

THE STUDY OF THE CONCEPT OF THE SACRED HEARTH AND GREEK
GODDESS OF THE HEARTH AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH THE
PRYTANEION, ITS ORIGINS, AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

A Master's Thesis

by
ESRA ÇAYIR

Department of
Archaeology and History of Art
Bilkent University

Ankara
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ESRA ÇAYIR

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BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2006

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology and History of Art.

Dr. Jacques Morin
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology and History of Art.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Charles Gates
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology and History of Art.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Burcu Erciyas
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

THE STUDY OF THE CONCEPT OF THE SACRED HEARTH AND GREEK GODDESS OF THE HEARTH AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH THE PRYTANEION, ITS ORIGINS, AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Çayır, Esra

MA, Department of Archaeology and History of Art

Supervisor: Dr. Jacques Morin

September 2006

This thesis examines the concept of the sacred hearth and also Hestia, the goddess of the sacred hearth in Greece in association with the origins and developments of the Prytaneion, which is connected to one of the most important civic institutions of the Greek city-state. In the thesis, the meaning and functions of the Prytaneion are defined in accordance with the literary and epigraphic sources. Some identified and excavated examples are also described in the thesis. Related to the Prytaneion, the monumental hearths in the Mycenaean palaces and examples of house architecture from the Iron Age will be emphasized briefly to look at the possible cultic and architectural origins of the Prytaneion.

Keywords: Prytaneion, sacred hearth, perpetual fire, Hestia, goddess of the hearth, city-state, civic institution, house, domestic architecture.

ÖZET

KUTSAL OCAK KAVRAMI VE YUNAN OCAK TANRIÇASI İLE BERABER BUNLARIN PRYTANEION YAPISI, BU YAPININ KÖKENLERİ VE GELİŞİMİ İLE İLGİSİNİN İNCELENMESİ

Çayır, Esra

Master, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Jacques Morin

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Bu tez Yunan şehir devletlerinin en önemli şehir kurumlarından biri olan Prytaneion'un kökenleri ve gelişimi ile ilgili olarak kutsal ocak kavramı ile Yunan ocak tanrıçası olan Hestia'yı incelemektedir. Tezde Prytaneion'un anlamı ve fonksiyonları yazılı kaynaklar ve yazıtlar uyarınca tanımlanmıştır. Bazı tanımlamış ve kazılmış örnekler hakkında da tezde bilgi verilmiştir. Prytaneion yapısı ile ilgili olarak büyük Miken saray ocaklarına ve Demir Çağına ait ev mimarisi örneklerine de Prytaneion yapısının muhtemel kült ve mimari kökenlerini incelemek için kısaca değinilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Prytaneion, kutsal ocak, sönmeyen ateş, Hestia, ocak tanrıçası, şehir devleti, şehir kurumu, ev, konut mimarisi.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The concept of sacred hearth is one of the important symbols of the classical Greek city-states. It is believed that the common hearth of the city symbolizes the city and if the fire of the common hearth dies out so will the city.

Hestia is the goddess of the hearth, domesticity, and family. As being the goddess of the hearth, Hestia cannot be thought separate from the concept of sacred hearth.

In cities, the sacred hearth of the city is located in a structure called Prytaneion (Attic πρυτανεῖον and Ionic πρυτανῆιον). Prytaneion literally means the “magistrates’ hall” or “town-hall” (Liddell and Scott, 1968: 1543). It is believed that no city can be called a Greek city without a sacred hearth located in the Prytaneion.

This study aims to examine the concept of the sacred hearth and Hestia, the goddess of the hearth with an emphasis to their association to the Prytaneion structure in the ancient Greek city-states in terms of its importance, functions, and its

architectural features, which were all derived from the conceptualization of the sacred hearth. The main objective of this study is to look for the possible origins of the concept of the sacred hearth and also the Prytaneion both as a symbolic and a civic element. The architectural form of the Prytaneion will also be taken into consideration to search for an answer to the question whether there was a standard plan for the structure or not, especially in accordance with the excavated examples.

Despite the fact that the sacred hearth inside the Prytaneion is an important symbol and the Prytaneion is a fundamental civic element of the city-state, ancient literary and epigraphic evidence about the sacred hearth and the Prytaneion is not abundant. Archaeological excavations are not very helpful to understand the Prytaneion structures and its essential features because, although ancient literary and epigraphic sources supply evidence on ninety-one Prytaneia, archaeologists have been able to identify and excavate only a few Prytaneia.

In accordance with some ancient sources, the symbolic importance of the sacred hearth is accepted by the scholars but not many studies are devoted to this concept. The articles of Frazer (1885), Crawley (1994 [1926]), Vernant (1983 [1965]), Gernet (1981), Burkert (1985), and Della Volpe (1990) can be regarded as a few studies about the Greek sacred hearth.

Unfortunately, our knowledge on Hestia, goddess of the hearth is scarce. Greek religion and mythology books refer to Hestia very briefly such as Sikes (1994 [1926]), Sarian (1981), Downing (1987), Bell (1991), and Grimal (1996). The early articles by Farnell (1909), Süß (1912) and Jouan (1956) and Vernant (1983 [1965]) are among the few studies, which study Hestia on a more broad level. The article of Roussel (1911) mentions the association of Hestia with the omphalos whereas the article by Miller (1973) is devoted to the relief depicting the goddess with a hero.

On the other hand, as Hestia is also the goddess of domesticity and family and it is possible to see philosophical and feminist studies on her such as Demetrakopoulos (1979), Antonopoulos (1992), Benevenuto (1993), Thompson (1994) emphasizing the women's role in the society both in the past and present.

The archaeological literature on the Prytaneion as an architectural structure extends back to the end of the 19th century and usually focuses on the architectural form. The earliest broad study on the Prytaneion is Frazer's (1885) article, which deals with not only the form but also the origins of the structure along with those of the fire cult and the concept of perpetual fire. The article by Gschnitzer (1957) provides comprehensive information on the Prytanis and the Prytaneia including the defined examples, functions, and the testimonia. The most extended research on the Prytaneia is Miller's (1978) book, which looks at the defined and excavated examples, functions, and the testimonia. The latest study is the article by Hermann-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), which also includes a list of the known Prytaneia based on the information given by Miller's book.

The Prytaneion is usually mentioned very briefly in general books on Greek architecture (Weickert 1929, Robertson 1945, Wycherley 1976, Lawrence 1983) or Greek civilization (Marindin 1891, McDonald 1943, Gernet 1981 [1968], Zaidman and Pantel 1992, Glotz 1996 [1929], Parker 1996).

The location of the Prytaneion of Athens¹ has not been clearly identified yet, although the early archaeological literature usually focused on its probable location in both general (Bötticher 1863, Judeich 1931, Thompson 1937, Oikonomides 1964, Wycherley 1966, Robertson 1998) and specific studies (Schöll 1872, Picard 1938, Holland 1939). Although it mainly deals with the Agora of Athens, Shear's (1994)

¹ At the time of writing (summer 2006), discovery of the possible Athenian Prytaneion had been announced, but the publication of the possible Prytaneion of Athens became available to me as this thesis was at the stage of final revision after the jury (18 September).

article provides extensive information on the location of the Prytaneion and its functions. The Prytaneion decrees of Athens were also studied by Morrissey (1978) and Thompson (1979) along with the dining function of the Prytaneion at Athens by Henry (1981), Osborne (1981), and Rhodes (1984).

One of the first problems with which the scholars deal is the question of the association between the Tholos and the Prytaneion –a debate resulting from the question of the form of the Athenian Prytaneion- as is shown in Frazer (1885), Levi (1923), Carbonneaux (1925), Vanderpool (1935), and Shear (1994). The excavation of the Tholos of Athens was published by Thompson (1940).

Many archaeological studies on the Prytaneia are based on excavations. Information on the Prytaneia of Delos (Vallois 1944, Gallet de Santerre 1958, Bruneau and Ducat 1965, Vallois 1966), Dreros (Xanthoudides 1918, Demargne and van Effenterre 1937), Ephesus (Keil 1939, Miltner 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959; Eichler 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, Alzinger 1962, Knibbe 1981), Colophon (Holland 1944), Lato (Demargne 1903, Pomtow 1912, Kirsten 1940, Ducrey and Picard 1972), Magnesia on the Maeander (Kern 1900, Humann 1904), Miletos (Mellink 1958, 1961, Cook and Blackman 1964-5), Morgantina (Stillwell 1959), Olympia (Dörpfeld 1892, Weniger 1906, Weege 1911, Gardiner 1925, Dörpfeld 1935, Kondis 1958, Herrmann 1962, Miller 1971, Mallwitz 1972), Pergamon (Mitchell 1989-1990, Mellink 1993, Mitchell 1998-1999, Schwarzer 2004), and Priene (Wiegand and Schrader 1904, Kleiner 1962, Schede 1964) have been published.

The text is organized as follows: The second chapter examines the hearth as a concept in the domestic level, as well the fire and hearth as cultic entities in the Greek world will be mentioned to show how they influenced the customs, traditions, and religious practices. The creation, mythology, and characteristics of Hestia will

also be explored along with her origins, her later parallels and her association to the Prytaneion to illustrate her role in the Greek city both in the domestic and state level. The third chapter presents the importance, functions, architectural elements, and identified examples of the Prytaneion. The reason for such an examination is that the sacred hearth at the state level is located inside the Prytaneion. The fourth chapter examines the possible architectural origins of the Prytaneion as a building type. The chapter is divided into three sections: the association of the Prytaneion to the Bronze Age megaron and the Mycenaean monumental hearth, the association of the Prytaneion plan to the examples of Iron Age house plan, and the association of the architectural plan of the Prytaneion to the houses after the Iron Age.

Although in the thesis the sacred hearth will be the key element for the origins of the Prytaneion and also the identification of its structure, the basic problem is the fact that the hearth is not only a religious element but also a secular one; such a common feature renders problematic the identification of the function of a structure as religious or secular, especially during the period when the city-state and its institutions were still emerging. We recognize that it may not, therefore, be possible to identify the earliest Prytaneia on the ground.

Moreover, it is important to note that most of the literary and epigraphic information deal with Athens. This means that although we have more information on the Prytaneion of Athens, it may not apply to all Prytaneia in other cities: it is highly likely that practice, although inspired from similar principles everywhere, may differ slightly in each Greek city.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRE AND THE HEARTH AS CULTIC ENTITIES IN THE GREEK WORLD WITH THE GREEK GODDESS OF THE HEARTH, HESTIA AND HER PARALLELS

This chapter mainly divided into two basic sections. The first part will be focused on the fire and the hearth as cultic entities in the Greek world. It aims to look at the hearth as a concept at the domestic level to understand the emergence of the common hearth located inside the Prytaneion and also the emergence and development of the goddess of the hearth.

The second part of the chapter will be devoted to Hestia, the Greek goddess of the hearth. This part is also divided into three sub-parts. The first part briefly summarizes what we know about the origins of Hestia. The second part will be focused on the goddess with her mythology, her known representations, and her association to the concept of the common hearth in the Prytaneion to illustrate her place in the Greek world both at the domestic and state level. The last part will look

at the Roman and Scythian parallels of Hestia to answer the question whether her emergence resulted from a common past or she is solely a Greek creation.

II.1. The Fire And Hearth as Cultic Entities in the Ancient Greek World

The main emphasis of this first part of the chapter will be the hearth as a cultic element in the Greek world to illustrate the importance of this concept as a symbol in the domestic level. In this way, it will be possible to understand the reason of the symbolism of the common hearth located in the Prytaneion. As fire cannot be thought separate from the hearth, fire as a cultic element will be mentioned briefly at the beginning along with the cultic association of the hearth in the ancient world.

The fire and hearth have cultic, mythic and symbolic aspects in many societies. These two concepts cannot be thought separate from each other. According to Thompson (1994: 45), the fire has a primary role in the transition from prehistoric to settled life in that “the ‘home fire’ and the ‘hearth fire’ were the first gathering sites for the human community”.

The hearth in general is accepted as the symbol of “the house, human community, warmth, safety, care, shelter, family, wife, and woman” (Matthews, 1993: 97) along with also “permanence, fixity, immutability, and centrality” (Goux, 1983: 92). One repercussion of this connection is that nurturing the fire basically falls into the woman’s lot because it is connected with both hearth and house to obtain warmth, cooking, and light (Eliade, 1987: 340).

Many scholars believe that the difficulty of kindling fire, experienced by prehistoric people, resulted in the concept of perpetual fire in many places from North America to Europe and Asia (Frazer, 1885: 161; Deroy, 1950: 26; Crawley,

1994 [1926]: 562; Eliade, 1987: 340; Rossotti, 1993: 242). Then, the custom may have become a religious duty at an early period (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 563).

At the beginning of the twentieth century it was believed that the concept of perpetual fire had an Indo-European origin as “it may be found nearly among all people from India to Scotland” (Frazer, 1885: 169; Fustel de Coulanges, 1980 [1956]: 21). However, for the same reasons that many similar practices² connected to the tending of fire, can be seen in different parts of the world, today scholars believe that the theory of the perpetual fire cult as an Indo-European institution requires limitation (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 28).

Although, the cult of the domestic hearth did not originate only with the Indo-Europeans, it is an important characteristic of Indo-European³ culture because the hearth was the center of every household (Della Volpe, 1990: 158). In fact, this cult was “common” to all Indo-European peoples (Demetrakopoulos 1979: 66) and it should be older than the anthropomorphic representations of the gods. It has been argued, furthermore, that the hearth was already being worshipped during the nomadic period of the Indo-Europeans (Della Volpe, 1990: 159-160).

The dual character of the fire as a means of comfort and convenience and as a destructive force resulted in the association of the fire with both life and death (Prowse, 1967: 182). According to Della Volpe (1990: 167-9), the shape of the hearth is connected to the fire’s dual giving and taking force; it is circular because the hearth is the representation of the sun disc on earth and also the earth is accepted as round in shape.

² *i.e.* the duty of looking after the fire belongs to the chief’s daughters and when a new village is built, the fire was carried from the old one to the new one in South Africa; the daughters of the chief care for the fire in South America; virgins look after the fire in Central America, etc. (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 28).

³ In Della Volpe, 1990: 157-184, the term Indo-European basically designates the Greek, Roman, and Vedic Indian communities.

Despite the belief that the emergence of the concept of perpetual fire is a result of the practical needs of humans, Farnell (1909: 353) proposes that its origin may be purely religious, that the chief's soul was regarded to exist in the fire on his hearth and thus, his life and the well-being of the community depended on the continuity of the burning of the fire. All this makes the maintenance of the hearth a necessity.

Burkert (1985: 255) states that in Greek religion house and hearth designate the domestic sacred space. In ancient Greece, the care for the hearth fire means the preservation of the household (*oīkos*) and the family that “without the dutiful rituals of the hearth-keeper - always a woman - neither the oikos nor the polis could be preserved” (Thompson, 1994: 46).

According to Farnell (1909: 360) in ancient Greece the family hearth became sacred for two reasons: the first is animistic religious admiration for fire and second is the hearth and the hearth-altar were built of sacred stones and its sanctity may be a derivation of the old pillar-cult of the Minoan-Mycenaean period.

There is no mention of the worship of the hearth in Homer who considers the hearth as a witness to the oath (Odyssey 14.159; 17.156; 19.304; 20.231) and Deroy (1950: 30) accepts this as evidence that “the value of the sacred hearth persisted at the time of Homer”. Moreover, Scully (1990: 16-17) points out that the Homeric city is a sacred entity and the sanctity of the house was focused on the hearth.

The head of the family makes sacrifices at the hearth, pours libations into the fire and makes offering before every meal (Burkert, 1985: 255). The father is the single priest of the family hearth cult and he alone has the right to teach the ritual but only to his son (Fustel de Coulanges, 1980 [1956]: 30). Family cults included Hestia, Apollo Patrous, Zeus Ctesius, and Zeus Herceius. At the oikos level the cults were

exclusive and these divinities were also major deities of the Greek pantheon and “oikos religion was thus linked to polis religion through the figure of the father acting as domestic priest” (Pomeroy, 1998: 69).

Crawley (1994 [1926]: 562) believes that the ceremony of offering some portions of the meal to the hearth is never formulated into a cult but it is a testimony of the importance of the family in society. However, it is important to note that this tradition does not belong exclusively to Greeks: offering to the hearth can be seen among the ancient Latins, and Hindus along with the Slavs and the Mexicans (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 562).

Some scholars emphasize that the worship of the hearth is connected with the worship of the dead that the head of the household offers sacrifices and offerings to dead ancestors and in this way the protection of the dead ancestors was guaranteed. Della Volpe (1990: 163-164) suggests that the word *έστια* also used to indicate grave, which establishes the connection between ancestor cult and worship of the hearth and as the sacred hearth symbolized the ancestors, these were called *έστια πατρώα*. Although, also Fustel de Coulanges embraced the association of the worship of the hearth and the worship of the dead ancestors, he clearly points out that there is no actual proof of this connection in Classical Greece (1980 [1956]: 25).

Many traditions and customs in the ancient Greek world reflect the important place of the hearth at the domestic level. One of these can be seen in the marriage ceremony. The Greek marriage ceremony was composed of three acts: the first *εγγύησις* takes place in front of the hearth of the father, when the bride is separated from her father's hearth; in the second, *τελος*, the bride is carried to the house of the husband; and the last is *πόμπη*, in front of the hearth of the new house, where the

bride lit the fire from the spark she brought from her father's hearth (Fustel de Coulanges, 1980 [1956]: 36-38).

When a baby is born in the family the baby was “admitted” to the cult of the hearth and this act indicates that the baby was accepted into the family (Pomeroy, 1998: 68). The rite of Amphidromia⁴ is a Greek custom in which the baby is carried (probably by the father) around the hearth five or seven days after the baby's birth (Suda s.v. ἀμφιδρόμια; Hesychius s.v. δρομιάφιον ἥμαρ; Aristophanes, Lysistrata 757; a Schol. on Plato, Theaetetus 160e) and also a sacrifice was made at the hearth (Burkert, 1985: 255). In this way, the infants became members of the family and the “inclusion in the father's cult [was] established” (Pomeroy, 1998: 69).

When someone dies in the family, the fire of the hearth was allowed to extinguish itself and it was re-kindled with a sacrifice at the hearth (Burkert, 1985: 255) in accordance with its interpretation as “the means to rebirth at a higher level” (Matthews, 1993: 75). Moreover, when a family died, the hearth was permanently extinguished (Thucydides 1.136; Cato, On Agriculture 143).

As the fire is also considered as “purifying and renewing” (Matthews, 1993: 75), after the battle of Plataea, all fires of the common hearths in Greek cities were extinguished as they were polluted by the barbarians and new fire was brought from Delphi (Plutarch, Aristides 20) since the hearth at the temple of Delphi was seen as the communal hearth for all Greece (Burkert, 1985: 170).

Demetrakopoulos (1979: 62) states that “the hearth was the place of peace-making and granting of mercy to people outside the family.”: a person, who entered the house and sat next to the hearth of the house could claim protection (Herodotus

⁴ For a detailed analysis of the rite of Amphidromia see Vernant, 1983: 153-157.

1.35; Thucydides 1.136; Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1587; Sophocles, Oedipus at Colonus 633; Euripides, Madness of Heracles 715; Pindar, Fragment 49).

Although, the hearth has an important role at every rite of passage of the lives of the Greeks such as marriage, birth, death, etc., nothing associated with sex is allowed near the hearth. Hesiod mentions "...and in your house do not sit by the hearth with your genitals exposed and bespattered with semen..." (Works and Days 733-4). This can be connected with the belief that the fire must always remain pure.

Thus, the evidence reveals that the hearth has a clear cultic importance at the domestic level. The hearth is the focus of Greek domestic religion, where the father is the chief priest. This religion is defined by offering some portions of the meal to the hearth everyday and also with making sacrifices and libations at the hearth on particular days. Moreover, the important place of the hearth in the family cult resulted in the emergence of the important role of Hestia in domestic religion.

Although, it is suggested that the worship of the hearth is connected with the worship of the dead ancestors of a family, no clear evidence exists to support this suggestion in ancient Greece.

The cultic importance of the hearth at the domestic level is also reflected in the traditions of Greek society that the three basic events of a person's life as birth, marriage, and death are marked with a ritual associated with the hearth. As a result, the role of the hearth in domestic religion is reflected in the location of a common hearth inside the Prytaneion as the sacred hearth of the city along with the acceptance of Hestia as the goddess of the state. To understand the importance of Hestia as a state deity, it is necessary to look at her characteristics and possible origins with her contemporary or later parallels.

II.2. Greek Hestia, the Goddess of the Hearth: Possible Origins, Characteristics, and Parallels

This part of the chapter examines the Greek goddess of the hearth, Hestia. The necessity of this resulted from the fact that as the goddess of the hearth at the domestic level, she is also the goddess of the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion. In accordance with this, Hestia is the goddess of the state.

This part is divided into three sub-headings. The first deals with what we know or do not know of the origins of Hestia. The second tries to illustrate the importance and role of Hestia along with her association to the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion by mentioning her mythology, characteristics, and her representations. The last looks at the Scythian and Roman parallels of Hestia to understand her origins, her development, and her influence.

II.2.1. The General Knowledge on the Origins of the Greek Goddess Hestia

Before looking at the characteristics of Hestia, it is necessary to summarize what is known in general of the possible origins of Hestia. Unfortunately, this section mostly illustrates what we really do not know about the origins of both her name and her emergence as an anthropomorphized deity.

It is not very easy to trace back the origins of the goddess of the hearth. Although, it is accepted that the cult of the sacred hearth is an Indo-European heritage, for the goddess of the hearth a secure proposal is not possible. Even on the etymology of the names of the deities different views have been expressed. For Burkert (1985: 17) although along with Zeus, the names of Hera, Poseidon and Ares are formed from Indo-European roots, the names of the other Olympian deities cannot be securely identified as Indo-European. On the other hand, according to

Farnell (1927: 9), names such as Zeus, Hera, Dione, Poseidon, Ares, Demeter, Hestia possibly belong to Hellenic or Indo-European philology but they remain pre-Homeric. Nevertheless, according to Süß (1912: 1259) Hestia does not have a binding etymology.

However, even if the name of the goddess Hestia has an Indo-European origin, it does not clearly prove that the concept of the goddess of the hearth also originated in Indo-European thought. Farnell (1994 [1926]: 396) points out that although there is evidence that the sacredness of the hearth is an ancient tradition, the emergence of a hearth goddess is a later development. Moreover, according to Edmunds (1990: 199) although the Greek language is Indo-European, Greek religion is not Indo-European. Except for Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, the Olympians are not Indo-European. Following Dumézil's analyzes, Nagy points out that beginning from the Dark Age in which the traditions cannot be preserved and Greece became open to outside influence, the Indo-European traces of Greek culture and Greek religion were overshadowed and, starting in the eighth century BC, with the rise of the concept of Panhellenism, the Indo-European element was reduced to the local level (Nagy, 1990: 204).

Although historical Greek religion is the mixture of original Greek, Minoan, and Mycenaean religions (Nilsson, 1971: 27), it is not possible to be sure for the Minoan or Mycenaean traits in the goddess Hestia. The Minoan religion is centered on a female deity of nature named as the Snake or Household Goddess, who originated as a deity during the Early Bronze Age and probably as early as EM II (Branigan, 1969: 38). She had the symbols of the double axe, horns of consecration, stone offering tables and animals such as bulls and birds were found at her shrines (Branigan, 1969: 28-38; Peatfield, 1994: 20). Although Farnell points out that some

features of the Minoan goddess survived in certain Greek divinities such as Athena and Aphrodite; he does not mention any Minoan influence on Hestia (Farnell, 1927: 8-27) and he also points out that “there is no trait in her (Hestia) that reveals a glimpse of a prehistoric nature-goddess or elemental daimon” (Farnell, 1909: 357).

It is believed that the framework of the Greek mythological cycles developed in the Mycenaean Age (Nilsson, 1971: 28-29; 1972 [1932]). The tablets from Knossos, Thebes, Mycenae and Pylos clearly show that Mycenaean religion is polytheistic and most of the names of the Greek deities are found in these palace archives such as Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon (Coldstream, 1979: 328-9) but for many others including Hestia, the relation to earlier names cannot be established explicitly (Burkert, 1985: 43).

Just like their names, characteristics of the Greek deities such as Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis and Zeus were taken from their Minoan and Mycenaean predecessors (Coldstream 1979: 328). Thus, the Minoan or Mycenaean trait in the goddess Hestia is still a question mark as a result of the lack of evidence; this is why no remark on Hestia appears in the well-known Minoan-Mycenaean religion studies of Nilsson (1952, 1971).

There are literary parallels between Greek and Near Eastern texts such as the organization of the cosmos, the concepts of king of the gods and kingdom of god, the myths of Prometheus and Heracles, etc. (Mondi, 1990: 150 ff.). However, the recognized Near Eastern domestic goddesses are associated with many things including grain, cultivation, domesticated animals, beer, wine, weaving, pottery making, jewellery making, metal-working, medicine, etc⁵. (Westenholz, 1999: 70-71), but none resembles Hestia and her association to the hearth or even to the fire.

⁵ For details on the Near Eastern goddesses see Westenholz, 1999: 63-83 and Gray, 1969:17-25 and 70-78.

Thus, no evidence has been revealed to indicate a possible Near Eastern trait in Hestia.

Nut, Hathor, Neith and Isis were major Egyptian goddesses⁶. Among these goddesses Isis is known to have an influence on Greek goddesses Demeter, Selene, Hera and she is identified with the Anatolian mother goddesses Cybele and Cretan Artemis/Diana (Hassan, 1999: 99). However, no Egyptian goddess is known to have similar traits with Hestia or associated with the hearth, indicating no Egyptian influence on Hestia.

Overall, what we know about her origins are usually negative remarks. In terms of her name it is not possible to know its origins securely: it may be or may not be derived from an Indo-European root: no widely accepted identification exists. In terms of her emergence and characteristics, no evidence could link her or any feature of her to the Minoan mother goddess, and any identified Mycenaean, Near Eastern and Egyptian deity prior to her.

II.2.2. The Characteristics of Hestia and Her Association to the Sacred Hearth in the Prytaneion

This section deals with the basic features of Hestia in accordance with the knowledge from ancient literary sources. Her mythology, representations, and symbolism will be mentioned. The main objective of this part will be to illustrate her association to the Prytaneion on both symbolic and religious levels along with her role in the city's life. Another objective will be to understand the sudden emergence of this goddess as the previous section indicates that it is not possible to connect Hestia to any earlier Minoan, Mycenaean, Near Eastern or Egyptian deity.

⁶ For details on the Egyptian goddesses see Hassan, 1999: 98-112 and Armour, 1986: 15-58.

As the sacred hearth is placed in the Prytaneion, so is the Greek goddess of the hearth. The word designating the hearth, *εστία* or *ἴστιν* in Ionic also designates the goddess, *Ἑστία* or *Ἰστία* in Ionic (Liddell and Scott, 1968: 698). Plato in Cratylus (401bc-e) discusses the etymology of Hestia and he provides two possibilities: the first one is *οὐσίαν* (or *εσσίαν* as some others call it) meaning “the essence of things” and the second one is *ωσίαν* meaning the constant movement of things. However, modern scholars disagree with this view: for Dumézil Hestia (and also Vesta) derives from the root “to burn”; for Seltman Hestia means fire; and for Farnell its root is “vas - to inhabit” (Demetrakopoulos 1979: 61).

Although one of the twelve Olympians (Downing, 1987: 308; Bell, 1991: 239), Hestia remains a minor goddess. She was the goddess of the domestic and communal hearth – stones and altar - not fire⁷ (Vernant, 1983: 131; Downing, 1987: 308; Hastings, 1994: 28) and in this way she assumes the role of goddess of domestic life (Bell, 1991: 240), the state, civic unity and people’s respect for the gods (Seyffert, 1986: 292).

There is not as much ancient literary information on Hestia in comparison with the other eleven Olympian deities. Hesiod’s Theogony, the oldest source dating to c.700 BC, (Farnell, 1909: 345; Hastings, 1994: 562) maintains Hestia (453) as the daughter of Kronos and Rhea, and also sister to Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Demeter, and Hera.

The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (5.22-33), which dates around the seventh century BC informs us that Hestia was both the first and the youngest child (as when she was born, she was immediately swallowed by her father); Poseidon and Apollo

⁷ It is important to mention that she is not the goddess of fire. In fact, there are only two well-known deities of fire: Hindu Agni and Zoroastrian Atar, both of which are male. For details, see Hastings, 1994: 28-30 and Eliade, 1987: 341-2.

wanted to marry her but she refused and she swore an oath to remain virgin; Zeus accepted her oath and granted her the privileges of sitting in the middle of the house, getting the richest portion of every meal, having a share in all temples, and thus being a senior goddess among the mortals.

There are also two short Homeric Hymns to Hestia. Homeric Hymn 24 summons Hestia to the house of men to bring grace. On the other hand, Homeric Hymn 29 states that Hestia has the highest honor among both mortals and immortals, mortals do not have feasts without her, and wine is offered to her both at the beginning and at the end of each feast. Moreover, Pausanias (5.14.4; 5.26.2) also mentions that offerings were made to Hestia.

Hestia was mentioned very rarely in the myths of gods and goddesses (Bell, 1991: 240). In Homer for example, although the hearth (*iστίη*) is especially mentioned in four passages (Odysseus 14.159; 17.156; 19.304; and 20.231), there is no mention of the goddess Hestia herself (Seyffert, 1986: 292). Moreover, according to Jouan (1956: 290-302) the myth that she was pursued by Apollo and Poseidon is in fact a creation of the author of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite as this is the only source; the author used the myth of Thetis pursued by Zeus and Poseidon as his model to create it. Thus, Burkert (1985: 170) points out that because the hearth is immovable, Hestia is a motionless goddess that she does not even take part in the procession of the deities as Plato (Phaedrus 247a) mentions that “Hestia alone remains in the house of the gods. Of the rest, those who are included among the twelve great gods and are accounted leaders, are assigned each to his place in the army”.

Hestia represents the stability and continuity of both familiar and communal existence (Downing, 1987: 308). As the domestic hearth is the religious center of the

household, Hestia is the center of the divine household (Grimal, 1996: 213) and she also “controls the value of centrality in public space” (Goux, 1983: 97). Moreover, Diodorus of Sicily states that Hestia discovered how to build houses and because of this every home includes a shrine to her and sacrifices and honor are provided to her (Diodorus of Sicily 5.68). Hestia is believed to transmit the offerings of the people to the gods and in this way she linked ‘the heavens and the earth’ (Vernant, 1983: 160).

Hestia’s virginity is important. Burkert (1985: 170) points out that Hestia’s virginity accords with the ancient sexual prohibition related to the hearth as Hesiod (*Works and Days* 733-4) emphasized. However, according to Vernant (1983: 131) to explain the reason of her virginity as the purity of fire is not appropriate because she is not the goddess of the fire. By marriage the girl deserts her family’s hearth and becomes a part of her husband’s hearth; on the other hand the unmarried Hestia always belongs to the family’s hearth (Vernant, 1983: 133).

Hestia is associated with Hermes (Seyffert, 1986: 292; Downing, 1987: 308). In Homeric Hymn to Hestia 24, Hermes assists, loves, and reveres Hestia. Pausanias (1.34.3) mentions the worship of both Hestia and Hermes in the Amphiareion of Oropos. Moreover, a mid-third century BC inscription of Thasos, attests their association (Sarian, 1981: 407). In artworks, when she is depicted with the Olympian deities like on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (c.525 BC) (Fig. 1), she is usually situated next to Hermes as on the black figured dinos by Sophilos (580 BC) (Fig. 2), on the pediment of the Parthenon (438 BC) (Figs. 3 and 4), on the round marble altar at Ostia (first century AD), and on a round base (first century AD) at Hadrian’s Villa, Tivoli (Sarian, 1981: 408-9). According to Vernant (1983: 128) “Hestia and Hermes are ‘neighbours’”. The two define two fundamental “spatialities” in Greek thought: Hestia is associated with private space whereas

Hermes is associated with public space (Thompson, 1994: 42). Thus, Hestia represents immobility because she is the world of the interior, while Hermes represents mobility as he is the outside world with all its opportunities and movement (Vernant, 1983: 130). However, it is important to note that these two are not “isolated” that they in fact complete each other as a couple (Vernant, 1983: 140).

