

# Excavations of Lykaion\*

The Altar and Temenos of Lykaian Zeus

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(153) In 1902 the Archaeological Society decided to investigate and excavate the archaeological areas in Phigalea and Southeastern Arcadia; this task was given to me. Since then I have conducted excavations in Lykosoura, Lykaion and in the nearby areas.<sup>1</sup> In the past year (1903), I dug again at Lykaion, in the hippodrome, as well as in the altar and temenos of Lykaian Zeus. After these last excavations, the investigations were considered complete; I shall thus present the findings below.

The altar and temenos of Lykaian Zeus are thought to be amongst the oldest and most respected sacred sanctuaries in Arcadia; their reputation in later years is mostly due to the human sacrifices for the worship of Zeus, due to his supernatural powers.<sup>2</sup> The relevant ancient excerpts were gathered by Immerwahr.<sup>3</sup> From these, I only use the ones about the topography and the shape of the altar and temenos of Lykaian Zeus. (Quotes from Pausanias, Polybius, and Thucydides: quotes 1-6).

**1)** Paus. VIII, 38, 7. "Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ ὄρους (τοῦ Λυκαίου δηλαδὴ) γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυχαίου βωμός, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλά ἐστὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τὰ γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποίηντο· ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ·

“On the highest point of the mountain is a mound of earth, forming an altar of Lykaian Zeus, and from it most of the Peloponnesus can be seen. Before the altar on the east stand two pillars, on which there were of old gilded eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lycaian Zeus.”

**2)** Paus. VIII, 38, 6. Τὸ δὲ ὄρος παρέχεται τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐς θαῦμα καὶ μάλιστα τόδε. τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λυκαίου Δίος, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις· ὑπεριδόντα δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐσελθόντα....

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<sup>1</sup> *Praktika* 1902, 72-77.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias 8.38.6-8.

<sup>3</sup> Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*

“Among the marvels of Mount Lykaion the most wonderful is this. On it is a precinct of Lycaian Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters...”

3) Paus. VIII, 38, 6. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ τέμενος θηρίου καταφεύγοντος οὐκ ἐθέλει οἱ συνεσπίπτειν ὁ κυνηγέτης, “For this reason when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not rush in after it,”

4) Polyb. IV, 33. Οἱ γὰρ Μεσσηνιοὶ πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ’ Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς... “For besides the many other things I might mention, the Messenians set up in the time of Aristomenes a pillar beside the altar of Lykaian Zeus...”

5) Paus. IV, 22, 7. Τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλλουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Λυκαίου... “So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death and flung him beyond their borders without burial, and set up a tablet in the precinct of Lykaian Zeus ...”

6) Thuc. V, 16, 3. Χρόνω δὲ προτρέψας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτε μετὰ δώρων δοκίσεως ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα (τὸν Πλειστοάνακτα)... “For he (Pleistoanax) had fled for refuge to Mt. Lykaion, on account of his retreat from Attica, that was thought to be due to bribery, and through fear of the Lacedaemonians had occupied at that time a house whereof the half was within the sanctuary of Zeus.”

(154) From these excerpts, it can be concluded (from Pausanias) that on the highest mountain top of Lykaion, there existed an altar of Lykaian Zeus made of earth’s soil similar to a great pile of soil or a tomb. In front of the temenos, to the east, there were two pillars, on top of which stood two golden eagles in ancient times.<sup>4</sup>

(155) On Mt. Lykaion right next to the altar there was a temenos of Lykaian Zeus, which is a delimited space devoted to Zeus. That those two were next to each other can be concluded by the above quotes 4 and 5; moreover according to Polybios, the column of Messenia is next to the altar of Lykaian Zeus, and, according to Pausanias, in the temenos of Lykaion. The entry into the temenos was strictly forbidden and punishable by death, although this didn’t include

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<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler saw golden eagles at Olympia: Furtwängler, *Bronzefunde* 102.

the altar, because it was not just used by priests, but also by Pausanias himself; otherwise he wouldn't have written that from it one can see all of the Peloponnesus.

The temenos along with the altar belong to sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus.<sup>5</sup> Inside it, like in any other significant Greek sanctuary, many valuable votives and memorabilia were dedicated. The temenos did not have a door, nor did it have a tall fence, and it was possible for people or animals to enter, even though this was strictly forbidden by the maximum penalty by the holy law. Close to the sanctuary there was probably a house, maybe the residence of the priest, where the sacred votives were placed. The house would have been very spacious so that half of it was granted to strangers as a shelter or asylum for fugitives.

While Berard<sup>6</sup> was trying to adjust the image of the sanctuary of Lykaion to the idea of the Phoenician nature and origin of Zeus, he reconstructed the holy altar and temenos.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the temple of Zeus was composed of a massive fenced yard, inside of which there was a small tabernacle, in front of which there were two columns, and on their walls there were two eagles.<sup>8</sup>

**(156)** Our excavations proved how baseless this theory was, in which few other finds give us the security to represent the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus in agreement with this image described above (by Berard), on the basis of the ancient writers. The temple of Zeus exists on a mountain-top, which if seen from the plain of Megalopolis or any other far spot, looks like a vast tomb coming out of the top of a small mountain plateau. The shape of the mountain-top looks like a semi-circle, and its ascent from the small mountain plateau is so sudden, that it is easy to believe, especially from the description of Pausanias, that the whole construction is artificial. This is not the case, and someone going to Lykaion can see that the hilltop that looks like a tomb is actually the top of a huge hill, similar to the others in Lykaion; the hill intersects on the southeast side a smaller mountain plateau that seems like a separate, artificial rise when seen from afar (Plates 7.1 and 2).

The quickest way to go to Lykaion is from the Karytena side of the mountain. From the public road of Karytena – Andritsina, a 100m on both sides of the big bridge over the river Alpheios, the ascension starts from the left side of the road, which is made of dirt but is somewhat tolerable.

**(157)** The road to the hippodrome of Lykaion (1 hour 45 minutes) has not changed at all

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<sup>5</sup> Strabo 8, 388

<sup>6</sup> *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* 67ff.

<sup>7</sup> See P. Stengel, *die Griech. Kultusalte*, 18

<sup>8</sup> See Berard, 90.

