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VIII

R.A. TOMLINSON PERACHORA

The early development of Greek Sanctuaries — particularly Olympia and Delphi — has been discussed by Dr. Cathy Morgan in her splendid recent book *Athletes and Oracles*. In this she makes reference to the importance of the Sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora which, in its early stages, was in the forefront of sanctuary development.

In this paper I propose to examine the evolution of the Perachora sanctuary, and in particular the relationship between its early and developed form. It is now nearly 40 years since I first went to Perachora, and nearly 30 since I first excavated there. During this time I have made many friendships there; this summing up is a tribute, in particular, to Michaelis Thodis, the former Phylax, whose enthusiastic support and enthusiasm for the archaeology of the region was a mainstay of my work, and whose death last year is a sad loss to us.

Excluding the chance and insignificant prehistoric material, excavation has revealed an archaeology extending from the early first millennium B.C. until the later Roman period¹. The earliest

¹ See *Perachora I* (H.G.G. PAYNE *et al.*); *Perachora II* (T.J. DUNBAIN *et al.*) for the main excavation reports. Subsequent work is reported in *BSA*.

deposition of pottery suggests religious usage, and from this the sanctuary developed in archaic and classical times. There are clear indications of a substantial interest in the sanctuary early in the Hellenistic age, around 300 B.C., but nothing later. A presumed period of decline probably led to cessation of religious use, perhaps confirming Strabo's use of the past tense in reference to Hera Akraia. Subsequent Roman structures are secular, and represent a new direction after the sanctuary had been abandoned.

Behind this bare chronological summary is concealed another fact, not appreciated at the time of Humfry Payne's original excavation. The earthquake which shattered Perachora village in 1981 resulted in a systematic study of the area by seismologists². Their discoveries included the fact that the region can expect to be subjected to a major, destructive earthquake every three hundred years or so. It is interesting, in this respect, to note that the two village churches, totally destroyed in 1981 and now replaced, dated to the 17th century. We must, therefore, allow for two, perhaps three, major earthquakes during the proved life of the sanctuary, sufficiently strong to affect it, though not necessarily resulting in the destruction of buildings (buildings in the vicinity of the sanctuary were not badly damaged in 1981).

In his excavations, Payne discovered a wealth of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, as well as bronzes and other objects. The overwhelming impression from these is of a specially flourishing period in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Though to the modern visitor it may seem to be a small, relatively unmonumental place, in the scale of its building, and the

² C. VITA-FINZI and G.C.P. KING, «The Seismicity, Geomorphology and structural evolution of the Corinth area of Greece», in *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. Lond. A.* 314 (1985), 379-407.

wealth of its offerings, the Sanctuary stands comparison with the major sanctuaries of Greece in its archaic *acme*, though undoubtedly it lags behind the more grandiose achievements of the Classical period.

An important element is the origin of its habitual worshippers. There are a few dedicatory inscriptions on stone, more painted or incised on pottery, but none give the place of origin of the dedicators. Lilian Jeffery, who studied the inscriptions on vases and small objects, showed that the preponderance of these use the Corinthian alphabet, as we would expect. More distant connections are suggested by the large quantity of objects in an Egyptian style, totalling over 900, the great majority being scarabs, though because few of them are of steatite, T.J. Dunbabin suggested they were manufactured on Rhodes. A study of the 8th/7th century bronzes by J. Kilian-Dirlmeyer suggests 80% of these are of eastern origin, 74% of them Phoenician and only 6% from Greek Ionia³.

Taking into account the totality of the archaeological material, it appears that the worshippers were predominantly Corinthian, and that the sanctuary was primarily of local interest, the international element in the objects found there reflecting the overseas contacts of the Corinthians themselves. Certainly, the bulk of the pottery must have been manufactured at Corinth.

To attempt greater precision tends to more speculative interpretation. The location of the sanctuary at the small harbour gives obvious credence to the supposition that dedications were made there by sailors travelling up or down the Gulf of Corinth. The importance of the harbour is emphasized by Payne, though he exaggerates this: the harbour does provide shelter of a sort

³ «Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern von 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.», in *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32 (1985), 215-254.

from northerly winds, but it is very small, and the now proved tendency for the land to sink, rather than rise, through seismic activity hardly suggests (as Payne believed) that it was larger in antiquity. The existence of a quite complex system of roads leading to the Heraion from other parts of the Perachora promontory proves that there were also local worshippers. These came not from the substantial town which Dunbabin believed surrounded the sanctuary (in an essay on the 'Town' which exists in draft in the archives of the British School, where he estimates its population at some 5,000). Instead we must suppose a number of scattered clusters of habitation over much of the promontory, by each area of agricultural land, some near the Heraion, others at the eastern end of Lake Vouliagmene where their graves, containing Protocorinthian pottery, were discovered last year; others, in the vicinity of the modern village, and so on. The network of roads gathers these people together and leads them to the sanctuary.

Thus we are not dealing with an urban sanctuary, but a rural one that was specially visited on the occasion of the festival⁴. A puzzling passage of Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 17, 295 B-C) lists the villages which of old ($\tauὸ παλαιὸν$) constituted the state of the Megarid, the citizens being divided into five groups, of which the first are the Heraieis and the Peiraeis (the others are Megareis, Kynosourieis and Tripodiskioi). Hammond argued that this must mean that the promontory was originally Megarian, and forcibly occupied by Corinth⁵. Rather Plutarch seems

⁴ Evidence for metal (bronze) working suggested to Dunbabin a town (unpublished essay in archive of the British School). But as Catherine Morgan (*Athletes and Oracles* [Cambridge 1990], 37) shows, itinerant craftsmen worked at sanctuaries.

⁵ In *BSA* 48 (1954), 93. J. SALMON, in *BSA* 67 (1972), 193, probably rightly, rejects a theory I formerly put forward that this is based on Hellenistic invention.

to conflate two arguments: firstly, that these five groups existed as distinct villages, or clusters of hamlets, and, secondly that all five formed, collectively, a recognizable polis of the Megarid, though this does not coincide with the historical boundaries of Megara. I now think that this is confusion: that it was *remembered* that at a remote time the Perachora promontory, the 'villages' of Heraieis and Peiraeis, were not part of Corinthian territory, but were acquired by Corinth; and that it was *assumed* that before this they were part of the Megarid. Instead, I would argue that in the more fragmented world of the Greek Dark Age they were simply small, independent communities which Corinth assimilated. If so, we can postulate two stages for the sanctuary: one as a *local* centre of cult for the Heraieis and secondly, as a centre which had a wider patronage, for the enlarged Corinthian state to which it now belonged. If the expansion of Corinth is correctly associated with the Bacchiadai, this should have happened at some point in the 8th century B.C., perhaps around 750 B.C. There seems to have been a sanctuary of Hera Akraia in the lower town of Corinth, in the vicinity of Glauke where Medea's children were buried⁶. *Akraia* can be demonstrated, from the inscriptions as well as the reference in Strabo, as the cult title of Hera at the Perachora sanctuary, where it must refer to the 'headland'. Elsewhere, as Dunbabin points out (I p. 20, n. 1), the title refers to sanctuaries on a hill or acropolis. This is not the place for the tomb of Medea's children, so we have a sanctuary of Hera Akraia which was *not* on the acropolis. A more economical explanation is that there was a transfer of cult, consequent upon the annexation of the territory in which the original was situated, and similar to the transfer of Eleusinian Demeter to Athens, an event which is likely to be roughly coincidental with the adoption of Hera Akraia in Corinth. Thus a

⁶ Paus. II 6, with Eur. *Med.* 1378-1383 and the scholiast *ad loc.*

link was established between the existing cult and the enlarged state, so that Hera at Perachora now received not only the local worshippers but those from Corinth as well. Some formal delegation from Corinth to Perachora is a likely part of the ritual, whether it went by land or by sea. (A procession by sea from Corinth would help emphasize the significance of the harbour, and the vicinity of the sanctuary to it.)