Her association with the Prytaneion and her importance in the city’s political life is mentioned in both the literary and artistic sphere. In one of his Odes of the fifth century BC, which celebrates Aristagoras on his installation for a year on the governing council of Tenedos, Pindar (Nemean Odes 9.1-3) calls upon Hestia as the goddess of the city hall for her welcome of Aristagoras to his duty. As the Prytaneion is the place where magistrates, visitors, embassies, and heroes of the city dine as an honor on behalf of the city, the probable repercussion of this function of the Prytaneion can be seen on two reliefs: at Pharsalos, Hestia is depicted with Symmachos (Figs. 5 and 6), who is a deified hero (Miller, 1973: 167-172) and at the oracle of Amphiaraus at Oropos, she is depicted with the deified hero Amphiaraus (Sarian, 1981: 409). However, Miller (1973: 172) proposes that the depiction of Hestia and Symmachos together should result from “a topographic connection between the two immortals in the Prytaneion, and Hestia is to be recognized as specifically Hestia Prytaneia”. Moreover, two Greek imperial bronze coins of the city of Nicopolis in Epirus, dated to the reigns of Volusianus (AD 251-253) and Valerian (AD. 253-260) show Hestia sitting turned right with a laurel crown on her head and an inscription saying *EΣΤΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΑΕΣ* (Sarian, 1981: 411).

Many inscriptions revealed that Hestia is *πρυτανίτις*, the protector of the Prytaneion and at the same time she is *βουλαία*, the protector of the Bouleuterion (Sarian, 1981: 411). As McDonald (1948: 282) points out, although the cult of

Hestia was first a household cult, later it transferred to the Prytaneion and then also to the Bouleuterion with the altars of Hestia Boulaea. Indeed, Pausanias mentions altars dedicated to Hestia along with other gods in Attica (1.34.3); a sanctuary to Hestia in Laconia (3.11.11); and a sanctuary with an altar at Corinth (2.35.1).

The cult of Hestia was also connected with oaths (McDonald 1948: 281). Plato states that in capital cases during the judging procedure all the judges should deposit the documents on the altar of Hestia (Laws 5.855) and at the end each judge should vote secretly and end the trial by swearing in the name of Hestia (Laws 5.855-856).

The hearth was accepted as a natural place for suppliants in need of protection and the repercussion of this feature of the hearth can be seen in Euripides' tragedy Alcestis (162-168), in which, before she dies, Alcestis prays in front of the hearth and says: "O divinity, the mistress of this house, for the last time I fall before you, and address you my prayers, for I am going to descend among the dead. Watch over my children, who will have no mother; give to my boy a tender wife, and to my girl a noble husband. Let them not, like me, die before the time; but let them enjoy a long life in the midst of happiness."

Hestia is the least anthropomorphized of the major Greek deities (Downing, 1987: 308). At the Prytaneion of Athens there was an image of Hestia (Pausanias 1.18.3.). Pindar's 9th Nemean Ode suggests there was one in the city hall in Tenedos but Farnell (1909: 361) believes that "the poet may imagine the goddess in the city hall as a sceptered goddess but in unseen presence". Two Delian inscriptions (ID 1416A, I, 83-84 (156/5 BC) and ID 1417B, I, 89-90 (155/4 BC)), mention a bronze

statue of Hestia in the Prytaneion of Delos (Miller, 1978: 185-6)⁸. Pausanias (5.26.2) states that in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Micythus offered a bronze votive statue of Hestia along with votive statues of two other deities. However, there is no literary evidence for a statue of Hestia in other cities (Farnell, 1994 [1926]: 563). Pausanias (5.11.8) also describes the base of the throne of Zeus in his temple at Olympia, on which appeared relief representations of the deities in gold including Hestia.

The examples reveal that she is generally depicted among the deities (Fig. 7 and 8) as a seated deity on her throne (Fig. 9), on an altar (Fig. 10) or on the omphalos or sometimes as a standing woman (Fig. 11); she is always richly dressed; she may be veiled (Figs. 12 and 13) or wear a diadem (Fig. 10) or a crown of laurels; and she may carry flowers (Fig. 9), fruits, or a libation cup (Fig. 13) in her hands (Sarian, 1981: 412).⁹ Although no classical statues of Hestia are recovered, one Roman copy of a bronze statue of c. 470 BC is found in Villa Albani at Rome (Fig. 14). This free-standing marble statue is identified as Hestia and named “Hestia Giustiniani”.

The only mentioned temple of Hestia is at Olympia. Xenophon (*Hellenica* 7.4.31) mentions that it stood near the Bouleuterion and Farnell (1909: 362) points out that this is not the Prytaneion because the excavations revealed that the Bouleuterion was to the south of the Altis but the Prytaneion was to the northeast. However, apart from this example no other temple of Hestia is known, probably because virtually every Prytaneion was a sanctuary of her (Bell, 1991: 240).

As Hestia is the goddess of both the private and public hearth, and as she is the symbol of both the family and the state, one expects to find that she is one of the

⁸ The text follows the abbreviated form of the journals, which are devoted to the epigraphical studies. For the list of abbreviations, see Hornblower and Spawforth, 2003.

⁹ Sarian gives information on four free standing statues and one votive statue mentioned in the literary texts, as well as six Attic vases, two monumental statues, nine reliefs, and two coins depicting Hestia. For the complete catalogue of artworks see Sarian, 1981: 408-412.

most important deities of the ancient world. However, she is not. As mentioned before, although she partakes of the Olympian cycle, she is the least mentioned divinity in mythology and literature, the least anthropomorphized, and the least depicted in art. Moreover, every city has a Prytaneion but Hestia can never become the patron deity of any city; she may be remembered at the beginning and at the end of the sacrifices or libations but the actual ritual is done for another deity. She is also never mentioned in the accounts of the *Amphidromia*, the ritual of running around the hearth with the baby five days after its birth (Farnell 1909: 356).

According to Farnell (1909: 360) the reason for Hestia's near absence in art and literature is that she was not originally the goddess who made the hearth holy, but it is the sacred hearth with its fire that created her. She is female because the word *εστία* is feminine; she is the daughter of Zeus because Zeus is the god of the state and she is the hearth of the state; she remains a virgin because the sacred hearth with its fire is pure and should not be polluted; she has no mythology because she is not independent from the hearth (Farnell, 1909: 363). However, it can be said that the attempt of the Greeks to create a goddess from the sacred hearth, more or less, failed or that this attempt was not as successful as the others (Farnell, 1909: 360) that the name '*Eστία*', which designates the hearth as "animate" and "holy" prevented the creation of a fully anthropomorphized deity (Farnell, 1994 [1926]: 404).

Hence, it may be said that in accordance with the Greek tradition of the attribution of human form to concepts, natural forces and inanimate objects such as love, war, art, sea, and wine; the hearth as a symbol and a natural force became anthropomorphized under the name of Hestia. However, the hearth as a cultic entity is already important in religion and in the secular way of life, and this resulted in the prevention of the acceptance of Hestia as a deity in human form compared to the

other symbols that were also attributed one. Although, less widely accepted and emphasized as a deity, the emergence of the goddess of the hearth seems to be a Greek feature resulting from the Greek tradition of the anthropomorphization of deities.

II.2.3. Identified Parallels to the Greek Hestia: Scythian *Tαβίτι* and Roman Vesta

In this part the goddesses of the hearth in Scythian and Roman world will be taken into consideration to understand whether it is possible to talk about a goddess common to more than one civilization. It is important to note that Hindu Agni in Vedic India and Zoroastrian Atar in Persia will not be taken into consideration. The reason for these exclusions are the fact that both of these are deities of fire not the hearth and they are also male.

Scythian *Tαβίτι*

Herodotus (4.59) mentions that the Scythians worship a goddess named *Tαβίτι* as an equal to Hestia but apart from Herodotus no other source mentions Tabiti (Geisau, 1932: 1879). The Scythians were Iranian speaking nomadic tribes, which lived on the steppes of the Black Sea region from the seventh to the third century BC (Raevskii, 1987: 145). The basic Scythian pantheon, composed of seven gods, was divided into three ranks and Tabiti stood in the first rank (Raevskii, 1987: 145). The Scythians worshipped Tabiti with special respect but she is somehow “tied” to the tent of the king in that she can punish a sinful person but not directly, the king punishes for her (Geisau, 1932: 1880). Thus Tabiti, who was called the queen of the Scythians, reflects the powerful position of the king (Geisau, 1932: 1880). Like Hestia, the cult of Tabiti is associated with the oaths in that the most

formal oath refers to her and the false swearing results in a serious illness of the king (Geisau, 1932: 1879). According to Raevskii (1987: 146) “the predominant position of the goddess of fire and the hearth, Tabiti (Iranian Tarayati, “the flaming one, the burning one”), corresponds to the Indo-Iranian concept of fire as the primeval substance and the basis of the universe”. However, Neumann (quoted in Geisau, 1932: 1880) recognizes that a fire goddess does not fit nomadism and Tabiti should be the maternal divinity worshipped in each tent by the hearth.

In short, although some common features are shared by Hestia and Tabiti: they are both female, deities of the hearth, and associated with oaths; to accept a link between these deities is quite difficult. The main reason for such a reservation is the fact that apart from Herodotus, no Greek source mentions Tabiti. Moreover, Herodotus gives no detail on this goddess but names her as an equal to Hestia in the Scythian lands. It may be suggested that the nomadic nature of the Scythians resulted in an emphasis on the hearth along with fire unlike the emphasis totally on the fire as in the Iranian speaking Persians. It is also possible to suggest Tabiti as a female reflection of a deity of fire.

Roman Vesta

Hestia's Roman equivalent was Vesta. The name Vesta derived from the root *a eu “to burn” (Schilling, 1987: 250). Cicero (On the Nature of the Gods 2.27) points out that the name Vesta comes from the Greeks whom they call Hestia with her power extending over altars and hearths. Ovid (Fasti 6.298-300) says “Vesta is so called from standing by power (*vi stando*); and the reason of her Greek name may be similar. Moreover, Cicero (Laws 2.29) emphasizes that the Romans retain the name of the goddess almost in its Greek form without translating it. On the other

hand, Varro (On the Latin Language 5.74) states that the name Vesta comes from the Sabines with slight changes.

The perpetual fire in the temple of Vesta was regarded as the most ancient of the three symbols of Rome's continuity –the others are the temple of Capitoline Jupiter and the shields of the *Salii*- (Dumézil, 1996 [1970]: 311). The cult of Vesta, the earliest political and religious institution of Rome was already formed in the seventh century BC as is shown by the sanctuary built in the Roman forum at this period (Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 412).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that Romulus erected a hearth in each of the thirty regions and appointed the chiefs of these as the priests of the hearths. By doing so, Romulus imitated the custom still employed in many Greek cities (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.65). However, Romulus did not build the temple of Vesta and he did not appoint virgins for the service of the goddess. After Romulus, Numa erected one hearth common to them and in accordance with the ancestral customs of the Latins, appointed virgins for the care of the fire (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.66). Plutarch (Numa 11) also states that Numa built the temple of Vesta in a circular form. The cult of Vesta was rooted either in Alba Longa (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.64.5 and 2.65.4; Livy 1.20.3) or the Sabine country (Varro, On the Latin Language 5.74). Afterwards, Augustus built a shrine of Vesta in his house on the Palatine while keeping the old shrine in the Forum (Beard et al., 1998: 189). In this way,

“not only had Vesta now been relocated in a new imperial setting; but even more crucially the public hearth of the state, with its associations of the success of the Roman empire, had been fused with the private hearth of Augustus” (Beard et al., 1998: 191).

Thus, Augustus converted the state cult of Vesta into the cult of the imperial household (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 328).

Vesta shared her place with Lares, Manes, Penates, and Genii, who were known to the Greeks as demons and heroes and basically these are deified human souls (Fustel de Coulanges 1980 [1958]: 16). Lares and Penates seem to be kinds of spirits (Prowse, 1967: 186). Cicero (On the Nature of the Gods 2.27.68) states that the Penates are the household gods and Cicero (Timaeus 11) tells what Greeks call demons (*daimonias*) are the Lares for the Romans. Moreover, Censorinus (The Natal Day 3) says that “Genius and Lar is the same being” (Fustel de Coulanges 1980 [1958]: 16). Della Volpe (1990: 162) mentions that the Lares were the ancestors of the family and the Penates were ancestors of the Roman tribes that the Penates were worshipped also in the sacred hearth of Rome along with Vesta. The Manes were souls, separated from the body, symbolizing the ancestors (Guerber, 1994: 75).

Like Hestia, Vesta has no vast mythology of her own. One account is told by Ovid (Fasti 6.319) that Priapus, the phallic god, tried to assault Vesta in her sleep. This myth puts a clear emphasis on the virginity and chastity of the goddess. Vesta’s virginity is as important as that of Hestia. Ovid (Fasti 6.249) states that a man should not see Vesta in terms of her images such as her statues and her “imagined image” (Goux, 1983: 94). Moreover, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.67) states that at night men cannot remain at the temple but this proscription does not apply to daytime. Goux (1983: 95) comments that this is because Vesta “is the root of sacredness itself: she is the inviolable”. It is also stated that all prayers and all sacrifices end with Vesta because she is the guardian of “innermost” (*intimarum*) things (Cicero, On the Nature of the Gods 2.27). However, this is somehow different from the practice of Hestia’s cult that all sacrifices not only end but also “begin” with Hestia (Schilling, 1987: 251).

The temple of Vesta is circular (Figs. 15-18). Deroy (1950: 37) argues that the suggested connection between the temple of Vesta and the primitive round huts attested by the Iron Age funerary urns is weak. According to Ovid (*Fasti* 6.249), the temple of Vesta is circular because “Vesta is the same as the Earth: under both of them is perpetual fire: the earth and the hearth are symbols of home”. According to Dumézil the hearth’s association to the earth could be the reason why Vesta’s temple is round: the temples are quadrangular because they must be defined in terms of the four directions of the sky but “Vesta’s temple does not need this because it has nothing to do with the sky or the directions of the sky, it is totally connected with the hearth and for this reason it is an *eades sacra*, not a *templum*” (Dumézil, 1996 [1970]: 315-6). Moreover, according to Fischer-Hansen (1981: 418) “The Forum building was never a temple in the technical sense and the absence of a statue may reflect the abstract animistic conception of the goddess.”

In her temple, Vesta just like Hestia, was worshipped not in an anthropomorphized form but as the sacred hearth (Fig. 19) (Seyffert, 1986: 687). Indeed, Ovid (*Fasti* 6.295) says that for a long time he “foolishly” thought that there were images of Vesta but there were none. Moreover, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.66) emphasizes that the temple was either empty apart from the hearth or that besides the hearth, some holy objects unknown to the public were located.

Although she has been depicted less often than other Roman deities, Vesta has been represented much more often than the Greek Hestia in art¹⁰. Many wall paintings, reliefs (Figs. 20 and 21), and coins depict Vesta (Fig. 22-26). Unlike Greek Hestia, images of Vesta appear on wall paintings in the *lararia* of the houses on which she may be depicted alone, among the Lares or in company with other

¹⁰ Fischer-Hansen gives information on ten wall paintings, nine reliefs, thirty coins, two statues, and six uncertain representations depicting Vesta. For this catalogue, see Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 413-418.

deities; she may also be accompanied by an ass, which became a symbol of her cult (Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 420). In artworks Vesta is depicted as a veiled and fully dressed woman standing by herself or at an altar; seated on a throne, low chair, altar, or cult table (Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 413-418). There are also coins and a relief depicting her along with a bust (Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 417-18). It is important to note that the early representations of Vesta cannot be distinguished from those of Hestia and afterwards the essential image of Vesta is an enthroned figure with scepter and offering a libation, similar to the representations of Ceres, Fortuna, Kybele; the identification of the goddess depends mostly on inscriptions (as on coins) or on context (Fischer-Hansen, 1981: 419).

The worship of Vesta was different in several ways from Greek Hestia (Bell, 1991: 240). Vesta's cult was controlled by the chief high priest (*pontifex maximus*) - that is the emperor after the re-organization of the cult by Augustus- and the Vestal Virgins (Fig. 27) assisted him (Grimal, 1996: 465). Cicero (Laws 2.20-29) tells us that the Vestal Virgins, who are six in number, watch over the sacred fire on the public hearth; the Vestal Virgins look after the fire "so that women may be aware that their sex is capable of practicing strict chastity". Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.66) agrees with this and points out "because fire is incorrupt and a virgin is undefiled, the chasteest of mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those that are divine".

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.67) also gives information on the Vestal Virgins: their numbers were originally four but then were raised to six; they live in the temple of the goddess; they have many high honors; they should remain virgin during thirty years, which is the duration of their service and when their service is finished they may marry; if they didn't keep their promise of chastity they should be

punished severely. Plutarch (Numa 9) states that any Vestal Virgin, who broke her vow of chastity is buried alive. According to Staples (1998: 129) the reason for such a severe punishment is that “the loss of a Vestal’s virginity was a sign that all was not well with the state’s relationship with its gods. The only way that that relationship could be repaired was by the ritual of live interment¹¹. ”

It is important to note that the virginity of the Vestals does not simply mean the physical virginity of a woman but also “a Vestal’s virginity represented life and death, stability and chaos for the Roman state and by losing her physical virginity, the Vestal more importantly betrayed the ideology of her unique status” (Staples, 1998: 135). Some accounts reveal that some Vestals have been punished in periods of political insecurity such as in 216 and 114 BC after devastating defeats of the Roman army, indicating that the execution of a Vestal was used as a last resort, “a desperate measure” in turbulent times (Staples, 1998: 136-7). However, because a Vestal Virgin symbolizes the city of Rome, all Vestals, including the executed ones, were buried within the walls of the city (Staples, 1998: 134).

One hypothesis on the origins of the Vestal Virgins goes back to regal Rome. It is suggested that the life of the Vestals reflected the life of the ancient regal household and the Vestals originated from the women of the king’s family (Beard et al., 1998: 52). Frazer (1885: 158) suggests that the Vestal Virgins were originally the unmarried daughters of the chief, who stay at home to care for the hearth fire and to fetch water. However, according to Beard, North, and Price (1998: 52) they do not fit either the role of the daughters or the wives of early kings: their virginity does not suit the role of wives and their relative independence does not match the role of a dependant daughter. Moreover, it is important that they are connected with the

¹¹ For details on the ritual of live interment, see Staples 1998: 132-135.

Pontifex Maximus, the chief high priest not the *Rex Sacrarum*, the king of rites, which makes their connection with the king's house doubtful (Beard et al., 1998: 52). Thus, even in the period of kingship the *Pontifex Maximus* has a connection with the Vestals and after kingship collapsed, this connection continued (Beard et al., 1998: 58).

Since being a Vestal Virgin is among the highest honors, not everyone can become a Vestal Virgin. In his work Aulus Gellius (1.12) gives a broad account of the qualifications to be a Vestal Virgin. The *Pontifex Maximus* chose the candidate and the most noticeable requirements are that the mother and the father of the candidate should be alive and she must be a Roman citizen. These requirements indicate that the Vestal should come from an ideal Roman family (Staples, 1998: 139). However, when she became a Vestal, the ties with her parents were broken and she became the property of the whole of Rome (Staples, 1998: 143). Vestals are accompanied by a *lictor* as a symbol of office, and they are easily recognizable with their clothes and their unique hair style (Staples, 1998: 143). The Vestal Virgins' religious functions are: looking after the hearth fire in the temple of Vesta, purifying the temple with water everyday, guarding its storehouse (*penus*), gathering the first ears of corn from the harvest and baking them to prepare the "sacred salted meal" (*mola salsa*), which was used to "sanctify" the victim before the sacrifice (Beard, et al. 1998: 51-2). The fire of the sacred hearth was renewed every year on the 1st of March (Ovid, Fasti 3.135), a tradition not attested in Greece (Seyffert, 1986: 687).

Thus, in Greece no institution corresponds to the Vestal Virgins (Hastings, 1994: 563). Frazer (1885: 158-n.1) asks that if it is accepted that both the Prytaneion and the temple of Vesta originated from the house of the chief and if the Vestals were originally the daughters of the chief, then why is there no similar institution to

the Vestals in Greece? His answer to this question is quite dissatisfying in that he suggests that maybe some “circumstances” occurred to prevent the formation of this custom such as the king may not have had a daughter (Frazer, 1885: 158-n.1).

Moreover, Deroy (1950: 35) lays emphasis on some points that were indicated by previous scholars: the worship of Vesta is restricted to Latium and the other Italics preserved "neither the name nor the memory" of her (Gianelli, 1983: 20), Vesta is "the only feminine divinity of the ancient circle of the public gods" in Rome (Basanoff, 1945: 33), although in Greece, the priestesses are part of the tradition, the use of young girls as priestesses, with surprising social privileges, does not match with the spirit of Greek religion and the society.

For Roman Vesta, Dumézil believes the Roman practice surrounding the sacred fire shares features with the Vedic fire (Dumézil, 1996 [1970]: 320) that the concept of the fire of the master of the house in Vedic religion¹² is similar to the sacred fire in the temple of Vesta (1996 [1970]: 312). The Roman and Vedic practices can be accepted as Indo-European survivals and they go beyond the cult of Hestia in Greece (Dumézil, 1996 [1970]: 320).

On the other hand, scholars cannot agree on the association between the Greek Hestia and the Roman Vesta. Many scholars, who find objections on linguistic and historical grounds, do not support Cicero's (On the Nature of the Gods 2.27; Laws 2.29) account that the name of Vesta is Greek in origin (Deroy, 1950: 35). These scholars believe that the worship of Vesta is earlier than the hellenization of the Roman religion and mythology and it was associated with the ancestral worship of Penates, indicating Vesta had a Latin origin (Deroy, 1950: 36). For example,

¹² For details on the concepts of three fires in Vedic religion see Dumézil, 1996 [1970]: 312-4.

Farnell (1909: 347) believes that along with the cult of the hearth, the goddess of the hearth should be an ancestral inheritance of the early Italic and Hellenic tribes.

However, in opposition to this view it may be said that Greek influence in Italy is not limited to the direct hellenization attested under the Republic and the association of the worship of Penates with that of Vesta does not necessarily imply the community of the origin of the two worships (Deroy, 1950: 36). Süß (1912: 1266) points out that although the Vesta cult displays Greek traditions in detail, it is not possible to argue that the Romans “absorbed” the Greek cult; rather, it seems that it corresponds to a tradition common to both Greeks and Italiots.

Another view is that the borrowing may have occurred indirectly via South Italian Greeks. Deroy (1950: 36) quotes Gianelli’s proposal that the Etruscans borrowed the worship of the hearth from the Greeks and afterwards the Latins borrowed it from the Etruscans. However, no ancient source or archaeological evidence indicates such a link.

This part on Vesta clearly illustrates that she remains the closest parallel to Hestia. Both these deities share common characteristics and mythology emphasizing their virginity. Although Vesta’s cult is one of the earliest political and religious institutions of Rome illustrated by Romulus erecting common hearths in each of the thirty regions, the cult differed from that of Hesta after the erection of the temple of Vesta and later Augustus remodelled it with an emphasis on the virgin priestesses totally unknown to the Greeks, in accordance with the ideology of the Roman empire.

The emergence of the Vestal Virgins seems to be a Roman creation and can be simply seen as an attempt to show to society the model of a perfect woman, who is capable of strict chastity with special symbolic meanings for the continuity of the

empire. The Vestals may be regarded as not only the servants of the goddess but also the immortal form of the goddess herself. It is important to note that the institution of Vestal Virgins with some privileges reserved for them as priestesses, and their relative independence is quite foreign to Greek society, in which women experienced less independence than the Roman ones.

In terms of the emergence of a goddess of the hearth, it may be said that the emergence of the deity is a later creation both in Greece and Rome. However, it seems to have occurred during the early years of the formation of the Greek city-states and a bit later in Rome. It is possible that this cultic symbolism may have originated from one common culture belonging to a nomadic and early past, but later on the cult differed. In accordance with the chronological evidence, the Greek traditions and customs may have influenced the Roman ones in the early periods.

The central point for Greece is that the importance of the sacred hearth at the domestic level resulted in the emergence of the common hearth situated in the Prytaneion, which makes it necessary to examine the Prytaneion as a civic structure in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPORTANCE, FUNCTIONS, ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS AND IDENTIFIED EXAMPLES OF THE PRYTANEION AS A CIVIC INSTITUTION

This chapter mainly deals with the Prytaneion structures. The reason for such an examination is that the sacred hearth at the domestic level is named as the common hearth, *έστιά κοινη* at the state level and is located inside the Prytaneion. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first part tries to define and illustrate the importance of the Prytaneion as a civic structure in the ancient Greek city. The second describes the functions of the Prytaneion. The third tries to define the architectural elements of the Prytaneion in accordance with the written accounts. The last two parts basically deal with the examples of the known and excavated Prytaneia. However, before the excavated examples, the Prytaneion of Athens will be examined as most of the literary and epigraphic evidence deals with Athens and the Prytaneion of Athens. The question of the association of the Tholos and the Prytaneion is also examined. Apart from Athens identified and excavated Prytaneia

are also mentioned to look for a comparison with the literary texts and actual examples. The question whether the Prytaneia have a standard plan or not will also be examined.

III.1. The Definition and the Importance of the Prytaneion

The ancient literary sources mentioned in this section provide evidence regarding the meaning of the term Prytaneion, its emergence and development as a civic institution, its importance and its role in the city's political and symbolic life along with the fact that the importance of this civic structure is connected to the existence of the sacred hearth of the city inside the structure. In accordance with this literary evidence, the main objective of this section is to show how the sacred hearth located inside the Prytaneion influenced and shaped the role and the symbolic meaning of the Prytaneion as a civic institution in ancient Greece.

The Prytaneion is the “office of the city's magistrates” (Zaidman and Pantel, 1992: 93). Aristotle (Athenian Constitution 3.5) states that the Prytaneion belonged to the *archon*. The name, Prytaneion came to be in use in the fifth century BC (Leicester 1939: 292); the word is directly related to the office of “prytanis” (*πρύτανις*) or board of “prytaneis” (*πρυτάνεις*) (Robertson 1998: 298). As a Scholion on Thucydides (2.15.2) states, “...It was so called since there sat the prytaneis who arranged all the affairs (of state). Others say that the Prytaneion was the treasury of fire where the undying fire and prayers were offered.”.

The prytaneis¹³ were the executives of the Boule of Athens; the office of prytanis is attested in several other cities as well, where it showed more or less the same kind of evolution (Gschnitzer, 1957: 738). Although for Leicester (1939: 292)

¹³ For a detailed study on the office of prytaneis in the Greek world see Gschnitzer, 1957: 730-816.

prytaneis may be thought of as hearth-keepers, since local officers held this duty before, Gschnitzer (1957: 740) points out that the main duties of the prytaneis were to serve the gods and to host state guests. Aristotle (*Politics* 6.5.11-12) states, “...this is the office devoted to the management of all the public festivals which the law does not assign to the priests but the officials in charge of which derive their honour from the common sacrificial hearth, and these officials are called in some places *archons*, in others *basileus* and in others *prytaneis*.”. In most cities the prytaneis meet and take their meals in the Prytaneion. However, Pausanias (1.5.1) states that at Athens the prytaneis meet and take their meals in the Tholos¹⁴.

McDonald (1943: 127) points out that as a civic unit the Prytaneion emerged in the historical period. According to Robertson (1998: 298), “the Prytaneion is the earliest headquarters of civic government”. The Prytaneion was so important for the city that in his Laws, Plato (5.745) states that after selecting a convenient place for a city, a legislator’s first priority should be to reserve a sacred area for Hestia, Zeus, and Athena and enclose their boundaries. Pausanias (10.4.1) states that a town cannot be called a town without a Prytaneion. Aelius Aristides (179.11) tells that Athens means the same to Greece, as the Prytaneion signifies to the city. Thus, According to Glotz (1996 [1929]: 20), the Prytaneion is the “symbol of the city”.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.23.2) defines the Prytaneion as *έστια κοινὴ* the common hearth. Livy (41.20.7) defines the Prytaneion with the words “...id est penetrale urbis...”. In Latin “penetrale” means the inner part or innermost part of a building (Freund, 1987: 1329). Plutarch (*Theseus* 27.7) describes the Prytaneion site as *ὅπου νῦν ἴδρυται τὸ ἄστυ* that is “where the town is now centered” (Robertson 1998: 284). Thus, it may be said that the Prytaneion is the most private location and

¹⁴ For details on the Tholos, see II.4. The Prytaneion of Athens.

the center of the city, usually situated in or near the agora (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 324). McDonald (1943: 173) believes that the existence of altars of Hestia in the Bouleuteria proves that the Prytaneion was initially also the meeting place of the council. However, later on the Bouleuterion became a separate building for this sole function with an altar of Hestia inside (McDonald 1943: 137).

Although in his early article, Frazer (1885: 145) states that only the “capital” cities had a Prytaneion, now it is known that every Greek city had a Prytaneion (Vanderpool, 1935: 471). Thus, this means that including the colonies there must have been more than a thousand poleis and more than a thousand Prytaneia in the ancient Greek world (Herman Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, 1994: 31).

As every household has a family hearth so does the city possess a Prytaneion housing the eternal fire of the public hearth of the city (Pollux, Onomastikon 1.7). Thus, the sacred hearth is the most important feature of the Prytaneion because the symbolic center of the archaic and classical city was the common hearth (Parker, 1996: 26).

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.65) “Nothing is more necessary for men than a public hearth..., when a city was being founded, it was necessary for a hearth to be established first of all...”. Gernet (1981 [1968]: 323) points out that the public hearth is the best symbol that characterizes the city as it is as ancient as the city and it lies at the heart of the political institutions. In principle the hearth is about family but the public hearth is different from the rest: the public hearth “dominates” all other hearths (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 325). Thus, it is somehow a “dominating impersonal form of government” and as a symbol it emphasizes the belief that the city has its own identity and presence (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 328).

McDonald (1943: 128) states that in Athens, the early Council of the Areopagus, the earliest council and the direct descendent of the Homeric council of nobles with the king acquired the name Prytaneion. Charbonneau (1925: 165-6) and Glotz (1996 [1929]: 19) also state that after the elimination of royalty, the Prytaneion replaced the royal palace for the purpose of housing the common hearth of the city.

Wycherley (1942: 21-2) shares the same view with Charbonneau and points out that some features of the Classical Greek city correspond to an “opening-up or spreading-out” of a royal palace whose functions were divided between different locations. In accordance with this suggestion, the royal hearth of the king’s palace was relocated as the hearth of the Prytaneion, which means, “the Prytaneion was the successor of the king’s house in function” (Wycherley 1976: 135). The reason for such a hypothesis may be Aristotle’s Athenian Constitution, in which he outlines the first form of the constitution before Draco as follows:

“...The greatest and oldest offices were the King, the War-lord and the Archon (3.2).”

“... The last of these three offices established was that of Archon, the institution of which is dated by a majority of authorities in the time of Medon, though some put it in that of Acastus, adducing in evidence the fact that the Nine Archons swear that they will perform their oaths even as in the time of Acastus, showing that in his time the house of Codrus retired from the Kingship in return for the privileges bestowed on the Archon (3.3)”

“... And the Nine Archons were not all together, but the King had what is now called the Bucolium, near the Prytaneion, while the Archon had the Prytaneion, and the War-lord the Epilyceum...But in Solon’s time they all came together in the Legislators’ Court... (3.5)”

According to Glotz (1996 [1929]: 18) the main reason for the formation of the Prytaneion was self-defence. For Greeks, the essential need and desire of self-defense was expressed in every sphere including the religion in that the citizens gathered and made their offerings around the public hearth to ask for protections from the gods (Glotz 1996 [1929]: 19).

However, Farnell (1994 [1926]: 404) argues that the emergence of the concept of city state between 900-500 BC had an important repercussion as “the widening idea of kinship”. Thus, the state began to be regarded as an extended family and as a private family congregated around the family hearth, so the city assembled around the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion, where the perpetual fire was kept (Farnell, 1994 [1926]: 405). Thompson (1994: 47) states:

The legitimation of the *polis* (city-state), therefore, invoked the metaphor of the *oikos* (family) without taking note of their divergent purposes in human life. Authority in public life was viewed simply as an extension of an ethos embedded in the household religion, the observance of which was expanded from the *hestia* of the *oikos* to the *hestia* in the *prytaneum*, or public hall. There Hestia was honored in the *hestia koinē* (communal hearth).

