

# Hyria on Naxos

## Tracing the connectivity of an insular sanctuary with the Aegean and beyond<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

*The sanctuary of Hyria on Naxos, excavated between the years 1986–1998, has long attracted academic attention, mainly because of its importance for the history and evolution of ancient Greek temple-architecture. Apart from the architectural interest, however, the study of the archaeological material brought to light enlightens us about the connectivity of the sanctuary with areas of the Aegean and the Near East over the centuries and increases our knowledge on aspects of Naxian society, especially during the early phases of historical times.*

*Extensive research on Panhellenic sanctuaries confirmed that written testimonies, literary and epigraphic, combined with impressive and costly dedications, are fundamental sources of information about the origin of the donors and the network of interactions. Unfortunately, both the above are completely missing from Hyria, as well as from most of the sanctuaries of the Cyclades. We are, therefore, obliged to settle for the imported pottery and the minor objects/offerings found in these sites. There is no doubt that the sanctuary of Hyria takes precedence over the other sanctuaries of Naxos in terms of the quantity of small dedications, be they local imitations or imported, in clay or in more valuable materials.*

*This paper attempts to identify cultural and commercial relations of the islanders with the wider Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean areas, as documented by the analysis of pottery and of the minor objects found in the sanctuary and to show to what extent the emerging image complements our knowledge from previous relevant studies.*

It is widely accepted that the importance of a sanctuary within a network of regional or interregional influences and interactions is better reflected in the type and the quantity of the dedications it attracts. Several studies have tried to grasp the significance of costly offerings in the Panhellenic sanctuaries, especially after the end of the Geometric period and the shift towards the 7th century B.C.; scholars attempted to relate the dedications to specific individuals according to their place of origin and to reveal the political, social or religious purposes of the dedication.<sup>2</sup>

However, while this ambitious effort and the methodology followed have a considerable chance of success

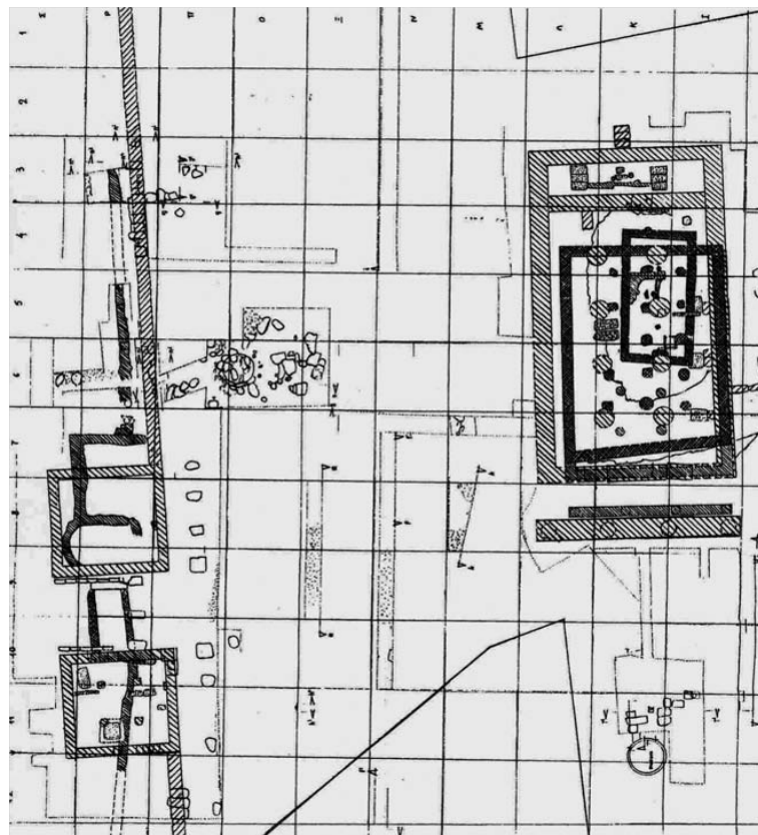
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1 An abridged version of this paper was presented in the International Congress “Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean” held in Lemnos island between the 11th and 14th of September 2019 and organized by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos, Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports. I wish to warmly thank the Ephor Dr. P. Triantafyllides and the Organizing Committee for the excellent organization of the Congress and for their warm hospitality in Lemnos.

2 The issue has attracted diachronic attention; for an introduction to the subject cf. Funke 2006 and Étienne 2010, Chapter 6, “Sanctuaires et offrandes en Grèce”, with relevant bibliography. Kerschner (2006) presented an interesting case study regarding Lydian dedications in Greek sanctuaries.



1a.



1b.

Fig. 1a-b. Aerial view and general plan of the archaeological site of Hyria. A. Archaic temple IV; B. Altar; Γ. Propylon; Δ. The two halls of the Classical Hestiation; E. Classical well; Z. Sanctuary enclosure (Courtesy of Prof. Em. V. K. Lambrinoudakis, director of the excavation).

in the case of Panhellenic sanctuaries, which yielded a multitude of valuable finds backed by relevant literary and epigraphic *testimonia* (albeit usually later),<sup>3</sup> they prove less effective when it comes to places of worship not referenced in the written sources and, at the same time, not receiving high-cost and quality dedications, as is the case with Hyria (Fig. 1a-b).<sup>4</sup>

We are, thus, obliged to work with whatever finds we dispose, most of all with pottery, which proves to be particularly helpful. It allows high chronological resolution and identification of origin, thus enabling us to more easily recognize network patterns during the period we are interested in and to monitor their complexity. The interaction between imported pottery and local production helps us perceive the cultural exchanges with several regions, which pilgrimage, commerce or other factors gave rise to. It also allows readings that enlighten us about the evolution of the society of an area,<sup>5</sup> and better illustrates the shift of mentality between the Late Geometric (LG) period, when sanctuaries still promoted the interests of the community, and the 7th century B.C., when more personal concerns and ambitions began to be put forward through the act of dedicating.<sup>6</sup>

When we engage in the study of dedications –mostly pottery but also of any other kind– certain limitations should be taken into account before we come up with plausible answers, as to whether they indicate the presence of foreign visitors in a sanctuary or not. We should, for example, keep in mind that there is no consistency in the archaeological record, or uniformity in the “excavational history” of comparable sites (depositional and post-depositional processes). Some sites have suffered limited deterioration after their final abandonment (e.g., Kythnos Sanctuary,<sup>7</sup> Kalapodi,<sup>8</sup> etc.), while others have undergone huge physical and anthropogenic interventions, which have dramatically altered their stratigraphic readability and greatly affected the preservation of movable and immovable finds. The sanctuary of Hyria<sup>9</sup> belongs to the latter case. One should also avoid evaluation of imports from centers with significant trade activity by applying the same criteria as the ones used for regions with much less commercial potential. Widely exported ceramics, for example, such as Euboean of the Geometric times, Corinthian of the late 8th and 7th century, Ionian of the 7th and 6th century, or Attic of the 6th and 5th century B.C., are not as reliable indexes of overseas dedicators in a place of worship, as are more rarely exported wares.