There can be no absolute certainty for the reasons why this particular locality was chosen as a sanctuary. The only obvious geographical feature which may have determined the choice of site is the existence of the harbour. But there is another possibility. There appears to be a relationship between the cult of Hera Akraia and supplies of fresh water. This can be remarked in the case of the transfer sanctuary at Corinth: if my explanation of its foundation is correct, the choice of site for it (when presumably a free choice was available) by or above the fountain of Glauke is surely significant. We shall also see the elaborate measures taken to provide the sanctuary at Perachora with an adequate water supply. Water bearing-strata underlie this part of the promontory; they can be seen at the bottom of the deep shaft system and access staircase dug out in the area above the sanctuary in the early Hellenistic period. These strata emerge on the south side of the promontory under the cliffs at just about sea level; there is a similar natural configuration of the rock on the south-facing cliffs that form the northern edge of the Heraion Valley. A natural spring may well have been the original reason for the sacredness of this particular location, though none survives at the present day.

The sanctuary first developed on the small shelf of flat ground between the harbour and the tall, inaccessible cliff that shuts it in from the north. This area is further delineated by rising ground to east and west. On this was built, in the 8th century B.C., a small apsidal temple, placed precariously close to the north cliff. It is in this area that Geometric pottery was

found by Payne. In the next stage, the area utilized for religious purposes was extended. To the east, in the Heraion Valley, (where the steep slope, which immediately closes off from this side the original sanctuary, eases) a series of terraces was constructed, on the uppermost of which is a rectangular building, facing north and containing a hearth. On these terraces was found a considerable deposit of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, (with, of course, other objects) but no Geometric. This is the area identified by Payne as a second sanctuary, distinct from that by the harbour, from which it is physically separated, and believed by him to be dedicated to Hera Limenia. A third area of flat ground was created to the south-west of the original harbour sanctuary, partly by trimming back the natural rock. Thus, the area used for religious purposes begins at the time of the deposition of Geometric pottery, with the small, naturally restricted area by the harbour; and is extended, at a time when the deposition of geometric pottery had ceased, by the creating of the terraced area in the Heraion Valley, and subsequently, the area to the south west. With this, the full extent of the area forming the sanctuary was achieved, and later development was concerned with the more intensive, or monumental, usage of the existing area, rather than further extension.

An important fact emerging from Perachora is the relatively early date for the achievement of the full extent of the sacred area. In the original sanctuary it is usually supposed that the Geometric temple was short-lived. Its eventual successor is a surprisingly substantial prostyle Doric temple, but this cannot have been built until about 525 B.C. Payne believed there was an intervening, second temple, and in *Perachora I*, he described the «votive deposit from the second and third» temples of Hera Akraia. In general he was unable to distinguish material between them, since it was mixed without any stratigraphical separation, except in the south-west area, where a sealed deposit must post-date the Geometric temple and antedate the temple of 525. At

the same time — the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. — the material from the Heraion Valley terraces is far richer and far more abundant. Here is the principal deposition of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, along with bronzes, ivories and so forth. Dunbabin and Hammond therefore argued that the harbour sanctuary was neglected, and that there was no need to postulate a second temple there; that the focus shifted to the eastern terraces, and that the rectangular building was now the principal temple. This was coupled with the attribution of the Geometric temple to the Megarians, the new cult of Hera Limenia being the consequence of the Corinthian annexation of the Perachora promontory.

This view prevailed, to add to the confusion already created by the publication of the material in two distinct groups, that of Hera Akraia and that of Hera Limenia. It was left to John Salmon to apply to Perachora the principles for the organisation of Greek sanctuaries elucidated by Birgitta Bergquist, and to recognize that what we have at Perachora is in fact one sanctuary, and one cult, that of Hera Akraia (Limenia being rather a descriptive than a cult epithet), and that the terraces — and the area between them — are part of a single ancillary extension. I therefore argued, as an extension of what John Salmon had demonstrated, that the rectangular building on the eastern terraces was not a temple, but a room for feasting.

At the same time, there are awkwardnesses in this argument. The rectangular building is on the easternmost of the terraces, furthest away from the original temple and sanctuary. The simplest explanation is that it is only here that the natural form of the valley floor is reasonably level; until this point it has been ascending quite steeply from the harbour area. Only here was it possible to build without extensive support works. Between this area and the original sanctuary was situated what is perhaps the most enigmatic feature of Perachora, the hollow, clay-lined depression which Payne called the Sacred Pool. This hollow was

definitely created for storing water. It contained, when excavated, around 200 bronze phialai mesomphaloi, of 7th to 6th century date. Although stratification of deposit within the pool could be observed when it was excavated, this does not seem to have been recorded; no section is published in *Perachora I* or *II*, and there is nothing of it in the archives of the British School. Even so, this would not have served to date the construction of the pool, since I suspect that it was only allowed to fill with material after it had been abandoned⁷. We do not know its original date. It is not impossible, however, that it antedates the eastern terraces; that it had importance for the early sanctuary, and that its existence is another reason why the extension had to be situated to the east, at such a distance from the original sanctuary. I believe that this pool is crucial to the early development of the sanctuary. From its position, and profile, it does not seem that its purpose was to collect surface rainwater, for it would have been very difficult to keep clean. Rather it is meant to collect and store the exiguous flow from my hypothetical natural spring which I have propounded as an essential reason for the creation of a sanctuary in this spot. Using the material in it as dating evidence for its abandonment, it would appear to have been in use until the latter part of the 6th century B.C., when we get the third building phase, associated with the construction of the prostyle temple by the harbour.

There is an important fourth stage in the architectural history of the sanctuary, dating to the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. when Demetrius Poliorcetes controlled Corinth. This includes the final extension and walling of the area southwest of the temple, and the construction of the substantial two-winged, two-storeyed stoa by the harbour. Outside the sanc-

⁷ For a further discussion of this R.A. TOMLINSON, in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae* 38 (1988), 167-171.

tuary, this is also the date for the construction of the elaborate waterworks system east of the Heraion Valley, with deep shafts, lifting apparatus, aqueduct, storage chambers and fountain house. It is tempting to relate this to the seismic cycle, with major earthquakes about the middle of the 6th century, towards the end of the 4th and at the turn of the 2nd to the 1st, the first two leading to renewal, the last to irretrievable decline. On the other hand, it is more economical, and closer to the seismic interval of three hundred years, if we assume that Demetrius' period was not consequential upon an earthquake, but results entirely from his own political purposes, to provide a focus of cult for his mini-kingdom. That would then allow us two earthquakes, one before 525, another in the 3rd century and accounting for the final demise of the sanctuary.