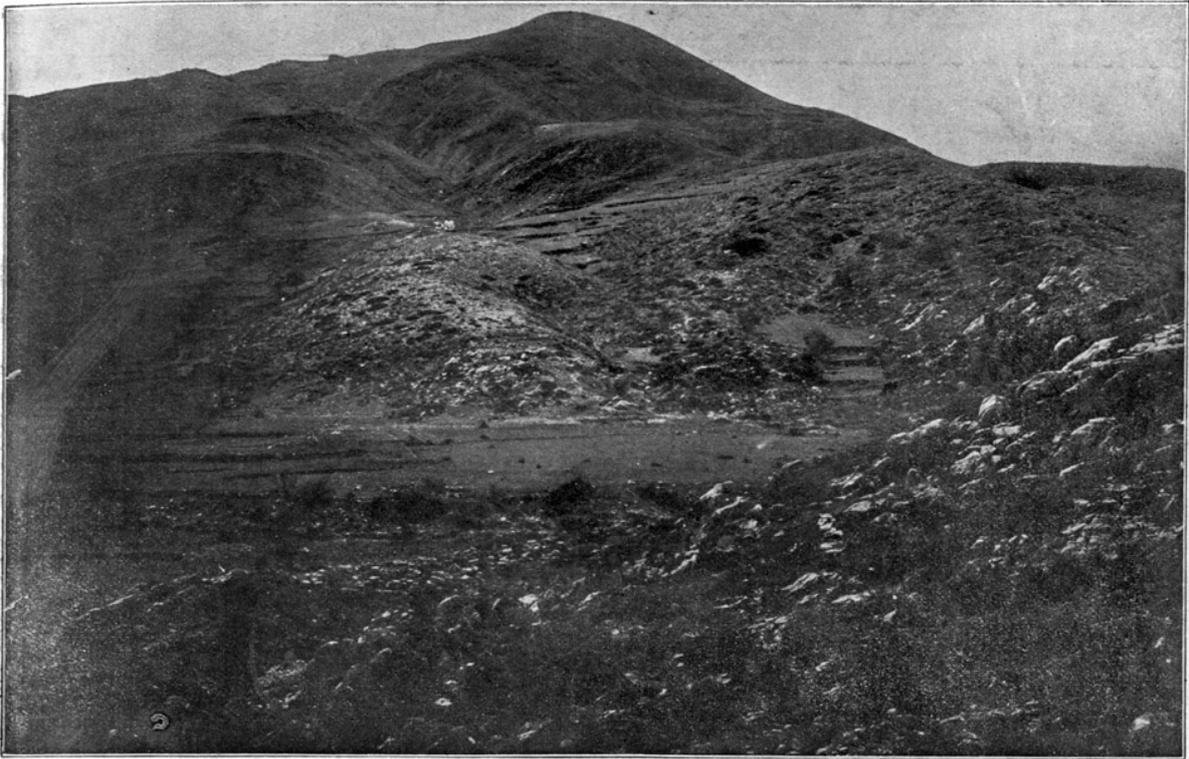


Plate 7.1

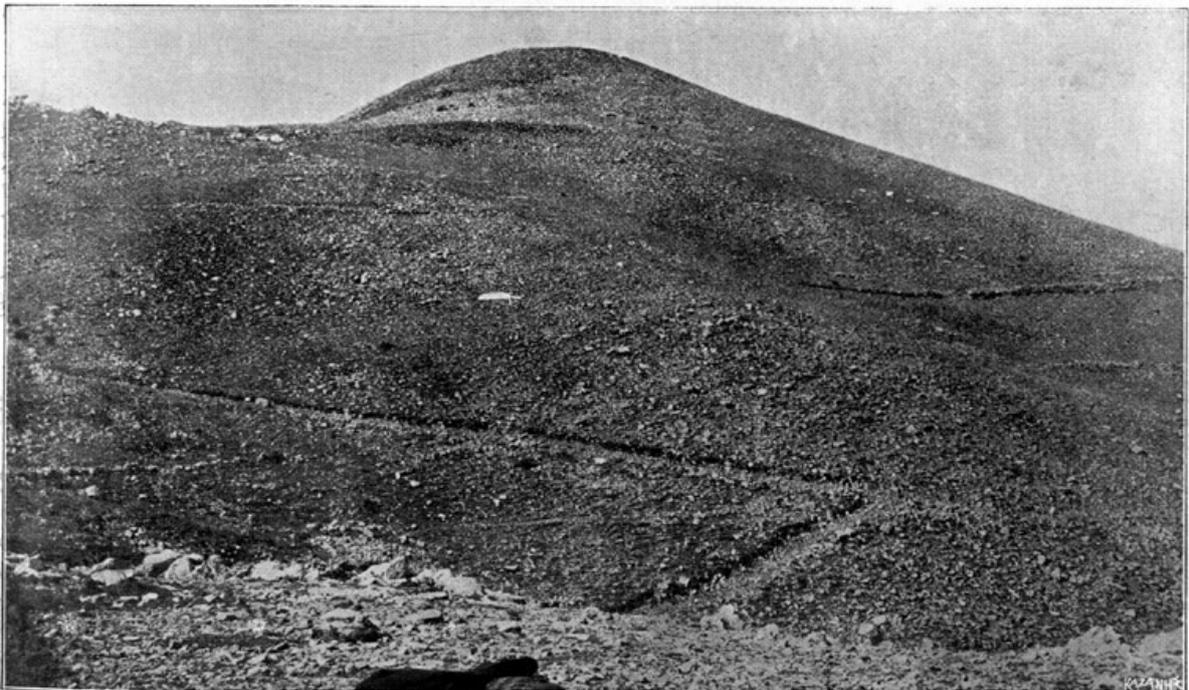


Plate 7.2

since the time of Ross<sup>9</sup> but the ascent to the top of Lykaion is no longer made by the right side of the Elleniko gap like Ross mentions. Instead it is done via a dirt road on which animals carrying cargo can walk, coming a few minutes south of the valley of the hippodrome and constructed by the residents of the village of Karyes for their agricultural needs and for their transportation to the festival of St. Elias (20 July).

Today it is preferable for someone who wishes to visit the top of Lykaion to combine the visit with Lykosoura. Starting from Lykosoura it takes 1 hour and 45 minutes when riding a horse, on a good road with romantic landscapes, and mostly in the shade of chestnut and oak trees. After one hour you can see the green village of Grampovou<sup>10</sup> and then the village of Karyes, which is watered by the five great fountains. There are huge and beautiful walnut trees in Karyes, in large number, which justifies the name of the village (*karyes*=walnut trees).

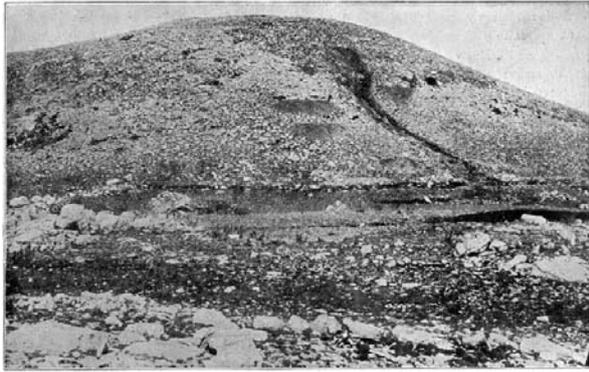
**(158)** In Karyes, we go near the fountain (of Voevodas), which is at the end of the village, on the left of the uphill street leading to the hilltop. After a few minutes we meet another fountain with plenty of water (Kerasia), which of course is not the ancient Agno as Ross claimed, and the small church of St. Athanasios. After going up for quite a while, after passing a few curves of the road, that are made up by the side gaps, we get to the small road by which we can climb to the top, as mentioned earlier.

During the journey from Karyes, the views to the lower landscapes of Lykaion and the valley of Megalopolis are magnificent. The path goes through some small fields and some gaps to the top. The distance from the Karyes road to the top is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour. The landscapes through which it passes were probably full of thick forests in the past; now, however, they are barren, with only rare wild plum trees or rarer oak and cedar trees to provide shade to the many crowded flocks of sheep and goats. The top of Lykaion has the famous altar of Lykaian Zeus, and its the sacred peak is called the “Olympus of Arkadia.”

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<sup>9</sup> L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten*, 91

<sup>10</sup> Long footnote about the archaeological sites along the way and references to them.



Of the more recent investigators, Gell<sup>11</sup> described the top, along with many other travelers and excavators who visited the top and tried to set the position of the altar of Zeus and the rest of the monuments, which are mentioned by Pausanias as found at Lykaion. The top and its surroundings are exactly circular (Fig.1). On the southern side, 20 meters lower than the top, there is a small plateau 60 meters wide, which follows the slope of the south side of the peak and comes down towards the west. **(159)** On the southeast edge of the mountain plateau, there is the small church of St. Elias, on whose walls there are ancient stones.<sup>12</sup> After the name of this Saint, the top is called St. Elias and not Diaforti as written by Gell and others.<sup>13</sup>

The small mountain plateau is called *Taverna* because until a few years ago the temporary wine merchants would set up there during the St. Elias festival; today it consists of small fields, in which there is wheat and corn, and the area was left by the citizens of Karyes as church land.

**(160)** Pausanias says that our peak is the highest in Lykaion. This is not true, since it was proven by measuring, and it can also be seen by anyone who is there, that the highest peak is north of St. Elias, called Stefani by the villagers. Its height is 1420 meters; therefore the height of St. Elias is about 1400 meters.<sup>14</sup> However, it is true what Pausanias says, that most of the Peloponnesus can be seen from the sacred peak of Lykaion. The view towards the south extends to the mountains of Gortynias, which go up to the last mountains of the Peloponnesus, which are Erymanthos and Kyllini. To the east, under our feet, is the plain of Megalopolis, along with the many white lines of the river Alpheios, **(161)** and it almost follows the river to its source. After these you can see Parnon and to the south is Taygetos and Messenia with its sea. After these are the Ithomi and Trifillika mountains. Towards Dysmas are all the romantic mountains near the Neda and the magic villages close to its fountains. From Kotilion the columns of the temple of Apollo Epikourios can be seen with a good

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<sup>11</sup> Gell, *History of the Morea*, 106-107.

<sup>12</sup> The distance from the church to the altar of Zeus in less than 5 minutes; Frazer was wrong when he said a quarter of an hour (p. 382).

<sup>13</sup> Diaforti is west of the altar, where there may be the remains of a Turkish fort. Agios Elias was never called Diaforti.

<sup>14</sup> An archaeological visitor who measured the height of the altar with a barometric tool found it to be at 1370 meters.

telescope. To the right on the northwestern side the valley of Elias, the Ionian Sea with Zakynthos can be seen.

The fact that the altar of Zeus existed on the peak could be seen from the bones of the sacrifices and the other signs that were always visible on the surface of the peak. The location of the temenos is not exactly known, but it was commonly accepted that it was somewhere near the altar. After my most recent excavations, it was proven, in part, that the temenos borders the altar on the mountain plateau of the *taverna*.

There is a long line of big rocks parallel to the south side of the hill of the altar, and within 55 meters of its edge, is the border of the area of the altar. This line of rocks follows the slope of the plateau and it can be seen to be up to 120 meters long to this day. So the ancient temenos was 55 meters wide and at least 120 meters long but not much bigger than that. This line (of rocks) was not recognized by the visitors to Lykaion up to this date; it is proven that it is not a recent construction by the people who were living in the area. As said before, it is proven by the extracts of the writers that the temenos could not have a tall fence; this is also proven by Plutarch (quote). **(162)**

Below the top of St. Elias, 10 minutes to the north, in a spot called Anemorahi or Fatoureiko, there is a small fountain called Korites.<sup>15</sup> A few meters away from to it, I excavated the ruins of a big ancient reservoir. Those probably show the place of the ancient Agnos.<sup>16</sup> And next to the hippodrome there was found a deluxe fountain, but Agnos was devoted to the priest of Zeus and it is correct to suppose that it was near this sacred place.

### **Excavation of the altar and the temenos**

In 1897, under the direction of the Archaeological Society and during the excavations of Lykosoura, K. Kontopoulos<sup>17</sup> came with some workers to Lykaion and conducted some trial excavations in the hippodrome in the valley, and on the peak of St. Elias. He dug a small shallow trench on the altar, about which nothing was written, but 30 meters below the top and on the eastern side of the small plateau of the *taverna*, he discovered two big bases, which he correctly identified as belonging to the two columns mentioned by Pausanias. **(163)** Not much lower than this place, on the northeast side of the peak, he found small pieces and a whole

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<sup>15</sup> Description of Korites.

<sup>16</sup> Pausanias 8.38.6

<sup>17</sup> See the handwritten essay on this excavation from April 15th, 1898, in the office of the Archaeological Society.

drum<sup>18</sup> of a marble Doric column, which he moved with a lot of trouble after constructing a temporary road, and he raised it near the bases. Kontopoulos finished the excavation, as he couldn't find anything else on Lykaion.

Six years later I began the excavation of the altar and the temple. The position of the altar was on the top of St. Elias, as we said before, due to the bones and the remains of the sacrifices, and it was also clear that a part of the top of the hill was artificial looking because of its shape. While the rest of the hilltops in Lykaion are mostly irregular and have many big steep rocks, the top of St. Elias has a regular circular shape, and its upper part is smooth and straight, and on the ground there are some fairly big stones which were stuck in the ground and only a part of them could be seen. Ross describes this surface in a good manner; however, he didn't realize everything, because he writes that the altar was raised on this smooth surface. It was proven by a small excavation that the top of the peak of St. Elias did not consist of solid (virgin) rock, but of other soil and remains from sacrifices; therefore the altar of Zeus was never on a smooth surface, as Curtius also says, but this highest spot was indeed the ancient altar.

