

Heroic Scenes and Hero-cults in the Late Geometric Period

Nobuo KOMITA

Abstract

Around 730 B.C., heroic figure scenes suddenly emerged on the Late Geometric vases. These scenes represent specific stories from the Homeric poems and other cyclic epics like the *Aethiopis* and the *Cypria*; for instance, Nestor fighting with the Moliones, the shipwreck of Odysseus, Achilles slaying Penthesilea, etc. The sudden appearance of these scenes implies that the heroic epics were widely circulated in Geometric Greece. This fact is attested by the fact that a cup from Pithecusae had the hexameter verse on it indicating the Nestor's gold cup mentioned in the *Iliad*. At the same time, Mycenaean burials were suddenly worshiped in the middle of the eighth century. A number of votive deposits were offered to the Mycenaean graves at Prosymna, Mycenae, Menidi, and so on. Moreover, the cults of the Mycenaean heroes were founded: the shrine of Agamemnon near Mycenae, the sanctuary of Menelaus and Helen at Therapne, and the sanctuary of Odysseus on Ithaca. Likewise funerals in Geometric Greece were influenced by the diffusion of epic poetry. The findings from the royal tomb at Salamis and the funeral games in Chalcis show the close similarities with the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad*. When the Greeks, after the Dark Age, regained their prosperity and encountered the sophisticated civilizations of the East, they were strongly aware of themselves as the Greeks; as the result, they came to respect the Mycenaean heroes as the laudable ancestors of the Geometric Greeks.

I. Heroic scenes on the Late Geometric Vases

The figured scenes on the Late Geometric vases frequently represent battle scenes, chariots, and warriors. These scenes seem to show heroic atmosphere though they are generic in character and none of specific stories seem to be alluded. However, around 730 B.C. onwards (i.e. the Late Geometric IIa period), specific stories from Greek myth suddenly began to emerge¹⁾. For instance, on the Late Geometric II oinochoe Agora P 4885, Siamese twins fighting with a warrior is depicted (Fig.1)²⁾. The twins are supposed to be the Moliones and the warrior is Nestor. The Moliones are mentioned in the *Iliad* as the young Epeian brothers who fought against Nestor and the Pylians, but when the twins were almost killed by Nestor, they were barely saved by a thick mist which Poseidon sent (*Il.* 11. 709-710; 11. 750-752). On the vase scene, holding the reins one of the twins tries to step on a chariot for escape, while the other fights off a warrior; the checkered square which the twins wear indicates a rectangular shield as shown on an Attic Geometric vase³⁾. The vase scene may represent the funeral games of Amarynkeus, king of Elis, in which Nestor lost the chariot-

race to the Aktorione-Molione in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 23. 630-642). The double-figure on the oinochoe clearly indicates that the legendary tales in the Homeric poems were already known to the artist of the vase in the Late Geometric II period. Also a bronze clasp from Crete dated to around 700 B.C. depicts a warrior fighting with Siamese twins (Fig. 2)⁴⁾; the warrior has a sword and a spear, while the twins fight with four spears. The scene seems to represent the mythological story of Herakles and the Moliones. According to Greek myth, the Moliones attacked the army of Herakles and slew many of them; later, the twins were killed by Herakles. Though the story is not mentioned in the Homeric poems, Apollodorus tells the story (*Apollod.* 2. 139-140).

On a Geometric neckamphora in Copenhagen (Copenhagen 7029)⁵⁾, eleven centaurs are depicted around the body of the amphora; on the neck, a centaur holds a branch and a man stands holding a branch in each hand. The scene appears to amicable since the branches are not weapons but are supposed to be a kind of staffs carried by dancers, prayers, and the like⁶⁾. This friendly meeting of a centaur and a man implies the story of Peleus and Cheiron who gave the Pelian ash spear to Peleus; the story seems to be very old, and is already mentioned in the *Iliad* (16. 143ff.). A bronze group of New York around 750-735 B.C. (Metropolitan Museum 17. 190. 2072)⁷⁾ shows a man and a centaur fighting. The bronze group is considered to represent Herakles and a centaur since in Greek myth Herakles had many fighting with centaurs. He killed the Centaur Pholus when centaurs attacked him attracted by the smell



Fig. 2. Herakles and the Moliones

of wine ; also he killed the centaur Nessus when Nessus attempted to rape Deianira, wife of Herakles, carrying across the river Euenus. A shipwreck scene is depicted on the neck of Attic oinochoe in Munich dated to 750-700 B.C. (Munich 8696) (Fig. 3)⁸⁾. In the scene, only one warrior sits on the keel of the inverted ship, on the other hand, ten warriors are in the water surrounded by eleven fish ; the only figure on the ship seems secure. It is highly possible that the scene depicted the shipwreck of Odysseus mentioned in the *Odyssey* from



Fig. 3. Shipwreck of Odysseus

which Odysseus was the only survivor (*Od.* 12. 403-425).

