

The Tritopatreion in the Kerameikos, Athens

CS 9532A

Greek Sanctuaries without Temples

Instructor: Dr. Gino Canlas

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Mondays, 2:30-5:30, Lawson 3220

Instructor

My name is Dr. Gino Canlas and I will be your instructor for CS 9532 001. Please call me Gino. I have been a field archaeologist in Greece since 2009. I specialize in the archaeology of Greek sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. I predominantly work in the region of Thessaly where I will eventually be starting a new archaeological field school for Western. Please feel free to email me or come to my office with any questions about the course or the Classical World in general.

Course Description

When most people think of Greek sanctuaries, they often picture places like the Athenian Acropolis, Olympia, or Delphi, with monumental temples dominating their mental images. Temples, however, were not a necessary component of a Greek sanctuary. In this seminar, we will cover the different types of sanctuaries without any temples (e.g. rural shrines, springs, caves, groves, peaks, etc.) and their roles in various aspects of life, including politics, memory, festivals, rites of passage, and identity formation. We will examine the archaeological problems inherent in the study of these often-overlooked sites, as well as challenge definitions of monumentality. Students will engage with scholarship and case studies from across the Greek world and will be encouraged to question how sacred space was defined, recognized, and experienced in the absence of temples.

Learning Outcomes and Objectives

By the end of the course, students will be familiar with:

- 1) the different forms of sanctuaries that did not contain temples
- 2) the state of the discourse on Greek sanctuaries in general
- 3) the problems inherent in interpreting sites without architecture
- 4) problematizing and nuancing definitions of and assumptions about Greek sanctuaries

Assessment

This is a discussion-based seminar course. The success of the class discussions depends largely on the level of your preparation and willingness to participate. In addition to your project and term paper, you will be assessed on your class presentations and on your level of participation and engagement in class discussions. You will also be evaluated for leading one of the seminars.

Class participation: 15% Seminar facilitation: 20% Project: 25% (Dec 9)

Paper: 40% (Dec 16)

Seminar Facilitation:

Students will take turns facilitating the seminar every week. Within the first two weeks of the term, you will be expected to select a week in which you will give a presentation on the week's topic and readings. The presentation itself should not be more than thirty minutes. The facilitator's presentation should be informed by the readings I assigned, but don't be afraid to offer your own views, or bring in

material not on the syllabus (this can include but are not limited to other articles you've read, inscriptions, ancient literary sources, insight on certain archaeological sites, or modern popular culture). A Powerpoint is mandatory. Additional handouts are also allowed but not necessary. Your presentation will be assessed on clarity, originality, and argumentation. We will agree on a schedule for presentations in the first week.

Each week, you will be given some background readings on your topic as well as a list of sanctuaries that are relevant to the topic. You are required to present on the background readings but **can choose only two of the sanctuaries** to discuss. Your discussion of the two sanctuaries should be succinct.

When discussing the two sanctuaries, you will need to answer the following questions:

- 1) How do we know what we know?
- 2) What are the problems with interpreting the site?
- 3) What do we know about the layout of the sanctuary?
- 4) What sorts of activities occurred at the sanctuary?

Be careful when choosing your two sanctuaries because **you will not be allowed to create your StoryMap on those two sanctuaries.** Once you've chosen your two sanctuaries, you need to inform the class (at least a week in advance) so they can also prepare those readings. There should be one reading per sanctuary for the rest of the class (not for you though; you read what you need for your presentation).

In addition to the presentation of that week's theme, you will guide the class discussion for that day. You will prepare questions for the class to discuss. You should have enough questions to keep the class talking for the entire duration of the class. I want you to make sure that it is not just a few voice that are dominating the conversation every week and that the tone of the class stays respectful.

Readings

All readings will be posted on OWL Brightspace. There is no textbook nor anything you are expected to buy. Although only one person will present in each class, I expect everyone to have read the assigned readings, and thought carefully about the presentation topics. This means, I will expect everyone to be able to engage with the presentation, interact with the arguments made in class, and contribute your opinions.

A small number of articles will not be in English. Some are in Modern Greek, German, French, etc. Classics is a multilingual field and you cannot simply ignore scholarship in other languages, unlike in other disciplines. Use any online tools at your disposal to help read these articles. This is good practice if you want to pursue a career in Classics.

