

THE CITY COUNCIL IN EARLY GREECE

An interdisciplinary study of temples as political
meeting places, and the rise of the aristocratic
polis

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Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations and conventions</i>	xi
<i>Maps</i>	xv
PRELUDE	1
INTRODUCTION	3
Qviller, the symposium and the Greek temple	3
From symposium to city council	3
The origins of the Greek temple and the city council	4
A note on terminology	4
Approach and problem statement	5
1. THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	9
Hearth-temples as <i>bouleutēria</i> and <i>prytaneia</i> – previous research	9
The material evidence	10
Methodological approach and organisation of chapters	11
Homer and history	13
The city council – from inhabited to uninhabited space?	15
From rulers’ dwellings to temples	15
Temples as venues for feasting	17
Bourdieu – space and the objectification of symbolic capital	17
2. THE CITY COUNCIL IN GEOMETRIC GREECE	19
The political institutions of Homeric society	19
Drinking and deliberating	20
Wine and politics – comparative evidence	22
Summary	23
Closing comments	24
3. CRITERIA FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF <i>PRYTANEIA</i> AND THE ROLE OF APOLLO	25
The <i>prytaneion</i>	25
Criteria for the identification of <i>prytaneia</i>	28
Location	28
Architectural form	28
The dining room	29

The hearth room	30
Subsidiary functions	30
Some critical considerations	30
The divine element	31
The role of Apollo – politics and the common hearth	31
Apollo and the common hearth	31
The political associations of Apollo and his temples	33
The possible role of other deities	35
Summary	36
Final reflections	37
4. HEARTH-TEMPLES AS <i>PRYTANEIA</i> ?	39
A discussion of the archaeological material	39
Perachora	39
Kommos	40
Temple A	40
Temple B	41
Dreros	43
Prinias	44
Kalapodi (Abai)	46
Pallantion	47
Asine	47
Closing comments	49
5. THE ARISTOCRATIC <i>POLIS</i> AND THE CITY COUNCIL	51
The aristocracy and the common meal in the Cretan <i>poleis</i>	53
Aristocrats, followers and the common meal	56
A comparison with Homer	61
Drinking and deliberating in the temple	63
The hearth – a political rendezvous?	67
6. CONCLUDING REMARKS	71
The use of the archaeological material	71
The study of the hearth-temple	72
The city council – from inhabited to uninhabited space	72
From EIA dwelling to city council and symposium	73
The temple as an expression of common identity	74
Some reflections on the use of temples as council houses	74
From Homer to <i>polis</i> – some reflections	75
On Homer and democracy	77
Closing comments	77

Appendix: The archaeological material – a catalogue	81
Plates	85
Bibliography	99

List of illustrations

FIGURES IN TEXT

Fig. 2.1	Painted wooden plaque of a sacrificial procession. 540-530 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464 (Photo: Museum; http://www.namuseum.gr/collections/vases/archaic/archaic13-en.html).	2
Fig. 5.1	The remains of the <i>bouleutērion</i> at Priene, showing the auditorium and the altar in front (Photo: Wikipedia; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Priene_Bouleuterion_2009_04_28.jpg)	52
Fig. 5.2	An inscribed wall block from the temple of Apollo at Dreros (after van Effenterre 1946a:597).	56
Fig. 5.3	Reconstruction of Temple A seen from the east (adapted from Beyer 1976:Pl. 24).	58
Fig. 5.4	(a) is a close-up of the two seated goddesses visible above the doorway on temple A (adapted from Beyer 1976:Pl. 21.1). (b) is a part of the horseman frieze (after Beyer 1976:Pl. 13.1).	59
Fig. 5.5	The two temples at Prinias seen from the east (after Pernier 1914:37, Fig. 13).	60
Fig. 5.6	An inscribed wall block from the temple of Apollo at Dreros (after van Effenterre 1946a:591).	64
Fig. 6.1	(a) illustrates a pre-polis social structure and (b) a polis structure (after Morris 1987: Fig. 56).	76

PLATES

(pp. 85-98)

Pl. 1.	Map of the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (adapted from Payne 1940:Pl. 137).
Pl. 2.	Plan of the upper terrace of the sanctuary at Perachora (after Whitley 2001:Fig. 12.3).
Pl. 3.	Plan of the so-called temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora (adapted from Østby 1995:Fig. 171).
Pl. 4.	Plan of temple A at Kommos showing the two documented phases (adapted from Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.19).
Pl. 5.	Plan of temple B at Kommos showing the three documented phases and an isometric restoration of phase 2 (adapted from Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.30, Pl. 1.31).
Pl. 6.	Building V (after Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.62).
Pl. 7.	Building Q (after Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.66).
Pl. 8.	Plan of the Classical sanctuary at Kommos (after Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.79).
Pl. 9.	Plan of the Hellenistic sanctuary at Kommos (after Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 1.79).
Pl. 10.	Map of Dreros (adapted from van Effenterre and Demargne 1937: Fig. 2).
Pl. 11.	Plan of the temple of Apollo at Dreros, the agora (A), and the cistern (B). The reconstruction of the temple is courtesy of Beyer (adapted from Beyer:1976:Pl. 8.2).
Pl. 12.	The Delphinion at Dreros, showing both original drawing and the suggested reconstruction by Beyer (after Marinatos 1936:Pl. 27 and Beyer 1976:Pl. 3).
Pl. 13.	Map of the area around temple A (B.15) and temple B (B.14) at Prinias (after Rizza 2000:Fig. 1).
Pl. 14.	Temple A (left) and temple B (right) at Prinias (adapted from Shaw and Shaw 2000b:Pl. 8.15).
Pl. 15.	Plan of temple A and B at Prinias (after Pernier 1914:Fig. 7).
Pl. 16.	The Pytheion at Gortyn (after Shaw and Shaw 2000b:8.15).
Pl. 17.	Plan of the city of Gortyn and the temple of Apollo (adapted from Guarducci 1950:xiv).
Pl. 18.	Plan of the sanctuary at Kalapodi (after Mazarakis Ainian 1997:Fig. 62).
Pl. 19.	Temple A and B at Kalapodi (adapted from Mazarakis Ainian 1997:61).
Pl. 20.	Plan of temple A at Pallantion (after Østby 1995:Fig. 18).
Pl. 21.	The temple of Apollo at Asine (adapted from Østby 1995:Fig. 172).
Pl. 22.	Map of the Barbouna hill at Asine (after Frödin and Persson 1938:Fig. 130).
Pl. 23.	The mid-seventh century building at Dreros (after Miller 1978:Fig. 8).

-
- Pl. 24. The Late Archaic *prytaneion* at Delos (after Miller 1978:Fig. 4).
Pl. 25. The Classical *prytaneion* at Lato (after Miller 1978:Fig. 5).
Pl. 26. The remains of the Classical *prytaneion* at Olympia (after Miller 1978:Fig. 6).
Pl. 27. The remains of the Hellenistic *prytaneion* at Olympia (after Miller 1978:Fig. 7).
Pl. 28. The Old Bouleuterion in Athens, 6th century BC (adapted from Thompson 1940:Fig. 32).
Pl. 29. The New Bouleuterion in Athens, mid-5th century BC (adapted from Thompson 1940:Fig. 62).

Preface and acknowledgements

It is indeed a much overused cliché to compare the completion of a study like this to a long journey that finally has been brought to an end. Yet I feel such a description is very much justified as I can truthfully say I have waded great academic extremities since I decided my initial project wasn't good enough. Moving from a somewhat unusual take on city planning I came to acquire a peculiar interest in sacred trees, and for most of the 2010 spring semester, I had myself convinced it was a clever idea to write about trees. I am sure my supervisor, Prof. J. Rasmus Brandt, didn't quite share my conviction, but he let me explore my whim, and although it didn't lead anywhere concrete – except to an inevitable delay – it was indeed a very educational and rewarding experience. I learned much about what research is really all about and how it can take you in directions you could never have foreseen. I owe Rasmus Brandt my greatest gratitude for his patience and guidance, but for this lesson in particular.

A special thanks is also due to Dr Knut Ødegård with whom I spoke during the 2010 season of the Greek-Norwegian excavation at Tegea. At that time, my attention had focused on the agora during the Archaic period, coupled with a strong fascination for Homer, but Ødegård pointed to the archaeological difficulties in pursuing such an elusive idea. Instead he introduced me to the research done by Bjørn Qviller and my project was redirected towards the Greek symposium, the aristocracy, and the so-called hearth-temples as venues for feasting, and possibly also deliberation. Most of the autumn semester was spent at the Nordic Library at Athens, reading up on the subject of the Greek symposium, and the study slowly moved towards its present incarnation, that of the city council of the early *polis*. In that context, I owe many thanks to Prof. Helène Whittaker for taking time to discuss my ideas during her visit to Athens in the spring of 2011.

Prof. Erik Østby visited Athens later in the spring, and he was also kind enough to take time to talk. I was long troubled by the best way to approach the hearth-temples, and I am greatly indebted to Østby for putting me on the right track – if any such thing exists with such a complicated and scarce material as the hearth-temples. This study has taken much inspiration from an abstract written by Ewa Samuelsson, and her ideas introduced me to the debate concerning the use of hearth-temples as primitive council houses or even 'town halls'. Østby could confirm what I had come to suspect, namely that her final paper was never released. This study is concerned with much of the same problem, but my approach is my own.

From speaking with Østby, I came to realise that the work I had previously done was best considered research, so I reframed my entire project and started writing everything from

scratch after Easter. I have nevertheless retained much of my original interest in the early *polis* and the aristocracy – hence the subtitle of this study – and much emphasis has been put on attempting to understand how hearth-temples fit into the social and political framework of specifically the early Cretan *poleis*. This study proved to be a challenging one, but it is as Rasmus told me, if it had been an easy answer, someone would surely have written about it a long time ago.

It is nevertheless hoped that the final result can bring the debate on hearth-temples as political meeting places a good step further.

There are others who also deserve my gratitude for various reasons. First off, I need to thank the employees at the Norwegian Institute at Athens for any and all help during my long stay in Athens. The employees at the Nordic Library also deserve a mention for their help and not least patience in watching my collection of books slowly but surely acquire dimensions of downright hoarding, eventually also swallowing the desk next to me – and at some point also a cart. I can truthfully say that I learned the hard way how access to too many books can sometimes be more confusing than helpful – a fact which also Østby pointed out in urging me to keep a better focus on the material.

In this connection, I have one admission to make. When referencing the Kommos publication by Joseph W Shaw and Maria C. Shaw, I forgot (while I was still in Athens) to update all references so to ensure that the other contributors are given the credit they rightly deserve. All references are correct in that they refer to the right page numbers, but individual contributions are regrettably concealed behind the names of the editors.

A thanks is also due to Yngve Flognfeldt for sharing tips on literature during my first months in Athens. I would also like to thank Lene Os Johannessen for her interest and willingness to read through my work at various phases of its development. Gry Nymo also deserves my thanks for her company at the Nordic Library, and not least encouragement. A thanks is also due to Dr Gjert Frimann Vestheim for helping me with some peculiar Cretan declensions. Lastly I need to thank other fellow students, who at various times have passed by Athens, for their company, and everyone else I came to know while staying there.

Fredrik Solemsli

Oslo, 31 October 2011

Abbreviations and conventions

ABBREVIATIONS OF TERMS

EA	Early Archaic
EIA	Early Iron Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LA	Late Archaic
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
PC	Protocorinthian
PG	Protogeometric
SMin	Subminoan
SMyc	Submycenaean

JOURNALS, EPIGRAPHICAL TEXTS AND LEXICA

<i>ActaAArtHist</i>	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia
<i>ActaAth</i>	Acta Instituti Atheniensis regni Sueciae
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
<i>AmAnthr</i>	American Anthropologist
<i>AnnArchStorAnt</i>	Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica
<i>Arethusa</i>	Arethusa. The Journal of the Johns Hopkins University
<i>ASAtene</i>	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
<i>BJb</i>	Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn
<i>BSA</i>	Annual of the British School at Athens
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
<i>BCH Suppl.</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément
<i>BICS</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
<i>CIAnt</i>	Classical Antiquity
<i>CPCActs</i>	Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre
<i>CPCPapers</i>	Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre
<i>CQ</i>	Classical Quarterly
<i>CIG</i>	Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
<i>GDI</i>	Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften
<i>Hermes</i>	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
<i>Hesperia</i>	Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>Hesperia Suppl.</i>	Hesperia Supplements. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>Historia</i>	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
<i>ICr</i>	Inscriptiones Creticae
<i>JAA</i>	Journal of Anthropological Anthropology
<i>JAMT</i>	Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JMA</i>	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>L'Homme</i>	L'Homme. Revue française d'anthropologie

<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zurich and Munich 1974–)
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. (Oxford 1940)
<i>NAR</i>	Norwegian Archaeological Review
<i>OpAth</i>	Opuscula Atheniensi
<i>PRIA</i>	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
<i>RA</i>	Revue archéologique
<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'histoire des religions
<i>Rosetta</i>	Rosetta. Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity at the University of Birmingham
<i>RPhil</i>	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
<i>SIMA</i>	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>SymbOslo</i>	Symbolae Osloenses

LITERARY TEXTS

References to ancient Greek authors and works follow the *Greek-English Lexicon* by Liddell, Scott and Jones, 9th ed. Unless otherwise is stated, translations are those of the author.

CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology is employed in the present study:

The Late Bronze Age /

Mycenaean period (c. 1600-1100 BC)

Crete

Late Minoan I period (c. 1600-1450 BC)

Late Minoan II period (c. 1450-1400 BC)

Late Minoan III period (c. 1400-1050 BC)

Mainland

Late Helladic I period (c. 1600-1510/1500 BC)

Late Helladic II period (c. 1510/1500-1400 BC)

Late Helladic III period (c. 1400-1050 BC)

LH IIIC (c. 1190-1050 BC)

The Early Iron Age (c. 1100-700 BC)

Crete

Subminoan (c. 1050-1000/975 BC)

Mainland

Submycenaean period (c. 1050-1020 BC)

Standardised chronology

Protogeometric Period (1020-900 BC)

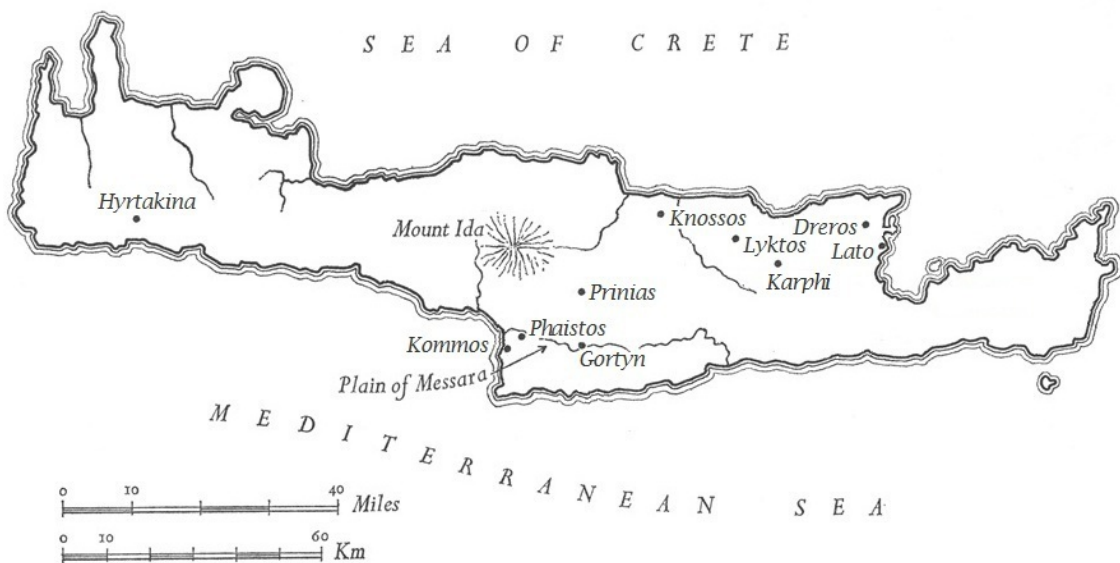
Early PG (1020-1000 BC)

Middle PG (1000-950 BC)

Late PG (950-900 BC)

	Geometric Period (900-700 BC)
	Early Geometric (900-850 BC)
	Middle Geometric (850-750 BC)
	Late Geometric (750-700 BC)
The Archaic Period (c. 700-479 BC)	Archaic Period (c. 700-479 BC)
	Early Archaic (700-600 BC) (the ‘Orientalising’ period)
	Middle Archaic (600-550 BC)
	Late Archaic (550-479 BC)
The Classical Period (479-323 BC)	Classical Period (479-323 BC)
The Hellenistic Period (323-146 BC)	Hellenistic Period (323-146 BC)

Maps



Maps of Mainland Greece and Crete showing the most important sites mentioned in the text (adapted from Lawrence 1996:x, xii)

Prelude

It is widely agreed among scholars that the *polis* developed in the eight century, but it did not rise *ex nihilo*. The origins of the *polis* must be sought in Geometric Greece, and as put by James Whitley (2001:101), the eight century is best described as a period when ‘the cumulative effect of various long-term processes of transformation began to be felt’. The eight century has been called both a renaissance and even a revolution (Hägg, ed. 1983 (see pp. 208-210 for a discussion of the term ‘renaissance’); Morris 2009; cf. Antonaccio (1994: 79-104), Sourvinou-Inwood (1993: 1-17), Whitley (2001:101)), but what was the *polis*?

Although seemingly straightforward, there is no easy, widely accepted answer to this. The research conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre has demonstrated how much modern scholarship employs a definition that is at discord with the ancient use of the term. The common understanding of the *polis* as a city-state (that is as a politically autonomous entity centred upon an urban core and supported by a surrounding territory) effectively disqualifies a number of *poleis* that are unequivocally referred to as such in written sources; not all *poleis* were urban, nor were they necessarily always autonomous (Hansen 1993:18-20, 1995a:34-39, 1995b, 1995c:73-78, 1996b:127-33; Hansen and Nielsen 2004:23-38, 87-94). In response, the Polis Centre has made a case for studying the *polis* by means of the ancient Greek use of the term. They conclude that the *polis* is given four principal meanings in written sources between 650 and 323 BC, namely as (1) a citadel, (2) a city defined by its urban limit, (3) a city including its surrounding territory, and (4), as a political community (Hansen 1998:17-34; Hansen and Nielsen 2004:34-35, 39-46).

Archaeologists generally tend to occupy themselves with the physical expression of the *polis*, thus defining it as an urban centre with a surrounding territory (Darvill 2003:87, 332). Anthony Snodgrass (1977, 1980) has emphasized temple building, urbanisation, and fortification as characteristics of the emerging *polis*, but in doing so has been severely criticised by Ian Morris (1987:7) who has argued that these key points were merely ‘oblique’ manifestations of the *polis* and therefore not adequate for its identification. Urbanisation was a slow process that only truly advanced in the sixth century (Morris 1991:40), but as has recently been demonstrated by Rune Fredriksen (2011), fortifications, which themselves were an intrinsic part of the urban fabric, was much more widespread in the early *polis* than what has traditionally been assumed. It is nevertheless crucial to draw a distinction between the *polis* in its Classical, mature form and the *polis* in the years of its formation.

Morris (1987:8) argues that approaches based on such physical manifestations as proposed by Snodgrass escape the real core of the *polis*, namely that of being a community (κοινωνία) (cf. Hansen 1993:7-9). Hannah Arendt (1958:198) has defined the *polis* in a similar manner: ‘The *polis*, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be’. This understanding of the *polis* is frequently repeated by historians, who often argue that the *polis* was but the people – regardless of its physical expression. It was indeed defined by and conditioned on its citizens; political decisions were always reached by *the Athenians*, never by *Athens*.

Generally speaking, most scholars favour an approach to the rise of the *polis* that emphasises either a political or a religious aspect of *polis* society. It has been increasingly popular among archaeologists in recent years to argue that the *polis* was principally a religious community and that religion itself played a vital part in its formation (see e.g. de Polignac 1984, 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; Zaidman and Pantel 1992). Be that as it may, the approach taken in the present study is more historically oriented and traditional in principally being concerned with the *polis* from a political point of view. The term ‘politics’ is generally used in reference to a ‘system of collective decision-making’ (van der Vliet 2008:198). Historians have produced a vast amount of research on the changing nature of the *polis* throughout the Archaic and subsequent periods and in historical circles it is generally upheld that the development of political institutions (the city council and the popular assembly) was decisive to the formation of the *polis* (Ehrenberg 1937, 1969; Glotz 1965), but a question that has almost completely escaped their attention is how the political institutions came into being in the first place (cf. van der Vliet 2008:197). This is not surprising, however, as they are hampered by a lack of written sources from the period prior to the rise of the *polis* (Homer being the only exception with an eight century dating). They are thus frequently forced to infer from much later, Classical sources in particular which have limited applicability for the early years of the *polis*.

The *polis* was a complex phenomenon and while focusing on one aspect of it may be advantageous from a scholarly point of view, it will always give an imperfect impression of the ancient realities. However, and notwithstanding the importance of religion, the *polis* remained at its very core a political power structure and the view maintained in the present study is that it could never have developed in the first place without the institutions that stood at its centre and governed it.

Introduction

The present study is concerned with an aspect of *polis* formation that has received little attention, namely the city council. The subject was initially inspired by a recent book by Bjørn Qviller, *Battles and Bottles*, in which he has explored the significance of the symposium, the drinking group, to political developments throughout European history. His book spans nearly 3000 years, beginning already in ancient times. It is a study in political anthropology and he states that his entire book can be summarised as an attempt at developing a new mode of cultural production to complement the ‘Apollonian’ and ‘Dionysian’ types of cultures introduced by Ruth Benedict (1934) and the ‘Aphrodisian’ mode of production identified by Marshall Sahlins (1985) (Qviller 2004:xv).

The present study is only concerned with a small part of his book, namely the chapters dealing with the ancient Greek symposium (or συμπόσιον). The Greeks considered drinking a social phenomenon, as is revealed by the term itself. It is formed from *syn*, meaning ‘together’, and *posis*, meaning ‘drinking’, which literally translates to ‘a drinking together’. Archaeologists have long been interested in feasting as an intrinsic part of Greek culture, and the symposium, in particular, as a staple of an aristocratic lifestyle during the Archaic period. Many of Qviller’s ideas have indeed been explored by archaeologists, but his approach differs in that he has put the substance itself, namely wine, at the centre of developments and in that he has focused on long-term perspectives, ranging from EIA Greece to Classical times.

The present study is based on two claims he has made in discussing the archaeological evidence, namely that (1) ‘the Greeks gave some symposia a special function, by converting them into permanent political institutions like the city council’ and (2) that ‘the origin of the city council can hardly be separated from the origins of the Greek temple’ (Qviller 2004:72). The first part of the introduction will be a critical assessment of these claims, whereas the last part will detail the approach taken in the present study.

Qviller, the symposium and the Greek temple

FROM SYMPOSIUM TO CITY COUNCIL

The first point of concern is what drinking parties, or *symposia*, that Qviller speaks of. Drinking parties and feasting in general was common among the elite of EIA Greek society, and they frequently assembled inside the dwelling of the local leader (Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 1997: see esp. p. 394). Although Qviller does not expressly word it, it is apparent that he has wanted to connect the origin of the city council with these elite drinking groups and he is by

all probability correct in doing so. The view held in anthropology is that ‘drinking is essentially a social act, performed within a recognized social context’ (Douglas 2003:4), and through comparative evidence it is clear how drinking of wine within an exclusive social context is in itself a politically charged activity. The symposium thus constitutes a recognised social context and a potential arena for the formulation of political thought, and this acknowledgement is reflected in Qviller’s thesis.

THE ORIGINS OF THE GREEK TEMPLE AND THE CITY COUNCIL

Although Qviller’s book is principally a study in political anthropology, he does pay attention to the archaeological evidence. He discusses buildings (dwellings and hearth-houses) that have revealed evidence for drinking between the PG period and the sixth century. A number of scholars have argued that the house with the internal hearth (the *Herdhaus*) was a forerunner and important step in the creation of the Greek temple (Drerup 1969; Eckert 2005; Nilsson 1952; Oelmann 1957). The hearth was a common focal point for feasts and, as Mazarakis Ainian (1997) has documented in detail, feasting is frequently associated with hearth-temples. Cristoph Börker (1983:10) has wanted to see the common feast as the beginning of the Greek temple. It appears that Qviller imagines a line between the feasting inside the dwellings of the EIA leaders – dwellings which commonly also included a central hearth – and these feasts inside the ‘hearth-house’. He believes that these elite gatherings also would have been used for political discussions and decision making (Qviller 2004:72).

The role of the hearth is most interesting and deserves attention, but it is dubious of Qviller to phrase his claim as referring to the Greek temple as such when he is really only including a particular category of temples known as ‘hearth-temples’ (from the German term *Herdtempel*, i.e. rectangular structures with an internal, centrally placed hearth) in his investigation. It is indeed known from a number of Greek sanctuaries that temples were built atop or in the vicinity of hearths that had functioned as religious focal points and altars during the EIA (see e.g. Morgan 1996), but only on rare occasions is the hearth known to actually have been moved inside the temple. Whereas open air sanctuaries were common in the EIA, hearths were in most cases simply a primitive form of altar, later to be replaced by more monumental altars in stone, with the temple serving solely to house the cult image.

A note on terminology

The term ‘politics’ is used in reference to a ‘system of collective decision-making’ (van der Vliet 2008:198), but the scale is reduced from that of the people as a whole and limited to the framework of the city council and its participants. With respect to the city council, the Greek

landscape is complicated. A number of different dialects were spoken throughout the Greek world, and political institutions were referred to with different names in different regions. In addition, there is a difference between the terminology employed by Athenian authors in descriptions of the broader Greek world, and the proper names used by locals in various regions. The English term ‘city council’ is used in reference to the council in EA times, regardless of its proper Greek equivalent, but local terms will be given when appropriate. Attic Greek is usually preferred in scholarly literature to avoid confusion, and *boulē* is the common word for ‘council’. This term is found already in Homer, where it is used for the council of the leading men, the *basilēes*. The meeting place of the *boulē* is called *bouleutērion*, the ‘place of the *boulē*’ – a ‘council house’.

Approach and problem statement

As is often the case among historians that venture into the field of archaeology, the treatment of the archaeological material suffers from an apparent lack of familiarity. Even though Qviller covers developments with a timeframe of almost 500 tumultuous years, he mentions only a handful of buildings and they are particularly lacking in the crucial phase surrounding the eighth and seventh centuries. The eighth century saw a great increase in the construction of temples, particularly urban temples, which were extremely rare during the EIA. His use of hearth-houses and temples nevertheless appears somewhat half-hearted, almost as if the buildings he mentions were stumbled upon and elected out of accidental circumstances, and it appears that his putting hearth-temples on par with temples may result from a rather one-sided understanding of the development of the Greek temple in the first place (*cf.* Østby 2008).

A debate of surprising longevity (but rather limited popularity and familiarity) deals with the possibility that hearth-temples could have functioned as *bouleutēria* or even primitive *prytaneia* (i.e. a ‘town hall’ of sorts. Its most important function was to house the common hearth of the *polis*). This argument rests primarily on the unusual existence of a hearth inside a building apparently intended for cult. Some hearth-temples have also revealed benches that were clearly intended for sitting and this in addition to the hearth suggests that the focus of ritual activities was *internal*. This stands in stark contrast to canonical Greek temples where focus was on the *external altar*. The majority of the documented hearth-temples were constructed in the eighth and seventh centuries and this debate would be most relevant to Qviller, but appears to have escaped his attention entirely; he only briefly mentions that there is evidence for feasting inside the hearth-temple of Apollo at Dreros and in the hearth-temple to Apollo at Asine, Argolis, before making a leap to the sixth century and the so-called ‘temple’ of Hera Limenia at Perachora (Qviller 2004:72-73).

It is useful at this point to make an architectural distinction between the *prytaneion* and the *bouleutērion* of later periods so to avoid unnecessary confusion. The *bouleutērion* differed from a *prytaneion* in that the latter was an overall more complex unit; it served a wider variety of functions and required certain key features to be classified as one (see ch. 3 for this), whereas a *bouleutērion* was principally defined as the meeting place of the *boulē*. The term *bouleutērion* was applied to a particular building in that it referred to the building used to hold council meetings, but it was a very simple building type. The one architectural feature most *bouleuteria* had in common was an auditorium (McDonald 1943; Pl. 28, 29), but this particular feature surely owed to the convenience of deliberating while seated, rather than absolute necessity. Councils could theoretically be held anywhere and ‘*bouleutērion*’ could equally well carry the more abstract meaning of ‘council’ or ‘meeting’, and thus essentially separated from the venue in which this meeting took place.

The *bouleutērion* and the *prytaneion* are well known from later periods, but their early beginnings remain in the dark. The possibility that hearth-temples functioned as primitive *bouleutēria* and/or *prytaneia* plays a vital role in the present study, but to avoid confusion, it is necessary at this point to clarify how the *prytaneion* is assumed to fit into a discussion of the city council, as one might assume this to only involve the *bouleutērion*. This point is well illustrated by William McDonald. A number of Classical *bouleutēria* are known to have contained an altar (the altar is in its essence also a hearth, but a hearth dedicated to the gods alone. The fire burnt on top of the altar and sacrifice without fire was a rarity (Burkert 1985:61)) or hearth and this has led McDonald (1943:137) to connect the origins of the *bouleutērion* with the *prytaneion*. He argues this substantiates the theory that the *prytaneion* was originally used to *house the city council*. The archaeological evidence, which admittedly is scarce, suggests that the construction of specialised buildings to house the city council principally appeared in the sixth century (McDonald 1943; Miller 1978). It is indeed pertinent to question whether we should expect to find buildings built solely for this purpose as early as the LG/EA periods, or whether buildings were multifunctional in much the same manner as they had been in the EIA (*cf.* Mazarakis Ainian 1997, see esp. pp. 390-391). McDonald (1943:137) favours the last option and argues the *bouleutērion* was separated from the *prytaneion* at a later date and that this explains the presence of a hearth in later *bouleutēria*. This is only a hypothesis, but it is particularly interesting as it not only includes the city council, but also puts the hearth at the forefront.

In light of the wide time span covered by Qviller, beginning already in the PG period, the evidence he draws on is so sparse that it provides weak basis for making inferences, and his actual treatment of the buildings in question is in itself far too cursory and reticent. When

simultaneously claiming that the origins of the city council hardly can be separated from the origins of the temple, the necessity of devoting more time to eighth and seventh century evidence becomes apparent, and this is a major incentive behind the present study.

The city council as a political institution is a subject typically associated with historians, but whereas they generally concern themselves with the workings and development of political institutions through time, the approach taken here is decidedly archaeological in that focus is rather on the venues in which councils presumably were held during Early Greece (here defined as the LG/EA period).

The present study is concerned with the hearth-temple and the following problems will be sought answered: Did hearth-temples – beside their obvious function as places for cult – also fulfil the functions of primitive *prytaneia*? This can be understood in two different ways; did hearth-temples function as primitive *prytaneia* merely by housing the common hearth (the sacred hearth and symbolic centre of a *polis*) or was there in fact an architectural connection with later *prytaneia*? If this can be demonstrated to be true, did the city council in turn gather around the common hearth, or could they have gathered in hearth-temples regardless of whether the internal hearth was the common hearth of the city or not? The *prytaneion* will be discussed first of the following reason; the Classical *prytaneion* served a number of functions and was a much more complex architectural unit than the *bouleuterion* (Pl. 24-29), and McDonald's hypothesis that the *bouleutērion* was separated from the *prytaneion* therefore makes more sense than the opposite. The working hypothesis is that the common hearth, as the symbolic centre of the *polis*, would have been the natural place for the city council to gather. A consequence of this is that when the term *bouleutērion* is used in the text, it is used in reference to *function* before *architectural form*.