Moreover, Gernet (1981 [1968]: 336) points out that the foundation of the common hearths, roughly around 800 BC “is the first symbol of the creation of the city” indicating a sudden change and an individualist economy integrated into a “new form of unity”.

Herodotus (1.146.2) mentions that colonists visited the Prytaneion and took fire from its hearth (Scholion D on Aelius Aristides 103.16; Scholion Oxon. on Aelius Aristides 103.16) before they began their journey to go found a colony; the embers from the hearth of the mother city were used to light the fire in the public hearth of the new city (Glötz 1996 [1929]: 20). In this way “the colonists could bind the luck and soul of their mother state to them” (Demetrakopoulos 1979: 63).

During the fourth century BC the importance of the Prytaneion began to diminish so that in the Hellenistic period, with the rise of kingship, an institution fundamental to the Greek polis could not keep its importance (Miller, 1978: 23). As a result, in the Roman period, the political significance of the Prytaneion completely

disappeared and its role was reduced to only the religious sphere and its personnel also became dominantly religious in character (Miller, 1978: 24).

Overall, the Prytaneion became one of the most important civic institutions of the city-state because of the common hearth located in it. As the domestic hearth is the focus of the house, the common hearth inside the Prytaneion is accepted as the focus of the city. It may be suggested that the Prytaneion in a way represents the city as a house with its domestic hearth. Some customs related to the domestic hearth are reflected in the common hearth of the Prytaneion such as bringing fire from the common hearth to the new colony just like the bride carries fire to her new home from her father's hearth.

III.2. Functions of the Prytaneion

It is known that the most important function of the Prytaneion is housing the common hearth of the city. Apart from this, other functions are attributed to the Prytaneion that in fact all resulted from the symbolism and the importance of the sacred hearth. This section will focus on the functions of the Prytaneion to show how an entity with cultic character was reflected in the secular or civic sphere of the city. The Prytaneion has both religious and civic functions. The civic functions of the Prytaneia consist of dining at public expense; acting as a court in specific cases; being used as a state repository; and acting as a social welfare institution.

III.2.1. Religious Functions

The religious functions of the Prytaneion are related to the religious significance of the sacred hearth. The hearth (*έστια*) as the most important feature of

the Prytaneion is different from the hearths in the houses as it symbolizes the “vitality of the civic unity” (Zaidman and Pantel, 1992: 93).

Plutarch (Numa 9.6) writes that if the fire at the Prytaneion was extinguished it was not relit with another flame but with “a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun”, or by friction (Seyffert, 1986: 687; Bell, 1991: 240). In some cities a lamp (*λυχνιον*) replaced the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion (Athenaeus 15.700d; Plutarch, Numa 9.6; Theocritus 21.34-37) but in most poleis the sacred hearth remained (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 563).

Hestia is the main deity associated with the Prytaneion as the goddess of the hearth. According to Charbonneau (1925: 165) the formation of the divine concept of Hestia should have occurred at the beginning of the political organization period. Hestia never really became a fully anthropomorphized deity and in most places the existence of the hearth is a sufficient symbol of her presence.

Apart from Hestia, other deities may also be associated with the Prytaneion. In Delos, statues of Hermes and Apollo stood in the Prytaneion (ID 1416A, 1, 83-95; ID 1417B, 1, 89-102). In Naukratis, the festivals of Dionysos and Apollo were celebrated along with Hestia (Athenaeus 4.149d). However, this does not mean a primary connection. All cities had patron deities and it is not possible to expect these deities to be left out from the central civic institution of the city. One example to this effect is Ephesos, where the patron deity Artemis took her place side by side with Hestia in the Prytaneion (Knibbe, 1981: 101-105).

Plutarch (Numa 9.6) points out that in the Prytaneion, elderly widows care for the fire. However, although widowed women look after the fire, public worship is in the hands of the men (Aristotle, Politics 6.5.11-12). The institution needs male

personnel and this fact makes the public hearth “political” by definition (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 328).

Aristotle (*Politics* 6.5.11-12) states that magistrates took their right to perform the management of all public religious festivals from the common hearth. Moreover, official sacrifices were made in the Prytaneion. Athenian inscriptions, which mention the official sacrifices in the Prytaneion are mostly dated to the second century BC such as IG II², 1006, 6-8 saying:

“Since the Ephebes in the archonship of Demetrios, having sacrificed for their registration in the prytaneion on the common hearth in company with the Kosmetes and the priest of Demos and the Charistes and the exegetai according to the laws and the decrees of the Demos, proceeded to the shrine of Artemis Agrotera...” (Miller, 1978: 168)

another, IG II², 1011, 33-35 tells:

“Since Eudoxos son of Eudoxos of Acherdous having been elected Kosmetes for the ephebes in the year of archonship of Aristarchos, made the initiation sacrifices in the prytaneion at the common hearth of the Demos in company with the instructors and the exegetai paying for the sacrifices from his personal wealth...” (Miller, 1978: 169).

The epigraphic evidence from Athens and from elsewhere indicates that the religious processions started from the hearth in the Prytaneion. Two inscriptions from Athens, one belong to the fifth century BC (SEG X, 64b, 32-33) reveals that “Bendis and Deloptes are to be propitiated by a procession from the hearth in the prytaneion” (Miller, 1978: 141); the other one of the third century (IG II², 1283) says that the Thracians began their procession from “the hearth out of the prytaneion...” (Miller, 1978: 165). Apart from Athens, inscriptions from Aigiale of the second century BC (IG XII⁷, 515, 46-47), from Elaea of the second century BC (Michel, 1900: 515, 15-16) and from Methymna (IG XII², 507, 13) probably of the third century BC show processions beginning at the Prytaneion.

The hearth is known to be a place of asylum and supplication (Homer, Odyssey 7.153). In accordance with this aspect, in one of his love poems Parthenius (Love Stories 28) tells the story of Neaera, who was unfaithful to her husband and fleeing to Naxos, took a suppliant's position in the Prytaneion, which resulted in the Naxians' refusal to give her back to her husband. However, apart from this instance, no account of this feature of the Prytaneion is known.

Although it is not very common, some Prytaneia harbour the graves of local heroes: at Megara (Pausanias 1.43.2), at Sikyon (Herodotus 5.67), and at Delphi (SEG XXIII, 319, 7-9) (Miller, 1978: 17). Although a hero cult is possible in the cities, such meagre evidence does not suffice to propose a definite hero cult. Moreover, this may be the way the city's gratitude was demonstrated to the buried person as a means to honor him.

It is important to note that the hearth has a cultic significance and the Prytaneion has some religious functions resulting from this. These religious functions, however, seem to be associated with the civic character of the city more than with the religious character of the Prytaneion. The Prytaneion has a different meaning from other structures with purely religious character. The Prytaneion is a civic institution and even the religious significance of the hearth is shaped in accordance with this emphasis.

III.2.2. Dining

Through her association with the hearth, and the practice of feasting at religious festivals, it is inevitable that Hestia should also have become associated with food and banqueting (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 331). Derivative terms are connected with this idea such as *hestiatorion* (*έστιατηρίον*), the banqueting-hall;

hestiator (*εστιατωρ*), the host of a banquet; and hestian (*εστιαν*), to feast (Liddell and Scott, 1968: 698). Thus, it is no surprise that inviting people to dine in the Prytaneion at public expense is one of its characteristic functions. Livy (41.20.7) and Pollux (Onomastikon 9.40) point out that men of distinction can dine in the Prytaneion at public expense.

Being invited to dine in the Prytaneion at public expense was one of the highest honors that a man could have. Cicero (On the Orator 1.54.232) states that to dine daily in the Prytaneion at public expense is “an honor which is of the highest among the Greeks”. A scholion on Aristophanes (Knights 167) points out “...there was much eagerness to receive such a grant, for they bestowed such a favor on great successes”.

In ancient Greece, the common meal, the *syssitia* (*συσσίτιον*), appears as an institution (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 332) but the meals given at the Prytaneion were different because they were reserved for certain specified people (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 333). Three different kinds of meals were offered in the Prytaneion: Xenia (*ξένια*) or Xenismos (*ξενισμός*) in some places, Deipnon (*δεῖπνον*) and Sitesis (*σίτησις*).

Xenia and Deipnon share a common feature in that both are invitations for only one meal; they differ in that the Xenia (Appendix A) was granted to foreigners but the Deipnon (Appendix B) was granted to citizens (Miller, 1978: 5). Inscriptions demonstrate that ambassadors from other cities are invited to Xenia whereas the representatives of the city, who are sent to other cities, are invited to Deipnon. Thus, the ambassadors, the guests, and the representatives of the city were received at the public hearth just as individuals returning or coming from abroad were received at the family hearth (Gernet, 1981 [1968]: 333). However, Miller (1978: 5) points out

that there may be exceptions to this rule in Athens, for example invitations of non-citizens to Deipnon (Appendix B).

The third type of meal is Sitesis (Appendix C). Like Deipnon, Sitesis is granted to citizens; however, the grant extends for a period of time during the public office or the whole life of the benefactor (Miller, 1978: 7). For having this honor lifetime, the person either had provided a great service to the city or won the Panhellenic games (Miller, 1978: 7).

Moreover, Sitesis may be granted to the oldest descendant of a deceased citizen, who rendered great services to the city such as Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Lykourgos, Demosthenes, Demochares, and Hippokrates at Athens (Shear, 1994: 241) and when the oldest descendant dies the honor passes over to the next oldest descendant (Miller, 1978: 7).

The epigraphic evidence forms the main sets of evidence to understand these three services offered in the Prytaneia. It can be seen that the inscriptions use more or less the same formula but there may be slight variations¹⁵.

Evidence regarding the personnel working in the Prytaneion is rare. It is emphasized that widows looked after the fire on the public hearth but there must have been employees for the dining activities. Athenaeus (10.425a) mentions a wine-pourer at the Prytaneion of Mytilene. Moreover, in his book Miller (1978: 202) believes that Pausanias (5.15.11) could mention the personnel of the Prytaneion as a priest, soothsayers, libation-bearer, flute player, and woodman at Olympia but contrary to Miller, the so-called personnel are believed by many to belong to the Bouleuterion. Moreover, Miller (1978: 21) points out that there must be a public greeter to receive the foreign guests. The inscriptions from Magnesia (IVM 15b, 23-

¹⁵ For an examination of the epigraphical formula regarding the invitations to the Prytaneion: see McDonald 1955: 151-155.

4; IVM 89, 97; IVM 97, 88-91; IVM 101, 82-4), Kimolos (Jacobsen and Smith, 1968: 188-9, 49-51), Paros (IVM 50, 67-8), and Philippi (SEG XII, 373, 49-51) indicate that the stephanophoros at Magnesia and the archons at Kimolos, Paros, and Philippi fulfill this duty. One inscription from Athens of the late second century BC (Athens Annals of Archaeology 4 -1971- 441, 4-5) also reveals “Herakon of Rhamnous was elected for the reception of friends and allies to invite men from Stiris to Xenia” (Miller, 1978: 21).

In the Roman period although people were still invited to Sitesis in the Prytaneion, the tradition of invitations to Xenia and Deipnon had disappeared (Miller, 1978: 24).

Mainly resulting from the hearth’s association with dining and feasts, the dining function of the Prytaneion can be seen as a prolongation to the hypotheses that the Prytaneion represents the city as a house with its sacred hearth, where guests from both inside and outside the city were invited to dine just like families invite their guests to their houses to dine.

III.2.3. Law Court

The Prytaneion also acted as a law court. Andocides (On the Mysteries 78), Plutarch (Solon 29.3), and Pollux (Onomastikon 8.120) state that homicide cases were tried there. In his Lexicon of the Ten Orators, Harpocration (s.v. ἐφέται) states “those who judged homicide cases in the Palladion and the Prytanion and in the Delphinion and in Phreatto were called ephetai” (Miller, 1978: 173).

Solon’s legislation (the 8th law on the 13th axone), which is quoted by Plutarch (Solon 29.3) mentions the homicide cases as:

“They shall be restored to their rights and franchises except such as were condemned by the Areopagos, or by the ephetai, or in the

Prytaneion by the Basileis on charges of murder or homicide, or of seeking to establish a tyranny, and were in exile when this law was published” (Shear, 1994: 244).

Moreover, Demosthenes (Against Aristokrates 23.76), Pausanias (1.28.10), and Pollux (Onomastikon 8.120) state that all inanimate objects are tried in the Prytaneion, a tradition begun at the time of the legendary king Erechtheus by the trial of an axe, which was believed to have killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus (Pausanias 1.28.10).

This function of the Prytaneion seems to be associated with the consideration of the hearth as a witness to the oaths. Moreover, also the goddess bears this feature of the hearth as is shown by Plato (Laws 5.855-856) who reveals that during and at the end of judging procedures in capital cases all judges should swear in the name of Hestia to be fair. Homicide cases are defined as the capital offence that requires severe punishment. Therefore, it may be suggested that the association of the hearth and Hestia to justice resulted in the Prytaneion acting as a High Criminal Court.

III.2.4. Archive and State Repository

The laws of Solon, inscribed on wooden *axones* were kept in the Prytaneion of Athens. In fact Pollux (Onomastikon 8.128) states that the *axones* and the *kyrbeis*¹⁶, on which the laws of Solon were written, were first deposited on the Acropolis but later in order to be read by everybody were transferred to the Prytaneion in the agora. Polemon (on Harpocration), Plutarch (Solon 25.1) and Pausanias (1.18.3) mention that fragments of these laws could still be seen in the second century AD.

¹⁶ On the question of *axones* and *kyrbeis*, whether they were identical or not see Stroud, 1979; Robertson, 1986: 147-176; and Shear, 1994: 240-245.

Polybios (15.15.8) tells us that in Rhodes, the letters of an admiral, relating the events of the battle of Lade of 201 BC were kept in the Prytaneion. An inscription from Imbros (IG XII.⁸, 50, 4-6) reveals that a decree on a stone stele was set up in the courtyard of the Prytaneion there. Another inscription from Phaistos (ICr 1, xxiii, 1, 65-6) says that a copy of the treaty with Miletus will be set up in the Prytaneion of Phaistos. An inscription from Gortyn (ICr 1, xxvi, 1, 40-1) tells us that copies of the treaty between Lato and Gortyn will be put up in the Prytaneia of both cities. Moreover, two inscriptions from Delos (ID 1416A, 1, 83-95; ID 1417B, 1, 89-102) name one of the rooms of the Prytaneion as the *archeion*, which indicates its use as an archive (Miller, 1978: 17).

Apart from documents, the Prytaneion was used as a storehouse of figures important for the city (Miller, 1978: 17). It is known that the Prytaneion of Athens housed the statues of Demosthenes and Demochares (Plutarch, On the Lives of Ten Orators 847d), Autolykos, Miltiades, and Themistokles (Miller, 1978: 17) along with the statues of Hestia and Eirene (Pausanias, 1.18.3).

Unlike others, this function of the Prytaneion seems to result from the fact that it is a civic institution. McDonald (1943: 156) states that the function of the Prytaneion as a “repository for the state archives” was partly transferred to the Bouleuterion, thence it became the place for filing the political documents on papyrus or on wood, etc. but the Prytaneion kept its function as the state archive.

III.2.5. Social Welfare Institution

Miller (1978: 19) states that at least at Athens the Prytaneion functioned as a “social welfare institution”. Aristotle (Athenian Constitution 24.3) tells that “...and furthermore the prytaneum, and orphans, and warders of prisoners - for all of these

had their maintenance from public funds". Although preserved as a fragment, one inscription (Stroud, 1971: 281, 11-12) of the fifth century BC is believed by some scholars to say "to give the children of all those killed by the Thirty an obol of sustenance everyday just as it is given to war orphans from the Prytaneion" (Miller, 1978: 19). Eight inscriptions from the second century BC reveal that ephebes ate meals at public expense outside the Prytaneion and when they each entered manhood they made their initiation sacrifices there also (Miller, 1978: 20). The inscriptions all follow the same formula; one (IG II², 1008, 4-7) is given as an example:

"Since the Ephebes in the archonship of Hipparchos, having sacrificed for their registration in the prytaneion at the common hearth of the Demos and having received favorable omens in company with the Kosmetes and the priest of the Demos and the Charites and the exegetai, proceeded to the shrine of Artemis Agrotera..." (Miller, 1978: 168-169).

It is interesting that animals can also benefit from this service. Plutarch (On the Cleverness of Animals 970b) and Aelian (On the Nature of Animals 6.49) inform us about a mule, which was fed at public expense as a result of its hard work during the construction of the Parthenon.

Like the previous function, this one may also be associated with the Prytaneion's civic significance in that certain kinds of people may obtain possibly financial aid from there and ephebes ate meals at public expense outside the Prytaneion on behalf of the state. On the other hand, the fact that ephebes made their initiation sacrifices outside the Prytaneion when they each entered manhood, indicates a symbolic and religious aspect also.

Overall, the examinations of the functions of the Prytaneion structure reveal that all these functions are closely connected to the symbolic meaning of the common hearth at the state level. This symbolic significance results from the cultic

and also to some degree the symbolic associations of the sacred hearth at the domestic level. However, these defined functions of the structure make the Prytaneion a civic institution, because they are all about city life. Magistrates make sacrifices at the common hearth to bless the city. The people, who were invited to the Prytaneion are all important persons for the city and these invitations not only honor the ones that were invited but also honor the city. Capital cases are tried in the Prytaneion because these cases are serious matters that should be dealt with for the well-being of the city. Certain documents and objects are kept in the Prytaneion as they are important for the city. It may act as a “social welfare institution” to support the citizens and to prosper the city in a general sense. Thus, all these functions define the Prytaneion as the center of the city both symbolically and secularly.

III.3. Architectural Elements of the Prytaneion

This section mainly deals with the architectural elements of the Prytaneion. The basic objective will be to understand whether there is a standard plan for the Prytaneia by looking at the plans of the excavated examples. First the literary and epigraphic evidence will be mentioned briefly. Then, the Prytaneion of Athens will be examined with a brief emphasis on the Tholos structure. Lastly, the excavated examples will be taken into consideration. These examples will be divided into two sections because only some of them could be securely identified as the Prytaneion. For the others, the excavators suggested the identification of the Prytaneion for the structures but it is not possible to be sure about them.

A scholion on Thucydides (2.15.2) defines the Prytaneion as one large house (*οἶκος μέγας*). It seems that the archaic and classical Prytaneion was a simple

building and it does not have decorative or architectural characteristic like a temple or a stoa (Herman-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, 1994: 36).

Prytaneia were building complexes with common characteristics: they are usually rectangular or square, bigger than common houses; they may include a courtyard that provides access to several rooms (Charbonnaux, 1925: 166). The most important features of the Prytaneion are the room with the common hearth and a hestiatorion (dining room) in which meals were given to officials, ambassadors, important visitors and citizens (Wycherley 1976: 134-5). Miller (1978: 30-37) points out that apart from these rooms the Prytaneia may include a prostas and subsidiary rooms.

Some of the Prytaneia have a courtyard (*συλή*) as two inscriptions (ID 1416A, I, 83-95 and ID 1417B, I, 89-102) from Delos dated to the second century BC and one from Imbros (IG XII⁸, 50, 4-6) dated to the third century BC reveal (Miller, 1978: 30). One inscription (Jahreshefte 44 –1959- 295) dated to the second and third century AD from Ephesos tells us about a gate (*πυλών*) in front of the Prytaneion, although it may be part of another complex (Miller, 1978: 30).

One inscription (Michel 1900: 1017, 23-24) dated to the third century BC from Ptolemais mentions that a painted statue of Lysimachos will be dedicated in the prostas (*προστάς*) of the Prytaneion. According to Miller (1978: 31) although prostas usually indicates an anteroom or a vestibule, the prostas of the Prytaneion may simply mean a room facing the courtyard that does not open to another room.

One fourth century BC Delian inscription (IG XP², 144A) mentions a hestiatorion (*έστιατηρίον*) and also Pausanias (5.15.12) mentions a hestiatorion as a banqueting room in which the victors of the Olympic games dined at Olympia. The hestiatorion should include couches and tables (Miller, 1978: 33). We have evidence

for the presence of eating and drinking equipment at least at Cyzicus (Livy, 41.20.7), Delos (ID 442B, 96), Rhegium (Dessau, 1892: 5471), and Sigeion, as well as the Heraion of Perachora (Michel, 1900: 1313) (Miller, 1978: 33).

The common hearth of the city, or sometimes a lamp (*λύχνιον*) as its equivalent, was situated in a room in the Prytaneion. Moreover, according to Miller (1978: 34) because of the regular use of the words *κοινή ἑστία* and Pollux's (1.7) definition of the hearth as *έσχαρα* and *βωμός*, an altar-hearth should be an indispensable part of every Prytaneion.

Herman-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994: 34) emphasize that a Prytaneion should have two fireplaces, one for Hestia and the other for the kitchen; but they also point out that until now two fireplaces never have been uncovered within the known Prytaneia.

Apart from these rooms, there must be subsidiary rooms for the storage of table service, extra couches and tables, couch coverings, etc. However, it is possible that these supplies were kept in wooden cabinets instead of separate rooms (Miller, 1978: 36).

Evidence also reveals that there may be other artifacts in the Prytaneion such as the statues of Hermes and Apollo at Delos (ID 1416A, I, 83-95 and ID 1417B, I, 89-102), the statues of Hestia, Eirene, Autolycus, Miltiades, and Themistokles at Athens (Pausanias 1.18.3), and an altar of Pan at Olympia (Pausanias 5.15.9).

Charbonneau (1925: 166) states that the plan of the Prytaneia hardly varied. Miller believes that the Prytaneia shared a standard plan (Miller, 1978: 130-1). Unlike Miller, Herman-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994: 37) believe that the Prytaneion as a building type never developed into a standard architectural form. Wycherley (1976: 134) also believes that Prytaneion is not a distinct architectural

type but only a kind of house with special functions. This argument of Herman Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, and Wycherley seems reasonable because if the Prytaneion has a standard form, in excavations it should be easy to distinguish. The reality is, however, that in the absence of clear topographical or epigraphic evidence, no Prytaneion can be distinguished from a private house (Wycherley 1976: 137).

In accordance with the literary evidence, the Prytaneion as an architectural building does not differ from a large common house. It is usually composed of a courtyard and a certain number of rooms basically for the sacred hearth and dining. No clear identification can be found for the number of rooms and the division of main parts. Hence, it seems that although the basic elements of the architectural structure are defined, no standard plan for the Prytaneion is used like the temples. However, to reach such a conclusion, we must compare the excavated examples with the evidence on the Prytaneion of Athens because of the debate about the Tholos and the Prytaneion in this city.

III.4. The Prytaneion of Athens

Most of the epigraphic and literary evidence is associated with the Prytaneion of Athens, which means that most of the information we have on the Prytaneion structure is in fact on the Prytaneion of Athens. This fact requires a remark that the information on the Prytaneion of Athens may not apply to all Prytaneia in other cities and the practice in other cities may differ slightly. Moreover, the Tholos structure at Athens, which will be mentioned in this section, caused a debate on the architectural form of the Prytaneion in general. Therefore, before examining the archaeologically identified and excavated Prytaneia in Mainland Greece and Western Anatolia, a brief remark on the Prytaneion of Athens is necessary.

Ancient writers Thucydides (2.15.1-2) and Plutarch (Theseus 24.1-3 and On the Lives of Ten Orators 847d-e) say that Theseus dismissed all other distinct Prytaneia of cities; he founded one single Prytaneion at Athens and made Athens the capital of Attica. Aristotle (Athenian Constitution 3.1-3) states that the Prytaneion of Athens is among the oldest institutions that existed before the time of Draco.

Although no clear evidence exists, Miller (1978: 52) maintains the “canonical” date of 621 BC for the legislation of Draco, so these oldest institutions should have been founded in the eighth or early seventh century BC and the earliest form of the building should belong to the same period. Moreover, Miller (1978: 53-54) suggests that if the earliest building is dated to the eighth or early seventh century BC, the latest remains can be as late as the third century BC. Moreover, just like the Athenian Tholos, the building should have suffered from the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC and the Herulian invasion in AD 267 (Miller, 1978: 54).

Aristotle (Athenian Constitution 3.5), Pausanias (1.18.3; 1.20.1), and Zenobios (4.93) made some remarks on the location of the Prytaneion at Athens. However, none of these accounts are accurate enough to identify the exact location. Thus, the location of the Prytaneion of Athens remains ambiguous and many scholars such as Dörpfeld (1902: 188-189), Levi (1923: 1-6), Holland (1939: 289-298), Leicester (1939: 297-8), McDonald (1943: 128-155), Oikonomides (1964: 21), Wycherley (1966: 286), Miller (1978: 39-49), Shear (1994: 226-7), and Robertson (1998: 298) debated whether it was on the Acropolis, which indicates a continuity from the Mycenaean megaron, or in the Old Town or on the North Slope of the city. The discovery of the Prytaneion of Athens is announced in 2006 and The Prytaneion appears to be located due East of the acropolis, under the modern square of Plateia

Aikaterini. No detailed plan of the building is published, except for the presence of a peristyle and a monumental propylon (Schmaltz, 2006).

One unique point for the city of Athens is that the Tholos¹⁷ (or Skias) and the Prytaneion shared the functions of the Prytaneion of other cities (Miller, 1978: 39; Shear, 1994: 241). Wycherley (1976: 136) identified the Tholos as “a sort of duplicate” and Miller (1978: 38) called it the “prytaneion-annex”. According to Frazer (1885: 148-9) when most of the government offices were transferred to the new part of the city, the Prytaneion remained in the oldest part of the city and the transfer of the state offices from the area around the Prytaneion to the foot of Kolonos Agoraios resulted in the duplication of offices and documents (Shear, 1994: 241).

Aristotle (Athenian Constitution 43.3), Pausanias (1.5.1), Pollux (8.155), and Suda (s.v. θόλος) state that at Athens fifty prytaneis meet, take their meals and also make sacrifices in the Tholos. It was used also as a storage house for small statues of silver (Pausanias 1.5.1) and weights and measures (IG² 1013, 37ff). Although, some of the functions of the Prytaneion were transferred to the Tholos, Hestia and the common hearth never moved to the Tholos but remained in the Prytaneion (Thompson, 1940: 139).

The Tholos of Athens is a round building (Figs. 28 and 29) with an inside diameter of 16.90 meters, six columns, a kitchen on the northern side, and a door on the east opening to the agora (Fig. 30) (Miller, 1978: 54).

The building was built between 479 and 460 BC and the tiles of its original roof are painted in the style of ca. 470 BC (Thompson, 1940: 128). The building was damaged by natural causes and by turbulent events (the sack of 86 BC by Sulla and

¹⁷ For a detailed study on the excavations at Athenian Tholos, see Thompson 1940.

the Herulian sack of AD 267); the evidence of pottery dates the destruction of the Tholos to the late fifth century AD without clear evidence for its reason (Thompson, 1940: 132 and 136-7).

The excavations also revealed that the complex of archaic buildings F to K (Fig. 31) were the predecessors of the Tholos both in location and function (Thompson, 1940: 42). The term Prytanikon (*πρυτανικόν*), which is only known by the formula *ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ* on twenty-one inscriptions, was identified as the Tholos and the region around it by Koehler (Vanderpool, 1935: 470).

Hence, the evidence regarding Athens reveals that its Prytaneion is among the oldest structures in the city. It constitutes a clue on the emergence of the civic institutions. In Athens, contrary to many other cities, however, the functions of the Prytaneion are shared with another structure: the Tholos.

III.5. Archaeologically Identified and Excavated Prytaneia

Although, literary and epigraphic sources supply evidence on ninety-one Prytaneia, archaeologists were able to identify three Prytaneia with “certainty” at Delos, Lato and Olympia and six with “probability” at Ephesos, Colophon, Magnesia on the Maeander, Priene, Dreros, and Morgantina (Herman Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994: 31). In addition to Miller’s list of known Prytaneia Herman-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen added six more as Entella, Kassope, Klaros, Larissa, Mangalia, Pantikapaion, and Sparta (Herman Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994: 31-34). In this study, apart from three securely identified Prytaneia and the other six probable examples, a structure at Pergamon will be taken into consideration.

III.5.1. Securely Identified Prytaneia

The purpose of this section is to examine the remains of three excavated buildings in Delos, Lato, and Olympia, which can be used as reference points for the identification of the Prytaneion buildings at other locations. Moreover, these examples will constitute the main body of evidence for reaching a conclusion regarding the existence, or not, of a standard plan.

Delos

The Prytaneion is situated next to the Bouleuterion, southeast of the temple of Apollo (Zaphiropoulou, 1983: 20). It is believed that one part of the building was built in the first half of the fifth century BC and then the other part was built in the fourth century BC. The building (Fig. 32) is a rectangle of 15.12×25.78 meters with an entrance on the south and the plan can be divided into three sections as Room I, Room II and Rooms III and IV (Miller, 1978: 68).

The southern wall of Room I is the principal façade of the building and is approached by a three-step krepidoma. It is tetrastyle in-antis with Doric columns and between the columns on the lower steps, eight bases of dedicatory inscriptions of other cities (IG XI.⁴, 1132) and private citizens (IG XI.⁴, 1171) were set (Miller, 1978: 69). On the eastern corner of the Room I, two marble slabs were set and these served as supports for marble benches (Zaphiropoulou, 1983: 20).

Room II is an internal marble-paved courtyard. In the southeast corner, remains of the so-called stairway foundation were revealed on the hypothesis of a second storey over Room I (Miller, 1978: 71).

The third and largest section was divided into two rectangular halls Rooms III and IV, each with its prodomos as Rooms III' and IV'. A distyle in-antis entrance

is used to reach from Room II to Room III'. Room III is entered by a door from Room III'. Room III is smaller than Room IV with 6.47×5.88 meters because of two small rooms on the northern side. These small rooms may have been the repositories for the archives (Miller, 1978: 73). Two small rooms on the right side of Room IV' housed the cult of the Demos (city) of Athens and of Rome after 166 BC (Zaphiropoulou, 1983: 20). Room IV measures 7.93×6.55 meters. In the center of the room the foundations of a structure were found and interpreted as the foundations of the altar of Hestia (Zaphiropoulou, 1983: 20).

Thus, in accordance with two inscriptions of the second century BC (ID 1416A, I, 83-95 and ID 1417B, I, 89-102), which list the rooms of the Prytaneion, it is believed that Room IV is the Hestia Hall, Room III is the archive room, Room II is the courtyard, Rooms III' is the prodomos of the archive room and Room IV' is the prodomos of the Hestia Hall (Miller, 1978: 77). One problem is the absence of the hestiatorion, which should exist as one inscription of before 310 BC (IG XI², 144A) clearly referred to the repairs done to such a room (Miller, 1978: 77). Although it was suggested that Room III was used as the hestiatorion in the late fourth century but then was used as the archive room in the mid-second century BC, Miller (1978: 77) believes that both these rooms should exist contemporarily in this Prytaneion.

Lato

The Prytaneion of Lato is situated on the northern side of the Agora. Although various suggestions were made regarding the date of the building as Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic, today it is believed that it was built in the late fourth or early third century BC (Miller, 1978: 85).

The building (Fig. 33) consists of four or five rooms (Rooms 44, 36, 37, 38, 39) and its plan was influenced by the terrain on which it was built (Miller, 1978: 79). The building has a large stairway on the southern side. On the eastern end, Room 44, which is a triangular area, may not be a room: its northern wall has fallen away and its southern wall extends to the east of this area, a door cannot be identified, and it was labeled as a courtyard or a porch but its true function cannot be ascertained (Miller, 1978: 79).

Room 36 is quite large with dimensions of 8.20×9.85 meters. It has two doors on the eastern and southern sides. A double step made of small rocks surrounds the inside perimeter of the room. Miller (1978: 81) suggests that the height of these steps is not sufficient for seats and they may have been used as a support for people to stand on rather than to sit. A rectangular structure built of large blocks 2.97×3.92 meters is situated in the middle of the room and this structure is identified as a hearth or altar. However, according to Miller (1978: 81) the structure is too large for an “interior” hearth or altar and no traces of burning were found. Moreover, in accordance with the fragments of columns discovered in the area and the holes on the upper part of the blocks of this structure suggests “a stylobate for an arrangement of interior supports” (Miller, 1978: 82). Female terracotta figurines were found in this room indicating a religious or ceremonial significance for it. Thus, the rooms can be named as the Hestia Hall with a smaller hearth situated above the central structure (Miller, 1978: 82).

