end of the cella.<sup>78</sup> Barriers, in the form of a five foot high stone screens, were erected to prevent access to the interior of the cella.<sup>79</sup> Remains of these barriers were found as well as socket holes in the cella's floor. The screens fitted into slots in the centres of the columns and extended from the second to fifth columns on each side. They also spanned the width of the cella between the second columns. Metal screens were erected between the second columns and the walls of the cella as well as around the cult statue itself, past the fifth columns.<sup>80</sup> An impluvium was also added to the cella, directly in front of the statue, to hold oil. This oil was needed to keep the ivory from being damaged by the dampness of the atmosphere in Olympia. The

---

<sup>77</sup> Strabo, 8.3.30.

<sup>78</sup> Pausanias, 5. 10.10; Dinsmoor, 1975, 153; Romano, 1980, 152 n. 37.

<sup>79</sup> Pausanias, 5. 11.4-7; Dinsmoor, 1975, 153; Romano, 1980, 152 n. 37.

<sup>80</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 153; Romano, 1980, 152 n. 37.

pavement of the impluvium was a dark Eleusinian limestone, *bluish-black in colour*, which would have provided a nice contrast to the spectacular image.<sup>81</sup>

The base for the chryselephantine statue occupied approximately one-third of the length of the cella, as well as the whole of the available width; it fitted right up against the fifth, sixth and seventh columns that stood on either side of it (fig. 5.3 and fig. 5.4).<sup>82</sup> It was made out of dark limestone, measured 6.65 m. in width and 9.93 m. in length,<sup>83</sup> and was quite elaborately carved; Pausanias describes it thus:

On the pedestal supporting the throne and Zeus with all his adornments are works in gold: the Sun mounted on a chariot, Zeus and Hera, Hephaestos, and by his side Grace. Close to her comes Hermes, and close to Hermes Hestia. After Hestia is Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Aphrodite is being crowned by Persuasion. There are also reliefs of Apollo with Artemis, of Athena and of Herakles; and near the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, while the Moon is driving what I think is a horse.<sup>84</sup>

The alterations were made after the temple was completed in 457 BC which indicates that the temple was not originally designed to accommodate a statue of such a huge scale.<sup>85</sup> If the temple had not been built with the intention of housing the colossal

---

<sup>81</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.10-11. Dinsmoor, 1975, 153; Romano, 1980, 152-153, n. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 153.

<sup>83</sup> Romano, 1980, 153 n. 37.

<sup>84</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.8.

<sup>85</sup> Romano, 1980, 145.

chryselephantine statue then another statue, smaller in scale, must have been part of the original design. The fact that the chryselephantine statue was likely not completed until at least 430 BC, approximately twenty seven years or so after the temple was finished, also suggests that another statue probably predated the Pheidian image; it is very unlikely that the cella would have been empty for such a long period of time.<sup>86</sup>

Schwabacher proposes that another image of Zeus was originally planned for the Classical temple, one that would have been smaller in scale than the chryselephantine image, but still monumental. He believes that it likely would have been a bronze image in a striding pose.<sup>87</sup> He bases his suggestion on depictions of Zeus from votive statuettes and representations of him on Elean coins. More than twelve bronze votive statuettes found at Olympia depict Zeus in a striding pose, his right hand is raised, holding a thunderbolt and his left hand is stretched out before him holding an eagle (fig. 5.6). The statuettes depicted in fig. 5.6 date between ca. 520 BC to ca. 460 BC.<sup>88</sup> The numismatic representations consist of three coins from Elis, the first dates ca. 490 BC, the second ca. 470 BC, and the third ca. 460 BC.<sup>89</sup> The coins each depict a figure of Zeus in a striding pose similar to the votive statuettes (fig. 5.7). Both the statuettes and the coins predate

---

<sup>86</sup> Schwabacher, 1961, 106.

<sup>87</sup> Schwabacher, 1961, 104-109.

<sup>88</sup> Schwabacher, 1961, 106-107 and figure 2.

the chryselephantine statue by Pheidias. Schwabacher suggests that a pre-Pheidian statue may have resembled the statue found off the coast of Cape Artemisium, the “Poseidon”, but that the dimensions of the temple’s cella would have dictated that it be at least twice its size.<sup>90</sup>

The cult activities at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia centered around the ash altar of Zeus. It had been the focus of the sanctuary for centuries and continued to be so even after the temple of Zeus had been built in the fifth century.<sup>91</sup> The Classical temple was built to the south of this area, adjacent to it. It appears that not only was the Classical temple built adjacent to the sacred cult area of Zeus, but that it was also built outside of the boundaries of the archaic *temenos*. Berquist notes that although no traces remain of the archaic *temenos* boundary, the early votive deposits and the early archaic buildings were confined to the northwest area of the later Altis area.<sup>92</sup> She also notes that there was an “absence of traces of predecessors and of early cult on the sites of the later temples in the south and east”.<sup>93</sup> Berquist believes that the archaic altis encompassed the area of the Altar of Zeus, the Heraion, and the Pelopion, and that the northern boundary

---

<sup>89</sup> Schwabacher, 1961, 107-109.

<sup>90</sup> The Artemisium statue is approximately seven feet tall. Schwabacher, 1961, 109.

<sup>91</sup> Romano, 1980, 147.

<sup>92</sup> Berquist, 1967, 39-41.

<sup>93</sup> Berquist, 1967, 40.

was the Kronos hill (fig. 5.1).<sup>94</sup> Romano agrees, saying that “The cult center of the archaic sanctuary at Olympia lay, not in the area of the later Zeus temple, but to the north of it, below the slope of the Cronos hill where the terrace of treasury buildings developed from the 560’s on and in the area of the Heraion, the ash altar to Zeus and the early stadium.”<sup>95</sup> The Classical temple seems to be the first building associated with Zeus since no remains of an archaic temple to Zeus were ever identified. It is unlikely that Zeus was ever worshipped in the Heraion, as some scholars have suggested, because his altar was not located directly to the east of that temple but instead was probably located further to the southeast. His cult seems to have been open-air in nature which would befit the omnipotent sky god. An archaic cult image of Zeus also does not seem to have existed at Olympia, which would correspond to the lack of temple remains since a temple is usually built to house and protect a cult statue. It is actually quite fitting that Zeus was not confined to a temple or that a cult image did not exist of him since he was the supreme god; perhaps his essence could not be adequately portrayed, and perhaps the whole sanctuary functioned as his “temple”. The first actual building in the sanctuary that is associated with Zeus is the Classical temple which was built following the victory achieved by Elis over Pisa. This political achievement seems to have provided the

---

<sup>94</sup> Berquist, 1967, 40.

impetus for the building of the temple. Not only was it built from the spoils of the war but it also contained vivid victory imagery in the architectural sculpture and the akroteria. Victory imagery also adorned Pheidias' colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus in the cella. The statue had approximately seven images of Victory sculpted on it.<sup>96</sup> Two stood by the statue's feet; four stood at the base of the throne; and Zeus held one in his hand. The Victory Zeus held was a chryselephantine image and he held it in his right hand. This image of Victory is reminiscent of the one held by the Athena Parthenos in Athens; it was also chryselephantine and held in the statue's right hand. The fact that this temple contained such vivid victory imagery, both on the temple itself and on the cult statue, indicates that it was perhaps not functioning as a temple for worship, but perhaps as a political votive offering to Zeus. The fact that it was not built on the ancient sacred ground also supports this theory. The temple was not even built within the archaic *temenos* boundary. It also did not have an altar located to the east of it which suggests that it was not the focus of the cult activities. The focus of the cult remained on the sacred ash altar located to the north of the Classical temple.

---

<sup>95</sup> Romano, 1980, 152 n. 36.

<sup>96</sup> Pausanias, 5.11.1-2.



### The Sanctuary of Hera at Argos

The extramural sanctuary of Hera in Argos offers another example of two temples to the same deity existing within the one *temenos*; the Classical temple was built on a site adjacent to the archaic one. The sanctuary was built on two terraces; the older temple had been built on the upper terrace, which was 55.80 m. long, 34.40 m. wide, and 3.25 m. high,<sup>97</sup> and the Classical temple was built on the lower terrace, which had approximately the same dimensions as the upper terrace but was located approximately 12 m. below the upper one (fig. 5.8).<sup>98</sup> This terrace had been enlarged specifically for the expansion of the sanctuary in the fifth century.<sup>99</sup> Retaining walls were used for both of the terraces to prevent them from collapsing under the weight of the temples. The sanctuary evolved over time, reaching its full development during the Classical period.<sup>100</sup>

This sanctuary served as the main religious centre for Argos since the seventh century BC and was located approximately 8 km from Argos and approximately 5 km from Mycenae.<sup>101</sup> Blegen believes that the sanctuary was built over the remains of a

---

<sup>97</sup> Wright, 1982, 186; Foley, 1988, 135.

<sup>98</sup> Brownson, 1893, 207 (Brownson stated that the upper terrace measured approximately 50 m. square and that the lower terrace was approximately the same.)

<sup>99</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 92.

<sup>100</sup> Tomlinson, 1976, 92.

<sup>101</sup> Lambrinoudakis, 56-60.

Mycenaean palace,<sup>102</sup> which would correspond to the sequence found at other sites such as on the Akropolis at Athens. An Early Mycenaean tholos tomb was found approximately 600 m. to the north-west,<sup>103</sup> which would correspond nicely with the existence of a Mycenaean palace in this area, but other authors do not find Blegen's inference concerning the existence of such a palace conclusive or convincing.<sup>104</sup> In the surrounding area of the sanctuary fifty chamber tombs were found which belonged to the Bronze age.<sup>105</sup> Late Helladic settlement remains were found spanning the area above the early terrace down to the area of the Classical terrace.<sup>106</sup> Habitation remains dating back even further, to the Neolithic period, were also found, which indicates that this area has long been an important one.<sup>107</sup>

The site was first excavated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1892-1895.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately, however, there are quite a few problems associated with this site, which have sparked numerous scholarly debates spanning over a

---

<sup>102</sup> Blegen, 1937, 20-21; Bergquist, 1967, 19.

<sup>103</sup> Lambrinoudakis, 60; Strøm, 1988, 174.

<sup>104</sup> Strøm, 1988, 174 writes that there is "no trace of a palace building."

<sup>105</sup> Foley, 1988, 137; Strøm, 1988, 174.

<sup>106</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 89, 101.

<sup>107</sup> Lambrinoudakis, 56-60; Antonaccio, 1992, 89.

<sup>108</sup> Strøm, 1988, 173.

century. The dating of the Old Temple Terrace and the Old Temple continues to be problematic and various theories have been put forth, some of which I will outline.

The Old Temple Terrace retaining wall was built of massive conglomerate blocks reminiscent of the Mycenaean “Cyclopean” masonry. Indeed, some scholars believe that the terrace is Mycenaean based on the style and scale of the masonry.<sup>109</sup> The width of the unworked, irregularly shaped blocks ranged from 2.80 m. to 3.20 m. and their length ranged from 3.00 m. to 6.10 m. (fig. 5.9).<sup>110</sup> Blegen, however, found Geometric pottery sherds deep within the terrace fill and therefore concluded that the terrace dated to the Geometric period;<sup>111</sup> Wright also believes that the terrace dates to the Geometric period, to the late eighth century BC.<sup>112</sup> Others, however, believe that it dates to the late seventh century based on the belief that the pottery fragments found in the terrace fill provided a *terminus post quem* for the terrace date;<sup>113</sup> the pottery fragments cannot be used to date the terrace since they were found in the fill and were therefore not stratified.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110, also discussed by Wright, 1982, 188; Plommer, 1977, 76; Plommer, 1984, 183-184.

<sup>110</sup> Wright, 1982, 186.

<sup>111</sup> Blegen, 1937, 19-20; from Wright, 1982, 188.

<sup>112</sup> Wright, 1982, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Drerup, 1969, 57-59; also discussed by Wright, 1982, 188.

<sup>114</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 95; Plommer (1977, 76 and 1984, 184), who maintains that the terrace dates to the Bronze age believes that these pottery fragments fell through the large joints in the masonry at a later time and do not prove that the terrace is later in date.

The debate over the date of the early terrace also involves the date of the earliest known temple on the terrace, the Old Temple. Since a terrace is usually built to support a structure of some kind, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the early terrace was built to support the sanctuary's temple. Over the past century though the scholars have generally disagreed with this, believing instead that the terrace was built approximately one hundred years before the Old Temple.<sup>115</sup> Wright, for example, believes that the terrace dates to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC but that the temple dates to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>116</sup> Foley suggests that the planning for the archaic temple began in the eighth century with the building of the terrace and that the temple construction began in the seventh century.<sup>117</sup>

The remains of the Old Temple are scarce, consisting largely of a portion of the stylobate on the south side of the temple (figs. 5.10 and 5.11).<sup>118</sup> The surviving portion of the stylobate was found *in situ*; it measured 19.20 m. in length, 1.04 m. in width, and 0.45 m. in height.<sup>119</sup> It was one course, constructed with blocks of poros, reddish

---

<sup>115</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 96.

<sup>116</sup> Wright, 1982, 191.

<sup>117</sup> Foley, 1988, 154.

<sup>118</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 90; Foley, 1988, 136.

<sup>119</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110.

limestone.<sup>120</sup> The positions of three of the columns of the pteron were indicated on the stylobate by preserved circular depressions, which measured between 0.78m. and 0.80 m. in diameter.<sup>121</sup> The distance between the columns measured 3.50 m. and 3.51 m. from their centres, which equates to an intercolumniation of approximately 3.33 diameters.<sup>122</sup> The lower portion of the face of the stylobate was not dressed but the upper portion, the first 0.20 m. from the stylobate surface, was, which may indicate that the lower undressed section, approximately 0.25 – 0.30 m., was not meant to be seen and was perhaps covered with earth.<sup>123</sup> Tilton restored the plan of the Old Temple, based on the remains discovered and his calculations, as hexastyle with fourteen columns down the flanks (fig. 5.12).<sup>124</sup>

Wright believes that this temple dates to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC based on the following features: 1) it had a single-coursed stylobate; 2) rough U-shaped lifting bosses were visible on the lower portions of many of the remaining stylobate blocks; 3) a primitive concave method of *anathyrosis* was employed; and 4) a fragment

---

<sup>120</sup> Wright, 1982, 188; Tilton, 1902, 110.

<sup>121</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110; Strøm, 1988, 180.

<sup>122</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110.

<sup>123</sup> Wright, 1982, 188-189.

<sup>124</sup> Tilton, 1902, 111.

of a column drum was found which had a U-shaped channel in the centre for lifting.<sup>125</sup>

This column drum likely belonged to the temple since it had a diameter of 0.78 m., which matched the diameter of the tracings left on the stylobate for the outer colonnade.<sup>126</sup>

More recently, Pfaff has been reevaluating the site and believes that the temple dates to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC based on the remains of three-peaked antefixes; Pfaff believes that these belonged to a primitive horned roofing system which would have crowned the Old temple.<sup>127</sup> Both Wright and Pfaff believe that the Argive Heraion is earlier than the Heraion at Olympia, which has been dated to ca. 600 BC,<sup>128</sup> because the ratio of the diameter of the lower column drums to the interaxial spacing at the Argive Heraion is wider than that found at the Heraion at Olympia.<sup>129</sup>

Wright does not believe, however, that the Old Temple was the earliest temple to Hera on the terrace; he maintains that an earlier shrine was built soon after the terrace was built.<sup>130</sup> He suggests that a terracotta model of a shrine, found at the Heraion, may

---

<sup>125</sup> Wright, 1982, 190-191.

<sup>126</sup> Wright, 1982, 191.

<sup>127</sup> Pfaff, 1990, 149-156.

<sup>128</sup> Pfaff, 1990, 154 and note 9.

<sup>129</sup> Wright, 1982, 189-190; Pfaff, 1990, 149-156. For interaxial distance comparisons between earlier temples see Wright, 1982, 190 and Pfaff, 1990, 154 n.9.

<sup>130</sup> Wright, 1982, 191.

represent the appearance of the earliest cult building to Hera (fig. 5.13).<sup>131</sup> This terracotta model depicted a rectangular building with a small porch at the front with two columns *in antis*.<sup>132</sup> It was decorated in an orientalizing style with a step-meander pattern; this type of decoration suggests that it dates to the Subgeometric period.<sup>133</sup> Similar terracotta shrine models have also been found at other sites including Thera, Perachora, Ithaka, Knossos, Lemnos, Sparta, Athens and Samos.<sup>134</sup> Although it is not certain whether this model found at the Argive Heraion represents a temple, Foley suggests that it likely does considering that it was offered as a votive at the sanctuary.<sup>135</sup> She also thinks that it is possible that this terracotta model represents an earlier temple on the terrace. A small distyle in antis temple such as the one depicted by the model may have been built following the completion of the terrace in the eighth century.<sup>136</sup>

Bergquist also believes that a smaller temple preceded the Old temple on the Terrace and that flagstone slabs, which covered the surface of the Terrace, originally served as the pavement surrounding it.<sup>137</sup> The limestone flag stones were found

---

<sup>131</sup> Wright, 1982, 191; Foley, 1988, 136. Antonaccio, 1992, 96 n. 26, points out that no find spot has been recorded for this terracotta model.

<sup>132</sup> Foley, 1988, 109.

<sup>133</sup> Foley, 1988, 108; Wright, 1982, 191.

<sup>134</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 97; Foley, 108 and 113 n.71.

<sup>135</sup> Foley, 1988, 109.

<sup>136</sup> Foley, 1988, 154.

<sup>137</sup> Bergquist, 1967, 19-20.

underneath the remains of the stylobate of the Old Temple (fig. 5.14). Approximately one third of the surface of the old terrace, largely on the south and west sides, was covered with these irregularly shaped flag stones.<sup>138</sup> Tilton refers to the stones as a pavement and describes them as follows: "...a stone pavement was laid in width about eight metres parallel to the retaining wall. The pavement resembles the oldest paving in a courtyard at Tiryns and consists of irregular limestone blocks dressed roughly on the top, most of them triangular in shape and averaging in length about 70 centimetres."<sup>139</sup> Since this pavement was found underneath the Old Temple it would indeed appear that the stones were originally laid to serve as a pavement for an earlier temple,<sup>140</sup> when Brownson first discovered the flagstone slabs he noted that this type of pavement "might naturally have surrounded a temple."<sup>141</sup> Antonaccio, however, disagrees with the theory that the flagstones formed a paving on the terrace and instead believes that they served as a strong foundation on which to build the Old Temple.<sup>142</sup> The fact that only one-third of the terrace is covered with the flagstones, on the south and west, would also support this theory. Tilton noted that

---

<sup>138</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 90.

<sup>139</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110.

<sup>140</sup> Wright, 1982, 188-191; Bergquist, 1967, 19-20.

<sup>141</sup> Brownson, 1893, 213.

<sup>142</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 97-98.



In order to make a firm foundation and to prevent the earth from being washed away by the rains, a stone pavement was laid in width about 8 metres parallel to the retaining wall.... The Old Temple (I) was built partly upon this pavement, but mostly upon the natural earth and rock of the terrace.<sup>143</sup>

If viewed in this light the partial paving would not represent partial remains of the terrace paving but rather would indicate which sections of the terrace needed the extra reinforcement to make the terrace stable enough to support the heavy temple. Antonaccio was also not convinced that the model represented a shrine or that even if it did that such a modest structure would have been set up on such a monumental Terrace.<sup>144</sup>

Drerup, however, suggested that both the temple and terrace were built in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>145</sup> The most recent wave of scholarly investigation seems to agree with Drerup's proposal, challenging the traditional view held by most of the earlier scholars. Both Pfaff and Antonaccio believe that the temple and terrace were built in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, the terrace being built to support the temple.<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Tilton, 1902, 110; also discussed by Antonaccio, 1992, 97-98 and n. 34.

<sup>144</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 97.

<sup>145</sup> Drerup, 1969, 57-59; Wright, 1982, 188; Antonaccio, 1992, 96.

<sup>146</sup> Antonaccio, 1992, 98; Pfaff, 1990, 154. Unfortunately, no altar remains have been securely identified in the sanctuary of Hera at Argos. Some scholars think that the archaic altar must have been located on the lower terrace because they do not think that the Old Temple Terrace was large enough to accommodate both the Old Temple and an altar. Berquist, however, disagrees with this assumption and believes that the Old Temple Terrace was indeed large enough to accommodate both; she thinks that the altar was located to the east of the Old Temple on the Old Terrace (Berquist, 1967, 20 and plans 5 and 6).

Remains of the cult statue base were found in the Old temple at the back of the cella, approximately on the centre axis.<sup>147</sup> It was a low base measuring 1.88 m. in length (east-west) and 2.03 m. wide (north-south). The base was made with small stones, unworked, which were fit together to form a rectangular shape. In the centre a few loose stones were found.<sup>148</sup> Tilton found the base 7.18 m. north of the stylobate; he restored the base as 1.80 m. square (fig. 5.12).<sup>149</sup>

The archaic temple was destroyed by a fire in 423 BC. Thucydides relates the events: "In this same summer, too, the temple of Hera at Argos was burned down, Chryseis the priestess having placed a lighted torch near the garlands and then gone to sleep, so that the whole place took fire and was ablaze before she was aware."<sup>150</sup>

Pausanias also writes of this temple's unfortunate demise:

Above [the Classical temple] are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It was burnt down because sleep overpowered Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, when the lamp before the wreaths set fire to them. Chryseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea. Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis; it is still in position in front of the burnt temple.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> Romano, 1980, 451.

<sup>148</sup> Romano, 1980, 451.

<sup>149</sup> Tilton, 1902, 111.

<sup>150</sup> Thucydides, IV.133.

<sup>151</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.7.

Destruction by conflagration is also confirmed by the archaeological record. Brownson describes the layer they found which would corroborate the ancient literary accounts. In his excavation report Brownson writes:

...and .60 m. below the surface, we came upon a hard layer of black earth, assuring us that we were on the site of the burned temple. Not only that, but various pieces of charred wood were found, and flat bricks showing plainly the action of fire. Digging further on we found that this layer of black earth continued. It made, in fact, what we came to call a "platform," with a nearly uniform width of rather less than 4 m. and a length of 33 m., *i.e.*, reaching nearly to the western end of the terrace. This peculiar layer was from one to two inches in thickness, and itself rested upon a layer of dark red soil. Virgin soil on either side of the platform lay only about a foot below its level. At various points fragments of metal and pottery were found; the metal, iron or bronze, always too much melted and corroded to be valuable...<sup>152</sup>

The remains of the archaic temple were not built over, which is indicated both in the archaeological record, by the lack of subsequent temple remains on the old terrace, and in the literary testimonia provided by Pausanias; when he saw the temple in the second century AD he remarked that the statue of Chryseis was "still in position in front of the burnt temple."<sup>153</sup> Another temple was constructed in the classical period on the lower parallel terrace.

---

<sup>152</sup> Brownson, 1893, 213.

<sup>153</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.7.

The new Classical temple was built during the fifth century on the lower terrace, which had been enlarged for the purpose of expanding the sanctuary.<sup>154</sup> Fortunately, the temple's entire outer foundations, the foundations for the walls of the cella and the foundations for the interior colonnade were found. Thus, the temple's overall dimensions were determined by the outer foundations' measurements: 39.60 m. in length and 19.94 in width (fig. 5.15, and fig. 5.16).<sup>155</sup> The foundations were quite deep in places due to the natural sloping of the terrace. Brownson describes the foundations thus:

At the northern side, where bed-rock lies just below the surface, it consists of but one or two courses. At the western end, however, where the underlying rock slopes with the incline of the hill, it increases from two to eight courses, while at the eastern end we sunk a shaft deep enough to show ten courses (3.50 m.), without yet reaching the lowest.<sup>156</sup>

At the centre of the eastern end of the temple a 4 m. square platform was uncovered which was likely used to support a ramp to the temple's stylobate.<sup>157</sup> The temple was likely peripteral, a Doric column capital was found which had a diameter of 1.02 m. at its neck; the outer foundation, which measured between 3.50 m. to 3.60 m., was wide

---

<sup>154</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 183; Tomlinson, 1976, 92; Amandry, 1952, 272; Strøm, 1988, 194.

<sup>155</sup> Brownson, 1893, 215.

<sup>156</sup> Brownson, 1893, 216.

<sup>157</sup> Brownson, 1893, 216.

enough to accommodate columns of this size.<sup>158</sup> Based on the dimensions of both the temple and the capital, Brownson suggests that the peripteros likely would have been hexastyle with twelve columns down the flanks. The foundation walls of the cella were preserved as were the foundations defining the pronaos. The pronaos measures 4.6 m. in length and 6.79 m. in width. The foundations defining the opisthodomos, however, were not preserved.<sup>159</sup> The cella contained two rows of interior columns which divided the cella into three aisles, the centre aisle measuring 3.75 m. in width. Each row of interior columns were comprised of five columns each. Foundations for four of these column bases were found on the north side of the cella and five were found on the south side.<sup>160</sup> A sixth base foundation was found on the south side, which Brownson believes probably marked the end of the western end of the cella since its construction differed from the others and it was spaced differently, being 0.30 m. closer to the fifth base foundation. It was also exactly as wide as the wall separating the pronaos and cella.<sup>161</sup> If this sixth base does mark the end of the cella wall then the cella would have measured 11.60 m. in length.<sup>162</sup> Unfortunately, no remains of a statue base have been found.

---

<sup>158</sup> Brownson, 1893, 215-216, 218.

<sup>159</sup> Brownson, 1893, 216-217.

<sup>160</sup> Brownson, 1893, 217.

<sup>161</sup> Brownson, 1893, 217-218.

<sup>162</sup> Brownson, 1893, 218.

Some scholars believe that this new Doric hexastyle temple was built to replace the older wooden Archaic temple which had burned down in 423 BC.<sup>163</sup> Why, though, was the new temple not built on the same site as the old? Tomlinson remarks that

This is a little surprising, since elsewhere, where a temple suffered accidental destruction (for example, the sixth century temple of Artemis at Ephesos burnt to the ground in 356 B.C.) it was usual to rebuild on the same hallowed site. There seems no good reason why the site of the old Heraion should not have been re-used, and it would appear from the fact that very little of it now survives that the terrace on which it stood was left virtually clear.<sup>164</sup>

Amandry, however, suggested that construction on the new temple was not originally motivated by the fire, but began earlier, in the mid-fifth century BC.<sup>165</sup> He does not think that it was completed, however, until ca. 410-400 BC.<sup>166</sup> Amandry suggests that the temple construction commenced following the establishment of peace with Sparta in 451 BC.<sup>167</sup> It was during this peaceful time, between 450 and 420 BC that Argos enjoyed a period of prosperity as well<sup>168</sup> which would have enabled her to commence the building of the temple. Perhaps the new temple was built to thank Hera for the peace treaty with

---

<sup>163</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 183; Foley, 1988, 135.

<sup>164</sup> Tomlinson, 1972, 239.

<sup>165</sup> Amandry, 1952, 272.

<sup>166</sup> Amandry, 1952, 272-274. Construction on the temple was interrupted by the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>167</sup> Amandry, 1952, 272; Tomlinson, 1976, 92.

<sup>168</sup> Amandry, 1952, 272.

Sparta. Another reason could have been to thank Hera for a recent victory: Argos had managed to regain control of the Argolid, which she had lost to Sparta, when she successfully waged a war against Mycenae and Tiryns in ca. 468 BC.<sup>169</sup> The period following the establishment of peace with Sparta would have been a good time to monumentalize the sanctuary of Hera, her control over the Argolid had been reestablished and she did not have to worry anymore about defending herself against Sparta.

The architect of the Classical temple was a local Argive named Eupolemus.<sup>170</sup> The hexastyle temple was made out of stucco-covered soft limestone and was richly adorned with marble sculptural decoration.<sup>171</sup> The sculptural program was described by Pausanias: the eastern pediment depicted the Birth of Zeus, the eastern metopes depicted the Gigantomachy, the western pediment depicted the victorious Greeks in the Trojan war, and the western metopes depicted the Amazonomachy.<sup>172</sup> Pfaff believes that the temple combined Peloponnesian and Attic traditions with respect to the metopes: he believes that a large scale set of metopes were placed on the exterior, either encircling the peristyle or restricted to the facades, and that a smaller scale set were placed above the

---

<sup>169</sup> Diodorus XI.65; Strabo 8.6.10; Tomlinson, 1972, 94-119.

<sup>170</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.3.

<sup>171</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 183.

interior porches.<sup>173</sup> The sculptural program exhibits themes of victory, themes which are reminiscent of those on the Parthenon in Athens: the Gigantomachy, the Greeks victory over the Trojans, and the Amazonomachy. The Birth of Zeus depicted on the east pediment was not depicted on the Parthenon but I believe that it would have been an appropriate theme for the Argives at this time. It would have reinforced that they had a connection with Zeus, since he was Hera's spouse. It also may have had a symbolic significance: they were depicting the birth of the King of the gods, the Supreme Being, and in a sense they had recently been "reborn" themselves as the supreme power in the Argolid.

Another similarity with the Parthenon in Athens and also with the temple of Zeus at Olympia is that the Classical temple at Argos housed a chryselephantine statue. The statue at Argos was of Hera. Unfortunately, no remains have survived of either the statue or its base.<sup>174</sup> The statue is only known through literary accounts, such as that provided by Pausanias,<sup>175</sup> as well as through numismatic representations which depict either the

---

<sup>172</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.3; Stewart, 1990, 169; Lambrinoudakis, 64.

<sup>173</sup> Pfaff, 1993, 299-300.

<sup>174</sup> A marble female head has been associated by some with the cult statue, by others with the pedimental sculpture. I believe it has no reliable claim to shed light on the cult image. See appendix II.

<sup>175</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.4.



full statue or its head (fig. 5.18).<sup>176</sup> Amandry suggests that this chryselephantine statue may have been commissioned prior to the burning of the Old Temple, finished perhaps before 417 BC, the year in which Argos became involved in the Peloponnesian war, but not set up in the temple until the end of the fifth century.<sup>177</sup> The sculptor of this statue was Polykleitos;<sup>178</sup> Pausanias provides us with a description of his chryselephantine statue of Hera:

The statue (ἄγαλμα) of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polykleitos. She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story is somewhat of a holy mystery. The presence of a cuckoo seated on the sceptre they explain by the story that when Zeus was in love with Hera in her maidenhood he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet.<sup>179</sup>

Tilton attempted to restore the interior of the Classical temple's cella including the chryselephantine statue of Hera (fig. 5.17). He based his restoration on Pausanias' description of her,<sup>180</sup> and on the Argive numismatic representations (fig. 5.18). He

---

<sup>176</sup> Stewart, 1990, 169; Lambrinoudakis, 66; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, 34, Pl. I, XII-XV.

<sup>177</sup> Amandry, 1952, 273.

<sup>178</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.4; Strabo, 8.6.10.

<sup>179</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.4.

<sup>180</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.4.

restored the height of the cella, from floor to ceiling, at approximately 8.60 m.<sup>181</sup> Strabo compares Polykleitos' chryselephantine statue in the Classical Heraion with those made by Pheidias: "In this temple are the images made by Polykleitos, in execution the most beautiful in the world, but in costliness and size inferior to those by Pheidias."<sup>182</sup>

Pausanias also tells us that other images of Hera stood in the Classical temple's cella next to the chryselephantine statue of Hera:

By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old image of Hera (ἄγαλμα Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον) on a pillar. The oldest image (ἀρχαιότατον) is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasos, son of Argos, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraion. I myself saw it, a small, seated image (ἄγαλμα).<sup>183</sup>

Some scholars, such as Strøm and Romano, only refer to two images of Hera in the cella of the Classical temple, the chryselephantine image and the image from Tiryns.<sup>184</sup> I believe, however, that Pausanias specifies that three distinct images of Hera stood in the Classical temple's cella. He refers to the chryselephantine statue as τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἡρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ

---

<sup>181</sup> Tilton, 1902, 125-127.

<sup>182</sup> Strabo, 8.6.10.

<sup>183</sup> Pausanias. 2.17.5.

<sup>184</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195; Romano, 1980, 441.

ἔργον,<sup>185</sup> the older image of Hera on a pillar as ἄγαλμα Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον;<sup>186</sup> and finally the oldest image of Hera made from wild-pear wood, “a small, seated image” which had been brought from Tiryns by the Argives: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποιήται μὲν ἐξ ἀχπάδος ... ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα.<sup>187</sup> The latter two are distinguished quite clearly in the Greek: the ἀρχαῖον and the ἀρχαιότατον. The older image on a pillar is probably the cult statue from the older temple.<sup>188</sup>

An octagonal stone pillar<sup>189</sup> (fig. 5.19) was found during the excavations in 1892, in a stone-heap layer, which comprised part of the fill used to level the natural slope outside of the western foundations of the Classical temple. All of the remains in the fill belonged to older buildings, including the Old Temple.<sup>190</sup> Brownson described it as “an octagonal shaft, having a very slightly projecting base, narrowing toward the top and broken off at a height of about two and a half feet.<sup>191</sup> The pillar was made of a soft limestone, greyish-white in colour, and had been worked with a chisel.<sup>192</sup> Its upper front surface is slanting and is slightly hollowed out. The widest part of the slanted area is

---

<sup>185</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.4.