The overall aim of the present study is as its subtitle suggests, twofold, and it is desired to bring the analysis a step further – by exploring the role the hearth-temple played in the formation of the *polis*. Particular emphasis is put on identifying the human factor, namely the people that actually gathered in the temples. The point of departure is that the early *polis* was essentially an aristocratic *polis* (more on this later) and the role of the aristocracy in the early *polis* is consequently given due attention. The hearth-temple will be attempted understood within a broader social and political context and this will be compared with a transition from EIA elite to Archaic aristocracy. It is hoped that a closer look at the possible venues for the meeting of the city council can ultimately shed some light on the human and perhaps even ideological aspect of *polis* formation.

Chapter I: The material evidence and methodological considerations

The identification of hearth-temples as such stems from the traditional view that if a rectangular *oikos* structure found within a sanctuary contained a central hearth and an entrance placed on the short end, this hearth must have functioned as a ‘hearth-altar’. Structures which have provided evidence for central hearths (or ashes indicating burning in the centre of the room) have thus been interpreted as evidence for temple function. This assumption has been severely criticised by Bergquist (1973:41-42, 61-62; in Hägg 1983:121; cf. Tomlinson 1977:197), who has pointed out that these characteristics are not by themselves sufficient evidence to determine the function of a building. Rather, she argues, this is *the* type in early Greek architecture, and they served a multitude of functions, domestic and public, civic and sacred (Bergquist 1973:41; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997:280).

Hearths were equally common in private houses, where they provided heat, lighting and a place to prepare meals. This utilitarian use of the hearth cannot *a priori* be excluded from public buildings, whether located in a sanctuary or on an *agora* (Bergquist 1973:41; cf. Fagerström 1988:41; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:280). Bergquist’s criticism is just and necessary on general grounds; if a structure containing a central hearth is to be identified as a temple, this cannot be inferred from the presence of a hearth alone; it needs to rest on additional evidence. We find this situation with the so-called ‘temple of Hera Limenia’ at Perachora (Payne 1940; cf. Tomlinson 1977) and the *oikos*-structure and later *oikos*-complex at the sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos (Bergquist 1973). All structures have revealed central hearths, but they were not temples (for the building at Perachora, see Appendix). Sanctuaries often had independent dining buildings, usually as an annexe attached to the main cult area (Bergquist 1967; cf. Börker 1983). This argument is equally valid for the present study; primitive *prytaneia* cannot be identified from the presence of hearths alone.

Hearth-temples as *bouleutēria* and *prytaneia* – previous research

Margherita Guarducci (1939:186-187) was, to the best of my knowledge, the first to suggest a connection between hearth-temples and *prytaneia*. Concentrating on Cretan epigraphical evidence she wanted to trace the development of the *prytaneion* by way of the Cretan hearth-temples, specifically. She went even further and argued that the origins of the *prytaneion* were ultimately to be found in the Mycenaean palatial *megaron*. Guarducci’s thesis was later

criticised by Giovanna Tosi (1966:12, 153; in Miller 1978:26 n. 5), but unfortunately I have been unable to acquire Tosi's article, and her arguments thus elude me.¹ Stephen G. Miller (1978:25-27) has also argued in accordance with Tosi and maintained there is no common architectural ground between the Mycenaean *megaron* and the Greek *prytaneion*.

Ewa Samuelsson has in more recent years renewed the case for seeing hearth-temples as forerunners for 'official buildings for gatherings of a more profane nature, i.e. bouleuteria and perhaps more specifically prytaneia' (1988:279). In likeness to Guarducci, Samuelsson's work was focused on Crete, more precisely the temples from Kommos, Dreros, and Prinias during the historical Greek period. She has challenged the traditional view that the hearth-temple was a forerunner and principal source for the Greek temple, and – without dismissing the religious significance of these structures – asserted that their architectural features and material content in fact is more in line with later *prytaneia* than canonical Greek temples. Just like Guarducci, she has also made a connection between the cult of Apollo and the *prytaneion*. Incidentally, Samuelsson never finished her work. Her arguments are only presented in a short abstract, in which she uses the architectural developments at Kommos to illustrate her theory.

The material evidence

The hearth-temple is an unusually complex category of evidence as few buildings are overall known. Hearth-houses are found in mainland Greece as well as Crete and even the Aegean (Thasos), but their numbers are all in all rather modest. This may be due either to sheer chance, bad preservation, the fact that they are often to be found below remains of later temples, or possibly that they represent a parallel line of development, not to be confused with the development of the Greek temple proper (*cf.* Samuelsson), and thus far from as numerous in the first place. This must be appreciated, not only throughout the analysis itself, but also with respect to the inferences one might expect to draw from it. It is doubtful whether one can expect to arrive at unquestionable conclusions, but it is hoped that a more comprehensive treatment of a wider selection of buildings can bring the debate a significant step forward and make a valid contribution to the understanding of this rather elusive building type.

The archaeological material includes buildings from the sites of Kommos, Dreros, Prinias, and Gortyn in Crete and Perachora, Kalapodi, Pallantion, and Asine on mainland Greece (see Appendix for a presentation of the material). The temples from the following sites have been called a *prytaneion*: Kommos (temple B) (Samuelsson 1988; *cf.* Shaw and Shaw

¹ It is published as 'Contributo allo studio dei pritanei' in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 33:10-20, 151-172.

2000a:706), Dreros (Guarducci 1939:186-187; Samuelsson 1988; cf. Marinatos 1936:232-233), Prusias (temple B) (Guarducci 1939:186-187; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:226; Samuelsson 1988), Pallantion (temple A) (Østby 1991:46; 1995:59-60). The following have been called a *bouleutērion*: Perachora (Qviller 2004:72-73), Pallantion (Morgan and Coulton 1997:112), and Prusias (temple B) (Marinatos 2000:71).

Methodological approach and organisation of chapters

As demonstrated in the introduction, a discussion of the early city council cannot be afforded separated from a discussion of the early stages of the *prytaneion*. Regarding the *prytaneion*, the aim is essentially to arrive at an understanding of whether hearth-temples, a category of temples of which surprisingly little is known, functioned as *prytaneia*, a building form and institution of which *nothing* is known from the LG/EA period. This highly elusive nature of the subject matter gives rise to considerable methodological challenges. In response to this, it is necessary to create a methodological framework that is individually adapted to allow for the unique challenges presented by each the city council and the *prytaneion*. The study aims to reach the most qualified answers to the problem posed, and while a point could be made of relying on archaeology alone, this would undoubtedly put great limitations on the outcome, and possibly also allow for inferences that could have been avoided if a broader interdisciplinary approach had been utilised. The emphasis put on the feast and wine in particular makes it relevant to draw on the work of anthropologists. Written testimonia will also be drawn upon and this will bring us into the fields of history and even philology. It is not uncommon for classical archaeologists to draw on written sources, as we are granted the luxury of having such an unusually rich collection of written material at our disposal, but the manner in which archaeologists employ historical sources in their work is not necessarily of any greater refinement than when the reverse is true. A simple quotation may be picked up because it conspicuously supports the archaeologist's interpretation of his material, while no regard is paid how this source fits into the larger selection of written material.

The aim is to lay down the best possible conditions for approaching this challenging chapter of Greek history. This will occupy a good number of pages, and as much as the study seeks to shed light on the postulated use of hearth-temples as political meeting places, it is equally an attempt at creating a methodological framework that can be employed in the study of this aspect of political development from an archaeological point of view. The work done in the following pages will hopefully provide a good basis for future studies into the subject.

The principal need for theoretical tools relates to the political implications of sharing in wine and the use of the space in which it took place. The phenomenon of deliberating while

drinking will be discussed in chapter 2, but it is to be noted that rather than being summarised introductorily, the present study is organised so that theoretical tools are presented and incorporated into the analysis when required.

Chapter 2 will begin by considering the city council of the Geometric period. There is indeed a scarcity of written sources to the city council of Early Greece. The majority of the written material is from the Classical period or later, and thus problematic as sources to the *polis* of the eighth century. A number of inscriptions are preserved from the EA period, but due to the fundamental social changes that occurred during the eighth century they cannot easily be accepted as sources to this critical century of Greek history. This does not necessarily mean that later sources are *useless*, but they need to be critically scrutinised. The only written source from the eighth century is in fact Homer (*cf.* Iddeng 2008:122). This involves yet other difficulties, as Homer is a highly problematic source and a comment must be offered on the possibility of using the Homeric poems as sources to social history. This will be discussed below, but for now it can be mentioned that it is held by the present author that he is of invaluable importance to the political institutions just prior to the formation of the *polis*.

The obvious difficulty with respect to the *prytaneion* is exactly what one should look for in its early stages. Chapter 3 will begin with the only possible point of departure, the *prytaneion* as it is known from LA and Classical times. The basis for this chapter is Miller's *The Prytaneion*, but it is maintained that the criteria established by Miller cannot uncritically be applied to LG/EA times – although Miller on his own terms appears to favour this approach. The chapter seeks to arrive at a core understanding of what the *prytaneion* was and will attempt to discuss this in light of the architectural landscape of the EIA. Both Guarducci and Samuelsson postulated a link between the cult of Apollo and the *prytaneion* and this argument will be explored in further detail through an examination of relevant written and epigraphical sources. The criteria outlined in chapter 3 will form the basis for the discussion in chapter 4.

After discussing the possible use of hearth-temples as *prytaneia*, attention will return to discuss the city council. Chapter 5 will discuss whether or not it is reasonable to connect the feasting that took place within the hearth-temples with council meetings. This chapter will focus on Crete for reasons that will be made clear later. It is necessary to devote a good number of pages to the social structure of the Cretan *poleis* in order to understand the social and political situation in which the city council operated. Epigraphical material will again play a decisive role. This approach entails that the answers that hopefully will emerge from the analysis are better representative of seventh century conditions – or more precisely, the

polis after it had ‘settled in’ – rather than the transitional phase of the eight century. When the epigraphical evidence is compared with Homer, it should, however, be possible to achieve a rough impression of *before* and *after* the *polis*, and at this stage, a comparison will be made with Homer to reconsider his historical value with respect to Crete specifically.

It must be emphasised that the individual focus on the *prytaneion* and the city council is not to be confused with two independent discussions. Chapter 5 will build on and continue the chapters discussing the *prytaneion*, and the role of the hearth will function as a leitmotiv, tying these two approaches together.

Homer and history

Ever since Moses Finley’s seminal study, *The World of Odysseus*, ‘Homeric society’ has been a frequently employed term in reference to the society described by Homer. However, some has argued it never actually existed (Snodgrass 1974). There is considerable disagreement among scholars as to whether a *polis* structure is identifiable in Homer, or not; a number of scholars have argued that Homeric society rather centres around the *oikos*, the Homeric household (Adkins 1972:17; Finley 1954:27, 79; Halverson 1985:129, 1986; Redfield 1975:111), while others maintain it is possible to identify an overarching *polis* structure (see e.g. Morris 1986). Some has similarly argued that the focus on the exploits of the Homeric heroes and warrior aristocrats intentionally pushes the *polis* into the background and inhibits it from playing a vital part in dramatization (Hoffmann 1956:156; Luce 1978:9-10).

Victor Ehrenberg (1937:155) stated a long time ago that ‘the *Iliad* shows no sign of the existence of a Polis, while the *Odyssey* does’, but this position cannot be upheld when focusing on the *polis* as a *political community*. If we take into account the special setting of the *Iliad*, a temporary military camp surrounded by a wall hastily erected without the obligatory sacrifice (*Il.* 12.1-33), and located far away from the Greek homeland, one cannot expect to find a faired political system, and a certain lenience in the conduct of politics would not be surprising. Yet, the essentials of a *polis* are indeed present in the *Iliad* and the basic institutions necessary to govern a *polis*, the council (βουλή) and the popular assembly (ἀγορή), are both present (Raaflaub 1993; Sakkelariou 1989:349-392). We even hear in the *Iliad* that by the ships of Odysseus ‘was their place of gathering (ἀγορή) and of the giving of dooms (θέμς), whereby also where builded their altars of the gods (βωμοί)’ (11.807-808).² This corresponds well to later known practice, and has led Raaflaub (1993:47) to conclude that the Greek encampment is a community like any other, structured both physically and

² Translation by A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library.

politically like a *polis*, but as it is a temporary community, without territory, wives or children, it is referred to as a *stratos* (*Il.* 15.656, 24.448-56), and never *polis* or *asty*. Oswyn Murray (1980:58) furthermore states that ‘the rituals and procedures essential for the orderly conduct of mass meetings were well established, and show remarkable similarities with the highly complex rituals surrounding the only later assemblies whose workings are known in detail, those of democratic Athens’.

Nevertheless, we find all too often that a *polis*-perspective is displaced by a unilateral focus on the *oikos* and Homeric society had yet to crystallise into a true *polis*. When Telemachos calls the Ithacans to assembly in Book 2 of the *Odyssey*, it is not to resolve a public matter (namely the question of leadership), but because of an evil that has befallen his household. While Telemachos desires the position of his father, his foremost concern is to be lord of his own house (οἶκοιο ἄναξ) (*Od.* 1.394-398; cf. Scully 1990:103). It is a *polis* in the strict political sense, but fragile and undeveloped and not much more than an ‘embryo’, as Raaflaub (1993:59) has put it.

Some scholars have argued that Homeric kingship share similar structural weaknesses to the big man societies described by anthropologists (Donlan 1982, 1989, 1999; Meyer 1998:42-44, 84-91; Qviller 1981). A big man society is a form of social organisation where the position and power of the big man rests on his ability to attract and keep followers. This argument is not without opponents, but Qviller (1981:109, 117) is careful in pointing out that the Homeric leader and the big man are far from *identical*, and he stresses that the Homeric leader overall held a position of greater power. He was nevertheless depended on followers in order to maintain his position (Antonaccio 1995:255; Hall 2007:122-123; Qviller 1981; cf. Murray 1983). A *basileus* was furthermore expected to entertain followers with feasts and wine, this was part of the social contract, and Agamemnon’s reserve of wine mentioned in *Iliad* 9.69-75 was as such a physical manifestation of his power as chief. It is clear that political power was highly personal. This has been emphasised by John Halverson (1985, 1986) who notes that there are no institutionalised or formal ‘office of power’ in Homer.

Ian Morris (1986) and J. P. Crielaard (1995; 2002) have with reference to the work done by Milman Parry (1971) and his followers (Havelock 1963; 1982; Lord 1960:30-68) emphasized how it is a condition for the success of oral poetry that the audience must be able to relate to the story being told. To achieve this, the singers of oral poetry will adapt the narrative to the changing times to always maintain its relevance to their audience. This natural development was broken when the Homeric poems were written down. It is mostly acknowledged that the poems reached their written form in the latter half of the eighth century, but it would have been difficult to change the tradition to mirror the fundamental and rapid

changes that took place in Greece in the eighth century, and so it is likely that we have a time lag in composition, meaning that the poems are better representative for Greece a generation earlier than their respective poets, probably the beginning of the eighth century (*cf.* Pomeroy *et al.* 1999:53-54; Raaflaub 1993:44-45). Another advantage of this view is that by drawing on Greek society a generation earlier, the singers would have incorporated a natural epic distance – the society described would have been sufficiently different to give the impression of older times, but still within living memory, thus allowing the audience to relate to and understand the story told and the world in which it took place. An obvious merit to this view is that the two poems internally reveal a development; they do not depict the exact same society.

This, however, does not mean that the poems are in any way a *reflection* of the early eighth century – they include a number of anachronisms (*cf.* Snodgrass 1974) – but they are more reliable in some areas than others and it is upheld that the political system presented by Homer is a coherent one (*cf.* Morris 1986; Qviller 1981:114). The poems tell us some important things about the poets own time, the workings of the basic institutions and the ideology of leadership. As put by Morris (1986:129): ‘For the archaeologist, the very problems of the poems provide a fruitful source of information on the mental processes and the particular historical context behind the formation of the archaeological record, which we ignore at our peril’.

The city council - from inhabited to uninhabited space?

The presumed move of the city council from the dwellings of EIA leaders and to the temple is a phenomenon also of symbolic importance, and this will be explored with reference to the social theorist Pierre Bourdieu. As opposed to the theoretical tools that will be employed in the analysis specifically, this will function as an overarching theory, one that encapsulates in its entirety the study at hand. To fully understand the archaeology involved in this assumed transition, the work done by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian requires a preliminary mention.

FROM RULERS’ DWELLINGS TO TEMPLES

The manner in which Qviller traces the symposium from the dwellings of the EIA ruler’s to the EA hearth-temples recalls the work done by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian (1988, 1997) on EIA architecture and society. His theory of a dwelling-temple transition is therefore useful to lay out at this point in order to better understand how Qviller’s ideas fit into a broader archaeological pattern. This first and foremost relates to his second claim.

The Mycenaean *megaron* is traditionally appointed as the architectural inspiration and model for the Greek temple (see e.g. Dietrich 1970:22-23), but Mazarakis Ainian (1997:396)

believes that the influence of the *megaron* upon later temple architecture was only an indirect one. Instead he argues that the Greek temple developed by route of the dwellings of the local leaders of the EIA, dwellings which often were employed for purposes of cult. This need not always have been the case though, as ‘temples existed simultaneously with the earlier attested rulers’ dwellings’ of the EIA (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:393). Other times, cult was rather carried out in proximity to the leader’s dwelling. The cultic aspect of the dwellings was preserved in the temple, but the inherently domestic function of the dwellings was left out of the equation. Yet, he does argue that some temples (e.g. the temples at Kommos) may have continued to be used for residential purposes.

The scope and thoroughness of Mazarakis Ainian’s work is most impressive, but it has one serious weakness. Although there is much to defend the general lines of development drawn by Mazarakis Ainian (most archaeologists do believe that EIA Greece was ruled by chieftains, headmen or big men, and that this form of social organisation gave way to the *polis*), many of his interpretations can reasonably be drawn in doubt when considering buildings on an individual level. He is admittedly careful in pointing out that he does not ‘have in mind a uniform pattern applicable for the entire Greek World’ (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:393), but it can nevertheless be argued that the thesis he pursues in many instances overshadows his judgement of some of the buildings involved. He is indeed most generous in his identifications of rulers’ dwellings, and some of his identifications have also been challenged by other scholars.

Erik Østby (2008), for one, has in a recent article explained the emergence of the Doric temple as a synthesis of continuity, rediscovery and innovation. The element of continuity centred on the *megaron* as a continuously used arena for religious activity. Østby has used Unit B/B1-3 at Eleusis and Building T at Tiryns to illustrate his point and has challenged Mazarakis Ainian interpretation of them as dwellings that were only turned into temples in the eighth century. To take the *megaron* at Tiryns as an example, it was built in the twelfth century and placed directly atop the earlier throne-room, and is perhaps best interpreted as an expectant attempt at holding on to the palatial culture and its form of leadership, a view held by both. Østby (2008:180-181), however, believes that when the palatial culture finally broke down around 1100 BC, the *megaron* at Tiryns lost its domestic function, but continued to be used for cult activities, and at some point during the EIA it would crystallise into what we would term a temple. Being both memories of a glorious and long gone past as well as the traditional foci of cult, the *megara* held the inherent prestige that made them the obvious ideal when temple building began on a large scale in the eighth century (Østby 2008:176-181).

The reality was certainly much more complex than what can be communicated through simple models, but it nevertheless appears to the author that although Mazarakis Ainian's thesis can be challenged in the details, he does have a valid point on the whole and this understanding underlies the present study.

TEMPLES AS VENUES FOR FEASTING

Much criticism has been given of Qviller's use of the evidence, mostly on methodological grounds, but a fact which incidentally does validate seeing a hypothetical connection between the city council and the Greek temple is provided by Mazarakis Ainian (1997:390-392) with a particular category of temples he has named the 'temple-*hestiatorion*' (a *hestiatorion* is a dining room). This category comprises *any* temple used for ritual drinking and dining, consequently also hearth-temples, but it differs from the hearth-temple proper in that it is merely defined by the *activity itself*; the presence of an internal hearth is not a requirement. As examples of this group, he mentions temples from Kalapodi, Lathouriza, Asine, Tegea, Sparta, Iria, Delos, Koukounaries, Samos, and Dreros. While the number of hearth-temples is rather modest, the total number of 'temple-*hestiatoria*' effectively overshadows the other categories of temples during the LG period (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:390-391).

If the question of the origins of the Greek temple is omitted from Mazarakis Ainian's thesis to instead focus on the social aspect involved in a transition from dwelling to temple, it does indeed appear a valid possibility that the gatherings of the elite was moved from dwelling to temple. It must, however, be kept in mind that this is also in many ways a simplification of realities, as it also assumes that the council would have met indoors somewhere, a fact which is known to not always have been true, not even in Greek times; written sources reveal that the council in many instances met out in the open.

BOURDIEU – SPACE AND THE OBJECTIFICATION OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Bourdieu (1977:89) has argued that in illiterate societies (like EIA Greece), the 'inhabited space – and above all the house – is the principal locus for the objectification of symbolic capital. The concept of 'symbolic capital' was introduced by Bourdieu and is a pillar in his philosophy. It is nevertheless difficult to define, and Kim Dovey (2005:287) has noted that 'there is considerable slippage in Bourdieu's use of it'. The term generally designates 'what is considered (in a given social context) to be honor or prestige, systematically misrecognized as economically disinterested' (Betensky 2000:208). Bourdieu has later stated that 'every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends (to different degrees) to function as symbolic capital' (in Dovey 2005:287). Symbolic capital essentially establishes one's 'credit' within society,

and this is well exemplified by the giving of feasts. By spending money without regard to one's better interests, the host of the festivities increases his prestige among his followers and gains in this way symbolic capital. Bourdieu treats symbolic capital as a form of debt that the host can cause to accumulate in others by showing disinterested, but honourable generosity – a debt that can later be called on to benefit the leader (Betensky 2000:208). The logical derivation would thus be that symbolic capital is objectified in uninhabited space in literate societies.

Knowledge of literacy was lost in Greece with the fall of the palace civilisation, and it was only rediscovered in the eighth century. It is interesting to note that this coincides with the rise of the *polis*, and the widespread construction of urban temples at the time. Whereas the dwellings of the EIA leaders was inhabited space in which the elites would gather for feasting and drinking, the temple is by definition uninhabited, only symbolically occupied by the appurtenant deity, or deities. If we for the sake of argumentation accept that these elite drinking groups that gathered in the dwellings of the local leaders, or foremost *basilēes*, in fact constituted themselves as an early incarnation of the city council, it is tempting to imagine that this was moved into an uninhabited space in connection with the formation of the *polis* – be that either the hearth-temples with which we are concerned, or simply out in the open somewhere.

The basic methodological ideal employed throughout the present study is that of a highly critical approach to the material evidence, where theoretical models are only considered valid if they concur with the inferences that can be drawn from a detailed treatment of the material. As mentioned, Bourdieu's theory is a suitable model, but it is imperative to stress that the reasons for using it is to assess its applicability for Greece, not to blindly apply it to the material because it might seem meaningful at first glance. This means that at present, the point of departure is that it is merely a hypothesis.

Chapter II: The city council in Geometric Greece

The use of Homer as a historical source is contested, but the position maintained is that the political system at least is uniform and probably representative of the early eighth century, or even before, but distinctly a step prior to the full fruition of the *polis*. Exactly for this reason is he of interest, as he may give insight into how political gatherings took place in Geometric Greece. The aim of this chapter is to come to an understanding of political meetings and deliberation in this period, the role that wine played in council meetings, and how this can be applied when analysing the archaeological material in order to better understand what to look for in the buildings that would have housed the council. First, however, it might be useful to give a brief introduction to the workings of the political system.

The political institutions of Homeric society

Political decisions were reached through debate among the *basilēes*, either in council or before the gathering of the people. Although the elite would often deliberate among themselves before calling the assembly, this needed not be the case. There are examples where the people are assembled right away, such as the assembly called by Achilles in Book 1 of the *Iliad*. Then again, this assembly is urgently called in an attempt to resolve a critical matter, namely the plague unleashed by Apollo on the Greek camp as a response to Agamemnon's unwillingness to return to her father the Trojan woman Chryseis. As such, this particular assembly could be considered an exception.

The assembly of the people was subordinate to the *boulē* which appears to have been made up of the heads of the noble families. The *dēmos* was nevertheless not without a saying, but their saying was however limited. They could loudly express their approval or rejection, and they were needed for the final ratification of major decisions (Murray 1993:56-57). Debate could also resume when decisions were presented to the people, but only the foremost men were expected to participate in this discussion. When Thersites – an outrageous man of little stature and of no popular support (Kirk 1985:138-142) – speaks his mind, he is ridiculed by Homer, and when Odysseus silences Thersites with a blow to the head with the *skēptron* (the sceptre held when speaking), the people approve of this as Odysseus' finest feat ever (*Il.* 2.211-277).

It is held by the author that the *dēmos* did not play a decisive part in the formation of the *polis*. They were needed to formally approve of *major* decisions, but the real power in Homeric society nevertheless lay with the *basilēes*, and it is no reason to doubt that this was

the case in Geometric Greece as well. This is suggested by a passage in Book 9 of the *Iliad*. All the Achaeans are gathered in assembly when Nestor decides to take charge, dissolves the assembly and urges the elders to meet in Agamemnon's hut to deliberate in private (*Il.* 9.52-78). One can imagine that the degree to which the *dēmos* were included in decision-making processes must have been greatly geographically dependent, in this way leading to numerous political nuances.

Drinking and deliberating

In Early Greece, the phenomenon of drinking groups is particular for the aristocracy (Qviller 2004:31), and it is interesting to note that deliberation among the elders always took place while wine was being drunk. Gatherings of the people, on the other hand, were supposed to take place without intoxicants, and 'it is mentioned as something extraordinary that the sons of the Achaeans appeared in the assembly "heavy with wine"' (Qviller 2004:31; *cf.* *Od.* 3.139). The wine drunk by the elders in council is called *gerousios oinos*, 'the wine of the chiefs' (*Il.* 4.259; *Od.* 13.8). *Gerousios*, meaning 'pertaining to the *gerontes* (elders)' is connected with the term *gerousia*, meaning 'council of elders'. It must be noted, however, that the term 'elder' does not designate actual age in this context; it refers to the foremost men of society, and Qviller (1994:59, 2004:74) believes this indicates that something similar to a *prytaneia* or a *gerousia* was taking shape. This association between drinking and deliberating is clearly illustrated in the following passage from the *Iliad* (9.69-75):

...son of Atreus, take the lead, for thou art most kingly.
 Make thou a feast for the elders; this were but right and seemly for thee.
 Full are thy huts of wine that the ships of the Achaeans
 bring to thee each day from Thrace, over the wide sea;
 all manner of entertainment hast thou at hand, seeing thou art king over
 many. And when many are gathered together thou shalt follow him whoso
 shall devise the wisest counsel.¹

Council meetings were usually held in the morning and preceded by a sacrifice and a following feast (McDonald 1943:20). Following the quotation above, the chiefs gathered in Agamemnon's hut (*Il.* 9.89-90) to discuss how they could make amends and persuade Achilles to re-join battle. Agamemnon acknowledges what blind folly it was to take away Achilles' prize Briseis, but swears 'a great oath' that he has never touched her (*Il.* 9.132-134). Nestor urges Agamemnon to make amends with 'kindly gifts and gentle words' and Agamemnon responds by saying he is 'minded to make amends and give requital past

¹ Translation by A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library.

counting'. He proceeds to list all the glorious gifts he will present to Achilles and this decision is wisely agreed upon and sealed first with libation and then by drinking 'to their hearths content' (*Il.* 9.114-178; *cf.* the council in *Od.* 7.152-198 where deliberation rather takes place after wine was drunk).

An important part of decision-making is the giving of political vows and oaths (Qviller 1994:54), as is evident from the example of Agamemnon above, and this was closely connected with the pouring of libations. Libations were fundamental to Greek religious practice. It signals both beginnings and endings and accompanied meals and ritual acts (Roberts 2005:418). It is apparent from the example above that pouring of libations is not associated with the feast itself, but rather functions as a ritual conclusion to the council meeting. Libations are frequently shown in later iconographical representations to be poured over the altar flame (Roberts 2005:418). This is well illustrated by a LA painted wooden plaque found at Pitsa, Corinthia. The woman on the far right is seen pouring libation from a jug and onto the altar in preparation of the lamb sacrifice that is to take place (Fig. 2.1).

Within the context of drinking groups specifically it is difficult to establish this practice from the Homeric poems. Libations are almost exclusively mentioned as being poured in drops into cups prior to drinking (*Il.* 1.470-471, 9.175-176; *Od.* 3.339-340, 7.182-183, 18.418-419, 21.263-264, 21.271-272; an exception is evident with *Od.* 7.135-138 where the Phaiakian counsellors pour libation to the keen-sighted Argeiphontes *from* their cups, but they then proceed to gather for a council meeting where they pour libation to Zeus in drops *into* their cups; see *Od.* 7.182-183). There are other examples where all that is revealed is simply that a libation took place before the gathering broke up (see e.g. *Il.* 9.656-657; *Od.* 7.135-138). At any rate, the huts and palaces of the *basilēes* did contain a hearth.

When Odysseus and a few other men go to Achilles' hut to convince him to re-join battle in Book 9, Achilles leads them into his hut to make them sit comfortably on couches and rugs. This gathering is not one of deliberation as such, but rather a friendly visit and wine is put forth as they arrive. To accompany the wine is a rich variety of meat that is roasted over a fireplace located inside the hut (*Il.* 9.210-214). After the meat is distributed, Achilles asks Patroklos to offer sacrifice to the gods and Patroklos casts an offering (θηγλή) into the fire (*Il.* 9.215-220). Alcinoos also has a hearth (ἑσχάρα) in his *megaron* (*Od.* 7.145-177) and so does Odysseus in his palace (*Od.* 20.122-123). On Odysseus return to Ithaca, he visits his friend the swineherd Eumaios in disguise. Before they are to eat supper, Eumaios honours his mysterious guest by sacrificing a fat boar and throws its bristles into the fire burning on the hearth (ἑσχάρα) (*Od.* 14.401-424). There is thus no reason to doubt that all houses and palaces – whether of *basilēes* or swineherds – contained a hearth and that this also could function as



Fig. 2.1 Painted wooden plaque of a sacrificial procession. 540-530 BC.

an altar. The fact that many instances of libations do not specifically inform of where the wine went does not by itself constitute evidence against the possible use of hearths for this purpose. It is an important point that the mention of pouring libation into the drinking cups recur as a fixed formula throughout both poems, and this could easily be explained by poetic concerns; that libations were poured on hearths could be deemed basic knowledge and consequently needless to mention unless it would aid in the completion of the metre. If this possibility is allowed for, it also makes a very probable connection with the *bouleuteria* of later times, as they, as noted, often contained a hearth, or some other form of altar, frequently associated with Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios. The presence of later hearths, or even proper stone altars, could then in consequence be connected with the pouring of libations to formally finalise council meetings and bind the counsellors to the decision reached.

As a final point it is interesting to note from the example given above that they held council in Agamemnon's hut. This was the usual practice among the *basilēes* before Troy, yet we also hear of a meeting 'beside the ship of Nestor' (*Il.* 2.53-54). Presumably this refers to his hut, raised by his ships. We similarly hear that the counsellors of the Phaeacians meet in the *megaron* of Alcinoo (*Od.* 13.1-15). It must be remembered that Alcinoo is only one of thirteen *basilēes*, but he nevertheless behaves as if he were king. He sits on his throne and 'quaffs his wine, like unto an immortal' (*Od.* 6.3308-309), and that the other *basilēes* meet in Alcinoo's *megaron* is a confirmation of his paramount position.

WINE AND POLITICS – COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE

It is clear from Homer that deliberation and drinking of wine was intimately connected among the Greeks. A similar situation is evident from a number of ancient people. Herodotus informs

us that among the Persians – during the Achaemenid Empire (c. 550–330 BC) – the custom was to deliberate while being drunk. The decision reached was remembered by the master of the house and presented to the council the next day so it could be reconsidered while they were sober. If they still approved of it, it would stand; if not, it would be discarded. Likewise, if deliberating while sober, decisions were reconsidered while drunk (*Hdt.* 1.133). The Persian Empire was ruled by monarchs and the house we are told of was likely the palace of the ruler. Qviller (1994:47-48) notes how this two-step decision-process is evident also among Germanic people, known from both Tacitus (*Germania* 22) as well as later Icelandic sources. Apparently some considered decisions taken in two steps – each step equalling a different state of rationality – to be better and preferable to decisions taken in only one state of rationality (Qviller 1994:48-49). The opposite state clearly worked as a form of quality control, but the Greeks confined themselves to make decisions in only one state of rationality.