The brief survey of the pottery and artifacts imported in the sanctuary of Hyria that follows will, hopefully, help to appraise their impact on local production and to eventually bring out the connection of the sanctuary with remote areas.

## POTTERY

Actual ceramic imports from the transition to and during the early phases of the Historical period (Protogeometric – PG, Early Geometric – EG, Middle Geometric – MG) are not detected. We can only note foreign influences on local pottery production, such as a strong Euboean effect,<sup>10</sup> or the more or less faithful imitation of

3 The Delphic sanctuary is a typical case, cf. Aurigny 2009; 2010; 2011; 2019.

4 The restricted literary and epigraphic *testimonia* concerning the island of Naxos have been meticulously gathered and discussed by Sphyroera 2011, Part A. Not one of them refers to the sanctuary of Hyria.

5 Vlachou 2015, 14–5 and notes.

6 Étienne 2010, 232: “à l’époque géométrique, le sanctuaire servirait à marquer les intérêts de la communauté ; à l’époque orientalisante, il sert à exprimer pour l’individu un niveau de richesse, un statut social, et peut-être une préoccupation plus personnelle à l’égard des divinités.”

7 Mazarakis-Ainian 2010; 2017, 105–285.

8 Niemeier 2016.

9 Selected bibliography on the architectural remains and the pottery from the sanctuary at Hyria in Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 181, note 4.

10 Cf. the PG Naxian plain skyphos in Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 182, drawing 1.



Attic prototypes.<sup>11</sup> While imported Attic vessels are altogether missing from the sanctuary of Hyria throughout the LG times, strong Attic influence continues to be felt until the end of the LGIIa period; it is gradually replaced by that of Euboea in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.<sup>12</sup> There are few genuine Parian imports and an intense Parian effect on the Geometric pottery from the sanctuary;<sup>13</sup> both can be explained by the proximity of the two islands, without necessarily the few imported Parian vessels having reached Hyria as dedications of Parian pilgrims. After all, the “*ἐχθρη παλαιή*”,<sup>14</sup> the old enmity, which separated Parians and Naxians, is all too well witnessed and leaves no room for misinterpretation. Only the scarce, but very characteristic, LG Euboean cups could attest to the presence of Euboean visitors on the site, as the commercial distribution of these humble imports is generally restricted.<sup>15</sup> The absence of Early Protocorinthian vessels is noteworthy; the same is true of the limited Protocorinthian influence on local ceramics.<sup>16</sup> All things considered, the pottery of the Early Historical period from the sanctuary of Hyria is, in almost every instance, genuinely Naxian, but has, in several cases, assimilated external stimuli, as is generally accepted for most contemporary indigenous pottery workshops; the presence of overseas pilgrims cannot be presumed by these influences alone.

In the next, Early Archaic period, the harvest in ceramics is impressively poor.<sup>17</sup> This inexplicable lag could be attributed to the fact that Temple III was lying in ruins for over half a century (from 630 to about 580 B.C.), without its level of use being sealed by a new building, as was the case with its two predecessors.<sup>18</sup> This resulted in the dispersion or disappearance of the ceramic debris abandoned in the ruins of the building.

Parian imports are more numerous now, but are still modest products, mainly black-glazed skyphoi. They are distinguished from their Naxian counterparts on account of their typical clay and their superior technology of manufacture. The complete absence from the sanctuary of the large Parian pithamphorae, which were mainly burial vessels,<sup>19</sup> as well as of smaller shapes decorated in the same manner and found in cemeteries<sup>20</sup> and in sanctuaries alike,<sup>21</sup> should not surprise us since they are missing altogether from the published pottery of Naxos.<sup>22</sup>

Several scholars have repeatedly debated on the considerable influence of Parian pottery styles on Naxian ceramics (and vice-versa).<sup>23</sup> There are a few interesting instances among the vases found in the sanctuary. The decoration of a bird-skyphos of the second quarter of the 7th century B.C. is not far from ceramics securely attributed to the Linear Island Style, a class of pottery considered Naxian;<sup>24</sup> its clay, however, would easily char-

11 Cf. the sherds of MG black-glazed or decorated skyphoi that imitate Attic prototypes in Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 183, fig. 1–3.

12 Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 183–87.

13 Knauss 2003; Simantoni-Bournia 2008.

14 Quoted from Herodotus (V, 81,2), who uses these words to describe the hatred between Aiginetans and Athenians; we could use them by analogy in the case of Naxos and Paros, especially when it comes to the Herodotean description of the banning of Athenian pottery from the sanctuary of Damia and Auxessia, cf. Morris 1984, 107–115. A detailed survey of the awkward relationship between Athens and Aegina in Figueira 2016. Cf. Simantoni-Bournia 2008, note 36, for bibliography on the “enmity” between Naxians and Parians.

15 Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 189 drawings 27–28.

16 Simantoni-Bournia 2015, 183–84, drawing 5 and 189, fig. 12.

17 This is also true for other contemporary Naxian sanctuaries, such as Kaminaki and Delion, even for the sanctuary at Gyroulas: the paucity of 7th century pottery found in it, is probably explained by the fact that, when the marble Telesterion was built in the second half of the 6th century B.C., previous vestiges were swept away.

18 Cf. Simantoni-Bournia 2012, 188–9. On the consecutive Oikoi/Temples in the sanctuary of Hyria, cf. Gruben 1993; Lambrinoudakis 1992.

19 An outstanding example is the pithamphora from the cemetery of Paroikia, Paros: Zaphiropoulou 2008 and the partially preserved vases Zaphiropoulou 2017, with relevant bibliography. Further to older finds (e.g., the pithamphora from the sanctuary of Parthenos at Neapolis/Kavala), recent research confirms also the occurrence of these impressive vases in sanctuaries.

20 Typical are the Rheneia vases exhaustively published by Zaphiropoulou 2003.

21 Kourayos 2009, 126–27 with figures of a plate and a dinos; Alexandridou 2017, 353, fig. 15; Koutsoumpou 2017a, 136; 2017b, 162–63.