<sup>186</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.5.

<sup>187</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.5-6.

<sup>188</sup> Strøm believes that the image from the older temple perished in the fire, which destroyed the Old Temple in 423 BC. (Strøm, 1988, 195-196).

<sup>189</sup> It is now housed in the National Museum in Athens, inventory number 2702 (Billot, 1997, 27).

<sup>190</sup> Brownson, 1893, 224-225.

<sup>191</sup> Brownson, 1893, 225

38.5 cm.<sup>193</sup> Due to the slanting front its height varies from approximately 12-20 cm.<sup>194</sup>

Brownson and Waldstein interpreted this octagonal pillar as an early βρέτας, or aniconic image of Hera, which they thought would have stood in the cella of the Old Temple.<sup>195</sup>

They believed that the pillar had been broken in half, which would account for the slanted surface,<sup>196</sup> but Strøm does not believe that it had been broken because chisel marks were evident on this surface (fig. 5.20).<sup>197</sup> Strøm notes that this base is largely reminiscent of the supports for perirrhanteria but she rejects this comparison because of the slanting worked face of this pillar.<sup>198</sup> Since there are no other comparanda, she suggests that this pillar may have been the base for the ancient cult image of Hera in the Old Temple. She believes that the ancient image was seated, and that this statue would have sat against the slanting surface of the base with its feet supported by a foot-stool; used in this way, she thinks that the pillar would have resembled a primitive high backed throne.<sup>199</sup> There is no evidence, however, which suggests that the ancient statue from the Old Temple was seated; rather, there is more evidence to the contrary: Pausanias does not refer to the old

---

<sup>192</sup> Brownson, 1893, 225; Strøm, 1988, 195.

<sup>193</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195.

<sup>194</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195.

<sup>195</sup> Brownson, 1893, 225; Waldstein, 1902, 139.

<sup>196</sup> Waldstein, 1902, 139.

<sup>197</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195.

<sup>198</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195.

<sup>199</sup> Strøm, 1988, 195.

statue as seated but he does refer to both the chryselephantine image and the image from Tiryns as being seated. The fact that all three statues were described in the same passage suggests that it was not merely an oversight on his part but that the old statue simply was not seated. Billot suggests that if Strøm is correct in identifying this pillar as a cult statue base that it likely supported the image from Tiryns, which is described by Pausanias as seated.<sup>200</sup>

At Argos, the presence of a chryselephantine statue seems to fit the pattern established in Athens in the fifth century. After the Argives gained control of the surrounding plains and formed a hegemony in the mid-fifth century they began to monumentalize the sanctuary of Hera. Perhaps this new building program functioned in a similar way to Perikles' building project on the Akropolis in Athens. The new temple in Argos probably also functioned as a victory monument or votive offering to Hera, thanking her for helping them to establish a hegemony over the surrounding plains. The fact that the Classical Argive Heraion was located on a different terrace than the Old temple, and seems to have been planned prior to the fire which destroyed the Old temple, are very important elements for determining how this new temple may have functioned. The focus of it does not seem to be on continuity since it was built adjacent to the archaic

---

<sup>200</sup> Billot, 1997, 28.

temple. The fact that the Old Temple was left in ruins after the fire in 423 BC, evident by the fact that Pausanias saw the charred remains of it in the second century AD, suggests that it was still a revered sacred area. Another element which supports the attribution of the new temple as a votive offering is the strong theme of victory evident in the architectural sculptural program. The themes depicted, in fact, repeat many of the themes present in the Parthenon's sculptural program: the Greek victory over the Trojans; the Greek victory over the Amazons; and the Greek victory over the Giants. The east pediment of the Argive Heraion depicted the birth of Zeus, the king of the gods. His depiction may have been appropriate for two reasons: he was Hera's spouse, and he was the most powerful and victorious of the gods. This image of the Supreme Power would, perhaps, symbolize the power which Argos now held as the rulers of the Argolid. The fact that Zeus' image was located in the pediment directly above the entrance to the temple may have been quite significant since it would have been seen by everyone who entered. The Classical temple's design is also reminiscent of the Parthenon in Athens.<sup>201</sup> It was built on a smaller scale, but was still grand in design with similar sculptural decoration, and it also housed a chryselephantine statue within its cella. A statue made

---

<sup>201</sup> Stewart, 1990, 169.

out of gold and ivory was, of course, very expensive and would have emphasized the prosperity that resulted from Argos' reclaimed power.

### **The Sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens**

The sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens is located on the south slope of the Akropolis, south of the Theatre of Dionysos. The cult was originally rural in nature from the town of Eleutherai, which was located in the northern part of Attica on the border of Boeotia.<sup>202</sup> Pausanias writes that it was "...Pegasus of Eleutherai, who introduced the god to the Athenians."<sup>203</sup> It was probably transferred to Athens in the sixth century BC,<sup>204</sup> perhaps before the establishment of the Peisistratid tyranny.<sup>205</sup>

Both the archaeological record and literary accounts confirm that at least two temples to Dionysos existed in the sanctuary. In the second century AD, Pausanias wrote that "The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is near the theatre. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysus, the Eleuthereus and the one Alkamenes made of ivory and gold."<sup>206</sup> I will begin my discussion of this sanctuary by first examining the

---

<sup>202</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 106; Farnell, 1909, 116.

<sup>203</sup> Pausanias, 1.2.5.

<sup>204</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537.

<sup>205</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 117.

<sup>206</sup> Pausanias, I.20.3: Τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν· δύο δέ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ.; also discussed by Travlos, 1971, 537.

physical remains of the two temples and then comparing those remains to the literary testimonia.

The remains of the older temple of Dionysos in Athens are scarce, consisting largely of the remains of the northern section of the temple's foundations (fig. 5.21). Other remains have also been found which may belong to this temple including a fragment of a poros pediment, which depicts, in relief, a maenad and two satyrs; some fluted column fragments; the top portion of one *anta*; and some triglyph fragments.<sup>207</sup> Enough of the temple has been preserved to allow scholars to estimate both a date for it as well as its original dimensions. The date has been based on the construction materials used and on the style of masonry.<sup>208</sup> The materials used in the temple's construction were as follows: the foundations were constructed using the hard bluish Akropolis limestone; the step which encircled the temple and rested upon the foundations was made of Kara limestone; and the superstructure was made out of poros limestone.<sup>209</sup> The same materials were used in the construction of the archaic buildings on the Akropolis.<sup>210</sup> Two other elements in the construction point to a very early date: Z-shaped iron clamps and

---

<sup>207</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 4.

<sup>208</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3.

<sup>209</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3.

<sup>210</sup> Romano, 1980, 77.



polygonal masonry were both used.<sup>211</sup> The interior of the existing portion of the upper stone layer revealed that, although the exterior had been finished, polygonal masonry had been employed for the interior course.<sup>212</sup> A date somewhere in the sixth century has thus been generally agreed upon by the scholars. Pickard-Cambridge suggests that it was either built in the early part of the sixth century or else during the time of Peisistratos.<sup>213</sup> Most others, however, place it somewhat later: more recent estimates tend to date it at mid-century or later. Wycherley and Parke believe that it dated to the middle of the sixth century BC.<sup>214</sup> Hurwit also believes that it dated to ca. 550 BC or slightly later.<sup>215</sup> Travlos and Romano believe that it dates to the second half of the sixth century BC.<sup>216</sup>

Dörpfeld devised a plan of the older temple (fig. 5.21 and 5.22) based on the actual remains as well as on the proportions that are typically found.<sup>217</sup> It measured approximately 14.2 m. in length and between 6.7 m. to 8.38 m. in width.<sup>218</sup> It was simple

---

<sup>211</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3; Romano, 1980, 77-78.

<sup>212</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3.

<sup>213</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3-4.

<sup>214</sup> Wycherley, 1978, 183; Parke, 1977, 126.

<sup>215</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 106.

<sup>216</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537; Romano, 1980, 77-78.

<sup>217</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 4.

<sup>218</sup> Romano, 1980, 77.

in form, a small rectangular shape, and was likely distyle in antis.<sup>219</sup> Unfortunately no statue base was found.

Scholars generally agree that the ancient *xoanon* of Dionysos stood within this older temple. According to Pausanias the ancient image of the god had also been transferred from Eleutherai to Athens. When describing Eleutherai, Pausanias writes that “In this plain is a temple of Dionysos, from which the old wooden image (ξόανον...ἀρχαῖον) was carried off to Athens. The image at Eleutherai at the present day is a copy of the old one.”<sup>220</sup> Pausanias also mentions this ancient *xoanon* when he is describing the sanctuary in Athens: “The oldest sanctuary of Dionysos is near the theatre. Within the precincts are two temples and two statues of Dionysos, the Eleuthereus (ὁ τῆς Ἐλευθερείδος) and the one Alkamenēs made of ivory and gold (καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ).”<sup>221</sup> Although he does not explicitly state in which of the two temples the *xoanon* resides, scholars agree that it likely stood in the older of the two temples.<sup>222</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the *xoanon*'s specific appearance except that it was small enough to be carried; it had been carried from Eleutherai and

---

<sup>219</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 4.

<sup>220</sup> Pausanias, 1.38.8-9.

<sup>221</sup> Pausanias, 1.20.3.

was also carried in the processions of the Great Dionysia.<sup>223</sup> Pausanias writes that “ ... there [in the Academy] is a small temple, into which every year on fixed days they [the Athenians] carry the image of Dionysos Eleuthereus.”<sup>224</sup> The statue was probably quite primitive in nature and was likely made of wood; it was probably anthropomorphic but it could have been semi-anthropomorphic, possibly a wooden pillar image, perhaps with a mask attached.<sup>225</sup> An Attic coin seems to depict an archaic statue, which Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner believe belongs to the time of Calamis.<sup>226</sup> Oikonomides suggests that the statue depicted might have been the *xoanon* of Dionysos Eleuthereus.<sup>227</sup> The coin depicts Dionysos with a beard, and with his hair done in an archaic style. He is standing and holding a thyrsos and a wine-cup (fig. 5.23 vi).<sup>228</sup>

The second temple mentioned by Pausanias, the one in which the statue made by Alkamenes stood, has been more problematic in terms of dating. Information concerning

---

<sup>222</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 4; Hurwit, 1999, 106; Romano, 1980, 78; Wycherley, 1978, 206.

<sup>223</sup> Romano, 1980, 74-78; Pausanias 1.38.8-9 and 1.29.2.

<sup>224</sup> Pausanias, 1.29.2.

<sup>225</sup> Romano, 1980, 78; Hurwit, 1999, 106; Simon, 1983, 103-104. A fragment from a play set in Eleutherai, Euripides' *Antiope* (F 203 N), refers to the image of Dionysos worshipped there as a *στύλος*, a pillar-shaped image typical of the Bronze Age. Another indication that the image brought to Athens from Eleutherai may have been pillar-shaped with a mask attached may be found in Attic vase painting; the mask of Dionysos is often depicted on Attic vases contemporary with the founding of the Great Dionysia (Simon, 1983, 103).

<sup>226</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, 143, CC vi.

<sup>227</sup> Oikonomides, 1964, lxvi.

<sup>228</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, 1964, 143, CC vi; Oikonomides, 1964, lxvi.

the probable date of the cult statue points to the later fifth century BC, but the extant temple foundations and cult statue base seem to belong to the second half of the fourth century BC. For a long time it was believed that the second temple was built in the fifth century BC.<sup>229</sup> Farnell, for example, believed that it was constructed ca. 420 BC and was built to house the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos.<sup>230</sup> Dinsmoor believed that this temple was built during the time of Nicias, ca. 417 BC.<sup>231</sup> Both of these dates would correspond to the lifespan of Alkamenes, the sculptor of the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos, since he worked in the fifth century. His last known work was created in 403 BC.<sup>232</sup> The foundations of the temple have survived, constructed using conglomerate. It was built just to the south of the older temple and parallel to it and has been restored as a prostyle tetrastyle Doric temple (figs. 5.24, 5.25 and 5.26).<sup>233</sup> It measured 21.95 m. in length and 9.30 m. at the west end. The east end measured 10.50 m. in width.<sup>234</sup> The east end was wider because the steps did not surround the entire temple but rather only encompassed the prostyle columns at the front (figs. 5.24 and 5.25).<sup>235</sup> Unfortunately,

---

<sup>229</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537; Wycherley, 1978, 210.

<sup>230</sup> Farnell, 1909, 229.

<sup>231</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 184, 209 n. 1.

<sup>232</sup> Stewart, 1990, 267; Dinsmoor, 1975, 209 n.1.

<sup>233</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 184.

<sup>234</sup> See figures 4 and 5 in Dörpfeld, 1896, 20-21.

<sup>235</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 184.

hardly any of the architectural remains have survived.<sup>236</sup> The foundations of the base of the chryselephantine statue were found within this temple's cella.<sup>237</sup> These foundations measured 4.90 m. in width and 5.10 m. in depth, but Dörpfeld restored the base as 5.0 m. square (figs. 5.24 and 5.25).<sup>238</sup>

No remains of the chryselephantine statue, which once stood on this base in the cella, have survived. We know from Pausanias that it was chryselephantine and that Alkamenes made it.<sup>239</sup> It is believed that this statue was depicted on some Attic coins (fig. 5.23 ii-v).<sup>240</sup> These images show a divinity in a seated pose reminiscent of the statue of Zeus at Olympia both in the pose and the style of dress: his garment extended over his left shoulder but the upper body remained bare.<sup>241</sup> This similarity between the coin depictions of the statue of Dionysos and the statue of Zeus is strong and does suggest that Alkamenes modeled his statue after Pheidias' Zeus. Alkamenes had apprenticed under Pheidias, working on the Parthenon and/or on the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Stewart suggests that he may have worked on both: if he had been an apprentice on the

---

<sup>236</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 184 and 184 n. 3.

<sup>237</sup> Dinsmoor, 1975, 184.

<sup>238</sup> Dörpfeld, 1896, 20.

<sup>239</sup> Pausanias, 1.20.3.

<sup>240</sup> Imhoof—Blumer and Gardner, 1964, lxvi, 142, CC ii-v; Farnell, 1909, 270, Coin Pl. 31.

<sup>241</sup> Imhoof—Blumer and Gardner, 1964, 142, CC ii-v; Farnell, 1909, 270.

Parthenon, he may have also accompanied Pheidias to Olympia.<sup>242</sup> Alkamenes may have even helped Pheidias sculpt the statue of Zeus.

Travlos suggests that a fifth century temple preceded the fourth century temple in the sanctuary of Dionysos.<sup>243</sup> This suggestion was made to account for the discrepancy between the archaeological and literary evidence. The literary evidence indicates that the sanctuary contained two temples, one housing the ancient image and one housing the chryselephantine statue by Alkamenes, a fifth century sculptor.<sup>244</sup> The problem arises, however, in the archaeological record. In 1963, underneath the foundations of the temple which likely housed the chryselephantine image, potsherds were found which dated to the mid-fourth century BC.<sup>245</sup> This discovery proved that the temple could not have been built before that time. It is now thought that Lykourgos had this temple built as part of his effort to renovate and monumentalize the Theatre of Dionysos.<sup>246</sup> If the temple was built during the middle of the fourth century BC, how does one explain Pausanias' attribution of Alkamenes as the statue's sculptor? Perhaps Pausanias was mistaken. Or

---

<sup>242</sup> Stewart, 1990, 267. Pausanias names Alkamenes as the sculptor of the western pediment on the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pausanias, 5.10.8) but this attribution presents chronological problems since the pediments were likely completed ca. 468 BC and if Alkamenes went to Olympia as Pheidias' apprentice in 438/37 BC then there is a thirty year discrepancy. Stewart suggests that he was probably the sculptor of the western akroteria on the temple rather than the pediment (Stewart, 1990, 267).

<sup>243</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537; Hurwit, 1999, 218.

<sup>244</sup> Pausanias, 1.20.3.

<sup>245</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537.

perhaps another temple existed prior to the building of the fourth century temple. Travlos suggested that the latter was true. He believed that there was either another temple built to house the statue or else it was housed in another type of cult building. He suggests further that it was moved to the new fourth century temple.<sup>247</sup> Many other scholars agree with his theory.<sup>248</sup> Unfortunately, no remains have been found belonging to this proposed fifth century temple so it must remain a matter of conjecture. One thing is certain, however: it was not built on top of the archaic temple, which continued to remain the focus of the cult during Perikles' time.<sup>249</sup> It was probably built close to the Archaic temple,<sup>250</sup> perhaps on the site of the later fourth century temple.

I believe that Pausanias was correct in naming Alkamenes as the sculptor of the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos. The fact that there are no archaeological remains of a fifth century temple which would have housed the statue by Alkamenes is a bit disconcerting, but it may have been dismantled to make way for the fourth century temple, which may have been built on the same site. Lykourgos has been credited with the building of the fourth century temple as part of his new building program designed to

---

<sup>246</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 256.

<sup>247</sup> Travlos, 1971, 537.

<sup>248</sup> Wycherley, 1978, 210; Hurwit, 1999, 218, 256.

<sup>249</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 217-218.

<sup>250</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 217-218.

monumentalize the Theatre of Dionysos located immediately to the north of the sanctuary. He had the fifth century wooden hillside theatre rebuilt, transforming it into an impressive, monumental stone structure. The new building program also involved the construction of a long Doric stoa; it was built on the north side of the sanctuary and served to define the sanctuary precinct.<sup>251</sup> Perhaps the fifth century temple of Dionysos was not grand enough for Lykourgos' new building program; it may have been dismantled so that a more impressive temple could have been erected on the same site.

Was the older temple still in use at the time Pausanias saw it? I believe it was, considering that Pausanias mentions that two temples and two images of the god resided in the sanctuary.<sup>252</sup> Another indication that it was probably still in use in the fourth century may be found in the careful construction of the long Doric stoa, which was built around the same time as the later temple, in the mid-fourth century. The stoa, which defined the northern boundary of the sanctuary, was built directly to the north of the older temple.<sup>253</sup> It was built so closely to the older temple of Dionysos that the southwestern corner of the stoa abuts the northwestern corner of the older temple (fig. 5.21 and fig.

---

<sup>251</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 256-257.

<sup>252</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 341 n. 40, writes that "In the fifth century the [ancient] statue [of Dionysos] was replaced with a gold and ivory image by Alkamenes." I do not think that *replaced* is the right word. I think that the new image supplemented the old image.

<sup>253</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 256.



5.26). The stoa also encroaches upon the steps of the older temple but it is important to note that it was not built on top of the temple. Despite the proximity the temple wall was not harmed by the new building.<sup>254</sup> I believe that this indicates that the older temple was probably still in use at the time of the construction of the long stoa in the fourth century, and since Pausanias remarks that he saw both temples and both statues, it may still have been in use when Pausanias visited Athens in the second century AD.<sup>255</sup>

The fact that the temple constructed to house the new chryselephantine statue was not built on top of the archaic temple is very important since it suggests that the archaic temple and cult statue maintained their importance as the focus of the cult worship. The newer temple with the gold and ivory statue may not have been intended as an object for worship.<sup>256</sup> It appears from the depiction of the statue on the Attic coins that the statue was modeled after Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia; Alkamenes, a former student of Pheidias, may have been either emulating Pheidias or competing with him. Athens, during the time

---

<sup>254</sup> Romano, 1980, 82 n. 44; Dinsmoor, 1975, 210; Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 3.

<sup>255</sup> The temple of Dionysos was destroyed by fire, according to Clement of Alexandria: when discussing some of the temples which had burned, he wrote that "The temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus at Athens was brought to ruin in the same way..." (Clement of Alexandria, IV, 47P).

<sup>256</sup> Unfortunately, no altar remains have been securely identified in the sanctuary of Dionysos. The altar is usually located to the east of the temple but no altar remains have been found east of either temple. An altar was located in the centre of the theatre's orchestra but one would have also presumably stood in the sanctuary proper; the expected place would be to the east of the older temple. The existence of an altar to the east of the older temple and the absence of one in front of the younger temple would clearly indicate which temple and which image were involved in the cult activities.

Alkamenes would have sculpted the Dionysos, was still in its glory, relishing in its achievement of establishing a hegemony. As leader of the Empire, Athens demanded the payment of tribute from her allies. The great dramatic festival of Dionysos, known as the Great or City Dionysia, served as the occasion for the payment of this tribute.<sup>257</sup> Many foreigners flocked to Athens each year to witness this great festival.<sup>258</sup> Before the dramas began but when the theatre of Dionysos was full of people, both Athenians and visitors, the tribute was brought into the theatre, via a huge procession. Youths, 400 in number, paraded onto the orchestra carrying the tribute in jars and sacks as a reminder to everyone of Athens' power and wealth.<sup>259</sup> The fact then that a chryselephantine statue of Dionysos resided in a temple in the sanctuary located just south of the theatre is hardly surprising; it also would have reminded everyone of Athens' wealth and power. The chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, and probably the chryselephantine statue of Athena Nike, resided on the Akropolis, and the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos resided on the Akropolis' south slope. That one city could afford two, or three, chryselephantine statues around the same time period would have probably quite impressed the visitors of Athens, perhaps even awed them. The fact that the sanctuaries

---

<sup>257</sup> Parke, 1977, 133; Pickard-Cambridge, 1968, 58-59.

<sup>258</sup> Parke, 1977, 133.

<sup>259</sup> Hurwit, 1999, 40, 139; Parke, 1977, 133, Pickard-Cambridge, 1968, 59; Isocrates, *de Pace*, 82.

were also located so close to one another would have increased the chances of the visitors seeing the statues and would have further impressed upon them Athens' position as the head of the Greek alliance. Hurwit writes that "After 454 ... the Greater Panathenaia and Great Dionysia were imperial as well as civic/sacred displays." The chryselephantine statue of Dionysos, and the temple to house it, seem to have been an important part of this new emphasis on display. The most sacred traditions continued, but were supplemented by another level, one which emphasized the display of wealth and power.

### **Conclusion**

Each of the sanctuaries studied in this chapter exhibits the phenomenon of building a new temple on a site adjacent to the archaic sacred site. The new temples were not built on top of the archaic temples but rather seemed to have served as supplements to them. They were not likely the focus of the cult activities since the ancient image, or the ash altar at Olympia, was still present in the sanctuary. The ancient ash altar of Zeus was not located to the east of the temple, the usual location for an altar associated with a temple, but was located to the north of it. This altar remained the focus of the cult even after the Classical temple of Zeus was built. The ancient image of Hera at Argos survived the fire and was transferred into the later temple to stand with the

chryselephantine image. The fact that she was present in the temple likely meant that the cult activities continued to be performed in her honour. The ancient image of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens probably still stood in the archaic temple when the chryselephantine image of Alkamenes was made. The fact that the new temples were constructed on a different location than the sacred archaic site indicates that these temples and images were not built as a focus of the cult activities. I believe that continuity of location is a strong indicator of reverence; maintaining the focus on the holy area, on the sacred ground, is about reverence. The fact that these new temples and images were built on a new location indicates that they were breaking away from the established religious traditions and were, therefore, probably not intended to be the object of reverence.

The fact that each of these new temples contained vivid victory imagery also suggests that they were not intended to be the focus of cult activities. They all have a number of factors in common which suggest that they were functioning largely as political votive offerings. The most important factor to consider is that each of the cities was celebrating a recent victory: Athens, the victory over the Persians and the subsequent establishment of her Empire; Olympia, the victory of the Eleans over Pisa for the control of the sanctuary and the surrounding area; and Argos, the establishment of her hegemony over the Argolid. The importance of the respective victories to each city

was evident in the architectural sculpture of the temples; the theme of victory was prominent on each of the temples. It appears that the celebration of the victory was in fact the driving force behind the building of the new temple, judging by the prominence of the victory themes. The architectural sculpture provided the visual narrative on the temple's exterior, the temple was often crowned with victory symbols such as the tripods and images of Victory used as akroteria on the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The statue which dominated the cella provided another visual narrative which often duplicated the one found on the temple's exterior. Both the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus at Olympia, for example, had the same themes carved somewhere on the statue itself. The gold and ivory materials also emphasized the victory the city was celebrating as they attested to the financial prosperity the city was enjoying. It seems that the temples and the chryselephantine statues were functioning as huge, elaborate votive, or "thank offerings" to the deities, thanking them for the political victory which was attained with their help.

Another factor which suggests that these adjacent Classical temples and chryselephantine statues were not intended as the objects of reverence is that a competitive spirit seems to have existed between the cities and sculptors. It appears that each city was trying to outdo the other in terms of impressiveness by honouring their deities as elaborately as they could in their sanctuaries. For example, there seems to have

been quite a lot of interplay between Athens and Olympia. The temple of Zeus at Olympia was built first, a huge temple, one of the largest Doric temples on the mainland. The Parthenon in Athens was begun approximately twenty years after the Temple of Zeus but it was very similar. It was larger than the Temple of Zeus, approximately 5 m. longer and 3 m. wider, allowing it to have a larger peristyle than the temple of Zeus; the Parthenon had an 8 x 17 peristyle whereas the Temple of Zeus had a 6 x 13 peristyle. The facades of both temples were of the Doric order and their columns were approximately the same height.<sup>260</sup> Their similar size, proportions, and architectural order suggest that the Parthenon was modeled after the Temple of Zeus. The fact that the Parthenon was larger and incorporated two architectural orders within its design suggests that the architects were competing with those of the Temple of Zeus, trying to make their temple bigger and better than the one at Olympia. The architects of the Parthenon then erected in its cella a spectacular, colossal, chryselephantine statue of Athena, sculpted by Pheidias. The temple of Zeus at Olympia did not have a chryselephantine statue in its cella; it may have housed a monumental bronze statue of Zeus in a striding pose. However, after the Athena Parthenos was finished, Olympia commissioned the same sculptor, Pheidias, to sculpt a chryselephantine image of Zeus for the Classical temple. It

---

<sup>260</sup> Coulton, 1977, 113-114.

does not appear that a statue of such colossal scale was part of the original temple's design; renovations had to be made to the cella before the statue was moved inside. The fact that Olympia commissioned a similar style of statue by the same sculptor strongly suggests that Olympia was competing with Athens. The statue of Zeus was more elaborate, more expensive, and was even larger than the statue of Athena Parthenos. Its size was made even more imposing by the fact that the figure was seated: the effect was awe-inspiring to the viewer, as seen by Strabo's comments that if Zeus were to stand he would take the roof right off the temple. I believe that Olympia and Athens were competing with each other to create the best offering for their deity, designed to showcase their newly acquired power and wealth. When Athens built the larger temple and commissioned the sculpting of the Athena Parthenos she would have effectively won the competition. I think that Olympia responded by commissioning an even bigger and better statue by the same sculptor.

The temple of Hera at Argos also seems to have been part of this competition to create the best temple and chryselephantine statue. It was built after the Parthenon and appears to have been modeled after it. It was smaller in scale but was similar in design and was adorned with similar sculptural themes. Its mirroring of the architectural themes of the Parthenon is worth noting: both the Parthenon's and the Argive Heraion's east

metopes depicted the Gigantomachy, and both the Parthenon's and the Heraion's west metopes depicted the Amazonomachy. The Parthenon had depicted the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans on its north metopes; the Heraion also depicted the victory of the Greeks over the Trojans but in a more prominent place than the Parthenon: this theme was the subject of the Heraion's west pediment. The Argive Heraion's east pediment depicted the Birth of Zeus, which was not illustrated on the Parthenon. The Argives also commissioned the sculpting of a chryselephantine statue for its cella but instead of mirroring the pose of the Athena Parthenos, the pose of the chryselephantine statue of Hera was reminiscent of the statue of Zeus at Olympia; both were seated and enthroned. It appears, therefore, that the Argive Heraion incorporated within its design the best and most impressive elements of each of the previously built temples and statues: the design and sculptural program of the Parthenon, the temple which was built after the temple of Zeus, and the commanding pose of the image of Zeus, the statue which was sculpted after the Athena Parthenos. This combination of elements from the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus would have made the Argive Heraion quite impressive in its own right. Argos, however, added another element to the competition: she commissioned another sculptor to create the chryselephantine image of Hera, Polykleitos. He created works of very fine quality; it was, in fact, the fineness of his work which made his



chryselephantine statue of Hera quite famous. It was known as one of the masterpieces of Greek art and was commented upon by many authors. This statue of Hera at Argos was later regarded as rivaling the chryselephantine statue of Zeus created by Pheidias; Strabo compares Polykleitos and Pheidias, crediting Polykleitos with the most beautiful works but Pheidias with the largest and most expensive.<sup>261</sup> A similar type of comparison may very well have been noted at the time of the dedication of Polykleitos' Hera in the Classical temple at Argos. Since Pheidias created the first two chryselephantine images of Athena Parthenos and Zeus at Olympia, he perhaps set a new standard for depicting the images of the gods; Polykleitos and the Argives may have been trying to surpass this new standard, if not in size then in quality.

The statue of Dionysos at Athens was the last known chryselephantine statue created in the fifth century. Its sculptor, according to Pausanias, was Alkamenes, a former apprentice of Pheidias. He may have assisted Pheidias in his creation of the Athena Parthenos and of the Zeus at Olympia. His statue was also reminiscent of the Zeus at Olympia in that it was also seated and enthroned. It is possible that Alkamenes was trying to emulate his former teacher, Pheidias, even perhaps trying to outdo him.

---

<sup>261</sup> Strabo, 8.6.10.

A competitive spirit likely existed between the sculptors to see who could create the best statue. This type of competition, however, would seem more fitting for the creation of the best votive dedication to thank their deity rather than for a sacred object of worship. It appears that at least by the time of the following testimonia that the works were viewed with a critical, comparative eye. In particular, three artists have been compared by various authors: Pheidias, Polykleitos, and Alkamenes, the three artists who sculpted the chryselephantine statues of Athena Parthenos, Zeus at Olympia, Hera at Argos and Dionysos at Athens. Pliny remarks that

An almost innumerable multitude of artists was made famous for smaller statues and images; but preeminent among them is Pheidias the Athenian, celebrated for the Olympian Jupiter (in fact of ivory and gold, though he also made bronze statues). He flourished in the 83<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad, about the 300<sup>th</sup> year of our city [448-445] and at this same time his rivals are Alkamenes, Critias, Nesiotes, and Hegias; later, in the 87<sup>th</sup> Olympiad [432-429] were Hagelades, Callon, and the Spartan Gorgias; again, in the 90<sup>th</sup> [420-417] there were Polykleitos, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, and Perellus.<sup>262</sup>

Quintilian notes that

The same differences [as in painting] exist among the sculptors. ... In precision of detail and appropriateness Polykleitos surpassed all others, but although most critics hand him the victor's palm, to avoid making him faultless they hold that he lacks gravity. For

---

<sup>262</sup> Pliny, *NH* 35.49-52; Stewart, 1990, 237, T1.

while he gave the human body a form so appropriate that it surpassed reality, he is felt not to have done justice to the impressiveness of the gods. ... But those qualities lacking in Polykleitos are attributed to Pheidias and Alkamenes. Pheidias is regarded as better at representing gods than men, and indeed in ivory he would have no peer even had he made nothing but his Minerva at Athens or Olympian Jupiter in Elis, whose beauty is said to have added something to the traditional religion, so much did the majesty of the work equal that of the god.<sup>263</sup>

Dionysios of Halikarnassos says:

For not even sculptors and painters, unless they undertake an extended course in connoisseurship, scrutinizing the styles of the old masters at length – not even they can readily identify them and confidently say that this statue is by Polykleitos, this by Pheidias, this by Alkamenes, and that that painting is by Polygnotos, that by Timanthes, that by Parrhasios. So it is with literature...<sup>264</sup>

The fact that fifth century sculptors competed with each other is attested by an inscription found on the Nike akroterion on the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The inscription, dated 421 BC, reads:

The Messenians and Naupaktians dedicated this to  
Olympian Zeus as a tithe from their enemies.  
Paionios of Mende made it and was victorious in making  
the akroteria for the temple.<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup> Quintilian 12.7-9; Stewart, 1990, 238, T3.

<sup>264</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Demosthenes*, 50; Stewart, 1990, 239, T4.

<sup>265</sup> Olympia 5 no. 259; Stewart, 1990, 271 T81.

Paionios won a competition, in the fifth century, to create the akroteria for the Classical temple of Zeus at Olympia. He made his Nike akroterion on the same scale as the chryselephantine Nike by Pheidias, which was held in the hand of the statue of Athena Parthenos in Athens. The Nike at Olympia by Paionios, however, was placed on top of the Classical temple of Zeus as its crowning glory.<sup>266</sup>

Competition between cities has been well-attested at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi. In the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, different cities erected monuments or treasury buildings which were designed to showcase their wealth and political achievements and to impress the visitors to the sanctuary.<sup>267</sup> I believe that a similar type of competition was occurring between the cities and sanctuaries of Athens, Olympia, and Argos, each trying to outdo the other by the commissioning of colossal statues and temples richly adorned with sculptures symbolizing their political victories.

---

<sup>266</sup> Stewart, 1990, 89-92, 270-271 T81, and figures 408-411.

<sup>267</sup> Morgan, 1993, 18.

