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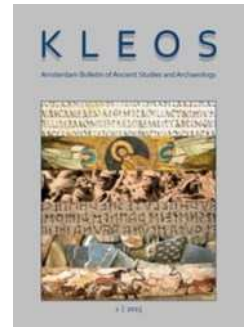
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A miniature bronze wheel-shaped object from the Plakari hill in southern Euboea, Greece

IRIS DE FUIJK

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the meaning of a miniature wheel-shaped object, that was found in the summer of 2011 on the hill top of Plakari, located closely to the town of Karystos in southern Euboea. Recently, material characteristics have gained more interest in studies that concentrate on inferring meaning from objects of the past. In this paper, it will be argued that an object's meaning derives from both its context and its material characteristics. At the same time, it should be realized that meanings are situated in the present, dependent on the cultural context of the interpreter. In order to find the meaning of the wheel-shaped object from Plakari, both context and material are central. In order to do so, *comparanda* for the object from elsewhere in Greece, Macedonia and Kosovo will be discussed, as well as its own context, a *hestiatorion* dated to the first half of the fourth century BC. Subsequently, the object's material characteristics (material, size and design) will be considered.

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► [Profile page](#)

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this paper is a miniature wheel-shaped bronze object (Fig.1), that was found on the hill of Plakari in the context of an Early Iron Age sanctuary, situated closely to the town of Karystos in southern Euboea

Figure 1



(Fig.2).¹ The object was discovered in the summer of 2011, during the excavations of the Plakari Archaeological Project.² Following one of the main themes in current archaeology - understanding the meaning of material culture³ - the question is why the wheel-shaped object was there and especially, what it meant.

In the first section of this paper, some theoretical remarks will be presented about the inferring of meaning of objects. It will be argued that our interpretation of meanings in the past is situated in the present, dependent on the interpreter. Meaning can be found in analysing the physical characteristics of the object as well as the context in which the object was found. Therefore, both the context and physical characteristics of the Plakari wheel-shaped object will be investigated.

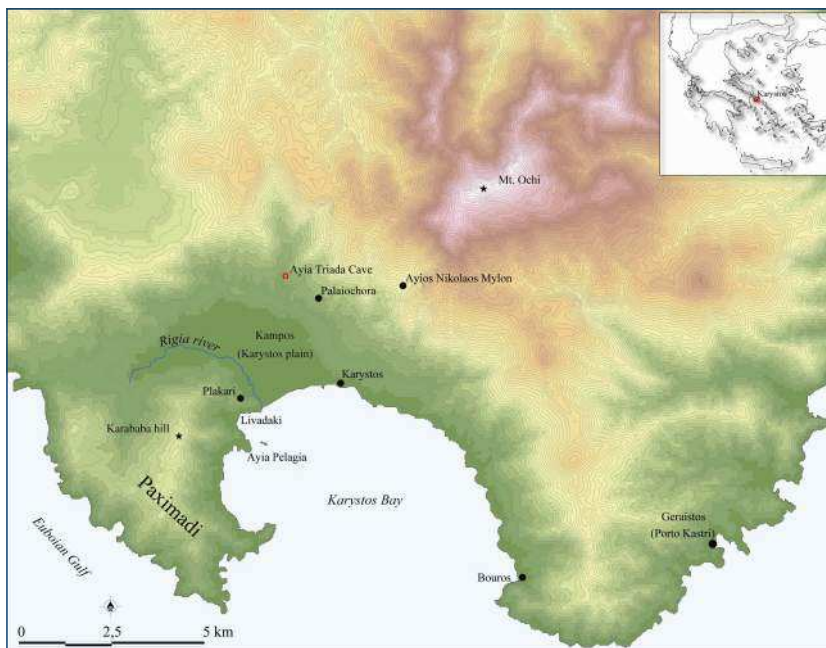


Figure 2
Map of southern Euboea
(J. Fokkema)

INFERRING MEANING

The understanding of an object's meaning in archaeology is not without complications. As A. Bauer has pointed out, in the 1980s and 1990s a postprocessual notion grew that archaeologists are merely constructing interpretations of material culture in their own present instead of exposing past meanings.⁴ Indeed, we cannot simply 'ask the past' what things mean. How, then, can we infer meaning from objects?