22 With the insignificant exception of two, probably Parian, plates from the Kaminaki sanctuary, Bikakis 1991, 68–9, no. 66–7, pl. 7.

23 Cf. relevant bibliography in Simantoni-Bournia 2008.

24 Knauss 1997, 4–6; cf. also Lembessi 1967.

acterize the vessel as Parian<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 2).

Among the Hyria material were two vases, for which it proved difficult to decide whether they were genuine imports from the neighboring island or local imitations. In the first case, that of a very fragmented cotyle with a pair of opposite squatting sphinxes, each in a separate frame (*metope*), the style is difficult to distinguish from that of Paros, but the clay, macroscopically at least, is close to the Naxian one.<sup>26</sup>

The second case concerns an impressive vessel, a large crater, of which only two sherds from the lip and a



Fig. 2. Hyria, Naxos. Sherd of a Parian shallow skyphos; second quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive). Fig. 3. Hyria, Naxos. Two joining sherds from the rim of a crater; second half of the 7th century B.C. (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive).

small part of the shoulder survive<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 3). The outside of the lip is decorated with an original theme set in uneven panels (*metopes*); the first panel to the left is painted in solid black and is separated with a double vertical line from the ensuing *metope* featuring a horizontal black-painted *diabolo* (two horizontal triangles placed top to top). The next panel must have contained a clay disc, which has been detached leaving only its circular mark. Two vertical lines separate this *metope* from the panel to the right, which was adorned with two three-petalled standing palmettes, each under a double arched line. The junction of the two arches is crowned by a cross-hatched lozenge.<sup>28</sup> The surface to the right is much worn, but it is very likely that it contained a second clay disc with a painted or printed motif (?), which was detached leaving only its trace; as it fell, it dragged part of the adjoining rectangular *metope* with the palmettes. The upper surface of the lip and the inner face of the rim are black glazed. The fragment is covered with a thick yellowish-white slip; the paint is bright black for the three-leaf palmettes and diluted brownish red for the lattice and bows. The clay is tile-red, with inclusions and mica.

It is not possible to ascribe the vase either in the Naxian or in the Parian workshop based solely on macroscopic clay observation. The style of the decoration makes the attribution of the lip to a specific workshop even more difficult, since it includes elements from both traditions, the Parian (cf. the latticed lozenge between curved lines) and the Naxian (cf. the three-leaf palmettes, common in the Délos XVII C pottery Group<sup>29</sup>). I would favor the ascription to the Naxian workshop,<sup>30</sup> as the combination of painted decoration with embossed elements, unattested in Paros, has at least one parallel in Naxos, and from the same sanctuary for that matter. I refer to the significantly earlier (shift to the 7th century B.C.) black-glazed amphora neck, decorated with a circular imprint depicting a centaur;<sup>31</sup> the relief medallion is framed by a painted, white band ending on either

25 Simantoni-Bournia 2012, 185, drawing 5.

26 Simantoni-Bournia 2012, 186–87, drawing 6.

27 The crater sherds were found in the excavation square P9 (excavation group II 276) on August 24, 1998. Total length of the two joining sherds c. 25 cm, height of the lip 5.3 cm, width of the flat top of the lip c. 1 cm.

28 This very innovative theme reminds one of the “egg and dart” pattern and might be considered an early version of it.

29 E.g., Dugas 1935, C8 pl. XVIII.

30 Possibly to the “Linear Island” workshop, considered to be active on the island from the Subgeometric period to the mid-7th century B.C., Lambrinoudakis 1977, 116–121; Knauss 1997.

31 Simantoni-Bournia 2007.

side with a spiral. On the amphora neck, the circular relief was printed directly on the body of the vase, while on the crater lip the three-dimensional decoration was achieved through affixing clay discs.

The same fusion of styles that hazes the attribution of certain Early Archaic vases to one or the other island is also encountered on some amphora sherds from Aplomata,<sup>32</sup> or on a crater lip from the sanctuary at Kaminaki on Naxos.<sup>33</sup> However, all the above do not offer sufficient evidence for the presence at Hyria of Parian pilgrims, who left samples of their devotion. At best, they confirm the long-held view, supported by many scholars, that the well-known rivalry of the two islands, which, starting from the LG period, seems to culminate in the years of Archilochos, did not prevent substantial trading of goods and in no way put insurmountable obstacles to reciprocal stylistic influence.

A quite different picture arises when it comes to pottery from East Greek workshops. The sheer geographic distance between Naxos and the East Greek centers calls for increased cautiousness, when attempting to trace the presence of visitors from that region in the sanctuary. The traditional relation of Naxian pottery with the East Greek one, already noted in the MG years,<sup>34</sup> is still intense in later centuries, especially during the 7th and until the late 6th century.<sup>35</sup>

The quantity of East Greek ceramics in Hyria is impressive. Among the imported vessels, the bird-cotylae/bowls are adequately represented. The earliest among them date back to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.,<sup>36</sup> while all three types in which scholarship has classified this shape are present and date from the shift to and throughout the 7th century (Fig. 4).<sup>37</sup> We have attributed to Chian workshops only two minimal sherds of drinking vases, on account of their characteristic thick, blazing white coating. Due to excessive fragmentation, the sherds cannot be dated more accurately than the last quarter of the 7th century and until the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.<sup>38</sup> As expected, Ionian cups (sherds from at least eight specimens) are better represented and belong mainly to types VIII and IX, according to the classification of Boardman and Hayes.<sup>39</sup> This class of drinking vessels was widely exported, while local imitations are hard to distinguish from the originals.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that three of the Hyria cups considered to be of North-Ionian origin, are in fact Attic imitations.

Some fragments of plates are noteworthy. The oldest, produced probably in a “Rhodian” workshop of the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.,<sup>41</sup> features a colorful rosette in its center, of which four leaves are preserved, each painted in a different color and circumscribed (Fig. 5).<sup>42</sup> A rosette on the inner side, rays around a dot on

32 Bikakis 1991, 68–9, no. 68, pl. 8.

33 Bikakis 1991, 70–1, no. 69, pl. 8.

34 Zapheirópoulou 1973, 256–59; 1994.

35 Bikakis 1991, 27–9.

36 Two samples, one from the excavation square I 6, group II 118/1989, the other from the square P5, group II 380/1997; cf. Bikakis 1991, 30–1, no. 2, pl. 1; Coldstream 2008, 277–79, note 2, pl. 61d; Cook and Dupont 1998, 18.