SUMMARY

We learn several things from Homer that can be applied when analysing the archaeological material and this can be summarised as follows:

1. **Inhabited space:**

In the time of Homer we find that councils were held inside the residence of the leading *basileus*. This could be a hut as at Troy, or a *megaron* as at Scheria – the common denominator was that councils were held in inhabited space.

2. **The hearth:**

As councils were held in personal space, the presence of a hearth would have been appropriate, which suggests that council members were likely to have gathered around the hearth for feasting, drinking and deliberation.

3. **Sacrifice and feasting:**

Councils were opened with a sacrifice and a feast, an act that on general grounds recalls cult practice. Could this suggest a close connection between enactment of politics and exercise of cult in Geometric Greece?

4. **Deliberation, libation, and drinking:**

Deliberation followed the meal and was concluded with libations and voracious intake of wine. Important in this context is to note that they deliberated while being relatively sober; the drinking of wine was only a ritual conclusion.

This first of all confirms the validity of Qviller's use of drinking as an entry-point into the early history of the city council. The points above give a rough framework, but it is clear

already that one have to be able to archaeologically separate feasting in general from the drinking and dining that accompanied council sessions, and this is a major methodological challenge. One may tentatively suggest that the hearth is a key point to this end, and this shall be considered in depth in the next chapter.

Most scholars believe that the Greek alphabet was adopted in the early eight century (Johnston 2003:263-76 gives an updated summary of the debate), and Greece on a whole was likely in a period of transition from an illiterate to a literate society at the times of the writing down of the poems. It can be observed that the use of inhabited space for council meetings in Homer corresponds with Bourdieu's theory – regardless of whether the foremost *basileis* held temporary residence in a hut (as Agamemnon did at Troy) or in a palace (as Alcinoos did at Scheria). The gatherings of the *basilēes* were common arenas for boasting and political contest (Qviller 1994:54), and such boasting was commonly directed at highlighting or exaggerating one's proficiency in war (see e.g. *Il.* 20.83-85). In a society where mastery of speech and war alike were the foremost ideals (Murray 1993:56), such boasting was a way of improving one's *symbolic capital* and thereby standing among the other *basilēes*. Bourdieu's theory is thus well suited for Homeric Greece, but it remains to be seen how it fits the transition to the *polis*.

Closing comments

The situation in Homer compares with how the EIA elite met in the residence of the local leader for feasting and drinking, and it can reasonably be assumed that those gatherings also had a political function of sorts. It was likely these gatherings that would develop into the early incarnation of the council we find in Homer, as Homer simultaneously confirms that councils did indeed take place inside the dwelling of the leading *basileus*. James Whitley (1991a:185-186, 1991b, 2001:90-98) for one has repeatedly argued that the structural weaknesses indicated in Homer were characteristic for the EIA also. The fact that councils in Homer met in inhabited space must be a testament to older practice.

It is suggested that the drinking groups of the EIA elites developed in two directions, on the one hand giving the city council proper, on the other, the well-known Aristocratic symposium – a purely social institution that during the Orientalising period came to be heavily influenced by similar customs in the Near East (see Morris 1997:13). It is argued that the councils in Homer were a step in the direction of a proper council, but it is still an informal gathering coloured by the social and political climate of Homer's time and the highly personal character of political power in particular.

Chapter III: Criteria for the identification of *prytaneia* and the role of Apollo

In order to determine whether or not it is justifiable assigning the role of *prytaneia* to early hearth-temples it is necessary first to consider a fundamental methodological challenge, namely how to identify buildings as *prytaneia*. Steven G. Miller (1978:25-37) has listed several criteria for the architectural features of *prytaneia*, but they principally apply to the *prytaneion* in its developed form. The architectural climate of the LG/EA periods needs to be appreciated in this. Throughout this chapter, an attempt shall be made to establish a rough framework for recognising *prytaneia* in their primitive form. The chapter will close with an examination of the possible significance of Apollo and other gods to the *prytaneion*. It is necessary, however, to begin with the later *prytaneion*, and its function, to gain an understanding of what we are in fact aiming at.

The *prytaneion*

The *prytaneion* was named after the *prytaneis* who occupied it. A *prytanis* was a type of administrative official in charge of state affairs, and *prytaneion* means ‘place of the *prytanis*’ (Cole 2004:84 n. 114; Miller 1978:9-10). It was a widespread institution, and based on epigraphical evidence it has been possible to identify *prytaneia* in more than 90 *poleis* (Cole 2004:83; cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994:31-34) who list 95 sites with *prytaneia*). As Cole (2004:83-84) points out, however, most of the epigraphical evidence is of Hellenistic date and the actual number must have been much higher due to the ‘flexible architectural arrangements’ of early times.

We also hear of buildings that fulfilled the same functions as the *prytaneion*, but were known by other names. At Lindos and Karpathos, we hear of the *hierothuteion*, at Knidos, the *damiorgeion*, and at Kassandreia, the *archēgeteion*. Tosi (1966:20 n. 54) made the daring suggestion that the difference between the *prytaneion* and these other buildings were their lack of a common hearth. A decree from Karpathos contains an invitation to *xenia* (a meal given to foreigners in the *prytaneion*) without any reference to the hearth, but as Miller (1978:10) states, this does not prove the absence of a hearth in the *hierothuteion*, as only one of a total of 112 decrees from Athens make mention of the hearth. Political terminology varied across the Greek world, but there is nothing to suggest that the common hearth was only a feature of those *poleis* where the term *prytaneion* was in use, and so we are dealing

with a phenomenon that transcended linguistic boundaries. The term *prytaneion* will nevertheless be retained throughout the present study out of practical reasons.

Perhaps the most significant property of the *prytaneion* was that it housed the public hearth of the *polis*. The fire burning on the hearth – the symbolic centre of a *polis* – was sacred and perceived to be eternal. It was symbolically linked with a *polis*' life force and it was essential to keep it burning in order to secure the future well-being of the city (Cole 2004:79; Miller 1978:13-14). This tending of the flame illustrates an aspect of civilised life *within* a city, but the fire also looked *outward* in that it linked the *polis* with the regional sanctuary from which the flame was originally taken, and, in turn, every other *polis* that had taken their flame from the same fire (Cole 2004:79). When a *polis* founded a new colony, fire was also brought from the hearth of the mother-city to light a new hearth in the daughter-*polis*, thus linking the two on a symbolic level (Malkin 1987:8-9, 114-134).

The hearth in the *prytaneion* was associated with the titular goddess Hestia, and she is recorded with the epithets 'Prytaneia' and 'Prytanis'. No temples to Hestia have been found, but some are alluded to in written sources. Pausanias (2.35.1) mentions one shrine, in Hermione, and she apparently had a sanctuary in Peiraius (Miller 1978:15). It is possible that she was sufficiently represented by the hearth, which itself was subject to worship, and therefore did not require independent temples (Miller 1978:15). Homer does not speak of her, and she is often considered a late addition to the pantheon (Miller 1978:15 and n. 26). She is first mentioned by Hesiod (*Th.* 453-455) who gives her parents as Rhea and Kronos, thus placing her within the first generation of gods. In the later hymn to Aphrodite she is described as 'a queenly maid'. Apollo and Poseidon wooed her, but she turned down both and swore a great oath to always remain a maiden. Zeus then assigned her a great honour. The goddess would occupy 'the midst of the house' (i.e. the hearth), receive the fatty part of sacrifices, and have a share of honour in all the gods' temples (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 21-32). Hestia differed from the other divinities in that she never fully anthropomorphised, but this suggests an ancient origin, rather than a late creation/adoption. She remained intimately associated with the hearth itself, and was thus unable to leave the house to roam like the other gods (Burkert 1985:170; Cole 2004:81; Pl. *Phdr.* 246e-247a; Roberts 2005:341). She was originally counted as one of the twelve Olympians, but was sometimes replaced by Dionysos in later times (Guthrie 1950:111-112). Although she has few myths, her inclusion in this exclusive group of gods is a testament to the importance attributed to the hearth by the Greeks.

There was indeed a religious dimension to the hearth. This was evidenced in Homer (ch. 2), but while Dionysios of Halicarnassos may be overstating this aspect when explicitly labelling the *prytaneion* a religious building, it is clear nevertheless that the *prytaneion*

frequently was associated with activities of a religious nature (Miller 1978:14, 133, 199-200). As Miller summarises, epigraphical evidence tell us that (1) the *prytaneion* at Andania was used for priestly conferences; (2) the *prytaneion* was a common point of departure for religious processions; (3) official sacrifices took place there; (4) rituals centred on the hearth in the *prytaneion* in Olympia included the singing of songs in the presence of *manteis* (seers), *exēgētai* (interpreters of religious questions) and flute-players; (5) in Athens, the hearth was used in rituals promoting *ephēbes* (young men and women) to citizenship; and, (6) oaths by Hestia were sworn in the *prytaneion* (Miller 1978:14).

The *prytaneion* was sacred, but also political and it was the place where the *prytaneis* gathered every day for their meals. The *prytaneion* is comparable with the *andrōn* – the male dining room of a private house; both were reserved for the privileged, and the *prytaneion* could in this respect be seen as an *andrōn* that pertained to the entire *polis*. Significant public feasts took place there, but only those who held special honours, whether citizens of the *polis* or specially invited foreigners, were allowed to dine there. Just like in the *andrōn*, the *prytaneion* was ‘a place for creating male community and male solidarity’. Women were not invited to banquets in the *prytaneion* as the presence of sexually active, married women would spoil the sanctity of the fire. It was women that tended the fire, but only those who restrained from sexual relations (Cole 2004:80-81; Miller 1978:4-13).

Additionally, the *prytaneion* appears to have served as a quasi-archives and museum for memorabilia of particular relevance to the history of a *polis*. To take Athens as an example, the laws of Solon held such historical value that they were stored in the *prytaneion* and remarkable individuals like Demosthenes, Demochares, Autolykos, Miltiades, and Themistocles, among others, were honoured with statues in the *prytaneion* together with those of Hestia and Eirene. At Olympia we find that the *prytaneion* also contained an altar to Pan, and the *prytaneion* at Delos had statues of Apollo and Hermes in addition to two statues of Hestia. The *prytaneia* at Delphi and Sicyon also suggest that hero-cults may have existed there, but this is conjectural (*LIMC* V(1):410; Miller 1978:16-17, 36; Roussel 1911:86). As such, the *prytaneion* could be said to have served as a common memory base for select events of particular significance in the history of the *polis*. The Athenian *prytaneion* was also used as a place for law courts (Miller 1978:18).

The *testimonia* from Athens is by far the richest, and the Athenian *prytaneion* is therefore also the best known. Whether every use given above applied to *prytaneia* in general is one of several difficulties with this institution, but hopefully this will become clearer throughout the following pages.

Criteria for the identification of *prytaneia*

LOCATION

The common location of the *prytaneion* was on, or near, the *agora* (Hagemann 1880:16-22; Miller 1978:29-30), but there were exceptions, and *prytaneia* could also be found in regional sanctuaries (Cole 2004:83). The Eleans had their *prytaneion* and meeting place in the sanctuary at Olympia, and Delphi had a *prytaneion* that served all of the Greek *poleis*, a form of Pan-Hellenic *prytaneion* (Cole 2004:83). According to Pausanias (1.18.2-4), the *prytaneion* in Athens was located on the northern slopes of the Acropolis, and not by the *agora*. The well-known *tholos* was located on the *agora*, but although the *prytaneis* dined in that facility, it was not the actual *prytaneion*. This location away from the *agora* likely suggests that the building of the first *prytaneion* predated the *agora*, and that the sanctity of the hearth dictated that it remained in the same place (Miller 1978:25-26, 29). Miller has observed that the *prytaneion* may have been removed from the *agora* in cities of old age or ‘singular religious importance’, but the *agora* was usually chosen when colonies were established (Miller 1978:30).

ARCHITECTURAL FORM

It has been noted that *prytaneia* were complex architectural units containing several rooms. They did not follow a canonical plan (like temples), but they shared many similarities in their complexity of design (Miller 1978:27-37). The earliest confirmed *prytaneion* is at Delos and of late Archaic date. Other confirmed *prytaneia* are the early fifth century BC building at Olympia and the late fourth or third century structure at Lato (Miller 1978:67-92). No buildings matching the complexity of these *prytaneia* have, however, been uncovered from our period, the eighth and seventh centuries. A possible candidate (Pl. 23), an early building of some complexity, was uncovered just south of the temple to Apollo by the *agora* at Dreros (Miller 1978:93-98). It likely dates to the mid seventh century, and the excavators have wanted to identify it with a *prytaneion* (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937:16-26), but this is highly uncertain, and Miller (1978:97-98) believes its close proximity to the temple rather suggests it was a priest’s house.

The hearth was located in a room of its own, termed the ‘Hestia Hall’ by Miller (1978:34-35). Dining, however, took place in a separate room, the *hestiatorion*. This is clear from the *prytaneion* at Delos (Pl. 24). The room with the hearth and the *hestiatorion* were located side by side in the northern end of the building, in this manner occupying the entire width of the building, and each room was entered through a *prostas* (a form of vestibule or ante-room), which in turn were preceded by an *aulē* (a form of open-air, walled in courtyard).

On the south side of the courtyard was a porch, the width of the building, from which one entered. In addition, the building contained several subsidiary rooms. Such rooms would have been used to store 'table service, extra couches and tables, couch coverings and other necessary paraphernalia' (Miller 1978: 30-35, 67-78).

The room located in the full eastern end of the *prytaneion* at Lato (Pl. 25) has revealed a central rectangular structure (nr. 36 on the plate). It was originally identified by P. Ducrey and O. Picard (1972:573-576) as the basis of a peristyle court. This has been rejected by Miller (1978:81-82), who imagines the hearth was placed on top of the structure in the eastern room, resting on a clerestory system that allowed the smoke to escape. This is uncertain (*cf.* Shaw and Shaw 2000a:681), as the structure is unusually large for a hearth (2.97 by 3.92 m), and assuming that Ducrey and Picard are correct in their original interpretation, the hearth may rather be identified with the smaller rectangular structure in the centre of the adjacent *hestiatorion* (nr. 37 on the plate). This would imply that dining needed not be separated from the hearth, a point which is of particular interest to the hearth-temples.

The *prytaneion* at Olympia (Pl. 26-27) is unfortunately badly preserved, but Pausanias (5.15.12) tells us that it contained a *hestiatorion* – located opposite the room of the hearth – in which the Olympic victors were honoured with feasts. It can be concluded that, while storage rooms appear common, a porch, inner courtyard or any ante-rooms were, if not uncommon, neither strictly *required*. The only two rooms that truly were essential were the dining room and the room containing the hearth.

The dining room

Architecturally speaking, there are two kinds of *hestiatoria*, those whose dimensions suggest that they were built specifically to be furnished with dining couches and those that were built without any such concerns (Miller 1978:220). The layout of fixed couches will always push the door off-centre (Miller 1978:223), but there is no evidence to suggest that reclining while dining took place until late in the seventh century (Bergquist 1973:44 n. 102, 1990:43 n. 7), and so we cannot expect to find this consideration revealed by the room dimensions in our early period. Sitting rather appears to have been the common practice. Miller (1978:33) anticipates that a *prytaneion* should have a separate area for cooking, as food preparation would likely have been done by cooks and slaves, but this can only be assumed.

While a comment would be pertinent on the archaeological remains left by feasting, the scope of the study dictates that certain priorities must be made. The remains from buildings will not be analysed to determine whether feasting took place inside, or not; the analysis will instead rely on – and build on – the conclusions drawn by others.

The hearth room

The hearth in the *prytaneion* is commonly referred to as the *koinē hestia* and this is where the official cult took place. The fire doubled as an altar, as is supported by the use of the terms *eschara* and *bōmos*, but it needed not be a substantial construction, as one might expect; the hearth in the *prytaneion* at Olympia was merely a pile of ashes. The significance of the Hestia Hall for the *prytaneion* was paramount, and at Delos, this room was simply called the *prytaneion*. Miller (1978:31, 34-35) believes that the fire may have been kept alive in lamps in-between sacrifices, as some sources make explicit reference to a lamp, or even a ‘sacred lamp’ (ἱερὸν λύχνον) (Plu. *Num.* 9.6). It would undoubtedly be easier to keep the flame burning in an oil lamp than having to maintain a fireplace at all times. Very little is known of the cult that took place within the *prytaneion*. It is clear that religious sacrifices took place at the hearth, which in turn implies that ashes, bones and vessels of a ritual nature, like e.g. *phialai* (a vessel commonly used to pour libations), should be found in association with the fire. Dedications would also be expected, but as Miller (1978:35) points out, since little is known of the cult, it is difficult to predict what *kind* of dedications.

SUBSIDIARY FUNCTIONS

It has been noted that subsidiary rooms could serve as storage, but they could also be employed for other functions. The *prytaneion* at Delos had a room called *archeion*, an archive, but this function need not necessarily have required a room of its own; a small portion of a larger area could certainly have fulfilled this purpose satisfactorily (Miller 1978:36). Yet, the need for an archive would presumably have been less obvious in the early stages of the *polis*, and a better, and indeed very solid, indication that temples served political purposes would be display of inscriptions dealing with public affairs, either on the temple itself, or somewhere within the perimeter of the sanctuary (Morgan and Coulton 1997:112).

SOME CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Miller (1978:27) asks rhetorically when discussing the physical expression of the *prytaneion*, ‘is it not logical to assume that the construction was of a substantial nature?’ While this apparently holds true for the late Archaic period onwards, it must be acknowledged that the wide range of architecturally complex building types we find in later periods had yet to develop in the LG and EA periods and it is methodologically unsound to *a priori* assume that early *prytaneia* would have looked the same as those from later periods. The criteria given by Miller are indeed the only available place to begin, but care must be taken not to uncritically apply them to an architectural landscape that preceded the architecturally complex forms from

which Miller draws his criteria, as that would inevitably lead to the unlikely and indeed untenable conclusion that *prytaneia* did not exist in the early stages of the *polis*. An architectural development between LG/EA and late Archaic times cannot be precluded, but is rather to be expected, not least because we find – as an inheritance of the limited architectural diversity of the Early Iron Age undoubtedly – that a single architectural unit often served a number of different functions in this early period (*cf.* Cole 2004:83-84; Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 1997). This, however, does not justify diminishing the importance of Miller's criteria. Abandoning them for the purpose of creating new ones that are conspicuously designed to fit the early hearth-temples is methodologically disqualifying. Nevertheless, while we cannot expect early *prytaneia* to mirror those of later times, if the hearth-temples identified by Guarducci and Samuelsson in fact were a primitive form of *prytaneion*, it *should*, on architectural grounds, be possible to discern a connection between the two; that is how they could have developed and expanded into the more complex form of later known *prytaneia*.

The divine element

THE ROLE OF APOLLO – POLITICS AND THE COMMON HEARTH

It is interesting to note that Apollo features prominently as the deity associated with this particular group of temples that was the hearth-temple, and the possible implications of this must be considered before we continue to discuss the various temples in the next chapter. Two issues shall be addressed below. The first relates to whether there is any evidence to confirm a connection between Apollo and the *koinē hestia*. The second issue arises from the acknowledgement that a *prytaneion* did not require a hearth specifically, but was sufficiently equipped with a lamp to fuel the perpetual flame. As lamps could easily be removed or cleaned out, they need not show up in the archaeological record in the same way as fixed hearths do, and furthermore – when they do – not necessarily in ways that allow us to identify them with *hieroi lychnoi*. It is therefore necessary to consider whether there is any evidence to connect Apollo's temples with political usage of any kind. It is to be noted that the second point is equally relevant to the *bouleutērion*. To provide answers to such an inquiry it is necessary to turn to the available epigraphical and literary evidence.

Apollo and the common hearth

Guarducci's comment on an inscription from the lesser known *polis* of Hyrtakina is a suitable place to begin. Hyrtakina was located in the south-western part of Crete, but has received little archaeological attention and at present it is uncertain whether the city enjoyed any noteworthy occupation prior to Classical and Hellenistic times (Perlman 2004:1167). The inscription in

question is of Hellenistic date and was found inside the theatre. Of interest are only the final lines (16-18), which read as follows: κα|λέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸς πρεγγευτὰς | ἐπὶ τὰν κοινὰν ἑστίαν ἐς τὸ Δ[ελφ]ίνιον (*ICr* II xv.2) and translates to: ‘and also to call the old men to *xenia* at the common hearth in the Delphinion’. Perlman (2004:1167) mentions there was a *prytaneion* in Hyrtakina called ‘Delphinion’, but Guarducci (1939:186) is certainly correct in identifying this with the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which in turn implies that the common hearth at Hyrtakina in fact was located within the very temple of Apollo (*cf.* Shaw and Shaw 2000a:705). The invitation to *xenia*, moreover, coincides with and confirms that the temple served the two basic functions of *prytaneia*; it housed the common hearth and provided an arena for official dining parties. Guarducci (1939:187) argues that since Apollo was the patron god of Hyrtakina, his temple was the ideal location for the common hearth. She assumes this was because an independent *prytaneion* had not yet been built, and the temple consequently functioned as a *prytaneion* as the second century BC. Guarducci (1939:186-187) argued this observation also applied to the Apollo temple at Dreros, and the temples at Prinias. This shall be considered in the next chapter, but as of now, the question is whether the situation witnessed at Hyrtakina was merely a local peculiarity, or whether a connection between the temples of Apollo and Hestia can be corroborated by other sources.

The first of the Homeric Hymns to Hestia (*Hymn. Hom.* xxiv) offers valuable insight in this regard:

Hestia, you who take care of lord Apollo,
the far-shooters holy house at goodly Pytho,
ever with soft oil trickling from thine locks.
Come into this house, come in – have one mind
with Zeus the all-wise and bestow at the same time
grace upon my song.

First of all, it must be made clear that the phrase ‘at goodly Pytho’ (Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ) does not imply the hymn was Delphian. Rather, as noted by Allen and Sikes (1904)¹, this choice of words is, as often, meant to be taken literary and can be explained by ‘the fame of Hestia’s connexion with Delphi and the Pythian Apollo’. There was an independent *prytaneion* at Delphi, but the hearth alluded to in the hymn is one located within the very temple (ἱερόν δόμον) of Apollo, the existence of which is confirmed in a number of other sources (e.g. *A. Eu.* 282; *E. Ion* 462; Paus. 10.24.4). Of further interest is the third line, which mentions oil trickling from the locks of Hestia. Baumeister (in Allen and Sikes 1904) believed this to be a reference to an actual statue of Hestia located within the temple that worshippers sprinkled

¹ I have been unable to acquire their commentary in book form, but it can be found online at the following url: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0029%3Atext%3Dcomm%3Apoem%3D24>

with oil. This practice is indeed known among the Delphians (Paus. 10.24.6), but Allen and Sikes (1904) object by pointing out that the cult of Hestia originally was aniconic, and suggest instead that the third line may simply be an anthropomorphic description of a sacred hearth or lamp that would have stood inside the temple. The flame that burned on the hearth was indeed perpetual (Burkert 1985:61), and perhaps then was the common hearth originally located inside the temple before it was transferred to an independent *prytaneion*? Hearths were also present in the temples of Apollo Lykeios at Argos and Apollo Karneios at Kyrene (Burkert 1985:61), but the exact nature of these flames is difficult to predict.

The political associations of Apollo and his temples

A connection between the cult of Apollo and political affairs is well exemplified by the numerous inscriptions from the Cretan *polis* of Gortyn. Not far from the Gortynian *agora* was located a temple to Apollo Pythios constructed in the seventh century (Pl. 17). Fragments of its stairs and walls contained a number of public inscriptions (*ICr* IV 1-40) that can be dated to the seventh and sixth centuries (Guarducci 1950:5). These are the earliest inscriptions found at Gortyn, but the fame of the site is derived from the great law code, the ‘Queen of Inscriptions’ (*ICr* IV 72; Willetts 1967). It dates to the early fifth century, perhaps *c.* 480-450 BC (Guarducci 1950:40; *cf.* Willetts 1967:8-9), and with the exception of a few blocks, it can still be found inscribed on some walls by the *agora* that probably formed part of the *bouleutērion* (McDonald 1943:189-192).

Because the inscriptions on the whole are so multiple and dispersed over such a wide timespan they allow us to see developments over time, thus revealing how the inscribing of laws was moved from the temple and to a separate building of a purely civic nature. The use of the temple of Apollo for display of legal inscriptions suggests that it played a central role in decision-making processes from an early stage and one may wonder whether the Elders and the *kosmoi*, as the magistrates were called in Crete (Arist. *Pol.* 1272a), actually met inside the temple to deliberate. It is of particular interest that the temple at Gortyn was dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, as this established a link with Delphi, and it is tempting to imagine that the temple at Gortyn emulated the one at Delphi by also containing a sacred hearth or lamp, thus functioning as a primitive *prytaneion*. This would indeed explain the unchallenged political significance of the temple in the early years of Gortyn’s history, but it remains hypothetical.

While Gortyn is a prime example with its many legal inscriptions, there is also evidence from mainland Greece to support a connection between Apollo and politics. This is particularly clear with the political developments that took place in Sparta. The story goes, as related by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1.1-6.5), that Lycourgos the Lawgiver left his native Sparta due to

political unrest. He travelled widely and studied various constitutions before returning home with the intention of revolutionising the civil polity of Sparta. To this aim he sought the blessings of Apollo, and was so granted by the Pythian priestess who promised him the best constitution in the world (*cf.* D.S. 16.57.4). After carefully revealing his intentions to the chief men of Sparta, Lycourgos obtained an oracle from Delphi and the Pythia answered by giving him directions as to how to proceed with this endeavour. Some sources claim the Pythia declared unto Lycourgos the constitution, but the Lacedaimonians maintained he brought it from Crete (*cf.* Hdt. 1.65.2-1.66.1). It is certainly not peculiar to find that the oracle at Delphi was approached for major political decisions, but it is a testament to the actual role of Apollo that the Laconian word for *to assemble* (the people) ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ²) was derived from the very name of the god (which was $\text{\texttt{Ἀπέλλων}}$ in Doric Greek). This, according to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 6.1-3), was due to the Pythian Apollo's role as source and author of the Spartan polity. Plutarch is indeed a late source, and while the details of his story may rightly be disputed, the influence that Apollo exercised on the Laconian dialect remains incontestable. The proper name of the assembly was apparently also *apella* (Gilbert 1968:49-50) and in the Doric dialect it was variably known as *haliē* and *apella* (see McDonald 1943:37; *cf.* LSJ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha$). Narrative details aside, it is clear that the constitution was established under the auspice of Apollo, and the Lacedaimonians – notwithstanding their praise for Lycourgos – acknowledged Apollo as their ultimate lawgiver (*cf.* Pl. *Lg.* 624).

A final episode will be mentioned. At the same time as Cleomenes (King of Sparta from 235-222 BC) managed to conquer Argos during his rampant campaign in the Peloponnese, the leader of the Achaean League, Aratos of Sicyon, was in Corinth holding judicial examinations of those suspected of siding with the Lacedaimonians. When the news reached Corinth, the people gathered in assembly, but the exact nature of this meeting differs in some detail in the two accounts offered by Plutarch. In his earliest writing, *Cleomenes*, we are told that Aratos, 'perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaeans, [...] summoned the citizens into the council-hall' before fleeing the city (19.1), whereas in *Aratos*, the story goes that the people, dissatisfied with the Achaean administration, assembled 'hastily in the temple ($\text{\texttt{ἱερόν}}$) of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him, and then to revolt' (40.2-4).³ Whoever summoned the assembly, however, is of no consequence; of interest is the venue in which it took place.

McDonald (1943:149) has wanted to take this to suggest that there was in the third century BC a *bouleutērion* close by the temple of Apollo, but concedes that there is certain

² $\text{\texttt{Ἀπέλλαζω}}$ corresponds to the Attic and Ionic $\text{\texttt{ἐκκληιάζω}}$, meaning *to assemble* (the popular assembly).

³ Both quotations are taken from the translations of Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library.

confusion in details of the story that makes such an inference difficult to accept. As he notes, it is strange to find that the entire citizen body (τοὺς πολίτας) should be summoned inside the *bouleutērion* as this presumably was not built to accommodate such large assemblies. Instead, as was not uncommon, the theatre appears to have been favoured for this purpose. He (1943:149) rather believes that Plutarch either was building on a trustworthy contemporary source, or that he simply is referring to the location of the later *curia*, which would likely have been called just *bouleutērion* by the Greeks. Alternatively, he suggests that Plutarch may be using the word in its abstract sense of ‘meeting’.

Concerned with *bouleuteria* as he is, McDonald places little emphasis on the account in *Aratos* which gives the meeting as taking place inside the *hieron* of Apollo. It is clear that the people could neither have found room inside the *temple* of Apollo, but Bernadotte Perrin’s translation of *hieron* into temple is questionable in this context and is better understood as ‘precinct’ (McDonald 1943:149 n. 99). There was indeed sufficient space around or in front of the temple at Korinth to easily have allowed for large crowds. If McDonald is correct in assuming that *bouleutērion* is used in the meaning of ‘meeting’, then this need neither be in disagreement with the account offered in *Kleomenes*. However these two accounts should be interpreted, the very mention of Apollo’s *hieron* makes it clear that this, although unusual, was by no means an unthinkable venue for assemblies.

The evidence is admittedly scanty overall, but it is still clear that there is a real association between the temples of Apollo and political action. This argument could be extended to the Romans also, but that is a discussion for another time. The wide temporal validity does not weaken this claim; it rather reinforces it.

THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF OTHER DEITIES

Guarducci (1939:187) indeed went as far as suggesting that the common hearth of the city initially was located within the temple of the chief deity, and only moved when an independent *prytaneion* was constructed. The possible connection of other deities to Hestia and the common hearth must thus briefly be considered to attempt to determine whether the unilateral emphasis that was put on Apollo above is justified, or if it potentially thwarts the realities. Early written sources connect Hestia also with Hermes and Zeus (*Hymn. Hom.* XXIV, XXIX; cf. Allen and Sikes 1904). Jean-Pierre Vernant (1963) has demonstrated a connection between Hestia and Hermes on grounds of religious expressions of space, but as none of the hearth-temples to be discussed have been identified with Hermes, attention will move to Zeus.

The sanctuary of Kommos is confirmed dedicated to Zeus, Athena and Poseidon after the construction of temple C in 375/350 BC, but the deity, or deities, associated with temple A

and B remains elusory. The excavators suggest we may rather be dealing with a hero cult. Whether the triad of gods from later times held a presence in the Archaic period is impossible to state (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:711-713), but for the possibility, and not least because of Zeus' connection with the *bouleutērion*, Zeus deserves a mention. In the hymn to Hestia quoted above, Hestia is invoked to dwell in the same house as Zeus the all-wise. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of the building mentioned in the fourth line, as it is only referred to as *oikos*, but the occasion for the hymn was probably the dedication of a temple (Allen and Sikes 1904). Because of this rather vague choice of term, the hymn alone makes it difficult to assess the significance of this connection between Hestia and Zeus, and consequently how great emphasis one should attribute to it.