One way of looking at meanings of objects has been put forward by D. Miller. According to him, objects are the material form of culture and they are part of the continual process of constructing and socializing people. The cultural context, expectations and habits are ordered by things, the things people encounter daily. *Vice versa*, people tend to categorize things around them as a way to make sense of the world. It is this cultural context that gives meaning to objects. As a result, changing spatial and/or time contexts will change meaning.⁵

Bauer largely agrees with the contextual approach of Miller. He argues that meanings of objects are contingent upon experience and the cultural background of people: we infer meaning 'from a recognition of the patterned experience people have of that object, or the sum of these acts of interpretation.'⁶ In this sense, meanings are relational and mediative and they can change over time and space. Bauer envisages this in a semiotic chain: an object interacts with two kinds of 'knowers'. On the one hand, the object interacts with actors in the past and on the other hand with archaeologists in the present. The knowledge of the past actors depends on their cultural background and experience, while the knowledge of archaeologists depends on the present construction of experience.⁷ In this respect, past meanings are constituted in the same manner as they are now. Therefore, Bauer believes that archaeologists can obtain a better understanding of past meanings by learning how present interpretations are constructed.⁸

Thus it should be possible to get an idea of an object's meaning by seeing patterns and at the same time by being conscious of its cultural context. Subsequently, it can be presumed that past people made similar interpretations, although, of course, we can never be sure. Yet, if the cultural context provides meaning, where does this leave the object itself? For a contextual approach assumes that meanings are not inherent in objects, but assigned to them from the outside. Miller on the other hand, seems to concern himself also with the materiality of objects and recognizes the importance of their physical characteristics. Objects have what Miller calls a certain humility. They tend to be reticent in showing what they do, which is supposed to be inherent, unconscious knowledge. This knowledge creates a frame that people use to reconstruct contexts.⁹

The importance of the material characteristics is a common theme in present-day material studies and this has also been stressed recently by A. Depner. She questions the approach of attributing meanings primarily according to cultural contexts, because she believes that the physicality of objects is of equal importance. At the same time, Depner demonstrates that because of the very existence of the object, people can see and touch it and in this way they can acquire information about it. Their material characteristics directs people to certain actions. On the other hand, she argues that the way in which we deal with objects, based on this acquired information, is still very much influenced by cultural backgrounds.¹⁰ A similar point has been made by C. Gosden. He states that objects are active actors, instead of passive things. They behave independently and channel people's intentions in specific behaviour or actions.¹¹

Following Depner in her two-way point of view, both notions of context and material characteristics will be used in dealing with the Plakari wheel-shaped object. On the one hand, it is accepted that objects derive their various meanings from different spatial and temporary contexts. On the other hand, the physicality of objects is recognized too, and this is regarded as an active component that gives meanings to objects. As a result, the

following analysis will focus both on context, i.e. comparable contexts in the Greek world and the local context of the wheel-shaped object, and on its material characteristics.

BROAD CONTEXT: WHEEL-SHAPED OBJECTS FROM ALL AROUND

As was argued above, the understanding of meaning builds on the patterned experience of the interpreter. We look for analogies in order to find answers for what we see. In this respect, it might be fruitful to search for similar patterns for wheel-shaped objects in the Greek world. As was recently pointed out by K. Kiernan in his analysis of miniature votive objects in Romano-Celtic north-western Europe, miniatures are a widespread phenomenon in antiquity and one common form is the wheel.¹² A quick look at a variety of Greek, Macedonian and Kosovar sites reveals various miniature wheel-shaped objects in different contexts, materials and forms. They occur from the Geometric period onwards, but Sub-Mycenaean examples are also known.¹³ Most wheel-shaped objects come from sanctuaries and some are known from funerary or domestic contexts.¹⁴ Especially numerous are the bronze examples in sanctuaries, for instance in Aegina (Aphaia temple),¹⁵ Corinth,¹⁶ Delos,¹⁷ Delphi,¹⁸ Ephesos,¹⁹ Eretria,²⁰ Isthmia,²¹ Ithaka,²² Kamiros,²³ Kalapodi,²⁴ Olympia,²⁵ Olynthus,²⁶ Perachora,²⁷ Pherai,²⁸ Philia,²⁹ Samos,³⁰ Sparta,³¹ Thebes,³² Tegea,³³ and Thermon.³⁴ Such objects have also been found in graves in Dedeli, Radanje, Brazda and Suva Reka (Fig. 3). Some of these wheel-shaped objects bear some similarities to the Plakari wheel-shaped object, as will become clear below.³⁵

