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The Temple of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione

Abstract

This paper presents the results of an architectural survey of the foundations of a Classical temple, presumably that of Demeter Chthonia, located inside the chief sanctuary of the ancient city of Hermione. It also studies ancient architectural members built into the walls of the Taxiarches Church situated on top of the temple foundations. By analysing these material remains and connecting them to the observations of 19th-century travellers to Kastri (Hermione), the paper draws conclusions about the original size and appearance of the Temple of Demeter Chthonia.*

Keywords: Hermione, Demeter Chthonia, Classical temple architecture, building account, akroterion

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Editorial note: The section on Hermione, published in *OpAthRom* 14, comprises six articles: Papadimitriou 2021; Gerding 2021; this contribution by Jesper Blid; Klingborg 2021; Kossyva 2021; Wallensten 2021.

This article examines the remains of what has traditionally been recognized as the Temple of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione. It presents the results of a new architectural survey of the temple foundations and ancient architectural members in the neighbourhood of the Taxiarches Church (Aghioi Taxiarches) (Gerding 2021, fig. 3.20). Numismatic evidence suggests that Demeter had become the titular divinity of the Hermionians by the mid-4th century BC, when her portrait appears on the locally minted triobols.¹ It is therefore plausible that her main sanctuary on the Pron was firmly established at this time.²

The Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia on Pron Hill at Hermione is mentioned in various ancient sources. Pausanias describes the main Temple of Demeter Chthonia, which had statues of priestesses in front of it.³ In addition, he refers to two further temples in the sanctuary, one dedicated to Ares and the other to Klymenos (the king of the underworld, according to local legend).⁴ Pausanias also mentions a stoa to the right of the Temple of Demeter, which the native Hermionians called the “Portico of Echo”. Behind the Temple of Demeter, moreover, there was a chasm, where Herakles, according to local tradition, brought up Kerberos, the hound of hell. This legend agrees with Strabo’s claim that a shortcut to Hades is located in “the country of the Hermionians”.⁵

From Plutarch, we learn that pirates sacked “the temple of Chthonia at Hermione” (“τὸν ἐν Ερμιόνη τῆς Χθονίας νεών”)

¹ Grandjean 1990, 49.

² Paus. 2.34.12: Pausanias also mentions another sanctuary of Demeter (Thermasia) in the city but does not specify its location.

³ For Pausanias’ description of Hermione, see 2.35.4–10. Pausanias’ description of the cult of Demeter Chthonia is discussed in detail by Johnston 2012.

⁴ Klymenos is mentioned as the husband of Kore in a hymn to Demeter by a certain Lasos of Hermione; see Ath. *The Deipnosophists* 14.624EF; *Poetae Minores Graecae* 702.

⁵ Strab. 8.6.12.



Fig. 1. Panoramic view of the Taxiarches Church, seen from the east. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

in the year 67 BC, which most likely refers to the same Temple of Demeter.⁶ The epithet Chthonia is repeatedly connected with Demeter: Pausanias, for instance, states that the goddess was called Chthonia and refers to religious celebrations in her honour as the “Chthonia Festival” (“Χθόνια ἑορτήν”).⁷ Despite the possible sack, the Temple of Demeter was still in active use during Pausanias’ time. He describes the ritual procession to the sanctuary during a summer festival and the peculiar sacrifice of four cows within the temple itself.⁸ Four old women stayed within the temple to perform the ritual with sickles and the doors of the temple would open and close between each of the four sacrifices.

The rediscovery of the temple

Various European travellers went to Hermione during the 19th century and wrote accounts of their visits, often describing ancient remains that are now lost or only poorly preserved. In 1810, William Gell published an account of a visit to Hermione, or Kastri, as it was then called. He describes the city as “entirely modern”.⁹ According to Gell, Kastri was located on the hill which in antiquity was called Prona.

While he does not mention any ancient remains within the new settlement, he observes “[t]he pavement of a considerable temple, perhaps that of Neptune” on the promontory now known as Bisti (Gerding 2021, fig. 3.2).¹⁰ In 1833, Abel Blouet published a description of the remains of a temple foundation of monumental size under the principal church of the city: “au centre du village, les restes d’un temple sur lesquels s’élève l’église principale: la cella antique, dont on retrouve une grande partie, a environ dix-neuf mètres de largeur sur trente-huit de longueur.”¹¹ Blouet also describes a second temple “sur une presqu’île qui s’étend à l’est de Kastri” as “[l]à nous retrouvâmes quelques traces de monuments, et sur l’axe de cette langue de terre, la cella d’un temple qui a dix-huit mètres de largeur sur trente-six de longueur”. The latter clearly belongs to the remains of the same temple on the Bisti promontory that Gell witnessed. Even though Blouet’s measurements for the temple on the Bisti (18 x 36 m) are slightly exaggerated, the ratio of width to length (1:2) is correct.¹²

The remains of the two temples were mentioned again in 1836, by Émile Puillon de Boblaye: “Les ruines du temple de Neptune se voient encore à l’extrémité du promontoire. Le village de Kastri doit occuper l’emplacement de l’acropole. Son église est construite sur les fondations d’un temple, peut-être

⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* 24.5.

⁷ Paus. 2.35.5. Aelian (11.4) refers to the same festival.

⁸ Paus. 2.35.6–8.

⁹ Gell 1810, 129.

¹⁰ Gell 1810, 130.

¹¹ Blouet 1833, 173.

¹² McAllister & Jameson 1969, fig. 2 gives the dimensions 16.25 x 32.98 m.



Fig. 2. The temple remains inside the Taxiarches Church, seen from the west. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

celui de Cérès.¹³ This appears to be the first time the temple remains under the main church of Kastri are associated with the Temple of Ceres (Demeter) mentioned by Pausanias. In 1846, William Leake also mentions the temple remains under the church: “There is likewise, at the modern village of Kastri, a church preserving some portions of another temple.”¹⁴ It seems that, by this time, the remains of the temple under the church at Kastri had begun to be used as a quarry, as Leake describes in an earlier publication: “Its situation [i.e. the situation of the city] near the sea, and not far from some islands of recent populousness, has been very unfavourable to the preservation of its remains of antiquity; but there are still found upon the site many foundations and fragments of Hellenic buildings, and its ancient importance leads to the belief, that many more may be still concealed beneath the surface.”¹⁵

In 1852, Ernst Curtius refers to the “principal church” of Kastri, which stands on the remains of an ancient temple, as the Church of the Aghioi Taxiarches (Fig. 1). Curtius suggested that the area of the church was the likely location of the Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia even though he does not mention any remains of a temple.¹⁶ Two years later, August Baumeister published inscriptions found in the area of the Taxiarches Church mentioning Demeter, Klymenos, and

