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I. A. PAPAPOSTOLOU

EARLY THERMOS



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NEW EXCAVATIONS 1992-2003

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Eleftheria Kondylaki Kontou

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ATHENS 2012

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PREFACE

My interest in Thermos goes back to the time when I served as Ephor of Antiquities for Achaia and Aitoloakarnania (1976-1983). It was my obligation to deal with archaeological matters of that site, such as the arrangement of the agora. Thus, when, in 1983, at the request of the Archaeological Society in Athens, I undertook the continuation of the excavation of Thermos, which had been conducted by Rhomaios until 1932, I began with the agora.

Yet the burning archaeological questions of Thermos had mainly to do with the monuments and with the stratigraphical sequence below the horizon of the early archaic temples, in the context of the prehistoric settlement with Megaron A, the establishment of the first centuries after the disintegration of the Mycenaean world, Megaron B with its hypothetical colonnade and the ash altar. In archaeological circles, indeed, the prevailing idea was that those questions, which had already been raised again in the past by Drerup, Wesenberg, Schmaltz, Coulson, Mallwitz and others before them, should indeed be reexamined. Much time had passed, moreover, since the first revealing researches of the two succesive excavators, George Soteriades and K.A. Rhomaios (1897-1916).

My excavation of the sanctuary, which began in 1992, was not programmed to continue until 2003 (small supplementary researches were carried out in addition later). The work, however, proceeded slowly because of the detailed process of examining the stratigraphy and, no less, for financial reasons.

The present monograph, translated by Miriam Caskey, is a condensed, but in some places also revised and supplemented edition of the Greek publication entitled "Thermos. Megaron B and the Early Sanctuary (Library of the Archaeological Society in Athens no. 261, pp. 381, pls. 137, Athens 2008)[1]. As before, editorial supervision is by Eleftheria Kondylaki. The use of more recent bibliography has been only minimal for this edition.

It was considered necessary to publish this in English so as to make the excavation known also to archaeologists who do not read Greek, all the more so since

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1. Since the Greek edition has more photographic material, as well as more detailed stratigraphic informations, it should be consulted by the reader of the present study when needed.

many remained committed to the interpretation advanced by Rhomaios, which needed to be reconsidered. This had, indeed, been demonstrated by the new excavation.

The Archaeological Society at Athens included again this new presentation in its program of publications, promoted by the General Secretary, the Academician Vasileios Petrakos for whom the warmest thanks must be reserved. It is my hope, moreover, that writing and the publication of the excavation is a suitable expression of deep gratitude to the Archaeological Society for its concern and care for Thermos over the years.

The book could not have been published, however, without the generous grant from the Psycha Foundation. In connection with my request, I must mention with gratitude the advocacy of my colleague the late Yannis Sakellarakis, then president of the Foundation, and his successor as president, Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki.

Athens
December 2010

Acknowledgments

A full listing of those who took part and assisted in carrying out the excavation was included in the Greek publication. Here I shall mention only those colleagues who assisted in various ways with the study and the publication of the material: Nancy Bookidi, Katie Demakopoulou, Armelle Gardeisen, Alexander Gounaris, Gerhild Hübner, Kostas Kalogeropoulos, Nota Kourou, Angeliki Lebessi, Christos Matzanas, Poly Muhly, Maria Pateraki, Rosa Proskynetopoulou, Martin Schäfer, Giorgos Stamatis, Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Stathis Steiros, Diana Wardle, K.A. Wardle. I warmly thank them all.

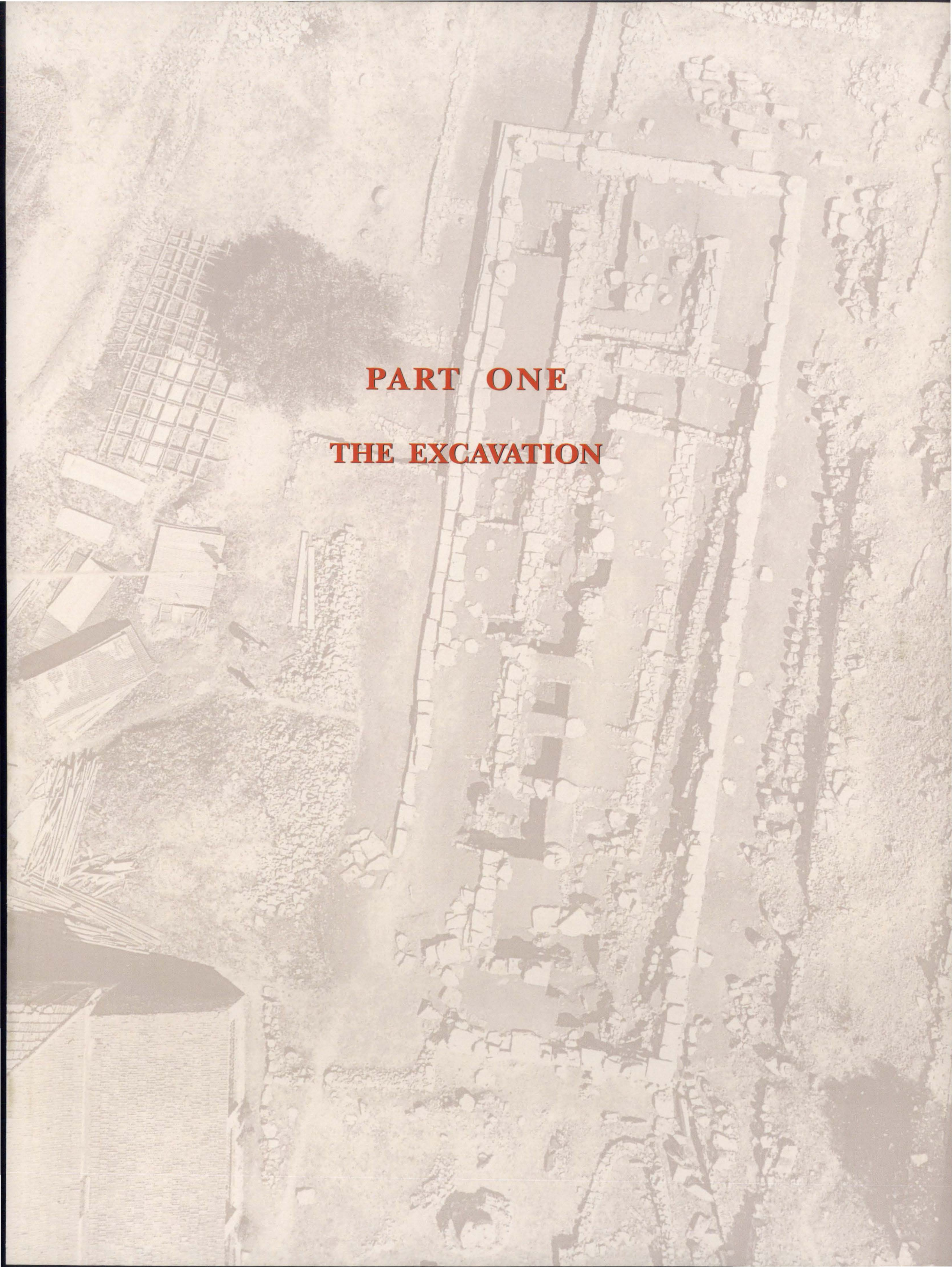
To Miriam Caskey who translated the text I am most gratefull for her devotion to the work. Special thanks are also due to Eleftheria Kondylaki for her editorial assistance and the artistic preparation of the book.



Constantinos Maleas, 1879-1928, Thermos, oil 0.415-0.47. Athens, National Gallery.



A view of part of the old excavation from the east.



PART ONE

THE EXCAVATION



Fig. 1. The plain of Thermos from the southeast. In the foreground the Megalakkos height and the sanctuary, in the background mount Panaitolikon and lake Trichonis.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the centre of Aetolia, northeast of lake Trichonis, the mountain Agrielia rises abruptly to a rocky conical peak. Beyond this stretches a wide fertile plain, rich in springs. This is τὸ τῶν Θερμίων πεδίον (Polyb. V 8, 4). The plain is surrounded on the south and west by low hills with gentle curves, while in the distance to the north are the craggy heights of the Panaitolikon range. To the east the plain is bounded by a large rocky height, the Megalakkos, at the foot of which lies Thermos[1] (fig. 1).

The fortification wall of the Hellenistic period, on the north, west and south, encloses an area of 340 × 220 m. The area includes on the east the long narrow zone of the temple of Apollo and the agora and, to the west, an ample space, bordered with a large stoa on the south, where there were installations for the assemblies and commercial activities held during the festivals and ceremonies of the period of the Sympoliteia[2] (pls 1-2).

Thermos is known in history as the religious and political centre of the Aetolian League. Yet there are few references in the ancient literature. The main source is the Achaean historian Polybius in the second century B.C., who recounted the destructive campaigns of Philip V of Macedonia against Thermos in 218 and 206 B.C. and in the course of his narrative provided valuable information about the site (Polyb. V 6,6; 7,2, 8,9; 8,1-9; 9,1-7; 13, 1, 4; 18,5; VII 13,3). In another reference (XI 7, 2) the same historian mentions more precisely εἰς τὸν

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1. I have adopted the masculine form Thermos, following the early excavators (Soteriades 1900, 163; Rhomaios 1932, 25), who in turn, followed the edition of Polybii Historiae by Th. Büttner-Wobst,1889-1905 Leipzig. For the chronological period eleventh to eighth centuries I regularly use the term "Early Iron Age" without avoiding the term "Dark Age" which is "motivated by the general perception of the time as a low point in the quality of art and life" (Coulson 1990, 7-11, and cf. Muhly 2011). Today this picture may not apply to many greek centres of the time, but for Thermos it is still convenient. Yet I rarely use the terms Protogeometric and Geometric period since the corresponding ceramic styles do not occur in Thermos, except for bronzes and undecorated sherds. I still use the term early Archaic period for the later part of the seventh century.

2. Soteriades 1900, 167-171; Papapostolou 1994.

Θέρμον ἔνθ' ἦν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Strabo X 3, 2 refers to the place in the plural, implying more settlements in the area (ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὅπου τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ποιεῖθαι πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν), whereas Stephanus Byzantius, v. Θέρμος, defines Θέρμος πολίχνιον Αἰτωλίας... .

During the nineteenth century, the location of the sanctuary of Thermos became a subject of investigation and debate. Bazin, the first scholar to describe the ruins in Thermos, and Leake, both located the sanctuary at Vlochos[3], whereas Brandstätter and Bursian located it where it actually is[4]. Lolling too, before excavation began, located Thermos in the same place and also recorded a manumission inscription, which mentioned κοιν]οῦ Αἰ[τωλῶν[5].

In 1897 the identification of the ruins of Thermos by Soteriades was confirmed by the discovery of the first epigraphic evidence[6]. Among the inscriptions was the bronze stele, inscribed on both sides with the pact between the Aetolians and the Acarnanians in the third century, in which the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermos is mentioned[7]. In the same year W. J. Woodhouse published his study, *Aetolia. Its Geography, Topography and Antiquities*[8], and F. Noack his first article on the subject of Aetolia[9].

The excavation that first revealed the ruins of Thermos was one of the earliest excavations of the Archaeological Society at Athens, carried out by Georgios Soteriades between 1897 and 1908[10] (figs 2,9). Soteriades discovered the large temple of Apollo, the earlier building beneath it that was later called Megaron B (fig. 17), the Bronze Age building known as Megaron A (figs 3,6a), and two smaller temples to the northwest and east of the temple of Apollo (figs 4-5).

The excavations were continued from 1911 on by K. A. Rhomaios and more buildings of the LH settlement were brought to light to the north and south of the temple(figs 6b, 10, 14). The second excavator also dug beneath the temple

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3. Leake 1835 I, 133-134, 151-152; Bazin 1864, 323-324, 328-333.

4. Brandstäter 1844, 132-133. He refers to a scholion to Polybius (cod. Vat. ad V 7,6) that identifies Thermos with the so-called Longos, as the "southeast spine of the range" was actually known in the nineteenth century; Bursian 1862, 136-138.

5. Lolling 1879, 221-222; 1889, 140.

6. Soteriades 1900, 164, n. 7. 170-171.

7. Soteriades 1905, 58, *IG* IX I^2 I, 3B.

8. Woodhouse 1897, on Thermos 252-286.

9. Noack 1897.

10. *Praktika* 1897, 18-21; 1898, 104-110; 1899, 57-66; 1901, 34-37; 1902, 49-51;1903, 41-42; 1906, 136-139; 1908, 95-98. Soteriades 1900; 1903; 1909; 1915. Kawerau-Sotiriadis 1902-1908, 1-8. See more photographs of the first excavation Papapostolou 2008, 9-32.



Fig. 2. The temple of Apollo during the first excavations from the southeast, 1898.



Fig. 3. Excavating Megaron A, from the north, 1898.



Fig. 4. The temple of Artemis? From the northwest, 1898.



Fig. 5. The temple of Lyseios from the south.



Fig. 6. a. Megaron A. b. The Late Helladic settlement after the excavation of Rhomaios from the east.



Fig. 7. The new excavations (1992-2003) beneath the temple of Apollo. In the background the LH settlement, 2008.



Fig. 8. Excavating beneath the temple of Apollo (1992-2003).

of Apollo and re-examined Megaron B[11] (fig. 10, pl. 10). In addition to the publications of Soteriades, there are letters that he sent to the Archaeological Society from the field, which I was able to use, whereas Rhomaios' archive has not survived and is believed to have been destroyed during World War II.

In Greek archaeology of the twentieth century, the name of Thermos is known for two main reasons. The first is the terracotta revetments and the painted plaques known as "metopes", rare examples of early Archaic painting (figs 43-44, p. 134). The second is the architecture of the buildings, which were seen at the time as representing stages in an evolutionary development from the apsidal building (Megaron A) of Middle Helladic tradition to the long, narrow

11. Rhomaios 1915; 1916; 1924-25. *Deltion* 4, 1918, Pararterna 32; 6, 1920-21, Pararterna 168. See also the reports by Karo 1913, 98-100; 1915, 192-196; Dörpfeld 1922, 43-45 and the articles by Fiehn 1934; Bookidis 1979. A recent review in Papapostolou 2008, 8-36.

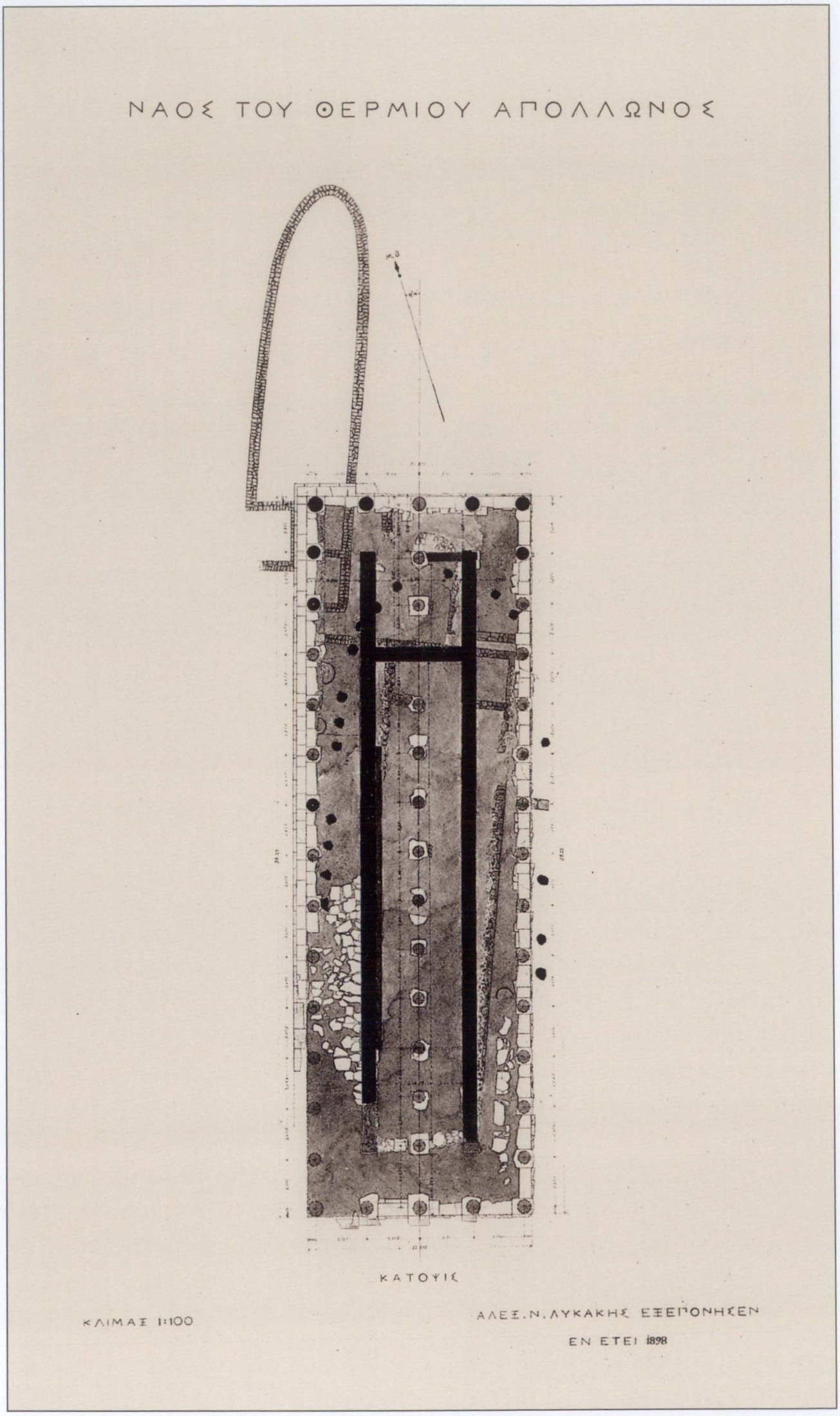

Fig. 9. Soteriades 1900.

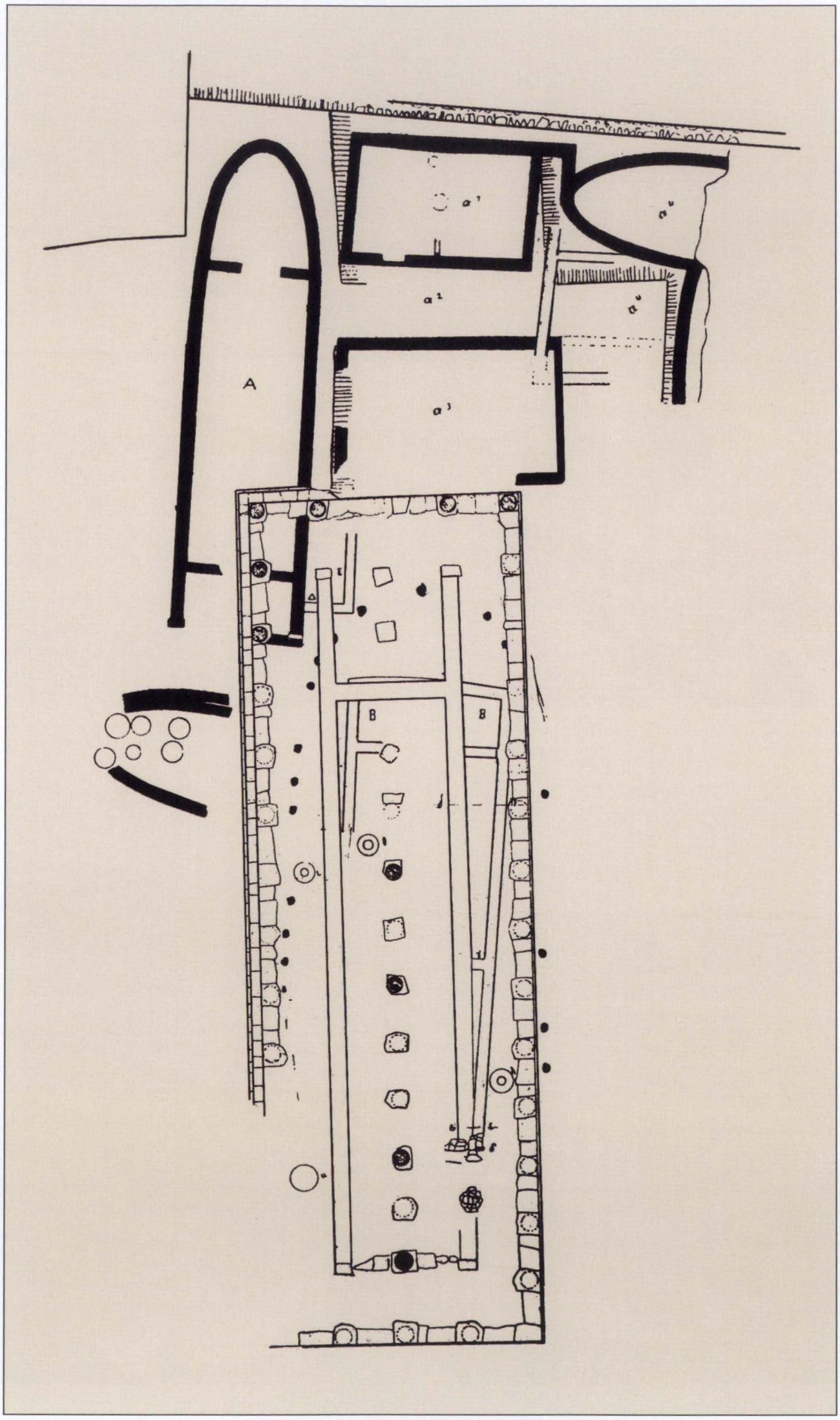

Fig. 10. Rhomaios 1915.

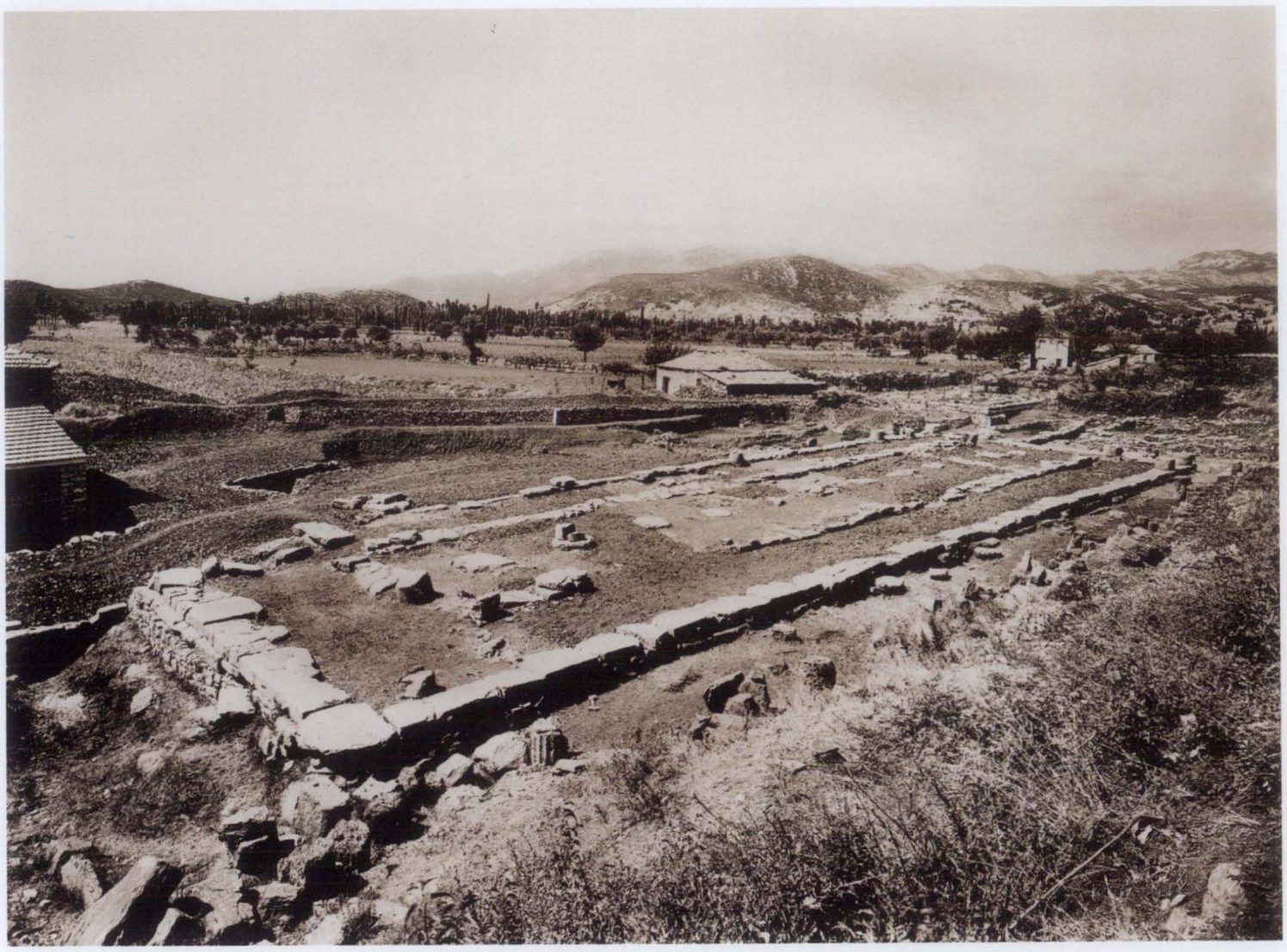



Fig. 11. The temple of Apollo: a. After the excavation of Rhomaios.
b. At the beginning of the new excavation.

rectangular building (Megaron B) of the Early Iron Age and eventually to the peripteral Doric temple *quasi in statu nascendi*. Megaron B was restored by Rhomaios with a slightly curving rear wall, and was thought to have had an elliptical colonnade at a later building phase. These features appeared to represent a memory of the elliptical plan of Megaron A and also to herald the colonnade of the Greek temple.

These associations were reinforced by the fact that it was in the same place, above Megaron B, that the first Archaic temple was built (fig. 11). The temple was thought to have been peripteral from the very beginning and to have had proportions similar to the earlier building and architectural members of early Doric style. The spread of this evolutionary theory can be ascribed in part to the assumption that a completely new architectural style, such as the Doric, ought to be the result of a gradual morphological evolution from traditional types such as those in the isolated area of Thermos where traditional features were thought to have been kept alive. Yet new methodological approaches place the emergence of a new style in the context of the historical breaks and structural changes that occurred especially in the developing poleis and the foreign influences that they absorbed. The theory of the typological development of the buildings was also connected with a model of functional development. The association of sacrificial remains with buildings led to the view that at Thermos one could follow the development of cult from a vaguely defined outdoor altar to the peripteral temple through an intermediate shrine-like building, which, according to Rhomaios, had originally been the chieftain's house.

The new excavation that began in 1992[12] (figs 7,8, pls 3-8) has not confirmed either the typological or the functional relationship of Megaron B with the early Archaic temple. The investigation of every early Greek site and especially of a sanctuary must take into consideration its individual features. This is precisely what the new stratigraphic investigation at Thermos has demonstrated. The historical development reconstructed shows unbroken continuity during the early periods, but at levels other than those explored by the earlier excavations. The early buildings of Thermos, albeit deprived of the typological associations as well as the function that had been ascribed to them, reflect, along with the other archaeological remains, the socio-political development of the site and also demonstrate ritual shifts different from those recorded by the first excavators. This evidence is of great significance for the understanding of the development of Aetolian ethnicity as well as for the evolution of the sanctuary into an inter-regional religious centre. This development we can follow, to the extent permitted by the archaeological finds, from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age and down to the end of the seventh century (plan p. 16, pl. 41).

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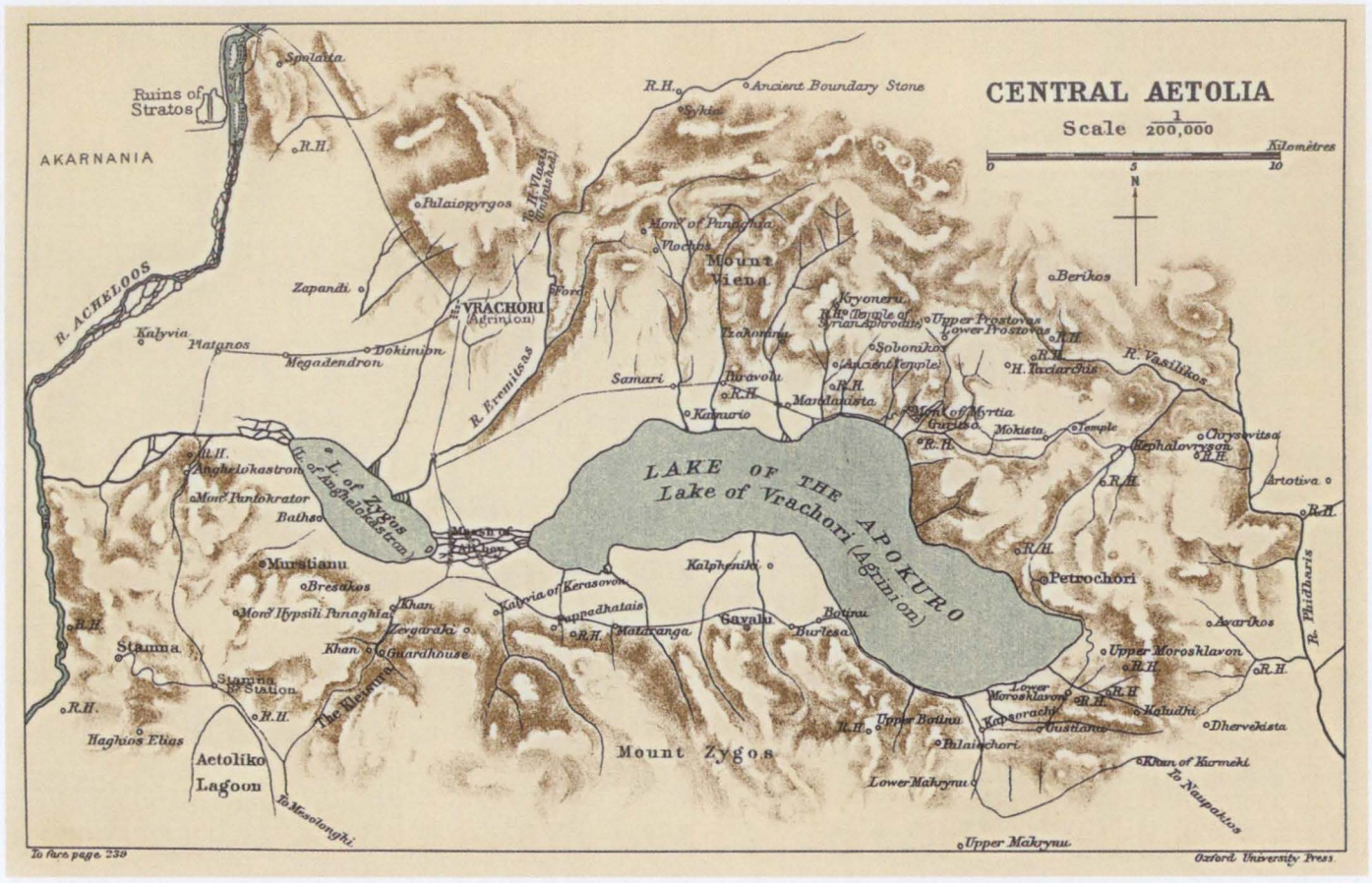
12. *Praktika* 1992; Papapostolou 2008, 23.



Map of Central Aetolia (Woodhouse 1897).

The Middle Helladic culture at Thermos is represented by significant remains and was a flourishing period, as is also the case elsewhere in Aetolia. In the Late Helladic period, Thermos appears to have had direct relations with the centres of the Mycenaean world, while in the Early Iron Age its connections were oriented more to the north and northwest.

The area of Thermos was naturally fortified by the surrounding mountains, but was not isolated. Pathways and passes led to mountainous Aetolia and Eurytania, but also to the shores of the lake and to the river basins of the Acheloos and the Euenos. Thermos, located at the crossing of the great roads of Aetolia and the neighbouring lands, as a permanent settlement, was already in the Bronze age a place of meeting and exchange for the Aetolians and even more for the pastoralists, who each spring moved their flocks to the heights and in the autumn brought them down into the plains and coastal areas. The existence of springs and probably also hot springs at the site and in the area would have also contributed to the development of Thermos[13]. In addition to these activities of daily life, Thermos, at the borderland between the mountain wilderness and the cultivated fields, held a symbolic position, which determined certain aspects of religion and ritual.

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13. The association of the toponym with hot springs was refuted by Rhomaios 1932, 36-37. See also Fiehn 1934, 2424-5.



The plain of Thermos and surrounding mountains from the southeast.



Lake "of the Apokuro" (Trichonis).



Plan of the new excavation beneath the temple.

2. THE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE FROM THE MIDDLE HELLADIC TO THE EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD

Soteriades had reconstructed a stratigraphic sequence of three stages, according to which a large ash altar, spread directly on the natural ground, was succeeded by a building (Megaron B) and another "contemporary" apsidal structure (Megaron A), both of which preceded the early archaic temple that was built on the same spot after the ground was levelled[14] (fig. 9). Rhomaios had already observed that Soteriades was under the influence of the theory (derived from the evidence of Olympia) of a large ash altar of Geometric times that preceded the temples[15]. Instead of the open-air ash altar, the second excavator of Thermos noted at the lowest level a stone pavement that he dated to the Bronze Age, on top of which Megaron B was built. This was confirmed in the new excavation. Rhomaios discerned with evident precision the levels of two horizons: of the "Mycenaean period" and of the Iron Age "known as Geometric", to which he attributed the so-called black layer in which the Geometric bronze objects were found. Even so, his reports and the other correlations of the different pieces of evidence with each other and with Megaron B do not agree with the results of the new excavation.

The row of slabs which were considered to have surrounded Megaron B in an oval row (figs 10,23), Rhomaios interpreted as bases of an elliptical colonnade that were added in a second phase when the floor of the building was raised[16]. Whereas Rhomaios never had any doubts about the colonnade of Megaron B, Soteriades wavered among various interpretations and finally disassociated the slabs from Megaron B[17]. Equally vicissitudinous was the interpretation of these slabs in the subsequent bibliography. The question of their date and function was one of the main incentives that led to the re-investigation of Megaron B and the controversial slabs.

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14. Soteriades 1900, 171-181, 188). Indeed he did not cleared up the chronological sequence between the great altar and the earlier buildings.

15. Rhomaios 1915, 227-232.

16. Rhomaios 1915, 249.

17. Kawerau, Sotiriadis 1902-1908; Soteriades 1903, 74 n. 1; 1902, 180; 1909, 7, 30-31. *Praktika* 1906, 137-138; 1908, 98.

The assessment and interpretation of the earlier excavation evidence and the effort to place Megaron B within a postulated development of architectural plans resulted in different views and often enough led to an impasse, especially since the published descriptions of the excavations are few and incomplete as they were not accompanied by an adequate number of photographs and plans. After the excavation of the temple of Apollo and the "earlier pre-existing temple" (i.e. Megaron B) by Soteriades and the excavations repeated by Rhomaios, the excavated areas had been filled in and the only ruins visible were those of the temple of Apollo Thermios (fig. 11). The only way to check the evidence was to excavate again. The conditions under which the third campaign of excavation was carried out were unprecedented and difficult.

Yearly reports of these excavations were published immediately in the *Ergon* of the Archaeological Society and then in the *Praktika*. The preliminary reports in the *Ergon* are in fact frequently incomplete and must be considered as provisional since the excavation continues. Many observations were supplemented or changed during the following season, such as those reported in the *Ergon* 1994, which were altered or supplemented in the *Ergon* 1995.

The present excavation (fig. 7,8, plan p. 16, pls 3-8,41-42), the third at the same site, was designed from the beginning to re-examine Megaron B, the well-known and much discussed building that was buried just below the temple of Apollo. It also expanded to the investigation of the earlier and later phases of the site. The published photographs were few and inadequate. Apart from the letters that were sent from Thermos by Soteriades during his excavations, the archive of the Archaeological Society held no notebooks, drawings or photographs. The plan published by Soteriades in the *Ephemeris* 1900 include the only authentic, albeit inadequate, plan of that building and the temple of Apollo immediately after their discovery[18] (fig. 9). Later on, it was re-drawn schematically by Rhomaios, who amended the line of the north wall giving it a slight curve[19] (fig. 10). On the basis of these drawings and the subsequent observations of Rhomaios, Drerup composed a plan of Megaron B showing all the walls as slightly curved except for the interior cross walls, which were rectilinear[20] (fig. 12). The same plan shows the flat stones, which were interpreted by Rhomaios as bases "of an elliptical peristyle." The image of the building that prevailed before the new excavation was based on this plan. Practically all the references in the first chapter of handbooks of ancient Greek architecture use this basic plan that was derived from Rhomaios' publication[21].

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18. Soteriades 1900, inserted plate p. 175.

19. Rhomaios 1915, 231, fig. 2.

20. Drerup 1963, 3, fig. 3; 1964, 187-190; Wesenberg 1982, 153, fig. 4.

21. Weickert 1929, 7; Robertson 1929, 51-53, 322; Dinsmoor 1950, 42, 47-48; Lawrence 1962, 93-94; Drerup 1969, 14-17; de Franciscis 1973, 45-48; Knell 1980, 20-21;

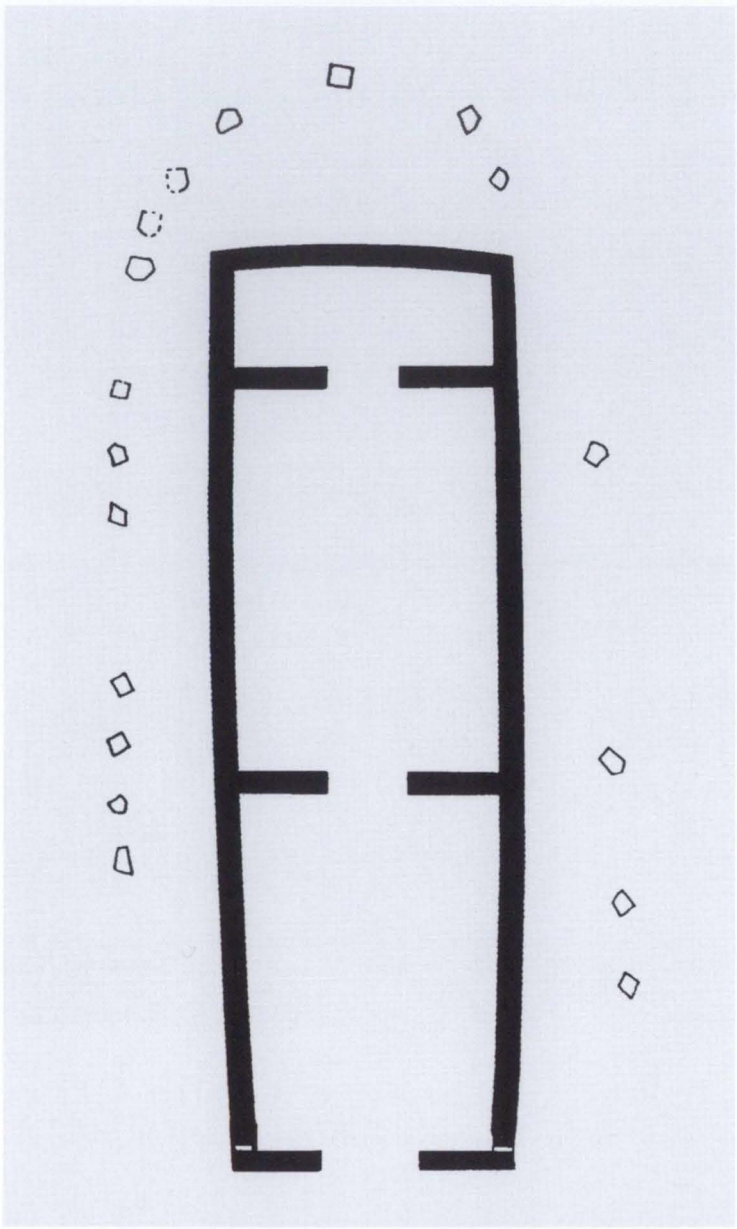

Fig. 12. Plan of the Megaron B with the "bases", Drerup 1963.

The removal of the backfill and of the retaining walls built by the first excavator made possible the excavation of more than 40 sections through the stratigraphy of the site. This stratigraphic investigation carried out in the centre of the sanctuary, beneath the temple of Apollo, shed light on many aspects of prehistoric and 'proto-historic' Thermos. Detailed descriptions and drawings of the sections were published annually in the *Praktika* of the Archaeological Society. A briefer presentation is given in the full account published in Greek by the Archaeological Society[22]. Not every section showed the same stratigraphic sequence, since not all episodes of deposition are represented throughout the site. In general, however, the entire sequence from the Middle Helladic period to the Early Iron Age is clear and can be easily reconstructed.

Fagerström 1988, 41-42. Gruben 1996, 392; 2001, 33; See also Hellmann 2006, 45-46, who does refer to the evidence from the new excavation of Megaron B.

22. Papapostolou 2008, 37-52. In the present edition only the most useful sections have been included.



Fig. 13a. Trench 24: 1. east wall of Megaron A. 2. south wall. 3. a hollow of a subterranean hut.

The units/groups of sherds, labelled in numeric sequence and according to the year of excavation, are correlated to the stratigraphic levels in the sections, which have the same numbers as the trenches referred to here (pls 11-28).

The Middle Helladic horizon

Because of technical problems bedrock was reached only in a few places in the lower levels beneath the temple. Soteriades had indeed, exposed a larger part of the bedrock in his excavation of the entire area beneath the temple without moving its walls or column bases. Subsequently, however, he removed these remains except for the walls of Megaron B and a few others. The finds from the lowest level were neither described nor recorded (fig. 9).

Soteriades and, later, Rhomaios, excavated deeper in a very limited area within Megaron A. Soteriades reported finding three pits containing cremations beneath the level of use of the building[23] (fig. 3); Rhomaios, refuting that identification, recorded a hollow in the bedrock in which the walls of the building were

23. Soteriades 1900, 180-181.



Fig. 13b. Remains of a construction beneath Megaron A.

founded. The pit with a shallower entryway he attributed to a partly subterranean hut, earlier than Megaron A[24] (pl. 37a). In trench 24 that was excavated in the forecourt of Megaron A[25] part of a similar hollow was exposed below the antechamber of the building (fig. 13a, pl. 27). It was full of brownish-red soil, pebbles and burnt clay; neither sherds nor bones were found.

Other trial trenches in the same building revealed no similar pits or burials. In one trench only, at right angles to about the middle of the west wall of the building, remains of a built construction (wall?) came to light, over which runs the wall of Megaron A (fig. 13b, pl. 36). Two courses of stone are evident. Collected from the soil on the surface, which contained mixed pottery, was unit 3/07. Removal of the stones of the top course yielded sherds including a kantharos handle of orange clay, covered with a light grey wash, that can be dated in the

24. Rhomaios 1915, 235-237, fig. 6. See recently Giannouli 2006, 32 on such cavities for huts of the Neolithic period. It is of interest that Soteriades (letter dated 9 July 1908) reported finding burned lumps of clay with the imprints of reeds, which are ordinarily identified as remains of wattle and daub huts.

25. *Praktika* 1997, 145 f.

(early?) sixteenth century (unit 4/07), and also a sherd of grey Minyan pottery (unit 5/07). These are the remains of a construction earlier than Megaron A and dated in the sixteenth century.

Another hut of wattle and daub was found near the apsidal house β to the south[26]. Sherds of pre-Mycenaean date were found also in the location of the north (rear) room of Megaron B in the lowest level of trenches 3 and 4 (pls 11,14,15) (unit 14, π12, π14/92, 41/92).

The Late Helladic period

The LH settlement was brought to light in the old excavations (figs 6,7,10,14, pls 3,10). The new excavation has provided more detailed stratigraphic distinctions and more precise associations of the pottery to the levels and to the building remains of different phases[27]. Rhomaios did, indeed, discern two building phases of the Bronze Age constructions. On the basis of the relation of the buildings to certain terrace walls, he suggested that Megaron A, the oval buildings α4, α5, α6, β and the apsidal house with the pithoi to the west, were earlier than the rectangular houses α1 and α3[28]. According to Rhomaios, the existence of a long wall to the north of the settlement, to be presumably identified with an enclosure (fig. 14), meant that, whatever the chronological sequence of the buildings may have been, there was a time when all were standing and in use contemporaneously.

Beyond the general recognition of two building phases, the earlier investigation did not provide more precise dates for the construction and the final destruction of the buildings and their associations with the pottery. It is now evident that the discovery of MH matt-painted and bichrome decorated pottery[29], signals the beginning of the apsidal and oval buildings, whereas sherds from beneath Megaron A (unit 4, 5/07) suggest a date in the sixteenth century. Both Megaron A and its contemporaries (α1, α5, α6, β), the apsidal structure with the pithoi to the west, as well as the later (in all probability Late Helladic III) constructions α1, α3[30], repaired continued to be used until the end of the Late Helladic period, since the stone socles of their walls remained undamaged.

Recently, Pascal Darcque suggested that there would also have been «Protogeometric» floors in these buildings, which the excavators did not notice[31]. Yet Rhomaios, who was the first to excavate these buildings apart from Megaron A,

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26. Rhomaios 1915, 255.

27. Papapostolou 2003, 137.

28. Rhomaios 1915, 237.

29. Wardle, Wardle 2003, 149; Dietz 2007, 85, 89.

30. Cf. Mylonas-Shear 1969, 404-405.

31. Darcque 2005, 345. It is clear that Darcque was not aware of the evidence from the new excavation and based his arguments on the old excavations and on more recent hypotheses that also date prior to the new excavation.



Fig. 14. Part of the LH settlement from west: 1. Megaron A, 2. house α1, 3. enclosure wall.

would have certainly noticed the stratigraphic sequence (as he had done in the case of Megaron B) as well as the pottery that could have been dated in the Early Iron Age, as he had done with the Bronze Age sherds. The recently excavated trenches beneath the present level of Megaron A yielded no Early Iron Age pottery. Only the cup 639 (pl. 64a), of the Early Iron Age, was considered by Rhomaios "very likely" to have come from within Megaron A[32]. In any case these buildings were not standing during the first millennium, as is shown by the existence, over their ruins, of structures of the time of Megaron B.

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32. Rhomaios 1915, 264, fig. 31 upper left. Papapostolou 1990, 197; Wardle, Wardle 2003, 151, fig. 4 (4); Papapostolou 2008, 58, fig. 28. Soteriades 1900, 181, n. 1 perhaps refers to this vase when he mentions that in the graves he thought he had found in Megaron A, there was also "a kyathos of Geometric style"; a sherd from building α4 is also from a similar vase (Wardle 1977, 16, 4). See also below p. 69.



Fig. 15. LH wall Θ from the west.

The information from the old excavation and the new stratigraphic evidence indicate that the settlement at Thermos suffered a destruction during the LH IIA period, after which the houses were repaired and used again. The new excavation has also shown that there was another destruction at the end of the LH IIIB period that can also be inferred from Rhomaios' observations[33]. The final destruction of the settlement at the end of the LH IIIC period can be documented in very few places: clear evidence was found beneath the southwest corner of Megaron B (trench 29, figs 15, 16a-b) sherds in units 177, 179/03, π101/03, π102/03, π103/03), and in a narrow strip between the west wall of the cella and the west wall of Megaron B (trench 1 pls 11,12a) that had not been touched in the earlier excavation. In the latter area part of a stone pavement and remains of a clay hearth were found (pl. 38b, 5-6), as well as a destruction layer over the

33. Rhomaios 1916, 184, fig. 7; Wardle 1977, 166 n. 59; *Praktika* 1992, 95 f; Papapostolou 2003, 137-138.

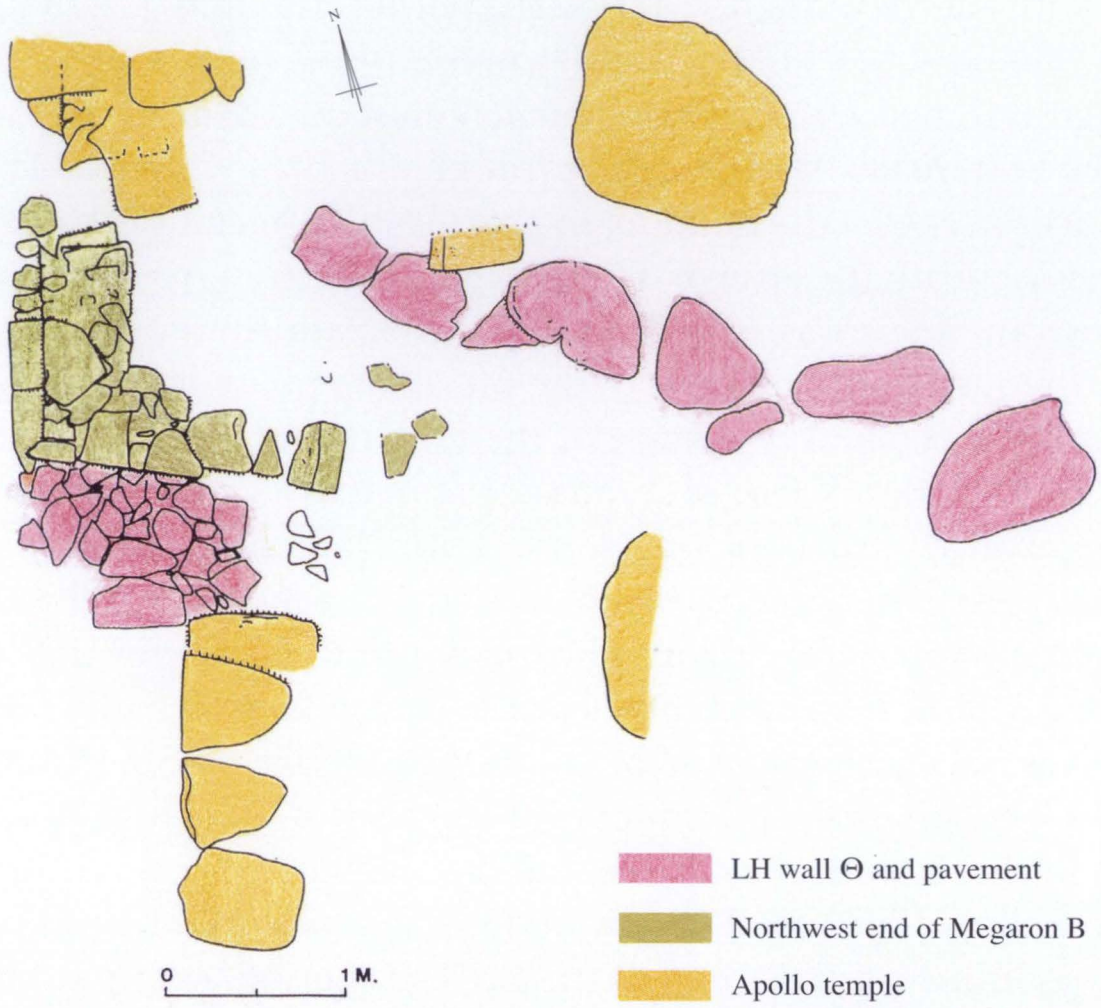



Fig. 16. a. Plan of the southwest end of Megaron B: 1. Wall Θ, 2. corner of Megaron B. b. Stratigraphic section 29 at the southwest end of Megaron B: 1. end of the south wall, 2. exterior pavement, 3. burnt level, 4. level of use of wall Θ, 5. modern wall, 6. construction level of wall Θ.

pavement with sherds of the LH IIIB-IIIC periods (in units 1, 2, 3 π21, π22, 5, 11, 17/92). The west wall of Megaron B ran over these remains in part. This evidence suggests a mixture of two destruction episodes. Beneath the west wall of Megaron B, in trenches 1γ, 1γα, 1δ, 1ε (pls 11, 13a,b), it was possible to identify the construction level of the building in part over the remains of a destruction[34]. Immediately beneath the level of use of Megaron B (strat. trench 1γ) a one-handled kyathos (π74/96) was found (pl. 69a). Beneath the northwest corner of Megaron B, stones from buildings of the preceding phase had accumulated.

Late Helladic remains, evidence of the settlement beneath the temple, are few[35] (pls 38-40, 31d-d΄). Part of a wall (I), was noted, across which runs the west wall of Megaron B; it may belong to the Late Helladic apsidal building with pithoi, to the west[36]. Another, partly preserved and almost parallel wall (II) is the wall marked on Soteriades' plan as belonging to the dividing wall of the rear room of Megaron B. It is, however, clearly earlier, a Late Helladic remnant. Another survivor is a curving section of wall Θ (figs 15-16a, pls 39,40,63b), made of large stones, beneath the southern part of Megaron B, close to its southwest corner[37]. It is probably part of a terrace wall that was also uncovered in the neighbouring trenches (1δ, 25,26,27), (pls 11,13b). As evidenced by the pottery, this structure was in use until the end of the LH IIIC period, i.e. up to the building of Megaron B (eleventh century).

During the Late Helladic period, in the area of the temple there was an extensive stone pavement, part of which was revealed in the new excavation. It had already been noted by Rhomaios, who marked it in his sections ε-ε and ζ-η. The new measurements showed that the slabs of the pavement were at various depths, ranging from 1.30 m. in the northern part to 1.80 m. at the south end, because of the natural gradient but also as a result of subsidence. Slabs from this pavement were preserved sporadically along the length of the east wall of Megaron B, both inside and outside the wall (pls 43a,b); there were larger parts of the pavement at the two south corners of the building, which are founded directly on top of it (pl. 44a,b). Slabs were also found in trench 18β, beneath the seventh base of the interior colonnade of the temple (pls 24,45a,50a), and in trench 19 just outside the west wall of Megaron B[38] (pl. 25).

From the southeast corner of Megaron B, a paved pathway led to a higher level of the slope to the east (pls 7a,46,50b). It is laid on a layer composed of packed earth with rough stones and rubble. There may have been steps at intervals; one is clearly visible. From the fill beneath the paved pathway came LH sherds (unit 36/96), one of which is clearly of the LH IIIC period.

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34. *Praktika* 1996, 183-186, 188.
35. *Praktika* 1992, 97 f.
36. Soteriades 1900, 177, fig. 3.
37. *Praktika* 2003, 54 f.
38. *Praktika* 1993, 79-80; 1996, 190 f.

To the Late Helladic period probably belong some of the pithoi that Rhomaios noted next to the walls of Megaron B (θ, ι, κ, λ) (fig. 10, pl. 31d-d΄)[39]. Of these, pithos θ is preserved in situ today at a distance of 5.50 m. from the northwest corner of Megaron B (pls 7b, 38a, 47a, 59). According to Rhomaios it contained ashes. Its lid, a stone slab, is still preserved. The pithos appears to have continued in use during the time of Megaron B and even later[40].

The Early Iron Age

Megaron B

After the final destruction of the buildings of Late Helladic times, which according to the ceramic evidence can be now securely dated at the latest to the middle of the eleventh century (see also p. 68, n. 137), Megaron B and other buildings were constructed (fig. 17, pls 39-41). For the construction of Megaron B, the ground was levelled with fill that contained earlier remains. As noted above, there are several places where the destruction debris was still in situ beneath the level of use of Megaron B (e.g. pls 38b,c,56b,12a,14a). The north (rear) room was built in part over stones of Late Helladic buildings. The brownish-red soil that was spread on this fill constituted the construction level as well as the first level of use of the room and included the sporadic use of flat stones (trenches 3, 4)[41] (pls 14b,15,30a-a΄,63a).

Destruction debris also underlay the level of use in the main room of the building (trench 2 and 18) (pls 11,14a,24,45a), where narrow strips of the floor had escaped the earlier excavators and survived in place. In the trenches excavated beneath the east wall of the cella of the temple of Apollo, (5, 5α, 14, pls 11,16-19,23a) the floor of the Megaron was again uncovered. Three matt-painted pieces of the Early Iron Age (unit 6/94) (pl. 71a) and a dart (M44) came from the soil that filled in the gaps of the earlier paving (pl. 43b). Similar sherds were also recovered in the old excavation and from the same context.

Trench 7 (pls 21,34c-c΄) confirmed the same stratigraphic sequence under the southeast corner of the building, which was constructed directly above the Bronze Age pavement (pl. 44a,61b). Outside the southwest corner, which is in better condition, the pavement is preserved at a lower level because of subsidence (pls 44b,61a). It is below this corner (fig. 16) that sherds of late LH IIIC late were found (units 179, π101,102,103/03). Together with the sherds of unit 179/03 there was a bone pin with moulded finial (fig. 18), a rare type that occurs in Elis,

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39. Rhomaios 1915, 231 (fig. 2) 251; Soteriades 1909, 8 also refers to the same pithoi.

40. *Praktika* 1995, 99 pl. 44, 46, fig. 4.

41. Cf. the floor incorporating occasional slabs in house α3 of the LH period at Thermos (Rhomaios 1915, 240), a feature frequently found in LH floors at Thermos.



Fig. 17. The southeast part of the temple: 1. east stylobate, 2. the east wall of Megaron B, 1898.

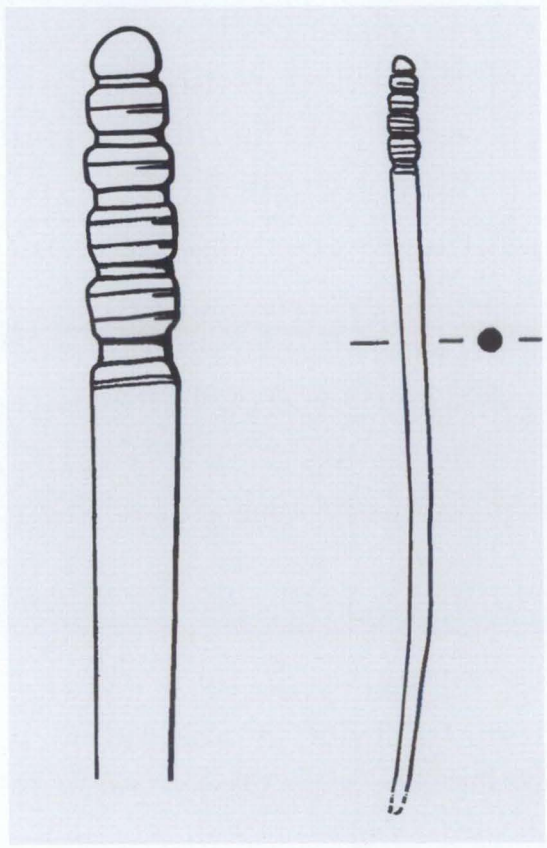

Fig. 18. Bone pin of submycenaean type found under the southeast corner of Megaron B (unit 179/03).

Messenia and Cephallonia and is considered Submycenaean. It is this pin that was used by Birgitta Eder as evidence for dating some of the associated pottery in the Submycenaean phase[42]. This is also secure evidence for the construction date of Megaron B.

The stratigraphic sequence below the walls of the cella of the Apollo temple, as elucidated in the recent excavations, shows that Megaron B was built after the end of LH IIIC, in the early years of the Dark Ages, during the eleventh century. That not much time elapsed from the catastrophe at the end of LH IIIC to the construction of Megaron B and the beginning of the new era, is evident from the fact that in the entire area there was no accumulation over the destruction level. Megaron B was built directly above the ruins after some necessary arrangements were made. These use levels are clearly of Early Iron Age date.

'Built sacrificial bothros'

South of the southeast corner of Megaron B, at a distance of 1.50 m., is the feature that Rhomaios had originally called a "sacrificial bothros", before he finally and incorrectly identified it as a column base belonging to the «elliptical colonnade» around Megaron B[43] (fig. 19, pls 40,44a,46,47b,33a-a΄). Rhomaios described the construction as an almost rectangular slab, 0.15 m. thick and measuring 0.70 × 0,75 m., with others set vertically on it, so as to form a rectangular space, 0.40 long, 0.25 wide and 0.30 m. deep. As a result of deterioration and disturbance, the present condition of this built pit does not agree precisely with Rhomaios' description, but its identification is certain.

The pit is surrounded by a curving, carelessly built wall of rough stones and was constructed above the earlier stone pavement that was in use during the period of Megaron B. A parallel, I believe, exists in a construction at Calydon that is built of upright slabs and enclosed by a flimsy wall. This feature was found near the remains of an apsidal wall, was termed a "hearth" by the excavators and dated in the Geometric period. A similar construction, a pit surrounded by rough stones has been recovered in Kalapodhi; it belongs to the ninth or the first half of the eighth century[44].

Circular constructions

Two adjacent circular constructions, built of small stones and mud and measuring 0.80 m. in diameter and ca. 0.45 m. in height, lie in the same area southeast of the built pit, at the southeast corner of the stylobate of the temple, based at a

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42. Eder 2009, 139 fig. 5 (5), 4 (5).

43. Rhomaios 1915, 248. The error, which caused confusion in the literature, was already detected by Drerup 1963, 6-7.

44. Poulsen, Rhomaios 1927, 36, fig. 58 (Calydon); Niemeier, *ArchRepLondon*, 2005-2006, 68 fig. 105; Niemeier, *Jahresbericht* 2006, 167, fig. 10 (Kalapodhi).



Fig. 19. The "sacrificial bothros" (Rhomaios 1915).

depth of 1.25-1.35 m.[45] (pls 7a,40,48a). The southernmost is the best preserved. Beneath them extends a layer of brown soil with rubble and animal bones, carbonised particles and, in places, yellow soil with traces of fire and pithos fragments. The constructions are built at about the level of the early stone pavement that was also in use at the time of Megaron B and can therefore be attributed to the same period. The sherds collected from within them, moreover, belong for the most part to the LH IIIC period (units 189, 190/07). The upper level of the constructions varies between 0.90 and 1.00 m., i.e. the approximate level of use of the next period, that of the hearth of holocaust sacrifices to be described below. Perhaps they were covered over finally during the seventh century.

Remains of the period of Megaron B came to light also outside the west wall of the building. They are the remnants of the contemporary stone pavement, identified in the trenches 1,15, α-α΄-α¨, 17,28 (pls 11, 12a,23b,28).

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45. *Praktika* 1994, 111-112.

Other contemporaries of Megaron B

Walls Δ and E

The building represented by walls Δ and E (fig. 20, pls 48b-c,56b) was discovered by Rhomaios in 1915 and mentioned again only in 1990[46]. The two walls were actually discovered again in 1997 to the north of Megaron B, at the northwest corner of the Apollo temple and partly on top of Megaron A. Together they form the southeast corner of a rectangular building contemporary with Megaron B. The building was founded 0.40 m. higher than Megaron A, that is, in the stratigraphic horizon of Megaron B. Wall E, running north-south, does not stop before the north stylobate of the temple, but continues on beneath it. Wall Δ, running east-west, continues over the east wall of Megaron A. Both walls are constructed of rough, flat stones with yellow clay as mortar. It is the same technique as that of Megaron B and it differs from the more careful wall construction with more regular flat stones of Megaron A and the other Bronze Age buildings (figs 6a,31, pl. 60). The corner of walls Δ and E is founded on fill containing sherds of the LH IIIB phase and some of the MH tradition (units 110, 114, 115/97).

Contemporary with Megaron B is also the rectangular tripartite building that lies over the ruins of buildings α4 and α3"[47]. The only parts preserved are its southwest corner and one or two cross-walls dividing it into rooms (pl. 10). Finally, parts of "walls with stone paving" that, according to Rhomaios, belonged to a building contemporary with Megaron B, were identified also southeast of the temple, above the LH house β and below the 'black layer'[48].

The East Terrace

East of Megaron B can also be restored a contemporary terrace wall that retained the earth on the slope. Its remains are few: three stones on top of a block (trench 20, pl. 49a), located opposite the sixth base of the interior colonnade of the temple; and further north, opposite the eighth base of the colonnade, its lower course that lies on the stone pavement on which Megaron B was built (pl. 43a).

Pithoi

Pithos θ of the preceding period continued in use during the time of Megaron B within the building itself (pls 7b,38a,47a,59,31d-d΄). At that time a protective wall was built around it as the floor level had risen.

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46. Rhomaios 1915, 242, fig. 2; Papapostolou 1990, 191, *Praktika* 1997, 140, fig. 1, 7.

47. Rhomaios 1915, 242.

48. Rhomaios 1915, 253. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 133-134, fig. 45a-b, notes a few additional remains of walls on Soteriades' plan that he also attributes to contemporary buildings. Some of these, however, are no longer there and cannot be dated, while others were built after the excavations to support the ancient walls. For details see Papapostolou 2008, 78 n. 153.

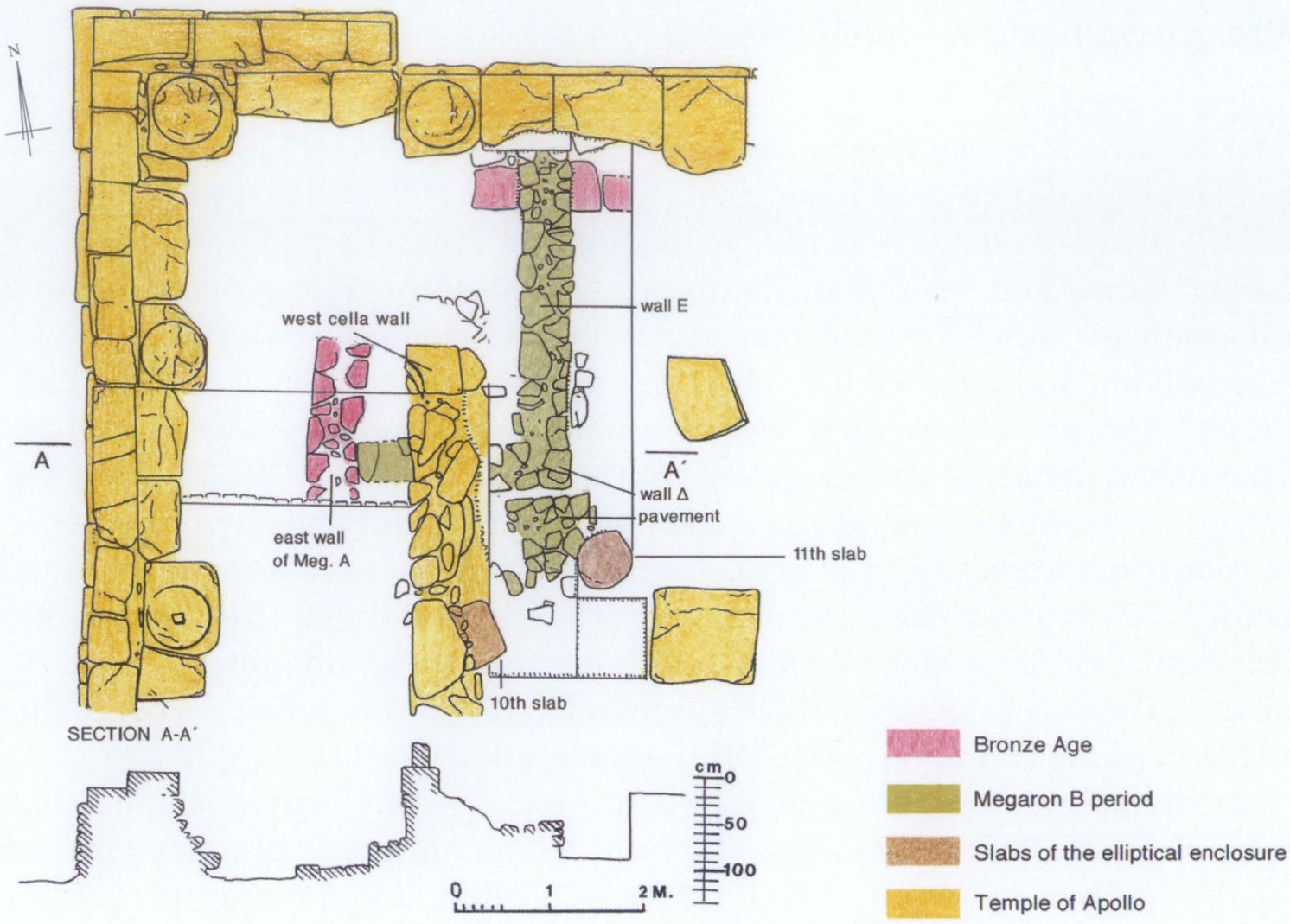

Fig. 20. The north-west part of the excavation.

The destruction of Megaron B and the period of the ash altar (eighth-late seventh century)

The destruction level

Remains of the destruction of Megaron B were found in situ in several places and have already been described in detail[49]. In the east part of the building, in trench 7 (pl. 21), a thick layer containing stones and carbonised matter lay on the paved floor and a similar layer was encountered in trench 14 (pl. 23a). The same destruction level was noted in the west part (trenches 1β-1δ); in trenches 1β and 1γ (pls 12b,13a) it lay on the floor of the building contiguous to the west wall (pl. 49b) and contained Early Iron Age sherds (units 57/96, π69, π70, π71, 124-131/99 and the iron sword M64). In the same way, the corner of walls Δ-E, which belonged to a building contemporary with Megaron B, had been covered over by the remains of its own destruction, as was evident in trenches 21 (pl. 26) and 22 (pl. 11).

49. Papapostolou 2008, 80-81.

The use of the area after the destruction of Megaron B

Following the destruction of Megaron B, the rear room (pls 40,57) appears to have been repaired, as indicated by the use of different construction materials and the raised floor level (pl. 63a,2), already mentioned above. After its collapse, the northern part of the west wall of the building was covered over with a layer of pure yellow clay (pls 49b,62b). The layer of yellow clay extended also to the west, outside the wall (pls 23b-c,25b,3) and was evidently intended to level the place in view of the overall rearrangement of the area prior to receiving the clay hearth of the ash altar at the beginning of the eighth century. A preliminary layer of yellow soil appears to have been laid also in the area to the east, as it was noted in trench 7 beside the east wall[50] (pl. 21,5).

The area between the flanking walls of Megaron B had been excavated to a great depth by Soteriades, but the evidence was not recorded. In addition, the fill beneath the bases of the interior colonnade of the temple had been disturbed in antiquity in the course of their construction and by the dry stone retaining walls built by Soteriades after the excavation.

The ash altar and the rear room of the Megaron B

The remains of a large ash altar had survived only beneath the east cella wall of the temple and were identified in trenches 5, 5α, 14 and 7 (fig. 21, pls 16,17,23a, 21). Rhomaios had noted the layer of ash in his sections ε-ε and ζ-η[51].

The ash was light coloured because of the lime content resulting from the complete carbonisation and disintegration of animal bones. The clay floor on which the ash lies shows traces of burning everywhere. It is at a higher level than the floor of the Megaron, which is uneven. The clay hearth itself is level, because it was constructed when the area was levelled after the destruction of the building; the south part, which was lower, was raised with the remains of fallen walls until it reached the level of use farther north. Trench 18, in the centre of the middle room, showed that the clay hearth was set without any fill directly on the floor level of the Megaron (pls 24,50a). Trench 14, however, gave the clearest picture of the relationship of the hearth to Megaron B (fig. 21b, pl. 23a). Here the hearth and the ash covered the dividing wall γ between the front and the middle room, which had obviously already fallen when the clay hearth was constructed. It is practically certain that the outer walls of Megaron B remained in ruined condition and determined the area of the hearth. Thus the walls of the building functioned

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50. *Praktika* 1992, 109 f.; 1993, 80; 1996, 182-183; 2000, 120, 124.

51. *Praktika* 1992, 109, 1993, 80, 1994, 114, 2000, 120, 124. Rhomaios 1915, 245, fig. 10, 247, fig. 12. In the ash layer of the trench 7 was found the knife M 45 (eighth century).



Fig. 21. a. The remains of the ash altar in the interior of the ruined Megaron B. b. A sketch of lengthwise section a-a´through the stratigraphy of the ash altar and the rear room (cf. str. sections 5a,14).

as a sort of peribolos of the altar, an arrangement that is not unknown at other early sites, such as Didyma[52].

The limits of the clay hearth were lost in the early excavation. In the southeast corner of the ruined Megaron B there is some evidence that the ash extended to its east wall (pl. 21), but it evidently did not reach the west wall, since, at this time, this area was occupied by offering 'pits' (pl. 49b). Nor did the hearth extend as far as the north (rear) room. Probably contemporary or a little later than the reconstruction of this room is a greyish-green argillaceous coating with sparsely set paving stones (pl. 18) in the space between the hearth and the repaired south wall of the room. This represents the first rearrangement of the area after the destruction of the Megaron.

Remains of a later collapse of the south wall of the rear room had been covered over by a hard layer of red clay that occupied the space between the hearth and a new room in the same place (pl. 19), presumably a light wattle and daub or mud brick construction, as evidenced by three holes for wooden posts with carbonised remains on the bottom of a layer consisted of pure yellow soil (trench 4, pl. 15). This represents the second reconstruction of the old rear room during the period of the ash altar. The associated pottery (units 153, 154, 155, 164/2000) places this new arrangement in a later phase of the Iron Age, which, on the basis of the Late Geometric bronze figurine of a horseman (X53, pls 20a,88) found together with a spearhead (M 72/2000) and two spear butts (M 69, 70/2000) in the layer of hard red soil (pls 20b,73), can be dated to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century. Simple, temporary structures of the same sort are also evidenced by other post holes, for example in the yellow fill spread to the west of Megaron B, in the space between slabs 5 and 4 of the elliptical series (fig. 23), where four similar holes were found, one of which preserved the small wedge-shaped stones used to secure a wooden support (trench 15, 16, pl. 23b,c).

Holes for the support of columns or beams are often found in excavations of Early Iron Age sites and are usually explained as the remains of simple, perhaps temporary structures. Others belong to more permanent buildings of wattle and daub or mud brick, which also incorporated stone elements[53].

The radiocarbon dating of samples connected with the destruction horizon of the Megaron B gave a later *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building and the construction and first use of the ash altar, at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century. Thus Megaron B and the hearth of the ash

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52. Schleif 1934, 147-148, fig. 7; Çetin Şahin 1972, 25-26.

53. For example, at Isthmia on a terrace of the second half of the eighth century (Gebhard 1993, 158); at Kalapodhi at the site of the earliest temple (Felsch 1987, 5; 1991, 87); at Tegea (Østby *et al.* 1994, 101); at Herakleion in Thasos (Bergquist 1998, 57-58). For hypotheses concerning the use of such simple, temporary structures see Kron 1988, 144; Burkert 1991, 87.

altar never coexisted. The sherds of unit 152/2000 from the ashes of the hearth are probably of the Iron Age. Units 53/96 and 53α/96 containing Iron Age sherds were also collected from above the clay bed of the ash altar in trench 18 (pl. 24).

In some places a light coloured ash lies directly on the level of use of Megaron B or over features of its destruction, thus lower than the clay hearth of the holocaust offerings[54] (pl. 16b,4). This probably represents the first phase of use of the space for such sacrifices, rather than the remains of sacrifices within Megaron B prior to its destruction, since it would have been difficult if not impossible to carry out such ceremonies inside a building with so many wooden features. In any case, no bones were found in any of the ash piles. During this period, the pithos at the west wall of Megaron B continued in use, protected by a new wall around it (pl. 47a). It may be that some of the pits at the west wall also held pithoi.

Pits and sacrificial bothroi south and west of the ash altar

The construction of built pits belongs to the same period as the hearth for holocaust offerings. These features were found in various locations.

Two pits were found on the interior side of the west wall of Megaron B, partly in the masonry of the wall itself. The evidence comes from trenches 1α, 1β, 1γα (pls 11,12,49b). In 1α the pit is a circular housing of upright slabs: it may have held a pithos. In 1β only two vertical flat stones are preserved, while the bottom is paved with flat stones: it may have contained offerings. Little was preserved in 1γα. There was no yellow soil above these pits; the fill within them was uniform up to the cella wall and contained Late Geometric and Early Archaic sherds (units 59, 59α π72, 72α, 59β, 64/96, 124-127/99, 129-131/99). It thus appears that the pits were made after the destruction of Megaron B and the yellow layer, and continued in use until the temple was built.

To the same period also belong the bothroi to the south of the area of Megaron B (pls 33,50b,51). After the building was destroyed, the area filled up with earth and stones, the 'bothros' excavated by Rhomaios above the Bronze Age pavement (fig. 19, pls 44a,47b), was covered over, and the level rose to that of the clay hearth. What remained intact after the old excavation was found in an undisturbed strip below the edge of the east wall of the cella, which was investigated (trench 9 and 10) after the few preserved stones of the wall were removed (pl. 22). At this level there was plenty of ash as well as scattered, carbonised material and animal bones. The sherds in the fill were of Mycenaean and Early Iron Age date (units 83/93, 96/94, 100/94, 32-35/96).

In the fill of trench 10 (pls 22,51a,3), there was a small ditch with carbonised matter and an iron knife (M37) that can be dated in the eighth century, and somewhat farther south the remains of a larger bothros containing two iron spear-

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54. *Praktika* 1994, 116, fig. 8; 1995, 91 fig. 3; 2000, 122, fig. 2.

heads (M38 and 41), a spear butt (M39) and a sickle-shaped knife (M40) also datable in the eighth century (pl. 51a,1). Two meters to the south was another, deeper ditch that was bordered by irregular stones and contained ashy soil, carbonised matter and animal bones (pl. 51b,1). An Iron Age matt-painted cup (π52, trench 11, units 102,105,107,108/94, pl. 69b) was found above a piece of carbonised wood that stood upright, supported by small wedge-shaped stones. Other sherds in this bothros (units 102, 108/94) belong to the shoulder of a contemporary matt-painted jug (π52α, pl. 68d); so does another sherd (unit 98/94), which comes from a layer outside the pit, indicating disturbance already in antiquity.

The date of another pit found by Soteriades slightly farther south is questionable (pl. 51b,2). It had walls of large, rough flat stones that jut out above the level of use of the altar. Carbonised matter and a few animal bones, an iron spearhead of the eighth century (M43) and Mycenaean and Early Iron Age sherds (units 103, 104/94) had remained on the bottom.

The final use of these particular pits and bothroi has not been determined. Some would have been temporary, others may have been intended for longer use and for this reason were more sturdily constructed. It is likely that at the time there would have been more bothroi and pits in front of the large ash altar in addition to those described above that were preserved because they were covered over by the east cella wall[55].

Rock 'altar'

At a distance of 7.30-7.40 m. south of the temple a little west of its long axis, there is part of a limestone boulder of irregular shape (dimensions: 1.60 × 1.50; height: 0.50-0.72 m.) that had probably fallen at some point from the east slope of Megalakkos. It appears to have been left in its place by the first excavator and protected with a dry stone wall, after some investigation of the fill had been carried out below it (fig. 22, pls 3(10),35,9(2),52 and p. 88). The lower surface is flatter than the upper, which slopes although it is relatively smooth.

A limited probe showed that the boulder rests on ancient fill at a depth of ca. 1.75 m. This is the depth at which the southwest corner of Megaron B rests. It would thus appear likely that at the time of Megaron B the boulder was already in this position and was visible. The upper surface is at a depth of 1-1.36 m. It was therefore visible also at the time of the ash altar, the clay layer of which is at

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55. It is likely that the announcement by Soteriades (letter of 23 August 1898) of the discovery of "a grave with burnt bones, five, very long iron swords and pieces of a vase of the Geometric period" actually refers to the discovery of a similar offering pit. The excavator did not repeat his identification of this as a grave in *Ephemeris* 1900.



Fig. 22. The rock 'altar' and the trench 30.

a level of around 1 m. It is however worth noting that the fill on which the boulder rests consists of earth and rubble, exactly like that used for the constructions of the next period. Considering the general southerly slope of the ground, we cannot exclude the possibility that the rock was placed there for the first time in a period later than Megaron B, during the long time that the ash altar was in use. When, however, the Early Archaic cella was built, the boulder was covered, since the lower course of the slabs of the south stylobate are at a depth of 1.10 m., and the level of use in the cella is at 0.70 m., thus higher than the uppermost point of the boulder (pl. 3(10),35).

In my opinion the boulder may have served as a rock altar for ordinary sacrifices or as an offering table[56]. It is notable that the 'black layer' of the old exca-

56. Parts of rocks or rocky outcrops have been interpreted as altars or tables of the period after the Bronze Age (Yavis 1949, 207, 221-223; Bruns 1960; Coldstream 1977, 317; Gill 1991, 23-30; Rupp 1983, 101-102, figs 7a; Rubensohn 1962, 5-7, Beil 3a, b; 4a; Shear 1973a, 126-128, Pl. 26α; 1973b, 360-364, pl. 65). Part of a natural rock is considered a likely altar at the early cult building (eighth-seventh century) at Spathari in Akarnania near Stratos (Schwandner 2000-2001, 13-16; 2000, 552), where there is also a layer of ash with calcined bones as well as ditches with carbonised material. A rock with cut steps was identified as an altar at Abas on the Evros (Thrace) in the land of the Kikones (Triantaphyllos 1986, 138).

vation, to be discussed below, which represents accumulation of material from sacrifices and feasting activities, was to the north and west of the boulder. The sherds from the layer below it, which comprises earth and rubble, (trench 30, unit 187/07) are dated in part to the Early Iron Age: one belongs to an open vessel (krater or bowl), another has a thin matt paint applied with a brush, while the sherds from a jug were covered with a whitish slip. Two sherds are of greyish clay, one from a large closed vessel, while the other, which preserves a bit of the rim, belonged to an open vessel.

The period of the elliptical enclosure (seventh century)

The ash altar of holocaust offerings and probably also the bothroi to the south of it were still in use during the seventh century. In the description of the previous stratigraphic horizon, an account has already been given of the construction of a new level of use between the clay ground of the altar and the north room of Megaron B, which appears at that time to have been rebuilt as a wattle and daub or mud brick cella. The Late Geometric figurine of the horseman (pl. 88) was found in the lower layer of that level, which remained in use until the time when the temple was built (pls 19,20).

The elliptical row of slabs around Megaron B
A summary of the various interpretations

Rhomaios maintained that Megaron B acquired at some point an elliptical peristyle, of which eighteen stone bases were preserved[57] (fig. 10). The 'bases' are the flat stones of irregular shape and varying size (width: 0.40-0.70 m.; maximum lemgth: 0.65 m.) that, except of its front surround Megaron B in an oval row set on a higher level than its floor (fig. 23, plan p. 16, pls 30,31,34). The slabs were found in the summer of 1898 by Soteriades (figs 9,24). He attributed the 'bases' to an oval peristyle, about which he says, "it is not clear if ... it should be connected with the above mentioned building (i.e. Megaron B) or with the altar, although given the position of the bases only the first is likely." He subsequently turned toward other interpretations, considering the slabs as support bases for an enclosure or a simple row of stones defining the temenos, or even as connected with "a modern hut or shed"[58].

Following Rhomaios, many scholars have accepted that the slabs had indeed supported the columns of an elliptical colonnade, added to the building at a later

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57. Rhomaios 1915, 247-251.

58. Soteriades 1900, 179, Kawerau, Sotiriadis 1902-1908; Soteriades 1903, 74, n. 1;1902, 180; 1909, 7, 30-31; *Praktika* 1906, 137-138; 1908, 98.