## VI

### CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of adjacent temple building seems to have begun in the fifth century in Greece. The examples discussed in this study, the Parthenon in Athens, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Classical Heraion at Argos, and the Classical temple of Dionysos in Athens, all housed a chryselephantine image of the deity. This new image, in most cases, meant that at least two images of the deity existed in the sanctuary.

Multiple deity images were also seen at Samos, but they were housed within the same temple. Didyma also may have had two images; an earlier image, perhaps a wooden *xoanon*, may have preceded the late sixth century bronze statue by Kanachos. The Classical temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in Athens may also have had multiple images; a chryselephantine statue may have stood in the classical temple's cella with the ancient *xoanon*.

The existence of multiple images does not occur at every sanctuary. Nor does the phenomenon of adjacent temple building. The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, for example, was an important Peloponnesian sanctuary yet it only had one temple to Athena

Alea and that temple housed only one image of the goddess, the ancient ivory statue of Athena Alea carved by Endoios.<sup>1</sup> A new temple had been built in the fourth century, ca. 345-335 BC, on top of the remains of the old seventh century BC temple which had been destroyed by a fire in 395 BC.<sup>2</sup> The new fourth century temple was quite impressive; Pausanias named Skopas of Paros as its architect.<sup>3</sup> Fragments of the sculptural program adorning the new temple have survived; the figures were masterfully carved, evoking a sense of drama and emotion which is indicative of the work of Skopas.<sup>4</sup> The interior of the temple was also impressive. The space within the cella was enlarged by making the interior colonnade engaged half columns; this created an area measuring 20 m. in length, 9 m. in width and 12 m. in height.<sup>5</sup> The engaged colonnade was superimposed with Corinthian half columns on the bottom and Ionic half columns on top. It ran down both sides of the cella and also across the back wall.<sup>6</sup> It did not serve any structural purpose but it did create a frame for the cult statue similar to the Parthenon in Athens and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (fig. 6.1). The statue framed by the interior colonnade, however, was not similar to the chryselephantine statues housed in either the Parthenon

---

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4-8.46.5.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4; Voyatzis, 1990, 22, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.5.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart, 1990, 182-183.

<sup>5</sup> Stewart, 1990, 183.

or the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The statue standing in the cella of the new fourth century temple at Tegea continued to be the ancient cult statue of Athena Alea by Endoios. Despite the elaborate decoration of the exterior of the new temple and the elaborate treatment of its interior with the engaged interior colonnade and the subsequent increased floor space, there did not seem to be any need for the addition of a larger, more elaborate statue of the goddess for the cella; the small ancient ivory image of Athena Alea continued to be the focal point of the new temple (fig. 6.1).<sup>7</sup> This lack of another image at this important sanctuary helps to illuminate the meaning of the multiple statues at the other sites. They were obviously not deemed necessary otherwise Tegea would have commissioned one. They also did not likely replace the old images as more appropriate images of the gods in the new grander temples since the new temple of Athena Alea was quite grand, adorned with beautiful images by Skopas, and yet the image housed inside was the ancient cult statue, not a newer, more elaborate image.

The multiple images in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, in the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, and in the sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens were all housed within the same temple, built on the ancient cult site. Why was this not the case in the sanctuary of Athena Polias in Athens, in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, in the sanctuary of Hera at

---

<sup>6</sup> Stewart, 1990, 183-184.

Argos, and in the sanctuary of Dionysos at Athens? The impetus behind the building of the new adjacent temple and the commissioning of the new statue seems to have been politically based. The fifth century was a period of great upheaval in Greece; it was during this century that the Greeks had been faced with the threat of Persian attack, and it was also near the end of this century that Greece was involved in a great internal conflict which culminated in the Peloponnesian War. The adjacent temples discussed in this study were all built in the sanctuaries of cities which achieved great political success during this century, acquiring much power in the process. The acquisition of the new power was usually followed by a period of great prosperity which would have enabled them to monumentalize their sanctuaries in both size and grandeur. This monumentalization involved, in each of these cases, the building of a new grand temple to their deity and the commissioning of an expensive chryselephantine statue, which was housed within the new temple.

These statues would have had an aspect of divinity about them since they were images of the gods, but it is unlikely that they were the focus of the cult activities. This focus would have been reserved for the ancient cult images. The distinction between the two images was made clear in the inscription from Samos referring to the articles of

---

<sup>7</sup> Stewart, 1990, 184.



clothing belonging to each of the images within the Heraion. The ancient cult statue had numerous garments, whereas the newer image, the “goddess behind” only had one. This indicates that the focus of worship was centered on the ancient image. The placement of the images within the temple also indicated which image was the most revered. When the temple had been rebuilt and expanded to the west of the ancient temple site, the new colossal “Rhoikos temple” managed to incorporate the ancient base site within its pronaos. A newer image of Hera was placed in the cella, but the ancient image was always placed on the ancient base site; the ancient statue thus stood in the pronaos of the “Rhoikos temple” on its ancient base. This unusual placement of the cult statue within the pronaos of the temple attests to the fact that the ancient base site was considered the most sacred site for the statue. When the temple was enlarged again, and moved further to the west, this ancient site was no longer enclosed within the temple, but a shrine was built over the sacred site to preserve it.

Continuity of statue base placement is also evident in other temples such as the temple of Athena Nike in Athens. The ancient statue likely stood on the same base site in the classical temple and a newer image may have been positioned on the central axis at the back of the cella. Athena Polias was probably also placed on the same sacred base site but since no base remains have survived from her temple this cannot be proven.

However, on the north side of the Akropolis evidence of same-site temple building does exist, which indicates that a continuity of cult was observed. The fact that a new temple and new image were erected on a different location, on the south side of the sanctuary of Athena Polias, indicates that they were not the focus of cult activities but may have served some other purpose.

What might this purpose have been? Were they purely votive in nature? There was indeed something divine about these new images. They were, after all, images of the deities even if they did not serve as the focus of the cult activities. Perhaps they served as a representation of a particular aspect of the deity that was particularly relevant at that point in time. Athena Parthenos, for example, was depicted in her role as the warrior goddess, the protectress of Athens. She was fully armed, wearing her helmet, and had her shield by her side. During the fifth century in particular, with the threat of Persian invasion, that aspect of her was probably called upon more than any other. The erection of the colossal temple and image of her in military regalia was probably, at least in part, intended to thank her for her protection against Persian domination and to ensure that it would continue. However, both the temple and the image also served as powerful visual testaments to Athens' new role as the leader of the Empire; victory symbolism was prominent on both the temple and the image. The Athena Parthenos and the Parthenon

seem to have been part of a grand display emphasizing the victory over the Persians and the subsequent establishment of the Athenian Empire. A predecessor had been started on the Parthenon site around 490 BC; this construction also coincided with a great victory, the victory at the Battle of Marathon. The Older Parthenon also seems to have been part of a monumentalization project on the Akropolis, one that was never realized before the Persians sacked Athens and her sanctuary.

Worshippers may have prayed to the warrior goddess aspect of Athena, but the oldest image of the deity, the ancient *xoanon*, was probably still the recipient of their offerings and their care. The newer images did not seem to have been cared for in the same way as the ancient images. The ancient images were probably considered very dear to the cult and the worshippers cared for them accordingly. Festivals were often associated with clothing and bathing the images, sometimes even feeding them. They were carried in processions, sometimes to the sea shore to be ritually purified. The newer images, however, did not seem to have received this kind of care. Their clothing had been carved out of gold, so it was not likely that the gold would have been covered up with garments. They were almost certainly never carried in processions; their size alone prohibited that. They also were probably not the recipients of the sacrifices. The sacrifices would have been performed on the altar which was usually located to the east

of the ancient temple. Altar remains have not been found located to the east of any of the adjacent Classical temples.

The fact that the gold clothing of the Athena Parthenos statue could be removed if the city were in need of money, strongly indicates that the statue itself was regarded as a kind of treasury and not considered a cult image. By contrast, the ancient cult images, the *xoana*, were treated with the utmost respect; it was considered an honour to weave and wash their garments. The fact that the Parthenos could be stripped of her clothing if necessary indicates that this statue was not an object of reverence. The other colossal chryselephantine statues may also have served as treasuries.

It seems likely that the purpose of the chryselephantine statues was to create an impressive work of art that was designed to capture the grandness of the deity and to inspire awe in both the deity and the viewer. The materials used, very expensive and precious, would have created a lasting impression upon the viewer and emphasized the wealth of the city which commissioned the sculpting of the statue; not every city or town was able to afford such a statue. For those that could, it appears that a competition existed to see which city or sanctuary could produce the best image or the most. Recall that Athens had two, perhaps three, chryselephantine statues: the Athena Parthenos, and most likely the Athena Nike on top of the Akropolis, and the statue of Dionysos on the

south slope. Athens had commissioned the first chryselephantine statue, the Athena Parthenos, which would have made Athens quite prestigious. However, after Olympia erected a larger and more expensive chryselephantine image of Zeus, and Argos set up an image of finer artistic quality, Athens may have risen to the challenge, so to speak, and commissioned two more gold and ivory images. The motivation behind the commissioning of the chryselephantine statues of Athena Nike and Dionysos may have been competition. The display of three chryselephantine statues in three sanctuaries which drew a lot of visitors each year during the Panathenaic and Great Dionysia festivals would have provided Athens with a more profound visual expression of her great wealth, and another means to assert her financial and political dominance. For a city to be able to commission one chryselephantine statue for their sanctuary was probably quite a feat, but for one city to boast two or three was probably quite spectacular.

Competitiveness between the cities to set up the best image is reminiscent of the well-attested competition seen at Delphi. Cities from around the Greek world competed with each other at this pan-Hellenic sanctuary, each trying to set up the best monument or the best treasury for the rest of the world to see and admire. That a similar competitive spirit existed with respect to the setting up of the new colossal chryselephantine images

seems quite likely; numerous ancient authors compared the works of the fifth century sculptors, which indicates that the sculptors were competing with each other to create the best image. Pliny, in fact, refers directly to a competition between Alkamenes and Agoracritos of Paros, two fifth century sculptors:

Another of [Pheidias'] pupils was Agorakritos of Paros, who pleased him also because of his youth and beauty, so that Pheidias is said to have allowed him to put his name to several of his, the master's, own works. In any case, the two pupils [Alkamenes and Agoracritos] competed with each other in making a Venus, and Alkamenes won the contest not through superior skill but through the votes of the citizenry, who favored one of their own against a foreigner. So Agorakritos is said to have sold his statue on condition that it should not remain in Athens, and that it should be named "Nemesis." It was set up at Rhamnous, a deme of Attica, and Marcus Varro preferred it above all other statues.<sup>8</sup>

This passage is also important because it attests to the possibility that a competition could result in the acquisition of a "cult statue" for a temple; this supports the possibility that the competition for something ivory for the Classical temple of Athena Nike in Athens was for a chryselephantine statue.<sup>9</sup> The fact that Rhamnous acquired this statue of Nemesis in this manner, purchasing it from a sculptor who originally made the statue to represent Venus, implies that it was not deemed as a holy,

---

<sup>8</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 36.16-17.

<sup>9</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 64A.

sacred image of the goddess.<sup>10</sup> However, this was the image set up at Rhamnous in the Classical temple, which was built adjacent to the archaic temple of Nemesis.<sup>11</sup> It appears that the phenomenon seen at Athens, Olympia, and Argos, of an adjacent temple, housing a larger, more expensive image of the deity, was not limited to chryselephantine images; the statue of Nemesis by Agorakritos was made of Parian marble.

The new statues seem to be more about *epiphany* rather than *cultus*; people could see them and understand them in a vivid way. The worshippers may have responded to them in a more intellectual way, as an aesthetic focus. The new gold and ivory images and the new temples which housed them would have impressed both the visitor and the deity with the expense the sanctuary incurred to honour the god/dess. They probably also made a political statement to the visitor, reminding them of the city's wealth and power. In Athens, for example, the political message was likely intended to reinforce the fact that they were the leaders of the Empire. These images were very powerful and prestigious as manifestations or evocations of the character of the gods depicted but they do not seem to

---

<sup>10</sup> Stewart suggests that although Pliny's account of the competition was likely historical, the association with Venus and Nemesis may have been made to account for the fact that the statue of Nemesis by Agorakritos was different than the usual winged type of the Hellenistic period. Nemesis also held an apple branch which was also an attribute associated with Venus (Stewart, 1990, 270).

<sup>11</sup> Hundreds of fragments of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous have been found; the statue dates to ca. 430 BC (Despinis, 1970, 407-413; Petrakos, 1991, 25; Stewart, 1990, 269-270; Lawrence, 1983, 234; Dinsmoor, 1975, 88-89, 181-183).

have been the focus of the cult activity. This focus, I believe, would have remained on the ancient image or area which embodied the spirit of the deity.



## APPENDIX I

### IG I<sup>3</sup> 474

Text and translation as in Caskey 1927, 286-90,  
with the addition of boldface for lines 8 and 40.<sup>1</sup>

Ἐπιστάται τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
 ἄγαλμα Βρυσσυνί-  
 5 δες Κεφισιεύς, Χαριάδης Ἀργυλέθεν, Διά(ν)δης  
 Κεφισιεύς, ἀρχιτέκτο[ν  
 φιλοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς, γραμματεὺς Ἐτέαρχος  
 Κυδαθηναίου,  
 τὰ]δε ἀνέγραψαν ἔργα τὸ νεὸ ἡος κατέλαβον  
 ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ φσε-  
 5 φισο]μα τὸ δέμο ἡδ' Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν, ἔχσεργασμένα  
 καὶ ἡμετέργα, ἐπὶ Διο-  
 κλῆος ἀρχοντος, Κεκροπίδος πρυτανευούσας  
 πρώτες, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς  
 ἡ]εὶ Νικοφάνης Μαραθῶνιος πρῶτος  
 ἐγραμμάτευσεν.

Τὸ νεὸ τὰδε κατελάβομεν ἡμετέργα-  
 ἐπὶ τῆι γωνίαι τῆι πρὸς τὸ Κεκροπίο-  
 10 πλίνθος ἄθετος μέκος τετρά-  
 ||| ποδας πλάτος δίποδας, πάχος  
 τριημιποδίου.  
 μασχαλιαίαν μέκος τετράποδα,  
 | πλάτος τρίποδα, πάχος τριῶν  
 15 ἡμιποδίων.  
 ἐπικρανίτιδας μέκος τετράπο-  
 Γ δας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος  
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.  
 γονίασαν μέκος ἑπτάποδα,  
 20 || πλάτος τετράποδα, πάχος  
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.  
 γογγύλος λίθος ἄθετος, ἀντίμο-  
 [] ρος ταῖς ἐπικρανίτιαιν, μέκος  
 δεκάπος, ἡύφορος τριῶν  
 25 ἡμιποδίων.  
 ἀντιμόρο τοῖς ἐπιστυλοῖς  
 || μέκος τετράποδε, πλ(άτος πεν-  
 τεπαλάστο.  
 κικόκρανον ἄθετον [ἐπὶ τὸ  
 30 | μέτοπον τὸ ἔσω μέκος τρίπον,  
 πλάτος τριῶν ἡμιποδ(ίον), πάχος  
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.  
 ἐπιστύλια ἄθετα μ[έκος ὀκτ]ό-  
 Γ ποδα, πλάτος δύοσιν π[οδοῖν  
 35 καὶ παλαστῆς, πάχος [δίποδα.  
 ἐπιστύλια ἀνο, ῥντα [ἔδε

The overseers of the temple on the Acropolis in which (is) the ancient statue, Brysonides of Kephisia, Chariades of Agryle, Diondes of Kephisia, architect Philokles of Acharnai, secretary Etearchos of Kydathenaion, recorded as follows works of the temple in the state in which they found them to be, in accordance with the decree of the people proposed by Epigenes, complete and incomplete, in the archonship of Diokles, Kekropis holding the first prytany, in the session of the council in which Nikophanes of Marathon was secretary.

The following parts of the temple we found unfinished:  
 At the corner towards the Cecropium:  
 Four wall-blocks not placed,  
 four feet long, two feet wide,  
 one foot and a half thick.  
 One *maschaliaia*,  
 four feet long, three feet wide,  
 one foot and a half thick.  
 Five blocks of the wall-capital  
 four feet long, three feet wide,  
 one foot and a half thick.  
 One angle block,  
 seven feet long, four feet wide,  
 one foot and a half thick.  
 One moulded block not placed,  
 ranging with the wall-capital,  
 ten feet long,  
 one foot and a half high.  
 Two (moulded blocks) ranging within the epistyle,  
 four feet long,  
 one foot and a quarter wide.  
 One capital not placed,  
 for the *metopon* in the interior,  
 [three feet long], one foot and a half wide,  
 one foot and a half thick.  
 Five epistyle blocks not placed,  
 eight feet long, two feet and a quarter wide,  
 two feet thick.  
 Three epistyle blocks in position.

<sup>1</sup> Ferrari, 2002, 31-32.

	ἐπεργάσασθαι μέκος ὀκτόπο-	eight feet long, two feet and a quarter wide,
	δα, πλάτος δυοῖν ποδοῖν καὶ πα-	two feet thick, lacked the dressing
	λαστῆς, πάχος δίποδα.	of their top surface.
40	τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἁπάντων	All the rest of the work round about begins
	ἐγ κύκλοι ἀρχεὶ λο Ἐλευσινιακὸς	with the Eleusinian stone against which the
	λίθος πρὸς ἁδὶ τὰ ζῶια, καὶ ἐτέθε	figures (are to be fastened), and three blocks of it
	ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν, τοῦτον.	have been placed under the present commissioners.
	τὸν κίονον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ	Of the columns on the wall
45	τὸ πρὸς τῷ Πανδρῶσειο,	towards the Pandroseum,
	κειμένον κίονον	of four columns in position,
	ἄτμετα ἐκ τῷ ἐντὸς ἀνθε-	one foot and a half
	μίο ἐκάστο τῷ κίονος τρία	of the anthemion of each column
	ἡμιπόδια	were uncut on the inner face.
50	ἐπιστυλίῳ ὀκτόποδος	One epistyle block, eight feet long,
	ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πρὸς νότον	on the south wall,
	κυμάτιον ἐς τὸ ἔσο ἔδε	needed to have the cymatium
	ἐπιθῆναι.	on its inner face added.
	τάδε ἀκατάχρῃστα καὶ	The following parts were unsmoothed
55	ἀράβδοτα·	and unchannelled:
	τὸν τοίχον τὸν πρὸς νότον	The south wall
	ἀνέμο ἀκατάχρῃστον	unsmoothed,
	πλὴν τὸ ἐν τῇ προστάσει	except in the Porch
	τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ.	adjoining the Cecropium.
60	τὸς ὀρθοστάτας ἀκατά-	The orthostates unsmoothed
	χρῃστος ἐκ τῷ ἔξοθεν ἐγ κύκλοι	on the exterior round about,
	πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ προστά-	except in the Porch
	σει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ.	adjoining the Cecropium.
	τὰς ἀπέραις ἀπάσαις	The upper part of all the bases
65	ἀραβδότος τὰ ἀνοθεν·	unchannelled.
	τὸς κίονας ἀραβδότος ἁπάντας	The columns all unchannelled,
	πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ· τὸν κρεπίδα ἐγ	except those on the wall.
	κύκλοι ἁπάσαν ἀκατάχρῃστον.	All the substructure round about unsmoothed.
	τὸ τοίχῳ τῷ ἐντὸς ἀκατάχρῃστα	On the wall within there were unsmoothed
70	τὸ (γο)γγύλο λίθῳ τετραποδίας Γ   .	eight tetrapodies of moulded stone.
	τὸ ἐν τῷ Προστομιαίῳ	On that in the <i>Prostomiaion</i>
	τετραποδίας Δ   .	twelve tetrapodies.
	τῆς παραστάδος	On the Parastas
	τετραποδίας   .	[seven?] tetrapodies.
75	τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος	On that towards the image
	τετραποδίας   .	[six?] tetrapodies.
	ἐν τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς	In the Porch
	τῷ θυρόματος	before the Doorway
	τὸμ βομὸν τὸ θ(υ)εχὸ	the altar of the Thyechoüs
80	ἄθετον.	not placed.
	τῆς ἐπιροφίας σφεκίσκος	The rafters and cross-pieces
	καὶ ἡμάντας ἀθέτος	of the roof not placed.
	ἐπὶ τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς τῷ	On the Porch adjoining the Cecropium
	Κεκροπίῳ ἔδει	the upper surfaces
85	τὸς λίθος τὸς ὀροφιαίους τὸς	of three of the ceiling blocks
	ἐπὶ τῶν κορῶν ἐπεργάσα-	over the maidens,
	σθαι ἀνοθεν μέκος τριῶν	thirteen feet long,
	καὶ δέκα ποδῶν, πλάτος π(έ)ντε	five feet wide,
	ποδῶν.	needed to be dressed.
90	τὰς κάλχας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπι-	The rosettes
	στυλίοις ἐχσεργάσασθαι	on the epistyle
	ἔδει.	needed to be carved.

## APPENDIX II

### ARGIVE HERAION: MARBLE HEAD OF HERA

A marble head of a female was found buried just outside of the western outer foundation wall of the Classical Temple at the Argive Heraion (fig. 7.1).<sup>1</sup> It was sculpted out of Parian marble and Waldstein believes that stylistically it dates to the fifth century BC.<sup>2</sup> It was so finely worked that Waldstein suggests that it was sculpted by someone from the Polykleitan school, probably directly influenced by Polykleitos himself.<sup>3</sup> Waldstein remarks that the head exhibited certain features, such as a sense of severity and a use of symmetry, which are characteristic of the works of Polykleitos.<sup>4</sup> The statue depicts a youthful female who is wearing a *stephanos* or a diadem around her head. It is largely based on this diadem that Waldstein has identified this statue as depicting a youthful Hera.<sup>5</sup> Waldstein notes that his identification is not totally secure, that it is

---

<sup>1</sup> Brownson, 1893, 220-221.

<sup>2</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 199-201; Petrakos, 1981, 85, also dates it to the fifth century, ca. 420 BC.

<sup>3</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 199-202; Petrakos, 1981, 85, also believes that it was made by a sculptor from the Polykleitan school.

<sup>4</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 199-202.

<sup>5</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 201.

possible that this is a statue of either Athena or Aphrodite, but he does not think that this is likely.<sup>6</sup> He believes that Hera is represented here as a youthful figure rather than in her usual matronly form because the festival of Hera at Argos, which involves the *ἱερός γάμος*, the sacred marriage festival, focuses on her being Zeus' bride;<sup>7</sup> a youthful depiction of her in the statuary would therefore be appropriate. The statue could have been either free-standing or part of the architectural sculpture. Lambrinouidakis thinks that it was a free-standing votive statue, contemporary with Polykleitos' chryselephantine statue, and that this head gives us an idea, on a larger scale than the coin depictions, of the appearance of the chryselephantine statue.<sup>8</sup> Petrakos also thinks that it was free-standing, describing it as a "ceremonial statue" from the sanctuary, which "gives us an idea of how the ancients imagined the great Olympian goddess".<sup>9</sup> At first Waldstein thought that the head came from a free-standing statue and that it would have stood on a base in the cella "probably immediately at the west end of the temple."<sup>10</sup> Could he have thought that it once stood as a cult statue in the temple? Cult statues are usually located at the temple's west end. He began to reconsider whether the statue was free-standing,

---

<sup>6</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 201.

<sup>7</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 201.

<sup>8</sup> Lambrinouidakis, 66.

<sup>9</sup> Petrakos, 1981, 85 and fig. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 202.

however, when he found a fragment of a metope, which had also been well preserved and carefully finished; the statue of Hera also could have been a part of the architectural sculpture, perhaps from the west pediment of the Classical temple since a statue of its size could have fit in the temple's pediment.<sup>11</sup> The combination of the following factors may indicate that this marble head was from a western pedimental statue: 1) its find spot beneath the western pediment, just beyond the western outer foundation wall of the temple;<sup>12</sup> 2) the size of the complete statue would have fit in the Classical temple's pediment;<sup>13</sup> and 3) the figure of Hera would suit the subject matter of the west pediment, the "Fall of Troy",<sup>14</sup> since Hera supported the Argives in the war. However, since only the head has been preserved it is difficult to determine its original provenance; any indication that the statue may have been joined to the west pediment has not been preserved. Its find spot also does not necessarily indicate that she came from the pediment directly above since this would assume that the statue fell naturally from the pediment, which is not always the case. This head of Hera may now be found in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 202.

<sup>12</sup> Brownson, 1893, 220-221; Waldstein, 1893, 202.

<sup>13</sup> Waldstein, 1893, 202.

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias, 2.17.3; Lambrinouidakis, 64.

<sup>15</sup> Athens NM, inventory No. 1571, Petrakos, 1981, 84-85 and fig. 65.



Figure 1.1

Wooden votive statuette, perhaps depicting the cult image of Hera from Samos,  
ca. 650–625 BC. Height: 28.7 cm.



Figure 1.2

Cult statues from Dheros, Crete: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

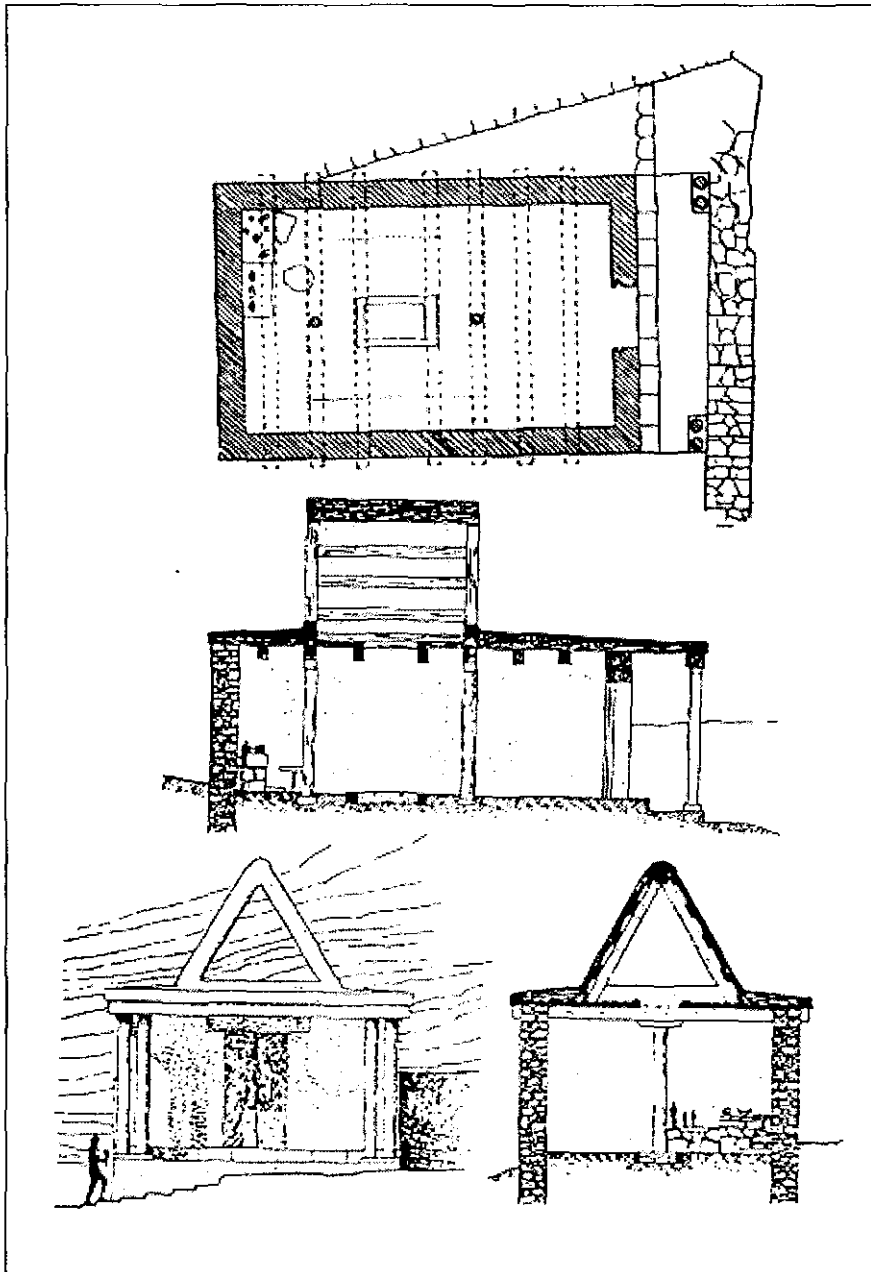


Figure 1.3

Dreros, Temple of Apollo: plan, elevation, sections.  
 The cult statues shown in fig. 1.2 are depicted standing on a platform north of the central column.



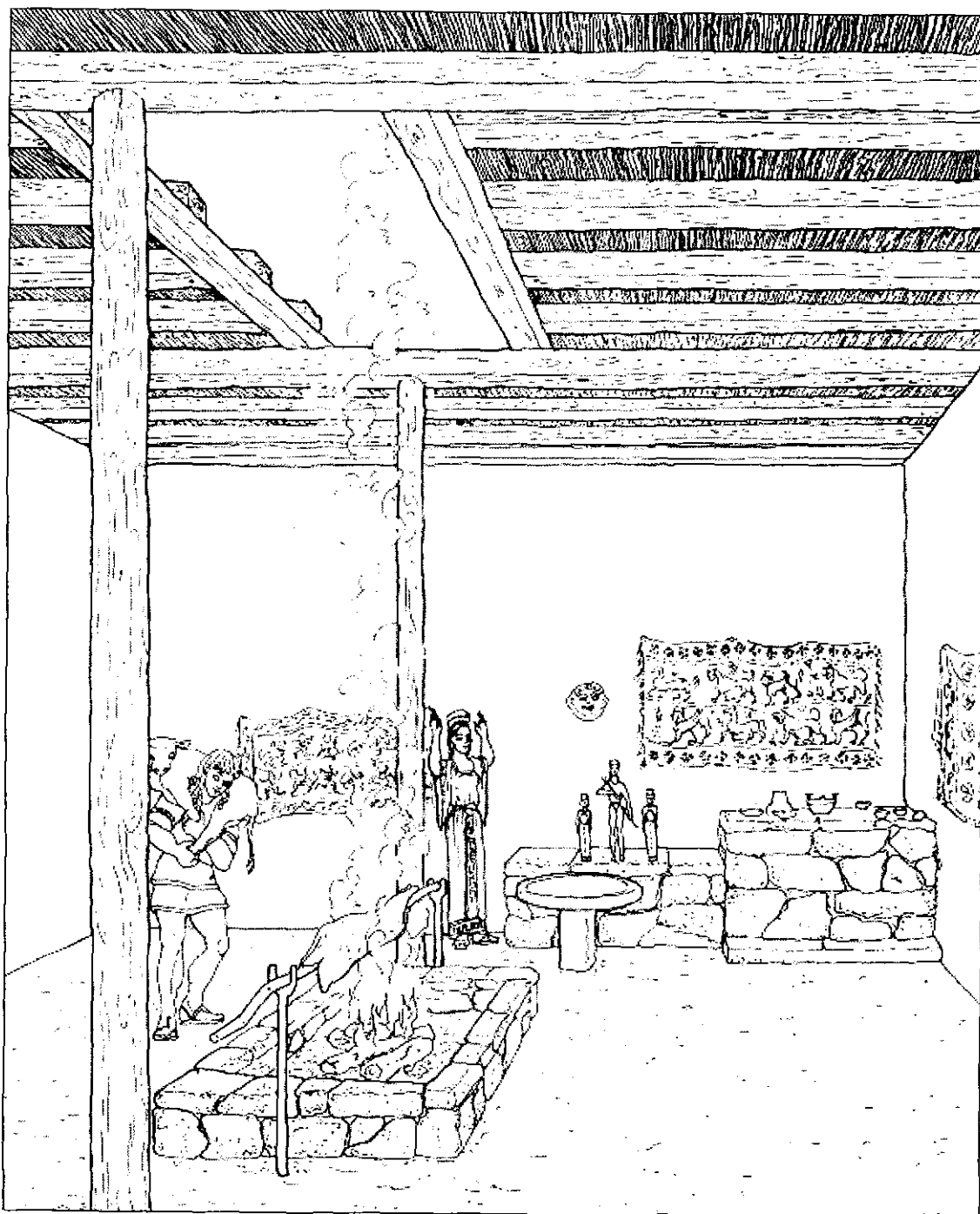


Figure 1.4

Reconstruction of the interior of the temple of Apollo at Dheros (Crete) in the seventh century BC. The cult statues shown in fig. 1.2 are depicted standing on a platform north of the central column.