A krater in London around 735-720 B.C. (London 1899. 2-19.1) shows a man mounting a large ship holding a woman, who holds a wreath, by the wrist (Fig. 4)⁹. The scene is generally supposed to represent Paris and Helen whom he abducted from king Menelaus of Sparta. The detailed account of the 'apple of Discord' is given by one of the lost cyclic epics, the *Cypria*. In Homer, Paris is described as a well-known character; in the *Iliad*, Paris carried off Helen from Lakedaemon in seafaring vessels (*Il.* 3. 443ff.). However, holding by the wrist might be regarded as a sign of greeting¹⁰; if this interpretation is possible, the scene on the krater may depict the departure of Odysseus told by his wife Penelope in the *Odyssey* as the following: "When he went and left me behind in the land of his fathers, he took me by the right hand at the wrist, and then said to me." (*Od.* 18. 257-258)¹¹. As we have seen, the description of the *Odyssey* and the scene on the vase seem to represent close resemblance, though it is not easy to determine¹². In spite of this uncertainty, this vase scene evidently represents one of the specific themes derived from epic poetry; the obsolete Dipylon shield on the stern also adds a heroic flavor to the picture. A grave krater (Athens 990) (Fig. 5)¹³ shows the ekphora, and in the lower zone, a procession of chariots with warriors wearing the Dipylon shields are depicted. As implied in the funeral games of Patroclus in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, the scene indicates that funeral games were obviously held in honor of the deceased aristocrat in the eighth century. This fact is also attested by Hesiod; he mentions that he won a tripod cauldrons in a poetry contest at funeral games in honor of Amphidamas the Chalcidian aristocrat (*Erga.* 654). Therefore, together with the rarity of the ekphora on Geometric vases, the krater must represent a special honor for the highest nobleman and his family. The similarities of funeral games between the krater and the *Iliad* evidently suggest that the Homeric epics strongly influenced the Geometric Greeks.

Warriors are frequently depicted by wearing the Dipylon shield on the Attic Geometric Vases; for instance, the Dipylon shield is shown on Athens 990, New York 34. 11.2 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)¹⁴, Louvre A517¹⁵, Paris A519¹⁶, and so on. It seems that the Dipylon type shield did not exist in the eighth century; however, the similar kind of shield is known in the Mycenaean Age as the figure-of-eight shield which is represented on a Late Helladic ivory plaque from Delos about 1250 B.C.¹⁷ Consequently, it is very likely that the artist of the Late Geometric period deliberately put the obsolete archaic shield in their paintings to allude a heroic coloring since these scenes were depicted to commemorate the heroic deeds of the deceased aristocrat. The chariot had been used in the Mycenaean Age, but it became obsolete in fighting. After a period of long duration, the chariot suddenly appeared in Geometric art. For instance, Athens 990 (Fig. 5) shows a procession of chariots; the chariot is depicted as an oblong box with two wheels and a hoop at each end, and the Dipylon warrior is shown on each chariot alluding a heroic coloring. These facts suggest that the reminiscences of the Mycenaean Age must have uninterruptedly continued through the Dark Age and strongly influenced Geometric artists. For them the Mycenaean Age was regarded as the age of Homeric heroes whom the Geometric Greeks enthusiastically honored.