The diameter of the surface of the top is 30 meters. In the middle of that, I dug a small (164) trench 4.50 m long and 2 m wide, and I hit solid rock at around 1.50 m. I dug similar trenches at four other spots on the surface of the altar. I observed the following in all the trenches: The soil was very thin, with a dark color like the color of ashes from the burning of sacrifices, with many small bones and big stones that were semi-burned (in some places a few stones and in some, small piles); these are the main contents of the trenches. In those (trenches) with the dark color there were relatively many small pieces of thin vessels, most of them small *phiales* and *skyphoi*, whose only characteristics were the inner dark colored coating and thin handles, which are reminiscent of vessels of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century. Rarer were the fragments of small lamps. The only whole vessels were two very small *kotylai*.<sup>19</sup>

It is remarkable that amongst the pottery sherds there were many fragments easily recognized as roof tiles. On one of these there is the end of an inscription with the letters AP OEI, and the letters probably date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The findings of this excavation don't differ too much from other excavations of altars in other Greek cities.<sup>20</sup> On the top of Lykaion, as well as on other Greek mountain tops<sup>21</sup>, Zeus was worshipped; the remains of the sacrifices actually made up the altar, as was the case

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<sup>18</sup> Ross also saw the drums of the columns. Kontopoulos saw part of a capital as well, but this Kourouniotes was unable to find it.

<sup>19</sup> Tsountas *AE* 1892, 12, found in the remains of the altar at Amyklai, similar clay, handmade skyphoi.

<sup>20</sup> *Olympia* IV, 1; Epidauros, Amyklai etc.

<sup>21</sup> Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* 116

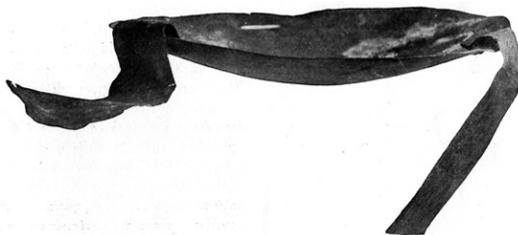
with altars in many other parts of Greece.<sup>22</sup> Due to the extraordinary position of the altar on the top of the mountain, (165) the wind would not leave the accumulated ash on the altar for long, as elsewhere on the altar of Ira,<sup>23</sup> only by a miracle would it stay there; also the rocks were mixed with it and fell on top of it.

The shape of the altar is like a tomb, and it covers the whole mountain-top. It has an upper diameter of 30 meters and its height is more than 1.5 m. Due to this shape and the type of the altar's construction, Pausanias fairly called it "earth's soil".



**Figure 2**

When I conducted the excavations of the altar, I was hoping that even though I might not find any valuable items, I would at least find some small dedications or other ancient items, by which I would be able to confirm the great antiquity of the worship of Zeus on Lykaion, in particular of its altar, and to define its type. But my hopes were proven wrong because, (166) after the excavation, I couldn't find anything regarding the foundation of the altar. The iron knife in Figure 2, the small tripods of figures 3 and 4, the shapeless and badly made clay idol of a bird, and the coin of Aegina of a type shown in Table XXIII.6 of the catalogue of the British Museum, are the only items that were found in the open trenches, apart from the clay fragments I already mentioned.



**(Fig. 3)**



**(Fig. 4)**

Of those the only ones that were able to be distinguished as coming from the most ancient time, are the small tripods (fig. 3 and 4). Those were found in the middle of the fill at a depth of around 0.90 meters. They are similar to the ones found at Olympia (shown in *Ergebn.* fig XXVIII, 540); they have a cauldron diameter of 0.11 meters and were made just like those from Olympia, using thin bronze sheet. The small one is a single piece, and on the bigger one the legs are made of individual strips, and the upper edges were bent and inserted into slots on the rim of the cauldron. One of its legs was not found.

<sup>22</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, Altar 1668

<sup>23</sup> Pliny, N.H. II, 240 Jn Laciniae lunoisara

The small tripods found at Olympia are considered to be of the most ancient offerings.<sup>24</sup> The proof of this is the location of their discovery, in the lowest strata (of soil). However, is it possible that our tripods might be of the same age as those at Olympia and should be considered as evidence of the most ancient worship on Mt. Lykaion? Isn't it also possible that the custom and the manner of construction of these inexpensive items was preserved into more recent years, especially with items destined to be offered to the Gods, so that the preservation actually makes sense?<sup>25</sup>

Regarding the date of manufacture of the knife, not much could be said. Similar knives were found by me in the temple of Pan, near the village of Berekla, (167) southwest of Lykaion, with items from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The type of the coin found in the altar is placed at around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC or the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The clay items seem to belong to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The uniform composition of the fill along the whole depth of the altar and the small number of insignificant finds didn't allow me to distinguish between chronological layers or any other differences between strata. During the excavation of the first trench, I observed that just within 0.60 meters deep, many bones existed in the dark soil, and as the soil got deeper, the bones stopped and the soil was mixed with many thin gravels, but these observations were not verified in the rest of the trenches.

It is therefore assumed that the remains of the fires of the sacrifices were completely hidden by the stones that were found in various layers; I tried to reveal those (layers) but this was also impossible, since the layers did not exist continuously; the stones were irregularly placed in the fill, in some places in parallel rows and elsewhere isolated (see fig. 6 which shows the outside of a trench). Unfortunately, due to the circumstances, it wasn't possible to have a clear idea of the construction of the altar, because, even though it has uniform composition, it seemed that it was not constructed all at the same time, and I think that this is beyond doubt.

Also, from our excavations we don't have any evidence regarding the latest boundaries for the existence of the altar. No items later than the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC were found in it; however, Pausanias talks about the human sacrifices that took place there when he visited Lykaion, around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

It is impossible that there were remains of human sacrifice on the uppermost part of the altar that were later destroyed. If part of the top of the altar was destroyed, the thin soil would have been carried away by the wind and the rain, and there would be only the big

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<sup>24</sup> Olympia Textband IV, 72

<sup>25</sup> For the dedication of tripods, see Furtwangler, *Bronzefunde* 13

heavy rocks. That is indeed what probably happened on the northwest side of the altar. That side was destroyed by the strong northwest wind, but the rocks are still up there. However, the top of the altar does not consist of naked rocks, on the contrary there is grass on it that is so thick that it is difficult to cut it even with a mattock.



(Figure 5)



Εικόνα 6. Ἐσωτερικὸν τάφρου ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

(Figure 6)

(169) It is possible that the altar didn't suffer any alterations from the ancient years to this day. It is not impossible to believe that if the altar is further excavated, evidence will be found to solve these issues, which are left in the dark due to the limitations of the excavation, and I was going to do that. However, I was afraid that by digging any further, the cohesion of the altar might be split and destroyed completely; and because this could be seen in all the open trenches, I didn't extend my excavations.

As far as the human sacrifices, I could not reach any conclusions from the excavation of the altar. I examined the bones with attention but I couldn't find any human characteristics on them. Most of them obviously belonged to small animals and some thick bones, which weren't rare, belonged to bigger animals like boars and pigs. The bones are always burned, but there are no signs of fossilization on them.

I excavated one trench through the height of the south side of the hill, lower than the altar, but nothing worthwhile was found. The solid virgin rock was found at a depth of only a couple of centimeters, and the fill was made of red soil with small and larger rocks, like the rest of the Mt. Lykaion. In this trench, I found a small silver coin from Aigina of type Brit. Mus. Cat. Attica fig. XXIII 12.

By carefully examining the top of St. Elias, (170) I thought that its regular circular shape was partly due to a technical or deliberate process on its surface. On some parts of its sides, there are many stones that were smashed on purpose by bigger rocks and were collected there so as to fill in small spaces that interrupted the continuity and roundness of the hill.

Then, I dug the temenos at 60 square meters on the eastern edge, and I also searched other trenches in the rest of the area. Excluding the wall, or rather the line of stones, which surrounded the temenos, there was no other construction in the temenos; at least I did not find anything during my excavation.

At the eastern edge of the altar, I excavated the fill, in other words, the surface over the natural rock, a little bit greater than the extent of the temenos. Its height was around 0.60 cm. The soil was dark and looked greasy, but it wasn't as thin and irregular as the soil in the altar, and it didn't contain any small bones. It is therefore obvious that the fill wasn't composed of the remains of burned parts of sacrifices, and it is very likely that the dark color is due to the blood of the sacrificed animals.

It looks like the position of the temenos was a part of a pre-sacrificial procedure in which the animals were sacrificed, and from which they were brought to the altar where specific parts of them were burnt.

**(171)** The ground of the pre-sacrificial area was always lower than the altar.<sup>26</sup> In this position of the earth, the statues in Figures 9 and 10 were first found. They were close to each other, with their head downwards maybe because they fell off their stands. At that position the shins and their parts that could not be held together are shown below along with other fragments of bronze sheet from jewelry and a bronze plaque, which was the base of a statue showing parts of its feet. There, a double iron link and a lock were also found (Fig. 3). The link was used to tie the animals to be sacrificed and the iron lock reminds us of the holy house of Zeus, mentioned by Thucydides. There were no fragments of pottery but there were many pieces of roof tiles at the same depth as the other finds, at a depth of 0.60 m.

In the rest of the surface of the temenos where trenches were excavated, there was nothing unusual or worthwhile found. There were no objects worth mentioning or any other trace of antiquity; only on the south part in some places there were some meaningless iron objects and some pieces of roof tiles.

The bases of the columns (Fig. 8.1) are about 10 meters further east and a little lower than the area characterized as the pre-sacrificial area. The ground surface near the two bases was no different from the surface on the rest of the ground of St. Elias' hill, so it was impossible for someone to suspect that significant ancient objects existed there. **(172)** There wasn't a lot of fill and in these parts the natural rock could be seen. I proceeded to completely excavate this area, to discover the whole lower stone for the bases of the columns, which was only half-revealed by Kontopoulos. At the beginning of the excavation on the northern base a

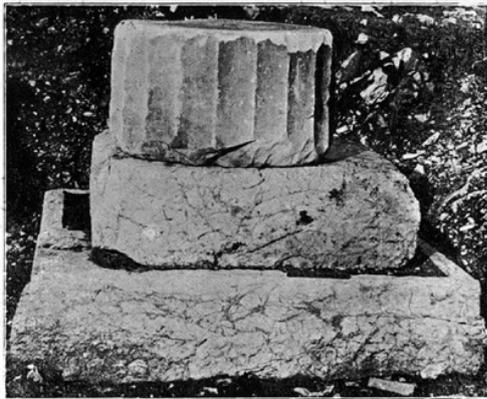
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<sup>26</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, "Altar"

bronze statuette was found along with the eagle shown below. This was my motive to insist on further excavating this area and to pay careful attention.