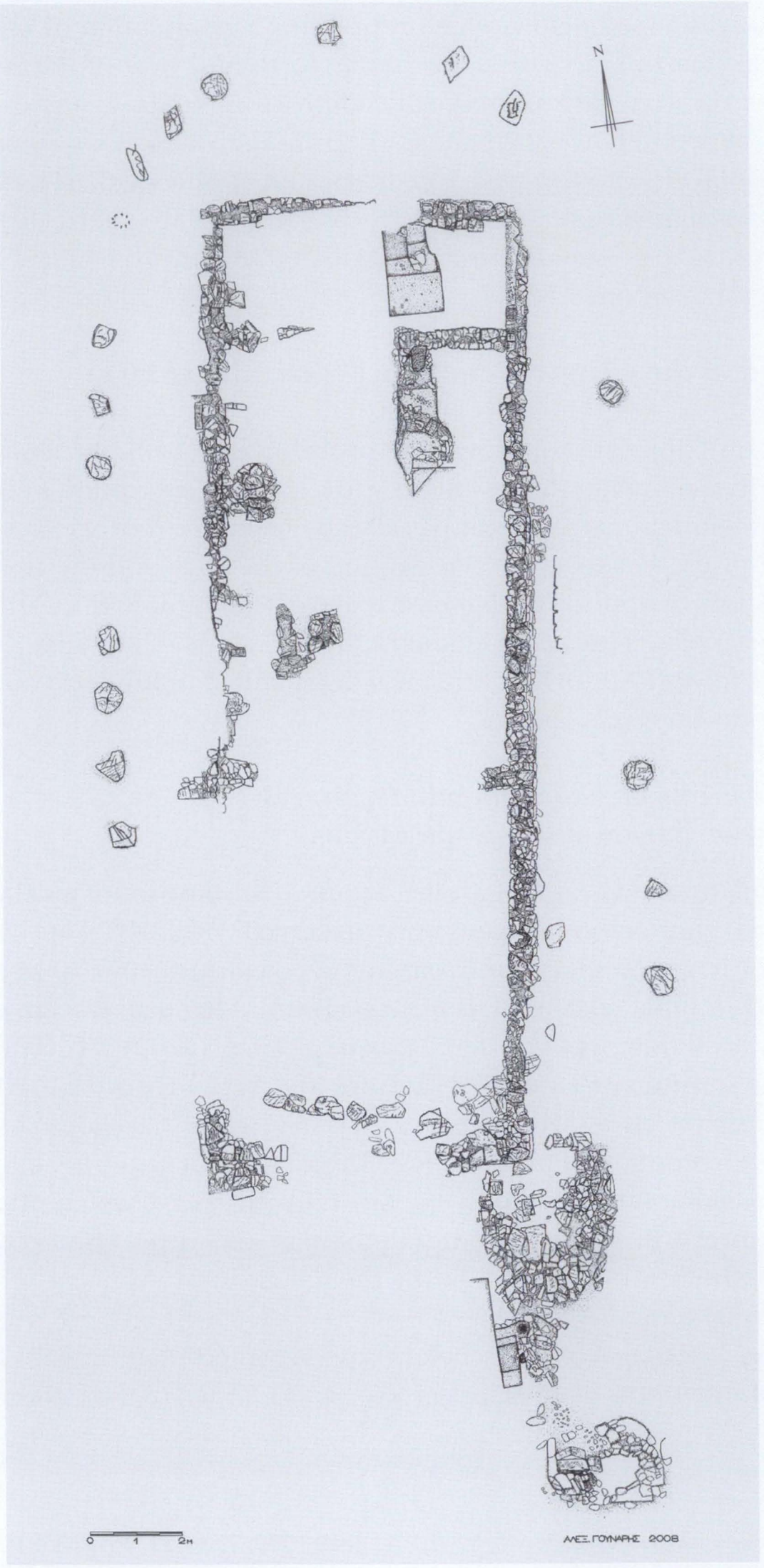

Fig. 23. Plan of Megaron B (Alexandros Gounaris 2008) with the addition of the enclosure slabs.



Fig. 24. The northwest part of the temple with Megaron A (1) and the 8th slab of the elliptical enclosure (2), 1898.

period. Among the earliest was Weickert, who also shared Rhomaios' other opinions, e.g. that the building played a part in the development from a chieftain's house to a peripteral temple. Bundgaard, while not accepting that the development toward the Doric style could be followed at Thermos, agreed that Megaron B and the oval colonnade were associated from the very beginning. According to Bundgaard, the columns were disposed in this manner in order to support a roof that was elliptical in section like that of the terracotta house models from Perachora (fig. 25). A similar reconstruction is given by Coulton, but with a ridged roof and "a half-cone of rafters radiating from the pre-existing gable top and carried at their outer ends by a rough semicircle of posts" [59]. The elliptical colonnade was also accepted by Schmaltz as well as Gruben, who repeated the same view more recently, restoring 36 columns and suggesting that the colonnade is "the simplest and earliest that we know of"[60].

Other scholars, taking into consideration the technical problems involved in restoring an elliptical colonnade around a rectangular building, have suggested various other solutions. Drerup's hypothesis was that the slabs supported slanting posts for buttressing the walls against the thrust of the saddle roof, as seen in the medieval buildings at Warendorf in Saxony; there, oblique wooden supports but-

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59. Weikert 1929, 8-9; Bundgaard 1946, 55; Coulton 1988, 65, fig. 2B.

60. Schmaltz 1980, 328-329, 334; Gruben 1996, 392-393; 2001, 33.

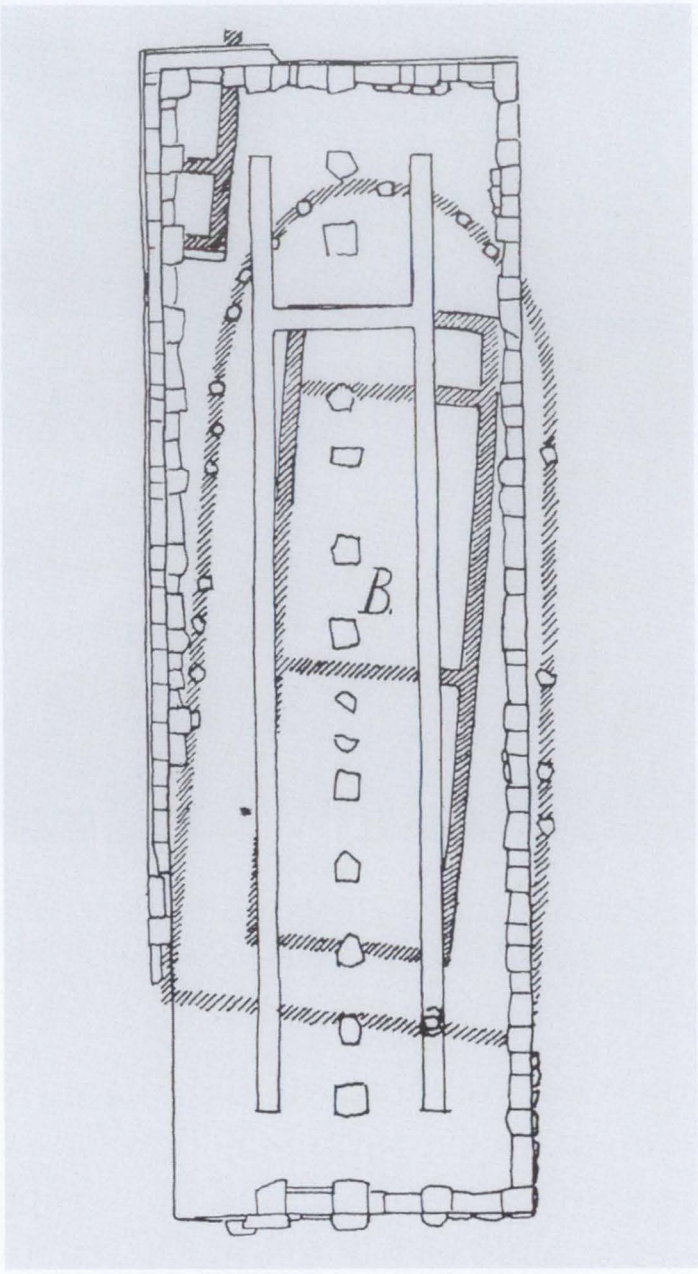

Fig. 25. Bundgaard 1946.

tress the vertical supports that held the weight of the roof[61]. Mallwitz described Drerup's restoration as technically impossible in the case of Thermos[62]. Mallwitz, in any case, believed that without excavation it was not possible to clarify these matters and recommended a return to the final view of Soteriades that the slabs defined a temenos[63], an opinion espoused also by von Gerkan[64]. Mallwitz went further and associated Thermos with Kallion, where he noted a comparable succession of structures. At that site the rectangular Geometric cult building is succeeded by a stone enclosure with an altar/hearth, perhaps crowned with a baldaquin, which was in turn followed by the Archaising peripteral temple of the

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61. Drerup 1963, 9, fig. 6; 1964, 194-195, fig. 7; 1969, pl. 6a.

62. Mallwitz 1981, 601-604, 621-624.

63. Mallwitz 1981, 624 ("Temenosumgrenzung").

64. von Gerkan 1948-49, 6 ("Umhegung"); 1959, 385.

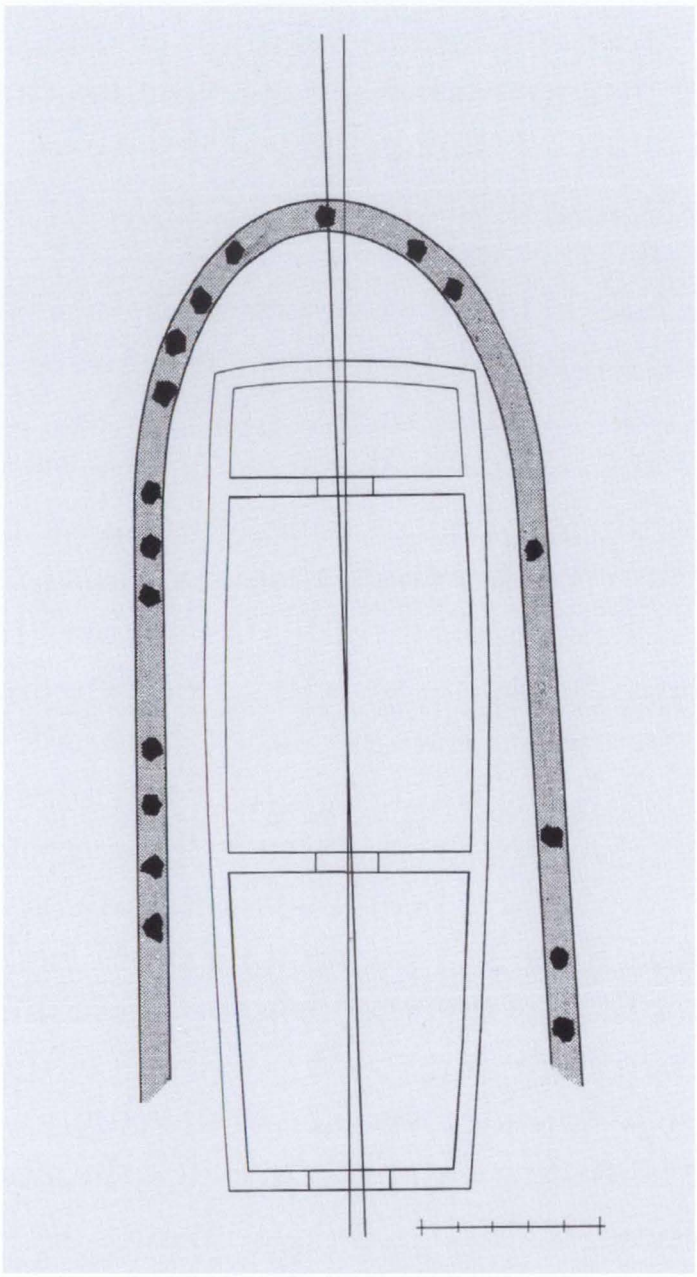

Fig. 26. Wesenberg 1982.

end of the fourth century; the latter indeed has typological features similar to the peripteral temple at Thermos[65].

Coulton who, as already noted, returned to the interpretation of Rhomaios, rebutted with convincing technical arguments the restoration of an enclosure with posts that could not stand on flat stones but would need to be sunk into the ground. He also rejected the restoration of a light roof supported by posts resting on the slabs because of the width of the oval, and did not accept Drerup's version[66]. Wesenberg too argued for the separation of the slabs from Megaron B. He held that the slabs supported the posts of the clay or mud-brick walls of an apsidal building (B1) that succeeded Megaron B on the same site without leaving other traces[67] (fig. 26). Bulle had also attributed the slabs to a peristyle of a vanished

65. Themelis 1983, 237-238, 242-244.
66. Coulton 1988, 63.
67. Wesenberg 1982, 156, fig. 4.

successor to Megaron B, mainly because of the axial differences. For the rest, he acknowledged the importance of this peristyle building for the development of the Greek peripteral temple[68]. Finally, Mazarakis Ainian revived the idea of a peripteral oval building of perishable material, successor to Megaron B[69].

It is worth noting that the first excavator, rebutting Bulle's opinion, placed great emphasis on the fact that he had observed no trace whatever of a construction in the layer between Megaron B and the early Archaic temple[70]. The recent investigation has also shown that in the stratigraphic layers succeeding the Megaron not only was there no trace, there was no room for such a building. Any such reconstruction would leave out of consideration the existence of the pile of ashes of the altar that in places is so high that it extends to just below the walls of the temple and would have been even higher before that building was constructed (pls 16,17). The scant traces of destruction beneath the north part of the cella (pl. 15) can be explained as the remains of the small, flimsy building that is assumed to have existed at that location, where the north room of Megaron B had been (see above, p. 35). Other scattered and limited remains of tamped earth (e.g. pls 21b,1, 22b,1) would have been hypaethral and of no great importance. Additional evidence that there was no building phase between Megaron B and the early Archaic cella is the fact that the fill in the pits at the west wall of Megaron B was uniform from their bottom up to the west wall of the cella.

The last publication to consider the slabs of the elliptical row prior to the new excavation was that of G. Kuhn, who proposed that the stones are the chance remainder of a pavement that existed in the area before the building of the temple (see below, p. 47)[71].

To date, the objections to the interpretation of the slabs as bases of a peristyle of Megaron B are based mainly on technical difficulties, such as the difference in the axial orientation of the entire 'peristyle' from that of the building. More specifically, the east row as it runs southwards diverges from the east wall of the Megaron; the sixteenth stone is at a distance of 2.15 m. from the wall, the seventeenth at 2.60 m., the eighteenth at 2.70 m., while the fifteenth is at a lesser distance than any of the others (fig. 23).

The slabs of the west series are also at varying distances from the west wall. Moreover, the spaces between the 'bases' vary to such an extent that it would seem impossible for them to belong to a peristyle or even to roof supports around the building. In one case, the gap between the ninth and the tenth slab (which are partly covered by the west wall of the cella and have presumably remained in their original position) is only 1.35 m., whereas elsewhere it is clearly wider, although not so far apart that there is room for another to have been placed be-

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68. Bulle 1907, 50, n. 2.
69. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 134-135.
70. Soteriades 1909, 28-31.
71. Kuhn 1993, 39-41; *Praktika* 1993, 93.

tween them. By contrast the elliptical peristyles at Lefkandi in Euboea and at Ano Mazaraki in Achaea[72] have bases that are set at regular intervals.

To these objections should also be added the irregular shape of the stones themselves that is unsuitable for the bases of a peristyle, and the varying levels (0.40 to 0.60 m.) on which they rest (figs 27,30, pls 30,31). Yet these arguments cannot be of decisive significance for disassociating the slabs from Megaron B, because the counter arguments concerning the possible disturbance and shifting of the slabs, ground fluctuations etc. are both easy and plausible. Only stratigraphic investigation could provide a solution to the problem[73].

Of the 18 slabs found, one (the eighth) is now missing. Undisturbed ancient fill was found beneath the fifth, sixth and tenth of the west side, the twelfth of the north and probably the sixteenth of the east side. This fill is not homogenous, as conditions were not the same everywhere in the area when they were installed. The excavation has shown that the ground was prepared beforehand with the introduction of soil and in some cases levelled with small stones, in order to ensure that the stones would be as stable and level as possible.

The stratigraphic investigation beneath the slabs

The investigation beneath the west series of slabs (figs 24,27,28) was carried out in trench 16 (pl. 23c) beneath the fifth slab, trench15 (pl. 23b) in front of the west wall of the cella, trench 21 (pl. 26) beneath the tenth slab, and trench α-α-α΄΄ between sections 15 and 1. Another small probe was carried out beneath the sixth slab[74].

The decisive evidence for the date of installation of the slabs was their connection with the well documented pure yellow soil that was noted on the west side of the series and identified as being the same as that which covered the ruins of the west wall of the Megaron and its rear room and continued to the west and north of these. In the stratigraphy of the fill below the slabs this layer occurred consistently at a level deeper than the stones. Since this yellow soil was laid down after the destruction of the building, it follows that the slabs, which were set higher than the yellow layer, are later than the destruction of the Megaron.

Particularly revealing was trench 21 (pl. 26) beneath the tenth slab, which is in situ and rests on the yellow soil that covered the ruins of the building represented by walls Δ and E, that, as already mentioned, was contemporary with Megaron B and destroyed along with it (see above, p. 31).

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72. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 48 with references; Petropoulos 1992-93; 2002.

73. See also Papapostolou 1990, 192-197 for arguments, presented before the actual excavation, against the addition of a colonnade.

74. See the description in Papapostolou 2008, 95-99.



Fig. 27. The west row of the enclosure slabs from the south.



Fig. 28. West pteron of the temple with the pavement and the slabs marked with a cross, 1898.

In trenches α-α΄-α΄΄and 15 two layers of pure yellow soil had been introduced for levelling purposes, the first for the building of Megaron B, the other after its destruction. Trenches 15 and 16 also provided a clear chronological sequence of sherds. Immediately under the slabs the sherds were of the Early Iron Age, without any Late Helladic material, which was only found in the lower levels.

On the north side, the twelfth slab, which was in situ, lay on a stone pavement that belonged to the time after the destruction of Megaron B and rested in turn on another, earlier pavement that belonged to the period of Megaron B (pl. 53).

More remains of the later stone paving were found in the area of the temple. Most are those shown by Soteriades in the south part of the west colonnade on his plan (fig. 9, p. 10), while there are fewer in the south part of the east collonade. All of them were eventually removed by Soteriades. G. Kuhn speculated that the slabs of the elliptical row were also chance remains of the same stone pavement[75]. Today there can be no doubt that the stone pavement removed by Soteriades was ancient[76]. A study of Soteriades' old photographs[77] shows that the slabs retained in their positions by the excavator as belonging to an ancient elliptical row rest slightly higher up than the stone pavement that he eventually removed (figs 28,29). This may mean that the slabs forming an ellipse were placed on the stone paving at a later time, but slabs and paving both belong to the same chronological horizon.

On the east side the slabs (fig. 30) are set on top of the level that was supported by the retaining wall of the period of Megaron B (pls 34,43a,49a). But there cannot have been a colonnade supported on a level higher than that of the building, since between them there would be a deep empty space. It could be conceivable that the empty space had been filled before the construction of a peristyle, which could have been at the level of a new floor of the building, but there was no evidence for such a later floor within the building. Rhomaios had indeed considered the clay hearth of holocaust sacrifices, which according to him functioned within the building, as belonging to the level stratigraphically corresponding to that of the slabs of the elliptical row. Yet hearth and Megaron B never coexisted, while anyway the floor of the hearth as well is some 0.20-0.40 m. deeper than the level on which the slabs are set.

The most plausible hypothesis is that the empty space between the east wall of Megaron B and the retaining wall (an area already investigated by the first excavator) was filled long after the building had collapsed, perhaps to cover the ruin of the east wall, which until that time had been used as the enclosure of the

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75. See n. 71.

76. Cf. Schmalz 1980, 322, n. 14.

77. *Praktika* 1993, pl. 55; Papapostolou 2008, 21, fig. 18.

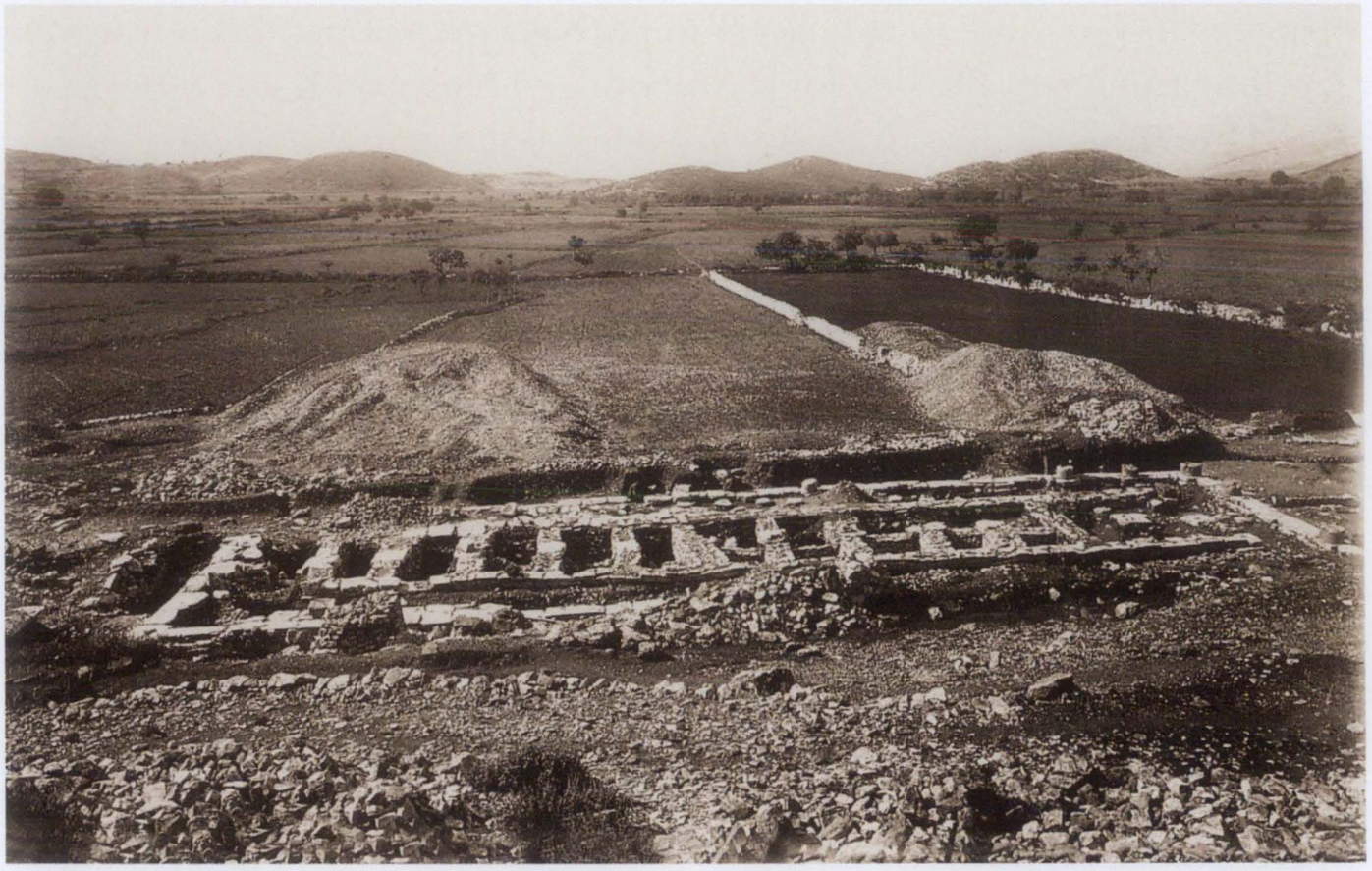

Fig. 29. The temple of Apollo after the excavation of Soteriades with retaining walls from the east; in the background the slabs of the west row.



Fig. 30. The east row of the enclosure slabs.

hearth, but also to set the slabs in an oval to serve as the enclosure of the temenos. Thus the existence of a terrace wall between the building and the slabs provides a compelling argument for disassociating the slabs from Megaron B.

Interpretation of the slabs on the basis of the new excavation

Given that originally the walls of Megaron B –which remained in a ruinous state– surrounded and defined the hearth of holocaust offerings, the installation of the slabs as marking the boundary of the temenos should be dated to a time later than the construction of the hearth, when the walls of the old building were finally covered over and no longer visible. It is indeed likely that they were covered over intentionally in order to delimit the temenos with another type of enclosure. The idea that the slabs might have held roof supports cannot be sustained, not only because the width of the ellipse makes this impossible, but because roofing over an altar of holocaust offerings with ashes left in place would be neither practical nor safe.

The slabs of the elliptical series that defined the boundary of the temenos with the altar, may, at times, have held upright stones (small pillars?) for clearer definition. On the south side where the bothroi were located, no slabs are preserved and, if there were any, we do not know how they would have been placed. This interpretation is hardly new, but, based on the evidence provided by the new excavation, I believe it to be the most plausible.

The existence of sanctuary enclosures defined by a series of simple stones or pillars has been accepted by some scholars[78]. Written references are few. Pausanias (VIII, 30, 2) explicitly mentions that there was an enclosure of stones in the agora at Megalopolis, probably to be connected with a sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios[79]. The archaeological finds are few and unclear. Stone pillars on slabs are restored at the Archaic precinct of Pelops in Olympia, where pillars with holes in the sides for supporting horizontal wooden fencing have been found[80]. Rough stones and dressed pillars among those found in Magna Graecia, at Metapontum, Poseidonia and Elea (Velia), may well have marked the boundaries of sacred places, such as altars[81]. At the "sanctuary of Theseus" on the tip of Mounichia in Piraeus, mentioned by Andokides and identified by Milchhöfer, there was a virtually square enclosure that had on three sides two rows of upright stone pillars at two to three meter intervals; along the west side, where the entrance ramp was located, there were four rows of pillars[82]. Pindar's lines (*Ol.* X, 44-50)

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78. Stengel 1920, 17-00; Tomlinson 1976, 17; Gruben 2001, 29.

79. Jost 1994, 221.

80. Kyrieleis 2006, 57-58 with other examples.

81. Doepner 2002,158.

82. Milchhöfer 1881, 37; von Eickstedt 1991, 118 disagrees with the connection of the peribolos with the "Theseion" mentioned by Andokides.

... Διὸς Ἄλκιμος
ὑιὸς σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος πατρὶ μεγίστῳ·
περὶ δὲ πάξαις Ἄλτιν μὲν ὅγ, ἐν καθαρῷ
διέκρινε, τὸ δὲ κύκλῳ πέδον
ἔθηκε δόρπου λύσιν,
τιμάσαις πόρον Ἀλφειοῦ
μετὰ δώδεκ᾽ ἀνάκτων θεῶν.

seems to sketch the picture of a rudimentary early temenos like that of Thermos. Leto's promise to Delos, that Apollo would have an altar and a temenos on the island (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 88), implies the existence of sanctuaries that, lacking the ambition or potential to found a temple, were limited to an enclosure surrounding an altar.

The 'black layer'

The slabs of the elliptical series are stratigraphically associated with the 'black layer' that was encountered by the first excavators on the west and south side of the temple and also beneath it[83]. The original extent of the layer cannot be determined, but the stratigraphic association was confirmed by the new excavation, which uncovered a small part of it above the flat, tamped soil on which the slabs of the west row were placed (pl. 23b,c) and also beneath the west wall of the cella, albeit nowhere else below the temple. The black layer, which is 0.20-0.30 thick, contained ash, animal bones, carbonised matter, bronze objects and sherds and represents, therefore, sacrificial remains. Its uniform thickness suggests that it may have been spread over the area prior to the building of the early Archaic cella.

The interpretation of the black layer as deliberately spread fill does not prevent us from accepting that carbonised remains also accumulated earlier than the last period preceding the construction of the temple. The Late Geometric bronze votives that were found only in the black layer and not in the lower levels[84] are an indication that these deposits must belong to the Late Geometric period and the seventh century and may well have resulted from regular sacrifices on an altar. An altar built above ground level and suitable for such sacrifices could only be to the south of the hearth of holocaust offerings. This is the side from which the sanctuary was approached. The natural rock described above, preserved at a distance of 7.40 m. south of the temple, may well be the altar for regular sacrifices at Thermos (fig. 22, p. 38, pls 3(10),52 and see p. 88).

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83. Soteriades, *Praktika* 1898, 105; 1899, 58. Soteriades 1900, 176-177. Rhomaios 1915, 246-247.

84. Rhomaios 1915, 228. 249-250.

Both early excavators suggested that the black layer represented remains of sacrifices that were *in situ*, but could not distinguish it from the lower level of whitish ash and considered them both as a uniform sacrificial deposit. This interpretation was accepted by many scholars who dealt with this feature of the site. Yet the stratigraphic distinction of the black layer from the ash altar is clear. Moreover within the black layer under the west wall of the cella (trench 15) there were undecorated sherds of the Geometric period (units 1/95, 11/95), i.e. later than those found beneath the fifth slab of the enclosure that belong to the Early Iron Age. This is additional proof that the black layer was spread later than the setting of the slabs of the ash altar enclosure.

An unworked stone

Evidence for the arrangement of the area south of Megaron B during the period of the elliptical enclosure and the black layer was provided by the stratigraphy in trenches 9 and 10, excavated beneath the southernmost edge of the east cella wall[85] (pl. 22, fig. 41, p. 117). Above the level of use that belongs to the horizon of the hearth for holocaust sacrifices, soil densely packed with rubble was encountered. We do not know if it covered all the pits of the period of the hearth together with the offerings and continued farther south. The surface of this fill is at a level of about 0.75 m. that chronologically and stratigraphically must belong with the period of the slabs of the elliptical enclosure. To this layer belong unit 24α/95 with sherds of the Geometric period, and units 73, 74, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84/93 with mixed sherds that included a few Mycenaean pieces (73, 74/93), matt-painted sherds of the Early Iron Age (74/93) and fragments of the Geometric period (80, 82/93). This mixture is the result of the transfer of soil for levelling purposes. The undisturbed rubble fill beneath the southernmost edge of the east cella wall also provided a most important find *in situ:* a long, narrow, pillar-like rough stone, ἀργὸς λίθος (dimensions: 0.29 × 0.24 × 0.11m.), broken diagonally and missing about half, which was held in place by another stone within the rubble fill (pls 22,50b,51a,54,32,33). It stands precisely above the position of the partly preserved ditch with the large stones and the weapons, already mentioned above. After the stone was set in place, two successive levels of use consisting of hard, tamped earth were laid down; on each of them carbonised matter was found. The stone projected ca. 0.23 m. above the upper level of use.

The old excavation left only a small area unexcavated on each side of the end of the east wall of the cella, but the undisturbed strip was sufficiently wide to reveal,

85. *Praktika* 1993, 99.

in the two contiguous trenches 9 and 10 (pl. 22), the successive phases from the Bronze Age pavement to the construction of the early Archaic temple. The levels of use around the rough stone belong to the horizon of the slabs of the elliptical series, which today rest at a level varying between 0.40 and 0.60 m., while the upper level of hard soil around the stone lies at ca. 0.70 m. The elliptical enclosure may predate the installation of the stone, but the enclosure, the black layer, the rough stone and the wattle and daub building (i.e. the old rear room of Megaron B) should belong to the same epoch.

It is questionable whether these new features imply a break in the practice of holocaust offerings and thus a basic change in the type of cult carried out at the site; the excavated evidence does not support this view, since the remains of the ash altar reached up to the east wall of the cella. It is reasonable to conclude that the holocaust offerings continued, when the slabs of the elliptical enclosure of the temenos had been installed, and when a rough stone projected from the earth and during the time when sacrifices accompanied by consumption of the meat produced the black earth. These new features imply the expansion and enrichment of the cult, which became increasingly complex during the seventh century.

The construction of the Early Archaic temple

Evidence for the last use of the area before the construction of the Early Archaic cella is obscure and fragmentary. Around the rough stone that projected from the packed earth of the upper level of use, the soil contained ash, carbonised matter and animal bones, indicating cultic activity in the open (pl. 54). On this level rested the blocks of the east wall of the cella. Stratigraphic trench 7, slightly farther north (pl. 21), provided a similar picture of the upper layer, in which was found the spearhead M46 (seventh century). In the area of the wattle and daub building, there are remains in situ of its destruction (trenches 3 and 4, pls 14b,15). These fragmentary remains belong to the last years immediately preceding the construction of the cella, at the end of the period of the elliptical enclosure. They are, to be sure, not enough to predicate the existence of a large building prior to the early Archaic temple (see also p. 44). In any case, when preparation for building the temple began, the situation changed over the entire area that had been previously occupied by Megaron B and later by the ash altar with its enclosure.

The stratigraphic investigation showed that before the construction of the early Archaic temple (pl. 55, fig. 11, p. 12), the ground of the area was levelled, primarily with introduced fill that contained a mixture of pottery, destruction debris and stones; admixture was more limited in areas where remains of previous activities were kept in place. Thus, the upper layer that constitutes the construction level of the temple differs in places, but overall it contains evidence of preceding activities in the area and pottery that provides chronological data.

The pottery is mixed – including even Mycenaean sherds, as noted also by Rhomaios[86] – but the decisive evidence was the larger quantity of fine wheel-made pottery that, albeit undecorated, can be securely dated in Geometric and early Archaic times (see p. 36). Consequently the cella can still be dated toward the end of the seventh century.

This stratigraphic evidence pertains to the problem of dating the peristyle and the stylobate of the large temple of Thermos, which will not be discussed here[87]. The plan of the long rectangular cella with antae at the façade and without a peristyle, is not uncommon in the Early Archaic period[88]. The opisthodomos that is formed by the extension of the flanking walls of the cella and does not communicate with it, also exists as early as the seventh century. It would have been possible to add the opisthodomos later on, but the details of the construction provide no evidence of this, since excavation beneath the stylobate was limited [89].

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86. Rhomaios 1915, 270; *Deltion* 6,1920-21, Parartema 168. Perhaps this is where the fragments of the LH IIIC warrior krater (Thermos Mus. 917α-θ) came from (*Deltion* 4, 1918, Parartema 32; Wardle, Wardle 2003, 154, fig. 3; here pl. 72a).

87. See remarks by Kalpaxis 1976, 47-50; Hellmann 2002, 98.

88. Drerup 1969, 89-90; Kalpaxis 1976, 103. The earliest temple of Artemis at Sparta (Drerup 1969, 91), the earliest temple of Apollo at Bassai (Kalpaxis 1976, 62, fig. 38), the hekatompedon of Samos (Kienast 1992, 170), the hekatompedon of Eretria (Mallwitz 1981, 633-634), perhaps the archaic temple of Zeus at Nemea (Miller 1988, 143; Miller 2004, 155-156), the temple at Corinth, and the temple at Mycenae (Rhodes 2003, 91, 93) were all without a peristyle. The restoration of a colonnade depends to a great extent on the study of the architectural terracottas. The study of the earliest architectural revetments at Thermos by Gerhild Hübner has already shown that there is enough material to restore the roof of a cella without a colonnade, that had a pediment at the front and was pitched at the back. The date of these decorative elements at the end of the seventh century (cf. Karo 1913, 98) agrees with that suggested by the pottery found beneath the walls of the cella. Moreover the pediment at the front, which could be reconstructed on the basis of this material, is likely to match the width of the cella.

89. Kuhn's idea (1993, 44) that the early Archaic temple was built directly on an earlier pavement is not without merit, but was not confirmed in the trenches dug beneath the temple walls. The scarce slabs preserved under the temple do not support Kuhn's suggestion and may belong to fill introduced for levelling purposes.

3. THE CONSTRUCTION AND TYPE OF MEGARON B

The generally accepted plan of this building before the new excavation was based on the drawings of Rhomaios and Drerup (fig. 10,12, p. 11, 19). Megaron B is shown as a long rectangular building, measuring 21.40 × 7.30 m., oriented north-south, with an entrance on the south side. It was divided in three parts –a deep antechamber, the main space and a short rear room– measuring respectively 8.15, 9.13 and 2.20 m. It was considered by Romaios to be originally open at the front with wooden antae at the ends of the flanking walls; subsequently a wall was added on the front and the building was changed into a closed edifice[90].

The lower parts of its walls are described as being built of small, flat, rough but carefully selected stones. According to Rhomaios all the preserved walls, except for the two interior cross-walls (β, γ) and the façade, were somewhat curved and inclined slightly inwards. Yet on the plan he published in 1915 (fig. 10), the curve of the long walls does not appear, just as it is not shown on the plan drawn by Soteriades (fig. 9, p. 10) who, in any case, made no mention of curving walls. Only the north wall was drawn as slightly curved by Rhomaios. The slight curve of all the walls appears for the first time in Bundgaard's plan[91] (fig. 25, p. 42) and in the follow-up published by Drerup (fig. 12)[92]. Gruben drew the long walls as rectilinear[93].

On the lowest stone courses, according to Rhomaios, walls of wattle and daub or mud brick were set that culminated in a vaulted roof as in the Bronze Age oval and rectangular buildings found in the same area. The building rests on a stone pavement. Still according to Rhomaios, the floor was later raised by 0.50 m. and a clay coating, 0.04-0.05 m. thick, was applied that was found burned and "was unquestionably used as the base for a hearth". Drerup, in opposition to Rhomaios, interpreted the lower stone socle of the walls as a foundation, constructed in the fill of an altar as well as on introduced fill, over the older stone pavement. This remained buried beneath the building's floor, which according to Drerup, was no other than the "clay floor of the hearth"[94]. Exposing Megaron B anew provided the opportunity to re-examine the architecture of the building (pl. 40, plan p. 16).

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90. Rhomaios 1915, 242-247.
91. Bundgaard 1946, 52, fig. 1.
92. Drerup 1963, fig. 3; 1964, 187-190, fig. 3b.
93. Gruben 1996, 392; 2001, 34, fig. 19.
94. Drerup 1963, 4-6; 1969, 16, 123.

The walls

The north wall (β) of the Megaron lies, for the most part, practically under the north wall of the cella (pls 38a,56a). Only the outer, north face is entirely visible, whereas the south side could be seen only at the northwest corner and in its east part (pl. 57a-b). The maximum height preserved is 0.54 m. below the north wall of the cella, which was built directly on it. No material had accumulated between the two buildings, because the north room of Megaron B was rebuilt or repaired and then used until the construction of the temple.

Ca. 2.20 m. to the south of the north wall, the wall that divided the north from the middle room was uncovered again (β1) (pl. 57a-b). Its western part is missing and what was recorded on Soteriades' plan (fig. 9) is nothing more than remains of an earlier wall that has deeper foundations and is built differently (pls 38(II),39)[95].

The irregular construction of the stone walls in the easternmost part of the north (rear) room of the Megaron (pl. 57), are due to repairs and do not mean that this room was a later addition to the building. In my opinion, there would have been a rear room from the beginning, just as there is in the earlier Megaron A at Thermos and also in many of the early apsidal and perhaps also rectangular buildings (Lefkandi, Nichoria, Antissa, perhaps also in the 'lower megaron' at Emporio, and building 138-400 at Karphi[96]). The cross wall γ that separates the deep antechamber from the middle part of the building was also re-discovered (pl. 58, fig. 21). Only its east edge is preserved.

Except for the north wall, the east wall (α) is the best preserved of Megaron B. Its maximum preserved height is 0.80 m. (fig. 17, pls 46,58). The west wall (δ) of Megaron B is not well preserved (pls 59, 40,47a). Yet at a distance of 8.20 m. from the northwest corner opposite the eighth base of the interior colonnade of the Apollo temple, it begins to disappear under the wall of the cella. In the trenches excavated beneath the west wall of the cella, other unknown sections of the inner and outer faces of the west wall of Megaron B were uncovered (pls 49b,60).

Three course of the northwest corner of the building are preserved; the lowest penetrates partly into the fill that had accumulated over the collapsed stones of earlier buildings (pl. 56b). In this same fill, precisely at the corner, there was a small pit containing the remains of carbonised wood; the pit had been dug either to hold a post of the scaffolding necessary for construction or, more likely, for a roof support. A stone pavement encircles the outer side of the southwest corner (pls 44b,61a).

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95. *Praktika* 1992, 97-98, pls. 30a-b, 31b.

96. See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 261, 265, pls III, VI.

This is the same, earlier pavement on which the southeast corner stands (pls 44a,61b). At the southwest corner it is at a lower level because of the slope of the ground and does not appear to continue beneath the walls as at the southeast corner. Along the outer lower edge of the end of the west wall of the southwest corner there is a skirting wall, composed of a series of blocks (pl. 61a) that appear again at the corner of the walls Δ-E (pl. 48b). It may have been intended to strengthen the base of the wall or as protection against the damp (pl. 61a).

The question of the inclination and curvature of the walls

The walls of the building today show irregular divergences from the straight as well as the vertical. The easternmost part of the north wall leans slightly inward (pls 40,41,56a), but does not follow a curving line, whereas the western part leans sharply outwards, to such an extent that it has become detached from the floor of the rear room, clearly indicating that the curvature was not intentional. Yet this is evidently what persuaded Rhomaios to describe and draw the entire north wall as slightly curved, interpreting the curve as a throwback to the apsidal plan of Megaron A[97].

The flanking walls also lean slightly, albeit not uniformly, inward and in some cases outwards (pl. 34c-c´). This is more noticeable in the east wall (pls 58,62a), which today leans more than is shown on the old (1915) photograph. The inclination of the walls had also been observed by Soteriades[98]. It is also evident in the west wall in places where the wall is preserved in good condition but was not supported after the excavation; wherever it was contiguous with Soteriades' dry stone retaining walls, it shows no inclination at all (pl. 62b). These irregularities constitute already a first indication that we are not dealing with a planned structural element. The inclination of the long walls of Megaron B, so systematically presented as an element of its plan and a stage in an evolutionary process, cannot be so interpreted.

The course of the flanking walls has been distorted. Both Soteriades and Rhomaios showed the long walls as straight on the only published plans. Directly apparent today is the irregular, slightly wavy course of the east wall (pls 40, 58b,62a), which is free of later constructions and in better condition. Yet the aerial photographs (pl. 6b, cf. pl. 41) show that the lower course of the east wall is straight and the curvature indicated in Drerup's plan (fig. 12) does not exist.

The inevitable conclusion is that a consistent, planned curvature and inward inclination of the walls, like those of the Bronze Age Megaron A (pls 36,37), cannot be detected in Megaron B. All deviations can be explained, if we take into consideration later alterations and chance developments and events, such as pres-

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97. Rhomaios 1915, 229, 242-243.

98. Soteriades 1900, 179.

sure from fill, overlying constructions and tree roots, ground instability, and structural weakening as a result of exposure after excavation and to a lesser degree from seismic activity[99]. Even defects in construction that affected the original plan should be taken into account.

It is certain that Megaron B was designed as a regular not as an 'atypical' rectangle with inclining and curving outer walls, but rectilinear (both horizontally and vertically) cross-walls and façade, a plan that has yet to find a parallel in the history of Greek architecture[100]. We know, however, that buildings of these early periods, even the rectangular ones, built with the particular materials and technique of the time, with walls made of mud bricks or of wattle and daub, have the peculiarity, as Schattner noted, of a relative inclination and deviation from the rectilinear[101]. This is why buildings that are basically rectangular have rounded corners, even when built of stone, and are referred to as 'oval' [102].

Building materials

Drerup's opinion that rectangular buildings with horizontally and vertically rectilinear walls were constructed of mud brick on stone courses, whereas curved and inclining walls were more suitable for wattle and daub construction, was refuted by Mallwitz, according to whom the technique of wattle and daub with posts suits both curvilinear and rectangular plans[103]. In the case of Megaron B, the excavation did not provide enough evidence to support either option. Burnt lumps of clay, fragmentary and unidentifiable, appear in both sealed and disturbed contexts, but not in any great quantity. Thus they do not document incontrovertibly

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99. The seismologist Stathis Steiros in his comments on the deviations of the walls of Megaron B concludes that similar deformations of walls or foundations can be caused by earthquakes. Yet the lack of a systematic and similar deformation in the earlier buildings to the N leads to the conclusion that the deformation seen in the walls of Megaron B must result from an accumulation of factors, local instability of the ground on which it is founded, pressure from scree material from the slope of the hill and pressure from tree roots (Stiros 2008, 315).

100. According to Drerup (1969, 65, 83-84, 103-104) curvature was preferred during the Early Iron Age and the Geometric period, whereas in Mycenaean times the dominant plan was rectilinear; the important early Archaic buildings reverted to the latter plan. Several studies have been based on this model of periodic occurrence of the basic forms (e.g. Hiller 1996, 34; Weiler 2001, 98-100). On the occasional appearance of the apsidal plan and its dependence on population groups, see Hiesel 1990, 200-201.

101. The Heraion model, Drerup 1969, pl. 0IIIa; Lawrence 1962, fig. 47. The Samos models, Schattner 1990, 130-135. At Lefkandi the walls also incline, are not completely rectilinear and do not meet at a true right angle. Inclination can also be seen in the Late Geometric apsidal building at Ano Mazaraki, on Mount Panachaikon (Petropoulos 2002, 150-152).

102. Cf. Fagerström 1988, 100.

103. Mallwitz 1981, 604.

the use of mud brick. Moreover Soteriades wrote that there was no trace of mud bricks[104]. The lower part of the walls is of stone, constructed of small, rough, usually flat stones (pl. 60), mainly white limestone from Megalakkos, just to the east; a greyish limestone from the same source was also used. While the stones are of unequal size, there is an evident effort to find rudimentary horizontal joins to construct courses; yet they fall short of the regularity seen in the walls of the Bronze Age buildings, such as Megaron A (figs 31a-b).

The spaces between the stones of the façade are filled in with small rough stones. The width of the walls ranges from 0.50 to 0.55 m. Found on the upper preserved surface of wall β1 (ht. 0.63 m.) and on the north wall was a mass of baked clay or hard yellow soil, but whether these were the remains of a clay construction or of mud brick could not be determined. No holes were observed on the upper surface that would have been used for the setting of posts to strengthen brick or wattle and daub walls. The remains of the destruction of the building that could have provided information concerning the material of the upper structure must have been removed before the area was re-used. It cannot, therefore, be excluded that the walls of the building had been built entirely of stone. Ready material on the height to the east is plentiful and stone chips and fragments have been found in quantity in the excavation. Nor have remains of mud brick been found in the temple of Apollo, for which the use of this material has also been suggested [105].

The roof

The question of the form of the roof of Megaron B also remains uncertain. Rhomaios gave the building a vaulted type of roof, similar to those of the earlier Bronze Age buildings, since all these in his opinion had inclined and curving walls[106]; in this he was followed by Weickert[107]. Yet the absence of a consistent curve and inclination of the walls of Megaron B and its right-angled corners do not make a vaulted roof either necessary or probable. Double- or four-sided pitched roofs with thatch and clay as the most compatible with a rectangular building are the most probable solutions. The model from the Heraion of Argos represents a simple double-ridged roof with a straight ridge-pole and flat sides, which, however, at Thermos may not have been combined with a ceiling as in the little house. Buildings of this sort can certainly have a flat roof, as it is believed to have been the case with Mycenaean buildings and perhaps also for some of the Geometric period, on the basis of a several models, mainly those from Samos[108].

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104. Soteriades 1903, 75, n.1.
105. Kalpaxis 1976, 47-48.
106. Rhomaios 1915, 277-279.
107. Weickert 1929, 9.
108. Schattner 1990, 40-74, Pls 6-18; see also Mallwitz 1981, 613; Hiesel 1990, 221-222.



Fig. 31. a. Example of the masonry style of Megaron B. b. Example of the masonry style of Megaron A.

It is likely that there were poles at the interior corners that helped support the roof, particularly if it was four-sided. This was shown by the hole in the northwest corner and the carbonised wood found near the southeast corner. The same has been suggested for the Bronze Age buildings α1 and α3[109]. The existence of a central row of wooden supports cannot be excluded, although such remains were never reported, as Rhomaios also noted. Yet Coulton is of the opinion that there may have been interior supports along the middle of the building, thrust directly in the earth in suitable holes[110].

The floor

The question whether the walls of Megaron B had foundations or not arose from Rhomaios' two stratigraphic sections, ε–ε and ζ-η, which were variously interpreted[111]. The investigation of the few and scattered intact parts in the new excavation did not provide a reliable picture of the floor of Megaron B. Combining the evidence, we can make a few observations and one probable restoration of the floor of the building. In the rear room two successive layers of hard clay, 0.10-0.12 m. apart, were identified in trenches 3 and 4 (pls 14b,15,30,63a,1,2). The upper layer, similar to the lower but less hard, does not belong to period when the entire building was in use and may be connected with a repair or remodelling of the rear room after the destruction of the Megaron, while the hearth of holocaust sacrifices had already come into use and the room was retained probably for religious purposes.

The original floor of the rear room, at a depth of 0.80-0.85 m., was higher than that of the main space of the building, which consists of hard clay with some scattered flat stones (pls 43,32, fig. 21b) and lies at a depth varying between 1 m. and 1.20 m., sloping from north to south. It is clear that the level of use inside the Megaron followed the slope of the ground. The adaptation of the entire construction to the slope becomes evident if the depth at which the two flanking walls are founded is compared: in its northernmost part the east wall is at about 0.87 m. and the west at 0.77 m., whereas at the south end the east wall is at 1.40 m. and the west at ca. 1.70-1.80 m.[112] The significant difference between the two south ends is due to the general subsidence of the ground on the west side and less to its natural gradient, which also exists from east to west.

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109. Rhomaios 1915, 241.

110. Coulton 1988, 64. In this case, however, it appears that a base at the bottom of the hole would have been needed for the support. Building W at Tiryns would have been a tripartite structure with a row of supports down the center. It dates to the LH IIIC period but perhaps continued in use in Geometric times. Gercke, Hiesel 1975, 8-10, taf. 5, Beil. 4.

111. Rhomaios 1915, 245, fig. 10, 247, fig. 12.

112. The differences recorded during the excavation were verified by the measurements of the topographer Manolis Kapokakis.

The builders of Megaron B appear to have proceeded ever deeper, building from north to south, in order to establish the walls on the firmest possible ground and to avoid the systematic introduction of quantities of fill and the excavation of foundation trenches, which would have meant in the end that the level of use was unstable. This practice is in evidence also in other early constructions[113]. The difference in the elevation of the floor may have been overcome by means of a stepped arrangement, which was not found in our necessarily scattered trenches. We can hypothesize that would have been done where the cross-walls are located.

The type of the building

The question posed is whether Megaron B was originally a long building open in front, with antae at the ends of the walls and later on became a closed, multi-spaced building or a closed building from the very beginning. The two corners of the façade (pls 44,46b,61) were the crucial points for providing an answer.

The southernmost end of the east wall as preserved today does not match Rhomaios' description. A comparison with the illustration of that area in fig. 9 in *Deltion* 1, 1915, 244 shows that there has been some disturbance of this area. The photograph, however, is not clear enough for more precise comparisons. The 'upright' slabs that, according to Rhomaios, were meant to receive a wooden anta, may have belonged to the vertical walling of the neighbouring 'built bothros' that he himself describes.

The view that the long building was initially open at the front with wooden antae, was totally overthrown by the better preserved southwest corner, which was re-discovered. It was clear that the south end of the west wall is bonded with the cross-wall of the façade. Indeed there is no empty space that a decomposed wooden anta would have left, as Rhomaios had maintained was the case at the end of the east wall. Thus, according to the excavation Megaron B should be restored as a long, closed building from the beginning of its existence.

The measurements of the entire building as restored are 20.80 × 7.50 m. Jos de Waele, in the belief that a monumental building like Megaron B must have had proportions based on a specific foot, tried to estimate its proportions on the basis of a 0.30 m. foot. He accepts that the original plan included an anteroom and middle room of equal length, which in the course of construction became slightly different[114].

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113. See Schmalz 1980, 328. Moreover, in early periods the introduction of quantities of fill for the constructions of broad terraces is avoided and the natural differences in elevation are retained in spatial arrangements. See Darque 2005, 376-377 with references.

114. de Waele 1995, 85-90.

Megaron B and the Mycenaean 'megaron'

The comparison between the long, open or closed, Geometric buildings and the Mycenaean 'megaron' [115] cannot effectively explain why the rectangular types with their variations, as exemplified by Megaron B at Thermos, came to be the preferred plan for the 'chieftain' halls[116]. The overall plan with the arrangement of separate spaces along the long axis, can be considered a long lived and tried plan for which building experience was acquired over time. It has been argued that narrow, long buildings with a porch in antis, as well as closed *oikoi,* continued an Early and Middle Helladic tradition into the Mycenaean period, a tradition with which the palatial megaron was also connected [117]. The survival of these types of buildings during the Dark Ages does not require the intervention of the Mycenaean megaron in order to be explained[118].

In the Geometric period, the porch, with or without columns in antis, occurs in only a few long, open buildings (e.g. in Tiryns T, at Emporio, Eretreia A2, and Aigeira A)[119]. Their interior arrangement differs from that of the Mycenaean megaron. In the latter the main, official hall, the *domos*, is in the innermost part of the building; it is the last room and does not lead to any other space. The front rooms, the porch (πρόδομος) and the antechamber (αἴθουσα) (almost unknown in the Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic buildings as well as in structures of the Dark Ages) provide an approach to the ceremonial hall (δόμος)[120].

Moreover, the organisation varies. Firstly, in the number and proportions of the rooms relatively to each other as well as to the building as a whole. Whereas the Mycenaean megaron has a consistent plan with stable proportions, the Pro-

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115. See Drerup 1969, 92.

116. I have retained the word Megaron (A,B) in the present study without attaching any historical significance to it, that is with no reference to the Mycenaean or Homeric palaces. The name is rather connected with the term applied in current archaeological terminology to monumental buildings. In Homer, in any case, the term megaron has a wide range of meanings (see Laufter 1980, 209) and, within such a context, can be reasonably applied to the buildings of Thermos as well. See also Hellmann 2006, 37 and 45-46.

117. For this subject see discussion Lawrence 1962, 67-68; Hiller 1986, 86-87; Kilian 1987; Hiesel 1990, 244-246; Darcque 2005, 375-376; Wright 2006, 8-10, 41.

118. Now that the attempt to identify archaeological features of the Mycenaean palace with those of the Homeric palace has been shown to be ineffective, it is reasonable that research turns to comparisons of the simple complexes associated with the chieftains of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods with the royal establishments of the epic, although the Homeric descriptions do not match the features of Iron Age buildings.

119. See Gruben 2001, 29.

120. The terms are those employed by Mylonas 1966, 46-47. The function of the areas of the Mycenaean megaron, including those related to cult, account for the architectural plan. See Maran 2001, 116-117; 2006, 124-128; Rougier-Blanc 2005, 189-193 and earlier Müller K. 1930, 195-196.

togeometric and Geometric long buildings vary in the number and size of the axially arranged rooms[121]. Secondly, the relation of the Mycenaean megaron to the area outside, i.e. the court yard, is totally different from that of the buildings of the Dark Ages to the area around them[122]. The latter are not built within an enclosed court yard, like the Mycenaean megaron (e.g. at Tiryns), which, however much its facade may be raised above the peristyle, is not freestanding. The Mycenaean megaron, even if it had a Middle Helladic origin and had come under other influences as well, was still a new creation and totally entwined with the system that it served. When that system collapsed, the megaron did not survive[123].

Whatever the situation may have been in the centres of the Mycenaean world, we cannot expect at Thermos recollections of the plan and type of the Mycenaean megaron. The only traceable inheritance is a similar function. A large, prominently located building of the Early Iron Age was, like the Mycenaean megaron, a leader's seat and was used for assemblies, feasting and cult activities. For the rest, it is the Middle Helladic cultural tradition that has roots in this place. When the Mycenaean presence weakens and finally withdraws, the Middle Helladic typological tradition as a stable, active element, remains to serve as the basis for the new cultural period. The long building B, closed and with a doorway in the narrow façade, belongs to this tradition and not to that of the megaron of the great Mycenaean centres, which themselves did not need it, except at Tiryns. Just as during the Late Helladic period, the inhabitants of Thermos were satisfied with older, tested building types, so also in the Early Iron Age they used the long, closed building that had survived through the centuries. The new form of matt-painted pottery as well developed from an earlier variant, similar technically, that was also common in the locality of Thermos.

That the long, closed, multi-roomed building of the early period occurs, apart from Thermos, only in Crete (Karphi, Kavousi)[124], is not certain[125]. Since in the isolated world of Aetolia of the Early Iron Age the plan of Megaron B is a novelty,

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121. See Mazarakis Aenian 1997, Tables III, VI.

122. An indicative example of change in the arrangement of buildings in a given area during the Iron Age can also be seen in the buildings of layer 10 at Kastanas, which are isolated, with a single house occupying a special location in the centre (Hänsel 1989, 208-223, fig. 87).

123. Müller, K. 1930, 193-200 (esp. 198), pl. 4, 42, 43, saw in the Mycenaean megaron the beginning of the tradition of the peripteral Greek temple, because he was also influenced by the tendency to think in terms of a theoretical continuity of the purely Helladic tradition. The positions (and restorations) of earlier scholars, especially on the morphological continuity of architectural features from the Mycenaean palace to the Doric temple are discussed by Burns 2007.

124. Drerup 1969, 87-88.

125. See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 268. We may add the late Protogeometric rectangular building at Iolkos which perhaps have had multiple rooms (Theochares 1960, 54-55; 1961; Drerup 1969, 65, 80).

it is uncertain where this type of building originated. For the present, we may view Megaron B as a revived, monumental version of this specific plan at the beginning of a new period.

The Early Iron Age settlement

Settlements of the Dark Age, incompletely preserved and of undetermined type, have been found at many places. They were frequently established on top of destroyed settlements of the Late Bronze Age, but usually suffered severe damage during later building activity almost to the point of extinction.

This is also the case at Thermos, where the Early Iron Age establishment is less well preserved than that of the Late Bronze Age, which was excavated in the same location. Apart from Megaron B, the other remains that have already been mentioned (see above p. 31) are minimally preserved. It is thus impossible to document the existence of an Early Iron Age settlement of comparable size to that of the Bronze Age. There are, however, the remains of two or three buildings of the same period as Megaron B. These were rectangular, some clearly divided into separate spaces; they had the same orientation along an axis running north-south and appear to have been open to the south. There could have been more such buildings that disappeared during later construction activity, or made of perishable materials that left no clear trace over time.

It is difficult to sketch the spatial organization of the area and the arrangement of the buildings. They must have been separate, with narrow or wider passages between them. Megaron B was clearly the most important and prominent to judge by its size, the performance of religious rites over the built bothros located in front of it, as well as the foundation of an ash altar and subsequently of a temple in the same prominent location. The stone pavement, old and new, that surrounded it and the terrace that extended to the east suggest that the building had a special function. A comparable arrangement in the space could be seen in that of the Kastanas buildings of "stratum 10" of the same time[126]. The Megaron B must have been the seat of a chief and a place for communal gatherings and feasting, but not the chief's and his family's dwelling. Buildings nearby, like the Homeric chambers (θάλαμοι), will have served as special residential quarters[127]. This interpretation pertains, as I believe, to all large 'chiefly' buildings of this period.

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126. See n. 122.

127. For the functions of the adjacent (and separate) *θάλαμοι* in the courts of the royal palaces or adjoining areas (Ithaca, Pylos, Troy: *Od.* I 425-426, III 396, 413, Il. VI 242-250) see Rougier-Blanc 2005, 200-212. See also the old study of Homeric houses in the dissertation of Protodikos 1877, 23-30, 57-60.

4. THE CERAMIC, METAL AND STONE FINDS

A BRIEF SURVEY

A. THE POTTERY

The ceramic finds from the trenches of the new excavation that contained undisturbed fill have been distributed in a horizontal stratigraphic sequence. Each unit was labelled with a number and the year of excavation. Some pieces were recorded separately and labelled additionally with the letter π (e.g. π52/94), but only rarely were they large enough to restore into complete pots. The assignment of units (groups) of sherds to their stratigraphic horizons has already proved of value and may in the future be of even greater significance. The small amount of pottery from the new excavations and the small size of most of the sherds make a full description of each class difficult without reference to the older and better preserved material, which will be published by K.A. Wardle. The following brief summary is based on the preliminary reports and on the study of the new material to date by K.A. Wardle[128].

Middle Helladic - Late Helladic handmade pottery

The handmade unpainted wares are a dominant component of every stratum down to the seventh century. Matt-painted pottery derived from the Middle Helladic tradition is rare and seems to have no stratigraphic associations. From the layer preceding the Late Helladic period, there are units containing a considerable number of sherds of hand-made burnished pottery of a grey-green fabric. These are as a rule well fired and, especially in the case of larger vessels, often made of gritty clay. Most of these sherds come from large kraters and storage jars with heavy, flat-topped rims and large, angular handles. Vessels of this sort come also from the excavations of Rhomaios. Sherds of finer pottery are rarer and be-

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128. Wardle 1975; 1977, 162-176; *Praktika* 1992, 127; 1993, 101-102; Wardle, Wardle 2003. Most of the material has been examined also by Katie Demakopoulou.

long to smaller vessels, such as high-handled bowls (there is one wishbone handle in unit 21/95, another triangular handle, typical of this type of fabric, in units 1/92 and 114 (π93)/97. The greenish pottery occurs also in Late Helladic levels but is rare in the strata of the Early Iron Age and appears to have been replaced by an undecorated, gritty clay that was also used for the contemporary matt-painted pottery.

Poorly fired, grey-brown, gritty coarse ware with summarily smoothed surface was found in every unit throughout all the strata; it is thus difficult to distinguish the Bronze Age sherds from those of the Iron Age. Very few sherds provide evidence for the shape of the vessel. Some have an irregular decoration in relief (barbotine) (unit 14/95), of a type known in Epirus (for example, at Dodona) but rare at Thermos, while other types of decoration, such as finger scoring, are even rarer.

As already mentioned, few sherds of matt-painted pottery of the Middle Helladic tradition were recovered, most of which give no evidence of their shape. They are decorated with black paint and a few are bichrome. The style of decoration belongs to the late Middle Helladic period.

Two sherds from the new excavations, from unit 104/97 (pl. 65a), one from a wide-mouthed bowl with bands and another from a bowl or short-necked jar, are contemporary with the LH IIA pottery found by Rhomaios in the earlier destruction level which also contained pottery of Middle Helladic tradition. In unit 17/92 from the destruction layer prior to the construction of Megaron B there are sherds from the body of a small, unpainted beaked jug with a ridge around the base of the neck and a high handle (pl. 65b). The shape suggests a Middle Helladic type but is also known in the Mycenaean period. Matt-painted pottery of this sort was evidently still in use at Thermos, albeit in small quantity, in LH IIA times, when Mycenaean pottery was already being imported. Whether this pottery in the Middle Helladic tradition is local or imported is unknown[129]. S. Dietz places the beginning of this pottery in Aetolia earlier, in the LH IA and IB periods[130]. Whatever the case, it continued to be used in LH II. This question will be further studied by K.A. Wardle.

Mycenaean pottery

Mycenaean pottery is well represented in almost every level, although much is residual in the levels of fill resulting from the various construction episodes connected either with Megaron B or with the temple.

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129. Wardle, Wardle 2003, 149; Rhomaios 1915, 268, fig. 36 (from Building α4). For the Middle Helladic pottery from Thermos see comments by Maran 1992, 375-376.

130. Dietz 2007, 85-87.

Most of the Mycenaean sherds are linear or have lost their decoration. In any case the new excavation trenches yielded relatively few decorated sherds[131]. The most common shapes are deep or stemmed bowls. Kylikes and kraters are also in evidence, together with a few closed vessels. Missing are some typically Mycenaean shapes such as alabastra, shallow bowls and angular kylikes. A unique find is part of what was probably the leg of a wheel-made animal, with banded decoration, from unit 89/93 (pl. 65c) and the horn of an animal (π 42, unit 65a/93, pl. 65d).

Only part of the Mycenaean pottery can be dated on the basis of the stratigraphic sequence. Among the shapes found also in the old excavations, are Vapheio cups (LH IIA) (fig. 36, p. 95), goblets with stemmed spirals datable in LH IIIA1 (unit 90/93, pl. 66a) and kylikes with a zone of multiple chevrons datable in LH IIIA2 (unit 101/97, pl. 66b). Many stemmed bowl fragments could belong to LH IIIB, as could also other deep bowls with monochrome interior, while deep bowls completely coated with monochrome paint are of uncertain date. Among the smaller closed shapes are rare fragments of piriform jars: the narrow neck with splaying rim from stratigraphic sequence 7 (unit 4/95) is probably of this type. A body sherd (unit 1/95, pl. 66c), decorated with groups of broad and fine lines, belongs to a globular stirrup jar and could date in either LH IIIB or LH IIIC[132].

Large body sherds with linear or monochrome decoration as well as rim and base fragments belong also to closed shapes. A rim fragment (114/94) comes from a very large example, while the handle fragment 122/98 belongs to a jug probably of the LH IIIC period[133]. A decorated piece (111/94) belongs to a large globular jar, probably a stirrup jar (pl. 66e); crude vertical zig-zag lines between straight lines are placed in two zones between linear decoration. Both quality and type of decoration place this sherd in the LH IIIC period, but the stratigraphic association of the sherds is uncertain.

Sherds of open vessels come from stemmed bowls, which are among the more common shapes, occurring in unit 3, π22/92 (pl. 67a) and unit 16/92 (pl. 67c); they are dated in LH IIIB or IIIC. Sherds from deep bowls are included in units 111/94, 64/93 (pl. 67b), 108. 116/97, 62/93 (pl. 66d), 32/96. As a rule they have a monochrome interior; patterned sherds from deep bowls are rare, and are datable in LH IIIB[134]. There are also sherds of Vapheio cups of LH IIA, which are likely to be residual, while goblets (stemmed cups) are represented by sherds from units 17/92, 90/93, 14/92 of LH IIIA[135]. Sherds of kylikes, which differ from

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131. On the Mycenaean pottery of Thermos Mountjoy 1999, 797-805; Wardle, Wardle 2003, 149-151.

132. Cf. Furumark 1972, S 35 f., 48 f., 171, 180 f.

133. Furumark 1972, S 69, 105 f.

134. Furumark 1972, S 284 f..

135. Furumark 1972, S 224 f. 262, 213 f.

stemmed cups, dated in LH IIIA2-IIIB[136], were found in units 101/97, 39α/92 (pl. 67d). The foot π102/03 (pl. 68b) comes from a kylix with a swelling on the stem and thin brownish-red paint, while another, completely coated kylix is represented by the body and rim fragment π103/03 (pl. 68a). Both kylikes are dated at the end of the LH IIIC period and are among the few pieces of that time found in the new excavation. Their occurence in the destruction level of the LH IIIC period establishes the date of the final destruction of the LH settlement[137]. More LH IIIC vases were recovered during the old excavation, among them the most important find of the period, the fragments of the krater with a representation of warriors[138] (Thermos Mus. 917, fig. 38, p. 97, pl. 72a) and the fragments of the krater with birds (Thermos Mus. 918, fig. 39, pl. 72b).

The fragments of kraters are small and it is not possible to restore the decoration. The fragment from unit 100/97 is entirely coated in paint; another, in unit 17/92 (pl. 68c), is decorated in black with cross-hatched triangles that recall the matt-painted pottery of the Iron Age, but the vase was wheel-turned and has a monochrome interior[139]. The stratum, moreover, belongs to the Late Helladic period. Finally, we note the small, one-handled, coarse, handmade kyathos, π74/96 (Thermos Mus. 993, pl. 69a) that was found beneath the level of use of Megaron B.

Pottery of the Iron Age

Megaron B was built in part on top of the remains of the final destruction of the Bronze Age settlement, the latest sherds of which belong to the end of LH IIIC. There was less coarse handmade pottery than in the previous phase, but, as in

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136. Furumark 1972, S 256-259.

137. Mountjoy 1999, fig. 321 (from the middle of the LH IIIC period to the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.); Eder 2006b, 145-146, pls 52,76; 2009, 137-138. The report of Wardle, Wardle 2003, 150 that LHIIIC pottery is not securely present in the material of the new excavation is not any more valid, since these finds were made later than the date of the report in Lamia at September 1999. And the question put by Dietz, Moschos 2006, 59 "when the destruction of the prehistoric settlement took place" can now be answerd.

138. The fragments of the krater from Thermos have been on display in the local Museum (*Deltion* 4, 1918, Parartema 32) for practically a century. In 1999 the vase was presented at the Second Symposium on "The Periphery of the Mycenaean World," (Wardle, Wardle 2003, 150, fig. 3). The find is not mentioned by the specialists who had published kraters of this kind. On warrior vases see Jacob-Felsch 1996, 36-37, pl. 8,36; Güntner 2000, 203, 212-215, pl. 12; Crouwel 2006, 238-241, pls 57-59; Dakoronia 2006. For a new find in Kalapodhi, sherds of a unique krater depicting armed men who climb a ladder and enter a building see Niemeier ARepLondon 2008-9, 44-45, fig. 72.

139. Furumark 1972, S 281, fig. 13.

every period of early Thermos, these sherds are still the most numerous. The matt-painted ware, which Wardle, for stylistic reasons, placed in the Early Iron Age[140], and which Rhomaios had called "local Geometric"[141], represents no more than a small percentage of the total. Even so their presence can readily be detected in the occupation level of Megaron B and in the overlying units. They are likewise handmade, but they are harder fired than the matt-painted and other local pottery of the Bronze Age. They have a porous orange fabric. Some pieces, with a yellow-buff surface, have brick-red inclusions. The undecorated vessels of the same period are of the same clay and have similar shapes.

Earlier, Rhomaios had reported the discovery of two sherds of this Iron Age matt-painted ware "in the west colonnade at the depth of the older floor of Megaron B", of a third sherd "next to the previous ones and within the uppermost black layer..." and of still another "in an undetermined layer" (pls 64c-f). There is another sherd in the Thermos Museum (1025) with a note stating that it came "from the floor of Megaron B" (pl. 64b)[142]. The association of a significant number of matt-painted pieces, attributed by Wardle to the Iron Age, with pottery of the Protogeometric period at Calydon, Gavalou in Aetolia and at Drepanon in Achaea[143], shows clearly that their attribution to the Early Iron Age must be valid, now that it is also confirmed by the new stratigraphic investigation.

All the sherds of this category were found in levels higher than the destruction level of the end of the LH IIIC period and are connected without the shadow of a doubt with the time of Megaron B. Nor was the pottery now classified as Early Iron Age found in Rhomaios' excavation on the floor of any Bronze Age building[144]. Only the one-handled cup of this ware (pl. 64a) is thought to have been found in Megaron A. The connection of this vase with the Late Helladic horizon would not have appeared strange if the evidence from Aetolian Chalkis held: a sherd of a closed vessel of matt-painted ware, comparable to fragments from Thermos, with decoration of the kind that appears on such vases of the early Iron Age, was said to have been found in a closed stratum of the LH IIIC period[145]; this stratum, however, also contained an Archaic sherd. It follows that this pottery will have been imported into Aetolia already during the eleventh century, just as

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140. Wardle 1977, 164; Wardle, Wardle 2003, 150-151. This pottery was earlier known by the local term Bubusti ware (Heurtley 1926-1927). See Vokotopoulou 1986, 255 for references.

141. Rhomaios 1915, 263-265.

142. Rhomaios 1915, 264-265, fig. 31 γ-δ.

143. Wardle 1977, 164; Wardle, Wardle 2003, 151; Mastrokostas 1967, 320, pl. 228 στ; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980, 111-114, figs 6-7, pl. 37δ; Vokotopoulou 1969, 88, fig. 2.

144. The 'Geometric' hydria, as termed by Rhomaios 1915, 263, fig. 30, which was found in building α1, is now assigned by Wardle to the matt-painted pottery of the Middle Helladic tradition.

145. Dietz 2007, 88-89; Dietz, Moschos 2006, 59.

in Epirus and west Macedonia. Although so far there has been no corroborative evidence from the excavation at Thermos, the sporadic appearance of such pottery in Aetolia earlier than the eleventh century cannot be ruled out.

The shape most commonly found in the new excavation is the cup with rounded body, flat base and handle of circular or oval cross section that may be higher than the rim (π52/94, pl. 69b). Some sherds belong to large or wide mouthed mugs (unit 76/97, pl. 68e)[146]. There are also jugs with cut-away necks (units 108/94, pl. 68d, 53α/96, pl. 70b) and amphorae with vertical handles (units 66/93, pl. 70a). They are carefully decorated so that traces of the brush cannot be detected. The decorative patterns are composed in zones, between which, in some cases, there are horizontal zigzag lines (units π66/96, pl. 70c, 14a/95, 6/94 (π55), pl. 71a). Curvilinear motifs are rare. The cups and mugs are decorated with groups of vertical and oblique lines at the low neck, with fringes hanging on the body below from a horizontal band (π52/94, pl. 69b, units 76/97 pl. 68e, 151, 154, 155/2000). Large vessels, jugs and jars, may have hatched lozenges (units 14α/95 pl. 70d, 111/94 pl. 70e, ladder patterns (π52a, pl. 68d, unit 53α/96 pl. 70b) or a floral motif (unit 6/94, pl. 71a). Some sherds of large vessels have broad painted stripes (units 57 (π70)/96 pl. 71b, 119/98 pl. 71c) and one sherd, perhaps from a cup/mug, is painted and has reserved lozenges (unit 155/2000, pl. 71d).

What cannot be ignored in general are the affinities of this matt-painted pottery with the matt-painted ware of Macedonia, but also the differences in technique, paint and decorative motifs. A number of features, decorative motifs and compositions, suggest partial influence from the Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIC times in west Greece, such as, for example, at Aetos and in the Polis cave in Ithaca, while comparisons may be made with the pottery of Vitsa and western Macedonia[147]. In Macedonia this pottery style is thought to be derived from the Middle Helladic production of central and southern Greece, even though the connecting links with the local Macedonian pottery are missing[148]. Prendi, on the contrary, argued that this pottery came from the area that is now Albania, appearing initially in the thirteenth century in Maliq and then spreading into south Epirus during the twelfth and eleventh centuries[149]. Others are of the opinion that it appeared simultaneously during the twelfth century throughout the northwest region[150]. In Aiane in western Macedonia it is found together with Mycenaean

146. Wardle, Wardle 2003, fig. 4.

147. Wardle, Wardle 2003, 151; Papapostolou 1997a, 334-335.

148. Vokotopoulou 1985, 143-145.

149. Prendi 1982, 215-218. This idea had already been rejected earlier by Hammond 1972, 277-288.

150. Soueref 1989, 169; Bodinaku 1989, 63. For the matt-painted pottery in Macedonia see Hochstetter 1982.

pottery of the LH IIIA-B phase, while at Ayios Mamas (Olynthos) in the Chalcidice it appears to exist already in the earlier levels of the Late Bronze Age. In Epirus (Dodona, Kastritsa, Koutselio) the chronological evidence is missing. "Matt-painted is the latest of the prehistoric pottery," wrote Dakaris[151]. Yet in Vitsa this pottery may well begin during the tenth century[152]. As far as Aetolia is concerned, it appears, on the basis of the excavation evidence available to date, to have been introduced during the eleventh century.

During the phase that followed, after the destruction of Megaron B, when the ash altar and the bothroi came into use, the matt-painted ware is present but the levels also include gradually decreasing amounts of Mycenaean pottery, as a result of the moving and mixing of fill. From the period when the temenos was rearranged, from the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century, sherds of the Iron Age become plentiful, the Mycenaean pottery decreases further, while late Geometric-early Archaic sherds are in evidence. During the last period before the construction of the early Archaic temple, the late Geometric-early Archaic material (undecorated sherds) comprises the bulk of the finds, although there is still a scatter of Mycenaean sherds in the fill that was introduced for levelling purposes.

B. THE METAL FINDS

The early metal objects from the old and the new excavations will be published as a separate study[153]. The finds from the new stratigraphic excavation comprise mainly iron weapons, spearheads, spear butts, arrowheads, knives, swords, as well as bronze jewellery, hair spirals, finger rings, pins and beads (pls 73,74, fig. 46). Many more example of these objects were found in the earlier excavation as well as other iron and bronze artifacts, fibulae, amulets attachments, miniature double axes, wheels (pl. 75), tools (files, chisels, borers, spits, utilitarian axes) and fragments of cauldrons, specifically handles of iron as well as one bronze circular handle with a rope pattern and a bronze rim decorated with a wave pattern and rosettes in the center of the spirals (pls 76-77)(*Thermos Museum 61,226*)[154].

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151. *Praktika* 1952, 373.

152. Vokotopoulou 1982, 92; 1985, 163; 1986, 255-276.

153. Maria Pateraki has undertaken their publication.

154. Wardle 1972; 1977, 190 f.; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, nos. 105, 106, 108, 109, 113, 120, 232, 350, 455, 458, 489, 575, 589, 844, 949, 1054, 1061, 1152, 1366, 1367, 1699, 1712, 1717, 1718, 1738, 1741, 1744; Avila 1983, nos. 122-124, 947, 1056, 1065, 1067-1073, 1097. Their stratigraphic context in unknown.



The hair spirals, i.e. cast bronze spiral rings with conical or discoid ends, are the most numerous of these finds. Next in number are the spearheads, finger rings, swords and knives. At present there is not enough evidence to show that metal objects were produced locally either for everyday use or for cult purposes. The few and small bits of metal waste that have been found cannot be ascribed to specific activities.

Figurines

The old excavations at Thermos brought to light four bronze male figurines, more or less well known in the literature, except for one (no. 4), as well as figurines of horses.

Catalogue

a. Male figures

1. NM X14494 (pls 78-79).

Figurine of a warrior of the type of the Syrian divinity Reshef, found in the black stratum and identified by Rhomaios as a representation of the "javelin-hurling Artemis" (Romaios 1915, 271-272). Height: 0.225 m.
The subject is identifiable by the position of the arms. Both upper arms are stretched out to the sides. In both hands Reshef held weapons (perhaps a mace or axe, but a spear in his raised right arm and a shield in his missing left arm cannot be excluded). The remains of a wire in the right hand and at the neck (the second is now missing) were explained by Rhomaios as representing rope: the first was used so that " the javelin-hurling goddess could pull back and retrieve the javelin after throwing it", while the other would have secured the shield. Other interpretations are, however, possible (see below). The body of the figure is tall and flat, the spread legs disproportionately short. The right knee is more swollen than the left and the feet are small with dowels for attachment. The left foot is slightly forward. He wears a low kilt, the belt has an incised zigzag line at the top and vertical lines (folds?) at the bottom. The figure wears a low conical helmet, the line of which continues uninterrupted down the nape of the neck and the back. The cranial volume is hidden beneath the helmet. The eyes, mouth and brows are rendered plastically and emphasised with incision. The ears are shown as semi-circular projections. Small, applied pellets at the height of the sternum represent the breasts: their emphatic form contributed to Rhomaios' identification of the figure as Artemis.
Probably dated in the Early Iron Age. Stratigraphic evidence indicates that it was in use in the sanctuary in the seventh century.

Bibliography and comments
Rhomaios 1915, 271-272, fig. 39 identifies it as Artemis; Karo 1915, 193 suggested that it probably represented Athena; Lamb 1929, 43, pl. XVIIa; Müller V. 1929, 117, 167, 173, pl. XLI no 403 connected it with Asia Minor; Gallet de Santerre, Tréheux 1947-1948, 224 no V; Kaulen 1962, 13; Rolley 1969, 44-45; Rossi 1970, 31, 34; Collon 1972, 124, no. 10, fig. 7; Bouzek 1972, 161, no. 7; Seeden 1980, 128-129 (no. 1821, pl. 115) 131 (she assigns it to the final group as also no 1798 from Cyprus); Rolley 1984, 669-670; Kahil, 1984, no 103a (Artemis); Langdon 1984, 238; Renfrew 1985, 306; Gallet de Santerre 1987, 11-12; Floren 1987, 65, n. 323; Antonetti 1990, 163-165; Byrne 1991, 159-160, 141, 218, 246, no. 16, pl. 1; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 226-227, 278-279.
Figurines of Reshef type have been found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Phylakopi in Melos, Attica (Sounion, with others in Berlin re-

ported to have come from Attica), Nezero in Thessaly (of silver), at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (Philia), the Heraion of Samos, Lindos, Delos, the cave of Patsos in Crete (see n. 337, 340), and recently the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (*ARepLondon* 2007-2008, 13; Wells 2009).

Negbi 1976, 37 f., classifies the figurines of the Smiting god found outside Syria in her Phoenician unit. It is indeed possible that their dissemination was consequent to the spread of the Phoenicians beginning in the early 1st millennium. The Syro-Phoenician figures of this type in general as well as those found in Greece, apart from Thermos, at Sounion (Staïs 1917, 195, fig. 7), the Patsos cave (Evans 1901) and the figure probably from Dodona (Bequignon 1929, 108, fig. 3), advance the leg (see Seeden 1980, pls 114-115). Legs on the same vertical plane are found frequently on the type of the warrior with both arms extended (Negbi 1976, 8 f.).

In connection with the form of the breasts, Burkert (1975b, 58 n. 43) observed that there is also another male figure from Syria with emphasised breasts. For the rendering of the nipples as applied pellets see Byrne 1991, 140-141, who considers them a Cretan characteristic drawn from Near Eastern prototypes. Lebessi 2002, 220, notes that «the pellets did not signify the sex, but are a conventional annotation of the human form.» A Cretan female figurine in Berlin holds in her extended right hand a ring-shaped wire similar to that of the Thermos Reshef (Naumann 1976, P19, pl. 27.1), which Byrne (1991, 121, no. 85, fig. 15) interprets as a wreath. The Syrian figure in the Aleppo Museum of the type of the 'Anatolian' warrior with both arms extended, has a gold wire around his neck that Negbi (1976, 147, no. 59, fig. 16) identifies as a torque.

2. NM X14755 (pls 80-82).

Figurine of a nude male cup bearer. The left arm and the feet are missing. Height: 0.20 m.

From the description of Soteriades 1900, 178, it is evident that the figure was found either in the upper part of the light-coloured ash of the holocaust offerings or in the soil of the preparatory layer for the construction of the early Archaic cella.

The upper part (head, chest and shoulders) has been joined to the body. Metal was added at the join and was then smoothed and polished. The right upper arm is partly missing and had also been joined and consolidated with a nail. A similar nail is preserved on the left shoulder for joining the missing left upper arm (for the technique of joining parts of bronze objects see Lechtman, Steinberg 1970, 6 f.). The gesture of the preserved right hand must be original. The metal appears everywhere to be the same, thus it is more likely that the figure was repaired after being damaged or worn rather than joined from parts of two different figures. A similar repair was effected on a Geometric figurine from Afrati in Crete, as suggested by Lebessi 1980, 89, when damage during manufacture necessitated the joining of the feet, although this process was not carried out with the technical expertise expended on the Thermos figurine. Traces of damage are apparent on the upper body. The x-ray in the National Museum showed no joining of two separately cast parts, or any joining elements, and the figure was solid cast.

The right upper arm is raised to the level of the shoulder and is bent at the elbow, proferring a handled cup. The belt is indicated by four incisions that form three relief rings, emphasizing the articulation

between the elongated flat torso and the lower body with its projecting hips and long limbs. The head with its slightly rounded cranium is carried on a tall neck. The hair is short, with a curvilinear outline and incised locks falling toward the exposed nape and the forehead. The face is triangular with a pointed chin, which does not necessarily indicate a beard, although additional metal had been applied. Eyes and lips are in relief and the short nose has a straight outline. The forehead is defined below by a sharp, slightly curving line. A sharp slightly curving ridge above the eyes defined the forehead.
Dated at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century.