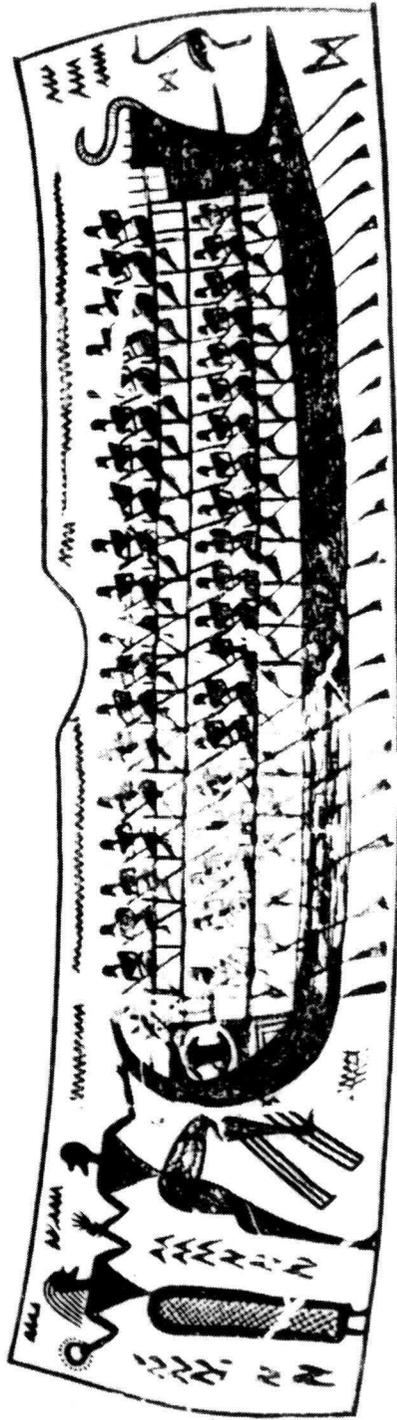


Fig. 4. Paris and Helen (Odysseus and Penelope?)