(173) Natural rock was found close to the bases, at a depth of around 0.40 meters, and at a much smaller depth as we got further away from the bases. The rest of the statuettes were found not far from the pre-sacrificial area, close to the front east side of the north base; in the whole area of the two bases there were iron rings, in whose concavities a stone was placed, but due to the wear it was hardly recognized. A bit further from the south base the two coins in Figure 5 (2 and 3) were found.

The statuettes were always found in an area less than 2 meters, and it seems they were placed close to each other from ancient times (pl. 8.2). On the line of the northern column, the foundations of a big square base was found, as well as some stones of smaller bases and some stones with a corrugated surface. Before Kontopoulos's excavation, there were only the lower stones of the two bases of the columns, and he moved the other stone to the south base, and placed the column drum on it. On the northern base, Kontopoulos found only the remaining big piece of the third stone of that base.

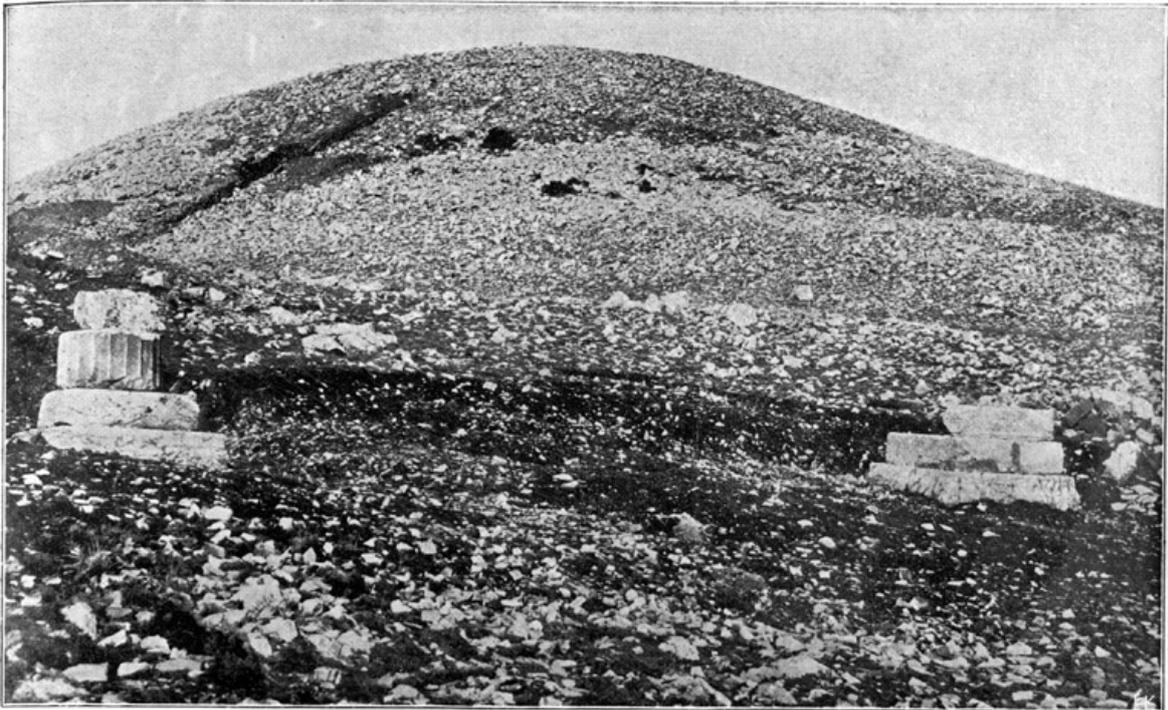


(Figure 7)

It was obvious that the southern base was not complete in the manner of its construction by Kontopoulos (Fig. 7). When I went to Lykaion, I found the two stones, which now compose the second tier of the northern base, near the small church of St. Elias, where they had been transferred, to be used to construct the church, and with the two large fragments of the third tier near the base, I reconstructed the northern base completely and

discovered the exact look of both bases. (174) They have the usual shape of the triple stand bases of statues, which were used often during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>27</sup> The two lower steps are made of two stones of about the same size, connected through two connections to each other, and a single stone makes up the uppermost tier, which make the column. The stones of the bases are made of very big stones from Lykaion. The lowest step is 1.45 m long and 0.35 m tall. Half of it is unworked, and it seems it was hidden up to that point, because the surface starts to be smooth (above).

<sup>27</sup> Bulle, *Statuenbasen*, 121. Olympia II, XCII



(Plate 8.1 – Bases of the columns)



(Plate 8.2)

(175) The upper surface of this step is slightly hollow in a way that a square border is formed with an approximate height of 0.015 m and a width of 0.08 m. This hollow part served for a safer position of the upper step.<sup>28</sup> The upper surface of the second step is similarly hollow (fig. 7). This step as well as the third one has a wide incision 0.10 m high around the lower edge. It is not possible to determine precisely the depth of this incision due to the deterioration of the stone surface. The third step (length 0.10 m, height 0.30 m) has an aperture half way round the upper surface, in which a wedge was adjusted for the support of the column. The distance between the two bases is seven meters. As these stand on the same level, there has been a small excavation on the ground near the southern base.

The position of the two bases to the east of the altar, their perfect resemblance and their exact equivalence, render it very likely that both of them supported the two columns mentioned by Pausanias, which is also confirmed by the formation of the upper surface of the third stone of the bases. The aperture found in its middle can be explained, if we accept that a column stood on it, and this can be noticed after a careful observation of the southern base.

The drum found and the remainder of the pieces of the columns show that these were made of marble from Doliana. They were Doric with 20 flutes. The recovered drum, which was not the lowest of the column, is 0.48 m high and has a diameter of 0.78 m. It had at both sides an opening for pegs, as can be seen from its shape. A metal peg was placed into the drums, so that a more secure connection of the column was guaranteed. The rest of the columns were also connected in the same way, because otherwise, the column would be in danger of collapsing by the violent action of the most powerful winds on the top of the mountain.

(176) If we combine the report of Pausanias (VIII.38.7), that the two columns carried gilded eagles, with their position among the remainder of the offerings, we also comprehend immediately their function. They served as bases of the eagles, which had been dedicated as offerings to Zeus. In Bulle's book (p. 32) mentioned above, we can see that a column as a base of an offering was not an unusual phenomenon. Ross (*Arch. Aufs.* 1.201 ff.) shows by means of examples that mainly winged objects were placed on columns. Particularly for the eagles, placement on columns was most suitable in order to display their magnificence.

Like owls dedicated to Athena on columns on the Acropolis, on Mt. Lykaion eagles were dedicated to Zeus as his symbols and his most beloved birds. We are unable to know anything precisely regarding the height of the columns nor the form of the capital, of which I did not

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<sup>28</sup> Based on Praxiteles' Olympia, year unknown, N° 9.

manage to find a piece.<sup>29</sup> It is very likely that this would differ from the form of a usual Doric capital, as the eagle suits better. Borrmann in 1888, on pages 274-275 deals with the form of the Doric capitals on the columns, which served as bases of the offerings on the Acropolis. Were the capitals on Lykaion actually similar to these?

The date of the columns cannot be determined from the finds of our excavation. From the dating of our finds we cannot similarly conclude with certainty the dating of the columns, because it is possible that the columns existed before the dedications were made, as it is also possible that they had been manufactured contemporaneously or after the offerings were dedicated. This is also obvious from the differences in the dates between the offerings found (Figs. 8-10), from which (177) one appears to be somewhat archaic, others come from the 5th century, and others are even more recent. From the plain form of the three-level base alone, without any particular architectural or sculptural decoration, we can most likely suppose that the columns were also manufactured in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

Pausanias, speaking of the columns, reports that the gilded eagles found on them *were manufactured even earlier*. Bérard uses the word *earlier* for the artistic style of the eagles and accepts that these were processed in the same way as the eagles that appear on ancient Asian monuments, but this assumption of his coincides with the guess concerning the sanctuary of Lykaion deriving from the findings of our excavation. The second interpretation of the passage of Pausanias, which is accepted by most people, seems to be more correct: Pausanias wants to declare that the columns existed already in his age, but they supported the eagles in earlier times, but not when he was on Mount Lykaion<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, from Pausanias' comments about the columns we cannot conclude anything about the date of their manufacture.

It is very likely the opinion that the eagles were transported to Megalopolis perhaps along with the statues of Lykaionikes, of which only the bases were found in the Hippodrome, when Pausanias witnessed them. It is also very likely that the two eagles in the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus in Megalopolis<sup>31</sup> were those taken from Mount Lykaion.

The space in which the columns and the remainder of the offerings stood is likely not to have been included in the untrodden temenos; it also seems that the people who wanted to ascend to the altar passed through them. The bases found near the two bases of the columns

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<sup>29</sup> The pieces of the columns lay scattered and in great distance from the bases, so that it is not improbable that even pieces of the capitals are found accidentally in the future. Kontopoulos reports that he had seen such a piece, however I could not recover it myself.

<sup>30</sup> see above p. 155, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Pausan. VIII, XX 2. Bérard, year unknown.  
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with oblong cavities on their surfaces, which as we know from a lot of other examples were usually intended to bear pillars with inscriptions, (178) remind us of the Column of the Messenians, which they dedicated at Lykaion after the Second Messenian War, reflecting that this example of dedicating a commemorative column at Lykaion was not unique.

I did not find traces of the house of the sanctuary near the temenos as reported by Thucydides. It is possible that it existed at the spot where nowadays the little church of Saint Elias stands, where the insignificant remainder of the former could have become part of the building of the latter.

### **Finds in the temenos.**

About the few objects found in the altar of Zeus of Lykaion there has already been enough said (pp. 166-167). From now on we shall be dealing with the finds near or in the temenos, which are much more worthy.