Kore.¹⁷ Baumeister also noted building material from “a significant building” in the walls of the church.¹⁸ He therefore agreed with Curtius regarding the location of the Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia. Close to the church, Baumeister discovered a fragmentary building account of Classical date (IG IV 742).¹⁹

In 1868, Conrad Bursian described the Aghioi Taxiarches as the principal church of the city (“*Hauptkirche von Kastri*”) and followed the theories of de Boblaye, Curtius, and Baumeister that this was the location of the Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia, “*bei welcher zwei alte Säulen, einige Sculpturfragmente und zahlreiche alte Werkstücke, auch zwei Steine mit Weihinschriften für Demeter, Klymenos und Kora liegen*.”²⁰ James George Frazer appears to paraphrase the previous accounts in his 1889 commentary on Pausanias’ *Description of Greece*, and he mentions an ancient temple under “[t]he chief church of Kastri, dedicated to the Taxiarch (St. Michael).”²¹ In the autumn of 1909, August Frickenhaus and Walter Mül-

¹³ de Boblaye 1836, 60.

¹⁴ Leake 1846, 281.

¹⁵ Leake 1830, 461–462.

¹⁶ Curtius 1852, 459–460.

¹⁷ Baumeister 1854, 179–180 (later published as IG IV, 689–690). See *Appendix, inscriptions 7–8*. The same divine triad is mentioned in a fragmentary hymn to Demeter attributed to a certain Lasos of Hermione and recorded by Athenaios (*The Deipnosophists* 14.624EF; *Poetae Minores Graecae* 702).

¹⁸ Baumeister 1854, 180.

¹⁹ For a translation of the building account, see *Appendix, inscription 12*. For other inscriptions related to the cult of Demeter and Kore found in Hermione, see *Appendix, inscriptions 1–10*.

²⁰ Bursian 1868, 97.

²¹ Frazer 1898, 294–295.



Fig. 3. Plan showing the temple remains (scale 1:75). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

ler could still observe the foundations of a temple under the Taxiarches Church.²² They also identified the remains of a long wall in the area (*Gerding 2021, figs. 3.23, 20*), which they presumed belonged to the “Portico of Echo” that Pausanias describes. In 1950, Michael H. Jameson and Virginia Jameson noted that the temple foundations were no longer visible owing to “alterations in the church and its yard.”²³

The remains of the presumed temple under the Taxiarches Church, mentioned by Blouet in 1833 but no longer visible

to the Jamesons in 1950, were rediscovered in 2013 during maintenance work in the more-recent, western extension of the church (*Fig. 2*). Upon the rediscovery, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Argolida conducted archaeological investigations. The excavations yielded ceramics from different periods, including “Geometric, black-figure and Ottoman” pottery, as well as several post-Byzantine graves.²⁴ The ancient building foundations seem to belong to a single phase of construction, and there are no conspicuous signs of earlier structures.

²² Frickenhaus & Müller 1911, 37.

²³ Jameson & Jameson 1950, 32.

²⁴ Pers. comm. with Alcestis Papadimitriou, director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Argolis.

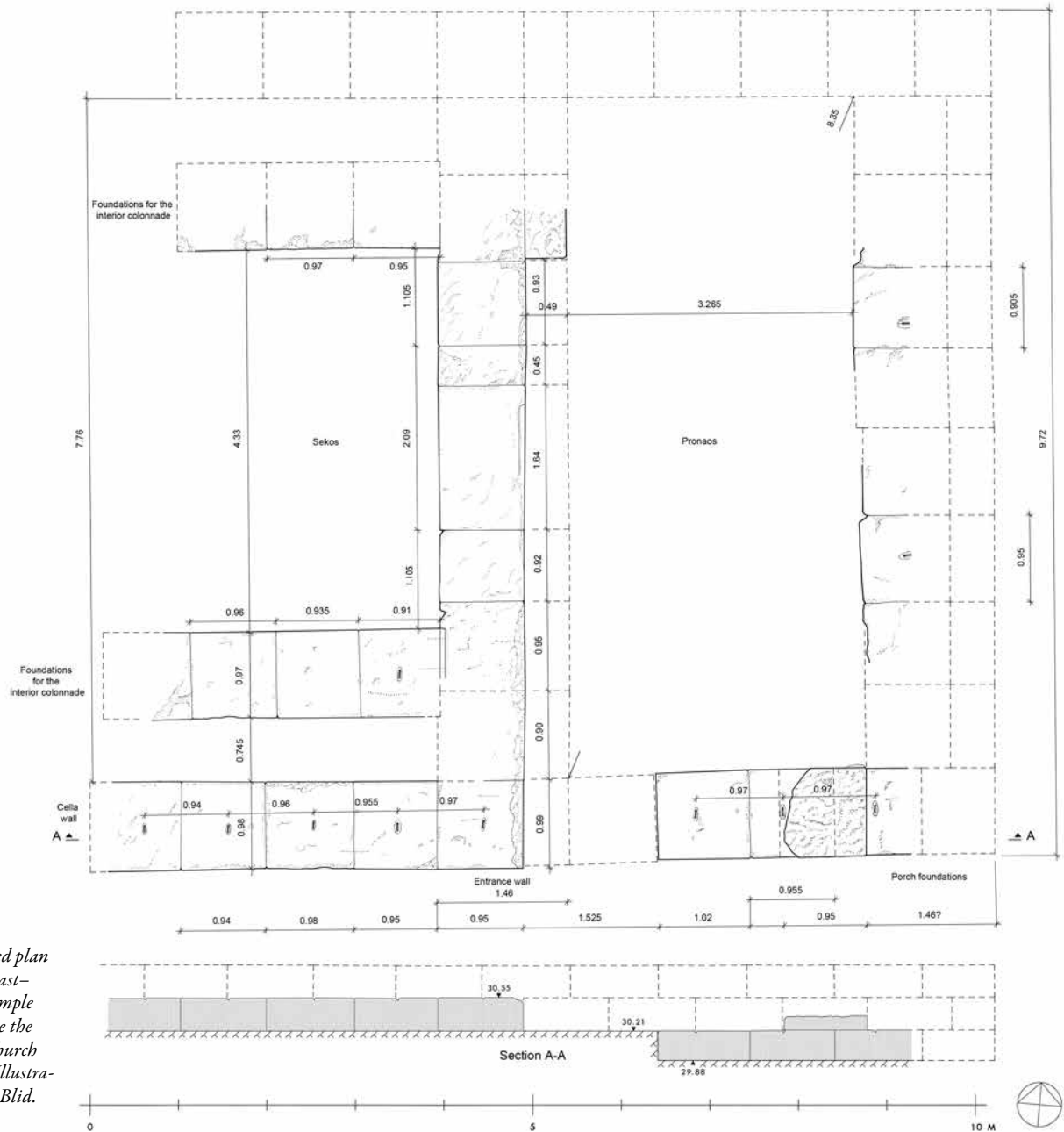


Fig. 4. Restored plan and section (east–west) of the temple remains inside the Taxiarches Church (scale 1:75). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