Most sanctuaries yield one to three examples, but those at Olympia, Delos, Delphi, Kalapodi, Pherai and Philia have yielded at least eight or more.³⁶ In this respect, the bronze wheel-shaped object of the Plakari hill is by no means a unique phenomenon. The majority of wheel-shaped objects date from the late eight to the sixth century BC. It is notable, though, that the Plakari wheel-shaped object is dated to the fourth century BC, which is late compared to most parallels. However, the wheel-shaped objects from Delos, found near the hypostyle hall, the border of the sacred lake, the Sarapieion and the house of Dionysus, seem to date from the fourth century BC or later. The same can be said for one miniature wheel-shaped object from a house-sanctuary in Eretria (Fig. 6; see below). This general absence of wheel-shaped objects can be explained by the fact that the presence of votive objects in sanctuaries seem to decline after the second half of the sixth century BC. The reason behind this change is a topic of debate which lies beyond the scope of this paper.³⁷

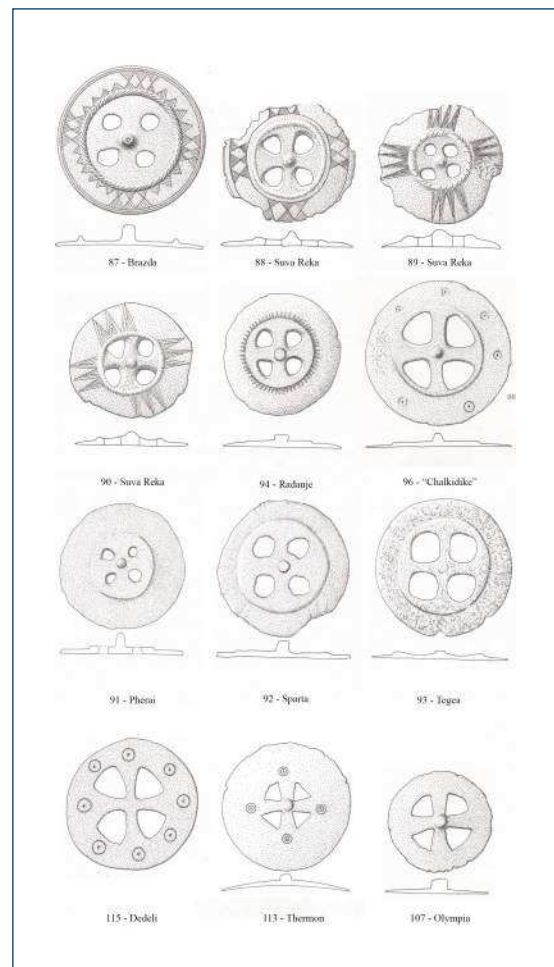
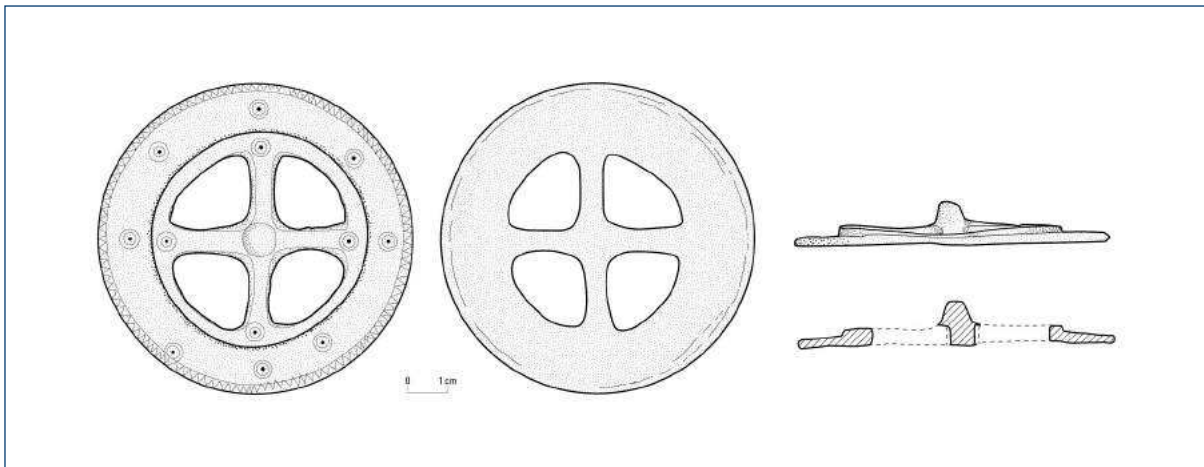


Figure 3
Miniature wheel-shaped objects from Greece, Macedonia and Kosovo (based on Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, pls. 6-8)

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THEIR MEANING

The wheel-shaped object from Plakari is made of bronze, a metal that on the one hand is more easy to work with than others like copper, gold and silver, and on the other hand quite durable. The object is round in shape, with four-spokes (Fig. 4). It appears to be constructed in two parts: a narrow inner circle with spokes and a central knob is attached to the inner edge of a broader circle. As a result, the inner part is at a slightly higher level. Both parts are decorated on one side, with groups of small concentric circles. These circles seem to be impressed in the bronze by a punch, as all are identical in form and size.³⁸ Furthermore, the rim of the outer circle has a very narrow band of incised zigzag decoration. The other side of the object is flat and blank.