It is worthy of observation that neither in the altar nor in the temenos was any piece of decorated pottery found and that no clay figurine was found near them, apart from a completely insignificant and badly-made small bird. From the general excavations completed up to this point in Arcadia it has been proven that decorated vessels were not so widespread in this land. Such vessels have been found neither in Lykosoura nor in Tegea, neither in Mantinea nor in Megalopolis nor in Lousoi. My excavations, however, in the temple of Pan near Berekla and in the temple of Apollo Parrasios (p. 157.2) proved that they were not completely out of use, at least in places near Lykaion. At the first location I found a black-figured lekythos and a few pieces of other similarly black-figured vessels. At the second location, during the minor excavation I attempted in order to find the embankment, which formed the level where the temple stood, pieces of common decorated Geometric vessels were discovered.<sup>32</sup> As is known, (179) very few pieces of decorated pottery were found at Olympia as well.

This is not the case for the clay figurines, though. In almost all excavations mentioned, plenty of terracotta figurines were found, mainly in the excavations of Lykosoura<sup>33</sup>, Kotilion<sup>34</sup> and those I conducted near the temple of Pan in Berekla, which brought to light many of these figurines. Especially in the last location, which is not further than three-

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<sup>32</sup> Near the temple of Apollo Epikourios two Corinthian small sphere-shaped aryballoi were also found, one of which has simple written decoration.

<sup>33</sup> In the Museum of Lykosoura many clay tablets still exist with important embossed kerykeia of all forms which have been found near the Megaron.

<sup>34</sup> Arch. Newsp. 1902.

quarters of an hour from the altar of Zeus, figurines have been found which testify to the fact that they were locally made. Thus the lack of clay figurines from the sanctuary on the top of Lykaion should be attributed to some other cause, limited only to the region of this sanctuary.

It is very likely that the residents of the neighbouring villages near the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, despite their great but also cold respect, undoubtedly did not visit with pleasure a place which caused them fear. Moreover, the cruel sacrifices that took place inside the sanctuary, according to the holy tradition, were not purified enough within the conscience of Greek people and the idea of danger prevented them from approaching the untrodden temenos. I think therefore that the lack of clay figurines from the sanctuary should be attributed to this.

The people could often offer those cheap objects as a sign of devotion and usually without any particular motive apart from showing devotion and usual prayer. Those who visited the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus very rarely, however, had undoubtedly an important reason to do so, and they had to offer something more precious than the usual clay figurines. Bronze statuettes and other metal objects were surely more precious, which obviously had been the usual offerings to the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus. Altogether, nine complete statuettes were found and a **(180)** very few pieces of a tenth one, as well as the bases of other similar ones, as well as an eagle, which seems to have been extracted from a similar statuette. Apart from those, a two-headed snake, an *askos* and a garter, together with two silver coins and some ten engraved rings, one of bronze and the rest of iron, were also found. From these objects only the bronze shin guard had a votive inscription (see below). This inscription, with the few letters preserved on tiles of the altar, are the only things left of monuments with inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus.

As is natural, four of the well-preserved bronze statuettes depict Zeus himself, three present Hermes, the beloved god of the Arcadians, who perhaps in this case possessed a particular position as messenger of Zeus, and the other two depict persons dealing with actions irrelevant to this sanctuary.



(Figure 8)



(Figure 9)



(Figure 10)

*Figs. 8-10.* Zeus naked with a beard and short hair stands on a slightly high piece of bronze and holds the lightning bolt in his raised right hand and the eagle in his left, which he stretches while bending his elbow. Height 0.10 m. Base 0.03 m. Unfortunately from the data of our excavation no signs can be provided to attest to the date of the manufacture of this small but very interesting statuette of Zeus.

This type of Zeus that holds a lightning bolt and an eagle is not something unprecedented within archaic art, but the artistic style of the statuette, and generally its whole appearance is extraordinary and very paradoxical. The body of the god is very badly wrought, while the disproportion between the length of the upper part (0.042 m) from the genitals up to the neck and the length of his legs (0.035 m) is abnormal. The latter are extremely short. The shins do not even exist, nor do the knees. The legs are completely shapeless, while in the place of toes only some superficial lines have been engraved (181) separating the feet in four unequal parts, which should represent the toes. The breast and the abdomen constitute a level and are almost of equal width in all their length. The navel is shown by a relatively deep small circle, though it is not precisely in the middle. The nipples of the breasts are presented with some shallower circles, the right one of which has another bigger circle made of dots around it, which is represented by some very thin lines and little dots around them to border the upper part of the genitals.

The left shoulder is excessively bulky and very disproportionate to the breast, with which it is connected in a very clumsy way. On the other side, the right shoulder is not well formed

at all. The person who manufactured the statuette obviously had difficulties forming it, as is shown from the position of the raised arm. The arms are also completely shapeless (182) and the various parts they consist of are not distinguished at all. The fingers are separated by some thin lines engraved pointlessly on the hands. But the face exceeds the rest of the body in terms of the clumsiness of the representation of his various parts, especially the ears, which are almost not depicted at all; (183) in their place there are only some shapeless small pieces of bronze behind the cheeks. The eyes are also barely depicted. Contrary to the completely primary shapelessness of the front part of the body, the rear part is somehow better.

The bird is also of a completely primitive art. It stands on a small piece of bronze in the palm of the left hand and reminds us of a very ancient bronze representation of birds from Olympia. The characteristics of the statuette we described above force us to place its manufacture in times approaching the early beginnings of Greek art.

The shape of the award-winning hair resembles a wig with its irregular lines that make the hair distinguishable and the general physique of the face provides the characteristics already reported by Furtwängler, which characterize statuettes of Arcadian manufacture collected and examined by himself<sup>35</sup>. As for the dating of the known statuette of Hybrisstas, also in a very ancient style, which according to Furtwängler belongs to the same collection of Arcadian statuettes, he dates it in the first half of the 6th century, while elsewhere the same statuette is dated to the 7th century<sup>36</sup>. However, the statuette from Lykaion we are discussing appears much more ancient, especially when one compares the body with the Hybrisstas statuette. On the other hand, our statuette, compared with the most ancient statuettes from Olympia and Delphi<sup>37</sup>, shows a lot of progress. Mainly the form of the head of our statuette has surely already taken a regular form and, although roughly, the various details of the face are even presented. Therefore, I suppose that we would not be very mistaken (184) if we were to classify the date of its manufacture to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The type of our statuette differs completely from the more ancient statuettes of Olympia and other places, because those statuettes are very oblong and angular, whereas ours is completely short and square. Somewhat analogous to our statuette are the early clay figurines from Olympia, which depict the navel and breasts in the same way with circles<sup>38</sup>, and the representation of the hairstyle resembling a wig, which I suppose is wrongly interpreted as hair on the figurines of Olympia. Similarly to the working of the terracotta figurines, our

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<sup>35</sup> *Sitzungsber. der Bayr. Akad.* 1899, 566 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Perrot. *Obipiez Hist. de l'art* VIII p. 469 pic. 239.

<sup>37</sup> *Bull.* 1897, 172. pol. *Sitzungsber. der Bayr. Akad.* year unknown, p. 580. *Olympia* IV, XV and XVI.

<sup>38</sup> *Olympia* IV, table XVII. See also Carapanos, *Dodone*, table XII.

(bronze) statuette shows the same characteristics in its entirety in terms of the careless and frivolous drawing of lines representing the strands of hair. Unusual also is the form of the lightning rod held by the statuette. At the front it is pointed and at the rear it consists of three points around a fourth, in the form of a badly-shaped flower calyx.



**Figure 11.** Statuette of Zeus, the type of so-called Zeus Ithomatas<sup>39</sup> the Cow, similar in form to those found in Olympia<sup>40</sup> and Dodona<sup>41</sup>. Half of the right hand, which is saved, shows that it held a lightning bolt, whereas the left hand completely lost its form from the deterioration, so that it is unknown if it held an eagle. The elaboration of these parts of our statuette is much more superficial than those of Olympia and Dodona. Similarly badly-shaped are the arms, where any clue of muscles or other distinctive parts on the breast is absent. The face is also very superficially elaborated. The eyes are depicted as circles, the mouth by faint lines and the beard by almost parallel engravings, only a little (185) more assiduous than that on the previous statuette. The nose is completely shapeless. The hair surrounds the skull like a ring, in which the various parts are separated by thin vertical lines. This kind of elaboration on the head convinces us that this statuette is also Arcadian, of a similar type to those of Olympia and Dodona, and was manufactured in a small Arcadian town. The legs of the statuette are oblong and it seems that they were attached to the base, which is now lost, with some kind of material without the use of any other technical means.

The patina of the statuette has a light green colour that differs slightly from the previous statuette and all the rest. It has peeled like a fragile rind, whereas underneath there is another layer of light blue colour, which can be rubbed in dust (it can be peeled). After this, the shiny colour of bronze is revealed. Height of the statuette 0.09 m.

<sup>39</sup> Collignon *Sculpt.* I.318. Pierrot. Chipiez VIII, 469.

<sup>40</sup> *Olympia* table VII, 43, 45 and 46.

<sup>41</sup> Carapanos Dodone, table XII, 4.



(Figure 12)



(Figure 13)



(Figure 14)

**Figs. 12-14.** Statuette of a beautiful archaic type of Zeus sitting and having rich long (186) hair and cuneiform beard. He is wearing a half-sleeved and narrow cloak reaching his legs and a long himation covering the left half of his body from the front to rear side, where one end falls, while the other end is hidden in the front. The legs are held tight and both naked feet step on a round *threnys*. The buttocks and the lower part of the thighs have been horizontally detached, as he sat on a throne, which is now lost. At the back side of the knees and between the legs there is a deep aperture, which is likely to have connected the throne to the body. Both arms are bent at the elbows and affixed approximately at the height of the abdomen. The right one has a little more distance from the body. In the left hand he held the lightning, in the right hand he held the *λίτυο* (*lituus*)<sup>42</sup>. This statue is important for a lot of reasons.