This gives us a chronological frame, whether or not the causes of the divisions are earthquakes, and we can allot the buildings to these divisions:

| | | |
|----------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. 8th Century | Apsidal temple | } «Sacred Pool» |
| 2. 7th Century | 2nd Temple (hypothetical, rather than archaeological) | |
| | Rectangular building on upper terrace, and polygonal terrace wall | |
| | Trace of archaic building near the Sacred Pool | |
| Earthquake | | |
| 3. 6th Century | S.W. Court, first phase | |
| | 3rd Temple | |
| | Altar and related steps, unless these belong in phase 2 | |
| | 2nd phase of S.W. Court | |
| | Double apsidal cistern and hestiatorion | |
| | Further terrace walls and steps | |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 5th Century | Circular water tank above the Heraion Valley |
| 4th Century | Baldacchino |
| 4. Demetrius | Stoa |
| Poliorcetes | Final phase of S.W. Court |
| | Waterworks and fountain house above the Heraion Valley. |
| 2nd Century | Abandonment: ?Mummius |
| 1st Century | ?Earthquake |

Accurate, absolute dating for any of these developments is problematic. The Geometric deposit included examples of Corinthian Middle Geometric II but the bulk of it belonged to the final phase, Late Geometric. Thus it appears that the origin of the sanctuary belongs essentially to the 8th century B.C. with slight (MG II) indications from the early part of the century, but the main development (LG) coming in the second half. The absence of earlier decorated wares argues for the insignificance of usage before the 8th century. It may be that the earliest usage did not lead to offerings of a sort which can be rediscovered by the archaeologist; and if the Perachora promontory remained undeveloped and outside the immediate sphere of Corinthian influence (which is not impossible) then the sanctuary may have existed without leaving discernible traces.

It seems unlikely that the temple was built before 750 B.C. The Middle Geometric pottery is too scanty to suppose that it reflects the construction of the building. Further, the relationship of the temple foundations to the Geometric deposit is unclear; it is not impossible that the temple was constructed into the layers containing pottery, that is, that the offerings came first and the temple later, though not by any great length

of time. The temple models, which are in many ways the most interesting of the offerings, seem to date to the middle of the century, or thereabouts, and must reflect an attitude which attributed particular virtue — and, I suspect, novelty — to the offering of real buildings to the gods. All in all a date a little after 750 for the construction of what must have been the original temple is probable; that is, when the area was taken over by the Corinthians.

What we know of the sanctuary is restricted to the spread of Geometric pottery fragments. This was not extensive, as far as we can tell from Payne's description: the bulk of it was found *under* the later triglyph altar, which was demolished to gain access to it. The section also shows pottery between the temple and the cliff face, Geometric not Prehistoric, with the temple foundation apparently set into it. Payne's description of this part of the sanctuary before he excavated shows that the ground sloped up continuously over the site of the Stoa to the east, the result of constant washes of soil on a site which had been excavated from the natural ground level, and the possibility must be considered that part of the Geometric deposit was removed when the Stoa was built. Even so, the area used for the sanctuary must have been limited, though its boundaries cannot be defined simply by the spread of broken offerings (which would have clustered at the centre, in any case). If we can accept the possibility of a spring rising in the vicinity of the «Sacred Pool», then the sanctuary area must already have extended that far into the eastern area. The fact that the pool was lined in clay, rather than stone, suggests that it was constructed at the same time, and with the same limitation of architectural technique, as the apsidal temple.

The next building to be constructed at Perachora and which had left indubitable traces is the rectangular structure on the highest, east terrace, Payne's temple of Hera Limenia. This is described in Chapter IV of *Perachora I* and this description is important since it is no longer in the state in which it was found.

If we accept that the rectangular building, which was tiled, is a temple, then there is reason to put its construction at the same time as the collapse of the Geometric temple, which is what Payne believed. But it seems unnecessarily neat for this to coincide with the transition from Geometric to post-Geometric pottery styles — about 735 B.C. — and the whole reasoning is rather artificial. Clearly, also, a life span of 15 years only is very short for the early temple. I suggest, therefore, as a working hypothesis that there was a spread of post-Geometric pottery over the Geometric in the lower area, from which it was largely removed by later levelling connected with the triglyph altar and adjacent 'steps'. That, *at the same time* and with the original temple still functioning, terraces were constructed in the Heraion Valley, where Protocorinthian pottery began to be deposited, and that the rectangular building, together with the polygonal 'terrace' wall to the west of it were in fact cut into this level. If the tiles are not a replacement for an earlier roof they put the rectangular building into the 7th century. That restores the separation in date from the temple, which is surely right: if we down-date the temple, as we clearly must, then we must also down-date the rectangular building with its better construction, and order and logic is restored.

I have argued elsewhere (*BSA* 72 [1977], 197) that the building is a dining room. If the Perachora building has to be put in the 8th century, this usage is most unlikely, which seems to me an additional argument for a 7th century date⁸. The central hearth occurs in indubitable, later dining room buildings (Lerna, Corinth, the Asklepieion at Troizen) whether for heating or roasting meat on spits. Even in early buildings (as at Zagora) where function is uncertain, the balance of probability

⁸ Henry IMMERWAHR, *Attic Script* (Oxford 1990), 16 argues for a 7th century date for the inscriptions recording the dedication of spits and found, reused, lining the hearth in this building.

must be that such hearths serve a human, rather than an exclusively divine, purpose in that they are for roasting the meat for consumption by worshippers rather than (or as well as) the god, that they are therefore cooking places rather than sacrificial altars.

Thus in the 7th century, it seem to me, there are two focuses to the sanctuary which at Perachora happen to be at some distance separated from each other. By the harbour is the temple, where offerings may be deposited, where probably the altar was situated (it must be remembered that no actual early altar has been found) and where the ritual of sacrifice was performed: while the second focus is the *hestiatorion*, the hearth building where, and around which, the sacrificial meat was consumed by the worshippers⁹.

Between the upper terrace and the temple area is the site of the Sacred Pool. Nothing remains visible of this in the ground today, and its exact position is not located in any of the published plans, or in the archives of the British School. The pool was found filled with levels of silt and pebble, which indicate successive washes of surface debris into it. If it lasted for any length of time it is necessary to suppose that it was regularly cleaned, and allowed to fill only when it was abandoned. The nature of the levels in it suggests that this is what happened. The pool also contained artefacts, most particularly the series of bronze *phialai mesomphaloi*. It is particularly unfortunate that in the catalogue of bronzes in *Perachora I* no indication of find spots is recorded, other than the fact that the pool contained other bronzes as well as the *phialai*. The dates of the *phialai* range from the 7th through the 6th century B.C. If the pool was cleaned out, they cannot have accumulated there over the years (it is even more unfortunate that they are not recorded in relation to the strati-

⁹ Compare the *hestiatorion* and equipment mentioned on a Sikyonian inscription of the 6th century B.C.: *SEG XI* 244.

fication of the pool, and to each other). The impression, from a photograph published by T.J. Dunbabin, is that they were on the bottom of the pool, covered by the washed-in silt. If so, they will have got there at the moment the pool was abandoned, and the date of the latest of them gives a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment. This would seem to be in the later part of the 6th century B.C. On the other hand, the earliest cannot be used to provide a *terminus ante quem* for construction of the pool.