Class Participation

Every week, you should come prepared and able to share (for 3-5 minutes) an aspect of the readings that you found interesting, noteworthy, incorrect, horrendous, thought-provoking, etc. This is also a

good opportunity to connect the non-classics readings to Ancient Greece and its sanctuaries. Every class, as soon as you enter, you will roll a die (d20) to determine the order of who will share their thoughts on the readings.

Your participation grade will be based on the quantity and quality of your participation.

StoryMap Assignment

You will create a StoryMap via ArcGIS StoryMaps, on one of the sanctuaries from the list provided in the bibliography below. You may also suggest a sanctuary to do, but you will have to confer with me first. You will need to fill out a sign-up sheet within the first two weeks of class (the link to the sign-up sheet is on OWL). Your StoryMap should guide us through a sanctuary that was not one of the two sanctuaries you presented in class. It should spatially orient your audience, providing a geographic and historical overview of the sanctuary. It does not have to include every time period of the sanctuary; you only need to discuss the time periods during which the sanctuary did not have any temples. It should include as many high quality maps, images, videos, and other illustrations as you can gather.

It should:

- 1) have a satellite image of your sanctuary with important locations labelled
- 2) discuss rituals/activities at the sanctuary
- 3) discuss the archaeological problems/issues related to this sanctuary.

In addition to the StoryMap, you will create a 15-minute presentation of your StoryMap. Guide us through your StoryMap, highlighting the most important topological aspects of the sanctuary. You will not talk about every single part of your StoryMap. For the presentation, I want you to focus on the three things listed above. Any historical context should not take more than 2 minutes and I don't want you to belabour yourself with describing the layout of the sanctuary; that is what the StoryMap is for, not the presentation itself. There will be 15 minutes of questions afterwards.

Exam

There will be no exams or midterms for this class. I can't promise there won't be a pop quiz.

The Paper

This should be a professionally-written paper on a topic of your choosing, although I would recommend that your topic be related to the sanctuary you chose for your StoryMap OR one of the two sanctuaries you presented during your day of Seminar Facilitation. Any of the sanctuaries listed below would be good topics, but you cannot pick a sanctuary someone else has chosen.

POLICIES AND EXPECTATIONS

Email Policy

Please be professional in all your emails. In the subject headings of all your emails, please include CS 9532A. This will make it easier for me to keep track of all your emails. I will aim to answer your emails within two business days but sometimes your professors get super busy and we can't always get to your email in time so if that happens, please just send a reminder email to make sure your email hasn't gotten lost in the ether.

Electronic Devices and AI

In this course, students are permitted to use AI tools exclusively for information gathering and preliminary research purposes. These tools are intended to enhance the learning experience by providing access to diverse information sources. However, it is essential that students critically evaluate the obtained information, exercise independent thinking, and engage in original research to synthesize and develop their own ideas, arguments, and perspectives. The use of AI tools can serve as a starting point for exploration; however, students are expected to uphold academic integrity by appropriately attributing all sources and avoiding plagiarism. Assignments should reflect the students' own thoughts and independent written work. By adhering to these guidelines, students contribute to a responsible and ethical learning environment that promotes critical thinking, independent inquiry and allows them to produce original written contributions.

Absences and Assessment Policies

Absences

If medical accommodations due to mental or physical health or other circumstances become necessary, contact me, your supervisor, or the Graduate Chair. Accommodations for graduate students are handled in-house.

Academic Accommodation and Accessible Education

Academic Accommodation is "a means of adjusting the academic activities associated with a course or program of student in order to permit students with disabilities to participate in those activities at the University and to fulfill the essential requirements of a course or program."

 $\underline{https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academicpolicies/appeals/Academic\%2oAccommodationdisabilities.pdf.}$

Students with disabilities are encouraged to register with *Accessible Education* at the earliest opportunity. "Accessible Education plays a central role in Western's efforts to ensure that its academic programs are accessible for all students"

https://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html

Support Services

Mental Health Support

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (https://uwo.ca/health/) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Gender-based and sexual violence

Western University is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence (GBSV) and providing compassionate support to anyone who is going through or has gone through these traumatic events. If you are experiencing or have experienced GBSV (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at the following website:

https://www.uwo.ca/health/studentsupport/survivorsupport/get-help.html.