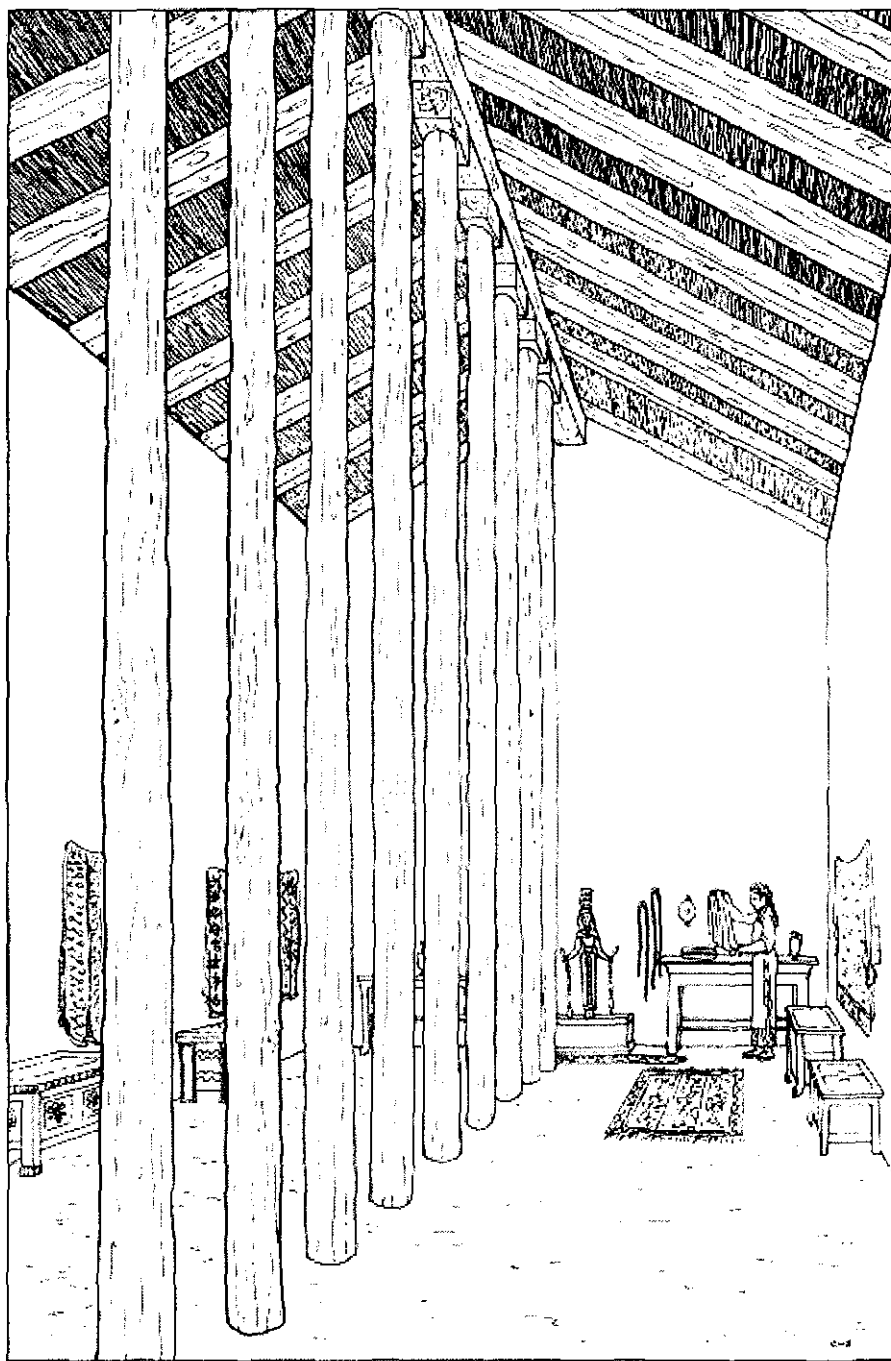


Figure 1.5

Reconstruction of the Heraion at Samos with cult statue placed north of the central colonnade.

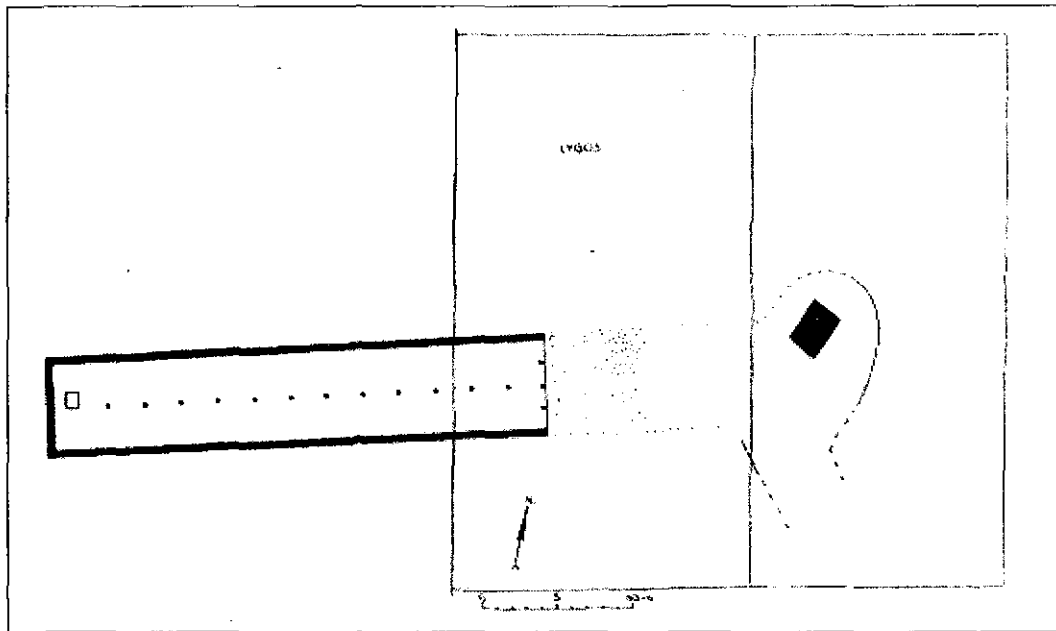


Figure 2.1

Eighth century temple of Hera on Samos with central colonnade.

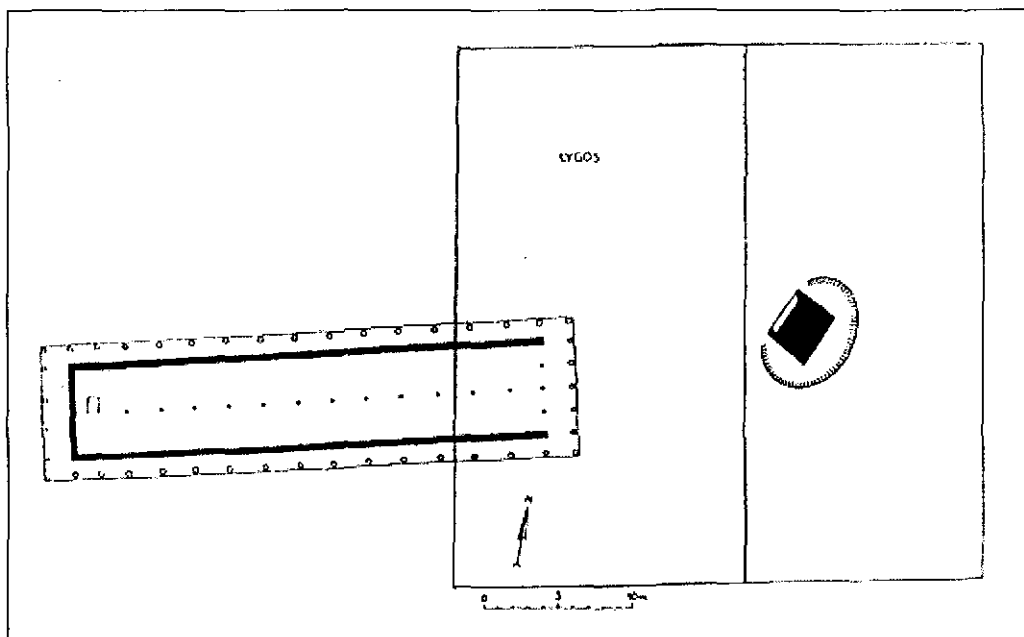


Figure 2.2

Eighth century temple of Hera on Samos with central colonnade and added peristyle.

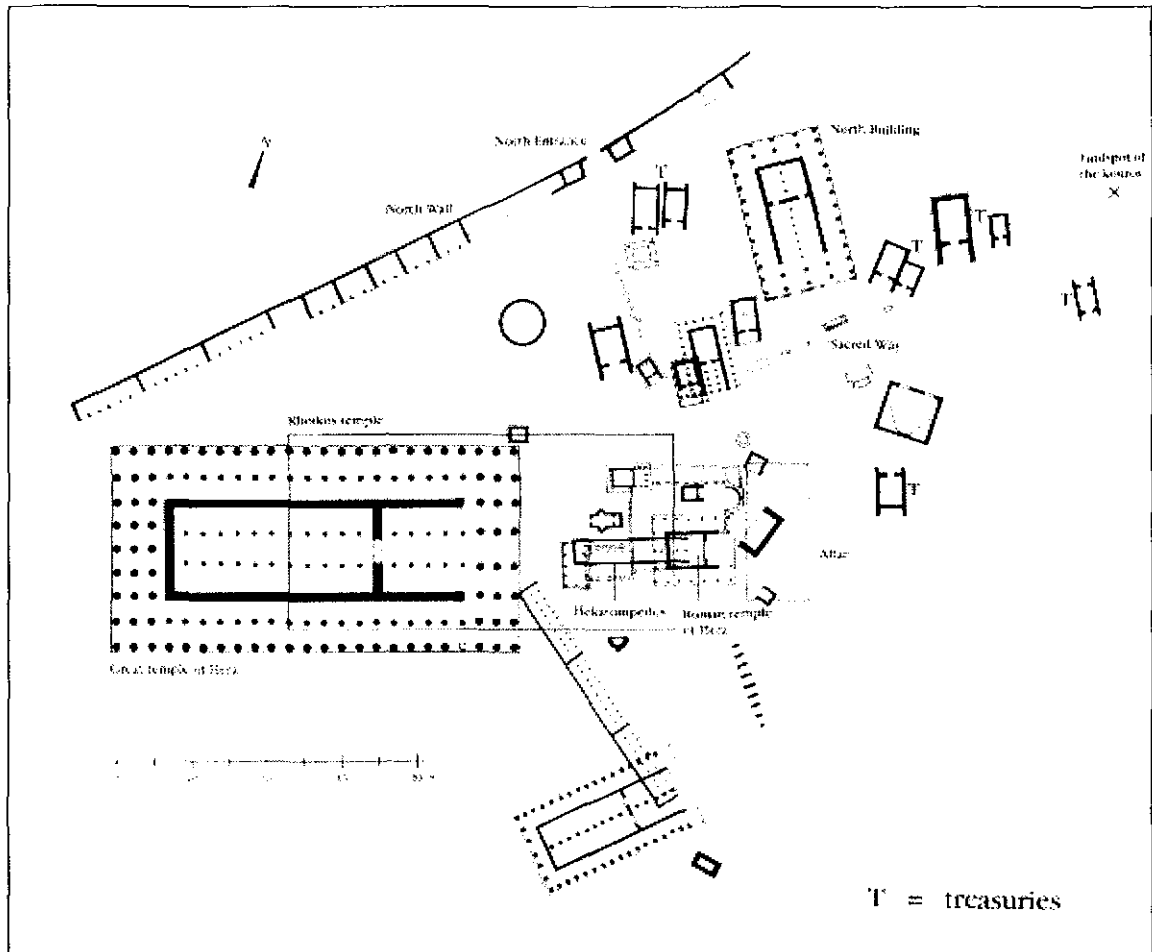


Figure 2.3

Phased plan of the sanctuary of Hera on Samos including buildings and monuments ranging in date from the eighth century BC until Early Christian times (sixth century AD).

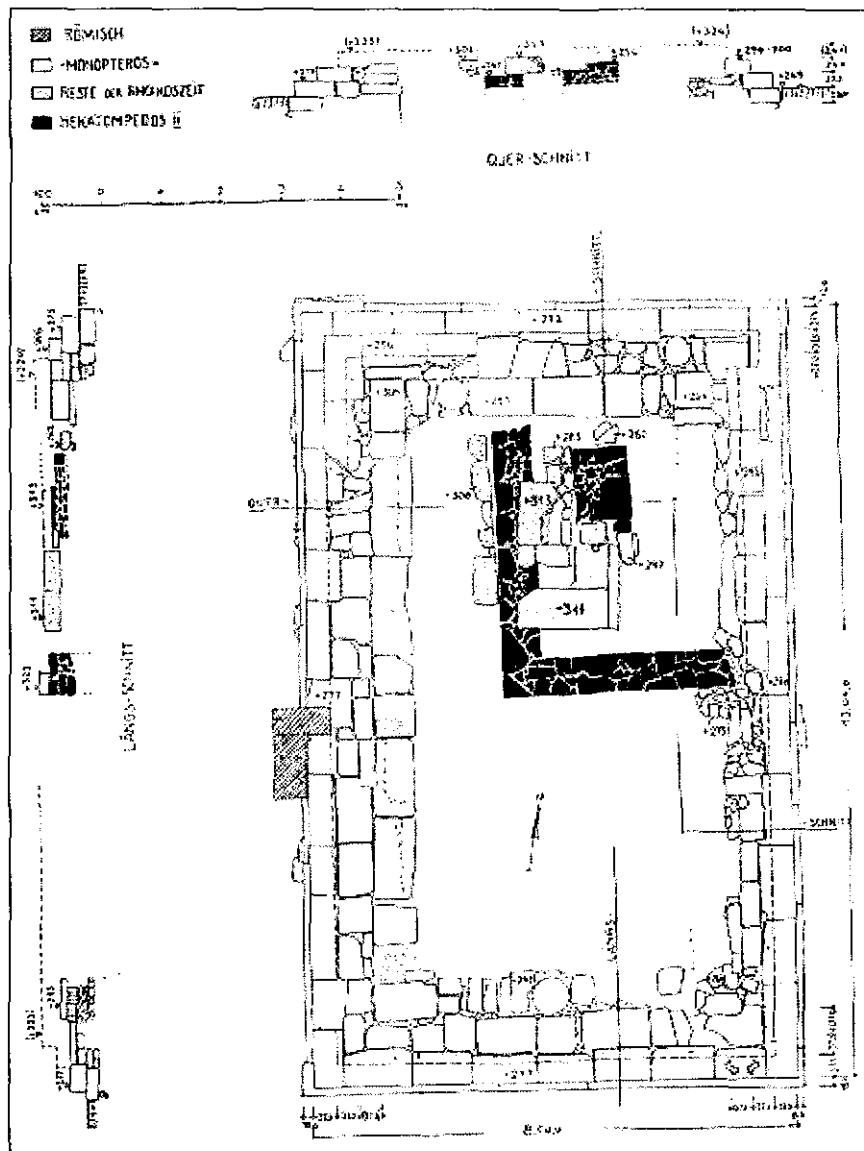


Figure 2.4

State-plan of "monopteros".

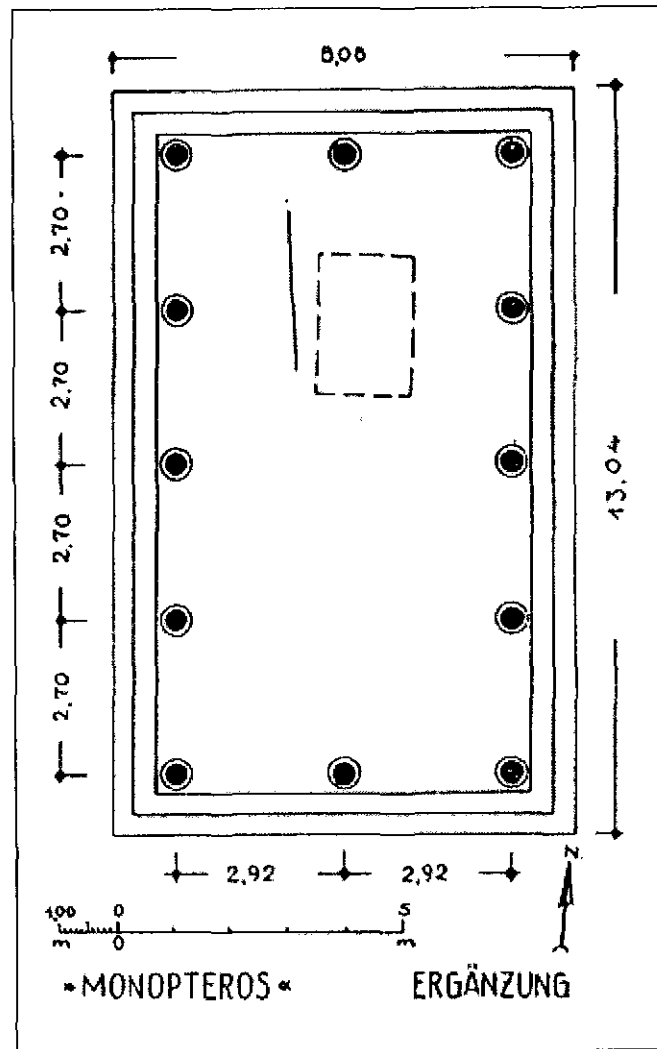


Figure 2.5

Restored plan of "monopteros".

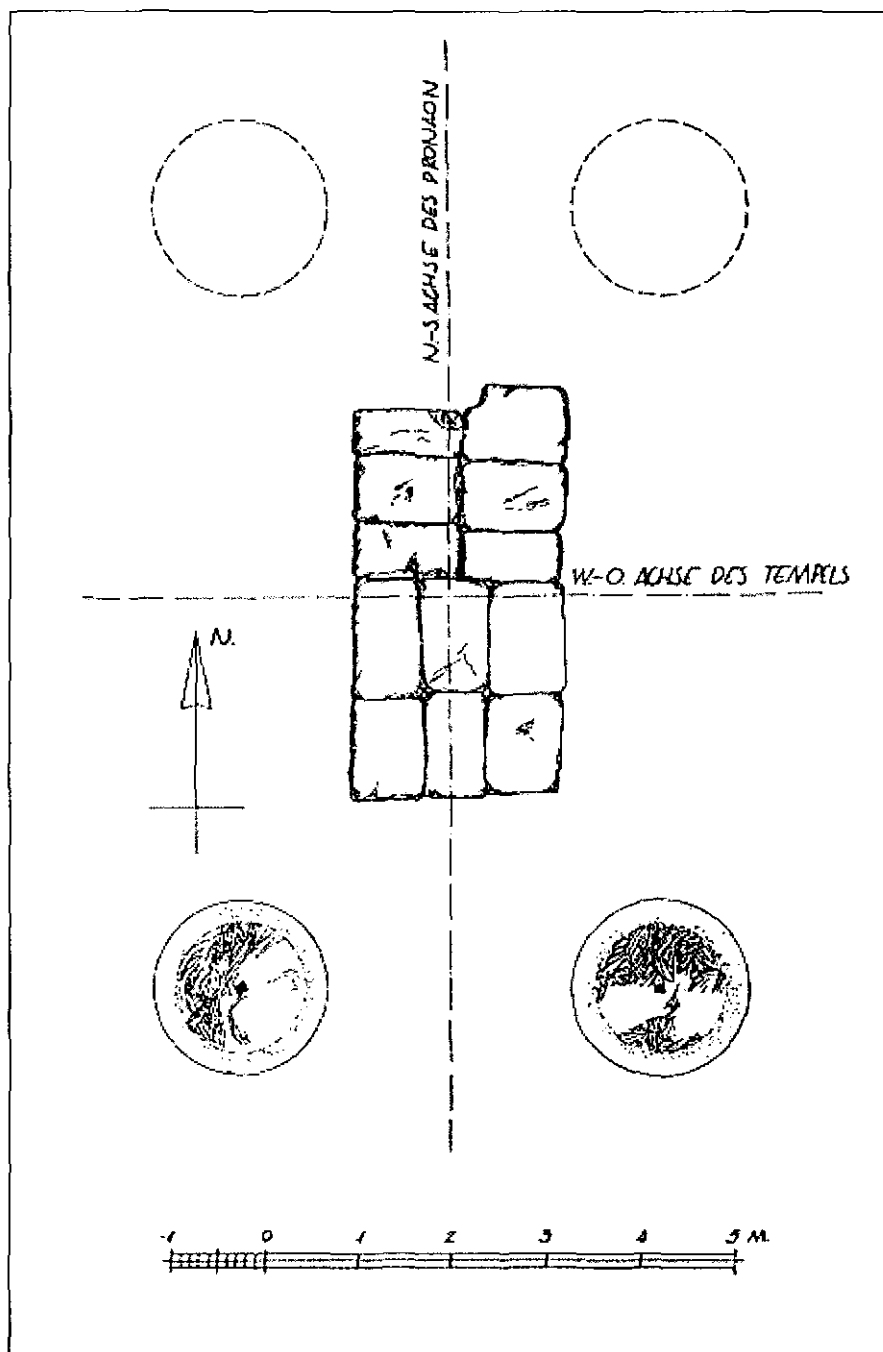


Figure 2.6

Base remains from the pronaos of the "Polykrates temple".



Figure 2.7

Bronze statuette, probable copy of the bronze image of Apollo by Kanachos from Didyma. British Museum.



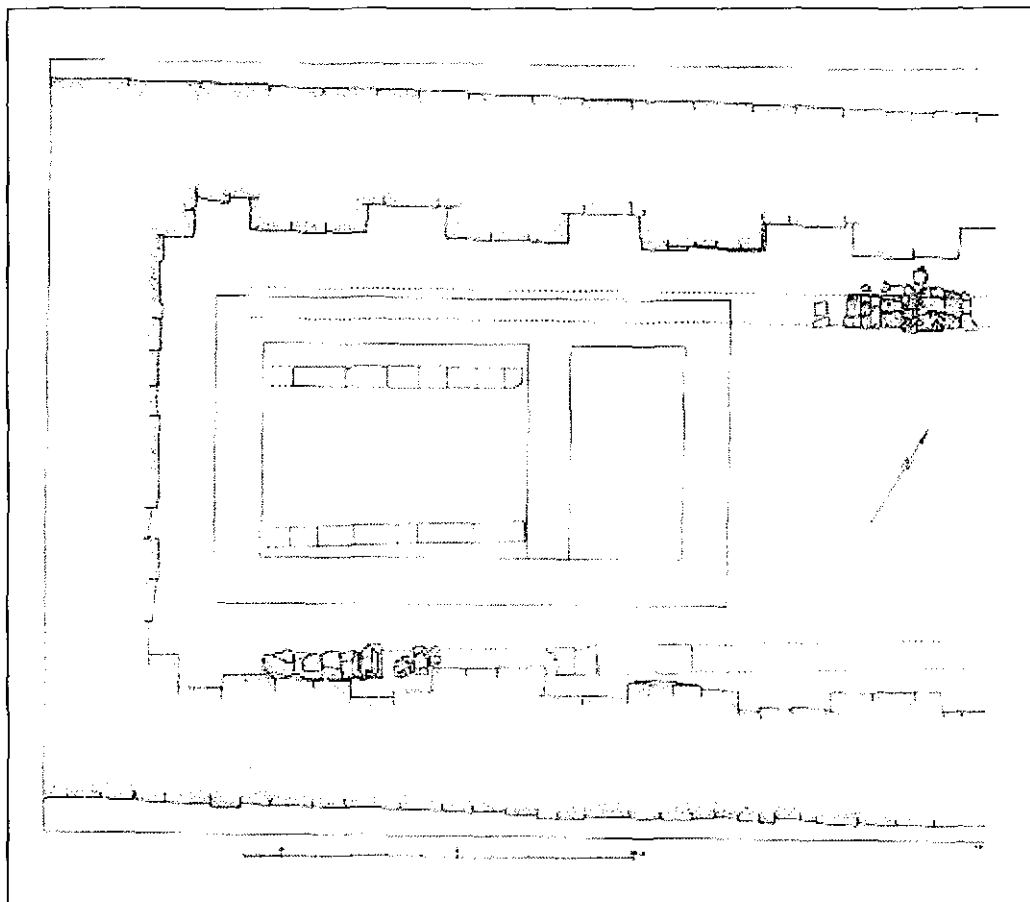


Figure 2.8

Early remains in adyton of temple of Apollo at Didyma.  
Remains of late geometric enclosure walls and early naikos remains.

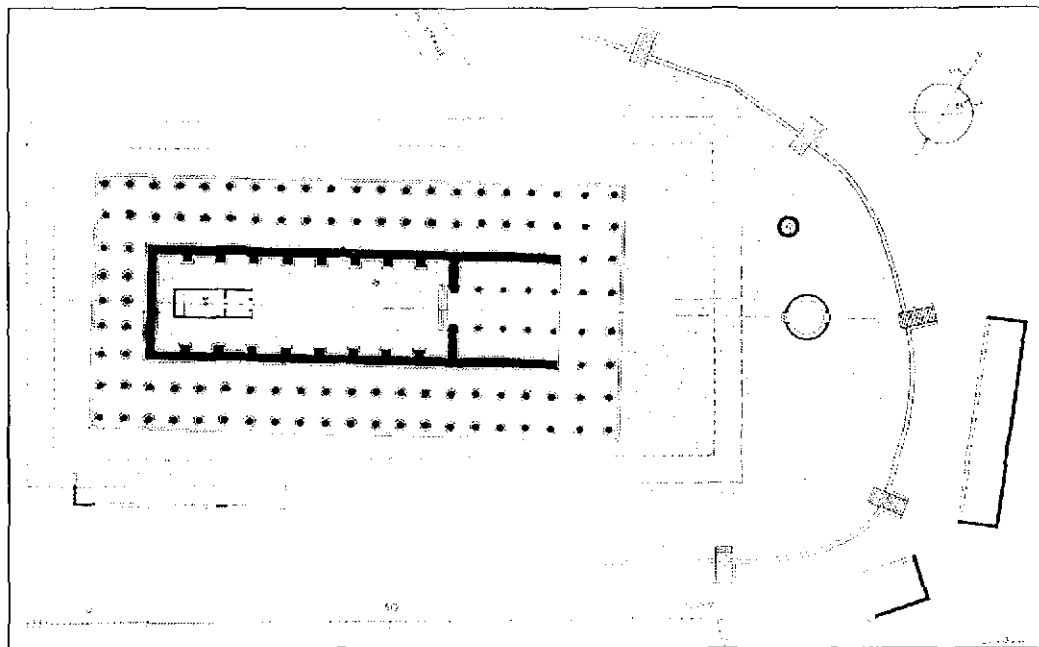


Figure 2.9

Restored plan of Archaic temple of Apollo at Didyma and naiskos in adyton.

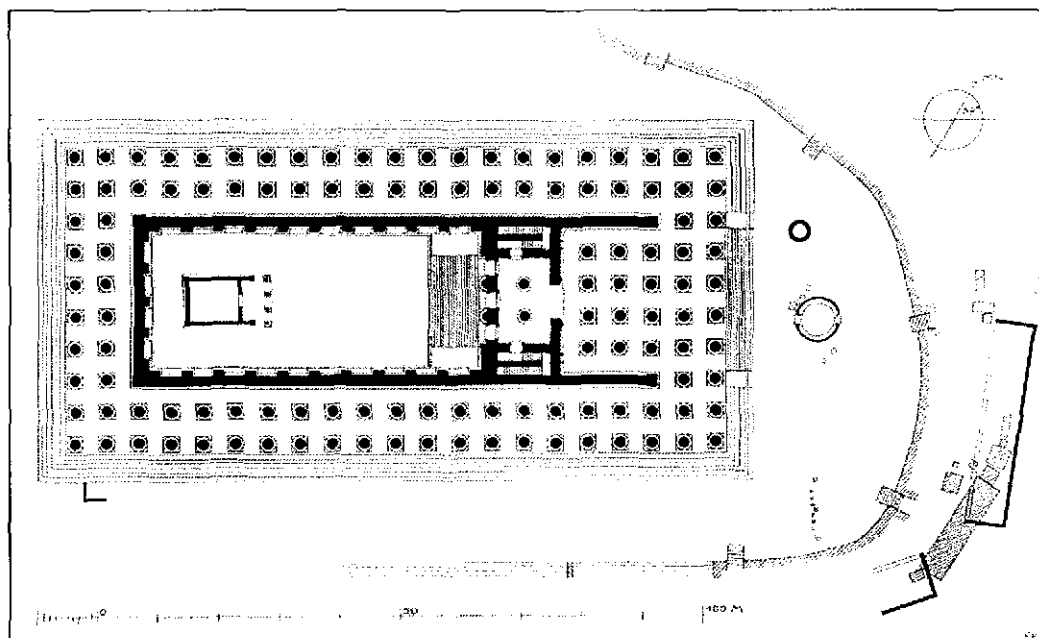


Figure 2.10

Restored plan of Hellenistic temple of Apollo at Didyma and naiskos in adyton.



Figure 3.1

Sanctuary of Athena Nike from the northwest.

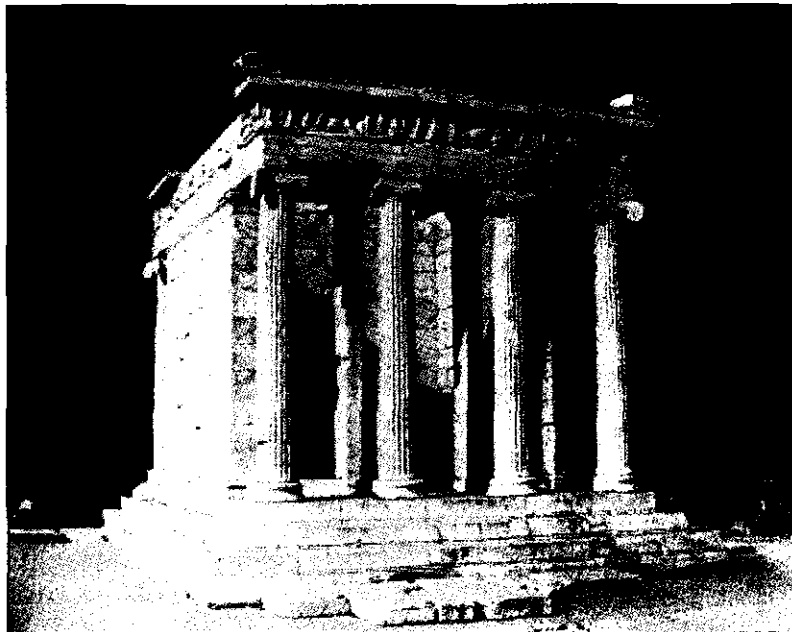


Figure 3.2

Temple of Athena Nike, from the east.



a. Repository (base for the cult statue) from the east



b. Repository with deposit of figurines from the southeast.

Figure 3.3

Repository (Base for the cult statue)

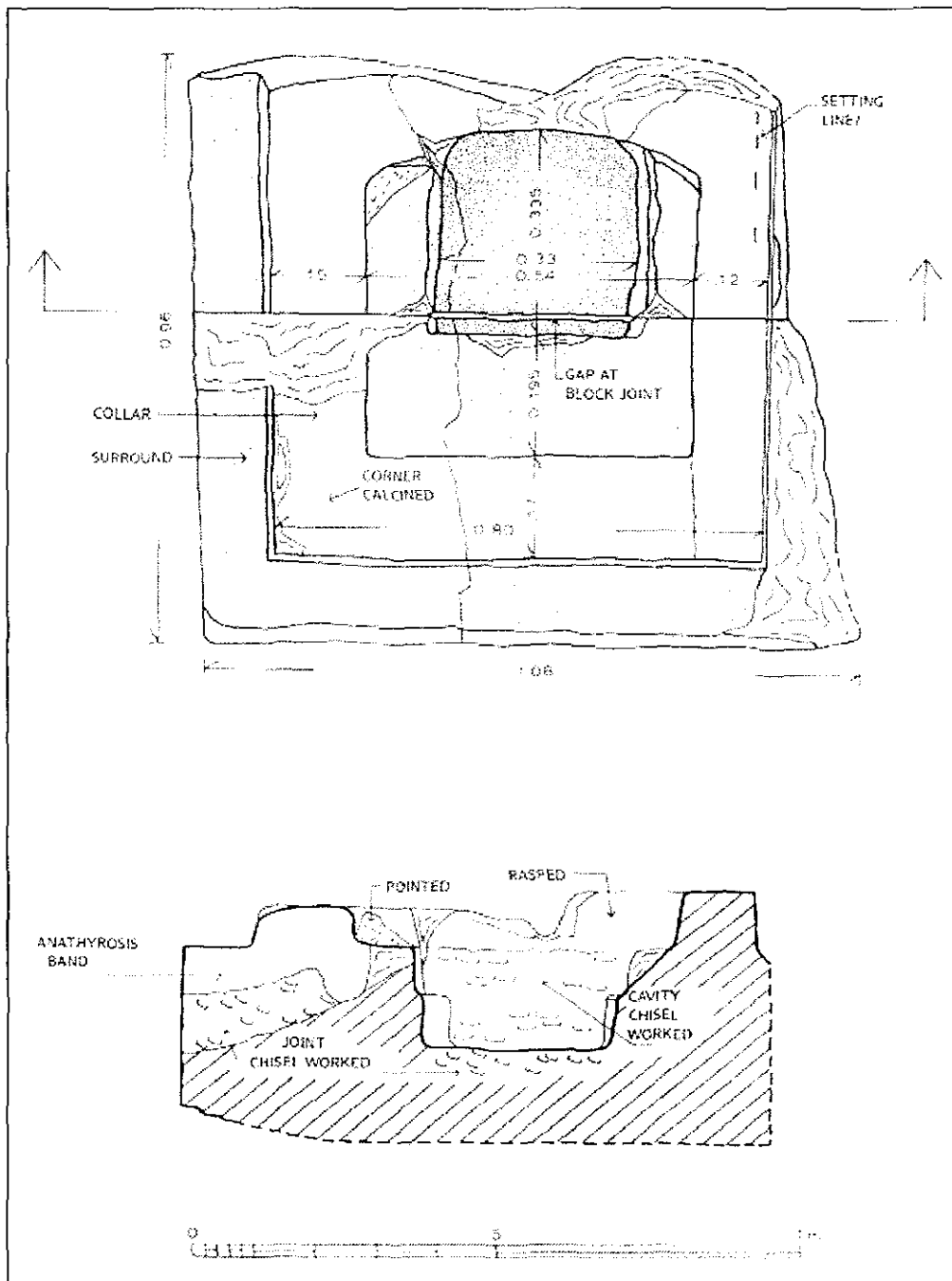


Figure 3.4

Plan and cross-section of the repository (base for the cult statue).