37 A large part of the body and one handle of a bird-cotyle (excavation square K3, year 1988) belongs to the first group of the SG Rhodian skyphoi/transitional phase to the second group (690–670 B.C.), cf. Coldstream 2008, 299–300; Cook and Dupont 1998, 26–8; Bikakis 1991, 32–3, no. 5–7, pl. 1 (comparable material from Naxos). Part of the body of a similar vase (excavation square K 8, group II 178/ 1991) belongs to the second group of SG Rhodian skyphoi (675–640 B.C.). Part of the lower body and the conical base of a bird-bowl (excavation square K3, year 1988), belongs to the third group of SG Rhodian skyphoi (650–615 B.C.), cf. Coldstream 2008, 300; Cook and Dupont 1998, 26–8; Bikakis 1991, 37–8, no. 16–17, pl. 1, fig. 1; Boardman and Hayes 1973, no. 2009 fig. 8, pl. 12; Karageorghis et al. 1987, 29, no. 22–3.

38 Lemos 1991, 181–86 (Reserving styles).

39 Type VIII: Boardman and Hayes 1966, 113 and no. 1204 pl. 87 for the interior decoration; Bikakis 1991, 74 no. 73, fig. 3; Cook and Dupont 1998, 131 fig. 18.1 c. Type IX: Boardman and Hayes 1966, 113; Bikakis 1991, 73 no. 71 and 72 fig. 3.

40 Many scholars have commented on the close relationship between Archaic Ionian cups and their Attic counterparts, e.g., Lo Porto 1961, 268–81; Masiello 1997, 176, no. 14.9–22, fig. on p. 177 (550–530 B.C.). On the distribution of Ionian cups in South Italy and Sicily and their local imitations cf. Tsiafakis 2008, 15–26.

41 East Greek plates with floral decoration imported in Naxos in Bikakis 1991, 27 and 50 (no. 39–48).

42 Probably a sequence of light-yellow, light-beige and black painted leaves, their tops connected in pairs by a dotted dart; cf. similar dotted spears between the tongues decorating vases of the late Rhodian style I, in Kardara 1963, 273, fig. 262 (1st quarter of

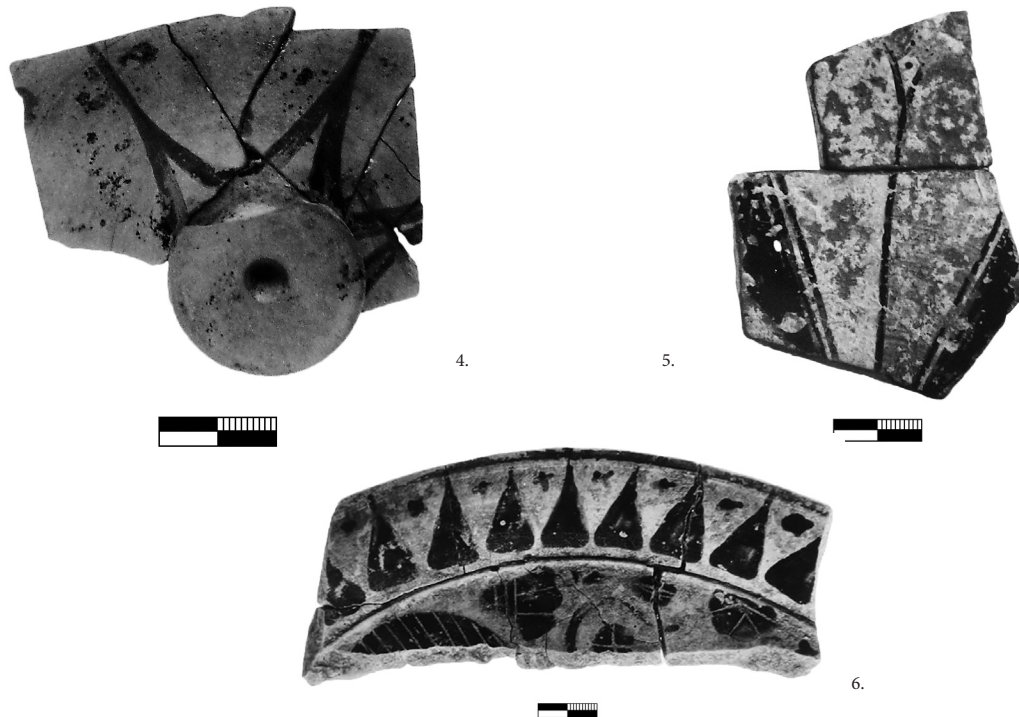


Fig. 4. Hyria, Naxos. The lower body and the base of an East Greek bird-bowl; Third group, 650-615 B.C. (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive). Fig. 5. Hyria, Naxos. Two joining sherds of an East Greek plate; first quarter of the 6th century B.C. (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive). Fig. 6. Hyria, Naxos. Sherds from the rim of an East Greek (Rhodian) plate; first half of the 6th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive).

the back, adorn a small hollow plate (*plat creux*) of the first half of the 6th century B.C, perhaps from a Thasian workshop.<sup>43</sup> Very impressive is a large fragment from the border of a black-figure “Rhodian” plate, contemporary with the previous one.<sup>44</sup> The shape and the elements of decoration are common in most East Greek workshops (Fig. 6).<sup>45</sup> The Rhodian workshop is also represented by the sherds of a closed vase, probably an oenochoe, from the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the simpler vases with banded decoration, widespread in East Greek workshops, such as the Samian or Rhodian, are represented in our sanctuary by a small but surprisingly well-preserved jug (Fig. 7).

Naxian imitations of Rhodian prototypes are not lacking in Hyria. Very interesting is the almost intact small plate with a twenty-leaf rosette around a central black dot in the front side; we consider it an imitation due to its clay, slip and dull black paint (Fig. 8).<sup>47</sup>

Finally, scraps of eight plain lekanides/plates with curved walls, everted lip with flat rim and a diameter of 0.14-0.17 m, are worth noticing; some of them conserve their ribbon handles very close to or even on the rim.

the 6th century B.C.). The same arrangement is encountered in several other East Greek workshops, e.g., Walter-Karydi 1970, 4, pl. 2, 3, 1-3 (Early 6th century B.C.); 1973, 8 no. 163, pl. 19 (first half of the 6th century B.C.) and 138, no. 718, pl. 92, no. 702, pl. 93 (Chian workshop installed in Thrace according to Lemos 1991, 209-22, cf. especially pl. 228, 2-5).