The shape of the object, round and with four spokes, suggests a wheel to the present-day viewer. With a diameter of 8.5 cm, it may have been part of a miniature chariot. Many examples of wheels which may have been part of miniature chariots have been found in Greece. For instance, over 500 fragments of terracotta chariots and 80 ones were discovered in Olympia, dated after the ninth century BC.³⁹ Other wheels that were part of miniature chariots have been found in Athens, Eleutherna and Delos.⁴⁰ These wheels have a nave, projecting at both sides, for an axle to pass through.

In contrast, the wheel-shaped object from Plakari, apart from the spokes, does not possess any indications that it is a wheel or that it could have been part of a miniature chariot. For one thing, it has two different sides: one with decoration, which can be interpreted as its front side and which was meant to be shown, and one blank side. Moreover, the knob which is only present on the decorated side cannot have accommodated an axle. Altogether, it seems clear that the Plakari wheel-shaped object cannot be interpreted as a miniature wheel. On the other hand, it can be argued that the object was inspired by actual wheels.

Most scholars who have published miniature wheel-shaped objects seem to agree on the concept of *pars pro toto*.⁴¹ In this view, the miniature form stands for larger, real wheels or chariots. In a recent analysis of small objects from north-western Europe from 100 BC to 400 AD, P. Kiernan has

Figure 4

Drawing of the Plakari wheel-shaped object
(B. Brouwenstijn)

put forward some ideas about the concept of miniatures. For instance, he argues that miniatures could be cheaper, portable variants of life-sized objects. Furthermore, the small form suggests non-functionality, comparable to the intentional breaking of objects for gods. In this sense, miniatures belong to the divine realm.⁴² Similar notions has been brought forward by J.-M. Luce with regard to miniatures in Iron Age sanctuaries from Greece. He argues that miniatures can be interpreted in the framework of what he calls 'defunctionalisation of everyday things'.⁴³ In this view, objects can lose any practical use, for instance by depositing them, destroying them or by making them smaller. By doing so, objects are transformed into votive offerings.⁴⁴

These ideas might be true in the context of, for instance, the sanctuary of Olympia.⁴⁵ The miniature wheel-shaped objects can be considered as part of the exchange of material objects for supernatural returns, for instance winning in a chariot race. The miniatures can be interpreted either as portable, cheap variants of real chariots or as non-functional objects. I believe that the Plakari wheel-shaped object can be interpreted similarly in the framework of non-functional objects for the divine. Although it is not an actual wheel, it still resembles a wheel in miniature and it is found in a religious context (see below). Indeed, its context seems roughly comparable with the contexts of other wheel-shaped objects, as the Plakari hill is known for its cult place. It may then be assumed then that the wheel-shaped object had a religious meaning.

As mentioned above, the Plakari wheel-shaped object has decoration on one side. Eight groups of concentric circles are present, as well as a narrow band of zigzag decoration; the elevated inner part has four groups of concentric circles. I believe that, apart from being decorative, the impressed and incised designs could have a symbolic meaning. The idea that wheels in the Greek world symbolized the sun has been put forward by several scholars.⁴⁶ This has also been suggested for miniature bronze wheels-shaped objects with a decoration concentric circles, zigzag patterns and a higher or delineated circle,⁴⁷ such as have been found at Plakari and other sites. The find places include sanctuaries (Olympia⁴⁸, Philia⁴⁹, Perochia⁵⁰, Pherai⁵¹) as well as graves (Radanje, Brazda and Suva Reka (Fig. 3)).⁵² As Kiernan has pointed out: 'The similarity in shape of the wheel and the sun, the movement of both, and the common motif of a solar chariot moving across the sky are the basic ideas behind the symbol.'⁵³

Finally, miniature wheel-shaped objects may also be symbols of specific gods.⁵⁴ D.M. Robinson for instance, considered wheels as attributes for Isis, Nemesis and Fortune.⁵⁵ W. Deonna mentioned Fortuna, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna, Kairos, Jupiter and the sun-god in general.⁵⁶ Kiernan convincingly demonstrates that the wheel was an attribute of the Romano-Celtic Jupiter in north-western Europe, based on inscriptions and iconography on altars and *stelai*.⁵⁷ The dedication of wheels to specific deities in Greek sanctuaries is especially clear in cases where miniature wheel-shaped objects carry votive inscriptions, for instance to Poseidon or Apollo.⁵⁸ A

connection between the wheel-shaped object of Plakari and Apollo should not be excluded, because of the notion that Apollo or Apollo and Artemis were possibly venerated in the Plakari sanctuary.⁵⁹