Bibliography and Comments
Soteriades 1900, 178; Rhomaios 1915, 273, fig. 40; Lamb 1929, 43, who attributes it to the northwest region; Müller V. 1929, 72 n. 25; Kaulen 1962, 14; Rolley 1969, 44-45 compares it stylistically with figurines from Dodona, Thessaly and in Munich (Lullies 1962, 625- 626, figs 25, 26); Rolley 1984, 670, n. 7; Langdon 1984, 212, 239, 310 (C87) considers it probably a charioteer; Floren 1987, 65 n. 320. For the subject see the figurine of the cup-bearer from Syme Viannou (Lebessi 2002, 81-86, no. 17, 219-222, pl. 16), dated in the first third of the eighth century; the same figurine is also comparable for the relation of the head to the face. In this respect even closer comparisons can be made with the later figure leading a horse from Olympia, B 4600 (Kunze 1961, 145-151, pls 60-61; Herrmann 1964, 46, figs 31-32; Schweitzer 1969, figs 136-139; Lebessi 2002, 85-86, fig. 54 with references), from which the cup-bearer from Thermos may not be much removed chronologically, as shown also by details such as the arrangement of the hair over the forehead and the rendering of the facial features. For the type of coiffure see Herrmann 1966, 98; Lebessi 1980; 2002, 82 and for the belt with multiple rings and its Cretan origin Byrne 1991, 114.

3. NM X14756 (pl. 83).

Figurine of a male figure with arms extended to the sides. The left foot is missing.
Height: 0.11 m.
Found in the same place as the previous figure. He wears a helmet of an early type with a crest towering above. The face is bird-like, the neck long. The incision around the neck perhaps denotes a necklace. The torso is long, the legs relatively short, the wide-flung arms slightly bent at the elbows and the hands are slightly inclined, the left downwards, the right upwards. The fingers are indicated with incision. Three incised lines delineate the belt and incised dotted circles decorate the body.
Dated in the eighth century.

Bibliography and Comments
Soteriades 1900, 178; Rhomaios 1915, 273, fig. 41; Lamb 1929, 43 attributes it stylistically to the northwest region; Müller V. 1929, 72, 167-168, pl. XXIII no. 293 identifies it as an attacking warrior of Anatolian form; Kaulen 1962, 15; Rolley 1969, 44-45 considers it comparable stylistically with figures from Dodona, Thessaly and in Munich (Lullies 1962, 625-626, figs 25-26); Langdon 1984, 105, 239, 310 (C86) interprets it as a warrior in "an epiphany-like gesture"; Floren 1987, 65, n. 320; Byrne (1991, 123-124, 155, 160, 246, no. 15, pl. 15, fig. 17) interprets it as a warrior with missing weapons in his upraised arms, and sees Cretan and Anatolian characteristics; Lebessi 2002, 308, fig. 183, connects it with Protogeometric and early Geometric Cretan figures, because of the disproportionately long neck relative

to the small face and the elongated body, but considers it later. The gesture of the open arms she convincingly disassociates from the attacking warrior type, connecting it instead with the epiphany gesture that "Cretan metal-work transmitted to the Peloponnese."

For the gesture, see Langdon 1984, 97-98, who considers it a survival of the Mycenaean epiphany gesture on a local level that does not imply cultic continuity. Parallels for the gesture are provided by the Olympia figurines: Olympia Museum: B5377, 5994, 6269, 1698 (Kunze 1967, 214, 218, pl. 106, 1b-c, 2-3; Schweitzer 1969, figs 122-123), NM X6168 and X6169 (Kunze 1967, 214, pl. 107, 1-2, Lebessi 2002, 300, fig. 174, 302, fig. 176). Protogeometric figurines in the Heraklion Museum with arms open but turned forward, are included in Naumann 1976, pp. 10, 12, 13, pl. 22. A similar gesture appears in male figurines from Delphi (Rolley 1969, 38-43, pl. 7), dated in the Late Geometric period, and in a female figure (Rolley 1969, 44-45, no. 26, pl. IX). The latter, attributed by Langdon (1984, C127, 205, 292, 315) to Luristan, has the same spiral ornament on the tall neck, which is rendered with plastic rings, whereas on the Thermos figure it is incised.

Cultic gesture has nothing to do with the gestures of the Smiting figures. Yet a prehistoric Anatolian figurine of a divinity of the warrior type of the "Syrian group" from the Orontes valley (Negbi 1976, 8 f., no. 31, pl. 7) "of the first quarter of the second millennium", has his arms flung open towards the sides unlike the canonical type with arms extended forward. For the divinity's pose of epiphany and its significance in the daily cult practice of the Geometric Period, see Neumann 1965, 91-92.

For the Mycenaean origin of the facial form, see Olympia B1698 (Kunze 1944, 106, pl. 32,4,5), NM X6169 (Lebessi 2002, 302, fig. 176), Delphi 1546 (Rolley 1969, 47, pl. IX, no. 32). This very early type of face is discussed also by Byrne 1991, 132-133.

4. Thermos Museum 438 (pls 84-85).

Figurine of a nude, standing male figure with both hands on the abdomen. Height: 0.105 m. According to the Museum Catalogue it was found at Thermos, but the precise place and context are not recorded.

The torso is short and flat, the legs long. The right leg appears to be slightly bent, the shoulders are broad and the arms curve around so that the hands rest on the abdomen; the fingers not indicated. The neck is short, the cranium spherical and the face angular. A continuous line unites nose and chin, a small hollow denotes the mouth, the ears are rendered as semi-circular protrusions and the eyes as round holes. The soles of the feet have pegs. Unpublished.

Comment

The position of the arms, (similar to that with the hands on the hips), has been considered as a version of the pose with arms "resting along the side of the body", which "are attached to the hips only in the period of the Late Geometric style, following Eastern prototypes" (Lebessi 2002, 305-306). The gesture of the hands on the abdomen, but tending toward the pubis (a theme already recognizable in a Phi-type clay figurine in Berlin, according to Müller V. 1929, 55, pl. XVI, 249) is seen on the following Protogeometric figurines: one from Olympia in Berlin, no. 8118 (Naumann 1976, 58, n. 78, pl. 23, 2), the Geometric figurine from Ayia Triadha in Herakleion (*id.* pl. 23, 3). The figurines from Ithaca (Benton 1934-35, 62, no. 15, pl. 16; Lebessi 2002, 307, fig. 181 with references; Homann-Wedeking

1950, 21, fig. 4; Langdon 1984, 171, 235 C83) and Delphi (Rolley 1969, 17, no. 7, pl. 1), might be considered to convey the same meaning with their gestures even though they show a typological difference from the previous figures.

Examples of male figures with their hands down against the thighs or resting on the abdomen, are seen in: the figurine from Olympia in Berlin (Neugebauer 1931, 18, no. 26, pl. 5; Lebessi 2002, 303, fig. 178); the late Protogeometric figurine from Aghia Triadha in the Herakleion Museum X748 (Naumann 1976, P24, pl. 30, 1; Lebessi 2002, 71, fig. 40); and the early Geometric figure from the Psychro cave in Oxford (Naumann 1976, 73, no. 27, pl. 30, 3, Byrne 1991, no. 68, fig. 11). The religious tradition of the type with hands on the thighs or abdomen must be considered as fact, even if its (Eastern) significance may not have been transplanted together with the transference of the type itself. In addition to the cultic significance of the gesture, the figurine from Thermos recalls the gesture typical of a charioteer. Yet there is no indication at all that the figure was part of a group.

The breadth of the shoulders, the emphatically sigmoid outline of the waist–hips are characteristic formal features of most workshops of the Geometric period. They appear in Crete especially early, for example in the clay figurine from Palaikastro of the LM IIIB period (Lebessi 2002, 67, fig. 34), the above-mentioned figurine from Ayia Triadha in the Herakleion Museum X748 and, as Minoan heirlooms, in the figurines from Syme Viannou (Lebessi 2002, no. 13, pl. 13, no. 17, pl. 16, no. 18, pl. 17) and other Late Geometric Cretan figures (Lebessi 2002, 96, fig. 66, 97, fig. 67). Comparable for the structure of the head and face and the rendering of the facial features (eyes, ears) is the early eighth century figurine of a warrior from Olympia in the National Museum, X6182 (Furtwängler 1890, pl. 16, 243; Herrmann 1964, 42, figs 22-24) and the centaur of the group in New York (Kunze 1930, 143, Beil. 38.1; Herrmann 1964, 42-43, fig.21; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1964, figs 37-38; Schweitzer 1969, fig. 185; Heilmeyer 1982, 50, 51).

The slender, elongated limbs with their advanced naturalistic modelling and the flowing outlines suggest a date in the Late Geometric period and the beginning of the seventh century cf. Olympia B2800, 3390 (Kunze 1961, 151, pls 62-65 dates it in the early seventh century), B5700 (Kunze 1967, 231, pls 110, 111), and another in the NM X6177 (*ibid.* 232, pls 112-113).

b. Horses

Soteriades 1900, 178, refers vaguely also to little "inartistically fashioned" bronze horses that were found together with other bronze dedications in the "ash" level "along the inner side of the east wall of the cella." It appears likely that all the pieces were in the soil that was spread in preparation for the building of the cella and which contained the remains of votive objects. Today there is only one horse figurine in the Thermos Museum.

1. Pair of horses on a common base, Thermos Museum 428 (pl. 86).

Height: 5.8 cm.; length: 6 cm.; width 3.8 cm.; dimensions of base: 4 × 4 cm.

Missing is part of the left hind leg of the right-hand horse, and most of the element that joined the horses together. The muzzles are cylindrical, the ears tilted forward. The neck of the left-hand horse has been slightly distorted. The transition at the base of the necks and the joints of the legs is indicated with incised lines. The

manes are also indicated with incision. The bodies are decorated with impressed dotted circles, just as the body of the male figure no. 3, and the next horse in the NM no. 14757. Similar circles decorate the sides of the base, which has four rows of small, antithetical, triangular holes. It is dated at the end of the eighth century.

Bibliography

Zimmermann 1989, 205 (ETO 17), 210, dates it in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. and considers it of "inspiration corinthienne"; He connects it technically and formally to the figure from Olympia in Berlin Zimmermann 1989, (ETO 16, pl. 47, Furtwängler 1890, 36, no. 217); Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 191-192, no. 1152, pl. 60 characterizes it as a "westgriechische Version" (of Geometric bronze horses).

2. Figurine of a horse NM X14757 (pl. 87).

Found in the same find context as no. 1. Height: 10.6 cm.; length: 8.2 cm.; width 2.55 cm.; dimensions of base: 6.35 × 2.7 cm.

It has become oxidized, most of the tail, which hung down to the base, is missing as also the lower part of the right hind leg. The ears are long and tilted forward, of equal length with the head and muzzle. The knees are indicated by sharp protrusions. Incised dotted circles decorate the body. The base is pierced by two rows of antithetical triangular holes.

Bibliography

Zimmermann 1989, 204 (ETO 6) with bibliography.

In the NM Catalogue (no. 14563) another small horse from Thermos, similar to the previous one is recorded, which is now lost. Zimmermann 1989, 204 (ETO 5) 207 n. 18 refers to a photograph of it in the German Archaeological Institute. He regards both of them as "Corinthianising" bronzes of the second half of the eighth century.

Zimmermann 1989, 60-61 (ITH 9) pl. 39 picks out as probably from Thermos also another figurine of a horse in the Basle market, attributed by him to a variant of the Argive workshop ("Ithaque-Delphes") (MuM Auktion 51, 1975, 28, no. 72, pl. 11).

3. Figurine of a ridden horse, Thermos Museum 586 (pl. 88).

Height: 0.077; length: 0.081; dimensions of base: 0.058 × 0.027-0.026. For the find context (X53) see above, p. 35. Found at the same level were an iron spearhead (M72), Thermos Museum 587 and two spear butts (M 69, 70), Thermos Museum 588 (pl. 92). Datable in the Late Geometric period (end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century).

Bibliography and commentary

Published in Papapostolou 2001, where the most striking feature of the figurine – the combination of the moving rider with the stationary horse is discussed. Despite some elements that refer to the traditions of the Argive and Arcadian bronze workshops, its stylistic affinities with bronze horse figurines found in northwest Greece and attributed to 'Northwestern' workshops lead to the conclusion that the Thermos rider was a local (aetolian) creation.

The closest pictorial parallels of the figurine are representations on Late Geometric vessels where the movement of the rider is similar. In the painted representations, however, the horse is also depicted as moving or galloping (Papapostolou 2001, 24 figs 27-30). The motion of the Thermos rider corresponds to the descriptions in *Iliad* XV, 679 and *Od.* V, 37, of the equestrian skills of the elite. It is very likely that the figurine

echoes riding contests, that were held at Thermos, either on occasion or on a regular basis, during Late Geometric times. Such events, I believe, were also held in other centres before the official inclusion of horse racing in the contests that took place at the great sanctuaries (Papapostolou 2001, 35-36). The idea that the horse was victorious is suggested by the victor's fillet that is shown on his neck. The statuette may well have been the dedication of a prominent Aetolian who had distinguished himself in riding contests at Thermos.

C. THE STONE TOOLS

As noted by Christos Matzanas, who has undertaken the publication of this material, "based on its typology and technological characteristics, stone working at Thermos can be assigned to Bronze Age, specifically to the tradition of the end of the third and most of the second millennium."

The study shows that stone tools were made at Thermos mainly from local reddish brown and grey flint (silicon?) but from other kinds of stones as well. In addition raw material was imported that had been suitably prepared for further working. The importation of finished products likewise cannot be excluded. Most are chipped stone tools. The older tools, of the second millennium, show better workmanship. Only small numbers of stone tools have been found in the Late Helladic horizon. More than three quarters of the stone tools were found in levels of the horizon of Megaron B and those of the eighth or seventh century. At that time chipped stone as well as ground stone tools and implements (whetstones, axes, querns, grinders, polishers) were still in use. The axes and hammer-axes are of types that are confined to the Bronze Age, whereas the other types of tools continue to be made during the Iron Age and may have been used at the same time as metal tools. Notable is only a general "reduction in size" and " a decline in technical skill" in the Iron Age. Notable too are the use of the same tool for a long time and perhaps a greater use of the local reddish brown flint. This agrees with the isolation of Thermos from the south after the end of the LH IIIC period.

In general, the manufacture and use of stone tools during the first centuries of the first millennium continue with a number of differences in the methods of production, which will be discussed in the detailed study of this material. Here, however, we may emphasise the insistence on the application of traditional technology that may go back to a time earlier than the Late Helladic period. The finds clearly reflect the various basic activities that evidently remained the same or similar throughout all periods at Thermos: agricultural and household functions, rituals and meals.

5. THE MIDDLE HELLADIC TRADITION AT THERMOS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

During the Late Helladic period, pottery deriving from various Middle Helladic traditions was produced in the Periphery of the Mycenaean centres, while imported Mycenaean pottery and its imitations were also in use at the same time. The different types of pottery dependent on pre-Mycenaean traditions continued to be produced into the Early Iron Age as well, a phenomenon that appears to apply to Thermos as well. Consequently the pottery from the site should be examined in relation to that of all Mainland Greece, the Ionian islands, Epirus, western Macedonia and other areas. Progress in the knowledge of all these local categories will surely provide more secure criteria for the investigation of the historical and archaeological problems of the period.

While the pottery from the earlier excavations at Thermos is, except for that found in the LH IIA destruction level, unstratified (see above, p. 24,65), the sherds and the few partly preserved vessels from the new excavations have been incorporated in the general stratigraphic sequence. New evidence has been produced[155].

Yet at Thermos, almost until the early Hellenistic period, there are no post-Mycenaean ceramic finds that can be ascribed to known, more precisely datable categories. Moreover there are no examples of what is considered to be the Protogeometric or Submycenaean style of West Greece, which Schachermeyr had termed "Transitional pottery", characterizing it as an Aetolian production par excellence, contemporary with the Submycenaean phase, that had spread to other areas[156]. Today little is said about its exclusively Aetolian affinities[157]. Another difficulty in the investigation of these problems, particularly those regarding chronology, arises from the lack of tomb groups in central Aetolia.

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155. Although LH IIIC pottery had been found in the old excavation (e.g. the warrior krater, fig. 38), no examples came to light in the new excavation until 2003, when trench 29 yielded sherds dating to the end of this period just below the southwest corner of Megaron B (*Praktika* 2003, 59, and see above n. 137).

156. Schachermeyr 1980, 249-254; 1983, 168; Dekoulakou 1973; 1982, 221-224; Coldstream 1968, 220-223; Vokotopoulou 1969; Desborough 1972, 247 f.; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980; Eder 2006a, 562-563.

157. See comments by Vroom 1987, 29; Otto 1987; Eder 2009, 135.

An important discovery of the new excavation is that a style of handmade matt-painted 'Geometric' pottery (that must be considered as separate from the Protogeometric "Zwischenware" noted above) is in fact connected with strata associated with the period of Megaron B; it continues on into the time of the elliptical peribolos with the slabs and occurs sporadically even beneath the walls of the temple (see p. 69-71).

The prevalence during the Early Iron Age of the new matt-painted pottery, which is unmistakably connected with Middle Helladic ware, is part of the archaeological evidence that has served as the basis for the general theory of the revival or survival of Middle Helladic cultural elements in the Early Iron Age[158], or –differently phrased– the adaptation during this time to "basic activities and fashions of the Middle Helladic period"[159]. Among the adherents to this position, Snodgrass attached special importance to the cemetery and its finds at the site of Marmara on the west slopes of Mount Oete in ancient Locris, which he believed provides evidence for the survival of the Middle Helladic culture down to the end of the Bronze Age[160]. He also found support for this viewpoint in the evidence from Thermos, noting that, while Megaron A could be a "probable Mycenaean structure" the apsidal plan itself is a feature of the Middle Helladic tradition. Accepting

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158. Schachermeyr 1980, 250: "traten die aus dem Mittelhelladicum stammenden Überlieferungen wieder in den Vordergrund". He associated (1980, 410 f.) the matt-painted pottery of the Early Iron Age with the Dorian element. The question of continuity of the matt-painted pottery was noted also by Maran 1992, 376 n. 1488.

159. Snodgrass 2002, 2 f., 6 f. See also Hiller 1996, 29-33: for similar views. Yet Desborough 1972, 106, 111, 335-337, believed in extensive migrations from the northwest that reached the southern Peloponnese by way of the Teichos Dymaion fortification, rather than in the revival of old Middle Helladic features. He commented negatively on the general idea of Middle Helladic revival, particularly in reference to central and western Greece. For similar ideas see Dickinson 2006a, 24-25, 183, 244; 2006b, 119. Hiesel 1990, 200-201, holds that the incidence of the apsidal plan in both the Middle Helladic period and the Early Iron Age does not signify the same cultural terms or the same function; for him the significant question is with which population groups the plan is to be connected. Gruben 2001, 27, referring to the appearance of buildings of Middle Helladic type in the Dark Ages noted that "every connection with Mycenaean types appears to have been lost, as if there had never been a Mycenaean intermezzo".

160. Excavated and published by Dakoronia 1987. The excavator dated all the tumuli of the cemetery in the Early Iron Age and considered them an example of the survival in peripheral areas of funerary customs of earlier times, with the same tradition surviving also in the pottery production. Maran 1988 argued against attributing all the graves to that time; he considers that some are definitely datable to the transition from the Middle Helladic to the early Late Helladic period. In a more recent publication Dakoronia 2010, 2 further supports her chronology, through the comparison of an amphora from Marmara with a similar vase found in an Early Iron Age context at Tiryns.

that "Megaron A was visible ... down to the moment when Megaron B ... was constructed and probably for a while longer", he believed that the Early Iron Age is directly influenced by cultural features of the Middle Bronze Age.

The new excavation, which began in 1992 and included the stratigaphic exploration of the fill between the two megara, did not confirm that they were in contemporaneous use from the eleventh century on. As for the formal and technological similarities, which were first noted by Rhomaios[161], recent research has also reached negative conclusions. The curved and inclined walls (and consequently the vaulted roof), of Megaron A (pls 36,37) are not documented in Megaron B. The common orientation is due to fixed, practical reasons, specifically the protection of the buildings from the strong north winds of Thermos. Even if Megaron A was visible, at a lower level, and "respected" for a time during the Dark Ages, this situation cannot have lasted long, since a building (represented by the corner of walls Δ-E, fig. 20, p. 32, pl. 48b,c) of the period of Megaron B was built directly over A. However, the basic view of Snodgrass concerning the existence of Middle Helladic features in Early Iron Age Thermos is still valid. As for the existence of graves within Megaron A and its consequent survival as a 'heroon', according to the earlier proposal of Soteriades, it is a theory that has already been dismissed.

The precise date for the construction of the buildings of the settlement that flourished during Late Helladic times remains uncertain. The 'Middle Helladic' plans of some buildings make it likely, if not certain, that they had already been built during the late Middle Helladic period. Moreover, the pottery found beneath Megaron A (see above p. 21-22) supports this interpretation. It may be that only the rectangular buildings α1 and α3, which were constructed later, can be attributed specifically to Late Helladic times. All the buildings of the Bronze Age settlement probably survived to the end of the period. In addition, the repairs or reconstructions in the aftermath of destructions (or for other causes) did not necessarily involve a change in ground plan. The many stone tools, still far more numerous than the metal ones, reflect an aspect of the dynamic and prosperous Middle Helladic period[162]. The co-existence of matt-painted pottery of Middle

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161. Rhomaios 1915, 244-245, 277-278.

162. Cf. Snodgrass 2002, 4; Rutter 1993, 774, 795. The recent as yet incomplete excavation of a Bronze Age settlement at Chania at Gavrolimni in Aetolia, has revealed a spacious building (A) and another apsidal building (B) that have been dated at the end of the MH and the transition to the LH period, and were part of a settlement contemporary with Thermos (Saranti 2004). Another settlement of the same period has been discovered northwest of Naupaktos (Kato Mamoulada). A more recently published paper (Saranti 2010) reported new house remains of the MH II-III phase in Naupaktos and at Perithori in Messolonghi district. It should be noted here that Rhomaios 1915, Parartema, 47 reported that "at a half hour's distance south of the temenos" (of Thermos) there were twenty apsidal buildings "the other end of which is rectilinear". In all likelihood it was at the Panagoula site, where a few remains have been preserved (**fig. 32**).



Fig. 32. An apsidal MH building to the south of Thermos.

Helladic inspiration together with Mycenaean pottery at Thermos at least until LH IIA times[163], and the continuation of Middle Helladic decorative motifs on the new matt-painted pottery of the Dark Ages also suggest the survival of Middle Helladic traditions. Perhaps it is simply coincidental that to date there is no mortuary evidence at Thermos that might enable us to discern the survival of Middle Helladic tradition in funerary customs as well. Yet the positive features that exist are more than sufficient. It does indeed appear that the Middle Helladic tradition was not altogether obliterated during the years of Mycenaean influence.

In my opinion[164], the relations of Thermos with the Mycenaean world, even though they continued over some four centuries, were not carried out within a specific, more or less formal framework but occasionally, becoming only intermittently closer. The Mycenaean influence (or a general and unspecified 'presence') could not overshadow the Middle Helladic tradition that was a stable cultural feature. The deeply rooted, successfully tried and established elements of the Middle Helladic culture, moreover, were not lost even in the areas of the great Mycenaean centres. Handmade ceramics of Middle Helladic tradition in large quantities co-exist with Late Helladic styles at many Mycenaean sites, even at the centres of that civilisation, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea and Argos as well as in Boeotia. Another point of view that has recently been accepted in research focusing on political organisation is the idea that prepalatial sociopolitical structures, i.e. a system based on a ruling class of warriors, reappears in the Early Iron Age, or that elements of the prepalatial or not palatial Mycenaean world whose roots may be sought in the Middle Helladic, continue on into the Dark Ages. If the title of *basileus* existed already in Middle Helladic times, the sovereignty of 'kings' in the Early Iron Age and later is a phenomenon to be considered in support of this 'continuity' or 'revival'[165]. The presence of a chieftain at Thermos is, in any case, certain at the time of Megaron B.

The excavations provide no evidence either for an administrative system of Mycenaean type, or for the site's dependence on a large Mycenaean centre. The community was most likely independent under a local leader of the wider area and may have played an intermediary role in central Aetolia without the interference of 'Mycenaeans'.

The excavated finds from the peripheral locations of the Late Helladic period now show clearly that the connections of the Periphery with the great centres vary as much as do local circumstances and activities. To define the nature of the

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163. Wardle, Wardle 2003, 149; Papapostolou 2003, 137; Maran 1992 375-376. See also Dietz 2007, 85-87.

164. Papapostolou 2003, 135;1997a, 339;2004, 194-195; 2008, 84.

165. For a review see Ulf 2007 318-319 with references to Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a, 147; 1996, 23;1999, 123, 130.

Mycenaean 'presence' requires a qualified approach in each case, because each area has its own peculiarities, and the reasons that conditioned them frequently cannot be traced. The Mycenaean finds at Thermos are many; some are imported and of good quality, but we do not know the circumstances that brought them to the site, any more than we know the reasons for their presence: were they used in life and cult or were they kept as exotic relics? Yet they document the high level of life at the settlement. The inhabitants of the plain of Thermos, which had suitable climatic conditions and water supplies, were not occupied solely with agriculture and animal husbandry, but also with the movement of goods. Some of the objects at Thermos would have been gifts, others may have come from the exchanges carried out by circulating members of the community or, by people coming here from the southern coast, which was in contact with the Mycenaean world. Nor can banditry be dismissed. The importance of the site's location for communication is often mentioned. In Mycenaean times, more than during the Dark Ages, it would have been a frequently used passageway between north and south. That by itself does not necessitate the development of a 'Mycenaean centre'. Furthermore, the importation or imitation of Mycenaean pottery – which is the most widespread of Mycenaean goods – does not mean cultural assimilation or participation in a system of political organisation[166].

The vexed question is whether there was an unbroken and live continuation of certain activities from the Middle Helladic period, such as workshop continuity in the production of pottery, which is of capital importance, or of stone tools that were made with the same technology and in the same types. The answer, I believe, is to a great degree affirmative. As noted above, the Middle Helladic heritage would be better understood if systematic research were carried out together with stratigraphic investigation, particularly in the Periphery, so as to verify the development of shapes and decoration of ceramic groups from the Middle Hel-

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166. Southwest Aetolia had a closer Mycenaean connection, but not so as to indicate the presence of "Mycenaeans" established in the area. In these and other peripheral centres (e.g. Locris or Phocis) we can discern only local activity and prosperity in the context of relations, at present unknown, with larger centres. These comments had already been written when I received the papers of Eder 2007a, 2007b. In Eder 2007a, 37-40, she discusses the interdependence of centres and peripheral regions during the Bronze Age. She argues that the "Periphery" to which western Greece and Thessaly also belong, had succumbed to the administrative control of the palaces or other secondary but large centres, with the obligation of paying taxes and performing services. Eder supports her argument on the discoveries of seals and sealings (which are more common than Linear B tablets), using them as criteria for contacts and connections. This criterion is not applicable to Thermos. Likewise Feuer 2003 had constructed, on the basis of archaeological evidence from Thesssaly and Macedonia, a model of regional zones with varying degrees of assimilation and cultural identification with the central Mycenaean world.

ladic to the Early Iron Age, beyond the similarity of clay and technique, which is of no special significance. Yet, I believe, that the evidence presented above is enough to demonstrate that, during the time of the Late Helladic settlement, Thermos was living in the material and technical cultural environment of a lively Middle Helladic tradition. From the eleventh century on, this tradition, together with the primary factor of Thermos' advantageous location, contributed, on the one hand, to the survival of the site on the basis of very ancient standards of activity, and on the other, to the turn of the area toward other sources of production and other cultural horizons to the North — a region to an extent foreign to the Mycenaean world. It is a phenomenon that, as noted above, applies more widely in central Greece but needs to be investigated systematically. A return to the heroic Mycenaean past in an attempt to construct a historical identity, as happened later at Calydon and Pleuron, cannot be seen at Thermos even in the eighth and seventh centuries.

The collapse of the Mycenaean palace system of government would have brought on a gradual decrease in contacts, including those carried out by sea with the South. Yet in the LH IIIC period there was still communication with Mycenaean centres in Achaea with the importation or imitation of Mycenaean pottery. At the beginning of the Early Iron Age however central Aetolia becomes isolated and estranged from the South. A strong indication of change during the Early Iron Age can be seen in the lack of Protogeometric pottery at Thermos, although it is found in the coastal zone of Aetolia. Thermos appears no longer to have a share in the exchange network with the western Peloponnese and the Ionian islands. Yet, as in other locations of western Greece, the first iron weapons make their appearance; some of them are inspired from Italian types; the new matt-painted pottery from the North is also present, although it may perhaps appear only sporadically in the southern part of Aetolia[167]; Megaron B was built after an extensive destruction. These facts mark the beginning of a new era.

The developments and changes in the form and technique of objects of everyday life are, as elsewhere, the consequence of various factors[168]. Population movements and upheavals as early as the end of the twelfth century have already been

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167. Cf. Tartaron 2001, 13-14, 24, 27 regarding the movement and exchange of goods in Epirus, where a turn toward the North is also noted and the question of local and foreign trade is raised. Diezt (2007, 88-89), reports a matt painted sherd from a LH IIIC level in Aetolian Chalkis, which, however, included an "intrusive" Archaic sherd. On the contacts and exchanges between Greece, particularly western Greece and Italy in the twelfth-eleventh centuries see Eder, Jung 2005, 487-490.

168. In reference to the inability of specific proposals, such as destruction and new settlement or commercial imports, to explain cultural shifts, see Muhly 1992, 13. See also Brather 2004, 624.

identified in western Macedonia and in Epirus[169] and are likely to have affected central Aetolia as well. The pressure of movements from the regions farther north would have been felt over the long duration of the crisis. Even so, the change in cultural features and specifically in the pottery and perhaps in the architecture, as evidenced by the plan of Megaron B, need not necessarily be viewed as the result of invasion and the settling of new groups of people from the North, who had no connection with the Mycenaean world. This is, at least, not the only interpretation possible. Another explanation lies in new orientations, with goods and influence introduced from the North through new connections with that world after the great upheavals. The result is an economic and cultural turn in another direction, with a consequent spread of cultural features from the North. It is a phenomenon that has been observed elsewhere in central Greece, further to the east, as early as the LH IIIC period[170].

It is certain that in the Early Iron Age at Thermos there is both continuity and change without break or abandonment. This is the first change after the Bronze Age; two more, of equal magnitude and meaning on a number of levels followed: the founding of the sanctuary with the ash altar, the bothroi and the elliptical enclosure during the eighth and seventh centuries and, finally, the building of temples towards the end of the seventh century.

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169. Hammond 1982, 636, 642-000; Soueref 1989, 169 f.; According to Wardle 1996, 454, the disappearance of local imitations of Mycenaean pottery at Assiros, is followed by the beginning of the Iron Age.

170. Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 70.

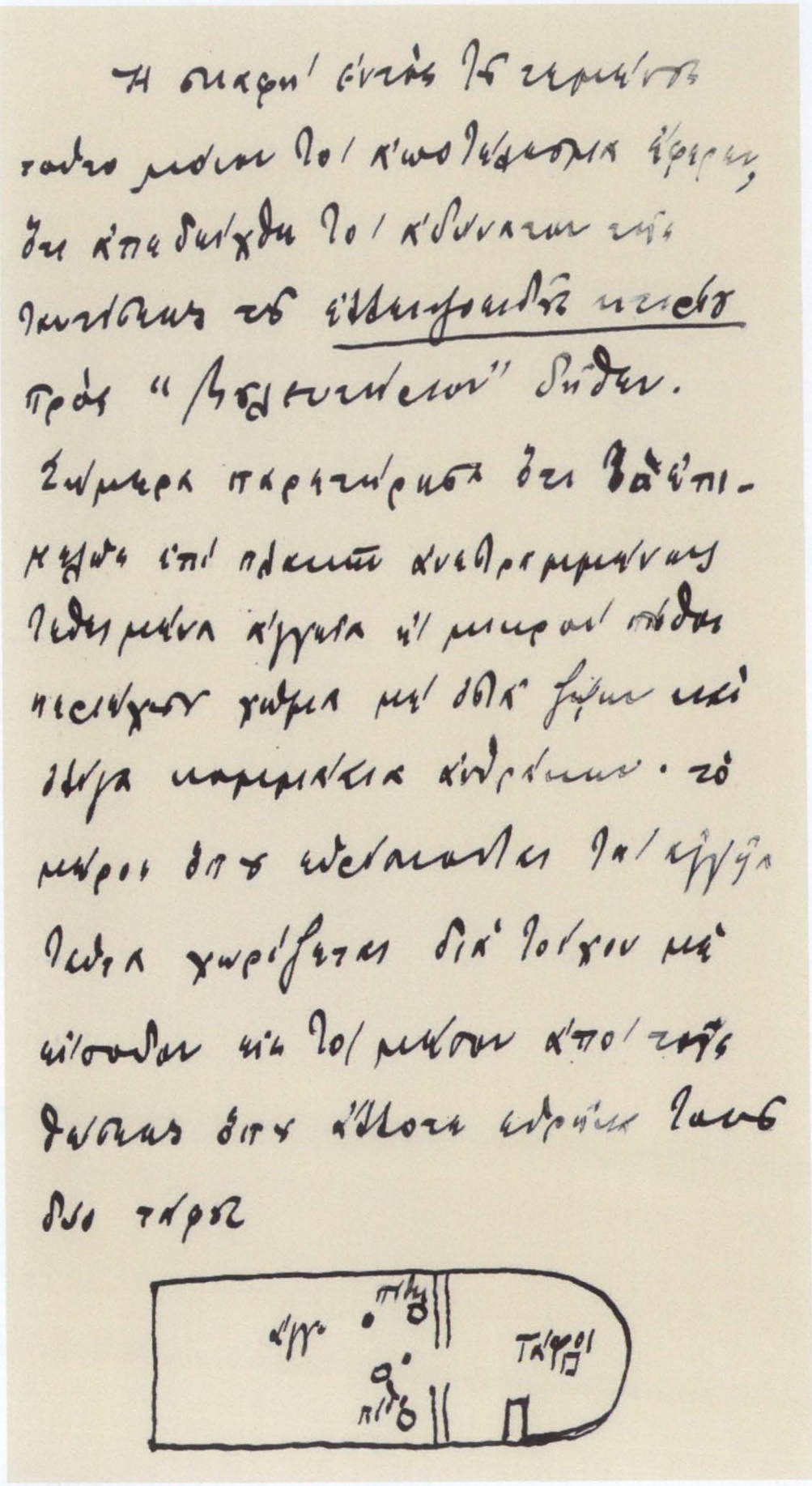


The rock 'altar' at dawn.

PART TWO

CULT IN EARLY THERMOS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AETOLIAN ETHNICITY





A sketch of the Megaron A with «pithoi» and «graves» from a letter of the first excavator Soteriades (3 July 1908).

6. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR CULT AND RITUAL

The importance of Thermos as a religious centre and its development into a regional sanctuary are due primarily to the dynamics of its location in the centre of highland Aetolia, at the crossroads of communication and on the boundary between the wilderness of the mountains and the cultivated coastal plains and river valleys. The site thus acquired, a symbolic character as a point between 'barbarism and civilisation', a feature that determined certain aspects of cult and ritual. The favourable climate of the plateau of Thermos for year-round farming and animal husbandry was likewise a significant factor that ensured the sanctuary's survival.

The continuous function of the site from the Middle Helladic to the Late Helladic periods and the Early Iron Age has been confirmed by excavation, which has shown that there were most likely no lengthy breaks, since there are no large deposits between these periods. The area was never abandoned and its basic function as the centre of highland Aetolia continued on, even if the way in which it was utilised may have changed partly or even entirely.

Indeed the continuous use of the site of Thermos provides a good opportunity for examining the perennial question of 'cult continuity'. Cult remains of every period are undeniable. Yet, as has been argued, sociopolitical shifts are usually accompanied by new religious practices. The evidence for the rituals of the Dark Ages at Thermos is thus different from the admittedly inadequate data from the Late Helladic period and from the holocaust rituals that begin in the eighth century and signal a new era. For every centre, rather than dealing with a vague 'continuity' of cult through time, discussion should focus instead –as has already been done by many scholars– on the extent to which cult at any given time is related to that of the preceding period, on the shifts of the religious belief and of the ritual, on probable breaks because of historical upheavals *et hoc genus omne*!

The excavation provided clear evidence for cult practices during the eighth and seventh centuries, earlier than the construction of the early Archaic cult buildings. Yet for the cult of the Dark Age, that is, during the time when Megaron B functioned, and even earlier, in the period of the settlement of the Late Bronze Age, excavation has provided little and insufficient information.

Cultic remains of the Late Helladic period

The first evidence that connects the largest building of the Late Helladic settlement, Megaron A, with possible ritual activity is Soteriades' account of the discovery of small pithoi inverted on top of stone slabs within the main room of the building, without reference to their stratigraphic position (fig. 33 and p. 90). They are likely to have rested on the level of use, but whether they were placed there while the building was in use or later on is unknown. According to the excavator, they contained ash, carbonised matter and burned animal bones[171]. Similar examples at other sites have been collected and published by P. Åström[172]. It is notable that in these cases cups or other drinking vessels were nearly always the norm, while jugs or hydriai are uncommon. These vessels were recorded as being close to or within graves or at sanctuaries. Their connection with cult was considered certain; they were associated with libations or offerings to supposedly chthonic forces and thus to the dead. Yet their significance, I believe, cannot always be the same: they would have differed according to circumstance and period, as well as according to the shape and function of the particular vessels[173].

Ash, animal bones and carbonised matter are attributed also to a number of the large pithoi recorded on Rhomaios' plan within and outside Megaron B (θ, ι, κ, λ) (fig. 10). Some of them belong probably to the Late Helladic period. Perhaps the six or seven pithoi in the apsidal building to the west of Megaron A should be excluded because, according to Rhomaios, they did not contain "sacred ash", but served for the storage of supplies (fig. 34). Soteriades, however, wrote that these vessels as well were full of soil, carbonised matter and bones and were covered with the deposit of sacrificial ash and bones[174]. It is not clear whether he meant the so-called black layer or the ash of the holocaust sacrifices. It may be that remnants of sacrifices were kept in these pithoi. If so, the phenomenon could be comparable to the keeping of "sacred ash", like that contained in the much earlier "bothroi" at Orchomenos, as recorded by Bulle[175].

It has been suggested that one pithos, in the apsidal building to the west, had been placed there after the building's collapse. It may be that all the pithoi of this building belong to that time[176]. We might hypothesise the same for the little

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171. *Praktika* 1908, 97; Soteriades 1909, 19.

172. Åström 1987; cf. Burkert 1985, 73.

173. Inverted vessels can also occur in foundation deposits, which, in these particular cases, may have included such offerings.

174. Rhomaios 1915 242; Soteriades, *Praktika* 1899, 58; 1900, 177-178. If they were storage pithoi, they are comparable to the jars found in an apsidal building of the Geometric period at Halos (Malakasioti, Mousioti 2004, 355).

175. Bulle 1907, 27-34; Soteriades 1909, 14-15; Kokkou Viridi 1999, 147 n.12; Robert 1939, 191.

176. The pithoi found in the old excavation at Thermos cannot be associated with the



Fig. 33. The inverted pithoi inside Megaron A, 1908.



Fig. 34. The pithoi in the west apsidal house, 1900.

inverted pithoi, that is to say that they were placed in the north part of Megaron A after it fell into ruin. The use of earlier constructions for cult purposes at a later time has been noted at Ayia Irini in Kea, at Kalapodhi and elsewhere (see notes 206, 233-234). The ruin of such a significant building as Megaron A remained visible and may well have served for a time as a reminder of the past and as support for appropriation and legitimization of control by the succeeding chief of the area. Be that as it may, the corner of walls Δ-E (pl. 48b,c, fig. 20, p.32), which, as already described, belongs to a building of the Early Iron Age, rests above the southernmost part of Megaron A and shows that whatever survived of this building would not have lasted much beyond the end of the Late Helladic period.

In subsequent studies the discovery of the inverted vases of Megaron A was connected with the other information given by Soteriades, that "three graves with cremations" were found within the building. And from then on, without fail, the excavator termed it a "heroön"[177]. Rhomaios held that these were instead remains of partly subterranean huts (pl. 37a), an interpretation that was confirmed by the recent excavation[178] (pl. 27, fig. 13a). Moreover, both excavators explicitly state that all the bones found at Thermos belong to animals. The existence of a grave would be a prerequisite for connecting ritual remains with offerings, even if temporary, for an ancestor or for an important contemporary chieftain (see p. 122). Thus the inverted vases in Megaron A cannot be connected with a tomb or ancestral cult. They could, however, bear witness to certain ritual acts addressed to other powers, e.g. daimons, and the preservation of the remnants of offerings.

Other finds that might be considered to be associated with cult during the time of the Late Helladic settlement are the following: a number of Mycenaean vessels of the LH IIA period, such as the conical rhyton and the amphora with bridge spout (fig. 35a,b), both decorated with double axes, cups of Vapheio type (fig. 36), LH IIIC tall kylikes with a swelling on the stem (pl. 68b). These could be gifts, products of exchange or loot. Many of them were in any case valuable and exotic objects and might have been kept as heirlooms in the far-off site of

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existing fragments in the Thermos Museum. Most, however, appear to belong to the Early Iron Age. Judging from the remarks of Soteriades 1909, 8, the pithoi in general had been sunk deeper than the level of their own period.

177. Soteriades 1900, 180-181; 1909, 16-21. See also Papapostolou 1990, 197-198; 2008, 176 n. 373. Among the first to accept the existence of tombs and of a heroön was Pfuhl 1905, 370, who considered the tombs to be contemporary with the building.

178. Rhomaios 1915, 235-237; *Praktika* 1997, 145-147 and above p. 21. Earlier Bulle (1907, 49) had doubted the association of the building with the "graves", which he considered probably to be earlier. In the apsidal building A, Bulle saw "the earliest preserved bouleuterion, a building for meetings of the Aetolian community…". Cremations in the Middle and early Late Bronze Age would not have been possible and not only at Thermos (Cavanagh, Mee 1998 35, 41-56; Jung 2007, 215).



Fig. 35a. Rhyton, Thermos Museum 623.

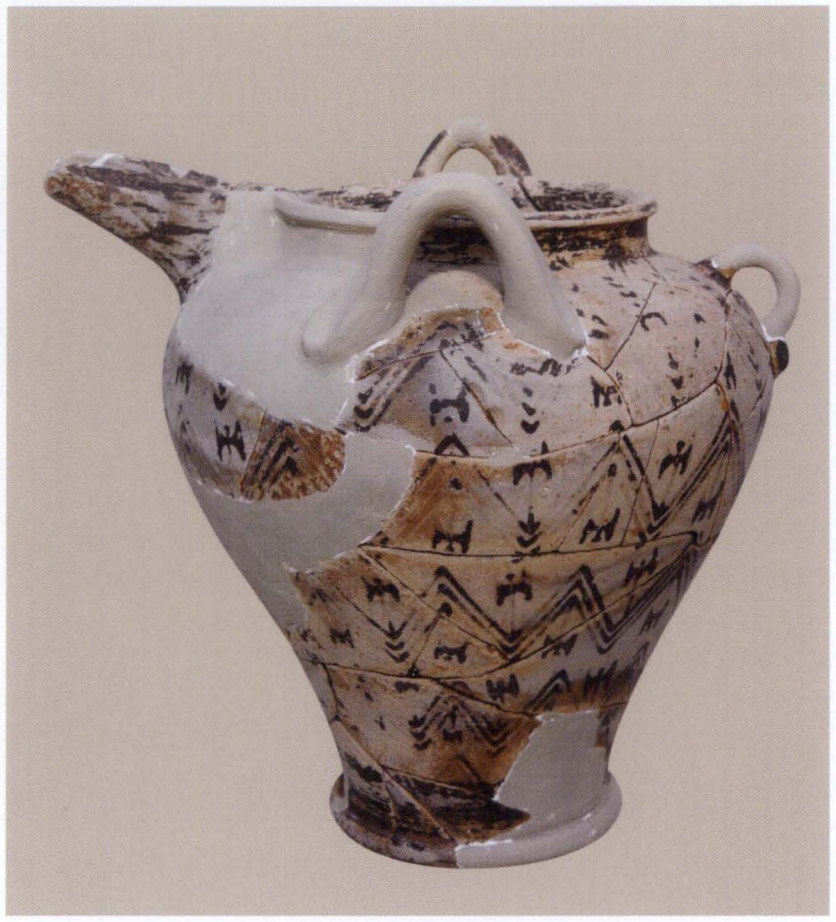

Fig. 35b. Amphora, Thermos Museum 624.



Fig. 36. Vapheio cups, Thermos Museum 625, 628.



Fig. 37. Boar's tusks from a Mycenaean helmet. Thermos Museum 1265.

Thermos, just as the boar's tusk helmet (*Il.* X, 260-265) that is preserved in part[179] (fig. 37). Yet these vases could have been used just as well in rituals and feasts, thus having dual use. The same may be said for the warrior krater, one of the exceptional vessels from Thermos of the end of the Late Helladic period, which was found, however, outside the horizon of its period (fig. 38), and the little krater of the same period with the frieze of birds (fig. 39, pl. 72, see p. 68). All these vessels document the high level of society of the settlement. Figurines or statuettes that would be undeniable evidence of cult activity, were few and fragmentary (a wheel-turned leg of an animal and a horn, unit 89/93, 65α/93 (π42) pl. 65c,d).

Most of the Mycenaean vessels of everyday use at Thermos (cups, kraters, amphorae), as well as the hand made monochrome and matt-painted vessels of the Middle Helladic tradition bear witness not only to daily meals but also to feasting, as do other cooking utensils (stands for kettles, spit supports, ovens)[180] (fig. 40)

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179. Apart from the kylikes, the other vases come from the old excavations (Rhomaios 1915, 266-270). They were found in building α1 in the destruction layer with household utensils. Wardle, Wardle 2003, 149-150; Mountjoy 1999, 799-805, Fig. 319. On the use of the rhyton see Koehl 1981, 181-184. For kylikes with a swelling on the stem, see Eder 2006a, 566-567; 2006b, 205-210, and for the boars' tusks Rhomaios 1915, 241; Papapostolou 2008, 180 Fig. 61. See (n. 179) also Deger-Jalkotzy 1990, 80 for a possibe use of boar's tusks-helmets also in the post-palatial period.

180. Rhomaios 1915, 234-235; 1916, 183-184. Cooking vessels in Thermos may also be dated in the LH IIIC period.

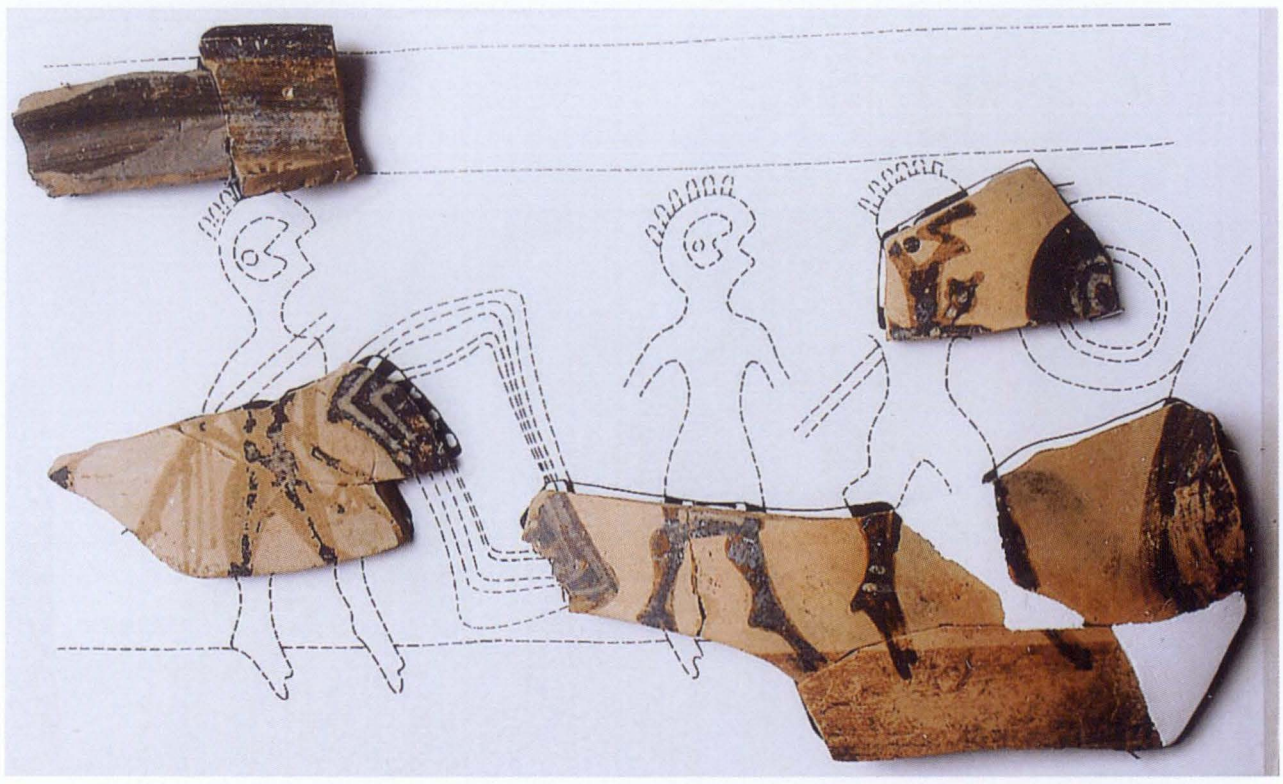

Fig. 38. The fragments of the warrior krater, Thermos Museum 917 α-θ. (Drawing Diana Wardle.)



Fig. 39. The fragments of the krater with birds, Thermos Museum 918 α-στ. (Drawing Diana Wardle.)

and can provide the same sort of evidence as do the animal bones. The study by Armelle Gardeisen has shown that most of the bones from the Late Helladic horizon come from caprids. There are traces of butchering on the bones; some had been gnawed by dogs. For the most part they are the remains of meals. Remains of bovids, cut from various parts of the body, are represented in smaller proportions, and pigs, mainly skulls (without traces of cutting), and deer in even smaller quantities. There is a single example of a hare[181].

181. Gardeisen 2008, 305-311.



Fig. 40. Stand for kettles, Thermos Museum 678.

Feasts, to be sure, as a social function, just as in the Homeric celebrations, are shown by this evidence to have taken place during Late Helladic times on a scale beyond that of daily need[182]. If feasting in Thermos should already be connected with animal sacrifices is an open question.

Together with the bloodless and unburned offerings, animal sacrifices are thought by a number of scholars to have been practised in the Late Helladic period. Although the custom of burning the parts of the animal that are given to the god is considered to have been introduced into Greece with the Early Iron Age, "burnt sacrifice of selected de-fleshed bones of cattle", which recall to a certain point the burnt sacrifice of thighs in *Od.* III, 456-458, has been documented more or less securely in Mycenaean Greece, for example at Pylos, Methana and Mycenae[183]. Linear B tablets, moreover, record animals destined for sacrifice.

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182. For Mycenaean feasts see Wright 2004b. Scherratt 2004, 311-322, 332, comments on the Mycenaean roots of ritual feasts in the Homeric epics.

183. Isaakidou et al. 2002; Stocker, Davis 2004, 179; Hamilakis, Konsolaki 2004, 143; Dickinson 2006a, 223-224; 2006b, 121; Eder 2006a, 567 with references; Morgan 2006, 244. See also Burkert 1992, 543-544. Hägg 1968, 59; 1998a, 100-101, 113, thought that remains of pyres and sacrifices in the Late Helladic period were rare and that the constructions that could be associated with altars were unsuitable for sacrifices and instead accepted sacrifices of animals without burning, liquid and bloodless offerings. See also

Melena gives for the joined Pylos tablet fragments Ea 102 and Ea 107 a reading of:

di-wo-nu-so-jo

e-ka-ra GRA 2T6

and identifies an *eschara* of Dionysus at Pylos[184], noting that the discovery reinforces Miriam Caskey's idea that Dionysus may have already occupied the temple at Ayia Irini on Kea in the Late Bronze Age. Caskey identified the "rectangular construction" of the LH III period in room 6 of the temple at Ayia Irini, Kea, as an *eschara* for a cult of Dionysus in Kea already in the last stages of late Mycenaean times, where "burnt sacrifices of animals were made and/or sacrificial feasts prepared"[185]. Ashes, sherds and bones at Delphi, Kalapodhi[186], at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and at Eleusis have been thought to be partly sacrificial and partly the remains of feasts[187]. At the Amyklaion "ritual activity is attested by the large number of terracotta human and animal figures and figurines"[188].

A few bones at Thermos show traces of burning for reasons that remain undetermined (discarded on a hearth ?). Perhaps a few remains of pale or darker ash found sporadically in the lower levels (pl. 16b,4) belong to the time before Megaron B, probably to the LH IIIC period, and could be added to the evidence of the pottery and the bones; three bronze knives that have been considered to be of Late Helladic date could also be added to this evidence[189]. The paved level, on which Megaron B was later built (pls 21,43,44), would have been a suitable place for open-air assemblies, festivals and feasts. A separate sacred area with an installation for rituals within the settlement, we would not expect to find in Late Helladic Thermos. The religious needs of the inhabitants, however, could be met in a number of ways. Yet not even in the new excavation was it possible to uncover relatively secure evidence of religious constructions or rituals.

Bergquist 1988, 30. E. Whittaker 2006-2007, agrees, but stresses the meagre evidence of sacrifice. Cole 1985, 54-56, has also discussed this problem, setting the evidence from Minoan Crete against that of Mycenaean Greece, where the circumstances are different. For a survey of the cult evidence see Shelmerdine 1997, 570-580.

184. Melena 2000-2001, 357-360

185. Caskey 2009, 148-149, 152.

186. Müller S. 1992, 73; Felsch 2001, 195.

187. Lambrinoudakis 1975, 169-170; 1976, 206; Cosmopoulos 2003b, 16-20.

188. Demakopoulou 1982, 29-96; 2009b, 119-121, 123

189. The knives come from the old excavation: Thermos Museum 299 α, β (Wardle 1972, 560-561), while another was found in the new excavation (X40). We may add the two spearheads (Thermos Museum 223 α, β) that were published as Mycenaean (Wardle 1972, 87), whereas Avila 1983, 56-58 considered them to be later. Late Helladic bronze finds are few at Thermos. See also two chisels (Thermos Museum 110 β, γ) in Wardle 1972, 258.

The evidence for cult during the period of Megaron B

The final destruction of the Late Bronze Age settlement during the eleventh century was a significant break at Thermos. The buildings of the next building phase, chief among them Megaron B, were evidently constructed in the eleventh century, a short time after the destruction. The new pottery styles, and the structures built for cult purposes provide evidence for the continuation of life as well as for change. Yet the function of the site from the eleventh to the early eighth century is less obvious than that of the Late Bronze Age settlement.

Two finds that must be dated in the period of Megaron B can be associated with ritual. These are the two pits built of slabs and the two circular constructions (see p. 29-30). The better preserved pit is located at a short distance from the south façade of Megaron B (pls 46,47b,50b,2), whereas the "similar construction" referred to by Rhomaios that lay a little farther north, adjacent to the southeast corner of the same building, has evidently been disturbed since its discovery. In the preserved pit — called by the excavator a sacrificial pit — "bones of a small animal perhaps of a kid and a bird" and "undecorated fragments of a vase of uncertain shape" were found[190]. The pit is above the level of use of the Late Bronze Age, that is on the stone paving that was used as the construction level of Megaron B and its location takes into consideration the existence of the building.

Offerings made regularly or occasionally in front of this important building by the chieftain of the period seem a more likely hypothesis than sacrifice for the consecration of the building[191]. Another receptacle defined with slabs, a little south of the previous one (pls 50b,5,51b,2), which will be assigned to the next stratigraphic horizon, that of the hearth with the holocaust sacrifices, may also have been in use before Megaron B was destroyed.

The second find, the two quasi-circular constructions (pls 7a,7,48a,1) that were found not far southeast of the built pit, cannot be included, as has been done, among the circular paved platforms that Robin Hägg, on the basis of finds at Asine, connected with ritual meals associated with an ancestor or hero cult[192].

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190. Rhomaios 1915, 248. For a construction in Calydon similar with that of Thermos see Poulsen, Rhomaios 1927, 36, Fig. 58. To a certain extent the later feature at Kalapodhi is also comparable (Niemeier, Jahresbericht 2006/2, 167, Fig. 10). For bird sacrifices in magic rituals see Graf 2005, 71.

191. Rhomaios 1915, 248, also noted the possibility of ritual in connection with the consecration of building B. Such offerings, however, are foundation deposits and are covered by the buildings; see Wells 1988, 261, 264-266; Marangou 2002, 182; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2005, 337-338;

192. Hägg 1983b; Antonaccio 1995, 199, 207, generally associated them with ritual feasts and not necessarily always with ancestor worship and connected them with Middle Helladic precedents, at least in Asine. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122-123, collected such paved platforms. To these, Andreou 2004, 61-62 added the more or less circular paved areas found at Pogoni in Epirus.

At Thermos, however, they are not platforms but built constructions that are made up of three or four courses (ht. 0,80 m.). The two "circular altar-like constructions" in a chamber tomb south of Circle B at Mycenae, found by Papademetriou in 1952-1953, were also stone built. These constructions, have been interpreted as altars on the basis of sacrificial remains of the late Geometric period; however, there is no more accurate description and, in any case, their affinities lie in the sphere of the cult of the dead[193].

Traces of burning are not preserved in the circular constructions at Thermos, but a possible hypothesis is that they have been used for striking or slaughtering the animals. The question is, can they be considered as altars? David Rupp has already proposed the conventional general term of "altar" for the circular platforms[194]. Since there are two at Thermos, could they imply a double sacrifice or two sacrificial victims? These are thoughts dictated by later cult activities known from archaeological finds and literary sources, which are being projected back into this dark and distant environment.

The association with altars brings to the foreground the question concerning the earliest appearance of built altars, which Rupp assigned to the Late Geometric period[195]. Here, however, stratigraphic investigation showed that the two built circular constructions correspond to the stratum of Megaron B, The pottery sherds found within them provide a date for their construction after the middle of the eleventh century (units 189, 190/07); their use continued during the period of the ash hearth. It is therefore possible that during that time they could have functioned as altars.

The many animal bones that were found on the original level of use of the circular constructions of Thermos must be the remains of feasts. It is thus reasonable to associate them anyway with rituals as auxiliary constructions. They may have accepted bloodless offerings or raw meat reserved for the gods (θεοξένια) or for officials, (τραπεζώματα)[196] and they could therefore be considered as

193. Papadimitriou 1952, 465-467;1953, 208-209. Mylonas 1972-1973 18, pls 1(13), 5, also refers to a "small circular shrine". A circular construction was also found above Shaft Grave IV in Circle A by Schliemann, who identified it as an altar (Demakopoulou 1990, 96). Add a cylindrical construction found at Oropos, near the likely entrance of an enclosure, covered with clay and bearing a few traces of burning (Mazarakis Ainian, *Praktika* 2001, 41, pls 24α,25β) and another, as yet unpublished, at Lefkandi.

194. Rupp in the discussion following the paper by Hägg in Hägg 1983a, 194.

195. Rupp 1983, 104. Cf. the built altar at Selinus. Yet piles of stones, while not mortared with clay, are known earlier, for example in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. Also the earlier altars, I and II, in the Heraion of Samos are of the same type albeit of different shape (Lambrinoudakis 1976, Fig. 1; Rupp 1974, 281-284).

196. Petropoulou 1984 3-8, 58-62; Gill 1991, 11, 23-24.

precursors of the sacred tables (τράπεζαι) used in the rituals of Classical and later times[197]. We may hypothesise further that ritual objects or cult symbols were placed or temporarily displayed there.

Megaron B cannot be counted among the buildings that may have housed rituals with burnt sacrifices before the eighth century. The hearths, in houses or communal buildings, have certainly other reasonable interpretations aside from that of cult. Only a few, and most of them doubtful, are the examples of buildings in mainland Greece that are thought to be the seats of leaders and possibly connected with cult ceremonies. We may note the existence of ash from sacrifices in the early apsidal building ΣT at Poseidi in the Chalcidice (unless it was a wall enclosing an unroofed area). The "building" is reported to have been founded on top of a late Mycenaean enclosure wall around an "ash altar" and to have housed a new "ash altar"[198]. With all due caution we might add building IV-1 at Nichoria, where bones and burned matter were found near circular slab-paved areas and perhaps in connection with the hearth (ritual meals?). More certain are the cultic remains in the settlement at Asine in the Karmaniola plot, which provide evidence similar to that of Thermos. To the north of the apsidal building of the Protogeometric period, a pithos that was bordered by a row of stones contained animal bones and fragments of vases. A border of clay marked by burning surrounded the space adjacent to the pithos where the soil was greasy and contained carbonised matter. This find suggests the performance of sacrifices and feasting at that time[199].

Yet in general only a few sites in the Peloponnese, and in central Greece can be connected, more or less securely, with cult during the early times after the LH IIIC period. The following are reported: Olympia, Asine, Amyklai, Kalapodhi, and perhaps Isthmia and the Polis cave in Ithaca[200]. Protogeometric finds, mainly sherds, have been gathered at most of the sites of later sanctuaries but there is no real certainty that they are connected with cult activities of the early Dark Ages.

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197. Offering of smoke (θύειν) and offerings of raw meat (τιθέναι) to the gods coincided in the sacrifices (Jameson 1994, 39 f., 44, 49, 55; Bruit-Zaidman 2005, 38-42).

198. Vokotopoulou 1992, 1993; Moschonissioti 1998, 265. The relation of the ash to the building needs to be clarified. It should be specifically determined whether there was some feature within the building (e.g. a clay hearth), something that has not been explicitly mentioned. Recently Dickinson 2006a, 232-233, emphatically places Megaron B with the apsidal building at Poseidi as examples of contemporary communal cult buildings. He discusses "ash deposits" in Megaron B, evidently referring to the ash of the holocaust sacrifices on the clay hearth, which, however, functioned after the destruction of Megaron B.

199. Nichoria: McDonald, Coulson 1983 21-22, 26, pl. 2. See also Bergquist 1998, 60-62, who held that most of the early buildings with interior hearths were not cultic in character. Asine, Wells 1983, 33-34.

200. Cf. Lemos 2002, 221-223; Morgan 2003, 107; Dickinson 2006a, 228-234, with references also to the Cretan "ritual sites".

Many sanctuaries, of the Geometric period, were established at sites with an heroic past and remains of the Mycenaean period, which are only rarely connected with cult. The question remains as to whether there was an intervening interruption and if so, how long did it last. Sometimes the gap is long, as at Aphaia, Delphi, the Heraion of Argos, the Menelaion and Eleusis. At Eleusis the cult at the site of the LH 'megaron' was established during the Geometric period[201]. Only at Kalapodhi and at Amyklai continuity in the use of the site has been connected with continuity of cult from the LH IIIA and IIIB period to the eleventh century and later. Reference has been made to an intervening break in Amyklaion the duration of which depends on the dating of the Protogeometric pottery found at the site[202]. If in fact the finds cover without gaps, or at least with gaps of no great length, the span of time from the late LH IIIC to Submycenaean and Protogeometric, then the first evidence of a new cult can indeed go back to the eleventh century[203]. It cannot be excluded that a local chief's seat, where some ritual activity was carried out, also existed at the Amyklaion[204]. This then provides in my opinion a parallel not only with Thermos (where the founding of Megaron B signals a change at this time), but also with Isthmia, Olympia and Kalapodhi, although this correspondence does not necessarily signify a common socio-political development or cult activity of equal significance; it is, however, indicative of the general circumstances, since all these sites are centres of regional communication[205].

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201. See Hägg 1968, 52-56; Kyrieleis 2006, 61-67 for a diachronic review of the finds in a discussion of cult continuity, and Cosmopoulos, 2003b for Eleusis.

202. Snodgrass 1971, 276-277; Pakkanen 2000-2001, 85-86 with references.

203. To the LH-IIIC and the Submycenaean period belong wheel-made figurines and to the Protogeometric spearheads, a pin, an iron sword of type III and kylikes with ribbed stem: Demakopoulou 2009a 100-103; 2009b 119, 123.

204. Calligas 1992, 45, had explicit doubts concerning the connection of the finds "with religious practice".

205. The excavations at Olympia offer a noteworthy point of comparison with Early Iron Age Thermos. The earliest ceramic finds from the ash layers at Olympia date in the eleventh century and are the first to appear at the site after the Early Bronze Age. Kyrieleis 2002b, 216-217, 220; 2006, 35, 77-79 makes the reasonable hypothesis of a connection between these finds and the beginning of cult at Olympia and consequently with a change of population, which also finds a mythological justification, the return of the Heraclids under Oxylos (see also n. 437). This is also the beginning of a new period at Thermos, after the destruction of the Late Helladic settlement. The evidence for cult activity at Thermos, however, is not as clear as that provided by the votives at Olympia, nor did the Aetolian site have the same prerequisites for development. Eder 2001; 2006a, 566-567; 2006b 147-154, 202-210 concluded that the evidence for cult at Olympia beginning in the eleventh century connects it with other sanctuaries, such as Isthmia, Amyklai and Kalapodhi. Indeed on the basis of the kylikes with ribbed stems, a shape of Late Helladic origin found at Olympia, at Polis and Aetos in Ithaca, at Nichoria, Amyklai

The case of Amyklaion may be also compared to Ayia Irini in Kea, where after an evidently short break during the Protogeometric period, there is a revival or resumption of cult activity, but we do not know its content. In any case, the site of Ayia Irini seems to present "a picture of stability of major cult sites during a period of mobility and change..." as Miriam Caskey has noted[206]. This is an observation applicable to some of the above centres.

Recent discoveries in Achaea must be added to the early cult centres: a layer of ash in the foundations of the Late Geometric temple at Rakita (Ano Mazaraki) in Achaea was noted[207]. Also at Nikoleika in Achaea, an earlier altar built of crude bricks with remains of sacrifices was found beneath the Late Geometric apsidal cult building. Yet the beginnings of the cult could well go back to the ninth or tenth century[208].

Thermos may well belong to the group of early Dark Age cult sites, only because ritual practices and associated feasts, perhaps intended already for neighboring groups of people, were inherent in the function of the chieftains' seat. The stone-built pit and the built circular constructions outside Megaron B, the ceramic finds and the bones are sufficient evidence for a new ritual. Factors that may have contributed to this new function of the area were the continuous use of the site and the favourable climatic and environmental circumstances, which are generally considered not to have changed from Late Helladic times[209]. Chronological parallels and somewhat similar developments occur at Delphi[210].

The old viewpoint sketched by Rhomaios is to be found in today's bibliography as well: that Megaron B was originally the "dwelling" of a chieftain and was transformed into a temple. This view conforms to the standard interpretative model, according to which palaces were eventually transformed into temples[211]. As mentioned above, Rhomaios always believed that within Megaron B holocaust

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and Astakos in the Early Iron Age, Eder referred to the survival of "aspects" of Mycenaean ceremonial. The notable typological continuity of the LH IIIC kylix with bulbous stem to that with the ribbed stem of the Iron Age could, in any case, imply a continuous workshop tradition. At Thermos too the same type of kylix, with a swelling in the stem, of the LH IIIC period, was noted in the layer over which Megaron B was built, but no evidence was found to suggest that this type of kylix continued when the building was in use. The cultic use of this vessel is certain during the Late Helladic period, but at Thermos it was not found in situ or in association with other cultic features.

206. Ervin-Caskey 1981, 127; Caskey 2009, 153 n. 36; Patzek 1992, 140, 142; Pakkanen 2000-2001, 82-84.

207. Petropoulos 1992-93, 156.

208. Kolia, Gadolou 2007, 72.

209. Stiros 1999. But see Papadimitriou, Papadimitriou 1999 (with references).

210. Rolley 1977, 136-138; Müller S. 1992, 73, 79-83; Bommelaer 1991, 14-19; Kyrieleis 2006, 65.

211. Rhomaios 1915, 252, 275.

sacrifices were carried out until the early Archaic temple was built[212]. This view was passed on into later scholarship and was reinforced by comparable theories concerning the legacy of the Mycenaean megaron[213].

In reality, neither the old nor the later excavations produced additional architectural or artefactual evidence for the development of Megaron B from a chief's dwelling to a temple. In general, the site and the plan of a building, do not signal cult activity. Megaron B is indeed the seat of a chieftain, that is, a *quasi* communal building. Adjoining chambers, θάλαμοι in the Homeric sense would have been used as dwellings, sleeping quarters and for other purposes, just as such annexes were utilized in the palaces of the Mycenaean citadels[214]. The few building remains of the Megaron B period at Thermos (see p. 31,64) may belong to θάλαμοι. People could have been assembled by the chieftain outside the building, on the old stone paved area that was there since the Bronze Age. Feasts, social contacts and exchanges would have also been held in early settlements, with the best examples known at Kalapodhi and Isthmia, perhaps also associated with a chief's seat[215].

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212. It is worth noting that in the contrary Soteriades has initially (*Praktika* 1899, 58) remarked that the temple was constructed on top of an altar with ashes and bones. This is in agreement with our stratigraphic investigation, although Soteriades did not specify what connection existed between this 'altar' and Megaron B.

213. Müller K. 1930, 198 believed that the Mycenaean megaron was not solely devoted to cult but was also a place for receptions and festivals, but accepted that it constituted a transitional step from house to temple. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 346-349, concluded: "The genesis of the 'urban' temple seems closely linked with the abandonment or change of function of ruler's dwellings, but we are unable to observe this pattern in the totality of the Greek World", while Dickinson, 2006a, 236, doubts that all the proposed buildings were 'dwellings' of chiefs. The triptych 'habitation-cult-gathering' was proposed again by Hiller 1996, 31-32; functional continuity from the Geometric cult building with an interior hearth to an Archaic temple with an outdoor altar in front of it (see Nilsson 1952), forms the basis of Drerup's theory (1969, 123); in particular for Thermos, Drerup thought that in Megaron B one can follow the history and development of cult until the establishment of the temple: Megaron B was a direct forruner of the temple and served for cult activities and feasting. See also Martini 1986, 27; Weiler 2001, 130. But see Schmaltz 1980, 330, 335, who accepted that Megaron B was not a stage in the development of cult at Thermos.

214. *Od.* I, 425-426, III, 396,413; *Il.* VI, 242-250.

215. Again, as in all periods, evidence is provided by pottery, most of which consists of vessels connected with meals. At Thermos the most common shapes of the Early Iron Age matt-painted ware are cups, jugs and fewer amphorae. The bones are also notable; they are primarily of caprids, which were always preferred. For meals along with other ritual activities or contests as opportunities for social contact, see in particular Ulf 1997, 42-43. For different kinds of ritual feasts see Murray 1990b and the more recent discussion in Scherratt 2004.

In periods earlier than the eighth century, the connection of religious ceremonies with a specific area and the question of the contemporaneous practice of house cult at the seat of the chieftain and communal cult within a prescribed area, within or close to a settlement (and thus also the question of the beginning of the temenos) have occasioned much controversy[216]. In any case, the construction of the seventh century temple on top of the ruins of Megaron B must be seen in connection with the intervening ash altar and certainly signifies the next stage of this cult and not of that, which may have been carried out by the chieftain in the area in front of Megaron B.

At Thermos, after the destruction of the settlement of the Late Bronze Age, new ritual activity is in evidence, which must be associated with the changes that occurred in the eleventh century. Yet the archaeological evidence cannot provide a picture of purely 'communal' cult for the period of Megaron B[217]. I believe that similar indications may be seen in every 'chieftain's centre of the early Dark Ages and thus I agree with those who dispute the existence of an autonomous, 'communal' cult in this period. How wide was the circle of participants in a cult conducted by the chief in front of his seat cannot be determined. But this use of the area does not imply the existence of a sacred space with its own demarcation (that is a temenos). The creation of a temenos runs side by side with a communal cult. Thermos is on the border of that stage in the following period.

The evidence for cult in the eighth and seventh centuries

The clay hearth of the ash altar

The destruction of Megaron B at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century was accompanied by the establishment of organised cult in this central location of highland Aetolia. The stratigraphy in its entirety has shown that the lowest part of the walls of this building remained standing to enclose an

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216. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, who, disagreeing with de Polignac 1984, 27-31 and Morris I. 1987, 189-192, places special emphasis on the existence of a "sanctuary", a "temenos" as early as the beginning of the Dark Ages in settlement sites. Albers 2001, 140-141 agrees, suggesting also that cult structures were preserved from the LH period. For cult practice during the Early Iron Age with direct connection to the "dwelling of a chief" Calligas 1987; 1992, 45; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 340-348 passim, 375-383. This subject is also discussed by Dickinson 2006a, 233.

217. See Wright 1995, 343-345, with a reference to the categorisation of the institutions of cult, that is of the ritual acts taken as a whole, by Wallace, 1966, 75: individualistic, shamanic, communal etc. The third stage presupposes organisation of the people and community management, the use of "symbols" and complex rituals.

extensive clay hearth where the remnants of holocaust sacrifices were found, i.e. an ash altar[218] (pls 17,21,23a,24, fig. 21, p. 34). The incorporation of the remnants of this large, venerable building in an area of new cult practices and the establishment of the ash altar in its place, suggest that there were important reasons for this arrangement. These were not necessarily because cult practices, similar to those of the Late Bronze Age were continued, or the consequence of the transformation of 'the ruler's dwelling' to a 'cultic foundation', but were related to the dynamics and practical importance of the specific place as the seat of a local chieftain, where religious activities (chiefly outside of Megaron B) and feasting could have taken place. The contribution of memories of the 'heroic' past to the development of cult at the sites of early Greek sanctuaries, particularly emphasized by most scholars, cannot be overlooked. Yet in each case it is necessary to qualify the specific factors and to detect the special characteristics of the site, besides the Mycenaean past. And this is apparently the case with Thermos.

I consider it certain that at Thermos there was social and religious change and that new needs of communication between groups arose. Archaeologically, for the first time now, we have some understanding of the temenos, although not of the specific use of the wider area, since it is uncertain whether or not there was a contemporary settlement. While initially the temenos was defined with the ruined walls of Megaron B, later on, apparently in the seventh century, the elliptical series of slabs (see above p. 39) served as its enclosure (figs 23-24, 27-30).

The state of preservation of the ash altar has already been described (see p. 33-36). All the evidence points to its establishment in the beginning of the eighth century. It remained in use approximately until the construction of the early Archaic cella. The north (rear) room of Megaron B was twice repaired and would have served as an auxiliary space for the cult (e.g. ἑστιατόριον, θησαυρὸς or a rudimentary schrine such as that mentioned by the priest of Apollo Chryses in *Il.*I, 39).

Animal sacrifices and their remains in situ are evidenced for the first time with the establishment of the clay hearth. The ash is pale in colour and the bones disintegrated and calcined: they are clearly the remains of holocaust sacrifices that were carried out each time on top of the ashes from previous sacrifices, and not simply collected ash. The ancient terms ὁλοκαύτωσις, ὁλοκαύτησις, ὁλόκαυτον and ὁλόκαυστον referred to this complete burning of the whole animal. The bones again, to the extent that they can be identified, are for the most part from caprids.

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218. Thus the walls of the building constituted a sort of enclosure of the altar, which does occur in other similar altars, for example at Didyma (Schleif 1934, 147-148 Fig. 7; Çetin Şahin 1972, 25-28).

The ash altar in the perspective of its parallels

This type of altar, common enough in the Early Iron Age, is also defined in the bibliography as a 'ground altar' and as having permanent structures unlike the 'sacrificial pyres'[219]. Çetin Şahin, associating the 'ash altars' on which the sacrifices were made "on top of the ashes", includes a variety of cases that do not belong to a single category, their only common denominator being that they are found in outdoor areas of sanctuaries[220]. More recently, Rupp employs the same term "ash deposit", including as indicative examples primarily altars of Zeus located on mountain tops[221]. I have also retained conventionally the term "clay hearth", which I have used in the excavation records from its initial discovery[222].

The best known examples of ash altars mentioned in literary tradition, particularly by Pausanias, are the altar of Zeus at Olympia, the altar of Apollo at Didyma, that of Apollo Spodios at Thebes and, perhaps, the altar at Lykaion[223]. The description of the altar at Olympia allows us to hypothesise that the collected and protected sacred ash formed a tumulus-like mound of significant height, calculated by Pausanias to have been 22 feet. Remains of other such altars may well have come to light, but the fact that the ash is preserved to a low level conflicts with this identification. In most publications, moreover, where 'sacrificial ash', 'ash altars' and holocaust sacrifices are discussed, there is rarely any description of the composition or the colour of the ash, or of the condition of the 'burnt bones'.

In his report of the results of the excavation of two examples at Taxiarchis, some seven km north of Thermos, Rhomaios focused on a broad layer of ash with burnt bones, spread over an area of 30-40 sq. m., outside of the two temples as well as within the larger one. Since a burned hearth level was found neither in the temple nor outside it, it appears that the ashes had been brought there from elsewhere[224]. Moreover, these are not the only Aetolian examples of ash and burnt bones. At Chrysovitsa, six km southeast of Thermos, the same excavator

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219. Yavis 1949, 130, 207-213.

220. Çetin Şahin 1972, 16.

221. Rupp 1983, 101-102. For a recent survey of ash altars see Riemer 2005, 176-184, who also emphasises the variety of form and the consequent difficulty of a generally applicable term.

222. The term *eschara* was not used because in the bibliography it is very often connected with funerary rites and hero worship (see Stengel 1920, 17-18, 126; Ekroth 2002, 25-27) and because of the general uncertainty as to its early form and function. Moreover the term in Homer refers to a hearth that gave heat and/or light (*Od.* VI 52), to one used as an altar (*Od.* XIV 420), or to provide asylum (*Od.* VII 153, 160). With the reading di-wo-nu-su-jo e-ka-ra and the identification of an *eschara* of Dionysus, by Melena 2000-01, 357 it has become clear that the term was already in use in the LH IIIC period.

223. Paus. V 13, 8-11; Schleif 1934, 147-148, Fig. 7; Paus. IX 11, 7; 12, 1; Paus. VIII 38, 7; Kourouniotis 1904, 164-165.

224. Rhomaios 1926, 25-31.

noted a deposit of ash and bones together with clay votive figurines of the sixth to the fourth century[225]. It is not known, however, if this is an example of sacrificial holocausts, just as it is unknown in the case of Kallipoli, where there was a layer of ash and bones of the Archaic period[226]. The evidence from Calydon is also doubtful. An ash altar of completely burnt sacrifices that might have been expected at the site, in accordance with the indirect evidence of Pausanias (VII, 18,8) was not found in the excavation[227]. Remains of sacrifices were not encountered in front of the temple. Scattered remains in various places, cannot be attributed to sacrifices of this sort. In neighbouring Akarnania, near Stratos at Spathari, a layer of sacrifices 80 cm deep, with calcined bones and votives of the eighth and seventh centuries, was found to the east of the apsidal building of the seventh century[228].

Rhomaios had already associated[229] the ash at Taxiarchis with that at Thermos and classified it with the group of annual "Fire Festivals" known from literary tradition[230]. Rhomaios also added other examples to those collected by Nilsson. Yet each case must be examined on its own. Fire Festivals are indeed connected with holocaust sacrifices, but do not all have the same constituents and their origins are different[231].

Among the places with Fire Festivals known from ancient sources and also attested archaeologically, it was thought that, in addition to Oite, there was also the site of Kalapodhi, in Phocis, that was identified by R. C. S. Felsch with the sanctuary of Artemis of Hyampolis. But this is now identified by W.-D. Niemeier with the oracle of Apollo of Ἄβαι (Paus. X 35, 1-4)[232].

In any case, the excavation of the sanctuary at Kalapodhi has demonstrated continuity of use and of constructional phases, as well as cult features that, up to a point, are comparable with those at Thermos. Above a Mycenaean construction, layers of burned clay alternated with white ash of the early and middle Protoge-

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225. Rhomaios 1920-21, 63-64.

226. Themelis 1983, 242; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 84-85.

227. Poulsen 1948, 352-353.

228. Schwandner 2000-2001 14-16; 2000, 552; Sinn 2005, 89.

229. Rhomaios 1926, 31.

230. Nilsson 1906, 218; 1923; 1967, 130-132.

231. Whereas Nilsson associated the ceremony of the Elaphebolia of Hyampolis with the Laphria of Calydon and Patras, Ellinger 1987, 98; 1993, 243-246 subsequently disassociated the cult at Hyampolis from those of Calydon and Patras. To the first he attributes political importance. The other two he connects with the myth of Meleager, which he views as symbolising the conflict of civilisation with wild nature that Artemis comes to regulate. See also Petropoulou 1993, 313, 321-322.

232. Oite, Livy XXXVI, 30, Papadakis 1919; Croon 1956, 210-219. Kalapodhi, Felsch 1980, 1981, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1998, 2001, 2007b. Recent excavations at Kalapodhi from 2004-2010, have been undertaken by Niemeier, Jahresbericht 2005-2008; ARepLondon 2004-2010.

ometric phases. In the second half of the ninth century, after a destruction, there is a change in cult, which is reflected in the transfer of the ritual to the site of the later north temple, where a hearth, the ground of which was burned by the sacrifices, was found; the ash remained in place. Until the construction of the early Archaic north temple, five successive layers of the clay hearth and an equal number of layers of ash and bone had accumulated[233]. This situation is paralleled at Thermos with the installation of the clay hearth for sacrificial holocausts. The new excavation at Kalapodhi revealed a built bothros-altar and the south Geometric temple in antis, constructed with mud bricks on stone foundations, which went out of use ca. 740-730 and was succeeded by another, Late Geometric to early Archaic, apsidal temple. After the destruction of this temple, a provisional sanctuary was created and the adyton of the ruined temple was rebuilt as a small, free-standing building, which "may have housed an oracle"[234]. Likewise at Thermos the north room of the old Megaron B was reconstructed again in the Late Geometric period, i.e. in the period of the ash altar, when it served as a sacred oikos.

Another feature of the sanctuary at Kalapodhi is that there were multiple nuclei of cult activity. It is apparent that at Thermos the same would have applied during the eighth and seventh centuries, as is shown by the bothroi south of the hearth and by the other remains of cult activity to the west.

The change in function of the area in the eighth century, apart from Kalapodhi, could also be compared with the sanctuary at Isthmia[235]. Like Olympia, in the eleventh-tenth centuries, Isthmia too was an open-air sanctuary with early rituals and feasts probably following sacrifices. The first built constructions there make their appearance during the second half of the eighth century. Ash with bones either burnt or not (ash altar?) and dedications were found in the east part of the level space that was later occupied by the altar of Poseidon.

Earlier than Thermos, but related remains of sacrifices with ash piled up, carbonised matter and bones are reported, as has already been noted, (p. 102) in the apsidal building ΣΤ at Poseidi in Kassandra[236], which was built in the Protogeometric period and continued in use after the ninth century. The comparison is particularly valid, if the building was not roofed. Equally distant from Thermos, but closer chronologically, is probably the example at Prinias, since a deposit of ash or an ash altar existed there outside temple B and was found beneath the seventh century temple[237].

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233. Felsch 2007b, 7, 9.