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

Learning Development and Success

Counsellors at the Learning Development and Success Centre https://learning.uwo.ca are ready to help you improve your learning skills. They offer presentations on strategies for improving time management, multiple-choice exam preparation/writing, textbook reading, and more. Individual support is offered throughout the Fall/Winter terms in the drop-in Learning Help Centre, and year-round through individual counselling.

USC Additional student-run support services are offered by the USC, https://westernusc.ca/services/.



The Menelaion of Sparta

COURSE SCHEDULE and READINGS

This is still subject to change.

Week 1 Introduction

Sep. 8

Week 2 Topic: Early Greek Sanctuaries

Sep 15

- Morgan, C. 2024. "Adding Buildings to Early Iron Age Sanctuaries." In *The Stuff of the Gods. The Material Aspects of Religion in Ancient Greece*, pp. 149-166. Swedish Institute in Athens.
- Mazarakis-Ainian, A. 2016. "Early Greek Temples." In M. Miles (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Architecture*, pp. 15-30. John Wiley and Sons.
- Dietrich, B. 1991. "Aegean Sanctuaries: Form and Function." *Studies in the History of Art* 32: 140-149.
- Larson, J. 2007. "A Land Full of Gods" in *A Companion to Greek Religion*. Blackwell.
- Buxton, R. 1994. "Chapter 6: Landscape." *Imaginary Greece*, pp. 80-113. CUP.
- De Polignac, F. 1995. "Chapter 1: Cults, Offerings, and Sanctuaries." *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, pp. 11-41.

Week 3 Topic: Peaks

Sep 22

- Belis, A.M. "Chapter 2: Mountaintop Sanctuaries in Greek Religion and Society." *Fire on the Mountain: A Comprehensive Study of Greek Mountaintop Sanctuaries*, pp. 41-95. PhD Dissertation. Princeton University.
- Wiznura, A. and C. Williamson. 2021. "Mountains of Memory: Triangulating Landscape, Cult and Regional Identity through Zeus." Pharos 24: 77-112.
- Langdon, M.K. 2000. "Mountains in Greek Religion." *The Classical World* 93.5: 461-470.

Week 4 Topic: Caves

Sep 29

- Katsarou, S. 2021. "Chapter 2: The Dawn of Ancient Greek Cave Cult." In Katsarou and Nagel (eds.). Cave and Worship in Ancient Greece: New Approaches to Landscape and Ritual. Routledge.
- Yioutsos, N.P. 2013. "Cave Dancing in Ancient Greece." In R. Poignault (ed.), Présence de la danse dans l'Antiquité, présence de l'Antiquité dans la danse. Actes du colloque tenu à Clermont-Ferrand du 11 au 13 décembre 2008, pp. 35-55.
- Bowe, P. 2013. "The Garden Grotto: Its Origin in the Ancient Greek Perception of the Natural Cave." Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes, 33.2: 128-138.

Week 5

Oct 6

Topic: Groves

- Birge, D.E. 1982. "Chapter 1: Introduction." *Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World*, pp. 1-15. PhD Dissertation. UC Berkeley.
- Carroll, M. 2017. "The Sacred Places of the Immortal Ones." In J. Woudstra and C. Roth (eds.), *A History of Groves*, pp. 13-33.
- Barnett, R. 2007. "Sacred Groves: Sacrifice and the Order of Nature in Ancient Greek Landscapes." *Landscape Journal* 26.2: 252-269.

Week 6

Oct 13 Week 7

Oct 20

No Class (Thanksgiving Weekend)

Topic: Springs, Rivers, and Fountains

- Glaser, F. 2000. "Fountains and Nymphaea." In O. Wikander. *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology*, pp. 413-451. Brill.
- Bremmer, J. "Rivers and River Gods in Ancient Greek Religion and Culture." In T.S. Scheer, *Natur Mythos Religion im antiken Griechenland,* pp. 89-112. Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Robinson, B.A. 2017. "Fountains as Reservoirs of Myth and Memory." In G. Hawes, *Myths on the Map: The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, pp. 178-203. OUP.
- Klingborg, P. et al. 2023. "Ritual Usage of Water in Greek Sanctuaries." *Klio* 105.1: 1-50.

Pick three of the above.