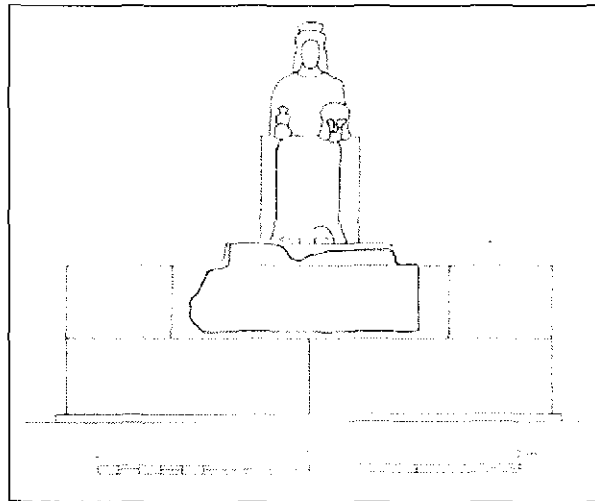


Figure 3.5

Reconstruction of the base for the cult statue of Athena Nike.

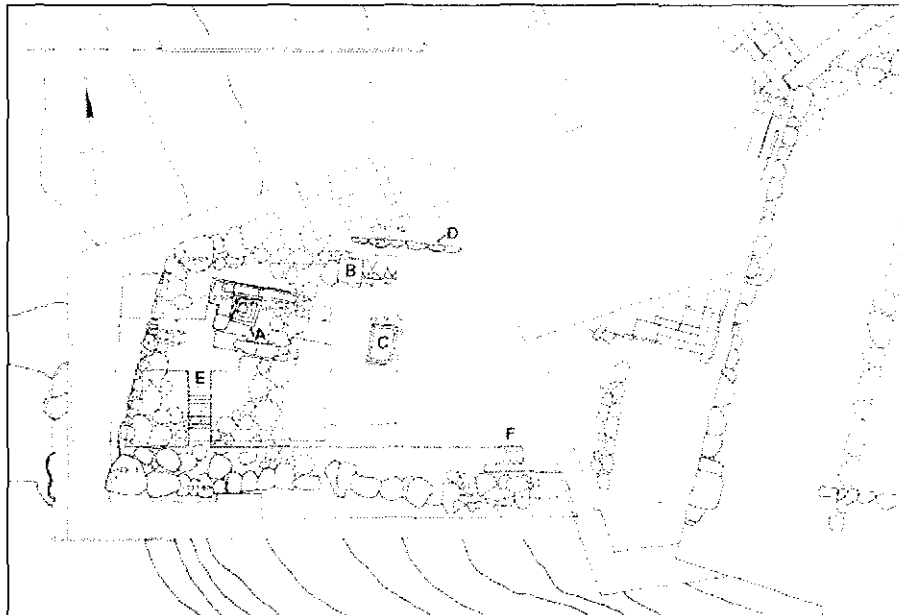


Figure 3.6

Actual-state plan of early Nike Bastion and surroundings.

A: poros repository (base for cult statue); B: square altar; C: rectangular altar; D: irregular trapezoidal wall; E: modern southeast stairway; F: modern south stairway

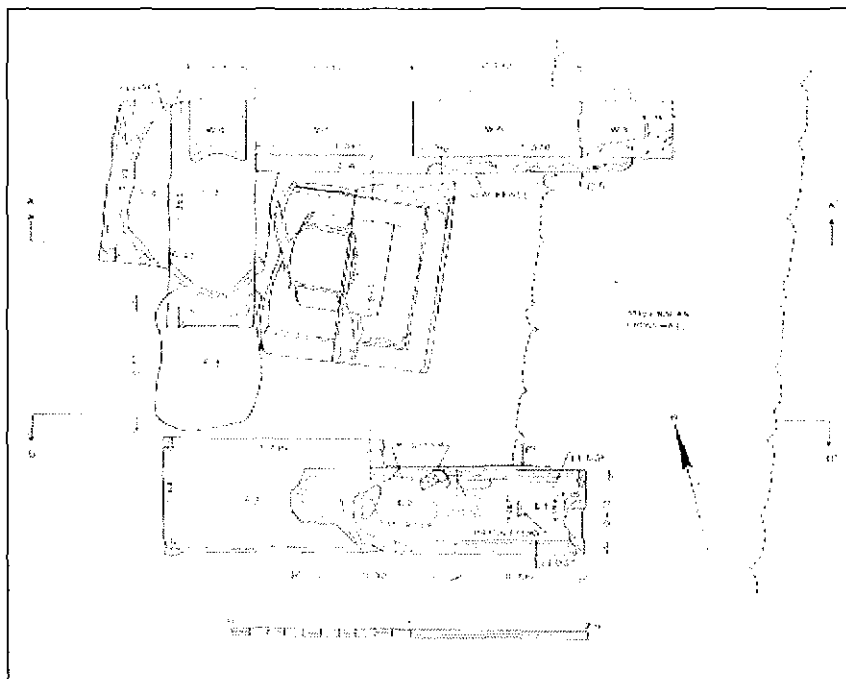


Figure 3.7

Plan of naiskos and repository (base for the cult statue).

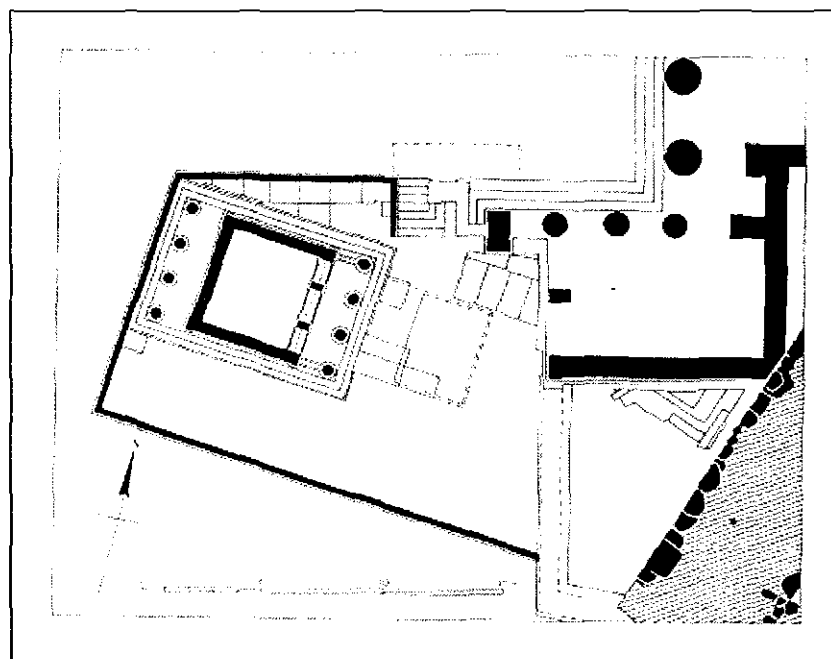


Figure 3.8

Plan of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century (Stage IV) Nike Sanctuary and southwest wing.

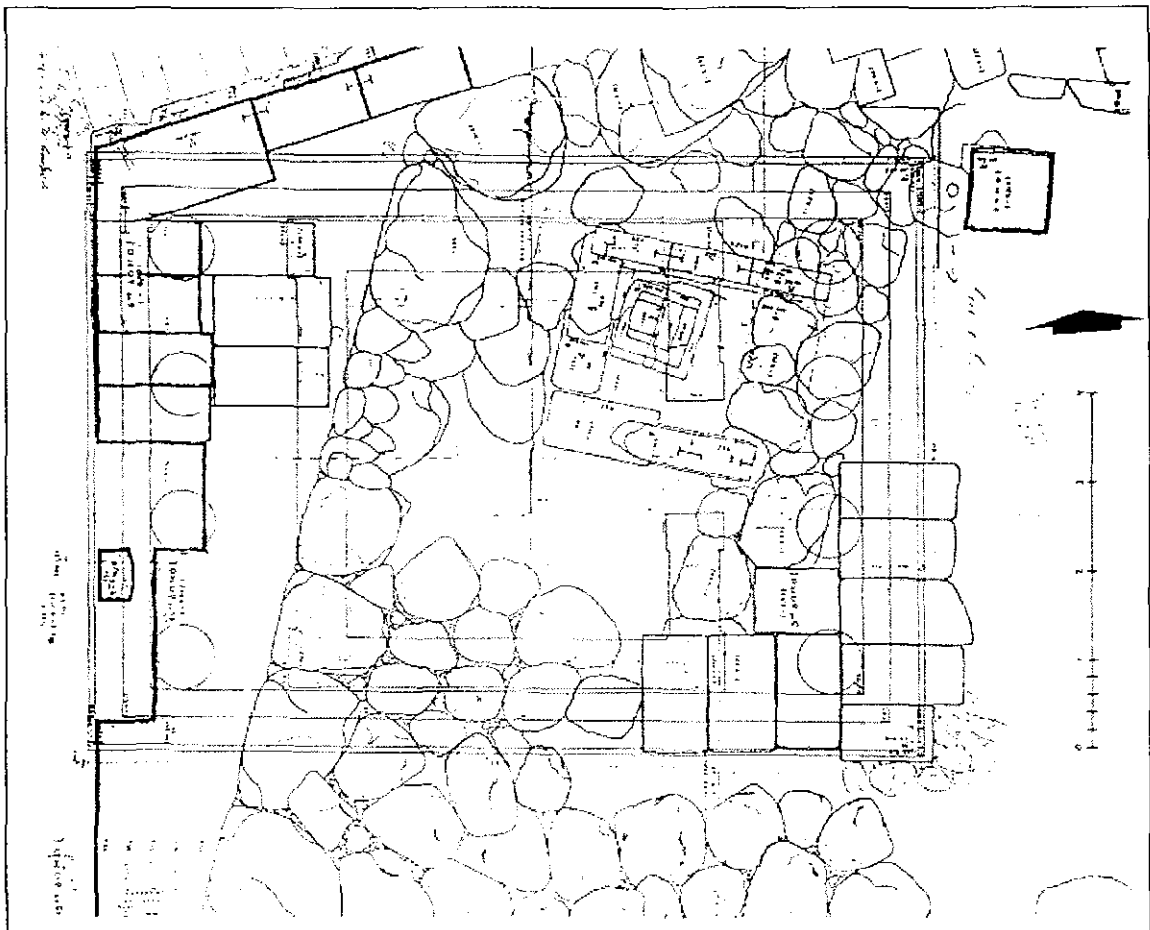


Figure 3.9

Superimposed plan of the Temple of Athena Nike showing the Stage IV temple and the Stage III statue base (located in the northeast corner of the Stage IV temple). The proposed chryselephantine statue likely stood on the central axis against the back (west) wall and the *xoanon* likely stood on the Stage III base site in the northeast corner of the Stage IV temple.



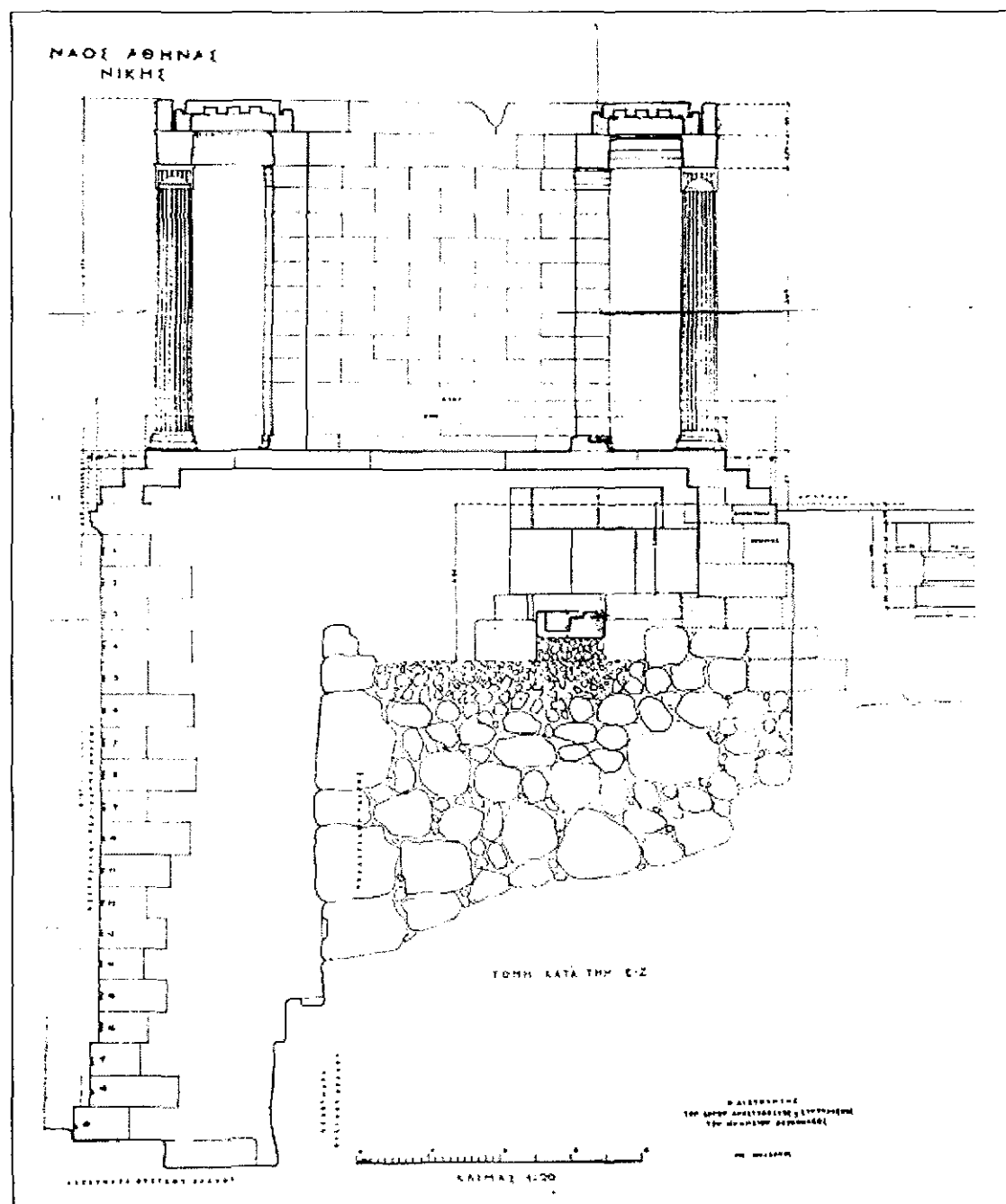


Figure 3.10

Longitudinal section of the Temple of Athena Nike (Stage IV) from the south.

The Stage III statue base, located beneath the northeast corner of the Stage IV temple, is highlighted.

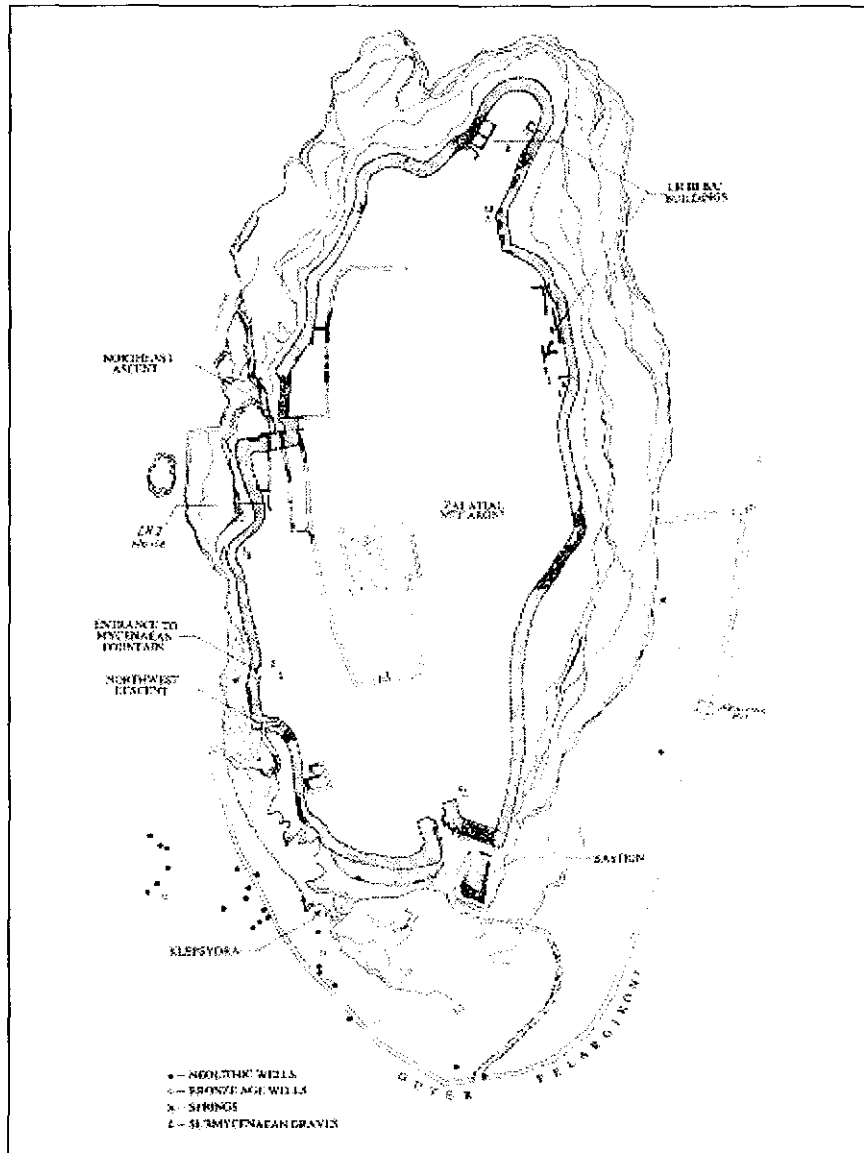


Figure 4.1

Plan of the Late Bronze Age (Mycenaean) Akropolis  
Showing the proposed site of the Mycenaean palace.

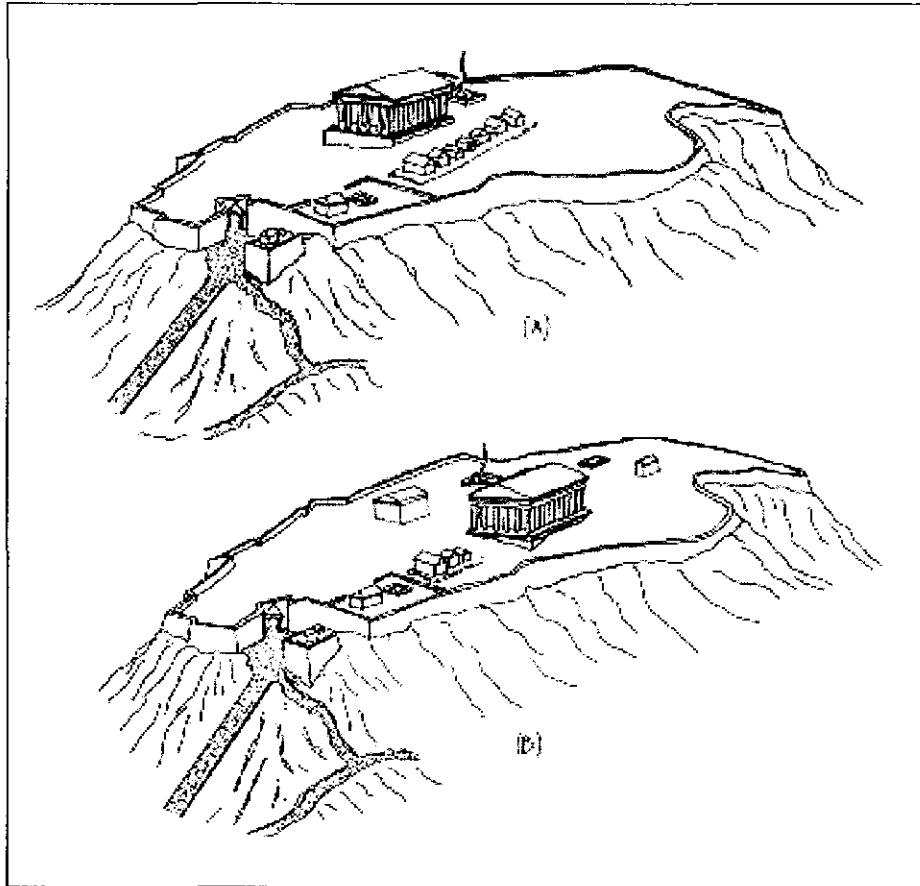


Figure 4.2

- (a) Reconstruction of mid-sixth century Akropolis, with "Bluebeard temple" on north side.
- (b) Reconstruction of mid-sixth century Akropolis with "Bluebeard temple" on south (Parthenon) site.

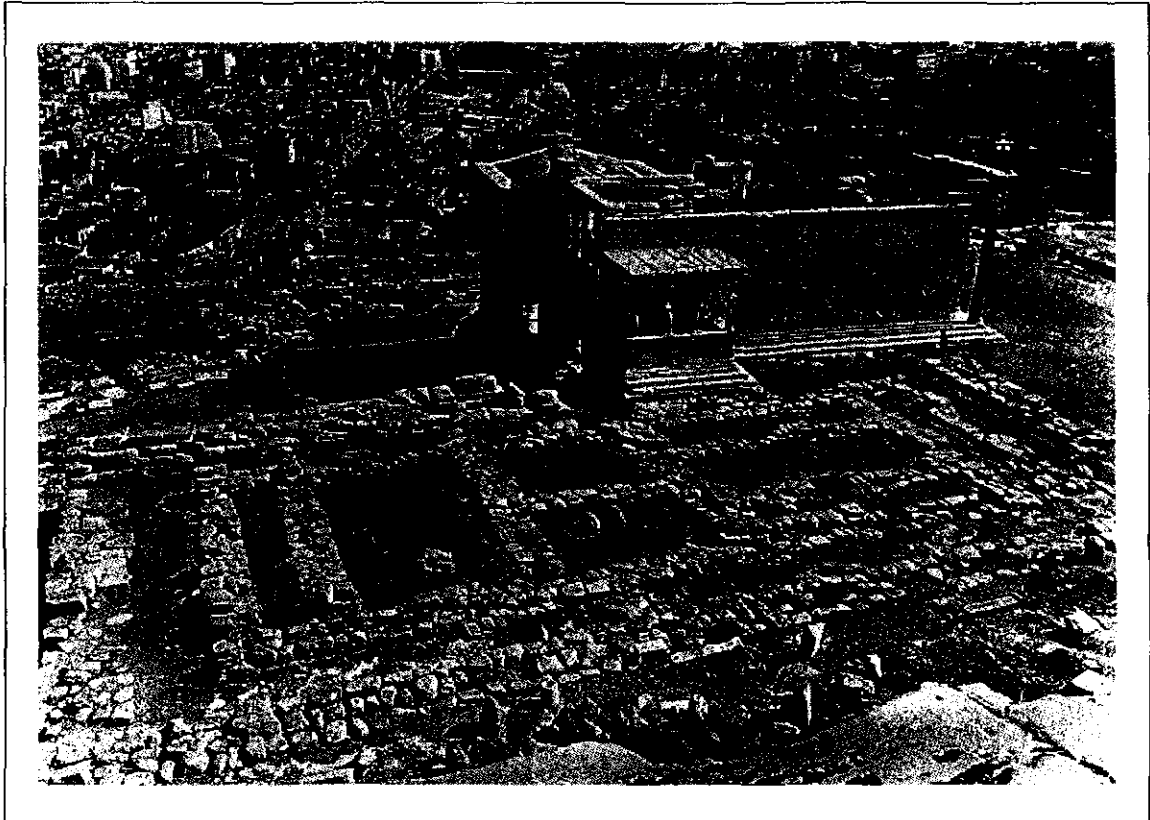


Figure 4.3

Late Archaic foundations for the Temple of Athena Polias (The Old Athena Temple).

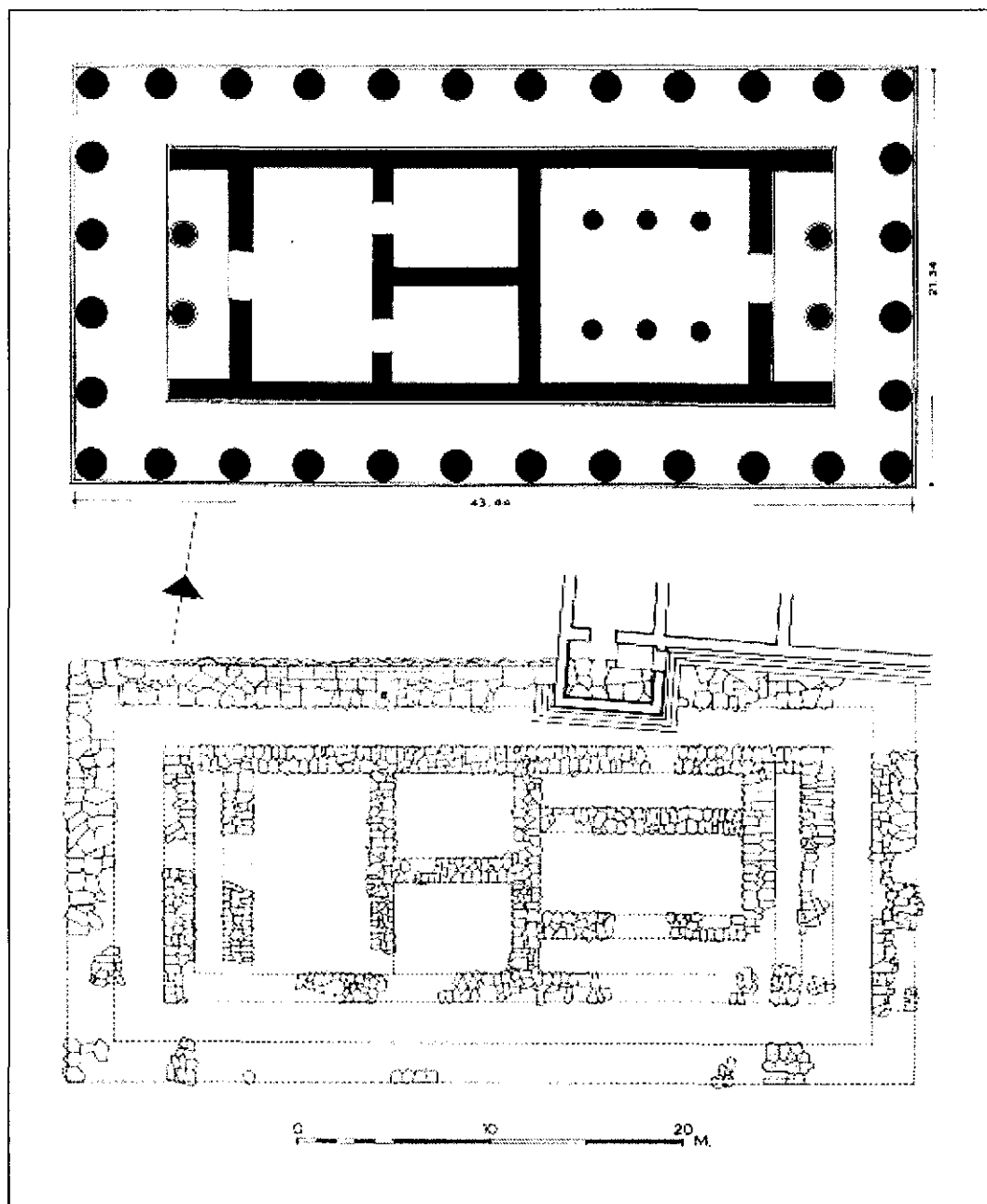


Figure 4.4

Plan of Late Archaic Temple of Athena Polias  
(restored plan and state plan).

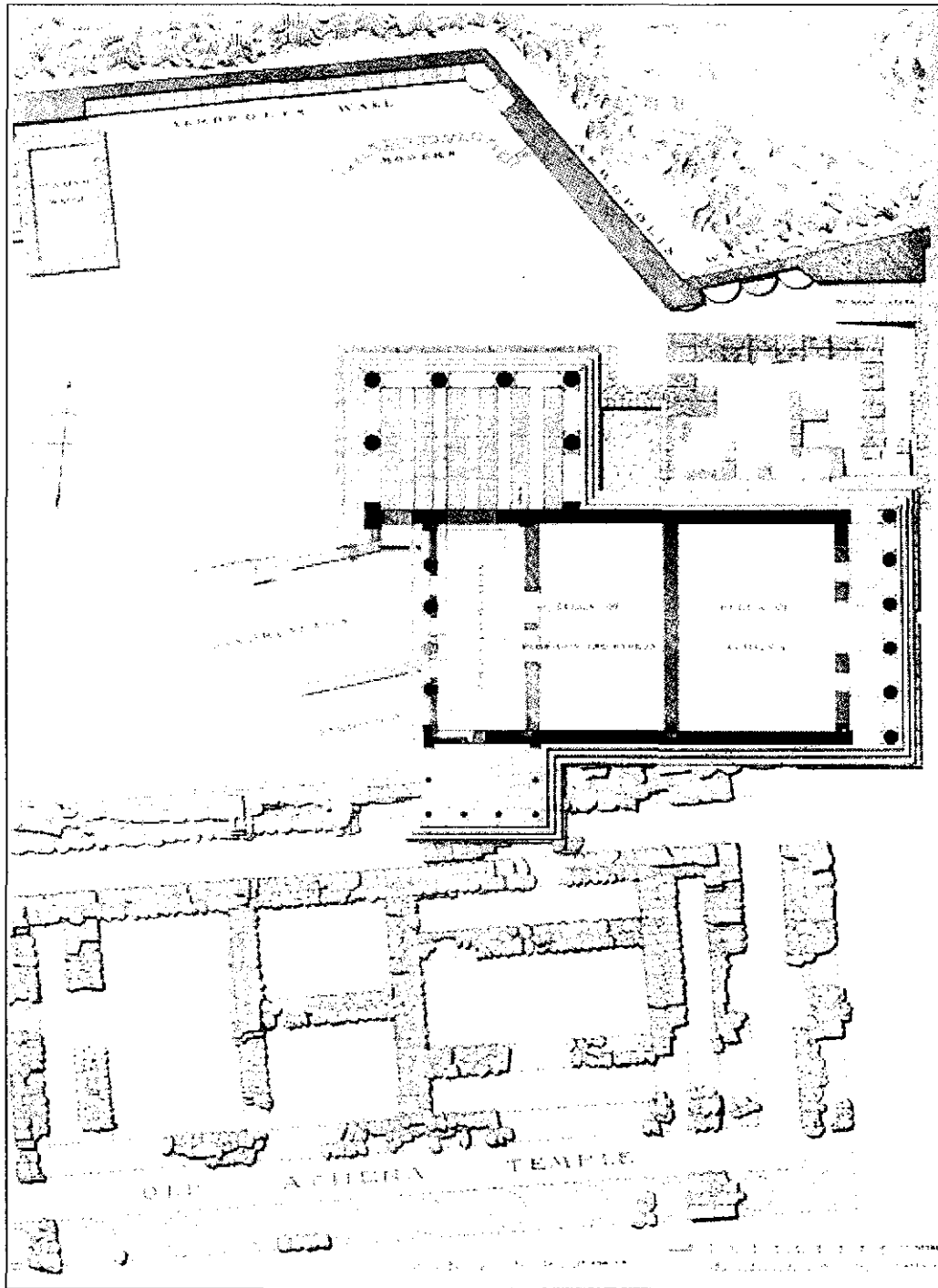


Figure 4.5

Plans of Erechtheion and Old Athena Temple.