43 Rays and tongues are current in the decoration of Thasian hollow plates of the 7th century B.C., Salviat 1983, 208, fig. 11. For their manufacture in Thasos cf. Gautier 1993, 184; Cook and Dupont 1998, 53, fig. 8.18.

44 Solid triangles with crosses between them on the curved lip. On the flat part of the plate part of an aquatic bird (swan? goose?) with lotus flowers as filling ornaments. Details are rendered with clumsy engraving. For similar clay, paint and slip, as well as for solid triangles on the lip cf. the Rhodian plate Boardman and Hayes 1973, 16-7 fig. 6, pl. 9.

45 E.g., Rubensohn 1962, 112-13, pl. 21.1; Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 123, no. 1001 (solid triangles on the lip), no. 899 and 901 (crosses between the triangles), no. 970, pl. 118, no. 981 and 985, pl. 120 (similar filling ornaments on the flat part of the plate).

46 Seven sherds from the lower body and the conical base of a Rhodian oenochoe (?), with at least six rays stemming from the solid-black painted base; cf. the bases of the Rhodian oenochoi Walter-Karydi 1973, no. 526, 527, 529, pl. 63-4.

47 For the shape cf. Boardman and Hayes 1966, 49, no. 607, fig. 24. For the decoration cf. Dugas 1935, pl. 46.35; Boardman and Hayes 1966, 52, no. 662; Archontidou 1988, 245-48; Utili 1993, 53-72.





Fig. 7. Hyria, Naxos. East Greek banded jug (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive). Fig. 8. Hyria, Naxos. Naxian replica of an East Greek plate; first half of the 6th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 9. Hyria, Naxos. Sherd of an Etruscan bucchero cotyle; mid-7th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive).

This type of vase is produced throughout the historical times and up to the Hellenistic period in Ionia and the West (Metapontium, Santa Severa-Pyrgi), and less so in the Greek mainland or in the Black Sea. With the exception of a plate, which must be an actual East Greek import, the other Hyria lekanides/plates are almost exact Naxian replicas of East Greek prototypes,<sup>48</sup> thus confirming the keen interest of Naxian potters for exotic shapes, an interest that, as already noted, had started at least two centuries ago.

The question is, whether the above, mostly imported vases, confirm the presence at Hyria of pilgrims/dedicators from East Greek centers. We might answer positively. After all, ceramics from various East Greek workshops of the 7th and 6th century B.C. occur also in the two well-known Naxian sanctuaries, that of Kaminaki<sup>49</sup> and the sanctuary of Gyroulas.<sup>50</sup> Similar finds have not been recorded in the Palatia sanctuary, at least not until now.<sup>51</sup> The profusion of imported East Greek pottery and the penchant of Naxian vase painters towards Ionian ceramics<sup>52</sup> can be better explained, though, by the increasing popularity of Ionian products in the Levant, the Aegean and the West since the first half of 7th century B.C. The growing economic power of certain East Greek cities, such as Miletos, Samos, Klazomenai or Teos, and their involvement in overseas commerce, might as well elucidate this phenomenon. “An additional incentive for a more active Ionian participation in the Mediterranean trade, might have been the expansion of the Assyrian empire to encompass the entire Levant around 670 B.C., which reduced Phoenician influence in the area.”<sup>53</sup> The increased popularity of East Greek pottery in the Central Aegean led to the creation of a group of vases from Delos and Rheneia, known to older research as “Rhodo-ianian pottery”.<sup>54</sup>

48 Simantoni-Bournia 2012, 188, fig. 4–6, drawings 7–12.

49 Bikakis 1991, 6–10, 30–64 passim; The author publishes 35 vases from East Greek workshops that were found in Kaminaki, Naxos, and cover a period from the LG times to the end of the 6th century B.C.

50 The ratio between East Greek vases and the totality of vessels imported in the sanctuary of Gyroulas, Naxos, is high, especially the Ionian cups, Simantoni-Bournia and Bournias 2020, 112–13.

51 Walter-Karydi 1972. However, we often find them in contemporary Naxian cemeteries, where dedications from foreign visitors are not justified.

52 It is clear that the image has changed since Roebuck (1984, 75) stated that “aside from the considerable amount of East Greek pottery found in Delos and Rheneia... there is only a scattering to report from the other islands”.

53 Vacek 2017.

54 E.g., Dugas 1930, πῖν.59; Lambrinoudakis 1977, 129.



Last (but not least), some sherds of two Etruscan bucchero drinking vases, of the mid-7th century B.C., should also be mentioned (Fig. 9).

There is no reason to focus on Protocorinthian and Corinthian imports or their local imitations,<sup>55</sup> since their constant presence in every excavation throughout Greece is a phenomenon that has long been known and widely discussed; it is constantly attributed to the intense commercial activity of Corinth from the later 8th to the 6th century B.C., and must not necessarily be associated with the presence of Corinthian pilgrims in regional shrines. Attic pottery, especially the red-figure one, which makes its presence felt in Hyria during the 5th century B.C., has already been discussed by the author in another paper<sup>56</sup> and its occurrence is, as a rule, linked to the historical fortunes of the island.

## ORIENTALIA AND METAL OBJECTS

However, if pottery does not provide us with strong evidence for the actual presence of non-Naxian worshippers at Hyria, there are more valuable “exotic” finds, which are considered by modern scholarship to reflect the appeal of a sanctuary to pilgrims. Such are the large metal dedications, mainly bronze tripods or statues, generally offered from the second half of the 8th and in the first half of the 7th century B.C.,<sup>57</sup> but also smaller artifacts, often made of some valuable raw material; these were dedicated in large numbers from the second half of the 7th to the early 6th century B.C.<sup>58</sup> Only the latter occur in Cycladic centers of worship,<sup>59</sup> among them the sanctuaries at Kaminaki<sup>60</sup> and Hyria. Neither the sanctuary of Gyroulas nor the sanctuary on the islet of Palatia delivered small precious items.<sup>61</sup> In the present paper, we will follow the established classification of these items in *Oriental* and *Orientalizing*, *Oriental* meaning artifacts manufactured outside Greece, often in very remote areas, and *Orientalizing* indicating the Greek imitations of the aforementioned ones.<sup>62</sup>

Two scaraboid seal-stones of red serpentine belong to the typical examples of the Lyre-Player Group (Fig. 10a-b). They are the first such samples found on Naxos.<sup>63</sup> As has been widely accepted, the group originates from a center in Northern Syria/Cilicia, perhaps Tarsos, and is dated to the second half of the 8th century B.C.<sup>64</sup>

Sixteen faience scarabs have been so far unearthed in Hyria and only six of them still preserve their sealing surface legible (Fig. 11a-b).<sup>65</sup> They are dated between the end of the 8th and the turn to the 6th century B.C. The subjects they represent belong to the well-known Egyptian and Egyptianizing repertoire, with one exception that depicts a horse or a bull to the right; its parallels come from Lindos and Perachora. One of the scarabs of Hyria is securely recognized as the work of a Phoenician workshop established in Egypt, while several others are considered works of Rhodian and Cypriot workshops. Their diaspora covers the Near East, Greece and the Aegean, and reaches as far as Etruria, Taras and Sardinia.<sup>66</sup>

55 Their number in Hyria is astonishingly small compared to their wide distribution throughout the Aegean.

56 Cf. Simantoni-Bournia (forthcoming).

57 Aurigny (2009; 2010) tries to establish the ethnicity of worshippers by examining the splendid dedications in famous sanctuaries, such as Delphi.