This can perhaps be illuminated by what we find from later times to be a close connection between Zeus Boulaios (Zeus Counsellor) and the *bouleutērion* on the one hand, and the *bouleutērion* and Hestia on the other. The political significance of Zeus is apparent, and the Cretans considered Zeus their lawgiver (Pl. *Lg.* 624). In the *bouleutērion* in Athens stood in the days of Pausanias (1.3.5) statues of Apollo and Demos (a personification of the people) and a wooden image (ξύανον) of Zeus. Apollo and Demos may be later additions, and originally may Athena Boulaia have been present. It is interesting, however, that the image of Zeus was in the form of a *xoanon*, as this suggests great age (McDonald 1943:136-137). Hestia was represented by a hearth in the *bouleutērion*, not just in Athens, but in other cities also, and she bore there the epithet Boulaia. This, as was touched upon in the introduction, has led McDonald (1943:137) to connect the origins of the *bouleutērion* with the *prytaneion*. The altar was also sometimes associated with Zeus Boulaios and A.B. Cook (1925:259) has suggested that Hestia Boulaia may have been the original consort of Zeus Boulaios. On its own, however, it is difficult to state to which degree this political aspect of Zeus was relevant for the primitive *prytaneion*, or whether it was associated purely with the meeting of the council (hence his epithet Boulaios), wherever they so did meet. The last at least appears to be true, but as suggested, it is possible that his companionship with Hestia may go back to a time where he was associated with the hearth (be that the *koinē hestia* or not), and that the presence of Hestia in the *bouleutērion* was a remnant of this practice.

SUMMARY

While it is quite clear that Apollo may have been given undue emphasis, this is done for the simple reason that he is the only god that with relative safety can be connected with the common hearth and the *prytaneion*. It is also conspicuous that he had by far the most temples throughout the process of *polis* formation, suggesting that there must be something more to

his popularity than his youthful charm. The possible role of Zeus can neither be overlooked, but it is difficult to measure and may quite possibly only pertain to his wise counsel. To return to Guarducci's claim that the hearth originally was located within the temple of the chief deity; as appealing as this may sound, there is very little evidence to support such a claim, and it would be highly conjectural to extend the alleged role of Apollo (and possibly Zeus) to any poliad divinity without additional proof.

Final reflections

Hearth-temples served a number of functions and it is admittedly difficult to know exactly how much emphasis one should put on the various criteria outlined above, as the exact nature of the *prytaneion* in the initial stages of *polis* development remains an open question. An attempt has nevertheless been made to create a framework of what is to be expected, and this leads to the following hypothesis: One can imagine that the two rooms, one for the hearth and one for dining (as we saw it in the developed *prytaneion*), originally were concentrated to one room, implying that dining and political meetings in fact took place around the hearth. We even saw at Lato that, depending on interpretation, dining might still have taken place around the hearth there. At some point during the Archaic period, these two functions were separated and assigned individual rooms in a complex that would grow into the *prytaneion* of later periods. It would furthermore be natural to place this development in connection with the growth of the *polis*, and the needs for more specialised buildings that rose therefrom.

While Hestia is the principal deity associated with the *prytaneion*, we cannot expect her to have been present with any more than her hearth. While some sculptural representations of Hestia are known to have existed, they were extremely rare, and her hearth was mostly a sufficient symbol for her presence (Roussel 1911:87). It is worth considering that Apollo, as the 'protector of institutions' (de Polignac 1995:87), was sufficient legitimisation in the maternity stages of the *prytaneion* and that the association of the hearth-temple with Apollo (or alternatively some other deity) was sufficient to separate the building from other religious or domestic structures. If we follow this line of thought, one can imagine that Apollo later came to be pushed into the background, thus allowing Hestia to rise to the forefront. If this holds true, one might imagine that it took place around the same time as the primitive *prytaneion* was expanded into a complex architectural unit.

The complexity in attempting to formulate workable criteria, however, is apparent. It is difficult, if not impossible to arrive at solid, unquestionable guidelines for a period as architecturally (and socially) diffuse as the eighth and seventh centuries, and allowances must be made for the final reliance on personal judgement.

Chapter IV: Hearth-temples as prytaneia?

The criteria reached in the previous chapter will form the basis for the present chapter in which the possibility that the hearth-temples in question could have doubled as primitive *prytaneia* will be considered.

A discussion of the archaeological material

The so-called ‘temple’ of Hera Limenia at Perachora needs to be mentioned first as Østby (1991:46) has wanted to identify an early temple at Pallantion as a possible proto-*prytaneion* with reference to the properties of the ‘temple’ at Perachora specifically. Following this, its possible validity as a model for early *prytaneia* needs to be considered.

PERACHORA

As demonstrated by Tomlinson (1977), the so-called temple of Hera Limenia (Pl. 3) is best identified with a *hestiatorion* rather than a temple. Qviller (2004:72-73) has recently argued that the building would have been reserved for eminent citizens and magistrates. He argues from the assumption that the building was constructed in the early sixth century, but this dating is far too low, and should be pushed back closer to 700 BC (see Appendix). The fact that there – until the construction of a second *hestiatorion* (Pl. 2: ‘Dining building’; see Appendix) – was only one dining room in a sanctuary that throughout its existence was popular enough to yield ‘well over ten and not far from twenty’ tonnes of pottery (Payne 1940:116) strongly suggests that this building was reserved for high-ranking individuals, thus leaving the ordinary worshippers to dine out in the open. That the building from its time of construction was placed at some distance from the core area of the sanctuary (Pl. 1, 2) suggests that it was only loosely associated with the cult that took place down by the harbour, but the fact that the area around the building was sufficiently sacred to allow for its use as storing grounds for surplus votives (Tomlinson 1977:201-202), suggests that we are not justified in assigning it a private character either. Its association with Hera is evident from the later dedications found by the internal hearth, and the best interpretation is perhaps that it originally was built by Corinthian aristocratic families as a semi-private dining facility.

The question to consider then is whether this building could also have functioned as a primitive form of *prytaneion*. We have seen with Delos as an example that the *prytaneion* had acquired a rather complex form by the late Archaic period, and it is highly unlikely that such a notable *polis* as Corinth would have been an exception to this rule. While it could

theoretically have functioned as a form of *bouleutērion* (in the bare sense of a meeting place for the council), it is equally unlikely that a *bouleutērion*, as late as the sixth century (when urbanisation was in full swing), should be constructed in an extra-urban sanctuary, rather than inside the city. This use of the building, however, becomes *possible* when we accept a date closer to 700 BC (see Appendix). It is possible that the heads of the local aristocratic families used this structure as a meeting place, but it appears to the present author to be difficult to venture as far as terming it a primitive *prytaneion*. It is indeed true that we have in this building a central hearth, around which dining took place, but, while the possibility that meetings could take place inside the building has been asserted, it is difficult, on grounds of formal politics, to reconcile its function with that of a *prytaneion*. The fact that no public inscriptions from any time period were found anywhere in a sanctuary that was in such busy use that it has yielded perhaps the greatest amount of pottery from any Greek sanctuary, is a serious argument against viewing this structure as anything more than a high-profile *hestiatorion*. While this need not be decisive, one may question the connection between politics and the cult of Hera. It is not possible to turn to Guarducci's claim that the hearth was located within the temple of the chief deity either, as that position was held by Aphrodite at Corinth. On these grounds, the validity of the building as a model for the identification of early *prytaneia* becomes highly dubious. Yet, this argument need not have repercussions for Østby's identification of the temple at Pallantion as a primitive *prytaneion*.

KOMMOS

Temple A

No hearth has been demonstrated in temple A (Pl. 4), but although some traces of burning were noted, it was far from what is evident with the later temple B, which did include a hearth (Pl. 5). While ritual drinking and dining took place in temple B, the absence of a proper hearth has led the excavators to question whether this tradition had begun by the time of temple A. They infer that if a hearth existed it must be buried far below the later, superimposed hearths. The pottery found within and outside the structure largely adheres to categories associated with drinking (containers, jugs and cups) and the presence of benches along the north, and probably south wall is the same as in temple B (Pl. 4, 5). On the basis of this, the excavators conclude that no apparent change in activities between the two temples can be discerned, which suggests that ritual drinking and dining took place already from the construction of Temple A (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:9-11).

Minoan influence on architecture is evident from Crete in the EIA (*cf.* Beyer 1976:68-70; Morris 1997:32-33), and this influence is clear at Kommos. The temple was also

constructed during the SMin period. In light of this, the apparent absence of a central hearth can easily be explained with reference to Minoan tradition, as the central hearth was a typical Helladic feature and only rarely found in Minoan architecture (Lawrence 1983:90). The excavators rightly infer that the apparent absence of a fireplace need not carry implications for the use of the temples for feasting, as meals could easily have been prepared elsewhere (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:11). Nevertheless, we have seen on the one hand that a formally built hearth was not a requirement for a *prytaneion*; any flame would do. On the other hand, the question is whether these few traces of burning signified anything more than highly infrequent fires.

Whether Samuelsson omitted temple A because of its early date or the apparent absence of an inner hearth is uncertain, but the early date is indeed problematic, as the excavators equally have stressed (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:706). They also argue that the temple was too small and too isolated to have been a suitable venue for political activities. Contrary to this, one might wonder why they would build a temple at Kommos as early as *c.* 1020 BC if the location was perceived to be too isolated. It is also worthwhile questioning the statement of the excavators that the temple was too small. Its surface area measures 37.1 sq. m, the exact same area as the *Herdhaus* at Perachora, and comparable to temple B at Prinias (*cf.* Bergquist 1990:Table 2). Due to the uncertain nature of the burning inside, but perhaps more because of its early date, it is difficult indeed to interpret the temple as a proto-*prytaneion*. However, the possibility that it could have served as a common meeting place and dining facility for local elites need not be abandoned.

Temple B

There is no doubt that temple B should be termed a temple, but although the nature of the cult may have changed through time, drinking and dining is evident from all phases of the temples existence (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:11, 24). It appears that the building was cleaned out before it was abandoned (2000a:24), but just like in temple A, all drinking and serving vases are fine ware and typically painted (2000a:216-220, 235-38). What is peculiar though is the treatment of the so-called 'Tripillar shrine' in the last phase of the temples existence (Pl. 5). It suggests a sudden loss of religious significance, but this need not have affected the temple *per se*. The excavators rather suggest that local traditions gained ground during the Orientalising period, pushing the older Phoenician traditions toward oblivion (2000a:23-24).

Samuelsson argued that it is evident throughout the history of its temples that the central hearth, although reworked several times, always kept the same position, a property which was 'essential for the hearth in *prytaneia*'. The external altars, on the other hand, were apparently treated with less reverence; they 'not only change position but multiply as well,

unlike the altars outside canonical temples'. The excavators have also suggested the possibility that temple B may have served subsidiary functions as a *prytaneion*, especially in its later phases, when buildings V and Q were constructed (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:706). As these buildings were not mentioned in the introduction, a brief introduction is necessary. Building V (Pl. 6) was constructed in the second phase of temple B's lifetime, that is, the seventh century. The east and west walls of the building revealed platforms that may have served as benches, and in connection with the western bench were found a number of drinking cups. This was also apparently a place for iron making, as quantities of iron detritus was uncovered in this area. A number of iron rods – spits undoubtedly – were likely made at this location (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:29-30). Yet, iron making installations have been found in other sanctuaries as well, and does not constitute evidence for seeing temple B as a primitive *prytaneion* (cf. Østby 1997:102-103).

Building Q (Pl. 7) is another seventh century building of unusual dimensions (5.40/6.20 by 38 m) that constituted the south border of the sanctuary. This elongated structure is divided into five or six compartments, but unlike a *stoa* it could only be entered from the west end side (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:31, 33) and appears to have been used for storage of goods, wine, and perhaps oil. All rooms contained fragments of amphorae (summing to some 150 representative examples), while shapes used for ritual purposes and drinking were mostly absent. The mostly foreign origin of the amphorae signifies trade with a wide number of other Greek sites. Of particular interest, however, is the finds of 25 cups in a dump close to temple B. They were inscribed with names, which suggest that each cup was intended to be used by the same individual on repeated occasions. The excavators believe that the cups were kept inside temple B, before thrown out (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:33-35), and this could be taken to suggest that they were used by dignified men that gathered inside the temple to meet and drink. One may, however, doubt whether they were all Cretan, as most of the cups, although being of local manufacture, were inscribed by non-Cretan hands (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:35). The sanctuary may have been shared between visitors from farther east and Cretans from the nearby settlements of Phaistos and Gortyn, and other Messaran sites that await discovery (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:412).

There are, however, difficulties with accepting temple B as a primitive *prytaneion*. The decisive piece of evidence would be finds of public inscriptions and decrees – a point also emphasised by the excavators – but no such inscriptions were found at the site. The uncovered inscriptions are rather occupied with various gods and the private concerns of worshippers. The excavators thus conclude that the temples (including the later temple C) are

best understood as principally intended for worship and ritual dining, but they concede that occasional political usage cannot be precluded (Shaw and Shaw 2000a:706).

DREROS

The temple of Apollo at Dreros is of particular interest. First, it is located on the south side of the *agora*, the oldest one known from the Greek world (Coldstream 2003:278-279). Second, it is dedicated to Apollo Delphinios¹, presumably, and undoubtedly a temple. Third, feasting took place within the edifice (Drerup 1969:6).

It was suggested by Spyridon Marinatos (1936:232-233) himself, upon seeing the interior of the temple, that it could have functioned as a *prytaneion*. He nevertheless states that the discovery of three bronze statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, together with the internal altar, convinced him that his initial impression of temple was a correct identification after all. His point of departure is that it would have had to function as either *one* or the *other*, while the argument presented here is that hearth-temples could well have functioned as *both*. We have already seen that the presence of cult images is not at discord with a *prytaneion*; it is rather to be expected. *Prytaneia* does in fact share many similarities with temples, in that cult activity is also to be expected (although most certainly of a different character).

Beyer has demonstrated that the temple was not freestanding, but part of a larger complex, containing a triangular room that could be entered from within the temple (room A) and a trapezoidal room (room C) that was entered from a set of stairs on the south side of the temple. He has also wanted to reconstruct the western edge of the front terrace as a separate room (B) (Pl. 11, 12). These rooms appear to have been used for storage of *pithoi*, clay idols and metal objects (Beyer 1976:13; Marinatos 1936:257-259). It is reasonable to interpret these *pithoi* as having been used to store wine or oil. While it – regardless of the function of a building – is not surprising to find that dining took place around the hearth in this early period, this addition of storage facilities corresponds to what we would expect from a *prytaneion*.

In the previous chapter emphasis was put on the importance of public inscriptions and decrees if a temple is to be interpreted as having served political functions. A civic inscription, or more precisely an honorary decree, was in fact found by the southeast corner of the hearth. It was made in two copies, written on separate stelae (Marinatos 1936:280). In addition, and of even greater interest, is the finds of 13 blocks inscribed with archaic letters.

¹ The temple is usually referred to as the temple of Apollo Delphinios (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:216; Vermeule 1974:134), although, as Coldstream (2003:280) points out, this depends on whether the mention of an Apollo Delphinios in an inscription found at Dreros in fact refers to this particular temple. An alternative identification exists in that of Apollo Pythios (Drerup 1969:6).

They were found in a Hellenistic cistern adjacent to the temple on its east side and they seem to make up eight separate inscriptions. Pierre Demargne and Henri van Effenterre (1937:27-32) conclude that these blocks must have formed part of the wall of the temple. By reference to the Pythion at Gortyna, they infer that the writing must have faced outward so to have been visible for passers-by. Although some of the inscriptions are fragmentary and difficult to read, it is evident that they contain oaths and official political decisions (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937; van Effenterre 1946a, 1946b). Two inscriptions are introduced with the formulae (τ)άδ' ἔφαδε πόλι (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937:333-348; cf. Ehrenberg 1943:14-18) and πόλι ἔφαδε (van Effenterre 1946a:590-597) respectively, which tells us that the decisions were made on behalf of the *polis*. The word ἔφαδε itself is featured in a total of five or six inscriptions (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937; van Effenterre 1946a, 1946b), and the formula (τ)άδ' ἔφαδε² is commonly used in Cretan decrees (Demargne and van Effenterre 1937:334-335, 334 n. 5). This is equally evident from decrees found at Lato (*ICr* I XVI.1) and Gortyn (*GDI* 4982) and this alone tells us that the temple at Dreros served formal political functions.

Another important function of a *prytaneion* was that of housing official records. The Delphinion at Knossos is known to have functioned as city archives, keeping proxeny decrees and treaties (Gorman 2001:170), and this was likely the function of the Delphinion at Dreros also (Marinatos 1936:253). The Delphinion at Miletos can be added to this list. Not only was Apollo the chief deity there, but his temple also revealed finds of an Archaic sacrifice calendar, a list of eponymous officials, and hundreds of inscriptions: treaties, *anagraphai*, and other decrees (Gorman 2001:170). When all of this is taken together it can be concluded beyond reasonable doubt that the temple at Dreros fulfilled the functions of a primitive *prytaneion*. As such, the identification of other primitive *prytaneia* should be modelled after this temple rather than the *Herdhaus* at Perachora.

PRINIAS

Prinias revealed two temples, but only temple B is of interest at the present time. We shall return to temple A in the following chapter, and the sculptural decoration of the temple will then also be brought into consideration.

The plan of temple B differs from temple A mainly by the addition of an *adyton* (Pl. 14, 15). The *adyton* had broken *pithoi* covering the entire floor, which suggests it was used for storage (Pernier 1914:26, 29). Dining took place within both edifices (Marinatos 2000:71; cf. Bergquist 1990:43-44), but temple B likely served functions that set it apart from temple A, as

² Meaning 'it pleased' (from φανδάνω), but better translated as 'it was decided'.

also Nannó Marinatos (2000:71) has noted when she in a similar manner has suggested it may have been a ‘council house’. This attests to the importance played by drinking and dining in politics, but Marinatos’ choice of designation suggests she considers temple B to have fulfilled functions of a formal character. Mazarakis Ainian (1997:226) has with a view to the SMin/PG date of temple B’s construction (see Appendix) questioned whether this building should be considered a temple at all. This, however, is not surprising considering his strict focus on a transition from rulers’ dwellings to temples, but as Østby (2008) has shown, such an early date need not be an argument against a cultic identification of a building. As an alternative interpretation, Mazarakis Ainian (1997:226) has entertained the possibility that it may have been a *prytaneion*, but he concludes that this remains an open question. The sizable hearth in temple B does indeed warrant seeing the temple as a candidate for a primitive *prytaneion*, before that of a *bouleutērion*, and the enigmatic stone cone found by the hearth (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:224; Pernier 1914:41-42) may be relevant in this respect. It does not seem to have been a column base and Pernier (1914:92) has suggested it may have been an altar or a table for offerings. C.G. Yavis (1949:64) has proposed it may have been a sacred *omphalos* ‘or some sort of a fetish’, while Mazarakis Ainian (1997:225) has pointed out that it may well have served a more utilitarian purpose in connection with the hearth.

Yavis’ interpretation is of particular interest and warrants a closer examination. Of the two statues of Hestia that stood in the *prytaneion* on Delos, both were seated and one appears to be seated on an *omphalos* (Roussel 1911:87-88). Other female figures seated on *omphaloi* have variously been identified with Themis, Hygieia and Leto, but with one possible, even sustainable exception, these identifications are highly dubious. Leto does appear to be seated on an *omphalos* from the Pythion at Ikaria. She was flanked by upright statues of Apollo and Artemis, but this is strangely in disagreement with reliefs found at Ikaria which always depict Apollo on the *omphalos* seat, and never Leto who is neither always depicted figuratively (Roussel 1911:89-90). The most famous *omphalos*, however, was undoubtedly the one that stood inside the *adyton* of Apollo’s temple at Delphi. Although perhaps originally a symbol of Apollo, P. Roussel (1911:89) has argued that the *omphalos* was later acquired by Hestia after which it came to be principally associated with the goddess. On basis of the close connection between Hestia and the Pythian Apollo (see Ch. 2), Roussel has tentatively suggested that the female figure on the *omphalos* from Ikaria may be Hestia instead. A similar, but remarkable situation is evident with the two statues of Apollo found inside the *prytaneion* at Delos. One was standing and the other was sitting on an *omphalos*. Roussel (1911:91) concludes by saying there is good reason to suspect a singular affinity between the cults of Apollo and Hestia. This claim, as we recall, has later been put forth by Samuelsson, but whether she

arrived at this position with knowledge of Roussel is a question without an answer. The reason for this connection between Hestia and the *omphalos* may perhaps be explained on a symbolic level. The meaning of the word *omphalos* is ‘navel’, a word which furthermore is commonly employed in the meaning of ‘centre’. This is illustrated by how the Greeks considered the *omphalos* at Delphi to be common for all Greeks and the centre of the entire world. The common hearth was equally the symbolic centre of a *polis* and this may readily explain why the *omphalos* became an attribute of Hestia.

Assuming that the truncated cone was in fact an *omphalos*, it is most likely that temple B was dedicated to Apollo. The close proximity of the presumed *omphalos* to the hearth would suggest that this was no ordinary temple, but rather that it housed the sacred hearth of the city of Prinias and therefore functioned as a primitive *prytaneion*.

KALAPODI (ABAI)

Kalapodi began its history as an open air sanctuary in the LH IIIC period and continued to be in use throughout the EIA. This is clear from a series of successive, superimposed hearths (and burnt floors) found below the floor of both temples in question (Pl. 18, 19). Finds from the EIA are generally restricted to pottery, mainly *kylikes*, cups, and kraters – a testament to the importance played by drinking in the early years of the sanctuary’s life (Marakas 2007:14; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:137-138). It is likely that this activity was moved indoors after the construction of the temples.

The sanctuary was jointly dedicated to Apollo of the city Hyampolis and Artemis Elaphebolos. Temple A was likely devoted to Artemis, with Temple B belonging to Apollo (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:140). The situation at Kalapodi is comparable to Prinias in as far as we have here the dual presence of Artemis and Apollo, both of whom occupied a temple with an internal hearth. However, it is still dangerous to attempt any direct comparisons, as temple A was not associated with the Mistress of Animals, as temple A at Prinias was (see ch. 5). Furthermore, inscriptions found at the site have now allowed the German excavators to identify the sanctuary with the site of the ancient oracle of Apollo Abaios – named after the nearby town of Abai (German Archaeological Institute (DAI) 2007), a small town in the vicinity of Hyampolis (Paus. 10.35.1-7). The oracle must have been associated with the site from an early date. The EA temple to Apollo remained sacred even after its destruction around 600/580 BC and it could be accessed by a pit inside the temple that replaced it (see Mazarakis Ainian 1997:139). This allows us to omit the possibility that temple B was used for dining purposes, and the calcinated animal bones found by the hearth (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:139) must have been associated with the oracle, together with the hearth itself.

Mazarakis Ainian's (1997:391 n. 1062) has stated that ritual dining took place within both temples, but it is now clear that this only holds true for temple A.

A comparison with the temple of the Pythian Apollo is unavoidable. Both temples housed an oracle of Apollo and both contained a hearth. The hearth in the temple at Delphi may very well have been the common hearth prior to the construction of an independent *prytaneion*, and perhaps do we have here a parallel at Kalapodi, implying that the EA temple housed the common hearth of either Abai or Hyampolis. The relative proximity between Delphi and Kalapodi could very well have allowed for similar traditions. At any rate, as there is much too little to go on, anything more than suggesting the possibility would be most unwise.

PALLANTION

The arrangement of entrances in the temple at Pallantion is similar to the building at Perachora (Pl. 3, 20), as Østby (1995:59-60) has observed. This must be significant for the function of the building, but it is difficult to determine exactly how. The presence of an internal altar (that is an actual stone altar and not just a hearth) is somewhat unusual for temples, but the 1940 excavation left no doubt that the building had a cultic function (Østby 1991:46, 1995:57-59). Regarding the date of the structure, Østby states that 'there is no definitive evidence for temple building in Arcadia before the late seventh century, [and] it seems difficult to propose an earlier date for the temple at Pallantion, although it evidently follows older traditions and may be one of the earliest temples in the region' (Østby 1991:46).

As Østby observes, the extreme simplicity of the building makes it difficult to conduct any detailed analysis. He has still suggested that in addition to the primary function of temple, the edifice also functioned as a *hestiatorion* and perhaps even as a primitive *prytaneion* (Østby 1991:46; 1995:59-60). The deity associated with the temple is not known and this does not bring us any further. It is undoubtedly a valid candidate, but there is very little evidence to go on, and so it is difficult to do more than echo what has already been suggested.

ASINE

The Argives destroyed Asine at about the same time as the temple was constructed (Paus. 2.36.4-5, 3.7.4), but while they razed the town of Asine to the ground, they apparently left the temple untouched and there is evidence to support that they maintained the cult there (Barrett 1954:427-428; Hägg 1992:18). Asine is not attested as a *polis* in the written sources, but this certainly owes to its early capture by the Argives, after which the site was labelled a *kōmē* (i.e. a lesser village) (*cf.* Piérart 2004:600). What we are concerned with here then, is not the

use of the temple under Argive dominance, but its initial function in the hands of the Asinaians, and this beginning need not have been at discord with the early stages of *polis* development – rather it may be presumed that it was interrupted by the Argives before it could reach fruition.

The building has revealed *skyphoi*, kraters, jugs and *pyxides* of Geometric and PC (c. 725–600 BC) date (Frödin and Persson 1938:149; Hägg 1992:Table 1), and Berit Wells (in Schilardi 1988:48) has suggested it was built for the purpose of drinking and dining. The kinds of pots found inside and outside the temple certainly adheres to what is expected in connection with drinking, but it is difficult to draw conclusions without some proper statistics incorporating the entire assemblage (the publication by Frödin and Persson is sadly lacking in this respect). The internal benches, on the other hand, support this interpretation. They were certainly intended for seating (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:162), and not as bases for roof posts, as originally suggested by Drerup (1969:109).

The temple resembles the one at Dreros in some respects. It was dedicated to the same deity, Apollo, or the Pythian Apollo more precisely, and drinking and dining appears to have taken place around its hearth. The interior of the temple is rather cramped, but one must keep in mind that Asine was a relatively small settlement, and as the symposiasts certainly sat upright, it would accommodate many more people than what would be possible in rooms designed to be furnished with couches. If we accept that each individual requires 0.50 m in order to be seated comfortably this would allow space for roughly 10 persons on each long bench and 4 persons on the short bench. In sum, the temple could have accommodated a total of some 24 people (Long side: $(5.20-0.30)/0.50 = 9.8$; Short side: $(2.70-0.60)/0.50 = 4.2$; cf. Shaw and Shaw (2000a:680) who has concluded that for every reclining person, four could be seated; a 1.80 m long couch (Tomlinson 1977:197-198) thus gives each individual 0.45 m). In comparison, the *prytaneion* at Lato was furnished with eleven couches and the *prytaneion* at Delos with only ten (Pl. 24, 25), and as such, the limited size of the temple cannot by itself be taken as evidence against a possible function as an early *prytaneion*.

Its orientation is also similar to the temple at Dreros, and this is of particular interest. The temple is located in an open space and there is thus nothing to prevent its laying out according to the canonical E-W orientation (Pl. 22), if that had been deemed desirable. It is in this connection worth noting that the apse of the previous structure suggests an E-W alignment (Pl. 22). This makes the change to a N-S alignment all the more significant, and consequently it appears that this was a conscious decision on behalf of the architect. This, however, was not the case at Pallantion, but the deity worshipped there remains unknown. No inscriptions that could confirm a political function have been uncovered from the site. It is a

valid candidate for a primitive *prytaneion*, but it is admittedly difficult to move the argument beyond one of conjecture.

Closing comments

No unambiguous answer to the possible use of hearth-temples as *prytaneia* has emerged, but the complete absence of knowledge concerning the *prytaneion* of the LG/EA period made this, if not an expected result, an outcome nonetheless. It was still revealed that a few of the temples could have fulfilled the functions of primitive *prytaneia*. The reason why other temples remain purely hypothetical need not imply they should be omitted from future studies; it could equally be caused by limitations in the archaeological material (what has been preserved, and what has been lost or removed in past times), the quality of the final publications, or even the particular methodology laid out in chapter 3. The difficulty is identifying them as such, as nothing is known of LG/EA *prytaneia*. Perhaps someone would argue that more lenience should be expressed in the development and employment of criteria. A major reason why the hearth-house at Perachora was rejected was due to the complete absence of legal or public inscriptions of any kind. This was shown to stand in contrast with the temple of Dreros where legal decrees were inscribed on the temple walls and found by the hearth. Perhaps were any legal inscriptions at Perachora moved to the city centre of Corinth after the construction of a specialised building, or perhaps were they exhibited by the agora (presumably) from the very beginning so to always be visible to the people? This is certainly pure speculation, and namely because of these uncertainties is it difficult to know exactly what to expect when attempting to reconstruct a stage of architectural development of an institution of which there is no direct information. It is nevertheless better to start with a more critical methodology and instead lower the bar, than to proceed with seven-league boots and risk falling into the trap of blindly pursuing a predetermined thesis.

It is still possible to make a few inferences from the above discussion. Most notably, the temple at Dreros, the Delphinion, stood out. This compares with the Delphinion at Hyrtakina, which also doubled as a *prytaneion* – even as late as Hellenistic times. The use of the Delphinion at Knossos and Miletos to house official archives makes also these two likely *prytaneia*. Willetts (1977:206) notes that the cult of Apollo Delphinios may have originated in Minoan times, and that it furthermore may have been established at Delphi prior to the cult of Apollo proper (the worship of Apollo as such is of mixed Dorian-northwest, Minoan-Crete and Syro-Hittite origin (Burkert 1985:144)). When in addition, the temple of Apollo at Delphi itself contained a hearth, perhaps even a sacred hearth originally, a pattern emerges. As

Vanessa Gorman states, '[t]he Delphinion is consistently identified with state government' (2001:170) (the general political associations of Apollo were explored in chapter 2).

There is much to suggest that the early stages of the *prytaneion*, the common hearth, were closely connected with the cult of Apollo Delphinios. One may plausibly question if this general connection with state affairs implies that the Delphinion may have had this function regardless of whether it actually contained a hearth or no. If this holds true, it would in turn imply that one may rightly assume a sacred lamp to have been present in those temples of Apollo Delphinios where hearths have not been found. The Cretan origin of the cult of Apollo Delphinios casts both support and doubt at the argument. On the one side, one may imagine that when the cult of Apollo Delphinios spread from Crete, in areas where internal hearths held less prominence, a lamp would have been preferred instead. On the other side, it is also possible to imagine that the secondary use of the Delphinion as a *prytaneion* was an element of the cult not assumed in areas outside of Crete. Yet, with reference to the case of Miletos, it is indeed clear that the political associations of the Delphinion extended well beyond Crete. A major reason why so few securely identified *prytaneia* have been uncovered may consequently be that the common hearth frequently was located within the Delphinion, and perhaps was it more often than generally believed in the shape of a lamp. Presumably was this practice characteristic of smaller *poleis* with accordingly more limited architectural needs, whereas larger cities would eventually come to separate this function from the temple and construct a separate *prytaneion*, and these are the ones of which Miller are concerned. The examples of Olympia and Delos, two of the most significant and visited sacred sites of the ancient Greek world, would fit this model well. Lato was modest in comparison, but far from an insignificant *polis*. Gortyn was a major *polis*, and it became the capital of Crete during the Roman period. That the great law code of the early fifth century was inscribed on the *bouleutērion* indicates that the temple could no longer provide for the political needs of the *polis*, that likely being as a meeting place for the city council. The obvious political associations of Apollo's temple at Gortyn does in turn make for a valid suggestion that this aspect of Apollo's cult was not restricted to his role of Delphinios, but also at least true for Apollo Pythios, or Pythaieus, as he was called at Asine.

As to the hearth-temple at Pallantion, of which no deity is known, the uncertainties are many. This also partly goes for temple B at Prinias. It was suggested it should be identified with Apollo, but this rests on the stone cone by the hearth being identified with an *omphalos*, and object which it was argued is of importance in and by of itself. When discussing this particular phenomenon, the various local traditions must be appreciated.