Room 37 is entered from Room 36 with dimensions of 6.40×8.30 meters. It also contains a central construction 2.00 meters long, and a width of 1.23 meters on the eastern side and 1.33 meters on the western side (Miller, 1978: 82). A foundation course surrounds this structure and orthostates were found on the foundation course.

Different suggestions were made about the purpose of this structure, such as hearth or central serving table (Miller, 1978: 83). A raised platform surrounds the interior of the room and according to Miller (1978: 83) although this platform can be identified as a platform for couches, the couches for the northeast corner do not fit well. Thus, the identification of the Room 37 as a *hestiatorion* is not entirely convincing.

Rooms 38 and 39 are quite small. Room 38 can be entered from Room 37 and because of the discovery of pithoi and weapons; it was identified as a storage room (Miller, 1978: 85). Room 39 can be entered from Room 36 and it is interpreted as a storeroom servicing Room 36 (Miller, 1978: 85).

Charbonneau (1925: 168) interpreted this building as an intermediate step for the Prytaneion structure:

“The Archaic Prytaneion of Lato marks a singularly interesting stage, because one sees the opening out of the megaron there: the room of the hearth separates from the *hestiatorion*, while undeniable survivals attach this Cretan building to the palaces of the Minoan period: the bench leaned to the walls and the large staircase which leads directly, as in Phaestos, of the large room to the Agora.”

However, this interpretation needs reservations. First of all, the Prytaneion is not dated to the Archaic period so to name it as an intermediary step does not seem well founded. Secondly, its association with the structure of the Cretan palaces is not based on any clear evidence.

Olympia

The Prytaneion at Olympia is situated on the left at the northwest entrance of the Altis. The Prytaneion on the site has at least four major phases of construction. Unfortunately, the plan of any one period cannot be fully restored (Miller, 1978: 86).

Period Ia (Fig. 34) is dated to the early fifth century BC and the only remains are three walls forming two rooms at the northwestern end (Miller, 1978: 88). Period

Ib is dated to the Classical Period and this part was added on the south to the structure of the previous period. Two earlier rooms at the northwest continued to be used and a long narrow room with stuccoed paving was added to the North, following the same orientation (Miller, 1978: 88).

The structure of Period I was destroyed by fire in the second quarter of the fourth century BC and a new structure was built at that time. Period II (Fig. 35) is dated to the middle of the fourth century BC. This structure used the same lay out as the previous one but it is larger. Small rooms at the northwest, a long narrow room, which is larger than the previous one at the southwest, fragments of walls as parts of possibly four rooms at the east, a long narrow courtyard at the southwest, and a larger courtyard central north were discovered (Miller, 1978: 88). Because of the lack of evidence, the identification of the functions of the rooms is not possible. However, according to Miller (1978: 91) although the elements cannot be precisely named, the Prytaneion of Olympia seems to include the essential elements of a Prytaneion.

These three securely excavated examples are all identified by their situation near or on the agora, their domestic character, and most importantly by the existence of inscriptions inside or near them. The plans of these Prytaneia share common features like the court and different numbers of rooms. The most important evidence revealed by them are the fact that although their plans are similar none are identical. Therefore, they indicate that the Prytaneia do not differ from a common house; they are only situated in the agora and they do not have a standard plan.

III.5.2. Possible Prytaneia

The structures at Dreros, Morgantina, Ephesos, Colophon, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Priene are considered as probable or possible Prytaneia by Miller. The structure at Pergamon is also added to this part as the excavators suggested it as the Prytaneion.

Dreros

The structure identified as the Prytaneion by excavators is located at the southwest of the agora. Although finds from the area suggest a date of mid-seventh century BC, the connection between this building and the building at its north, the Delphinion suggests a date after the mid-eighth century BC and the finds from the building indicate that it was in use also in the Hellenistic period (Miller, 1978: 97).

The structure (Fig. 36) has five rooms. Room I is a small one outside the entrance of the building and its function cannot be understood (Miller, 1978: 95). Room II is the anteroom for the other three rooms and identified as a vestibule; the wall (Wall A) in the middle of the room is a later construction (Miller, 1978: 96). Room III has an irregular plan, the discovery of pithoi fragments may indicate a storage function (Miller, 1978: 96). Room IV is similar to Room III but more regular, the function of this room could not be identified or even suggested by the excavators (Miller, 1978: 96). Room V is the largest room with a wall (Wall B) in its middle; inside the room fragments of pithoi, an iron pruning hook, and coins of the late fourth and early third centuries BC were discovered along with a small trapezoid area with traces of ash and bones at its southeast corner indicating cooking and storage functions (Miller, 1978: 96).

This structure was suggested as the Prytaneion because of its domestic features and its location on the agora (Miller, 1978: 97). However, Miller (1978: 97) points out that the agora was not securely identified and the domestic character cannot on its own identify this building as the Prytaneion. Moreover, the building lacks several features of a Prytaneion such as a courtyard or a hestiatorion and that prevents its identification as a Prytaneion accurately but allows to identify it with some probability.

Morgantina

The structure at Morgantina is at the southeast corner of the agora; it is a southern extension of the East Stoa of the agora (Miller, 1978: 115). It is dated to the first half of the third century BC.

The plan (Fig. 37) consists of a peristyle with small rooms around it. Rooms I and II were originally part of the East Stoa but then were added to the structure. Room I has a basin, Room III has a hearth, and Room VIII has a bar but none of the surrounding rooms seems large enough to be considered as the Hestia Hall. Miller (1978: 117) believes that this building reminds one more of a “public house” than a Prytaneion.

Ephesus

The Prytaneion of Ephesus is on the north side of the agora (Miller, 1978:98). Eichler (1962: 38; Mellink, 1963: 186) reports that in its oldest form the building dates to the time of Lysimachus (third century BC). The second building period is Augustan; a Doric order entrance porch also belongs to this period along with the altar at the southeastern part of the complex; one century later, around the altar at the

southeastern part a court was added with stoas on three sides. In the first half of the third century AD four columns with composite capitals with heart-shaped cuts were built in the Hestia Hall. Miltner (Mellink, 1958: 100) reports that the entire Hestia Hall complex was restored in the third century AD. Finally, in the time of Theodosius (at the end of fourth century AD) the entire precinct was destroyed deliberately.

Overall, the plan of the structure (Fig. 38) is L shaped with three main parts: the forecourt, the portico with Rooms I, II, III and IV, and the east court with the altar (Miller, 1978: 99). The southwest corner of the complex is the Forecourt with a three-sided Ionic peristyle courtyard measuring 13.00×14.50 meters, it is open on its northern side, in the center of the courtyard four large blocks form a rectangular foundation of 2.50×2.10 meters, because an Artemis statue was found nearby, it is believed that this foundation was used as the base of the statue (Miller, 1978: 100-101).

On the open side of the Forecourt was erected a Doric order pentastyle in-antis portico (Fig. 39). Two of its columns were restored in their original location (Fig. 40). The columns and the entablature above them are inscribed with the list of the “League of Curetes” (Fig. 41) (Erdemgil, 1986: 49). Although the porch is Augustan, it was remodeled in the Severan period (Miller, 1978: 100). Four separate rooms are located behind the portico.

Room I and, behind it, Room II are located on the western side; both are small: -Room I measures 6.65×8.35 meters whereas Room II is 6.65×8.73 meters; each room has a central columnar support; although not possible to prove, the restoration of ten couches fits well in Room I (Miller, 1978: 101).

The largest room of the building is on the east of Rooms I and II. Room III is 12.25×13.52 meters, the floor is paved with large marble slabs, in the middle of the floor a square foundation of possibly an earlier date was set (Miller, 1978: 101-102). Miltner (1956-1958: 33, 1957: 23) believes that this structure is the common hearth of the city proposing Room III is the Hestia Hall but as its superstructure is not found, it is not possible to confirm whether this hypothesis is right or not. In the four corners of the room, four heart-shaped columns with composite capitals on Ionic bases were placed (Miller, 1978: 102), the capitals are believed to be a Severan rebuilding (Miltner, 1956-1958: 33). Two low parallel brick walls of possibly Severan or later date are set on the marble floor of the room (Miller, 1978: 102) and Miltner (1959: 298-299) proposes that they were the supporting elements for the seats of the Boule. Behind Room III, a door allows a passage to another room, Room IV but the area was destroyed by a Byzantine structure (Miller, 1978: 101).

The east wall of the Forecourt divides it from another three-sided court. The court is 26.97×19.86 meters, on three sides it is surrounded by Ionic columns; the entablature of this colonnade is higher than the northern and southern ones (Miller, 1978: 103). Although the excavators believe that it was part of the Prytaneion, Miller (1978: 103) is unconvinced both on functional and architectural grounds. A large altar of 14.98×16.14 meters was built in the middle of the court (Miller, 1978: 103-104).

Thus, although scholars (Miller, 1978; Herman-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, 1994) accepted this structure was “probably” the Prytaneion, the inscriptions with references to Hestia along with the architectural elements of the structure clearly suggest that this building was the Prytaneion of Ephesus, just as the excavators

identify the structure as the Prytaneion of the city and many publications about the site reflect this.

Colophon

The building is situated in the northwestern wing of a stoa to the northeast of an open area that may be the agora of the city (Holland, 1944: 103). The open area measures 50×120 meters (Miller, 1978: 109). After the excavations in 1920s, the remains become amorphous stones preventing an exact measurement of the building (Miller, 1978: 109).

Holland (1944: 107) mentioned six coins from ca. 389-350 BC found in the stoa to date the area. Miller (1978: 111) agrees with the conclusion of the excavator that the coins provide a *terminus post quem* of ca. 350 BC for the construction of the stoa and, therefore, provides a date of the second half of the fourth century for the Prytaneion. It was probably destroyed in 299 BC when Lysimachos took over Colophon.

An L-shaped stoa limits the building on the northern and western sides that it was a later addition to the east end of the northern arm of this stoa. The colonnade of the stoa extends to the east and provides a façade both for the stoa and the building (Holland, 1944: 103).

The building (Fig. 42) consists of three rooms. The eastern room is the largest one with 10.35×12.80 meters, in the center of the room one can see a structure measuring 1.40×1.50 meters, interpreted as a support for the roof (Holland, 1944: 103). At the west of this large room are two adjoining smaller rooms, one is 3.85×5.70 meters and the other is 5.25×7.20 meters but no door between these was recovered (Holland, 1944: 103). The remains at the same site also

indicate another, albeit undated, building with the same orientation (Holland, 1944: 105-106).

In accordance with three lead weights found in the large room and the suggested civic character of the structure, Holland (1944: 106) interpreted the building as a Prytaneion. However, the excavations did not continue at Colophon and, as Miller (1978: 111) points out, the discovery of weights is not an indication of a Prytaneion along with the fact no architectural element of this structure is suggestive of such an identification. However, in his study Miller (1978: 126) suggests that because of the decreasing importance of the Prytaneia in the Hellenistic period, plans of the Prytaneion structures changed from the earlier ones and the building at Colophon and also at Morgantina may be examples to this shift. However, this hypothesis cannot be proven so far.

Magnesia on the Maeander

The building, suggested as the Prytaneion, at Magnesia on the Maeander is located at the southwest corner of the agora (Humann, 1904: 112). Humann provided no date for the building, but Miller (1978: 114) believes that it must be contemporary with the south colonnade of the agora as they share a wall; excavators dated the south colonnade to the second half of the third century BC (Humann, 1904: 22).

The structure (Fig. 43) is composed of a very large courtyard and rooms on its northern and eastern section. The building is entered from the agora by a door on the southwestern side of the courtyard. The courtyard is 34.20×25.90 meters with a peristyle colonnade; the columns are in the Doric order except for the one at the southwest corner, which is heart-shaped (Humann, 1904: 137).

The largest of the rooms, in the middle of the northern side of the courtyard, measures 14.60×9.20 meters; it is an exedra with an Ionic tetrastyle in-antis façade.

A statue base of the first century BC was discovered inside (Miller, 1978: 113). On the west of this large room is another room, which has a “border” along its perimeter indicating the placement of dining couches (Miller, 1978: 113). Both of these rooms have fragments of wall plaster that should belong to wall decoration (Humann, 1904: 138). Another room is located in the center of the eastern side. This room is narrow with two anterooms, and it can be reached only from the southeast corner of the courtyard. It housed a stone altar-hearth with bucraenia, mesomphalic phiales, and garland decorations with an inscription (IVM 220) saying:

“Themison, son of Apollonios, and his son Nikanor, having been proedroi for the month of Zmision in [the archonship?] of Kleainos, dedicated the hearth.” (Miller, 1978: 114).

The discovery of the altar-hearth inside the structure convinced the excavators that the building is a Prytaneion. Although the remains were overcome by the flooding of the Maeander Valley and cannot be seen today, Miller (1978: 115) believes that apart from the presence of the altar-hearth, the location and its lay-out with suitable rooms for the hestiatorion and subsidiary rooms made the structure a possible Prytaneion. But it needs to be re-excavated to ascertain the interpretation.

Priene

The structure is located at the northeast of the agora, behind the east end of the Sacred Stoa (Miller, 1978: 117). The remains at the site are dated to the Imperial Roman period and the honorific inscription found within the structure suggests that the building was still in use in the third century AD (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 50). Below the Roman remains are walls of an earlier date, from which excavators

cannot obtain a clear ground plan. They nevertheless believe that this earlier building is constructed after the Bouleuterion and is contemporary with the construction of the Sacred Stoa between c.155-130 BC (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 50-51). Moreover, as the earliest inscriptions of the city, which mention the invitation to the Prytaneion, dated to the fourth century BC, the excavators believe that another earlier building should have served as the Prytaneion (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 51).

The building shares its southern wall with the Sacred Stoa and its western wall with the Bouleuterion (Miller, 1978: 117). It is composed of a peristyle courtyard and eight surrounding rooms on three of its sides (Figs. 44 and 45) (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 47).

The peristyle courtyard with three columns on each side belongs to the Roman period (Miller, 1978: 118). The court is paved with large limestone slabs (Miller, 1978: 120). In the northwestern corner of the courtyard, a square marble basin of re-used balustrade slabs was found; it was used to collect the rainwater from the roof. Through this basin, the water could flow into a stone channel to the south, then into a drain and lastly to the neighboring alley (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 48-49). In front of the middle column on the northern side, two marble table legs were discovered and this was interpreted as a part of a serving-board (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 49). Inside the courtyard and outside Room V on an upturned column drum resting on its Doric capital an honorific inscription (IVP 246) of the third century AD was found (Fig. 46); it says:

“The famous city of the Prienians, noble Ionians, and the egregious council and the Emperor-loving Corporation of the Elderly- in accordance with what has frequently been expressed by them in their documents, ratified in common sessions of Council and Assembly of the people and by decrees passed by the people -(have) honoured M. Aur. Tatianus, (grand)son of Euschemon, (great-grand)son of Polion,

market inspecter, for his expenditure for the city when in office; to him, who has been head of the ceremonies in honour of Athena Polias and temple warden of the goddess and senior prytanis and wreath-wearing chairman of the council, farewell.” (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 49-50).

On the northern side Rooms I, II, and III are located as original Greek elements (Miller, 1978: 118).

Between Rooms IV and V of the western side, an east-west wall was part of the original Greek elements and continued to be used in the Roman period (Miller, 1978: 119).

Three rooms are located on the southern side: Rooms VI, VII, and VIII. Room VII served as a passage from the northern Sacred Stoa of the agora to the courtyard (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 48). The entrance block, opening from the Sacred Stoa into Room VII, belongs to Greek period (Miller, 1978: 119). A well-preserved stone hearth with burnt bone fragments was found in Room VIII and this hearth is believed to be the public hearth of the city (Schede, 1964: 67; Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 48). The functions of the rooms apart from Room VIII are still unknown to the excavators.

Although the excavators still cannot be sure that this structure is the Prytaneion of Priene, the following evidence strongly suggests its identification: a hearth is found inside Room VIII, the honorific inscription honored a person who held the office of archprytanis and it seems it belongs to a public building or a sanctuary, the structure is located within the agora, and it is close to the Bouleuterion of the city (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998: 50).

However, Miller (1978: 125-126) points out that the inscription does not prove the actual function of the building, the architectural elements are not enough to clearly identify this structure as the Prytaneion, the hearth inside the Room VIII does

not qualify as the most important element of the building, and there is no evidence regarding dining facilities. On the other hand, Miller (1978: 126) seems to accept this structure as a possible Prytaneion and he categorizes it within the same group as those at Colophon and Morgantina as an example of the diminishing importance of the Prytaneion.

Miletus

The building is located on the western side of the North Agora to the northwest of the Bouleuterion (Miller, 1978: 231). Wycherley (1976: 69) says it was among the earliest buildings of Miletus. It (Fig. 47) is an archaic structure of megaron type with a hearth in the porch, which continued to be in use after the Persian destruction of 494 BC, when a pebble pavement was laid in the main room (Mellink, 1961: 47; Cook and Blackman, 1964-1965: 50). As it is located near the Bouleuterion and inside the agora, it is accepted as the Prytaneion of the city.

Only the southern and some eastern parts of the building have been excavated. The excavators assume that the plan was symmetrical, occupying two house-blocks, and was later incorporated in the North Agora complex (Wycherley 1942: 23 and 1976: 69).

Moreover, in her study Nawotka (1999: 152-153) suggests that Miletus had two Prytaneia: one is on the North Agora inside the city and the other is close to the temple of Apollo at Didyma, because of an inscription (Didyma 479, 1. 39) from Didyma, which refers to Sitesis in the Prytaneion. However, this inscription cannot be accepted as evidence because the Prytaneion, referred to in the inscription, should be the Prytaneion of Miletus.

Pergamon

The remains of Building Z, a large peristyle structure with mosaics, is located on a terrace on the southern slopes of the Acropolis between the Sanctuary of Demeter and the Temple of Hera, is identified as the Prytaneion by Dörpfeld (Miller, 1978: 233). The reason for such identification is the discovery of many dedicatory inscriptions by prytaneis and honorific inscriptions to prytaneis in the Demeter Sanctuary at the west of the structure (Miller, 1978: 234).

During the excavations in 1990s, the southern half of the Building Z is lost to erosion but the northern half is in good condition. Recent excavations showed that the walls of this building are Hellenistic in technique whereas the mosaics are dated to the second century AD (Mellink, 1993:129). Overall, Building Z belongs to a date after the abandonment of the Philetairan Wall, most likely at the time of the expansion of the city under Eumenes II in the first half of the second century BC (Mellink, 1993:129). However, current evidence of the architectural elements of the building such as a bathroom rejects the suggestion of the Prytaneion: the excavators believe that Building Z has an association with the Dionysiac cult (Mitchell, 1998-1999: 134; Schwarzer, 2004: 180).

On the other hand, a Hellenistic structure, which was first discovered by Dörpfeld in 1908/1909, named as Building H. In accordance with recent excavations beginning from 1999, although it is not proved yet, the excavators believe that Building H can be the Prytaneion of Pergamon (Schwarzer, 2004: 172). Building H (Fig. 48) is surrounded by Demeter Sanctuary at the west, Building Z at the north, upper terrace of the Great Gymnasium at the east and temple of Gymnasion R at the south (Schwarzer, 2004: 173).

Building H is composed of two great halls with same dimensions of 20.75 × 8.10 meters, a vestibule with a width of 4.20 meters, which opens to a courtyard of 22. 50 × 6 meters (Schwarzer, 2004: 173). Although, no clear evidence was found, the courtyard is believed to have seven columns in the front of the vestibule (Schwarzer, 2004: 173). The building should be dated to the first half of the second century BC in accordance with the architectural evidence; it was rebuilt in imperial times; and it was destroyed and became out of use by the earthquake in AD 262 (Schwarzer, 2004: 182).

As was the case with Building Z, the discovery of many dedicatory inscriptions by prytaneis and honorific inscriptions to prytaneis in the Demeter Sanctuary at the west of the structure suggested it as a possible candidate for the Prytaneion (Schwarzer, 2004: 181). Moreover, in 1985 a broken architrave fragment with a dedicatory inscription to Hestia (a ΕΣΤΙΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ can be read) was found near Building H and this fragment is believed to come from Building H (Schwarzer, 2004: 181).

Despite these suggestions, the distant location of Building H to the Upper Agora and still-unknown Bouleuterion along with the lack of architectural features of the known Prytaneia such as a great hall and subsidiary rooms –the building has a courtyard, a hall, and a single room- does not necessitate identifying it as the Prytaneion of Pergamon clearly (Schwarzer, 2004: 182).

Overall, the examples from Dreros, Morgantina, Ephesus, Colophon, Magnesia on the Maeander, Priene, Miletus, and Pergamon show that without the epigraphic evidence it is not possible to identify a structure as a Prytaneion even it is discovered with domestic character and located on the agora. The structures at Delos, Lato, and Olympia have this epigraphic evidence and they are securely identified as

the Prytaneion. Other structures examined as the possible Prytaneia seem to fit the identification more or less properly but the lack of epigraphic evidence prevents a secure identification for them. However, it is important to emphasize that these examples are identified as possible Prytaneia by Miller (1978) and that after his study was published, the sites of Ephesus and Priene provided the epigraphic evidence. Thus, today the buildings at Ephesus and Priene can be identified securely. On the other hand, the latest source that gives general information on the excavated Prytaneia in the Greek world, Hermann-Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), accepted what Miller suggested. Because of this, in this thesis the structures at Ephesus and Priene are examined under the title of Possible Prytaneia.

It is very likely that the application of house plans to the Prytaneia results from the character of the structure. The existence of the common hearth of the city should be the sole reason for such a choice. This fact also suits the suggestion that the Prytaneion can be accepted as the house that represents the city symbolically.

These “probable” prytaneia also reveal the same evidence as the ones at Delos, Lato, and Olympia: architecturally the buildings are all similar but they are not identical. This fact rules out the possibility of a standard plan. The plan of the structure should be determined in accordance with the house architecture of that particular city.

Moreover, neither of the structures shows clear evidence on the existence of the benches, which should be present undoubtedly in accordance with the dining function. Thus, the benches should be made of wood and it is possible that the benches were portable and kept in storage rooms or in a wooden structure near the Prytaneion. More importantly the hearths could also be portable not fixed because in neither of these structures the hearth could be securely identified.

The examination of the excavated examples show that archaeologically the Prytaneion is one of the most difficult structures to identify because of its similarity to a common house, thus the lack of archaeological studies on the Prytaneia. We can only hope to reach more epigraphic evidence at ancient sites to change this situation.

As architecturally the Prytaneion is a large common house, it is necessary to examine the development of Greek domestic architecture because the architectural development may give clue about the emergence of the concept of the common hearth and the Prytaneion as a civic institution in ancient Greece.

CHAPTER IV

POSSIBLE ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS OF THE PRYTANEION AS A BUILDING TYPE

This chapter examines the examples of architectural structures from the Bronze and Iron Age along with the examples of house architecture from later periods. By looking at these examples two objectives will be sought. The first is to look for the possible architectural origins of the Prytaneion as a building type. The second and more important objective is to look for the origins of the concept of the common hearth and the Prytaneion as a civic institution. To achieve the second objective, the examination of the architectural origins is a necessity because this can give evidence for the emergence period of the institution. Because the Prytaneion is a large house with common architectural characteristics, the focus of this chapter will be house architecture, although the fixed hearths found in Iron Age context will be mentioned to show them as an architectural element.

One important point is that the Iron Age and later periods will be the focus of this chapter. The Bronze Age will be shortly mentioned because no clear and direct

link is established to Iron Age house architecture. However, Late Bronze Age monumental palatial fixed hearths will be mentioned briefly to examine the hypotheses that these hearths are the direct predecessors of the Greek common hearth in the Prytaneion.

IV.1. The Association of the Prytaneion to the Bronze Age Megaron and the Mycenaean Monumenal Hearth

Since the megaron plan is an important element in the history of early architecture in the Aegean, it is important to explain why the megaron plan before the Iron Age cannot be accepted as the origins of the Prytaneion buildings. After this, the Mycenaean monumental hearth should be emphasized as a suggested predeccor of the common hearth.

The megaron should be taken into consideration as the architectural origin of the Greek house beginning from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. In his study, Müller (1944: 342-348) defined thirty-one types of megaroid structures in Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece with examples (Fig. 49), based on the variations of the original type, which is an isolated rectangle¹⁸. However, the true megaron is not known in the Middle Helladic or in earlier periods (Nilsson, 1971: 18).

By the Late Helladic period the megaron became more widespread and fully developed in Greece (Smith, 1942: 112). Moreover, the Late Helladic shows a great variety of megaron types mainly with the Minoan influence palace type, the one which became the specifically Greek type and continued to be used also in the Classical period (Müller, 1944: 344-348).

¹⁸ For the details of these thirty-one types of megaron, see Müller, 1944: 342-348.

However, the evidence of development from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age can be seen only in temple plans (Boardman, 1967: 36); it is clear that the Greek temple originated from the megaron (Dietrich, 1970: 22-23) but even this is a creation mostly of the eighth century BC (Coldstream, 1979: 317). Thus, the evidence indicates that the Bronze Age megaron is different from Iron Age examples:

“Indeed there are no substantial architectural remains of the immediately post-Mycenaean period in Greece, and those in Crete throw no light on the development of the Iron Age megaron. Oval or apsidal plans seem generally to precede the rectangular megara of the geometric and early archaic temples and houses in Greece, and the development seems to be quite independent of any possible survivals of Bronze Age practice” (Boardman, 1967: 36).

The most important architectural and cultural feature of the LH III period is the Mycenaean palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae in the Argolid, and Pylos in Messenia. The typical Mycenaean palace was composed of two parts: the main palace (the megaron and the central court) and the secondary one (Kilian, 1988: 293). The most important feature of the megara at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Pylos (Fig. 50) are a great circular hearth located in the center of the main room with four columns around it to support the roof (Clark, 1968: 45). Lawrence (1983: 90) points out that the hearth is a characteristically mainland feature and the original position of the hearth in the center also “accords with the Helladic mentality”.

In the Mycenaean world at the top of the social hierarchy stands the wanax (Palaima, 1995: 124). Linear B tablets clearly indicate the religious duties and responsibilities of the wanax. Palaima (1995: 129) suggests that the powers and the authority of the wanax were “derived” from his religious associations and that he was primarily a religious figure (Palaima, 1995: 129).

The main room with the hearth, columns, and the royal throne highlights the authoritative power that also represents the cults signified by the presence of the hearth (Fig. 51) (Wright, 1994: 56). Moreover, like the domestic hearth was the center of domestic activity, so was the monumental hearth: the Mycenaean megaron was used also as the room for the reception, entertainment, and banqueting of retainers and guests (Graham 1967: 354). This indicates that the hearths were the center of not only the religious but also social life of the upper class (Rethemiotakis, 1999: 724).

Many scholars (Charbonneau 1925; Glotz 1996 [1929]; McDonald 1943; Wycherley 1942; Deroy 1950; Wycherley 1976; Gernet 1981 [1968]; Jameson 1990; Parker 1996; Rethemiotakis 1999) believe that the sacred hearth of the Prytaneion is the successor of the king's hearth of the Mycenaean palaces.

According to Rethemiotakis (1999: 724) because the hearth of the Mycenaean palace was suggested as the center of the religious and social life of the upper class, these large hearths can be accepted as the equivalent of the Greek common hearth in the Prytaneion. However, according to Werner (1993: 125) although the use of Mycenaean palatial megaras for official purposes is clear, their cultic functions related to the official functions are still a matter of debate.

Moreover, hearths are a common feature of domestic architecture and the presence of a hearth inside or outside a building does not on its own constitute proof of sacredness and it is not possible to determine the function of the hearth neither by its form nor by its location (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 280).

A hearth is the necessary feature of a household whether it is portable or fixed. The megaron was not only the Mycenaean king's seat of power but also one part of the residential quarters of the royal family. Thus, as every common house has

a hearth, the existence of the hearth in the throne room is quite logical. Archaeological evidence reveals that the Mycenaean hearths have cultic functions and Linear B tablets associate the wanax with religious responsibilities. However, this could not mean that the hearth has strong religious meanings and symbols in the Mycenaean palaces.

The use of a fixed hearth instead of a portable one can have many reasons apart from a cultic association, such as the desire to emphasize the room, which is the king's seat of power or emphasize the power of the king with a distinguishing feature that could not be realized in common houses, basically for economic and practical reasons. Moreover, these hearths could be an important decorative element in accordance with the popular taste of that particular period. They might be prestigious objects to have as an emphasis of the authoritative power of the wanax. Thus, because of the lack of archaeological and written evidence (Linear B tablets have no information that could indicate the religious importance of the hearth), it is not possible to associate the Mycenaean palatial hearths solely to religious and cultic functions.

Linear B documents, especially from Pylos, relate to a unique society that existed only for a few generations. Linear B is only known from palace documents. Mycenaean Greek could be described as a “childless aunt, sister of the lady whose daughters may represent Ionic, Doric, Aeolic and other Greek dialects (Bouzek, 1997: 26-27).

Furthermore, no epigraphic and literary source from later periods clearly and directly links the sacred hearth of the Prytaneion to the king's hearth in the palaces. The common belief that the sacred hearth at the Prytaneion is the continuation of the king's hearth at Mycenaean palaces is just an assumption that cannot be proved.

Thus, the lack of clear evidence first on the nature of the monumental hearths and then the lack of evidence on a direct link between these hearths and the common hearth means that the suggestion of Mycenaean hearths as the predecessor of the common hearth in the Prytaneion remains as an unprovable hypothesis.

IV.2. The Association of the Prytaneion Plan to the Examples of Iron Age House Plan

The roots of the traditions and the institutions of the classical Greek city are in the Iron Age. Before examining the examples of Iron Age house plans, to understand the development of house architecture it is necessary to point out the political atmosphere in the Iron Age. Apart from the examples of house architecture, hearths will be taken into consideration to define them as an architectural element.

The collapse of kingship at the end of the Bronze Age resulted in the formation of small villages at the beginning of the Iron Age, where the society consists of simple farmers and herders living in primitive huts and interacting through the rules of personal kinship with almost no elite structures.

With the expansion of population, a more complex economy, and increase in wealth; the elite structure re-appeared and a new social order developed, where ruled local chieftains whose parents and grand parents were themselves simple peasants. From this simple structure, the institutions of the city-states emerged probably as a result of the local innovations reflecting the kin relations of earlier times.

The dominant feature from the intermediate period between the latest Mycenaean period and the Early Iron Age is the break in continuity (Fagerstöm, 1988: 165). Between the period of the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces (ca. 1200

BC) and the revival and expansion of Greek civilization in the eighth and seventh centuries BC, different patterns of settlement appeared (Jameson, 1990: 107).

The early Greek *μεγάρον*, which was the one roomed house and later the hall, had *έστια* or *έσχάρα* in the center. The great hall disappeared with the destruction of the palaces at the end of the Mycenaean Period (Clark, 1968: 46). In EIA Greece, two kinds of structures were mostly seen: rectangular buildings with flat roofs and oval, apsidal, or rectangular buildings with “hipped” roofs and rounded corners.

The EIA Heroon at Lefkandi in Euboea (Figs. 52 and 53), although similar in conception to the megaron and the most spectacular example of an early elite structure, is quite unparalleled in Greek architecture; it is thus more sensible to suggest that the buildings at the important Dark Age settlement of Nichoria best represent the whole of Greece for the EIA (Fagerström, 1988: 165-166)

Nichoria, Unit IV-1 has two major building phases: Phase 1 (DA II, 10th century) and Phase 2 (9th century). In Phase 1 (Figs. 54 and 55), Unit IV-1 was rectangular with one large room (Room 1); the rough circular pit in the middle, filled with small carbonized fragments of oak and olive is believed to be a pit hearth. The large flat stone found in the center of the debris inside the pit might have been used as a platform to place cooking pots. The flat block at the east of the pit hearth probably served as a base for a wooden post or column. The stone-paved circular structure inside the room with a layer of carbonized material on top was interpreted as an altar (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser, 1978: 19-30).

In Phase 2, Unit IV-1 was remodeled: a courtyard, a new wall (Wall E), an apse, and exterior posts were added along the side walls (Figs. 56 and 57). The additions made the building—longer, emphasizing its monumentality. The traces revealed that with the addition of the apse, a new room (Room 3) began to be used as

the main storage area; cooking should be done here also as the pit hearth in Room 1 was not used anymore. Two round flat bases were found in Room 1 and Room 3 as the bases for interior posts or columns to support the roof (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser, 1978: 33-37).