Its appearance reminds us of the carefully-formed figures on beautiful black-figured vase decorations. The somehow angular characteristics of his face, the big and round eyes which stand out, the pupils presented by faintly engraved small circles, the cuneiform chin, the precisely shaped mustache, the shapeless and unnaturally positioned ears, even his pointed mouth, the ends of which give an innocent smile to his expression, are typical characteristics of the art of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The tightened representation of the body, the arms that are deprived of freedom of movement and the legs that are firmly tight to the clothing exist in complete harmony to these characteristics. The pleats of the cloak are distinguished by thinly-engraved wavy lines, which are fewer near the legs, and can also be found on black-figured vase decorations. The pleats of the small himation are deeper. As for the assiduity of the manufacture of the statuette, it is worth observing that the part of the small himation (187-188) that first covered the left shoulder could be more extended. Its pleats are

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<sup>42</sup> compare Daremberg Saglio, “lituus”.

similarly engraved with thin lines, while the rest of the pleats are quite deep, even though this was usually the case.

Like on the most archaic marble statues of the so-called “Kouros” or Apollo, the pleats of the hair fall and end in a semicircle at the middle of back. They are separated with parallel lines and shape wavy braids. A small ribbon adorns the hair at the rear part up to the height of ears, while at the front it crowns the forehead with a high hoop forming five equidistant lines of small braids. Similar seems to be the hair style of the Satyr of Dodona<sup>43</sup>; similar also is the hair style of bronze Zeus from Olympia<sup>44</sup> that is slightly later than our statuette. I believe that there is no doubt that our statuette is a copy of the statue of Zeus manufactured by a good craftsman. This is verified by the excellent technical skill of all form, which concerning the above as well as the position of the arms resembles Zeus of Pheidias in Olympia, a fact which is also testified by the *threnys* under the legs of the statuette.

The form of Zeus sitting on a throne is printed on several series of Arcadian coins<sup>45</sup> on their reverse. This form is presented in three main patterns. In the two more recent ones Zeus is depicted with only a himation and has in his raised left hand the sceptre and in the outstretched right hand or above it (189) the eagle with spread wings. The third version<sup>46</sup> depicts Zeus very similarly to our statuette wearing a long himation. It differs a little from our statuette in that the position of the right hand holding the sceptre is higher, and in the length of the hair. It has similarities, however, in the position of the left hand holding the lightning bolt. A common trait of the two representations is the *threnys* under the legs.

The artistic style of the head on the rear side of the coin shows that the coin was manufactured during the same period as the statuette; it is also very likely that both works imitate a common model, which perhaps the engraver changed a little, as happens commonly in the depiction of statues on coins.

This statue would be found in some city or place that possessed exceptional status among the Arcadians, but it seems to me that such a place is very likely to be Lykaion itself, because the sanctuary of Zeus enjoyed respect from the Arcadians and was generally considered to be common property for all<sup>47</sup>. It is most probable that on Lykaion we would find the statue, which is imitated on coins and through our statuette, whereas the base, the foundations of

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<sup>43</sup> *Olympia* IV, table VII, 40 and 40a. Almost similar is the adaptation of the capital hair on the forehead of the archaic statue from Kalyvia Koudara of Attica (Arch. Newsp. 1902, table 3).

<sup>44</sup> *Dodone* Pl. IX.

<sup>45</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Pelop.*, table XXXI-XXXII.

<sup>46</sup> Overbeck *Kunstmythol.* The, Münzt. II 2.

<sup>47</sup> Daremberg Saglio, p. 1434.

which I found during my excavations near in the northern column, was probably used for its support.

Could anyone disagree that our statuette type is Ionic and that it would be unlikely that the statue would be found in an Arcadian city, and also that the type of the head at the rear side of the Arcadian coin is not Arcadian? Concerning these questions, Furtwängler reports that it is Ionic in type in terms of the manufacture of the hair, but recognizes however *gewisse herbe Härte des Gesichtes*, which shows the Arcadian art, but **(190)** this *Härte* could be partly attributed to the engraver of the coin, who having as a model an Ionic work, copied according to the model the external and easiest traits like the hair. Did he put roughness on the expression of the face, because he could not do better? However, even the roughness appearing on the coin mentioned by Furtwängler does not exist, as I can see from the similar coins published by Overbeck.

The lightning bolt, which the statuette held in his left hand, consisted of a thin stick, long as much as the palm of his hand that he kept also and ended on both sides in a spindle-shaped bump. The upper bump had been extracted. More important is the symbol which Zeus holds in his right hand. It consists of a small stick, which was bent on top forming a spiral and ended to a round button. I did not find any similar object in any ancient Greek piece of art, besides one possible exception. We will refer to it later. On most Roman coins<sup>48</sup>, though, there is an object, totally similar to what our Zeus holds, serving as a symbol.

The symbol printed on the coins was recognised as one of the most ancient and most sacred Roman utensils, the *lituus* or as Plutarch names it, the *λίτυον*<sup>49</sup>. Roman augurs<sup>50</sup> held this utensil in their right hand and they used it when they wanted to make a divination through augury and according to the definition of the conceivable squares, with which they performed the augury.

Plutarch in *Camillus* (XXXII, 15-20) refers to this as follows: τούτο δ'εστί μιν επικαμπές εκ θατέρου πέρατος, καλείται δε λίτυον· χρώνται δ'αυτῷ προς τας των πλινθίων υπογραφάς, όταν επ'όρνιος διαμαντευόμενοι καθέζονται. Livy (I.18) describes it more precisely. *Baculus sine (191) nudo aduncus incurrum et leviter a summo in flexum bacillum* [Actually this seems to be a slight misquotation of Cicero, *De Div.* 1.XVII, not Livy – *ed.*] The *lituus* is also portrayed on more important Roman masterpieces.

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<sup>48</sup> Babelon, *Monnaies de la républ.* I p. 58, 204 and elsewhere.

<sup>49</sup> Plutarch *Romulus* XXII. Daremberg-Saglio entry *lituus*.

<sup>50</sup> Base Rom. Anc. p. 20 *Mnemosyne* 1890 p. 259 ff. (Valeton).

The antiquity and the great sacredness of this Roman symbol are testified by the tradition<sup>51</sup> which reports that the lituus, held by Romulus and defining the region of Rome, was kept together with other sacred items on the Palatine Hill and disappeared during the conquest of Rome by the Gallic people, but was found again intact in fire ashes, which previously ruined all the rest in the Palatine. Certain special relation of the lituus to Zeus is not delivered, not even within the Roman cult.

It seems to me also that the bronze Zeus from Olympia<sup>52</sup> held a similar symbol. This statuette depicts Zeus standing and wearing a long himation, which leaves the right shoulder exposed and both arms extending in a similar way to the statuette we have in mind. The right hand of the Olympian statuette is closed and it has an aperture on both sides as if it held something, very probably the lightning, whereas the left one is similarly closed, but a small button is still saved at the lower part, which does not exactly have the form of a sphere. That is where the symbol would end when held by Zeus, whose arm is missing at the upper part.

It is obvious that this small button is not the end of the lightning rod. This became the reason of Furtwängler's doubts (*Olympia Textb.* IV), whether the statuette depicts Zeus or not. He compares the small button with the top of the grip of a sword, but observing the proportions of the statuette of Lykaion Zeus, we are obliged to accept that the button is the end of a symbol similar to the one our statuette held, that is to say of a lituus, which, according to the above, Zeus of Olympia would also hold. At least for the moment we cannot identify this symbol, which was rescued carrying a Roman name and first appeared now on Greek art works, **(192)** nor its importance in the cult of Zeus. Moreover, it remains a mystery why the cult of Zeus is not reported within the Greek tradition in various places of Greece.

It is, however, worthy of interest that the lituus first found in Greece was discovered in Arkadia and inspired the few settlers to found the settlement, according to the ancient Roman and Greek tradition, which is usually rejected by the latest research.<sup>53</sup> Their leader was Evander, who delivered many things to the Romans regarding religion and regime.<sup>54</sup> It seems that the magnificent statue holding this symbol was created on Lykaion, that is, in a place where, according to these traditions, the very important ancient Roman cult of Lupercalium was received.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Plutarch *Romulus*; Cicero *de divin.* 1, 17.

<sup>52</sup> *Olympia IV*, table VII, 40 and 40a.

<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately Mr. Vasis does not even imply these traditions in the historical introduction of Roman Antiquities.

<sup>54</sup> Livy I.5; Dion. Hal. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Mannhardt, *Mytholog. Forschungen* p. 93.



**Figure 15.** Zeus, standing on a square plinth, dressed in a long himation leaving uncovered only the right side of the chest, the shoulders and the right arm, has extended his arms, and while he is holding the lightning-rod in the closed fist of his right hand, he does not hold any other symbol in the similarly well-closed fist of his left. Our Zeus is completely proportional to the bronze Zeus of Olympia, which we already reported. They mainly resemble each other with respect to their clothing, where ours only wears a longer himation around his arms.

Although our own Zeus is much more roughly processed than the one of Olympia, I believe that ours is later and I conclude this from the small naked part of the chest and the right shoulder, which are skilfully rounded and presented with adequate natural precision. Very ungraceful is the lower part of Zeus' figure, while the left leg seems not to be existing, **(193)** whereas the bending of the right knee is placed very high. The pleats of the *himation* are superficial and hard and they resemble the pleats of Arcadian art works. The legs are also roughly processed and both of them step, according to the ancient way, along the same line on the plinth. The roughness of the face increases much more the turning of the nose to the right, which was most probably caused by the statuette's falling, but generally his expression and the clumsiness, particularly that of the ears, testify that this statuette should be classified with the series of the statuettes of Arcadian art. The binding of the hair belongs to the type of hairstyle<sup>56</sup> according to which it was tied both in the front on the forehead and behind the neck. The lightning rod the statuette held in his right hand is well preserved. It appears that it is **(194)** made of three rays on both sides consisting of three thin bronze sheets, of which only the upper part is entirely preserved, while the rest of it is saved only in small parts.

Height 0.098 m, height of the plinth 0.004 m.