The temple remains inside the Taxiarches Church

The uncovered remains (c. 72 m²) belong to a building orientated on an east–west axis, occupying approximately 11% of the dimensions given by Blouet. The orientation (east–west) and outline of the foundations indeed suggest that this building was a temple (Fig. 3). It is possible to distinguish the remains of: (1) the southern cella wall, (2) two parallel foundations for the interior colonnade of the sekos, (3) the entrance wall between the pronaos and sekos, and (4) the porch foundations (Fig. 4). There is no decisive evidence to determine the

architectural order of the temple, but a Doric-style building seems most likely given the dominating regional preference for this order.

The temple foundations are constructed from regular square blocks of soft local stone, mostly laid out in single rows. The size of the blocks ranges mostly between 0.94 and 1.02 m, with an average dimension of 0.966 m square, and a height between 0.315 and 0.330 m. The level of the block surfaces is consistent with minor irregularities of about 1 cm at most. These inconsistencies, however, are not characteristic of an in-



Fig. 5. Foundations blocks and rock-cut footing trenches, seen from the west. Photograph by Jesper Blid.



Fig. 6. Foundations of the porch stylobate and southern cella wall, seen from the west. Photograph by Jesper Blid.



Fig. 7. The southern stylobate of the sekos and the entrance wall, seen from the south-west. Photograph by Jesper Blid.



Fig. 8. Rock-cut footing trench for the entrance wall, seen from the south. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

tended upward curvature or tilt.²⁵ It is therefore likely that the curvature began at a higher foundation course, as seems to be the case at, for instance, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.²⁶

The blocks are placed in shallow rock-cut footing trenches, only slightly wider than the foundations (*Fig. 5*); currently, only two (at most) foundation courses are preserved. As the bedrock slopes gently towards the east, the southern wall of

the pronaos is footed lower than the rest of the wall, equivalent to the height of one wall course (*Fig. 6*). The blocks are not joined with clamps; instead, they are occasionally bonded inside a shallow recess in the adjoining foundations at important junctures, such as between the southern stylobate of the sekos and the entrance wall (*Fig. 7*).²⁷

Tool marks on the top surfaces of the foundations indicate that the blocks were dressed to level beddings with a flat drove chisel, which has left characteristic rows of parallel shallow grooves.²⁸ It is clear that the final dressing happened after the blocks were set in place as the chisel marks continue over

²⁵ It seems that intentional upward curvature was generally introduced at foundation level (see, e.g., Pakkanen 1998, 41–43). Such curvatures are, however, not necessarily consistent between the courses of the foundations. At the Classical Temple of the Argive Heraion, the lower courses have a flatter curvature than the upper courses (Pfaff 2003, 51–53, n. 25). In the South Stoa of Corinth, the height of the curvature is consistent from the level of the foundation trench (Broneer 1954, 91). At the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, refinements such as curvature and entasis were omitted altogether (Cooper 1996, 151).

²⁶ A curvature is recorded from the second and third courses below the euthynteria on the western side of the temple (Grunauer 1971, 124, fig. 7).

²⁷ A similar system can be observed at the interior corners of the foundations of the krepidoma in the Classical Temple of the Argive Heraion. See Pfaff 2003, 56–57, figs. 17, 26, 38a.

²⁸ Broneer (1971, 58) observed similar surface treatment of the foundations of the Classical Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.



Fig. 9. Foundations for the entrance wall, seen from the east. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

the joints.²⁹ Several foundation blocks have centrally placed pry cuttings, which reveal that the vertical block joints were aligned at every second course. The pry holes indicate, furthermore, that the foundation blocks of the southern cella wall were put in place from east to west, whereas the foundation blocks of the southern interior colonnade of the sekos were pried from the opposite direction.

The foundations of the interior rows of columns of the sekos are freestanding and separated from the cella wall by c. 0.75 m, or 1.72 m from axis to axis.³⁰ The height and dimensions of these blocks correspond to the other foundation blocks.

The thickness of the foundations of the entrance wall of the sekos is increased by an additional row of narrower blocks (0.49 m), which measure about half the size of the regular wall blocks.³¹ Only one such block is preserved *in situ*, but a footing trench of equivalent width has been hewn out of the bedrock, which is observable along the full stretch of the entrance wall (Fig. 8). The foundation blocks of the western row of the wall, furthermore, have anathyrosis towards the building trench and were thus intended to face the adjoining, nar-

rower blocks (Fig. 9). The total width of the entrance wall is c. 1.50 m at foundation level.³² At the centre of the wall, there is a 2.1 m-wide irregularity in the dimensions of the foundation blocks, perhaps marking the intended position of the doorway to the sekos.³³

The distance between the entrance wall and the foundations of the stylobate of the pronaos is 3.20 m, and it can be deduced that the interior distance between the north and south cella walls was 7.74 m at foundation level. Only the inner, western row of foundation blocks of the porch stylobate is observable, while the eastern half is concealed under the church floor. In order to accommodate porch columns of apt size, I estimate that the foundations of the porch stylobate

²⁹ This is also observed on the foundations of the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia; cf. Broneer 1971, 58.

³⁰ Cf. the Classical Temple of Hera (1.54 m): Pfaff 2003, 170. Kanellopoulos & Petrakis (2018, fig. 12) suggest a (hypothetical) space between the cella wall and sekos colonnade of 0.70 m in the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen, a temple with a cella that has proportions similar to those of the temple at Hermione. The “Hippolytos Temple” has been stylistically dated to the 4th century BC: Knell 1978, 406; 1983, 212.

³¹ Pfaff (2003, 46, figs. 29, 38) observes a system of block rows of alternating thickness (and orientations) in the krepidoma at the Classical Temple of Hera. Pfaff suggests a similar, hypothetical reconstruction of the foundations of the pronaos façade.

³² The foundation width of the cross-wall at the Classical Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia similarly exceeds that of the cella walls: Broneer 1971, 62. Even if we cannot know whether the entrance wall actually occupied the full width of its foundations, it seems a general trend during the Late Classical period to increase the thickness of this wall, perhaps to accommodate the door leaves so as to prevent them from intruding into the cella; see Hellström & Blid 2019, 151.