58 Saint-Pierre Hoffmann and Brisart 2010, 251–52.

59 E.g., the rich findings from the recent excavations on the islet of Despotiko, near Antiparos, (Kourayos 2009) and in Vriokastro, Kythnos (Mazarakis-Ainian 2010).

60 Karouzos and Kontoleon 1937, 121–22; Karouzos 1939, 123–4; Bikakis 1991, 6–10.

61 The deficit in Gyroulas is possibly due to the thin and disturbed earth that covered the ancient remains as well as to the constant cultivation of the plot until recently. On the movable finds from the Gyroulas sanctuary cf. Simantoni-Bournia and Bournias 2020.

62 Saint-Pierre Hoffmann and Brisart 2010, 250–54, 258–60.

63 Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 66, 71, pl. 10.1–2.

64 Boardman 1980, 71 and note 134; Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 66 and note 28, 69 and notes 46–7.

65 Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 64–6.

66 Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 70 and notes.



Fig. 10a-b. Hyria, Naxos. Scaraboid seal-stones of the Lyre-Player Group; second half of the 8th century B.C. (Photographs by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive; not to scale). Fig. 11a-b. Hyria, Naxos. Faience scarabs; end of the 8th – early 6th century B.C. (Photographs by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive; not to scale).

The island gems, which until now were almost absent from Naxos, are represented in Hyria with some remarkable examples. Although previous research placed their center of manufacture in Melos, several other production centers have by now been added, such as Argos and Attica.<sup>67</sup>

Of great interest is the bronze jewelry – mostly women's – that was offered to the deities of the sanctuary and extends from the end of the 8th to the 4th century B.C. Among them spectacle and island-type fibulae with a pellet or a small attachment (Fig. 12a-b), earrings – one of them silver – bronze rings and bracelets. Fragments of a golden band raise questions about the origin of the material. Finally, a seashell (cowry shell) of the first half of the 7th century B.C., with a Master or a Mistress of animals carved on its back, and two bird-like amulets from the transition to the 7th century B.C. (Fig. 13), should be included in the adornment items. The spectacle fibula,

67 Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 66–7.

particularly widespread in the Greek North, betrays contacts with the Thessalian and Macedonian coasts, while interaction with cultures of the Adriatic Sea and regions beyond the Alps are supported by jewelry, such as some of the rings or a bracelet with beads. The two bronze amulets and the cowry shell with the Master of animals indicate relations with the coasts of South Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>68</sup>

A bronze naturalistic duck figurine of the 13th century B.C., which served as a weight and was found in a 7th century B.C. context, apparently in second use, is of particular importance. Zoomorphic weights are widespread in Egypt, while the Hyria weight must have been imported from Cyprus (Fig. 14).<sup>69</sup>

Special mention deserve the dedicated bone artifacts, such as a spectacle fibula of the first half of the 7th century B.C. (Fig. 15), an ornament not very common in the Aegean islands, but widespread in Mainland Greece and throughout the central and eastern Mediterranean.<sup>70</sup> More interesting are ivory implements, the style of which leaves no doubt that they are Naxian replicas of objects from areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, e.g., a bone signet with the representation of a man threatening a woman and an inscription that probably reads *Aphrodite* (Fig. 16), which is a Naxian imitation of Cypriot models and should be dated to the shift of the 8th to the 7th century B.C.<sup>71</sup> Particularly remarkable is a female bone figurine of the early 6th century B.C., possibly an attachment to some larger utensil, whose type recalls corresponding forms from Asia Minor, Samos, Rhodes and the Syro-Palestinian coast, but was crafted on the island (Fig. 17).<sup>72</sup>

In the category of cult objects that were locally made of Naxian clay, but reproduce eastern models, we should include the mask of a bearded man, dated to the late 8th/early 7th century B.C. (Fig. 18) and an anthro-



Fig. 12a-b. Hyria, Naxos. Bronze spectacle fibula and island type fibula; end of 8th century B.C. (Photographs by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 13. Hyria, Naxos. Bronze bird-like amulet; transition to the 7th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 14. Hyria, Naxos. Bronze weight in the form of a duck; 13th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive).

68 Simantoni-Bournia 2002a.

69 On prehistoric duck or animal-shaped weights cf. Sgouritsa 2012, 75 fig. 7 and note 51; also Sgouritsa (forthcoming); I wish to thank my friend and colleague, prof. emer. N. Sgouritsa, for providing me with the relevant information.

70 Simantoni-Bournia 2002a, 143 pl. 6a.

71 Simantoni-Bournia 1998, 62–3.

72 Bournias (forthcoming).

pomorphic juglet with a female face plastically modelled on the neck, dated to the beginning of the 7th century B.C. (Fig. 19). Terracotta masks are known mostly from Phoenician and Punic sanctuaries, while the best comparable Greek examples come from the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in Sparta. Cyprus is another major source of masks, used primarily in ritual performances from the Late Cypriot III down to the Cypro-Classical period.<sup>73</sup> The anthropomorphic vase has likewise been associated with the Syro-Palestinian area, but is also closely related to Cypriot and Cretan examples.<sup>74</sup>