The finds from Unit IV-1 at Nichoria allow identifying it as a dwelling and, in accordance with its size and the suggested altar it was interpreted as the chieftain's house indicating the continuation of the "Mycenaean tradition of combining the ruler's religious, political, and domestic functions in a single large, central unit" (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser, 1978: 33).

Moreover, the excavators maintain that the two closest parallels to the second phase are Megaron B at Thermon (Figs. 58 and 59) (length, the slight curve of the long walls) and the early temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria (Fig. 60) (the roof support system with the external and internal posts) suggesting that this structure could be a link in form and function between the Mycenaean palace and the Archaic temple (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser, 1978: 41, 58). Apart from Nichoria Unit IV-1b , between c. 900 and c. 760-750 evidence for cult practices associated with the ruler's dwellings can be seen at Antissa Building III (Fig. 61), Phaistos Unit AA (Fig. 62), and Eretria Building A (Figs. 63 and 64) (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 378).

In terms of domestic architecture, according to Boardman (1967: 36) the rectangular megara at Emporio and contemporary buildings at Old Smyrna are the earliest surviving examples of the plan in Greek domestic architecture.

The Megaron Hall at Emporio, Chios (Fig. 65) is the main representative of the LIA. The earliest period of occupation at Emporio is as early as the seventh century BC or even the eighth. The houses can be divided into two groups as

megaron houses and bench houses. Emporio megara share common characteristics: they face south, have two columns in the porch and a central doorway into the single main room. An arrangement of interior columns can only be seen in the Lower Megaron (Fig. 66) and the Megaron Hall, where respectively two and three columns were set in the axis of the building dating to the earliest period of occupation. In the Lower Megaron, the straight lining for the central hearth is preserved (Boardman, 1967: 31-36).

Moreover, Old Smyrna gives a valuable picture of the development in house architecture (Figs. 67-73) where a large family house of ca. 750-700 BC with rooms opening into a courtyard was discovered. Moreover, two megara, presumed covered by a single roof and facing a courtyard, were revealed. These megara were interpreted as a significant step towards the classical Greek house (Jameson, 1990: 109).

At Zagora on Andros (Fig. 74) in the eighth century BC, the larger houses follow Mycenaean precedent in that they may consist of a hall alone or a hall entered through a porch; wooden posts stood inside or sometimes in front of the porch. Moreover, another house, which is composed of smaller rooms around three sides of a courtyard were found. Lawrence (1983: 315) states that “no early instance is known of a hall preceded by a courtyard lined with rooms, over which it dominated; however, this apparent compromise may really have been just another item in the Mycenaean heritage”.

During the second half of the eighth and the seventh century many ruler’s dwellings were built, some earlier ones were still in use but apart from Emporio new ruler’s dwelling were erected in this period also at Zagora (3rd phase of Unit H19) and Lathouriza (Fig. 75) (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 378).

Sacrifices possibly followed by ritual meals inside the ruler's dwellings are attested at Nichoria (Unit IV-1) and Thermon (Megaron B). A domestic shrine was found in Room 11 of the chief's residence at Kastro near Kavousi (Fig. 76). No evidence from Asine, Koukounaries on Paros, and Lefkandi connects the chieftain's dwelling with cult practices (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 377).

It should be made clear that a ruler's dwelling was not regarded as a cult building: there was no cult image in it and votives were not deposited there but only in the communal sanctuary (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 378). Although not all examples indicate the same practice, Mazarakis-Ainian (1997: 377) suggests that beginning from LH IIIC into the Iron Age, the evidence shows that the chieftain's dwellings were associated with cult practices involving animal sacrifice and communal feast and that cult practices began to consist of cults "celebrated at every household hearth by every head of the household", and at least the leading families practiced a religious cult inside their houses.

Hearths have been found in twenty-two structures: two pit hearths from apsidal houses (Nichoria and Eretria) and six rectangular built hearths from rectangular structures (one from Thorikos, two from Zagora, and three from Tsikkalario), which are exceptional in Iron Age context. The apsidal/oval houses have more simple hearths (Fagerström, 1988: 131).

In addition to the list of Fagerström, Mazarakis-Ainian (1997: 290-292) adds the hearths at Koukounaries, Kastanas, Lathouriza, Asine, Zagora, Eretria, and Antissa. One hearth from the acropolis of Koukounaries (Fig. 77) is accepted as sacred because of the discovery of a small clay phallus among the ashes. The presumed chieftain's house of Layer 10 at Kastanas (Fig. 78) has a very large hearth,

which could have served for functional and ceremonial purposes (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 290).

At Lathouriza (Fig. 75), the stone lined hearth was located in the open air, in front of Room II of the chieftain's dwelling; it is believed this hearth was used for cooking. Because of its location in front of Room II and the spacious bench inside this room the apsidal chamber is suggested as a dining room, perhaps of official character (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 290).

A pit hearth was discovered inside Building C at Asine (Fig. 79) and on account of the impressive bench, it can be suggested that communal feasts were done in this structure. However, this suggestion has not been proved (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 291). Moreover, Rooms H19 and H22 of the assumed ruler's dwelling at Zagora (Fig. 74) and Building A at Eretria (Fig. 63) housed a central hearth; an axially placed hearth was also discovered in Building IV at Antissa (Fig. 80) (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 291).

In Crete a very large hearth was discovered in the middle of Room AA at Phaistos (Fig. 62), which can be compared with monumental Mycenaean hearths. More hearths were found in Rooms CC, P, R3, EE, and FF. Room R3 has three hearths and the existence of a bench allows Mazarakis-Ainian (1997: 291-292) to suggest this room as the dining room.

Axial hearths in the middle of the central chamber were found in Building B at Prinias (Fig. 81), Rooms 136, 137, 138 and 140 at Karphi (Fig. 82), and Building A at Smari (Fig. 83). Mazarakis-Ainian proposes that the one in Building B at Prinias may have had a sacral character. The one in Building A at Smari could be used for cooking meat for the feasts because the banquets were held in this room (Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997: 292).

Thus, the existence of hearths and benches within the same contexts suggests the use of dining rooms for communal feasts and banquets. However, the assumption that both the mainland and Cretan examples are to be understood together needs reservations as the so-called dining shrines or bench sanctuaries are the earliest (they are already known in the Prepalatial period, i.e. at Myrtos) and constitute the most common (i.e. Phaistos-First Palace period, Mallia-Neopalatial period) type of shrines in the Minoan period (Marinatos, 1993: 98). Moreover in the LIA, benches for storage vessels are common; no literary or artistic evidence indicates the use of benches for sitting, but always chairs. No archaeological evidence supports the idea of a bench built for sitting (Fagerstöm, 1988: 171-172).

In brief, during the EIA, both rectangular and oval/apsidal house were in use. Not much concern can be seen to divide the buildings for different functions. Fagerstöm (1988: 166) proposes that the men could be located in the center of the room whereas the women sat for their tasks such as spinning along the walls. In the MIA, rectangular structures began to become dominant, although apsidal/oval structures were still being built (Fagerstöm, 1988: 168). In the LIA, the architecture becomes more complex whether it is a town house or a farm house, stone architecture and the dressing of stones appeared in this period. Thus, the shape and planning of architectural structures along with architectural techniques and principles were established in the Iron Age reaching their true character in the Archaic and Classical periods (Fagerstöm, 1988: 172).

Although they are not a common architectural element, fixed hearths can be seen in Iron Age architecture. Like the earlier periods, most of the structures with fixed hearths are usually interpreted to have cultic or ritual associations such as feasting. Moreover, evidence from some of the chieftain's dwellings indicates cult

practices involving animal sacrifice and communal feasting. This may be accepted as the first signs of the household cult celebrated around the hearth of the house that will reach its complete form in the later periods and result in the emergence of the concept of the common hearth in the Prytaneion.

IV.3. The Association of the Architectural Plan of the Prytaneion to Houses After the Iron Age

Two basic types of plans continued to be used into the third century or even later: the megaron and courtyard house, but in classical Greece the latter was preferred. The typical Greek house consists of a number of rectangular (usually small) rooms opening into a rectangular courtyard (Fig. 84). The court was the primary source for light as the houses have narrow and few windows (Jameson, 1990: 97-98). The best examples of this type in the archaic period can be found in the Greek colonies in Sicily (Lawrence, 1983: 315).

Several examples of courtyard houses from Athens (Fig. 85) have been excavated and they do not show a consistency of plan apart from the existence of the courtyard (Lawrence, 1983: 318). The type of house, which was favored in classical Greece, is best known from Olynthos (Figs. 86-88). Although the blocks of the houses have the same sizes, the plans and arrangement of the rooms vary (Lawrence, 1983: 318). Houses at Colophon (Fig. 89) dating to the fourth century BC are examples of typical Greek houses with a courtyard. However, according to Lawrence (1983: 323) “the survival of Mycenaean plans in Asia Minor can be traced into the Hellenistic Age, especially at Priene (Figs. 90 and 91) dating to the late fourth or the third century with a porch (sometimes two columns in antis) and the main room behind it”. The courtyard house remained the common type as the houses at Delos

(Fig. 92) dated to the second half of the second century AD clearly show (Lawrence, 1983: 324).

When the *παστάς* (living room) replaced the *μέγαρον*, the *έστια* was transferred to the dining-room *ἀνδρών* (men's quarters) as the offerings before the meal were dedicated there (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 560). Later, the number of rooms of the houses increased which resulted in the use of two or more separate hearths instead of one. The original, which combined cooking and heating functions, remained as the kitchen hearth and the living room acquired a hearth as the center of domestic life (Crawley, 1994 [1926]: 559).

Because of literary evidence, archaeologists expect to find fixed hearths in the main room as the focus of religious rituals within the family; however, unlike some Iron Age examples, a fixed hearth cannot be identified with any regularity in archaeological remains (Jameson, 1990: 99). Moreover, most houses at Olynthos and also at other sites did not have a fixed altars or external hearths (Jameson, 1990: 105). In the excavations, the fireplaces were usually found in small rooms that can be identified as kitchens because of the pottery and smoke traces in the area (Jameson, 1990: 98). It seems that the Greeks normally used portable terracotta braziers, small fires of brushwood, or charcoal in a corner of a room or court for cooking and heating (Jameson, 1990: 98).

The fact that most houses at Greek sites did not have fixed altars or external hearths, suggests to Jameson (1990: 105) that the rituals described by the texts as taking place within the house were either simply food or liquid offerings over the kitchen hearth or cooking braziers; or libations and incense on a small fire in the court or on the small portable altars; or pouring a small quantity wine on the ground.

It is clear that the architectural lay-out of the Prytaneia follow the same rules as the Greek houses: although, they are composed of some basic features such as the courtyard, the dining room, and the room with the hearth, none of the recovered examples are identical and the location of these common elements varied in each of them.

Overall, no clear evidence could be revealed to connect the architectural plan of the Prytaneion to the Mycenaean palatial megaron. The common hearth is not necessarily located in the center of the building as the focus of the structure. Although, the common hearth has importance and symbolic means, the excavated examples revealed that the hearth at the Prytaneion was not monumental or decorated like the Mycenaean palatial ones.

In terms of its architectural origins, it is clear that the Prytaneion has no connection with the Bronze Age. The architectural origins of the Prytaneion can be sought in Iron Age domestic architecture. Classical Greek domestic architecture is the basis of its general plan; the evidence indicates that no standard plan is available for this structure, but it shares its lay-out with the common house. It is important to note that the archaeological examples are usually dated to the Classical period although one Archaic Prytaneion is known (Olympia). Because of this we cannot possibly know what the earliest Prytaneia looked like. Their plan may be different from the later ones and they may be similar to LIA houses.

However in the Classical period, its lay-out follows house architecture. The difficulty of identifying it indicates that the structure did not have a single feature distinguishing it from a regular house. The employment of house plan should result from the desire to highlight the common hearth. It could be that symbolically, with its sacred hearth the Prytaneion represents the common house of the state and the city,

where sacrifices were made, guests were entertained, important documents and objects were kept, etc. Thus, because of this symbolism or it could not differ architecturally from a house.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to examine the concept of the sacred hearth and the Prytaneion, where the sacred hearth of the city was kept burning. As an important entity of the ancient Greek city with its sacred hearth and remarkable functions, the Prytaneion is nevertheless mentioned most often only briefly in archaeological studies, if at all.

The main reason for the relatively low emphasis on the Prytaneion is that it lacks a formal architectural structure: securely identified and excavated Prytaneia number less than ten in the whole Greek world so far. Despite the ancient sources, which highlight its “necessity”, the Prytaneion cannot become a major subject in archaeological literature, because of the absence of relevant archaeological remains. However, the discovery of new examples in archaeological sites may change this situation in the future.

Despite the lack of archaeological evidence, the importance of the Prytaneion is evident as the literary sources indicate. However, it is not entirely possible for a

modern person to understand what it really meant for the ancient Greek people although the hearth is still accepted as the symbol of the house. The importance of the Prytaneion derives from the common hearth. The symbolic and cultic significance of the common hearth shaped the structure as a civic institution with its functions such as dining at public expense; acting as a court in specific cases; being used as a state repository; and acting as a social welfare institution.

In terms of the origins of the Prytaneion, some points should be emphasized. First of all, the concept of the sacred hearth is the key element. In the Greek world, the sacred hearth had both symbolic and religious meanings. It seems that the religious aspect of the sacred hearth derives from its symbolic meaning. Even the goddess of the hearth is created from its symbolic and cultic importance. The importance of the perpetual fire and the sacred hearth is clear among Indo-European peoples. Thus, it is possible to suggest that for the Greeks, the symbolic and cultic meaning of the sacred hearth originated from the Indo-European heritage. However, the Prytaneion is an original creation of Greek society. The closest parallels can be recognised in Vedic India and Rome. However, in Vedic India, the emphasis is clearly put on the fire not the hearth; while in Rome, where some features may have been borrowed indirectly from the Hellenic world, the practice of the cult differs sharply especially after the Augustan period.

Although, as a civic institution the Prytaneion is purely a Greek element, the assumption that the sacred hearth of the Prytaneion represents cultural continuity with the monumental hearths in Mycenaean palaces requires strong reservations. Historically, the Mycenaeans are accepted as the ancestors of the classical Greeks. In spite of linguistic and cultural continuity in general; no literary or archaeological evidence exists that would support the assumption that the Mycenaean palatial hearth

is the direct predecessor of the Classical Greek sacred fire in the Prytaneion. Moreover, no literary or archaeological evidence indicate the continuity of the particular cult of Hestia.

As the classical Greek city with its physical and ideological entities first originated in the Iron Age, the symbolism of the sacred fire and the origins of the Prytaneion as a civic feature to house the sacred fire should be searched in the Iron Age.

When the palace and the wanax lost their authority and power, the chief local administrators became the basic power figures (Palaima, 1995: 125). It is clear that at the beginning of the Iron Age, authority was based on local administrators in small communities, where the term *basileus* can mean either a local nobleman or a leader on a grander scale like the first among the equals and the evidence from sites indicate a herding economy supplemented by hunting. However, the economy based on herding does not mean that the living conditions of the people worsened: in most parts of Greece, especially the eastern parts of south and central Greece (from Thessaly to Laconia), the population seems to have grown steadily from the Early Iron Age into the Middle Iron Age and reached its peak in the Late Iron Age (Fagerstöm, 1988: 165-166).

In the Middle Iron Age, archaeological evidence demonstrates that sites such as Lefkandi, Zagora, Smyrna, and Perachora are flourishing. The herdsman economy begins to turn into a more settled one based on arable farming, storage seems to be a necessity also reflected in more complex architecture, diversification of the cults occurred as indicated by the foundation of sanctuaries to Hera in Samos and at Perachora. The appearance of these initial temples gives the first signals of public architecture and imply political diversification. Trade especially on the Euboian

routes increased. People lived more in little towns with adequate defensive walls. All constitute the first signs of what will later characterise the Greek way of life (Fagerstöm, 1988: 167-168).

The LIA has a complex economy: the significance of private ownership and the right to possess is growing. Hero worship became dominant indicating the growth of national feelings. Political issues began to exceed local levels and reached the international stage, which grew from the desire for new lands and the need of defending one's own surplus. The disputes caused warfare and the need for the creation of hoplite armies along with defensive fortifications (Fagerstöm, 1988: 169-172). The authority of local chiefs was transferred to aristocracies (Cook, 1946: 87). The late eighth century is an important period for the rise of the polis because it is a period of political centralization and the development of political institutions (Rich and Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 26).

Moreover, it is quite likely that not only the cultic origins of the sacred hearth as a concept but also the architectural origins of the Prytaneion as a structure were in the Iron Age. Excavations of certain structures that may be named as "ruler's dwellings" at Nichoria, Antissa, Phaistos, Eretria, Emporio, Zagora, Lathouriza, Thermon, and Kastro near Kavousi indicate evidence of cult practices and sacrifices inside these buildings. These structures might be the initial places, where a family or a tribe cult began to be formed around the hearth by making sacrifices and libations to the deities. Just like the cult takes its final form in the later periods, so does the architectural lay-out. With the development of Greek domestic architecture and the penetration of the courtyard houses, the architectural lay-out of the Prytaneion took its final form, which is not different from a large house. The examination of the excavated Prytaneia reveals that, no standard plan was used for these structures.

Thus, both the significance of the sacred hearth and the Prytaneion as a civic institution began to take their shape at the time of the emergence of the Greek polis. The Prytaneion is the reflection of the ideology of the Greek polis, which emphasizes the whole community not just its administrative entities. The family cult, in which the family celebrates around the hearth with the father in the role of high priest provided the conceptualisation resulting in the specific practice of the civic cult. Later on, the significance and symbolism of the sacred hearth resulted in the creation of the common hearth of the city in the Prytaneion.

The common hearth in the Prytaneion as a civic institution was the symbol of the classical city in that it connected every household to the state in a context where no king or ruler, but the families in private and the tribes in general represent the important elements of the state. The sacred hearth at the Prytaneion seems to be a reflection of the individualistic character of the Greek city-states, which began to take shape already in the Iron Age. It is possible that after the collapse of the palaces, the atmosphere of insecurity could have resulted in the creation and development of a symbolic element that came to emphasize the identity of the community within a settlement along with the belief and desire to preserve its existence in general.

The creation of the public hearth is an indication of the creation of a “new form of unity”, where the state is regarded as a big family. As the center of a house is the sacred hearth, in counterpart the center of the city is the Prytaneion. Moreover, the city, not the ruler, has its own identity and presence with its sacred hearth. Thus, as an institution the Prytaneion is the symbol of the city-state and for this reason with the rise of kingship in the Hellenistic period, its importance began to diminish; and in the Roman period its importance is limited to its religious sphere not its civic symbolism.

Thus, the origins of an institution that is characteristics of the classical Greek polis took its form and symbolism in the formative years of the Greek polis. For the future, we can only hope to identify more Prytaneia securely for the chance of examinig these structures better.

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FIGURES

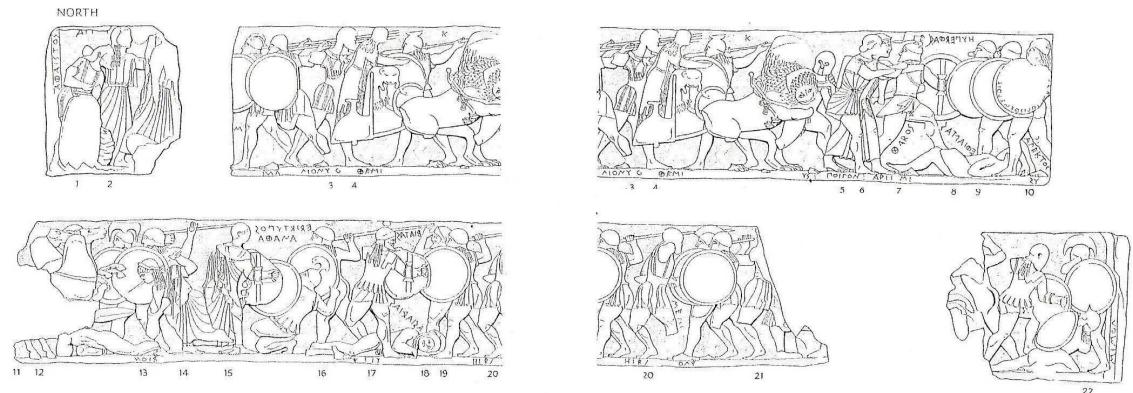


Fig. 1. Drawing of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi 525 BC.
No. 2 is Hestia between Hephaistos (1) and Dionysos (3).



Fig. 2. Hestia on the Attic Black Figure Dinos by Sophilos, 580-570 BC.



Fig. 3. Hestia (K), Dione (L) and Aphrodite (M) on the East Pediment of the Parthenon.



Fig. 4. Hestia (K) and Dione (L) on the East Pediment of the Parthenon.

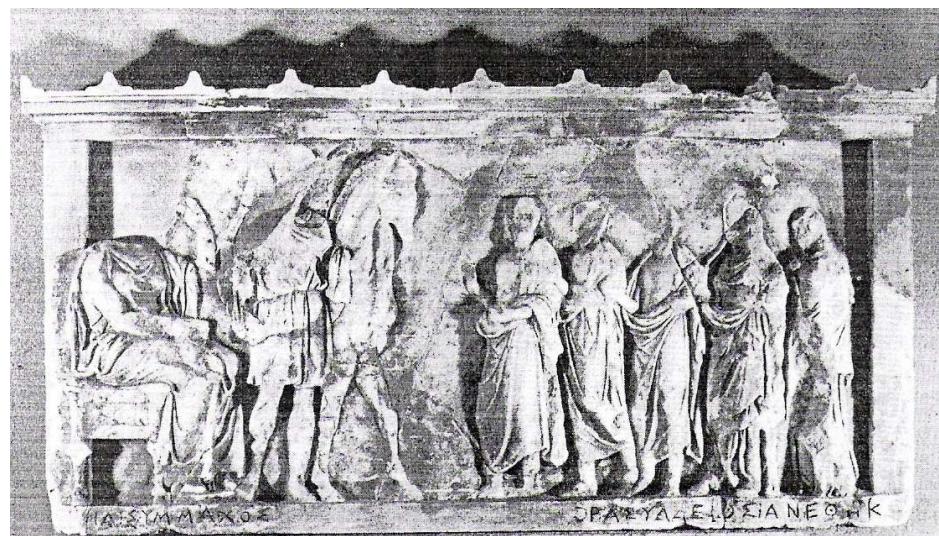


Fig. 5. Hestia and Symmachos on the votive relief stele, 4th century B.C.

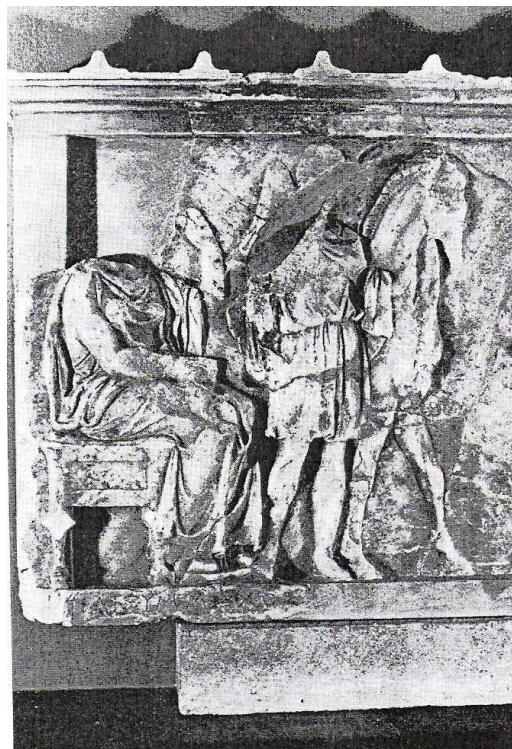


Fig. 6. Detail showing Hestia and Symmachos on the votive relief stele, 4th century B.C.

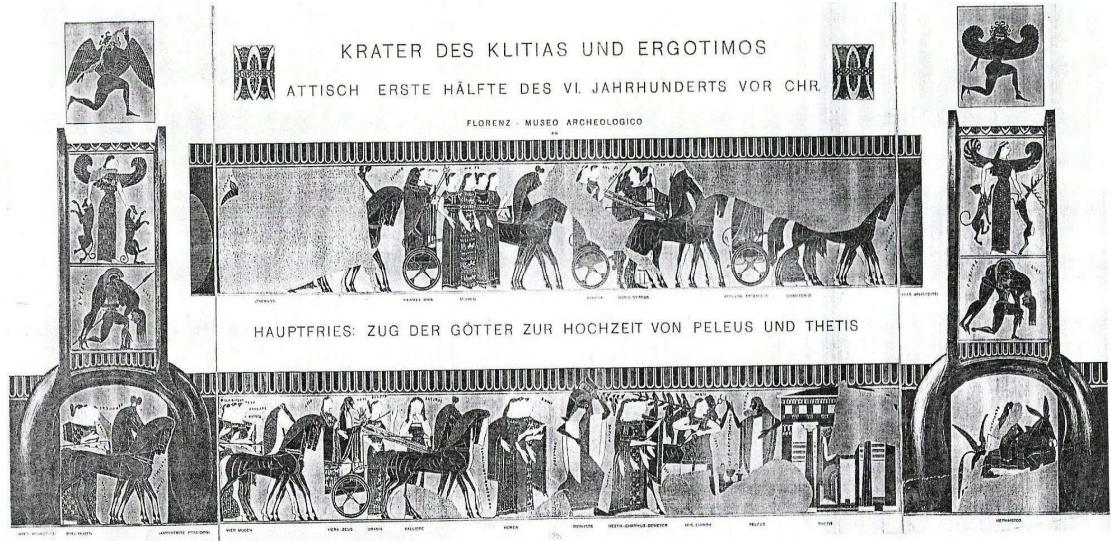
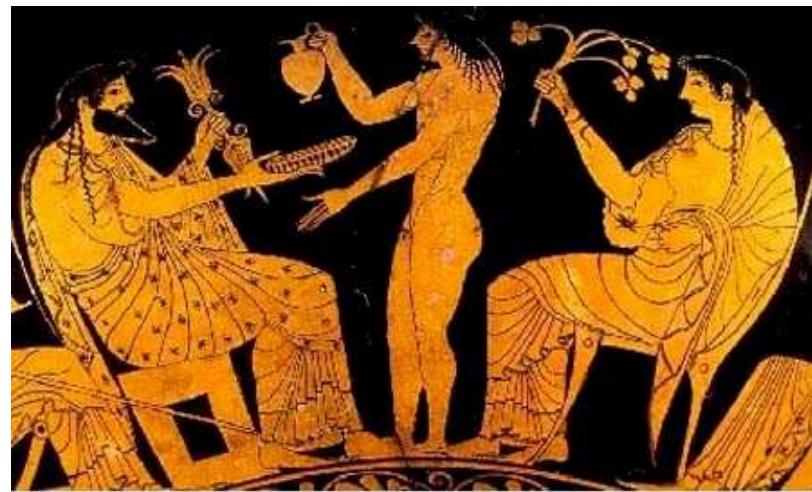


Fig. 7. Drawing of the figures on the Attic Black Figure volute crater “François Vase” by Kleitias and Ergotimos, 570-565 BC.



Fig. 8. Detailed drawing of the main frieze (wedding of Peleus and Thetis) of “François Vase”, right half, showing Chiron, Iris, Hestia, Chariklo, and Dionysos; approaching the Palace of Peleus; signature of Kleitias on the right side on the Attic Black Figure volute crater “François Vase” by Kleitias and Ergotimos, 570-565 BC.



O24.9 ZEUS, GANYMEDES, HESTIA

Fig. 9. Zeus, Ganymedes, and Hestia holding the branch of a chaste-tree (?) among the feasting gods of Olympos on the Attic Red Figured Kylix by Oltos, before 520 BC.



Fig. 10. Hestia sitting on an altar with torch in her hand while four women approaching her on the Attic Pyxis, 440-420 BC.



Fig. 11. Fragment of the Attic Black Figure Dinos showing Hestia in the scene of Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, c. 580 BC.



Fig. 12. Drawing of Attic Red Figured kylix showing the introduction of Heracles to Olympian Gods, c. 500 BC.

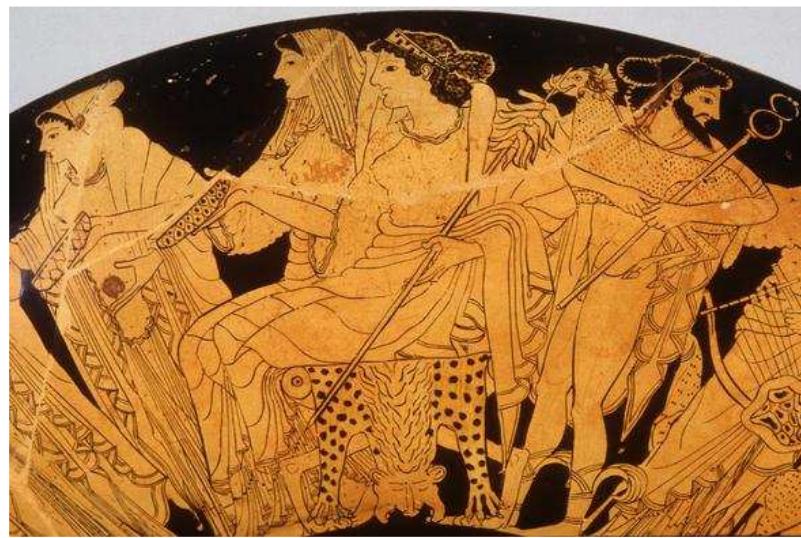


Fig. 13. Side B: Detail showing Amphitrite and Hestia (veiled) in the middle on the Attic Red Figured kylix showing the introduction of Heracles to Olympian Gods, c. 500 BC.



Fig. 14. The so-called “Hestia Giustiniani”, Roman copy of a bronze statue of c. 470 BC from Villa Albani, Rome.

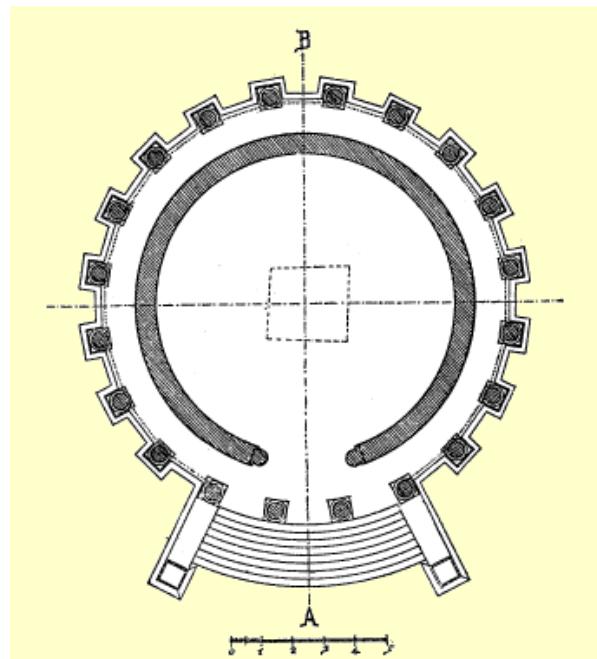


Fig. 15. The ground plan of the temple of Vesta.



Fig. 16. Relief showing the temple of Vesta.



Fig. 17. Extant Monumental Remains of the temple of Vesta (Heavily Reconstructed) in the Roman Forum.



Fig. 18. Reconstruction of the temple of Vesta.