³³ Pfaff (2003, 85, table 13) has collected data on the dimensions of Greek temple doors. The irregularity in the entrance wall at Hermione appears too short to correspond with the examples mentioned by Pfaff. It is, however, possible that the short span (2.1 m) reflects only the actual door opening (without doorframes) as the Doric order usually does not use freestanding door frames, but rather bronze-clad wooden sheeting on the walls around the doorway, as seen, for instance, in the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi; see Büsing 1988, 107–114; 1994, 89–90. It is perhaps possible that an unusually narrow doorway was suitable for the equally unusual sacrificial rite inside the sekos (mentioned by Pausanias and described above). A narrower doorway would make the opening and closing more efficient. This does, of course, require that the sacrificial rites described by Pausanias were intended from the beginning.



Fig. 10. Presumed remains of the krepidoma foundations, seen from the south-east. Photograph: Jesper Blid.

consisted of two parallel rows of blocks with a total width of 1.50 m, which is similar to the width of the entrance wall.³⁴

The remains of what could be the foundations of the krepidoma can be observed at ground level in the southern façade of the church, about 10 m east of the entrance wall of the temple (Fig. 10). Two foundation blocks are partly visible for c. 1.20 m (east–west) next to the doorway of the church. The results of a geophysical survey conducted around the church in 2017 indicate that the blocks are part of an elongated structure orientated north–south that is currently concealed under the paving slabs of the church’s courtyard.³⁵

³⁴ The foundations of the pronaos stylobate in the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen, a building with a cella of similar width, measure 1.43 m in width; see Knell 1978, 404. At the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, the width of the foundations of the porch stylobate and entrance wall are of equal approximate size; see Broneer 1971, pl. 4.

³⁵ The geophysical survey was conducted by Paul Cheetham and Ashley Green of Bournemouth University.



Fig. 11. The so-called “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti, seen from the north-east. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

Reconstruction of the temple plan

THE CELLA

From the preserved foundations of the temple, we can deduce that the total exterior width of the cella (north–south) at foundation level was c. 9.72 m. This would theoretically fall within the range of 30 units of the so-called “Doric foot”, which has an accepted range of between 0.326 and 0.328 m,³⁶ while the average width and length of the foundation blocks would equal approximately three such units, and the height about one unit.³⁷ The technique of using square blocks of standardized size for the foundations differs much from the Late Archaic “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti promontory at Hermione, which was constructed perhaps around 500 BC (Fig. 11; Gerding 2021, figs. 3.2, 4).³⁸ The style of construction, with blocks of standardized size, is closer to the Classical Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion, dated from the late 5th to the early 4th centuries.³⁹ The cella width of the Temple of Hera (9.61 m) is, furthermore, similar to the temple on the Pron and to the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen (9.59–

³⁶ Wilson Jones 2000, 77.

³⁷ Roux (1961, 90) has suggested a foot of 0.326 m for the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Pfaff (2003, 347, 350) estimated that a unit of 0.3025 m was used in the foundations of the Classical Temple of Hera, while the superstructure was based on the Doric, or Attic foot as he also calls it (0.326 m). Knell (1978, 402) estimates a unit of 0.2946 m for the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen, while Pakkanen (2013, 108; 2014, 358) argues for a unit of 0.297–0.298 m for the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.

³⁸ McAllister & Jameson 1969, 169–185.

³⁹ The foundation blocks of the Temple of Hera have the approximate proportions of 2:1 (1.210 x 0.605 m, and a height between 0.350–0.385 m): Pfaff 2003, 37. For the dating of this temple, see Kritzas 2006, 421–422. Pfaff (2003, 191) proposes that the construction of the temple continued “to the very end of the 5th century, if not slightly later”. Pfaff thinks, however, that the construction of the temple first began soon after 423 BC.

9.605 m), the latter being generally dated to the 4th century.⁴⁰ I propose a reconstructed cella length of the temple at Hermione on the basis of comparisons with these other temples in the region. In the Classical Temple of Hera, the cella width is about 35% of its length.⁴¹ The cella width of the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti is about 34% of its length.⁴² According to Blouet’s measurements, the overall proportions of the two temples at Hermione (1:2) are, furthermore, identical. With proportions similar to the temple on the Bisti and the Classical Temple of Hera, the cella length of the temple on the Pron (including pronaos, sekos, and a hypothetical opisthodomos) would be *c.* 27.30–28.30 m, which would roughly correspond to 27 or 28 normal foundation blocks and two additional “half blocks” of the pronaos stylobate and the entrance wall of the sekos. It would furthermore equal 8.5–9 proposed standard interaxials of the peristyle (see below).⁴³

The dimensions of the preserved foundations may help us to reconstruct the original thickness of the cella walls. The shortest foundation blocks measure 0.97 m (north–south), which at the same time indicates the largest possible wall width. At the Classical Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion, the reconstructed wall width of the cella is *c.* 0.81 m.⁴⁴ A wall width of about 0.80 m seems, furthermore, to be common in temples of a similar approximate size.⁴⁵ One presumed toichobate block (M 3; see block catalogue below) of hard grey limestone different from the blocks of the foundations, has been found reused in the wall of the Taxiarches Church and, based on its height, it likely belongs to the temple on the Pron.⁴⁶ One side is broken, but the minimum width is 0.815 m. It is assumed that this fine grey limestone was used for the visible parts of the temple. The hypothetical width of the porch façade (at floor level) is *c.* 9.64 m, as the antae fronts would have been somewhat thicker than the cella walls: *c.* 0.9 m.⁴⁷ This comes close to half of the total width of the temple, as

recorded by Blouet in 1833 (1:1.97). The preserved foundations, measuring *c.* 1.50 m in width, indicate that the entrance wall was clearly thicker than the other cella walls. For some Peloponnesian temples with wider foundations for the cross-wall, it has been suggested that this was intended to facilitate parastades and/or pilasters, corresponding to the colonnades of the sekos.⁴⁸ At the temple in Hermione, such pilasters did not have to rest on the foundations of the entrance wall as there are separate foundations for stylobates inside the sekos. It seems more likely that the entrance wall was solid and about twice the width of the other cella walls, most probably to accommodate the door leaves when swung open. However, this would necessitate the doors being pivoted on the eastern side of the entrance.