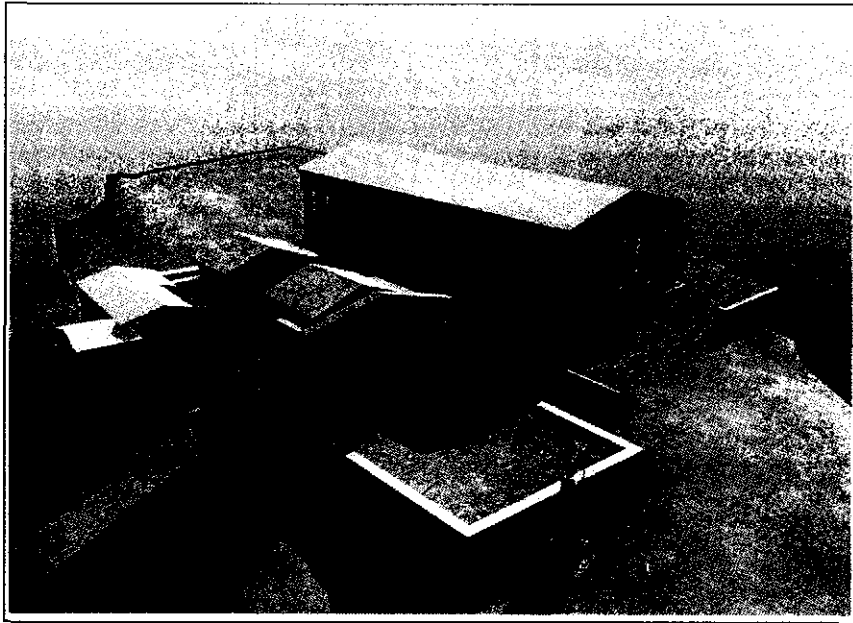


Figure 4.6

Model of the Akropolis, aerial view from the northwest.

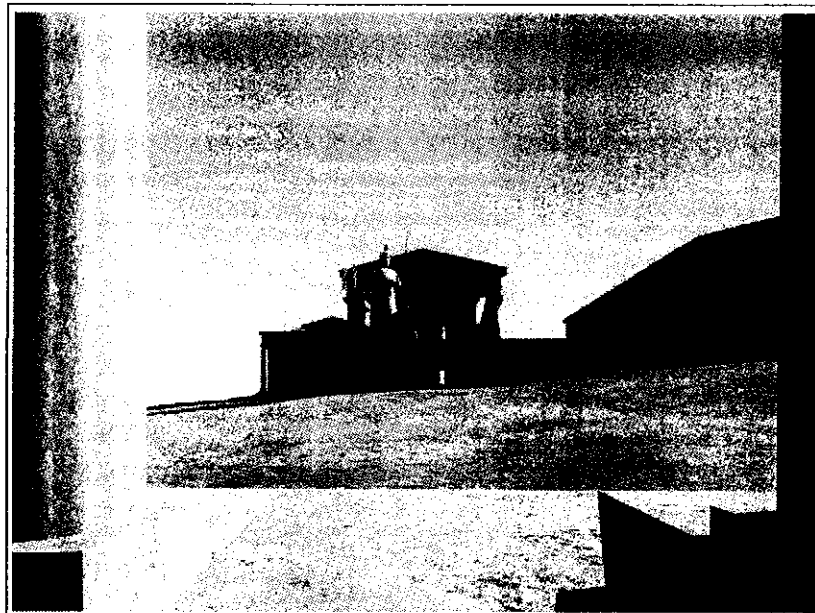


Figure 4.7

Model of the Akropolis, view from the Propylaea.

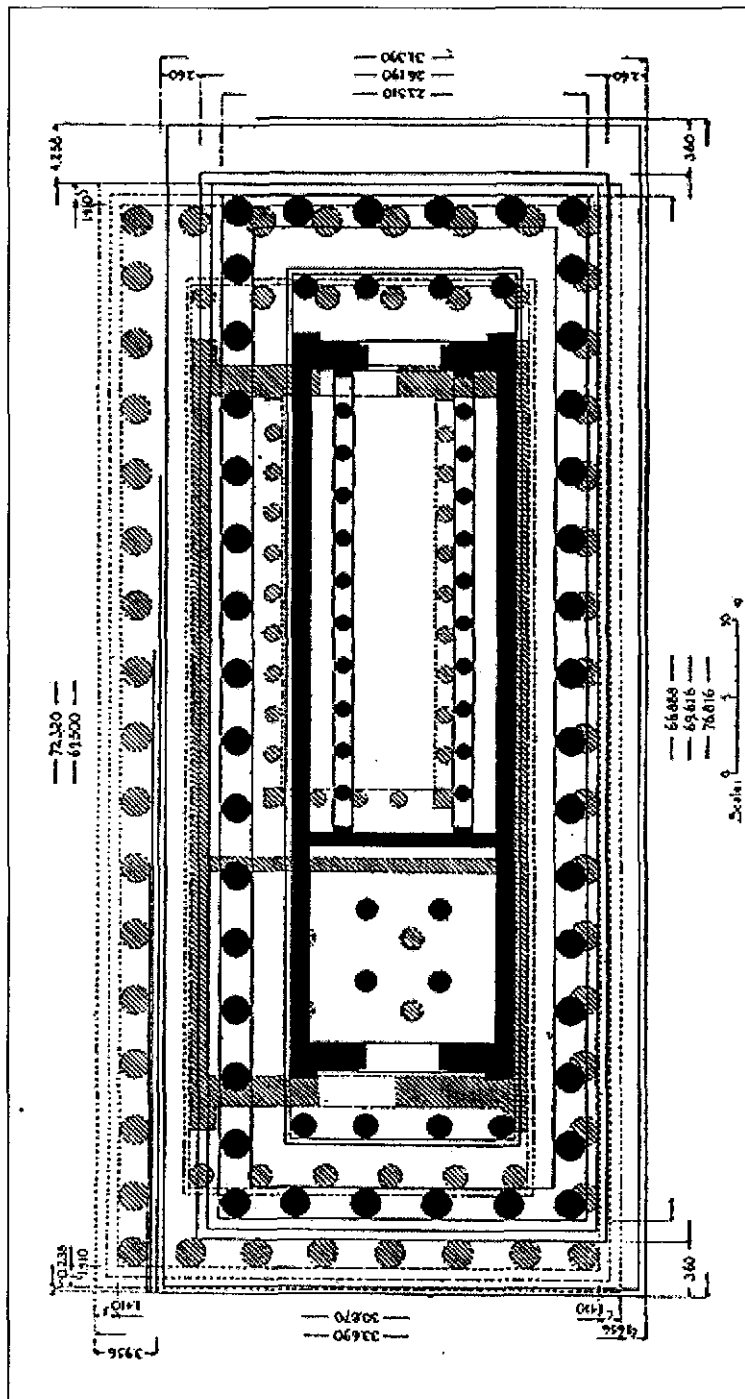


Figure 4.8

Superimposed plan of Older Parthenon and Classical Parthenon  
(Older Parthenon, solid; Classical Parthenon, hatched).



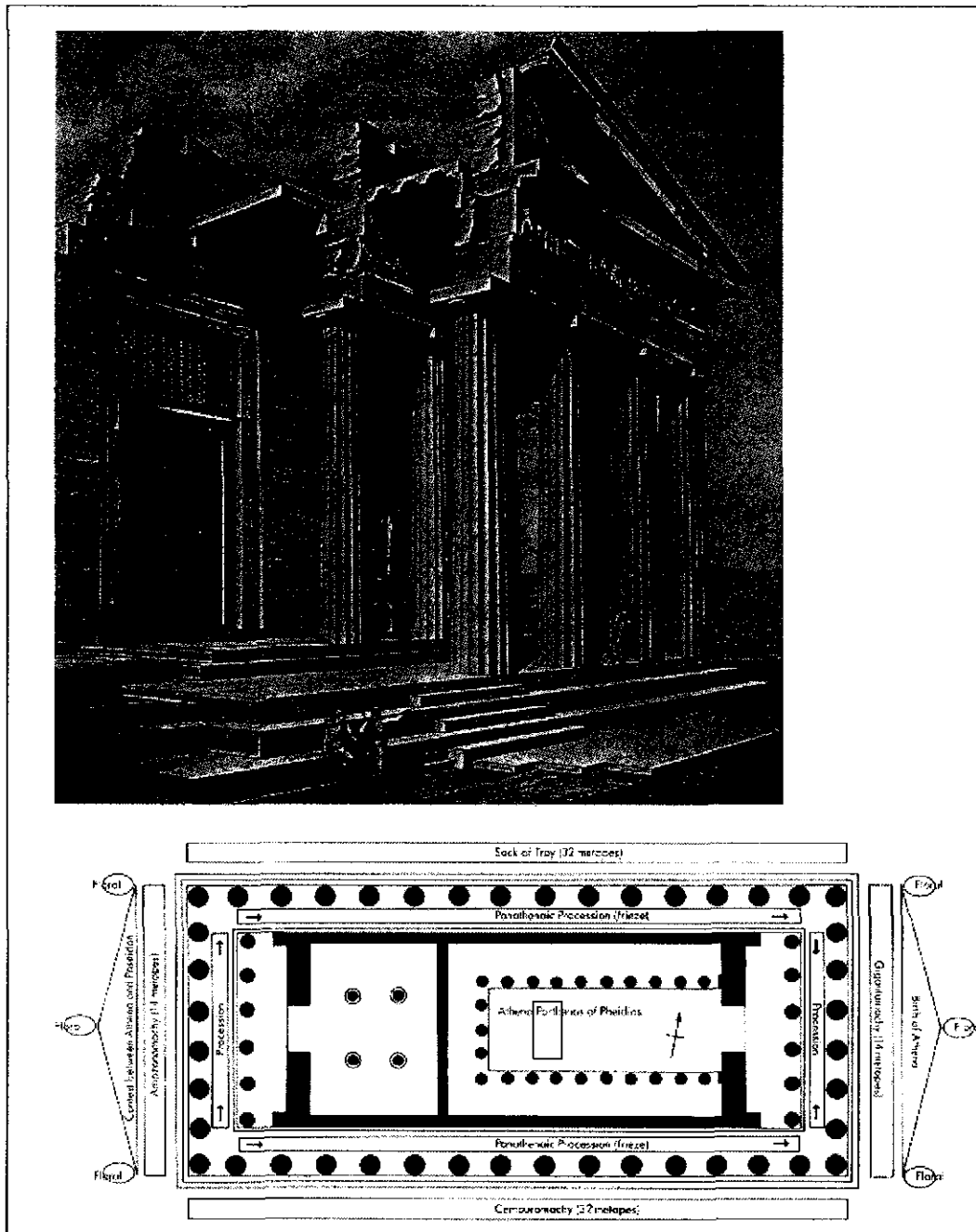


Figure 4.9

Classical Parthenon

- (a) cutaway view
- (b) plan of temple indicating the sculptural program.

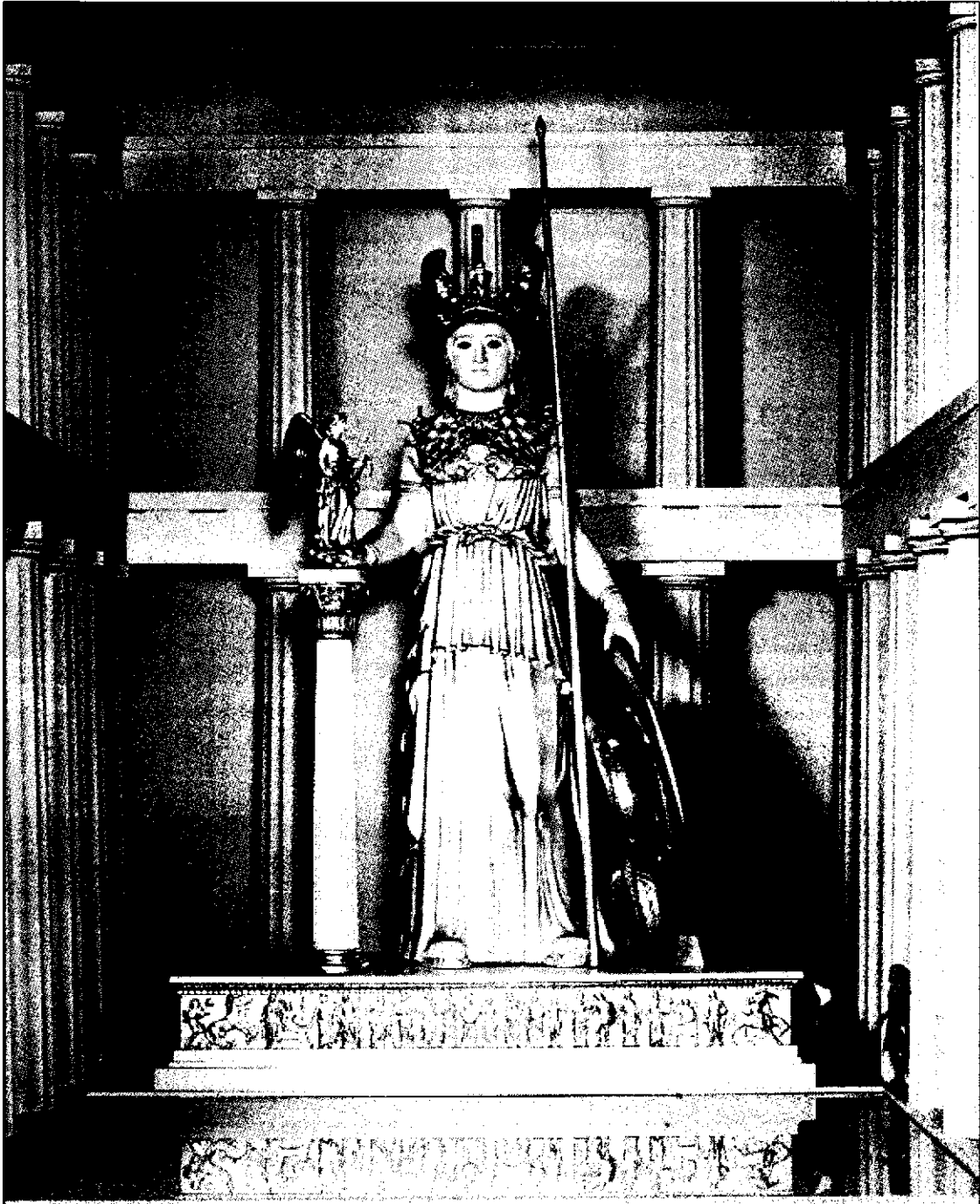


Figure 4.10

Parthenos statue reconstructed in the cella of the temple, general view.  
Royal Ontario Museum model.

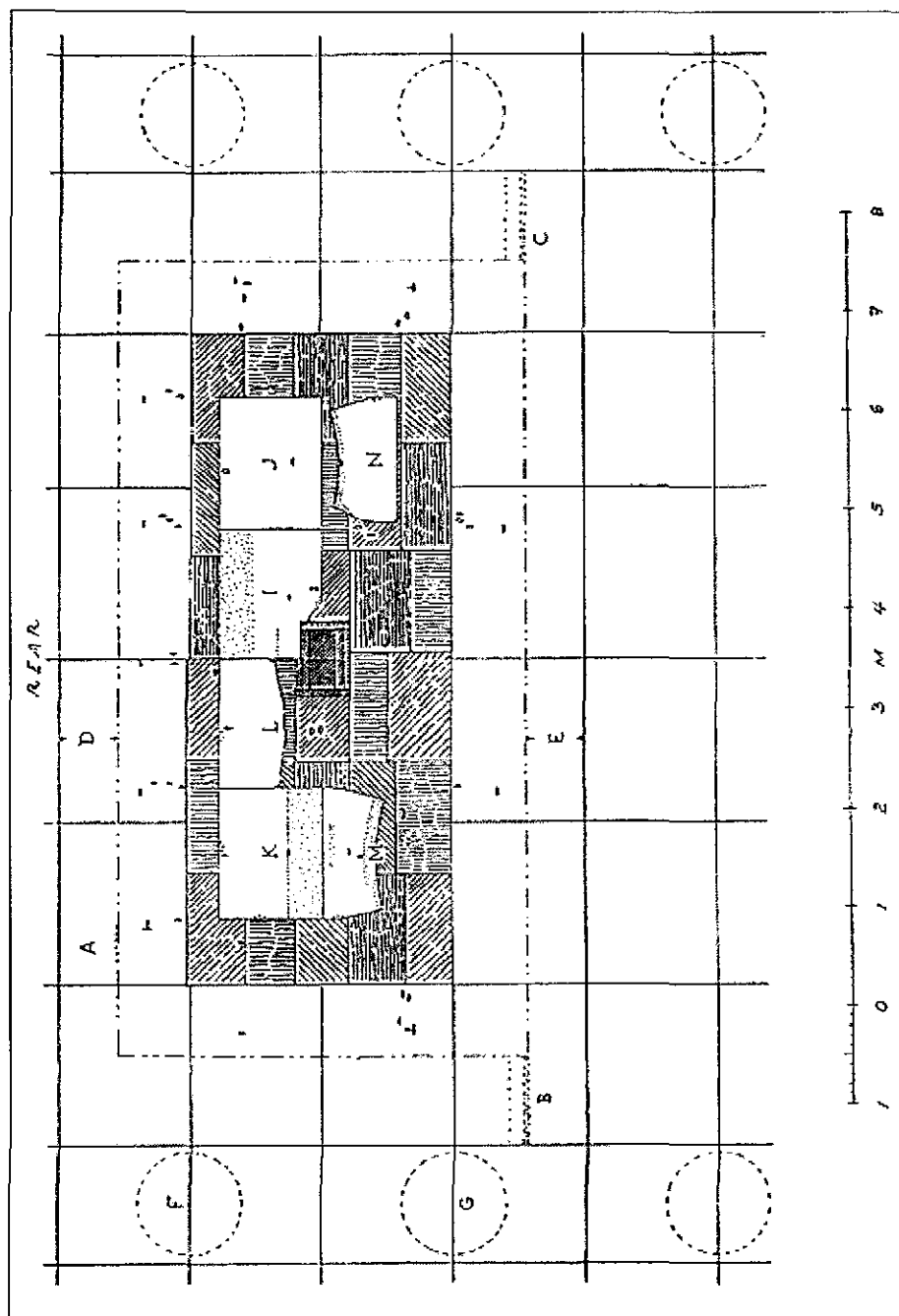


Figure 4.11

Data for the original base in Classical Parthenon.

The dotted lines give the outline of the base upon the pavement of the temple. The hole in the centre of the poros foundations is the socket for a large post which ran through the base and up into the statue.



Figure 4.12

Lenormant statuette.



Figure 4.13

Varvakion statuette. Front and side views.

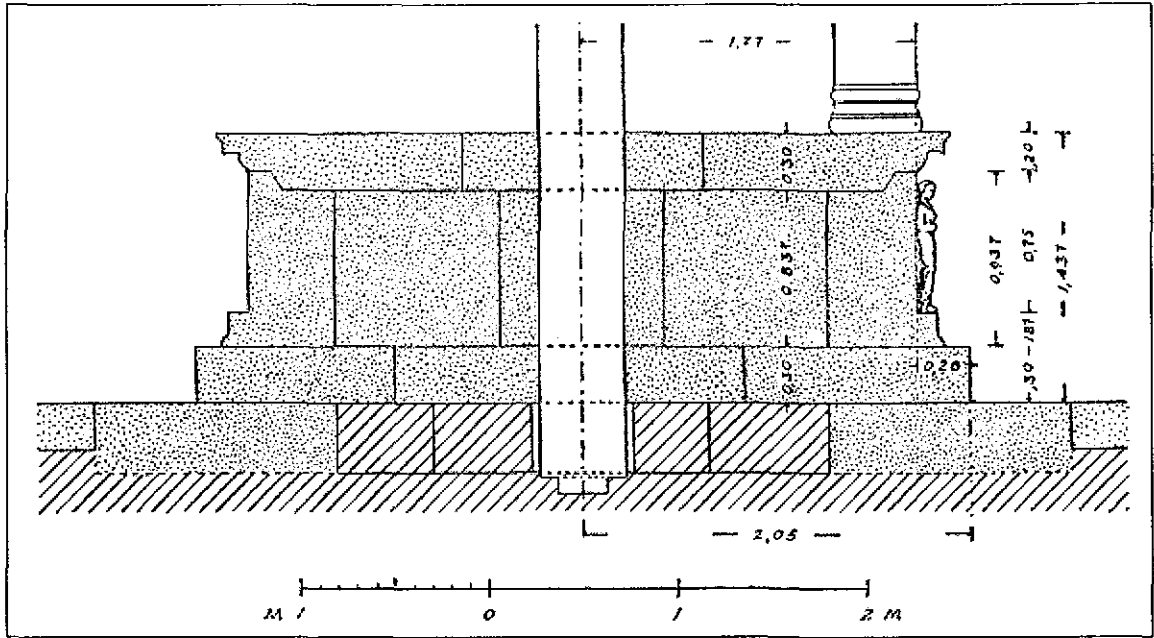


Figure 4.14

Section through the base of the Parthenon, looking north: restoration.

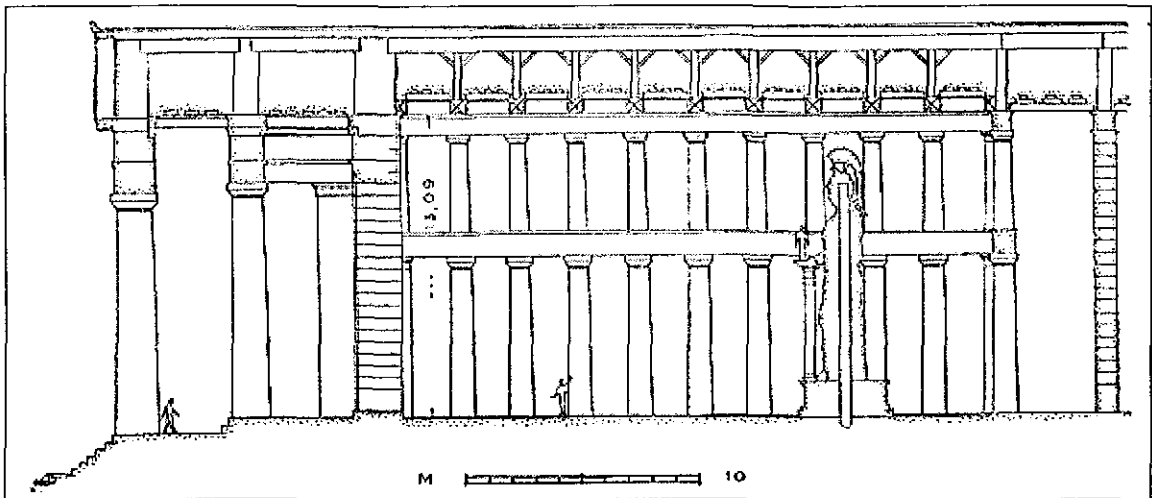


Figure 4.15

Longitudinal section through the east cella of the Parthenon: restoration.

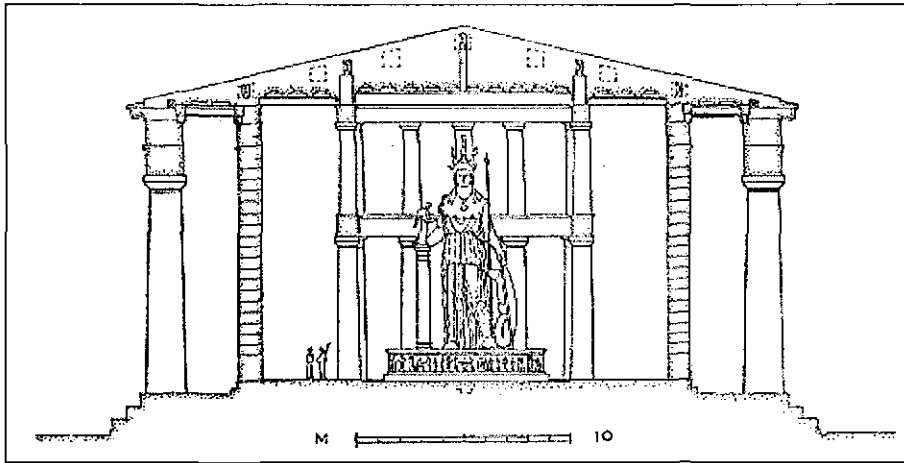


Figure 4.16

Cross-section through the east cella of the Parthenon: restoration.

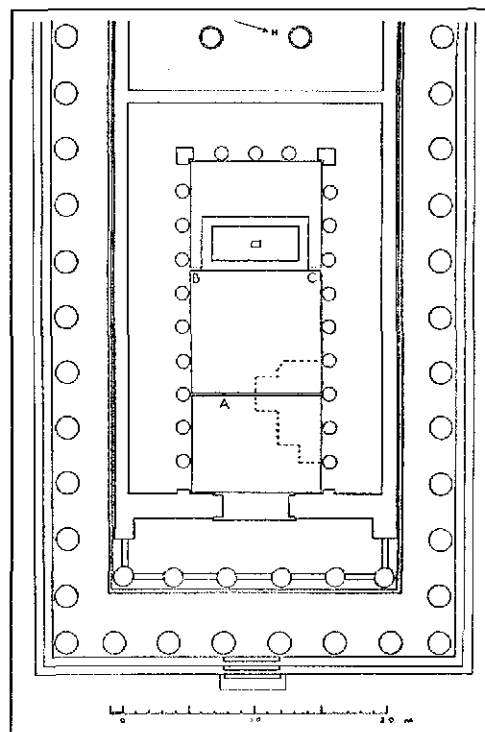


Figure 4.17

Plan of cella of the Parthenon showing: 1) the position of the base of the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena; 2) at A, B, and C traces of the rim of a water basin in front of the statue. The pavement where dotted is gone.

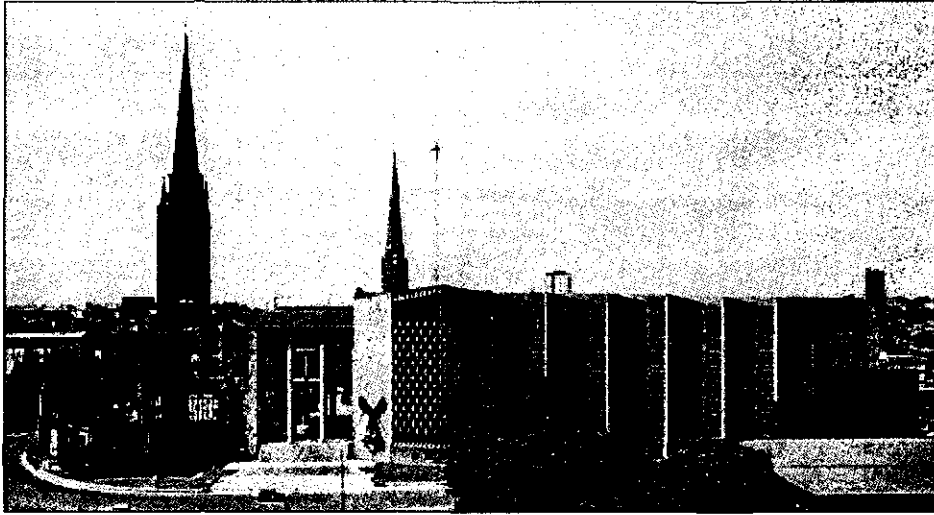


Figure 4.18

Coventry Cathedral, old and new.

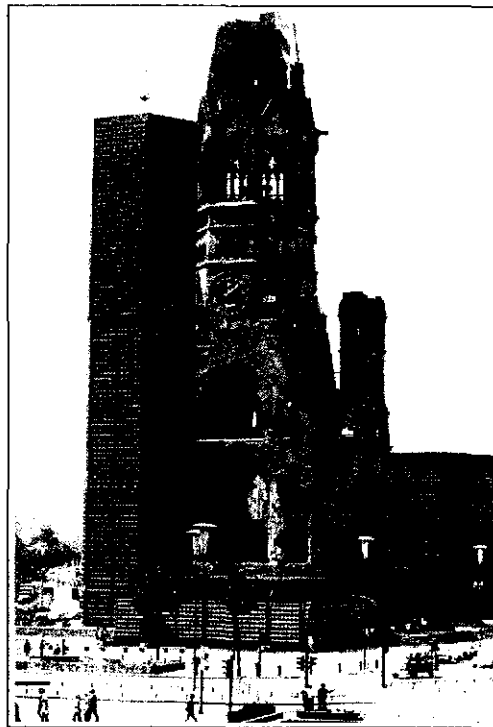


Figure 4.19

The Kaiser-Wilhelm Memorial Church, Berlin.

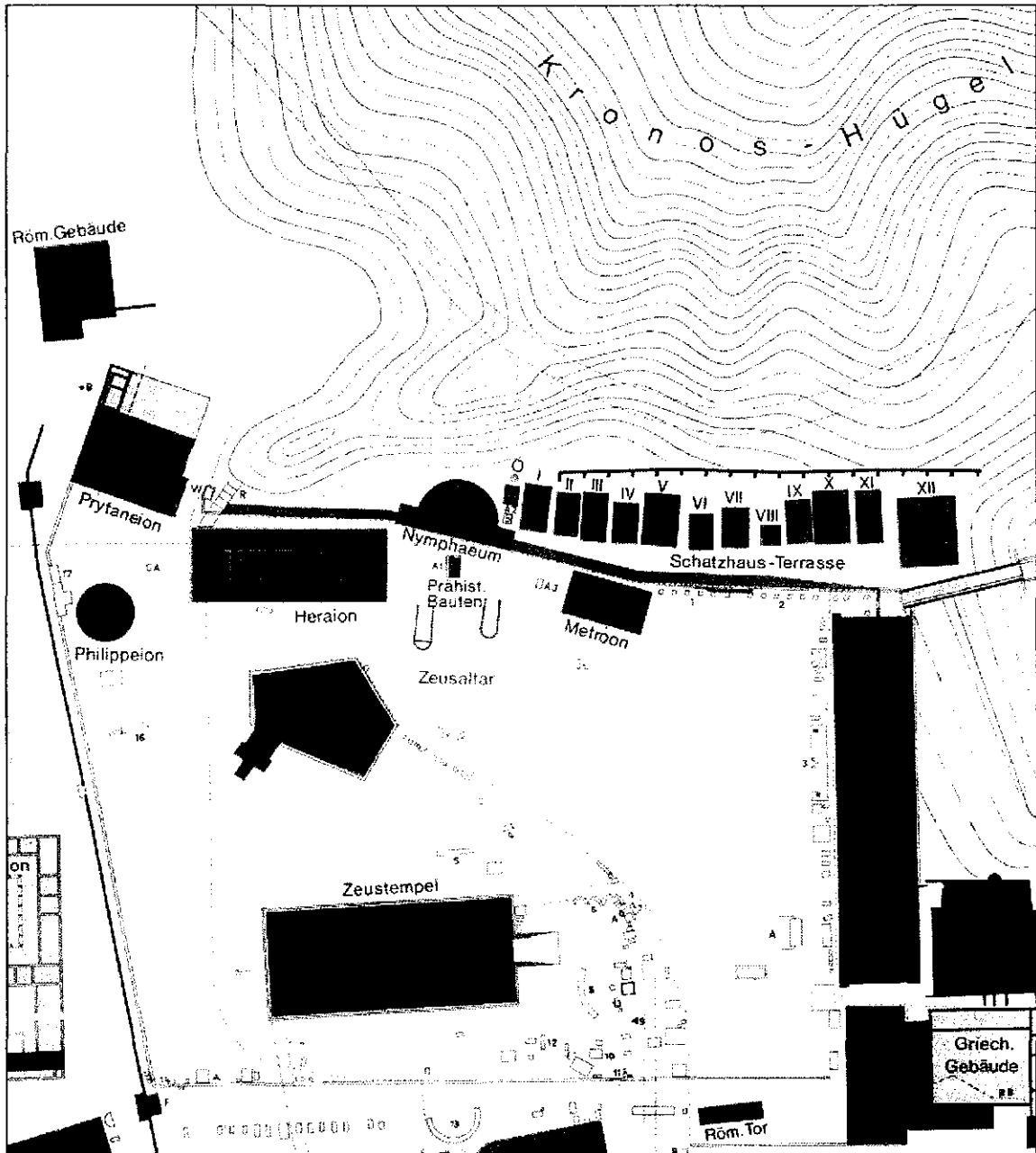


Figure 5.1

Plan of sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.