LOCAL CONTEXT: THE HESTIATORION ON PLAKARI-HILL

The archaeological site where the bronze miniature wheel-shaped object was found, is situated on Plakari hill (Fig. 2). This is the location of a sanctuary, dating back to the Early Iron Age. The site is currently being excavated, in order to understand the nature of the sanctuary and cult and the role of the site within local, regional and interregional contexts.⁶⁰ The wheel-shaped object was found in a rectangular building (4.65 x 5.21 m) in trench 2c (Fig. 5), which was first opened in 2011 and excavated further in 2012 and 2013.⁶¹

The rectangular building is located on a terrace that is surrounded on three sides by walls (TW2, Fig. 5). The walls are constructed with worked stones and mud-brick, while the floor consists of beaten earth. The presence of charred wood and a lack of roof-tiles point to a roof that was made of wood and organic material. The presence of charcoal, charred wood, burnt mud-brick and ash on top of the remains indicates that the building must have been destroyed by a slow fire. This would explain the good preservation of the material remains inside.⁶²



Figure 5
Plan of trenches on Plakari hill after the excavations of 2013 (adapted by author based on original illustration in Crielaard, J.P., 2013, Fig. 4)

Inside the building, one hearth was found in the centre and another pyrotechnic feature near the southern wall. Against the northern wall, stone slabs were discovered, with large amounts of sherds and complete examples of plain and black glazed pottery on top, underneath and next to them. The pottery finds consist of drinking vessels, cooking pots, lamps, an incense burner and a brazier.⁶³ Some of the vessels carry inscriptions: a combination of *hēta* and *iota* (ΗΙ) and/or alpha and *pi* (ΑΠ) are abbreviations of *hieron/hieros* (meaning sacred or holy) and Apollo and/or Artemis and Apollo.⁶⁴ As M. Chidiroglou points out, these inscriptions subscribe to the cultic use of these vessels and the cultic nature of the building. Another inscription in a one-handed bowl, ΝΙΚΗ, is the name of the goddess Nikē. According to Chidiroglou, this bowl may refer to a victory either on a communal level, for instance a military or political triumph, or on a private level, for instance during a sympotic game or an *agon* (contest).⁶⁵

Other notable finds in the *hestiatorion* are a *lekythos* (early fifth century BC), the head of a female terracotta figurine (mid-fourth century BC), a terracotta female figure of *korē* type (second half of the sixth century BC) and a Late Protocorinthian conical *oinochoe* (mid-seventh century BC). Also, many metal items were found, such as a bronze collar, an iron shield-shaped object which resembles a Boeotian shield, a lead disc with bronze fittings, bronze plates, two knives, four *fibulae*, four bronze arrows and bronze furniture decorations, which implies that wooden furniture was present.⁶⁶ The bronze collar has been identified as a *peritrachilion*, which is an armour piece known from Thrace and Macedonia. The collar is inscribed with an *hēta* and *iota*, an abbreviation of *hieron/hieros*, similar to the inscriptions in some of the cups mentioned above.⁶⁷ Here, the inscription of *hieron/hieros* may signal that the *peritrachilion* was dedicated. The presence of this object in the *hestiatorion*, together with the arrows and the shield-shaped object, possibly denotes a martial interest among the participants in the sanctuary.

Contemporary to the *hestiatorion* is an empty space in front of it (Fig.5 tr.2a), which has been interpreted as its forecourt. The space was largely devoid of any finds, as a result of late fifth/early fourth levelling and cleaning activities, except in the southern part of the terrace. Here, remains of earlier cultic activities were encountered, for instance the lower part of an Archaic terracotta statuette, a terracotta rattle, an *aryballos* and a concentration of metal objects (a bronze horse figurine, a bronze ellipsoidal object, a bronze button, fragments of two iron swords, iron pins and an iron hook). In addition, three bin-like constructions and two platforms were excavated. The function of these bin-like constructions is not clear yet, but it should be noted that parallels are known from sanctuaries, dated to the Early Iron Age and later in the Cyclades.⁶⁸