234. Niemeier, *ArchRepLondon* 2005-2006, 68, Fig. 105; 2007-2008, 48; 2009-2010, 94.

235. Morgan 1999, 372-373, 431-432.

236. See n. 198, for the uncertainty about the existence of an interior hearth.

237. Pernier 1914, 35. Nilsson 1923, 146 had included the finds from the sacrifices at Prinias among Fire Festivals.

I have already referred to the Amyklaion (p. 103) in connection with the question of continuity of use and cult from the Late Helladic period to the Dark Ages. Tsountas describes as earlier remains black earth "as if from burning and the blood of animals", ashes and a few bones[238]. The semi-circular foundation was considered to suggest a circular construction with steps and an ash altar that is presumed to have existed earlier[239].

At the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas on the Kynortion hill at Epidauros, grey soil mixed with a pile of stones is reported and is dated toward the end of the seventh century, with only a few Geometric sherds[240].

Ash piled up on the ground, without built constructions or only with a flimsy (usually later) enclosure has been noted at sanctuaries of Zeus on mountain peaks. D.W. Rupp and M. K. Langdon mention ash altars in sanctuaries of Zeus such as those on Mt. Hymettus, Mt. Parnes, the Oros of Aigina, the Arachnaion in the Argolid, and Phoukas at Nemea[241]. Their beginnings go back as a rule to the Geometric period and the seventh century sees them in full use, with the cult continuing later, usually without changes in the lay-out of the site[242]. The excavated pyre of Herakles at Oite[243] must belong to this same category. Among the manifold recordings of early 'ground altars' or 'sacrificial remains' of the Early Iron Age, we must also include sites that can be compared with the hearth at Thermos[244].

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238. Tsountas 1892, espr 11. See also Snodgrass 1971, 276-277; Calligas 1992; Antonaccio 1995, 178-181.

239. Fichter 1918, 131-132. The soil investigated by Buschor, (Buschor, Massow, 1927, 3-10, 34, 46-49) belongs to layers that collapsed after the destruction of a retaining wall and contained objects from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. The renewed archaeological investigation of the site organized by the Museum Benaki will be of great interest in connection with the possible existence of an ash altar. Such an altar could have functioned independently of the "altar" of Yakinthos, which served also as the base of the statue of Apollo, set on the "throne of Bathykles" (Paus III 19, 1-3). In my opinion an ash altar of Apollo in Amyklaion must have existed earlier than the construction of the "altar" of Yakinthos and of the "throne" both of which I understand as a single architectural conception (probably a podium with several "seats" on it) implemented on the occasion of the introduction of the hero cult for Yakinthos which appears to me to have been established in the 6th century.

240. Lambrinoudakis 1975, 169-170; 1976.

241. Rupp 1983, 101-102 with references; Langdon M. 1976, 100-112 passim; Mastrokostas 1983 and *ArchRep London* 1959-60, 8.

242. At the Lykaion also there are finds from the same ritual that date in both the fifth and the fourth centuries (Kourouniotis 1904, 162-169; Burkert 1972, 99 n. 10).

243. See n. 232. According to Papadakis 1919: "dedications burned up together" and "holocaust offerings of bones from every part of the animal and not just the thighs".

244. See Riemer 2005, 184, Fig. 74. He also refers to sacrificial ash without remains of constructions.

With the introduction of the practice of holocaust sacrifices in the eighth century, Thermos enters the ranks of important regional sanctuaries, continuing to function from that time on.

The evidence from the bothroi, the unworked stone, the black layer

The ash altar at Thermos has to be considered in connection with the sacrificial built pits and bothroi that belong to the same stratigraphical horizon (see p. 36-37).

During the seventh century, the site of the ash altar was defined by the stone slabs that were thought originally to be bases for an elliptical peristyle around the Megaron B (see p. 39-45) (fig. p. 16, figs 23,24,27,30). In the stratum of the slab enclosure we have also placed the unworked stone found in the south part of the area in front of the ash altar (p. 51-52) (fig. 41, p. 117, pls 22,51a,54). The stone, albeit rough, (ἀργὸς λίθος) is pillar-shaped, and the black earth around it, the iron votive weapons and the bothroi that were opened from time to time at the same place bear witness to its cultic significance. It stood, moreover, above a partially preserved earlier bothros containing iron votives: the spearheads M38, M41, the spear butt M39 and the knife M40 of the Geometric period. This agrees with the dating of the use of the bothroi and confirms the installation of the crude stone (which I will call a *sacred stone*) at the earliest to the end of the eighth century.

The slabs of the elliptical enclosure are stratigraphically associated also with the black layer which represents sacrificial remains followed by feasts (see p. 50-51). According to the reports of the old excavations, the black layer was found in the west and south part of the area of the temple[245]. The new excavation exposed again parts of this same layer above a level of tamped earth on which the slabs of the west series of the elliptical enclosure had been placed and partly under the west wall of the cella of the Apollo temple (pl. 23b,c). It was thus evident from the beginning that this black layer postdated the slabs.

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245. Soteriades 1900, 176-177; Rhomaios 1915, 246-247.

7. ASPECTS OF CULT

The holocaust sacrifices in Thermos

The earliest holocaust sacrifices were associated with the honours accorded to the dead, on the basis of the Homeric tradition: Odysseus' promise of sacrifice of a barren heifer to the dead in the *Nekyia* (*Od.* XI 29-31), and the pyre of Patroclos (*Il.* XXIII, 164-165). Moreover in earlier studies holocaust rituals were frequently connected with the worship of 'chthonic' divinities[246]. Chthonic cult, no less, was considered by a number of scholars, such as F. Creuzer, E. Rohde and J. E. Harrison, to be the historic step preceding Olympian cult and thus leaving some traces of earlier rituals.

Even if we accept the ancient distinction between the chthonic and Olympian properties of the gods, mergers and graduations of their characters are recognizable. Chthonic aspects and properties are to be found in gods who, according to tradition, are Olympian par excellence, such as Zeus, "Chthonic and Olympian ritual are constantly bound up with each other"[247]. Eitrem detected chthonic features in Apollo, when the god accepted primal offerings[248]. The pig, considered to be a sacrificial animal of chthonic gods, appears in the cults of both Zeus and Apollo[249]. Greek religion accepted each god as a multifaceted entity. Much depends also on local traditions, special religious needs, peculiarities of the worshippers and economic means. All these factors and not only the properties of the recipient gods contributed to the differentiation of emphasis in the rituals. For this reason recent studies tend to accept that holocaust offerings and sacrifice with feasting, two separate sorts of ritual, as well as other ritual activities, such as bloodless offerings and offerings without burning, do not correspond to the distinct

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246. According to the totally burnt sacrifice of sheep in honor of Hades and Persephone by Odysseus (*Od.* XI, 44-47). For literary sources see Hermary Leguilloux et al 2004, 118.

247. Burkert 1985, 202; 1972, 16 n. 41, 68: recognises that in ritual there is an "immanente Antithese" rather than two different, parallel phenomena. See also Ekroth 2002, 215-227, 310-315, 325-330; Parker 2005, 39.

248. Eitrem 1915, 477.

249. Clinton 2005, 168; Calame 2005, 186; Xen. *An.* VII 8,4-5; Paus. VIII, 38, 8. See Hermary-Leguilloux et al. 2004, 119.

categories of gods given by the sources. It has indeed been proposed that the distinction between Chthonic and Olympian cult should be discarded[250].

Holocaust sacrifices and blood offerings were made also to the gods that were considered as Olympian. On the basis of inscriptions and literary sources, Gunnel Ekroth argued that the holocausts («destructive sacrifices») were special rather than common cultic performances and were connected with important events and emergencies, such as dangerous situations, pollution and other collective crises[251]. We do not know, to be sure, if and to what extent the holocaust offerings during the earlier periods had the same function as that documented for Classical and Hellenistic times[252]. In mountainous Aetolia, in any case, with its loosely connected communities, which gathered at a central cult site like Thermos, it is reasonable to argue that the celebration of holocaust sacrifices during the eighth and seventh centuries must indeed have been special in nature, carried out under specific circumstances, exceptional as well as regular, such as rites of transition. Moreover, for early Apollo Thermios holocaust sacrifices would have provided an appropriate ritual background.

Yet the portion designated for the gods in a sacrifice that was accompanied by feasting could well have been burnt on the ash altar or ashes from this ritual could have been brought and placed there. Similarly at Olympia the ash altar πεποίηται... ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν (Paus. V 13, 8-11) that were burnt on the top of the altar, after the rest of the animal was already sacrificed on the *prothysis* of the same altar.

At Thermos caprid bones were found scattered around the area of the ash altar. Bones of bovids and swine were far fewer. The skulls of pigs were also in evidence. The kind of the animals or the parts of the skeletons are not recognisable among the fragmented small pieces and calcined bones of the ash altar, so that we cannot make precise cultic correlations.

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250. A good opportunity to rethink the subject was presented by the 6th International Seminar on Ancient Greek Religion of the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History of the University of Göteborg in 1997 on the subject of *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian* (Hägg, Alroth 2005). See for example Dietrich 2005; Auffarth 2005; Parker 2005; Henrichs 2005. See also Rudhardt 1958. Ekroth 2002, 216 refers to earlier and more recent scholars, who had already argued that the type of offering should be disassociated from the particular character of the recipient and related, in every case, to other purposes (Nock 1944, 590-591; Jameson 1965, 162-163; Graf 1980; Peirce 1993, 252 n. 134). Schlesier 1994, 30-32, in a review of the subject recalls that Karl Otfried Müller 1825 had already doubted "Dualismus" in cult, while Georg Friedrich Creuzer I 1810, 170 left the epigrammatic phrase "Alle Gottheiten waren umschlagend (παλίντροποι)".

251. See n. 247. Critical comments on the term "destruction sacrifice", Svenbro 2005.

252. Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2004, 20.

Better preserved bones, burned only to a certain extent, and a few iron spits suggest the consumption of meat as an inherent part of sacrificial feasts. For the first time we have here archaeological evidence of sacrifices designated as food[253]. In conclusion, at Thermos the two types of sacrifice would have been carried out in the same place and were performed in every case for the 'immortals' without distinction.

The Archaic cella was built over the ash altar, covering also the bothroi discovered in the new excavations. A significant break in cult and ritual activity is evident. The foundation of the temple of Apollo on the ash altar evidently signifies a new organisation of the cult, since the practice of holocaust sacrifices would no longer fulfill a need of the community at that time[254]. It is conceivable that this activity was moved to another area at Thermos, but there is no archaeological evidence to support such a transfer.

Cultic use of the bothroi

The sherds found in the bothroi yielded some restorable, albeit incomplete, vases. This probably means that the vessels had been used in activities connected with the function of the bothroi and their fragments remained in situ. The metal objects may have been implements used by the worshippers. The knives may have been placed there after the sacrificial ritual, but the spearheads are more likely to be the offerings of warriors or of youths making the transition into the ranks of men[255], unless they were used perhaps in contests of javelin throwing[256]. Whether or not they were used for hunting is problematic, since only three of the 123 diagnostic bones collected from Early Iron Age levels came from hunted animals. Moreover, very few bones, all belonging to domestic animals, were found in seventh century contexts.

The function of the bothroi can be explained with reference to various cultic practices, as they are known from later times. The word βόθρος in Homer is not used in connection with rituals, but merely designates a pit[257]. Yet the connection

253. The classic references are in Detienne, Vernant 1979; Detienne 1979. See now Georgoudi et al. 2005; Georgoudi 2005, 115-116. Yet we have to consider that feasts could also take place without sacrifices.

254. Cf. Chaniotis 2002, 39-40 for transformations in ritual through a change in the agency that controlled the cult or through political events.

255. Cf. Lebessi, 2002, 271-274.

256. Robertson 2002, 72 in reference to 'Doric' spearhead rituals. This also brings to mind the αἰτωλικαὶ λόγχαι of the Argives and Tydeus in the campaign of the Seven against Thebes (Eur. *Phoen.* 1166-1167). See comments on the spearhead in the myths and iconography of Aetolia in Antonetti, 1990, 99-101.

257. Summary in Ekroth 2002, 72-74.

of the bothros, if only occasionally, with the dead and with powers of the Underworld, is evident already in the *Nekyia* (*Od.* XI, 24-28). The pouring of blood into a bothros for a specific purpose, to give life to the shades of Hades, may well not be, as suggested by Ekroth, merely an Homeric device[258]; such a ritual at bothroi may have been connected with some ceremony of Homeric or even earlier times. Only much later, in the Hellenistic period, were they used in hero worship, according to the sources.

The bothroi of Thermos are somewhat crudely constructed and some would not have survived for long (pls 22,33,48a,50b,51). It is thus evident that they were used occasionally and for special purposes. It is possible that they had contained "preliminary sacrifices" (προθυσίαι) of animals other than those destined for burning on the ash altar. Yet it is also possible that they were used in conjunction with the ash altar; slaughter and blood letting in the bothros, followed by totally burnt sacrifice of the animal. An independent sacrifice might also have been made as blood offering, αἱμακουρίαι (Pindar *Ol.* I,90), in honour of powers other than the gods, for example daimons, or for purifications. In any case, a sacrifice in the bothros need not be ascribed exclusively to a mortal hero, as the offering mentioned by Philostratus in the description of the night time sacrifice of the Thessalians to Achilles, ὡς τεθνεῶτι[259].

Cult of a *sacred stone*

I retain the general term of *sacred stone* (ἱερὸς λίθος) as mentioned in Pausanias (II 31, 4). Since the area had already been excavated on both sides of the east wall of the cella, below which stood the «unworked stone», we do not know whether there were any other sacred stones as well as bothroi in the same area. Such groups of stones in Metapontum and other sites in Magna Graecia have been interpreted as dedications[260].

The sacred stone of Thermos is one of the few examples that were found in place (fig. 41, pls 33,51a,54). After its original installation a new level of use was formed, while the stone itself remained in place, always projecting from the earth. This demonstrates its continuous function. It would have been venerated until shortly before the end of the seventh century when the cella of the temple covered it over.

The literary sources provide a great deal of information concerning undressed stones, worked pilasters, columns, and meteoric stones that are connected with cult as aniconic images or sacred stones. They have been intensely

258. Ekroth 2005, 13.
259. Philostr. *Her.* 325, 9-326, 19.
260. Doepner 2002, 147-150.



Fig. 41. The sacred stone (1) and sacrificial pits (2).

scrutinised in the literature[261], where they are sometimes referred to as *horoi* or dedications[262].

Magical and symbolic qualities as well as the feeling of the deity's presence comprise the multifaceted but also strong and enduring sanctity of the stone[263]. These very qualities, however, make it difficult or even impossible to define the ancient perception of its significance: a votive object, an aniconic representation,

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261. Reisch 1896; de Visser 1903; Latte 1929; Maass 1929, Nillson 1940, 79-80; 1967, 201-207; Herrmann 1959, 25-38; Fauth 1964; 1975; Metzler 1985; Neutsch 1990, 251-253; Warren 1990, 205; Kron 1992, esp. 64-68; Fehrenz 1993; Bremmer 1994, 27; Doepner 2002; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2005, 316-319.

262. For the evidence in Greece see Doepner 2002, 153 n. 685. Finds and representations from the Creto-Mycenaean world in Warren 1990. In addition to crude stones, pebbles have also been included. Notable from the Greek area are the long pebbles (phallic?) that were set up on an altar in the sanctuary of Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis (Broneer, 1933, 342, figs 14,15; 1935, 118-120, 125-132). See also Kron 1992, 68.

263. Cf. Gladigow 1985-86; 1990, 104; Doepner 2002, 184 notes the tradition preserved by Porphyry of Tyre (*Abst.* II 18, 10) that Aeschylus compared the new with the ancient statues observing that: ταῦτα γὰρ καῖπερ ἀφελῶς πεποιημένα θεῖα νομίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καινὰ περιέργως εἰργασμένα θαυμάζεσθαι μέν, θείου δὲ δόξαν ἧττον ἔχειν.

marker of the divinity's presence, the border stone of a sanctuary? As Kron has noted, the boundaries are fluid[264]. In the λιτὸν ἕδος and the ἄξοος σανὶς of Callimachus (*Aet.* IV Fr. 100) the mystical power that resided within them emerged when the stone was venerated. Indeed this very vagueness made them easily adaptable for reference to any divine or daimonic power. In this way aniconic stones become "silent elements" of *numina nomine vacantia*[265] that had a value beyond time in popular religion. Their original significance may well have been forgotten even in antiquity. Their connection with divinities may indeed be later. Yet the etiological myths attached to sacred stones show the persistent memory of ancient sanctity. Thus it is possible that many of those remembered in the sources and others found in sanctuaries had in fact a long tradition that could coincide with the time of the Thermos stone.

The archaeological evidence for the crude stone of Thermos may indicate that it is a sign of divine or daimonic presence. Its importance is demonstrated by its central location in the cult area in front of the ash altar, amongst bothroi and built sacral pits, which were in part earlier. A comparable phenomenon of the later setting up of stelai in a place where there were already remains of sacrifices and dedications, has been noted in the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios at Selinus[266].

Many scholars have collected the evidence, emphasised and supported with arguments, for the connection of the worship of crude stones and pillars with Apollo[267], although there has been no lack of objections to these ideas[268]. This connection, was suggested mainly by the pillars or baetyls of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς. To connect the stone of Thermos to the early Apollo would be indeed additional evidence, justified, to an extent, and of particular significance[269].

Yet the stone was buried when the temple was built. Its abandonment, however, does not imply the rejection of the sacred power of aniconic stones because of a turn to anthropomorphic representations of divinities. Nor does it mitigate the influence of earlier markers of divine power in popular belief. It was rather a deliberate adaptation of the cult to new purposes. The construction of the mon-

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264. Kron 1992, 69.

265. Maass 1929, 1.

266. Gabrici 1927, 404-405; Doepner 2002, 142.

267. de Visser 1903, 211-212; Latte 1929, 2301-2; Nilsson 1967, 203-204; Kron 1992, 61-62; Fehrentz 1993; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2005, 319.

268. Herrmann 1959, 36. The question of including the omphaloi in the same group, while open to discussion, does not concern us here. For these features see Darenberg-Saglio IVA, 197 (Karo) and Thompson 1937, 110-112 with references.

269. In the gymnasium of Megara there was a λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν (Paus. I 44,2). It was evidently a dressed stone. A stone of Zeus Meilichios in the agora of Sikyon was said to have the same form (Paus. II 9, 6). Apollo Lithesios at Malea was also represented by a stone (λίθῳ προσιδρυμένος, Steph. Byz. v. Λιθήσιος).

umental cella accompanies a choice of meanings quite different from those originating in the crude stones. Society had moved on to new ideals and those in prominent positions would have given preference to rituals of specific divine cults. Earlier, enduring cults would have certainly survived. Yet the early excavations have provided no archaeological evidence from the long period that the temple was in use.

Although there is no archaeological discovery corresponding to that of Thermos, from the written sources we can visualise the existence of similar early testimonia of cult. Of all the references the closest examples, in my opinion, concern Boeotia, according to the report of Pausanias[270]. At Thespiai, in the sanctuary of Eros, apart from the statues by Praxiteles and Lysippus, ἄγαλμα παλαιότατόν ἐστι ἀργὸς λίθος (Paus. IX 27, 1 and 3)[271]. In Hyettos stood a statue of Heracles, whom they worshipped as a healer, ὄντος οὐχὶ ἀγάλματος σὺν τέχνῃ, λίθου δὲ ἀργοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον (Paus. IX 24, 3). At Orchomenos the Charites were worshipped as stones that were said to have fallen from heaven for Eteocles (Paus. IX 38.1). So too in the grove of Alcmene in Thebes there was an aniconic stone, which was probably not a cult image[272]. It may well be that originally the stones of Thespiai, Hyettos and Orchomenos were not aniconic cult idols, but sacred markers indicating the presence of the divine. The question applies also to the hexagonal tapering pillar of the Heraion of Argos[273].

The perception conveyed by Pausanias himself is that these stones were very ancient aniconic statues. Moreover, he explicitly notes, in the context of the description of the thirty square stones that stood near the statue of Hermes at Pharai in Achaea (VII 22, 4), that in earlier times, all the Greeks worshipped the gods in the form of crude stones rather than statues[274]; for the Arcadians he remarks that they are fond of such stone images (VIII 48, 6)[275].

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270. Reisch 1896, 724; de Visser 1903, 56; Maass 1929, 7-9; Latte 1929, 2298; Hermann 1959, 27.

271. The stone of Elea (length 1.20 m.) with the inscription EP[ΩΣ] was associated with the stone of Thespiai (Neutsch 1990, 253, Doepner 2002, 178). Representations show pillars or columns together with cult statues, just as recorded in the literary sources. They are closely associated with the anthropomorphic representation of the divinity and are perceived as the presence of the divine power itself.

272. Nilsson 1967, 202.

273. Waldstein 1902, 42-43, Fig. 15.

274. Τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Graf 1987, 245 wondered whether this perception is perhaps an "historisierendes Konstrukt" that did not correspond to Greek reality. Yet, particularly in the creation of the Attic herms, it has been argued that a development could be seen from the sacred (and crude) stone to the anthropomorphic representation (Nilsson 1967, 206-207) or the "return to the form of aniconic monuments" (Wrede 1986, 6).

275. At Tegea 20 four-sided stones with a pyramidal crown and the names of divinities, comparable probably to the "square" stones of Pharai, have been found (Rhomaios 1911).

Crude stones of very early times in sanctuaries may be later associated with specific divinities or with old daimons that continued to be worshiped. In any case, these stones would have been thought sacred, and ordinary people would have venerated them through the centuries[276].

Feasts, purification rites and the black layer

Only a few bones, very few of which were burnt, were found in the black layer of the new excavation. Neither these bones nor the bones from the sacrifices and meals found together with carbonised remains to the south, in the vicinity of the bothroi and the sacred stone, were broken into pieces like the bones at Olympia, as reported by Kyrieleis[277]; nor were there traces of burning on any of the fragments of bronze objects found in the black layer. This means that they were not thrown into a sacrificial fire as might be expected in the case of offerings to the dead (ἐναγισμοὶ). The most likely explanation is that the dedications were deposited, as sacred, together with the other remains of the sacrifices (ash and bones) with which the offerings were closely connected, in that they shared the same fortune as the remains of the sacrifices. It is my belief that the condition in which the black layer was found –its similarity and equal thickness in the area to the south and west and in the small part investigated beneath the early Archaic temple above the light-coloured ash of the holocaust sacrifices (stratigraphic sections 15, 16, 18, 18 β, pls 23b,c,24,45a)–means that it was artificially deposited toward the end of the seventh century, prior to the construction of the temple. It appears that toward the end of the seventh century the black layer was still being formed, although its beginnings cannot be precisely determined.

The black layer must be connected with sacrifices followed by feasts. Soteriades attributed the black earth to the blood of the sacrifices that drenched the soil[278]. The black soil could also result from the burning of fat and organic matter during the preparation of ritual feasts, but blood cannot be ruled out. According to later literary sources, the occasions when sacrificial blood was poured onto the ground were limited[279]. If this rite could be pushed back to such an early period, we could restore at Thermos the purification rituals that were usual in places of gatherings and transitions and required the pouring of blood[280]. The use of the temporary bothroi for such a purpose would be a reasonable assumption.

Their form was explained as derived from "the crude stone of Geometric times".

276. See Meier 1989, 300-304, 316 on the coexistence (and combination) of contradictory phenomena, such as very ancient rituals together with features current in the religious thought of later periods.

277. Kyrieleis 2006, 44.

278. Soteriades 1900, 176.

279. Ekroth 2002, 242-251. That the blood belongs to the divine recipient of the sacrifice is known from later sources.

280. Parker 1983, 371-373, 393.

It has been accepted that various kinds of sacrifices were performed in sanctuaries simultaneously or successively and that there were gradations, especially in the consumption of meat and blood[281]. Since, according to the sources, this concerns later periods, there is no certainty that it applies to early times. Yet the diversification of ritual is evident also at early Thermos from the variety of remains that implies different rituals, i.e. two main types of sacrifices and other offerings deposited in the pits. We may conclude with certainty that in the period before the construction of temples, cult activity had been enriched and was already functioning on multiple levels.

Sacrifices on a raised altar?

At Thermos, there were no remains of a built altar for sacrifice followed by the consumption of meat, nor any indication of such an altar in the excavation reports. Yet the rock located at a distance of 7.30-7.40 m. south and slightly west of the long axis of the temple (see p. 37-39, pls 3,9,35,52, fig. 22 and p. 88) and protected around its circumference by stones, might have been a not built altar, an *inconditum*, for sacrifices followed by the consumption of the meat. The rock is not dressed, but the upper surface is relatively smooth and would have been suitable for use as an altar or as a table (τράπεζα)[282]. There is no trace of fire. Whether it was in use as early as Megaron B is uncertain. Its use came to an end and the rock was covered over when the temple was built. While this is all that can be said about it, it is the only object at Thermos that could possibly be identified as a raised altar. The identification of the two circular constructions (pls 7a,48a) in front of Megaron B with altars is more doubtfull (see p. 29-30).

There is a second century B.C. inscription recording the dedication of an altar to Apollo Thermios by the koinon of the Aetolians, in the generalship of Agelochos, son of Trichas, from Stratos[283]. It is worth noting that the inscription must belong, as noted by Soteriades, "to a monument close to the southwest corner of the temple". It cannot refer to the rock-'altar', but the establishment of altars in succeeding periods in the same place is both possible and justifiable. It should not be forgotten that the black layer extended southwest of the temple and that the figurine of Reshef (pl. 78) was found near the rock 'altar'.

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281. Burkert 1972, 16 n. 41; 1966, 103, n. 36; Parker 2005.

282. Karageorgis 1973, 651 mentions the coexistence of an altar for bloodless sacrifices and another altar for holocaust sacrifices at Kition as early as the end of the thirteenth century.

283. *IG* IX, I^2, I, 69.

The Question of Ancestor and Hero Cult

The new excavation has provided no evidence for cult activities associated with the dead or with specific ancestors at Thermos during the Early Iron Age, either in Megaron A or in connection with Megaron B. The discovery of graves in the immediate vicinity would be a prerequisite for connecting ritual remains with tomb cult or funerary honours[284], even if they were performed only for a limited period for dead leaders of the time or for famous ancestors. The question of ancestor cult, however, requires investigation, which, in each case, has to take local conditions into consideration[285]. In recent years, some scholars have returned to Soteriades' view that Megaron A became a heroön during the Early Iron Age. Moreover, they have also included Megaron B among the buildings connected with the veneration of an ancestor's grave and with early hero worship[286].

The bothroi and built pits that existed from the eighth century on are especially relevant to the question of hero worship. It should, however, be emphasised

284. As in Eretria (Krause 1982, 139).

285. Cf. the burials at Vitsa in Zagori, where some of the earlier burials near the houses were evidently venerated (Vokotopoulou 1986, 208-210, 327; 1982, 89). At Vitsa, however, the co-existence of graves and houses may be explained by the seasonal character of the settlement. The offerings were perhaps for the first settlers. For the archaeological evidence from Naxos and Argos concerning constructions above burials for performing cult activities, honouring not only the recently buried but also ancestors see Lambrinoudakis 1984, 305; Lambrinoudakis, Zapheiropoulou 1984, 330-339; Hägg 1999b, 37. The excavated evidence at Xobourgo in Tenos is impressive, consisting of pyres and *ἐναγισμοί* in grave enclosures, offering tables, an 'eschara' and ritual feasts from the tenth century to the late Geometric period (Kourou 2002, 258-262; 2004, 432-434; 2005, 24-26). Other examples of probable veneration of ancestors are to be seen in connection with the Late Geometric tombs in Asine, at the foot of the Barbouna hill (Hägg 1983b, 189-190; 1992, 18-19) and at Eretria West Gate: the tombs date from 720 to 685 and received honors from the seventh century until the first half of the fifth century, a veneration also accorded to the ancestors of a prominent family (founders?) or to warriors of the city (Berard 1970, 68; Antonaccio 1995, 228-236).

286. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 133, 353, 356, 380; 1999, 19, 28; 2006, 191-193. In *Praktika* 1993, 98-99, I had suggested that the remains south of Megaron B represented either a burial or sacrificial bothroi, but renewed excavation in the area showed that they were bothroi (*Praktika* 1994, 110-111; Papapostolou 1997a, 336-338). Ian Morris 2000, 225-227, 237-238, 311 compared the buildings at Thermos to the heroön of Lefkandi, placing them in the framework of the "elites" of central Greece where "the glories of the Mycenaean past ... had blurred into the notion of a mythical race of heroes". His view that "Megaron B like A was a shrine for worshipping the dead", has not been confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The socio-economic conditions in Aetolia and in Euboea during the eleventh-ninth centuries were different. In my opinion, the only feature the two areas have in common are large buildings that were used as seats of chieftains and for communal affairs but under different historical circumstances, at the beginning of dissimilar developments.

from the beginning that even if ancestor worship were practised during the Dark Ages, this custom would not have continued down to the eighth century. Furthermore, it could hardly have developed into hero worship[287]. In fact, the course toward the development of a larger community in central Aetolia, would not have allowed the promotion of famous old leaders. It would instead have brought about the timely abolition of whatever ancestral honours might have survived. Absent at Thermos are the socioeconomic circumstances that may have existed in evolving poleis when various kinds of 'hero worship', such as have been proposed mainly for Attica and the Argolid, were established and consolidated. Moreover, the Mycenaean tombs in Aetolia have provided no cultic remains. This sort of cult is missing altogether or is rare in other areas of *ethne* as well[288].

The absence of graves but also of any evidence of the burial tradition associated with a venerable local man as well as the lack of a 'heroic' historiographic or epigraphic tradition at Thermos have important implications. The involvement of Θέρμιος (who was inadvertently killed by his brother Oxylos in a discus contest before Oxylos was obliged to leave Aetolia to lead the Heraclids) is connected with the literary tradition concerning the immigration of the Aetolians under Oxylos to Eleia, which was introduced presumably in the early Archaic period. Yet even if it could be shown that this myth, although a political one, was based on historical memories of movements of people from the northwest during the Dark Ages[289], this would not imply the antiquity of the legend of Thermios. Indeed the evidence about Thermios appears only in Pausanias (V 3, 5-7) and is not corroborated by any finds or additional written evidence from the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sanctuary of Thermos[290]. To be sure, there are those

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287. The existence of a grave is not necessary for the establishment and practice of hero worship, as is evident from the heroa of Menelaos and Helena in Therapne, of Agamemnon in Mycenae and the cave of Odysseus in Ithaca. As Snodgrass 1988, 24-25 noted, however, these are heroes of a broader, pan-Hellenic significance. At Thermos there is no such tradition. The excavated finds in Naxos, Xobourgo in Tenos, Eretria, Asine already mentioned, cannot be equated with a specific hero worship since there is no heroic tradition at those sites. The relation of ancestor worship to hero worship has been more recently investigated by Boehringer 2001, 25-46 who rejected the derivation of the second from the first and even the use of the term ancestor worship itself, mainly on the basis of terminology drawn from contemporary ethnology.

288. The subject is discussed by Antonaccio 1995, 245-255, who separates the veneration of old burials from hero worship and comments on the views of Morgan (1991, 141-142) concerning the absence of tomb cult among the *ethne*. On the subject of cult in the mycenaean tombs see Snodgrass 1980, 38-40, 68;1982; 1988; de Polignac 1984, 59; Whitley 1988; 1994; Morris I. 1988; Antonaccio 1995, 5-7; Lorenz 1996, 35-38 (with references); Morgan 2003, 190.

289. Vanschoonwinkel 1995; Taita 2000, 161-163; Gehrke 2005, 29-30, 33, 37, 44; Kyrieleis 2006, 77-79; Eder 2006a, 560.

290. Kruse 1934, 2393; von Keitz 1911, 28; Müller, Graupa 1942; Antonetti 1990, 202-203; Taita 2000, 183.

who believe in the antiquity of the tradition in the case of Thermios, whom Rhomaios tried to present as a god (like Θερμώδων or Θερμαῖος of Crete) who "was identified with Apollo ..., the possessor of the sacred fire". Rossi also viewed Thermios as a hero of chthonic nature "dello stadio culturale precerealicolo", who was later identified with Apollo[291]. In any case, if there had been an early hero cult at Thermos, it would have been independent from any ancestor cult; it would have been no earlier than the Apollo cult, indeed no earlier than the archaic period (as e.g. in Olympia, Nemea and to my opinion also in Amyklaion, see n. 239) and it would have survived, because the hero is inextricably bound to the place where he is worshipped and his cult cannot be uprooted.

The mythical progenitor, Aetolos, the ancestor of Oxylos, according to Ephorus, had an inscribed statue at Thermos; a corresponding statue of Oxylos had been set up in Eleia. There are no references to heroic honours for Aetolos, and the erection of his (archaeologically undocumented) statue could only have occurred when the Confederacy was organised; it does not imply the survival of ancient veneration. The myth about the eponymous Aetolos, moreover, who represents the mythical first settler coming to Aetolia from Eleia (Ephorus, FGrH 70 F 122, Apollod. I 7, 6; Paus. V 1, 8; Strabo X 3, 2-3; Conon FGrH 26 F 14) is a later (sixth century?) political fabrication, perhaps Elean, concocted to justify the earlier tradition of the mythical migration of Aetolians under Oxylos, the descendant of Aetolos, as an actual return of the Eleans to their cradle[292].

The information of Pausanias (V 15, 12) concerning libations made in Eleia to heroes and heroines, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ ὅσοι παρ᾽ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν, is vague but worth noting. It simply means that there were heroes common to Eleia and Aetolia, who were worshipped during the time of the traveller. Yet the performing of common hero cults also seems to be a component in the mythical web of relations between Eleia and Aetolia[293].

In my opinion, the lack of ancient myths of heroes and ancestors connected with Thermos is due to the fact that in the eighth century no settlement had evolved there with a ruler, who sought a mythical origin to legitimize his claim to personal power. The absence of Thermos from the epic and the *Catalogue of*

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291. Rhomaios 1932, 28-34; Rossi 1970, 41-42. On the question of Late Bronze deities who were transformed into heroes see Lorenz 1996, 47-50.

292. For the date of the creation of the Oxylos myth zee Prinz 1979, 312. On the chronology of the epigram of the statues of Aetolos in Thermos and Oxylos in Elis see Antonetti 1990, 60; see also p. 169, n. 437.

293. Antonetti 1990, 130, 267-268, stresses the possibility that the honouring of the heroic at Olympia is "ancient enough" because of the "ancient manner" of offerings. Taita 2000, 182 attributes it to "propagandistic" purposes. Gehrke 2005, 36 notes the long time during which relations between Eleia and Aetolia were "cultivated" down to Imperial times. Evidently the altar of Apollo Thermios at Olympia may also belong to the same pattern of connections with Aetolia.

Ships is in itself a strong indication, for there is a reference to both Calydon and Pleuron, precisely because of the intervention of a 'king', who would have sought to establish his rule over southwest Aetolia by appearing to be the legal successor of the Aetolian mythical heroes. In Thermos, to the contrary, the organisation of the sanctuary was most likely a communal enterprise, perhaps already under an occasional and atypical collective institution.

The evidence of Pindar (*Isthm.* V 30-31), ἐν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν θυσίαισι φαεινᾶις Οἰνεῖδαι κρατεροί, may infer the offering of burnt sacrifices for the Calydonian heroes Meleager and Tydeus. The venerable Aetolian heroes might well have received such honours, at least from the fifth century on, the period that these traditions reflect. Yet this later hero worship in Aetolia does not help us reconstruct a picture of Thermos in the Iron Age. We do not know if a hero cult of the sons of Oeneus began as early as the eighth century, even in Calydon, where it should in any case be sought. To date, there is no corroborating archaeological evidence from any period at all.

The late Geometric bronze figurine of the ridden horse of Thermos (pl. 88)[294], should support the idea that athletic contests were held also at Thermos as early as the end of the eighth century, even if only occasionally. Indeed such contests are held to celebrate a variety of festivals, not only heroic or tomb cult rituals, which the myth of the unintended murder of Thermios by Oxylos in the discus contest could suggest – if this myth were to be attributed to the eighth century at the latest.

It is possible that there was a "clear conceptual distinction" between divine and heroic sacrifice[295]. But hero worship cannot be seen in the excavation data. Holocaust sacrifices neither demand nor exclude hero cult. At Thermos elements that once would have been considered as belonging undeniably to chthonic cult, such as the holocaust sacrifices on the ash altar and the blood rituals probably seen in the bothroi, cannot be accepted as proof of either ancestor or hero cult[296].

Cult of Daimons

Despite the lack of evidence for veneration of ancestors or for hero cult, there are other, more likely possibilities for interpreting the ritual activities that can be inferred from the excavation data. Together with the organised divine cult, such as

294. Papapostolou 2001, 36-39.

295. Cf. the discussion in Parker 2005, 39.

296. As Heinrichs 2005, 48 remarked, "not every holocaust sacrifice is by definition 'chthonian', and not every 'chthonian' or heroic sacrifice requires the burning of the entire sacrificial animal, excluding any human consumption of its meat." Judging from later sources, the connection of holocaust sacrifices to hero cult was less evident. Cf. Ekroth 2002, 135, 311, 325-327, 330.

that of Apollo, secondary powers, anonymous, ἐπιχώριοι δαίμονες, for which specific local testimony is unnecessary, would have been worshipped. Sufficient, in my opinion, is the literary tradition that appears in Hesiod (*Op.* 106-201) concerning the five mythical races, four of which are named after metals. The dead of the first golden race, who lived in the age of Kronos, at Zeus' will became "good daimons on the face of the earth (δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι), watchers over mortal men", who ensured justice and bestowed wealth. For this reason, they themselves received royal honours and privileges (γέρας βασιλήιον). The dead of the next, the silver race are called "blessed mortals under the earth" (ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοί). Although during their lifetime they neglected to perform sacrifices on the "sacred altars" or to render "honours" to the "blessed gods", they too, even if "second in rank", are given "honour", as it was given to the daimons ἐπιχθόνιοι[297].

After the third, the bronze race, Zeus created the fourth race, that of the heroes (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος). This is a clearly foreign element in the Near Eastern tradition, an addition probably earlier than the poet, dating in the eighth century at the latest. In this image of gradual decline, it is the heroes, called demigods, who interrupt it. Hesiod, moreover, is unaware of any cult associated with them.

Similarly, the veneration of the dead of the two first mythical races may be an addition, this time more securely attributable to Hesiod himself — an invention

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297. West 1978, 172-204; 1997, 312-319, accepts the view of a Near Eastern source dated at the beginning of the first millennium. Nilsson 1967, 622 n. 1, rejected an eastern origin. The gold and silver races could correspond to Greek perceptions of the homogeneity of the divine and human origin (cf. the introductory verse of *Op.* 108, ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι). Bamberger 1842, 440-441 had already remarked that the two first races do not belong to the same "historical" myth as those that followed, but to a "philosophical" myth that was composed in order to proclaim an archetypal and ideal human situation. Leclerc 1993, 211, noted that there are foreign and fantastic elements and that the concept of being created by the gods is not Greek. The connection to the Indian concept of the four ages of the human race was discussed by Roth 1860. The question of the precise date for the adoption of the myth in Greece will not be considered here. For selected philological, mainly structuralistic, interpretations, see Vernant 1960; 1974; Walcot 1961; Querbach 1985-86; Nagy 1979, 151-173; see also Papapostolou 2008, 218 n. 507. From an historical standpoint, finding a chronological connection would be useful. The basic aim of the poet is to present, for didactic reasons, the ethical decline of the human race —despite the cultural progress (Meyer 1924, 509, 512) and high level of development c.700 (Snodgrass 1971, 4)— and to emphasise the need for the rule of δίκη. Nevertheless, it is clear that the three last ages (χάλκειον, ἡρώων and σιδήρεον γένος) correspond, as noted by West 1978, 173-174, to the "general greek idea of history". See also Griffith 1956, 112, Querbach 1985-86. A chronological correlation on the basis of archaeological evidence was also proposed by archaeologists, among others Calligas 1988, 233, Antonaccio 1994, 407-408, Morris I. 2000, 233-237, 311. They all identify the heroic and iron race with the Dark Age.

occasioned by his wish to justify, by means of the mythical reference, the worship of the daimons that was known in his time.

Hesiod does not use the term δαίμων for the known gods or for mythical beings[298]. Rather he presents new views of the world of daimons. One of these is that they have a specific nature in that they are identified as the spirits of dead mortals of a mythical golden race of Kronos' time. Thus he sets them in the realm of 'myth-history'. Another aspect is that the daimons are guardians of justice for mortals and guarantors of good works and consequently punishers of evildoers as well. Both these mythical aspects form, I believe, a sort of aetiology for the existence and veneration of daimons. Through myth, the poet gives a specific, albeit pale essence of the powers that defined, in addition to the gods, human life and fate. The characterisation "bestowers of wealth" πλουτοδόται for the ἐπιχθόνιοι daimons, which reflects a new idea, was connected by Harrison with the powers of fertility[299]. Another perception evident in Hesiod, also appears in Homer, i.e. the idea that the actions of the daimons depend on the will of Zeus[300]. A comparable, if more vague idea is found in Pindar (*Pyth.* V 163-164):

Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾶ
δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων

The ὑποχθόνιοι of the silver race are called only "blessed mortals" (μάκαρες θνητοὶ) and not daimons, a term that bespeaks their inferior position. Μάκαρ in Homer refers to the gods and is rarely applied to a mortal[301]. Here, however, I believe that the word is an adjective of mortals[302] and not a synonym for the gods. Thus the expression μάκαρες θνητοὶ does not mean mortal gods[303]. Hesiod (*Op.* 142) states that the ὑποχθόνιοι are venerated, and the question is what these honours might have been. Nagy believed that it has to do with sacrifices. To reach this conclusion he collated Hesiod's verse *Op.* 136 with verses 138-139, which refer to the same subject, the honouring of the gods by the ὑποχθόνιοι, mentioning offerings on altars in one case and in the other simply honours (τιμάς). Thus Nagy concludes that in both references the poet means sacrifices[304]. Verdenius, however, refers to verses 393, 462, 491, 885 of the *Theogonia* where τιμὴ means

298. In Homer the word daimon (from the verb δαίω: divide distribute) is used for individual gods and goddesses. It also means a supernatural and vaguely divine power controlling the destiny of human beings. See also Stengel 1910, 28-29; Nilsson 1967, 216-217; West 1978, 182; Burkert 1985, 179-180; Leclerc 1993, 209.

299. Harrison 1912, 275-277.

300. Vermeule 1974, 103.

301. *Od.* XI 483; *Il.* III 182.

302. The same interpretation was first suggested by Krafft 1963, 115, but was not accepted by Verdenius 1985, 92.

303. Contra Rohde 1898, 101, Boehringer 2001, 28 viewed the expression *μάκαρες θνητοί* as an oxymoron.

304. Nagy 1979, 152; 1990, 135.

divine privilege and concludes that it has no connection with sacrifices[305]. Yet the use of the word τιμὴ in reference to veneration with rituals, is indeed possible. The documentation of Nagy's argument, therefore, seems preferable. While Hesiod explicitly states that the ὑποχθόνιοι were venerated, he mentions nothing analogous for the ἐπιχθόνιοι. I think we can accept that the expression καὶ τοῖσιν in verse Op. 142 (but sill they (the ὑποχθόνιοι) too have honour) implies that the ἐπιχθόνιοι also received τιμὴ and thus we may conclude that sacrifices were offered to them as well.

There is general agreement that Hesiod refers to the religious beliefs of his own time. Rohde connected the honours to the ἐπιχθόνιοι daimons and to the ὑποχθόνιοι blessed mortals with cults of ancestors before they had become heroes[306]. West, suggested the association of the blessed mortals under the earth with the dead of the old Mycenaean tombs that began to receive offerings in the eighth century[307]. This interpretation was accepted by many scholars[308]. Earlier, J. E. Harrison had posed the question whether there might have actually been rituals that could document Hesiod's view[309]. Farnell too held that Hesiod would have been influenced by actual cult practices and would have known "chthonian cults" of pre-Olympian mythical beings, whether competitors or enemies of the Olympians. Such beings, Farnell believed, are implicit in the term ὑποχθόνιοι[310]. Edward Meyer likewise considered that the ἐπιχθόνιοι daimons are beings that are part of the religious beliefs of the time of the poet and that the two first races belonged to the mythical and paradisal era of Kronos and the Titans with whom he equates the ὑποχθόνιοι[311].

In conclusion, it can be said that Hesiod, while having no knowledge of hero worship, he was aware of the veneration of ancient daimons. Some of them may even have had names, but the significance for the poet is their mythical origin, their work and the fact that they were venerated. The connection of the mythical first races with the daimons of his time is, I believe, a poetic device that clarifies and explains the veneration of daimons, who are neither gods nor communal heroes. Yet they cannot be considered ancestors of the ruling families of the

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305. Verdenius 1985, 93. See also Meyer 1924, 500.

306. Rohde 1898, 108, 155.

307. West 1978, 186, 373.

308. Snodgrass 1988, 23; Whitley 1994, 221-222. On the basis of the hierarchy gods - daimons - heroes in Plato (*Leg.* 717b), Verdenius 1985, 92 suggests that the ὑποχθόνιοι be considered as local heroes. Nagy 1979, 154; 1990, 68, 133-135, connects offerings to the *daimones* with hero worship in general, correlating also the γέρας βασιλήιον with "funerary honours".

309. Harrison 1912, 274.

310. Farnell 1921, 12-14.

311. Meyer 1924, 492, 498. See also Fontenrose 1974, 5-6. Buchholz 1884, 4 noted the lack of evidence in both Homer and Hesiod for cults of Kronos and the Titans. Cf., however, the later festival of *Kronia*. The reference in *Il.* XIV, 274, 278-279 apparently corresponds to this conception of Titans, who dwell under the earth.

poet's time. That they were honoured was in no way related to the rendering of honours to the dead in everyday life, nor was it connected to whatever cult there was in the old tombs in some places. This is a valid conclusion, not only because the worship of ancestors is known not to survive for many generations, but also because there is no genealogical connection between the mythical races. No race stems from the previous one.

The daimons are good and protective powers and they are also punishers. They go back, according to the poet, to the spirits of the dead of a mythical golden and silver race of men who are related to the gods. Hesiod's verses bear witness to an historical reality, that is the veneration of daimonic beings, especially in places where communities had not accepted the organisation of urban religious life. That in Classical times important personages could be honoured after death as daimons has been viewed as an inheritance of the Hesiodic myth about the fate of the men of the golden race[312].

Excavation cannot provide concrete evidence for such cults. In the context of the evidence for cultic activities from Thermos, however, it is useful to consider the Hesiodic evidence, however vague the honours given to the ἐπιχθόνιοι daimons and ὑποχθόνιοι blessed mortals may be.

Hesiod's experiences are connected with the place where he lived. Askra, on Mount Helikon, at the entrance to the valley of the Muses, occupied a passage like that of Thermos. It could be compared with a settlement in Aetolia near Thermos, although it provides no parallel to the Thermos of the Dark Ages. Excavated finds of the time of the poet are not in evidence at Askra. Surface surveys have shown that there was already a small settlement in the eleventh and tenth centuries. It would have been an organised rural settlement in the eighth century[313]. In the closed and isolated site of Askra, simple farmers, who were dependent on local chieftains and sought justice for themselves, may well have honoured venerable daimons. Rohde noted the likelihood that old customs of cult survived at Askra[314]. In the light of the proposals of L. R. Farnell and of Edward Meyer concerning the cults of pre-Olympian beings, analogous hypotheses could be made also for Thermos, since the associations of the Titans with Aetolia can be discerned, however dimly[315].

Certainly prehistoric "daimonic" beliefs would have been kept alive and ritual customs of the scattered communities may have continued at Thermos, not only

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312. Burkert 1985, 181.

313. Thomas, Conant 1999, 147-149. See also Snodgrass 1985, 90, 93; Bintliff 1985, 59.

314. Rohde 1898, 109.

315. The connection of the Titans with Aetolia (and their relation to the Giants and the Curetes) was discussed by Antonetti 1990, 64-67. Nicander in the *Aetolica* refers to an Ὀρτυγίη Τιτηνὶς in Aetolia and calls Aetolia Τιτηνίδα γῆν, remarking that the Titans helped mankind. See *FGrH* 271-272, F 4-5, where there is a reference to the negative comments of Pohlenz 1916, 580 on the authenticity of this tradition. See also above, n. 311.

during the period of Megaron B, but also in the time of the ash altar and the bothroi. Even after the cult of Apollo was established and organised, cults of ancient daimons, probably now named with epithets and charged with specific properties, may have been introduced into Thermos. Yet the iconography of the early Archaic so-called metopes (figs 43-44 p. 134-5) and of other figures on architectural members does not seem to include elements of daimonic cult. The references of the representations to myths and daimons do not necessarily imply the cult of these beings[316], although they may reflect unknown and misty mythological connections with Aetolia and the influence of literary sources of the seventh century. The thematic repertoire of the decoration of temples would have been conditioned by values, symbols and ideologies at another level than that of the simple farmers and breeders of livestock who served the cult of daimons in the seventh century.

In addition to the subjects of the Thermos "metopes", the two Archaic clay heads of "daimonic beings", found at Koniska (figs 42a,b), "six hours northeast of Thermos" should be noted. Rhomaios remarked that they are strongly reminiscent of the masks of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta, but this interpretation is not the only one possible. Masks have been found isolated or in small groups with various associations and each time for different cultic uses[317].

At Phistyon, northwest of Thermos, there is evidence for a sanctuary of the Syrian Aphrodite (probably also called Mother of the gods and Parthenos) ἐν Ἰαρίδαις or Ἐαρίδαις in inscriptions of the third-first century, mainly referring to manumission[318]. The surname Ἐαρίδαι, which is also the toponym of the sanctuary and may have various meanings (see ἔαρ), is enigmatic. Yet the question of its dependence on old beliefs in daimons of fecundity must remain open. At Thermos itself, the inverted vases, the sacrificial bothroi and also the crude sacred stone are appropriate for such religious and ritual activities.

The probable abandonment of the bothroi, the burying of the sacred stone and rock altar do not mean the complete cessation of the associated cult and its rituals. It means only the promotion and prevalence of new religious ideas and especially of new ceremonial practices. Just as elsewhere, other amaranthine popular cults would have survived even after the Dark Ages[319].

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316. Antonetti 1990, 192-193, 209-210, 300, argued that the representations on the "metopes" show a prehistoric pantheon in which female divinities predominate and that the element of "zoomorphism" is present, corresponding to the early cult at Thermos. But see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 356-361; 1991, 217-243; Vermeule 1974, 165-166.

317. Rhomaios 1924-25. For comments and an interpretation of the masks of Orthia see de Polignac 1992, 115-117.

318. *IG* IX 1^2, I, 95-110; Antonetti 1990, 230-235 (with references) suggests a connection of the toponym with "divinities of springtime".

319. Cf. n. 276.



a



b

Fig. 42. Daimonic heads from Koniska, Athens NM a. 27555 (h. 0.125) b. 27556 (h. 0.195).

Apollo

As early as 1915 and again in 1926, Rhomaios expressed the opinion that during the earliest phase of cult activity at Thermos, Artemis predominated as the great goddess of nature and renewal of life, as Laphria and as Aetole, in whose cult fire festivals were appropriate[320]. Only in the Archaic period (evidently because it was then that the first, monumental temple was built) does Apollo, according to Rhomaios, become the main occupant of the sanctuary, whereas Artemis was worshipped in the smaller and earlier temple to the northwest. Later on, Rhomaios also associated Apollo Thermios with the worship "by means of fire and holocaust offerings, which were in accordance with the very nature of the god"[321]. Antonetti also assigns Artemis a prominent position, maintaining that this same "ethnic" goddess of the Aetolians was worshipped at Thermos in the Geometric period with holocaust sacrifices that originally go back to the Bronze Age. According to Antonetti, there was a continuing cult at Thermos that had a "chthonic", "early Hellenic" or "pre-Olympian" character. She also attributes the early Archaic temple to Artemis. In her view, the cult of Apollo appears later[322].

There is, however, no epigraphic or other evidence at Thermos for a cult of Artemis. Moreover, excavation has provided evidence for cult activities connected with holocaust offerings only from the eighth century on. No remains of such rituals were found in Late Bronze Age levels. The few remains of ash without bones from the Late Helladic stratum are insufficient evidence for such a connection. As already noted, the ash altar for holocaust sacrifices signals a basic change. It belongs to the rituals of a new era and does not need to be explained as a development of an unchanging prehistoric cult of a 'Nature Goddess'.

The evidence indicates that holocaust sacrifices are not a decisive criterion for associating the cult at Thermos with Artemis, even if we accept that such sacrifices could also be offered to this goddess, as the literary sources state[323]. Neither Nilsson nor Rhomaios suggested that fire festivals, as the cult at Thermos was characterised at that time, had any connection with chthonic cult. Nilsson, moreover, associated fire worship with various gods, especially with Zeus[324]. There is in addition evidence associating an ash altar with sanctuaries of Apollo, e.g. at Didyma

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320. Rhomaios 1915, 272; 1926, 31-33. The reference was to the *Laphria* in Calydon and to the cult of *Laphria* in Patras, and of Artemis at Hyampolis. The view that the cult of Artemis was particularly popular in Aetolia had been expressed by earlier scholars, e.g. Hiller von Gaertringen 1894, 1115; Nilsson 1906, 218.

321. Rhomaios 1932, 33-34, 37.

322. Antonetti 1990, 192-196, 209-210, 300. The inscription *IG* IX 1^2, I, 3B (Papapostolou 2008, fig. 4a-b), which was found in the temple and refers to the sanctuary of Apollo, is dated in the third century B.C.

323. Similar questions were confronted in the excavation of Kalapodhi (Felsch 2001, 193).

324. Rhomaios 1926, 28; Nilsson 1923, 147-148.

from the seventh century on (Paus. V 13, 11; see p. 108), probably at Amyklai, and at Maleatas. The sanctuary of Apollo at Abai, according to Niemeier's recent identification of the remains at Kalapodhi, provides an excellent example (see p. 109-110). The only epithet associating Apollo directly with sacrificial ashes is that of Σπόδιος, who had an altar and an oracle in Thebes (Paus. IX 11, 7; 12, 1)[325]. At Thermos the connection of the god to the holocaust offerings is further suggested by his redemptive qualities and the protection he afforded to youths undergoing the transition to maturity. These matters will be further discussed below.

The subjects of the large "metopes"[326] – Perseus after the beheading of Medusa, the gorgoneion, the murder of Itys by Procne and Philomela, the myth of the daughters of Proetus (figs 43a-d)– are allegories that extol the imposition of divine *dike* on human hubris or on destructive daimonic power, as well as redemption. These concepts accord with the essence of Apollo. While the female Daedalic protomes from Thermos, like the corresponding examples from Corfu and Calydon, may well have vague associations with female divinities, the gorgoneion and the lion-heads[327] are not exclusively characteristic of the decoration of temples dedicated to goddesses.

The representations of the 'metopes' of the small temple of Apollo Lyseios with figures of Iris, probably Eileithyia and the Charites (fig. 44a-d) imply, according to Antonetti, the birth of Apollo and his advent at Thermos as a "Delian" manifestation, appropriate for a sanctuary of a female divinity, whereas the "Delphic" aspect, in her opinion, would be incompatible with Thermos[328]. Rhomaios, to the contrary, sought the Delphic character of Apollo Thermios[329].

In the Homeric hymn to Apollo (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 102-114) Iris and Eileithyia are indeed connected with the birth of the god, while the Charites and the Muses belong to his entourage (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 194-196). Apollo, however, becomes adult immediately after his birth, demands a cithara and a bow and even Delos receives him as a mature divinity (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 121-132). Fully armed he arrives at Olympos, terrorising the gods, then captivating them with his music (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 1-4, 186-206). The individual properties of this πολυώνυμος god

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325. See also Burkert et al. 2005, 37. Perhaps it is the Ismenian Apollo (Soph. *OT.* 21: ἐπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντείᾳ σποδῷ·). See schol. *FGrH* 328, F 193: καὶ γάρ ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Ἰσμηνῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· διὸ φησί «μαντείᾳ σποδῷ» ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἐμαντεύοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος.

326. Soteriades 1903, pls 2-6; Koch 1996, figs 43-50, 83-85; Papapostolou 2002, 58-61; *IG* IX I^2, 86. Cf. the interpretation of Dörig 1962, 90-91 regarding the 'metope' of the daughters of Proetus and of Colpo 2002, 118-120 who, however, maintains that Artemis had a special connection with the sanctuary.

327. Winter 1993, 110-133 passim, figs 12,13, pls 33-34,36,42,43,35,37-39.

328. Antonetti 1990, 192-196.

329. Rhomaios 1932, 33.



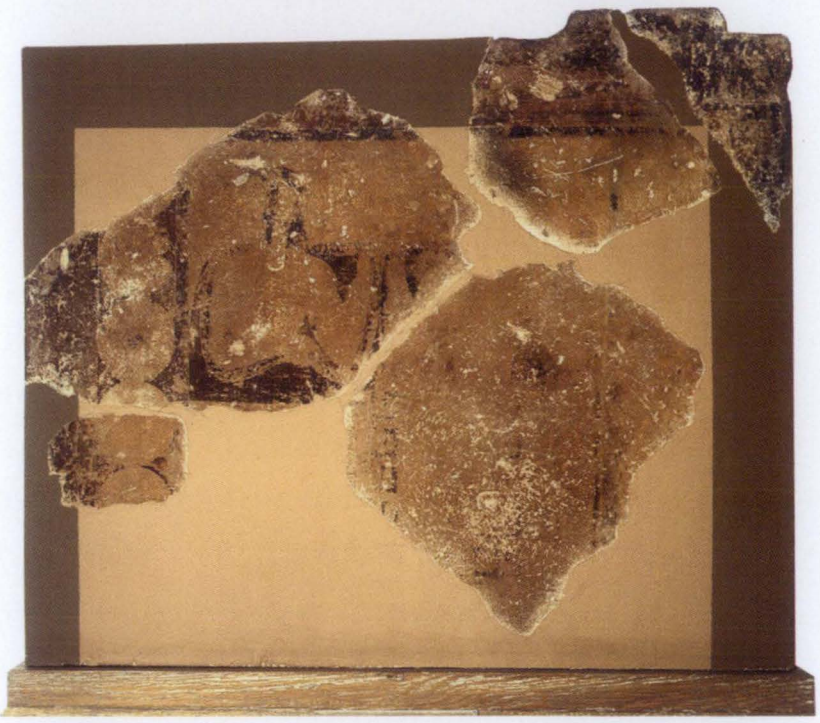
a



b



c



d

e

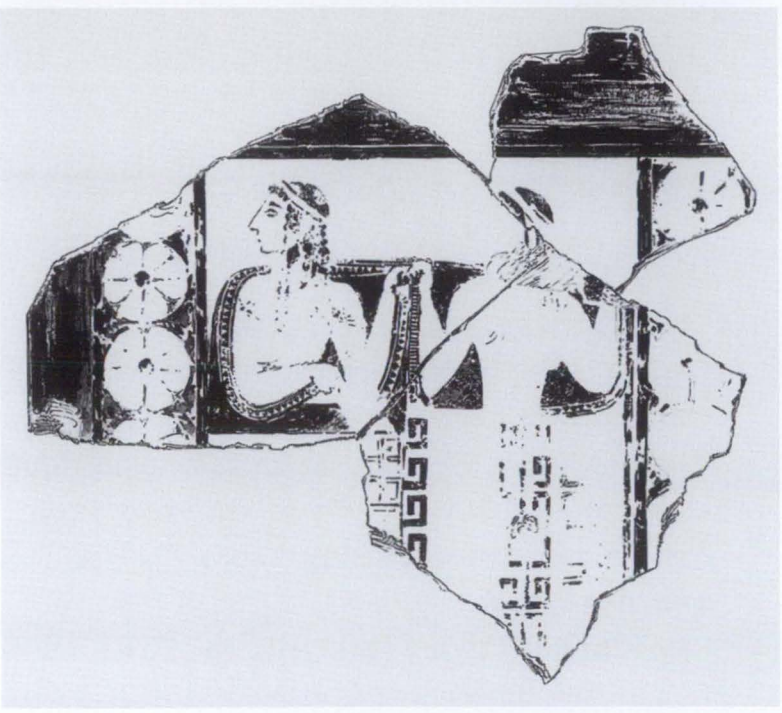


Fig. 43a-e. The plaques of the "metopes": a. Perseus. b. The Gorgoneion. c. Procne and Philomela. d. The daughter of Proitos and e. A photograph of an aquarelle reconstruction (Kawerau, Sotiriadis AD II 1908, 6, pl. 52 A, 5). Athens NM a. 13401, b. 13402, c. 13410, d-e. 13413.



a *b*



c *d*

Fig. 44. a. The "metope" of Iris. b. The "metope" of the Charites. c-d. The "metope" of Eileithyia and a drawing. Thermos Museum a. 714, b. 770, c. 735.

(*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 82) always coexist, just as his antithetical sides do[330]. The unity of the innately multifaceted nature of Apollo, which is expressed in the unified conception of the hymn, does not favor a local fragmentation of his personality, i.e. his reception at each place under a different mythical aspect. The figures of the "metopes" themselves belong to a mythological firmament integrated during the seventh century, while the subject matter of the Homeric hymn was widely known, even if the composition of the poem itself was not finalized until the sixth century[331]. For this reason the iconography of the "metopes" need not limit or define Apollo's essence as the son of a female Nature divinity.

Associating the subject matter of the small "metopes" to Apollo does not mean that his arrival at Thermos was necessarily as late as the seventh century. The hymn suggests that by that time his cult had already reached many different areas, for the god wandered until he decided to establish his great sanctuary and oracle at Delphi (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 20-24, 141-145, 179-180).

The time when the new god was introduced and his individual qualities must be sought in the context of the historical circumstances of each locality. The mythological associations have a broader value beyond the local and are of limited use in determining the role played by Apollo at Thermos during various historical periods. His cult was introduced at a crucial time. For historical reasons, this would have been during the eighth century when, as indicated by the archaeological remains, the cult at Thermos becomes communal. If we want to grasp Apollo's character in that time, the closest picture is that which emerges from Homer: the dreaded, aggressive god who sends plague and havoc, stirs up men (λαοσόος), but wards off evil (ἀλεξίκακος) and heals[332]. This is the basic nature of the inconstant, ambivalent young god, who might be sought at Thermos too. To an extent, this aspect of Apollo finds a correspondence in Artemis who is ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 199) and has similar properties when she kills. Their probable, albeit unproven, shared cult at Thermos would not encounter barriers, since the goddess usually intervenes together with another god[333].

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330. Wernicke 1896, 8-21; Nilsson 1967, 530-553; Burkert 1985, 145-149; Graf 1996; 2009, 14-19, 79-81.

331. Allen, Halliday, Sikes 1963, 184-193 have argued for an early date (eighth century) of the entire hymn, whose unity they accept. More recently, Frangeskou 2000, 113, 115, 120, 122, with references, has also emphasised the unity of the hymn. Burkert 1979, 59, hypothesised that "a Homerid from Chios in fact composed or arranged the text we have ... for the Delian-Pythian festival of Polycrates at Delos in 522 B.C." Even an analyst such as West 1975, 165 concludes that the Delian part "was composed with knowledge of the Pythian ."

332. *Il.* I, 43-52, XV, 236-263, XVI, 527-531, XX, 79, XXIV, 602-609. See also Burkert 1991, 84; Wathelet 1993, 65, 72; Bierl 1994, 82-84, 96.

333. Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 55.

The concept of a wrathful god "of the silver bow" (*Il.* II 766), punisher of the hubris of mankind, which emerges so vividly from the Homeric epic, was communicated to the listener and was understood visually as the image of an aggressive warrior. There is no suggestion that Homer had in mind or had been influenced by a specific iconographic type. Moreover, there is in the epic no special description of the god, just as is the case with the heroes, who are commonly characterised with reference to their δέμας (build), their φυή (noble stature) and their εἶδος (appearance). Yet some representational types of human figures, contemporary with the spread of the epic, may well have inspired associations with the actions of the heroes and the gods as they are described in Homer. An example is the figurine of the impetuous horseman from Thermos (pl. 88), which reflects the descriptions of dexterous horsemanship in *Il.* XV 679 and *Od.* V 371, like other figures in vase painting and the minor arts. It is also possible that figurines of attacking warriors from the Dark Ages were thought to be representations of Apollo. Moreover, the new or revived ideal of the warrior-leader would have played a part in the acceptance of the smiting god as Apollo, an equation easy to make because of the anthropomorphic character of the religion. The ideal contemporary type of the warrior agreed with this perception of the god. The archaeological evidence from the Geometric and early Archaic periods seems to correspond with this idea: the god is shown nude and armed with a helmet, spear and bow on a Geometric bronze sheet from Olympia that represents the contest for the tripod[334]. The hypothetical, column-like statue of Apollo Amyclaios was also armed, and the figurine dedicated to Apollo by the Boeotian Mantiklos at the beginning of the seventh century is belted, probably wore a helmet and may have held a bow[335].

According to many scholars, the epic image of Apollo approximates the representation of the Syro-palestinian god Reshef. Walter Burkert in particular has expressed the view that Reshef was associated, evidently in Cyprus, with the Mycenaean god *Paiawon* (attested in a Linear B tablet of Knossos KN 208, V52 as *pa-ja-wo[ne]*) and subsequently transferred to the Peloponnese, where he was assimilated with Apollo. More than any other god, Apollo is the recipient of the *paian* (*Il.* I 473, *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 518); its refrain ἰὴ παιήων "is to be understood as a ritual shout addressed to the god…", as Graf pointed out[336].

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334. Willemsen 1957, 100, pl. 63.

335. Pfeiff 1943, 7-12; Lambrinoudakis et al. 1984, 314. Vermeule 1974, 168, pl. VIIb, with references.

336. See Burkert 1975b 72-77; Ventris, Chadwick 1973, 126, 312; Graf 2009, 17, 41-45. It should be taken into consideration that the divine healer of the Olympian gods, Παιήων (*Il.* V 401; *Od.* IV 232), is not explicitly identified by Homer with the early Apollo, and in all probability is a separate divinity of the Bronze Age.



Fig. 45. The bronze statuette of Reshef, Athens NM X14494.

Reshef is also a war god who wreaks havoc with fire and plague, but is also a healer and a fertility god. This double divine capacity corresponds indeed to the early Apollo. A figurine like that of Reshef, which has typical characteristics compatible with the personality of Apollo, could be identified with the Greek god and conceived as a representation of the armed Apollo[337], even if the affinities of the two divinities were unknown to the Greeks. A smiting figure, such as Reshef, allows Apollo to have multiple qualities depending on the needs of the locality: to be the protector of the farming and pastoral life (Νόμιος) (*Il.* II 765-66; XXI 448-449), the hunt (Ἀγραῖος) (Paus. I 41, 3), the safety of the settlement and all the people who dwelled in the vicinity and brought him "lovely" offerings (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 274).

During Rhomaios' excavation, a bronze statuette of Reshef was found at Thermos[338] (fig. 45, pl. 78), which he identified as Artemis "the javelin hurler" and dated before 700. This identification was accepted for a long time[339], whereas in

337. For the statuettes of Reshef type see Bouzek 1972; Schretter 1974; Burkert 1975b, 53-60; Seeden 1980; Renfrew 1985, 303-310, 424-425; Gallet de Santerre 1987. The Babylonian deity Nergal had similar qualities.

338. Rhomaios 1915, 271-272, and above p. 73.

339. Kahil 1984, 633, no. 103a. Karo 1915, 193 identified it tentatively as a figure of Athena.

the archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean, as Rolley noted, it had already been recognised as one of the Levantine bronze figurines found in Greece[340]. The LH II-III period is the time when these figurines were imported, mainly from Syria and Palestine[341]. Yet there is no reason to exclude the Protogeometric and Geometric periods for their arrival and, to be sure, for the deposition of most of them in Greek sanctuaries. The meaning of their presence in Mycenaean centres as well as in the Greek sanctuaries is a subject for discussion (see below).The deposits and fills, in which the Reshef figurines have been found in Greece, belong for the most part from the twelfth to the eighth and seventh centuries. The recent find in Kalaureia (Poros), however comes from an early Hellenistic context. The figurines were made in the Near East during the second half of the second millennium[342].

At Thermos the deposition of the black layer, in which the figurine was found, began at the earliest in the eighth century and continued during the seventh, i.e. until the construction of the early Archaic temple. The construction date of the Apollo temple, therefore, provides the t.a.q. for the offering of the Reshef figure. Since it is fairly certain that Reshef is to be equated with Apollo, we can conclude that the cult of Apollo had already been introduced before the temple was constructed.

The burying of earlier dedications in the construction fill of the temple did not necessarily mean ignorance of the figurine's significance as a representation connected with the sanctuary of Apollo and with the god himself. It corresponds to a general practice of leaving cultic remains and votives buried in the same area. I consider it practically certain that the figurine had its place in cult practice at Thermos during the eighth-seventh centuries, just as Reshef did at Delos. At Sounion the figurine of this type was also found in a bothros within the sanctuary

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340. Canby 1969; Seeden 1980, 128, 131; Rolley 1984, 669-670; Renfrew 1985, 306-307; Langdon 1987, 111-112; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 74. They have been found in Tiryns, Mycenae, Phylakopi, Sounion, Nezero in Thessaly, Philia, the Heraion of Samos, Lindos, Delos, the Patsos cave in Crete and more recently in the sanctuary of Poseidon in Poros (Wells 2009). Another example, said to be from Attica, is in Berlin. The head of the terracotta figurine from the Amyklaion (Tsountas 1892, 13-14, pl. 4,4) shows typological similarities with Reshef.

341. Various reasons have been proposed for their arrival in the Aegean, such as looting (Burkert 1975b, 66), gift exchange (Langdon 1987, 112) or commercial exchange (Rolley 1984).

342. See discussion in Renfrew 1985, 307-310. He dates the production of the Phylakopi figurines before the Late Mycenaean period and their importation into Melos already by LH IIIB or IIIC times. The Mycenae and Tiryns figurines are also of LH II-III date. Those from Mycenae were found together with material of the eleventh century. The dates proposed for the Thermos Reshef range from late Mycenaean times to the Geometric period (Seeden 1980, 131; Renfrew 1985, 308).

of Athena together with objects of the seventh century[343]. Likewise at Samos a figurine of Reshef type was found with objects of the eighth and seventh centuries[344].

There are many questions that are not considered here: the chance that this Near Eastern type may have had an influence on the male figurines of the Geometric workshops of the eighth century; the connections with contemporary Phoenician figures; and, in general, the exchange mechanisms with Syro-Phoenician agents. Of particular significance is the contribution of Cyprus in transferring the motif and type from the Eastern Mediterranean to Crete and Greece, as well as the question whether the type arrived in Cyprus instead with the Mycenaeans at an earlier time, in the twelfth century[345]. Here, only the significance of the presence of a Reshef figurine at an early Greek sanctuary is considered.

As already noted, the nature of Leto's τοξοφόρος and καρτερὸς son as described in the Homeric hymn (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.*126) was an appropriate basis for associating him with the form of the figurine of the Near Eastern warrior. While the workshop where it had been made and its original significance are not likely to have interested Greek worshippers, the figures of Reshef could well have been interpreted, just as other early Greek male figurines, as representations of Apollo. The latter identification could have been occasional and variable. There would undoubtedly have been changes in the meaning and function of the figurines at different times and different places[346]. Likewise in Delos, Reshef may have been thought of as the armed Apollo at a later time. Moreover, just as this combination with Apollo cannot be better defined chronologically, it is equally uncertain whether the Reshef type was associated as well with other warlike gods, for example Zeus[347].

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343. Staïs 1917, 194, Fig. 7; Hanfmann 1962, pl. 85. The suspension ring in the back identifies it as a pendant, possibly an amulet.

344. Jantzen 1972, 66-67, pl. 64.

345. Müller V. 1929, 167-176; Homann-Wedeking 1950, 22-23; Houston-Smith 1962; Vermeule 1974, 159, 160; Burkert 1975b, 61, 67-74; Negbi 1976, 40; Renfrew 1985, 307-308; Byrne 1991, 100-108; de Polignac 1992; Langdon 1993, 194, 196 with references. The long tradition of the smiting Reshef as a representation of a male divinity in Cyprus is confirmed by the fourth century B.C. inscription from Idalion, in which Reshef is identified with Apollo (see Burkert 1975b, 68-69; Byrne 1991, 185; Fulco 1976, 51).

346. Whether an object (just as a ritual procedure or a mythical tradition) taken from one cultural context to another, retains its original meaning or is adapted in the context of developments at the new place, has been often discussed. There is also the possibility that an object that is clearly of Near Eastern origin may have been dedicated by foreigners, who for various reasons visited Greek sanctuaries. See de Polignac 1992, 122-125; Morris S. 1997, 66-67. Kilian Dirlmeier 2002, 226-227 notes that the figurines of Reshef found in Mycenaean centres, would have been dedicated by foreigners settled in Greece. At Thermos we lack any coherent evidence.

347. In the Near East a number of divinities are represented according to the Reshef type (Burkert 1975b, 55; Seeden 1980, 148-150, 155; Byrne 1991, 182) Cf. the apt comment of Emil Kunze 1961, 161 concerning

The earliest figures to be introduced into the Greek world, during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, would probably not have been identified with a Mycenaean male divinity, even though some Greeks might have taken them for the representation of a god. This was an iconographic type that was clearly foreign to the religious concepts of the Mycenaeans[348], and Mycenaean male figurines in general are very few[349]. The Reshef figures at Mycenae and Tiryns are not connected archaeologically with cultic activity, whereas those from Phylakopi, according to the excavator, were votives[350].

The association of a Reshef figurine with a sanctuary of the Early Iron Age immediately raises the question, already posed by Gallet de Santerre, whether such a votive represents a god or a worshipper, evidently a warlord who dedicated it to Apollo[351]. During the past decades, a series of scholars have focused on the purposes and meaning in general of the dedications in the sanctuaries during the Geometric period. Great emphasis is placed on economic, political and social factors and the competition among the prominent members of the various communities. In the most recent sociological theories[352], piety, gratitude, and prayer are perceived as self-evident and are all covered by the definition "transaction or exchange with the god"[353]. Nevertheless, we know nothing what-

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the palladion of Olympia that could represent another divinity as well as Athena. The principle expressed by Aeschylus (*PV* 212) πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία is applicable here too.

348. For this reason, as argued by Crowley 1989, 122, 245-246, 278, the type was not adopted in Mycenaean production.

349. French 1985, 223.

350. Renfrew 1985, 425; Wells 2009 with more recent references.

351. Gallet de Santerre 1987, 17. Renfrew 1985, 372-373 also debated the identification of the male figure 1550 from Phylakopi as a votive or a cult figure. See in general Rouse 1902, 283-290, 302-309; Neumann 1965, 91-92; Gladigow 1985-86, 118-119; Boardman et al. 2004, 282-283.

352. Selectively Langdon 1984, 284-290; Gould 1985, 14-15; Burkert 1987, 49; Morgan 1990 passim; de Polignac 1994, 11-13; Kyrieleis 1996, 106; Ulf 1997, 41-42, 47.

353. In the publication of the bronze ridden horse figurine from Thermos (Papapostolou 2001, 29-30), the religious aspect was emphasised. In my opinion, animal figurines could be dedicated not only by the elite but also by votaries who had begun to have the necessary financial means. While for the elite the statuette would have had mainly a symbolic meaning, the other votaries would have dedicated it in the hopes of acquiring a horse or a bull, or as a thanks offering for one already obtained. For the gods the value of the gift was not the most significant aspect. There was the perception that every mortal could sacrifice according to his means, as is apparent from Hesiod's verse (*Op.* 336) κὰδ δύναμιν δ'ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν and, consequently, also to make offerings accordingly. Evidence for this attitude also exists in later literary sources. Here we note the lines of Antiphanes Comicus from the *Μύστις* recorded by Porphyry of Tyre (*Abst.* II 17, 10): ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γάρ ... τὸ δὲ μικρὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀρεστὸν τοῖς θεοῖς. Van Straten 1981, 68 refers to the passage of Theophrastus, in which he states that the gods pay more attention to the ethos of the person sacrificing than to the quantity of what is sacrificed (Pötscher 1964 Fr. 7, 52-54 and Fr. 8, 8-10).

ever about the emotions and depth of the religious feelings of the individual votary; archaeologically this cannot be documented and from a strictly historical point of view it is of hardly any interest.

Yet dedications could be made for reasons that were connected in a special way with religious belief. Prominent members of the community could promote themselves and establish their authority not only on a socio-political level by the offering and display of wealth or by means of monumental votives that would ensure their memory, but also through religious behaviour; specifically, by demonstrating their direct relationship with the divinity, in both local and regional sanctuaries. That a leader or an important member of the community could turn to and invoke the deity with an important dedication demonstrated that he had divine favour and had received the privilege — somewhat resembling the γέρας βασιλήιον of the golden race in Hesiod (*Op.* 126-127) — to protect mortals. Like the Homeric heroes, the elite worshipper had direct communication with the gods. He had no need of priests or other intermediaries to intercede for him, just as he did not need a sanctuary in order to sacrifice.

The conscious and deliberate attempt to create this impression could not have succeeded, had it not corresponded to a generally accepted concept and to a need of the community that can be discerned also in the case of the Thermos Reshef. The figurine of the foreign warrior god, perceived as the figure of the ideal type of the warlord, may have had a magical power to bring about a palindromical merging of deity and votary. It would have been understood by the community not only as a figure corresponding to the essence of Apollo, but also, to an extent, as an image resembling the votary, who could communicate directly and continuously with the god. This is why there is no simple or absolute answer to the question: did Reshef represent a deity or a worshipper?

Yet social and political factors as well as religious needs are subject to change. A different emphasis on or the emergence of other aspects of the god, such as those reflected in the construction of the first temple at Thermos, led to the ancient figure of Reshef being set aside and buried together with other votives, just like the sacred stone that had been venerated earlier. At Thermos, just like in other sanctuaries, the dedication of figurines was discontinued. Here too the votives were buried in the piles of sacrificial remains that are usually strewn over the areas devoted to cult, as at Olympia, Kalapodhi, Eretria, Philia and elsewhere.

Among the aspects of Apollo, his warlike character is evident in the weapons (sword, spearheads, blades, etc.) dedicated in the sanctuary during the period of the ash hearth. The Aetolians, who were still "iron-clad" as their god, had now begun to dedicate some of their arms in the sanctuary, which by then had gained more than local importance. Should the spearheads and arrowheads be votives connected with the hunt (a somewhat uncertain hypothesis since so few bones came from hunted animals), their association with Apollo would be possible; his epithets Ἀγραῖος, Ἀγρεύς, Ἀγρευτὴς are all documented in other areas. The

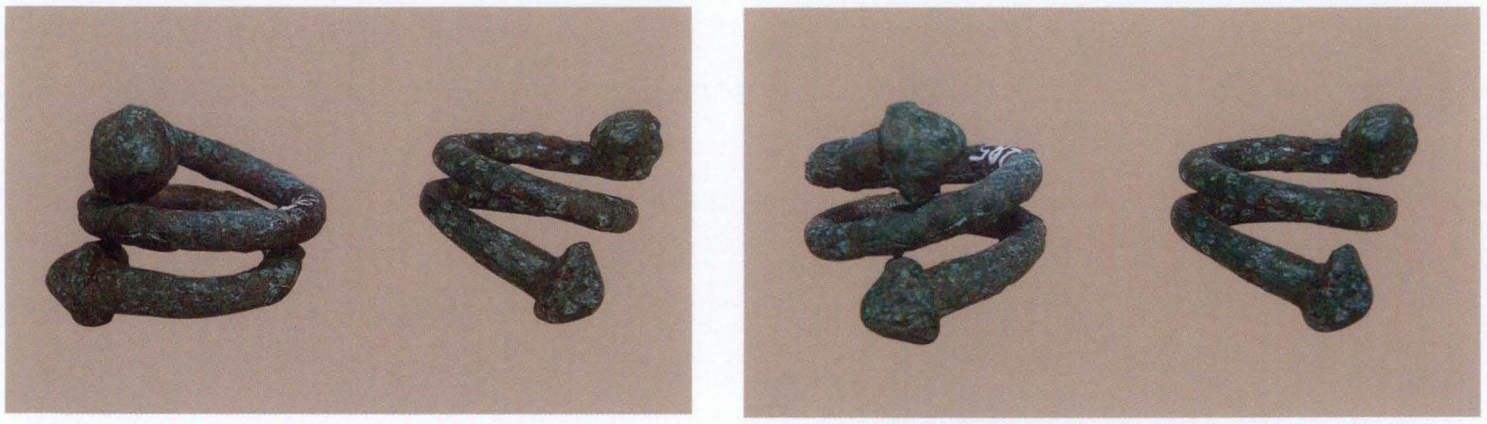

Fig. 46. Bronze hair spirals in the Museum of Thermos.

knives were offered as implements of sacrifice and feasting. The numerous hair spirals (figs 46 and on p. 72) are certainly associated with transition rites (see below). The rings and other miniature objects (wheels, double axes) neither assist in identifying the divinity nor do they give a more accurate picture of the economic and social status or sex of the votary.

With the horse figurines, I believe, it is otherwise[354]. The male figurines indicate the presence of male votaries, while female figures are missing and the few remains of tripods (pls 76,77) constitute a feeble albeit eloquent reference to Apollonian cult. No hypothesis can be made concerning the existence of a cult image in a form that might possibly be reflected in one of the figural types found among the votives at Thermos[355].

Aside from the warlike aspect, other religious or cultic elements can be detected in the early Apollo Thermios, for which the holocaust sacrifices would have provided an appropriate ritual background.

Apollo revealed himself to the Delphians with the brilliance of a star that shines in the middle of the day. His arrows shoot flames and all Krisa is bright (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 441-445). With Apollo Thermios as well, fire and therefore heat

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Yet it must be remembered that Porphyry's intention was to argue against animal sacrifice on the basis of Pythagorean philosophy and the text of Theophrastus (see comments by Georgoudi 2005, 116, 134-136).

354. Beginning in the eighth century most of the offerings, communal and personal, are deposited in sanctuaries, in contrast to the smaller number placed in the tombs of the great centres (Snodgrass 1980, 52-54, 99). For this reason, it may be suggested that the horse figurines found at sanctuaries were dedicated by men, but no longer only by elites. As grave offerings, however, in that time and later, the objects corresponded to a high social status and are indicative of a social hierarchy. They also have been found in women graves.

355. According to Burkert 1991, 88, the figurines of Reshef may have been used originally as "household or family gods" in the houses of leaders.

is an integral element, even if the god did not bring with him the epithet Thermios when he was established at Thermos[356]. The fire that destroys but also renews life, is an element associated with the warrior god, as much with Reshef as with the archer Apollo, who can himself avert the evil that he sends. As Nilsson commented, "von dem Übelabwehrer ist es nur ein Schritt zu dem Heilbringer"[357]. In the combination of traits that comprise much of the essence of Apollo, the holocaust offerings have a place (and see p. 132-133). They are a component of the purifying ritual whose origin goes back to the god who killed the Python and to his atonement, although it has been shown that rituals for the atonement of murder did not take place in sanctuaries of Apollo[358].

Rites of expiation or purification are not found in Homer. We may, therefore, have reservations as to how early they appeared. Yet these reservations recede if we consider that the Homeric epic was an epic of war and would hardly have included details of cult or rituals that were not associated with the specific events of the war described[359].