It is currently not possible to determine the position of the interior columns of the sekos based on the blocks *in situ*. Their lower diameter, however, probably did not exceed the width of the cella walls (0.81 ± m).⁴⁹ A comparison to regional examples may enable a tentative reconstruction. Marian Holland McAllister has observed interior marks in the foundations of the sekos wall of the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti, which she interprets as the location of interior columns. These marks suggest seven columns along the northern and southern walls.⁵⁰ The interaxials of these marks can be divided into six equal parts of 1.93 m, with larger spacings at each end: 2.00 and 2.04 m. At the Classical Temple of Hera, there are square foundations for rows of at least six freestanding columns along the interior sekos walls, with a slight progressive diminishing of the interaxials from east to west.⁵¹ The interior colonnades at the Temple of Hera might have had returns, but the extant state of preservation does not allow for a certain answer. We can thus posit different hypothetical solutions for the temple on the Pron: (1) The interior stylobate was located at an equal distance from the sekos walls at all three sides. This would enable two parallel rows of seven columns east–west and four columns with shorter interaxials in front of the western cross-wall, or alternatively three columns along the western wall, with longer spacings. If the interior order were Ionic or Corinthian, different column interaxials would not necessarily have caused problems at architrave level; a Doric order,

⁴⁰ Pfaff 2003, 37; Knell 1978, 404.

⁴¹ Pfaff 2003, fig. 84.

⁴² McAllister & Jameson 1969, fig. 3.

⁴³ The temple on the Bisti is similar to the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aegina in having a pteron of approximately equal width on all four sides. In the temple on the Pron, the distance between the presumed remains of the krepidoma foundations and cella indicates that the front pteron was slightly wider, which is similar to, for example, the Classical Temple of Hera.

⁴⁴ Pfaff 2003, 160.

⁴⁵ Wall width at the level of the orthostates: the Hephaisteion on the Athenian Agora: 0.78 m (Koch 1955, pl. 46); Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia: 0.817 m (Bankel 1993, pl. 69); Temple of Apollo on Aegina (length of headers): 0.82 m (Wurster 1974, 41); Temple of Apollo at Bassae: 0.827 m (Cooper 1996, pl. 20.9).

⁴⁶ The identification is based on the height of this block, which is similar to that of the foundation blocks of the cella wall. cf. the Classical Temple of Hera: Pfaff 2003, 37, 339–340.

⁴⁷ Kanellopoulos & Petrakis (2018, 189) have recently argued for an anta width of 0.90 m and a wall width between 0.80–0.86 m at the “Hippoly-

tos Temple” at Troizen, which has cella proportions (at foundation level) similar to the temple on the Pron at Hermione.

⁴⁸ Classical Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (Broneer 1971, 61, pls. 4, 29); Classical Temple of Hera (Pfaff 2003, 59–60, 162, fig. 53); Temple of Zeus at Nemea (Hill & Williams 1966, 26–27, pls. 3–4).

⁴⁹ At the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, the proportion between the width of the cella walls and lower diameter of the interior columns of the sekos is *c.* 8:7; see Bankel 1993, pl. 69.

⁵⁰ McAllister & Jameson 1969, 182, figs. 2–3.

⁵¹ Pfaff 2003, 170–171, fig. 84.

with an architrave featuring regulae and guttae,⁵² on the other hand, would potentially be problematic. (2) The sekos colonnade could have followed an archaistic design, with rows of columns only along the axis of the sekos, as in the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti; a Doric order would be feasible in this reconstruction. (3) The colonnade followed the sekos wall on three sides with equal interaxials, which (with seven columns along the axis of the sekos) would leave a wider aisle between the colonnade and the western wall, as in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and in the hypothetical reconstruction of the Classical Temple of Hera.

We can hypothetically assume that the pronaos porch was decorated with a frieze of seven triglyphs and six metopes above the architrave, which is common in Doric temple architecture of the Peloponnese during the Classical period (Fig. 12).⁵³ Such a frieze would allow us to deduce the approximate size and location of the porch columns. The Doric frieze would have been slightly shorter than the stylobate of the porch owing to the tapering of the antae: *c.* 9.54 m. With the common proportion of 2:3 between triglyph and metope, we reach a triglyph width of 0.596 m, and a metope of 0.894 m.⁵⁴ The lower diameter of the pronaos column equals about twice the width of the triglyph, or slightly less: ≈ 1.10 m (*c.* 92% of the double triglyph width, or 1.22 times the width of the anta front).⁵⁵ The middle column interaxial in this reconstruction would be $2.98 \pm$ m.

THE PERISTYLE

It is clear from the measurements given by Blouet (19 x 38 m) that the temple under the Taxiarches Church was peripteral. Even if these dimensions are slightly exaggerated, as in his description of the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti, the foundations provide sufficient space for an exterior colonnade. However, the width of the cella, as evident from the extant

remains, would require a total temple width of the size given by Blouet, which suggests that these measurements are indeed correct. The presumed *in situ* remains of the north–south orientated foundations of the krepidoma, seen in the southern church wall and in geophysical investigations, also indicate that the dimensions are accurate.

Blouet’s measurements show a ratio between the front and side of 1:2, just as in the temple on the Bisti.⁵⁶ These proportions could be particularly significant as it has been suggested that local building traditions often influenced architectural design more than contemporary developments elsewhere.⁵⁷ McAllister has restored the temple on the Bisti as hexastyle with twelve columns along the flanks, while Georges Roux has suggested a reconstruction with 6 x 13 columns.⁵⁸ In my opinion, McAllister’s reconstruction seems more likely given the round proportions (1:2) of the foundation.

The estimated width and length of the Doric frieze (and stylobate) of the peristyle can be deduced from the cella width as the interaxials of the peristyle are related to the width of the porch. In the “canonical” case, the porch width equals three standard interaxials of the peristyle colonnade (3.21 m x 3 = 9.63 m).⁵⁹ Furthermore, 9.63 m equals six triglyphs (of two modules) and six metopes (of three modules) = 30 modules/9.63 m = 0.321 m (one module). This results in a 0.642 m-wide triglyph and a 0.963 m (square) metope of the peristyle frieze. Christopher A. Pfaff has argued that the size of the porch of the Classical Temple of Hera may have been about 87% of the outer order, and the same ratio has recently been proposed for the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen.⁶⁰ With a similar arrangement at Hermione, we reach a lower diameter for the peristyle columns of about 1.26 m—*c.* 98% of the double width of the triglyph.⁶¹ The proposed lower diameter of the outer order relates to the thickness of

⁵² As on the lower architrave at the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina; cf. Bankel 1993, 95, 99–100.

⁵³ I estimate the proportions between triglyph and metope as 2:3, in accordance with the late 5th-century temples of Apollo at Bassae (Cooper 1996, 239) and Hera at the Argive Heraion (Pfaff 2003, fig. 54).