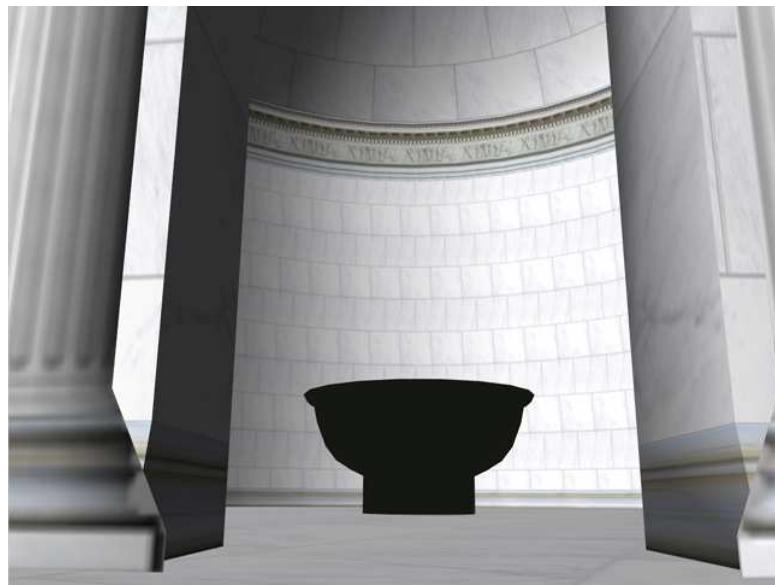


Fig. 19. Reconstruction of the interior of the temple of Vesta.



Fig. 20. Relief showing Vesta seated on the left with Vestal Virgins.

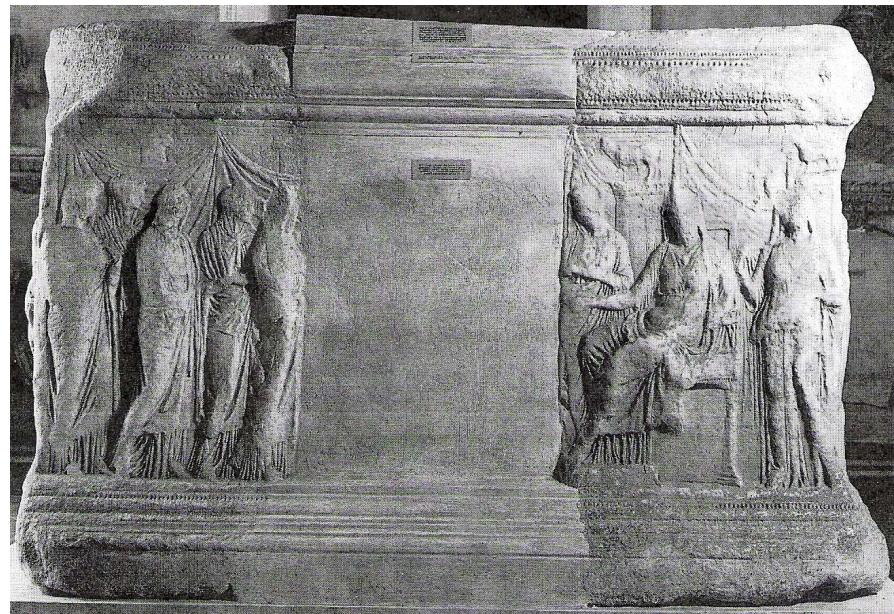


Fig. 21. Relief on a base showing enthroned Vesta on the right, pouring a libation, flanked by two female figures (possibly other goddesses), on the left five Vestals are approaching to her.



Fig. 22. Denarius, c. 55 BC. Observe shows the head of Vesta; left, Q.CASSIVS; right, VESTA. Reverse shows the Temple of Vesta; AC.



Fig. 23. As, AD 37-38. Observe shows head of the emperor; C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT. Reverse shows veiled and draped Vesta sitting on the throne, holding patera and scepter; VESTA SC.



Fig. 24. Aureus, AD 73. Observe shows head of an emperor Vespasian; IMP CAES VESP AVG CEN. Observe shows statue of Vesta inside the round temple with four columns and four steps; VESTA.



Fig. 25. Denarius, c. AD 112-115. Observe shows the head of Trajan's wife Plotina; PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAIANI. Reverse shows seated Vesta holding palladium and scepter; CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI P P.



Fig. 26. Aureus AD 226. Observe shows the head of Julia Mamaea; IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. Reverse shows veiled Vesta standing, holding palladium and scepter.



Fig. 27. Denarius c. 65 BC. Observe shows the head of the Vestal Virgin Aemilia. Reverse shows the Basilica Aemilia; M LEPIDVS AIMILIA REF SC.

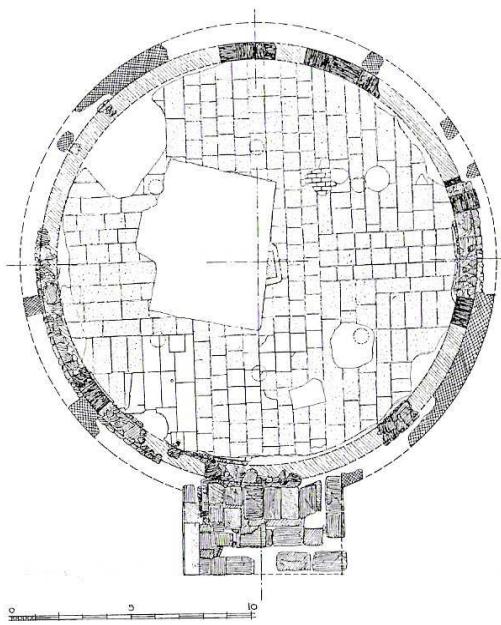


Fig. 28. Plan and the Actual State of the Athenian Tholos.

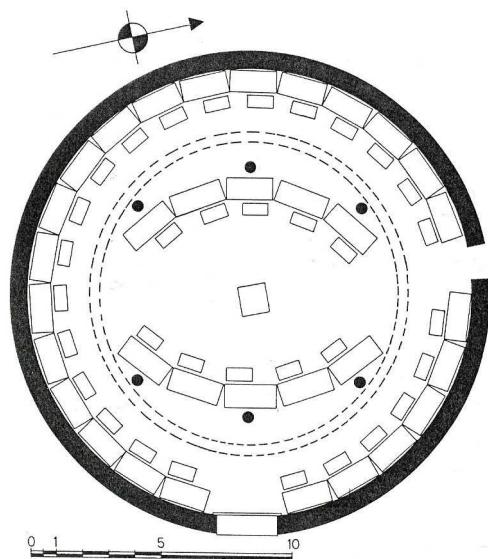


Fig. 29. The Athenian Tholos with couches restored.

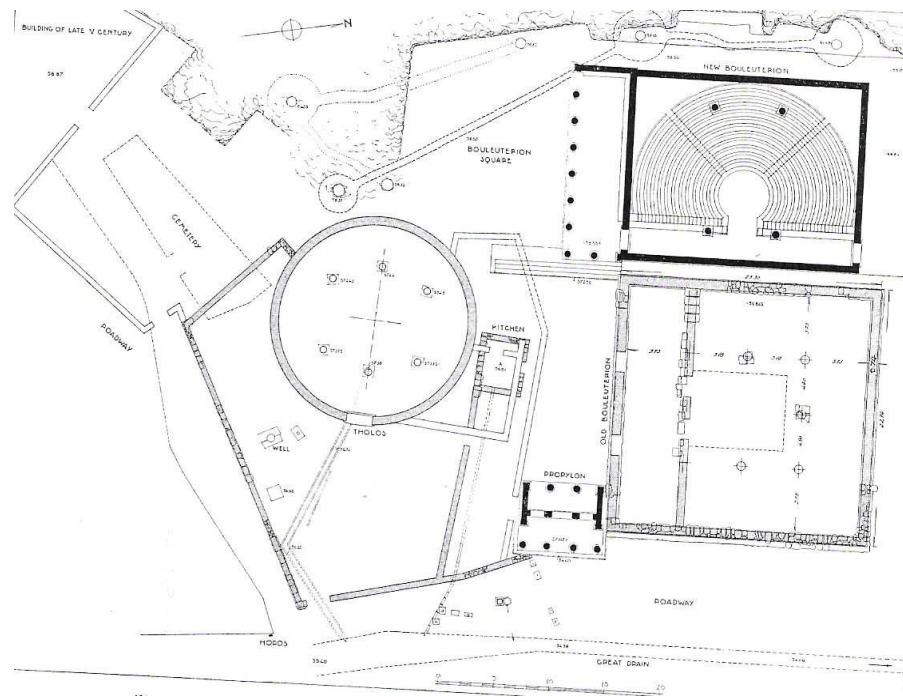


Fig. 30. Area of the Tholos in the Mid-Fifth Century.

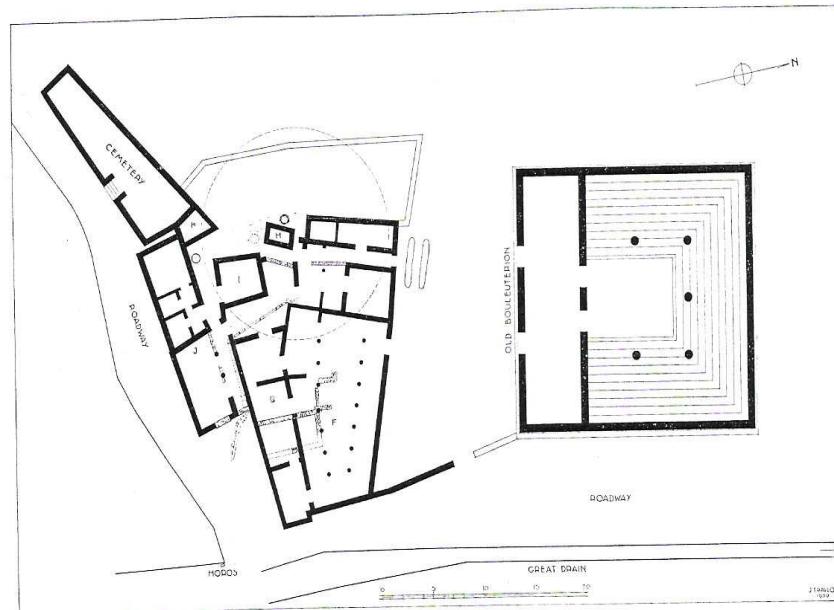


Fig. 31. Area of the Tholos at the end of the Sixth Century.

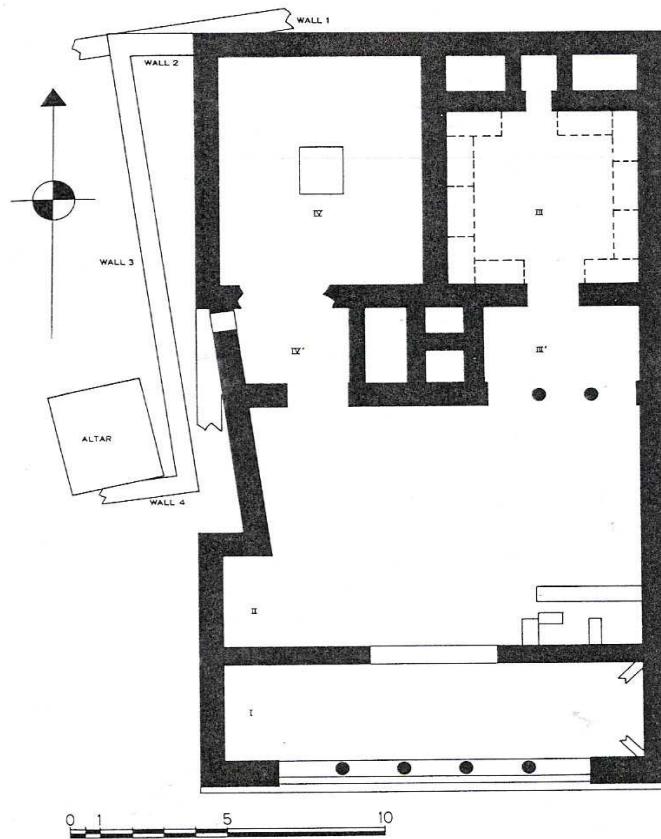


Fig. 32. Plan of the Prytaneion at Delos.

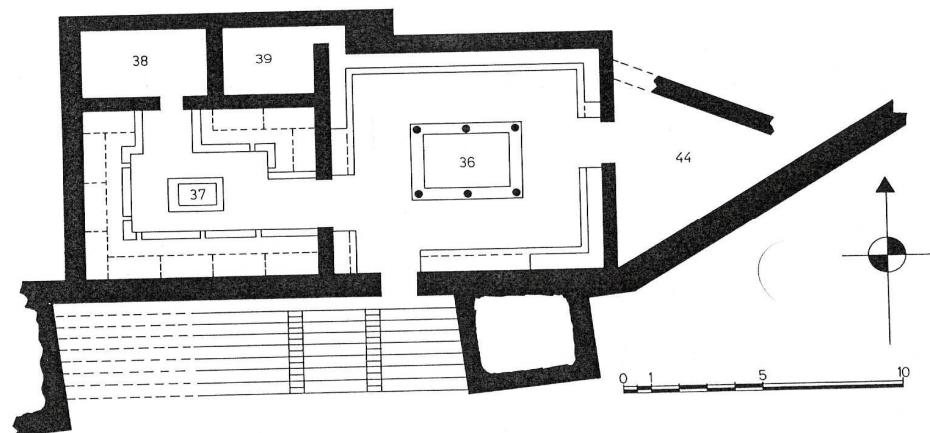


Fig. 33. Plan of the Prytaneion at Lato.

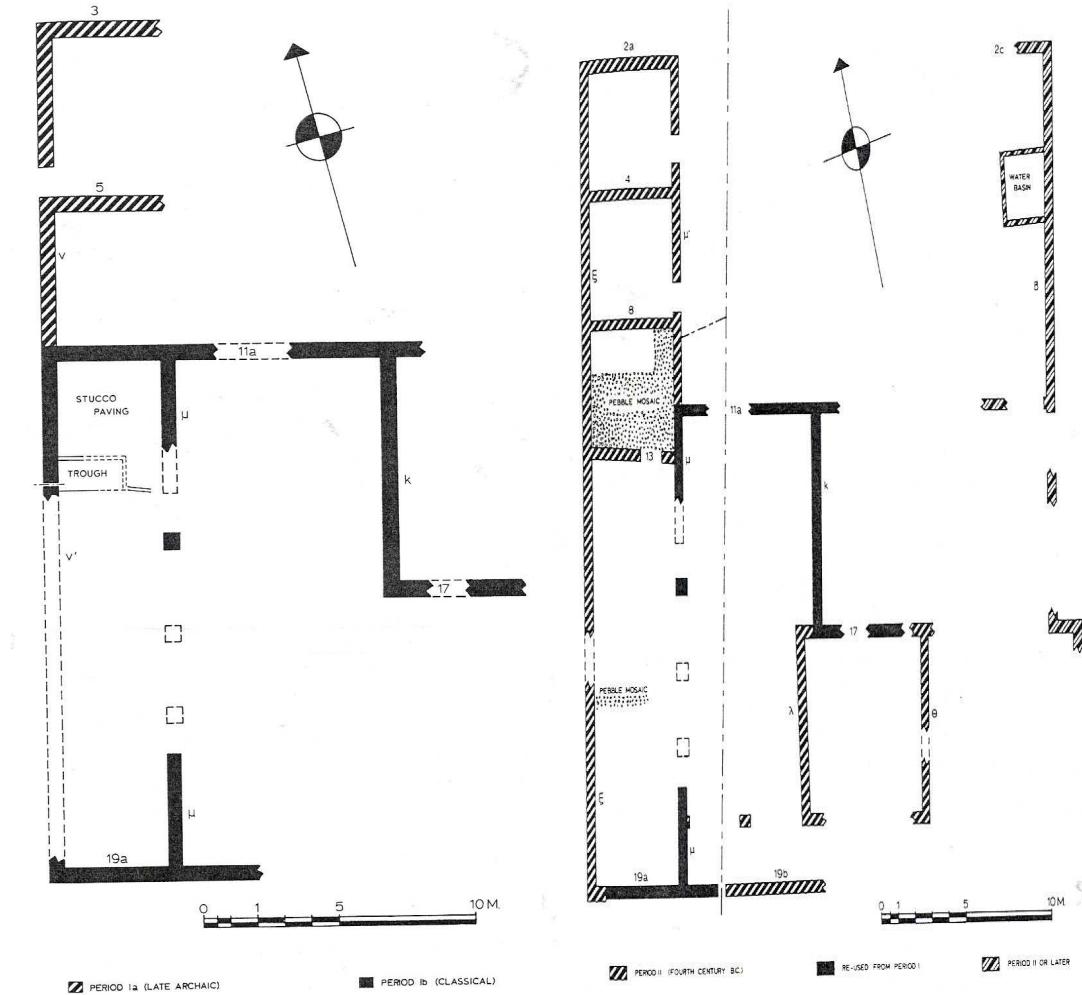


Fig. 34. Plan of the Classical remains of the Prytaneion at Olympia.

Fig. 35. Plan of the Hellenistic remains of the Prytaneion at Olympia.

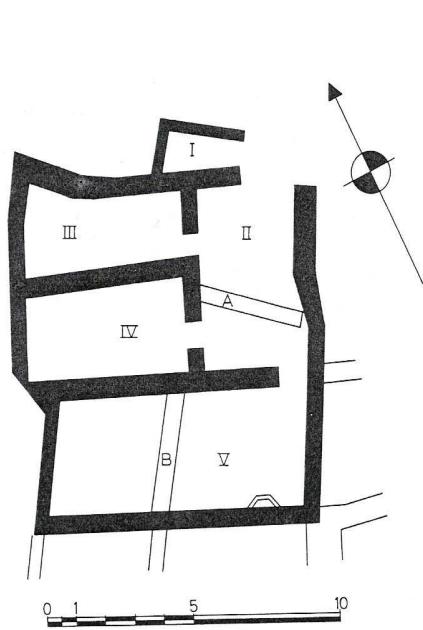


Fig. 36. Plan of the building at Dreros.

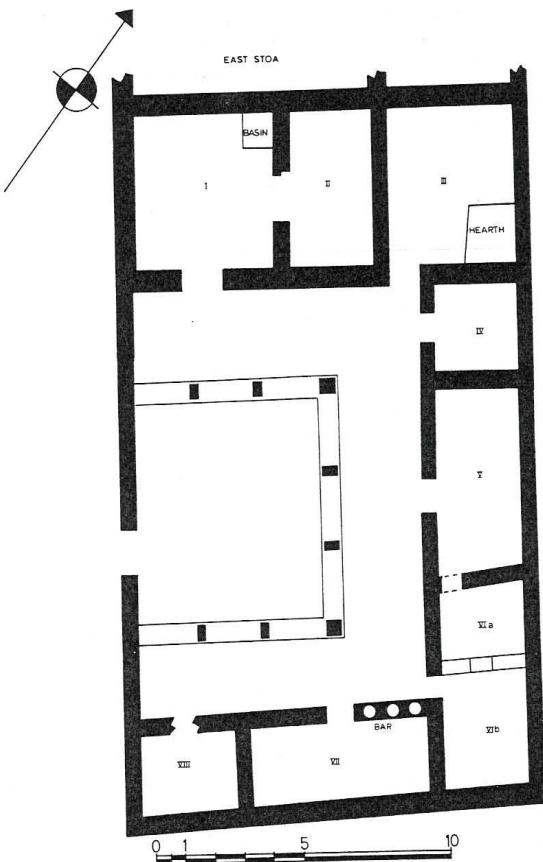


Fig. 37. Plan of the building at Morgantina.

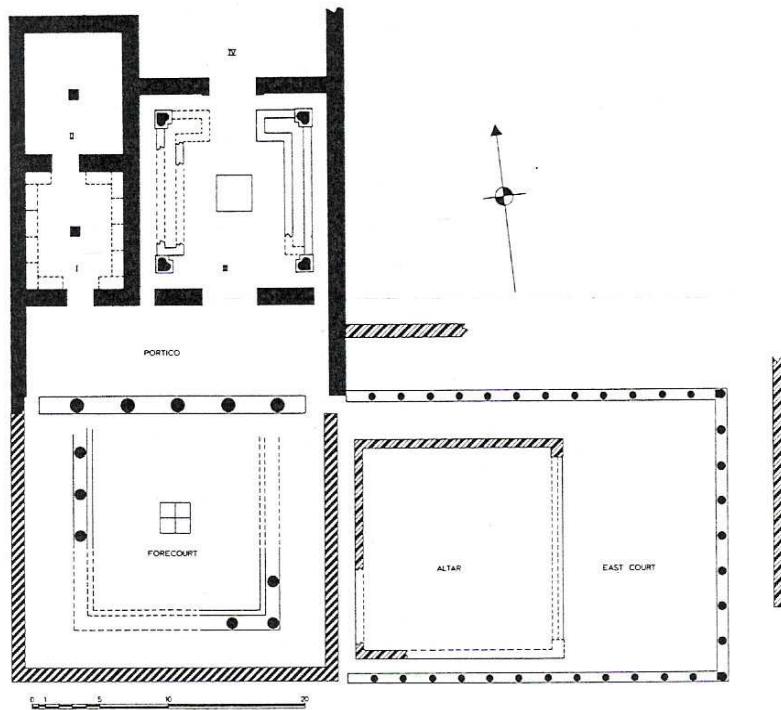


Fig. 38. Plan of the Prtyaneion at Ephesos.

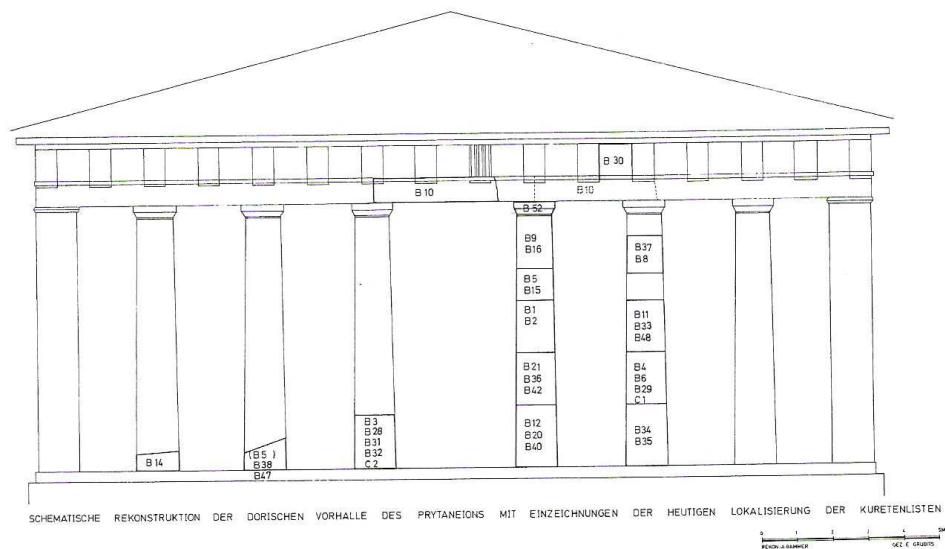


Fig. 39. Reconstruction of the Doric portico of the Prytaneion at Ephesos with the contemporary localization of the Curetes list.

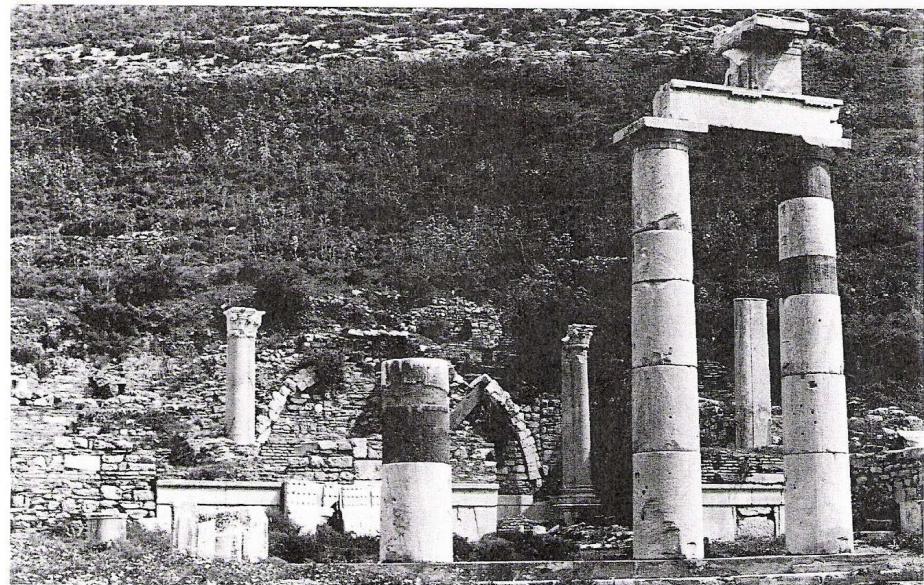


Fig. 40. Two Restored columns of the Doric portico of the Prytaneion at Ephesos.



Fig. 41. Column drums inscribed with the list of the Curetes in the Doric portico of the Prytaneion at Ephesos.

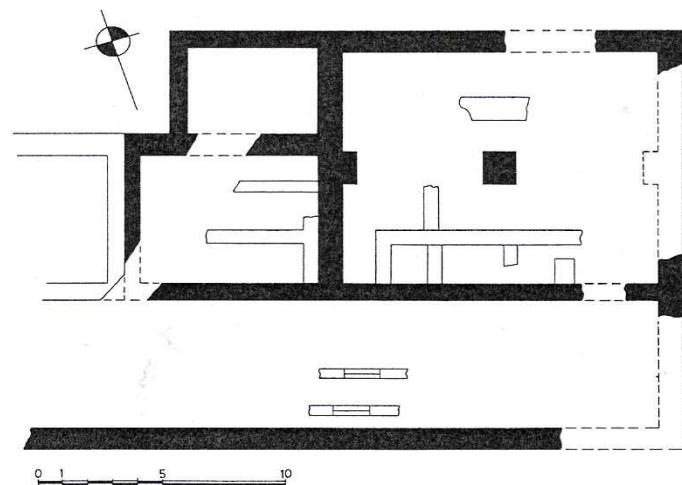


Fig. 42. Plan of the Prytaneion at Colophon.

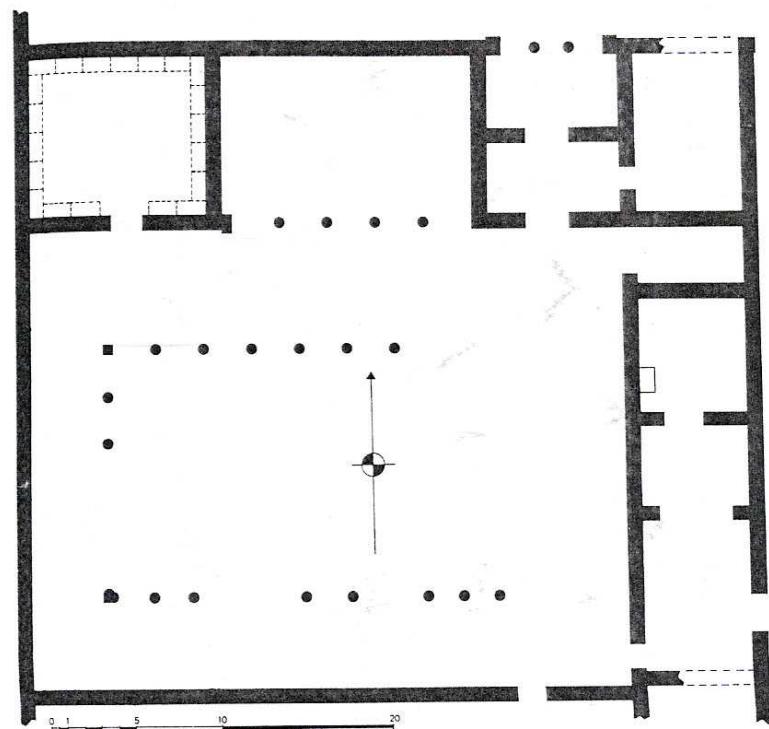


Fig. 43. Plan of the Prytaneion at Magnesia.

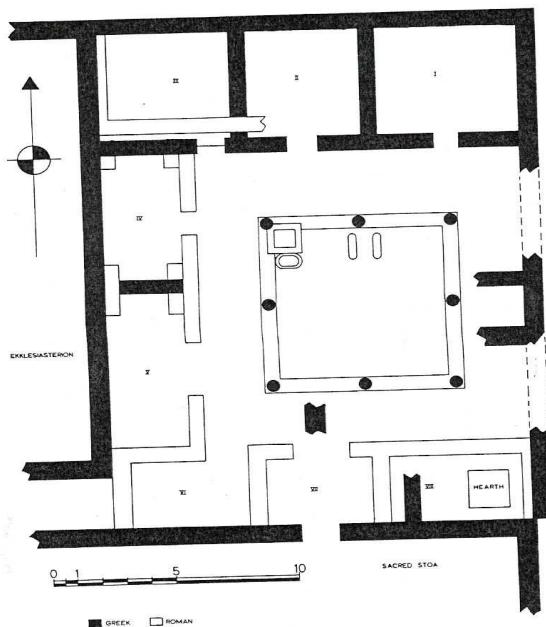


Fig. 44. Plan of the building at Priene.



Fig. 45. The Prytaneion at Priene after the 1895/99 excavations, from the south-east.

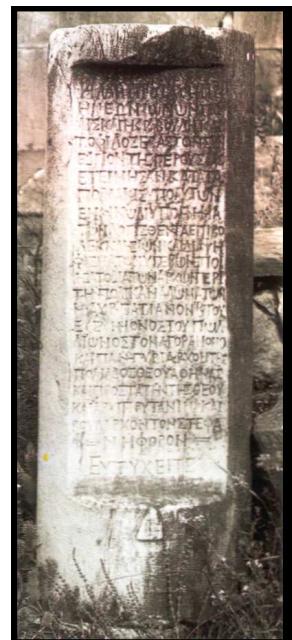


Fig. 46. Honorific inscription for Marcus Aurelius Tatianus the younger in the the Prytaneion at Priene.

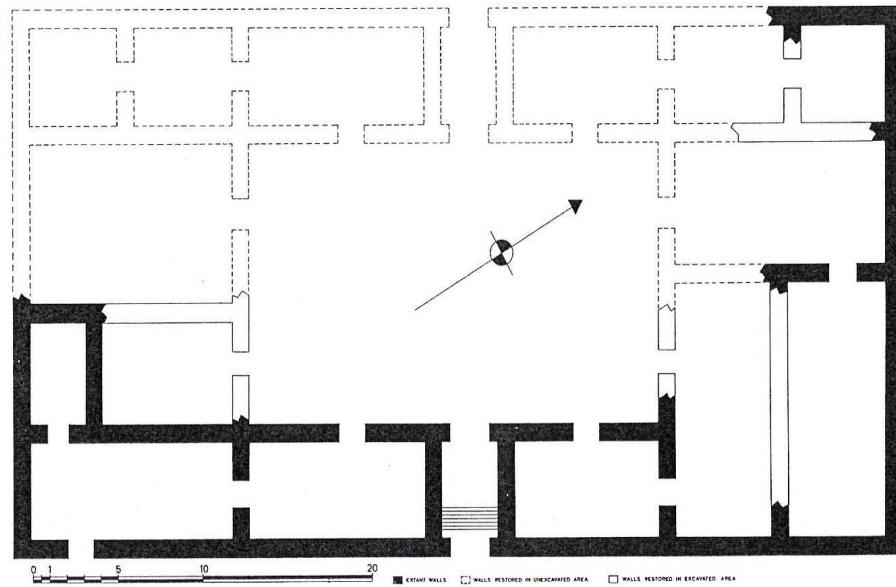


Fig. 47. Plan of the building at Miletus.

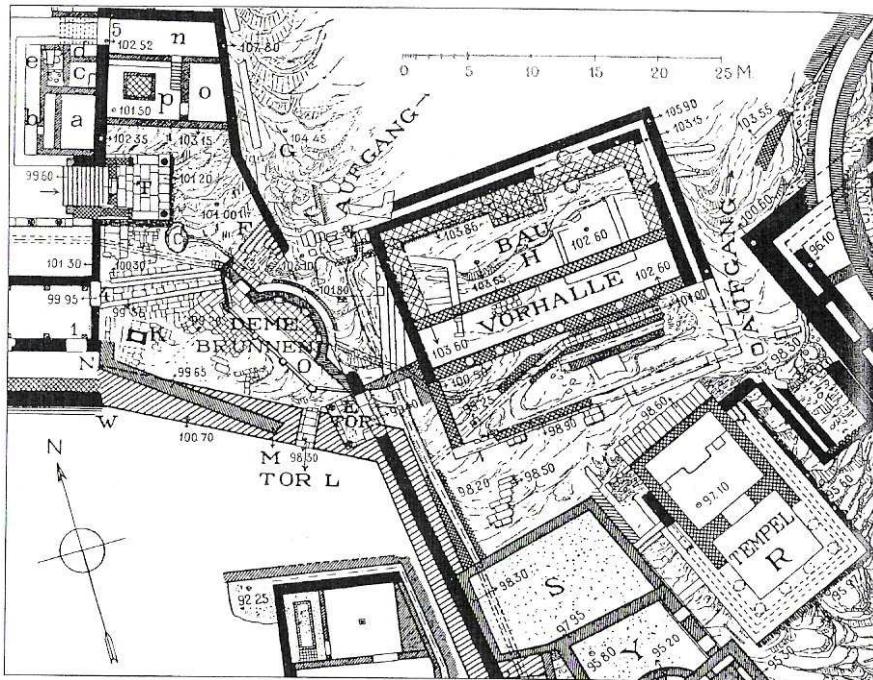


Fig. 48. Plan of the Building H and the adjacent area at Pergamon.