Based on the material remains and finds, the building at Plakari was interpreted as a *hestiatorion*, a hearth building, and dated to the first half of the fourth century BC.⁶⁹ This type of building was intended for ceremonial

meetings, which also involved the preparation of food and eating and drinking. *Hestiatoria* are often associated with sanctuaries, but they also occur in civic contexts.⁷⁰ Yet, the building at Plakari seems to possess some peculiarities. For instance, there is the presence of older objects in the building: the *lekythos*, the *korē* and the *oinochoe*. They are currently interpreted as antiques, valued for their age and their link with the history of the hill as a cult place.⁷¹ A concern with the past is also apparent in the construction of the building. The *hestiatorion* seems to be simply built in an old-fashioned way, with a roof consisting of wood and organic material instead of roof-tiles.⁷²

Another notable element of the *hestiatorion* is the absence of animal bones inside the building, which would be expected when ritual meals were prepared inside. Although some cooking pots were found in the hearth, it seems that most food preparation took place somewhere else. Thus the hearth in the building functioned mainly as source for light and warmth. During the campaign of 2013, large amounts of animal bones as well as ash concentrations were found outside, to the west of the *hestiatorion*. It is probable that the preparation of meals took place there (Fig. 5, tr. 2b).⁷³

Altogether, the *hestiatorion* is best interpreted as a repository or pantry in the context of an open-air sanctuary at Plakari. The presence of cult utensils and valuables inside the building (i.e. the antiques, the *peritrachilion*, the shield-shaped object and the wheel-shaped object), the probability that the pottery was placed on shelves and the small size of the interior, suggest that the building functioned as a place for storage rather than for dining with men reclining on benches. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that small-scale activities went on inside, as the cooking pots around the hearths suggest, and therefore the term *hestiatorion*, which refers to a hearth, is still applicable. Despite these small-scale activities, it seems that most of the cult practices took place outside. The animal bones and the fire remains found in 2013, as well as the forecourt of the *hestiatorion* with the platforms and bin-like features, point to this.

When the *hestiatorion* is considered within the context of the Plakari hill, it becomes clear that it was the first roofed cult building at the site. Before the late fifth century BC, the hill was used for cult activities in the open air. The southern slope of the hill served as an area for sacrificial refuse. It yielded large amounts of pottery, animal bones and small finds (Fig. 5, tr. 1b). This material dates from the tenth to the sixth centuries BC.⁷⁴ On the west side of the terrace (Fig. 5, tr. 2aW), a semi-circular structure, presumably an altar, which predates the *hestiatorion*. The presence of knives, a *phiale mesompholos* and concentrations of bones and charcoal suggest that this area was used for sacrifices and the preparation of ritual meals from the late sixth to the fourth century BC.⁷⁵ Together, these discoveries seem to fit the general development of open-air ritual and sacrificial activities in central Greece, starting around 900 BC, that was noted by I. Morris.⁷⁶

Despite the continuous use of the sanctuary terrace until the fourth century BC, various kinds of archaeological evidence suggest that the settlement on the hill and near its foot was abandoned in the first half of the fifth century BC. Earlier surveys in the area exposed a seventh-fifth century settlement near the Rigia river at the foot of the Plakari hill, which was defined as Archaic Karystos. This settlement can be linked with the early sanctuary on Plakari hill.⁷⁷ During the Classical period the focus of habitation moved to a location close to the modern town of Paleochora (Fig.2). It is very likely that this movement is related to the siege of Archaic Karystos in 490 BC, mentioned by Herodotus.⁷⁸ In the late fifth century BC or early fourth century BC, the sanctuary terrace was levelled in order to build the *hestiatorion* and the forecourt. This demonstrates an awareness of a religious past of the hill and the desire to continue to use of it as a sanctuary.⁷⁹

A MINIATURE WHEEL MODEL FROM ERETRIA

Some of the miniature bronze wheel-shaped objects found in the sanctuaries and graves mentioned above are comparable with the one from Plakari, although most of them are earlier in date. One particular interesting parallel is the bronze wheel model from Eretria in central Euboea. In the west of the ancient city, a religious deposition was found in a house (house II). The deposition included 21 bronze miniature objects consisting of animals, human limbs and tools. The objects were dedicated to various divinities and heroes, for instance Kybele, Asklepios and Herakles. A bronze wheel model was also among them (diam. 6 cm, Fig. 6.). It is one of the rare fourth century examples of such objects, like the one from Plakari. Both have four spokes and a knob in the middle.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, the shape of the Eretria example follows that of an actual wheel more accurately; instead of a knob in the middle, it has a proper nave projecting at both sides. However, contextually, the two objects seem to share certain characteristics. House II, like the *hestiatorion*, is not a sanctuary in a strict sense, but still connected to religious activities on a small scale and the keeping of votives. As was noted above, the *hestiatorion* at Plakari was probably used on small-scale occasions, including religious activities, on a hill with long-standing religious traditions.