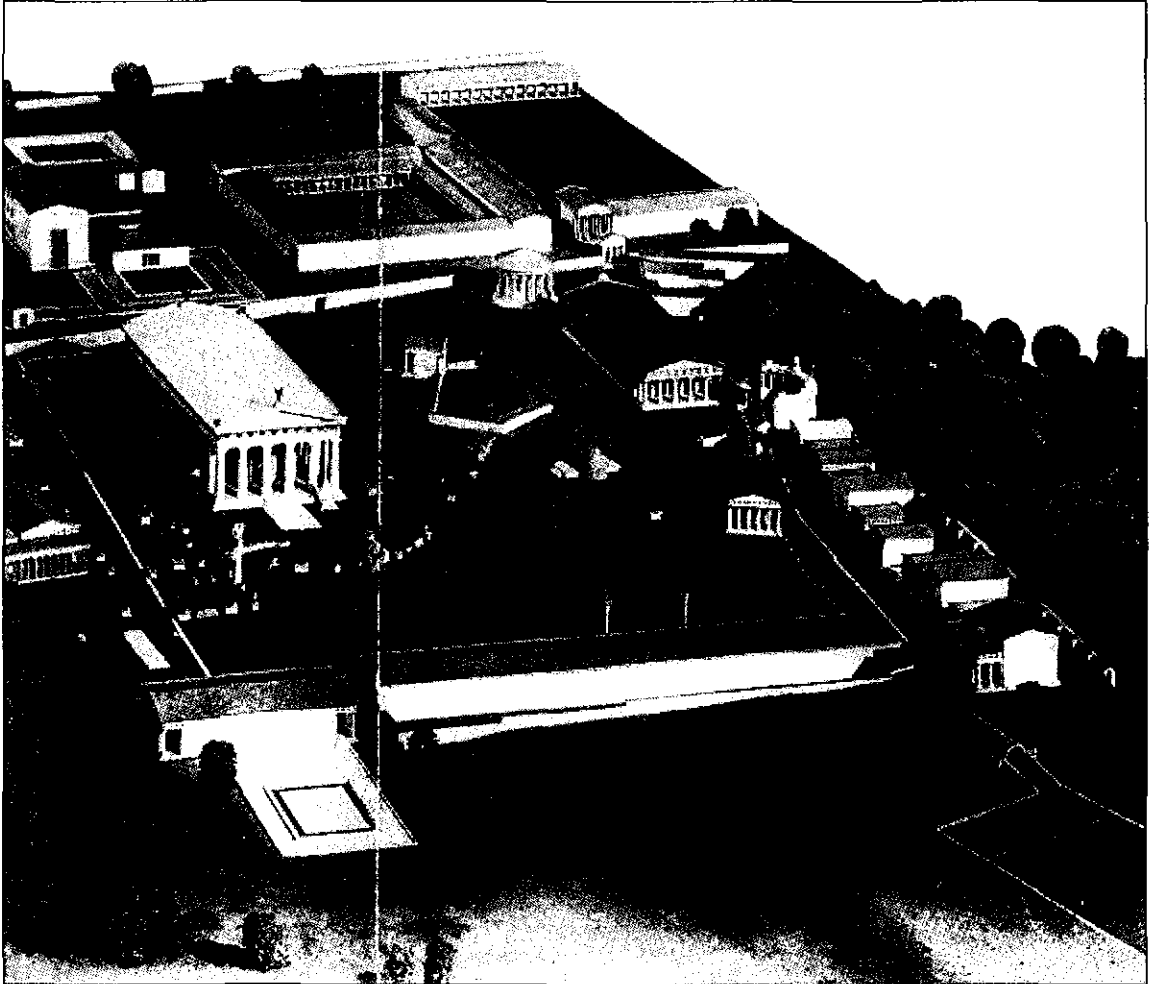


Figure 5.2

Model of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.  
Temple of Zeus on left, Heraion on right, Ash Altar of Zeus depicted southeast of Heraion.

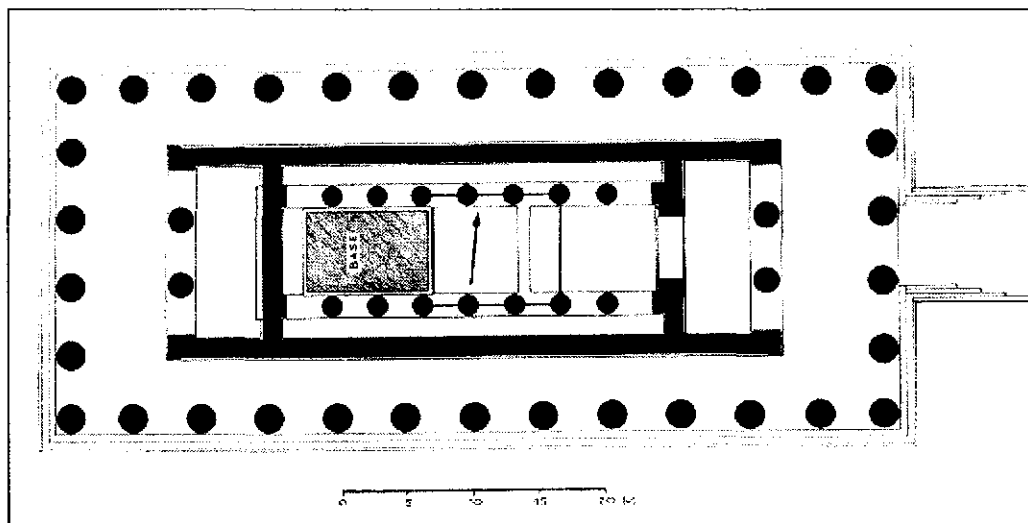


Figure 5.3

Plan of Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

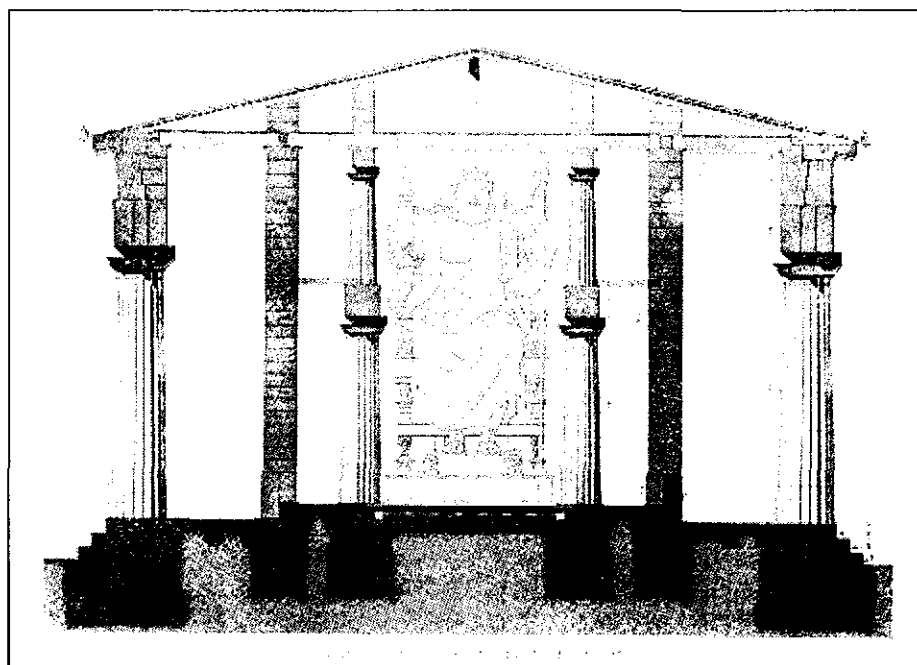


Figure 5.4

Cross-section of cella of Temple of Zeus illustrating position and size of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus: reconstruction.

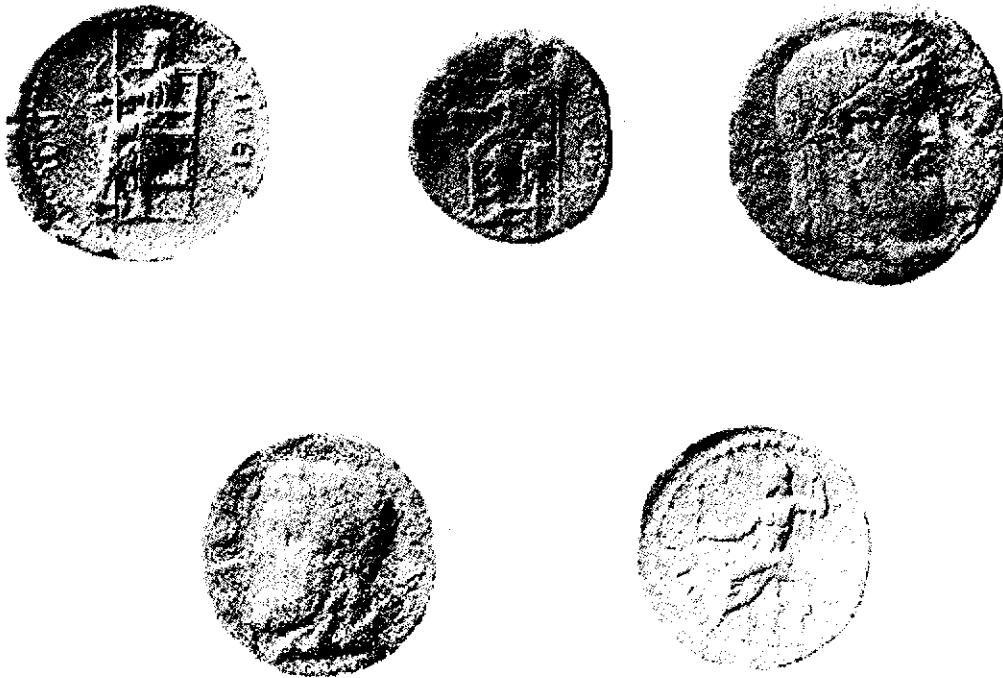


Figure 5.5

Numismatic representations of the cult statue of Zeus by Pheidias.

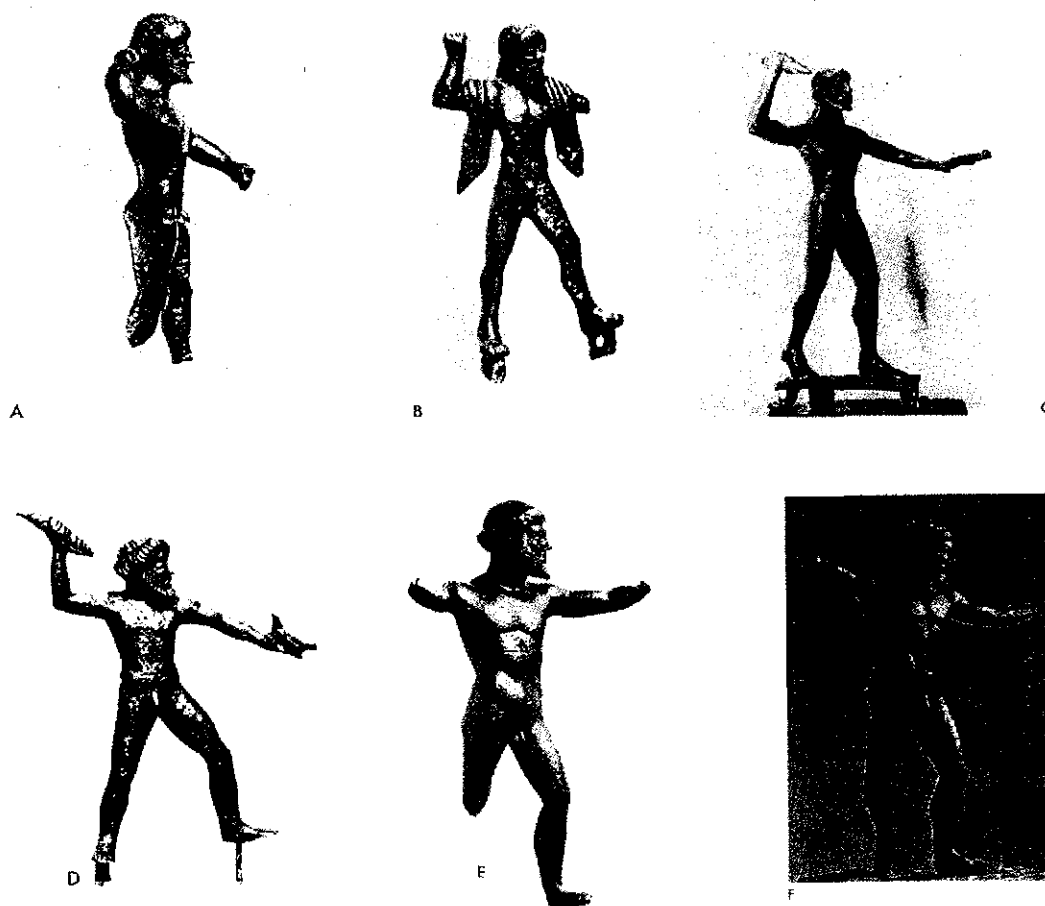


Figure 5.6

Bronze votive statuettes portraying Zeus striding forward, a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle poised on his left.

A: ca. 520 BC; B: ca. 500-490 BC; C: ca. 490-480 BC;  
D: ca. 480-470 BC; E: ca. 470-460 BC; F: ca. 460 BC.



Figure 5.7

Numismatic representations of Zeus from Elis.

Left: Stater, ca. 490 BC; Centre: Stater, ca. 470 BC; Right: Stater, ca. 460 BC.

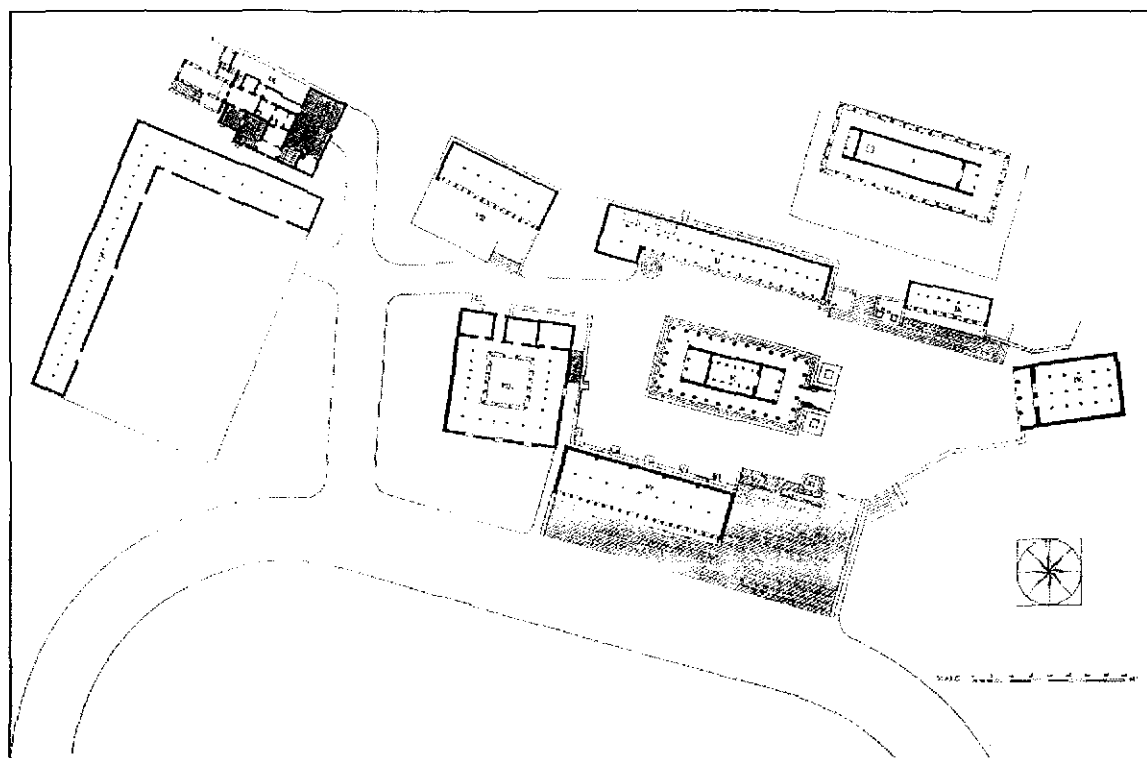


Figure 5.8

Argive Heraion. General plan of the site: restored.

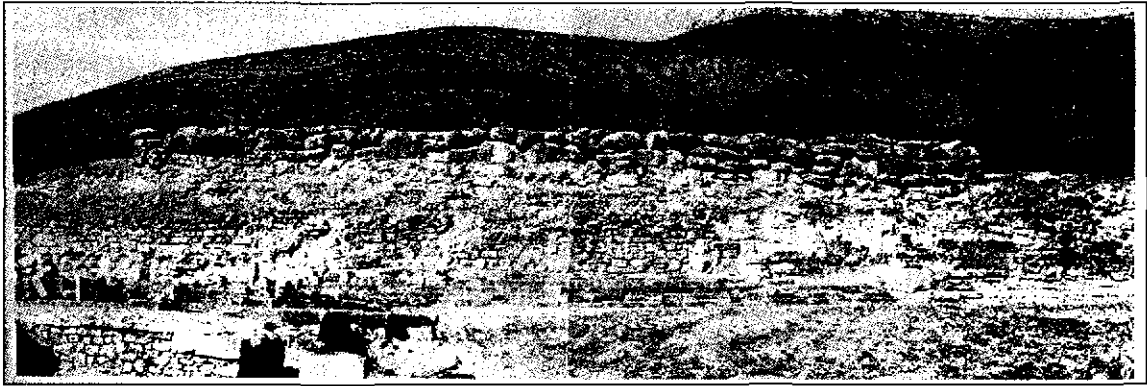


Figure 5.9

The Old Temple Terrace.



Figure 5.10

View looking southwest upon the remains of the Old Temple and its platform.

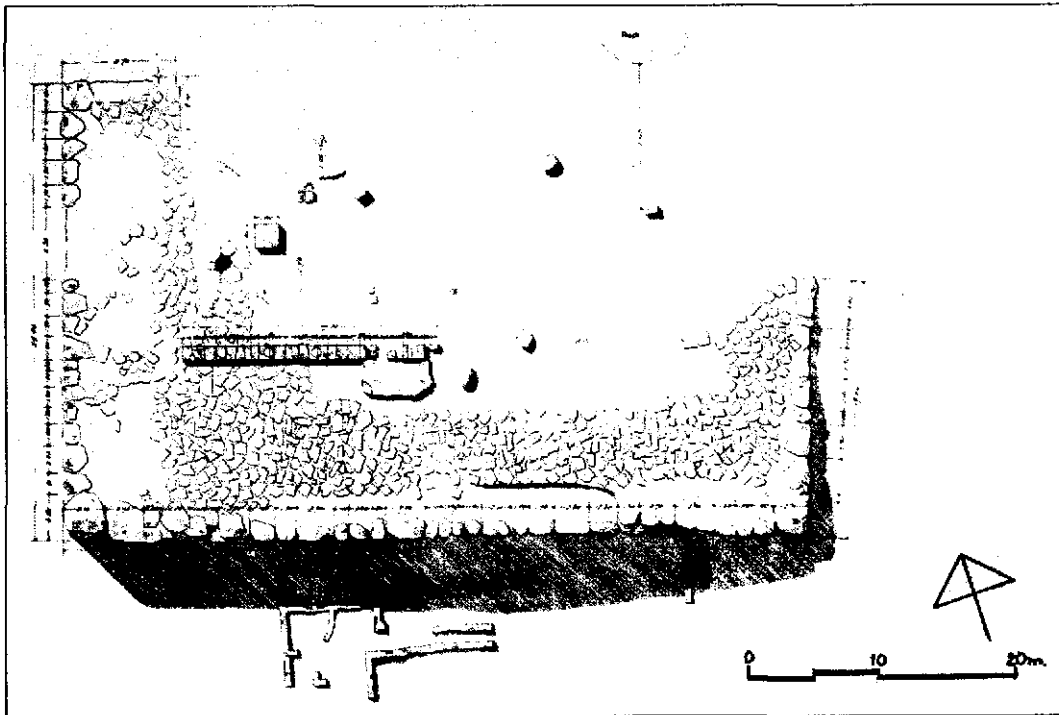


Figure 5.11

State-plan of the Old Temple Terrace.

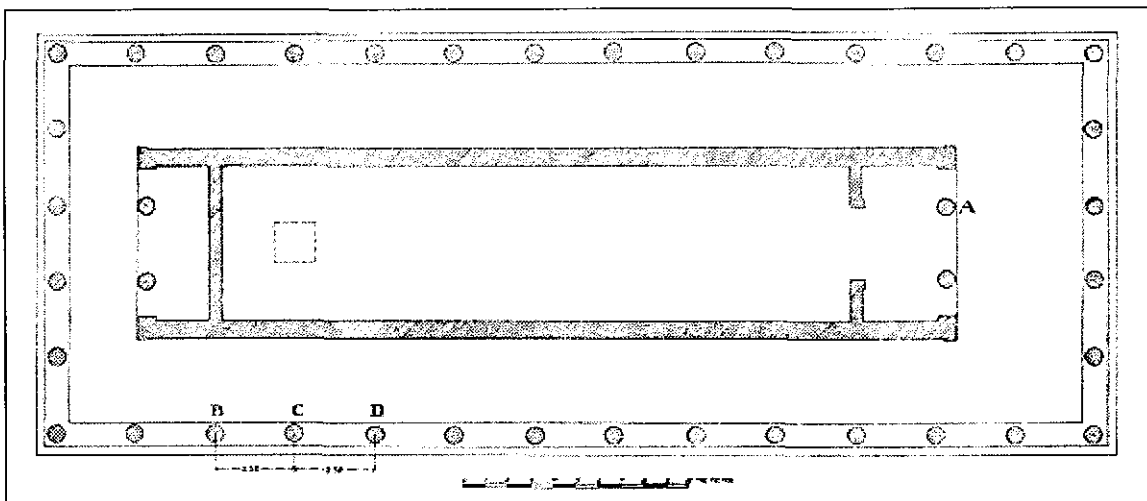


Figure 5.12

Restored plan of the Old Temple.

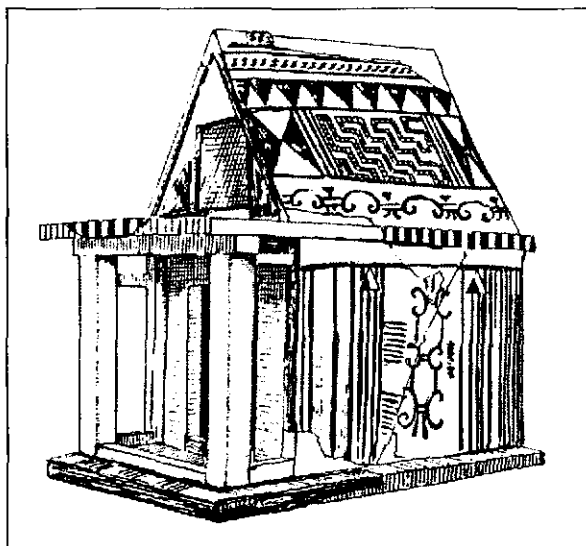


Figure 5.13

Terracotta model from the Argive Heraion, ca. 700 BC.



Figure 5.14

Limestone flagging of the Terrace and the Archaic temple stylobate.



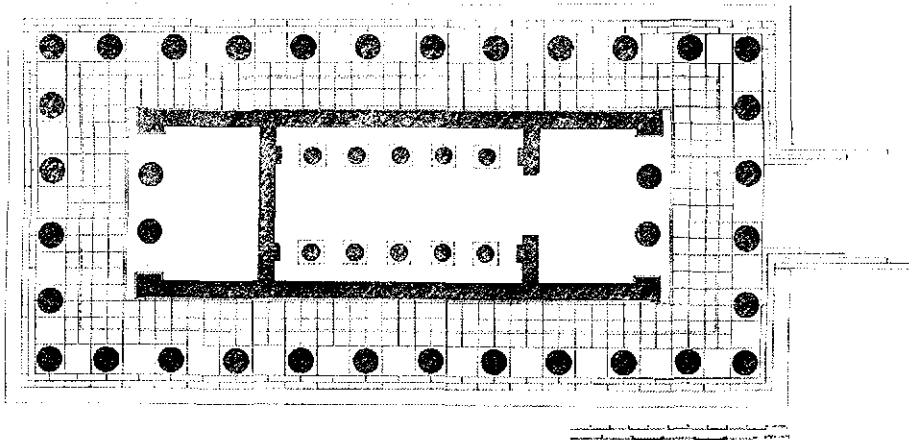


Figure 5.15

Plan of the Classical Temple: restored.

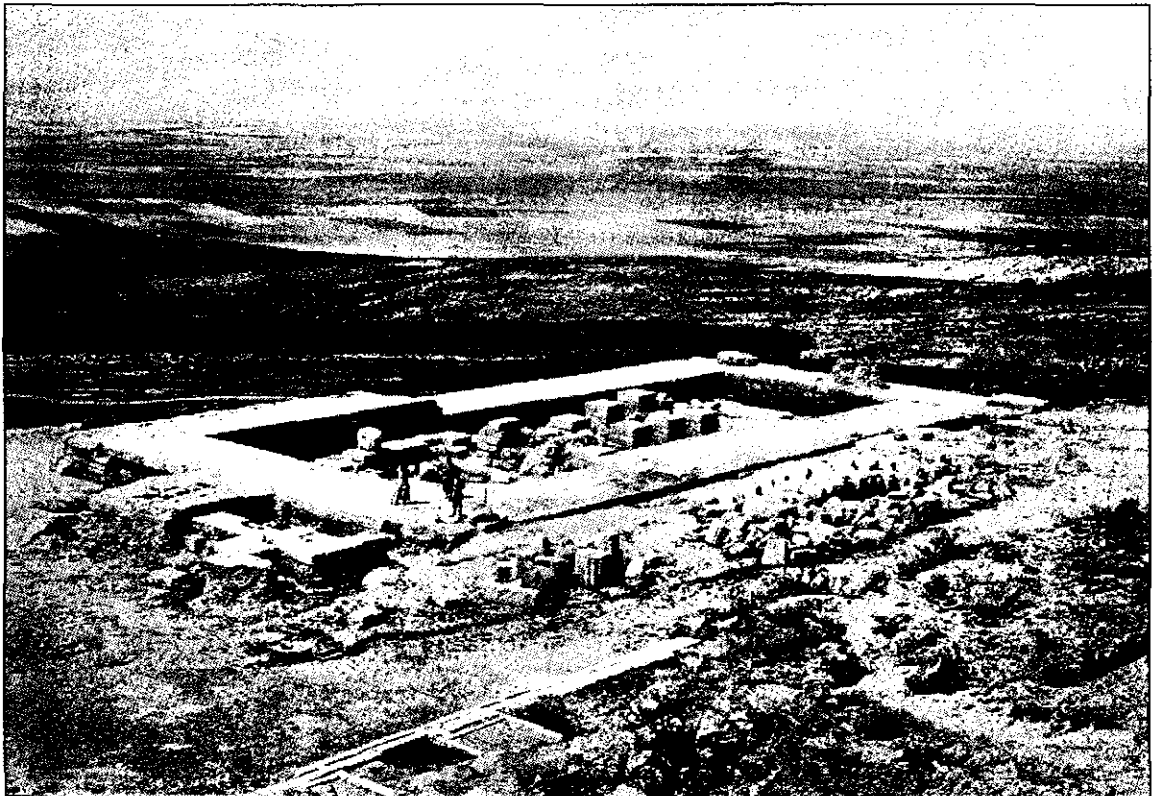


Figure 5.16

View looking southwest upon the Classical Temple from the Old Terrace Wall.

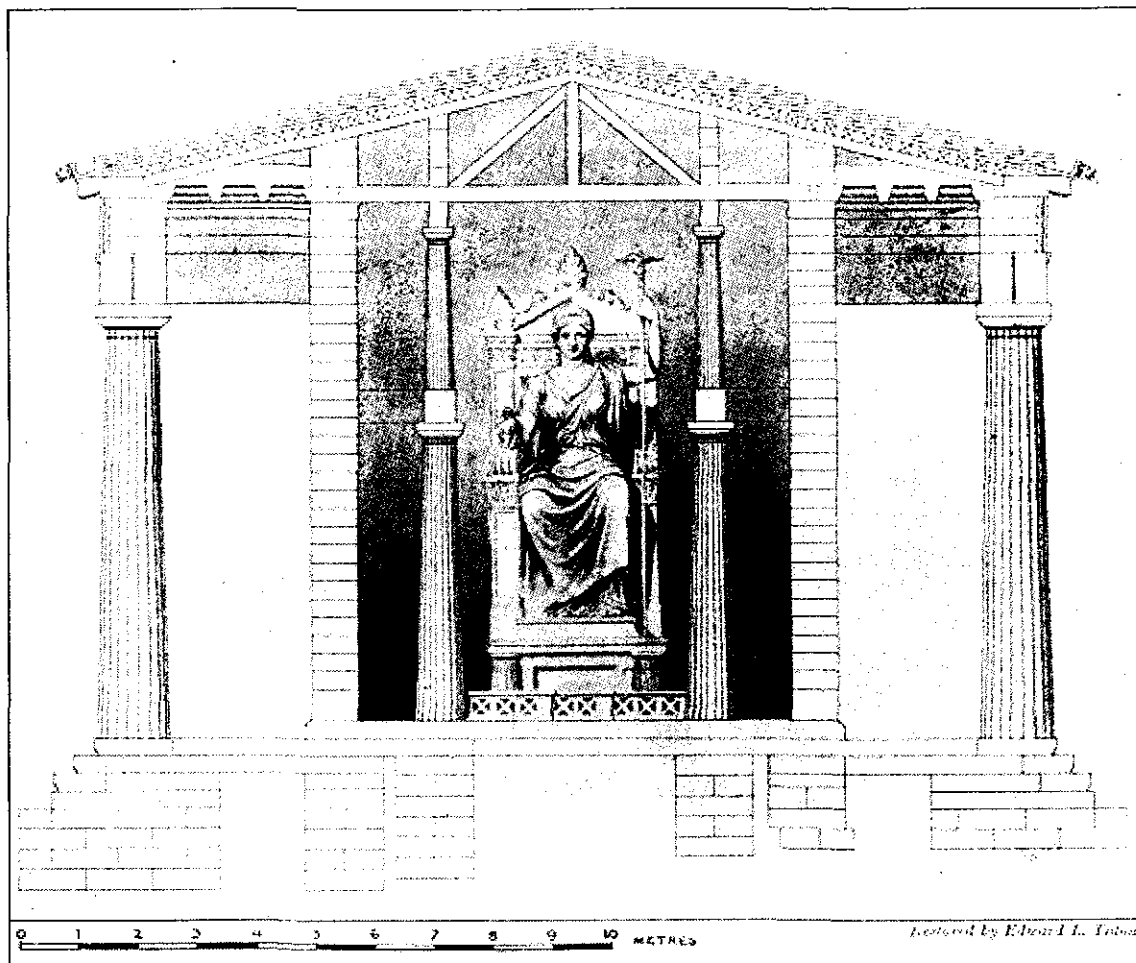


Figure 5.17

Restored section of Classical Temple showing statue of Hera.



Figure 5.18

Numismatic representations of the chryselephantine statue of Hera at Argos.

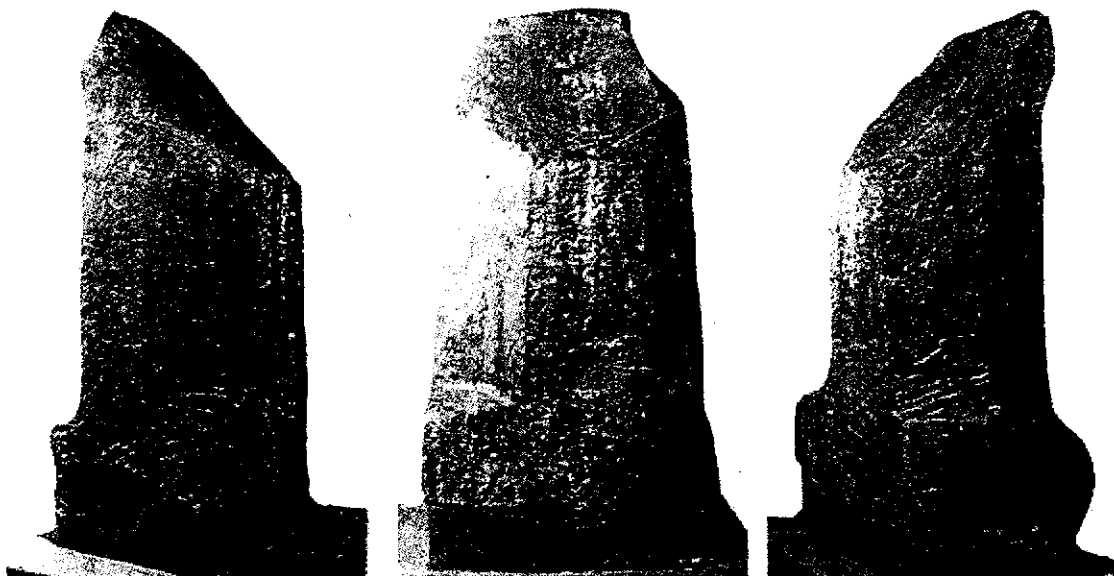


Figure 5.19

Octagonal stone pillar.  
Front and side views.



Figure 5.20

Octagonal stone pillar.  
Surface views.