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<sup>56</sup> Berliner Winckelmannsprog. 50 p. 129.  
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**Figure 16.** The right hand holds the lightning rod, the upper part of which is broken. This hand comes from a statuette of Zeus bigger than the remainder; probably apart from this hand only the right foot was rescued, shown on Fig. 17. The size proportion and the same way of processing testify to this fact. The lightning rod obviously has the form of a half-open lotus calyx, while its shaft has a lot of ring-formed extensions. The dryness

in the form both of the foot and the hand and the excessive assiduity for the attribution of various details show that the statuette belonged to the late Archaic years at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Length of the hand 0.035 m, length of the foot 0.04 m.



**(Figure 17)**



**(Figure 18)**



**(Figure 19)**

Here we should also examine the eagle of figures 18-19, which according to the position of the legs seems to have been (195-196) attached to the hand of the statuette of Zeus; maybe it stood in the left hand of the statuette, whence the items we reported just now also derive.

The form of eagle, who does not fly with all his impetus, but appears to hover and to bear the wings not completely extended and his legs attached to his body, his neck not bending to the front, is amazingly beautiful and is presented with a lot of charm and art. Regarding the dating of this eagle we should not estimate a lot beyond the beginning of the 5th century, as testified by the usual representation of the feathers with arc-shaped lines on his back and under the wings.<sup>57</sup> The excellent preservation of the bronze is remarkable. The corners of the engravings are so acute, that they make us believe that perhaps the artwork has been in open-air conditions only for a very short time.

Length from the beak to the tail 0.068 m and between the edges of the wings 0.08 m.

<sup>57</sup> compare Carapanos, *Dodone XXI*.



ΕΡΜΗΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΚΑΙΟΥ

**Plate 9.** Hermes without a beard dressed with a short tunic (χιτωνίσκος) and a heavy *chlamys* and wearing a high conical hat and high sandals bearing the remainder of the wings at his back and standing on a small base; around the base the lead fixing the statuette onto his pedestal still exists. According to the poise and generally the shape of the figure and his costume, our statuette is probably classified to the era approaching the passage from the Archaic artistic style, which is characterized by the representation of the human body lacking in flexibility and motion, to the free and live depiction of the body through a perfectly developed art.

Our Hermes is still supporting with his entire sole both legs on the base, but these were not found regularly attached along the same line, whereas one of the two legs detaches partially, because it seems that the body weight was supported only by the right leg, whereas the left leg is depicted in such way as if it is resting or ready to start walking. The fact that the craftsman was not very much used to depicting this form, that is, of the leg free from the body weight, shows also that the bending of the (197) left leg not bearing the weight also follows some light bending of the right, which makes the statuette's pose not solid enough.

Our Hermes was approximately contemporary with the statuette of Apollo of Lousoi published by Furtwängler<sup>58</sup>, or even other art works similar to that and referring to that period, that is to say the period during the 30s and 20s of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. With Apollo of Lousoi it shares the fineness of the body and particularly the legs.

The representation of the tunic, which is not excessively finely woven, does not present anything exceptional. It is worth noticing only that some special skill regarding the adaptation of the thighs to the figure, which does not have the same vertical direction, as well as the position of the legs is different.

The chlamys is buttoned under the neck with a round button depicted by means of an engraved thin circle. In the front it is double and rougher, in the back it reaches up to under the buttocks and has fringes on each end. The way it is worn is not very common. The chlamys in almost all periods of antiquity is usually buttoned with a buckle on the right shoulder and it leaves the right arm uncovered, it is sometimes adjusted in another way, very seldom however, as in our Hermes' case, at the middle of the chest under the neck so that it covers both arms.

It seems that the way of wearing the chlamys derived from the habit prevailing in the cold country of the Arcadians to wear a heavy woollen cloak buttoned in the middle of the chest and to cover the body completely, as we see on some still-unpublished statuettes in the National Museum (13057), which were found during the excavations of the temple of Pan near Berekla (see above). The moderate and extraordinary as far as the artistic style is concerned representation of the pleats of the chlamys, **(198)** both in the front and in the rear part of the statuette, is also very remarkable. The ugliness of the various features of the face and the clumsiness of their representation are totally opposite to the relative genius of the art that the rest of the figure displays, and this surprises everyone looking at our Hermes.

The unnaturally fleshy lips and the wide and somehow extending nose could very well portray a person from Africa. The eyes are very oblong and the eyelids immoderately large. The arc above the right eyelid extends awkwardly up to the ear and generally every single part of the face, as well as the ears, are not carefully made, a fact which is very unusual even on Archaic artworks from other Greek locations. This shaping of the face testifies the most that the statuette was created in Arkadia. We should also attribute the omission of the hair round the head to the clumsiness of the craftsmanship. The hair should in every case be present at the back under the head cover.

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<sup>58</sup> *Sitzungsber. Bayr. Akadem.* 1899, p. 567.

The cover is a hat very similar to that which we meet on a lot of other ancient monuments, as in Attica on lekythoi and epitaph reliefs. On those objects the hat is sometimes obviously made of leather, but it could of course also be made of metal.<sup>59</sup> It is likely that in the case of our Hermes it was not made of metal, but for natural reasons we cannot know this. Hermes is wearing a similar cover on many archaic depictions,<sup>60</sup> but this hat of ours differs from the one of all the others, because here the separate circle, which constitutes the lower part of the hat, is bigger, and follows almost precisely the direction of the rest of the hat, while in other cases this circle is at some way extracted and exceeds the head.

**(199)** Archaic representations of Hermes wearing the same clothing as ours is most usual. The famous statue of Hermes, created by Onatas of Aegina and dedicated by people of Pheneus (in Arcadia) to Olympia, wore similar clothes, that is to say it depicted according to Pausanias' writings (V.27.8) *επικείμενος τη κεφαλή κονήν και χιτώνα τε και χλαμύδα ενδεδουκώς*.

Certain terracotta figurines found in Tanagra were considered to be depictions of this Hermes and show a young man wearing a hat, proportional to the one of our Hermes, and only a chlamys, while carrying a ram under the armpit. Perdrizet<sup>61</sup> recently rejected this opinion. But one of the main reasons that he seems to be using in order to support this fact is that Hermes of Onatas, being a votive artwork of Peloponnesians should have a beard, is opposite to our Hermes found in Arkadia and maybe created in the years of Onatas; despite that it does not have a beard. It is strange that the pose of our Hermes agrees in almost all points with the figurines of Tanagra.<sup>62</sup> He also has the right hand seating and holding the kerykeion, causing the fact that apart from the hand also the end of the chlamys at the back has been punctured. The left arm is placed near the waist like in the case of the one from Tanagra, but the ram is absent. Undoubtedly whether the figurine of Tanagra depicts Hermes of Onatas or not, I believe that it would not be so much different and particularly from our Hermes regarding the clothing and other aspects of its appearance.

The base of the statuette has the form of a small and a bit wide cube, height 0.02 m and width 0.027 m. The pointed ends are widened by the means of a burr. The statuette shows that it has not been cast together with the base, but attached to it at a later stage.

Height of the statuette without the base 0.125 m.

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<sup>59</sup> Metallinoi *Dodone* LVI. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Roschers *Lexicon* p. 2395.

<sup>61</sup> *Bull.* 1903, p. 303 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Roschers *Lexicon*, p. 2393 picture.



**Figure 20.** A grossly made little statue of Hermes naked, standing and holding (200) in his raised right hand the *kerykeion*. The form of the *kerykeion*, which is the main proof that our statuette depicts Hermes, is not depicted very clearly. It appears that it ended at its upper part in two pointed beams, while it had a bit underneath some small castellated notches.

The statuette, as far as the body is concerned, is undeniably an imitation of Polykleitian works. Apart from the attitude of the legs, this fact is also testified by the configuration of the chest and the abdomen, which is at most possibly an exact copy of a Polykleitian piece of art.

The representation resembles the *Doryphoros* (Spear-bearer), but the person who created the statuette changed the position of the legs. Our statuette stands on its left leg. Another difference in our statuette is that the hand is raised higher, which gives the statuette some vividness in its motion, a completely extraordinary feature on the works of the Polykleitian cycle. The arms and the legs of the statuette are immoderately grossly and badly made; the legs especially are (201-202) very tight, and in general the entire body is very short in proportion with the head; height of the statuette 0.094 m, height of the head 0.018 m.

The head of this particular statuette is represented in the same ungraceful way as the features of the face, something that, as we have already realised, characterizes the Arcadian works. Apart from all these, this statuette is also missing the ears. In their place there are two strange and small tentacle-like objects, falling down the hair. The hair was woven in tentacles, surrounding the head like a crown,<sup>63</sup> they are however different in form from those of Polykleitian works. Very little care was taken for the depiction of the fingers and the toes. This is also a common trait among the Arcadian statuettes.

Between the fingers of the right hand there is a small piece of bronze, as if our statuette held a stone at the beginning and the *kerykeion* was only added afterwards. The latter was not really adjusted in the aperture of the statuette's hand; for this reason it was fixed at the back with a small piece of bronze put between the *kerykeion* and the concave part of the hand. This statuette, contrary to all the rest, did not stand on the base, but on two small wide rods, through which it was apparently adjusted right on top of the pedestal.

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<sup>63</sup> Almost the same as the hair on similar works to the Apollo of Omphalos.



(Figure 21)



(Figure 22)

*Figures 21-22.* This image of Hermes is also classified in this group of bronze figurines, which are exact imitations of Polykleitos' works. The head in particular, in terms of its form and the way the hair is depicted, was made in imitation of the head of the Doryphoros. As for the pose it is also an exact copy of the Doryphoros, whereas the fact that in the case of the latter the left leg steps completely on the (203) ground derives from the way of fixing the statuette onto its base. The configuration of the chest and the abdomen resembles the rule of Polykleitos, only with the exception that the abdomen appears a little more swollen, showing perhaps that the creation of the statuette occurred in years later than the 5th century. The kerykeion was held in the left hand, a bit deeper than in the case of the small bronze Hermes of the British Museum resembling our statuette.<sup>64</sup> The right arm is extended, as is usual in representations of Hermes.

The chlamys, the usual wrapping of Hermes, is buttoned on the right shoulder and covers the whole of the left arm and the left half of the body, folded with charm and forming pleats. The wings clumsily touch the high sandals. In the middle of the skull there is small aperture, where a small part of a nail still exists; maybe it was useful in order to hold the head cover placed after the statuette was actually finished. The legs have holes at both ends, so that the statuette can be adjusted onto its base.