If I am right about the date of abandonment, this can be related very approximately to the construction of the prostyle temple, and, in the area between the temple and the terraces, the double apsidal cistern and the two-roomed hestiatorion building that goes with it. It antedates the construction of the flight of steps, and the great stone drain which supplied the double apsidal cistern. The concentration of buildings in other parts of the sanctuary into two distinct groups, before and after about 525, and especially the direct replacement of pre-525 buildings by post-525 buildings, suggests a general revival and restoration of the sanctuary, which can be related neither to war or other political events, nor to any particularly noticeable economic change in the condition of Corinth. An earthquake does therefore appear to be the best explanation. In the reconstruction, the double apsidal cistern seems most economically to take over the function of the pool. In its construction, orientation, the level of its roof and building techniques it is of a part with the two-roomed hestiatorion, and the two structures go together. It is more than likely, then, that the Sacred Pool is related in the same way to the rectangular hestiatorion building on the upper terrace. Thus we have an area with a building to shelter — and mark off — a select body of worshippers at the feasting; an adjacent area where less important feasters can recline in the open air; a collection of bronze utensils for the feasting and libation; a pool to provide the ample supplies of water which seem to go necessarily with feasting, whether this is for utilitarian or sacred

purposes. We can then relate this to the more general development of the sanctuary; an original, limited sanctuary with a small temple, presumably an altar, and an area sufficient for a small number of worshippers to watch the ritual and participate in the feasting, with a related area to the S.W., then, as the sanctuary became more important, extra space and facilities being provided in the Heraion Valley, east of the Sacred Pool.

We must now consider the related finds of pottery. It is normal to regard all material deposited in sanctuaries as votive — gifts to the god by the worshippers who came there. Quite obviously such offerings were made¹⁰. They were frequently valuable, and they are recorded both in the ancient literature and the inscriptions. It is a natural extension from this to regard everything left in the sanctuary as the property of the god, and, as such, dedicated gifts. Even if broken, it remained the god's property, and the broken statues of the acropolis at Athens, vandalized by the Persians are consequently buried in the acropolis itself.

Thus the accounts of Perachora assume that all material found there was also dedicated. This is the basis, ultimately, of Payne's argument for the two sanctuaries; an *early* sanctuary, with its deposit of Geometric pottery but relatively scanty post-Geometric representing the original cult focus; and then a new cult founded on the upper terraces, round the new building which is consequently a new temple for Hera in a different guise. Yet I have argued against a separate cult centre. Why then the plethora of 7th century pottery in the upper terraces?

The Geometric deposit by the original temple includes unpainted cooking pots and a tripod lebes and then «the greater number of painted fragments in the Geometric deposit is from

¹⁰ For an important exception to this generalisation, C. MORGAN, *op. cit.*, 28-30.

cups». The later pottery, admittedly, is more varied. Are these all offerings? Some, either for themselves or, more likely their contents, may be. But the majority are vessels which could be used for drinking (in particular) and feasting, and it is surely not unreasonable to suggest that they, along with the superior bronze equivalents, *were* so used. With this, the distribution of pottery in the sanctuary makes much better sense; Geometric confined to the temple area, because the ritual feasting was also confined there; Protocorinthian and Corinthian on the upper terrace, because that was now, with its *hestiatorion* building, the distinctive feasting area for the worshippers in the 7th century B.C. Whether, after drinking and feasting, they left behind the earthenware offering to the god, doesn't matter. What does seem improbable is that the bulk of this material should have been brought as something solemnly to be deposited in or at the temple itself as an offering to a presumably grateful deity.

The revival of the sanctuary in the latter part of the 6th century provides an interesting sequence. The prostyle Doric temple which was now built was of vastly increased size. It is over nine metres in width, but disproportionately long; perhaps 31 metres. Proportions of width to length of 1 to over 3 make this one of the narrowest Greek temples. Long narrow temples often have an inner adyton to serve a special purpose, and Payne believed the inner west room might well have been connected with the oracular function of sanctuary attributed to it by Strabo. A simpler explanation is the desire to create a large, impressive building on a very awkward site. The available area could be extended to the west without great difficulty by cutting back into the slope and levelling the ground. This was duly done. But because of the high cliff to the north, and the edge of the harbour to the south, any widening of the site was impossible, failing extensive engineering work, or the total removal of the temple to the west. Obviously, the facade was to be kept close to the original temple location.

To the east of the temple, and almost certainly identical in width, was constructed a triglyph altar¹¹. There is no absolute evidence for the date, but in its original form it must surely go with the temple itself, and belong to the same reconstruction period. Payne demolished it to excavate underneath. He found under it his geometric deposit, but no sign of an earlier altar, which was presumably situated further to the east. To the north of the altar, and extending beyond it an uncertain distance both to east and west is a flight of steps. The length preserved coincided with the length of the chapel of St. John which was built on top of it. To the west, it probably reached as far as the facade of the temple, but it is uncertain how far it extended beyond the altar to the east. Seven steps are preserved, with fragments in the position of a ninth step; they have treaders each about .50 m. wide. They covered the site of the early temple, and extended up to the northern cliff face. They are labelled in plate 130 of *Perachora I* «steps leading to the upper part of the site», which, roughly speaking, is what they do at the present day, by way of the path behind the Stoa. But when they were first built the Stoa did not yet exist, and in that circumstance they are not leading in the right direction, particularly as the uppermost step must have abutted directly against the cliff face. So they are rather a series of steps on which spectators could stand to watch the ritual at the altar, an arrangement found in other sanctuaries, but here particularly necessary because of the restricted space. They may have been intended to replace a «spectator area» on the slopes to the east, where the stoa was later built, but which at this time may have carried some construction later removed, linked to the lost west end of the great drain.

It is impossible to elucidate the chronology of the structures in the Heraion Valley. The later terrace walls which run across

¹¹ H. PLOMMER and F. SALVIAT, in *BSA* 62 (1967), 307.