⁵⁴ According to Vitruvius (4.3.4), the diameter of the columns should measure two modules, and the width of the triglyphs should be one module. This approximate proportional relation can be observed regionally at the Temple of Hera (Pfaff 2003, fig. 54) and the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina (Bankel 1993, pl. 70). For the significance of triglyph widths within the modular system of Doric temple design, see Wilson Jones 2001. But see Pakkanen 2013, 25–38, 47–49, 111 for a critique of Wilson Jones’ modular theory, which, according to Pakkanen, does not stand quantitative analysis. Pakkanen (2013, 111) therefore argues for a more plan-driven design “derived from elements at the stylobate level”.

⁵⁵ Kanellopoulos & Petrakis (2018, 173) argue that the lower diameter of the pronaos column in the 4th century spans between 1.14–1.23 times the width of the anta.

⁵⁶ This can be compared to the slightly lower ratio of 1:1.85 at the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (13.20 x 24.45 m), which has been restored as a plan with 6 x 11 columns; see Roux 1961, 90.

⁵⁷ Woodward 2012, 350–352.

⁵⁸ McAllister & Jameson 1969, 183; Roux 1961, 391.

⁵⁹ The cella of the Temple of Hera is, however, narrower than three interaxials and therefore does not follow this common “rule” of the Doric order; cf. Pfaff 2003, fig. 84. Knell has reconstructed the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen according to a different, so-called “Ionic scheme” (where the cella walls are axially aligned with the second column on the short sides of the temple), Knell 1978. This reconstruction has recently been challenged by Kanellopoulos & Petrakis (2018, 186–192), who suggest a more conventional, Doric design. However, Kanellopoulos & Petrakis argue that it is common for 4th-century temples to have a cella width that is slightly wider than three interaxials of the outer order in order to better accommodate roof beams spanning the pteron.

⁶⁰ Pfaff 2003, 157–158; Kanellopoulos & Petrakis 2018, 189.

⁶¹ This is slightly larger than the ratio proposed between the triglyph width and lower column diameter in the porch, but, as Pfaff (2003, 158, n. 38) has demonstrated, the proportions between the porch and peristyle orders are not always regular.

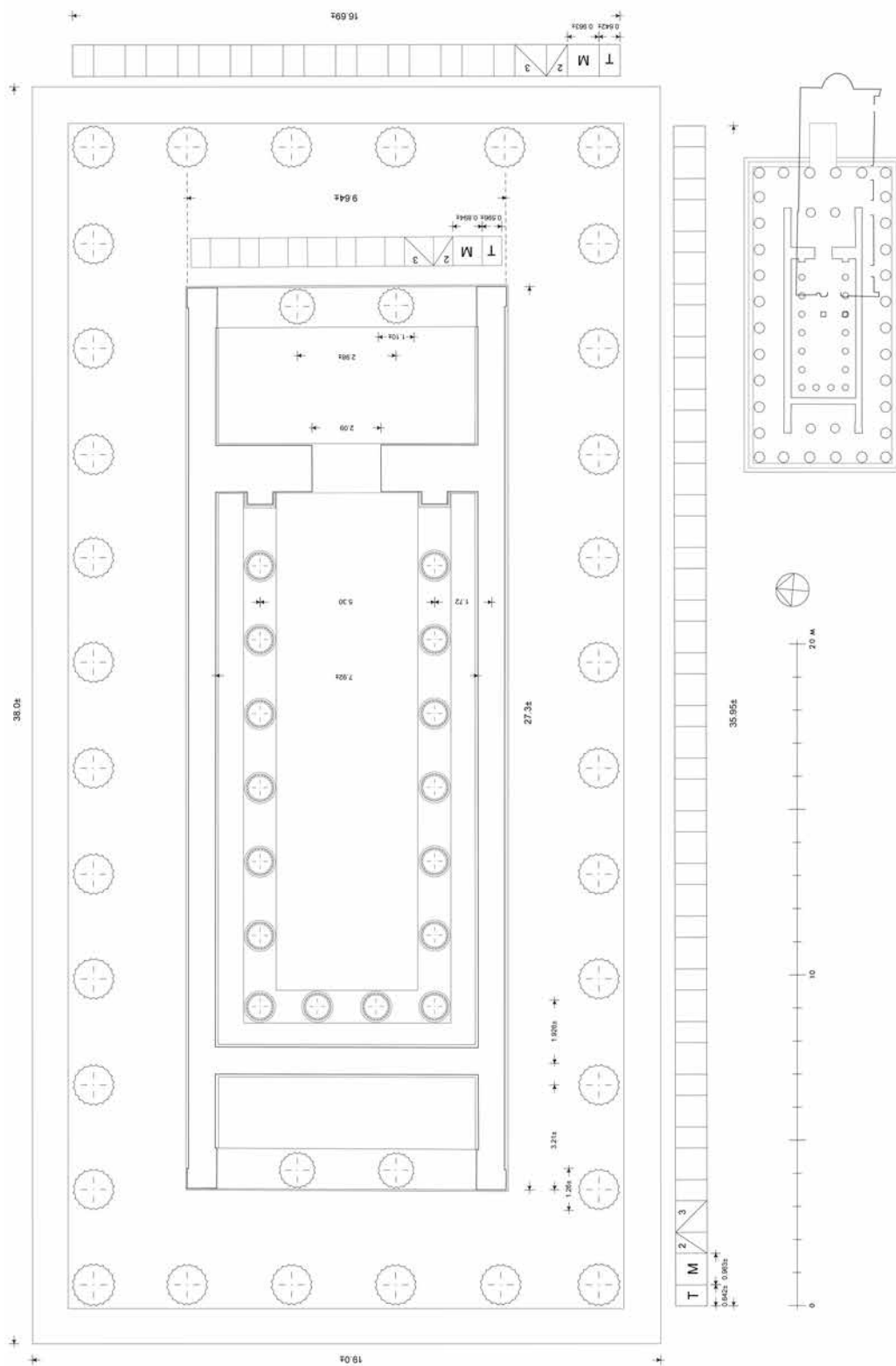


Fig. 12. Hypothetical plan of the temple on the Pron (scale 1:200) and its relation to the Taxiarches Church. Illustration by Jesper Blid.



Fig. 13. Row of houses on the northern side of the Taxiarches Church, seen from the west. Photograph by Jesper Blid.



Fig. 14. "Spolia wall" north of the Taxiarches Church, seen from the south. The three standing, square brownish blocks belong to the foundations of the temple. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

the cella wall as 1.56:1 (or the thickness of the cella wall is 64% of the lower diameter), which comes close to the proposed reconstructions of the Classical Temple of Hera (62%) and the "Hippolytos Temple" at Troizen (70%).⁶² In certain well-preserved 5th-century temples, the thickness of the cella walls ranges between 72 and 83% of the lower diameter of peristyle columns,⁶³ while the late 4th-century Temple of Zeus at Nemea has a thinner cella wall in comparison to the diameter of the outer columns (59%).⁶⁴ The temple on the Pron at Hermione thus seems to fall between these last two groups.