Week 8

Oct 27

Topic: Hero Shrines

- Antonaccio, C.M. 1993. "The Archaeology of Ancestors." In Dougherty and Kurke (eds.), *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*, pp. 46-72. CUP.
- Ekroth, G. 2007. "Heroes and Hero-Cults." In D. Ogden, *A Companion to Greek Religion*, pp. 100-114. Blackwell.
- Ekroth, G. 2002. "The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods." *Kernos Supplement* 12

READING WEEK

Week 9

Nov 10

Topic: Altars

- Ekroth, G. 2022. "Rings, Pits, Bones and Ash: Greek Altars in Context." *Acta Archaeologica* 93.1: 161-177.
- Harrington, A. 2024. "Chapter 12. Untempled Altars: Ritualized Space Beyond the Temenos in Ancient Priene." In Leach et al. (eds.), Revelation and Material Religion in the Roman East Essays in Honor of Steven J. Friesen.
- Yavis, C.G. 1949. *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology*. St. Louis University Press. [Read pp. 54-58, 87-96, 140-141, and skim the different types of altars in the rest of it; don't read those parts too thoroughly]

Week 10

Nov 17

Topic: Dining

- Scullion, S. 2013. "Bones in Greek Sanctuaries: Answers and Questions." In Ekroth and Wallensten (eds.), *Bones, Behaviour and Belief: The Zooarchaeological Evidence as a Source for Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece and Beyond*, pp. 243-256. Swedish Institute in Athens.
- MacKinnon, M. "What's for Dinner? The 'Menu' in Greek Sanctuaries." In Barringer et al., *Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries: Exploring the Human Experience of Visiting the Gods*, pp. 158-175. Brill.
- Gimatzidis, S. 2011. "Feasting and offering to the Gods in early Greek sanctuaries: Monumentalisation and miniaturisation in pottery." *Pallas* 86: 75-96.
- "Chapter 5. Killing, Dining, Communicating." *On Greek Religion*, pp. 124-170.

Pick three of the above.

Week 11

Nov 24

Topic: Votives

- Mili, M. 2024. "Why Did the Greek Gods Need Objects?" In Haysom et al. (eds.), *The Stuff of the Gods. The Material Aspects of Religion in Ancient Greece*, pp. 25-34. Swedish Institute in Athens.
- Sporn, K. 2021. "The Face of Cave Rituals: Terracotta Figurines in Greek Sacred Caves." In Katsarou and Nagel (eds.), *Cave and Worship in Ancient Greece: New Approaches to Landscape and Ritual*, pp. 167-187. Routledge.
- Hughes, J. 2018. "Tiny and Fragmented Votive Offerings from Classical Antiquity." In R. Martin and S.M. Langin-Cooper (eds.), *The Tiny and the Fragmented: Miniature, Broken, or Otherwise Incomplete Objects in the Ancient World*. OUP.

Week 12

Dec 1

Bringing it all together. Presentation on Thessaly by the Instructor

(Readings to be assigned later)

Week 13

Dec 9

StoryMap Presentations

Bibliography

Peaks

Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos

Langdon, M.K. 1976. A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos. Hesperia Supplement 16.

Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion

See Wiznura and Williamson 2021 above.

https://www.lykaionexcavation.org/ [excellent resource; plunder for bibliography]

Sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios, Rhodes

Rocco, G. and M. Livadiotti. 2023. "The Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Atavyros, Rhodes: Some Preliminary Notes on its Architecture." In Stefanakis et al. (eds.), *Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese during the First Millennium BC*, pp. 220-231. Archaeopress.

Sanctuary of Zeus Stratios near Amaseia

Williamson, C. 2014. "Power, Politics, and Panoramas: Viewing the Sacred Landscape of Zeus Stratios near Amaseia." In Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Space, Place, and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, pp. 175-247.

Caves

Korykian Cave

Péchoux, P.-Y. 1981. L'antre corycien. Vol. 1. EFA. [In Weldon]

Péchoux, P.-Y. 1984. L'antre corycien. Vol. 2. EFA. [In Weldon]

Vari Cave

Laferrière, C.M. 2019. "Sacred Sounds: The Cult of Pan and the Nymphs in the Vari Cave." *Classical Antiquity* 38.2: 185-216.