the valley were not published in the original *Perachora* volumes, and there are no surviving records of their excavation. They have obviously deteriorated since the 1930's, and at the moment sections of them seem to be in imminent danger of total collapse. In the section *Perachora* I pl. 140 some walls rest on the natural subsoil while others, obviously late additions to the plan, have footings which are set into the 'Protocorinthian' or even 5th century levels. Three main terrace walls extend across the valley, the polygonal wall, the central wall and the «bastion». The polygonal wall is the only one which on the section seems to have been set into the subsoil. It is undoubtedly the earliest, and related to the 7th century rectangular building (though I am hard put to decide whether it is earlier or later than this). The other two, of large ashlar blocks, must be later than the polygonal wall, with whose alignment they are at slight variance. They appear on the plan to be strictly parallel to each other, and in alignment or at right angles to rooms with similar ashlar walls situated on the south side of the terrace which runs between them. The middle wall rests on the subsoil, the bastion, on the other hand, on stone foundations (now perilously exposed) which are cut only into the top of the Protocorinthian level. Immediately to the west are the irregular, rubble walls, on a different alignment, which are contained totally within the Protocorinthian level. These rubble walls appear to be early, first phase attempts to hold up a terrace at this point, and to be completely superseded by the bastion. The middle wall looks as though it ought to have a foundation trench cut into Protocorinthian level, if not the 5th century, and to belong, like the bastion, to a later phase. Logically they ought to belong to this post-earthquake reconstruction. The '5th century' level seems to run over the bastion, but probably extends either side of it. To the west it reaches to the remains of a flight of steps, of which seven survive. Below, at a distance of about 10 metres to the south west, is the present beginning of the great drain, built from very

large blocks of limestone. In the section it is set into the 5th century level and appears to run over the hollowed top of the Pro-tocorinthian level, which here represents the Sacred Pool. This drain runs down towards the harbour but its west end is lost. A branch, which commences at a diversion point, runs off to the double apsidal cistern, which was obviously filled with water collected on the terraces and led, in some quantity, down the drain. This can only be surface rainwater; the drain is too massive even for a copious spring, and the water was filtered, in a settling tank, before being stored in the cistern. There is little doubt, from their alignment, method of construction, and level that cistern and hestiatorion go together. The occasional use in the double apsidal cistern of hook clamps (which are also found in the temple, along with H clamps), the polygonal form of the hestiatorion wall (which is a base only, for mudbrick superstructure) all point to a date at the same time as the temple for these structures.

The rectangular building on the upper terrace seems to have gone out of use in the 6th century. Fragments of its tiles were re-used in a cistern below the bastion, later than the Sacred Pool, which Payne dated to the 5th century, but which supplied a clay pipeline mainly in the general direction of the stone drain. All this is confusion and, lacking the record of the stratigraphy, hopelessly disconnected. Its relationship to the site of the Sacred Pool must be significant, and it appears that we are dealing, as elsewhere, with a series of essentially similar purposed structures, from the early to the later years of the sanctuary. The late 6th century building here of double apsidal cistern and hestiatorion represents, then, not the introduction of new functions into the sanctuary, but the recreation of facilities for functions which were previously performed here, and were interrupted in the second half of the 6th century.

The extent of the disruption in this area can now be elucidated. It cut off the previous system of water supply and storage.

It shattered the building in which the most privileged worshippers gathered to enjoy the meal of the sacrificial meat. It scattered the bronze utensils, which were kept in this area, not, I think as offerings to the goddess but to be used by the worshippers at the festival. It dumped, by whatever action, the libation vessels into the hollow of the Sacred Pool, which subsequently silted up over them.

The new arrangements reflect those that they replace, but the scale is altered, just as in the area by the harbour the new temple is built on new ground, and to a completely enlarged scale. The principal dining room, and the water storage system related to it, is now brought much lower down in the Heraion Valley, closer to the temple, instead of being placed as far above the sanctuary as was possible within its limits. Other worshippers moved higher up, onto the terrace of the bastion or the uppermost terrace.

The fourth phase belongs to the end of the 4th century. What is noticeable about this work is its scale, complexity and, in many ways, esoteric character. There are several «firsts» from Greek archaeology here, such as the first double-storeyed Stoa. The deep shaft water system above the Heraion Valley is unique, and along with the machinery needed to lift the water, elaborate and expensive, both to create and operate. In this phase we get the intrusion (possibly anticipated by the baldacchino) of the Ionic order into the sanctuary, in the upper storey of the Stoa and the facade of the fountain house of the deep shaft waterworks system. But this is the Peloponnesian form of Ionic adopted essentially in Macedonia and supports the idea that this final phase is the work of a Macedonian king.

Hera at Perachora is to receive a larger number of worshippers at her festival than hitherto, and space has to be provided for them (along with additional water supplies). Demetrius' kingdom extended beyond Corinth, which was now rivalled by the reconstruction of Sikyon as a dynastic city. A religious focus

for the kingdom would more acceptably be situated outside the cities, which might be supposed to show some rivalry to each other; Perachora was as easily accessible by sea from Sikyon as it was from Corinth, and must have seemed ideal for the purpose. As a religious centre for an extended state, more worshippers were to be expected. So we get the final extension of the area south-west of the temple, and the creation, in a very restricted and difficult location, of the stoa, two-winged because of the difficulties of the natural lie of the land and the rock faces, two-storeyed to make the best use possible of the land available. Though objects have been found in the south-west area, its relationship to the temple, other than as a sort of general overspill area, is not completely clear, and the final phase, the extension of the defining wall to run between it and the temple seems to cut it off. It still has to be related to the sanctuary. Its general function would have been as a gathering place. It provides space (which is enlarged with the stages of development of the sanctuary). It is provided with shelter, but its position close to the harbour suggests that this is where people arriving by sea congregated, and this would explain the attention paid to it at the end of the 4th century. Short though the distance is, it would be a suitable place for marshalling a procession, which would then proceed along the side of the temple to the area round the altar. The stoa provides a vantage point, particularly on its upper floor, from which this can be watched, or a destination (and viewing point) for people in the procession not actually concerned with the sacrifice. From here the worshippers could continue to the upper part of the sanctuary, to the feasting which followed the sacrifice; and perhaps the terrace amelioration belongs to this phase, rather than the late 6th century. If they did not already exist, the buildings on the terraces may have been developed at this phase; the possibility remains that the terraces were used for the temporary pavilions which are a regular feature of Macedonian feasting at extra mural sanctuaries

such as that of Zeus at Dion. All this remained (but perhaps decayed) after Demetrius left his little kingdom in pursuit of higher things.

Perachora thus begins to provide for most aspects of Greek religious practice; housing the cult image, sacrifice at the altar, feasting on the sacred meat, processions. Two aspects do not clearly emerge in the archaeological record, the oracular function attested in the brief comment of Strabo; and the element of contest found so frequently in Greek sanctuaries, whether artistic or athletic. Various suggestions have been made for the oracle, but all have difficulties: the oracle could be situated anywhere in the sanctuary. Perhaps no specific arrangements were really necessary.

There is no evidence for athletic or artistic contests. I had hoped that the circular building above the Heraion might prove to be an early, unaltered theatre, but on excavation it proved to be yet another waterworks. All we can say is that if there were such contests, the Heraion Valley itself is a suitable locality, with a flat floor and rising sides for the audience, and no special architectural arrangements would be necessary; this, of course, is usual in early sanctuaries.

What lessons can be learnt from Perachora for the general study of Greek sanctuaries? The study of sanctuaries invariably concentrates on the deity and the ritual. Central to this, in the architectural evidence, is the temple and the adjacent altar. Here is both the focus of cult, and the building on which the greatest architectural care, and expense, was lavished. The study of temples traditionally dominates our approach to Greek architecture. Other buildings are regarded as subordinate or ancillary.