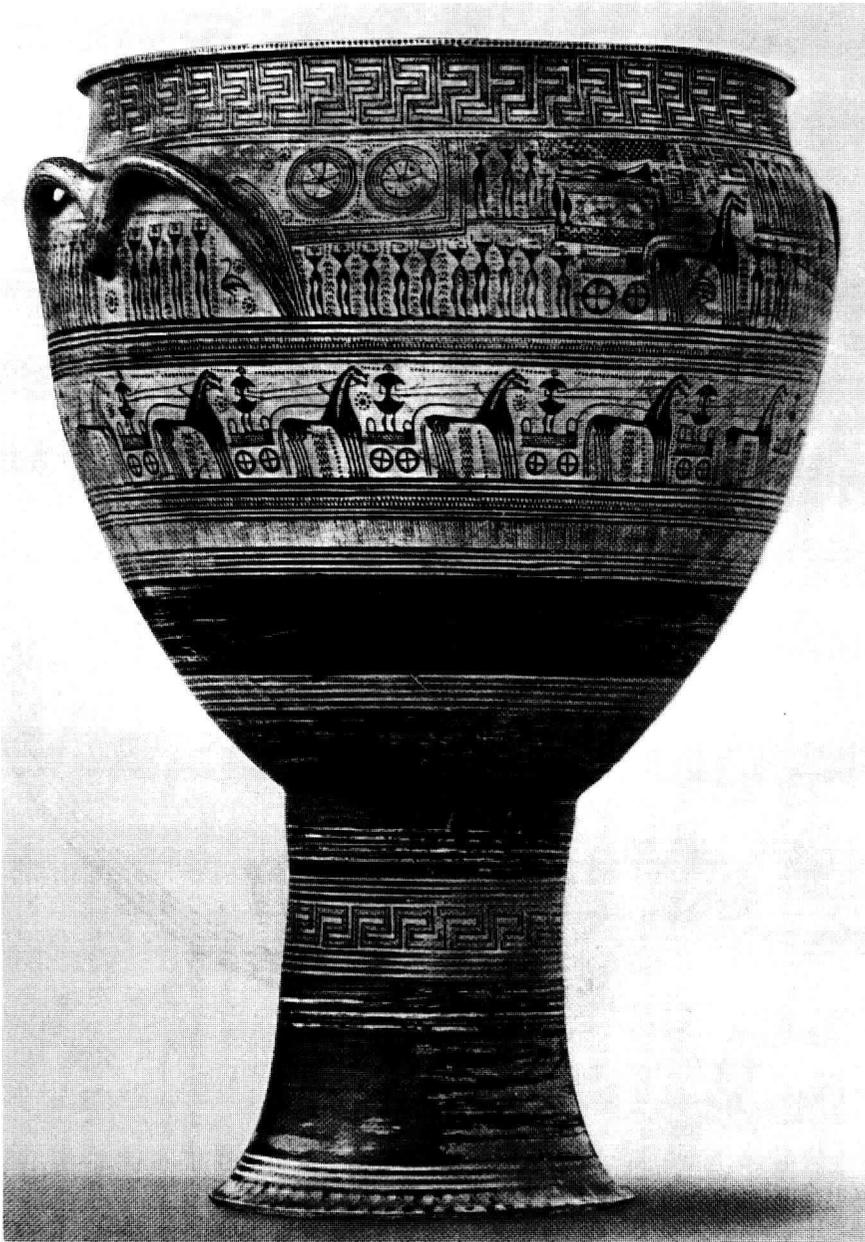


Fig. 5. Attic Geometric Krater (Athens 990)

Stories from the cyclic epics seem to have emerged in Geometric art around 700 B.C. For example, a clay shield from Tiryns (ca. 700 B.C.) shows a warrior slaying a female warrior (Fig. 6)¹⁸. The scene is interpreted as the death of Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, who came to help the Trojans after the death of Hector. This story is mentioned



Fig. 6. Achilles and Penthesilea

in one of the lost Trojan epics, the *Aethiopis*. The death of Achilles is similarly depicted on the seal impression from Pithecusae¹⁹⁾; the scene shows Aias carrying the body of Achilles. His death is predicted by Hector in the *Iliad* (22. 359-360), and the fight over the body of Achilles and his funeral are mentioned in the *Odyssey* (24. 35ff.). As we have seen, many of the figured scenes of Geometric art might be generic²⁰⁾; however, most of the subjects are heroic in character shown by the obsolete Dipylon shield, the chariot, and the warriors. Though paucity of detail sometimes makes it difficult to identify a specific story, some scenes obviously refer to the particular myth; Nestor and the Moliones, the shipwreck of Odysseus, Achilles slaying Penthesilea, etc. These facts clearly indicate that the continu-

ity of memories from the Bronze Age and the circulation of the cyclic epics such as the *Aethiopis* and the *Cypria* must have strongly influenced the the minds of the Greek population. They readily accepted these heroic stories recognizing the magnificent days of their ancestors.

II. Hero-cults in the Late Geometric Period

Around 750 B.C., the Geometric Greeks began to worship the Mycenaean burials; a number of votive deposits were offered to the Mycenaean tombs in the Late Geometric period. For instance, at Prosymna near the Argive Heraion, Mycenaean chamber tombs yielded votives which were later than the eighth century²¹; likewise at Mycenae, in the dromos of the Tomb of Klytemnestra and at Tomb 520, a good deal of Geometric pottery was discovered implying the existence of hero-cults²². At Menidi in Attica, the dromos of the tholos tomb produced burnt votive pottery continuing from the Late Geometric period into the fifth century including fragments of Geometric, Early Attic, Corinthian and black-figure vases²³. Similarly at Aliko in Attica, votive offerings from the dromos of a Mycenaean chamber tomb²⁴. As mentioned, votive offerings were generally put in the dromos of the Mycenaean tomb, and this fact evidently indicates that the Geometric Greeks carefully placed their deposits not to disturb the chamber of the Mycenaean burial since the royal tomb was considered to be venerable. Kephallenia was an important asylum for the refugees from the collapsing Mycenaean kingdoms in the twelfth century. Seventh-century votives (i.e. Archaic pots) were discovered in a Mycenaean chamber tomb at Metaxata on the island of Kephallenia²⁵; likewise on Keos, a Bronze Age temple began to receive votive offerings again about 750 B.C.²⁶ A triangular heroon, dated to the early seventh century, was built just inside the West Gate in Eretria, and the votive deposits of the memorial continued during the period 720-680 B.C.²⁷ Since the war memorial seems to have been founded in honor of the deceased warriors of the Lelantine War, this fact also suggests that the influence of epic poetry deeply permeated among the Greeks. Moreover, the circulation of epic poetry together with the existence of Mycenaean tombs made the Dorian invaders offer votives in Messenia and the Argolid. It is known that the deposits continued into Classical times, and in Messenia they continued even into the Hellenistic and Roman times²⁸. Though the Dorians had no kinship with the Mycenaean heroes, they offered votive deposits to the Mycenaean burials. The reason is that the Dorians eagerly needed ties with the Bronze Age kings since the cyclic epics were strongly influenced the Greeks; at the same time, the Dorians became fully aware of the glorious days of the Mycenaean Age with reverence.