It is characteristic that Homer is silent about various religious matters. Except for altars and sacred groves, he omits reference to sanctuaries, and, apart from a few general statements, he even omits the very votives that were so common during Homeric times[360]. Temples are noted rarely[361], despite the archaeological

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356. The connection of Apollo with fire has already been noted. There was ἄσβεστον πῦρ in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, of the Lykeios at Argos, and of the Karneios in Cyrene. Rhomaios 1932, 33-36, tried to prove with linguistic and mythological arguments that the epithet Thermios existed previously as the name of a divinity, and was "attached to Apollo" later on. A similar view was held by Rossi 1970, 41-42, who considered Thermios to be a primitive daimon of vegetation, a daimon of *thermoi* (lupinus albus, lupine). The epithet Thermios, however, could just as well stem from the existence of hot springs in the locality, since the travertine stone that exists in the area and was used later in construction is peculiar to places with hot springs. The same epithet is given to Apollo and Artemis in Lesbos where they are worshipped near the hot springs (present Therme); see Kruse 1934. The derivation of the name from hot springs was supported also by Croon 1956, 205-210, who comments that at Thermos there is perhaps the earliest cult of Apollo in the vicinity of hot springs. Farnell 1896-1909, IV, 168 tried to amalgamate both the cult of Lesbos and that of Apollo Thermios at Olympia with Apollo Thermios of Aetolia. As for the connection of Apollo Thermios with heat and fire (and with holocaust sacrifices), it is of little importance if the site and the god took their name from a pre-existing divinity known as Thermios, or if the epithet came from a toponym Thermos or Thermoi.

357. Nilsson 1967, 542. According to Parker 1983, 139 the cleansing function is an aspect of the old therapeutic character of the god.

358. Parker 1983, 139 n. 142, 378.

359. According to Starr 1961, 163, Homer "does not reflect sharply the attitude of any specific area or of any local variant of Greek culture". See also id. 160.

360. Cf. Vermeule 1974, 123, 132.

361. E.g. the temple of Athena in Troy (*Il.* VI, 279-280), the temple of Apollo in Pergamon (*Il.* V, 446) and the temples in the city of the Phaeacians (*Od.* VI, 9-10). See further references in Crielaard 1995b 253-255.

evidence that several temples did in fact exist before the seventh century, as in Kalapodhi, Eretria, Asine, Mycenae, Tegea, Koukounaries in Paros. The hymn to Apollo (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 85-89) shows that the establishment of a temple was an exceptional event and that there were sanctuaries in which an altar was sufficient.

The absence of a temple building at Thermos before the end of the seventh century appears to conform to the circumstances reflected in the epic: There are, cult places like Thermos, that consist of sacred groves with only an altar and no temple. Examples are the "shady" grove of Apollo in Ithaca where the "long haired Achaeans gathered together" (*Od.* XX, 277-278), and the grove with an altar "built to the Nymphs" where "all passers-by made offerings" (*Od.* XVII, 208-211) on the same island. In Phthia there was a "fragrant" altar in the temenos of the river god Spercheios (*Il.* XXIII, 148) and an isolated "well built" altar of Phoibos was in Chryse (*Il.* I, 448). At Thermos there is the ash altar, and the rudimentary shrine, such as that mentioned by Chryses (*Il.* I, 39), both of which we know existed during the period between Megaron B and the early Archaic temple. Similarly in the great sanctuaries Olympia, Delphi, Delos the first monumental temples were built in the seventh century.

Whether or not the hearth of this altar and the shrine originally served the needs of the cult of Apollo and of the transition rites, cannot be determined. It could originally have served certain critical occasions, cases of purification and other such needs that ultimately led to the cult of Apollo. A ritual could have remained formally consistent, while the content changed[362]. At Thermos such shifts and reformations of the cult probably occurred during the historical changes and developments involved in the formation of the Aetolian *ethnos*. Yet the well-known lack of rules and strict distinctions in the performance of rituals cannot be ignored[363]. The hearth and the shrine, therefore, even if had not served the cult of Apollo originally, could well have become associated with it.

Hearths appear to be fairly common in the cult of Apollo. F. Robert noted later traditions, such as Aeschylus' reference to an ἐσχάρα Φοίβου (*Pers.* 205), which could be simply a poetic expression for altar, and the chthonian hearths in the Pythion of Delos[364]. In Pausanias (X 24, 4) an altar (?) in the temple of Apollo at Delphi is termed ἑστία. While these cases are uncertain, we cannot exclude the possibility that these constructions differed from the standing built altar and were actual ground hearths, as it seems from the later sources. They might, moreover, be hearths for the ἄσβεστον πῦρ rather than sacrificial altars. The exact meaning in every case of the terms ἐσχάρα and ἑστία in early times has yet to be systematically studied.

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362. Cf. Boehringer 2001, 44-45.

363. For the lack of consistency in ritual observance and of stable rules in sacrifice in all periods of Greek history, because of the absence of a priesthood and a central religious authority, see Gould 1985, 7-8; Auffarth 2005.

364. Robert 1939, 185-189, 218, 274. And see ns. 184, 222.

Associated with Apollo's therapeutic and redemptive traits (which will have become more powerful with time), is also the well-known inscription on an Hellenistic boundary stone of Thermos, with the unique epithet of Apollo Λύσειος, recalling Dionysos Λύσιος and Λυαῖος as well as Artemis Λυσαία and Λυαία. The temple on the terrace to the east of the Apollo temple with the series of smaller 'metopes' (figs 44a-c) was attributed to Apollo Λύσειος by Rhomaios. The epithet provides additional support for the connection of the god with the ash altar. Moreover, the *horos* with the inscription Ἁλίου, Νίκας, Ἀσκλαπιοῦ of the third-second century makes it clear that in Thermos Apollo was worshipped also as a healer, since his son Asclepios had a place in the sanctuary in Hellenistic times[365].

That the aspect of the purifying god, who must "have knowledge" in order to heal, is closely associated with his oracular and prophetic aspect, has been emphasised[366]. The Apollonian art of divination (μαντοσύνη), known to Homer (*Il.* I 72), became over time the most common function of the god's sanctuaries. The account of Nicander of Colophon in the *Aetolika* (*FGrH* 271-272, F 1) is a picturesque tale about Apollo the hunter in an unknown mountain of Aetolia called Ὀρείη. In his narrative, Nicander speaks of divination learned by the god from Glaucos. There is also the evidence of Aristotle in his *Ἰθακησίων Πολιτεία* (*FGrH* 271-272 F 7): Εὐρυτᾶνας ἔθνος εἶναι τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὀνομασθὲν ἀπὸ Εὐρύτου, παρ' οἷς εἶναι μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσέως. As noted by Antonetti, however, if there had been an oracle in Aetolia, some memory of it would surely have survived[367]. The only surviving archaeological evidence is provided by two springs in Thermos with their fountain houses[368], dated to the end of the fourth century B.C. Their association with an oracle would be likely enough, since in Apollo's sanctuaries springs may have been connected with prophecies[369].

Last I consider a significant aspect of Apollo Thermios, that of the god of passage. The god is connected with political assemblies (ἀπέλλαι), which in the Northwest, in Laconia and in Crete coincided with transition and maturation festivals[370]. Supporting evidence may be found at other sites dedicated to Apollo during the eighth century, such as Delphi and Kalapodhi, where assemblies

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365. Ἀπόλλωνος Λυσείου *IG* IX 1^2, I, 81; Soteriades 1915, 56, no. 34; Rhomaios 1915a, 282-283;1916, 180; Antonetti 1990, 204-209 with reference to the different "nuances" of the same epithet used at times for Dionysus or for Apollo. Cf. the reference by PlatoResp I 366B: λύσιοι θεοί. Ἁλίου Νίκας Ἀσκλαπιοῦ: *IG* IX I^2, I, 80. Croon 1967, 242 had discussed the question of a cult of Asclepios at Thermos, albeit without taking this inscription into consideration.

366. Nilsson 1967, 543-547; Parker 1983, 209-211.

367. Antonetti 1990, 195-196, 84-85 with references.

368. *Praktika* 1984, 125-128.

369. Cole 1988, 162-163.

370. Burkert 1975a, 1-4; contra Nilsson

would have been held and rites of passage performed. The connection between the ἀπέλλαι and the month *Apellaios* of northwest Greece also implies that Apollo Thermios may have been considered as a patron of assemblies and protector of youths in transition[371].

In the eighth century Apollo was already more popular than other Olympians in communal cult, independently of the 'tribal' origins of each community. His cult had spread not only in central Greece, but, as the hymn implies, also throughout Greece (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 20-24, 141-145, 179-185). Felsch connected the establishment of small, simple shrines and the dedication of tripod cauldrons from the end of the ninth century at Kalapodhi with the introduction of the cult of Apollo[372]. Tripod cauldrons are certainly not limited to the cult of Apollo. They have also been found at Olympia and Isthmia, in addition to Amyklai, Kalapodhi and Delphi[373]. In this same period, on the basis of the finds and tradition, Apollo was introduced into Delphi (see n. 210) and, in all probability, into the Daphnephorion of Eretria. The hymn (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 443) states that the god entered his adyton in Delphi through highly prized tripods. The remains of tripods dated from the ninth to the early Archaic period from Thermos (pls 76-77) are not far removed chronologically from those found at Kalapodhi and Delphi and by analogy could constitute evidence for the development of the sanctuary[374]. It is evident that Apollo as protector of the *apellae* and of youths was already recognised at Thermos before the founding of the first temple.

While there is no specific epigraphic or other evidence at Thermos, the presence of Artemis cannot be ruled out. If she were worshipped in the same place, in the same or in a nearby temple, she would have reinforced that aspect of Apollo, since, especially in matters of transition and maturation, the two divinities are known to have been worshipped together. Artemis was an appropriate divinity for a sanctuary at a site that offered the 'sacred' isolation associated with rites of passage[375]. Situated between the cultivated flat lands and the rough and forested mountain ranges, far from settlements, Thermos symbolised the transi-

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1967, 555-558. See also Versnel 1985-86, 143-145 and the recent overview in Graf 2009, 130. Bierl 1994, 82-84, 96 suggests that the ambivalent role of Apollo in Greek Tragedy is mirrored in the process of initiation.

371. The relation of the introduction and spread of the cult of Apollo with the calendar and names of the months, some of which refer to Apollo, has been discussed by Robertson 2002, 31-35.

372. Felsch 1998, 223. On the wattle and daub houses see Felsch 1987, 5-11. Niemeier ARepLondon 2005-2006, now takes this cult back to much earlier times.

373. Buschor, Massow 1927, 13, Beil VII; Rolley 1977; Calligas 1992, 42; Morgan 1999, 326, 391; 405-406; Felsch 2007b, 29-41.

374. These finds will be included in the publication of the metal objects from Thermos.

375. Cf. Simon 1986; Calame 1992, 104-105; Schachter 1992b, 49-51. The coexistence of the cult of Artemis with the cult of Apollo Laphrios at Calydon is attested epigraphically as well as through the testimony of Strabo X 2, 21.

tion from wild nature to civilisation and thus was suitable for the sojourn of youths at the time of their passage to the ranks of men[376].

If the two cults existed together at Thermos, they would not have been associated as a continuation of an earlier cult of the goddess of Nature and a young consort god, but as two divinities raised together and linked by shared properties and functions, such as transitions and the introduction of the young into communal life, that are part of the values and new social activities of the eighth century. Yet if in the Homeric epic the connection of the god with the passage to adulthood is still unclear[377], at this same time in the world of assemblies, in both the Peloponnese and in central Greece, the connection seems to have been made already.

In conclusion, Apollo Thermios was not only the "well-aiming" (ἑκηβόλος) Homeric divinity. He was also protector of the young, like another ἀρχέφηβος, and god of the yearly assemblies and sacred rites of passage, which also comprised an aspect of purification, as argued by Burkert and Versnel, and should thus be associated with the holocaust sacrifices[378].

The rites of passage for youths and maidens can leave rare or unidentifiable archaeological evidence apart from the figurines[379]. The written sources are sometimes eloquent, and it is likely that mythical narratives also have links with rites of passage[380]. Some offerings, such as the offering of hair to Apollo and to other divinities and daimons, were very likely known to Hesiod, since he states (*Theog.* 346-348) that ἄναξ Apollo, together with the daughters of Tethys and Okeanos and the river gods, assist in bringing youths to manhood. Other literary sources also refer to the offering of locks to Nymphs and river gods. Achilles cut and offered to the dead Patroklos his own locks of hair – which his father had hoped his son would dedicate to the river Spercheios on his return from Troy – for he was certain he would follow his companion to Hades before he could be initiated into adult life (*Il.* XXIII, 141-146 and see n. 377). In this case we can

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376. We should bear in mind that at Mokista (Ayia Sophia), some 5 km. northwest of Thermos, inscriptions of the second century A.D. (*IG* IX 1^2, I, 92) document the existence of a sanctuary of Artemis Hagemona. When this sanctuary was established, however, is unknown.

377. Wathelet 1992, 63-66, 69-71 interpreting narratives in the epic, thinks that there were indeed initiations which came to naught, like that of Achilles, of Lykaon (*Il.* XXI, 34-135) and others. See also Wathelet 1986.

378. See n. 370. Furley 1981, 114-116, also connects fire worship with initiation festivals. Lebessi 1985, 196 n. 619, however, notes that in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou, where rites of initiation into manhood were of prime importance, no evidence of holocaust offerings was found. Jeanmaire 1939, 558-565, Wathelet 1986, 293, saw evidence of initiation rites at the Lykaion, where remains of sacrifices, perhaps holocaust offerings, were found in excavation (Kourouniotes 1904, 164-165). Van Gennep 1960, 190-191, referred to purification rites during "transitions".

379. This is the case with the figurines from the sanctuary of Syme Viannou for example (Lebessi 2002).

380. Leitao 2003, 119-122.

see that the veneration rites for the dead had a common element with the old ritual of the dedications to the river gods[381]. Pausanias too (VIII 20, 3), narrating the history of the unfortunate Leucippos, son of Oenomaos, notes that the son nurtured a long lock of hair in order to offer it to the river Alpheios, but was prevented from doing so, because Daphne killed him. Tradition also held that Theseus offered his hair to Apollo in Delphi[382].

At Thermos there is no tradition of a secret procedure of initiation into adulthood. Yet the rites of passage are not always initiation rites, nor have institutions and procedures like those of Crete and Sparta been documented in other regions of Greece[383]. The male figurine of the cup bearer from Thermos (pls 80-82) does not reflect the gift of the drinking vessel that the ἐρώμενος παῖς received from the φιλήτωρ (Strabo X 4, 21). It can be associated only with a libation or participation in a feast after a sacrifice, as suggested by the ritualistic gesture[384].

Nevertheless, I believe that at Thermos there is relevant archaeological evidence in the numerous hair spirals (figs 46 and on p. 72), more of which have been found at Thermos than at other sites. The sparse stratigraphic evidence points to the eighth-seventh centuries. The ornaments bear witness to the custom of offering locks of hair during the rites of passage. The hair spirals obviously adorned the locks and curls of men or women[385]. These rings would have accompanied the locks of the young men or girls of Thermos as offerings in the sanctuary, which would surely have included springs with their own daimons to accept the offering. The same ornament accompanied unmarried maidens to the grave. Another hair adornment was the τέττιξ (Thuc. I 6, 2), which accompanied the Χαρισθένεος τρίχα dedicated to the Amarynthian Nymphs of Euboea, according to an epigram of Theodoridas of the third century B.C.[386]. The reference to the hair ornament shows clearly that there was a tradition that these objects should accompany the offering of the locks. Thus youths and maidens alike offered their hair during the rites of passage, which for the boys meant their inte-

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381. See comments in West 1966, 263-264 on Apollo as protector of youths, κουροτρόφον ἀρρένων (*Od.* XIX, 85). The subject of the cutting and dedication of hair is discussed by Leitao 2003, while examples were catalogued by Rouse 1902, 240-245. For the common elements of the cult of Ion as a river daimon and as a dead hero in Attica and Pisatis see Sakellariou 2009, 515-516.

382. Plut. *Vit.Thes.* V.

383. Graf 2003, 20.

384. Cf. the interpretation of the figurine of the cup-bearer no. 17 from Syme Viannou and the commentary on the figures with a cup in Lebessi 2002, 219-222, 271 with references.

385. On hair ornaments see Helbig 1887, 242-247; Korres 1960; Marinatos 1967, B27-28; Bielefeld 1968, 6; Andronikos 1969, 75-76, 225-226, 259, fig. 99, pl. 125. Hair spirals have been found also in Amyklaion (Calligas 1992, 34) and more recently at Kalapodhi (Felsch 2007b,167-168, pl. 38, nos. 737-777, with references.

386. *Anth.Pal.* 6, 156: Καλλὼ σὺν τέττιγι Χαρισθένεος τρίχα τήνδε | κουρόσυνον κούραις θῆκ' Ἀμαρυνθιάσι | σὺν βοὶ χερνιφθέντα.

gration into society, and for the girls the transition into married life. While the process of passage was less significant for the girls than for the ephebes, the evidence is preserved in myth[387].

In his chapters on Aetolia Strabo's (X, 3,1-8) myth-historical and etymological account of the multifaceted figures of the Couretes is indicative of the association of the young initiates with the Curetes, under whose name, as the ancient geographer records (X 3,8), "the historians have classed together things that are unlike"[388]. Strabo adds that "indeed Homer applied this name to young soldiers"[389]. The poet in fact characterised the young warriors at Troy as κούρητες[390]. The same are the κοῦροι of the Achaeans, who extoll Apollo, καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα[391].

The symbolic farewell to the years of adolescence by cutting and offering the locks the youths had nurtured for just this purpose, did not mean the neglect of hairdressing after the ceremonial cutting. The art of dressing the hair and its care and trimming was a matter that depended on various factors subject to time and place variations, but was familiar to both youths and girls, so that there are several ways in which it is easy to derive an etymology of the word Κουρῆτες as Strabo (X 3,8) states[392].

The association with the youthful warriors in the epic, reflects vividly the perception of the Curetes as the mythical model of the initiated young warriors of the eighth and seventh centuries. We can assume that the nourishing, cutting and offering of the locks together with the hair spirals at early Thermos was connected with ancient references to the Aetolian Curetes as mythical *initiati* protected by Apollo[393]. The memory of these associations was persistent and its resonance in myth and later literature, such as Strabo's account, was vivid.

The long-haired young hunter on the early Archaic plaque from Thermos in the National Archaeological Museum (NM 13409, fig. 47), variously interpreted until now, is likely to have elicited just such an association with the mythical archetype of the young Curetes, while it may have also represented a youth with

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387. See Dowden 1989, 199-200; Calame 1992, 110-112; Jeanmaire 1939, 407-410.

388. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δι' ὁμωνυμίαν τῶν Κουρήτων καὶ οἱ ἱστορικοὶ συνήγαγον εἰς ἓν τὰ ἀνόμοια. In fact Couretes in addition to daimons or ministers of gods were φῦλόν τι Αἰτωλικόν (Strabo X, 3,6) supported by Apollo, but repelled to Akarnania by Aetolos.

389. Ibid. Καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τοὺς νέους στρατιώτας οὕτω προσηγόρευσε.

390. *Il.* XIX, 193: κρινάμενος κούρητας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν and *Il.* XIX, 248: δῶρα φέρον κούρητες Ἀχαιῶν.

391. *Il.* I, 473.

392. Ἁπλῶς δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς κόμας φιλοτεχνία συνέστηκε περί τε θρέψιν καὶ κουρὰν τριχός, ἄμφω δὲ κόραις καὶ κόροις ἐστὶν οἰκεῖα· ὥστε πλεοναχῶς τὸ ἐτυμολογεῖν τοὺς Κουρῆτας ἐν εὐπόρῳ κεῖται.

393. Similarly, the bronze shields of the Idaean Cave that were connected with the myth of the dance of the Curetes suggest a ritual dance of initiation in the eighth century (Burkert 1985, 102, 127, 262).



Fig. 47. a. The "metope" of the hunter, Athens NM 13409 and b. A drawing by Gillièron, 1903.



Fig. 48. The "metope" of a mythical couple or a 'hieros gamos' from the Lyseion, Thermos Museum 732.

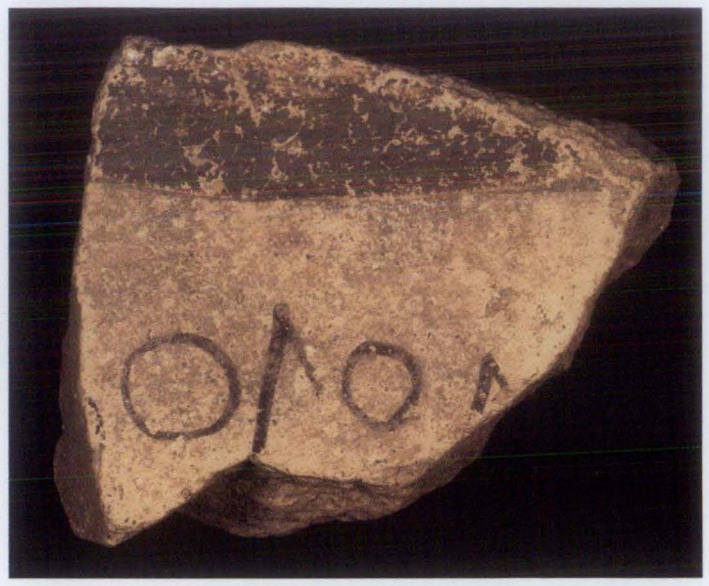

Fig. 49. The "metope" of Pholos, Thermos Museum 728.

locks unshorn coming to the sanctuary of Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης (*Il.* XX, 39) to dedicate during the rites of passage the game he had hunted. Moreover, the young hunter also resembles the protector of the Curetes, the eternal ephebe Apollo as the hymn (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 449-450) describes him:

ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε
πρωθήβῃ, χαίτῃς εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους

An equivalent symbolic allusion to the transition of girls into marriage at Thermos (without any ritual reference) may be suggested by the "metope" of the Lyseion in the Thermos Museum 732 that represents a mythical couple (a rape?) or the ἱερὸς γάμος[394] (fig. 48). The subject of the small "metope" with the Centaur Pholos, Thermos Museum 728[395] (fig. 49) may be understood, according to accounts in myths, as an allusion to the friendly and educational relationship of some centaurs, such as Pholos or Chiron, to young men in their transition to adulthood.

The festival of Θερμικὰ that took place every autumn during the years of the Aetolian League would indeed have provided the appropriate opportunity for important festive events. These would have included the rites of passage of youths into the society of men, who traditionally gathered at Thermos to elect officials and take part in athletic contests. The character of the early cult of Apollo ensured a stable basis for the official cult of Apollo Thermios that was to follow in the period of the League.

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394. Kawerau, Sotiriadis 1908, pl. 52, A,1. See also Dörig 1962, 90.

395. Rhomaios 1916, 187.

8. THE EARLY SANCTUARY AND AETOLIAN ETHNICITY

During the period of the Aetolian League the sanctuary and agora of Thermos were the most important religious, political and commercial centre of the Aetolians (fig. 50). Although Thermos was not the administrative centre, the archives were kept there and the sanctuary had custody of the Federation's treasury, while assemblies and elections, took place there, with fairs and festivals[396]. These are all activities that were concentrated at the site, because the sanctuary was in the past a regional centre of Aetolia that had already been carrying out functions similar to those it was to have as a centre of the League. Judging from Thucydides' report (III, 94, 4-5; 97.1), Aetolians who settled κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους could unite and help each other in case of a hostile attack. This means that before the end of the fifth century there must have been a structural shift towards the organisation of an Aetolian political community[397]. Under such conditions, a centrally located, long lived place like Thermos must have played, from early times, a decisive role in the development of ethnic consciousness and organisation.

An open question is to determine the character of Thermos during the time of Megaron B as well as in the period of the ash altar, when there is wider participation in cult activity and the site functions as a sanctuary. The answer depends largely on our understanding of the early sociopolitical development of Aetolia. Conversely, defining the character of the sanctuary and the shifts in ritual activity can help the study of the sociopolitical conditions in Aetolia during the eighth and seventh centuries.

Thermos in relation to the sociopolitical configurations of the Early Iron Age

The problems to be encountered in the discussion of this subject have been also confronted by other scholars. Chief among them is the variety of local conditions

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396. Larsen 1952; 1968, 78-80, 199, 214-215.

397. Funke 1997, 147-149, 152, 162. Support for this view may be found in the athletic contests of Hellenistic times, the *Thermika*, mentioned in inscriptions, which may have had a long history (Papapostolou 2001, 37).



Fig. 50. The Hellenistic agora of Thermos.

that prevailed in the fragmented Greek world of that time. Yet the knowledge of the individuality of the areas is the basic prerequisite for defining sociopolitical structure[398].

Recent studies have attempted to detect structural forms and political development during the Dark Ages in the areas of later *poleis* and *ethne,* using not only the archaeological evidence but also theories drawn from social and ethnological studies. Thus archaeological material can be approached as a "text" of historical processes and social structures[399].

Needless to say, it would be of great importance if we could grasp the original configurations that comprised the conditions necessary for the later development of the Aetolian *ethnos*-state, which lie in the depths of the Dark Age. In Aetolia there is no evidence of a primitive tribal society in Mycenaean times or in the Early Iron Age. We do not even know if the three unequal parts (μέρη), Apodotoi, Ophioneis and Eurytanes, recorded by Thucydides (III 94, 5; 100,1) were ever tribal entities, for which there is no evidence in any Aetolian genealogy.

Even if some sort of tribal organization among certain groups settled in specific places existed in early Iron Age Aetolia, it would not be identical with a prim-

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398. For this view, expressed before excavation began, see Papapostolou 1990, 200. The difficulty of defining the political systems of the Early Iron Age was noted by Snodgrass 1987, 179; see also the comments of Wallace 2006, 639-640; Ulf 2007, 320-321. Variations of sociopolitical organisation must have also existed in places, so that modern terms such as 'headman', 'big man', 'petty chief', 'chief' and, the terms 'chiefdom', 'big site' etc., can be used to denote hierarchy and gradation of rulers and communities. The word ἀρχὸς used in Homer (for example *Il.* I, 144, II, 493; *Od.* IV, 653, VIII, 162 and see also the inscription *SIG* I, 3d: ἀρχὸς Τειχιούσης) not as a title like *ἄναξ* and βασιλεὺς, but as an appellative that denotes a ruler (as various other terms in the epic tradition), could be used to signify generally local chiefs of the Early Iron Age.

399. For these subjects selectively Meyer 1907; Gschnitzer 1955; Larsen 1968, 3-7; Ehrenberg 1969, 7-14, 22-25; Renfrew 1979; Snodgrass 1980, 15-48; Qviller 1981; Hodder 1982b; Schachermeyr 1984; Donlan 1985; 1989; Donlan, Thomas 1993; Sakellariou 1989, 297-298; 2001, 2009; Osborne 1996, 286. For reviews of the relevant scholarship and more recent views see Ulf 1990, 215-223; Whitley 1991a, 184-186; 1991b, 348-352; Funke 1993, 33-36, 41-47; Hall 1995; 1997; Ulf 1996b, 247, 276; Jones 1997; McInerney; 2001a; 2001b; Brock, Hodkinson 2000b, 21-25; Malkin 2001b; Gehrke 2000; 2005, 17-24; Morgan 2003, 4-16; Dickinson 2006a, 110-111, 248-253; Ulf 2007, 319. However it must be considered as Hodder 1987, preface, p. VII has noted, «the contextual approach involves in many respects not so much a new departure, as a clarification of, and an attempt to make rigorous, existing procedures». Moreover, I share to a great degree Brather's opinion, 2004, 630-631, that Archaeology is an independent historical and anthropological field of inquiry with special sources. It requires its own method and it should not be involved with the verification of conclusions drawn from related disciplines. In addition, I believe that great circumspection is required in applying conclusions of modern anthropology and ethnology to Greece during the Dark Age as it succeeds the world of the Bronze Age, keeping memories.

itive tribal *ethnos* and even less with a distinct, cultural and political, entity. The development of ethnic identity demands the manipulation of population groups over a long period in order for them to develop a sense of equality with each other as well as of difference from others. This stage must be completed before an ethnician political entity is reached[400].

Moreover we have no archaeological evidence that population "parts" were already attached to certain geographical areas, suggesting that an aggregate political indetity was already in existence during this period. Developments of this sort are dated later in other areas, in Phocis, Locris and Achaea, where ethnic evolution was more advanced[401]. Even in the fifth century it is impossible to define a geographical distribution and to trace a concrete political organisation corresponding to the Aetolian divisions[402].

A more positive response to these questions has been given by Funke, who considered it possible to apply to the Early Iron Age a modern sociological model of a society consisting of many separate and equal groups. According to the German historian, the Aetolian groups mentioned by Thucydides are a "later example" of the structure of an early society divided into small communities, equal and autonomous, which, without belonging to a permanent central institutional power, were able, through an occasional use of a generally accepted decision, to agree in cooperatively confronting emergencies such as military incursions. Funke held that this system in general conforms to the conditions of the Dark Ages[403].

I suggest that the system was activated as well when a chief, alone or in cooperation with others, turned against others in the same geographical area[404]. The

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400. Indeed I think one cannot deny that after the fall of the Mycenaean system, at the time of the extent removals, tribal groups were settled in some areas of Aetolia (cf. Funke 1997, 152). Yet the instability of settlements, the mixture and fragmentation of people soon led to cohabitation of populations of varied origin. Moreover ancient tradition reflects the heterogeneity and admixture of populations groups (Strabo X 3, 4-6). Nevertheless, tribal cohesion was necessary and was sought mainly by means of genealogical myths.

401. Cf. Morgan 2006, 235.

402. Only for the Vomies and Callies is there a relevant reference in Thoucydides III 96, 3....καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι τῶν Ὀφιονέων, οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες, Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς, ἐβοήθησαν; see also Strabo X 2, 5. A rather vague indication may be seen in Thoucydides about the Apodotoi who were the first to be attacked by the Atheneans (426 B.C.) and had a common frontier with Ozolian Locroi (Thouc. III 94, 5 in connection with 95, 3).

403. Funke 1993, 45-48; cf. Ulf 1990, 215; 1996b; Gehrke 2000, 160-161, 165, 167 f.

404. We should not forget the evidence of Thucydides I 5, 3: Ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ἤπειρον ἀλλήλους. Καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ ἤπειρον· τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκεν. The same perception of the Aetolians persisted also in later times, when Aetolia was predominant. In the third century B.C. the historian Douris from Samos mentions an attic Hymn

existence of distinct population groups in Aetolia that emerges from Thucydides (III 94, 4,5) and is echoed also in Strabo (X 2, 5), who draws on earlier sources, and in Arrian (*Anab*. 1.10,2), must be considered certain. More specifically, these later groups or *ethne*, however they were defined in later times, may be remnants of ancient –not necessarily tribal- entities composed of neighboring settlements (see n. 426). Occasional cooperation must have existed between the local groups not only in war but also in peace, in common ceremonial activities, meetings for exchanges, feasts and other collective activities, organized at the chieftain's initiative already during early periods (eleventh-ninth centuries), but not yet any kind of political community.

Because of the importance of its location, Thermos was a site with strong claims to leadership as early as the Early Dark Ages. Megaron B is not an ordinary building and, for the time being, it is unique in Aetolia. It is likely that the ruler (and his group), who from time to time dominated Thermos, would also have carried out cult activities and feasts. He could take the initiative and the decision-making power in the process of allowing more autonomous and equal groups from the wider area to join him, even in an informal alliance. During these early years (tenth-ninth cent.) at Thermos, the specific power of "the first among equal leaders" would have held sway. Within the web of isolated, probably unstable settlements, Thermos, a meeting place for the people, continued to be a stable establishment. Intervals of inactivity, such as follow great catastrophes, cannot be ruled out. Some may have been due to conflicting claims to this important place, until in the eighth century a sanctuary of greater significance came into being, to function continuously for centuries. On the level of the sociopolitical articulation of Aetolia in the Dark Ages, the structure outlined above seems plausible and, to an extent, helps us understand some aspects of the later development of the sanctuary as an early regional and ultimately a "communal" sanctuary.

Comparing, however, the circumstances of Aetolia with other ethnic entities, for example Thessaly, we cannot discern here the interweaving of ethnic groups and probably the existence from early times of political forms with institutions

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presented to Demetrios Poliorketes in the Great Eleusinia, 291 BC, comprising the verses: αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἁρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας, νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πόρρω. (*FGrH* 76 F13, 19-20). See further references; Antonetti 1990, 67-68, 91-93, 107-110, 133-141; Bakhuizen1996, 223-228. The mythical theme of Tydeus symbolises the wild and particularly warlike Aetolian warrior, apart, perhaps, from the barbaric character of the Aetolians that Aeschylus might have wanted to convey with the verses about Tydeus in *Sept*., 375-396, according to Antonetti 1990 47-53. Euripides (*Phoen*. 138) calls the same hero μειξοβάρβαρος, expressing the opinions of the Athenians and other Greeks of the Classical and later periods about the low cultural level of the Aetolians; see Sakellariou 2009, 447; Funke 1991b, 316. Wilamowitz II 1932, 2 had called the Aetolians "halbhellenische Stämme" slowly hellenised through the influence of Corinth.

and self-determination[405]. These developments in Aetolia are shadowy, more so than elsewhere.

It is likewise open to question if the sociopolitical system of the Dark Age continued that of Late Helladic times in central Aetolia or if and to what extent it differed. The archaeological discoveries at Thermos have not provided secure historical evidence for a change of social structure from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. Indeed the probable picture is quite the opposite. The apsidal Megaron A as the main building (regardless of its precise date) belongs to the pre-Mycenaean tradition of the site. This building must have been, like Megaron B in a later period, the seat of a ruler and would have remained so to the end of the Mycenaean period, even if Thermos had become dependent on a large Mycenaean administrative centre, an unlikely possibility.

In central Aetolia, after the collapse of the Late Helladic settlement, there would have been a certain degree of sociopolitical continuity, whether a change had occurred in the sovereign groups of the population or in the economic conditions and orientation. In both periods the establishment at Thermos would have served as the communication centre for a great part of central Aetolia. Far from the Mycenaean palace system, Thermos would not have suffered a severe disruption and there is no difficulty in supposing that there was a more or less continuous presence of a local 'war-lord' of the pre-palace tradition, at least until the end of the period of Megaron B (end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth centuries). It is another matter whether a settlement equivalent to that of Late Helladic times existed around Megaron B.

There is no information concerning early historical events in Thermos and Aetolia that could have marked the development of the aetolian ethnicity. Such histories exist elsewhere, as in Phocis, whose release from Thessalian occupation during the sixth century is recorded, although, even in this case, there is no evidence for earlier periods.

The *Catalogue of ships* and Aetolia

The period of the ash altar at Thermos coincides with the account of Aetolia in the *Catalogue of Ships* in *Il.* II 638-644.

638 Αἰτωλῶν δ᾽ ἡγεῖτο Θόας, Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,
οἳ Πλευρῶν᾽ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ᾽ ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν·
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,

405. Archibald 2000, 216, 226-227; Brock, Hodkinson 2000b, 24.

οὐδ' ἄρ ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος·
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀνασσέμεν Αἰτωλοῖσιν·
644 τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο.

While the report of Thucydides has a concrete and direct historical value for the whole Aetolia, the testimony of the *Catalogue* does not correspond to the historical reality in the southwest region during the Mycenaean Age to which it refers. Nevertheless it permits us to speculate about the political tendencies of the eighth or seventh century.

Aetolian centres, as areas inhabited by a specific group of people (the 'Aetolians'), are mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* as located in the southwest coastal belt of Aetolia (Aeolis according to Thucydides III, 94, 3) (fig. 51)[406]. Of the places listed in the *Catalogue*, Calydon, Pleuron, and Chalcis have all been identified, whereas the sites of Olenos and Pylene are unknown. Moreover in the case of Olenos the sources, except for Strabo X 2, 6, are mainly mythological. The tradition for Pylene is far more obscure.

It is expressly stated in the *Catalogue* (*Il.* II, 643) that full command of the Aetolians had been given to Thoas, a reference possibly meaning that the settlements were organised under a centralised governance. It could, therefore, be assumed that this is a memory of the Mycenaean political system, i.e. the concentration of settlements in a certain area under the control of the anax and their subjection to the palatial system. Nevertheless, the existence of so many settlements (or acropoleis ?) in proximity to each other, while a main palace centre is missing, is not a construct applicable to the Late Helladic palatial system. On the contrary, a number of independent centres, equal to each other, under a ruler, eventually stronger than other chiefs, is a political structure already established in the Postpalatial period (LH IIIC), known to Homer and not strange to his time. This is evidently valid for other cases in the *Catalogue* that includes prominent Mycenaean centres e.g. Pylos to which other sites, unknown to Mycenaean archaeology, are subject. These may correspond to sites inhabited in Homeric times. Similarly major sites included in the Catalogue, as for example Lindos, Sparta, Corinth, Euboean centres, have not provided archaeological evidence suggesting that they were important Mycenaean centres[407]. As for the geographical names, in Aetolia it is unknown if these existed as early as Mycenaean times. The mention of Pleuron on a Linear B tablet from Pylos (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de*)

406. Giovannini 1969, 30-31, 46-47; Hope Simpson, Lazenby 1970 107-110; Kirk 1985, 222-223; Bommeljé 1988, 307 n. 38; Funke 1991a, 179-180; Anderson 1995 181-191; Visser 1997, 599-606, 12, n. 30; Eder 2003.

407. See Giovannini 1969, 26-27; Visser 1997, 10-12; Gounaris 2002-2003, 104-105.

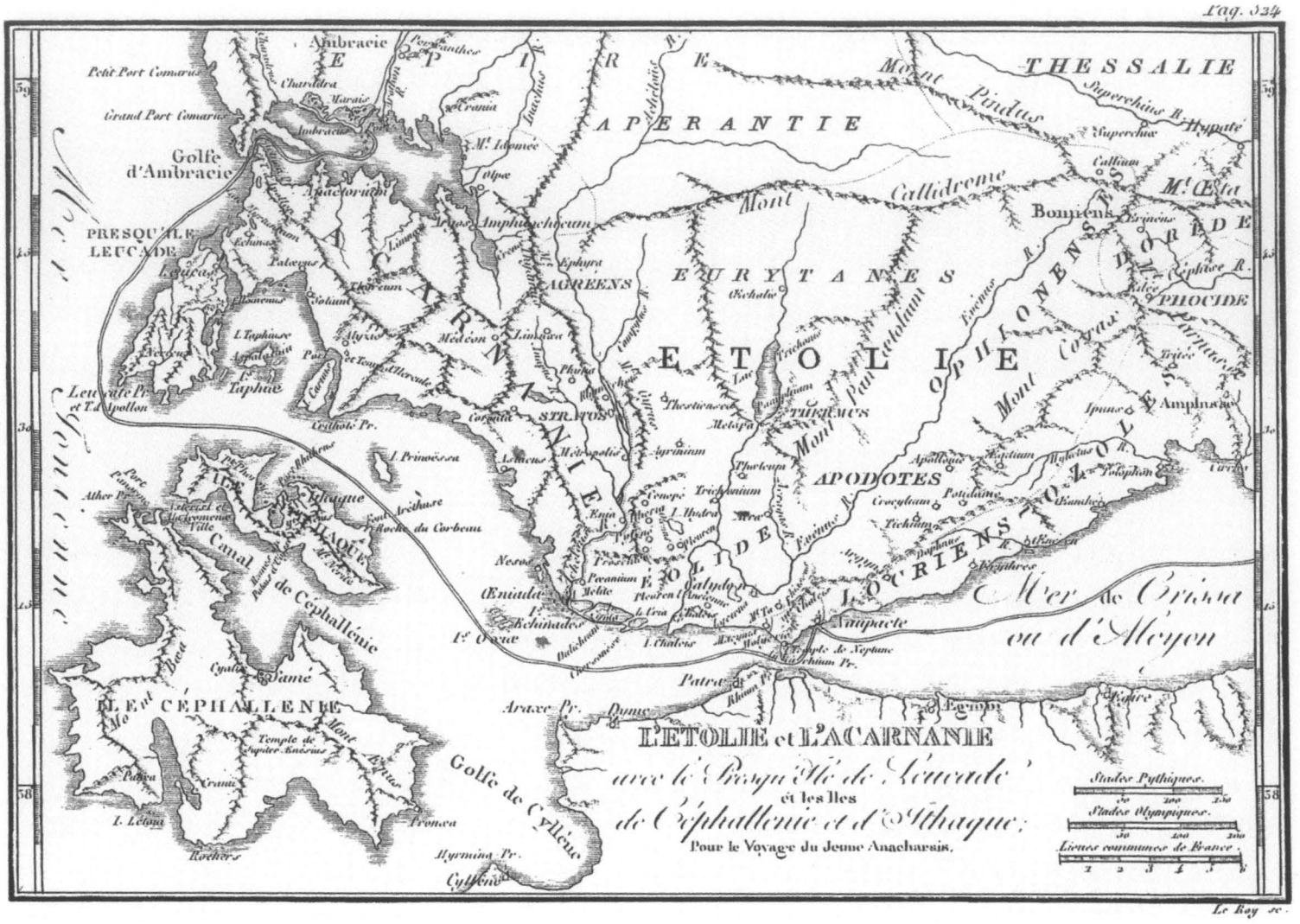

Fig. 51. Map of Aetolia and Akarnania designed by J. D. Barbié du Bocage for J.J. Barthélemy, Voyage d'Anacharsis en Grèce vers le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire, 1829.

remains unproven[408]. Moreover, it cannot be demonstrated that the complicated versions of Aetolian genealogy and the Aetolian myths about pre-Trojan heroes, peoples and events placed in this region (*Il.* IX, 529-599;XIV, 111-121), were formulated before the fall of the Mycenaean world. Much depends on the mythological stratigraphy of the epic.

The archaeological evidence in Aetolia from both the Mycenaean period and the Dark Age, does not correlate with the *Catalogue*. Finds of one or the other period at Calydon, Pleuron and Chalkis and other sites, which would supply incontrovertible evidence, are not lacking, but are not of such kind and significance as to imply that these sites had been palatial or urban centres.

Evidence perhaps suggestive of political organisation, but certainly indicative of prosperity, is the existence of the Mycenaean tholos tombs excavated by E. Mastrokostas at Ayios Elias, west of the lagoon of Aetolikon, and the others near Palaiomanina, at Mila, not far away, on the other bank of the Acheloos river[409].

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408. Ventris, Chadwick 1973², 185 nr 53-A12.

409. For the Mycenaean Aetolia see Mastrokostas 1963; Hope Simpson 1965, 90-91 no

Lastly a tholos tomb of small dimensions was found at Stamna. On the Aetolian bank of the Acheloos, near Angelokastro, there is a Mycenaean settlement from which LH IIIA/B pottery has been collected[410]. Significant finds of the Early Iron Age, such as the large cemetery at Stamna in the recess of the Aetolikon bay[411], are concentrated in the same region. These recent archaeological discoveries together with the few finds from Calydon, Pleuron and other sites[412] confirm continuous habitation in southwest Aetolia after the Bronze Age. This situation may conform to Gschnitzer's general remark, that 'tribes' that moved in times of crisis are connected in Homer with old centres[413]. There is some basis for the idea that population groups here too would have tried to establish their connection with localities in Aetolia that had not only geographical, but also cultural affinities with the Mycenaean world.

Earlier scholars were reluctant to question the authenticity and antiquity of the account in the *Catalogue of Ships* that seemed to imply the presence of the Aetolians in Aetolia in Mycenaean times, while, at the same time, they were unwilling to deny the notion of population shifts during the post-Mycenaean upheaval. Thus Klaffenbach maintained that, while the Aetolians of the *Catalogue* belong to the Late Helladic horizon and at that time already lived on the coast of Aetolia, their name was later transferred to incomers from the northwest[414]. More recent opinions, concerning the whole hellenic world, have looked backwards, suggesting that some 'constants' existed already in the Mycenaean period that were associated with ethnic identities, so that social and cultural elements of that time were transmitted to the Early Iron Age[415]. Recent historical studies of Greek

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312; Hope Simpson, Dickinson 1979, 103; Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 21-23, 104; Papadopoulos 1991; Papadopoulos, Kondorli-Papadopoulou 2004; Siori 2004 with references; Soueref 1991; Dietz, Moschos 2006, 48-61; Saranti 2004; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2008, 377. The reference of Soteriades *Praktika* 1908, 99-100, concerning a Mycenaean tower in Calydon has not been confirmed. Of particular interest is the report by Mastrokostas *Deltion* 20 1965 B2, 343, that a "hoard" of Mycenaean weapons was found in Psorolithi at a distance of 2,500 m from the acropolis of Calydon.

410. I owe this information to the Ephor Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

411. Christakopoulou 2001; 2006.

412. Mastrokostas, *Deltion* 17,1961-2, B 183; 22 1967 B2, 320; Dekoulakou, *Deltion* 26 1971 B2, 326-327; 27 1972 B2, 438-439; Dekoulakou 1982; Kolonas, Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *Deltion* 47, 1992 B1, 154.

413. Gschnizter 1971, 16.

414. Klaffenbach 1932, IX-X. Cf. the theoretical analysis of Renfrew 1979. Sakellariou 1989, 390-391; 2001, 331; 2009, 449-450, 798, accepts that the Aetolians as a tribal unit were already living in the places where Homer locates them in the thirteenth century. Wilamowitz II 1932, 2 n. 2 had noticed that "only the region around Calydon preserved, together with the name of Aeolis memory of the times to which the myths of Oeneus, Meleager, Tydeus refer".

415. See Ulf 2007, 319. Cf. Wright 1994, 77-78, who notes that the "beliefs and customs of the Helladic Society, continued to nourish new forms of ritual practice throughout the Dark Age".

ethnicity in the Bronze Age have concluded that the movements of Greek groups between 1900 and 1100 B.C. resulted in geographic dispersal and fracturing. This phenomenon was preceded by dialectic and geopolitical developments and, by extension, the developments of ethnic divisions[416]. Even so, we cannot reconstruct an organisation of an "ethnos" entity in southwest Aetolia during the Dark Age.

The concentration in the southwest region indicates that, when the *Catalogue* was compiled, only groups of people calling themselves Aetolians, had tried or were in a position to seek to legitimize a connection with the Mycenaean past in that part of Aetolia. The organisation and sociopolitical composition of these settlements at the time of the *Catalogue's* creation remains uncertain. There is no archaeological evidence that there were urban centres at that time in Aetolia. Thus I believe that the account in the *Catalogue* is based on the known settlement patterns of the time, i.e. urban centres of the Late Geometric period elsewhere. This sociopolitical pattern, combined with the memory of the Mycenaean anax, is evidently only a transfer for a 'myth-historical' representation of Late Helladic Aetolia.

Although local tribal settlements in the early times are to be expected, the idea that regions were named after the names of tribes that, once established, organised themselves by areas with a state structure[417], has been opposed by various scholars[418].

In Homer, however, ethnic names denote not only tribal identities, but also political entities and a stable connection with a specific geographic area –in this case the southwest region of Aetolia, in which the poet localizes the ethnos of Aetolians under a single ruler[419]. These are all features that the period demanded for the image of an ethnic political community that has yet to exist in Aetolia. Since in the case of Aetolia archaeological evidence does not correspond to such a historical reality, I believe that the use of the ethnicon Αἰτωλοὶ in the *Catalogue* and in the narrative of Phoenix (*Il.* IX, 529-599) shows only the first pursuit of ethnicity in the eighth century at the earliest, by mixed populations that wished to be designated as Aetolians in order to acquire a geopolitical identity. The first efforts to construct an ethnic entity in Aetolia cannot be earlier than Homeric times.

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416. Sakellariou 2001, 346-347; 2009, 759-764.

417. Cf. Gschnitzer 1955, 134; 1971, 7-8. An alternative view is that the *ethnica* derive from the name of the area that existed prior to the settlement. For the Homeric evidence of *ethnica* see Sakellariou 1989, 381 n. 1, 390-391; 2001, 331.

418. Funke 1993, 42-44; 1997, 156; Ulf 1996b, 276-279; Morgan 2003, 7. See also Funke 1997, 172-173 for the difficulty of identifying later settlements and areas with epigraphically attested ethnic names.

419. Strabo (IX, 4, 18) stating that "Aetolians Homer always speaks of under one name classing cities not tribes under them..." understood that Aetolia, as described by Homer, was organized differently from Aetolia of later times with several groups or "ethne".

In fact it seems that southwest Aetolia was indeed on the border of that stage precisely in this period. The presence of protogeometric and geometric ceramic finds indicate that it was already possible that this region could participate in the hellenic culture of the times (see n. 411, 412).

It is worth noting here the comment of Eustathius on the reference to Calydon in *Il.* II 496, which the Aeolians claimed but which Homer gave to the Aetolians: Καλυδῶνα μὲν γάρ, φασίν, Αἰτωλοῖς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐχαρίσατο ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς Αἰολέας μνησθεὶς αὐτῆς ἐν Αἰτωλῶν καταλόγῳ (*Ad Iliadem* 263, 18-19). Noteworthy is also a remark of the same scholiast on *Il.* II 638: ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς καὶ ἑτεροίαν ἱστορίαν συνήθως ἐπιπλέκων φησίν, ὅτι Θόας Αἰτωλῶν ἡγεῖτο (*Ad Iliadem* 311, 22-23). He apparently means that the mythical name of the leader of the Aetolians in Troy (a name applied also to other mythical figures) had been deliberately used in order to serve as a connecting link between the Aetolian genealogical myth and the attempt of a local ruler to dominate the area at the time of the *Catalogue*[420]. Indeed the father in law of Thoas, Oeneus, was the best of the three sons of Portheus who was a descendant of Aetolos (*Il.* XIV 118). Oeneus was also the father of the famous Aetolian heroes, Tydeus and Meleager. The poet needs to justify the leadership of Thoas by adding in *Il.* II, 641-642: "For the sons of great-hearted Oeneus were no more, neither did he himself still live and fair-haired Meleager was dead." That Aetolian Thoas was a mythical figure created for this purpose is also indicated by the fact that he appears for the first time in Homer. It is uncertain, whether or not he was known in pre-homeric Trojan epic tradition[421].

The inevitable conclusion is that the Aetolian reference in the *Catalogue* reflects the intervention of a ruler, i.e. the attempt of a 'basileus' to dominate in this area. He would have appeared as the legal heir of Thoas, an anax who, while not one of the most illustrious homeric heroes, is mentioned particularly in *Il.* XIII, 217-218: ... ὃς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε, θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ.

The use of the name in southwest Aetolia probably also implies something more: the antagonism of the southwest area to central Aetolia, which may have had a more homogeneous population. Indeed it may well be that the later identification of the southwest region with ἀρχαία Αἰτωλία that was distinguished from the central mountainous region, ἐπίκτητος Αἰτωλία (Strabo X, 2, 3) belongs

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420. See the comments of Eustathius edited by Van der Valk 1971, 401, 484. That such an intervention in the *Catalogue* was possible is also suggested by the story told by the Megarians, according to which the Athenians attempted to legitimize their political claims on Salamis by introducing in the *Catalogue of Ships* the verses *Il.* II, 557-558, next to the reference to Athens.

421. Kullmann 1960, 102, 146 n. 4, 164-165, 220 n 3; cf. Ø. Andersen 1982, 16-19.

to the same historical construct. The ethnicon name in epic implies self-perception, but it appears also to be a weapon mainly in the hands of Calydon and Pleuron for staking and promoting claims of leadership at the time when the *Catalogue* and the narrative of Phoenix (*Il.* IX 529-599) were composed. The genealogical myths would have also strengthened these claims. This is borne out by the later myth of Aetolos, which relates how the Curetes, protected by Apollo, the god of Thermos, were expelled by Aetolos from Aetolia (Strabo X 3,2). This story may be understood as an expression of traditional rivalry and antagonism by Calydon against central Aetolia and Thermos itself.

Thermos is missing from the epic and therefore appears not to have participated in any deliberate development of ethnicity[422]. The reason was that a settlement with a ruler/'king' claiming mythical descent did not develop here during the eighth century. It should be noted that Strabo, drawing on Ephorus, refers to Thermos only once, in his account of the Curetes (X, 3, 2),. This is probably due not only to the desolation of Thermos in his time, but also because the basic sources except for Ephorus were Hellenistic scholia of the *Catalogue of Ships*, which is silent on the subject of Thermos.

Yet if the Homeric *Catalogue* is silent, the archaeological evidence for the late Geometric period does not allow us to exclude Thermos totally from the world of Homer, from the culture and the events in the great centres of the time. The statuette representing a rider on a racing horse (pl. 88) brings to life the image of a mighty Homeric horseman[423]. The figures of horsemen belong to be sure to the epic layer of the time of the poet and recall the heroic world inhabited by the eminent men of the eighth century and their prowess in horsemanship (*Il.* V, 25-26, X, 498-500, XV, 679-686; *Od.* V, 37). Aetolia indeed had the tradition of the ἱππηλάτης Tydeus, father of the Homeric Diomedes, who ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα ρηιδίως (*Il.* IV, 389-390).

The evidence for settlement centres

Just as the tribal structure of the Aetolian 'parts' and their connection with specific areas is unknown so also is the settlement pattern in Aetolia. Excavation has provided no evidence for nucleated settlements, or even for small dispersed settlements[424]. In recent years, however, the large cemetery at Stamna, already mentioned above, came to light (see n. 411). The association of the cemetery with

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422. A parallel is the site of Lefkandi, unless it is to be identified with Eretria.

423. Papapostolou 2001.

424. Contrary to this evidence is the opinion of Hooby Nielsen 2001 concerning the presence of "nucleated hill habitations" in Aetolia during the eighth century, implying the beginning of urbanization. See comments on these terms Åström 1992.

a known historical town requires archaeological evidence. Hypotheses can be made on the basis of facts from other sites. For example, it is possible that this was the cemetery of members of several rural groups (ἔθνη?) that comprised an entity with some form of communal organization (cf. n. 426). The single Protogeometric tomb, which has been published, is a built pit with an irregularly elliptical plan and contained one burial and the remains of three cremations. The objects suggest that the tomb evidently belonged to a prominent warrior, but not necessarily to a ruler.

In contrast to the situation at Stamna, where the extensive Dark Age cemetery of the Dark Ages has not yet been matched with corresponding settlements, at Thermos there is a central settlement of the Late Helladic Period and a leader's seat of the Early Iron Age, without graves. Looting or lack of excavation cannot provide an explanation, since chance finds would be expected and, to the best of my knowledge, there are none. Finds are reported only in the south, at Trichonis, where Protogeometric cist graves and burial jars have been found[425].

It is not only the absence of a cemetery of the Late Helladic Period and of the Early Iron Age at Thermos that is surprising, but also the lack of other settlements of the same periods in this central part of Aetolia. The few building remains of the period of Megaron B at Thermos itself are not sufficient to characterize the site as a settlement. Buildings are likely to have been raised when the first temples were built in the second half of the seventh century. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that there were isolated and scattered hamlets of Thermians, which were probably at a different location from that of the chief's seat[426]. Indeed the significance of a site does not hinge on the size of the settlement and a central location without a large permanent settlement is not unprecedented[427].

Settlements in central Aetolia could be sought around the lake, on the coastal hills and in the vicinity of the sanctuaries of Taxiarchis and Chrysovitsa (fig. p. 14).

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425. *Deltion* 34 1979 B1, 208; 37 1982 B1, 150-151; 47 1992 B1 148-149; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980. A small Mycenaean tholos tomb was found at Lithovouni (Mastrokostas *Deltion* 18 1963 B, 147, pl. 186; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2008, 378).

426. A similar question could be raised in connection with other, later regional sanctuaries e.g. Olympia (see p. 170). The plural form Θέρμοι, found in Polybius (V 6, 6; 7, 2) and Strabo (X 3, 2), probably refers to groups of small settlements around the sanctuary in Hellenistic and Roman times. The name Θέρμιοι is epigraphically attested, but its earliest use is not known (*IG* IX, I^2, I, 102. 4, 8, 9, 177.20, 91.1). The inscription no. 91 (Papapostolou 2008, fig. 80; here **fig. 52**), written on a bronze strip of the end of the sixth century B.C. (Thermos Museum X8), has the earliest mention of the ethnic Θρέμιος (*with the transposition of the rho*). The following words can be read Ὀλύνπ[ι]χος μιον Θρέμιον (Lejeune 1945, 112 F; Jeffery 1961, 22,7). The term Θέρμιοι (Polyb. V 8, 4) does not appear to refer to a tribal group. It evidently refers to all the inhabitants of the area, regardless of their tribal affinity. Perhaps we have one of the partial *ethne* of Aetolia (Cf Funke 1997, 160). For the references to written sources see Soteriades 1900, 162-163; Rhomaios 1932, 25-27.

427. Renfrew, Poston 1979, 442.

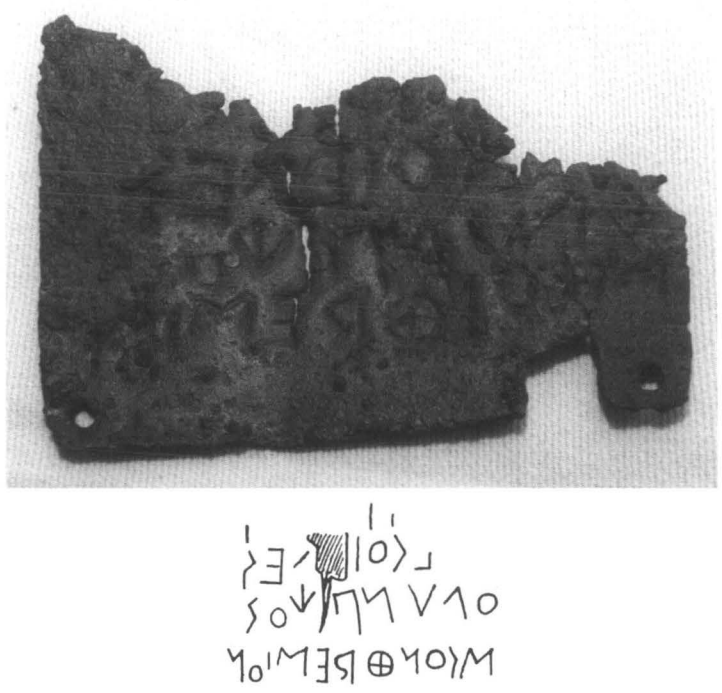

Fig. 52. The bronze sheet with the inscription of Θρέμιος, *Thermos Museum X8.*

Perhaps they did not survive because of the fragility of the material used or they may not have been found yet[428].

Some scholars find an explanation for the general scarcity of settlements in the alleged change in the economic conditions, specifically in the limitations of the farming economy and the development of a pastoral and nomadic way of life during the Dark Age. More recent studies, however, agree that there was no abandonment of rural life such as to result in the disruption of habitation[429]. In

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428. Yet finds of early pottery are discovered from time to time during construction and other activities, for example at Sitaralona (ancient Pamphion?) near the east bank of the Trichonis and not far from Thermos (kind communication of the ephor, Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi).

429. Kirsten 1983, 361-363, placed special emphasis on the subject of movements of animals and herders and pastoralism in Aetolia. See also Antonetti 1990, 25-27; Bommeljé, Doorn, 1987, 36, 58, Figs 5-7; Funke 1993, 34 n. 11. Snodgrass developed his view of a pastoral society of the Early Iron Age in a series of studies (1971, 378-380; 1987, 193-210; 1989, 26). Comments by Dickinson 2006a, 98-104, 110-111. For the debate concerning the shift from the agricultural economy of the Mycenaean period to the animal husbandry and pastoralism practised in the Early Iron Age see Halstead 1987; Cherry 1988; Hurwitt 1993, 21; Foxhall 1995; Palmer 2001. In general, there is agreement that farming continued after the Mycenaean period together with mixed farming and animal husbandry and that a backward pastoral society is not a valid concept. For some, however, the idea of a turn towards animal husbandry during the Dark Ages is reasonable, because that would have strengthened the local leaders. It can also be maintained that the overturn of the system and the decline of population left fields vacant for pastoral use. See the comments of Palmer 2001, 76-77. The chance increase of animal husbandry during a population decline in an area requires, I believe, specific explanations.

the vicinity of Thermos, in particular, the climate and the vegetation of the plateau with its many springs would have encouraged farming and animal husbandry during all seasons without any need for the inhabitants to move and engage in a nomadic way of life.

The absence of settlements may also be attributed to the decrease or sparse distribution of habitation in Aetolia, which is a general phenomenon during the transition to the Dark Ages, as a result of the upheavals and population movements that followed the end of the Late Helladic period[430]. Indeed there may not have been dramatic and systematic incursions by hordes such as to cause mass population displacements[431]. Yet the impact of the dissolution of the Mycenaean system must have been felt over a considerable period in central Aetolia as well as in the southwest coastal belt. Even so, we cannot make conjectures about Aetolia, which has no palatial installations, as we can for other areas where the fall of the anax led to a new political, economic and historical-geographic articulation and ultimately to the disappearance of nearly all the Mycenaean cultural features except for the Submycenaean pottery, which continues the Mycenaean tradition[432].

For the period of Megaron B, although the existence of a settlement of unknown size at the site or nearby cannot be excluded, it is equally possible that there was only the chieftain's seat.

It remains an open question whether an outside event involving force caused or contributed to the destruction of Megaron B at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century and to the restructuring that took place immediately afterwards. If the break was due to a distant outside agency, perhaps reference should be made to destructions that have been noted at many places around this same time[433].

It is also uncertain to what extent we can connect the significant change that occurs with the foundation of the great ash altar with a new, foreign dominant element or whether it emerged solely from the development of the communities of central Aetolia and the changed circumstances. In my opinion, the second alternative seems

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In any case, transhumance always took place, even if it involved small groups of shepherds. These could secure valleys and mountain pasture suitable for seasonal habitation and grazing, even if there was no organised animal husbandry. A mixed pastoral system during the Bronze Age is the conclusion also of Tartaron 2004, 14 for the Acheron valley in Epirus. See also Bintliff 1982, 107. On the other hand, it seems that no climate changes occurred in Greece from the Bronze to the early Iron Age (Stiros 1999, 2).

430. Snodgrass 1983, 80; 1987, 184-186; Wallace 2006, 631.

431. Dickinson 2006a, 243; 2006b, 117-118; Drews 1993, 61-65.

432. Cf. Rutter 1992. On the sociopolitical transformations after a system collapse see Renfrew 1979, 481-485, 503-505.

433. Hammond 1982, 651-656, attributes changes in Macedonia and Epirus in the eighth century to Illyrian incursions.

more likely. It is, in any case, an historical phenomenon indicative of a significant shift in the political and social structure as well as in settlement patterns.

Aetolian myths and ethnicity

The cultivation of consciousness of a common ancestry and the 'historical' version of it by means of myths and genealogies constitute a basic expression of ethnicity, just like the connection of groups with a certain place. However, the later concept of ethnic entity held by the Aetolians, does not mean that they needed a belief in a common origin. Moreover a common dialect and shared cultural tradition, generally, were not considered as constituting a common genealogy[434].

The genealogical myths of Aetolia are restricted to Calydon and Pleuron, They show heterogeneous elements or revisions that may correspond to different population groups or be derived from successive political pursuits of later times. Αἰτωλός, the eponymous ancestor, appears as king of the Eleans, son of Endymion and indirect descendant of Hellen, since the mother of his progenitor Aethlios was the sister of Hellen, Protogeneia. According to another tradition Aetolos was the son of the brother of Hellen Amphictyon[435]. Only once, in Hecataeus' genealogies[436], Aetolos is said to be the son of Oeneus of Calydon. The tradition that connects the Aetolians with the Eleans is unknown to Homer; yet it is the most widespread among ancient authors, from Ephorus to Pausanias. It is moreover this tradition that comprised the 'official' myth of Aetolia, which contained the mythical migration of Aetolian history. The traditions about other tribal groups are less important (see n. 400).

The question is when this migration myth was created and for what specific purpose. The antiquity of the mythical connections with Eleia are debatable. For the most part the myth about Aetolos coming from Eleia to Aetolia is thought to be later, while the myth of the 'return' of his descendant Oxylos to Eleia, leading the Heraclids, has been considered to belong to an older tradition (seventh century), perhaps reflecting historical connections of the Dark Ages (eleventh - eighth centuries, see ns 289, 292). Consequently the myth of the coming of the Eleans to Aetolia under the leadership of Aetolos may have been devised for some political reason, in order to present the 'myth-history' of the migration of Oxylos as an actual return of Eleans to their cradle, or to justify interventions of Aetolians in Eleia[437].

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434. Cf. Hall 1995, 14-15; 1997, 32; Malkin 2001b, 9-12; Finkelberg 1999, 32.

435. Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F115, 122, in Strabo. X 3, 2; Apollod. I 7, 5-6; Paus. V 1-8, Conon *FGrH* 26 F14. See also Antonetti 1994, 130-133; Sakellariou 2009, 449-450.

436. *FGrH* 1 F15.

437. Sources: Apollod. II 8, 3; Strabo VIII 3, 33; X 3, 2 (Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F115); Pind. *Pyth*. III, 19, 22; *Ol*. III, 19; Paus. V 3, 5-7. Most scolars accepted that the myth of Oxylos has historicity: Rhomaios 1932, 26;

A secure t.a.q. for the creation of the Aetolos myth is the chronology of Ephorus (fourth cent.), who records the existence of inscribed statues of Oxylos in Eleia and of Aetolos at Thermos. Thus it should be assumed that the myth coincides with the creation of the League in the fourth century. There are, however, some earlier testimonia, such as Pindar's mention of the connections of the Aetolians with the Olympic games (*Ol.* III, 12), the reference in Herodotus (8, 73, 2) to the Aetolian origin of the city Elis and an even earlier tradition in Hesiod's *Catalogus mulierum* dated most probably in the sixth century and refering to Aetolos as a son of Endymion[438]. In any case the myth of Aetolos must be seen in the context of the continuous manipulation of this material for political purposes.

Yet the Aetolian myths do not refer to Thermos. Moreover, there are no myths that can be connected with Thermos because, as already noted, a settlement with a ruler did not develop here during the eighth century that would require mythical reference and identification. The establishment of cult was not connected with mythical tradition, since those who had control of the site evidently did not need to connect themselves to a myth in order to legitimize claims of power. Rather, from the eighth century on, the function of the sanctuary was a response to the claims and needs of various local groups of more or less equal status. The only mythical reference, recorded as a *hapax* (Paus. V 3, 5-7), is the name of the hero Θέρμιος, an obviously later invention (see n. 289, 290, 356).

The myth of Aetolos, the important myths of Aetolia that record the house of Oeneus, the myth of Meleager as told by Homer, as well as the well known Aetolian heroes, are all associated with Calydon and Pleuron, 'cities' that belong to the Homeric Aetolia of the *Catalogue of Ships*, but which, from the fourth century on — especially in the case of Calydon— were subject successively to Achaean, Akarnanian and Aetolian domination[439]. The southwestern coast of Aetolia with

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Müller Graupa 1942; Schachermeyer 1983, 173-185; Antonetti 1994, 133-135; Vanschoonwinkel 1995; Taita 2000, 161-163; Gehrke 2005, 29, 30-33, 37, 44; Kyrieleis 2006, 77-79. The latter stresses the historical memories that the myth must include about Olympia in the eleventh century. It was then that the cult of Zeus was established by a new, strong leader, who in this way would have sought political hegemony in the area (see also n. 205). The reference of Pausanias V18, 6 to a representation of soldiers on the chest of Kypselos is germane: some ἐξηγηταὶ "say that they are the Aetolians under Oxylos and the ancient Eleans and that they are meeting in recollection of their old kinship and with mutual signs of good-will" (Transl. J.G. Frazer Pausanias' *Description of Greece, translated with a Commentary* 1913, 264). See also above (p. 124) for another connection implicit in the information of Paus. V 15, 12 concerning libations made by the Eleans to the heroes and heroines common to both Eleia and Aetolia.

438. West 1985 136, 141-144, Antonetti 1994, 132; Hirschberger 2004, 46-49; Gehrke 2005, 30-31.

439. *Il.* IX, 529-599; Apollod. I 8, 1-3. See Bommeljé 1988, 300 n. 9, 309-313; Pelzold 1976.

Calydon, Pleuron, Chalcis, including also the unidentified sites Olenos and Pylene, had its own mythical consistency and remained during the early periods a world of its own, separate from and rival to central Aetolia, where Thermos lies.

Communal cult at Thermos

It is not only through cult that the complex concept of ethnicity may be expressed. Yet cult was an agent of cohesion and articulation for people that runs parallel to the perception cultivated of a 'common ancestry' as well as to the connection with a common and permanent place of habitation. For the development of ethnic consciousness and organisation, which occurs on many levels, sanctuaries were the most fertile ground.

The political circumstances, to which reference was made above, could account not only for common military operations of a local nature, but also for shared activities on the level of cult. Just as the Aetolian communities may already have had the ability to come to an understanding and to cooperate in a moment of danger, they appear also from the eighth century on to have been able to gather at the sanctuary in order to perform a shared ritual in special circumstances and not only at regulated intervals as in the case of the annual rites of passage.

The cult at the centrally located site of Thermos would have begun to radiate gradually. From the eleventh century on, there would have been limited cult rituals for a small group that had kept life going in the Late Helladic settlement, which, on the basis of the excavation evidence, was uniquely prosperous and large in Aetolia. Already in this period Thermos would have been an important place for the central region of Aetolia, a passageway for people and a place of meetings and exchanges for groups of herdsmen. It would continue to be a crucial location during the time of Megaron B. As already described, there is no evidence that this structure was converted into a cult building at some point, just as there are no remains of a contemporary, large settlement. Yet the performance of cult ritual in a permanent installation in front of Megaron B, with a gradually wider participation within the context of a chieftain's seat, is possible.

A comparable case is Olympia in the same period. It remains a question whether at Olympia there was a larger settlement, apart from a chief's complex, in the same place where there is evidence for early cultic activities. If the apsidal building VII at Olympia belongs to the Early Iron Age[440], it may be nothing more than a chieftain's seat, like Megaron B at Thermos, or an annex of such an establishment. Before the "city" centres in Eleia developed an antagonistic interest

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440. Kyrieleis 2006, 49; Rambach 2002; 2003.

in Olympia as a centre for cult and athletic competition, it is likely that cult activities were carried out under the egalitarian authority of local groups of people[441].

If during the period of Megaron B there were competitive claims on Thermos, in the time of the ash altar it would have been a place for contacts and agreements. Megaron B, even if it survived only in ruins around the ash altar, functioned as a reference point for continuity and cohesion for people, who either remembered or learned from their elders that it had been a chief's seat in the past. When, during the eighth century, the large hearth of holocaust offerings, combined with a small sacred building, came into use, various other cult activities were carried out in the bothroi and pits and probably on the rock altar as well. At that time we have the beginnings of many different ceremonies and the establishment of a sanctuary with the potential to attract increased participation beyond the immediate area. This development must have been accompanied by a specific sociopolitical change in the region, due to outside factor or to local evolution. In any case, the organisation of the cult was a normal expression of a tendency toward defining a communal identity. It was one of the main acts in the process of the ethnicity in central Aetolia, and perhaps it also masks an organisation by an informal communal institution. This development presupposes a strong egalitarian consciousness among most groups. For this reason, I believe that the establishment of the cult at that time, and more specifically the cult of Apollo, was the outcome of group participation rather than the personal decision of a local ruler, who would have used the sanctuary as a source of influence and the cult activities as a means to strengthen his rule[442].

The connection of such an early sanctuary with population groups would have been reciprocal. The sanctuary would have contributed to the cohesion of the groups, and conversely, the self-defining process of the groups will have resulted in

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441. Cf. the remark by Sinn 1981, 42: "Olympia in seinem Verhältmis zur umgebendem Landshaft besser fassbar wird". To date, however, protogeometric finds from the territory of Olmpia are not recorded.

442. The second case has been supported by Kyrieleis, who argues that it fits Olympia of the eleventh century (n. 440). Nevertheless, as noted above the development of the settlement at Olympia in the Early Iron Age is also debatable. A general argument that would support the hypothesis of group participation in the establishment of a regional cult is that with an increase of population the importance of the leader's 'house' would be diminished (see Murray 1993, 65). I believe that such a change could occur especially in areas where the development of ethnic organisation had already begun. In practical terms one person or a small group would have been the agent for carrying out such a communal decision. A parallel phenomenon has been recently pointed out by Karajeorga 2008, 137-140 regarding the site Gortsuli at Mantineia: There, at the end of the eighth century, the inhabitants of the community established a common cult on the west slope of the Mycenaean acropolis, an event that was also a decisive step toward the organisation of the polis state of Mantineia.

the promotion of the sanctuary as a place of more than local significance. Thus central Aetolia acquired a sanctuary that legitimated and articulated a "community".

It is likely that the sanctuary even later, in the early Archaic period, was not dependent on any single large nucleated settlement (for which there is no archaeological evidence so far) or on a single local group that would have had exclusive interest in and care of the cult, as was the case with the sanctuaries at Isthmia, Kalapodhi and elsewhere. The care that would have been necessary for the construction and fine decoration of the seventh century temples at Thermos, which indeed surpass those of other local sanctuaries in ethnic areas, shows mainly that the groups connected with the sanctuary were able to coordinate their efforts.

In the wider area of Thermos there were other local sanctuaries, such as those at Taxiarchis and Chrysovitsa. In so far as it is known, none are as old as Thermos. They developed later, in the seventh century and correspond to communities whose remains have not survived or been discovered[443]. These sanctuaries, however, never acquired the importance of Thermos, nor did they play any role beyond the limits of their own area. Yet the practice of the same ritual of holocaust sacrifices in these neighbouring centres should be noted and may indicate that they took over this practice after it came to an end at Thermos. This common feature does not imply the same tribal identity, but rather a common ideological perception of worship and cultural continuity. Moreover there is an hierarchical relationship as well, since the ash altar at Thermos was earlier and larger. This archaeological feature acquires symbolic content that can contribute to an historical understanding of the development of ethnic identity in Aetolia under the vanguard of Thermos within a circle of communities that adopted the same ritual features, regardless of the recipient deity or the object of worship.

The early relationship between the sanctuary and Aetolian population groups is undeniable. During the time of the Confederacy, Thermos was for the ethnos-state what the acropolis and the temple were for the city-states, occupying a position corresponding to the centre of the city. Hence the remark of Polybius (V 8, 6) that the site of Thermos was such ὥστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰτωλίας οἷον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν τάξιν, while it aims to point out that the site is a natural stronghold, also has a symbolic ring. The monumental appearance of Thermos in Hellenistic times corresponds to this conception of the sanctuary (fig. 50)[444].

In the eighth century many sanctuaries began to function close to or within cities and in areas of *ethne*; some even acquire temples. Delphi, Kalapodhi, Pherai and Philia, Isthmia, Perachora, Asine, Aigeira and Tegea are among the most splendid sanctuaries in the Greek world of that time. The founding of a

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443. See n. 224, 225. See also Bommeljé, Doorn 1987, 21, who note that the mountain region of Aetolia has proved to have more antiquities than hitherto known. Their dates, however, have yet to be determined.

444. Papapostolou 1994.



Fig. 53. View of the sanctuary at Thermos from the northwest: 1. temple of Apollo, 2. temple of "Artemis", 3. temple of Lyseios, 4. Megaron A. 1915.

temple was an extremely important event as the hymn to Apollo makes clear: some places had only an altar. Delphi alone had a temple of Apollo (*Hymn Hom. Ap.* 85-89, 221, 285-299, 523). This is confirmed by the archaeological evidence according to which the first temple at Delphi was built around the middle of the seventh century.

It was not until the end of the seventh century that the Thermos sanctuary was given a monumental appearance, with the dedication of a temple on the site of the ash altar, after the temenos where the sacrifices were performed had been defined with the slabs of the elliptical enclosure. The demarcation of a temenos preceded the founding of temples, a circumstance found also at other, greater sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Isthmia and others[445]. At the same time, two smaller temples were built in the same place at Thermos. All three temples stood next to each other (fig. 53). A similar phenomenon in Greece occurs at the

445. Kyrieleis 2006, 50-55; Gebhard 1999, 212. Cf. Ulf 1997, 48.

Pallantion in Arcadia with the founding of four temples (seventh-sixth cent.) and more examples are to be found in Magna Graecia[446]. The clustering of cult buildings may have had comparable origins and purposes. At Thermos it evidently shows that the cult had expanded, that more groups were taking part and that it was necessary to serve various religious goals.

During the eighth century bronze and iron votives appear that are similar to those found at other contemporary sanctuaries. The north room of the old Megaron B may have served as a treasury. Many of these objects were buried in the fill introduced for the construction of the Apollo temple. If we consider that most such dedications were found in regional sanctuaries[447], we can draw the same conclusion about Thermos, since more metal objects have been found here than in all Aetolia, although only a small number of them has survived. To the best of my knowledge bronze cauldrons as votives have not come to light elsewhere in Aetolia, underlining the eminence and gradual dominance of the sanctuary[448]. Thermos must have attracted the interest also of communities that did not belong to the same, perhaps organised, nearby settlements. Since the votives come from various areas, it is possible that pilgrims and travelers from both neighboring and distant regions came to Thermos.

Whether the sanctuary had begun to function as an assembly place for the people of central Aetolia remains uncertain, but it cannot be ruled out that this may have occurred in particularly urgent situations or even at regular intervals for cult purposes and rites of passage, at which times exchanges and commercial transactions would also have taken place[449]. Athletic competitions may have been held as well, as suggested by the ridden horse figurine (pl. 88). Most studies of the Early Iron Age emphasise the positive effect of the connections made through

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446. Østby 1992-93. For comments on the temples at Pallantion see Morgan 2003, 155-156, and for similar examples in Magna Graeca, Bergquist 1992.

447. Snodgrass 1977, repr. in Snodgrass 2006, 216-217; 1989, 31; Reservations: Dickinson 2006a, 236. A number of important votives in regional sanctuaries such as the tripod cauldrons that were "a symbol for aristocracy" (Kyrieleis 1996, 101-103) can signify competitive claims for power as well as personal religious attitudes and the need to be thought worthy through participation in a common cult.

448. In Thessaly also tripod cauldrons have been found only in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, but not in the sanctuary of Enodia at Pherae (Kilian Dirlmeier 2002, 251).

449. An apparently atypical and occasional assembly is the ἀγορή summoned by Telemachos (*Od*. II, 6-259), which was not composed of members of an organised body, but of all members of the community or of several communities (πάντες λαοί, *Od*. II, 13, λαῶν ἔθνος, Il XIII, 445, and see further verses in Donlan 1985, 299 n. 24). In Ithaca again the κάρη κομόωντες Achaeans gather in the σκιερὸν grove of Apollo (*Od*. XX, 277-278). See also Raaflaub 2006, 456-457 on Homeric gatherings and their communal character.

festivals and other activities on the forging of a consciousness of self and of 'other', of differences and similarities, and hence on the fostering of ethnicity[450].

Here we should again recall the basic reason for the development and continuous use of Thermos —its geographical location in central Aetolia, at the crossroads of communication from the mountains of Panaitolikon to the lakes and from the banks of the Acheloos to the valleys of the Euenus river. Thermos thus became a cult place commonly accepted by people moving through the area as a place where tolerance and safety could be found. Perhaps Thermos offered the strangers, (who might come here for the exchange of goods, for example), apart from the ξένια, also the Homeric δωτίνη (*Il.* IX, 155, 297, *Od.* XI, 350-353). According to a recent interpretation by Beate Wagner-Hasel, the word is an abstract term for several specific acts, including also the πομπή, the procession of men for the protection or honourary escort of a stranger[451]. Matters concerning the relations between communities may have been settled at Thermos. In later times the sanctuary might have signified the boundary between ancient and acquired Aetolia[452]. As the roads of communication fanned out from Thermos, so too would have radiated the religious, commercial and social importance of the place, which provided it with the prerequisites of a community sanctuary.

Comparison with the development and emergence of other local, and, eventually, regional and communal sanctuaries, in ethnic regions such as Phocis, or in Thessaly, where group identities were also being forged, shows the individuality of every place. Differentiation of the communities, geographic and other factors, therefore, are vital criteria for defining *ethne* and *poleis*. In some regions the influence of sanctuaries and cult on the development of ethnic identity may have began early. I believe that at Thermos some community activities originated as early as the eighth century. The strongest indications lie in the extent and variety of ritual activity, beginning in the eighth century with the ash altar, the bothroi and the accompanying votives. The beginnings of ethnic development in the eighth century is assumed for Eleia as well, on the basis of its mythical 'stratigraphy' and as a consequence of the settling of new groups from the northwest that joined with other, earlier settlers as well as with local people[453].

During the eighth century, Thermos was still isolated, a situation that perhaps did not pertain in the coastal centres of southwest Aetolia. For central and mountainous Aetolia, however, Thermos was the centre that was needed to coalesce

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450. See Ulf 2006, 31-36, on the broader composition and ceremonies of the festivals with references; Dietler, Hayden 2001b, 7-18. The combination of various activities (ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις, according to Polyb. V 8, 5) was retained by Thermos of the Aetolian League to the end (Papapostolou 1994, 511; Ligt de Neeve 1988, 394-395).

451. Wagner-Hasel 2006, 264-266.

452. See p. 163. On this matter cf. Woodhouse 1897, 56-57.

453. Gehrke 2005, 37, 47.

groups and ultimately forge an ethnic identity and, perhaps, even to encourage antagonism toward the other Aetolia.

We are thus not far from historical truth if we accept that in the centre of Aetolia, at Thermos, a communal and a religious centre co-existed already as early as the eighth century. The act of founding a temple toward the end of the seventh century, a clear and incontrovertible sign of such a community, does not occur without a preceding process and experience. This amounts to a political–religious development that is equivalent to that of the polis, and yet is, at the same time, different in its prerequisites and consequences.