Figure 6
Eretria wheel model,
fourth century BC
(by C. Riva, 2010, 136)

CONCLUSION

The central question in this paper is the meaning of the bronze wheel-shaped object from the Plakari hill in southern Euboea. It was argued that our interpretation of meanings in the past is influenced by the experience of the present observer. Understanding an object's meaning in the here and now could provide insights in how past meanings were constructed. Meanings are to be inferred in two ways. On the one hand, it is the context in which objects are present that directs our interpretation, while on the other hand, the material characteristics of objects are indicative too. These notions were used in the search to find the meaning of the wheel-shaped object from Plakari.

With regard to the context, it was concluded that bronze wheel-shaped objects are present in much of the Greek world. The miniature wheel-shaped objects in sanctuaries are the closest parallels with regard to context, although some examples from graves are also similar with regard to physical characteristics. The Eretria wheel-shaped object seems to be an especially good parallel with regard to its date and location. The physical characteristics of the bronze wheel-shaped object from Plakari, indicate that it is not a miniature wheel, even though it is inspired by actual wheels. Its decoration may well be more than that, suggesting a sun symbolism or a connection to deities associated with the sun.

Finally, it can be inferred from the context of the bronze wheel-shaped object from Plakari, the *hestiatorion*, the presence of eating and drinking vessels and the nature of the rest of the assemblage, that this object was a votive offering. While the cult activities on the hill mostly took place in the open-air, the *hestiatorion* was used as a repository or pantry for valuables and necessities related to these activities.

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NOTES

- 1 The wheel was first published in Crielaard et al. 2013, 47, Fig. 11c. I would like to thank Dr J. P. Crielaard (director of the Plakari Archaeological Project / VU University Amsterdam) for giving permission to use the bronze wheel and other data from the Plakari project for my research. I also wish to thank him for discussing with me possible interpretations and parallels for the wheel, while I was preparing this paper. Many thanks are also due to Professor J.H. Crouwel (professor emeritus at the University of Amsterdam) for his critical reading of a draft text. The photographs and drawings of Figs. 1-2 and 4-5 have been prepared by B. Brouwenstijn and J. Fokkema.
- 2 The Plakari project started in 2009 and is a collaboration of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the 11th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for Euboea, ► plakariproject.com.
- 3 Bauer 2002, 38.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Miller 1994, 399-404.
- 6 Bauer 2002, 41.
- 7 Ibid., 42-45.
- 8 Ibid., 38.
- 9 Miller 1994, 406-409.
- 10 Depner 2013, 81, 86-87.
- 11 Gosden 2005, 194-197.
- 12 Kiernan 2009, 1, 11. Kiernan uses the term miniature for his research, which he considers as distinct from the term model. Models always reproduce something else. Miniatures are either reproductions of other things or small objects in itself.
- 13 Athens, Kerameikos, grave 141, Sub-Mycenaean: Ruppenstein 2007, 12, pl. 32; wheels depicted on Mycenaean pottery: Bouzek 1997, 125-126, Fig. 141.
- 14 Athens, Kerameikos, votive area: Kübler 1970, 394, pl. 9; Olynthus, house A vi: Robinson 1941, 512; Eleutherna cemetery, sector III, pithos-burial: Stampolidis 2004, 273, Fig. 338.