Around 700 B.C., hero-cults were founded away from the Mycenaean tombs; the shrine of Agamemnon was established one mile south of the citadel of Mycenae from which the votive offerings bearing Agamemnon's name were discovered, and the votive deposits began in the late eighth century and continued until the destruction of a small town of Mycenae in 468 B.C. without break²⁹. On the ruins of a Mycenaean settlement, the sanctuary of Menelaus and Helen was built at Therapne three miles south of Sparta around 700 B.C.³⁰

The seven-roomed shrine of Academus, a founder-hero of Athens, was also established near the later Gymnasium in the late eighth century, and the deposits of the sanctuary included pottery from the Late Geometric period onwards³¹. The shrine was situated next to an Early Bronze Age house. This implies that the Bronze Age house was fortuitously discovered and identified with the palace of Academus; hence, the sanctuary was built to commemorate the founder-hero. Similarly, Odysseus had his sanctuary on the Polis cave on Ithaca where votive offerings began in the eleventh century and continued into the first century A. D.³²; the bronze tripod cauldrons discovered appear to be deposits. According to a Hellenistic inscription from Magnesia on the Maender, and Odysseion on Ithaca held games to celebrate the Homeric hero Odysseus³³. Since Ithaca had no conspicuous discontinuity during the Dark Age, it is not surprising that the cult of Odysseus continued for such a long time together with the memories of the Mycenaean Age. As mentioned above, it is very likely that the foundations of the Mycenaean hero shrines concurred with the circulation of the Homeric epics.

At the same time, the diffusion of the Homeric poems strongly affected heroic funerals in Geometric Greece. At Salamis in Cyprus, the royal tomb of the Mycenaean refugees in the Iron Age produced a large cattle bone, and also at Old Paphos yielded the skull and forelegs of a sheep; large amphorae were discovered from the dromos of the royal tombs³⁴. The royal tomb in Salamis contained two-horse vehicles, and every royal tomb produced two horse skeletons in the dromos; in addition, the metal parts of chariot were discovered from Tomb 79³⁵ likewise. These funeral features have close similarities with the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad* (23. 108-261). For instance, the body of Patroclus was carried on his chariot, and sheep and cattle were sacrificed in his honor. Achilles offered amphorae which contained oil and honey; actually, a large amphora from Tomb 3 was inscribed *ἔλαιον* (i.e. olive oil)³⁶. Achilles slaughtered the four chariot horses and placed them upon the pyre. As mentioned, horse bones were discovered in the royal tombs of Salamis; moreover, the pyre deposit was found in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 1³⁷. These aspects indicate that the royal burials in Salamis seem to have been strongly influenced by the epics of Homer since many similarities are clearly observed. In Chalcis the funeral games were held in honor of Amphidamas who died in a sea battle. Hesiod attended the funeral games of Amphidamas, and won the prize for song (*Erga*. 654-657); the close resemblance to the funeral of Patroclus is shown in this story. This fact also implies that the epic cycle was already diffused in Geometric Greece since Chalcis seems to have been an important city for epic recitation as mentioned by Hesiod³⁸. The circulation of epic poetry is attested by the verse-inscriptions; an East Greek Late Geometric cup discovered in a grave at Pithecusae on Ischia around 720 B.C. contained two lines of hexameter verse in the Chalcidian alphabet. The verse means 'I am Nestor's cup, good to drink from. But whoever drink of this, he will be struck at once with desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite³⁹.' The verse must have been written down by a person who obviously knew the Nestor's gold cup appeared in the *Iliad* (11. 632-635). It is highly possible that the Greeks had heroic poetry celebrating their heroic deeds in verse in the first half of the second millennium, though Greek poetry goes back to Indo-European

prototypes⁴⁰). The existence of the loose hexameter verse seems very likely in southern Greece around 1100 B.C.⁴¹), and an actual incident of centuries before the age of Homer must have been remembered in the form of heroic poetry. Therefore, the hexameter verse on the cup from Pithecusae implies the far-ranging circulation of the Homeric epics in the eighth century as far as in the Gulf of Naples.