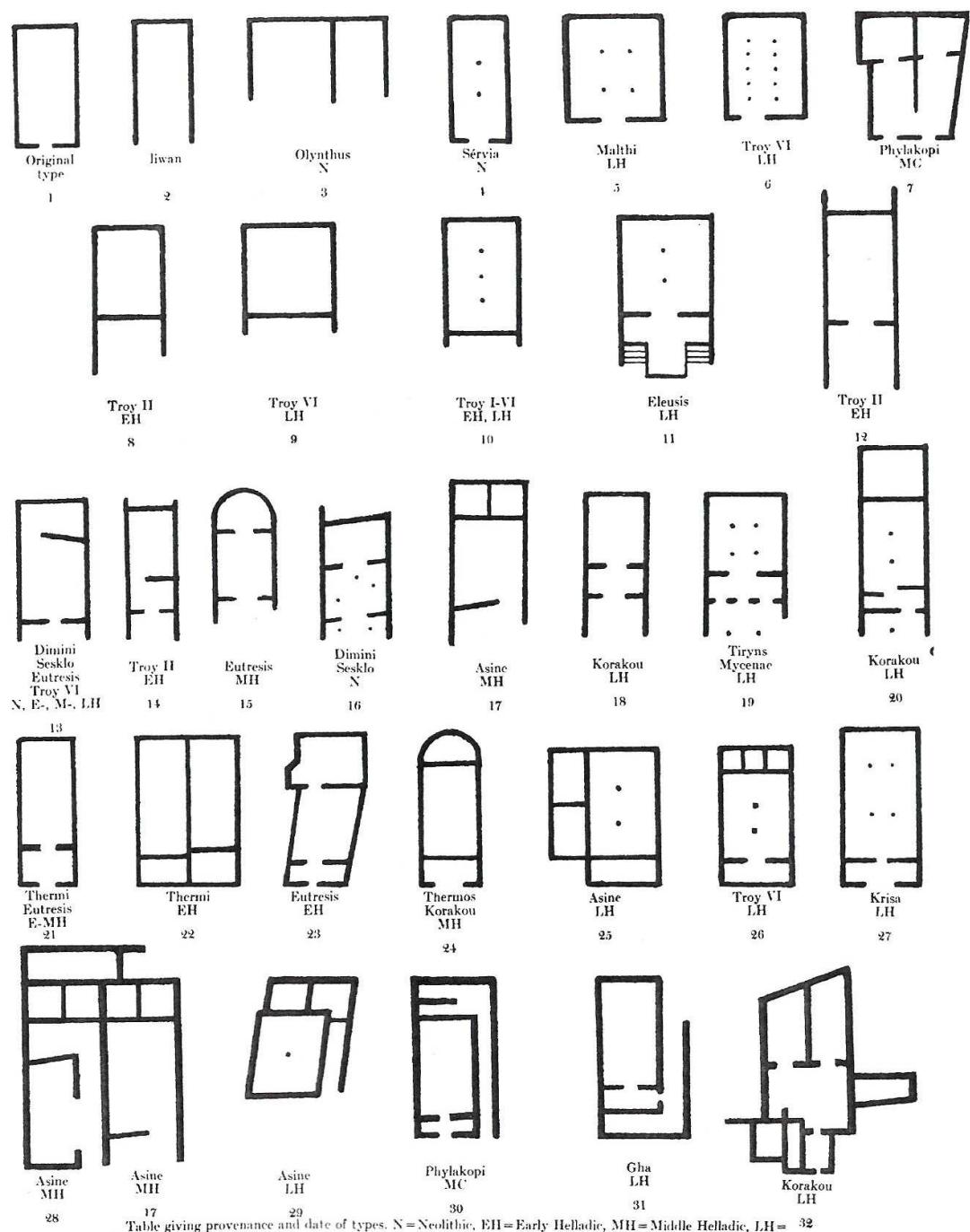


Table giving provenance and date of types. N = Neolithic, EH = Early Helladic, MH = Middle Helladic, LH = Late Helladic.

The drawings have been slightly regularized and are not exactly in scale.

Fig. 49. Plans of the examples of thirty-one types of megara with dates.

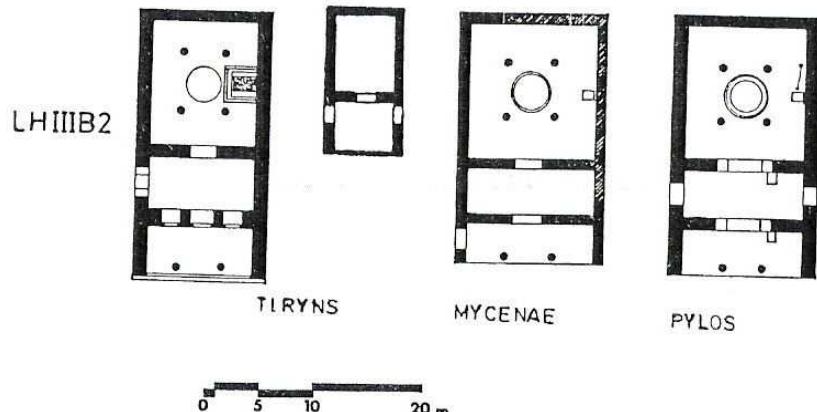


Fig. 50. The great megaras at the palaces of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Pylos.



Fig. 51. Restored drawing of the palatial megaron at Pylos. c. 1300 BC.

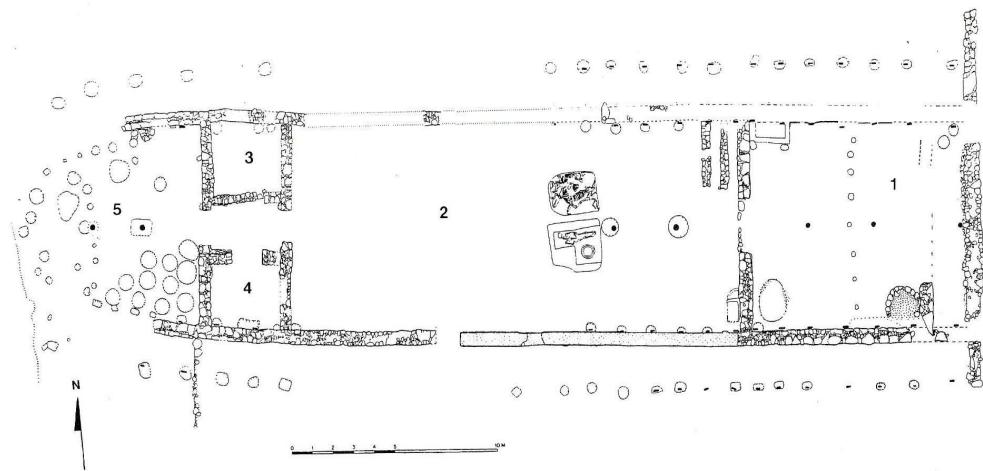


Fig. 52. Plan of the so-called “Heron” at Lefkandi.

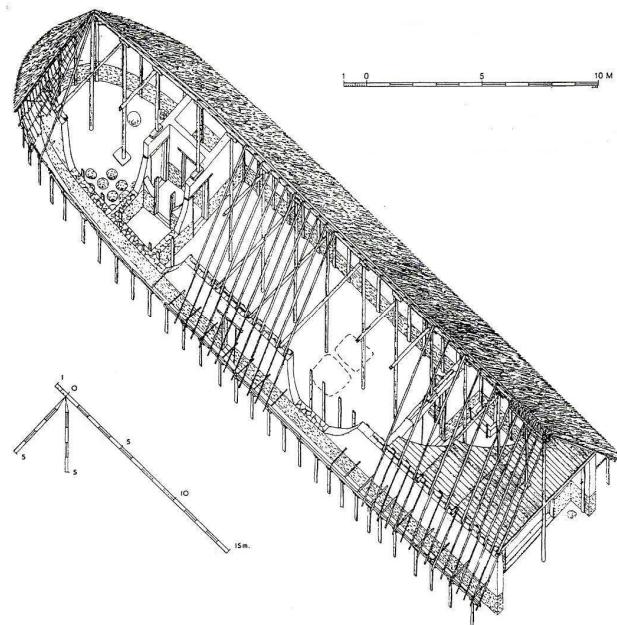


Fig. 53. Graphic restoration of the so-called “Heron” at Lefkandi.

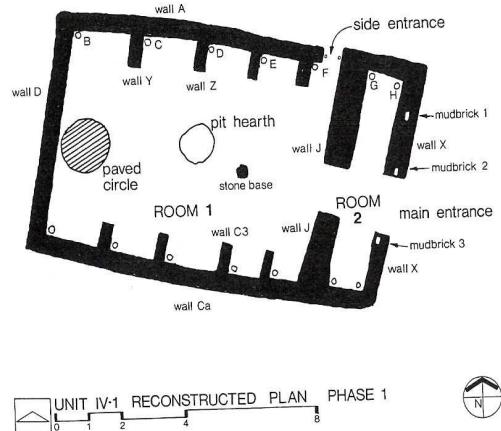


Fig. 54. Plan of Phase 1 of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria.

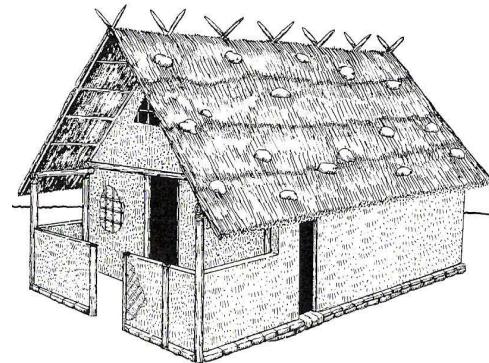


Fig. 55. Reconstructed drawing of Phase 1 of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria.

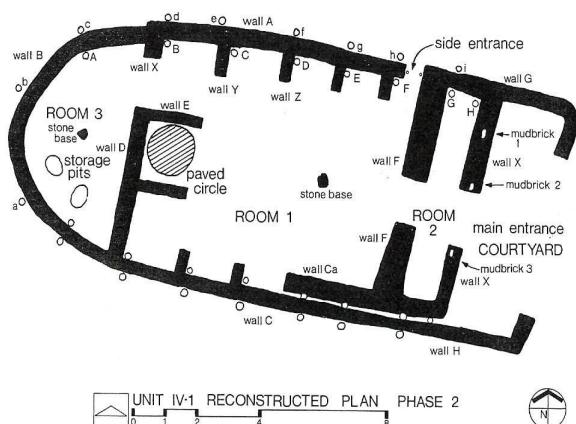


Fig. 56. Plan of Phase 2 of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria.

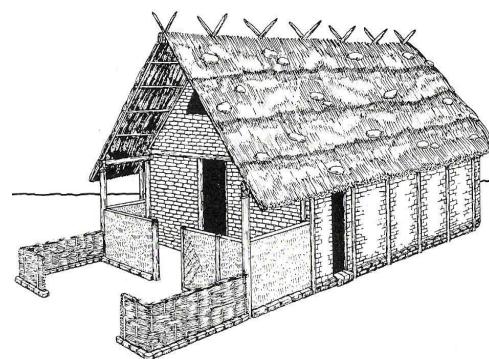


Fig. 57. Reconstructed drawing of Phase 2 of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria.

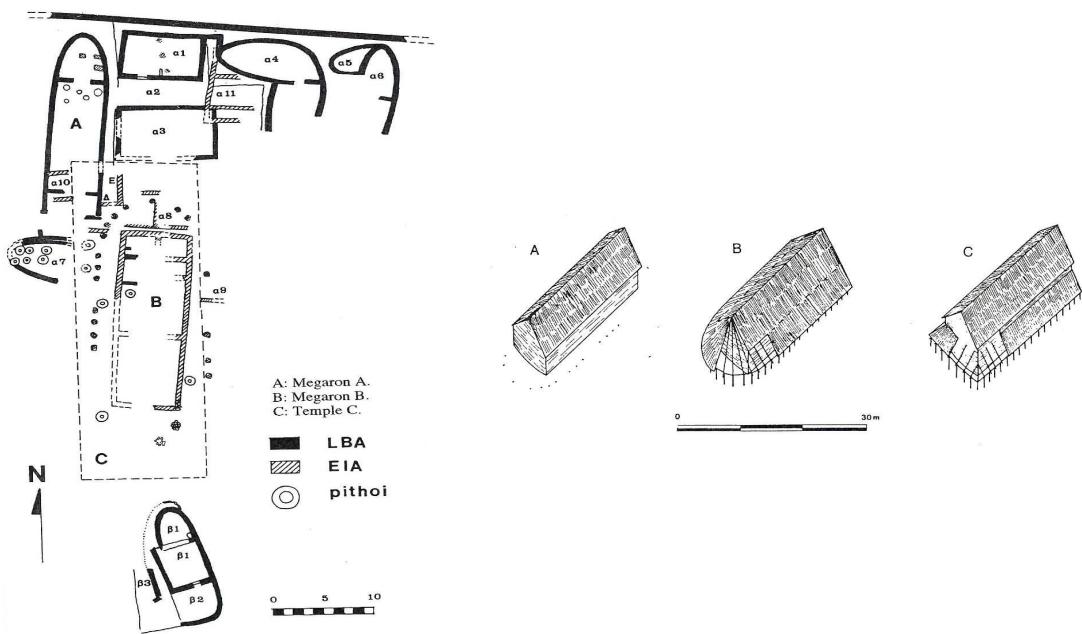


Fig. 58. Plan of LBA and IAE remains in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermon.

Fig. 59. Schematic reconstruction of Megaron B: A. before the addition of the peristyle. B. with apsidal veranda. C. with lean-to veranda.

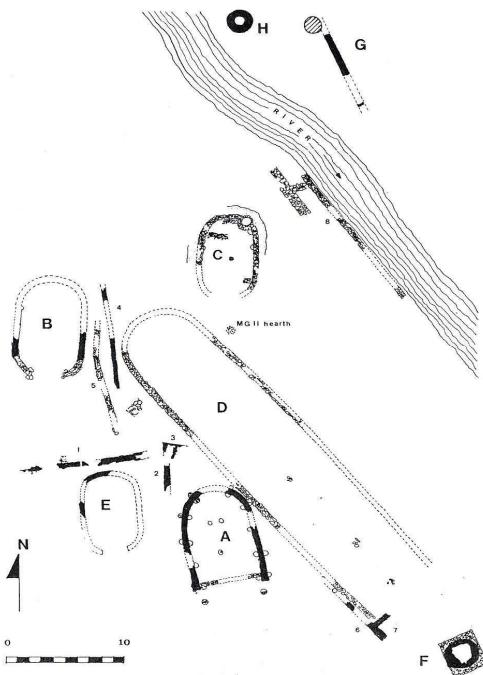
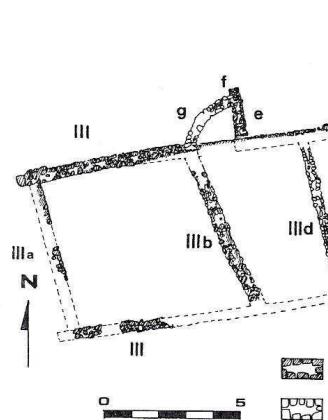


Fig. 60. Plan of Geometric buildings in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo with Building D, temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.



Building III (8th c. B.C.)
Phase 1: shaded. Phase 2 (Walls IIId and g):
unshaded. Wall IIIC was suppressed during phase 2.

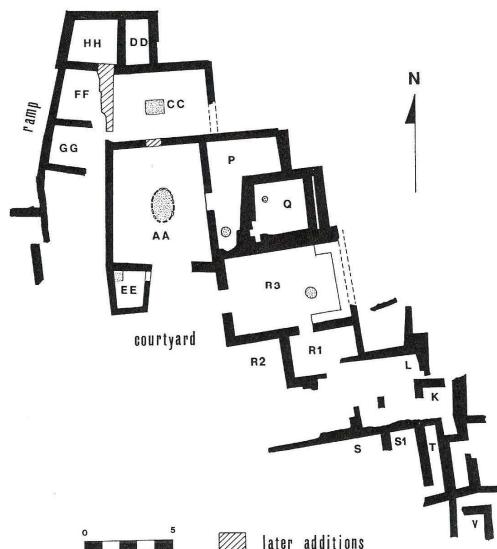
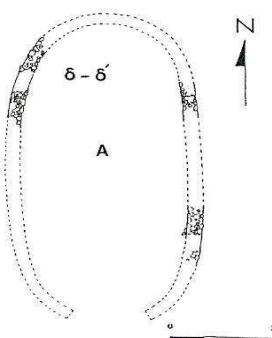


Fig. 61. Plan of Building III at Antissa in Lesbos.

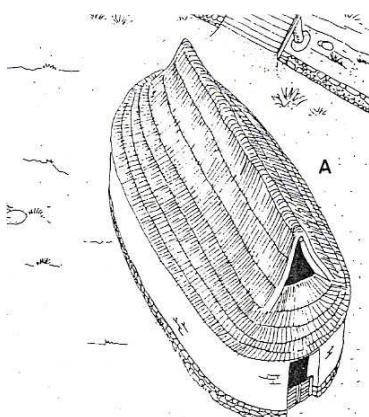
Fig. 62. Plan of Building AA and the buildings around it at Phaistos.



House A
(c. 725 B.C.) in area 10/19.

Fig. 63. Plan of Building A at Eretria.

Fig. 64. Restoration of Building A at Eretria.



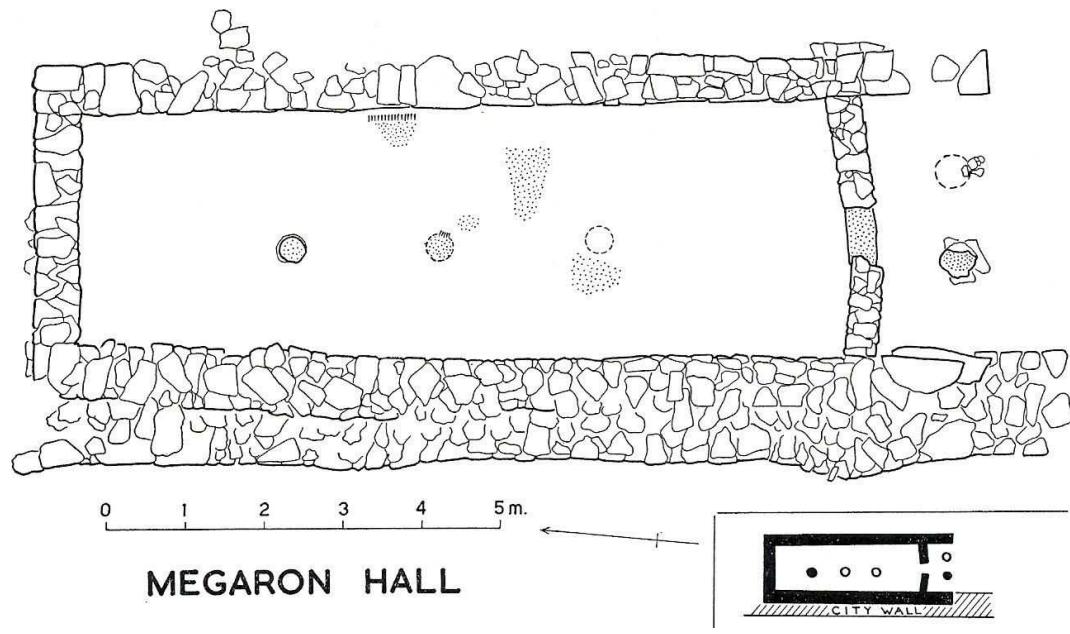


Fig. 65. Plan of the Megaron Hall at Emporio. Iron Age.

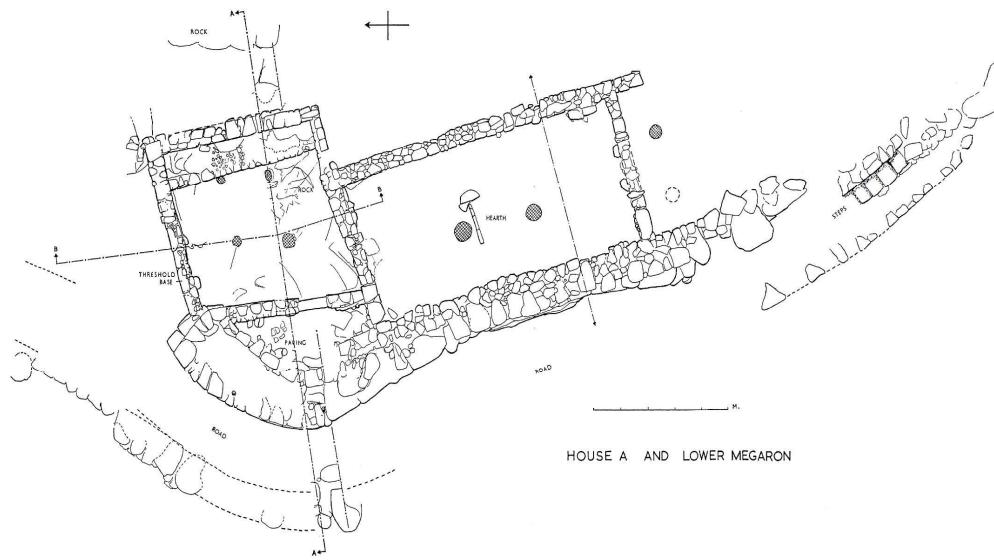


Fig. 66. Plan of House A and Lower Megaron at Emporio. Iron Age.

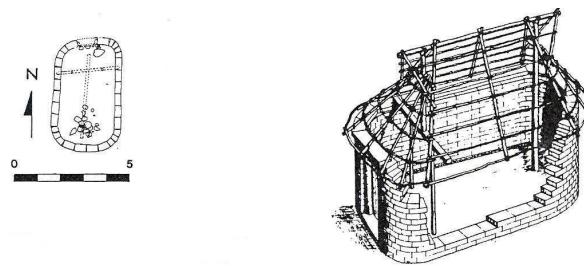


Fig. 67. Plan and graphic restoration of oval house of c. 900 BC in Trench H at Old Smyrna.

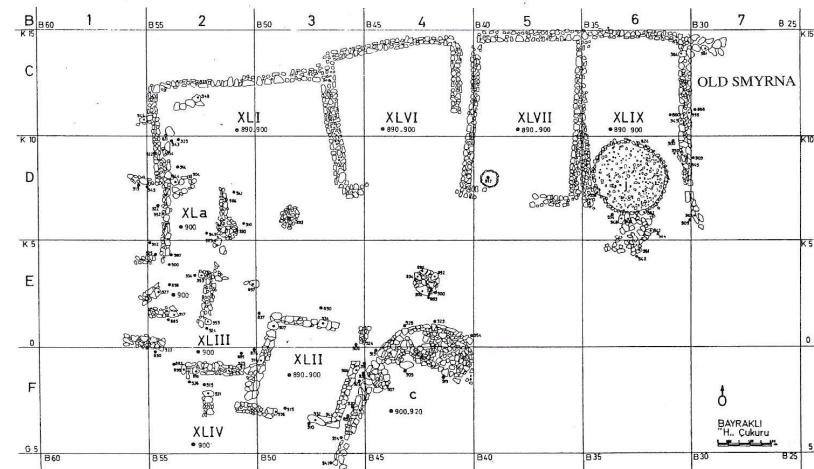


Fig. 68. Plan of houses of the third quarter of the eighth century BC in Trench H at Old Smyrna.

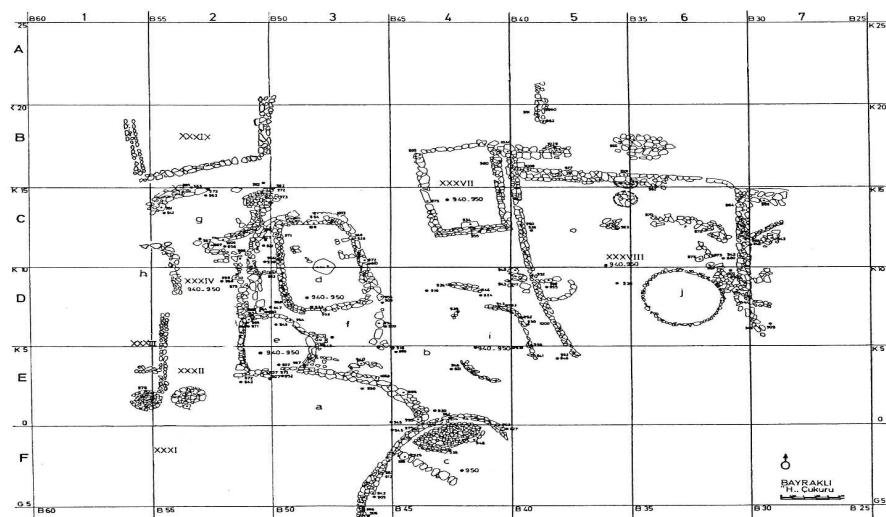
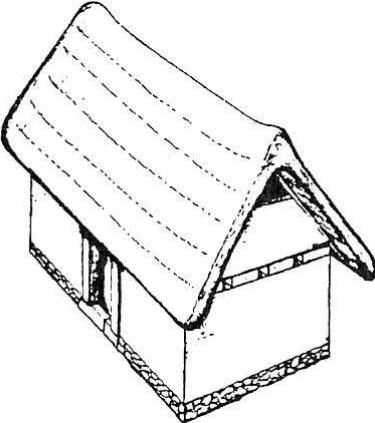
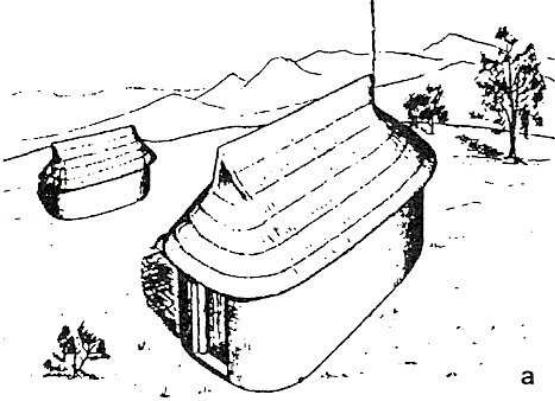
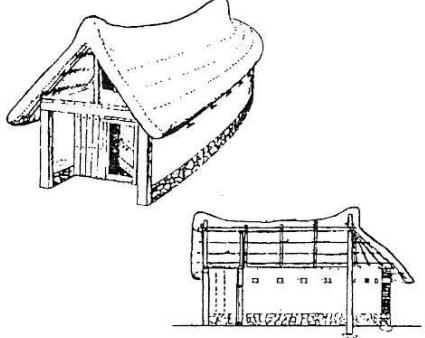
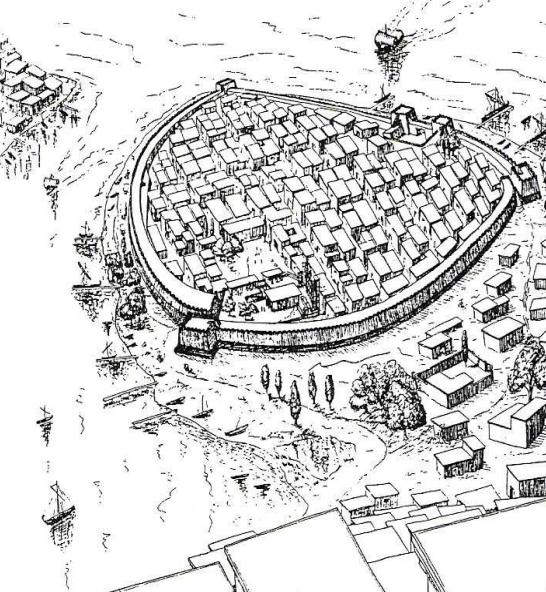


Fig. 69. Plan of houses of the last quarter of the eighth century BC in Trench H at Old Smyrna.

	 <p style="text-align: right;">a</p>
<p>Fig. 70. Restored drawing of House XXXVII in Trench H at Old Smyrna.</p>	<p>Fig. 71. Restored drawing of House c and d in Trench H at Old Smyrna.</p>

	
<p>Fig. 72. Graphic restoration of early seventh century BC apsidal house at Old Smyrna.</p>	<p>Fig. 73. Imaginative reconstruction of Old-Smyrna in the late seventh century BC.</p>

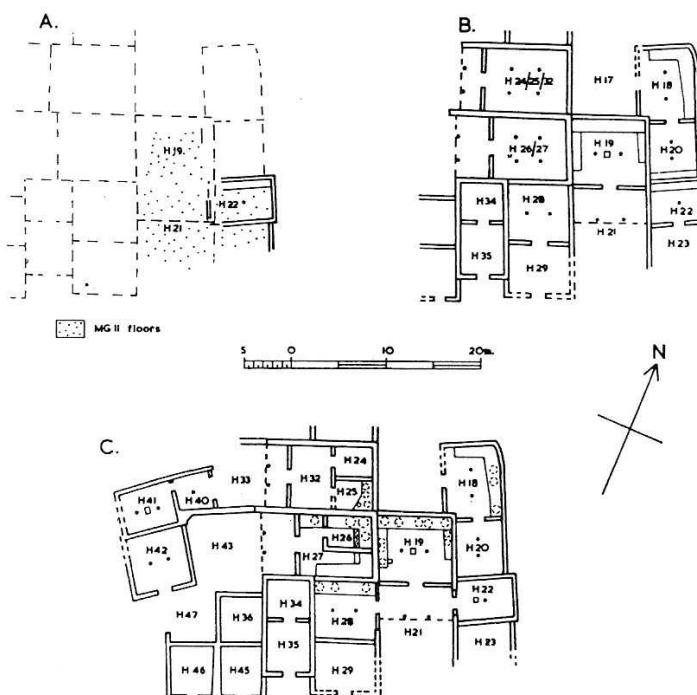


Fig. 74. Architectural phases of Building H19 and the surrounding buildings at Zagora on Andros.

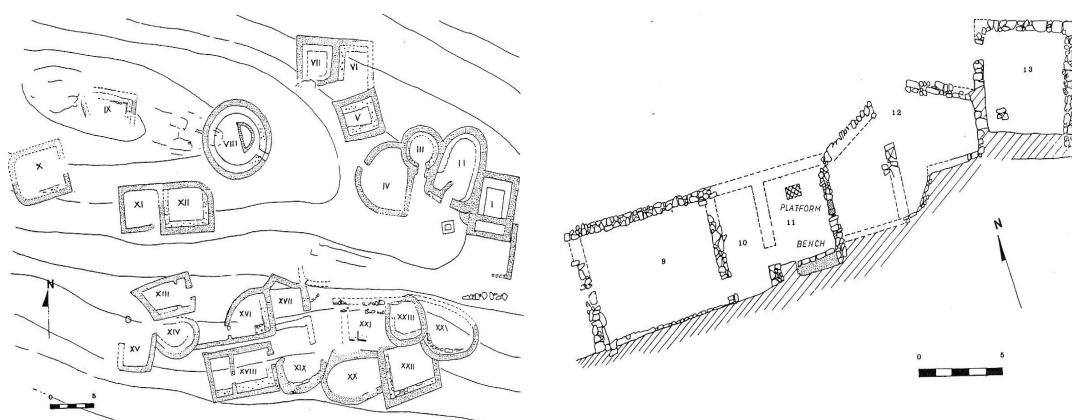


Fig. 75. Plan of LG-EA settlement at Lathouriza.

Fig. 76. Restored plan of Building 9-11/12-13 at Kastro near Kavousi.