Based on regional comparisons, the expected height of the peristyle columns (including capital) in the temple at Hermione probably ranges between *c.* 7.06 m (5.6 lower diameters) and 7.81 m (6.2 lower diameters); that is to say, between the estimated column height of the temples of Hera at the Argive Heraion and Asklepios at Epidauros, respectively.⁶⁵ The estimated proportion between the height of the column to inter-axial spacing ranges, for instance, from 1:2.250 at the Classical Temple of Hera (late 5th century) to 1:2.757 at the Temple of Zeus at Nemea (late 4th century).⁶⁶ It seems plausible that the proportions of the temple on the Pron at Hermione would stay within this span, i.e. the minimum expected column height would be *c.* 7.22 m.

The estimated length of the peristyle frieze north-south is $16.69 \pm$ m, based on the assumption that all triglyphs and metopes are of the same dimensions. The stylobate would, as can be expected, project slightly beyond the corners of the frieze. The proposed reconstruction features the common practice of a single corner contraction of the side columns, although double, or gradual, corner contraction has also been proposed for some Classical temples in the eastern Peloponnese.⁶⁷ If we assume that the triglyphs and metopes of the flank frieze had the same proportions as on the front, the length becomes $35.95 \pm$ m, based on a reconstruction with twelve columns. This gives a proportion between length and width of the frieze (and stylobate) of close to 9:4. The stylobate, which was marginally wider and longer than the frieze, would thus cover about 83% of the size of the foundations, compared to 88% at the "Temple of Poseidon" on the Bisti, 80% at the "Hippolytos Temple" at Troizen, and 78% at the Classical Temple of Hera.

Architectural members

Numerous ancient building blocks have been reused in the walls of the Taxiarches Church and surrounding buildings. The row of houses along the northern side of the church seems to rest on a sturdy socle of *spolia*, which contains both blocks from the foundations of the temple and wall blocks of grey limestone (Figs. 13–14). As it seems unlikely that this

⁶² Pfaff 2003, 83, 160; Kanellopoulos & Petrakis 2018, fig. 12.

⁶³ Compared to the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Cooper 1992, pls. 20.1, 9): diameter 1.142 m, thickness of wall 0.827 m (72%); Hephaisteion on the Athenian Agora (Koch 1955, pl. 46): diameter 1.018 m, thickness of wall 0.78 m (77%); and Temple of Aphaia on Aegina (Bancel 1993, pl. 69): diameter 0.995 m, thickness of wall 0.817 m (82%).

⁶⁴ Temple of Zeus at Nemea: diameter 1.628 m, thickness of wall 0.95 m (58%); see Hill & Williams 1966, 9, pl. 20.

⁶⁵ Pfaff 2003, 83; Roux 1961, 93.

⁶⁶ Pfaff 2003, 85; Hill & Williams 1966, 9.

⁶⁷ For instance, at the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros and at the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea: Østby 2014, 325, with n. 46. The new measurements from the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea by Pakkanen (2013, 107, fig. 4.28) seem to indicate a single corner contraction.

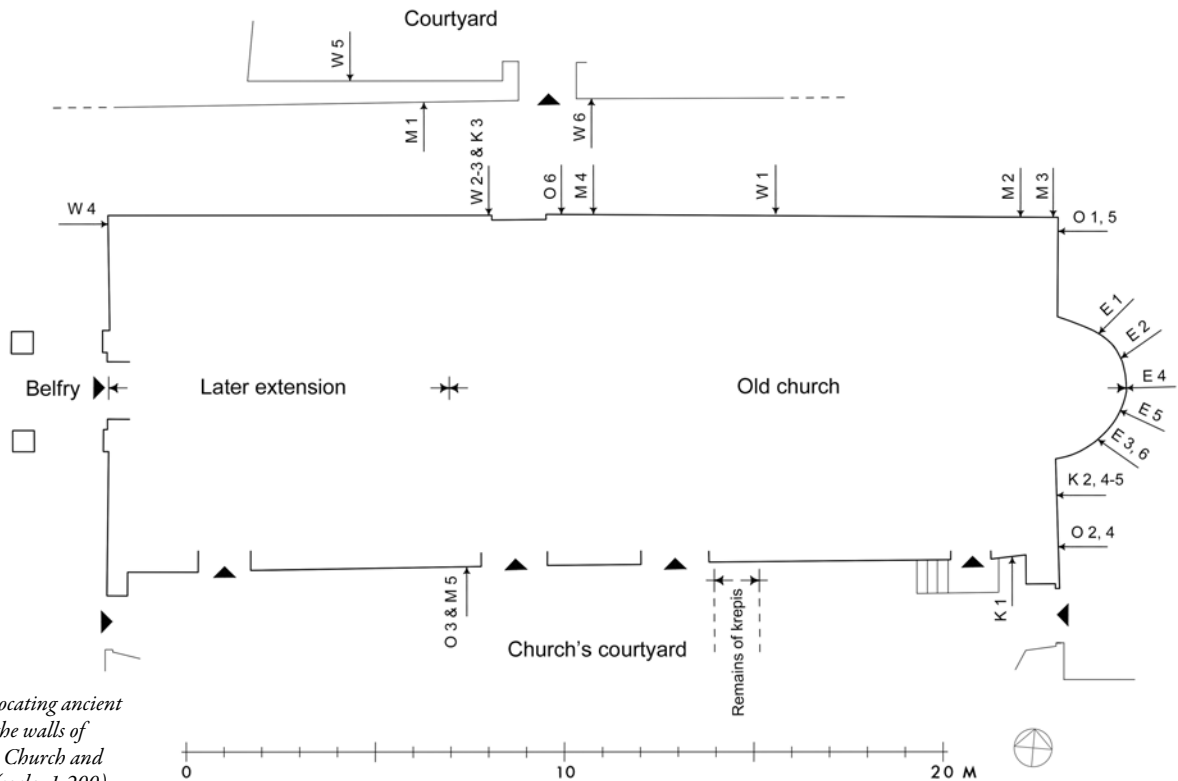


Fig. 15. Plan locating ancient blocks within the walls of the Taxiarches Church and surroundings (scale: 1:200). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

is an ancient wall, it could hardly have been the peribolos wall of the ancient Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia, as has been proposed.⁶⁸ This is more likely a later wall of Byzantine date (*Gerding 2021, fig. 3.21*). The majority of the diagnostic blocks belong to three distinct groups: orthostates, wall blocks, and krepis blocks (*Fig. 15*). In addition, there are a number of miscellaneous architectural members, including an assumed toichobate block. Most of the blocks share some common features: (1) They are cut from what appears to be the same hard grey limestone (perhaps brought from elsewhere, as indicated by the building account: see *Appendix, inscription 12*). (2) Many of the orthostate and wall blocks have a low point-dressed front panel, often surrounded by a carefully chisel-dressed margin (*Fig. 16*). (3) The remains of clamp cuttings point to a consistent use of Π -shaped hook clamps; there are no certain remains of dowel holes. As the blocks are built into later walls, only one or two sides at best can be observed. Of the orthostate and wall blocks, however, enough members are preserved to form a more general idea of the various surfaces. It is worth noting that the blocks in the eastern, medieval section of the church are considerably better preserved than the ones used in the younger, western section.