With the diffusion of the Homeric poems and other epic poetry, the Geometric Greeks were seriously aware of the glorious days of their heroic ancestors. At Thermon in Aetolia, Megaron B, the most primitive and earliest Geometric temple, was founded near Megaron A dated to the Late Helladic period⁴²). The tripartite plan and alignment of Megaron B have close affinities with Megaron A, the Mycenaean palace. This indicates that Megaron B copied the Bronze Age structure by the Geometric Greeks. At the Argive Heraion, the megalithic terrace wall, which measures 55.8 m. by 33.4 m., was built in the late eighth century⁴³), and the Heraion terrace is regarded as a deliberate imitation of the Mycenaean Cyclopean wall⁴⁴). Similarly at Eleusis, many Geometric burials overlie a group of Middle Helladic and Mycenaean cist graves. Especially eight cist graves of the Middle Helladic type were encircled by a wall in the Late Geometric period⁴⁵). These graves are believed to be the heroon of the Seven against Thebes described by Pausanias as *καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν ἐπι Θήβας* (1. 39. 2), and at the time the monumental sepulchers must have been one of the famous historic sites at Eleusis. It is remarkable to say that the graves which the Late Geometric Greeks worshiped were mostly Mycenaean. This fact clearly indicates that the Geometric Greeks accurately differentiated these Late Bronze Age graves from other burials⁴⁶) as the burials of the Mycenaean kings whom they piously adored.

Conclusion

As mentioned, it is obvious that the Greeks had a kind of heroic poetry celebrating their heroic deeds in verse in the first half of the second millennium, and it is highly possible that this tradition goes back to Indo-European prototypes. The existence of the hexameter verse is very likely around 1100 B.C. in Greece, and this fact clearly indicates that many heroic exploits of the Mycenaean kings must have been sung in verse in the Bronze Age; moreover, the tales of these heroic adventures must have been preserved and transmitted to Geometric Greece. When the Homeric epics and other cyclic epics began to circulate, the Greeks of the eighth century were fully aware of the glorious days in the Bronze Age which Hesiod sang as the age of the semi-god race of heroes (*Erga*. 156-165); at the same time, the Geometric Greeks were very proud of their heroic ancestors by establishing a link with them. In the middle of the eighth century, the cults of Homeric heroes were established; likewise, anonymous Mycenaean burials were reverently honored. From 730 B.C., figure scenes on Late Geometric vases began to represent specific tales from epic poetry, and the stories of these scenes evidently coincide with the tales appeared in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer and other cyclic epics like the *Aethiopsis* and the *Cypria*. The sudden emergence of these figured scenes clearly indicates that these legendary stories were widely diffused in Geomet-

ric Greece. The so-called Nestor's cup from Pithecusae had the hexameter verse on it, and the verse also implies that the gold cup of Nestor mentioned in the *Iliad* was already known. Moreover, this phenomenon suggests that the Greeks were extremely conscious of the Mycenaean Age as the age of magnificent heroes. After the Dark Age, a time of poverty and isolation, the Late Geometric period witnessed the recovery of prosperity and civilization including the Homeric epics and Geometric art. When Greek ships began to sail in the Mediterranean again, they frequently encountered the sophisticated civilizations of the East. They needed to clarify their own cultural provenance as the Greeks; for them, the Mycenaean Age was truly the magnificent and laudable age of the glorious Mycenaean heroes.