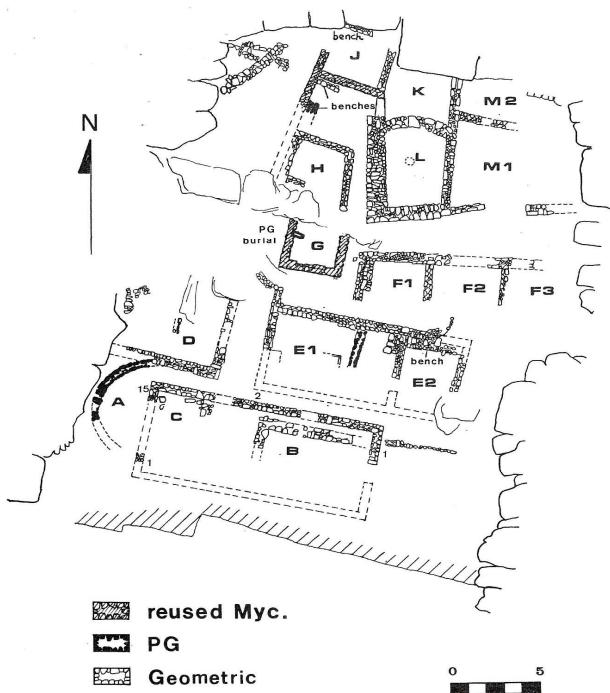


Fig. 77. Plan of EIA buildings on the summit of the acropolis at Koukounaries on Paros.

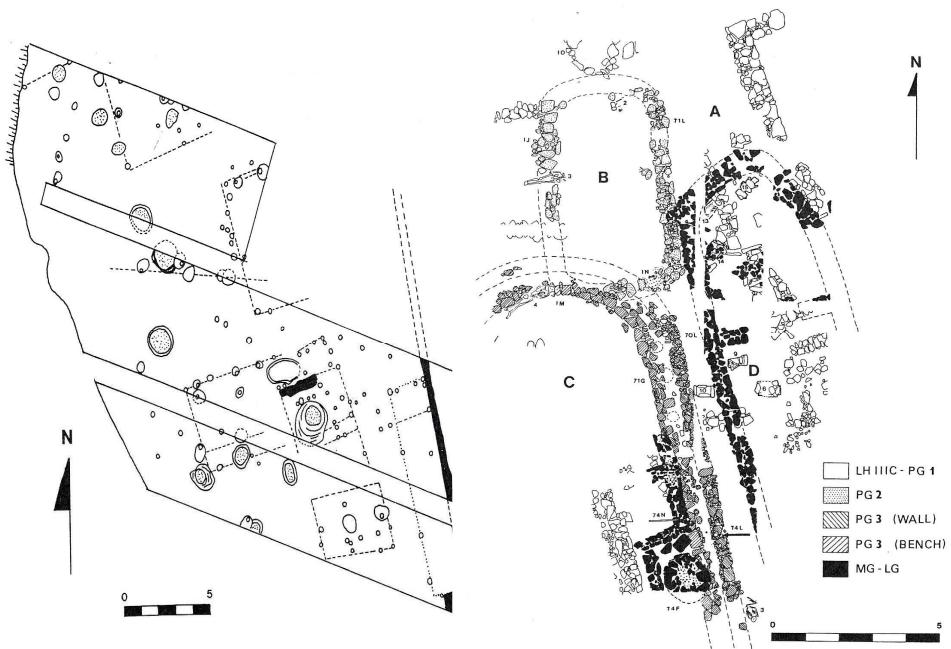
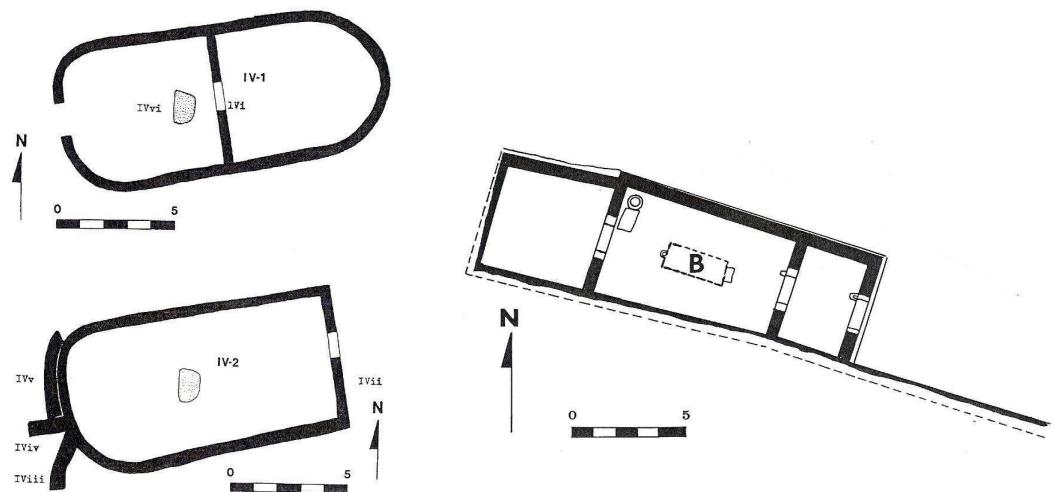


Fig. 78. Plan of houses of Layer 10 at Kastanas.

Fig. 79. Plan of LH IIIC-LG remains at Asine.



(a) phase 1 (c. 700 B.C.). (b) phase 2 (7th c. B.C.).

Fig. 80. Plan of Building IV at Antissa on Lesbos.

Fig. 81. Plan of Building B at Prinias.

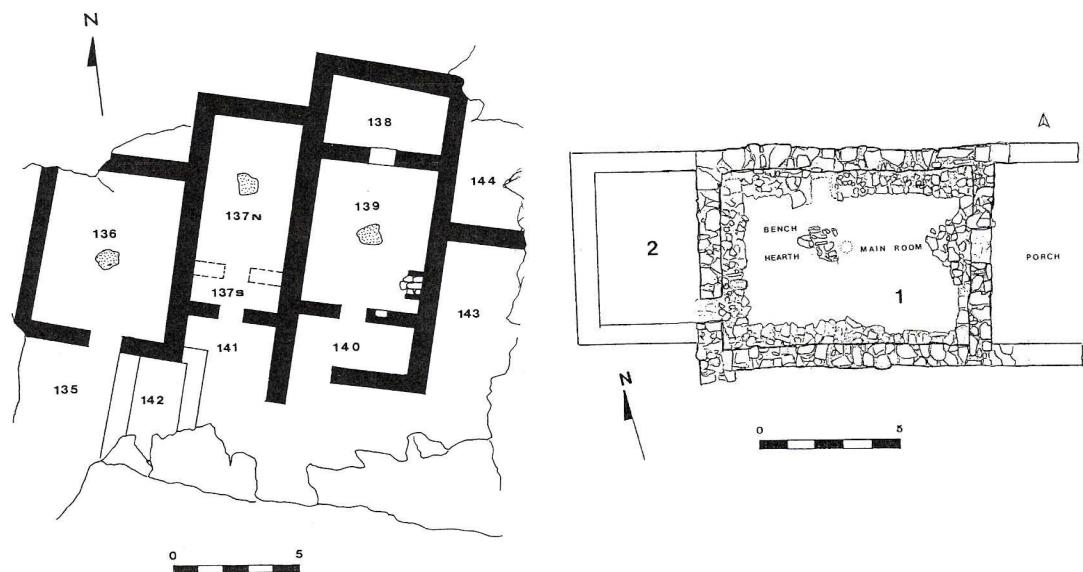


Fig. 82. Plan of Unit 135-144 at Karphi.

Fig. 83. Plan of Building A at Smari.

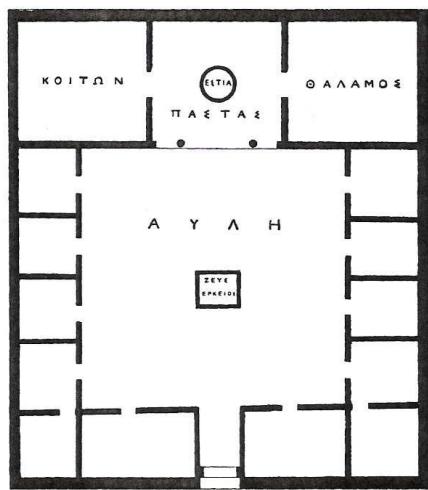


Fig. 84. Plan of the primitive Greek house.

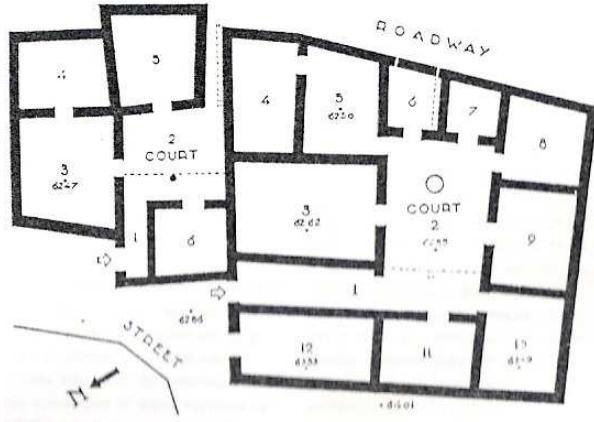


Fig. 85. Plan of two houses in Athens. Fifth century BC.

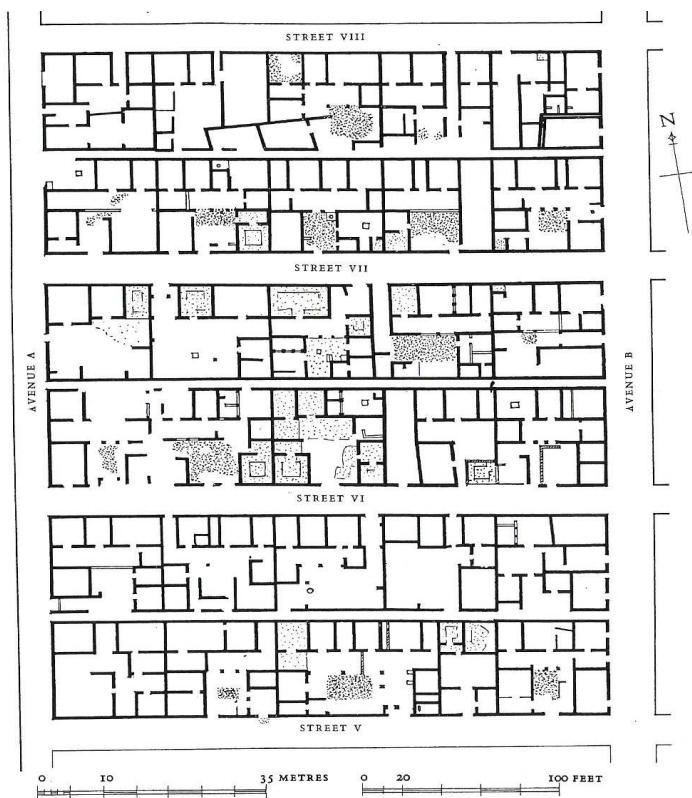


Fig. 86. Plan of blocks of houses at Olynthos. c. 430 BC.

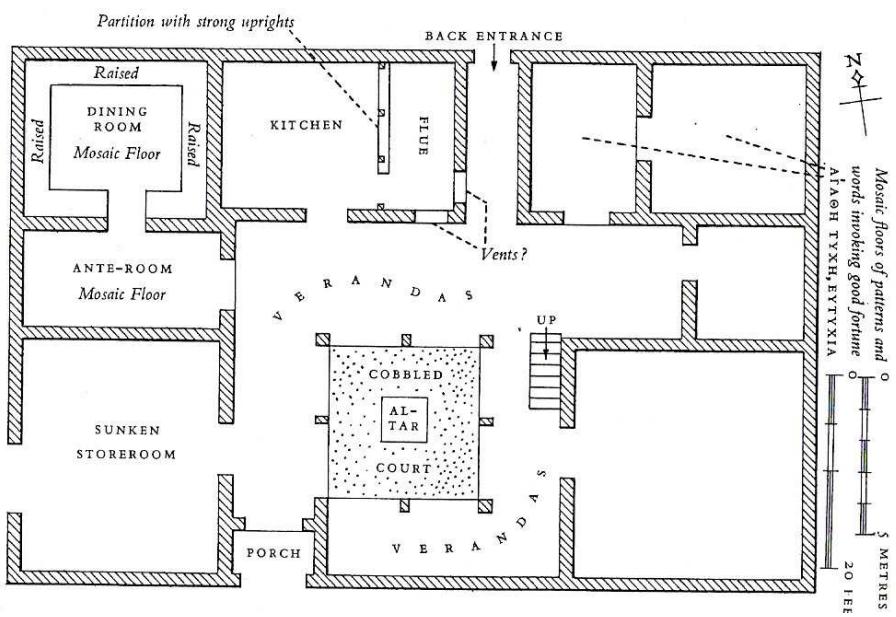


Fig. 87. Restored plan of "Villa of Good Fortune" at Olynthos. c. 400 BC.

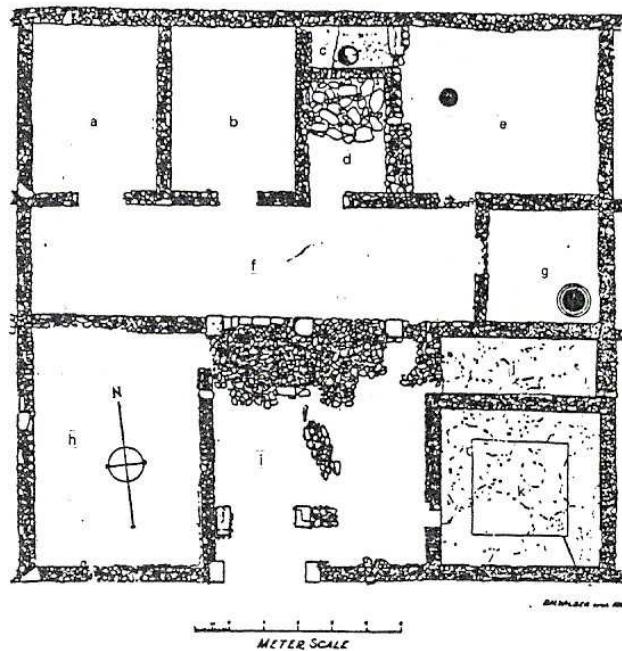


Fig. 88. House on the Northern Hill at Olynthos. Fourth century BC.

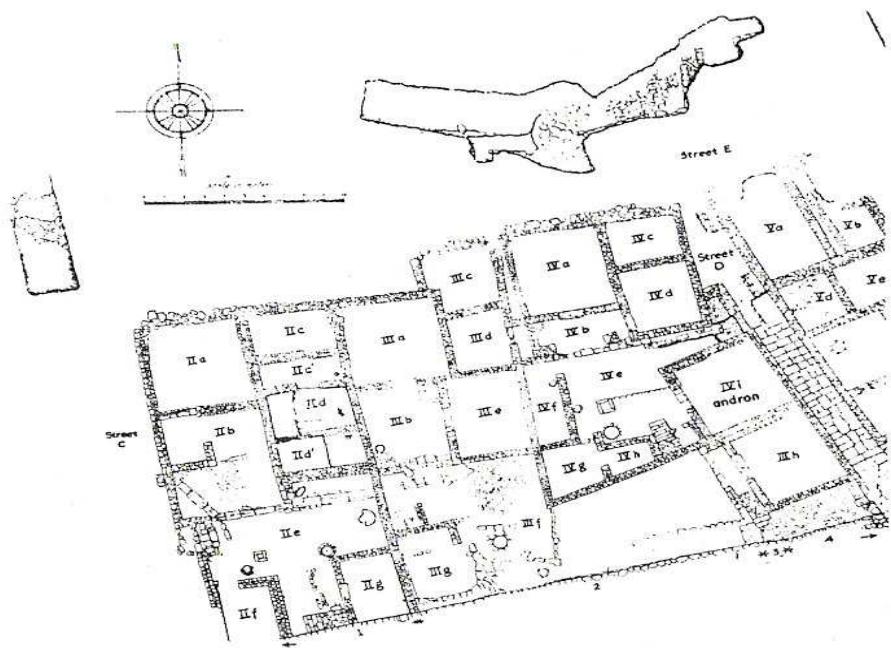


Fig. 89. Houses at Colophon. Fourth century BC.

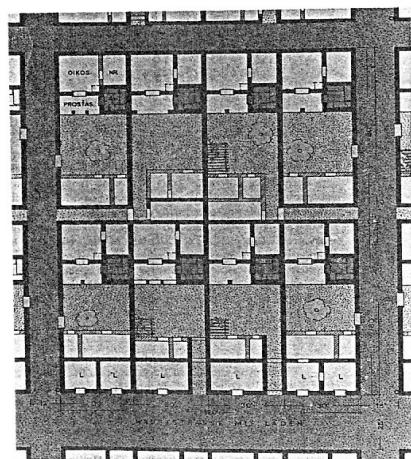


Fig. 90. Houses at Priene. Fourth to second century BC.

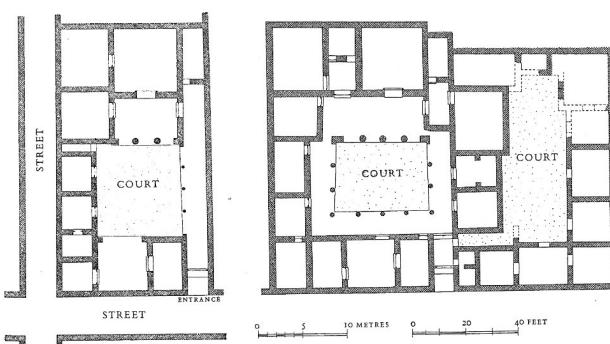
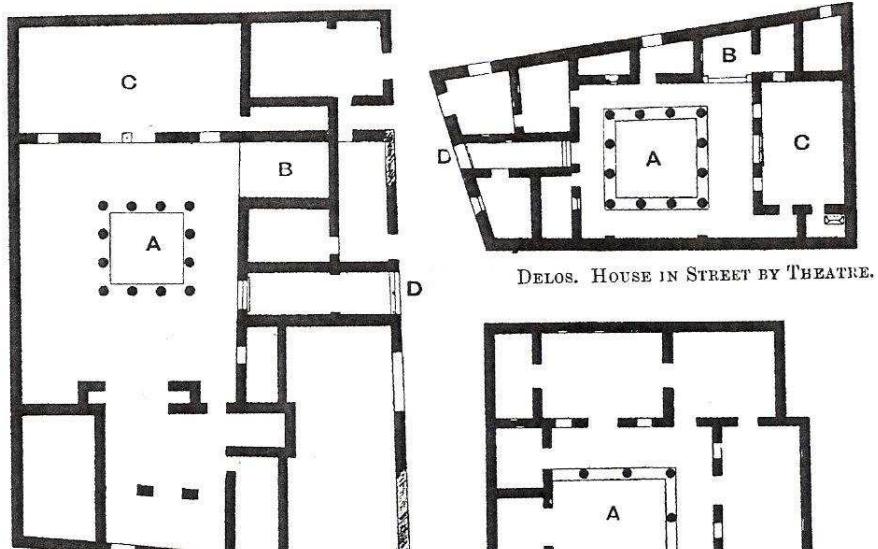
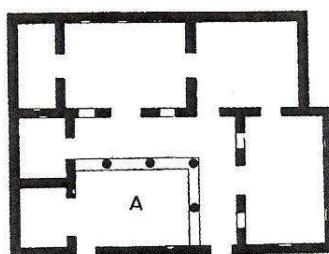


Fig. 91. Plan of a Hellenistic house in original (left) and later forms.

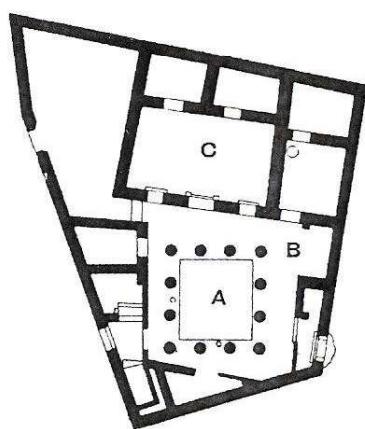


DELOS. HOUSE IN STREET BY THEATRE.

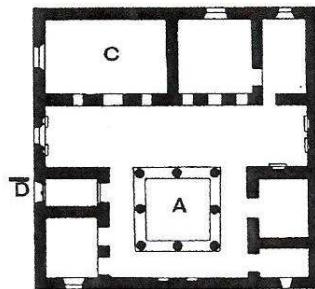
DELOS. HOUSE W. OF SACRED LAKE.



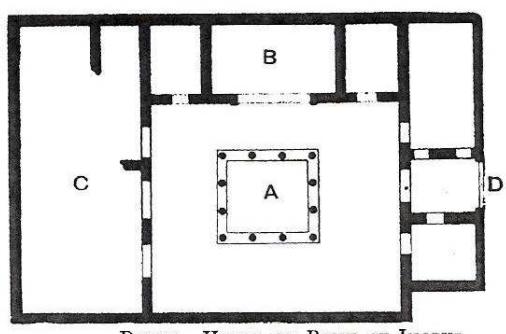
DELOS. HOUSE ABOVE INOPUS.



DELOS. HOUSE N. OF SACRED LAKE.



DELOS. HOUSE AT TOP OF HILL.



DELOS. HOUSE ON BANK OF INOPUS.

A. Court. B. Pastas or corresponding recess. C. Andron. D. Front Door.

Fig. 92. Plan of houses at Delos. Fifth and fourth centuries BC.

APPENDICES

A. EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS WITH INVITATION TO XENIA

Athens

SEG X, 108, 27-29

416/5 BC

[καλέσαι] / δὲ αὐτὸν [καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια / εἰς τὸ πρυτ]ανεῖον εἰς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite him (a proxenos from Knidos) to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.” (Miller. 1978: 143).

IG II², 567, 21-22

late 4th century BC

καλέ[σαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Πριηνέων ἐπὶ ξένια] / εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite the embassy of the Priene to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.” (Miller. 1978: 163).

IG II², 95, 9-11

377/6 BC

[ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to honor Apollonides (a proxenos) and invite him to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.” (Miller. 1978: 151).

IVM 37, 36-37

ca. 200 BC

ἐπαινέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ / ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

Resolved... “to invite them (ambassadors from Magnesia) to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.” (Miller. 1978: 166).

IG II², 985, 10-11

ca. 150 BC

[καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς / τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς α[ὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite him (a Milesian) to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.”
(Miller. 1978: 167).

Delos

Michel 852B, 18

late 3rd century BC

ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς κ[αὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ] / ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον [εἰς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to honor the ambassadors (of Cyzicus) and invite them to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.”

Apollonia

IVM 45, 45-47

ca. 207 BC

[δόμεν δ' αὐτοῖς] καὶ ξένια τὰ / [μέγιστα ἐκ] τῶν [νόμων κα]ὶ [κλ]ηθῆμεν αὐτοὺς / εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον [εἰς] τὰν [κ]οινὰν ἔστιαν.

Resolved... “that we should give the greatest amount of Xenia lawful to them (proxenoi in Magnesia) and call them into the prytaneion to the common hearth.”
(Miller. 1978: 135).

Akraiphiai

IG VII, 4131, 35-35

mid 2nd century BC

καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ξένια εἰς [τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν / κοινὴν ἔστιαν καὶ ἀπολογίσασθαι τὸ ἄλωμα πρὸς τοὺς / κατόπτας.

Resolved... “to invite them (ambassadors from Larissa) to Xenia in the prytaneion at the common hearth and to make an account of the things at hand for their expense.”
(Miller. 1978: 135).

**B. EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS WITH INVITATION TO
*DEIPNON***

Athens

IG II², 1, 37-38

405 BC

[καλέσαι δ' Εῦμ]αχον ε[πὶ δ]εῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυτανέον / [ἐς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite Eumachos to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

IG II², 188, 12-13

ante 353/2 BC

[καλέσαι δὲ καὶ [.....] ἐς τὸ πρυτα[νεῖον εἰς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite [?] (a proxenos) to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

Hesperia 4 (1935) 526, 44-45

226/5 BC

καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐις τὸ πρυτα/νεῖον εἰς αὔριον

Resolved... “to invite him (Prytanis of Karystos) to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

Halicarnassos

Michel 452, 10-11

late 4th century BC

καλέσαι δὲ αὐτ[ὸν] / καὶ εἰς πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

Resolved... “to invite him (Zenodotos of Troizen) to Deipnon in the prytaneion.” (Miller. 1978: 192).

Samos

Ath. Mitt. 72 (1957) 176, 5-6

2nd century BC

[καλέσαι δὲ]ίστρατον ἐπὶ / [δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτα]νεῖον αὔριον

Resolved... “to invite ...istros to Deipnon in the prytaneion next day.” (Miller. 1978: 210).

Exceptions to the rule:

Athens

IG II², 21, 17-18

390-89 BC

κα[λέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς / τὸ πρυτανέι]ον εἰς αὔρ[ιον]

Resolved... “to invite (the ambassador of King Seuthes) to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

SEG XXI, 230, 4-6

ca. 377 BC

[κ/αλ]έσαι δὲ [τὸς πρέσβες τοὺς ἥ]κοντα[ς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς / τὸ] πρυτ[ανεῖον ἐς αὔριον]

Resolved... “to invite the ambassadors who have arrived (from Arethousa in Euboea) to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

Xenia and Deipnon

Athens

IG II², 102, 13-16

375-73 BC

κ[αὶ καλέσ]αι ἐπὶ ξένια του[ς / πρέ]σβεις [τοὺς παρ' Ἀμύντῳ καὶ τοὺς π[ε]μφθ]έντα[ς ύπο τῷ δῆμῳ] ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς/ [τὸ πρυτανέι]ον εἰς αὔρ]ιον

Resolved... “to invite the ambassadors from Amyntas to Xenia and those sent by the Demos to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day.”

IG II², 127, 30-34

356/5 BC

κα[λέσ]αι ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς / [τὸ πρυτανέιον εἰς] α[ὔριον· ἐπαινέσ]αι δὲ καὶ Πεισιάνα[κ/τα καί καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυταν]είον εἰς ἄυριο/ [ν· καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸς πρέσβες τὸς ἥ]κοντας παρὰ τ/ [ῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων εἰς τ[ὸ] π[ρ]ο[τ]ανείον [ε]ἰς αὔριον.

Resolved... “to invite them (the brother and ambassador of King Ketriporis) to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day; to honor Peisianax (the Athenian ambassador to Ketriporis) and invite him to Deipnon in the prytaneion on the next day; to invite the ambassadors who have come from the other kings to Xenia in the prytaneion on the next day.”

C. EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS WITH INVITATION TO SITESIS

Athens

IG II², 77, 4-18

431-421 BC

[έναι τὸν σίτεσιν τὸν εἰμὶ πρυτανείον πρῶτον μὲν τῷ [ἱεροφάντει γενομένῳ κατὰ τὰ π[α]τρια· ἔπειτα τοῖσι Ἀρμ/ [οδίο καὶ τοῖσι Ἀριστογείτονος, ἡσ ἄν ἐι ἐγγυτάτῳ γένος / [άει ho πρεσβύτατος, ἐναι κ]αὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸν σίτεσι[ν κ]αὶ ε[κ/γόνοισι] υπάρχεν δορεισ]ν παρὰ Ἀθεναίον κατὰ τὰ [δ]εδομ/ [ένα· καὶ τὸν μάντεον ἡσ ἄν] ho Ἀπόλλον ἀνέλ[ει] ἐχ[σ]εγόμε/ [νος τὰ νόμιμα λαβεν πάντα]ς σίτεσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσ ἄν / [ἀνέλει τὸν σίτεσιν ἐναι] αὐτοῖσι κατὰ ταῦτα. καὶ[ὶ] οπόσ/οι νενικέκασι Ὁλυμπίασι] ἐ Πυθοὶ ἐ hΙσθμοὶ ἐ Νεμέ[αι τὸς γ/υμνικὸς ἀγόνας, ἐναι αὐτ]οῖσι τὸν σίτεσιν ἐν πρυτανε[ίοι] καὶ ἄλλας ιδίαι τιμᾶς π]ρὸς τει σιτεσι κατὰ τα[ύτα], ε[πε/ιτα λαβεν τὸν σίτεσιν ἐν] τῷ πρυτανείοι ho[π]όσο[ι τεθρί/πποι τελείοι ἐ hίπποι κ]έλετι νενι[κ]έκασι Ὁλυμπίασι ἐ / Πυθοὶ ἐ hΙσθμοὶ ἐ Νεμέια ἐ] νικέσσοσι τὸ λοιπο[ν]. ἐναι [δὲ αὐτ/οίσι τὰς τιμᾶς κατὰ τὰ ἐς τ]ὴν στέλε[ν] γεγραμ[μ]ένα.

"First there shall be Sitesis in the prytaneion for him who is the Hierophantes according to custom; then for whomever is the oldest male descendant of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, to them shall be the gift according to the grants of the Athenians; and to all those of the Manteis whom Apollo the expounder of customs should choose to have Sitesis, to these shall be Sitesis in the same way. Also those who have won the gymnastic games at Olympia or Delphi or Isthmia or Nemea shall have Sitesis in the prytaneion and other honors in addition to Sitesis in the same way; then those shall have Sitesis in the prytaneion who have won a four horse chariot race or a horse race at Olympia or Delphi or Isthria or Nemea, or shall win in the future. They shall have the honors according to the things written on the stele."

IG II², 385b, 16-17

319/8 BC

[εῖνα]ὶ δὲ αὐ[τω]ὶ καὶ σίτησιν ἐμὶ πρυτανείωι καὶ ἐκ/γ]ό[νω]ν ἀεὶ τω̄ι πρεσβυτάτωι]

Resolved... "that he (Aristonikos of Karystos) and the oldest of his descendants shall have Sitesis in the prytaneion forever."

IG II², 646, 64-65

295/4 BC

[εῖναι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σίτησιν ἐμ πρυτ/ [ανείωι καὶ ἐκγ]ό[νω]ν ἀεὶ τῷ
πρεσβυτ[ά/τῷ]

Resolved... “that he (Herodoros) and the oldest of his descendants shall have Sitiesis
in the prytaneion forever.”

SEG XXIV, 135, 51-52

ca. 170 BC

[εῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σίτησ[ιν ἐμ πρ]υτανείωι αἱτησαμένωι κ]α/τὰ τοὺς
νό]μους

Resolved... “that he (Menodoros, a citizen) having requested it shall have Sitesis in
the prytaneion according to custom.”

IG II², 1990, 9

61/2

σείπησιν ἐν πρυ[τα]νείωι διὰ βίου

AD

Resolved... “that he (Epiktetes, a kosmetes of the ephebes) is to have Sitesis in the
prytaneion for life.”

Hesperia 10 (1941) 87, 20

AD 203

.... δ]ὲ σίτεσιν ἔχειν / [...]

Resolved... “that (C. Fulvius Plautianus) shall have Sitesis.”

Miletus

OGIS 213, 39

306-293 BC

δεδοσθ[αί δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σίτεσιν] ἐν πρυτανείωι

Resolved... “to grant him (Prince Antiochus, son of Seleukos I) Sitesis in the
prytaneion.”

Ilion

Michel 527, 20

3rd century BC

εῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν πρυτανείωι σίτησιν

Resolved... “that they (four brothers from Tenedos) shall have Sitesis in the
prytaneion.”

Aigina

Michel 340, 45 ca.

150 BC

ὑπάρχε[ι]ν δὲ αὐ[τ]ῷ καὶ σίτη/[σ]ιν ἐν πρυτανείωι διὰ βίου.

Resolved... “that Sitesis in the prytaneion be his (Kleon of Pergamon, governor of Aigina) for life.”

Priene

IVP 113

ca. 84 BC

6-7: καὶ σειτήσει ἐν πρυτανεί/ῳ ἐμ Πανιωνίῳ

108: ὑπάρχην δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείωι καὶ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ

6-7: “(The Boule and the Demos honor Aulus Aemilius Zosimos) ...and with Sitesis in the prytaneion and the Panionion.”

108: “He shall have Sitesis in the prytaneion and the Panionion.”