Chapter V: The aristocratic *polis* and the city council

The discussion in the previous chapter revealed that the Delphinion at Dreros stood out as a clear case of a primitive *prytaneion*. It housed the common hearth, legal decrees were stored there, and important decrees were inscribed on the temple walls themselves. This, together with feasting, ought to be considered secure indications for identifying primitive *prytaneia*. Temple B at Prinias was argued to be another probable example. It was argued that the temples at Kommos and the building at Perachora are unlikely to have fulfilled this function (but that they might have been used for political meetings). The temple to Apollo at Kalapodi, ancient Abai, can be excluded as it housed the oracle there. The remaining temples are likely candidates, but shrouded in many uncertainties. Emphasis was put on finds of legal decrees and other public inscriptions as a significant requirement for a *prytaneion*, but this criterion is equally as valid, if not more, for a *bouleutērion*, as it was by means of deliberation and public voting's that decrees came into being in the first place. The temple at Gortyn stood out in this regard with the greatest collection of inscriptions, and although it could not be demonstrated to have been a *prytaneion* (unless furnished with a sacred lamp as hypothesised), it is of great interest as a likely candidate for a *bouleutērion*. The *prytaneion* is most notable for functioning as an *archive* for such decrees, unless they were inscribed on the walls of the *prytaneion*, or the *bouleutērion*, as at Gortyn.

The Homeric council was discussed in chapter 2 and this can, as the opposite side of the coin, be taken as a framework for what is to be expected of a council session from an archaeological point of view. To briefly summarise, it was noted that councils were opened with sacrifice and a following feast that was prepared at, and took place around, the hearth. After the participants had finished their meals, deliberation commenced and was brought to a ceremonial conclusion with libation and generous intake of wine.

The working hypothesis, as it was set out in the introduction, is that the city council would have gathered around the common hearth. This would effectively fuse the most important functions of the *prytaneion* and the *bouleutērion* in one architectural unit and suggest beyond reasonable doubt that they originated as the same institution. As has been revealed throughout the present study, the hearth figured in several contexts. On the one hand, we find the common hearth in the *prytaneion* and the hearth, or altar, in the *bouleutērion* (Fig. 5.1). To use the Delphinion at Dreros as an example, the hearth of the hearth-temple was clearly the common hearth of the city. On the other side, we find the hearth around which the



Fig. 5.1 The remains of the *bouleuterion* at Priene, showing the auditorium and the altar in front.

Homeric *basilēes* feasted and deliberated, but whether or not that was a common hearth is impossible to tell. It is still clear that the hearth is present in all contexts. As the hearth had a number of uses, this does not prove a connection on its own, but it is interesting also to note that the dining that took place among dignitaries in the *prytaneion* makes a parallel to the dining that took place among the *basilēes* in Homer in conjunction with council meetings. The chief aim of this chapter is to come to an understanding of whether or not the city council gathered around the common hearth of the ‘temple-*prytaneion*’.

A possibility would be to study the pottery from the temple at Dreros and temple B at Prinias, and that from both a synchronic and a diachronic point of view, in order to look for patterns in distribution and developments through time. This, however, is a near impossible undertaking as a proper treatment of the pottery is sorely lacking from the publications of Pernier and Marinatos. The pottery is only superficially presented and it is clear that neither had much interest in old pots. When looking at what they *do* say, one can observe that the composition of material from both temples is fairly similar. Both temples contained large amounts of animal bones and teeth, often calcinated (Marinatos 1936:257-259; Pernier 1914:25), which suggests they stemmed from meat burnt on the hearth. This is to be expected from a cultic context, but of greater interest is that the temple at Dreros and both temples at Prinias contained substantial amounts of *pithoi* fragments and this appears to dominate the material at both sites (Marinatos 1936:257-259; Pernier 1914:25-26, 29). *Pithoi* are commonly used to store subsistence products like cereals, wine or oil (D’Acunto 1995:18).

The pottery from Kommos, on the other hand is very well published, but judging from the council meetings in Homer, the feasting that took place prior to deliberation was

essentially the same as in any other cultic context (in that it would leave similar material behind), which makes it difficult to separate the two without additional evidence. This was provided for Dreros with a number of legal inscriptions, but none of this was found at Kommos. A different approach will thus be taken and the pottery from Kommos or any of the other sites for that matter will not be analysed here, mainly because it would be most difficult in turn to compare it with the material from Dreros and Prinias. Instead, another approach is chosen, one that aims to get a better understanding of the people that participated in the feasting inside these temples and the manner in which these gatherings constituted themselves with respect to familiar political institutions, where such information can be obtained. This approach singles out Crete in particular and although I envisaged a broader, more including study at the outset of this investigation, it must be acknowledged that although much of the following discussion may have relevance for any hearth-temple, it is mostly representative of the situation in Crete and may not in detail be applicable for mainland Greece.

It is easy to connect a number of EIA dwellings with the elite on grounds of size and architectural complexity (see Mazarakis Ainian for this argument), it is far more difficult to make a connection between the aristocracy and the LG/EA (or later) hearth-temples. The only way to prove conclusively that the council held meetings inside the temple would be if we could be specifically informed of such a practice from an early inscription uncovered on the site. In the absence of such luxury, we are forced to deal with degrees of probability. As was already stated in the introduction, when dealing with such a difficult material as the hearth-temples are, epigraphical evidence will be compared with the archaeological remains to attempt to deduce some fixed points and identify some labels that will allow us to attain the fullest possible understanding of the social and political organisation of the early Cretan *polis* and those who in fact met inside the temple – whether for feasting or deliberation.

The aristocracy and the common meal in the Cretan *poleis*

The subject of this section is the social organisation of the Cretan *polis* and we shall see if there is any evidence that aristocrats in general met inside hearth-temples to feast. This will tell us one of two things. If aristocrats in general used temples for feasting, it makes it all the more difficult to connect the feasting with the city council specifically. If, on the other hand, this investigation will lead us to exclude the aristocracy, it would make a connection with the city magistrates all the more probable.

The feasting that took place among the aristocrats is interesting in itself. Over the past two decades, archaeologists have increasingly stressed that feasting played an immensely important role in the social, economic, and political arenas of ancient cultures, and the feast

has been observed in numerous anthropological studies to be a 'domain of political action' (Dietler 2001:66; *cf.* Clark and Blake 1994; Dietler 1990, 1996, 2001; Edwards 1996; Gero 1992; Gumerman 1997; Hayden 1996, 2001; LeCount 2001; Schmandt-Bessarat 2001). Food and drink are symbols of an individual's social status (Gusfield 2003:75-76) and wine, in particular, functions as a status marker in two distinct ways, namely by exclusion and inclusion. In this sense, wine is a marker of personal identity. It can be used by an individual or social group to set themselves apart from other social groups who exhibit inappropriate behaviour or incompatible lifestyle, and it is often used vertically to exclude those of lower social orders (Groves *et al.* 2000). In the positive sense of inclusion, sharing in wine (or any other alcoholic beverage) is a means to strengthen social ties within a group and it is a powerful way of attracting followers and creating allies with whom one share interests and viewpoints (Charters 2006:166; Douglas 2003:8). Inclusion and participation in drinking groups is thus a positive confirmation of an individual's social status, while exclusion is a severe detriment to one's position in society (Qviller 2004:27). We know from written sources that in Archaic and later Greece, exclusion from the *symposion* was tantamount to exclusion from society itself. Inclusion on the other hand, was a confirmation of an individual's social and political significance (Qviller 2004:3). It was essentially concomitant with being a 'political animal' (a πολιτικὸν ζῷον; *cf.* Arist. *Pol.* 1253a1).

Following up on the idea of inclusion and exclusion, a brief look at what the Cretan temples can tell us of any such differences in status from the use of space and their placement might be useful. In discussing temple B at Kommos, Mazarakis Ainian (1988:116-117) believes that the temple was reserved for a privileged few, whereas the common people would have had to dine in the courtyard. It is perhaps likely, as he has written elsewhere (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:394), that the sacrifice was conducted in the presence of all, and that the dignitaries only retreated for the meal itself. This is supported by the fact that a proper stone altar was constructed in the courtyard (Altar U) during the second phase of temple B, but hearths were found both in the temple and in the courtyard (a double hearth) (Pl. 5). As observed by Samuelsson, the number of altars multiplied during the lifetime of temple C and by the Hellenistic period there were four altars in the courtyard (Pl. 8, 9). This indicates that the sanctuary was intended to serve an increasingly larger group of people that would gather simultaneously to share in ritual meals, and this contrasts with the limited number of people allowed in the temple. This contrast between indoors and outdoors suggests that the temples were reserved for privileged individuals of some sort. It can also be observed that the attention given the area in front of the temples at Kommos contrasts with the temples at Dreros and Prinias, where attention was exclusively internal. The temple at Kommos is,

however, comparable with Asine; the entire area around the temple was ‘plentifully strewn with potsherds’ (Frödin and Persson 1938:148-149), which suggests that ritual activities there were not restricted to the temple proper, and distinctions between those feasting inside the temple and those in the open were likely also governed by status.

The temples at Prinias were situated inside a *temenos* that allowed limited room for worshippers immediately in front of either temple. If temple B had a walled courtyard, as it seems it did, it would have been experienced as rather isolated, only approachable from the corner of the *temenos* (Pl. 15, 16). This inaccessible ground design makes it difficult to accept it was built to allow for a large crowd within the context of public cult or festivals. However, as the courtyard in front of the temple extended above 9 m in length, it would have allowed for a smaller crowd to be gathered. But the courtyard was just that, an open space, no distinguishable features to suggest any specific activities were found there. Attention was on the unusually large hearth of the main room.

The temple at Dreros was located by the *agora* and would have been easily accessible by everyday worshippers (Pl. 11). The N-S alignment is unusual for a temple, but not unique in this early period and possibly of no vital importance as other concerns appears to have dictated its orientation. The entrance is centrally located on the northern short end, facing the *agora*, and the temple is approached by a series of stairs (Drerup 1969:6; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997:216-218). As Nicolas Coldstream notes, it is ‘awkwardly sited, obliquely to the hill slope’. This nevertheless gives it a precise alignment with the corner of the *agora* and this appears to have been a major concern of the architect (Coldstream 1981:345). Immo Beyer (1976:68-70; cf. Coldstream 1981:345) has suggested this may owe to Minoan practice, where sanctuaries inside palaces were approached from stairs in the corner of the open courtyard.

An important point is that the placement of the temple would have precluded that worshippers could have gathered in front of it in the manner that we find from later times. There is no obvious space, or even courtyard, in front of it. In connection with festivals, worshippers could presumably have gathered in the *agora* itself, but it is still to be observed that the askew placement of the temple precludes it from communicating very well with it (Pl. 12). When compared with the openness of the sanctuary at Kommos (which was designed to accommodate a substantial number of worshippers), the placement and design of the temple, and the apparent absence of an external, appurtenant altar, warrants questioning the role of the temple in public cult. It is interesting to note that the part of the temple that was best visible from the *agora* was in fact the wall that held the inscribed laws. Perhaps do we have a similar practice to Kommos where the sacrifice itself was done somewhere visible to the people in the *agora* (an external altar may have been lost with time, but this is hypothetical), before the

dignitaries would retreat to the temple to dine in private? Alternatively, festivals were intentionally located to extra-urban sanctuaries, perhaps to nurture the bond between the city and its territory (à propos de Polignac (1984, 1995) and the bi-polar *polis*)?

ARISTOCRATS, FOLLOWERS AND THE COMMON MEAL

Dreros with its many inscriptions is a natural place to begin this inquiry:



Fig. 5.2 An inscribed wall block from the temple of Apollo at Dreros.

The inscription is that of a public law and boustrophedonic. It begins in the lower right corner:

ἐταρῆιαν | ἔφαδε | ὄζ' ἀγέλασί το ὑπε-
ρβοίο | μῆνος | ἐν ἰκάδι | ὄρον ἡμεν

It roughly translates to: 'Of the *hetairees* it was decided for all that concerns the *agelai*, that the twentieth day of the month Hyperboios will be the limit' (cf. Effenterre 1946a:598). To understand the inscription, it is necessary to take a brief look at the Cretan social institutions. To begin with the *agelai*, they were a kind of bands in Crete (and Sparta) in which youths were organised and educated. There were a number of *agelai*. They were formed by 'influential boys of noble family', and each of these boys was set to gather as many boys of equal age as they could find into bands of followers. The leader of the *agela* was the father of the boy who had collected the others and he was responsible for their education in sports and warcraft (Chrimes 1949:219; cf. Strab. 10.483).

At the hearth of Cretan social life was the institution of the *andreion*. The exact nature of the *andreion* is somewhat elusory, but based on the detailed work of K.M.T. Chrimes (1949) a rough understanding of the workings of the Archaic *andreion* is permitted. The Cretan *andreia* were kinship groups composed of adult male relatives in the male line. As opposed to the *agelai*, the *andreia* were reserved for males of aristocratic birth only and ownership of property was required. Adulthood (ἡβη) was presumably reached at the age of twenty and young aristocrats could join the *andreion* upon leaving the *agela* they had belonged to in their youthly years. The members of the *andreion* were in turn part of a

broader family or kinship group (συγγένεια) which also included female relatives (Chrimes 1949:242-44).

As Chrimes (1949:220) notes, the institution of the *agela* was ‘designed to secure the influence of individual nobles by providing them from an early age with a loyal band of carefully selected followers’, and when moving on from the *agela*, the other boys stayed with the young aristocrat. The followers were not permitted into the *andreion*, but constituted themselves as a broader group of *hetairees*, meaning those that belonged to the *hetaireia* (sg.). The *hetaireia* consisted of the members of the *andreion* and all the followers the aristocratic family had amassed. It was common in Crete, as it was in Sparta, that the *hetairees* took their meals (ἄνδρεῖα or συσσίτια) together. The aristocrats could also bring their male children to these meals. The building in which they gathered was called *andreion*, which literally means ‘the men’s hall’ (in this respect, it is cognate to the better known ἄνδρῶν which bears the same meaning). Such a building would have limited room, and it is unlikely that everyone was present at all meals (Chrimes 1949: 237, 245; Willetts 1967:11; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1272a).

It is not to be overlooked that the exclusive character of the *hetaireiai* would have excluded a considerable amount of the free population. Inclusion in this group was the *sine qua non* of citizenship (Chrimes 1949:230). Those who were excluded were known as *apetairoi*, and this group must have included the vast majority of the population. They did not enjoy full citizenship, but were otherwise economically fairly free (Willetts 1967:12). It is clear that citizenship was exclusive in the Archaic period (cf. Snodgrass 1980:39, 89-90), and exclusion from the *andreia*, the common meal, was as such tantamount with exclusion from political society. However, this came to change in the fifth century, when the common meal was opened to all citizens that owned land and qualified as hoplites in the army. The state assumed control of the *agelai* at the same time and the *andreia* also came to be maintained by the *polis*. This was an important dividing line in the development of the Cretan state, as the aristocracy had previously controlled this directly (Chrimes 1949:230, 245).

This allows us to return to the inscription (Fig. 5.2). It tells us that the *hetairees* had decided that the twentieth day of the month Hyperboios would mark the end of the period spent by youths in *agelai*. We have seen that the *hetairees* held a high position in society, but it is still odd to find that they should be pointed to as the instigators of the decree, whereas the *polis* is not mentioned at all. Could it perhaps be that *hetairees* is simply used in reference to the citizens, as a synonym, or even that this was the technical term in use for those known as *politai* in later sources?

The *hetaireia* differed from its Athenian namesake (which was more of an informal political club), but shared instead some key similarities with the Athenian phratry. Both were

considered a ‘guardian of the state’ as they guaranteed the legitimacy of new-born sons of their members. The Cretan *hetaireia* was in this manner the basis for the political organisation of the *polis* (Willets 1967:11). It is interesting to note, however, that, unlike the Athenian phratry – whose members resided all over Attica – the members of the Cretan *hetaireiai* usually lived in or nearby the city where they met to dine on a daily basis (Willets 1967:11). Some interesting similarities can also be observed between the *andreion* and the *prytaneion*. Both institutions were dining halls limited to an exclusive group and both were used by men to dine and to create bonds and male community. When this is taken together with the mention of the *hetairees* on the temple wall and the fact that Dreros as a *polis* was *petite et peu importante* (Marinatos 1936:254), it makes it tempting to suggest that the *hetaireiai* may have taken their communal meals inside the temple – which in turned would have functioned as a sort of *andreion* – before a separate building had been constructed. As we shall see, there are nevertheless some crucial points of concern that prevents us from accepting such an interpretation. To get a better understanding of this, it is useful to turn to a temple that with great certainty can be identified with an *andreion*, namely temple A at Prinias (Fig. 5.3).

Temple A dates to the last quarter of the seventh century (see Appendix). It appears to have been dedicated to Artemis in her aspect of Mistress of Animals, as is suggested by the curious sculptures found within the cella (Beyer 1976:37-38; Nilsson 1950:455; Marinatos 2000:74). The Mistress of Animals is also depicted repeatedly in the façade sculptures, and it is, as Marinatos (2000:74) has observed, a seeming paradox that she is associated with warriors on horseback, instead of other women. Two seated goddesses facing each other were

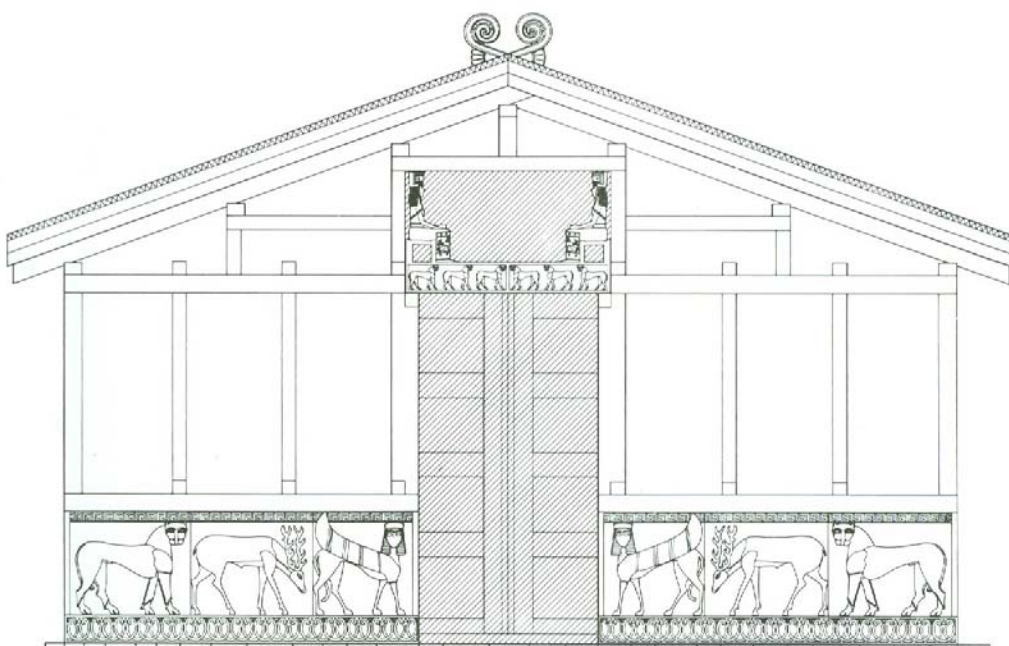


Fig. 5.3 Reconstruction of Temple A seen from the east.

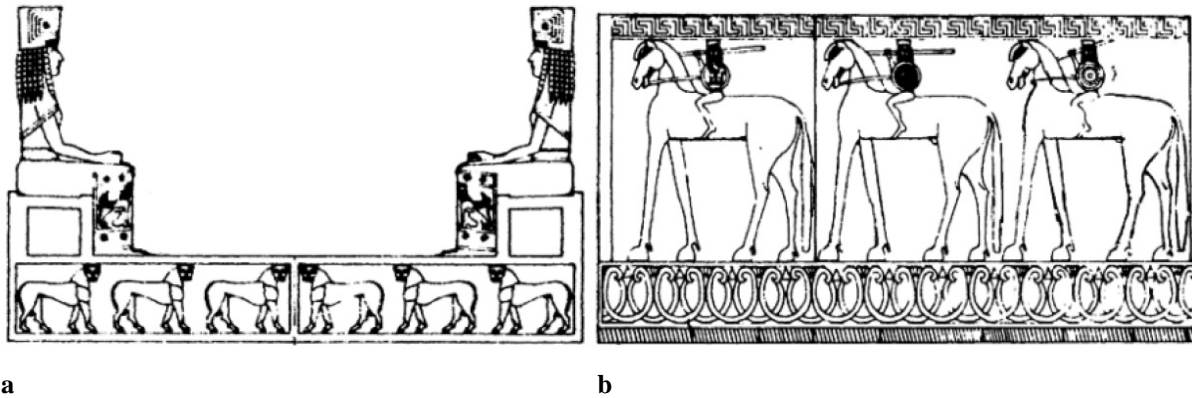


Fig. 5.4 (a) is a close-up of the two seated goddesses visible above the doorway on temple A. The panthers below the goddesses feet symbolises their control over the wilds. (b) is a part of the horseman frieze.

placed above the doorway (Fig. 5.3, 5.4a). This suggests that the goddesses protected the entrance and those that entered the temple (Marinatos 2000:74-75). The horsemen depicted on the temple were armed as warriors (Fig. 5.4b) and this indicates the edifice was reserved for men. In light of the common function of Cretan hearth-temples as combined temple and *hestiatorion*, Marinatos (2000:76) has concluded that temple A was likely reserved as a dining hall for the male elite of the nearby town of Prinias. Although the armed horsemen would suggest the presence of a warrior god, it was nevertheless a female deity that occupied the temple and Marinatos (2000:77) infer that the Mistress of Animals must have functioned as a patroness of men in Crete. This aspect, it can be noted, does not apply to the temple at Dreros, as there is no indication of the Mistress of Animals being connected with the Delphinion.

L.V. Watrous (1998:78–9) has suggested that the horsemen represent young men in a ceremony of initiation, but as Marinatos (2000:76 n. 19) has stated in response, ‘it is unlikely, however, that men with the gear of fully-fledged warriors would be initiates. In the seventh and sixth centuries BC the rider/*ephebe* has only a spear’. The presence of horsemen in the iconography does, however, coincide with the *hetairees*. As ‘comrades in war’ (Chrimes 1949:237) they were likely to have been properly equipped, if not the followers, at least the aristocratic warriors. This association is highly likely, as horses were symbols of wealth and status and associated with the defence of the *polis* (Isager og Skydsgaard 1992:85-86), a responsibility that fell to the *hetaireiai*. This renders it likely that temple A was not any kind of elite dining room, but the official *andreion* of Prinias. It was suggested that temple B doubled as the *prytaneion* of Prinias, and it is likely that temple B had been an important social and political centre long before the eight century. Temple A and B were undoubtedly the religious and political foci of the city of Prinias (Marinatos 2000:76-77). Although the close proximity between temple B and the later temple A (Fig. 5.5) was likely a religious



Fig. 5.5 The two temples at Prusias seen from the east. Both temples are located inside an enclosure, with temple A to the right.

decision first and foremost, it was likely one of great symbolic power also, as it placed the *andreion* of the male elite next to what was likely the most important building in the young *polis*, and this association between the two buildings would subtly have tied the aristocracy to the *polis* itself.

We see clearly that the ‘temple-*andreion*’ and the presumed ‘temple-*prytaneion*’ were held separate at Prusias. Although the aristocracy held a high position in the Cretan *poleis*, they did not exercise any direct political power, and were consequently a step below the ten *kosmoi* and the Cretan *boulē* (i.e. a council of Elders that, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1272a), was closely related to the council at Sparta, the *gerousia*), who shall be discussed below. It is thus reasonable to find that this distinction would also be upheld with their respective gathering/dining halls. This was likely the case at Dreros also, and Marinatos (1936:254) has mentioned another building that likely was an *andreion*. It is a building located on the hill to the west of the Delphinion (Pl. 11). Its exact date of construction is uncertain, what is clear is that it is of Archaic origin.

To conclude this part of the argument, it is now clear that we can with relative certainty say that if the other aristocrats did not dine inside the Delphinion, it is increasingly unlikely that ordinary people would dine there. The exclusiveness of the temple as a dining hall was likely embedded in the social and political stratum of Dreros and it is in consequence all the more likely that the temple was reserved for the council and/or the *kosmoi*, an argument we shall return to below.

A COMPARISON WITH HOMER

From what was revealed above, it can be observed that Cretan aristocratic traditions shared some very interesting similarities with the Homeric poems. First, it is to be noted that feasting and sharing in wine was employed by the Cretan aristocrats as a means of entertaining and maintaining bonds with their followers in the *hetaireia*. The importance of having followers is evident also in Homer (see ch. 2), but it is imperative to note that the Cretan *hetairees* were not the same as the Homeric *hetairoi*. The Cretan practice differed from that in Homer, not least with respect to the very purpose for their existence. First, the word *hetairos* is a generic term for followers that translates to ‘companion’ or ‘comrade’. It is true that it is used by Homer in special reference to the followers of a *basileus* (LSJ s.v. ἑταῖρος), but this is a superficial similarity. The *hetairees* were a social institution. Leadership in Homer is highly personal and followers are necessary in order to uphold what is essentially a very fragile political system (ch. 2). Chiefs and nobles alike are addressed as *basilēes*, a testament to the immature character of the political system. In Crete, on the other hand, it was rather the very maintenance of the social fabric, and consequently the social position of the aristocrats, that relied on ‘fresh blood’ being supplied from the ranks of common men (Chrimes 1949:238). The Archaic *polis* in Crete was an established, albeit young political system. Leadership had become an office, and the *kosmoi* were, although drawn from the aristocracy, magistrates that nevertheless existed independently of the aristocracy as a *social class*, and they furthermore served for only one year. The political system in Crete was consequently more stable and developed as it did not rest on the shoulders of unusual individuals like the Homeric chiefs.

The second point to be discussed concerns the feast as an ‘arena for political action’ – or rather those who participated in these gatherings. Deliberation while drinking was an elite privilege in Homer and associated with what is best identified with an early stage of the city council. The Cretan *andreia* were neither just social events, they were also important as arenas for political discussion, as is made clear from Dosiadas’ (*ap.* Ath. 4.143e) description of the common meal among the Lyktians (or Lyttians):

‘there is a drinking vessel of water and wine mixed set for each table; all the persons at the common table drink of this in common, and after they have finished their meal, another is set before them. And for the boys a common mixing bowl is prepared. The older men if they wish to do so are permitted to drink more. The woman who presides in the Syssitia takes from the table in the sight of everyone the best of the fare, and places it before those who have won renown in war or on account of their wisdom. And after the meal they are accustomed first of

all to deliberate about public affairs, and after this they recall great deeds done in war and rehearse the praises of their brave men, thus exhorting the young to deeds of valour'.¹

This confirms the picture drawn that feasting and drinking of wine went hand in hand with deliberation. War and great deeds done by brave men were clearly held in high regard and this brings to mind the boasting of the *basilēes* (see ch. 2). We hear of Aeneas who, urged forward by Apollo, boasted that he would take on Achilles himself in battle: ‘Aeneas, counsellor of the Trojans, where be now thy threats, wherewith thou was wont to declare unto the princes of the Trojans over thy wine, that thou wouldst do battle man to man against Achilles, son of Peleus?’ (*Il.* 20.83-85).² We clearly see the contours – or perhaps rather the remains – of a competitive warrior culture. There is no reason to assume that such ideals were lost with the *polis*; the horsemen depicted on temple A at Prinias bear testament to this.

These similarities are interesting, but of greater importance is the manner in which the Cretans departed from the Homeric pattern. It is clear that although the feast was followed by political discussions, the common meal was not an arena for the formulation of *formal politics*. It is not a council session we have described above and so this interest taken in politics at the *andreia* is not to be confused with the meetings held by the Council and the *kosmoi* (more on this below). It was rather intended to cultivate the social class from which the magistrates were drawn. By educating its members in matters of the state, the aristocracy sought to perpetuate their dominant position in society (*cf.* Chrimes 1949:205). Being of good repute was hardly unfortunate, and we saw in the *Iliad* that not all of the Greek *basilēes* were included in the *boulē*. Only the foremost of the *basilēes* were (the βασιλεύτατος – the most ‘kingly’ in their respective homelands (Carlier 2006:102)), which indicates that participation in council sessions in Homer had acquired an exclusive, yet somewhat informal, character.

This can perhaps be taken a step further if we turn to an inscription known as the ‘Testament of Epikteta’ (*CIG* II 2448). Its place of origin was likely the Dorian state of Thera, and its system of law was remarkably similar to that of Crete. The inscription mentions a body of trustees known as ‘the council of the Andreion of kinsmen’ (τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν) (Chrimes 1949:239). Chrimes (1949:239) notes that this *koinon* ‘appears to be nothing more than a council of the adult male members of a single agnatic group’. If the male members of an aristocratic family in Thera were organised in a form of ‘council’ then this *koinon* must have echoed a much older practice, as such a council would have been of little actual use in the third century BC – except for the males of a single family to deliberate among

¹ Translation by Chrimes (1949: 233).

² Translation by A.T. Murray, Loeb Classical Library.

themselves, a practice which we certainly cannot rule out. It is interesting to note that Chrimes (1949:244 n. 2) goes on to state that the ‘evidence of Epikteta’s will suggests that the members of the Andreion were all descended from a single male ancestor in the generation previous to the earliest generation represented in the Andreion itself’. In this respect, it is not to be overlooked that the late date (*c.* 200 BC) of Epikteta’s will is highly problematic. If we accept the premise that the inscription (in its entirety) bears witness of a single, male ancestor that predated the institution of the *andreion*, one is led to assume that the inscription hints at society prior to the *polis*.

The use of an *andreion* for deliberation deserves a closer comment. It is tempting to imagine that this had its ultimate origins in local councils held by various elite families of the Geometric period. This immediately brings to mind the model of synoicism (i.e. the unification of villages and lesser towns into a greater unit centred on a political power structure) and the manner in which various local *prytaneia* would have been replaced by one common *prytaneion* as a symbol of the unified *polis* (Weber 1958:144). There is nevertheless one problem with this. Coldstream (1984a:312-314, 1984b:13-14, 20-22) has concluded that Crete does not fit the this pattern. The evidence from Knossos, Karphi and other sites reveals larger nucleated settlements that were in continuous use from the LBA and throughout the EIA. This, however, does not preclude a diverse elite consisting of many families, as there were clearly lesser villages and hamlets in outlying areas (Haggis 1993:162-164). One should perhaps be careful in putting too much emphasis on Mazarakis Ainian’s general use of ‘ruler’ in singular. The EIA may well have been characterised by competitive elite families, and that it is from these families that the later *andreia* by all likelihood developed. Judging by Homer, the social structure of Geometric times was also closely connected with the household and the family. Could Epikteta’s will refer to the *basileus* of such a family prior to the *polis*? While perhaps impossible to prove archaeologically, it is still tempting to imagine that these smaller settlements could have gathered around a common hearth for social events (*cf.* the *Herdgemeinschäften* mentioned by Drerup 1969:125). From this it can be imagined that the council of the Elders would have been instituted with the formation of the *polis*, and that this effectively nullified the older, local councils. Yet at the same time it did not require their abandonment, allowing them instead to continue behind closed doors – an arrangement that undoubtedly would have benefited the political superiority of the aristocracy as a class.

Drinking and deliberating in the temple

This section will look at the political offices of the Cretan *poleis* in more detail. Again we shall begin by looking at Dreros, which by now has emerged as somewhat of a case study.

This is not in itself a bad thing, as Dreros has by far the greatest potential and could serve as a model case. Another of the inscriptions gives important insight into the political process:



Fig. 5.6 An inscribed wall block from the temple of Apollo at Dreros.

The inscription is again boustrophedonic and begins in the upper right corner:

πόλι ἔφαδε διαλήσασι πυλάσι | ὅστις προ.
πολε..ειε μή τίν[[τ]]εσθα(ι) τὸν ἀγρέταν

The inscription is that of a legal decree (as seen from the use of ἔφαδε). What interests us is first and foremost the part before the vertical line, which reads as follows: ‘The *polis* decided after having consulted the tribes’ (cf. van Effenterre 1946a:591-594).³ The phrase *poli ewade* conveys a *polis* ideology; it gives the impression that the law was passed on behalf of the people, but a closer reading of the sentence points to a somewhat different picture. It is clear that the tribes were not to be overlooked; they had to be included in matters of the state, but the composition of the sentence (‘... after having consulted the tribes’) reveals that the tribes are subtly reduced to an *external* group of people, set apart from the *real subject* of the sentence, which is cunningly posing as the *polis* – the *grammatical subject* of the sentence.