Diktaian Cave (Psychro), Crete

Rutkowski, B., and N. Krzysztof. 1996. *The Psychro Cave and Other Sacred Grottoes in Crete.* Art and Archaeology. [In Weldon].

Watrous, L.V. 1996. The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: a Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete. UT Austin. [In Weldon Oversize]

Idaean Cave, Crete

Chapter 3 of Katsarou and Nagel 2021.

Cave of the Nymphs, Pharsalos

Wagman, R. 2016. The Cave of the Nymphs at Pharsalus: Studies on a Thessalian Country Shrine. Brill. GC

Nekyomanteion at Tainaron

Gardner, C. 2021. "Oracle of the Dead at Ancient Tainaron: Reconsidering the Literary and Archaeological Evidence." *Hesperia* 90.2: 339-358.

[You can also pick any of the cave sanctuaries in Katsarou and Nagel except for the Polis Cave]

Groves

The Altis at Olympia

Barringer, J. 2021. "Chapter 1: The Shape of the Altis and Practical Matters." *Olympia: A Cultural History*, pp. 34-62. De Gruyter.

Barringer, J. 2021. "Chapter 2: The Archaic Period, c. 600-480 BC." Olympia: A Cultural History, pp. 63-103. De Gruyter.

Scott, M. "Chapter 6: Olympia 650-479." Delphi and Olympia, pp. 146-180. CUP.

The Valley of the Muses near Mount Helikon

Biard, G., Y. Kalliontzis, and A. Charami. 2017. "La base des Muses au sanctuaire de l'Hélicon". *BCH* 141.2: 697-752.

The Sanctuary of Zeus, Dodona

Chapinal-Heras, D. "Chapter 2: A History of the Development of Dodona from Archaic to Classical Times". 2021. Experiencing Dodona: The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times, pp. 8-51. De Gruyter.

Vasileiou, E. 2020. "Revisiting Prebuilding Dodona." Documenta Praehistorica 47: 404-410.

The Heroon of Opheltes, Nemea

Bravo III, J.J. 2018. "Chapter One: The Physical Remains." *Excavations at Nemea IV: The Shrine of Opheltes*, pp. 3-78. University of California Press.

Springs, Fountains, Rivers

Sacred Spring at Corinth

Kopestonsky, T.B. 2019. "Offerings, Ritual, and Water: the Case of the Sacred Spring at Corinth." In I. Fumadó Ortega et al. (eds.), *Ancient Waterlands*, pp. 51-66. Archéologies Méditerranéennes.

Castalian Spring

Bommelaer, J.-F. "Chapitre IV: Castalie." Guide de Delphes : le site, pp. 81-85.

Amandry, P. 1977. "Notes de topographie et d'architecture delphiques : Vi. La fontaine de Castalie," *BCH Suppl.* 4: 179-228.

Nekyomanteion of the Acheron, Ephyra

Forsén, B. 2022. "Oracle of the Dead, Farmstead, or Trading Station? Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of Archaeological Remains." In P. Halinen, V. Heyd, K. Mannermaa (eds.), *Oodeja*

Mikalle: Juhlakirja professori Mika Lavennolle hänen täyttäessään 60 vuotta, 139-146.. The Archaeological Society of Finland.

Ogden, D. 2002. "Chapter 4: The Acheron Nekuomanteion." *Greek and Roman Oracles Necromancy*, 43-60. De Gruyter.

The "Rawson Deposit"

Barfoed, S. 2017. "The Rawson Deposit: Evidence of an Archaic Spring Shrine near the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea." *Hesperia* 86: 645-722.

Hero-Shrines

Tritopatreion, Kerameikos, Athens

Stroszeck, J. 2010. "Das Heiligtum des Tritopatores im Kerameikos von Athen." In Freilinghaus and

Stroszeck (eds.), Neue Forschungen zu griechischen Städten und Heiligtümern. Festschrift für B. Wesenberg zum 65. Geburtstag. Bibliopolis.

Triangular Shrine, Athenian Agora

Lalonde, G. 1980. "A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora." Hesperia 49.1: 97-105.

Pelopeion, Olympia

Ekroth, G. "Pelops Joins the Party: Transformations of a Hero Cult within the Festival at Olympia." In Brandt, J.R. and J.W. Iddeng (eds.), *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*, pp. 95-138. OUP.