CATALOGUES

UNITS OF SHERDS ACCORDING TO THE YEAR FOUND

Year	Unit	Strat. trench	Horizon	Latest	Most	Notes
92	1	1	LH	LH IIIC	Myc.	
92	2	1	LH	LH IIIC		Included п21
92	3	1	LH	LH IIIB-C		Included п22
92	5	1	LH	LH IIIB-C	Myc.	
92	11	1	LH	LH IIIB-C	Myc.	
92	14	3	MH	Myc.	LBA	Included п12,14
92	16	3	EIA (Meg. B)	Myc.	LBA	
92	17	1	LH	LH IIIV	Myc.	
92	39α	6α	EIA (Meg. B)	Myc		
92	41	4	MH	LBA	LBA	
93	62	16	LH	Myc.	Myc.	
93	64	16	LH	Myc.	Myc.	
93	65α	16	LH	Myc.		Included п41, 42
93	66	16	Ellipt. enclosure	IA	IA	
93	73	10	"	Myc.		
93	74	10	"	IA	Myc.	
93	77	10	"			
93	79	10	"			
93	80	10	"	Geo/Arch.		
93	81	10	"			
93	82	10	"	Geo/Arch.	Myc.	
93	83	10	Ash altar	Myc.	LBA	
93	84	10	Ellipt. enclosure			
93	89	1	EIA (Meg. B)	Myc.		
93	90	1	EIA	(Meg. B)	Myc.	
94	6	14	EIA (Meg. B)	IA	Myc.	Included п55
94	96	10	Ash altar	Myc.		
94	98	10	Ellipt. enclosure			Sherds of п52α
94	100	10	Ash altar	Myc.	Myc.	
94	102	11	»	Geo/Arch	IA	Sherds of п52,52α
94	103	South pits	»	IA	Myc.	
94	104	»	»	Myc.		
94	105	11	»	IA		Sherds of п52
94	107	11	»	IA		Sherds of п52
94	108	11	»	IA		Sherds of п52, 52a
94	111	S of Meg. B	Ellipt. enclosure	IA	IA/Myc.	
94	114	»				
95	1	15	Ellipt. enclosure	Geo/Arch	Geo/Arch	

Year	Unit	Strat. trench	Horizon	Latest	Most	Notes
95	4	15	LH			
95	11	15	Ellipt. enclosure	Geo/Arch		
95	14	15	»	IA		
95	14α	15	»	IA		
95	21	Under the slabs	»	IA	Myc.	Included π58
95	24α	9	»	Geo/Arch		
96	32	10	Ash altar	Geo/Arch		
96	35	10	»	Myc.		
96	36	Pathway	LH	LH III C		
96	53	18a	Ash altar	IA		
96	53α	18	»	IA		
96	57	1β	»	IA		Included π69,70,71
96	59	1β	Constr.arch.temple	Geo/Arch		
96	59α	1β	»	»		Included π72,72$^{\alpha}$
96	59β	1β	»	»		
96	61	1γ	LH	Myc.		Included π74
96	64	1β	Constr.arch.temple			
96	π 66	1α	Ash altar	IA		
97	76	19	»	IA		
97	100	22	Constr.arch.temple	Myc.		
97	101	22	»	Myc.		
97	104	22	LH	LH II A?	Myc.	Vapheio cups sherds
97	108	21	Constr.arch.temple	Myc.		
97	110	24	EIA (Meg.B)	LH III B		
97	114	22	LH	MH (trad.)	LBA ?	Included π93
97	115	22	»			Included π95
97	116	24	»	Myc.		
98	119	15	Ellipt. enclosure	IA		
98	122	18β	EIA (Meg.B)	IA		
99	124-127	1γα	Constr.arch.temple	Geo/Arch		
99	129-131	1γα	»	»		
2000	151	5	Constr.arch.temple	Geo/Arch	IA	
2000	152	5	Ash altar	IA		
2000	153	5	»	IA		
2000	154	5	»	IA		
2000	155	5	»	IA		
2000	164	5	»	IA	Myc.	
2003	177	29	LH	LH III C		
2003	179	29	EIA (Meg. B)	Myc.		
2003	π 101	29	»	Myc.		
2003	π 102	29	»	LH III C		
2003	π 103	29	»	L;H III C		
2007	3	Meg. A	MH	16th century		
2007	4	»	MH	»		
2007	5	»	MH	»		
2007	187	30 (rock 'altar')		EIA		
2007	189	Circular constructions	EIA (Meg. B)		LH IIIC	
2007	190	»	»		»	

IRON OBJECTS

Excavation number	Museum number	Sort	Associated units of sherds	Strat. Trench	Dating
M 37/93	591	Knife 132X19	73,74/93	10	Eighth century
M 38/92	592	Spear-head 61X19	74/93	10	Eighth century and later
M 39/93	594	Spear butt 96	74/93	10	Eighth century and later
M 40/93	595	Sickle-shaped knife 165X25	74/93	10	Eighth century and later
M 41/93	596	Spear head 167X31	74/93	South built pit	Eighth century and later
M 43/94	597	Spear head 194X37	22/94		Eighth century and later
M 44/94	598	Dart	3/94	Level of use of Megaron B	Eighth century
M 45/94	599	Knife		Ash-layer (trench 7)	Eighth century
M 46/94	600	Spear head (fragment)		Above the ash altar (trench 7)	Seventh century
M 64/99	606	Sword (Naue, type)	124-131/99	1γα (destruction level of Meg. B)	Eighth century
M 69/2000	588α	Spear butt	153-155 160,164/2000	5α	Eighth-seventh centuries
M 70/2000	588β	»	»	»	»
M 72/2000	587	Spear head	»	»	Eighth century (2nd quarter)

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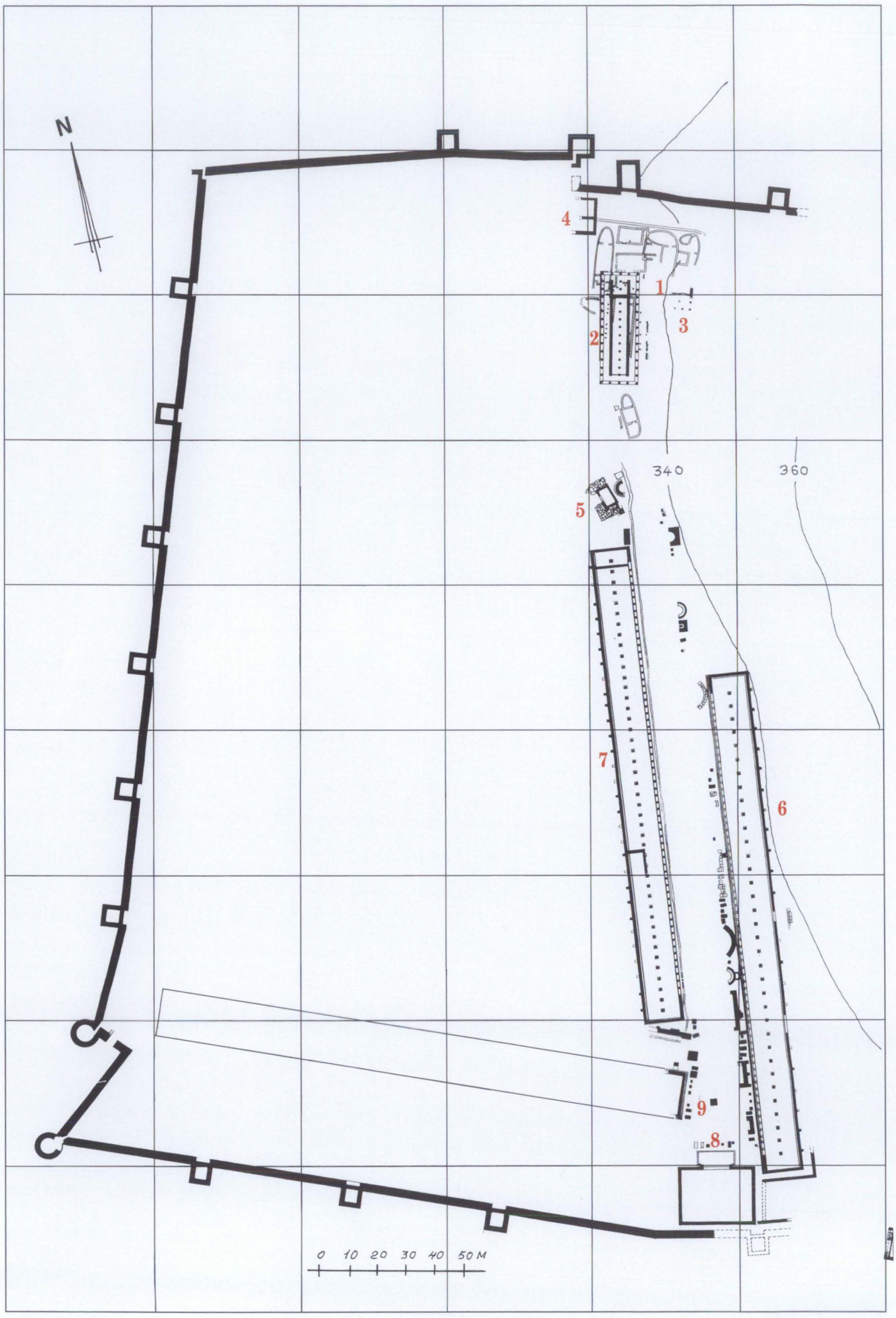
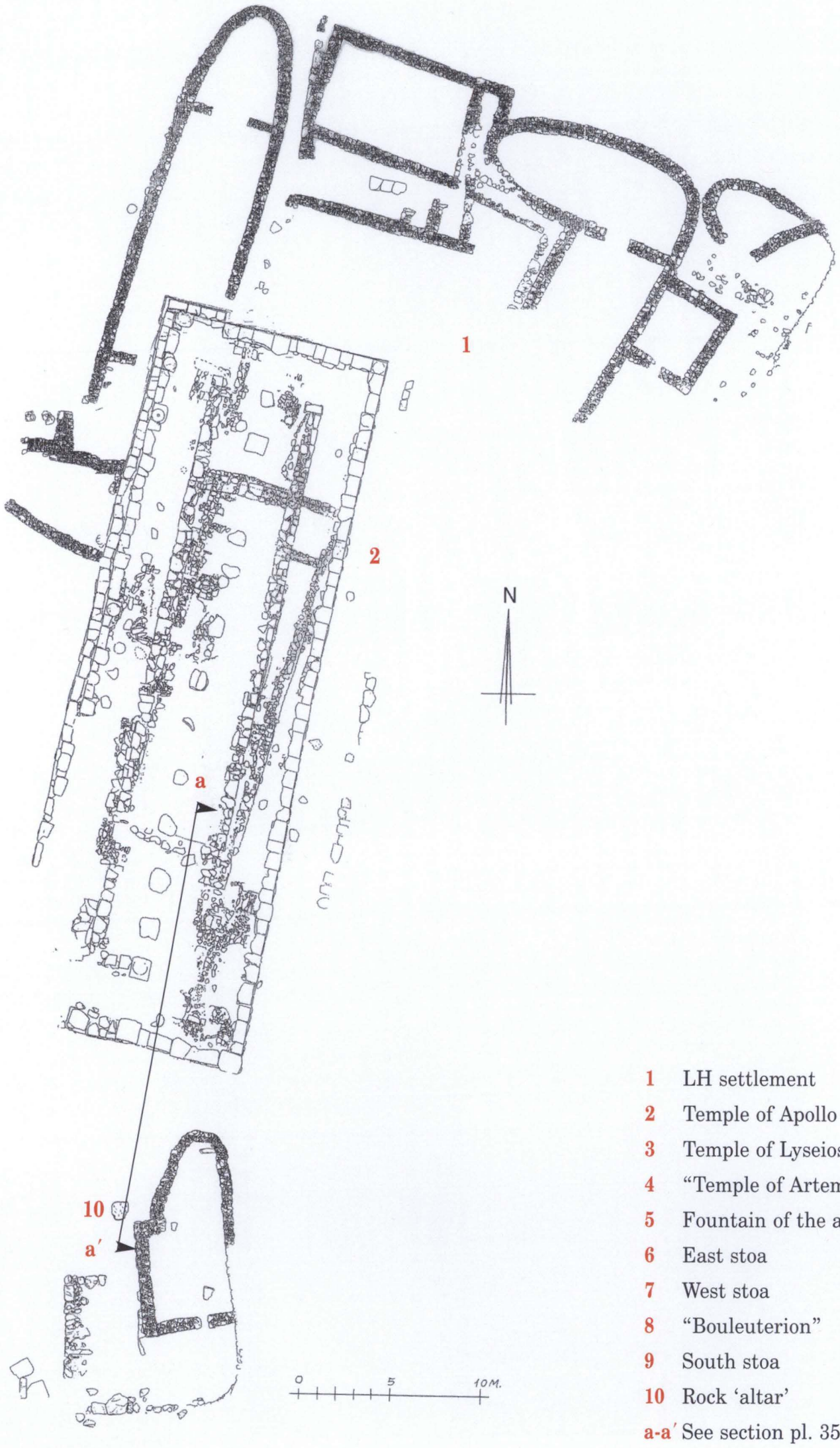
PLATES



The sanctuary and the agora at Thermos.



Plans of the archaeological site of Thermos.



1 LH settlement
2 Temple of Apollo and Megaron B
3 Temple of Lyseios
4 “Temple of Artemis”
5 Fountain of the agora
6 East stoa
7 West stoa
8 “Bouleuterion”
9 South stoa
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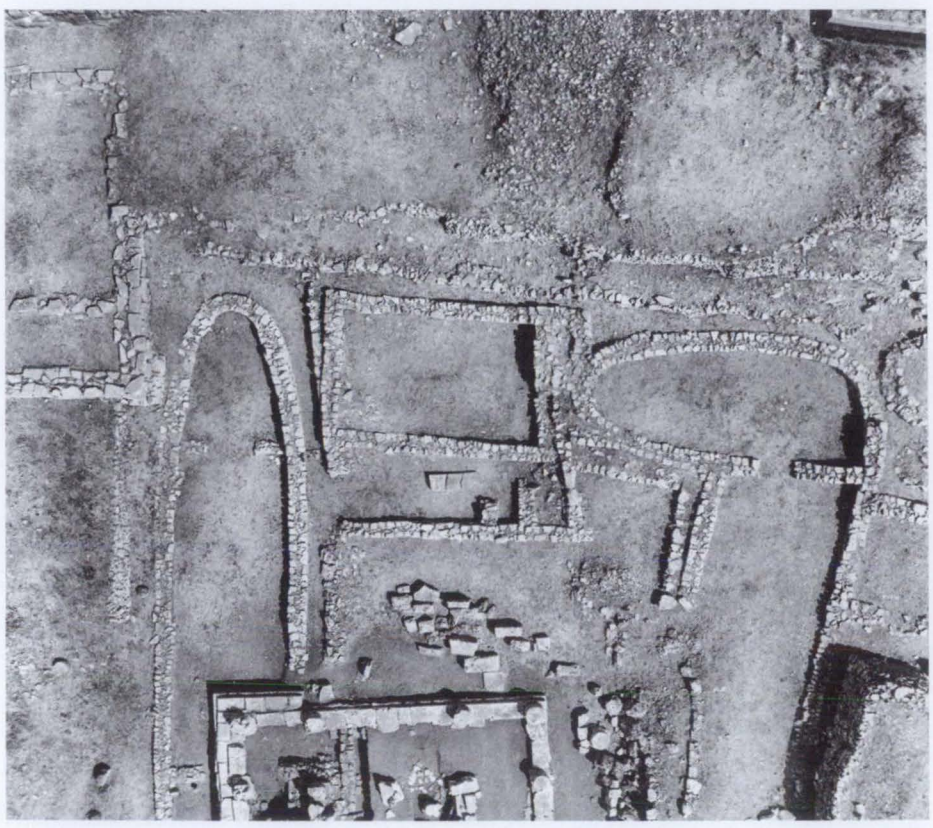
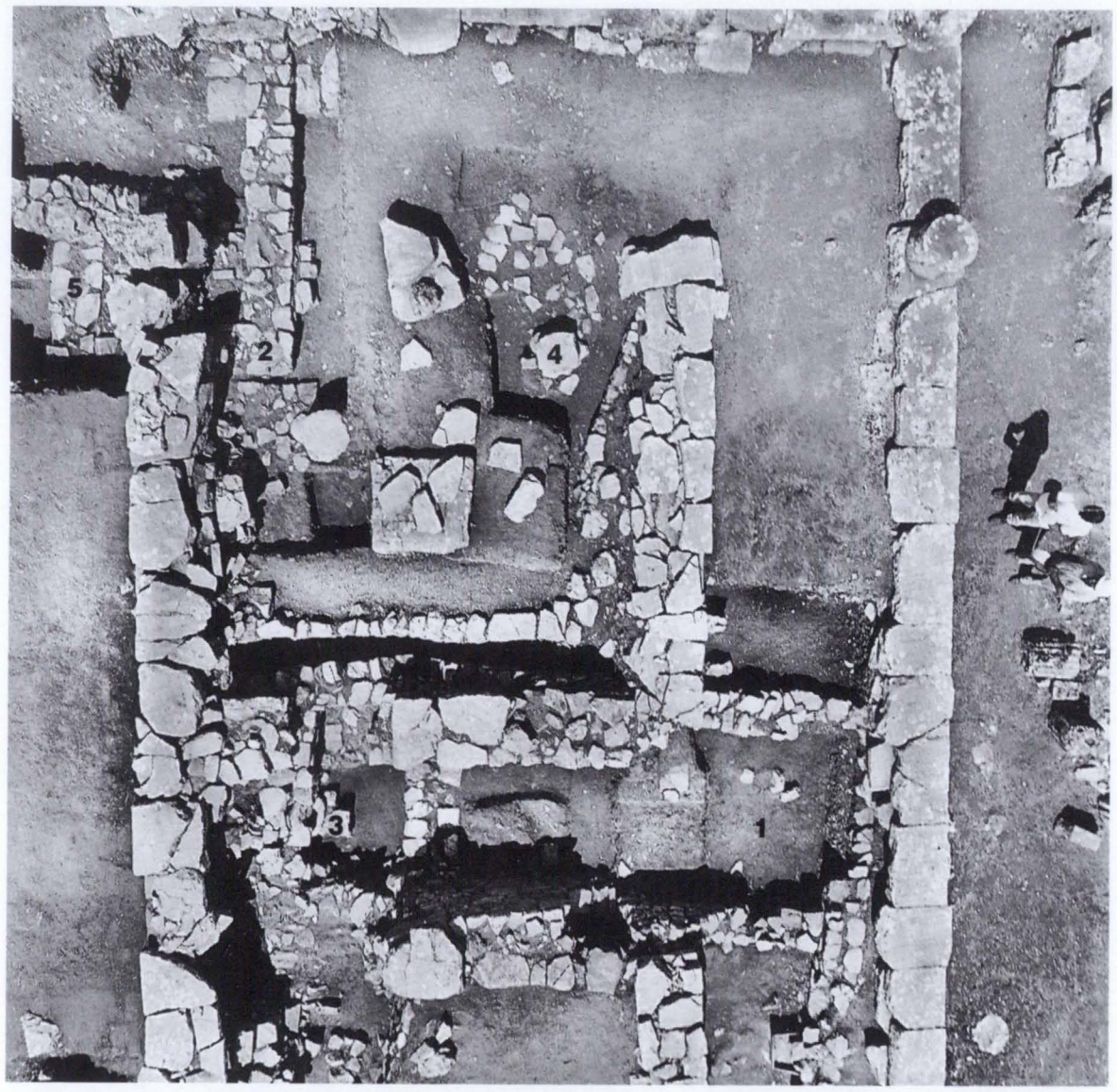
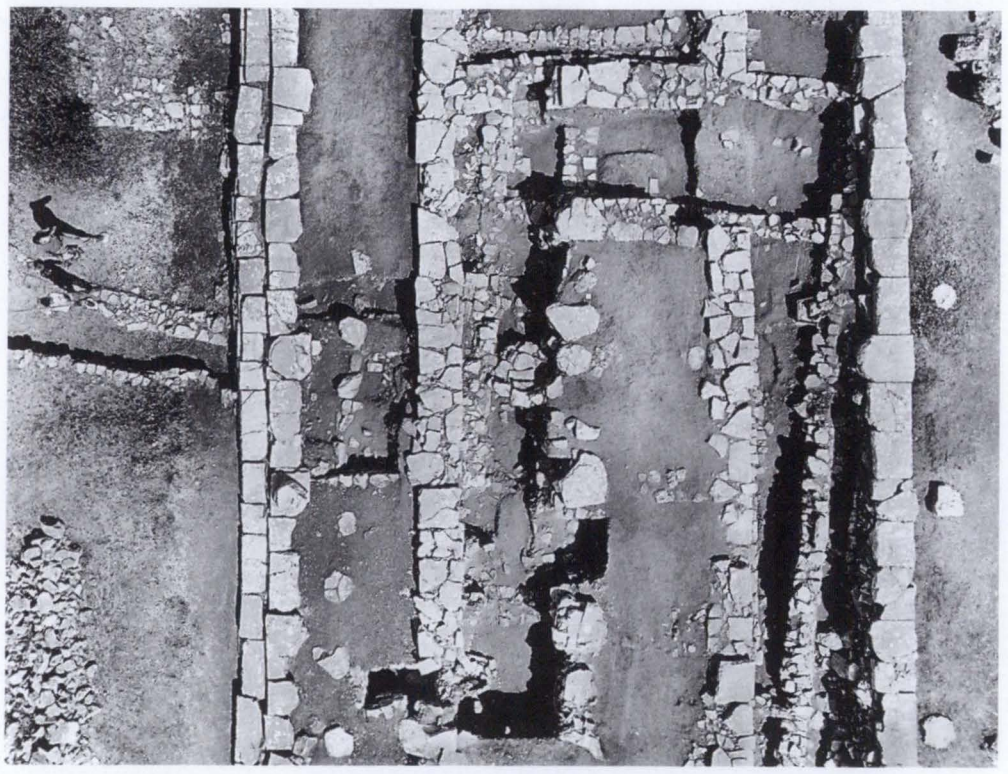
PLATE 4





a. The excavation beneath the temple of Apollo. At the right the temple of Apollo Lyseios.
b. The LH settlement. At the left, part of the "temple of Artemis".

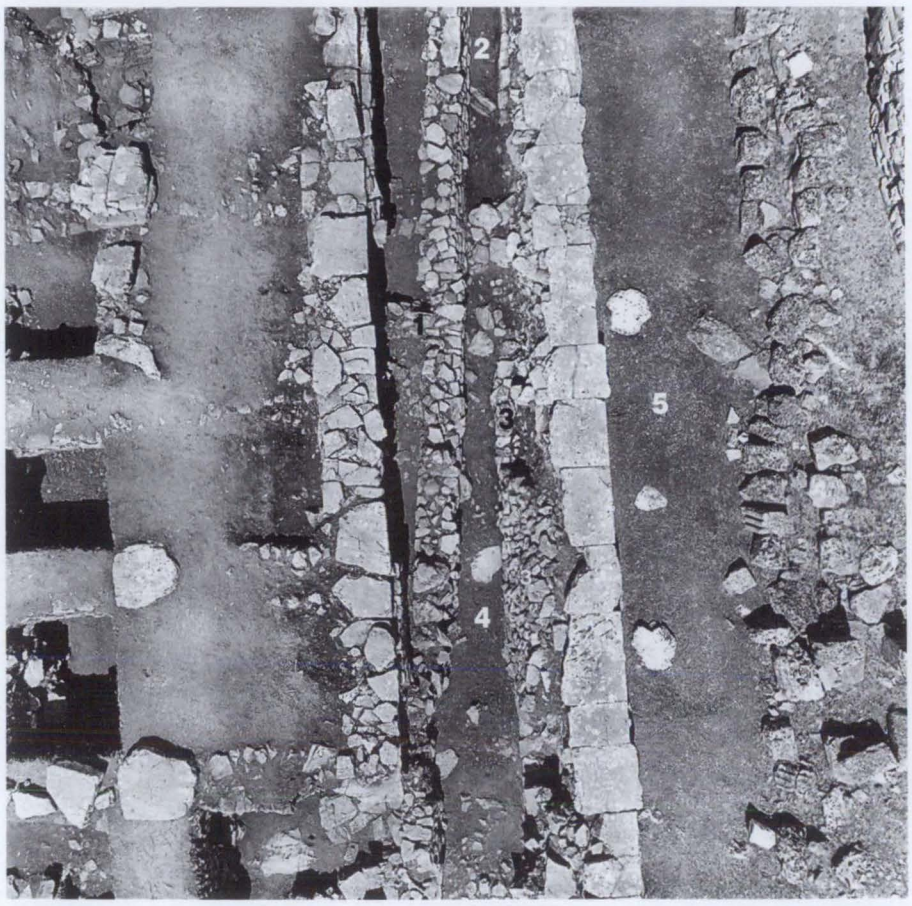




a. North part of the temple and of Megaron B. **1** *north room,* **2** *corner of walls Δ-E,* **3** *wall I,* **4** *12th slab of the elliptical peribolos,* **5** *east wall of Megaron A. b. The north and middle parts of the temple and of Megaron B.*

PLATE 6





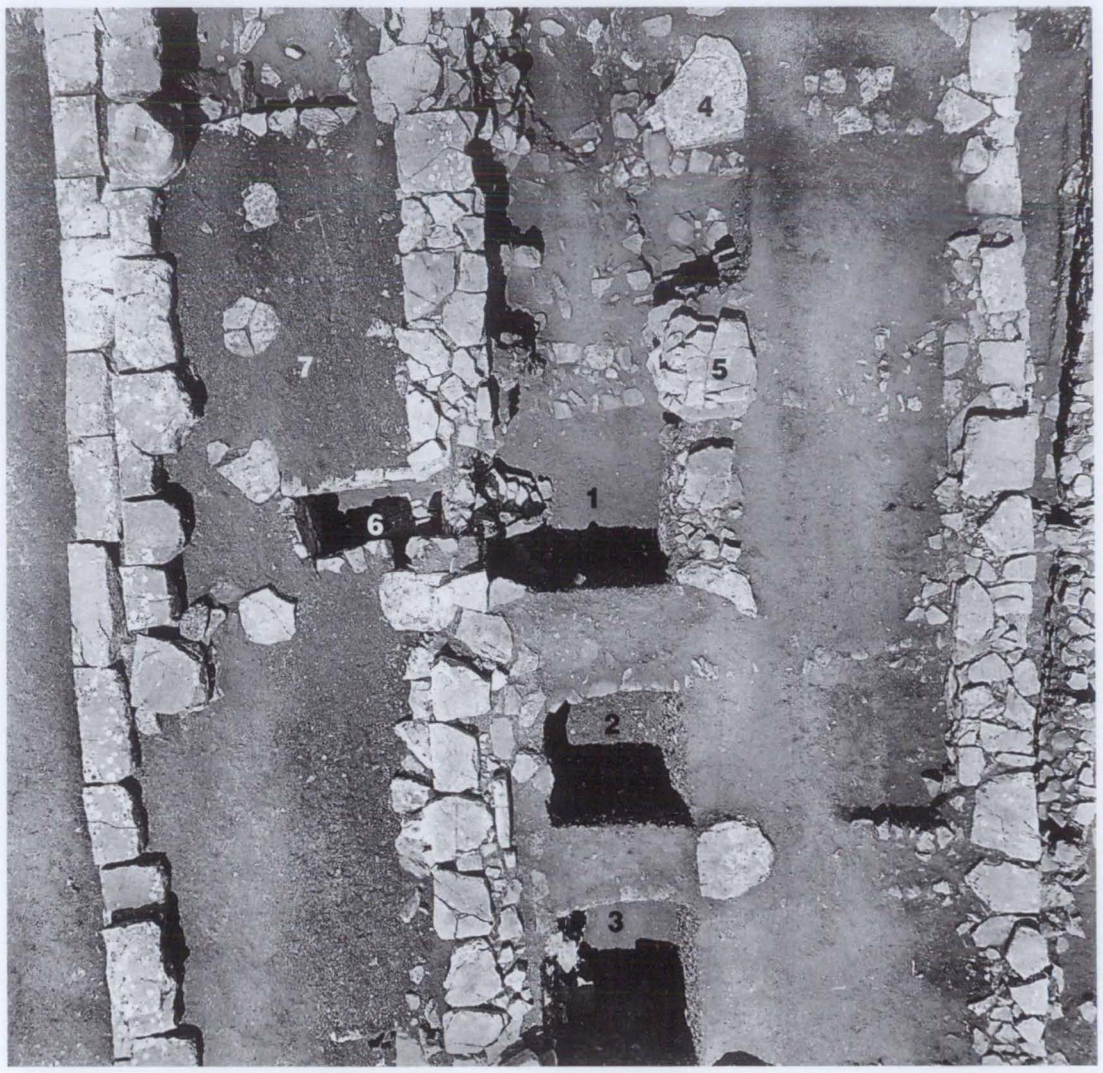
a. The middle and south parts of the temple and Megaron B. b. **1** *wall γ of Megaron B,* **2** *east retaining wall,* **3** *modern retaining wall,* **4** *LH slab paving,* **5** *east slabs of the elliptical peribolos.*

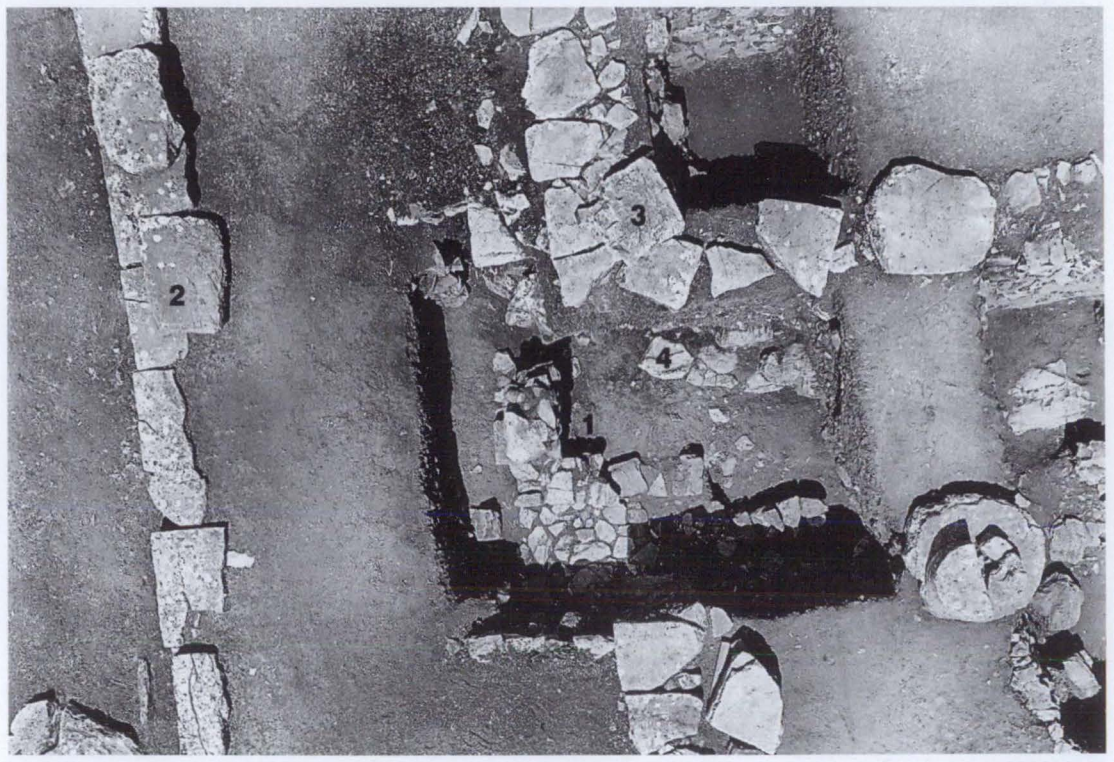




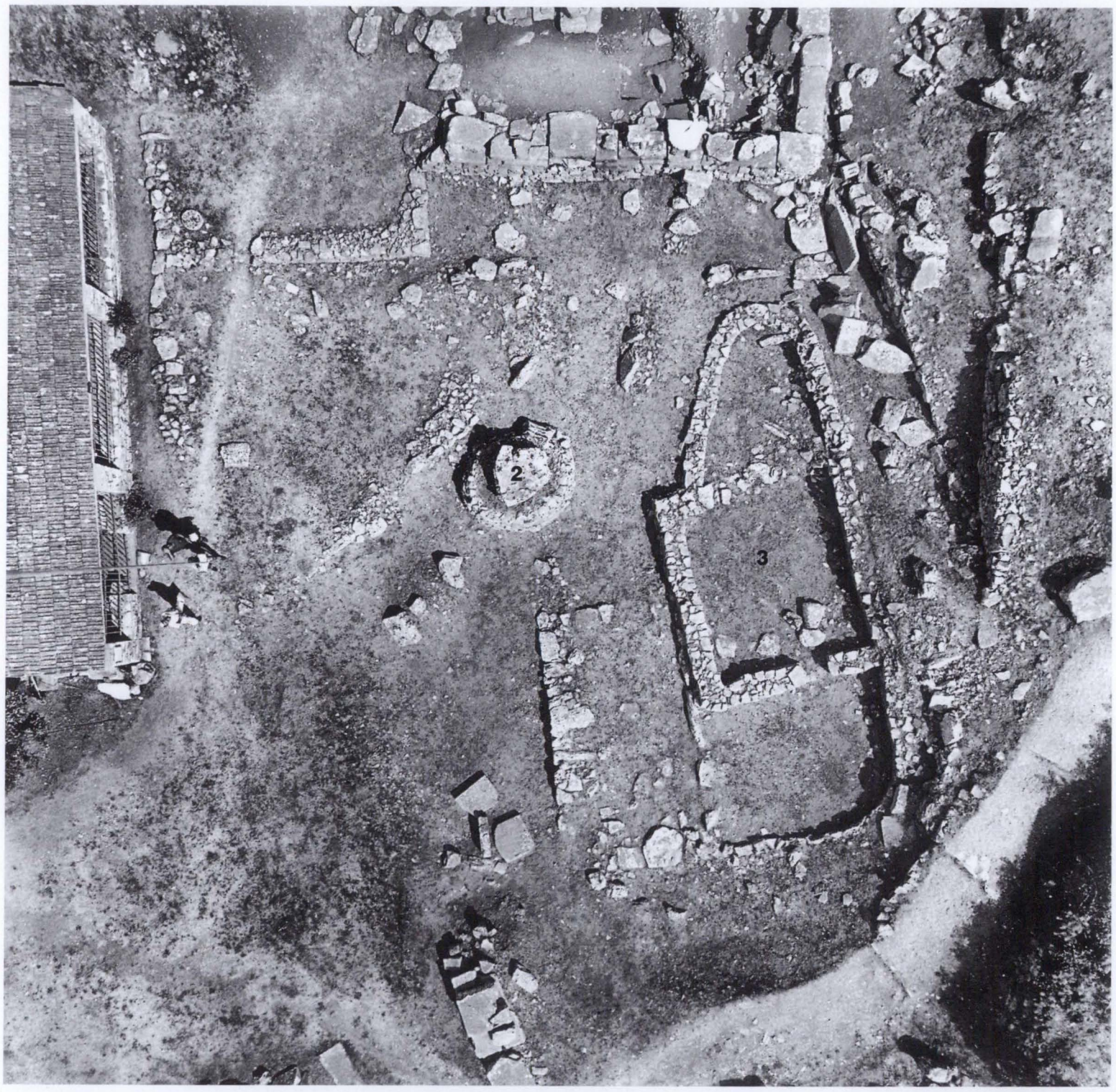
a. Southeast end of Megaron B. **1** *southeast corner,* **2** *"bothroi" (Romaios),* **3** *the paved pathway,* **4** *pavement,* **5** *sacred stone,* **6** *built pit,* **7** *circular constructions,* **8** *pits. b. West part.* **1** *LH apsidal building,* **2** *the trench between the 4th and the 5th slab of the elliptical peribolos,* **3** *pithos θ;* **4** *northwest corner of Megaron B.*

PLATE 8

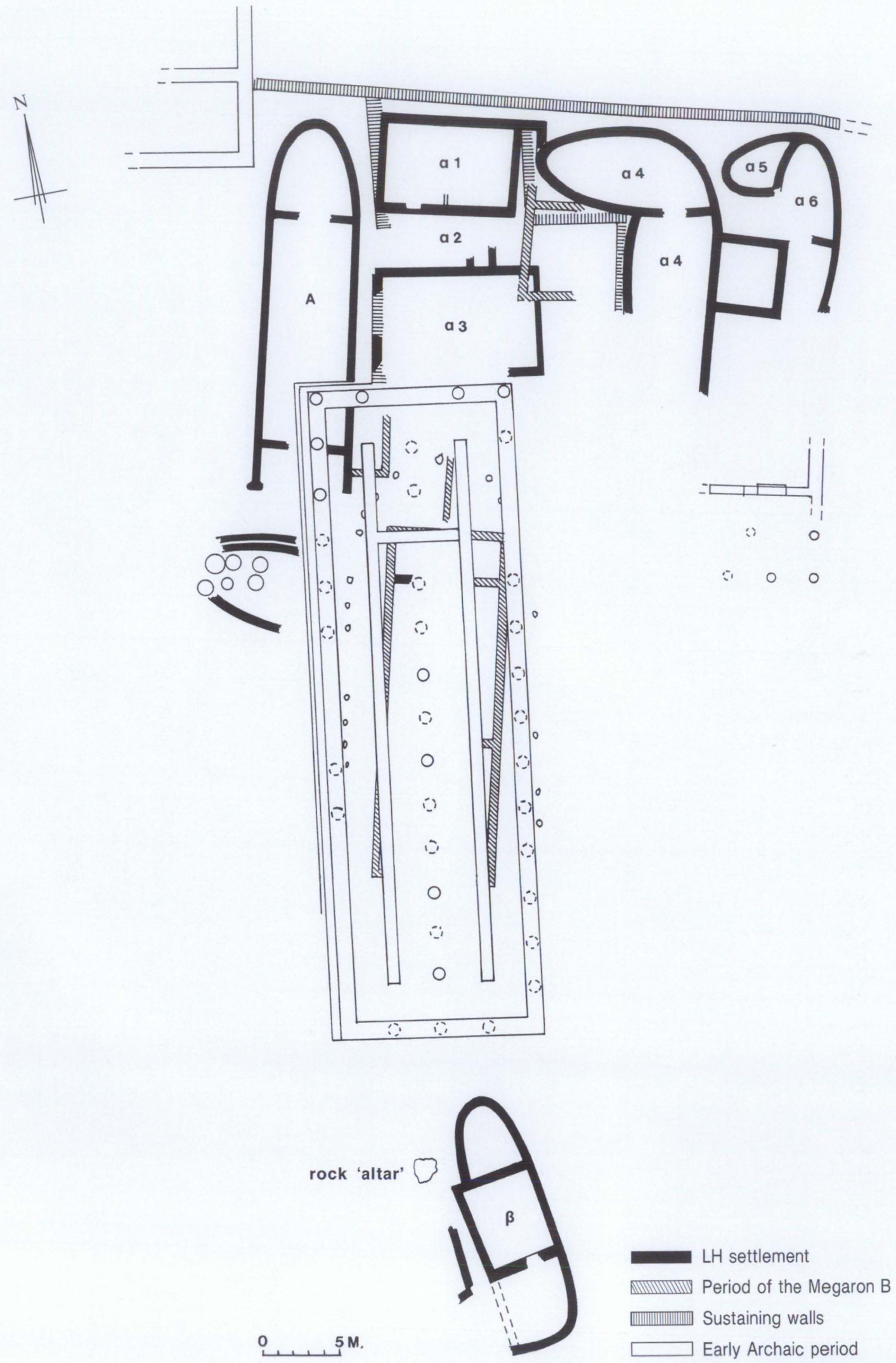




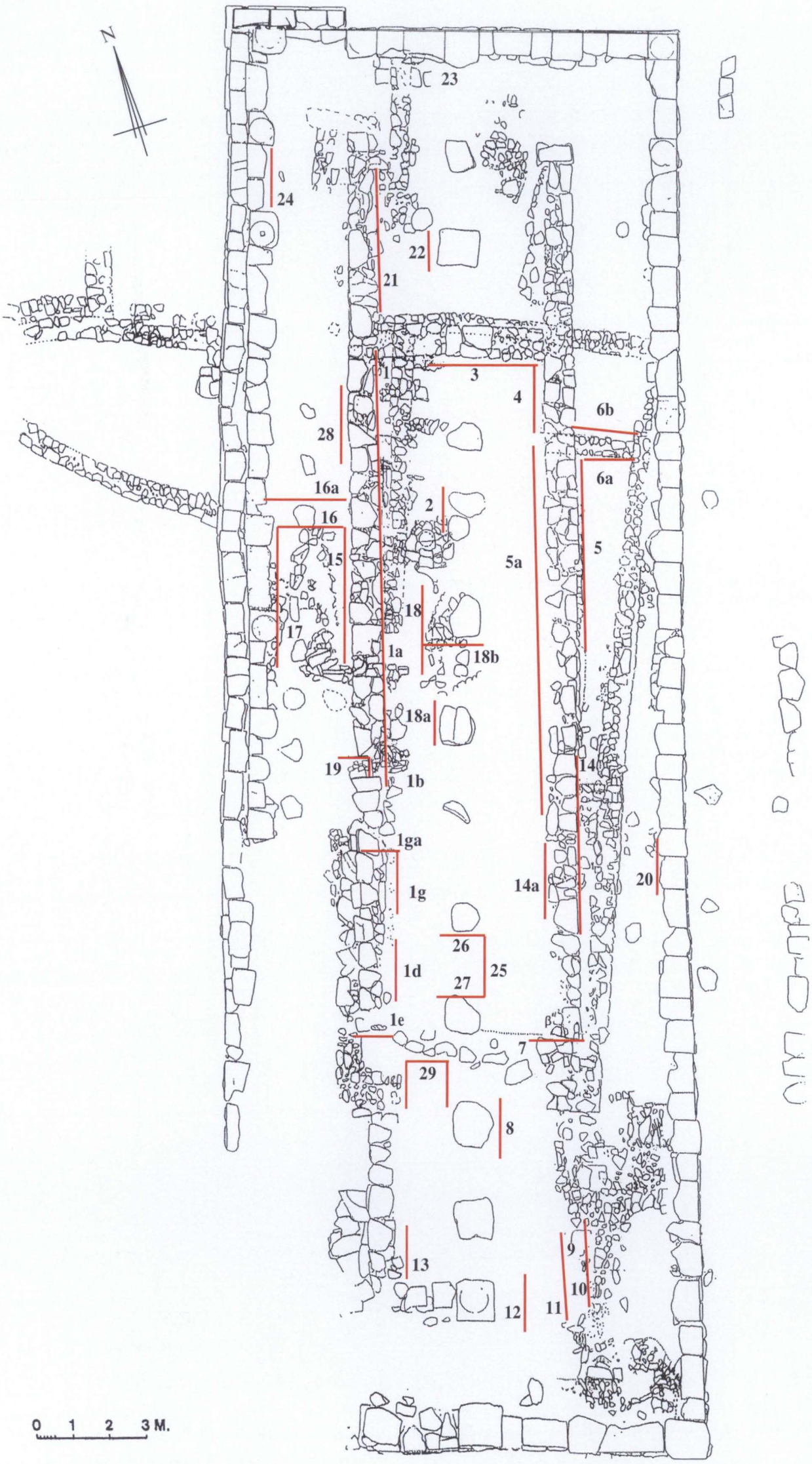
a. West part. **1 2 3** *sections 1β, 1γ, 1δ,* **4, 5** *8th and 7th bases of the interior colonnade.* **6** *section 19,* **7** *west slabs of the elliptical peribolos, b. Southwest end.* **1** *southwest corner of Megaron B,* **2** *west stylobate,* **3** *west wall of the cella,* **4** *wall Θ.*



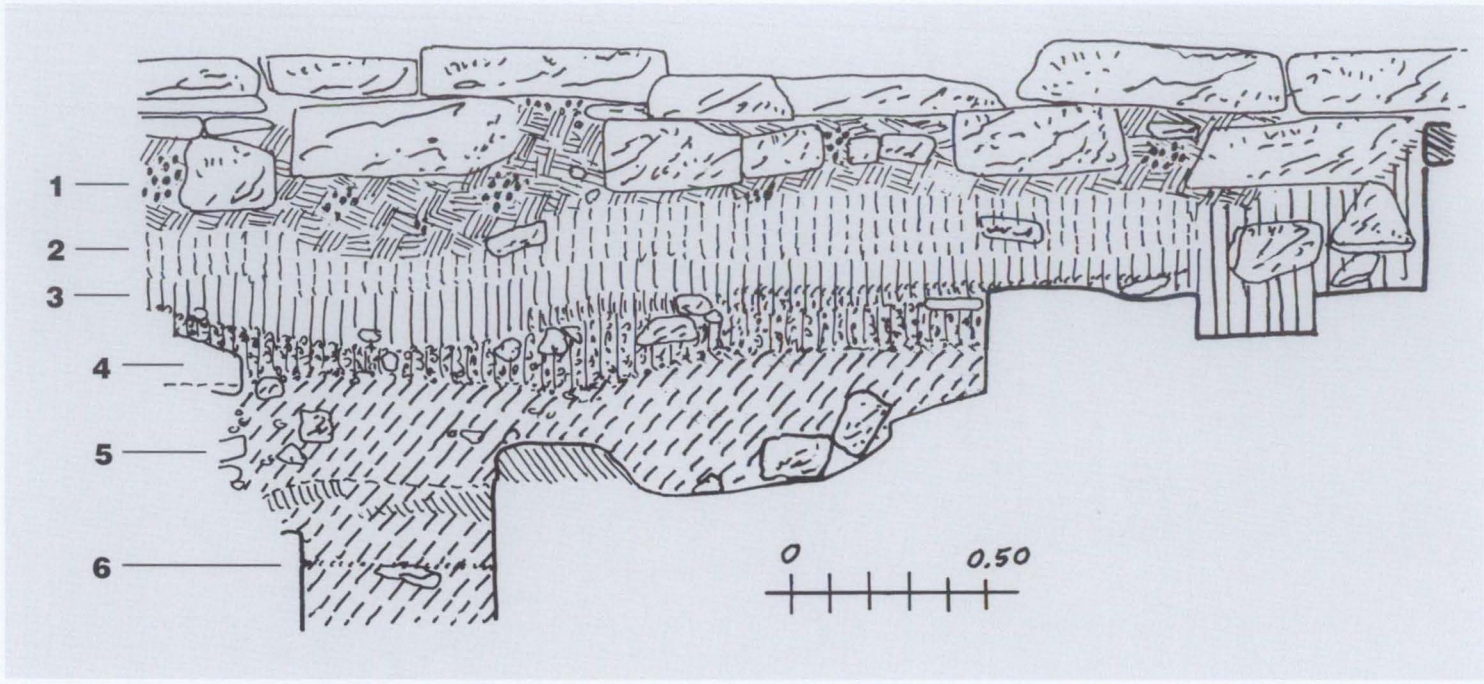
South end. **1** *circular constructions,* **2** *rock - 'altar',* **3** *late Helladic building β.*

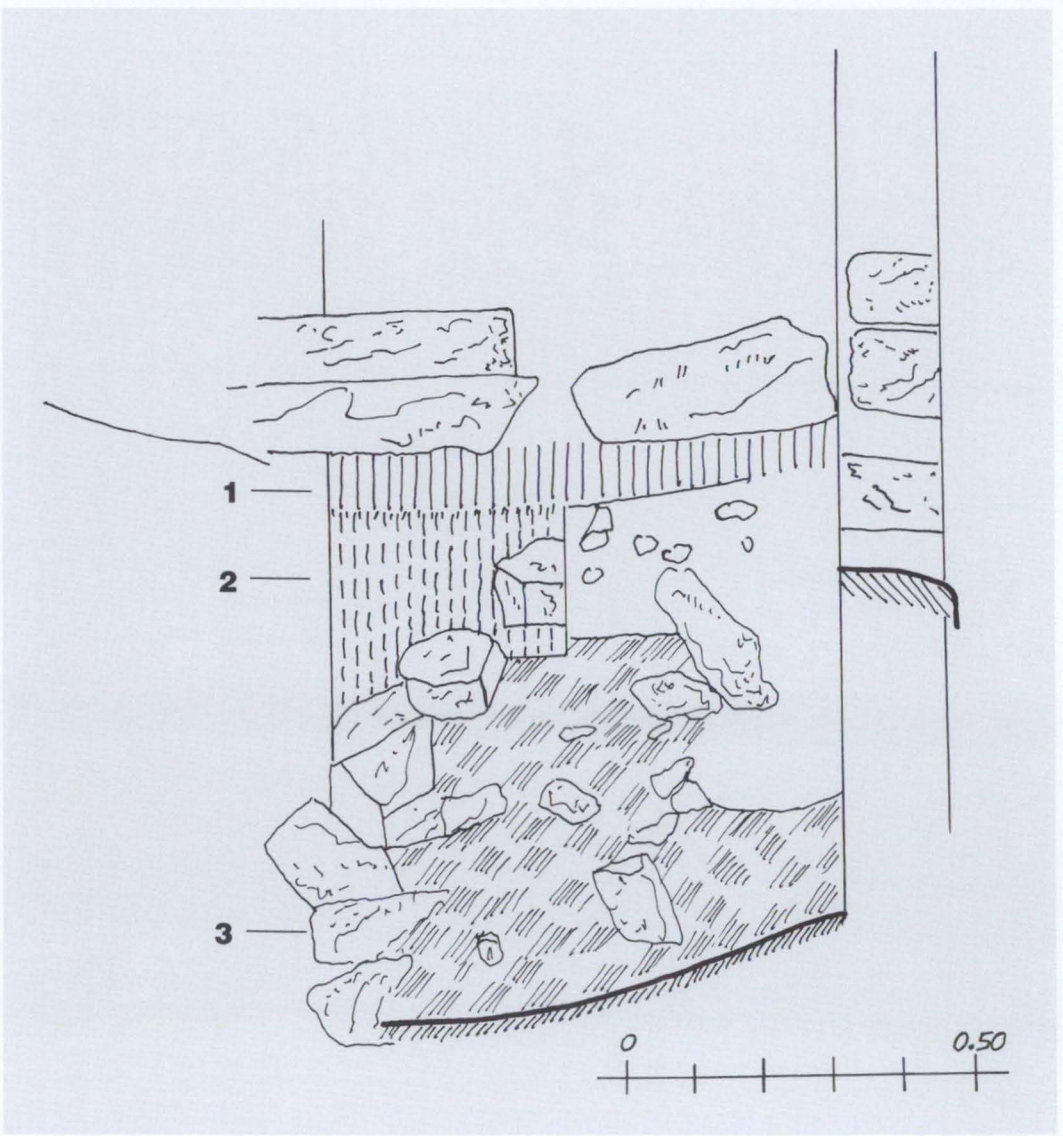


Plan of the Bronze Age settlement, Megaron B and the temples, 1915, 1916 (with additions and corrections).

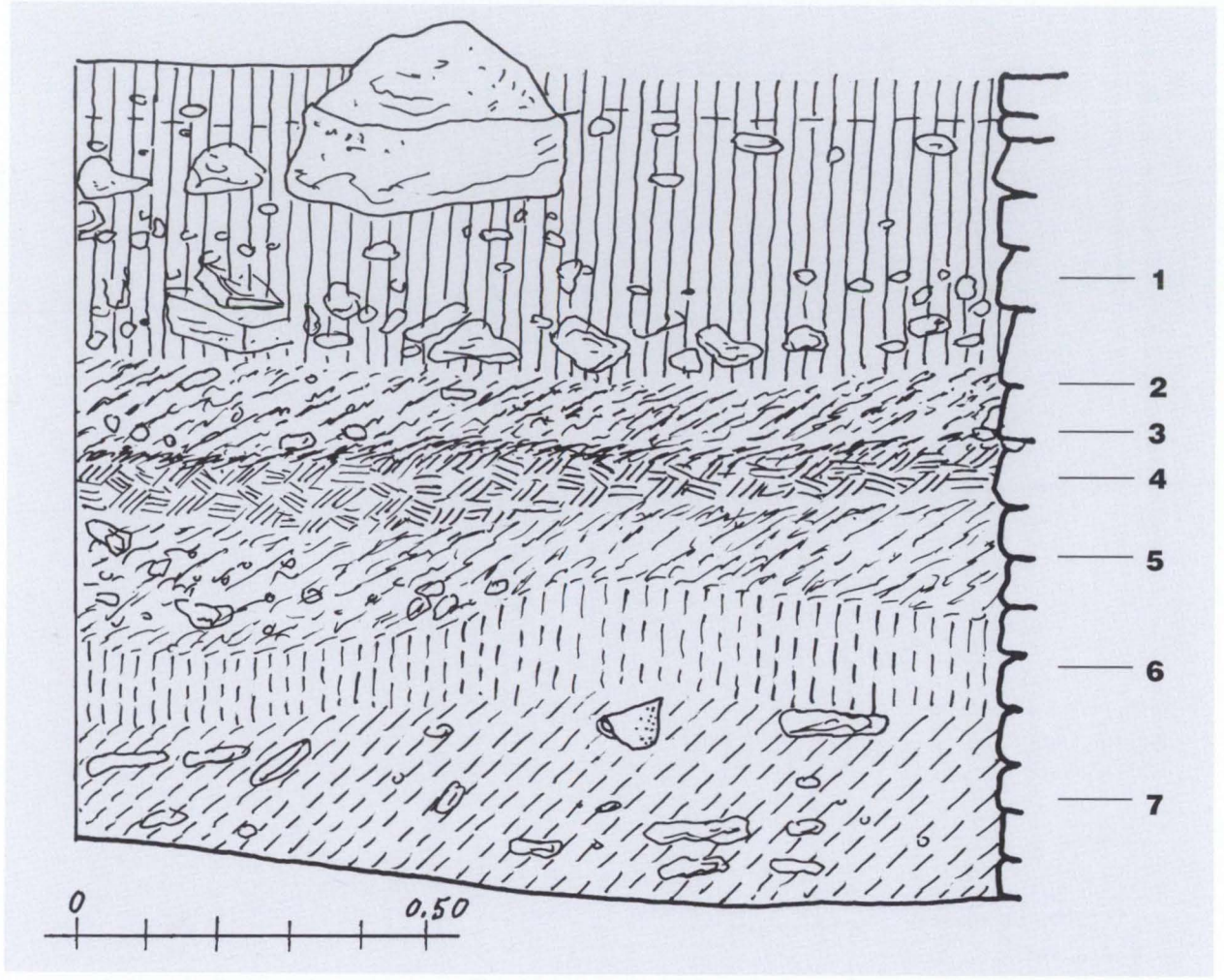


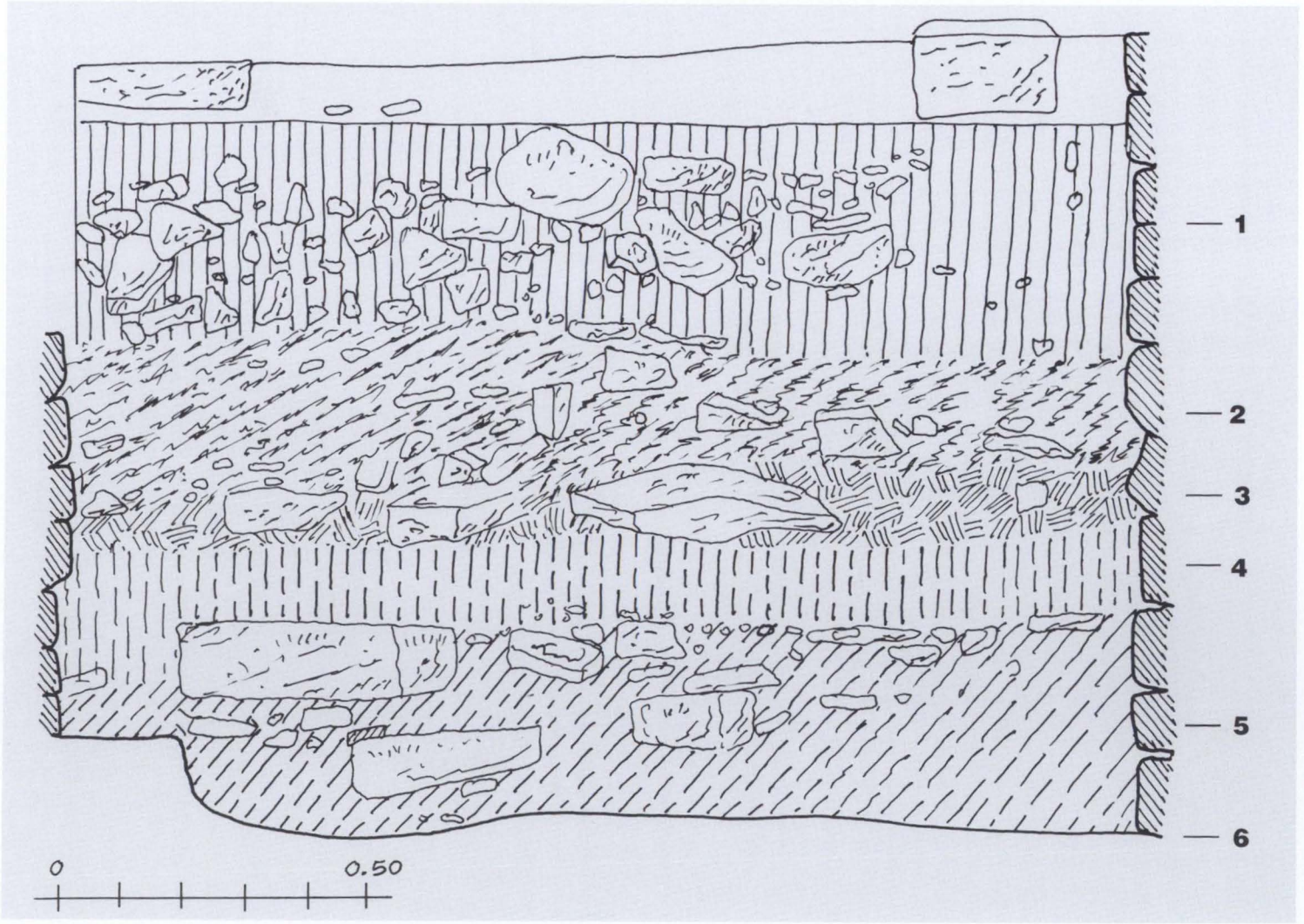
Sections through the stratigraphy beneath the temple of Apollo.



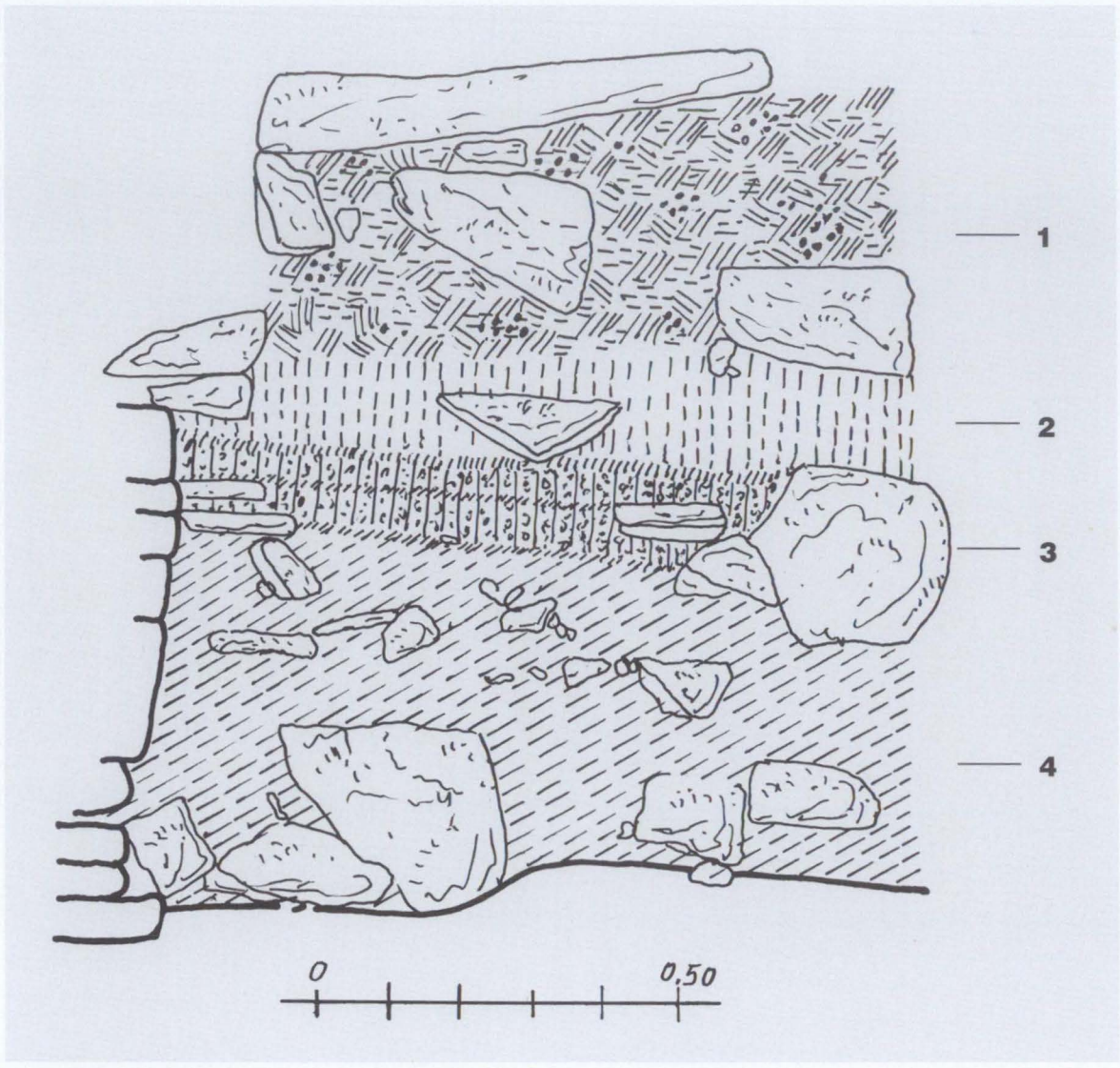


*a. Stratigraphic section 1 (***6** *level of use with remains of a hearth, LH period,* **5** *destruction layer,* **4** *construction level of Megaron B,* **3** *level of use of Megaron B,* **2** *layer of yellow earth). b. Stratigraphic section 1β (***1** *layer for the construction of the temple,* **2** *yellow earth on the destruction of Megaron B).*





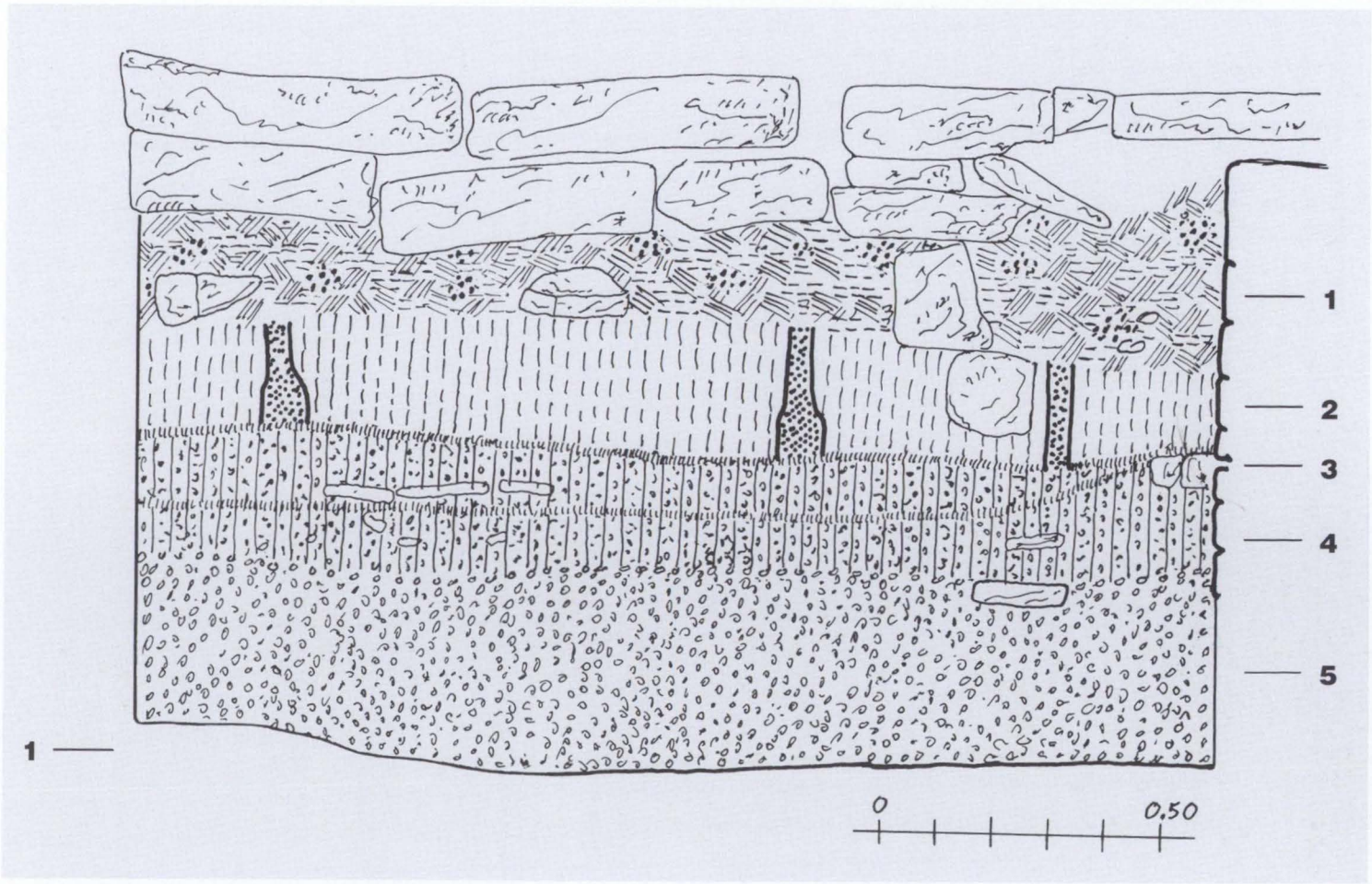
*a. Stratigraphic section 1γ (***7** *LH layer,* **6** *construction level of Megaron B,* **4-5** *destruction remains of Megaron B. b. Stratigraphic section 1δ (***6-5** *destruction of LH period,* **4** *preparation for the construction of Megaron B,* **3** *level of use of Megaron B).*





a. Stratigraphic section 2 (4 destruction of LH period, 3 levels of Megaron B, 2 yellow layer). b. Stratigraphic section 3 (5 back fill, 3-4 floors of the north room of Megaron, 2 yellow layer).

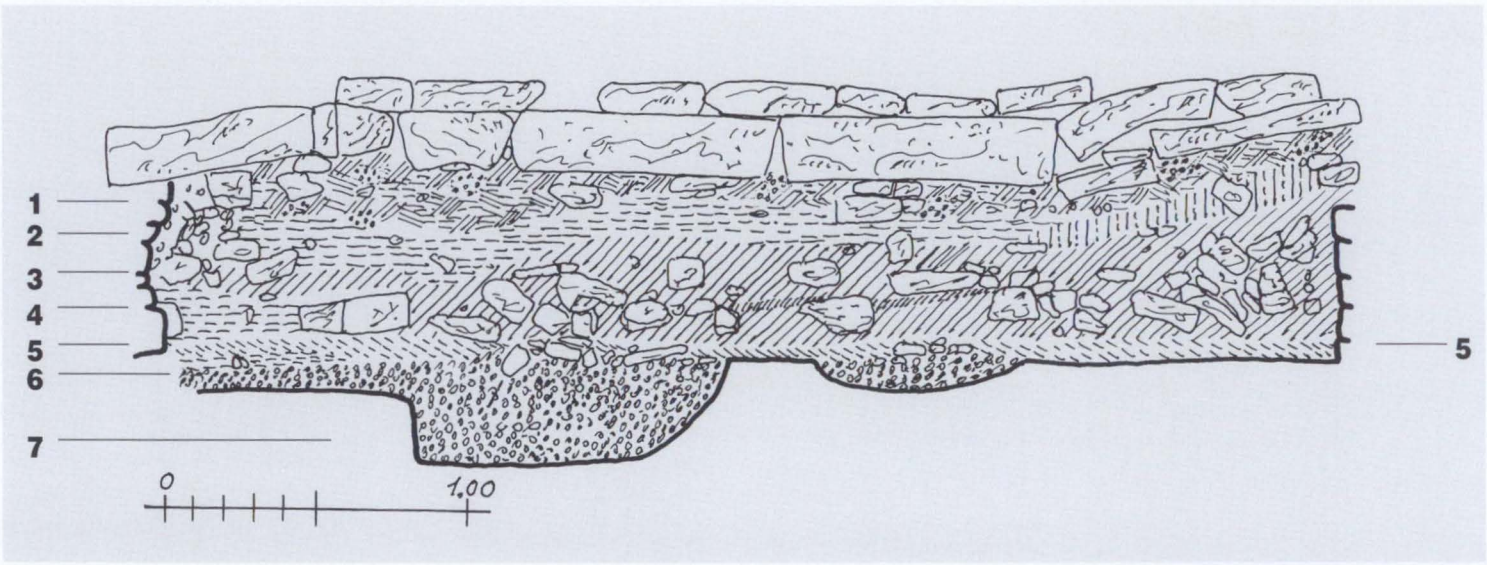




*Stratigraphic section 4 (**5** backfill, **4-3** levels of north room of Megaron B, **2** yellow layer with post-holes).*

PLATE 16

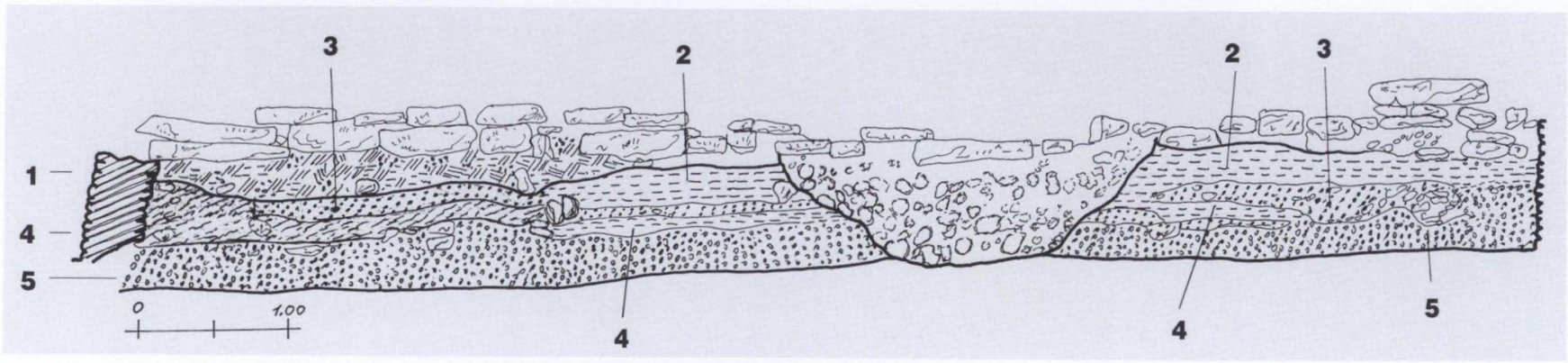




*Stratigraphic section 5 (**5** level of use of Megaron B, **4** ash, **3** level of the ash altar, **2** whitish ash).*

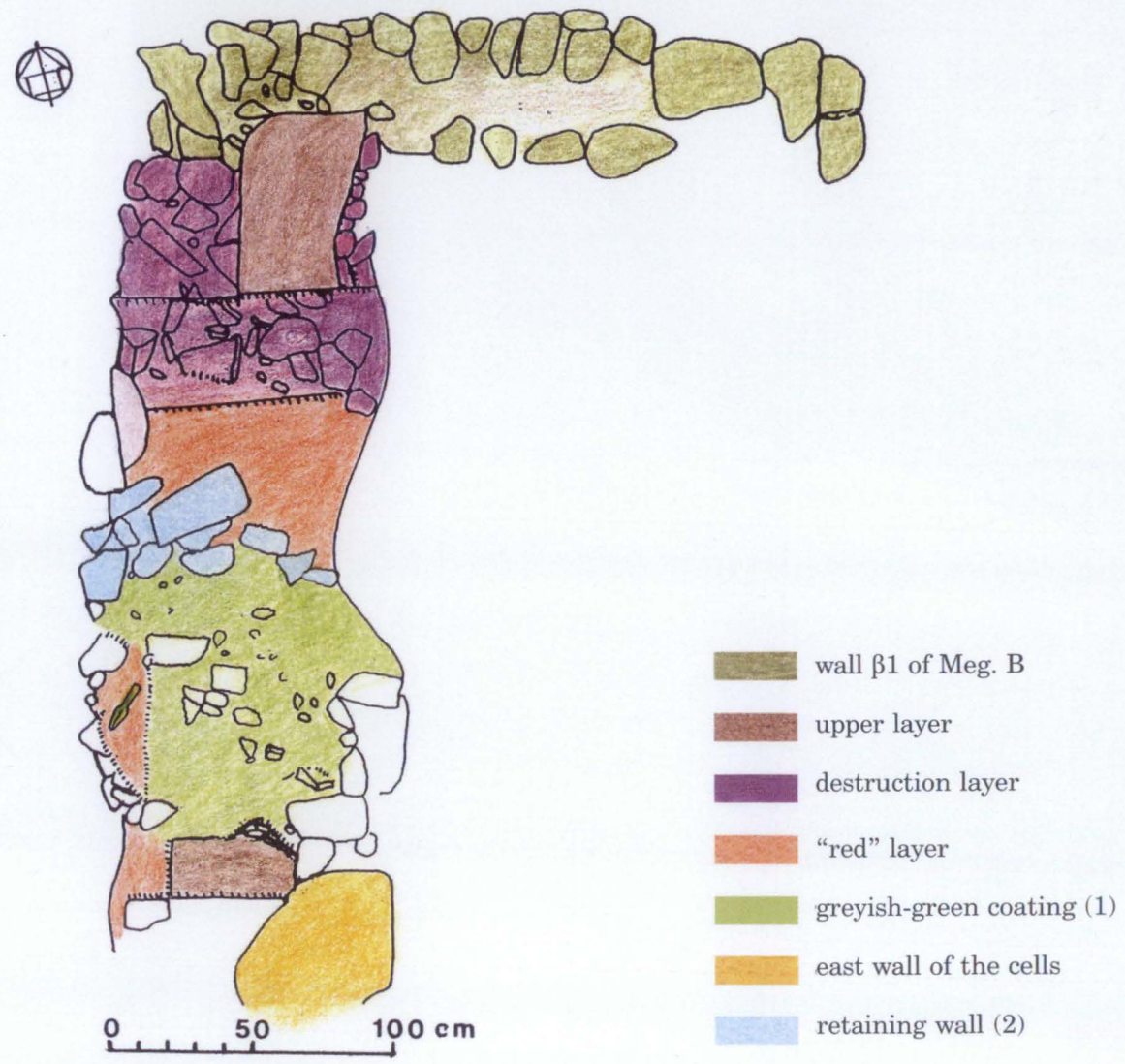






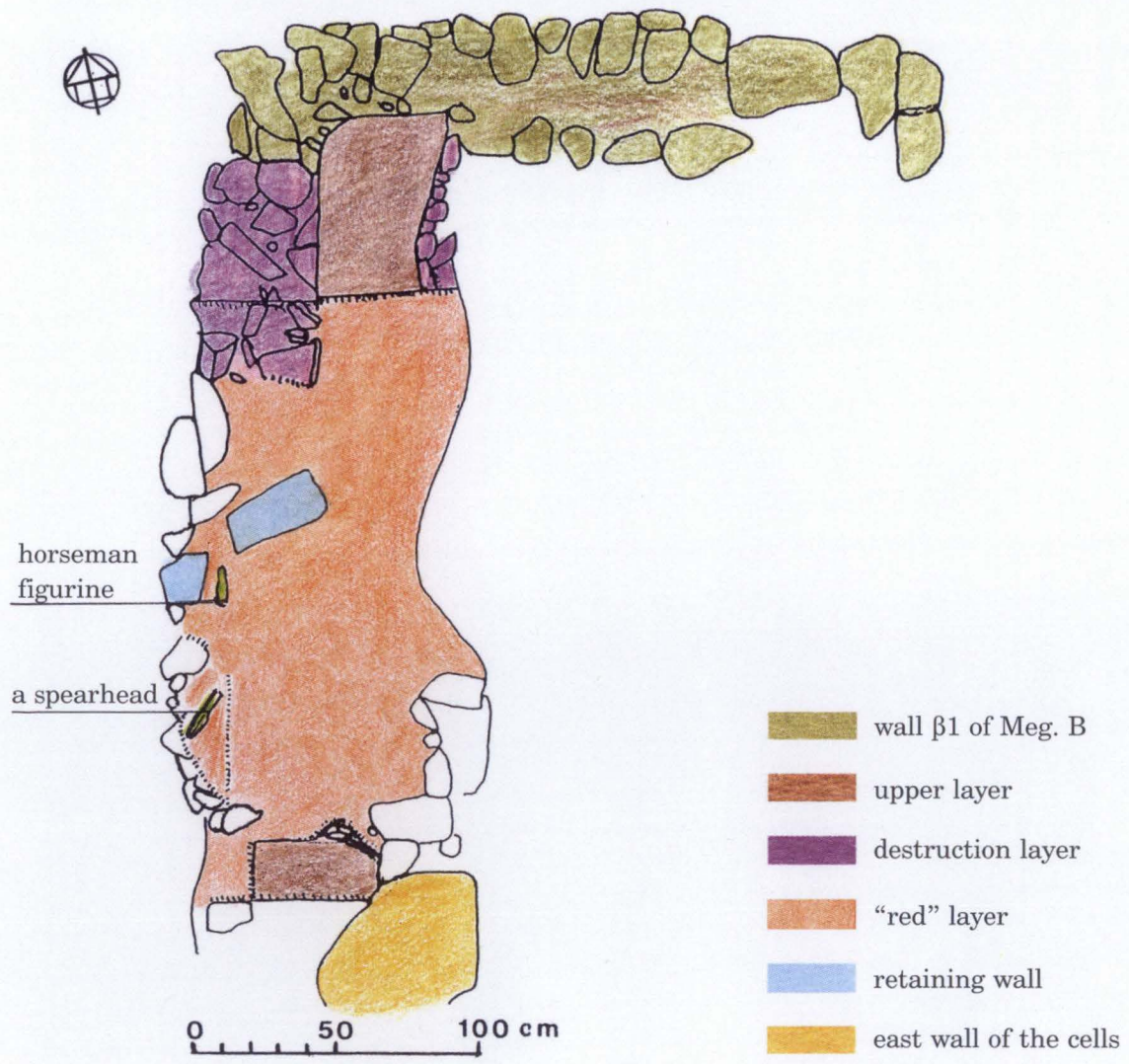
*Stratigraphic section 5a (**2** whitish ash of the holocaust sacrifices, **3** the clay hearth of the altar).*





The lower layer of the north part of the stratum 3 (str. sections 5, 5a).





The red layer of the north part of the stratum 3 (str. sections 5, 5a).

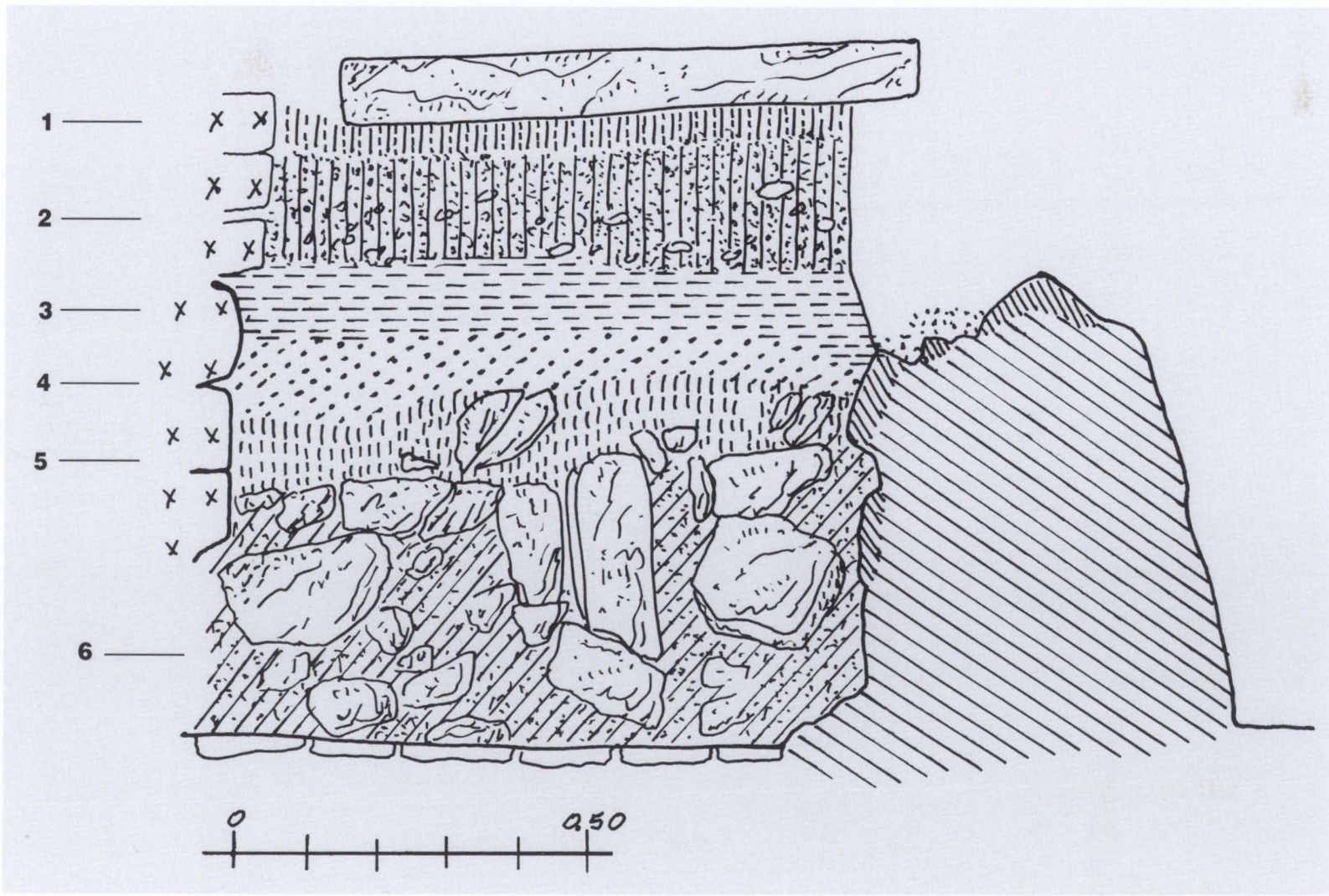
PLATE 20





The bronze finds of the red layer, stratum 3, str. section 5a.