It can be no doubt that the consultation referred to must have constituted itself as an assembly (of the people) and this brings to mind the assemblies held in Homer, in which the people are needed to ratify major decisions. There are nevertheless a few uncertainties that do not uncritically allow for such a comparison. If we turn to Aristotle, we are told that not even in his own time had the Assembly in Crete acquired any powers beyond their required approval of resolutions. The close relationship between the highly conservative Spartan constitution and the Cretan constitution (as observed by Aristotle and others (Chrimes 1949)),

³ The word for tribe, *πυλά*, is not to be confused with the Attic word *πυλή*, meaning gate. *Πυλάσι* is a dative plural and corresponds to the Attic form *φυλαῖς* (van Effenterre 1946a:592). The explanation for this is simple; the letter *φ* (together with *χ* and *ψ*) had yet to be introduced into Crete. As opposed to Modern Greek, where the letter *φ* is pronounced as /f/, it was an aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive in Ancient Greek, which means it was pronounced as /p^h/, i.e. a /p/ followed by a strong burst of air. This similarity in pronunciation caused both sounds to be represented by the letter *π*.

and the dominant role of the aristocracy (as observed above) makes it difficult to imagine that the Assembly would have enjoyed any greater powers during the EA period. Legal proposals were in Aristotle's times prepared by the council and the *kosmoi*, before being presented to the assembly (Arist. *Pol.* 1272a), and this must have been the process also in the early period.

Exactly what is implied by the word 'consulting' is another matter. If not allowed to participate in an open, equal discussion, could the people at least express any discontent they might have felt towards proposals (like the people could in Homer), or were they expected to silently approve of whatever resolution that was presented them? Perhaps is the most likely solution that the choice of wording – in the hands of the aristocrats – was intended to give the impression that the *polis* as such had been behind the decision. The fact that they at least had to be included in official politics is some of what gave the *polis* its flavour – and set it apart from the autocratic governments of the Near East – although this would not reach full fruition until Classical times.

What is important to remember at this point is that the temple was still – and primarily – a *temple*. This investigation has excluded any feasting purely connected with religious worship, or any other acts of worship for that matter. However, based on what has been revealed above, it is not unlikely that the magistrates of the city were allowed to feast indoors during religious festivals or other religious acts involving the whole city. In addition, when it was not employed for dining parties, it was certainly open for people who wished to come and pay their respects to the gods. Just because emphasis is put on one function in particular, does not imply that the cultic function of the building is intended downplayed or minimised. There must clearly have been a balance in use. Following this line of thought, an alternative would be that priests dined inside.

When speaking of priests (or priestesses) it is imperative to remember that Greek priesthood was not a clearly defined religious community separated from the rest of society. Priests did not devote their life to religious duties, but typically only carried out their responsibilities on special occasions, or if summoned. Beyond that, they partook in social and political duties like everyone else (Roberts 2005:615). It is a perfectly valid possibility that those responsible for sacrifices would dine inside the temple, but this duty did not always fall to priests. They did not monopolise religious worship and in some cities it was *magistrates*, not priests, who carried out religious actions on behalf of the city (Roberts 2005:615). One would assume this was more common in smaller cities, but even in Athens lay the responsibility for supervising all religious affairs with a magistrate, the *archōn basileus*, one of the three *archontes* (together with the *archōn eponymous* (the chief magistrate) and the *polemarchos* (the commander of the army)) who were said to have inherited (and divided) the

powers of the original, hereditary king (Roberts 2005:63). All religious positions were furthermore filled by the aristocratic families, the *Eupatridai* ('those who deserved well of their fatherland') (Graves 1960:350), and this practice is known from a number of other *poleis* (Roberts 2005:615). Undoubtedly this goes back to the EIA where local leaders often doubled as village priests (Mazarakis Ainian 1988:118, 2006:185) – or possibly as overseers of local cult. The Homeric *basilēes*, in comparison, were seemingly responsible for celebration of sacrifices and the maintenance of ritual custom (Mondi 1980:201). This tendency of aristocratic families of the *polis* to fill religious positions can be read as a response to older traditions and a corresponding desire to uphold a steady hand on such an important part of *polis* life. As a general pattern, one may predict that the more dominating the position of the aristocracy, the more likely their influence embraced religious duties.

If we return to Dreros we see that the situation becomes an awful lot more complicated. Those responsible for sacrifices are in fact mentioned in an inscription from Dreros that details regulations for sacrifices. The part of the inscription that interests us is somewhat difficult to read, but according to van Effenterre (1946a:600-602) it spells out ἔφαδε τοῖσι θυστα[σι]. The noun comes fromθύω, meaning 'offer by burning' or 'offer sacrifice' (L.S.J *s.v.* θύω), but it is impossible to state from the inscription alone if those spoken of were actual *priests* or *officials* (van Effenterre 1946a:602). Dreros was indeed a rather small *polis* and if one of the *kosmoi* managed religious duties in Dreros, this would point us back to the aristocracy. This is at any rate conjectural, but since citizenships, so to speak, was restricted to members of the *hetaireiai* – which has been revealed to have been more or less an extension of the aristocratic stratum – it is far from unlikely that the aristocracy in Crete maintained control over *official* religious affairs. All things considered, the most likely explanation is that high ranking officials dined inside the temple.

The inscriptions from Dreros reveal that the temple of Apollo was the political rendezvous at Dreros. This was where all Drerians had to go to read the constitution of their *polis*, and this would have been a powerful statement, a statement whose symbolic significance was illustrated at Gortyn where the inscribing of laws was moved from the temple to the *bouleutērion*, the later meeting place of the Council. Unfortunately, no *bouleutērion* or other official, civic structure has been uncovered at Dreros (perhaps was there never use for an independent building?), but just as the temple at Gortyn was likely used for council meetings, so can we with high certainty conclude was the case at Dreros too. After resolutions officially had been approved by the assembly – which by necessity would have met somewhere in the open – the laws would have been inscribed on the walls of the temple, and thus be directly associated with the officials that met inside.

This provides a strong argument for seeing the *prytaneion* and the *bouleutērion* as originally the same *institution*, meaning that council meetings did – if not necessarily in every corner of the Greek world – take place around the common hearth. It was at any rate not a practice unheard of.

The hearth – a political rendezvous

One of the most important, yet difficult, questions to ask is whether the hearth held some kind of political symbolism among the Greeks (i.e. whether they associated the act of deliberation with the hearth itself), thus making it a natural rallying point for political discourses – or whether gathering around the hearth was an entirely *practical* custom, as it provided a convenient and obvious means of preparing the meal consumed prior to deliberation. The first has indeed been alluded to so far, but for the strength of conviction of the argument, it is necessary to go deeper.

It is in the very nature of man to structure our environments in order to apply meaning to the spaces we inhabit (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Tilley 1994). The hearth thus has meaning within the room it occupies, and this meaning is defined through dialogue with the surrounding space. Use of a hearth for domestic purposes like cooking is not lack of meaning, but meaning in itself. Furthermore, just because a hearth might have a particular meaning in one location, does not mean this is a property inherent in the hearth – although it may be *latent* – the meaning an object has is limited to, and dependent on context.

It has already been made abundantly clear that the hearth was the single most important feature of the *prytaneion*, and we have also seen that the altar or hearth-altar in later *bouleuteria* often were associated with Hestia Boulaia, which suggests a close association between Hestia and deliberation, and – in effect of Hestia's largely un-anthropomorphised nature – this could be extended to the hearth itself. The hearth in the temple at Dreros can be identified with a common hearth on the one hand, and an association between the temple and the legal decrees inscribed on its walls can be established on the other. While an association between the decrees on the external walls and the internal hearth remains mute, the fortunate find of the two decrees by the hearth itself allows us to connect them with the decrees on the walls and in turn with the hearth itself. The stelae appear to be copies of older inscriptions, and they were clearly placed by the hearth on purpose (Marinatos 1936:280-283). In addition to this connection evident from Dreros, it would be immensely helpful if a more general connection could be established between the hearth and politics.

In discussing those responsible for divine worship in a *polis*, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1322b) tells us that the responsibility for managing public festivals lay not with the priests, but with

those officials ‘that derive their honour from the common hearth, in some places called *archontes*, in other places *basileis* or *prytaneis*’ (ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν: καλοῦσι δ’ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις) (Arist. *Pol.* 1322b25). Aristotle was primarily concerned with contemporary conditions and is, as mentioned, indeed a late source. The various political systems he relates certainly do not reflect the political climate of the EA period; institutions would, to varying degrees, have changed and developed before reaching the form they had in Aristotle’s time, the fourth century. When he does make references to earlier times, he would certainly have made use of older sources, but it is nevertheless always the question of how the writers of those sources (just like any writer – Aristotle included) interpreted their reality and selected what would eventually end up in written form, and this would naturally have affected later understanding of the events described. To add to this, we often find that older texts of lesser known individuals are forgotten in time; it is the texts written by the true masters that mostly end up in the hands of modern scholars. This frequently creates a ‘gap of uncertainty’ between the text itself and the social and political situation it purports to describe. Without thorough, detailed knowledge of the early *polis*, we cannot easily separate Aristotle’s use of bad sources from reliable ones (this must build on comparable written sources and archaeology), and considering we attempt to use him to gain knowledge of those early years in the first place, this creates a circular problem. It is this uncertainty that makes it difficult to apply Aristotle *directly* to earlier periods, but if we leave the details of his full account aside to focus instead on the underlying meaning and symbolism, he can certainly be of use for some areas if scrutinised carefully. The core idea that the *archontes*, *basileis* and *prytaneis* derived their honour from the common hearth is such an underlying symbolism that must have arisen long before his time and be connected with the development of the *prytaneion* in the first place.

With special reference to the *basileus*, it must first be noted that Aristotle uses the term in an entirely different manner than what we have previously seen in Homer. Robert Drews has argued that while a number of men were called *basileus* in Homer, with the Archaic period it developed into an exclusive title conferred upon a magistrate who would come to function as a ‘head of state’. This individual was sometimes known as a *basileus*, sometimes as an *archōn*, and sometimes as a *prytanis* (Drews 1983:108-109). Important to notice is that these were annual magistracies and not lifelong positions as with the Homeric *basilēes*. This concentration of power in one individual is known from a number of ancient *poleis*, but there are exceptions, Crete being one of them. Another example is Sparta who had two kings of equal authority, whereas the Athenians had originally a collegium of nine *archontes*.

First, it is interesting to note that Aristotle informs us that the *archōn*, *basileus* and *prytanis* fulfilled the same function in a *polis*. The idea of the magistrate(s) drawing his authority from the common hearth paints a broader picture where the hearth played a central role regardless of linguistic differences. Second, Aristotle allows us to connect the hearth with a specific office of power and it is clear that the authority imbued in this office was closely connected with the hearth in the *prytaneion* – in consequence connecting the magistrate with the *polis* itself. One who drew his honour from the common hearth would thus represent the *polis* as a whole. This would explain why the hearth was important in the early years of the *polis* – or rather, the later system described by Aristotle was a result of the importance the hearth had played in the formative stages of the *polis*. This is exemplified with the mythical hero Theseus, who reputedly unified Attica by replacing the various local *prytaneia* with a common *prytaneion* in the city of Athens (Roberts 2005:341). The one flame burning in this *prytaneion* marked the city as the political centre of the broader territory of Attica. On grounds of this, it is not unreasonable to see the hearth as a common rallying point for council meetings and political gatherings in general, but one may question whether this particular association existed throughout the Geometric period, or whether it was related to the formation of the *polis* specifically. This leads us to the question of whether it is possible to trace this political dimension of the common hearth further back in time, but that has to be a study for another time.

Chapter VI: Concluding remarks

A number of rather ambitious goals were set out in the introductory chapters, but they have been carried out with various degrees of satisfaction. Much has been summarised throughout the pages, and this concluding chapter is focused on the main questions only. It is acknowledged that the decision in chapter 5 to focus mainly on Crete greatly limits the validity of this study for the remainder of the Greek world, but an attempt will nevertheless be made to indicate some possible common ground with the wider Greek world. Lastly, some reflections on the relationship between Homer and the formation of the *polis* in Crete will be made in an attempt to situate the Homeric society within a broader social and political development. Homer, as we shall see, is not as incompatible with a *polis* ideology as some scholars are wont to believe.

The use of the archaeological material

It is suitable to begin with a comment on the archaeological material. Because Guarducci and Samuelsson had focused solely on Crete (if only very briefly), it was made an aim to give equal attention to the hearth-temples of Crete and Mainland Greece alike. Yet this proved to be a difficult endeavour. Due to various reasons outlined in the closing comments in chapter 4, the analysis in chapter 5 came to be focused on Crete, and in particular Dreros, but it was simultaneously argued that this does not by itself suggest that the hearth-temples of Mainland Greece should be omitted from further studies, only that it was difficult to move the discussion beyond that of conjecture – reasonable or not. Although this part of the study could not be carried out according to the initial intent, the results were in many ways far more interesting. The decision to focus on Dreros was mainly reached on the basis of the fortunate findings of legal inscriptions in connection with the hearth-temple. This provided a unique opportunity to move the analysis beyond such casual terms as ‘aristocracy’ and ‘common people’ and reach a deeper understanding of the social and political structure of the Cretan *poleis*, and consequently a more qualified framework for discussing those who participated in the feasting carried out inside the Delphinion. It is held by the present author that any discussion of the possible use of hearth-temples as either *bouleutēria* or *prytaneia* ought to be compared with the Delphinion at Dreros rather than the more commonly used hearth-house at Perachora.

THE STUDY OF THE HEARTH-TEMPLE

Provided an analysis is not purely architectural, it is argued that the hearth-temple ought to be discussed within the social, political and religious framework of its respective *polis*. The reason for this is as follows: The Greek temple had in comparison a clearly defined function. As an architectural unit, it was symbolically speaking the house and domain of the deity, distinct from the temporal world of men. Suppliants would enter the temple and pray before the cult image, but it was not itself a place for cult. Sacrifice and other ritual activities took place around the altar in front of the temple (Burkert 1985:88-92). The hearth-temple, on the other hand, was a much more elusive, multifunctional unit. Symbolically speaking, it was a highly complex phenomenon in which no distinction was made between the space of the deity and that of the worshippers – not even in cases where it housed an actual cult statue. Due to this human element inherent in its very structure, it cannot be studied as a neutral, architectural entity.

The city council – from inhabited to uninhabited space

The aim of the present thesis operates on several levels. On a lower level, it was made an aim to study hearth-temples of the LG/EA period in isolation to determine whether they also functioned as primitive council houses or even *prytaneia*. Council sessions during the Geometric period were argued to have taken place within the dwellings of local leaders, or *basilēes*, and this left us with the hypothesis that the formation of the *polis* brought about a shift in political focus from dwelling to temple. This was compared with Bourdieu and reframed as an overarching transition of council sessions from inhabited to uninhabited space. Uninhabited space was admitted to possibly have been also outdoor locations, but focus has been on hearth-temples. The *core* of the argument is nevertheless that councils were separated from the *personal space* of individual figures of power. On a higher level, this transition was postulated to coincide with the transition from an EIA illiterate society to the literate society that was the *polis*, and it can be concluded that Bourdieu's theory is at least valid for Crete.

Due to the limited number of temples discussed it is impossible to draw general conclusions, but some patterns have nevertheless emerged. However, that the analysis has focused purely on LG/EA evidence may be a possible weakness, as this means that no actual, unbroken transition in the city council from EIA dwellings to Archaic temples has been documented. The present study is dictated by the locations of hearth-temples, and this transition is intended *conceptual*; it assumes that if hearth-temples can be demonstrated to have been political hotspots, the more or less complete absence of urban temples from the previous period validates an ideological transition in the political centre of gravity.

It is clear that such a shift did indeed take place in several ancient *poleis*. It was argued in chapter 4 that the Delphinion was intimately connected with the common hearth of the *polis*, and this was likely true for areas far beyond Crete – Miletos being a good example. It would be interesting, however, to bring this a step further by looking at every Delphinion known from the Greek world. In addition, it is suggested that temples to the Pythian Apollo by all probability carried a similar function in early *poleis*, and that this would provide an explanation for the hearth inside the temple at Asine, as well as the emphasis on the temple at Gortyn as a political centre and probable council hall prior to the construction of the *bouleutērion*. In *poleis* where the aristocracy held a leading position during the Archaic period, this would fit well with Apollo's role as protector of the aristocracy and of institutions (*cf.* de Polignac 1995:87). Temple B at Prinias deserves a special comment. Its identification with a council house and primitive *prytaneion* does admittedly carry an element of uncertainty, but all in all, the two temples clearly occupied the centre stage of social and political life in Prinias and they support the argument in a broader sense.

In light of the highly aristocratic character of the Cretan *poleis* (it should be remembered that they even limited rights of citizenship to the *hetairees* only), it is particularly interesting that political functions in a number of cases were assumed by the temple. If the *polis* brought about such a sharp break with the old order in a society that essentially remained in the hands of the aristocracy, it is all the more likely that a similar change from inhabited to uninhabited space could have taken place in other areas of Greece. Much is left open for Mainland Crete, but it would be interesting to see if the 'temple-*hestiatoria*' group mentioned by Mazarakis Ainian could have been associated with council meetings in other *poleis*.

FROM EIA DWELLING TO CITY COUNCIL AND SYMPOSIUM

It was suggested in chapter 2 that the feasting that took place among the elite during the EIA period would come to be separated into the Archaic aristocratic *symposion* on the one hand and the sessions of feasting and drinking purely associated with deliberation forming the basis for the city council on the other. Again, the evidence speaks mainly for Crete where this model appears to be true overall, but not wholly in the details. The Archaic symposium is generally depicted as an aristocratic institution, but still different from the *andreion*. The contact with the Near East, introduced the Greek aristocrats to a world of luxury that had been lost since Mycenaean times, a world that came to influence the aristocratic lifestyle as well as art and literature (Morris 1997:13). This luxurious lifestyle, however, does not appear reflected in the Cretan *poleis*. The *andreia* were indeed exclusive gatherings, but overall they

appear to have been relatively moderate in their expression. It was suggested that the *andreion* was a remnant of Geometric practice, in which keeping of followers among the elites presumably was crucial for maintaining the political structure of society – likely associated with feasting among elite families prior to the *polis*. The evidence from Thera may be taken to suggest that the *andreion* originally enjoyed actual political influence as an elite male gathering, but that the *polis* reduced the aspect of deliberation to a private occupation. It was suggested that the political influence held by the various local elite gatherings of the Geometric period would have been annulled and instead transferred to a new, joint council with the *polis*, whereupon the *andreion* developed in response as a purely social institution.

THE TEMPLE AS AN EXPRESSION OF COMMON IDENTITY

The monumental temple projects of the LG/EA period could not easily have been completed without cooperation between lesser local settlements and this is often taken as an indication that a common identity had developed – a sense of belonging together that went hand in hand with the *polis* (see e.g. Østby 2008:191-192). However, the smaller more modest hearth-temples need not have had less of an ideological significance. The use of hearth-temples to house the common hearth rather points to the opposite – as primitive *prytaneia*, they were the symbolic centre of the *polis*.

That the gathering of magistrates for council meetings was moved from the personal space of a local *basileis* was a decisive moment in the rise of the *polis*, as this implied that political power no longer was reliant upon maintenance of personal bonds between leaders and followers. This would essentially have been synonymous with the transformation of the EIA elite into a true aristocracy, and positions of leadership in a *polis* would either abruptly or through a process of formalisation have approached what we would term an *office*. Not only council meetings, but the council itself was thus symbolically and spatially disconnected from the EIA leaders as figure of powers, and instead transferred to a neutral space. The temple was the foremost manifestation of the unified *polis*, and the temple itself – or even the area in front of it (we remember from chapter 3 that a popular assembly was held in front of the temple of Apollo in Corinth), would – from an ideological point of view – have been an optimal venue for political gatherings of the early *polis*.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE USE OF TEMPLES AS COUNCIL HOUSES

It is also possible to view the results from Crete in a different perspective. The use of temples for political purposes has a distinctly aristocratic flavour. By meeting inside the temple the counsellors essentially occupied the same space as the deity, and the choice of the temple

could easily be seen as aristocratic propaganda directed at maintaining a link between the aristocrats and the *polis* itself; religious practice and political power and direction. It was argued that the aristocracy at Prusias wanted to achieve just this effect by building temple A (the *andreion*) right next to the much older temple B (the likely *prytaneion*). Apollo was also the protector of the *aristocracy*. It is therefore far from certain that the temple was always used for this purpose. Perhaps is the most likely solution that the meeting place of the city council was conditioned by the social and political structure of the *polis* in question.

However, if ‘temple’ is replaced with ‘uninhabited space’, then it would not be surprising to find that a situation similar to Crete was true for *poleis* of a more egalitarian social structure. In fact, it would only make more sense that the city council would gather in uninhabited, neutral space in *poleis* in which the aristocratic stratum enjoyed lesser influence, as this would on an *ideological level* accentuate that political power had come to be wielded on behalf of the *polis*, and not on personal premises. This further strengthens the usability of Bourdieu’s theory for early Greece.

From Homer to *polis* – some reflections

We shall round off with a final comment on the validity of Homer as an historical source. The question of what total number of *polis*-criteria that may be recognised in Homer is a complex and arduous discussion. The existence of basic political institutions in Homer has so far been emphasised, but as Iddeng (2008:135-136) summarises, there are a number of other criteria that are absent from Homer and that consequently have led numerous scholars to reject the Homeric society as an actual stage in the formation of the *polis* – the very opposite of which has been maintained in the present study. Iddeng mentions that there are no egalitarian political institutions to be found in Homer: magistrates, leaders and council-members are not elected; citizen rights are not universal; there are no formal institutions for decision-making and no established constitution or fixed law codes. Not only does he argue that these criteria are incompatible with Homer, but also that they are equally incompatible with the later development of democracy.

Among archaeologists, Morris is one supporter of this egalitarian view on the early *polis*. He (1987:9, 177) views the radical transformations of the community in the eighth century as resulting from a struggle between the aristocracy and the common people. This appears to be a very useful approach indeed and a discord between the two is alluded to on several occasions in the works of the seventh century peasant-poet Hesiod. Oswyn Murray (in Hägg 1983:210) made a similar observation with reference to Homer and Hesiod; ‘the aristocracy [turn] back to its Homeric past: the *demos*, the *laos* seeks to reject it’. Perhaps can

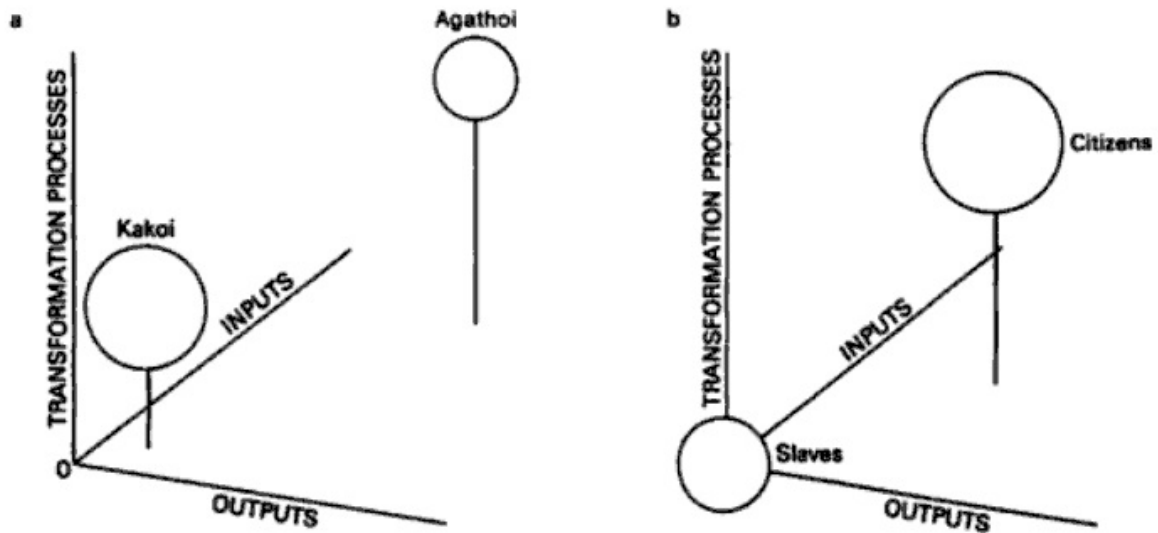


Fig. 6.1 (a) illustrates a pre-polis social structure and (b) a polis structure. The variable ‘Transformation process’ involve ‘decisions about what to grow, access to knowledge and power, and *influence in policy making*’ (Morris 1987:176; emphasis added by author).

this help explain why collecting followers were of such importance to the Cretan aristocrats?

Morris, however, considers this dynamic between the aristocracy (οἱ ἄριστοι) and the common people (οἱ κακοὶ) to be an EIA phenomenon that would be replaced by a citizen mentality and the adoption of slavery with the *polis* (Fig. 6.1). To begin with his mention of slavery, James Whitley (1991a:44) has criticized Morris’ view of the eighth century as a ‘proto-slave’ society. There is no actual evidence to support this, and Whitley has called Morris’ regressive technique a ‘discredited philological approach’. Morris makes it clear that he considers this a *conceptual* shift. He nevertheless *do* state that the struggle between the *aristoi* and the *kakoi* ‘eventually produced a situation which in theory (and, I think, often in practice) should have resembled’ figure 6.1, ‘with the bunched statuses (this time, *not* classes) of citizens and slaves’ (Morris 1987:177).

As to citizenship, by placing all the people within the same group on the ‘Transformation process’ scale, Morris gives the impression of a nearly politically egalitarian citizen society. From the situation in Crete it is clear that Morris’ argument for citizenship as a deciding factor to *polis* development and tantamount to the abolishment of an EIA elite/commoner mentality is thoroughly at odds with the realities. The same is valid for seventh century Euboeia. Jan Paul Crielaard (1998) has demonstrated through studies of burial evidence that the development of the *polis* and the position of the aristocracy could go hand in hand. The conclusions reached by Morris with respect to the Athenian material cannot uncritically be conferred on the rest of Greece. Crielaard concludes that ‘in contrast to Athens in this period, at Eretria the authority of the emergent polis remained confined to aristocratic

circles' (Crielaard 1998:52). Literary sources of later periods tell us that the concept of citizenship was essential to the *polis*, but the development of the *polis* was not necessarily at discord with the elite-commoner mentality present in the EIA. Generally speaking, the free population may or may not all have been citizens, but Crete tells us that common identity does not guarantee equal political rights.

ON HOMER AND DEMOCRACY

Josiah Ober (1996) has emphasised the 'power of the people' and suggested that the introduction of democracy in Athens resulted from a revolutionary uprising following the tyranny of Hippias, the son of Peisistratos. Ober was clearly influenced by his tutor, Chester Starr, who has similarly expressed that '[i]t is time we gave over interpreting human development as a slow evolution of Darwinian type; great changes often occur in veritable jumps' (Starr 1961:xii). Notwithstanding the case of Athens specifically, it is still true that change often occurs abruptly. The so-called Arab Spring of recent years is a testament to this. From the above, it is worth questioning why one should automatically presume democratic seeds to have been present in the political fabric already from the early beginnings of the *polis*. Democracy did not develop in more or less unison throughout the Greek world; it was a peculiarly *Athenian* innovation that attained considerable popularity. Yet it never managed to conquer the whole of the Greek world – a great many *poleis* never developed into democracies and they were nor less *poleis* for that reason. Compared with the Cretan evidence, it is clear that there were neither egalitarian democratic institutions, nor common rights to citizenship in early Archaic Crete. It is indeed true that Crete was a rather conservative area, best compared with Sparta, but it was a thriving cultural hotspot during the Archaic period and not some primitive outpost of marginal importance (although it did come to lose much of its cultural significance with the Classical period).

CLOSING COMMENTS

To round off, the absence of egalitarian political institutions in Homer is not by definition at discord with the political organisation of the early *polis*. In the early Cretan *poleis*, there was no egalitarian socio-political organisation. This was likely true for other areas also – Euboea being one example. R.F. Willetts (1962:305) is thus well justified in calling the Cretan *polis* an 'aristocratic *polis*'. He further states that the *polis* did not emerge as an 'impersonal and abstract power', but rather that it was 'closely associated with a particular section of the community'. It is consequently good reason to question whether an egalitarian political ideology should be considered a requirement at all. In light of this, it becomes clear that

Homer is indeed much more useful for understanding the socio-political structure of pre-*polis* Greece than commonly acknowledged. The opposite only arises if one assumes that the socio-political organisation of the Classical world was equally as valid for the EA period.

Appendix: The archaeological material – a catalogue

PERACHORA, CORINTHIA (Pl. 1-3)

Extra-urban sanctuary. The Herdhaus (not a temple) was located further up the Heraion valley, away from the main sanctuary area, which was down by the harbour.

Orientation: N-S, with an off-centre entrance in the N wall and a secondary entrance in the W wall

Bibliography: Payne 1940 (vol. 1); Dunbabin 1962 (vol. 2) – Mazarakis Ainian 1997:154-155; Salmon 1972: 159-204; Tomlinson 1977: 197-202

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
	Hera Limenia	9.5 x 5.6 m	Probably c. 700 BC or seventh century. <i>See below.</i>	A central hearth and two bases, possibly forming part of a circle, between the hearth and the south wall

Dating:

The date of the buildings construction is difficult to establish, but imperative to consider. Payne (1940:112) has wanted to date it to c. 750 BC. The whole area of the enclosure was covered by a thick layer of votive objects and the area immediately outside the north and east wall of the building contained an undisturbed stratification that did not continue on the inside of the walls. This suggests that the votive deposits were not cleared away to allow construction of the building, but that the building rather predated their accumulation (Payne 1940:118; *cf.* Salmon 1972:174).

R.A. Tomlinson (1977:199-200), however, has made a case for a much lower dating, and argued that the roof tiles, originally dated by Payne (1940:113-115) to the middle of the seventh century, are much too sophisticated in their design to be of such an early date, and believe they rather belong to the sixth century. While this may be true, it does not by itself constitute an argument against Payne's early date, as the building may have been roofed with thatch in its early stages (Payne 1940:113). Tomlinson furthermore turns to three inscriptions found inside the building. They record dedications of spits to Hera. The earliest have been dated around 650 BC and the latest sometime in the early half of the sixth century (Jeffery 1961:122-123). Tomlinson (1977:200) gives two possible explanations; the dedication of spits either indicates that a dining-room existed by the time of the first inscriptions, or the building was constructed later and the spits subsequently moved inside. If the last alternative is true, which Tomlinson favours, the building must be dated after the last inscription, in the early sixth century. The off-centre doorway is interesting. It is 1.8 m from the east wall and 1.3 m from the west wall, and this would allow space for 11 couches (measuring 1.80 by 0.80 m) along the walls, a standard number in *hestiatoria* (Bergquist 1990a:37; Tomlinson 1977:197-198).

As Mazarakis Ainian (1997:155) has pointed out, there are certain problems with Tomlinson's low date. He does not seem to take notice of the central door in the west wall when reconstructing the couches, and neither does he explain the untouched stratigraphy in direct contact with the outer walls. Some distance closer to the harbour area, we find another *hestiatorion*. It is of a far more refined plan, a dual-room dining facility with a porch. The rooms are also square-shaped, a feature of architecturally more advanced *hestiatoria* and the most common design in Classical and Hellenistic times (*cf.* Bergquist 1990a:Table 1). Tomlinson (1969:164-172) originally dated this structure to the Hellenistic period, but has recently argued it should be backdated to the sixth century (Tomlinson 1990). This *hestiatorion* should rather be seen as an architectural development and later addition to the sanctuary (Tomlinson 1990:98). In light of this, it appears to the author that the more primitive *oikos*-structure should indeed be dated much closer to 700 BC (*cf.* Mazarakis Ainian 1997:155).