- 15 Maaß / Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998, 65, 66 Figs. 10, 83, 99.
- 16 Davidson 1952, 336-337, pl. 136.
- 17 Deonna 1938, 241-243.
- 18 Perdrizet 1908, 118-119, Figs. 433-437.
- 19 Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 175-176, 272, pl. 88.
- 20 Kassapoglou, 1998, 265-277, Fig. 272; Riva 2010, 137.
- 21 Raubitschek 1998, 11, pls. 5, 9.
- 22 Payne 1931-1932, 246, Fig. 10.
- 23 Kontis 1949-1951, 347, Fig. 1.
- 24 Felsh 2007, 63-65, pls. 130-142.
- 25 Furtwängler 1890a, 68-69; 1890b, pl. XXV.
- 26 Robinson 1941, 512-513, pl. CLXVI.
- 27 Payne 1940, 176, pl. 78.
- 28 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 19-29, pls. 4-10.
- 29 Id. 2002, 58-60, pls. 59-60.
- 30 Brize 1989-1990, 321-322, Fig. 1; Dunst 1972, 138-140.
- 31 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 18, 22, pls. 5-6.
- 32 Wolters / Bruns 1940, 41, nr. 46.
- 33 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 22, pl. 1.
- 34 Ibid., 23-24, pl. 7.
- 35 Dedeli, cemetery grave 5: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 23-24; id. 1981, 347; Radanje, grave: id. 1979, 22; Brazda, probably from grave: ibid., 20; Suva Reka, cemetery hill II: ibid.
- 36 Delphi (8 wheels): Perdrizet 1908, 118-119; Delos (13 wheels): Deonna 1938, 241-243; Kalapodi (12 pendants): Felsh 2007, 63-65; Pherai (27 pendants): Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979; Philia (18 pendants): id. 2002, 58-60; Olympia (more than 45 wheels): Furtwängler 1890a, 68-69; (11 pendants) Kilian-Dirlmeier 1981, 345-348.
- 37 Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 149; for this debate see: Morris 1998, 32-33; Snodgrass 2006, 258-268.
- 38 Other examples of wheel-shaped objects with stamped concentric circles: "Chalkidike", Thermon, Pherai, Dedeli, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 22, 24, pls. 7-8; Olympia, id. 1981, 348.
- 39 Crowel 1992, 29, 32-33.
- 40 Deonna 1933, 242; Kübler 1970, 394; Ruppenstein 2007, 12; Stampolidis 2004, 273.
- 41 Dunst 1972, 138-140; Furtwängler 1890a, 68-69; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1981, 347; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 175-176; Maaß/Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998, 65; Payne 1940, 176; Perdrizet 1908, 118-119; Robinson 1941, 512.
- 42 Kiernan 2009, 1, 6, 211-212; cf. Osborne 2004, 1-2.
- 43 Luce 2011, 54.
- 44 Ibid., 54-55, 57-59.
- 45 Crowel 1992, 56-57; cf. Van Straten 1981, 91.
- 46 Bouzek 1997, 125-126; Deonna 1938, 341-342; Kiernan 2009, 12, 33-37; Nelson 1940, 446; Roes 1933, 10-18.
- 47 Kiernan 2009, 12, 33-34.

- 48 Furtwängler 1980b, pl. XXV; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1981, pls. 76, 1242.
- 49 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, pl. 9; id. 2002, 58-60, pl. 59.
- 50 Payne 1940, pl. 83.
- 51 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, pls. 6, 8-9.
- 52 Suva Reka, Brazda, Radanje, Dedeli: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, pls. 6, 8.
- 53 Kiernan 2009, 34.
- 54 Ibid., 12.
- 55 Robinson 1941, 512.
- 56 Deonna 1938, 341-342.
- 57 Kiernan 2009, 34-35, 37
- 58 Samos: Brize 1989-1990, 321-322; Kamiros (Apollo): Kontis 1949-1951, 347; Isthmia (Poseidon): Raubitschek 1998, 11; Thebe: Wolters/Bruns 1940, 41; for further references: Dunst 1972, 139-140.
- 59 Chidiroglou In press.
- 60 Crielaard et al. 2012, 95-97.
- 61 Crielaard et al. 2013, 43-47.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Crielaard et al. 2013, 47; Chidiroglou In press.
- 64 Crielaard et al. 2013, 44-45, Fig. 7-8.
- 65 Chidiroglou In press.
- 66 Crielaard et al. 2013, 43-47; Crielaard et al. In press.
- 67 Crielaard et al. 2013, 46, Fig. 10; Crielaard et al. In press.
- 68 Crielaard 2013, 6; Crielaard et al. In press.
- 69 Personal information Crielaard (2014): Most of the pottery and lamps date to the period from the late fifth to third quarter of the fourth century.
- 70 Thasos: Berquist 1973, 41-56; for several examples of *hestiatoria* with references: id 1990, 37-65; Börker 1983; Isthmia: Gebhard 2002, 63-74; Perachora: Pfaff 2003, 130; Tomlinson 1969, 164-172.
- 71 Crielaard et al. In press.
- 72 Morris 2009, 68: temple roof-tiles were used since 675 BC.
- 73 Crielaard 2013, 6.
- 74 Crielaard et al. In press.
- 75 Crielaard 2013, 6.
- 76 Morris 1998, 15-16.
- 77 Crielaard et al. 2012, 94; Keller/Hom, 2010, 4; Keller 1985, 107-108, 185-186.
- 78 Herodotus 6.992; Crielaard et al. 2012, 95; Crielaard et al. 2013, 55.
- 79 Crielaard et al 2013, 55.
- 80 Kassapoglou, 1998, 265-277; Riva 2010, 137.