Notes

- 1) J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (Cambridge : Methuen, 1977), p. 352.
- 2) Karl Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (Munich : Hirmer, 1964), pl. 7a.
- 3) P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare* (Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973), p. 65, fig. 38.
- 4) Schefold, pl. 6b.
- 5) T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London : Methuen, 1977), fig. 26.
- 6) *Ibid.*, p. 175.
- 7) J.M. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece* (Ithaca and London : Cornell Univ. Press, 1985), p. 109, fig. 47.
- 8) Schefold, pl. 8 ; See also Coldstream, p. 353, fig. 112c.
- 9) Schefold, pl. 5c.
- 10) Webster, p. 177.
- 11) R. Lattimore, *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York : Harper and Row, 1975), p. 277.
- 12) Coldstream thinks (Coldstream, p. 355) that the scene may represent Theseus and Adiadne departing from Crete after the killing of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth.
- 13) John Boardman, et al., *Die Griechische Kunst* (Munich : Hirmer, 1984), pl. 49.
- 14) *Ibid.*, pl. 50.
- 15) M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975), vol. 2, pl. 5a
- 16) Coldstream, p. 111, fig. 33b.
- 17) R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Tausend Jahre Frühgriechische Kunst* (Munich : Hirmer, 1980), pl. 333.
- 18) Schefold, pl. 7b.
- 19) Coldstream, p. 229, fig. 75d.
- 20) R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd ed., (London : Methuen, 1977), p. 20 ; John Carter, "The Beginnings of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period," *BSA*, 67 (1972), p. 38. Carter thinks that the scenes are generic and non-specific. "They are drawn from the current experience of the society to which the artist belonged. . . . They resemble the epic because they are the products of the same society and reflect the same interests and values." (Carter, p. 38).
- 21) Coldstream, "Hero-cults in the Age of Homer," *JHS*, 96 (1976), p. 9
- 22) G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), p. 181.
- 23) *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.
- 24) Coldstream, *JHS*, p. 11.
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 12 ; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, p. 346.

- 26) Hurwit, p. 120.
- 27) Coldstream, *JHS*, p. 15.
- 28) *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 29) *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 30) *Ibid.*
- 31) *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 32) *Ibid.*
- 33) *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 34) Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, p. 349.
- 35) *Ibid.*, p. 349 ; p. 348, fig. 111.
- 36) *Ibid.*, p. 349.
- 37) *Ibid.*
- 38) *Ibid.*, p. 350.
- 39) A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1971), p. 351, fig. 111.
- 40) M.L. West, "Greek Poetry 2000-700 B.C.," *Classical Quarterly*, 67 (1973), p. 179 ; pp. 187-188.
- 41) *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 42) D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), p. 52, fig. 20 ; p. 53.
- 43) J.C. Wright, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid," *JHS*, 102 (1982), p. 186 ; p. 187, fig. 1.
- 44) *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- 45) Coldstream, *JHS*, p. 11 ; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 1969), p. 62.
- 46) Hurwit, p. 121.

References

- Apollodorus. *The Library*. 2 vols. Sir Frazer, James G. ed. Cambridge and London : Harvard Heineman, 1976.
- Boardman, John ; Dörig, Jose ; Fuchs, Werner and Max Hirmer. *Die Griechische Kunst*. Munich : Hirmer, 1980.
- Carter, John. "The Beginning of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period," *BSA*, 67 (1972), pp. 25-58.
- Coldstream, J.N. "Hero-cults in the Age of Homer," *JHS*, 96 (1976), pp. 8-17.
- . *Geometric Greece*. Cambridge : Methuen, 1977.
- Cook, R.M. *Greek Painted Pottery*. 2nd. ed. London : Methuen, 1972.
- Greenhalgh, P.A.L. *Early Greek Warfare*. Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973.
- Hampe, Roland, and Erika Simon. *Tausend Jahre Frühgriechische Kunst*. Munich : Hirmer, 1980.
- Hesiod. *Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns*. White, E.G. Evelyn. ed. Cambridge and London : Harvard Heinemann, 1964.
- Homer. *Homeri Opera*. 5 vols. Allen, Thomas H. ed. Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 1974.
- Hurwit, Jefferey M. *The Art and Culture of Early Greece*. Ithaca and London : Cornell Univ. Press, 1985.
- Lattimore, Richmond. *The Odyssey of Homer*. New York : Harper and Row, 1967.
- Mylonas, George E. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*. Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 1966.

- . *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969.
- Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. 4 vols. Jones, W.H.S. ed. Cambridge and London: Harvard Heinemann, 1978.
- Robertson, Martin. *A History of Greek Art*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975.
- Robertson, D.S. *Greek and Roman Architecture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969.
- Schefold, Karl. *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*. Munich: Hirmer, 1964.
- Snodgrass, A.M. *The Dark Age of Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1971.
- Webster, T.B.L. *From Mycenae to Homer*. London: Methuen, rpt. 1977.
- West, M.L. "Greek Poetry 2000-700 B.C.," *Classical Quarterly*, 67 (1973), pp. 179-192.
- Wright, James C. "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid," *JHS*, 102 (1982), pp. 186-201.