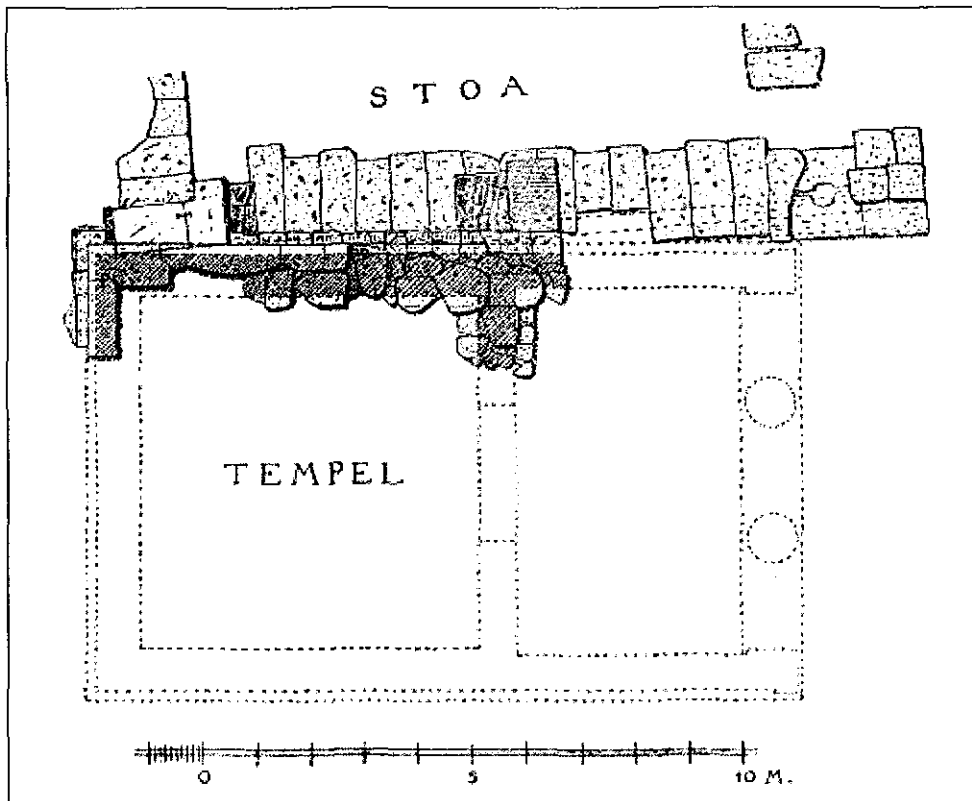


Figure 5.21

State-plan of older Dionysos temple on the south slope of the Akropolis.

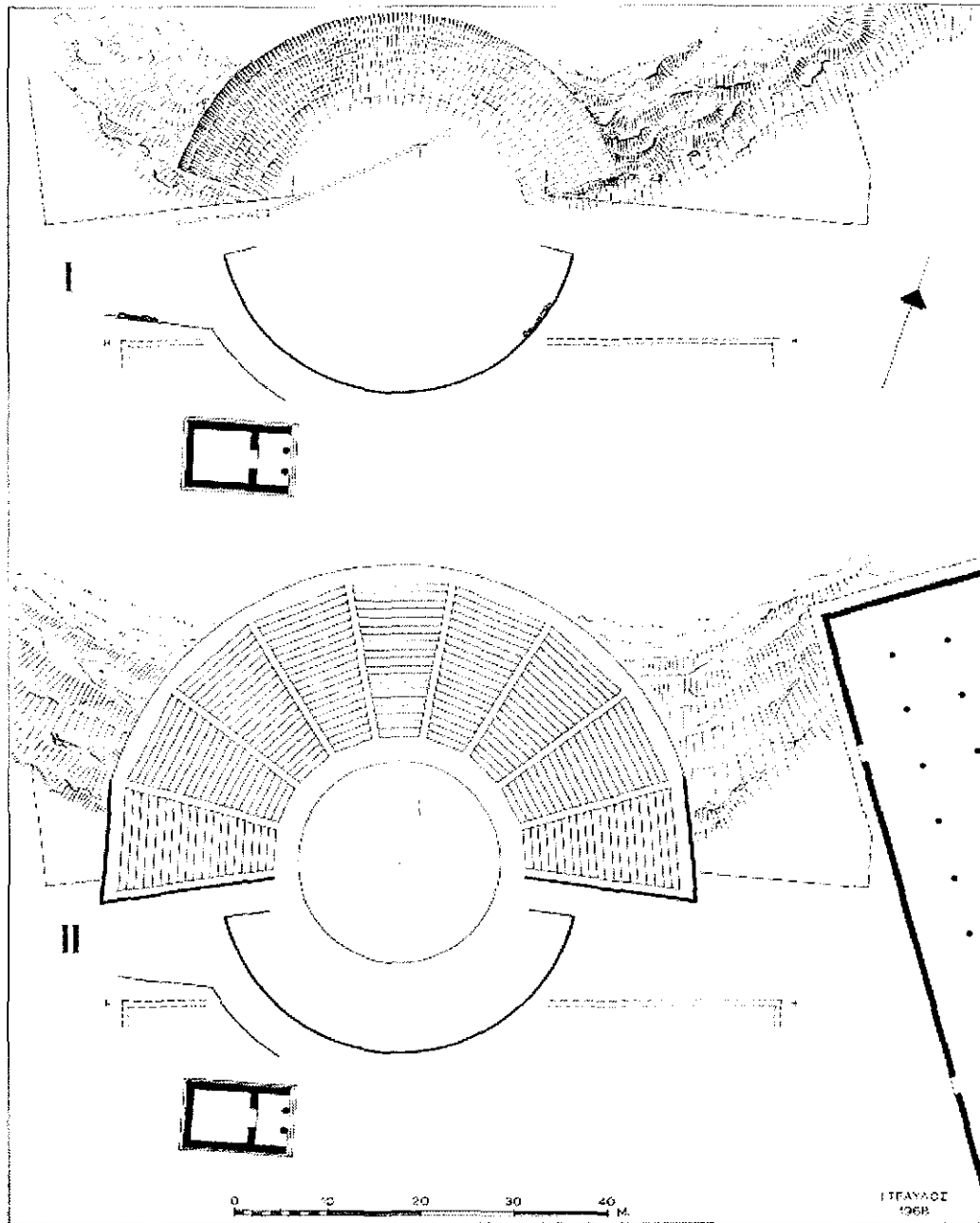


Figure 5.22

Restored plan of older Dionysos temple.

I: the second half of the sixth century BC  
 II: the second half of the fifth century BC.

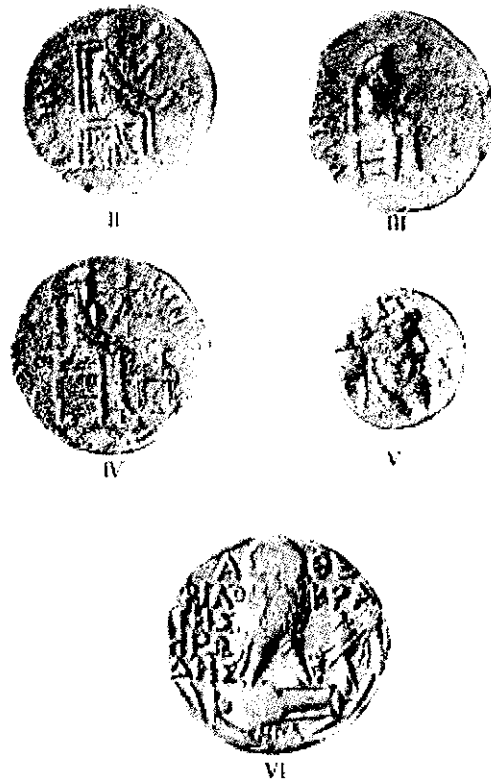


Figure 5.23

Numismatic representations of Dionysos.

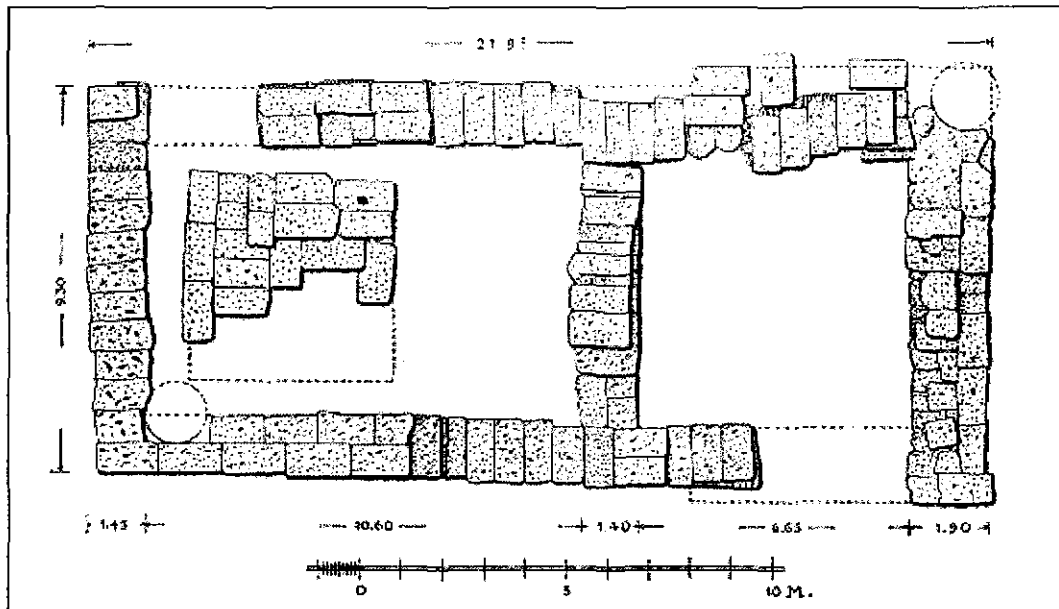


Figure 5.24

Younger temple of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis: state plan.

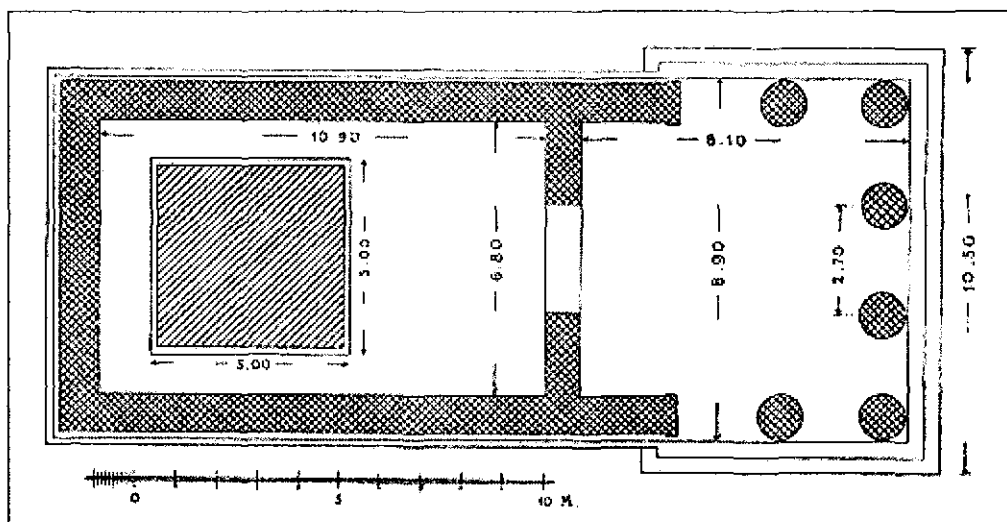


Figure 5.25

Younger temple of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis: restored plan.

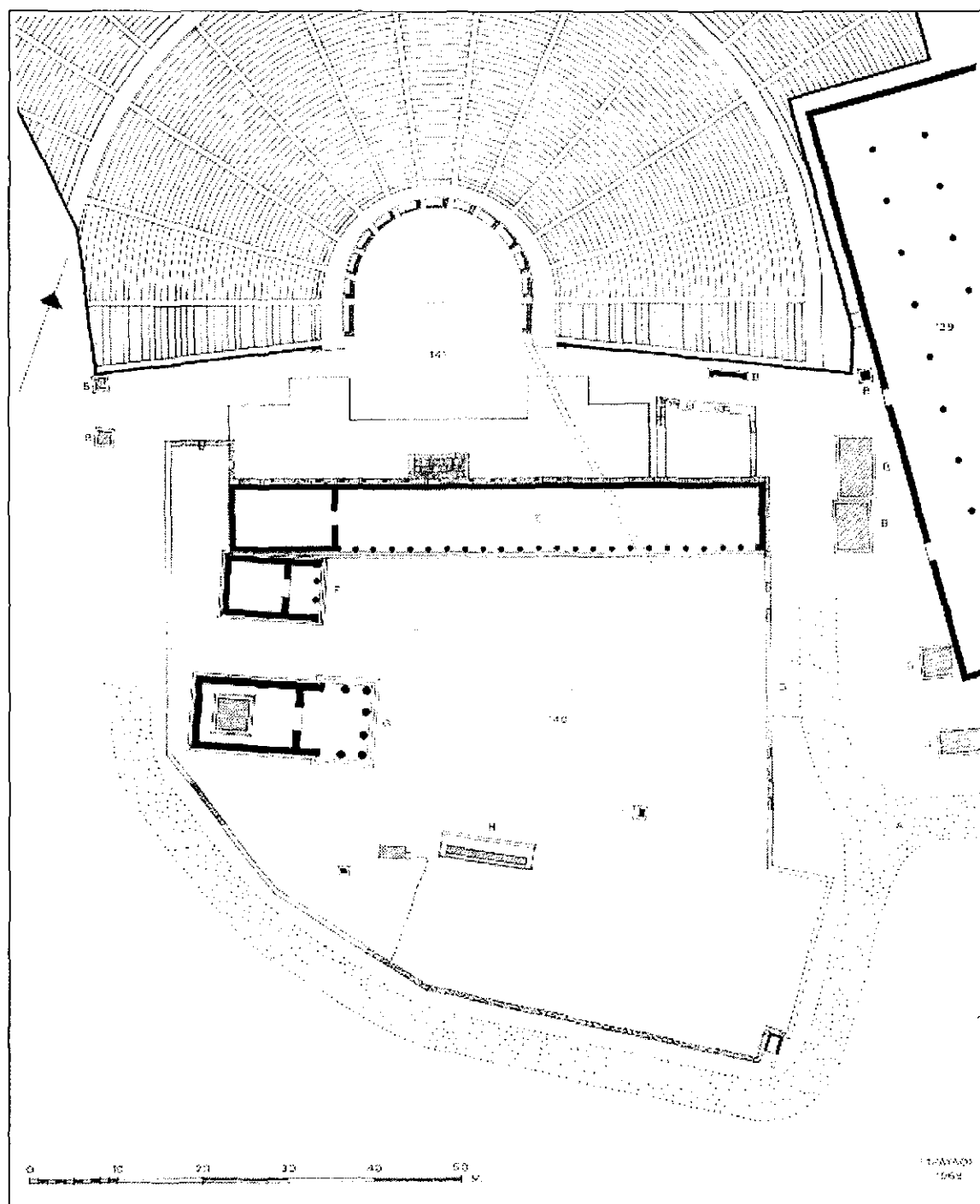


Figure 5.26

Restored plan of the sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis in Athens.



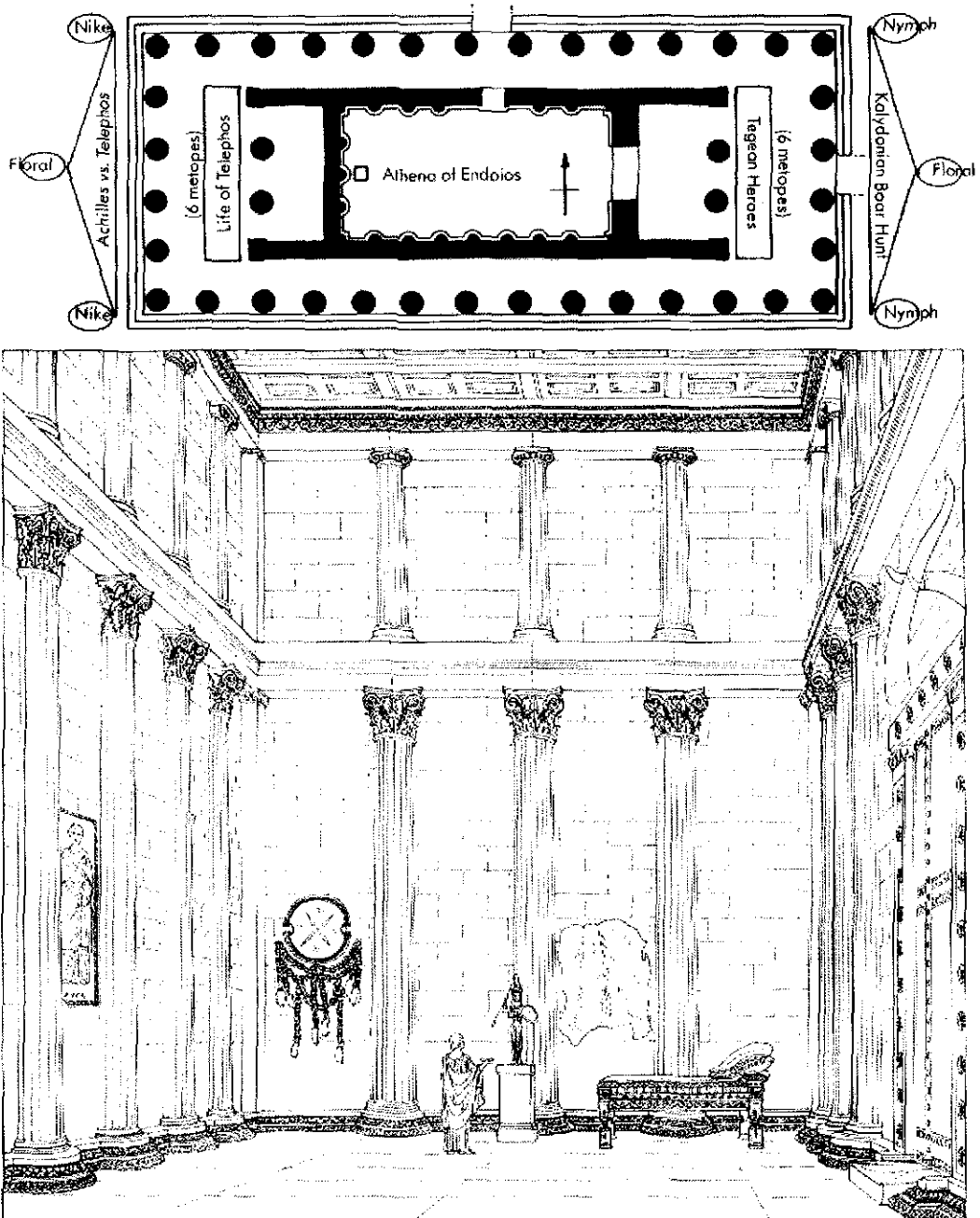


Figure 6.1

*Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea (4<sup>th</sup> century BC)*

Top: the sculptural program  
 Bottom: reconstruction of the cella and cult statue standing on podium.



Figure 7.1

Head of Hera from the Argive Heraion.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alroth, Brita, *Greek Gods and Figurines: Aspects of the Anthropomorphic Dedications*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 18. Stockholm, 1989.
- Alroth, Brita. "The Positioning of Greek Votive Figurines." In *Early Greek Cult Practice*, ed., Robin Hägg, et al, 195-203. Stockholm, 1988.
- Amandry, P. "Observations sur les monuments de l'Héraion d'Argos." *Hesperia*, 21, 1952, 222-274, pl. 61-72.
- Antonaccio, Carla M. "Terraces, Tombs, and the Early Argive Heraion." *Hesperia* 61 (1992): 85-105.
- Bennett, Florence M. "A Study of the Word Xoanon." *AJA* XXI (1917): 8-21.
- Bergquist, Birgitta. *The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function*. Lund: CWK, 1967.
- Billot, Marie-Françoise. "Recherches archéologiques récentes à l'Héraion d'Argos." In *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes*. Actes du Colloque International de Lille (1993). Naples, 1997 (Coll. CJB, 15), 11-81.
- Bittel, K. *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Blegen, Carl W. *Prosymna.: The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937.
- Boardman, John. *Greek Emporio: Excavations in Chios 1952-1955*. BSA Supplementary Volume 6 (London, 1967).

- Brownson, Carleton L. "Excavations at the Heraeum of Argos." *AJA* 8 (1893): 205-225.
- Buitron-Oliver, Diana, ed. *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997.
- Bundgård, J. A. *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Copenhagen: 1976.
- Burkert, Walter. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Translated by Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Buschor and Schleif. "Heraion von Samos: der Altarplatz der Frühzeit," *AthMitt* 58 (1934): 146-173.
- Buschor and Schleif. "Heraion von Samos: Das Vorgelände des Tempels." *AthMitt* 58 (1934): 211-247.
- Buschor, Ernst. "Heraion von Samos: frühe Bauten," *AthMitt* 55 (1930): 1-99.
- Clifton-Taylor, Alec. *The Cathedrals of England*. New York: Association Press, 1970.
- Coldstream, J. N. "Greek Temples: Why and Where?" In *Greek Religion and Society*, ed., P. E. Easterling, 67-97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Coldstream, J. N. *Geometric Greece*. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1977.
- Connelly, Joan B. "Parthenon and Parthenoi: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Prieze." *AJA* 100 (1996): 53-80.
- Coulton, J. J. *Greek Architects at Work: Problems of Structure and Design*. London: Elek Books, Ltd., 1977.

- Coulton, J. J. "Towards Understanding Doric Design: The Stylobate and Intercolumniations." *BSA* 69 (1974): 61-86.
- Curtius, Ernst, and Friedrich Adler. *Olympia*. Volumes I and II. Berlin: A. Asher and Co., 1892.
- Despinis, G. "Discovery of the Scattered Fragments and Recognition of the Type of Agorakritos' Statue of Nemesis." *AAA* 3 (1970): 407-413.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of its Historic Development*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1975.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis." *AJA* 51 (1947): 109-151.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. "The Burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens: The Date." *AJA* 36 (1932): 143-172.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. "The Burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens: The Site." *AJA* 36 (1932): 307-326.
- Donohue, A. A. *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1988.
- Dörpfeld, W. and Reisch, E. *Das Griechische Theater: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und Anderer Griechischer Theater*. Athens: Barth & Von Hirst, 1896.
- Dörpfeld, W. *Alt Olympia: Untersuchungen und Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte des Ältesten Heiligtums von Olympia und der Älteren Griechischen Kunst*. Berlin, 1935.
- Drerup, Heinrich. "Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit", *Archaeologia Homerica* ii O (Göttingen, 1969).

- Drerup, Heinrich, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Didyma 1962." *AA* 1964: 333-384.
- Easterling, P. E., ed. *Greek Religion and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Farnell, L. R. *The Cults of the Greek States*. Vol. V. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
- Ferrari, Gloria. "The Ancient Temple on the Acropolis at Athens." *AJA* 106 (2002): 11-35.
- Foley, Anne. *The Argolid 800-600 B.C.: An Archaeological Survey*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms förlag, 1988.
- Fontenrose, Joseph. *Didyma; Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Frazer, James G., trans., ed. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 6 volumes (London, 1913).
- Gruben, G., "Das archaische Didymaion." *Jdl* 78 (1963): 78-182.
- Hägg, Robin. "Geometric Sanctuaries in the Argolid." In *Polydision Argos: Argos de la fin des palais mycéniens à la constitution de l'État classique*, ed., Marcel Piérart, 9-21. *BCH Supplement XXII* (1992).
- Hägg, Robin, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. *Early Greek Cult Practice*. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986. *Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen*, 4, XXXVIII. Stockholm, 1988.

- Hägg, Robin, ed. *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B. C.: Tradition and Innovation*. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June, 1981. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 4, XXX. Stockholm: 1983.
- Hahland, Walter. "Didyma im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr." *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 79: 142-240.
- Harrison, Evelyn. "Pheidias." *Yale Classical Studies, Volume XXX: Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 16-65.
- Haussoullier, Bernard, "Inscriptions de Didymes: Comptes de la Construction du Didymeion." *RevPhil* 50 (1926): 125-152.
- Haussoullier, B. *Études sur L'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*. Paris, 1902.
- Heberdey, R., "'Daitis': Ein Beitrag zum Ephesischen Artemiscult," *ÖJh* 7 (1904), 210ff., Beiblatt, col. 44. (n.v.)
- Héra: Images, espaces, cultes*. Actes du Colloque International du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III et de l'Association P.R.A.C. Lille, 29-30 novembre 1993. Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 15. Naples: 1997.
- Herington, C. J. *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias. A Study in the Religion of Periclean Athens*. Manchester: The University Press, 1955.
- Hill, B. H. "The Older Parthenon." *AJA* 16 (1912): 535-558.
- Hiller, Stefan. "Mycenaean Traditions in Early Greek Cult Images." In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B. C.: Tradition and Innovation*, ed., Robin Hagg, 91-99. Stockholm, 1983.
- Holloway, R. R. "Panhellenism in the Sculptures of the Zeus Temple at Olympia." *GrRomByzSt* 81 (1967): 93-101.

- Hurwit, Jeffrey M. *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hurwit, Jeffrey M. "Beautiful Evil: Pandora and the Athena Parthenos." *AJA* 99 (1995): 171-186.
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. W. and Gardner, P. *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art: A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*. Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., 1964.
- Jahn, Otto and Adolph Michaelis. *The Acropolis of Athens as Described by Pausanias, Other Writers, Inscriptions and Archaeological Evidence*. Chicago: Ares Publishers Inc., 1976.
- Jeppesen, K. *The Theory of the Alternative Erechtheion*. Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1987.
- Judeich, W. *Topographie von Athen*. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931.
- Kardara, Chrysoula P. "Olympia: Peirithoos Apollo or Zeus Areios?" *ADelt* 25 (1970): 12-19.
- Kawerau, Georg, and Rehm, Albert. *Das Delphinion in Milet. Milet 1.3*. Berlin, 1914.
- Kroll, John H. "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," In *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*. *Hesperia Supplement* 20 (1982): 65-76.
- Kunze, E. "Zeusbilder in Olympia." *Antike und Abendland* 2 (1946): 95-113.
- Kyrieleis, Helmut, "Zeus and Pelops in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia." In *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, ed., Diana Buitron-Oliver, 12-27. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997.



- Kyrieleis, Helmut, "The Heraion at Samos." In *Greek Sanctuaries; New Approaches*, ed., Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hägg, 125-153. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Lacroix, L. *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*. (Liège, 1949).
- Lambrinoudakis, V. K. *Argolida: Archaeological Sites and Museums of the Argolid*. Editions Apollo.
- Lawrence, A. W. *Greek Architecture*. London: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Leipen, Neda. *Athena Parthenos: a reconstruction*. Toronto: The Hunter Rose Company, 1971.
- Leipen, Neda. "The Athena Parthenos by Phidias." *Phoenix* 17 (1963): 119-122.
- MacKendrick, Paul. *The Greek Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Greek Lands*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1981.
- Mallwitz, A. "Cult and Competition Locations at Olympia." In *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity*, ed., Wendy J. Raschke, 79-109. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Mallwitz, A. *Olympia und seine Bauten*. Munich: Prestel, 1972.
- Marinatos, N., and Hägg, R., eds. *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Mark, Ira S. "Levels Taken on the Nike Bastion." *Hesperia* 64 (1995): 383-389.
- Mark, Ira S. *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*. (AIA Monograph New Series 2 and *Hesperia* Supplement 26), Princeton New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1993.

- Meiggs, R. *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: 1972.
- Michel, Charles. *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Hildesheim Germany: Georg Olms, 1976.
- Morenz, Siegfried. *Egyptian Religion*. Translated by Ann E. Keep. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1973.
- Morgan, Catherine. "The origins of pan-Hellenism." In *Greek Sanctuaries; New Approaches*, ed., Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hägg, 18-44. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Neils, Jenifer, ed. *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.
- Nilsson, Martin P. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*. 2d ed. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1971.
- Ohly, Dieter, "Die Göttin und Ihre Basis." *AthMitt* 68 (1953): 25-50.
- Oikonomides, Al. N. "A New Commentary on the Statues Represented on Athenian Coins." In *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art: A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, by F.W. Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, li-lxxiv. Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., 1964.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Parke, H. W., "The Temple of Apollo at Didyma: The Building and its Function." *JHS* 106 (1986): 121-131.
- Parke, H. W. *Festivals of the Athenians*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Petrakos, Vasileios. *Rhamnous*. Athens, 1991.

- Petrakos, Vasileios. *National Museum: Sculpture – Bronzes – Vases*. CLIO editions, 1981.
- Pfaff, C. A. “Three-Peaked Antefixes from the Argive Heraion.” *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 149-156.
- Pfaff, C. A. “The Sculptured Metopes of the Classical Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion.” *AJA* 97 (1993): 299-300.
- Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946.
- Piérart, Marcel, ed. *Polydipsion Argos: Argos de la fin des palais mycéniens à la constitution de l'État classique*. (BCH Supplement XXII). Rome-Fribourg-Paris, 1992.
- Plommer, Hugh. “The Old Platform in the Argive Heraeum.” *JHS* 104 (1984): 183-184.
- Plommer, Hugh. “Shadowy Megara.” *JHS* 97 (1977): 75-83.
- Plommer, Hugh. “The Archaic Acropolis: Some Problems.” *JHS* 80 (1960): 127-159.
- Pogorelski, A., and F. Hiller von Gaertringen. “Athenische Inscriptstele mit Volksbeschluss und Baurechnung,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*. Vol. 2, 1922: 187-192.
- Raschke, Wendy J., ed. *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

- Raubitschek, A. E. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C.*, ed. with the collaboration of L. H. Jeffery. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Archaeological Institute of America, 1949.
- Rehm, Albert. *Milet: Inschriften von Milet*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Vol. VI, Part 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997.
- Rhodes, Robin Francis. *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Richter, Gisela M. A. "The Pheidian Zeus at Olympia." *Hesperia* 35 (1966): 166-170.
- Robertson, Noel. "Athena's Shrines and Festivals." In *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed., Jenifer Neils, 27-77. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.
- Romano, I. B. "Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices." In *Early Greek Cult Practice*. (Stockholm, 1988) 127-133.
- Romano, Irene Bald. "The Archaic Images of Hera and Zeus in the Heraion at Olympia." *AJA* 89 (1985): 348.
- Romano, I. B. "Early Greek Idols: Their Appearance and Significance in the Geometric, Orientalizing and Archaic Periods." *Expedition* 24, no. 3 (Spring 1982): 3-13.
- Romano, Irene Bald. "Early Greek Cult Images." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980.
- Schefold, K., "Statuen auf Vasenbildern." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 52, 1937, 30-75.
- Schnapp, Alain. "Why Did the Greeks Need Images?" In *Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*. Copenhagen August 31-September 4 1987. (1988).

- Schwabacher, Willy. "The Olympian Zeus Before Phidias." *Archaeology* 14 (1961): 104-109.
- Simon, Erika. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Simon, E. "Beobachtungen zum Apollon Philesios des Kanachos." *Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*. (Bonn, 1957), p. 38 ff.
- Spathari, Elsi. *The Olympic Spirit*. Athens: Adam Editions, 1992.
- Stevens, G. P. "Remarks upon the Colossal Chryselephantine Statue of Athena in the Parthenon." *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 240-276.
- Stewart, Andrew. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*. Volumes 1 & 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Strøm, Ingrid. "The Early Sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its External Relations (8<sup>th</sup>-Early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.): The Monumental Architecture." *Acta Arch* 59 (1988): 173-203.
- Tersini, Nancy D. "Unifying Themes in the Sculpture of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia." *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987): 139-159.
- Thompson, H. A. "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1957." *Hesperia* 27 (1958): 145-160.
- Tilton, E. L. "Architecture of the Argive Heraeum." In Waldstein, C. *The Argive Heraeum*. Vol. I., 105-136. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1902.
- Tomlinson, R. A. *Greek Sanctuaries*. London: Elek Books Ltd., 1976.
- Tomlinson, R. A. *Argos and the Argolid: From the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman occupation*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1972.

- Travlos, John. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1971.
- Tuchelt, Klaus. *Vorarbeiten zu einer Topographie von Didyma: Eine Untersuchung der Inscriptlichen und archäologischen Zeugnisse*. IM Beiheft 9. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1973.
- Tuchelt, Klaus. *Die Archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma*. *Istanbuler Forschungen* 27. Berlin: Mann, 1970.
- Voigtländer, Walter. *Der jüngste Apollontempel von Didyma: Geschichte seines Baudekors*. IM Beiheft 14. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1975.
- Voigtländer, Walter. "Quellhaus und Naiskos im Didymaion nach den Perserkriegen." *IM* 22 (1972): 93-112, pl. 29.
- Voyatzis, Mary E. *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: And Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms, 1990.
- Waldstein, Charles. *The Argive Heraeum*. Volumes I and II. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1902.
- Waldstein, Charles. "Marble Statuary from the Heraeum." In Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*. Vol. I., 139-176. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1902.
- Waldstein, Charles. "Some Sculptures from the Argive Heraeum." *AJA* 8 (1893): 199-204.
- Williams, H. C. N. *Coventry Cathedral: a guide to Coventry Cathedral and its Ministry*. London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1966.
- Wright, J. C. "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid." *JHS* 102 (1982): 186-201.

Wycherley, R. E. *The Stones of Athens*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Yalouris, Athanasia and Yalouris, Nicolaos. *Olympia. The Museum and the Sanctuary*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S. A., 1998.