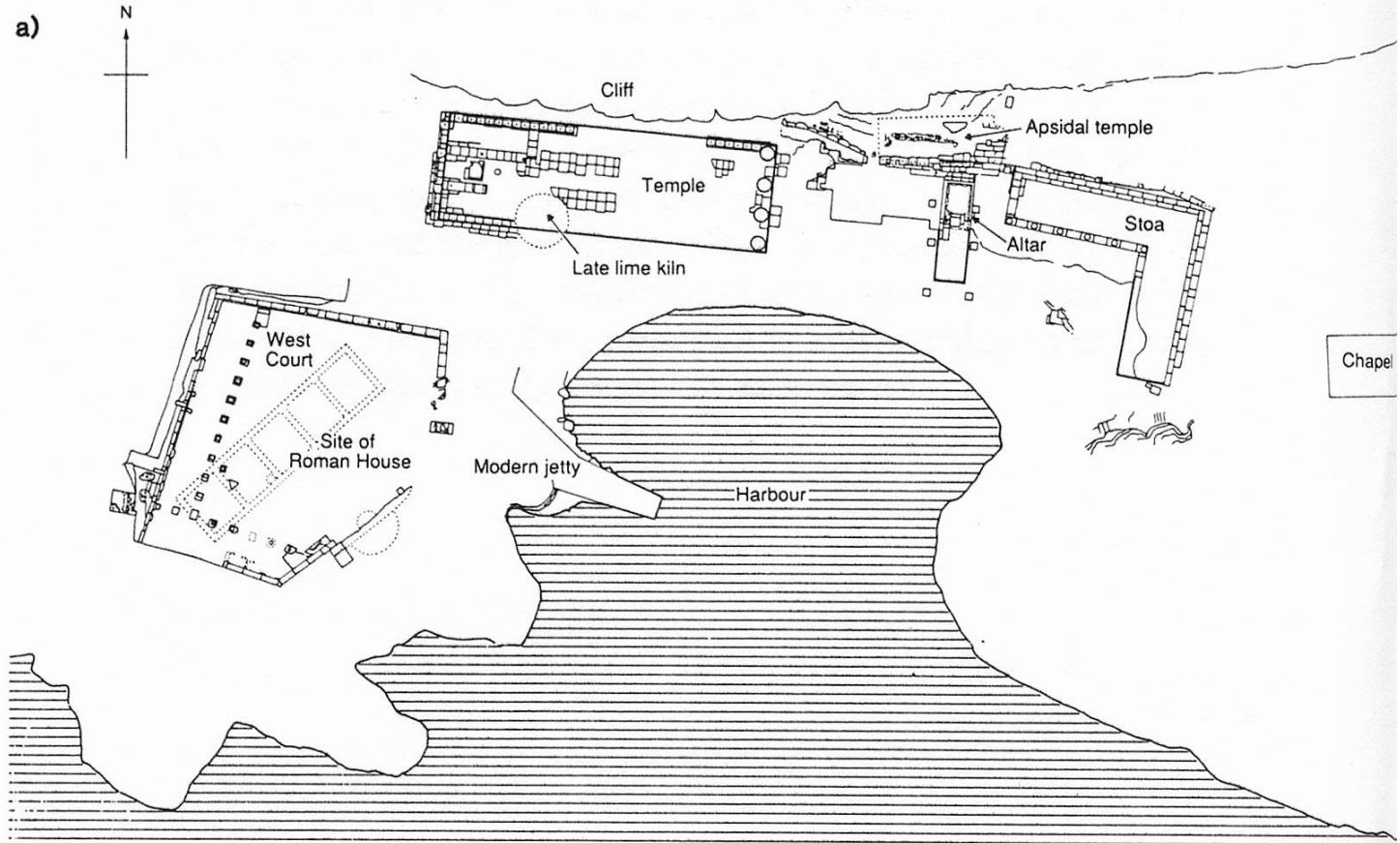
Yet at the same time we must not neglect the worshippers by concentrating on the worship. The religious ritual at the sanctuaries was an obligation demanded by the gods, but this is simply to state in a different way that it fulfilled a human requirement. The ancient Greeks needed the encouragement or satisfaction that the proper performance of established ritual

bestowed. So the sanctuary is in an equal sense a place provided to fulfil these human needs as much as the prescribed needs of the gods. I think Perachora is important because it helps suggest how we should look for the evidence of the fulfilment of those needs in the context of a particular sanctuary. Perachora makes best sense if we see there the parallel provision for divine and human requirements. Obviously they are not treated equally; the divine requires the special architecture (however achieved in fact) that goes with the temple. Worshippers need space — to watch, to process, to participate in the sacrificial food, and this may or may not find architectural expression. To relate this to the early state of the sanctuary requires much hypothesis and uncertainty, though I think the main distinctions are there. More important is the 6th century recasting of the sanctuary. It is from this that it is possible to derive a clearer interpretation than the earlier uncertainties, but what is more important is the statement it provides for attitudes at the time the reconstruction was carried out. If our interpretation is right, there was at the same time substantial, even if not equal, emphasis on the requirements of the human worshippers. From this it follows that we should perhaps be more cautious in attributing aspects of Greek sanctuaries to ritual or votive factors. To Payne, the clay-lined pool in the Heraion Valley was sacred, and had to be explained in terms of ritual. To me, the double-apsidal successor provides water for drinking and cleaning in the adjacent *hestiatorion*, and, probably, for lesser ranks who feasted outside, and the provision might well have been made earlier from the 'Sacred Pool'. Sacred and human, ritual and utility are not, of course, incompatible. It seems to be misleading to call the sacrifice a religious act, the eating of the meat by humans a secular one. If the sanctuary exists here because of a spring, if the cult was established in Corinth at Glauke because of the spring, the religious usage of water — for purification — is important. To the ancient world, there was probably less awareness of distinction. What I am

arguing is that, even in sanctuaries, ritual is not everything. I have equally made the point, and will not labour it, that not everything deposited in a sanctuary is purely an offering. Even here, how do we draw the line? The crucial aspect of this is the interpretation to be put on the bronze and terracotta utensils. Are they 'gifts to the goddess' and thus purely part of the religious aspect, or are they equipment for the hestiatorion and other feasting arrangements — utensils and nothing more? The clue, it seems to me, can be found on the blocks of stone which edged the hearth in our rectangular building in the upper terrace, the erstwhile temple of Hera Limenia. These blocks were not in their original position, since in one at least the inscription was upside down and on another the inscription faced inwards and was buried under the accumulated ash in the hearth. The inscriptions were not well preserved and we must not read into them more than is there. Two are definitely a record of dedications to Hera, and on the first the object of dedication mentioned is a drachma. Since it is ridiculous to assume this refers to a coin, it must have the original meaning of a set of spits. For Wade Gery, commenting on this as a religious object, it implies a dedication of demonetarized iron spits on the introduction of silver coinage, and refers to the action of Pheidon of Argos, who when he issued silver coinage in Aigina called in the iron spits and dedicated them to Argive Hera. The historical confusion of this statement in the *Etymologicum Magnum* is notorious (which Pheidon? Why Aigina? When did this happen?) but the existence of dedicated spits is a fact, and a great bundle of them was found by Sir Charles Walston in the Argive Heraion itself. To me, the story sounds like an invention to explain the existence of dedicated spits; and I prefer to argue that the spits were given to the goddess — to her sanctuary, if you like, — to be used like the other utensils for the feasting. Perhaps the blocks with the inscriptions did line the hearth from the start (and have been simply moved round when the hearth was reconstructed); if so,

the spits would have rested on the hearth itself where they would be used once a year. Or the blocks were placed originally by the walls, the spits suspended above them. Either way they were dedications and could be used (I suppose a reasonable extension of this argument is that *all* dedications were to be used, by the god if not necessarily by the worshippers). We do not, though, *have* to suppose that everything in a sanctuary was for the god and the god alone. What I am proposing is a plea for the elimination of the word *votive* as an automatic description of anything deposited in a sanctuary, and worship as the only motivation that brings people to sanctuaries.