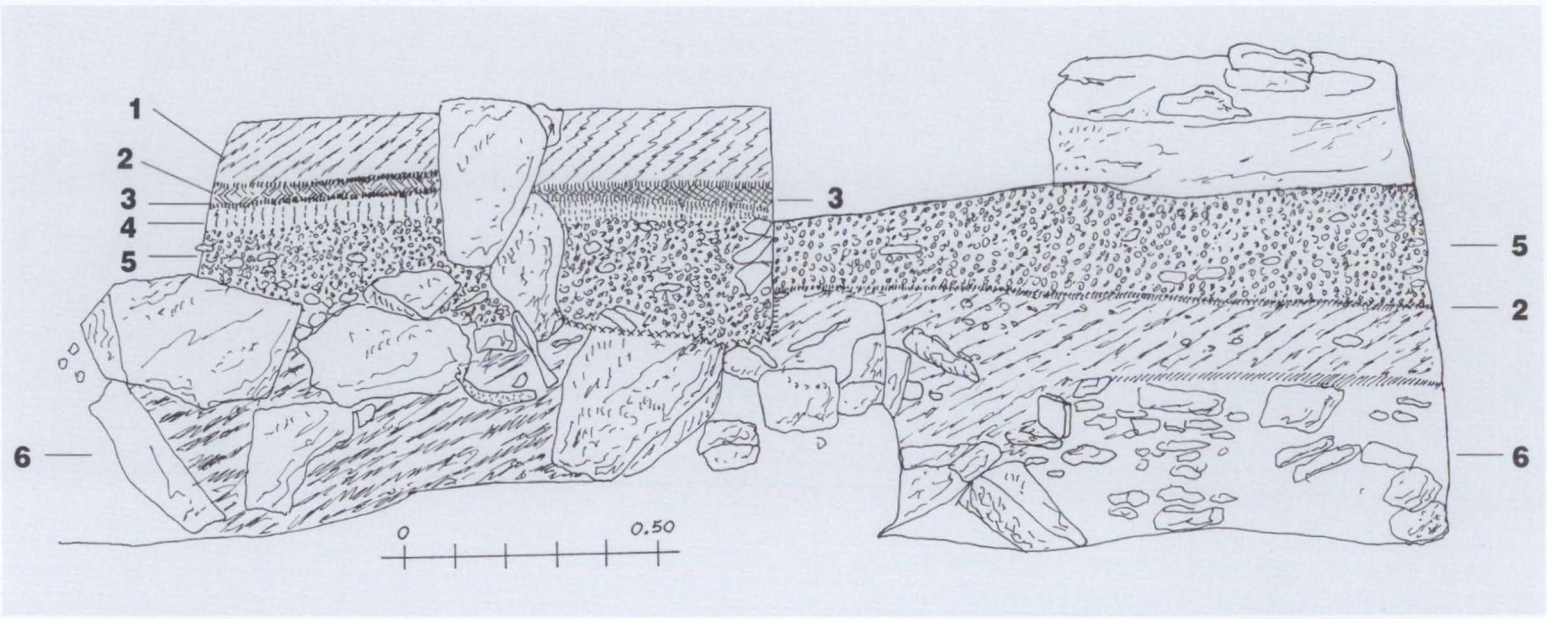




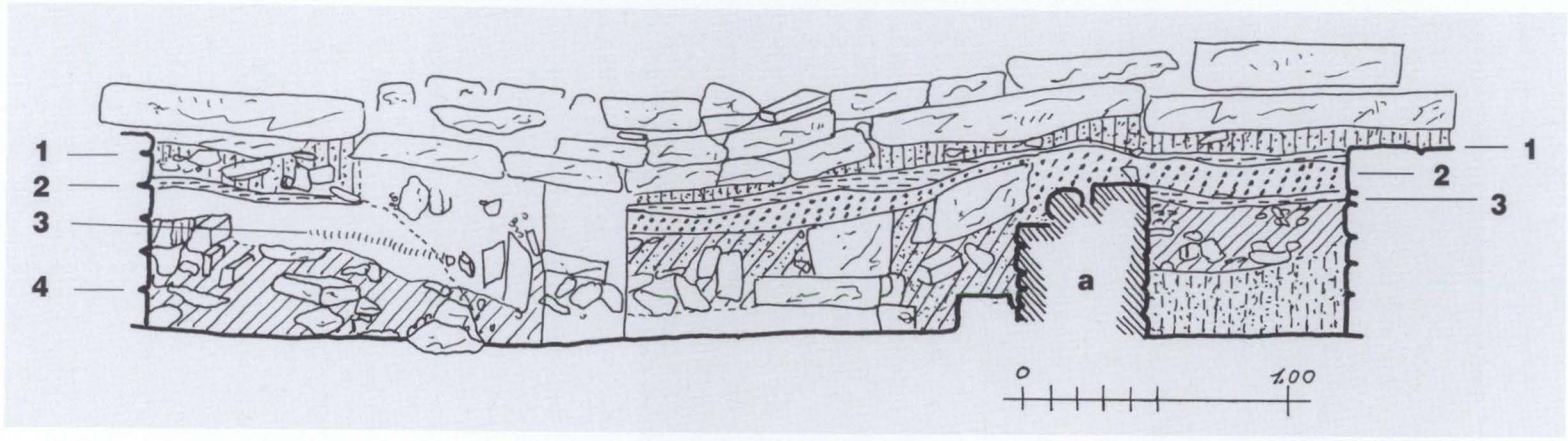
*Stratigraphic section 7 (**6** destruction layer of the east wall of Megaron B on its level of use, **4** the hearth of the ash altar, **3** whitish ash of the holocaust sacrifices).*

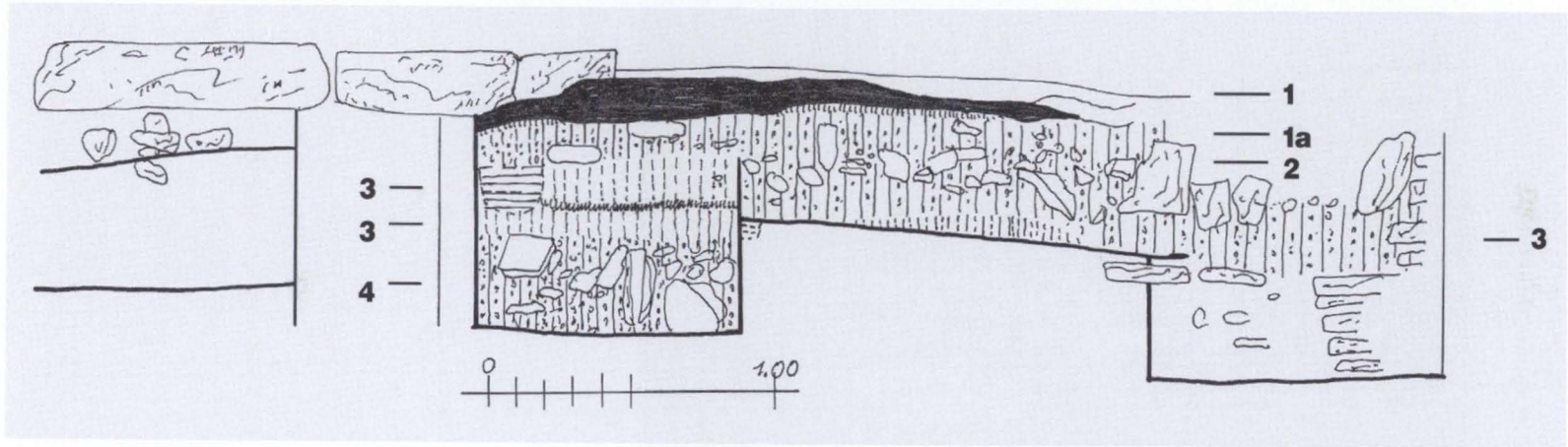
PLATE 22

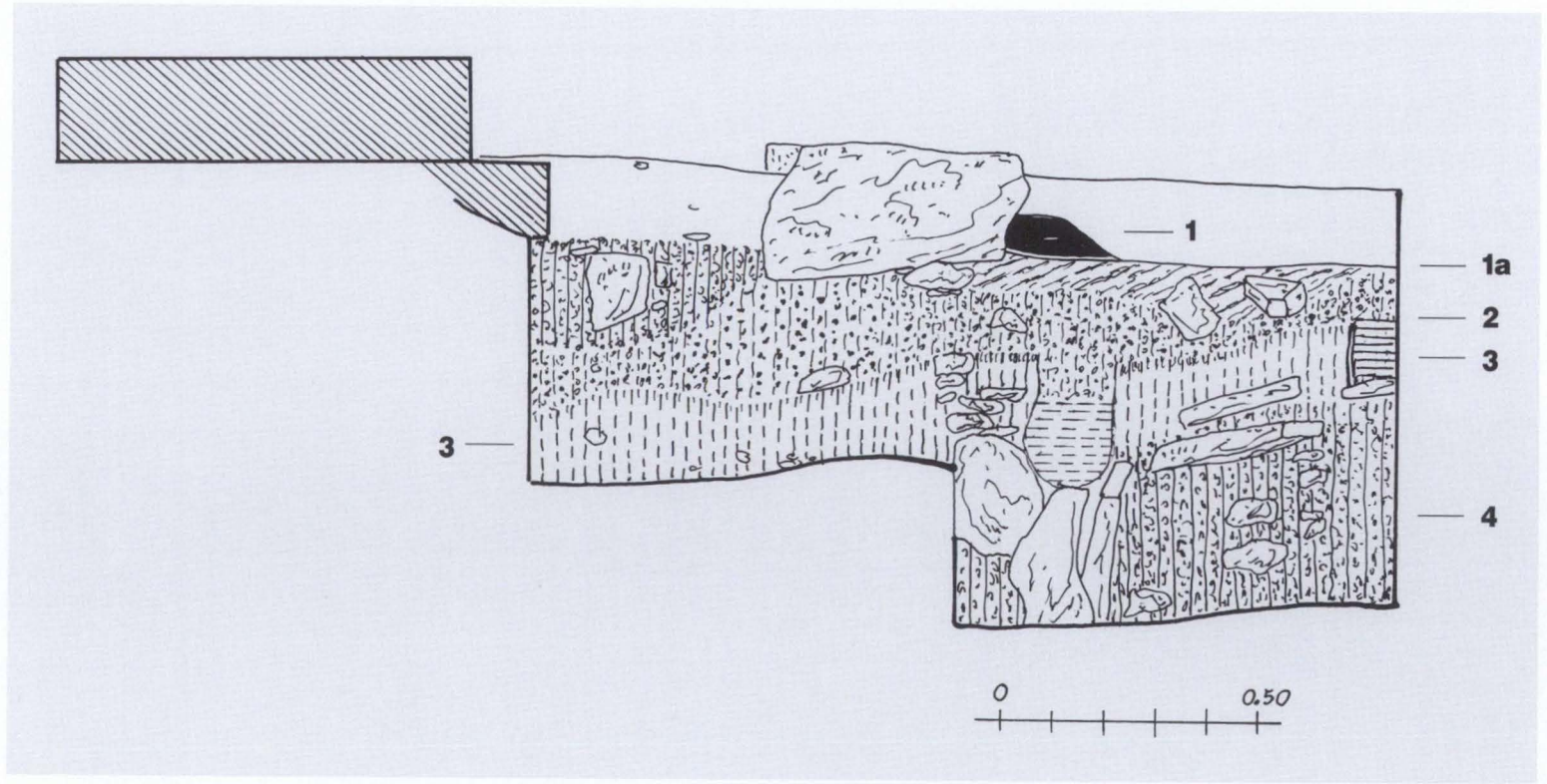




*Stratigraphic sections 9, right, 10 left (***6** *destruction of Megaron B, and a level of use of the period of the ash altar, with black earth and pits,* **5** *a layer on which rests the "unworked stone",* **4**, **3**, **2** *level of use around the stone,* **1** *a layer for the east wall of the cella).*

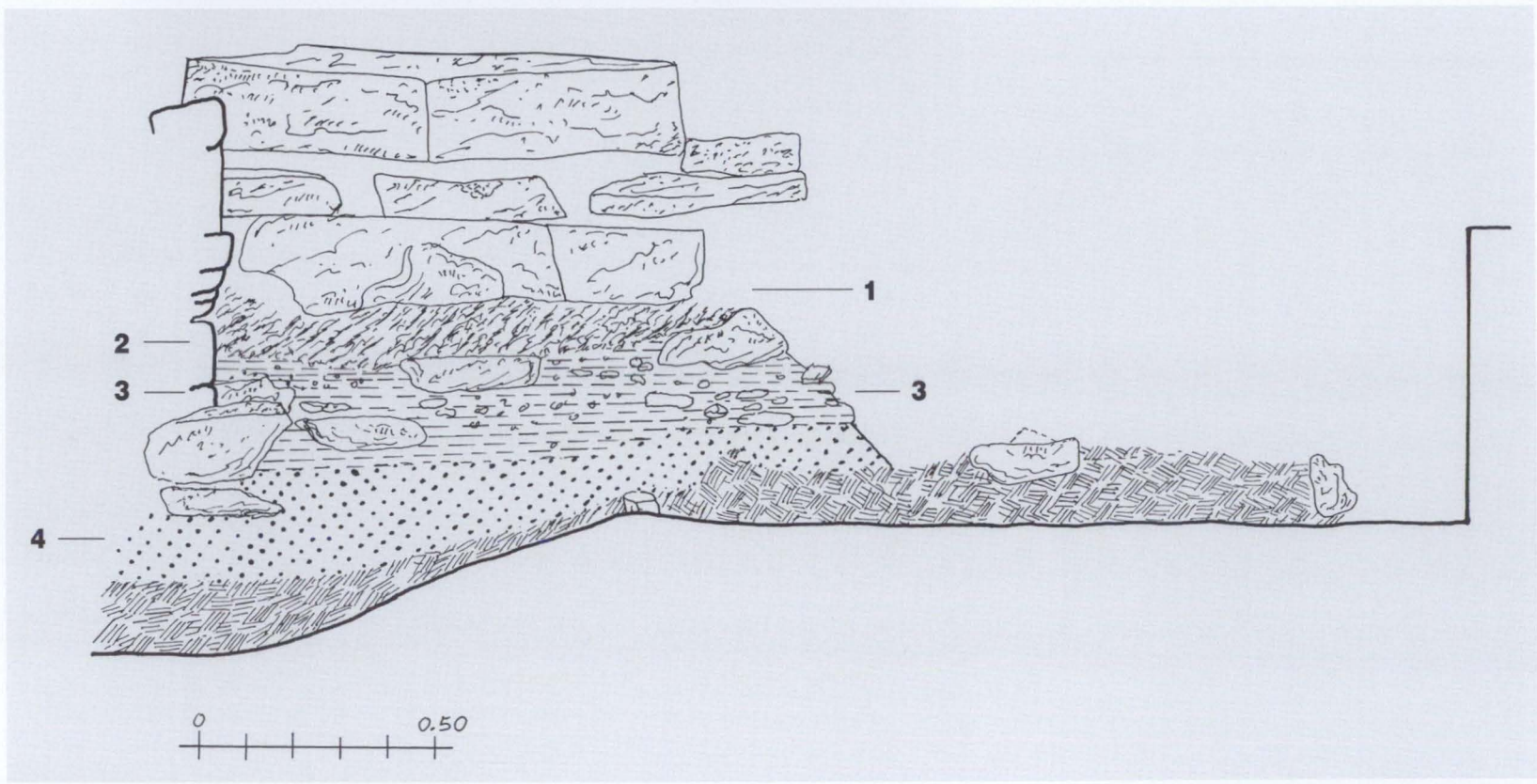






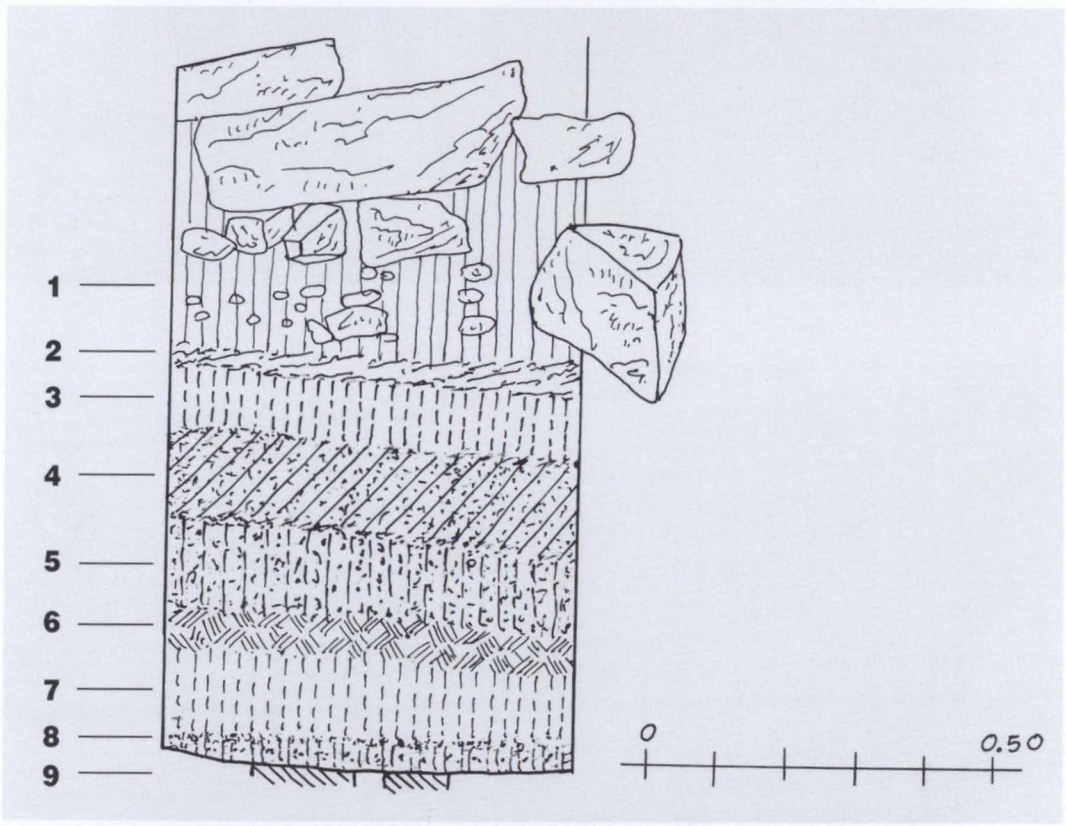
a. Stratigraphic section 14 (a. wall γ, 4 destruction of Megaron B, 3 clay hearth, 2 whitish ash, 1 preparation for the east wall of the cella). b-c. Stratigraphic sections 15, 16 (3 yellow earth on the destruction remains of the Megaron B period, 2 1a. layer on which rest the slabs of the elliptical enclosure, 1 the black layer).





Stratigraphic section 18 (4 backfill for the level of use o Megaron B (and the altar), on a pavement of the LH period, 3 whitish ash, 2 black earth on which rests the eighth interior base of the temple).



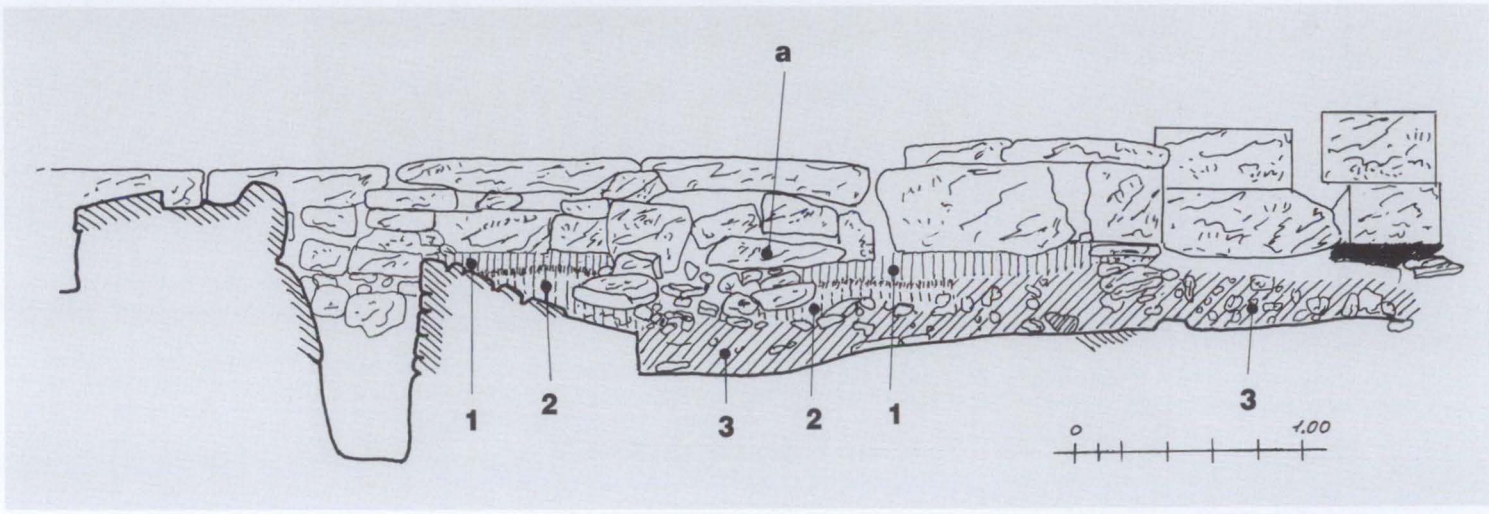




*Stratigraphic section 19 a-b. (***7-9** *LH layers, 6 level of use of the period of Megaron B,* **4-5** *destruction,* **3** *yellow layer,* **1** *backfill for the west wall of the cella. c. level of use outside Megaron B).*

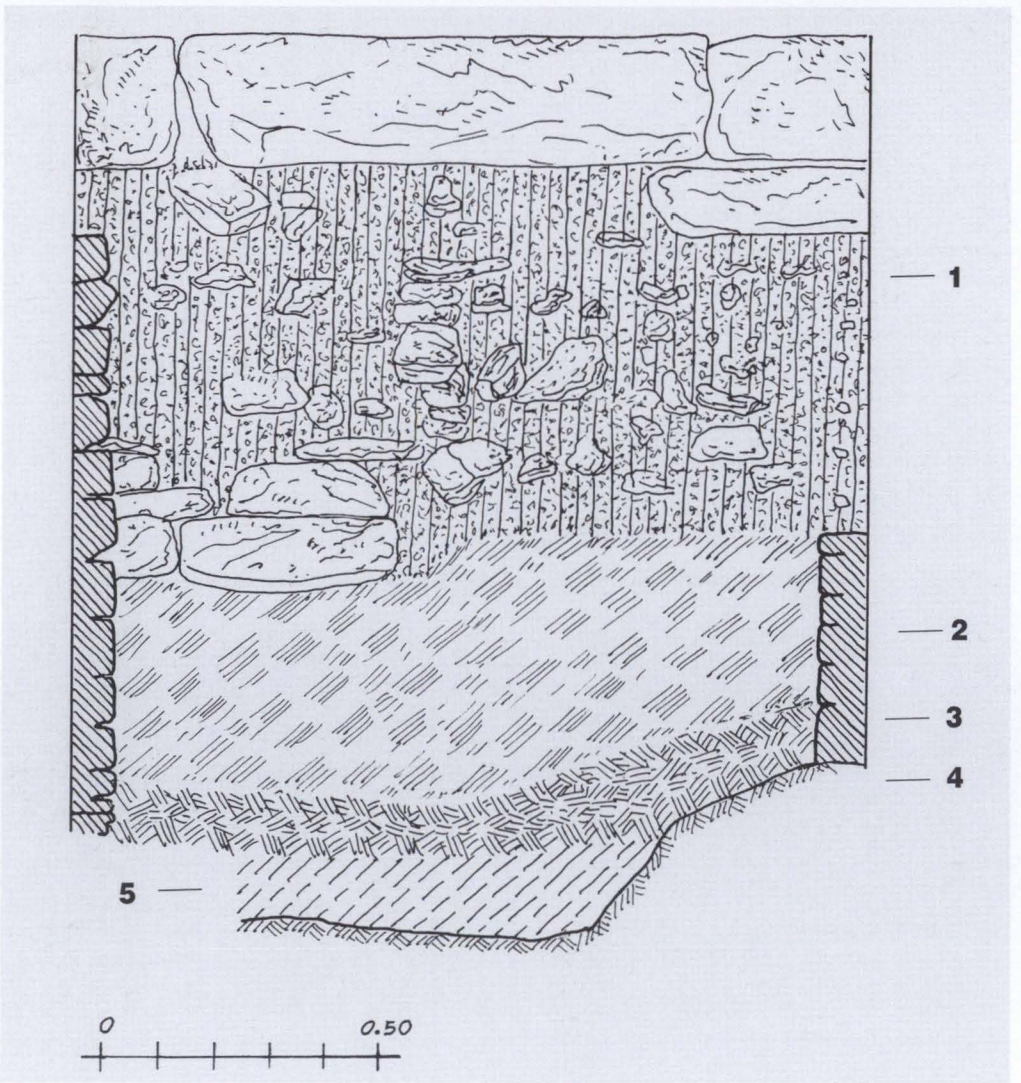






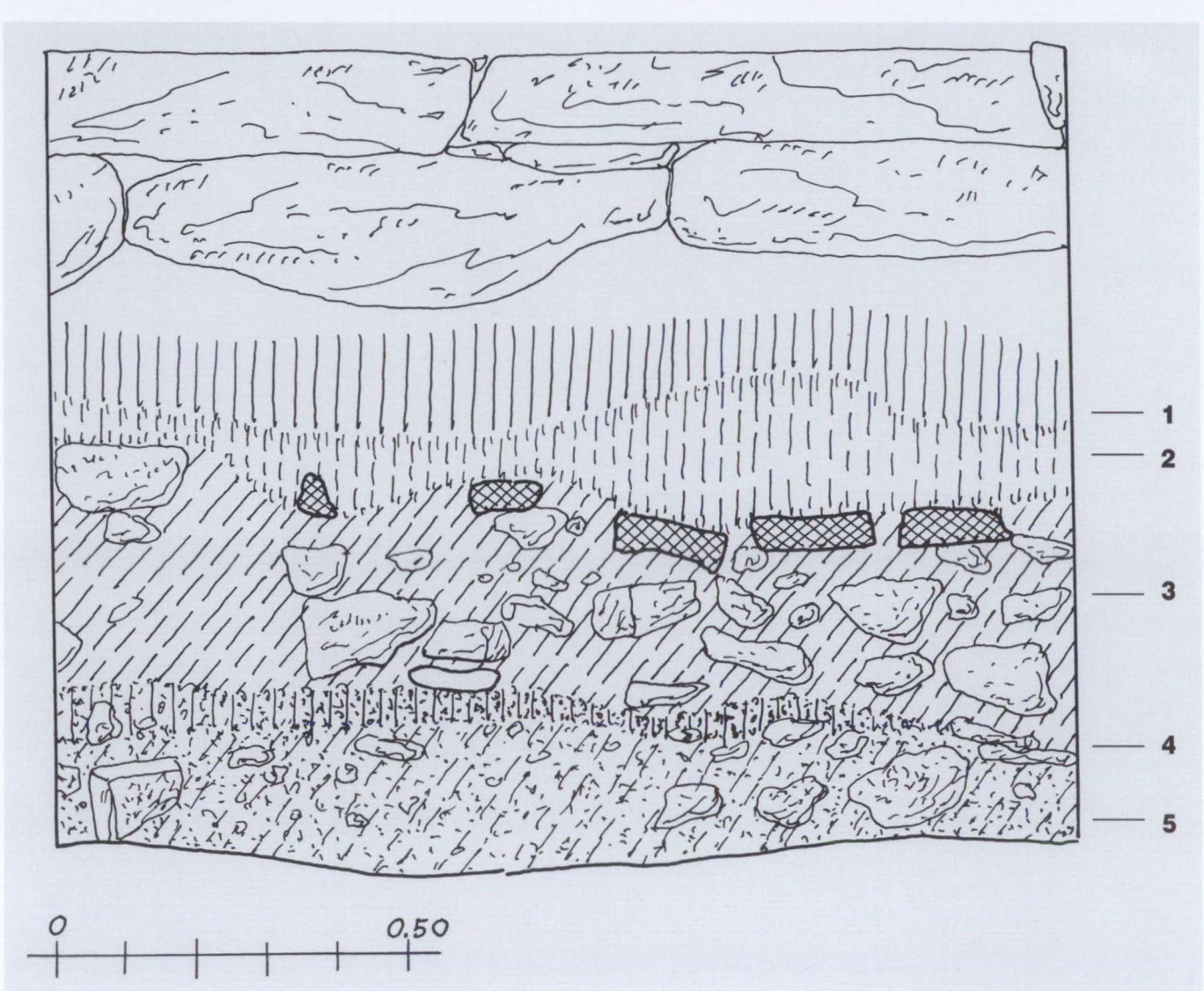
Stratigraphic section 21 (a. slab 10 of the elliptical enclosure, **2** *the yellow layer,* **3** *destruction remains of Megaron B period).*



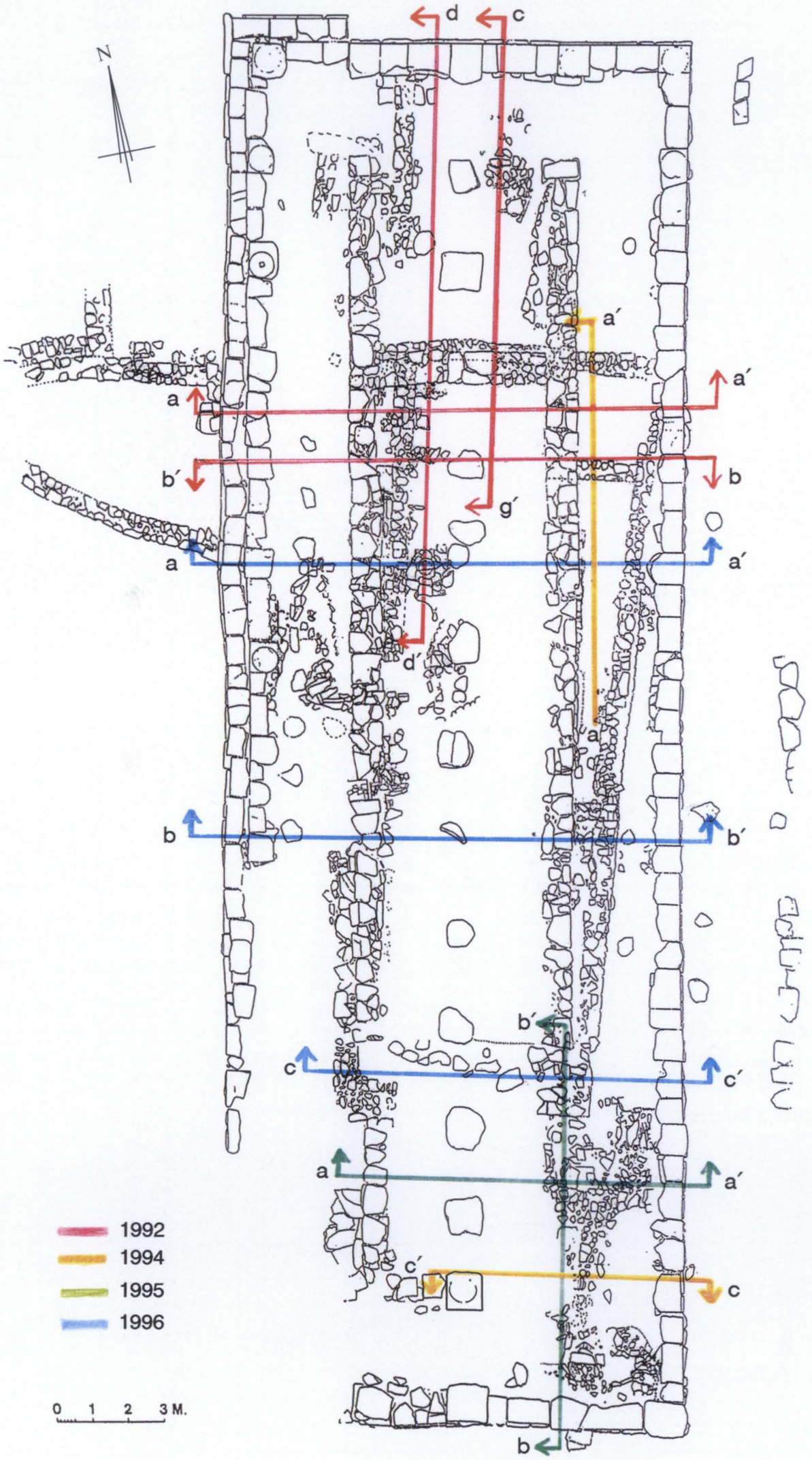


*Stratigraphic section 24 (**2** earth on the ruins of Megaron A **3,4** bed rock, **5** hollow for a subterranean hut).*



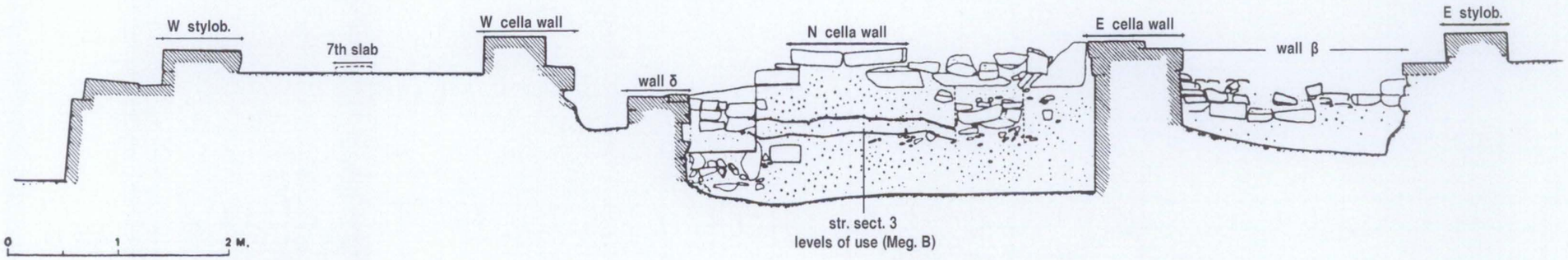


*Stratigraphic section 28 (**3**, **4** destruction of the LH period, with slabs of the pavement outside of Megaron B, **2** yellow layer).*

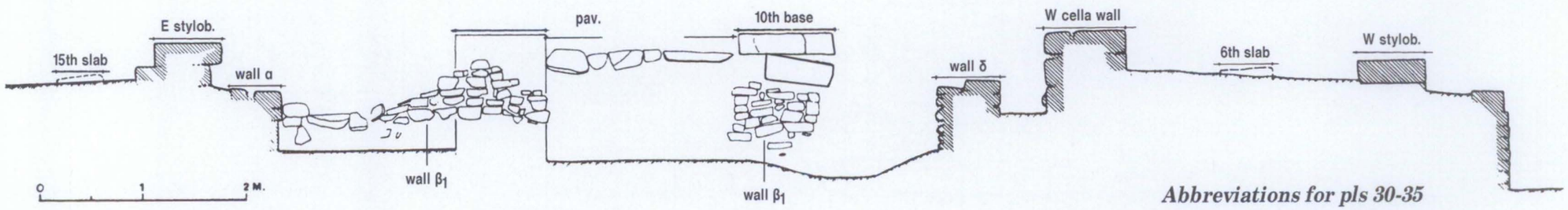


Cross and lengthwise sections in the excavation area. (Plans Yannis Diamantopoulos.)

a-a´



b-b´

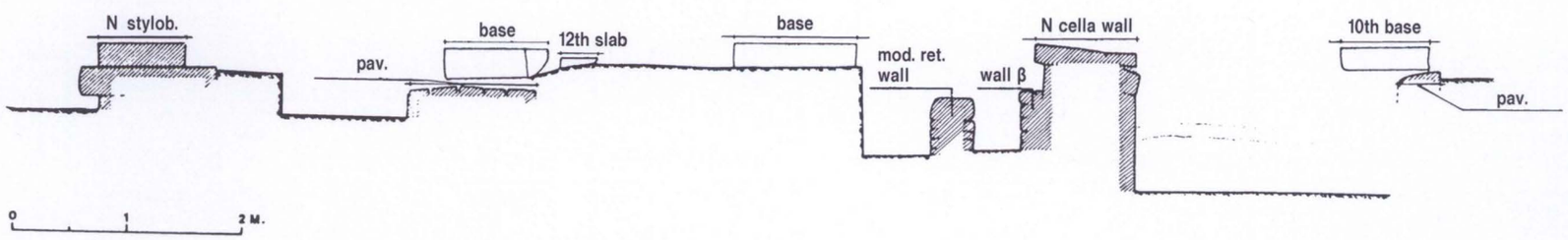


Abbreviations for pls 30-35

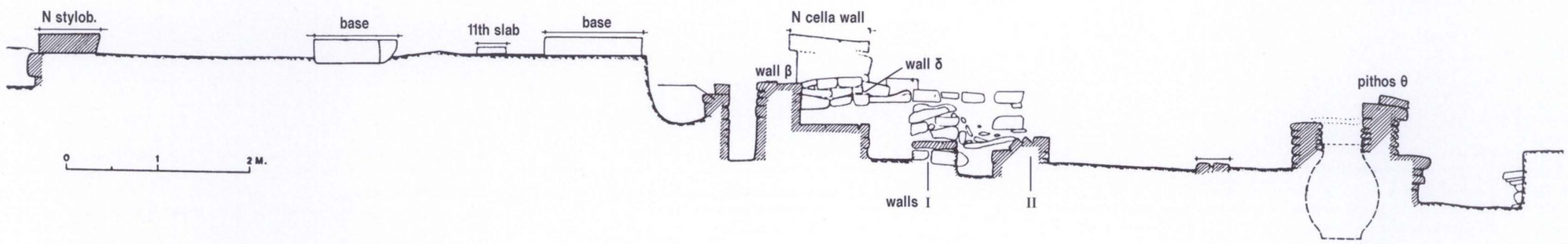
base	*column base of the cella*
mod.ret.wall	*modern retaining wall*
(E.N.W.) cella wall	*east, north, west wall of the cella*
(E.N.W.S.) stylob.	*east, north, south, west stylobate*
pav.	*pavement*
slab	*slab of the elliptical enclosure*
str. sect.	*stratigraphic section*
wall (α,β,β1,γ,δ)	*wall (α,β,γ,δ) of Megaron B*

Sections a-a´, b-b´ 1992.

c-c´

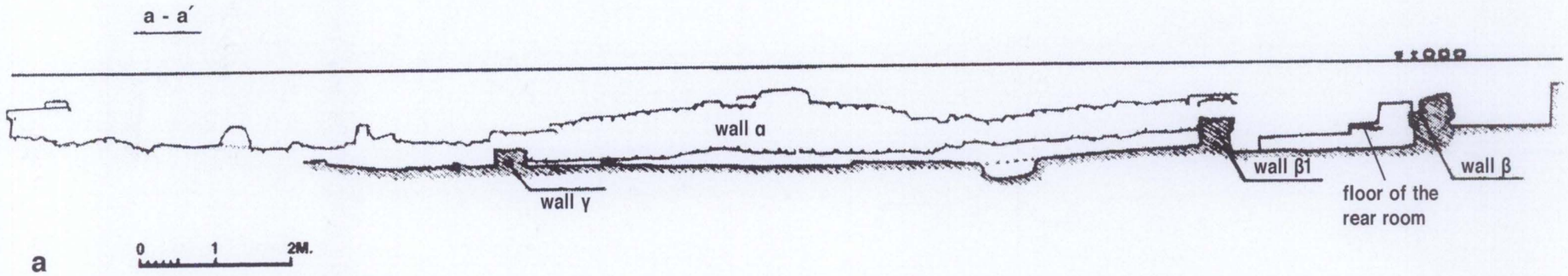


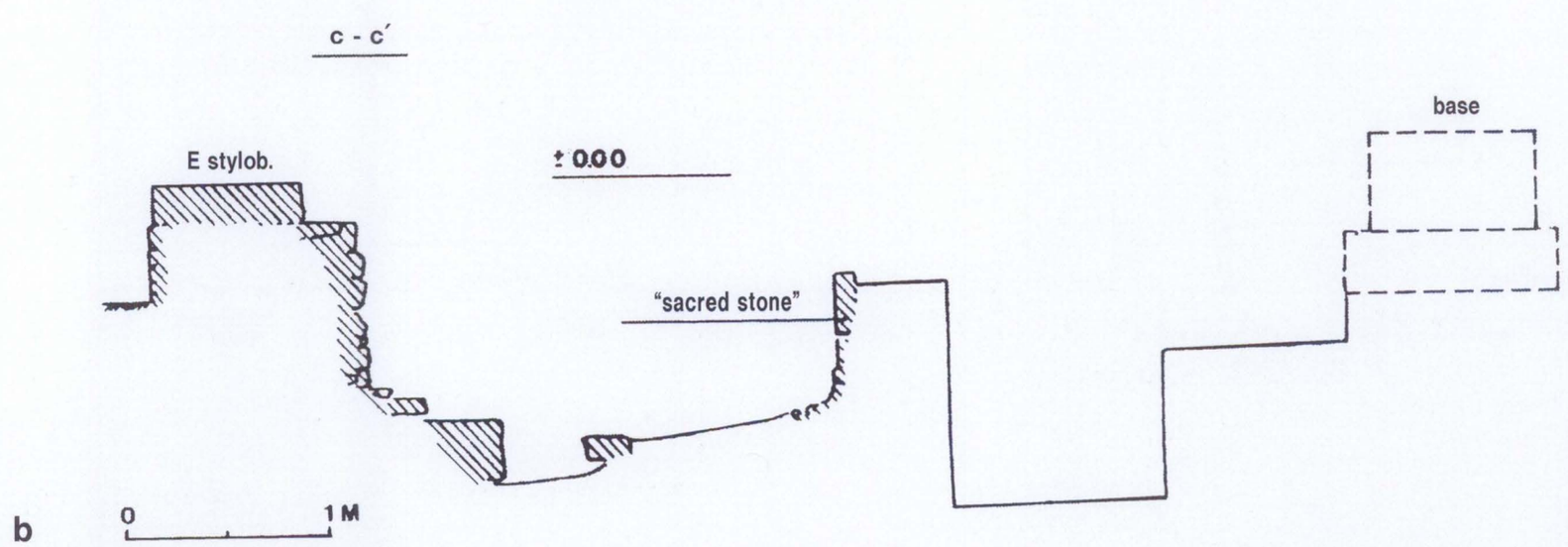
d-d´



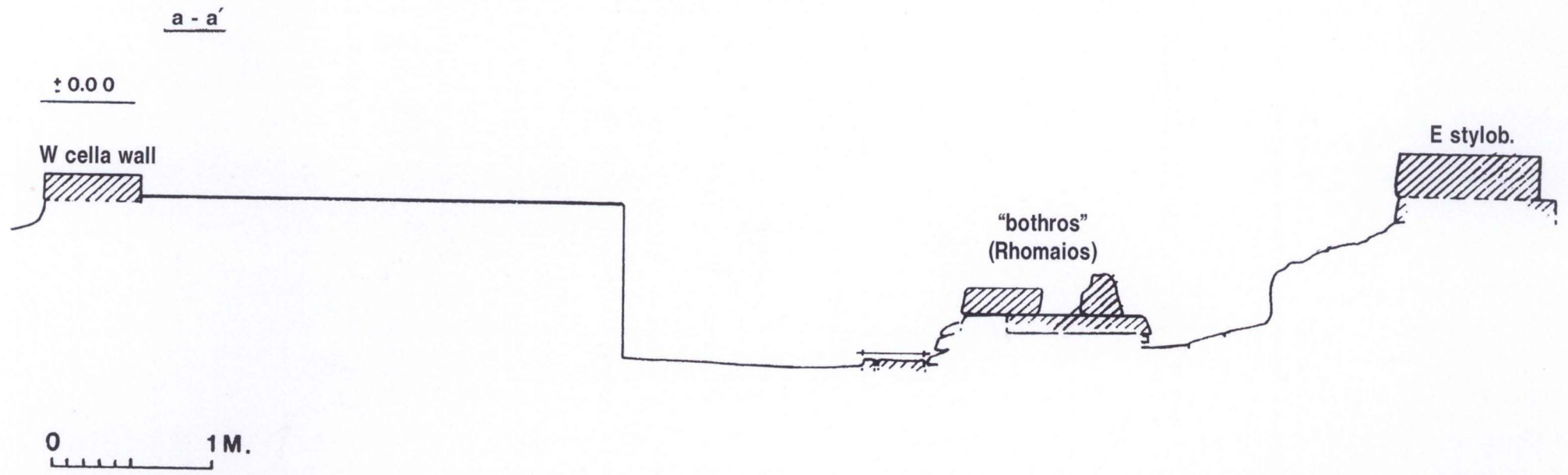
Sections c-c´, d-d´ 1992.

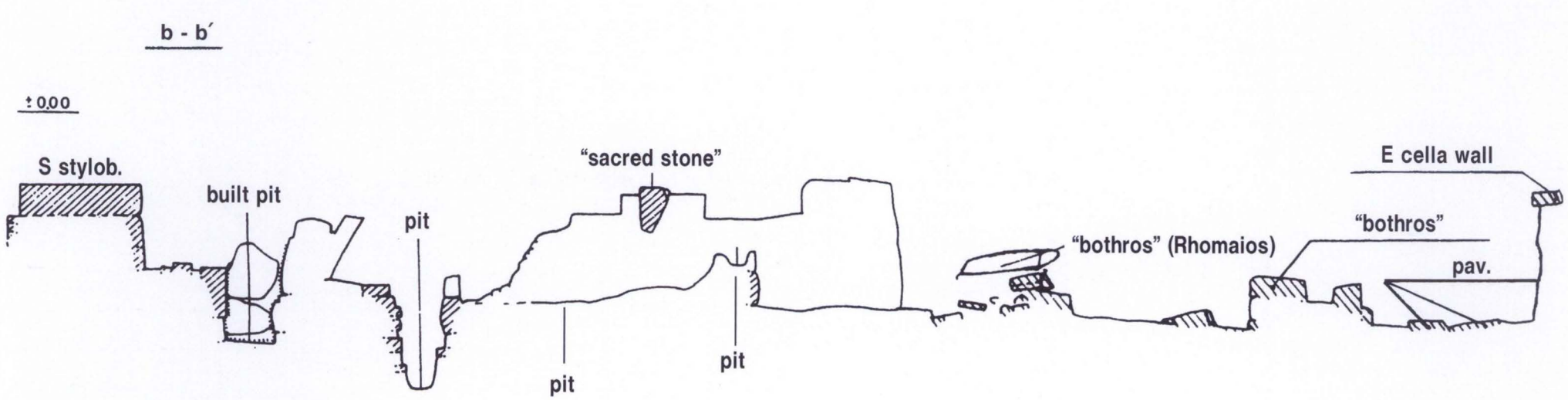
PLATE 31





Sections a-a′, c-c′ 1994.

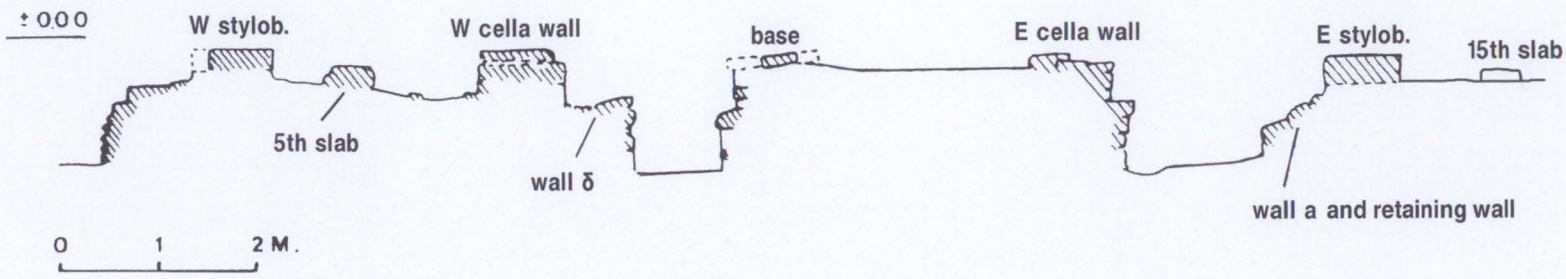




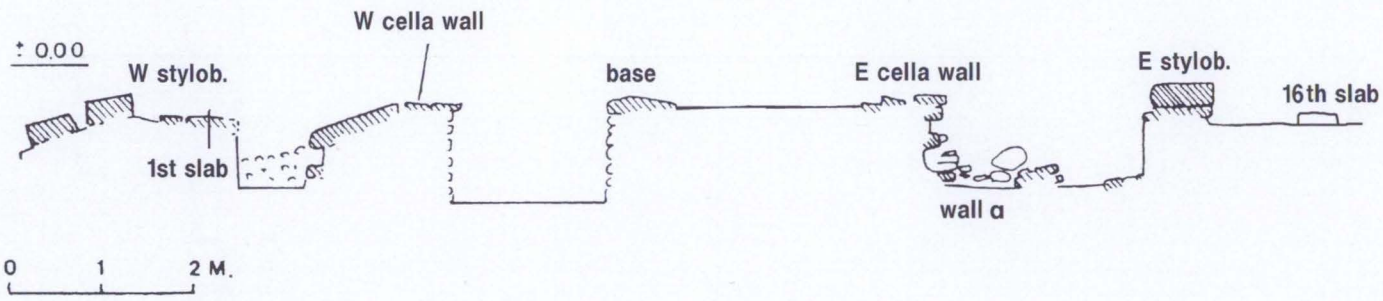
Sections a-a´, b-b´1995.

PLATE 33

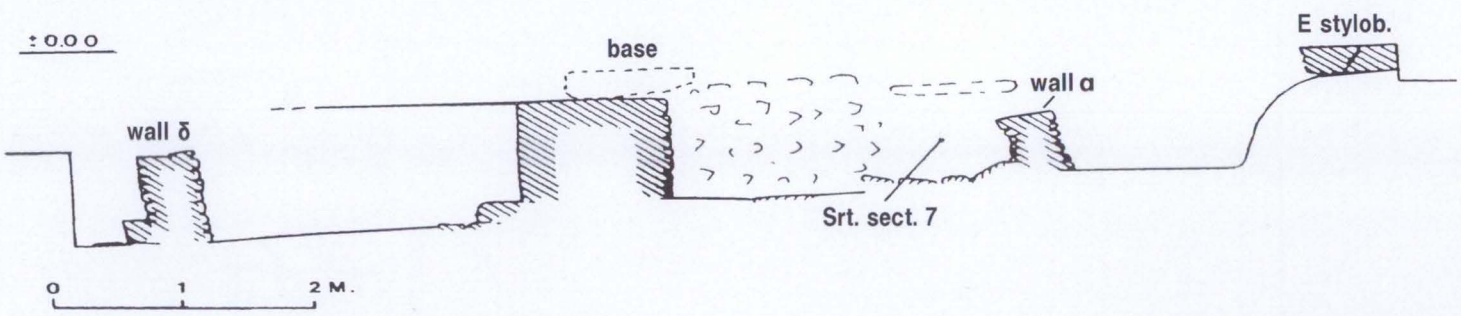
a - a′



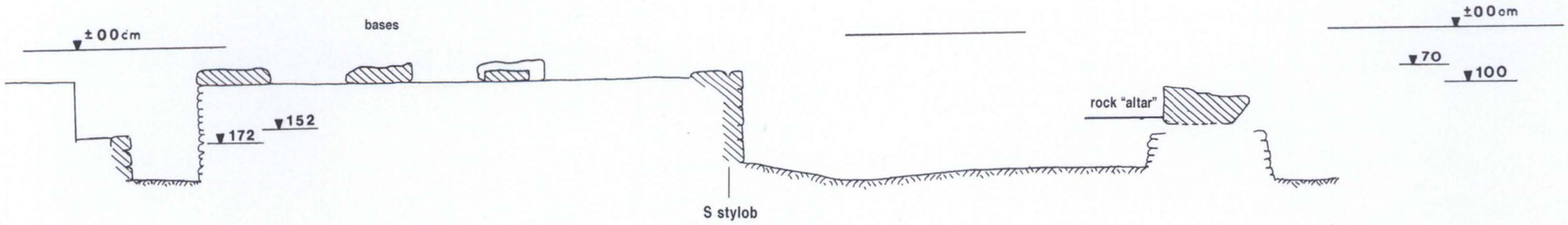
b - b′



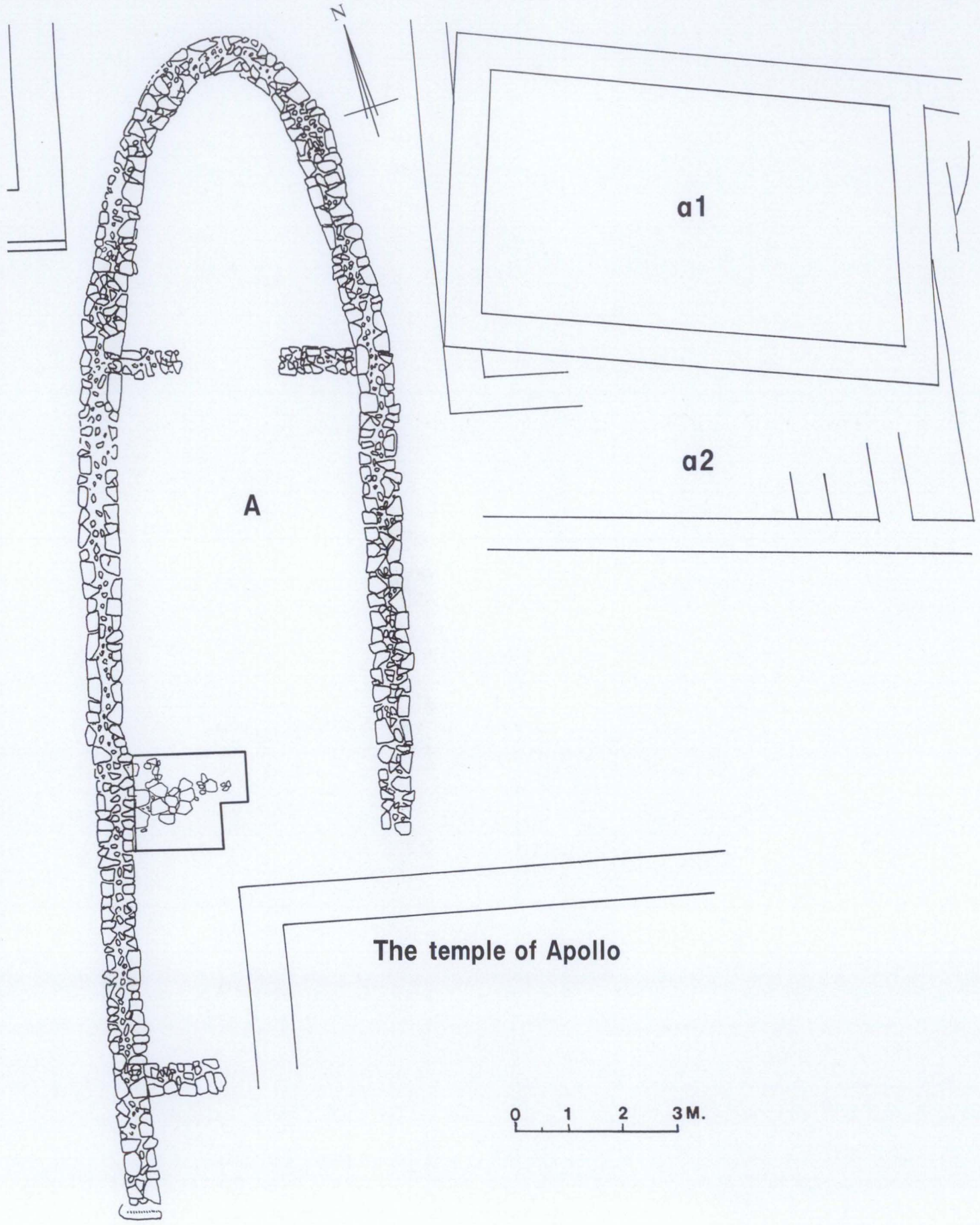
c - c′



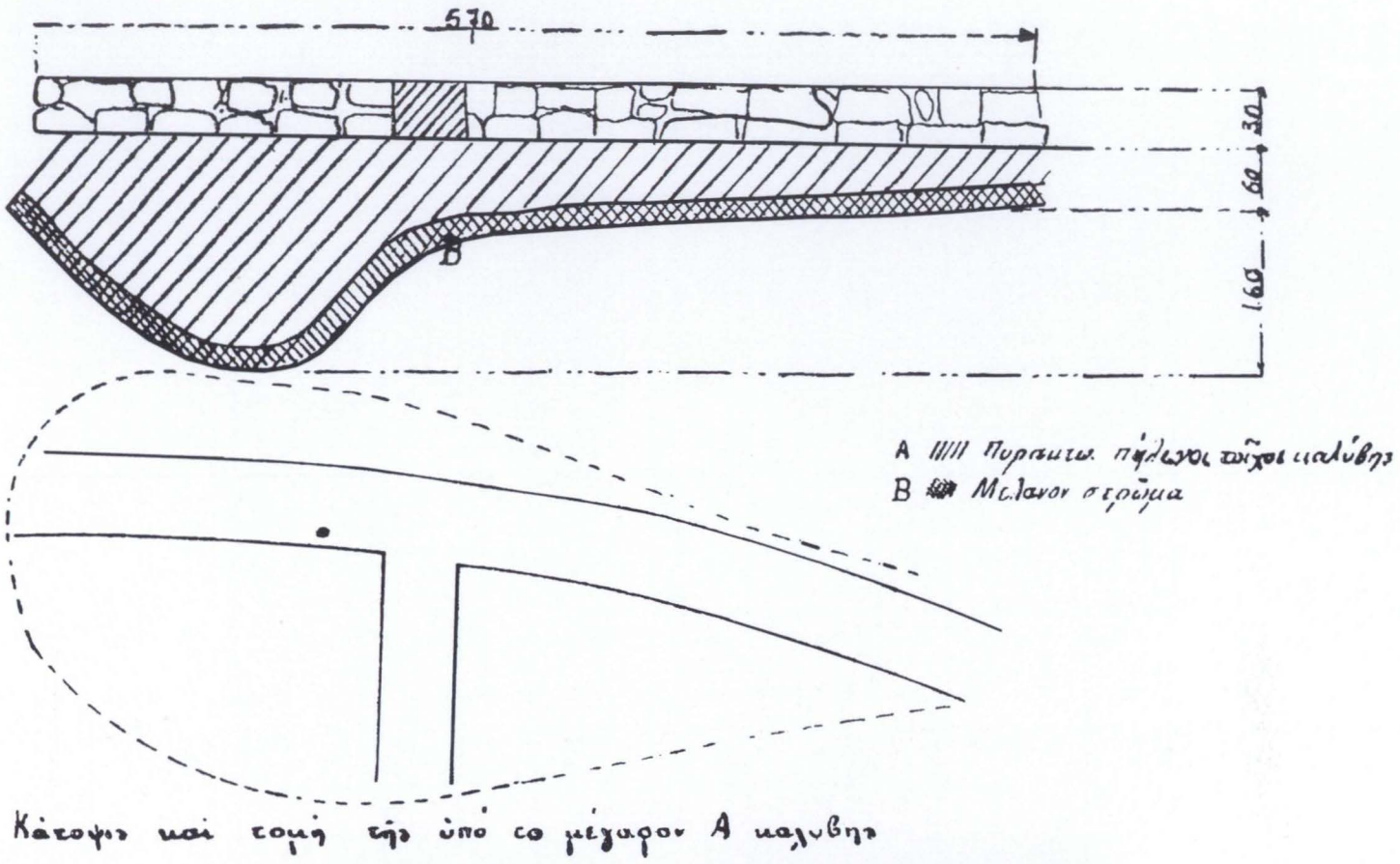
Sections a-a′, b-b′, c-c′ 1996.



Lengthwise section through the rock 'altar' and the interior colonnade of the temple (see pl. 3).

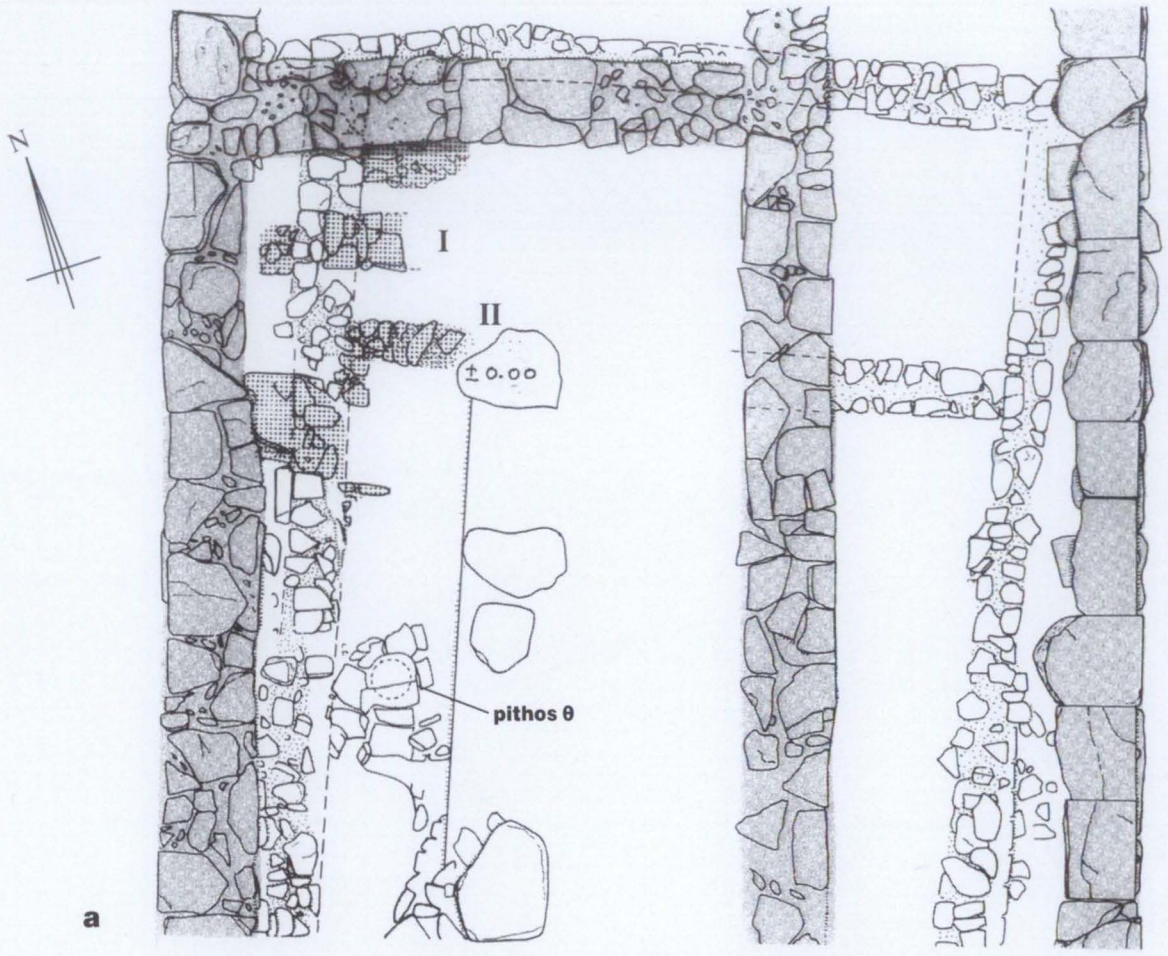


Megaron A and remains of an earlier construction.





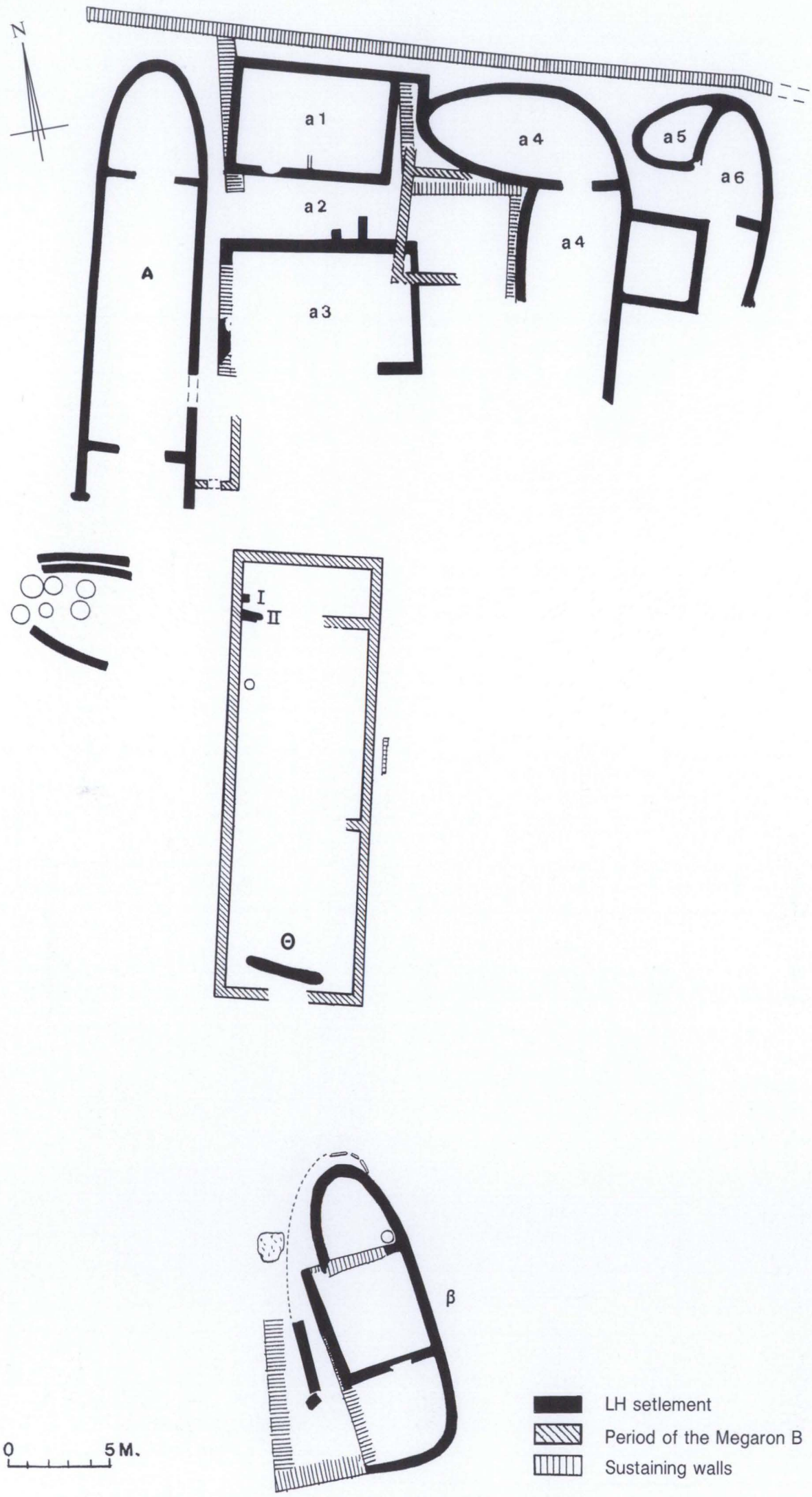
a. Plans of a half subterranean hut under Megaron A (Rhomaios 1915). b. The Megaron from south.



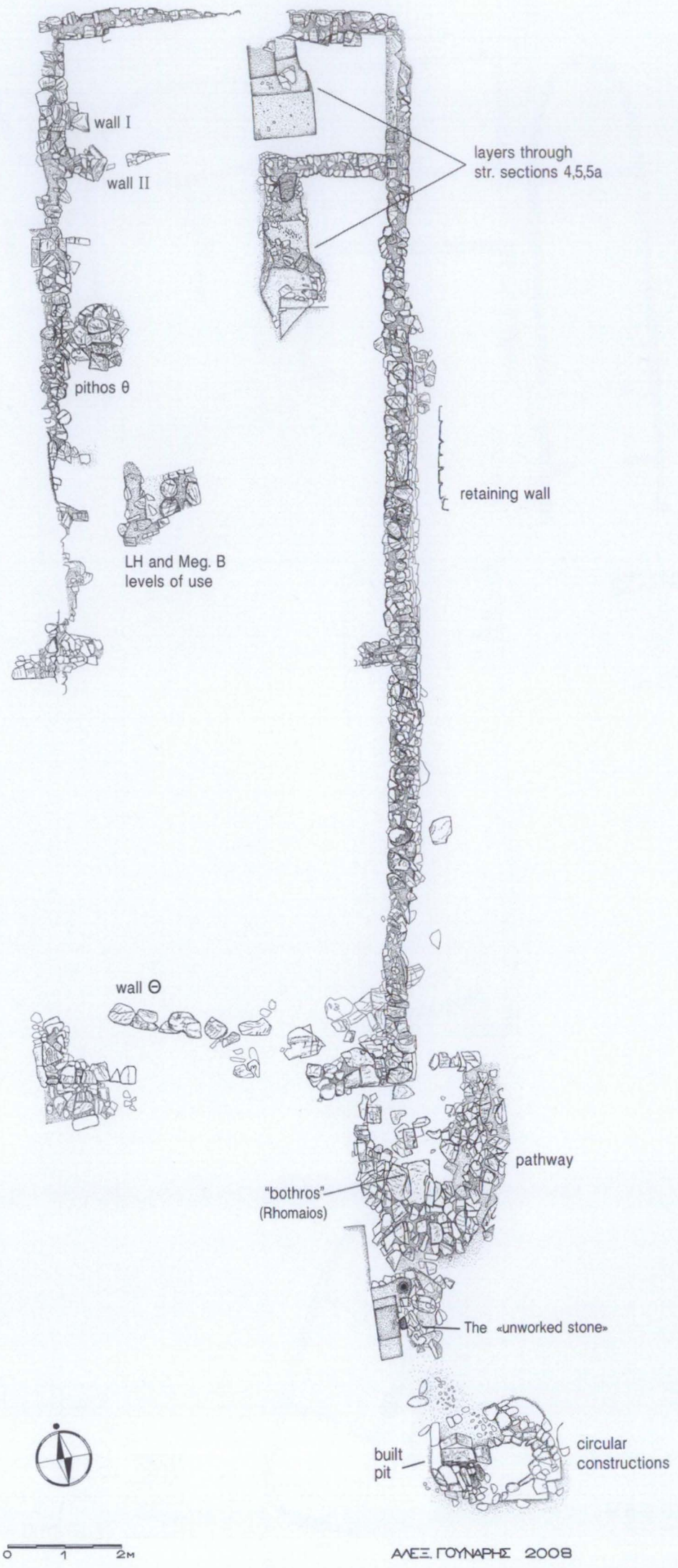




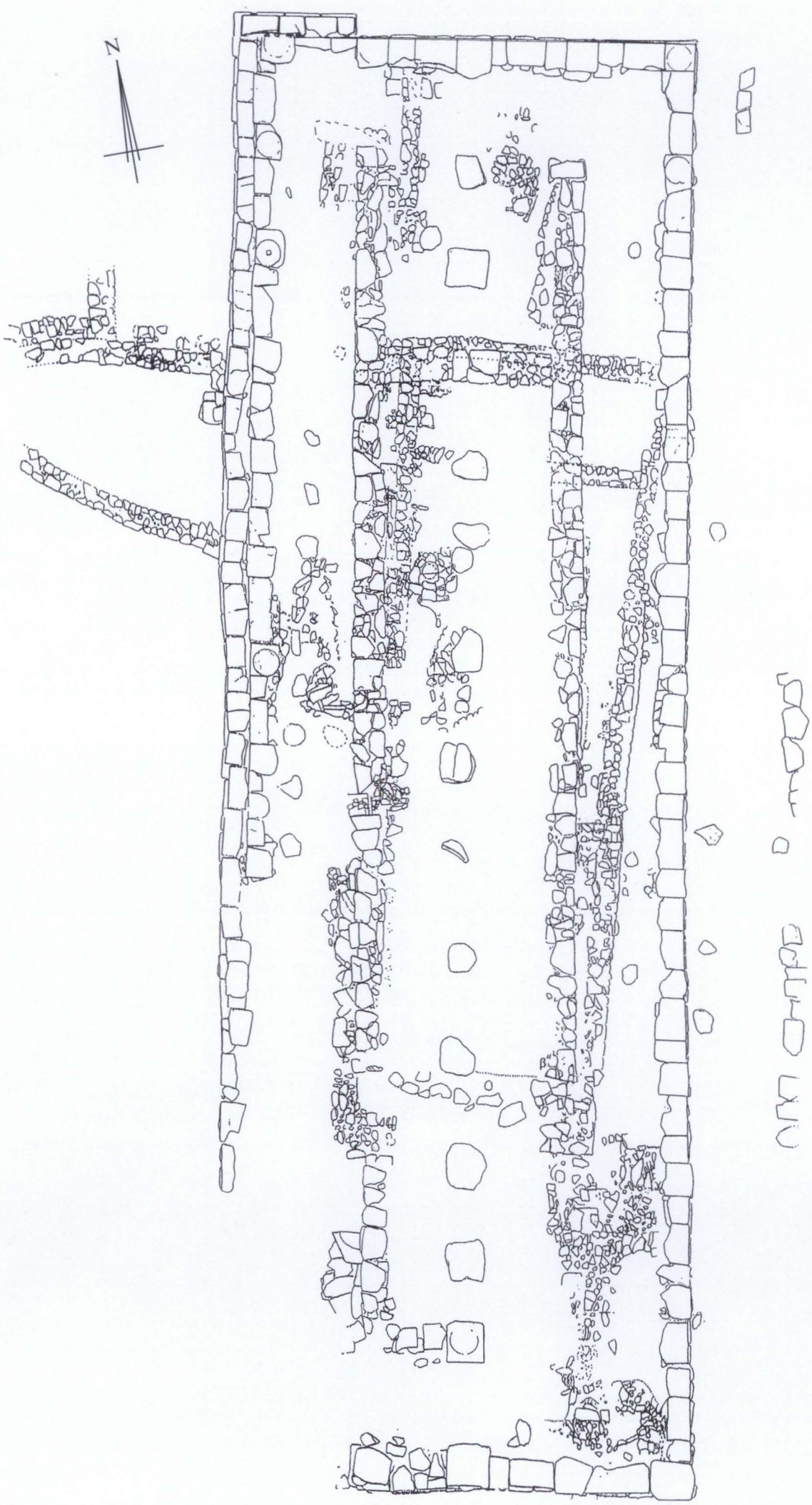
a. The north part of Megaron B and the temple. b. Northwest side of Meg. B. **1** *west wall,* **2** *features of the LH period destruction,* **3** *wall I,* **4** *wall II,* **5** *LH pavement,* **6** *hearth. c. Northwest corner of Meg. B,* **1** *LH debris,* **2** *pavement of Meg. B outside,* **3** *wall I,* **4** *wall II.*



Plan of the LH settlement and Megaron B, Rhomaios 1915, 1916 (with correction of Megaron B).



Megaron B. (Alexandros Gounaris 2008.)



Plan of the excavation beneath the temple. (Yannis Diamantopoulos 2003.)

PLATE 42





a. View of the new excavation from north. b. View of the north part of the excavation from south, 1998.





East part of Megaron B. a. **1** *retaining wall,* **2** *stone pavement outside the building. b.* **1** *East wall,* **2** *wall γ of Megaron B,* **3** *interior stone pavement, from the north.*

PLATE 44





a. The southeast corner of Megaron B and the interior stone pavement (1), *«bothros»* (2) *pathway* (3). *b. The southwest corner of Megaron B and the exterior stone pavement.*





a. **1** *Level of use of Megaron B,* **2** *earlier pavement (str. section 18). b.* **1** *West wall of Megaron B,* **2** *earlier pavement,* **3** *a built pit (str. section 19). c. West wall of Megaron B and the earlier pavement outside it (str. section 19).*





East side of the excavation. **1** *east wall of Megaron B,* **2** *east stylobate of the temple,* **3** *paved pathway,* **4** *built bothros (Rhomaios 1915).*





a. Pithos θ (1) *and west wall of Megaron B* (2). *b. Southeast corner of Meg. B* (1), *"both-ros"* (2), *earlier pavement* (3).

PLATE 48







a. Southeast side of the excavation. **1** *The circular constructions,* **2**, **3** *pits. b. Walls* Δ *and E from south. c.* **1** *Wall* Δ, **2** *east wall of Megaron A,* **3** *west wall of the temple, from west.*





a. **1** *East retaining wall (str. section 20),* **2** *a modern wall. b.* **1** *West wall of Megaron B,* **2** *built pits,* **3** *yellow layer,* **4** *the destruction levels (str. section 1β).*

PLATE 50





a. **1** *Level of use of Megaron B (str. section 18),* **2** *ash altar,* **3** *LH pavement. b. Southeast part of the excavation,* **1** *east wall of Megaron B,* **2** *"bothros" (Rhomaios 1915)* **3** *pathway,* **4** *earth with rubble,* **5** *built pit,* **6** *unworked stone.*





a. The pit (1) *under the unworked stone* (2) *and a ditch* (3) *(str. section 9, 10). b.* **1** *The pit with the carbonized wood and the cup* п *52,* **2** *the built pit,* **3** *earth with rubble beneath the east wall of the cella.*

PLATE 52





The rock 'altar'. a. from south, b. from east.





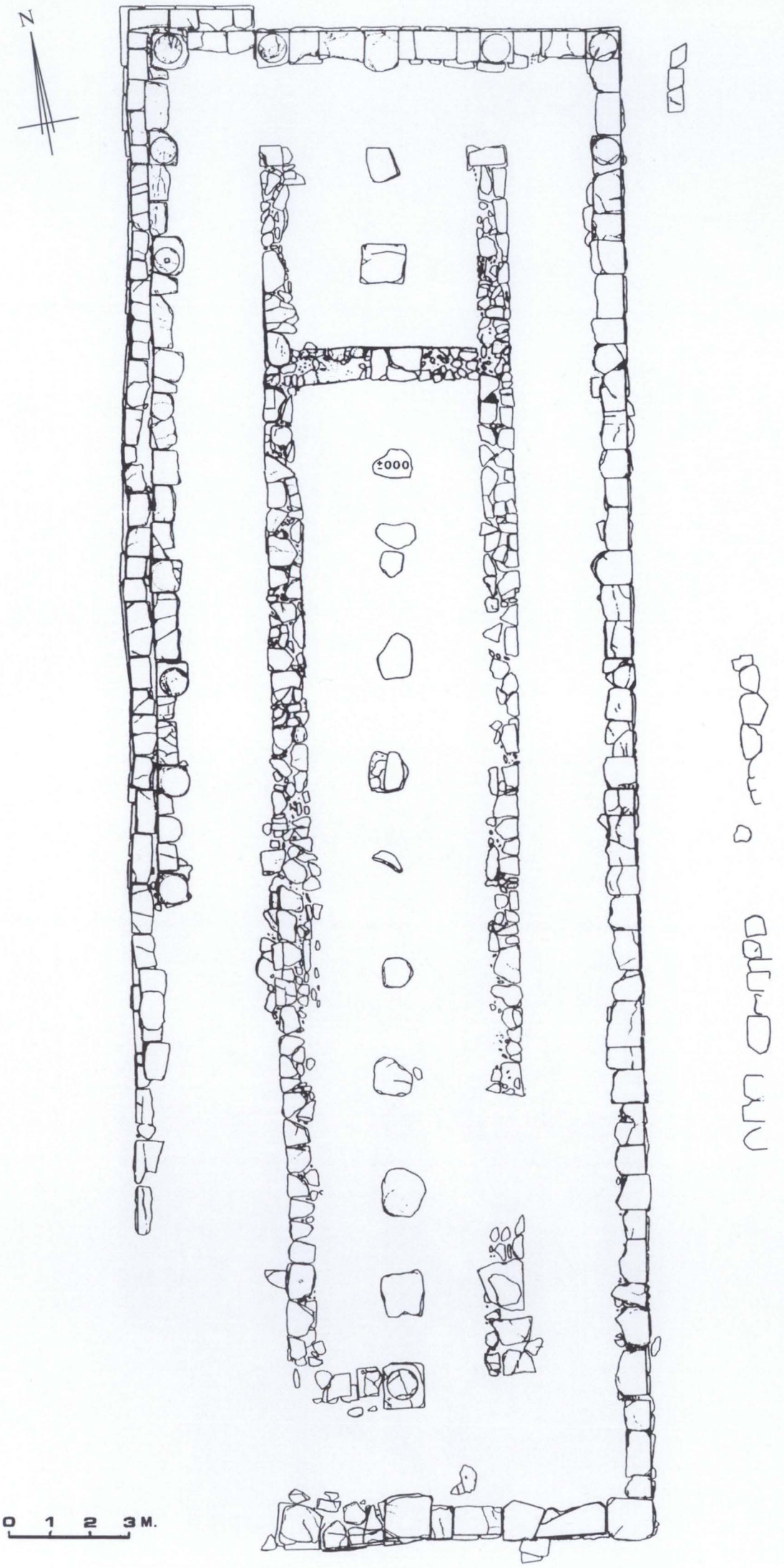
The 12th slab of the elliptical enclosure (1) *and pavements (***2** *Megaron B period,* **3** *ash altar and enclosure period).*

PLATE 54





The "unworked stone". a. Set in the earth with rubble, b. Protecting from the later level of use.



Plan of the temple of Apollo (G. Makris 1984).





a. **1** *North wall of Megaron B,* **2** *north wall of the cella,* **3** *modern supporting wall. b. North-west corner of Megaron B,* (1) *and walls Δ-E* (2) *from south.*





Megaron B. East part of the north room from south and from north. **1** *wall* β, **2** *wall* β*1.*

PLATE 58





The east wall (1) *and wall γ* (2) *of Megaron B.*





a. The west wall of Megaron B from the south and b. from the north: **1** *northwest corner,* **2** *west wall,* **3** *pithos θ,* **4** *wall β1,* **5** *a modern wall,* **6** *LH wall II.*

PLATE 60



Parts of the west wall of Megaron B.





a. Southwest and b. southeast corner of Megaron B.

PLATE 62





a. The east part of the main room and b. the west wall of Megaron B from south.