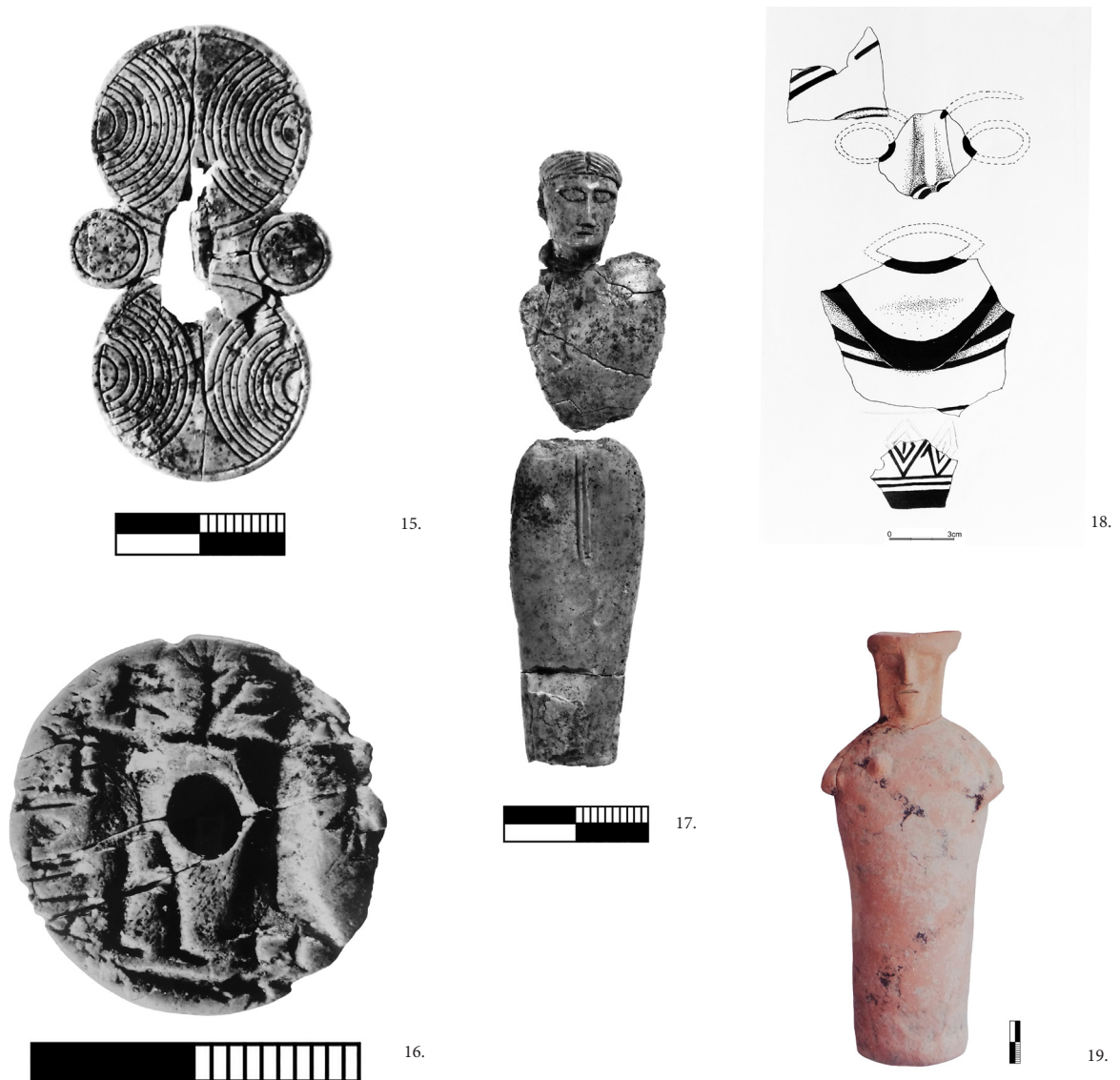


Fig. 15. Hyria, Naxos. Bone spectacle fibula; first half of 7th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 16. Hyria, Naxos. Bone signet with a man threatening a woman; late 8th/early 7th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 17. Hyria, Naxos. Bone female figurine; early 6th century B.C. (Photograph by E. Eliades; in the excavation archive). Fig. 18. Hyria, Naxos. Clay mask of a bearded man; late 8th/early 7th century B.C. (Drawing by the author; in the excavation archive). Fig. 19. Hyria, Naxos. Anthropomorphic juglet; early 7th century B.C. (Photograph by the author; in the excavation archive).

73 Simantoni-Bournia 2004-2005; Bourogiannis 2018, 72 and notes.

74 Simantoni-Bournia 2004.



## DISCUSSION

Extensive research on Panhellenic sanctuaries confirmed that written testimonies, literary and epigraphic, combined to magnificent dedications, are fundamental sources of information on the origin of the dedicators and on the network of interactions;<sup>75</sup> both the written testimonies and the superb offerings are completely missing from Hyria, as well as from most of the sanctuaries of the Cyclades. We are, thus, forced to limit ourselves to the small artifacts, Aegean or “Exotic”, found in these sites. There is no doubt that the sanctuary of Hyria takes precedence over the other sanctuaries of Naxos, as far as the multitude of artifacts of non-Naxian craftsmanship, both ceramic and from more valuable material, is concerned. Does the presence of genuine foreign objects of small size imply that they were offered by overseas visitors, who, in turn, stimulated the connectivity of Naxos with far away regions? Although the place of manufacture hardly ever enlightens us on the homeland of the donor/dedicant,<sup>76</sup> it constitutes a strong indication for intense interregional activity, especially in the last quarter of the 8th until well into the 6th century B.C.

It has been largely accepted that imported ceramics and exotic objects, such as bronze jewelry from central Europe, stone scaraboids from Cilicia/Northern Syria, faience scarabs from Egypt or from Phoenician and Rhodian workshops, and finally precious raw materials, such as ivory or even gold, were transported to the island –possibly also to the sanctuary– first by Euboean then by Corinthian merchants, (not to mention the ubiquitous Phoenicians<sup>77</sup>), who have been storming the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean throughout the period in question; Corinthian trade has left its mark in almost every archaeological site of Naxos, but not as much in Hyria.<sup>78</sup> A second, alternative course, through which the *Oriental* (or *Orientalizing*) dedications might have reached the sanctuary, is the route through Crete.<sup>79</sup> The mediation of Crete is a strong possibility in the case of Naxos, given the established stylistic relations in the pottery of the two islands.<sup>80</sup>

Is it possible to attribute some of these maritime enterprises to Naxians? There is no written evidence that alludes to Naxian naval exploits in the course of the Geometric and Early Archaic period.<sup>81</sup> It seems that the inhabitants of the island were not systematically attracted to overseas commerce, at least not until the second half of the 6th century B.C., when Herodotus informs us that they possessed “*πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλὰ*”.<sup>82</sup> Although we cannot rule out the activity of Naxian seafarers/merchants, we cannot place much trust in their early naval enterprises and maritime expeditions, since neither the literary testimonies nor the archaeological finds on the island offer strong and credible evidence.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to genuine luxury items from overseas, artifacts accurately copying foreign models occur early

75 Aurigny 2009; 2010.

76 Aurigny 2010, 243 : “...on ne peut pas déduire de la fabrication de l’objet l’origine du dédicant”.

77 Phoenicians appear, one way or another, in almost every discussion about trade and cultural interaction in the Iron Age Aegean. A recent overview of the subject in Bourogiannis 2018 and Ioannou 2017; cf. also Kotsonas 2012; Kourou 2008; 2012. Muhly 1970 and Coldstream 1982 are always instructive.