The "Cave of Odysseus", Polis Bay, Ithaka

Morgan, C. and C. Hayward. 2021. "Caves and Consumption: The Case of Polis Bay, Ithaca." In Katsarou and Nagel (eds.), *Cave and Worship in Ancient Greece: New Approaches to Landscape and Ritual*, pp. 70-92. Routledge.

Stand-Alone Altars

Altar of Zeus at Pergamon

Stewart, A. 2014. "Focus I: The Great Altar of Pergamon." *Art in the Hellenistic World: An Introduction*, pp. 105-113. CUP. [I also recommend reading the next four chapters in the book, which continue the discussion about the Altar]

Altar of Olympian Zeus, Dion

Παντερμαλής, Δ. 2000. «Δίον 1998. Εκατόμβες και Σωτηρία». $AEM\Theta$ 12: 291-298. [Read about the tethering rings for cattle specifically]

Παντερμαλής, Δ. 1989. «Το ιερό του Ολυμπίου Διός». Αρχαιολογία 33: 12-14.

Kremydi-Sicilianou, S. 2004. Multiple Concealments from the Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion. Three Roman Provincial Coin Hoards. Μελετήματα 35. [Just read the parts where it introduces the Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios]

Sanctuary of Herakles on Mount Oita

Pantos, P. 2018. "Πύρα Ηρακλέους στην Οίτη. Παλιές και νέες ανασκαφές." In M. Papakonstantinou, Ch. Kritzas, and I. Touratsoglou (eds.), Πύρρα. Μελέτες για την αρχαιολογία στην Κεντρική Ελλάδα προς τιμήν της Φανουρίας Δακορώνια, pp. 303-318. Σήμα Εκδοτική.

The Altar of the Twelve Gods, Athenian Agora

Crosby, M. 1949. "The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens." Hesperia Supplements 8: 82-103.

Gadbery, L.M. 1992. "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View." *Hesperia Supplements* 61.4: 447-489.

Camp, J. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*. Yale. [use the index or a word search]

Menelaion of Sparta

Catling, H.W. 1977. "Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973-1976." Archaeological Reports 24-42.

Dining

Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth

Bookidis, N. et al. 1999. "Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth." Hesperia 68.1: 1-54.

Bookidis, N. and R.S. Stroud. 1997. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture.* Corinth Vol. 18.3. *ASCSA*.

Sanctuary of Demeter, Dion

Παντερμαλής, Δ. 1989. «Το ιερό της Δήμητρας». Αρχαιολογία 33: 14-16.

Sanctuary of Apollo, Amyklai

Vlachou, V. 2018. "Feasting at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amykles: The Evidence from the Early Iron Age." In van den Eijnde et al. (eds.), *Mnemosyne Supplements* 414: 93-124.

www.amyklaion.gr [good resource for images and plans]

Votives

Ammerman, R.M. 2021. "Grottoes and the Construction of Cult in Southern Italy." In Katsarou and Nagel (eds.), *Cave and Worship in Ancient Greece: New Approaches to Landscape and Ritual*, pp. 214-248. Routledge. [Any of the grottoes in this chapter can be used for your two sanctuaries because they have so many votive caches]

The Sanctuary on Aspis Hill, Argos

Philippa-Touchais, A. "Chapitre 8. The Archaic Sanctuary on the Aspis Hill. A Tentative Synthesis of the Evidence." *Argos. Les fouilles de l'Aspis*. Études Péloponnésiennes XV, 453-480. Peeters.

The Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou

Kotsonas, A. 2024. "The Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou VII, Vol. 2: The Greek and Roman Pottery." Archaeological Society at Athens. [In Weldon Oversize; site is Bronze Age to 6th c. AD and very newly researched so I highly recommend]

Papasavvas, G. 2019. "Sacred Space and Ritual Behaviour in Early Iron Age Crete: The Case of the Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme." In G. Papantoniou et al. (eds.), *Unlocking Sacred Landscapes: Spatial Analysis of Ritual and Cult in the Mediterranean*, 237-256. Astrom Editions.

Kanta, A. 1991. "Cult, Continuity and the Evidence of Pottery at the Sanctuary of Syme Viannou, Crete." In Musti et al. (eds.), *La transizione dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo: Dal palazzo alla città*, pp. 479-504. CNR.