a)



b)

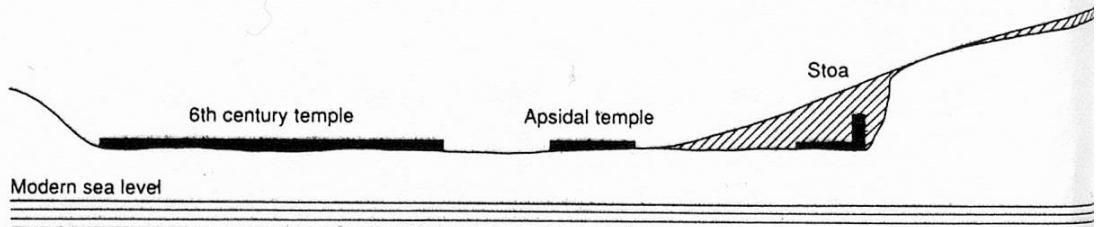


Fig. 1: Plan of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia (conflated from the plans in *Perachora I* and corrected from an air photograph).

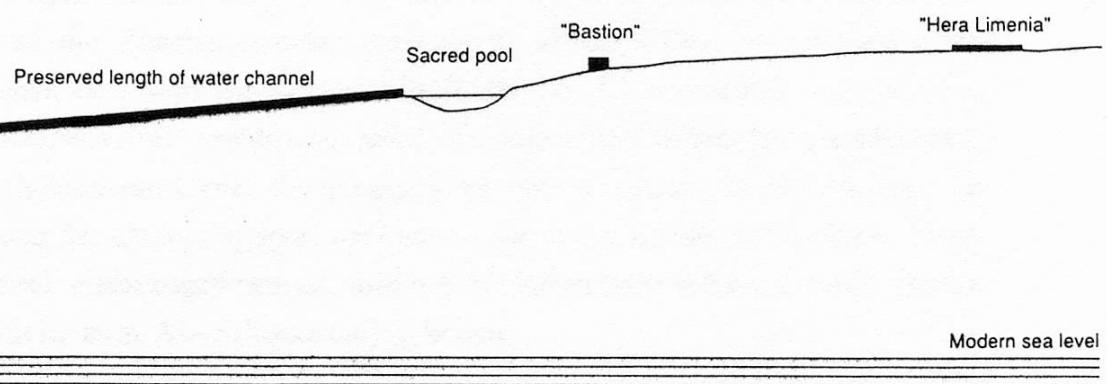
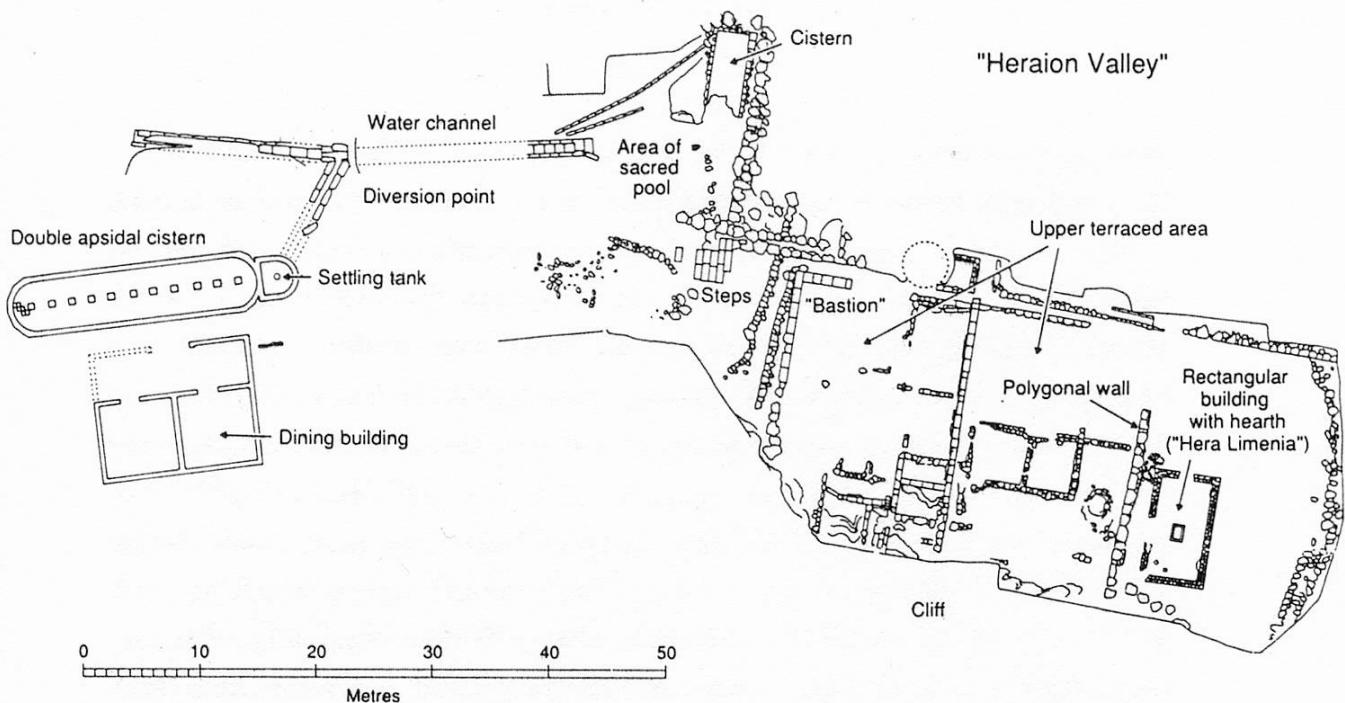


Fig. 2: Section through the site (based the spot-heights on the plans in *Pera-chora I*). Shaded areas suggest the earlier ground level cut away to accommodate the prostyle temple and the stoa.