78 As already noted, Corinthian presence is rarely attested in Hyria, even though Corinthian merchants seem to have often called on Naxos and on some of its sanctuaries, especially on Kaminaki, as demonstrated by the bulk of Corinthian pottery found; Bikakis 1991, 82–131, passim. The few well preserved Corinthian ceramics from Hyria in Simantoni-Bournia 2002b, 278, fig. 71 A and B.

79 This is the alternative route that Aurigny proposes (2010, 243, notes 82 and 83) for the splendid exotic dedications at the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, although she considers Corinthians to act as the main importers; Aurigny 2010, 244.

80 Kourou 1994, 275–79.

81 Cf. Kourou 1994, esp. p. 291; Sphyroera 2011, B, 715.

82 Herodotus, Hist. E 30–31; cf. Sphyroera 2011, A, 99.

83 Sphyroera 2011, B, 715–19. The testimony of large scale Naxian sculpture of the second half of the 7th century B.C. is of course a convincing indication for contacts with Egypt, see below and Kokkorou-Alevras 1994; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 39–40; Kokkorou-Alevras 2017; unfortunately, it cannot be proved that these contacts were direct ones.

in Hyria; the local production of replicas, often using valuable raw materials from the East, intensifies in the 7th century and gradually weakens in the 6th century B.C. But, as the quantity of *Orientalizing* small size dedications increases (since the middle of the 7th century), the array of the countries, which served as a source of inspiration for their manufacture, is restricted to Egypt, Cyprus and a few Syro-Palestinian sites.<sup>84</sup>

Several *Orientalizing* minor articles from the sanctuary at Hyria show an intense Cypriot impact, which is particularly felt on objects of local craftsmanship of the late 8th and 7th centuries, intended mostly for worship.<sup>85</sup> Small artifacts of Egyptian origin of the 7th century B.C. –mainly faience scarabs or their Phoenician and Rhodian imitations– have reached the sanctuary, thus alluding to some sort of relationship with the Nile country;<sup>86</sup> however, as Boardman puts it, these items “appear occasionally on Greek sites throughout the early Iron Age and represent no more than casual imports, perhaps via the Near East”.<sup>87</sup> There is, though, a more convincing confirmation of some sort of Egypto-Naxian contacts in the course of the 7th century B.C; the awe-inspiring achievements of the Egyptian architecture and sculpture impressed the Greeks in a permanent way; they led Greek architects and sculptors “to emulate the Egyptian manner, although not to imitate it in detail but to adapt it to local traditional forms.”<sup>88</sup> The Naxians were more receptive than other Greeks to the principles of Egyptian hard-stone sculpture, and sometime before the mid-7th century B.C. –simultaneously with the Cretans, but prior to the Samians or the Athenians– they started exploiting the marble quarries of their island to produce life size or supernatural, marble, free standing figures.<sup>89</sup> Large sculpture in marble has not been recovered in the sanctuary of Hyria, but this is by no means an indication that it was altogether missing.<sup>90</sup> An ivory, slightly supernatural human ear, which was found in the adyton of the great archaic temple, must have belonged to a chryselephantine effigy of the early 6th century B.C, in all probability a cult statue.<sup>91</sup> Together with the humble scarabs already mentioned, they confirm contacts with the Nile country, which in due course inspired Naxian art in an irrefutable way.

Scholarship tends to consider *Orientalizing* artifacts (i.e., copies) to be dedications of indigenous people; however, the people who offered the genuine imports are not easy to identify. *Oriental* offerings do not necessarily indicate the physical presence of overseas pilgrims in a sanctuary, since they could have been dedicated by local merchants or even by mercenaries.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, we should not overlook the members of the local elite, who may have acquired the exotic commodities in the context of hospitality relationships, and have dedicated them in an effort to safeguard and strengthen their social status. Besides, similar objects can change hands several times between the time of manufacture and the time of dedication. The “exotic” offer, whether a genuine imported product of the East or an imitation of an eastern original, aims to recall to the imagination of the donor or of the viewer, the extraordinary art of the East and the luxury traditionally associated with it.<sup>93</sup>

In this brief overview, an effort has been made to trace the ways, through which offshore offerings or their replicas –be they ceramics or “precious” small artifacts– reached the sanctuary of Hyria, and to identify the origin of their donors; both were linked directly to the investigation of possible networks of connectivity for the sanctuary and the extent of its radiance. Although no definite answers can be offered for the above issues, we hope to have come up with a few convincing suggestions and to have demonstrated, at least, that the large selection of dedica-

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84 Saint-Pierre Hoffmann and Brisart 2010, 252.

85 See above, p. 21.

86 Close relationship with Egypt is also attested for the sanctuary at Kaminaki, Naxos, not only because of the scarabs found in it, but also because of a bone plaque with hieroglyphic inscription; Karousos and Kontoleon 1937, 122.

87 Boardman 1980, 112.

88 Boardman 1980, 143.

89 Boardman 1980, 144; Kokkorou-Alevra 1994; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, 39-40, 64-5; Kokkorou-Alewras 2017.

90 In this context, it is tempting to allude to the oversize unfinished (hemiteles) statue of Dionysos, lying in its quarry bed at Apollonas, Naxos, which, according to Lambrinoudakis 1992, 207, note 9, was destined for the Hyria sanctuary; cf. Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, 102. Its dimensions compare only to Egyptian colossal statues.

91 Lambrinoudakis 1992, 206 fig. 6.

92 Saint-Pierre Hoffmann and Brisart 2010, 254; Ebbinghaus 2006, 197 squ.

93 Saint-Pierre Hoffmann and Brisart 2010, 253 and note 124.

tions in the sanctuary points to close relations between the inhabitants of the island and the populations of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean; on the other hand, the modest, non-pretentious dedications of the Hyria sanctuary illustrate how receptive the islanders have been to foreign influences, mainly in the 7th century B.C.

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