The statuette was found near the place that I was excavating, next to the temenos of Lykaian Zeus, by a shepherd boy from the village of Dragomanos, while he was playing by digging in the ground. Height 0.095 m, height of the head 0.016 m.

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<sup>64</sup> Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, [Fig. 18](#); Furtwängler, *Meister* p. 427.



ΑΓΓΛΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΚΑΙΟΥ

**Plate 10.** There is no sign that this beautiful statuette depicts a god or any other mythological figure, while the action that the boy is supposed to be performing cannot be declared with certainty. He has raised his right arm as if he wanted to throw something that he holds in his closed palm. His look is directed a bit towards the sky, following the direction, where the aimed object is supposed to be. This object is unfortunately lost and it is not easy to assume what it could be. **(204)** The round double-sided aperture in the right hand of the statuette shows that this object was round and oblong, a staff or some other weapon with a handle, whereas due to the fact that the position of the arm coincides the one of the statues depicting men who aim with a hare-hunting device, someone could conclude that our boy was also intending to aim using a weapon like that. But between the hand and the face of the statuette there is no space for such an object. The arm is also positioned in such a way that is typical in the representation of the so-called *aiming man* [αποσκοπεύντος], but in our case the closed palm does not agree with the double-sided aperture.

The way the hair is arranged and partially the face of the statuette show that it did not even get close to the last section of ancient history, although we may hardly tell from the perfect and technically complete representation of the body. Except perhaps for a certain small imperfection in the representation of the abdomen and the chest on almost the same level on the boy's body, there is no sign of the Archaic period, which – as shown on his face – is quickly abandoned by the craftsman of this small masterpiece. From all works belonging to

the end of the Archaic period, the so-called Apollo of Omphalos<sup>65</sup> has more similarities to our boy than any other. Both of them have almost the same shape of the abdomen and the chest. On both of them the ribs are shaped under the armpit. Particularly obvious is the resemblance between them as for the shape of the buttocks and generally the back. The position of the legs is also the same on both of them, because our statuette too, I suppose, stepped on the ground with the entire left foot.

Among the small bronze ancient art works (205) the statuette of the British Museum which is being republished in *Sitzungsber. d. Bayr. Akad.* (1897, table VI) resembles our statuette the most as for the shape of the body. However our statuette is a bit later than this and the one of Apollo, as shown particularly from the shape of the rounded abdomen, a feature observed on the works of Polykleitos and onwards. The hair of our statuette is shaped almost like the hair of the boy from Epidaurus (Berl. Winckelmanns progr. 50 table 1).<sup>66</sup> It is pulled behind and wrapped (206) along an inconspicuous ribbon, whereas at the front it is combed towards the forehead; it ends with a line made of individual braids, which seem to be separated from the forehead. Contrary to all statuettes examined up to this point, on this particular statuette the capital hair is shaped through somehow assiduous engravings. Remarkable too is the expression of the boy's face, which seems to be expecting with some pleasure the result of his shot. The eyes are still a bit oblong and almond-shaped, whereas round the lips there are still some traces of an Archaic smile.

The small chlamys of lambswool falls naively from the boy's left shoulder covering the left side up to the thigh. Its material is shown by means of thin dots, like on the statuette of Dodona [*Dodona XIV, 2*] and certain other vessels. In the closed left hand we can see the remainder of a shaft or some other thing held by the statuette. (207-208) Between the hand and the body a bit under the left elbow there is the head of a nail attached to the chlamys. A similar one could be also found respectively at the lower part, as the aperture shows, though for what reason is unknown. At the time it was found, our statuette wore a thin petasos on its head, which was added after its creation with the means of a nail in the middle of the skull. Behind the saved nail there is also another small aperture, through which it may have been meant to adjust the end of the nail with the petasos. The person who created the statuette did not initially intend to put a petasos, a fact that is certified by the great assiduity of the engraving of the hair under the petasos.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Collignon *Sculpt.* 1 p. 403 ff. pic. 208.

<sup>66</sup> Joubin *Sculpt.* page 109 pic. 30.

<sup>67</sup> Something similar we also observed in fig. 21-22 of Hermes. It also had a nail in the centre of the skull as in the case of Apollo of Perdrizet in Bull. 1903 tab. IX, who names it "Arcadian boy," found – like the two other statuettes published – in the temple of Pan near Berekla prior to my excavation.



**Figure 23**

On top of the head covered (209-210) by the petasos, the initial shiny color of the bronze is rescued and despite the time passing it only presents a small color variation, because this part of the statuette was not exposed to the effects of the atmosphere, as it was covered by the petasos.

At the time it was found the legs of the statuette were covered, up to the middle of the shins with lead, which seems to be fixing it onto the pedestal. As it was removed (see fig. 23) we discovered that the legs of the statuette were broken already in the antiquity and in order to cover this damage so that the statuette could stand, lead was added around its feet. The initial colour of bronze is preserved also on the legs, where the lead cover existed.

Height from the hand 0.145m. From the top of the head 0.14m. Height of the head 0.02 m.

**Figure 24.** Statuette, poorly made and badly preserved depicting a runner, as it shows from the position of his arms. The face, which also initially was not very well made, is now completely shapeless due to the deterioration. The excessive bulging of the muscles of the thighs and the shins remind us of the statuettes of Olympia (*Olympia* IV table XV, 257). Under each leg there is a small nail, through which it was adjusted to the base. Height 0.085m.



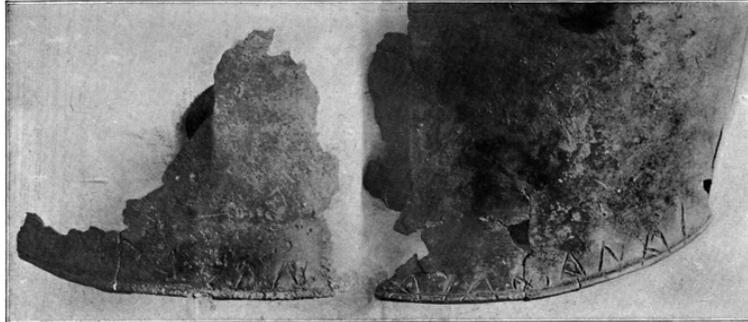
**Figure 24.**



**Figure 25.** Beautiful *knemis* (greave) found broken in the place mentioned above as *prothusis*. Much of it could not be saved due to the fact that the bronze layer was extremely thin. It looks proportionally similar to the *knemis* of Olympia (*Olympia* IV, LXI 990). As a continuity of the lines underlining the shin, the head and the neck of a swan is depicted on one side and the anterior part of a snake on the other. The feathers of the swan as well as the scales of

the snake and the details of their heads are engraved with care in the form of fine lines. The long beard under the jaw of the snake is also engraved with the means of lines.

Next to the swan there is another snake, which is thin and embossed on the shin, whereas on the top of the greave up to the knee we can see the anterior side of a helmet, like in the case of the Olympian greave.



(Figure 26)

The inscription preserved around its lower end (Fig. 26), engraved in thin letters, intensifies the importance of the knemis. (211) The letters are preserved on four different pieces, two at on each piece (...ΕΛΙΔΑΣΑΝΕ... ΑΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ). The middle of the inscription as well as the small part of its beginning is absent; undoubtedly it would read *ΕΥΤΕΛΙΔΑΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΤΩ*

*Λυκαίω Δί και τα Αθήναι.*

The cult of Athena together with Zeus was very common in Greece,<sup>68</sup> whereas our inscription contributes to the complete annulment of those opinions stating that Zeus' cult was foreign on Lykaion and did not suit perfectly in the Greek tradition and customs.

This greave, due to its representation as well as the form of the letters, seems to be contemporary to the Olympian greave and is estimated to come from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 27.** Double snake arising from a big ring, whose end is extended as if it were the tail of a snake. The snake could as such be dedicated as an offering,<sup>69</sup> but most likely it would have been extracted from some utensil, on which it used to be adjusted. Length from the head of the snake up to the end of the tail 0.14 m. Height of the ring 0.07 m.

<sup>68</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, "Athena" p. 2001-2002.

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<sup>69</sup> compare Carapanos, *Dodone* table XXI, 8.



**(Figure 28)**

*Figure 28.* Bronze concave *askos*/pouch having (212) a small ring at one end, so that it could hang. In the rear part it is a bit damaged and it has two small holes and two small extensions, whose purpose is unknown. The askos was found years ago in the temenos at the location where G. Karayiannis used to cultivate. It was also one of the offerings dedicated to Lykaian Zeus. Height 0.15 m.



**(Figure 29)**

*Figure 29.* Base from a small statuette with four legs bent almost in the same way as in the case of the bases from the Acropolis (Ridder N° 612-613). For the fixing of the statuette there are two square holes, one in the middle and the other near the edge, almost in an even straight line. In each end there was a nail as well. Length 0.09 m, width 0.046 m and height 0.014 m.

Apart from the objects described and (213-214) pictured above, only a few other things were found in the excavation of the altar and the temple and these are completely unworthy of description. The description of each one of the discoveries of Lykaion proves how much these will also contribute to the knowledge of the Arcadian art, already characterized by Furtwängler in his article, which we repeatedly mentioned above (*Arkadische Statuetten in Sitzungsber. Bayr. Akad. 1899*), based on the few small pieces of this art that were known to him. With regard to this art, we will refrain from going into detail for the moment. We shall refer to them again when several bronze and terracotta miniatures that we discovered in the Temple of Pan near Berekla are published and the type and the beginning of this artistic style will be clarified. As we have seen, the monuments observed by Pausanias, that is, the altar with the two columns and the temple, are preserved on top of Lykaion and probably not varying a lot. Other research on Lykaion, which we want to deal with later, proved that there are also preserved there the remainder of the monuments described by Pausanias. Generally it seems that the human hand caused minimal damage to the antiquities found in Arkadia near Lykaion, whereas if some of them have come down to us in a very bad condition, this is

particularly due to the wild nature that contributes much to the deterioration of the stones and the marbles, and is also due to the bad building habits of the Arcadians.

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K. KOUROUNIOTIS

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