KOMMOS, CRETE (PI. 4-9)

Extra-urban sanctuary. It was possibly a dependency of the nearby settlement of Phaistos, or some other site in the vicinity (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:337 and n. 669; Shaw 1984:283).

Orientation: E-W, the entrance faced E in all three temples.

Bibliography: Shaw and Shaw 2000a; 2000b – Mazarakis Ainian 1997:230-233

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple A	Unknown	5.54 x 6.70 m	c. 1020-800 BC	No hearth has been demonstrated in the temple, but some traces of burning were noted.
Temple B	Unknown	6.40 x 8.08 m	c. 800-600 BC	Phase 1: A central hearth, a bench by the N wall (and possibly by the S wall), and three upright pillars named the 'Tripillar shrine'. The excavators explain the shrine with Phoenician influence. Phase 2: The benches remained in use, but the hearth was rebuilt. The shrine was elaborated with a shield. A double hearth and an altar were built in the courtyard. Phase 3: The northern bench was buried by debris and fell out of use. A new hearth incorporating the three pillars was built in front of the shrine, which appears to have lost its cultic significance.

DREROS, CRETE (PI. 10-12)

Urban temple located by the south side of the agora in the polis of Dreros.

Orientation: N-S, the entrance faced the agora to the N.

Bibliography: Marinatos 1936:214-285 – Beyer 1976 (cf. Coldstream 1981:345); Drerup 1969; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:216-218; Vermeule 1974

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
	Apollo Delphinios, Artemis and Leto	9.30 x 5.70 m	Late 8th century	A central hearth, a bench and possibly an altar by the rear wall.

Dating:

Marinatos (1936:255-256, 268) dated the building to the late eighth century, and this dating has widely been adopted by later scholars (Beyer 1976:18-20 (cf. Coldstream 1981:346); Drerup 1969:6; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:217; Vermeule 1974:134).

PRINIAS, CRETE (PI. 13-15)

Situated on a low hill outside the city of Prinias.

Orientation: E-W, with the entrance of both temples on the E side. Temple B is placed a short distance S of Temple A.

Bibliography: Pernier 1914 – Beyer 1976; Marinatos 2000; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:224-226; Rizza 1984: 45-51; 1991: 331-347; Vermeule 1974

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple A	The Mistress of Animals, Artemis	12 x c. 6 m	Late 7th century <i>See below.</i>	Ground plan: a cella (c. 8.50 by 4.50 m internally) with a frontal porch. The cella contained a central hearth with a pillar on each short side.

Dating:

Temple A is special due to its early inclusion of façade sculptures, and based on the sculptural decoration, the temple has traditionally been dated to the second half of the seventh century (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:225). Emily Vermeule (1974:134-135; *cf.* Yavis 1949:63 n. 20) has preferred seeing the building and its decoration as chronologically separate and has dated the building to the early seventh century, but supported the common dating of the sculptures to the late seventh century. Beyer (1976:32-37), however, has dated both the building and its sculptures to the early half of the seventh century, but this seems unlikely. Recent excavations have demonstrated that a reorganisation of the area took place in the last quarter of the seventh century (Rizza 1984:47-48, 1991:335), and the construction of Temple A may reasonably be seen in connection with this event (Mazarakis Ainian 1997:225).

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple B	Unknown (Apollo?)	18.50 x 6.50 m	SMin/PG, but remained in use and overlaps with temple A in time. <i>See below.</i>	Ground plan: a porch, a cella (8.50 x 4.50 m), and an <i>adyton</i> . ¹ The cella contained an unusually large hearth (2.75 x 0.90/1.00 m) with a truncated stone cone adjacent on its western side. A circular basin and a stone slab were found in the north-west corner of the main room.

Dating:

Temple A and temple B have the same architectural details, the same pottery remains, the same reliefs on the floor, and a similar plan. This led Pernier (1914:47; *cf.* Rizza 1984:47) to view them as contemporary, but still thought that the presence of a rear room in Temple B was representative of a more advanced plan. Later excavations by the Italian Archaeological School in Athens, however, have proven this view invalid. A series of rooms were revealed on the eastern side of the temples, and the earliest material from these structures dates to Subminoan and Protogeometric times. Rizza (1984:45-48; 1991:335-344; *cf.* Mazarakis Ainian 1997:225) has emphasised that these rooms align perfectly with temple B and conclude they must belong to the same period. Yet, the similar finds show that temple B was not merely replaced by Temple A, but rather remained in use and was contemporary with it.

GORTYN, CRETE (Pl. 16-17)

Urban temple located a short distance S-E of the agora.

Orientation: E-W, with the entrance facing E.

Bibliography: Guarducci 1950; Prent 2005:274-275.

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
	Apollo Pythios	14.45 x 16.30 m	7th century	Originally rectangular in shape. Four internal pilasters placed in a square supported the roof. A <i>bothros</i> was located on the right side as one entered. It did not contain an internal hearth, but it is nevertheless included for reasons explained in chapter 3.

KALAPODI (ABAI), PHOCIS (Pl. 18-19)

An extra-urban sanctuary named after the modern village of Kalapodi.

¹ Pernier (1914:36) refers to it as an *opisthodomos* (L'edificio si compone dio pronao, cella ed opistodomo), but it is clearly depicted as an *adyton* in the ground plan.

Orientation: E-W, with the entrance of both temples facing E.

Bibliography: Felsch 1997; Felsch and Schmitt 2007 (ongoing) – Mazarakis Ainian 1997:137-140.

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple A	Artemis Elaphebolos	22/29 x c. 10 m	EA	The temple is badly preserved and the length is unconfirmed. It is uncovered to a length of 22 m, but cannot be longer than 29. The hearth was apparently located far to the rear of the temple, and to the south of the hearth was found a cylindrical stone (c. 1 m in diameter).
Temple B	Apollo of the city Hyampolis	21 x 7.9/7.4 m (uneven width)	EA	Not uncovered to more than 21 m. A shallow porch (c. 2.3 m deep) introduced the main room on the

End. The main room had a secondary entrance in the S wall and the hearth was near the middle of the room.

PALLANTION, ARCADIA (PI. 20)

A temple on the acropolis of Pallantion, a tiny, but not entirely insignificant polis located between its better known neighbours of Tegea and Asea. Temple A is the earliest of a total of four temples.

Orientation: E-W, with an entrance in the S-E corner of the E wall and a secondary entrance in the S wall.

Bibliography: Østby 1995 – Mazarakis Ainian 1997:169; Østby 1991:46

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple A	Unknown	6.1 x 9.2 m	Possibly late 7th century	Østby (1995:59-60) compares the layout of the building with the one at Perachora. An internal altar, in the shape of a small stone structure, was found almost on the longitudinal axis of the temple. This was surrounded by a layer of ashes and burnt animal bones. Closer to the northern wall, N-E of the altar, was found an aniconic herm.

ASINE, ARGOLIS (PI. 21-22)

The temple was uncovered atop the Barbouna hill at Asine. It was located within the later fortified area and was possibly associated with the settlement of Asine from an early date.

Orientation: N-S, with the entrance facing S

Bibliography: Frödin and Persson 1938 – Barrett 1954; Drerup 1969:9-10; Hägg 1992; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:162

Name	Deity	Dimensions	Dating	Architectural features
Temple of...	Apollo Pythaios	9.6 x 4.3 m	c. 700 BC. See <i>below</i> .	Ground plan: a porch (2.70 x 2.40 m) and a cella (5.20 x 2.70 m). Traces of ashes and burning in the centre of the main room suggest the existence of a central hearth. Benches (0.30 m wide and c. 0.35 m high) were uncovered along the northern, western and eastern walls.

Dating:

A nearby curved wall, which belonged to an apsidal cult building, has been dated around 750 BC. The current temple is later, likely built to replace the apsidal structure, and it is commonly dated around 700 BC (Drerup 1969:9; Hägg 1992:18; Mazarakis Ainian 1997:162; Wells in Schilardi 1988:48).

Plates

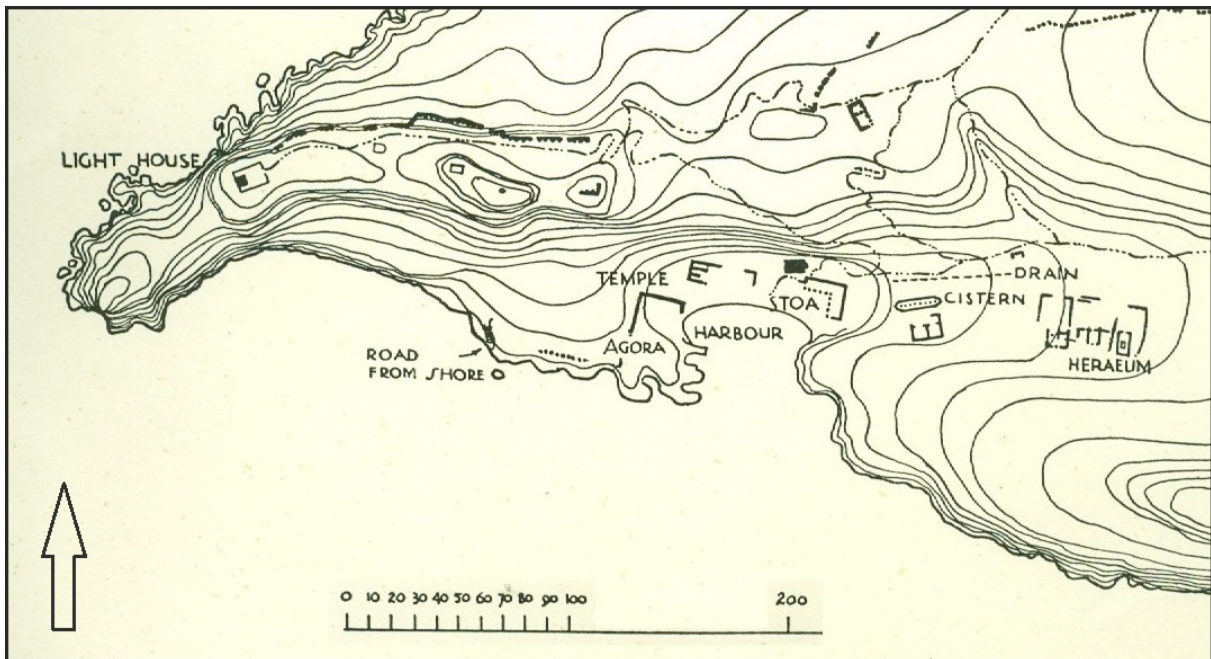


Plate 1. Map of the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora



Plate 2. Plan of the upper terrace of the sanctuary at Perachora

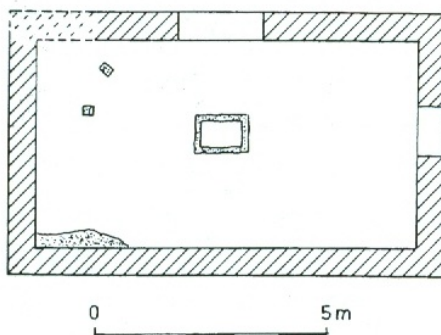


Plate 3. Plan of the so-called temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora ('Rectangular building with hearth' in plate 2)

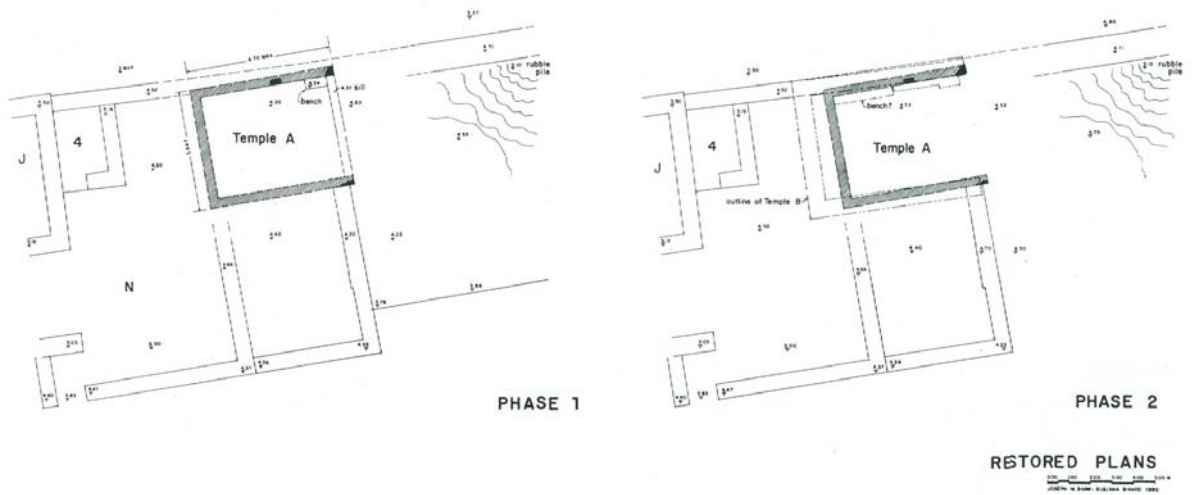


Plate 4. Plan of temple A at Kommos showing the two documented use phases

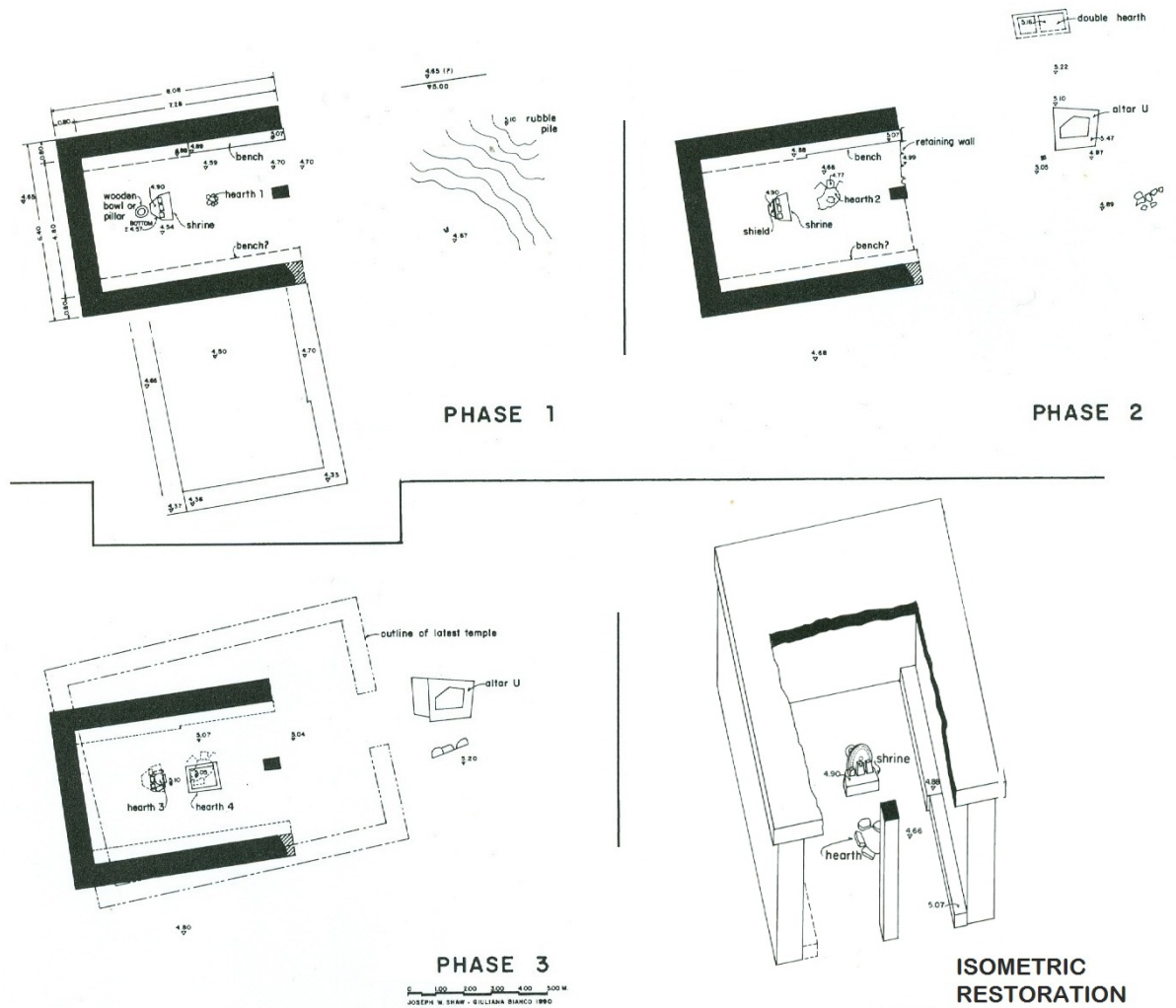


Plate 5. Plan of temple B at Kommos showing the three documented phases and an isometric restoration of phase 2

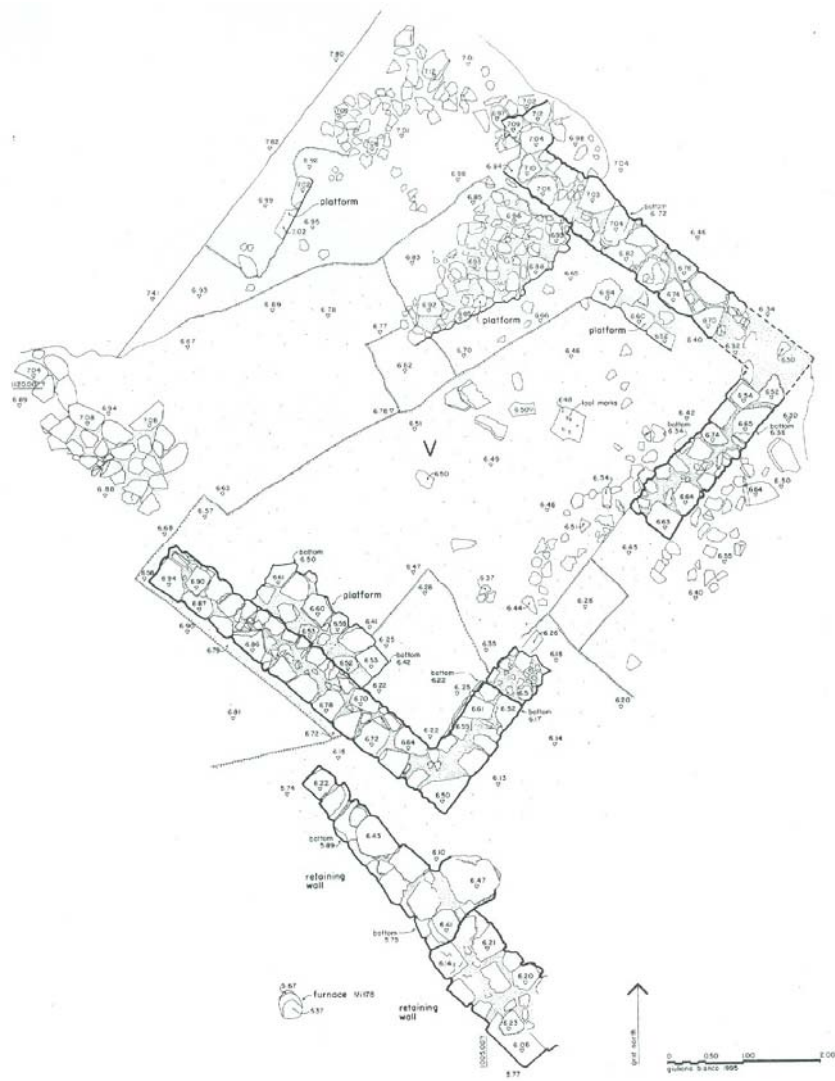


Plate 6. Building V (located a short distance to the east of temple B)

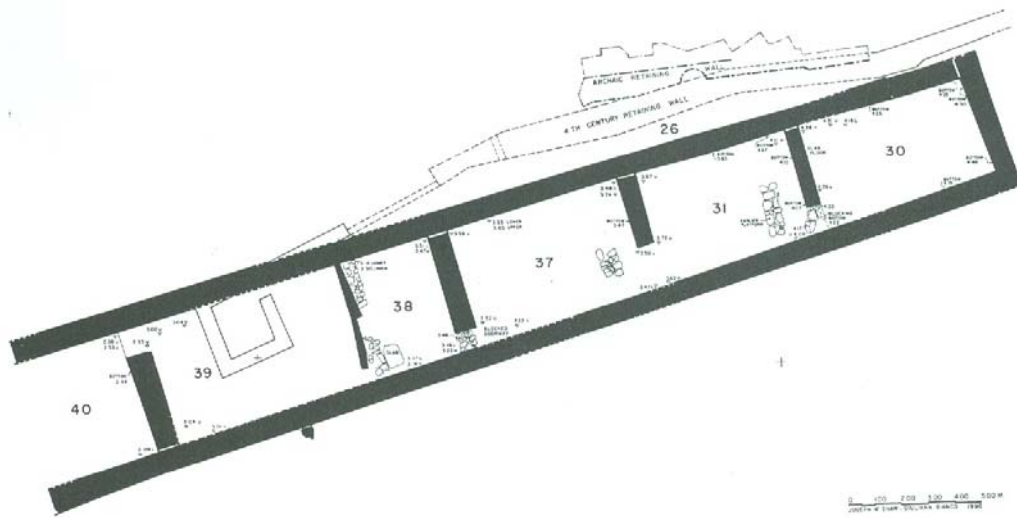


Plate 7. Building Q (located just south of the retaining wall visible in Plate 8)

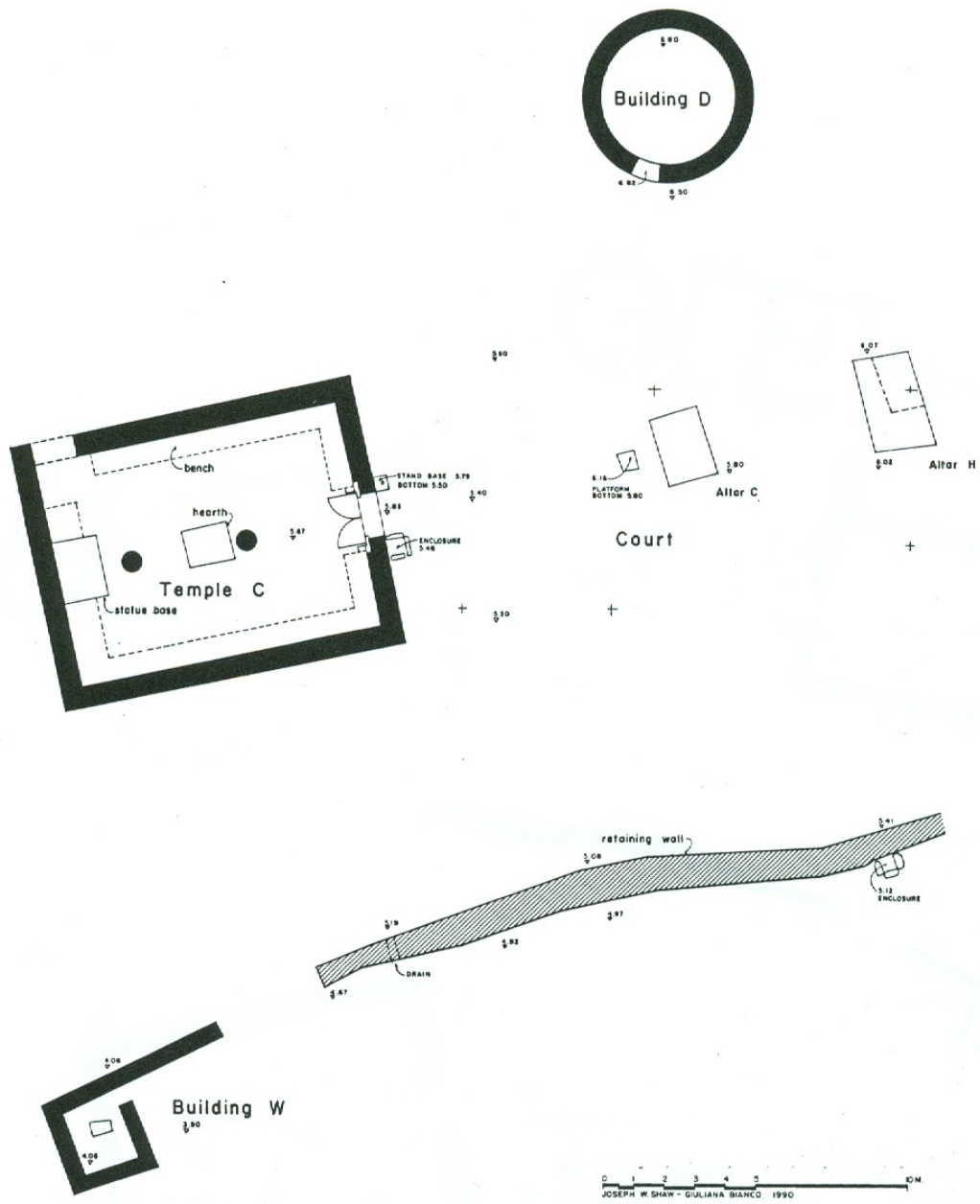


Plate 8. Plan of the Classical sanctuary at Kommos

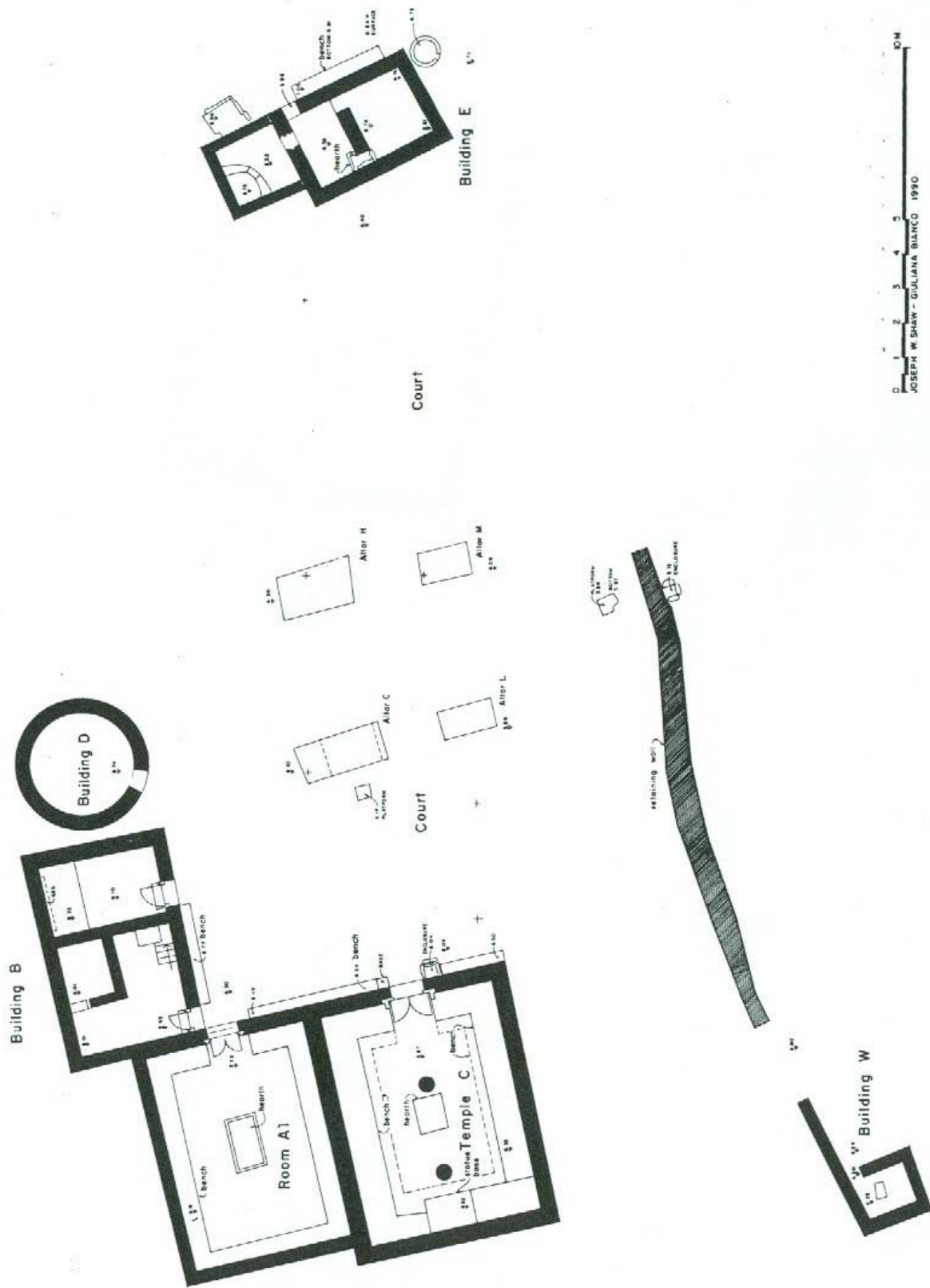


Plate 9. Plan of the Hellenistic sanctuary at Kommos

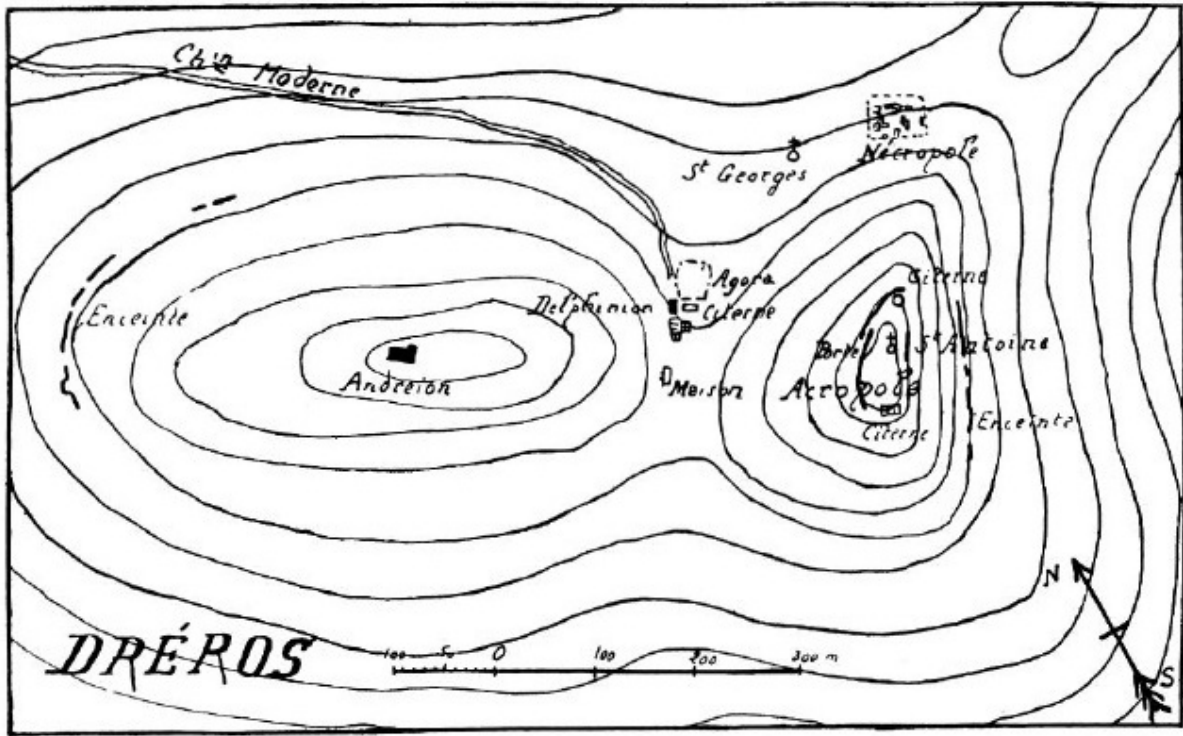


Plate 10. Map of Dréros

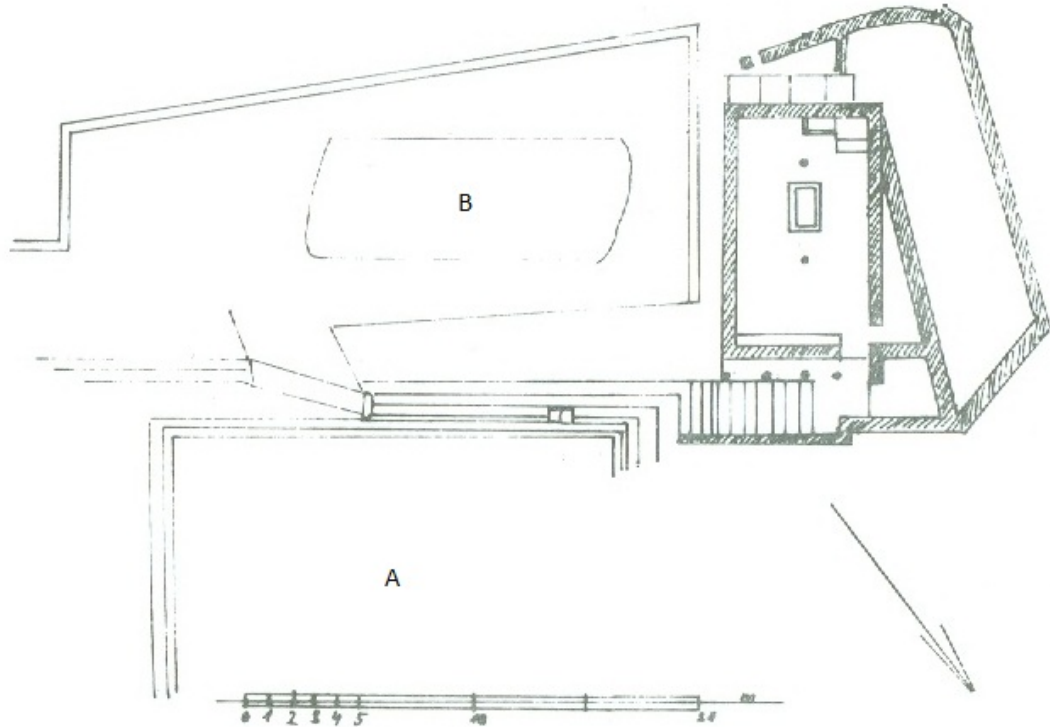


Plate 11. Plan of the Delphinion at Dréros, the agora (A), and the cistern (B)