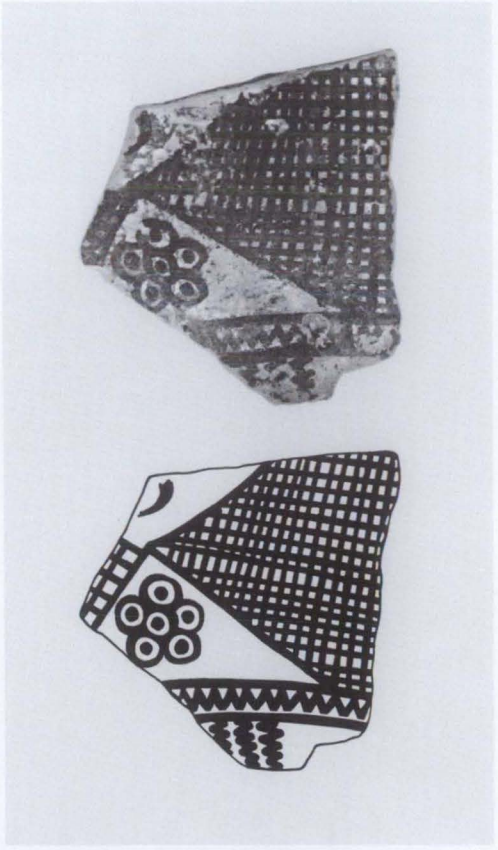


a. The rear room of Megaron B from east, **1**, **2** *levels of use,* **3** *yellow earth. b. The front room of Megaron B from east,* **1** *east wall,* **2** *remains of a bothros,* **3** *wall* Θ, **4** *modern retaining walls.*

a



b



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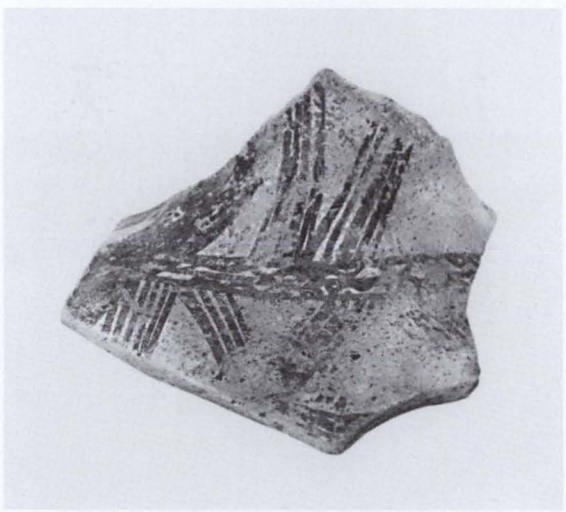


d



e

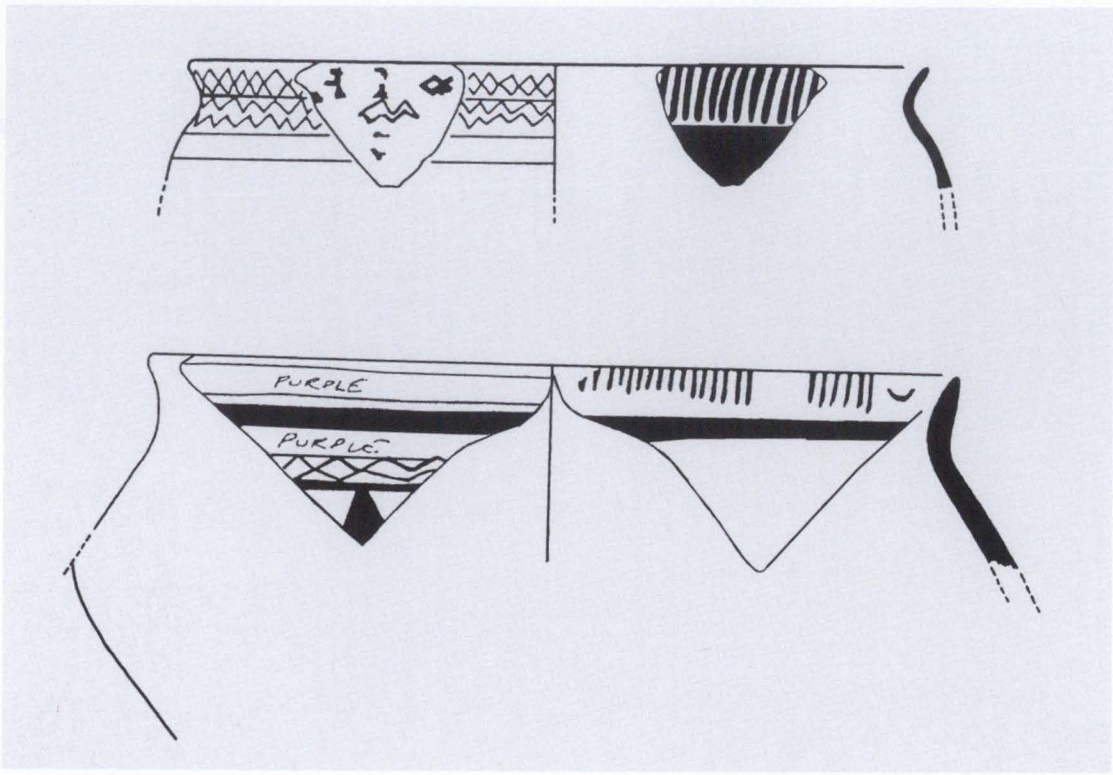


f



a. Matt-painted cup, Thermos Museum 639. b. Matt-painted sherd "from the floor of Megaron B", 1025. c, d, e, f. Sherds with matt-painted patterns from the old excavations, 1054, 1021, 1026, 1023. (Drawings Diana Wardle.)

a



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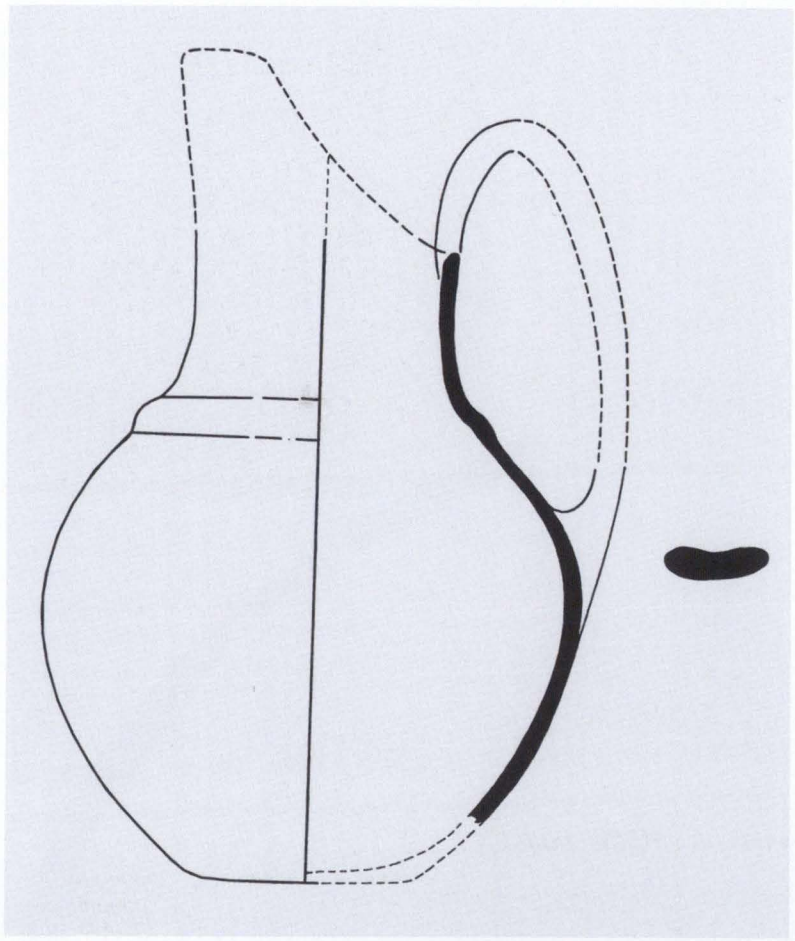

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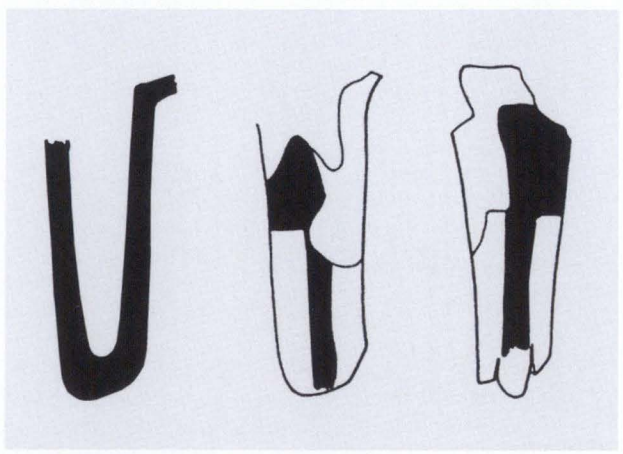

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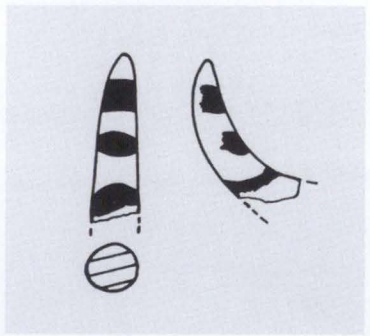
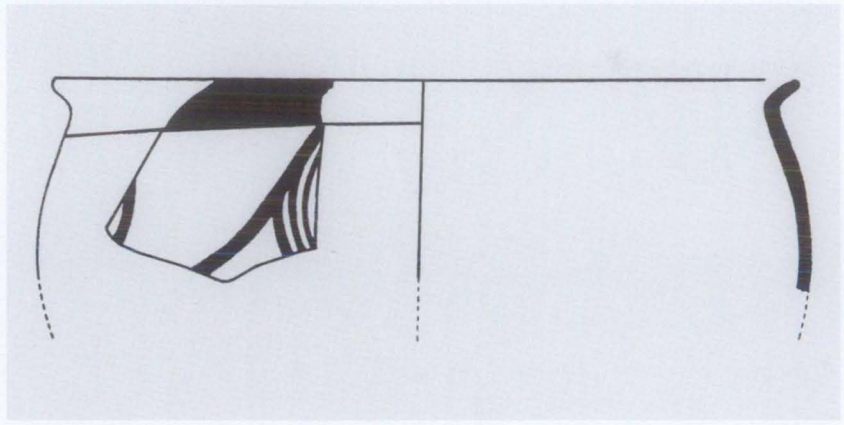


a. Bowls (unit 104/97). b. Beaked jug (unit 17/92). c. Leg of an animal? (unit 89/93). d. Horn of an animal (π42). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)

a



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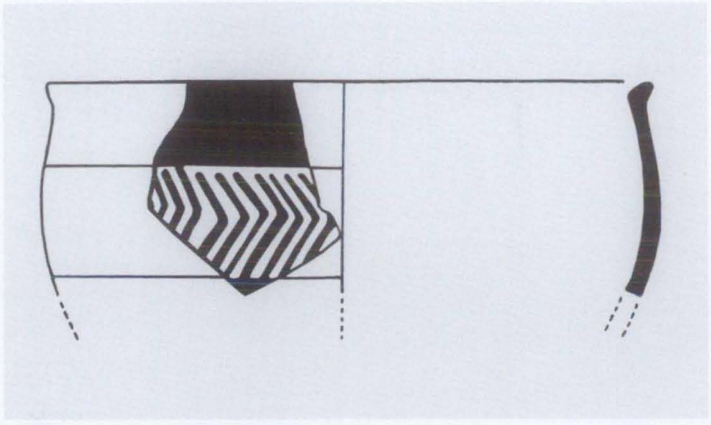

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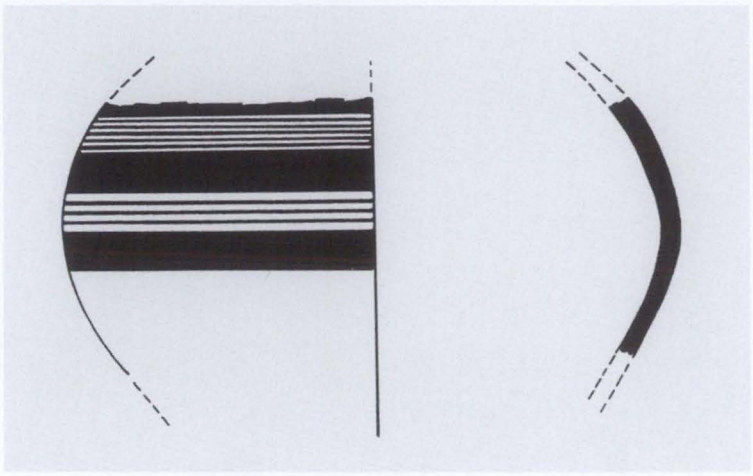

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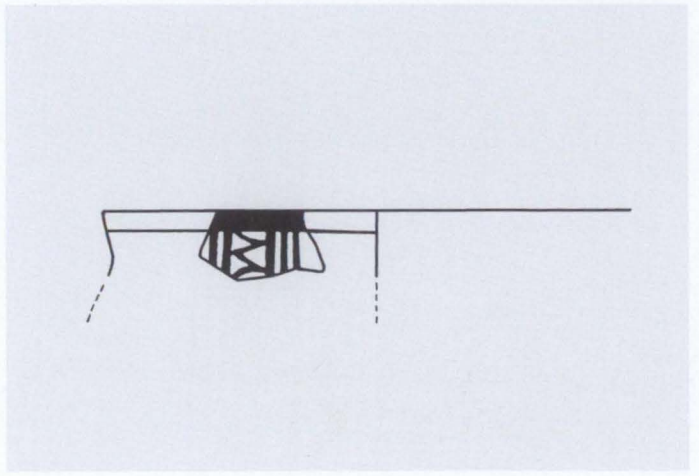

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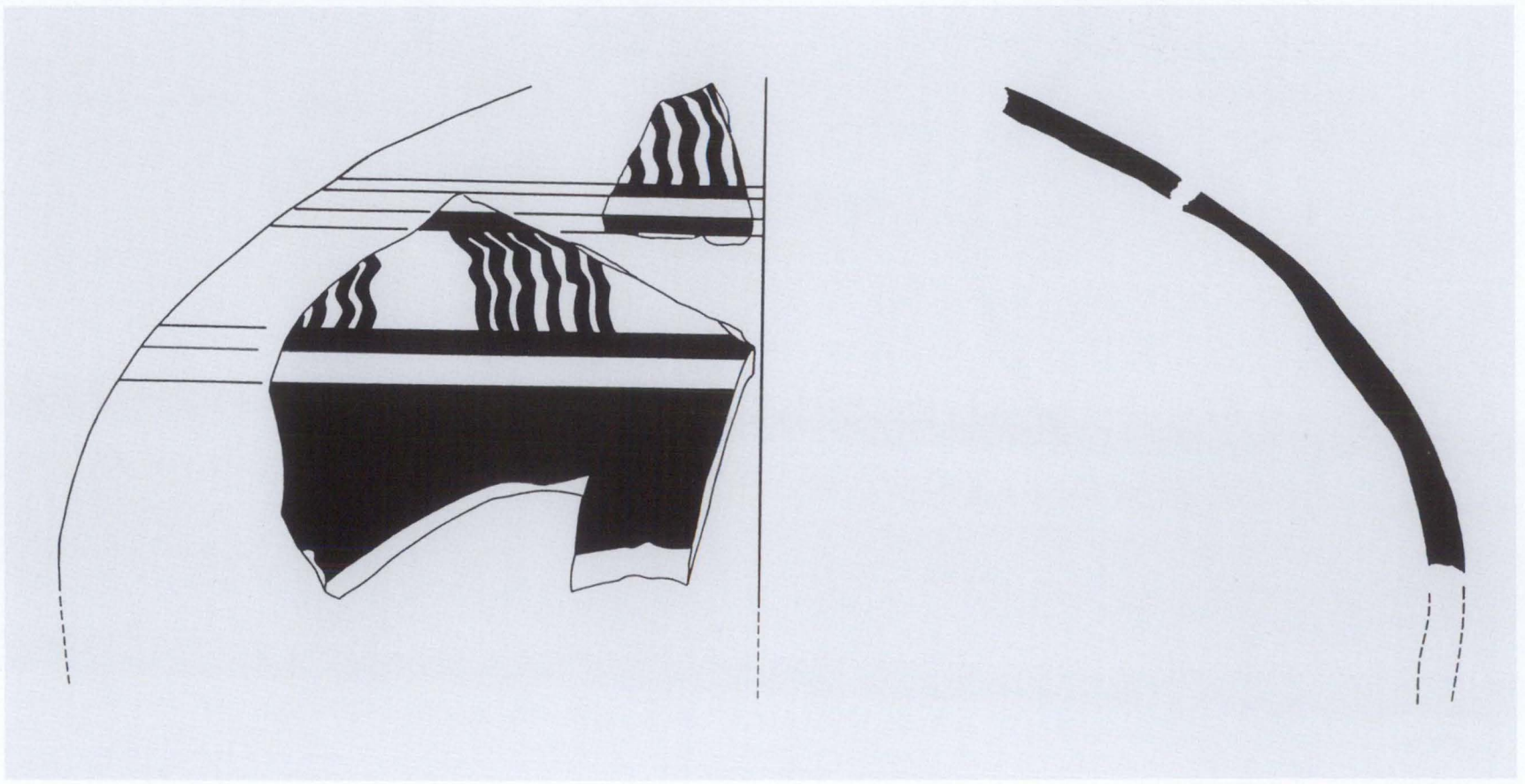
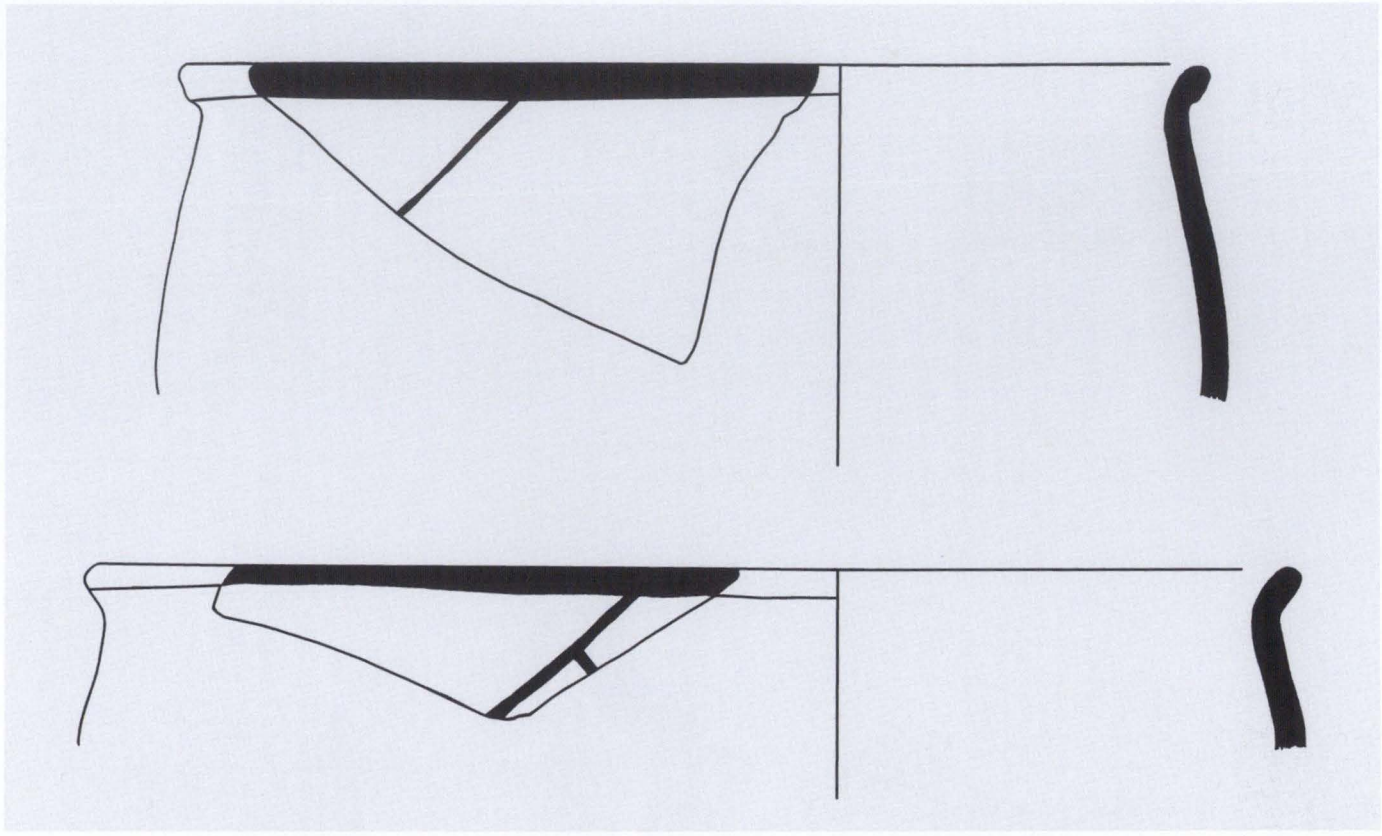


a. Goblet (unit 90/93). b. Kylix (unit 101/97). c. Globular stirrup jar (unit 1/95). d. Bowl (unit 62/93). e. Stirrup jar (unit 111/94). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)

a



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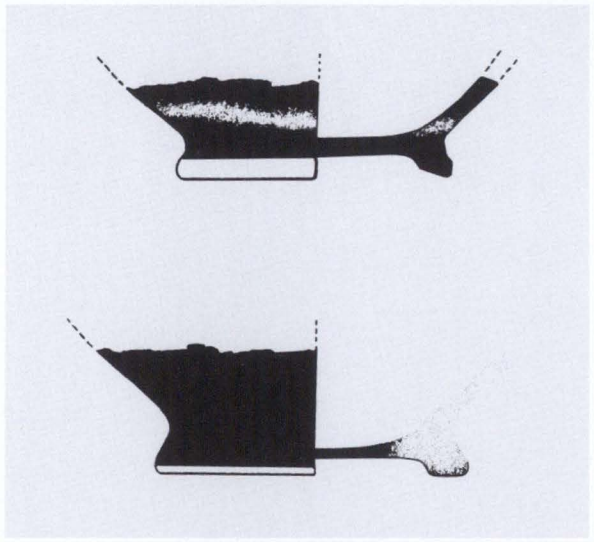

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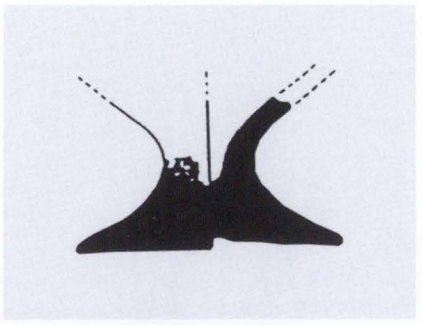

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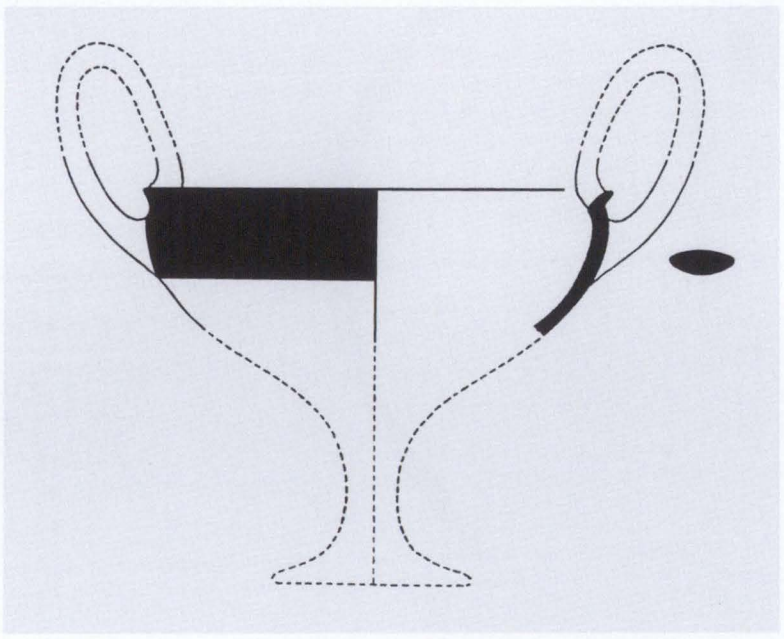
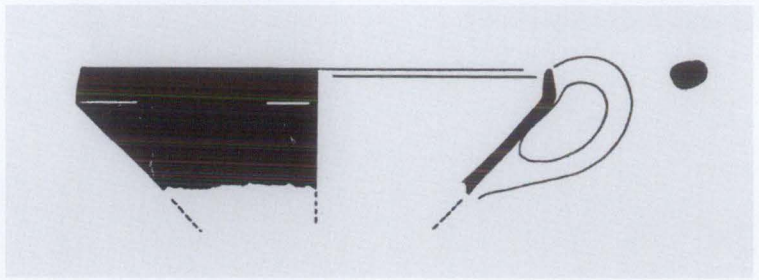


a. Bowl (unit 3, п22/92). b. Deep bowls (unit 64/93). c. Bowl (unit 16/92). d. Kylix (unit 39a/92). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)



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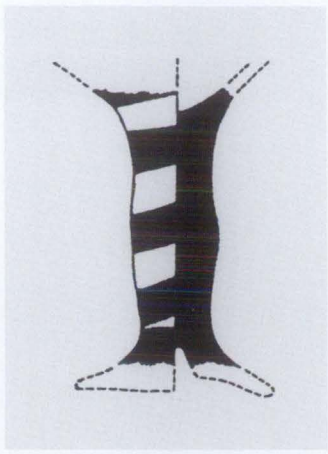

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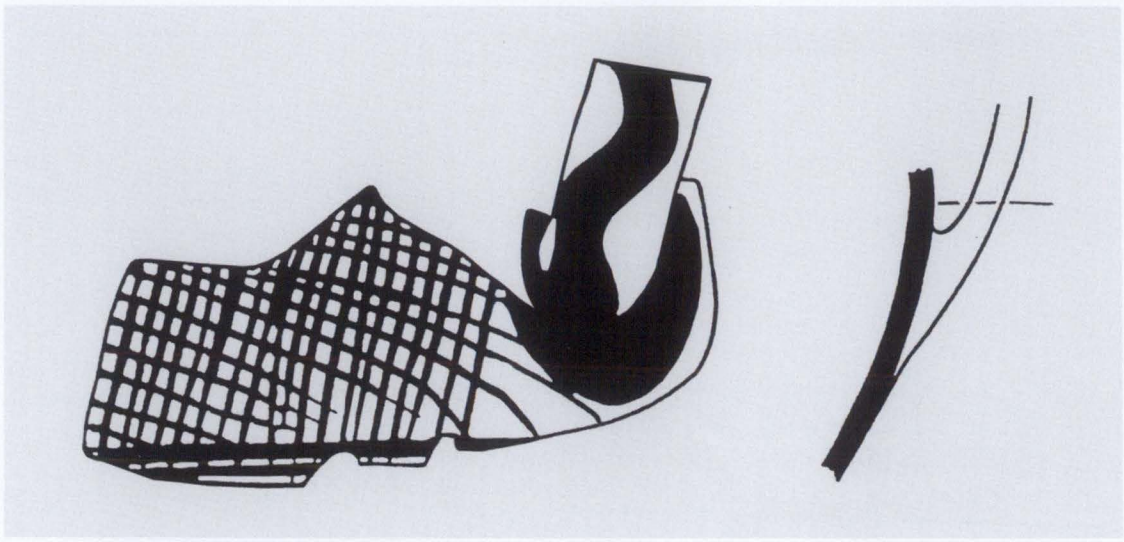

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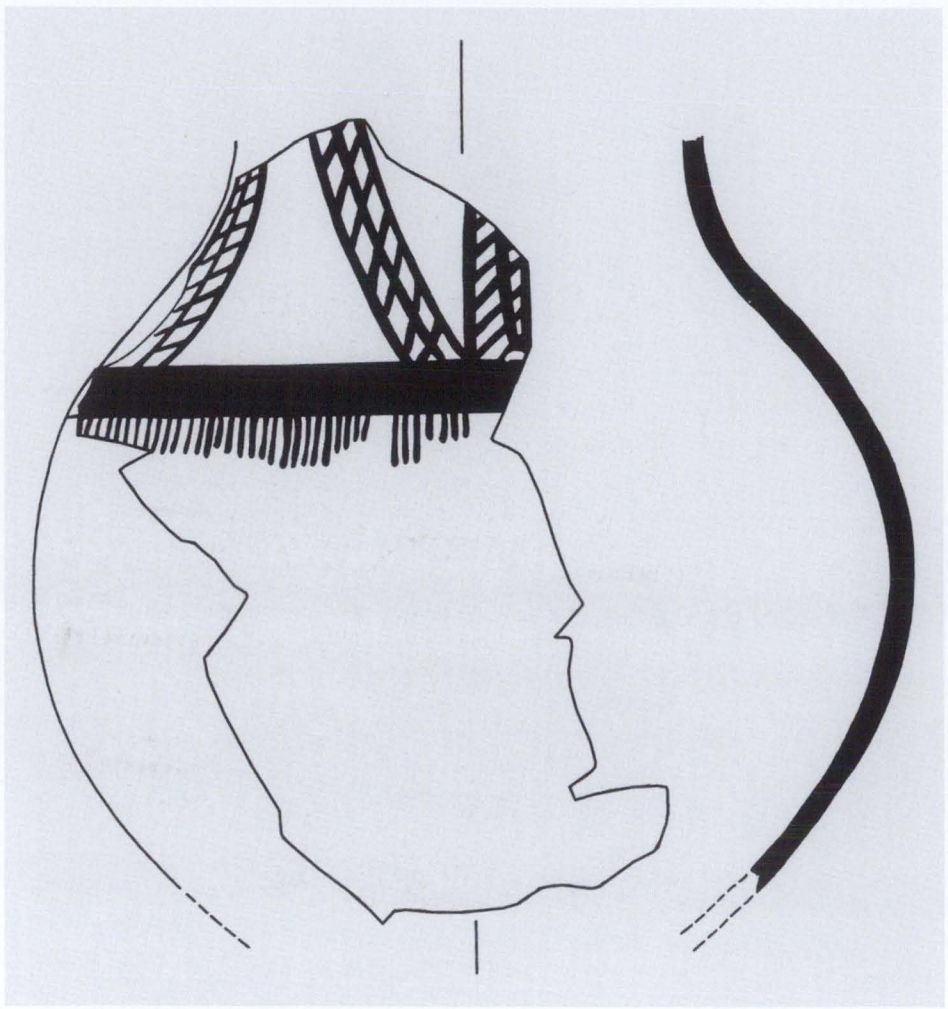

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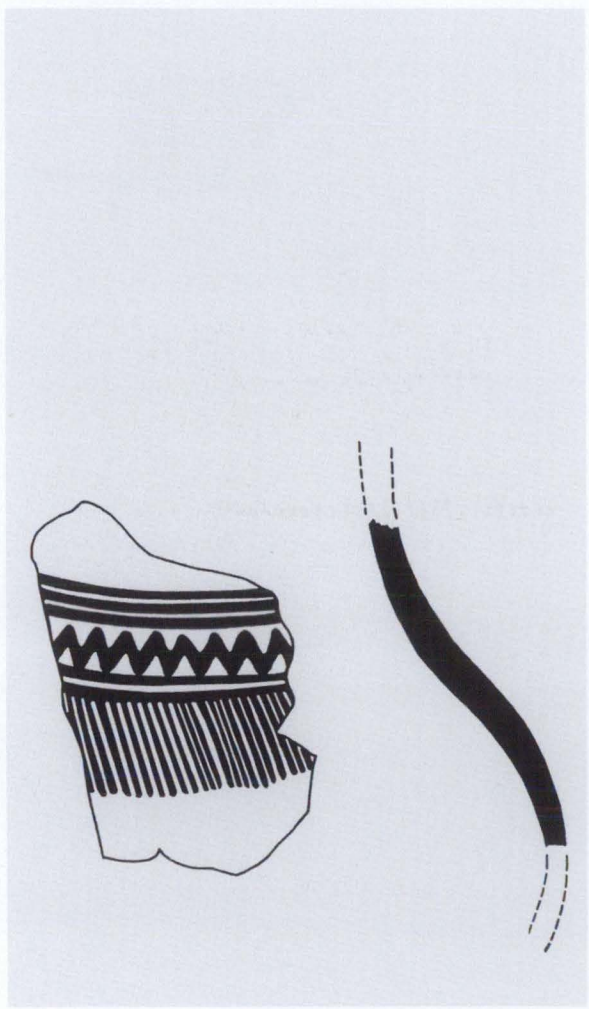
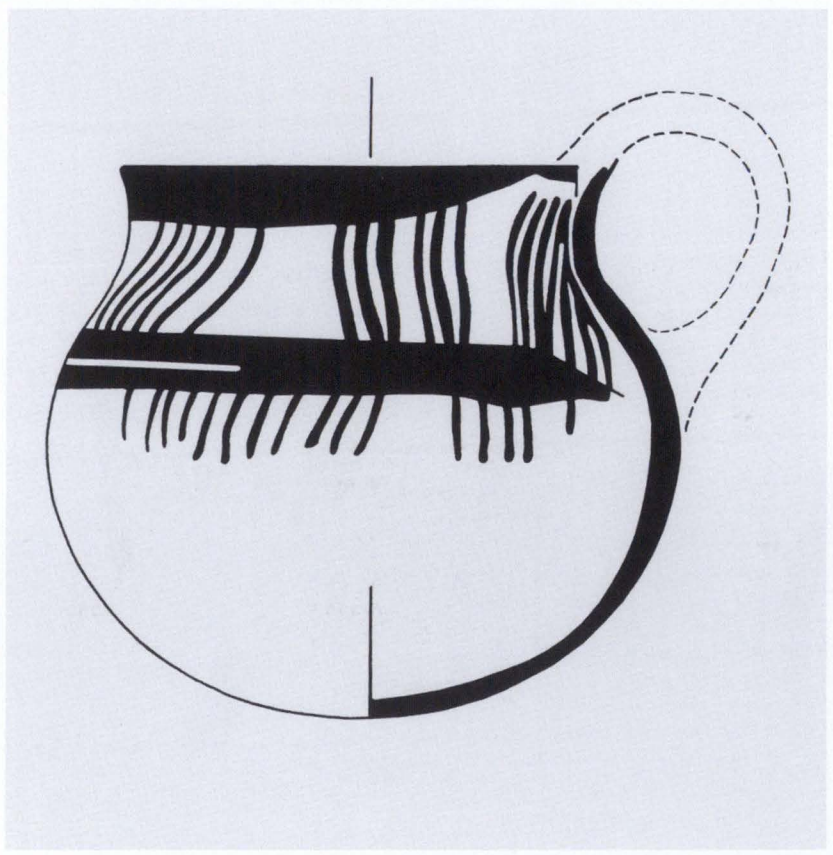


e

a-b. Kylikes π103/03, π102/03. c. Krater (unit 17/92). d. Jug (unit 108/94, π52α, Thermos Museum 1036). e. Sherd from a mug (unit 76/97). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)



a

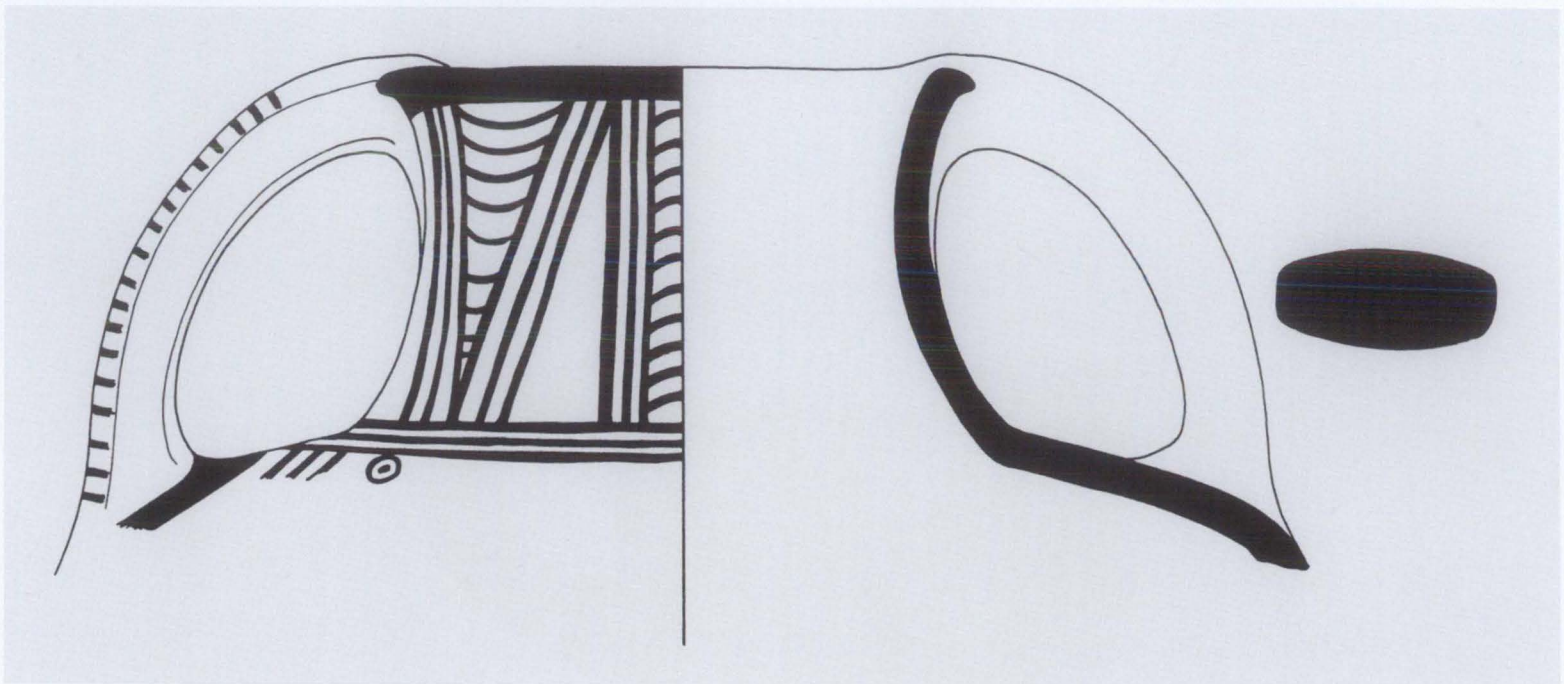




b

a. Kyathos (π74/96, Thermos Museum 993). b. Matt-painted cup (unit 105, π52/94, Thermos Museum 1018). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)

a



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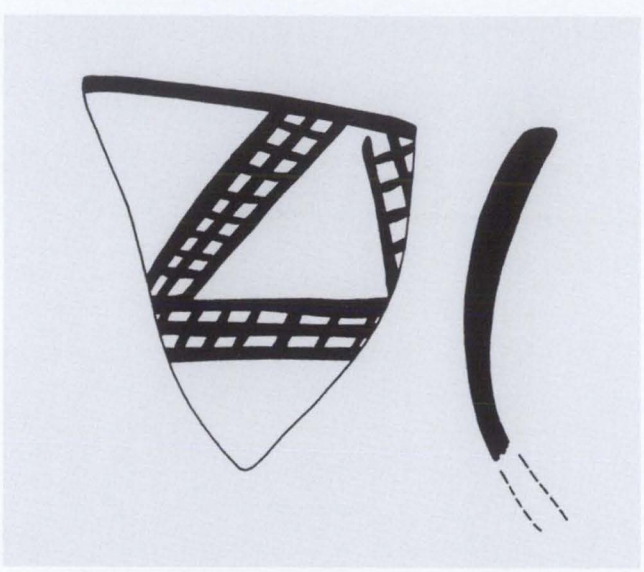

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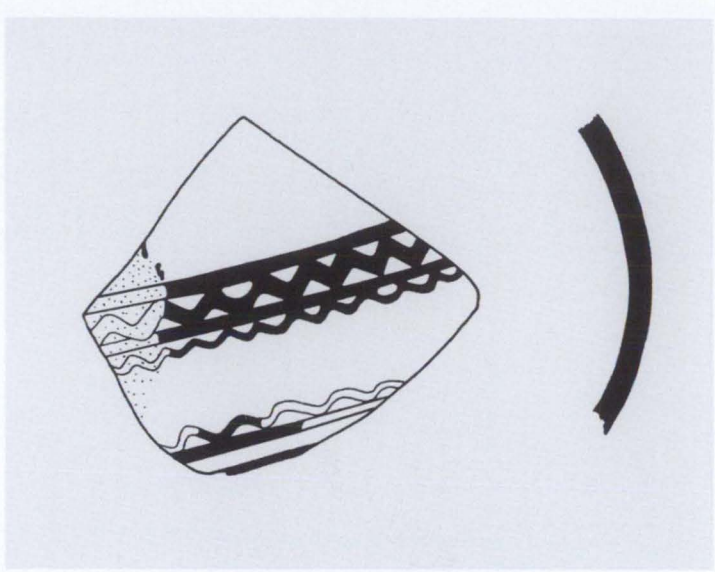

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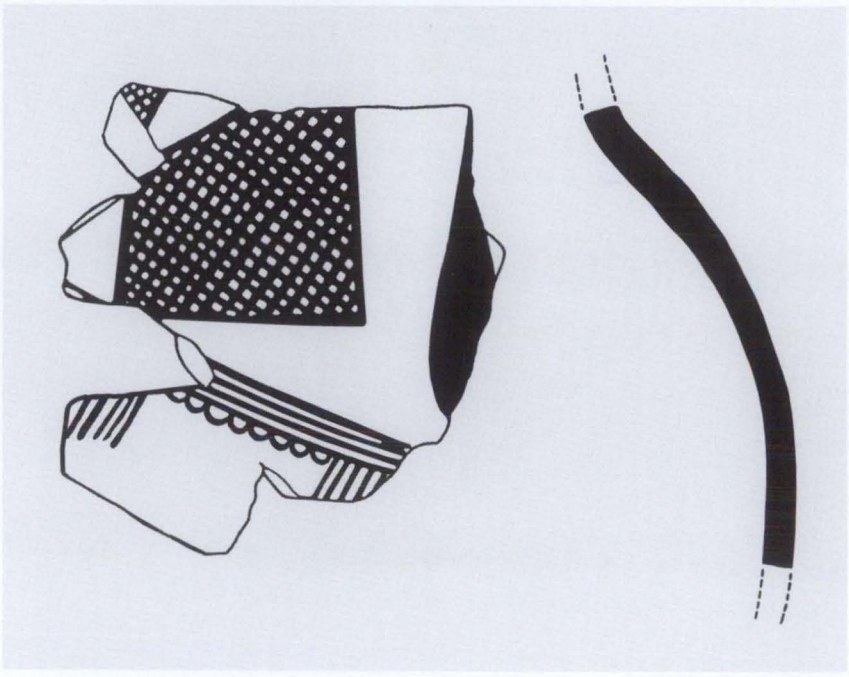

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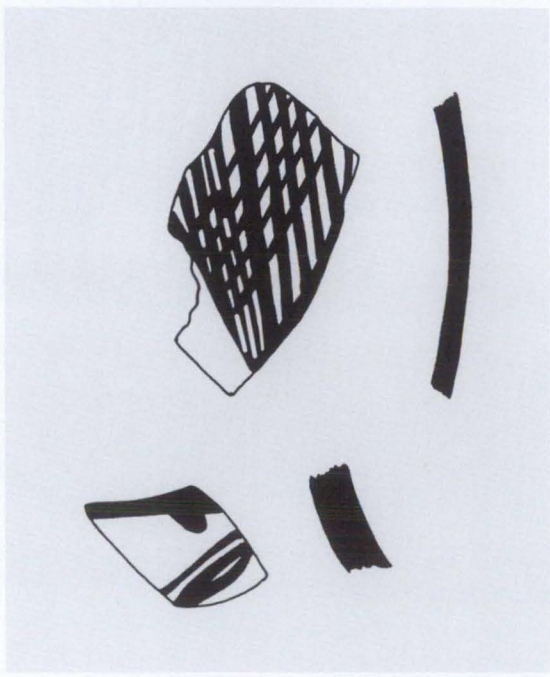
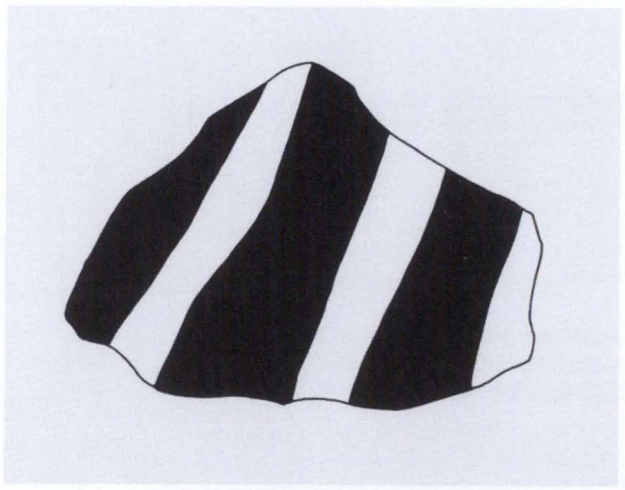


a. Amphora (unit 66/93, Thermos Museum 1035). b. Sherd from a jug with cut-away neck (unit 53a/96). c. Sherd (π66/96). d-e. Jugs (units 14a/95, 111/94). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)



a



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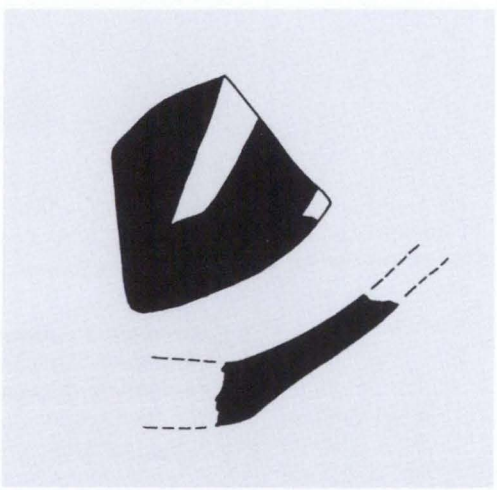

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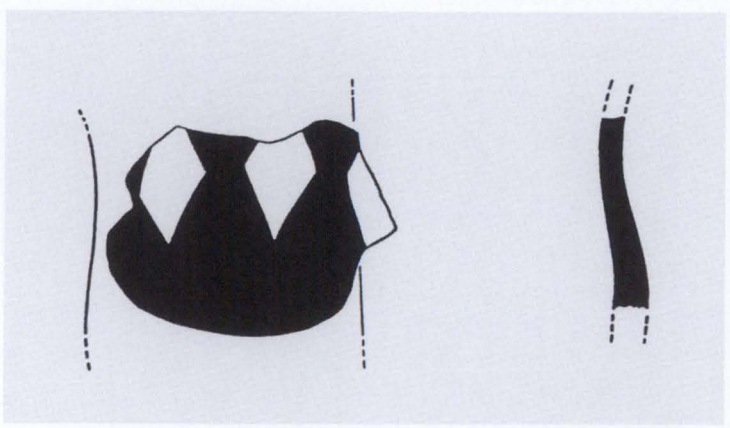
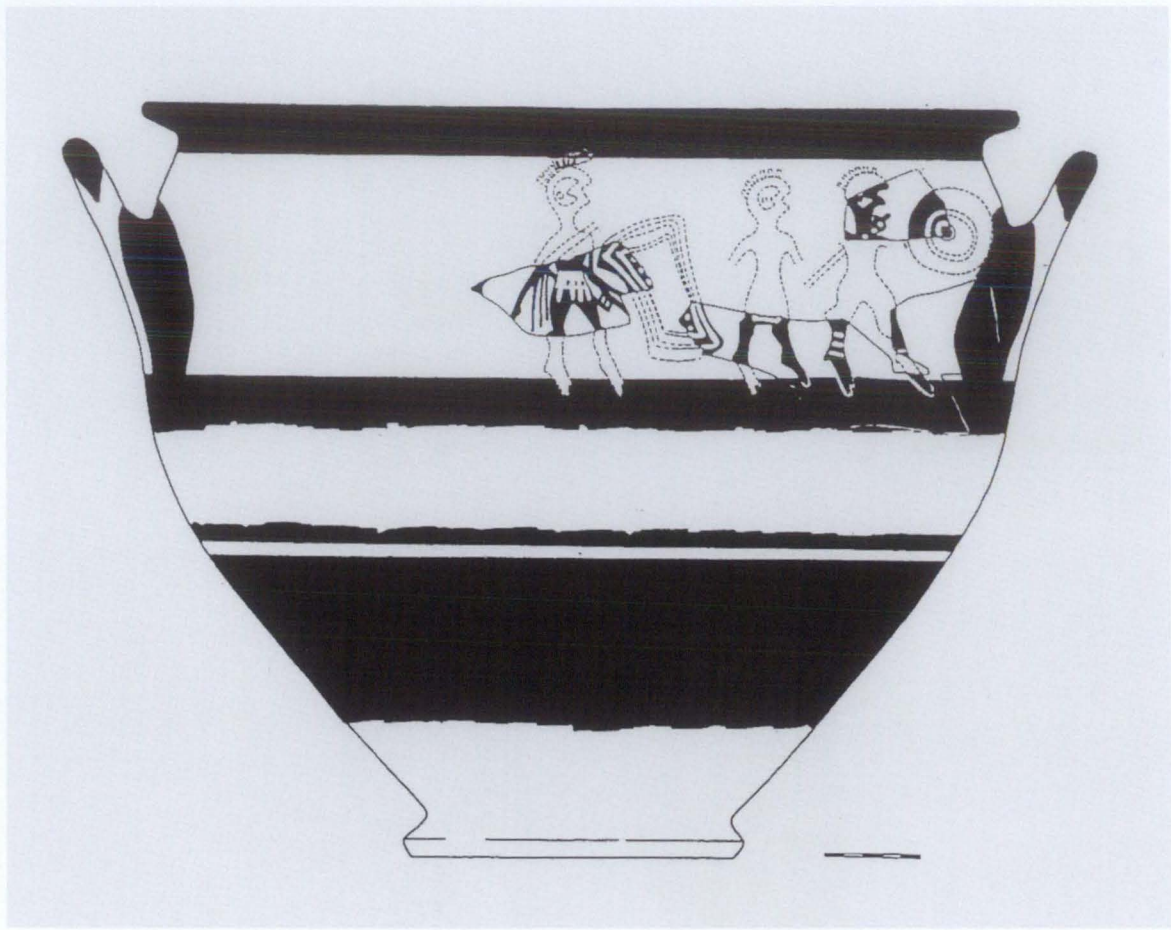
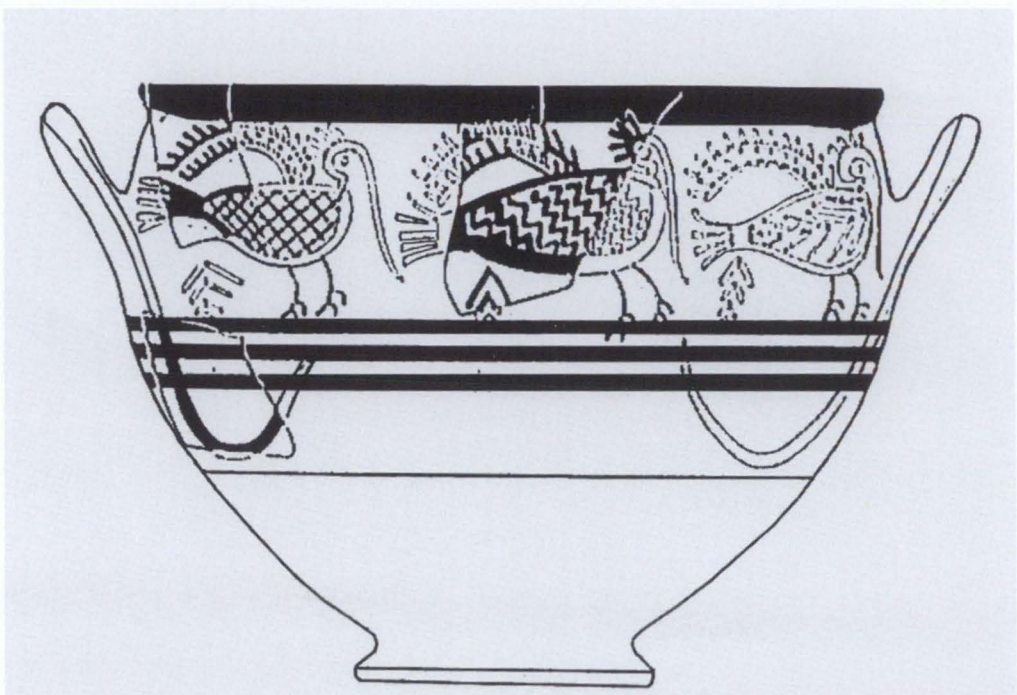


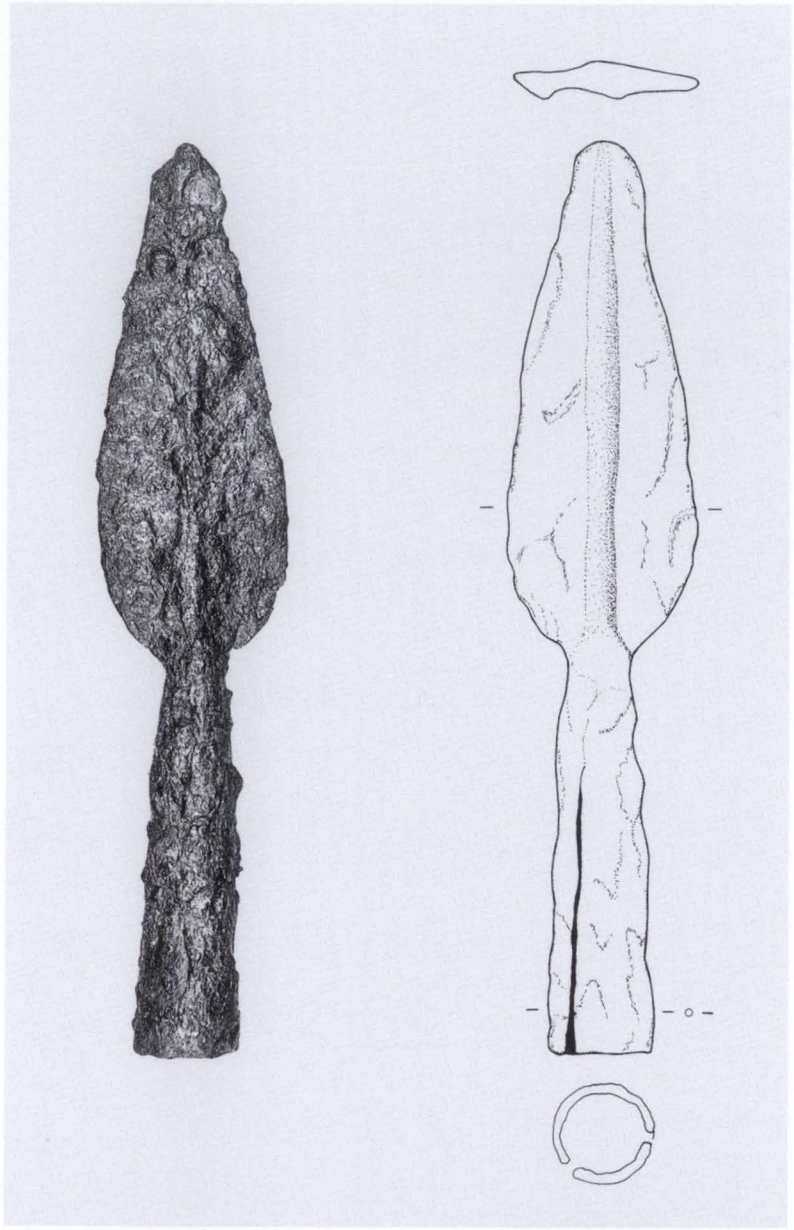
d

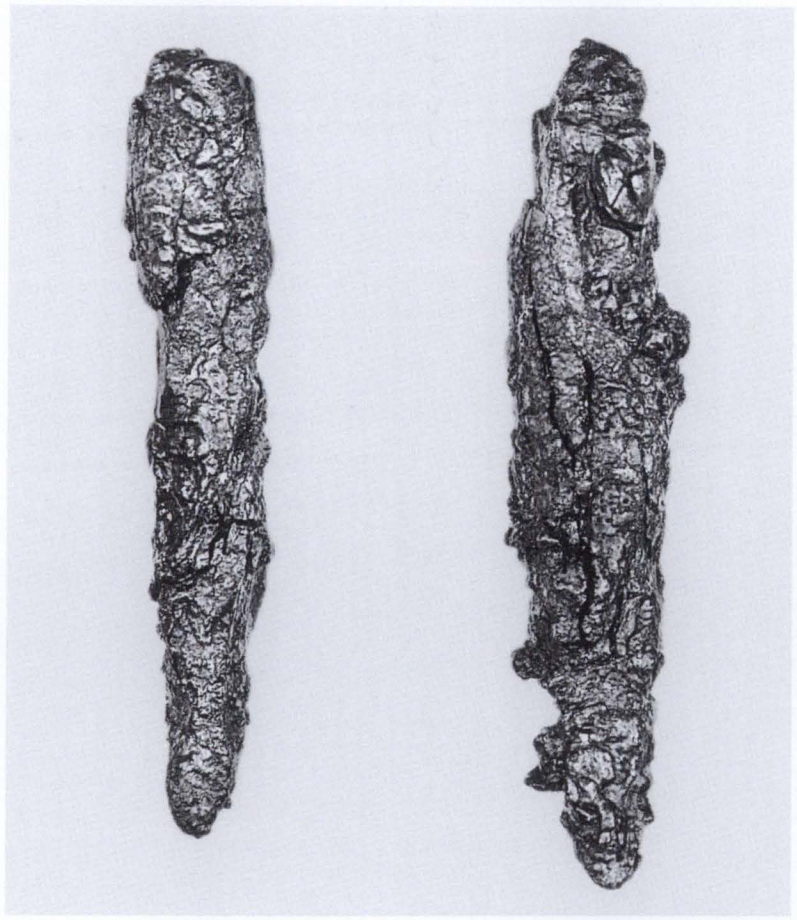
a. Sherds of matt-painted pottery (unit 6/94, п55). b-c. Sherds of large vessels. d. Sherd from a cup? (unit 155/2000). (Drawings Diana Wardle.)





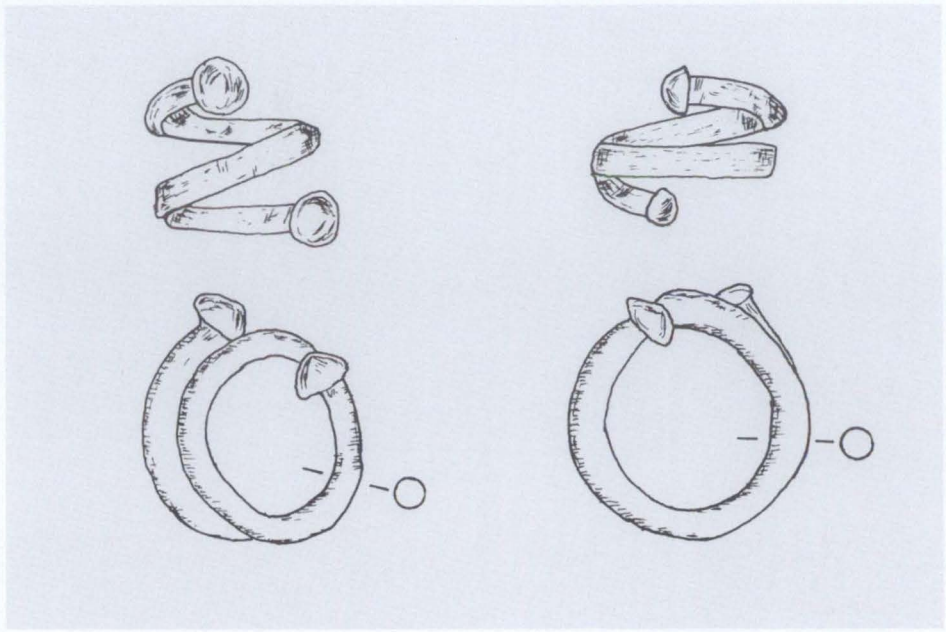
a. The warrior krater, Thermos Museum 917 α-θ. b. The krater with birds, Thermos Museum 918α-στ. (Drawings Diana Wardle.)



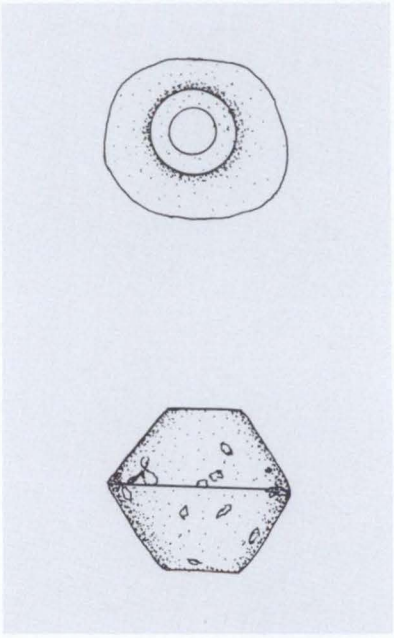


Iron spear head and two spear butts, Thermos Museum 587, 588.

a



b



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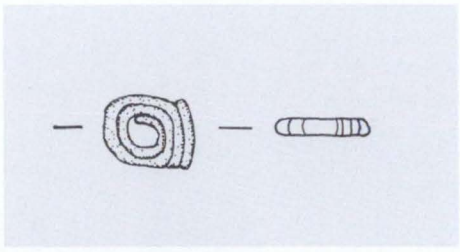
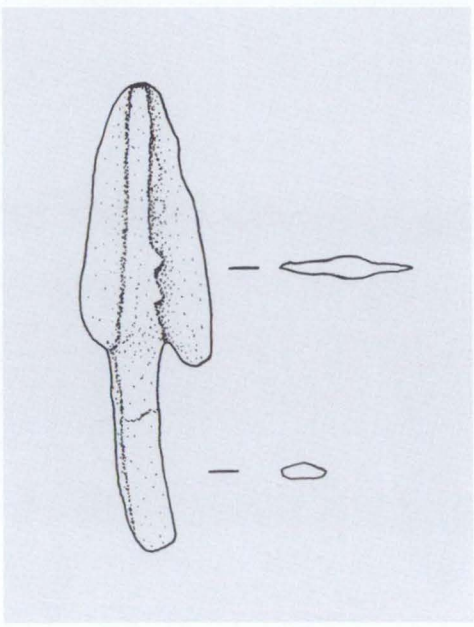
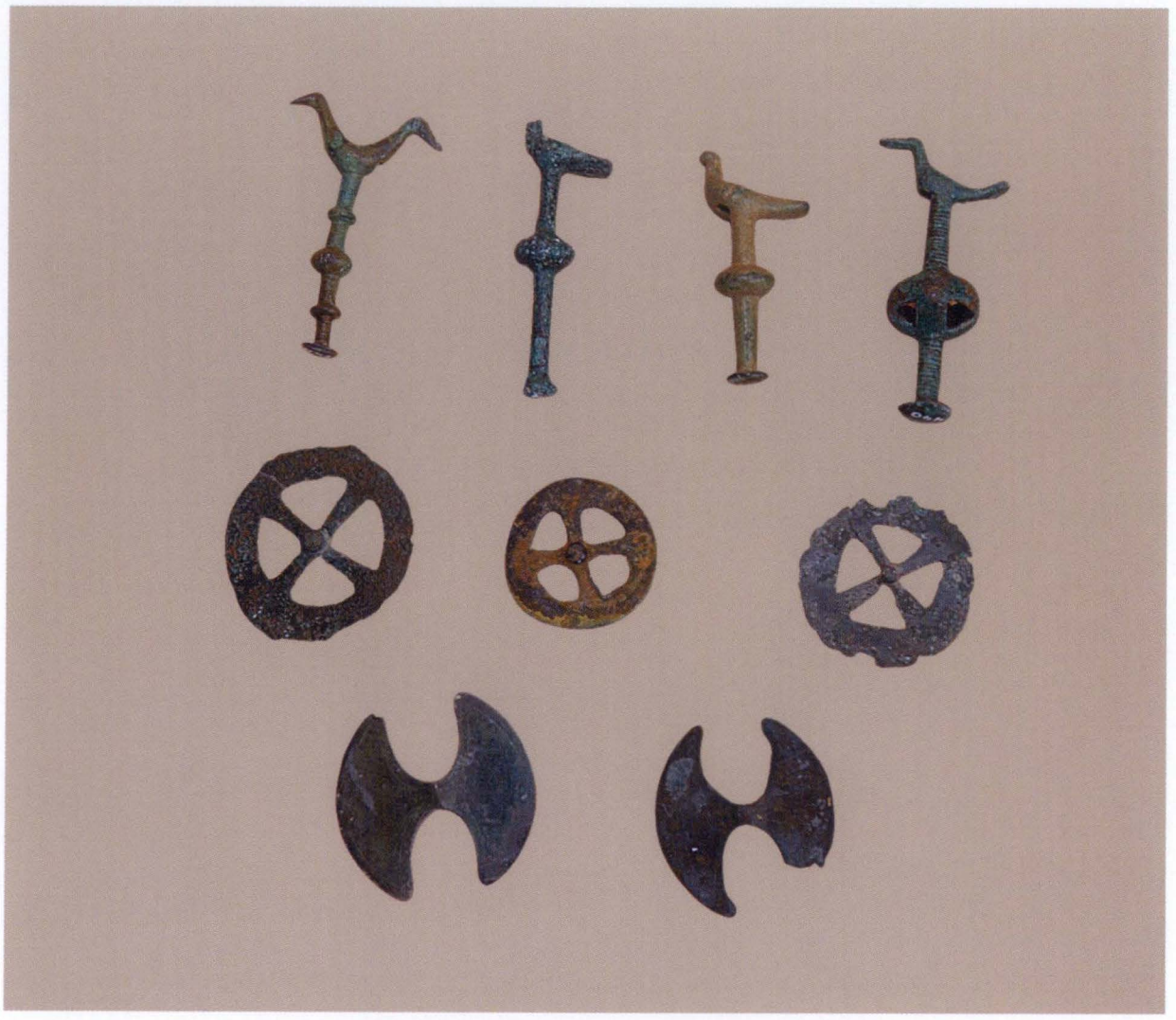
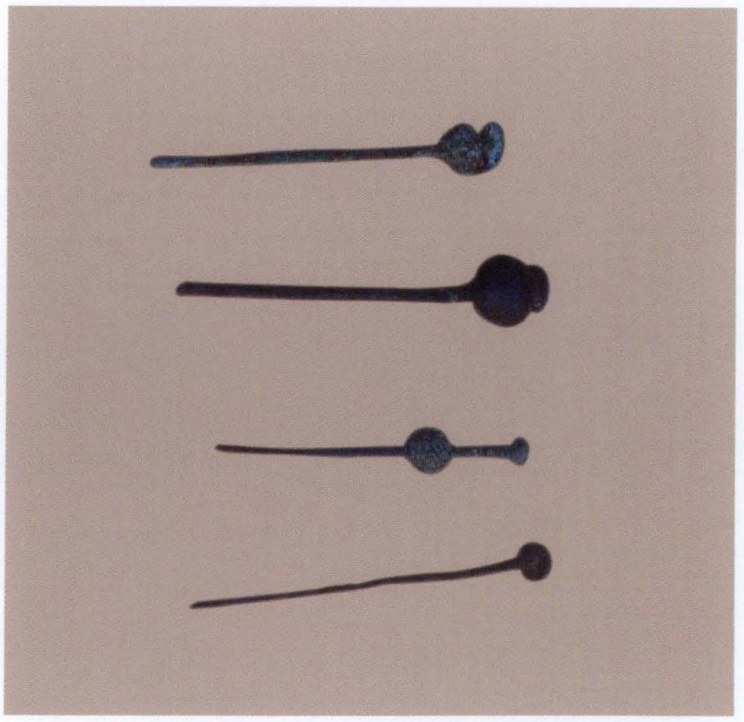


d



a. Bronze hair spirals. b. Bronze bead. c. Bronze ring. d. Bronze arrow head, Thermos Museum 608; 609; 614; 620; 611.

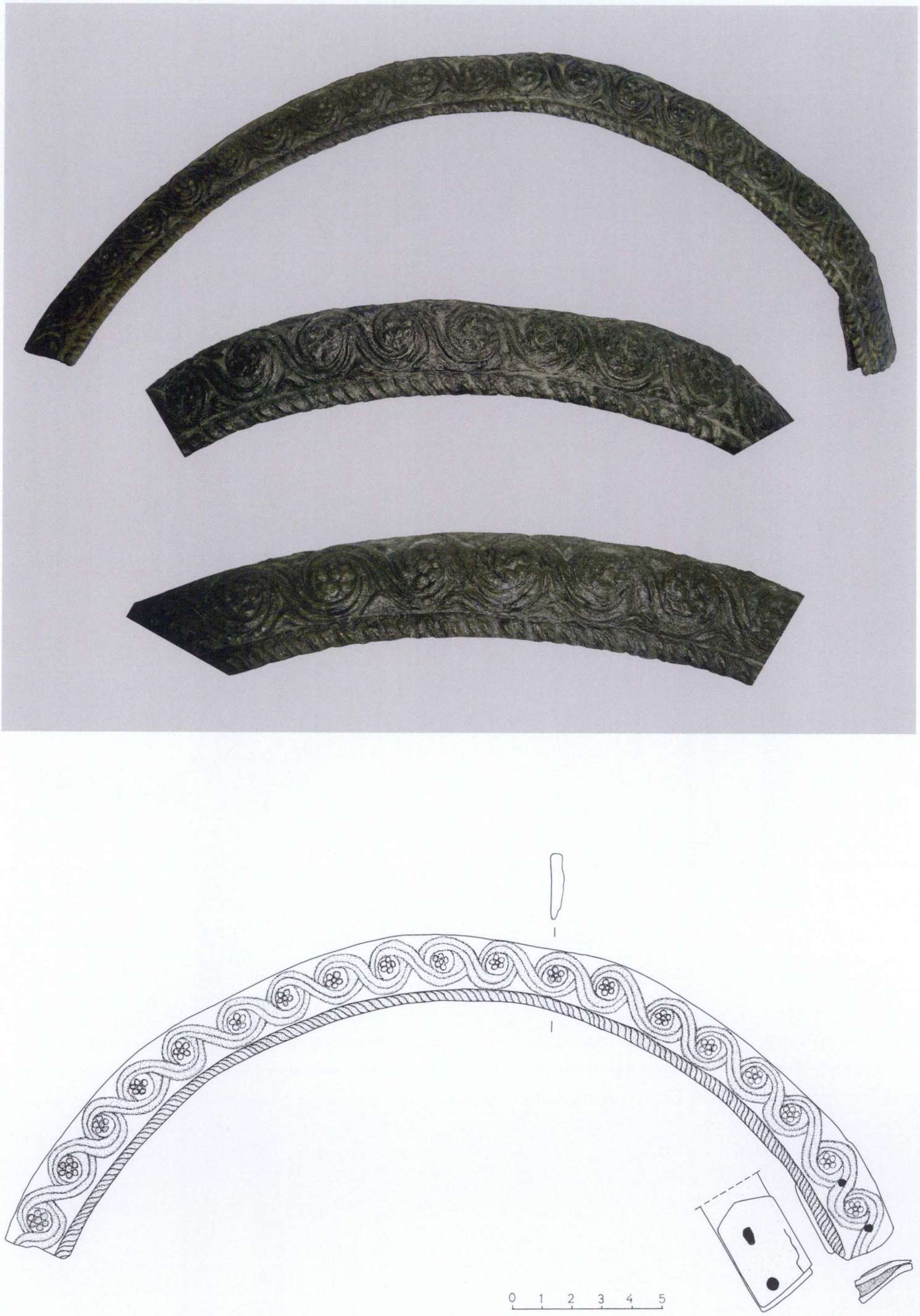




a. Bronze bird figurines, miniature wheels and double axes. b. Bronze pins.



Bronze cauldron handle, Thermos Museum 61.



Bronze lip of a cauldron (?), Thermos Museum 226.





Bronze figurine of the god Reshef, Athens Nat. Museum X14494.







Bronze figurine of the god Reshef, Athens Nat. Museum X14494.

PLATE 80





Bronze figurine of the cup-bearer, Athens Nat. Museum X14755.



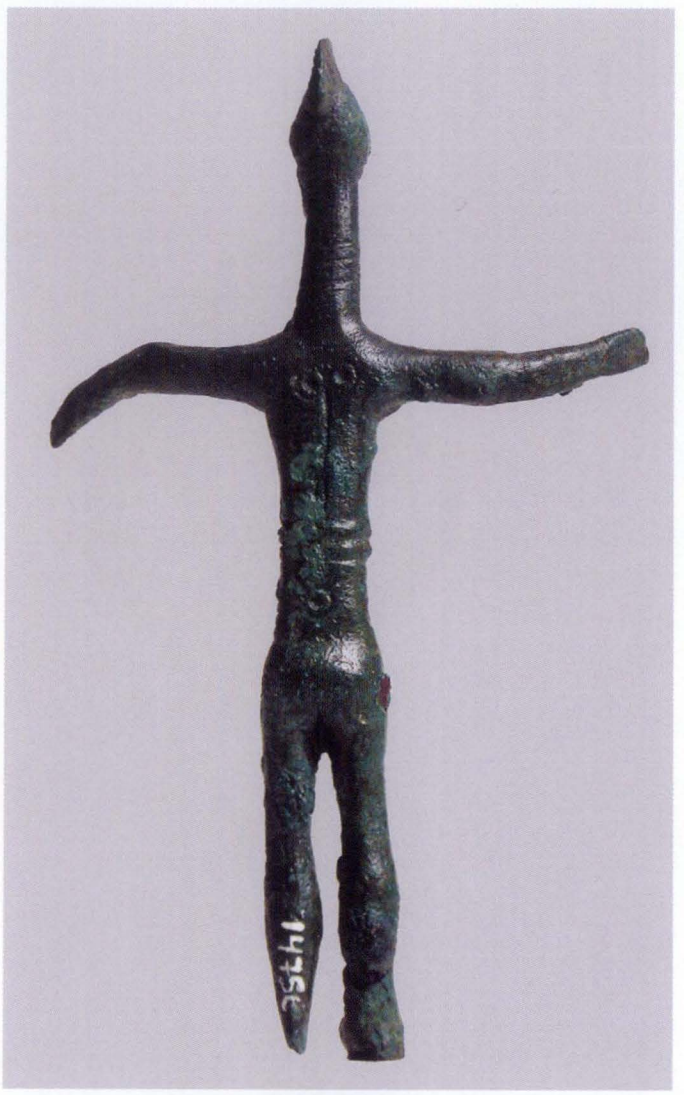
Bronze figurine of the cup-bearer, Athens Nat. Museum X14755.





Bronze figurine of the cup-bearer, Athens Nat. Museum X14755.









Bronze figurine representing the epiphany of a god, Athens Nat. Museum X14756.

PLATE 84





Bronze nude male figurine, Thermos Museum 438.



Bronze nude male figurine, Thermos Museum 488.









Bronze pair of horses, Thermos Museum 428.



Bronze figurine of a horse, Athens Nat. Museum X14757.

PLATE 88





Bronze figurine of a horse with rider, Thermos Museum 586.

Justus Perthes, Atlas Antiquus, 1892. →

GRAECIA



V. Geyer del.

GOTHA: JUSTUS PERTHES

KREMASTA RESERVOIR

Παλιοχώρι
Pallochori

Επισκοπή
Episkopi

Χαραυγή
Charavgi

Φιδάκια
Fidhakia

Σελλό
Sela

Βουτύρα
Voutira

Νοστιμό
Nostimo

Αγαλιανός
Aghalianos

Παλιοπύργος
Palliopirgos

Αγία Παρασκευή
Aghia Paraskevi

Τσαγκάρη
Tsagari

Χούνη
Chouni

Κάμπος
Kambos

Πετρωτό
Petroto

Παλιοχούνη
Pallochouni

Καραμανγλίκα
Karamanglika

Αλέστια
Alestia

Χελιδόνα
1974
Chelidhona

Μικρό Χωριό
Mikro Chorio

Σαρκίνη
Sarkini

Σταυροχώρι
Stavrochori

Άνω Άγιος Βλάσιος
Ano Aghios Vlasios

Άγιος Βλάσιος
Aghios Vlasios

Άμπελία
Ambelia

Σταυρός
Stavros

Κάτω Άγιος Βλάσιος
Kato Aghios Vlasios

Χελιδόνα
Chelidhona

Βελωτά
Velota

Καρίτσα
Karitsa

Καστανούλα
Kastanoula

Κερασιά
Kerasia

Σιτόμενο
Sitomeno

Πρόδρομος
Prodhromos

Κάστανια
Kastania

Προυσός
Prousos

Ασπρόπυργος
Aspropirghos

Εσωχώρια
Esochoria

Καταβόθρα
Katavothra

Πεντάκορφο
Pendakorfo

Κυπάρισσος
Kiparissos

Αγία Δευτέρα
Aghia Dheftera

Ανδρωνιάκα
Andhronika

Καρδαρέικα
Kardharika

Αρέντα
Arenta

Πεταλάς
Petalas

Θιαμώνιο Όρος
Thiamon Mt.

Καστράκι
Kastraki

Ριβιό
Rivio

Λαγκάδι
Lagadhi

Λεπενού
Lepenou

Κουβαρός
Kouvaros

Κυψέλη
Kipseli

Σπολάιτα
Spolaita

Κάστρο Σπολάιτας

Τ.Λ. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
STRATOS RESERVOIR

Νεάπολη
Neapoli

Ελαιόφυτο
Eleofito

Νέος Μπαπολιός
Neos Batsolios

Τριανταίικα
Triandeika

Νέα Χώρα
Neo Chorio

Μεγάλη Χώρα
Meghali Chora

Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος
Aghios Konstandinos

Στράτος
Stratos

Στράτος

Όχθια
Ochthia

Λ. ΟΖΕΡΟΣ
OZEROS LAKE

ΑΧΕΛΩΟΣ Π.
ACHELOOS R.

Άγιος Γεώργιος
Aghios Georgios

Γαυριώτισσα
Ghouriotissa

Καλύβια
Kalivia

Άγρινιο
Agrinio

Καμαρούλα
Kamaroula

Κοκκινόμυλος
Kokkinomylos

Δρέπανο
Drepano

Δρέπανο

Δρακίμι
Dhrakimi

Πιπινέρι
Pipineri

Πλάτανος
Platanos

ΑΕΡΟΔΡΟΜΙΟ ΑΓΡΙΝΙΟΥ
AGRINIO AIRPORT

Καινούργιο
Kenourgio

Νέα Αβόρανη
Nea Avorani

Παραβόλα
Paravola

Πλατανιές
Platanies

Πανταγαθός
Pandagathos

Νεραϊδώνα
Neraidona

Καλλιθέα
Kalithea

Λευκό
Lefko

Αετόπετρα
Aetopetra

Μελίγκοβα
Meligkova

Δρυμώνας
Dhrimonas

Πάνω Δρυμώνας
Pano Dhrimonas

Νεροχώρι
Nerochori

Αμπέλια
Ambelia

Αμβράκια
Amvrakia

Σπαρτιάς
Spartias

Παλαιοκαρυά
Paleokaria

Κρύα Νερά
Krio Nero

Περιστέρι
Peristeri

Κυρά Βγένα
Kira Vgena

Περά Χωριό
Pera Chorio

Αγία Βαρβάρα
Aghia Varvara

Αγία Παρασκευή
Aghia Paraskevi

Σκουτερά
Skoutera

Λαμπίρι
Lambiri

Χαλίκι
Chaliki

Τριανταφύλλια
Triandafilia

Αργυρό Πηγάδι
Arghiro Pighadi

Ιερό Αφροδίτης Φιστυίδος

Αγία Βαρβάρα
Aghia Varvara

Προσήλιο
Prosilia

Λάσπες
Laspes

Λιμνη
Limni

Φτερά
Fteria

Σκαντζαδα
Skoutzadha

Σταματογιαννάικα
Stamatogiannaika

Μπαρλάκαικα
Barlakaika

Ελληνικό
Elliniko

Ποταμούλα
Potamoula

Τσουνάικα
Tsouneika

Φραγκόσκαλα
Fragoskala

Σαργιάδα
Sarghiada

Κελαντίνης
Kelantinis

Κελάκια
Kelakia

Λάτα
Lata

Μαυρομάτι
Mavromati

Λεντίνη
Lendini

Τσιτζουρέικα
Tsidzoureika

Θερμοπύλες
Thermopylae

Ταξιάρχες
Taxiarches

Ισθμός Ρίου Αντιρρίου
Isthmos Rio Antirrio

Αγίος Στέφανος Ρίου
Aghios Stefanos Riviou

Αγίος Στέφανος Ρίου
Aghios Stefanos Riviou

Ματσούκι
Matsouki

Λαπίκα
Lapika

Κοκκινόσπηγος
Kokkinospigos

Παλιόμυρος
Palimiros

Βαρδάρι
Vardari

Αρβανίτικα
Arvanitika

Σιζάικα
Sizaika

Κεφαλέικα
Kefaleika

Ράνα
Rana

Τσάντα
Tsanta

Τσούκα
Tsouka

Τσαντί
Tsandi

Βασιλάκι
Vasilaki

Σκαντζαδα
Skoutzadha

Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΒΛΑΧΟΥ
ΜΟΝ.
PANAGHIA VLACHOU MON.

Ελληνικό
Elliniko

Ζαγαράκι
Zagaraki

Σιγκουνέικα
Sigouneika

Λιαγκάικα
Liagkaika

Παπαδιανά
Papadhiana

Τσιοβουλέικα
Tsiovouleika

Θέστιειες

Σχίνος
Schinos

Καρέικα
Kareika

Πάνω Βλαχάτα
Pano Vlachata

Άγιος Νικόλαος
Aghios Nikolaos

Άγιος Ιωάννης
Aghios Ioannis

Καραθωνασέικα
Karathanaseika

Προσέικα
Praseika

Ναστάικα
Nastaika

Άγιος Γεώργιος
Aghios Georgios

Αφράτο
Afrato

Θοδωρή
Thodhori

Κρανιά
Krania

Τσιφλίκα
Tsiflika

Μ. ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΟΥΣ
M. KATERINOUS MON.

Γουλάικα
Goulaika

Κουρτιλάικα
Kourtilaika

Παλιοκάστανος
Palliokastanos

Μεσάριστα
Mesaristra

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Kato Makrinou

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ZOODHOCHOS PIGHI MON.

Μ. ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ
AGHIOS IOANNIS MON.

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Potamoula

Τσιλιγιαννάικα
Tsiligiannaika

Μακρινού
Makrinou

Αγιοι Αποστολοι
Aghioi Apostoli

Κουρμεκί
Kourmeki

Δουναίικα
Dhouneika

Ανάληψη
Analipsi

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PRODHROMOS MON.

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Psilalona

Μαραθούσα
Marathousa

Κασαλάικο
Kasaleiko

Διάσελο
Dhiaselo

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EVINOS R.

Ευηνος Π.
EVINOS R.

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Λεύκα
Lefka

Μπούζι
Bouzi

Στρογγυλάικα
Strogilaika

Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος Ρηγανάς
Aghios Konstantinos Riganas

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Trichonio

Παπαδάτες
Papadhates

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Kato Kefalovryso

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Grammatikou

Γαβαλού
Ghavalou

Δαφνιάς
Dhafnias

Άγιος Ανδρέας
Aghios Andhreas

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Palliozevgharo

Σαράντη
Sarandi

Λιθοβούνι
Lithovouni

Καψοράχη
Kapsorachi

Μαραθιάς
Marathias

Παμφιο
Parmfio

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Kato Chrisovitsa

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Pano Dosoula

Κάτω Δοσούλα
Kato Dosoula

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Lagoon of Mesolongi

Ν. ΒΡΩΜΑΛΥΚΕΣ
VROMALIKES Isl.

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SCHINIAS Isl.

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Tourlidha

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Μεσολόγγι
MESOLOGGI

Μεσολόγγι

Αιτωλικό
Etoliko

Νεοχώρι
Neochori

Κατοχή
Katochi

Μεσόκαμπος
Mesokambos

Αγιονέρι
Agionerri

Μ. ΑΓ. ΣΥΜΕΩΝ
AGHIOS SIMEON MON.

Άγιος Γεώργιος
Aghios Georgios

Περαθώρι
Perathori

Γαβρολίμνη
Ghavrolimni

Άνω Βασιλική
Ano Vasiliki

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Kato Kalavrouza

Καλαβρούζα
Kalavrouza

Κλόκοβα
1038
Klokova

Κάτω Βασιλική
Kato Vasiliki

Γαλατάς
Ghalatas

Ευηνοχώρι
Evinochori

Κρυονέρι
Krioneri

Ακρ. Χαλκίδα
Cape Chalkidha

Αντίρριο
Antirrio

Βαράσοβα
Varasova

Ρίζα
Riza

Μολύκρειο
Molykreio

Πάνω Πλάτανος
Pano Platanos

Μολύκρειον

Μακύνεια
Makynia

Αγ. Τριάδα

Βασιλική Αγ. Τριάδας

Χάλκιστρα

ΠΑΤΡΑΪΚΟΣ ΚΟΛΠΟΣ
PATRAIKOS GULF



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