DISCUSSION

M. Graf: Sie haben in Ihrem Referat am Rande das Temenos der Hera Akraia in Korinth berührt. Wenn ich Sie richtig verstehe, denken Sie es als Ablage desjenigen von Perachora, und zwar aufgrund der Epiklese *'Ακραία*, die der Lage in Korinth unangemessen ist. Sie haben auch auf den Mythos von Medeas Kindern verwiesen, der an diesem Temenos hängt. Nun hat besonders Angelo Brelich mehrfach gezeigt, dass der Mythos auf einen Kult verweist, der sich aus initiatorischen Riten heraus verstehen lässt (bes. *SMSR* 30 [1959], 213-254). Wenn Ihre Herleitung zutrifft (und sie ist bestechend): müsste dann nicht auch das Heiligtum von Perachora selber mit derselben Art von Riten verbunden werden? Das Problem ist natürlich, wieweit sich dies auf archäologischem Weg feststellen lässt. Auf zwei Dinge, glaube ich, kann man verweisen. Erstens auf die Lage selber, die ja auch Ihre Verwunderung erregt hat: doch gerade ein derart abgelegenes Heiligtum an einem kleinen Hafen fügt sich gut zu diesem initiatorischen Hintergrund (z.B. Brauron), und die politische Funktion des Kultes macht gerade für initiatorische Rituale keine Probleme. Zweitens (das ist freilich nun sehr spekulativ) kann man auf die Zuschauerstufen verweisen: solche Riten pflegen damit zu schliessen, dass sich die jungen Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft präsentieren, etwa in einer Chorvorführung: jedenfalls wenn die Zuschauerstufen doch auf mehr als bloss ein Opfer der gängigen Art hin. Vielleicht kann man sogar an den Altar der Orthia in Sparta erinnern, der in der Kaiserzeit in einen 'Theatertempel' einbezogen wurde, und wo die Riten zum selben Kontext (wenn auch nicht zum Abschlussritual) gehören.

M. Tomlinson: The problem is to explain why the epithet 'Akraia' is used for a sanctuary, at Corinth, to which it bear no obvious relationship in terms

of its locality, since it is neither on a hill-top or a promontory. The presumption must therefore be that it was brought from elsewhere, and Perachora seems to be the appropriate locality. The presence of a spring may be an additional factor in the selection of the site. From my point of view, the story of Medea's children serves to locate the Corinthian sanctuary, and nothing more. I would not want to extend the argument by relating the significance of the burial to the other sanctuary at Perachora.

M. Schachter: In the Bronze Age we need not look for specific sanctuary sites of a particular deity; we can be content with an indication that a deity was worshipped within a general area.

M. Tomlinson: To me the interesting aspect of Plutarch's explanation of the Heraieis and Peiraieis is the likelihood that it refers to a very early period. The assumption must be, at the least, from what he says, that it is to a time before the Perachora promontory was incorporated into Corinthian territory (I did try to argue that this situation might refer to the Hellenistic period, but John Salmon squashed this argument, I think rightly). Even so Peiraieis can only refer to a Peraia which must be seen from the point of view of people living in Corinthia. A few years ago the Greek Archaeological Service excavated on the south coast of the promontory, some distance east of Lake Vouliagmene, a fine series of Late Helladic chamber tombs — splendid examples of, as it were, rock-cut tholoi — though these have not yet been published. They imply a Late Bronze Age settlement in the area, which is approximately that of Perachora village, and I suspect therefore that the term Peiraieis does go back that far. More speculatively — but the names go together — this may well mean that there were also then Heraieis at the western extremity of the peninsula, and that therefore this area was already sacred to Hera in the Late Bronze Age. This would explain why in the archaic period the cult of Hera developed at one sanctuary, though there is, of course, no evidence for Late Bronze Age religious activity actually at this precise site.

M. Schachter: This is pure speculation on my part: could the people who frequented the *bestiatorium* in the Heraion valley have referred to Hera

Limenia by way of distinguishing the Hera down by the harbour from some other Hera in the vicinity, for example, on the hill-top above the valley (site of the oracle)?

M. Tomlinson: I would argue that the people who frequented the hestiatorion must have been privileged individuals, and perhaps officials who came on the occasion of the festival from Corinth. They, and other less privileged visitors from Corinth were likely to refer to the harbour, since that is how that would arrive there. So, yes, this is a distinguishing feature, but perhaps from Hera Akraia in Corinth, rather than on the Perachora promontory.

Mme Jost: Quels sont les critères qui permettent de déterminer dans le matériel ce qui est votif et ce qui ne l'est pas?

M. Tomlinson: It seems to me that the distinction is essentially one of purpose. Votive dedications are personal, and directed to achieving a direct relationship with the deity, for the purpose of some personal benefit. Other material is deposited or given with a view to its being used in connection with the practising of the cult and its ritual (I suppose most clearly, for feasting). One of the interesting aspects of this is the preponderance of pottery from the archaic period, at Perachora and elsewhere, rather than from the classical, when perhaps vessels of other material, metal in particular, were used.

M. Graf: Da wir von Ess- und Trinkgefässen sprechen: rechnen Sie damit, dass diese Gefässer für mehrfachen Gebrauch im Temenos verwahrt wurden, oder wurden sie (wie man oft annimmt) nach einmaligem Gebrauch zerschlagen? Kann man eventuell anhand der Scherbendichte diese Frage beantworten? Die Antwort wäre wichtig, denn sie geht Ihre These an, Mahlzeiten nach dem Opfer seien kaum verschieden von 'profanen Mahlzeiten': wenn man eine Mahlzeit damit beschliesst, dass man das Eisgeschirr zerschlägt, gibt das doch einen besonderen — 'sakralen' — Charakter.

M. Tomlinson: There can be no doubt that pottery used in the sanctuaries was used for sacred purposes. I suppose the difference is that it was not

in itself an offering. We do not know how the pottery was brought to the sanctuary. Did each worshipper bring the vessels he would need, or were they distributed, like the meat, by the authorities who organised the cult (or sold by craftsmen who set up stalls at the festival)? This does not make the pottery a dedicated offering in the votive sense. If pots were used only once obviously there would be more broken pottery than if, like the bronze vessels, they were kept and reused.

M. Graf: Die Grenze, die Sie zogen, ist aber doch durchlässig: wir sprachen ja mehrfach über die Inventare des athenischen Asklepieions, die vorsehen, dass ἀναθήματα — silberne anatomische Ex-voto — eingeschmolzen werden und dass aus dem Metall dann Kultgerät hergestellt wird: das zeigt doch, dass aus ἀναθήματα ἱερὰ χρήματα werden können.

M. Tomlinson: The term, of course, is a wide one, since it only means property generally.

There are two ancient Greek terms which seem to me to distinguish between votive and non votive offerings. Votive offerings are clearly ἀναθήματα. The inscription from Chorsiai, which I discussed in an article in *BSA* 75 (1980), 221, describes the objects it lists in a sanctuary as *ἱερὰ χρήματα*, sacred property (and a very mixed list they are: pots and pans, knives, possibly a chamber pot, certainly furniture, beds on which the worshippers feasting reclined). None of this can be considered votive.

M. Schachter: At the Theban Kabirion, there are hundreds of cup fragments with graffiti describing them as dedications to or sacred property of Kabiros/Kabiroi. These were clearly destroyed after use, but nevertheless were consigned to the deity as his/theirs.

M. Tomlinson: They had been used in the gods' ritual, and this was therefore proper.

Mme Bergquist: I should like to begin by saying how grateful I am for this comprehensive, clarifying account of the entire Perachora sanctuary site and

its history. I find myself in complete agreement with you not only as regards the various aspects of the architectural remains — I found your remarks about the hearth building particularly gratifying — but also as regards your statements about divine v. human and votives v. utensils.

I have just got one simple comment. You showed a hint of hesitation about the «Limenia» building because of the great distance from the temple and the altar. My comment is simply that this distance was due to the special, topographical circumstances at Perachora, which did not permit the secondary area to be situated «around», i.e. in front of and beside, the basic area with the temple and the altar.