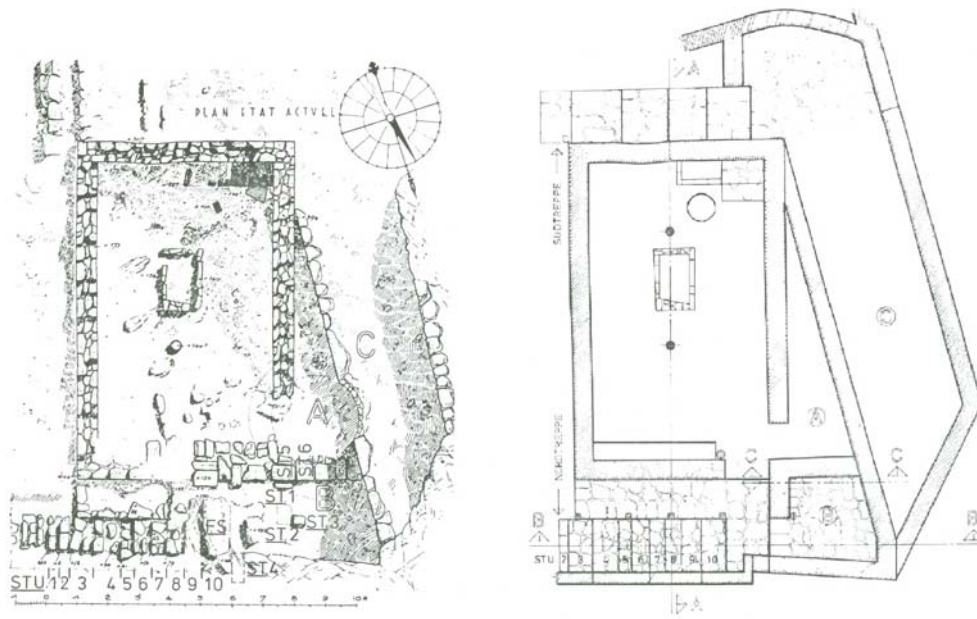


Plate 12. The Delphinion at Dreros, showing both original drawing (left) and the suggested reconstruction by Beyer (right)

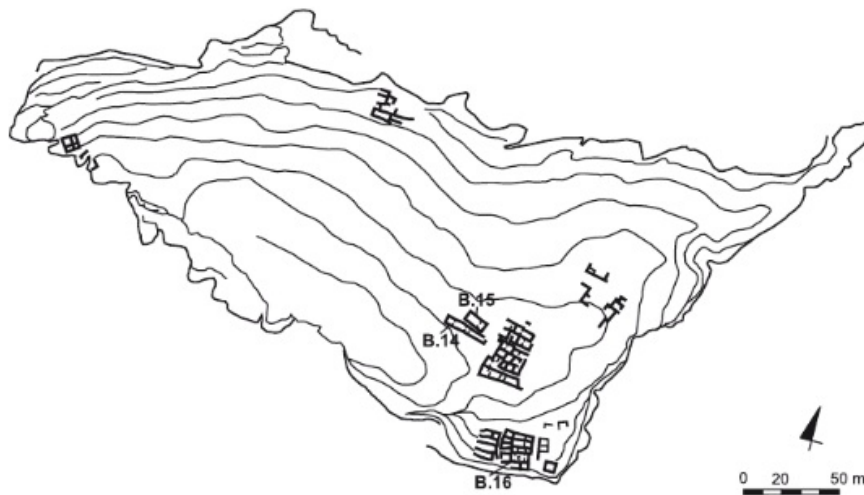


Plate 13. Map of the area around temple A (B.15) and temple B (B.14) at Prinias

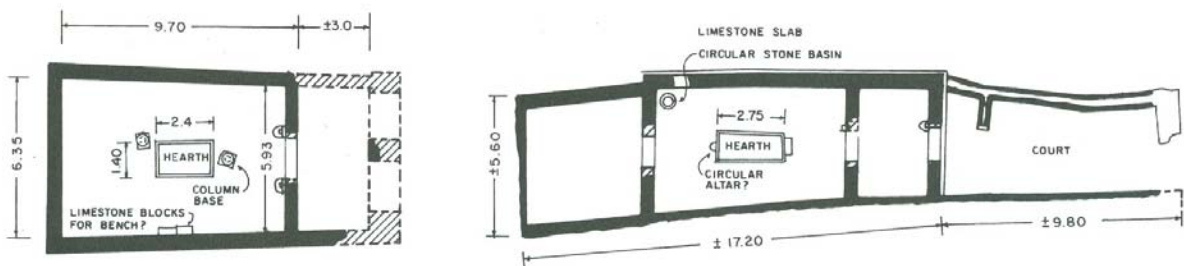


Plate 14. Temple A (left) and temple B (right) at Prinias

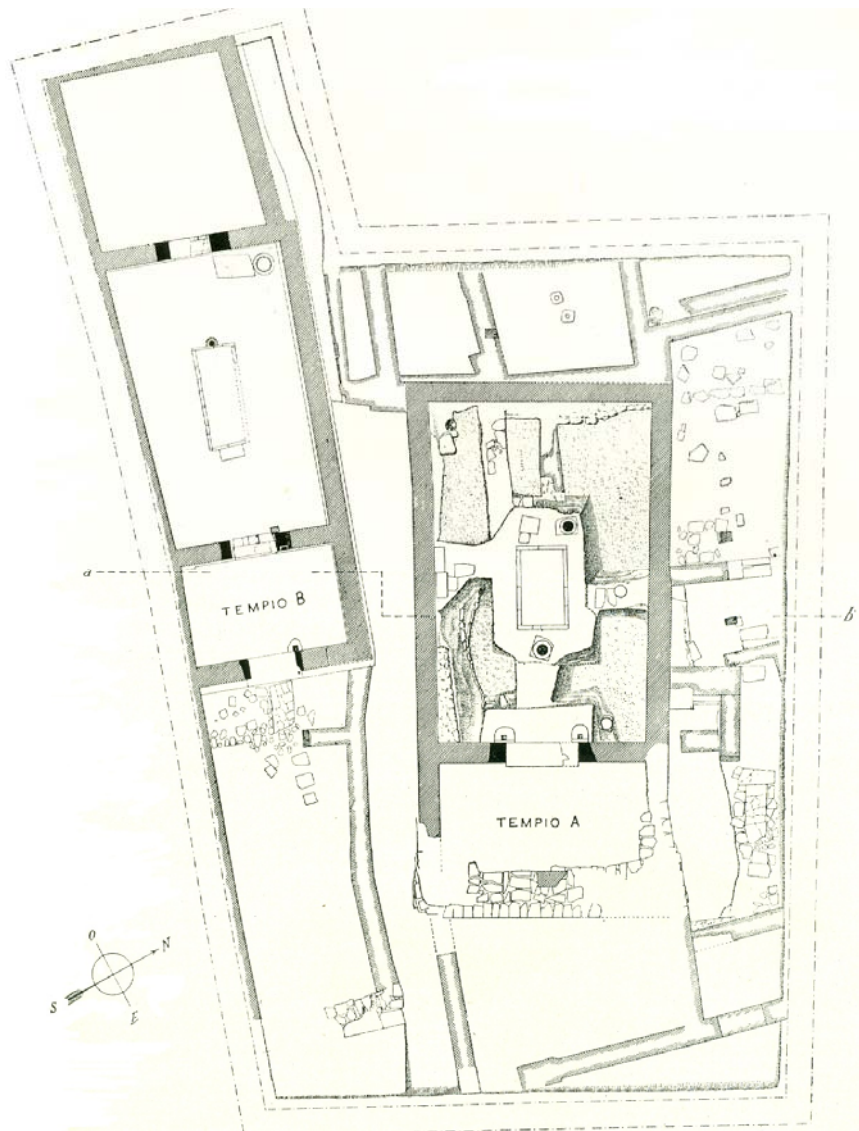


Plate 15. Plan of temple A and B at Prinias

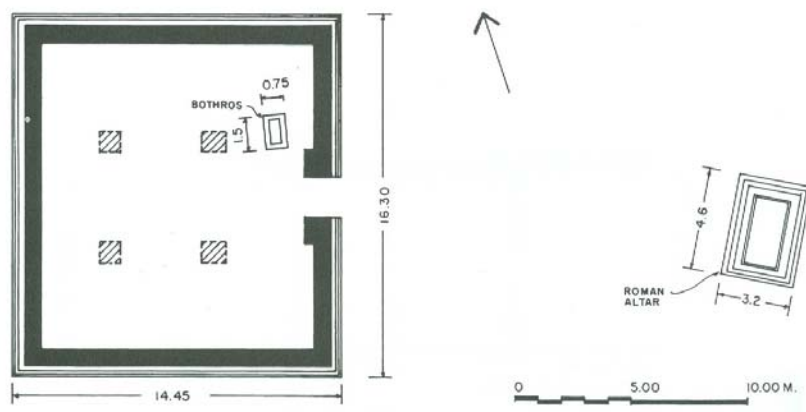


Plate 16. The Pytheion at Gortyn

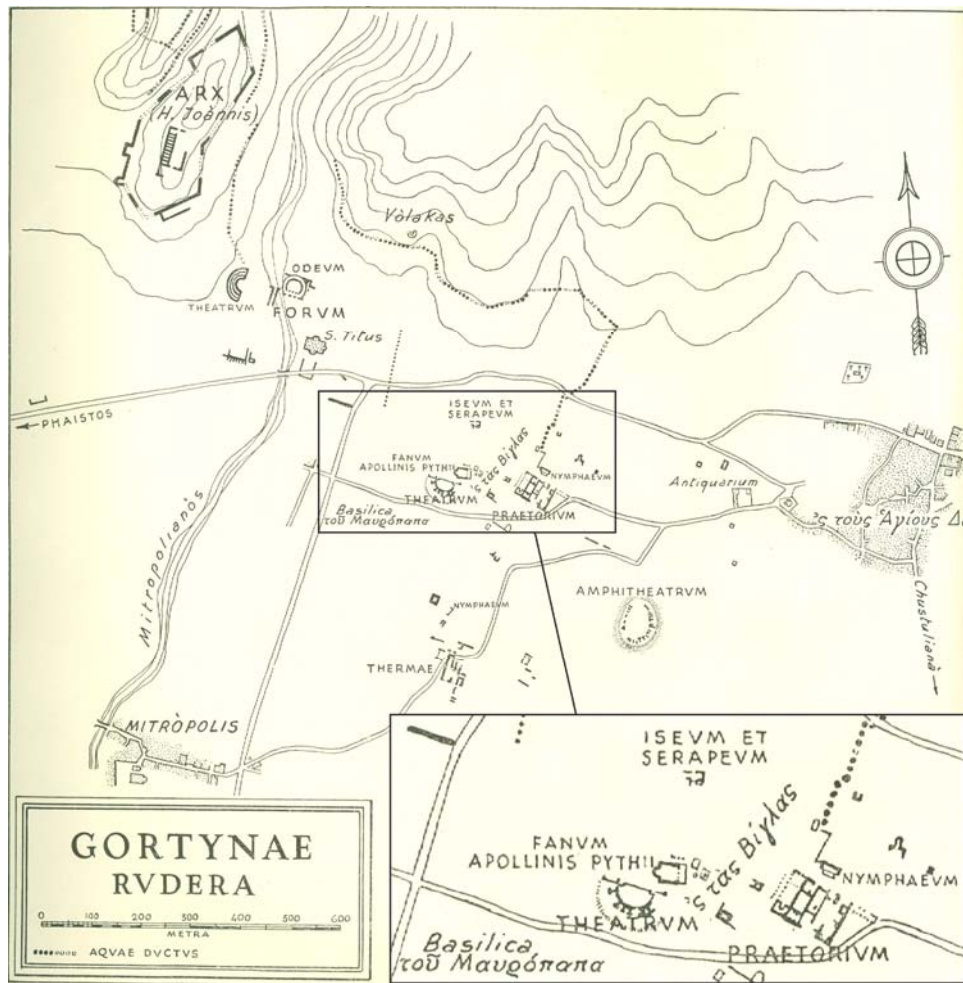


Plate 17. Plan of the city of Gortyn and the temple of Apollo ('FANVM Apollinis Pythii')

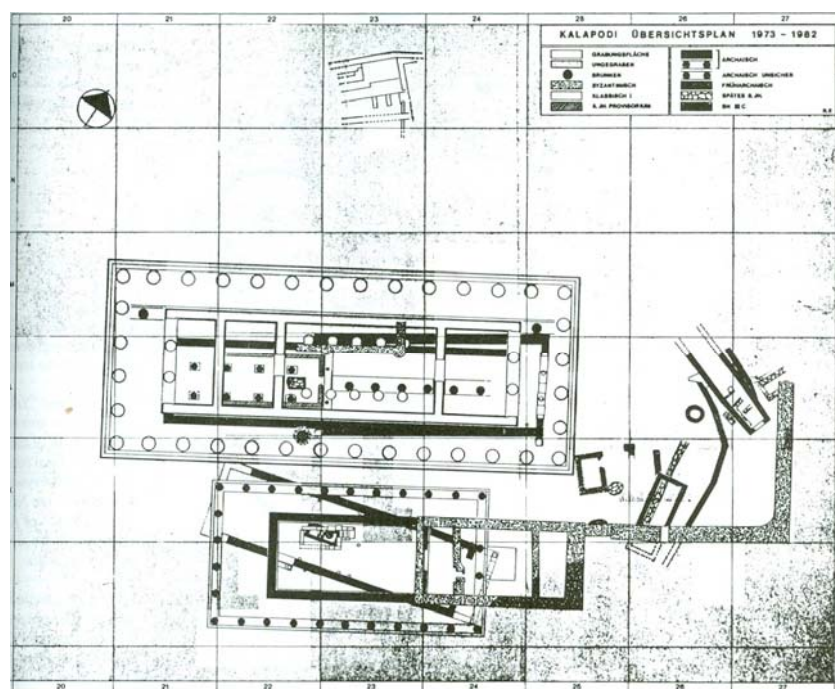


Plate 18. Plan of the sanctuary at Kalapodi. Temple A and B are partly visible underneath the later temples

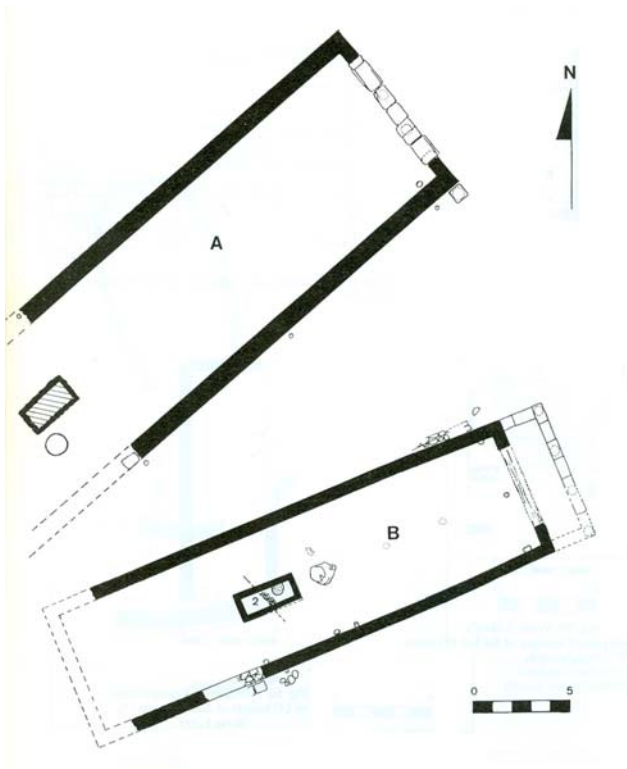


Plate 19. Temple A and B at Kalapodi

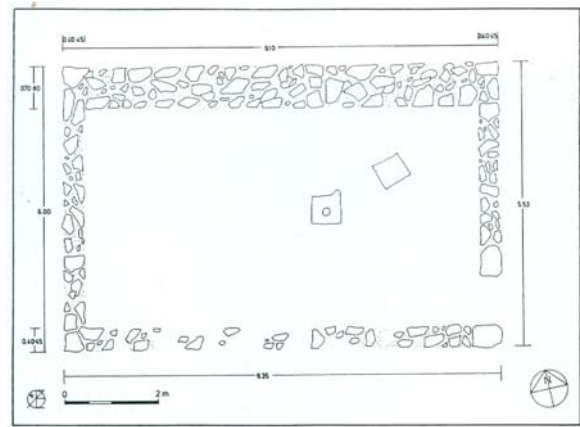


Plate 20. Plan of temple A at Pallantion

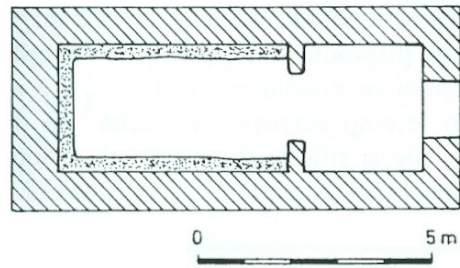


Plate 21. The temple of Apollo at Asine

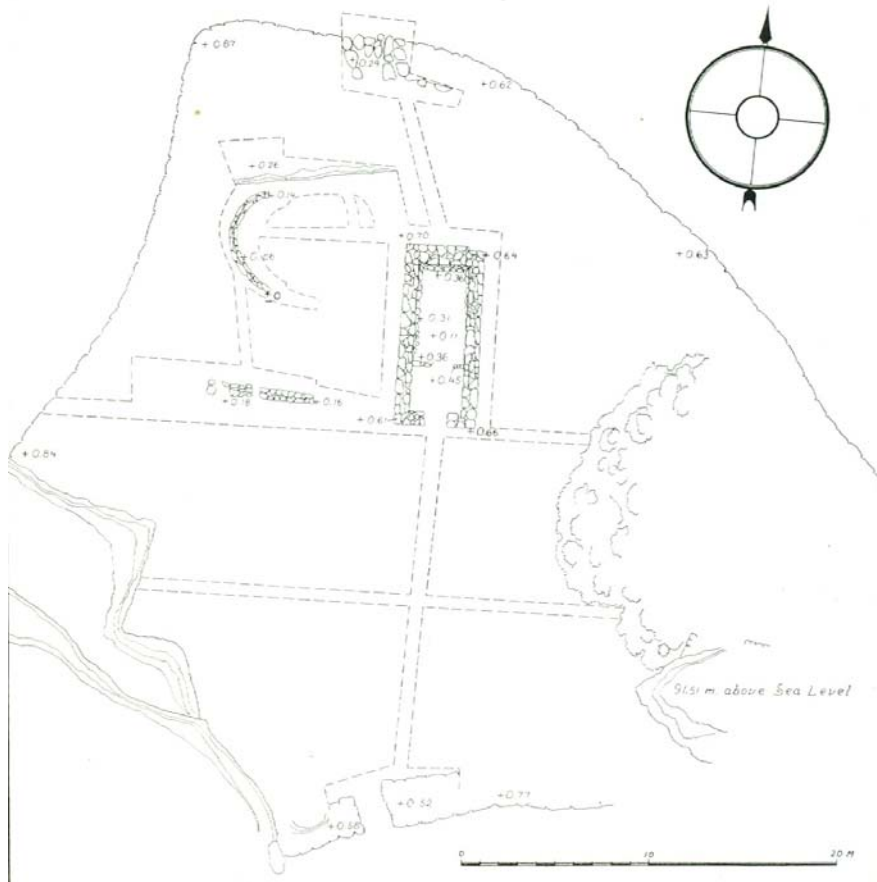


Plate 22. Map of the Barbouna hill at Asine

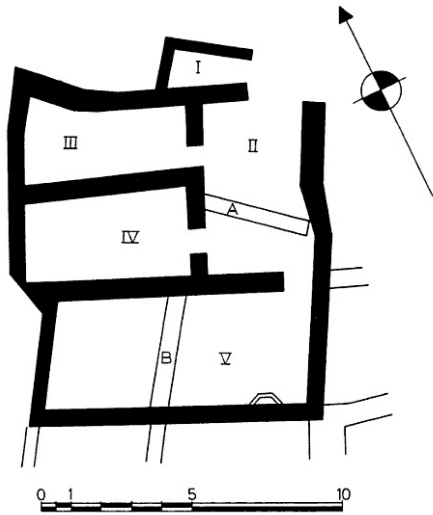


Plate 23. The mid-seventh century building at Dreros

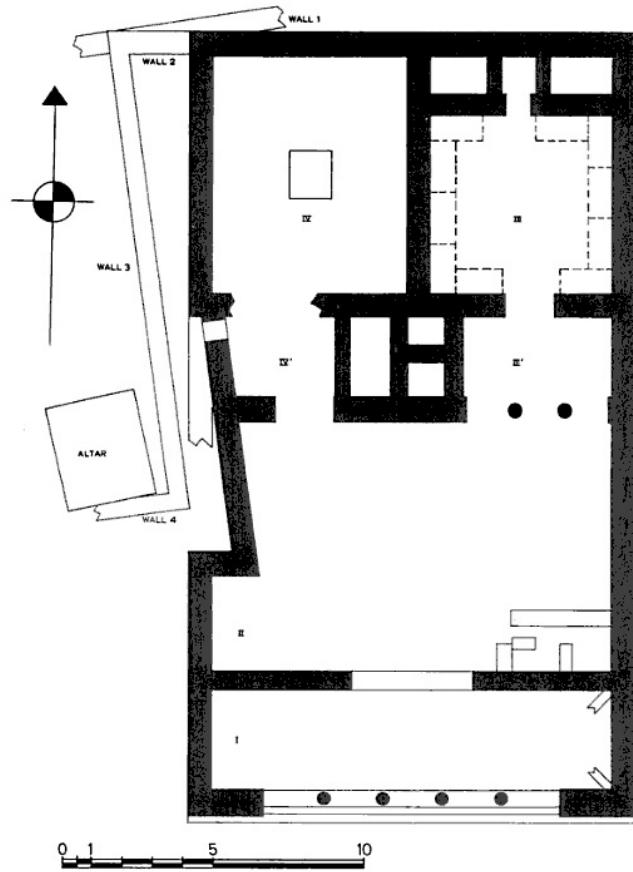


Plate 24. The Late Archaic *prytaneion* at Delos

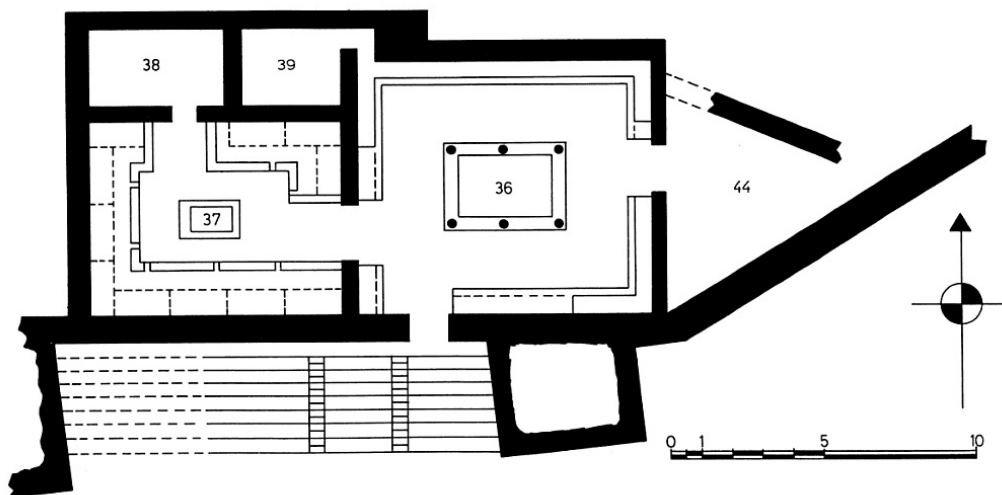


Plate 25. The Classical *prytaneion* at Lato

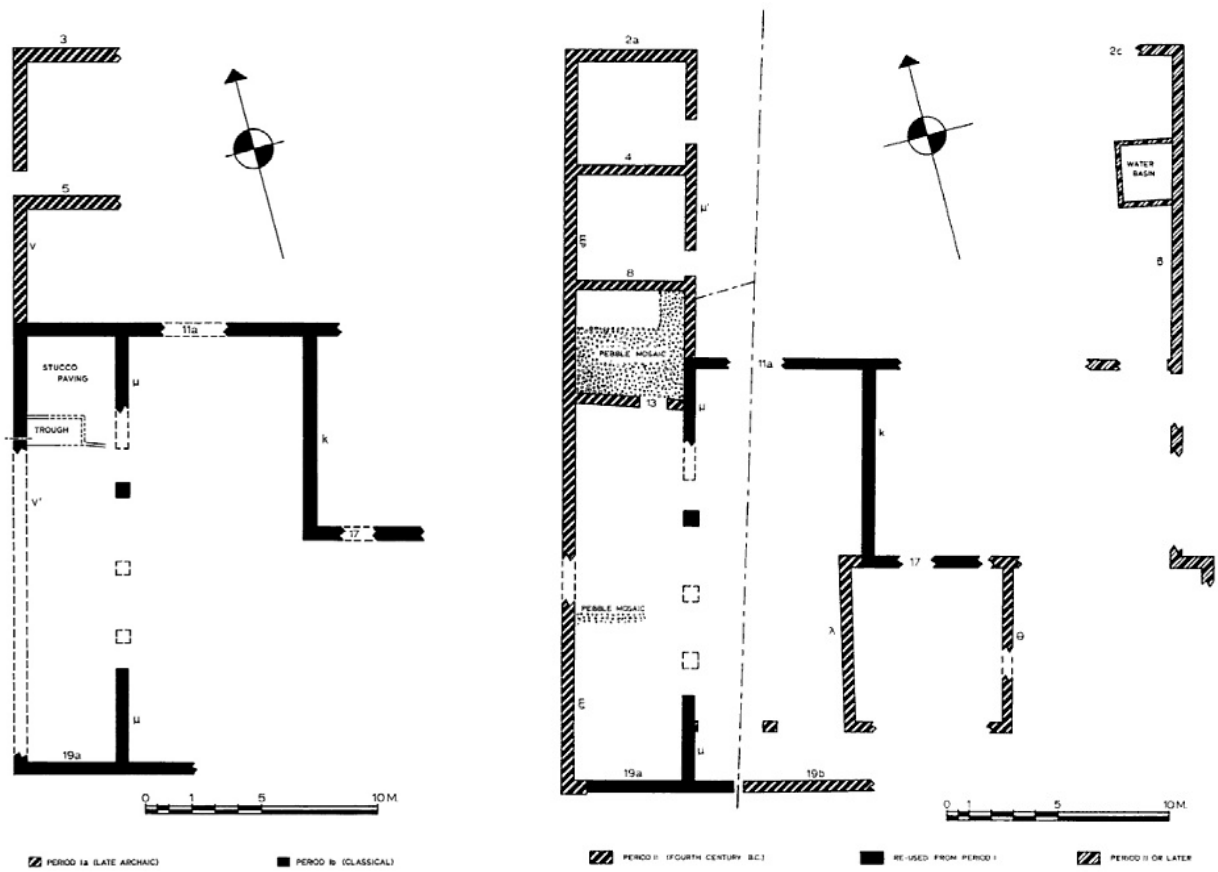


Plate 26. The remains of the Classical *prytaneion* at Olympia

Plate 27. The remains of the Hellenistic *prytaneion* at Olympia

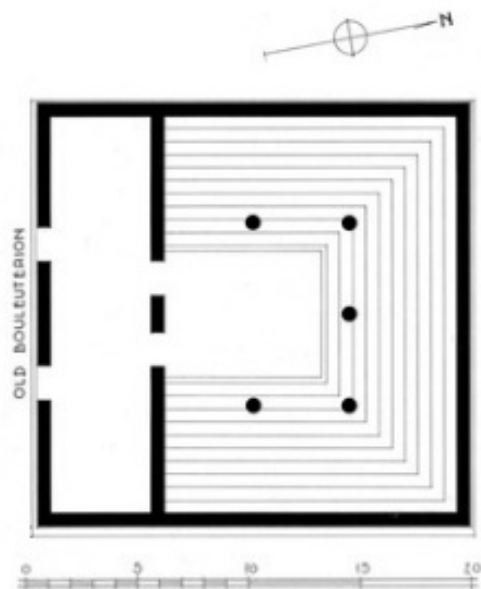


Plate 28. The Old Bouleuterion in Athens, 6th century BC

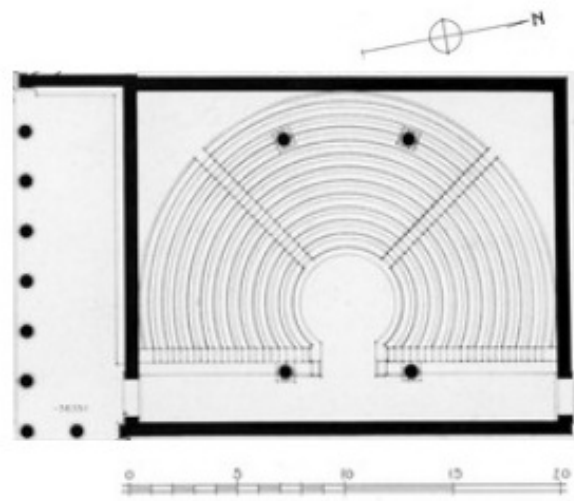


Plate 29. The New Bouleuterion in Athens, mid-5th century BC

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