The blocks in the “*spolia socle*” of the row of houses north of the church are also generally well preserved.

ORTHOSTATES

The largest sample consists of six well-preserved orthostate blocks, which are all built into the walls of the eastern, older part of the church (**O 1–6**) (*Figs. 15–18*). The blocks are cut from compact grey limestone and feature on the front side a crowning taenia (average height: 0.134 m) above a point-dressed decorative panel flanked by smooth chisel-dressed margins. The front side surface faintly tapers inwards (*c.* 3 mm). The average length is 1.266 m and the average height 0.907 m (ratio 7:5). The heights of the orthostates are regular and could theoretically be based on a modulus of 0.3025 m, which has been suggested for the temples at the Argive Heraion, Epidauros, and Isthmia.⁶⁹

Cuttings for Π -shaped clamps, both length- and sidewise, on the top surface of the orthostates indicate that these blocks

⁶⁸ Stillwell 1976, 389.

⁶⁹ Pfaff (2003, 350) suggests a unit of 0.3025 m for the blocks of the foundations at the Temple of Hera. If the same unit was applied to the ancient building blocks at Hermione, the height of the orthostates (average: 0.907 m) would come very close to three such units, while the height of the wall blocks of Group A (see below) is exactly 1.5 units. The length



Fig. 16. Block O 5, seen from the north. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

were originally part of a two-skinned wall construction. There are no indications of dowels being used. Block O 6 displays clamp cuttings only on one short side, which suggests that this could be the “end” block of a sidewall. The opposite side of the block, however, is not enlarged, which suggests that there would have been a separate anta block which was not clamped to the wall at this course.

The crowning taenia of the orthostate blocks is an unusual (decorative) feature, for which I have identified only two close parallels: the West Building⁷⁰ and the South Stoa⁷¹ of the Argive Heraion. The orthostate blocks of the western and eastern walls of the South Stoa, which are still *in situ*, also feature a decorative point-dressed panel, and the overall dimensions come remarkably close to the blocks at Hermione (Fig. 19).⁷² The only notable difference is the use of H-shaped (or double-T) clamps in the South Stoa. A number of well-preserved 6th- to 4th-century temples and stoas indicate that there is a proportional connection between the lower column diameter (of the outer order) and the height of the orthostate course; these comparisons suggest a common ratio spanning from

1:1 to 5:4.⁷³ For the orthostate blocks at Hermione, it seems likely that the corresponding lower column diameter spans from 0.907 (1:1) to 1.013 m (5:4). These figures, however, seem too low to offer a clear connection to the foundations of the temple on the Pron.

The sidewalls of the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion are composed of two rows of orthostate blocks of equal width. The blocks at Hermione are thicker, however, and probably had thinner backers instead. The preserved block M 2, located at the north-eastern corner of the church, could perhaps be such a backer block (width 0.255 m).⁷⁴ This would give a total wall width of c. 0.85 m, which comes close to the South Stoa (0.83 m).

As no foundations have been identified at Hermione that could be connected to the orthostates, we can only speculate about their original context. Their relatively high number and good state of preservation may indicate that the ancient building from which they were taken was quite well preserved when the blocks were reused as building material in the church. The fact that the orthostate blocks were not broken into smaller fragments, like most of the other blocks used in the church walls, could suggest that they were brought from a nearby structure, which enabled the transportation of the blocks in their entirety.⁷⁵ Their dimensions indicate a building with an elevation comparable to the South Stoa at the Argive Heraion. One possible option is the Echo Stoa (“Portico of Echo”) that Pausanias mentions, located to the right of the Temple of Demeter Chthonia. He uses the same name for another building in the Altis (Olympia),⁷⁶ which has been identified with the archaeological remains of a stoa of vast proportions, measuring 100 m long and with 44 columns on the

of the wall blocks (average: 1.242 m) equals 4.1 units. The average length of the orthostate blocks (1.272 m) equals 4.2 units.

⁷⁰ The West Building was initially believed to date from the late 6th century (Waldstein 1902, 131–134, pl. XXVI), but a later study argues for a date in the later 5th century (Miller 1973, 11).

⁷¹ Coulton (1973, 67, 79; 1976, 217, fig. 39) has suggested a construction date for the West Stoa between 450 and 425 BC based on stylistic similarities between the column capitals from the stoa and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Coulton also suggests that the stoa is older than the Temple of Hera (located on the terrace above the stoa) based on the lack of Attic influences, such as are present in the temple.

⁷² The dimensions of the orthostates *in situ* at the South Stoa are height 0.86 m, height of taenia 0.155 m; the blocks at Hermione: height 0.907 m, height of taenia 0.134 m. The blocks are connected lengthwise with a single, centred clamp, which is similar to the blocks at Hermione.

⁷³ Approximate ratio between lower diameter of exterior colonnade and height of orthostates: South Stoa, Argive Heraion: 5:4 (Coulton 1973, 67); Temple of Aphaia on Aegina: 1:1 (Bankel 1993, pls. 69, 74); Temple of Zeus in Nemea: 10:9 (Hill & Williams 1966, 9, pl. 21); Hephaisteion on the Athenian Agora: 6:5 (Koch 1955, pl. 46); Temple of Apollo in Bassae: 6:5 (Cooper 1992, pls. 20.1, 9); Temple *en calcaire* in Delphi: 1:1 (Michaud 1977, pls. 32, 9, 11); *Echoballe* in Olympia: 1:1 (Koenigs 1984, 23–25, 28–29, fig. 3, pl. 71).

⁷⁴ This would result in a two-skinned construction, similar to that which has been suggested by Pfaff (2003, 160–161) for the Temple of Hera. Pfaff suggests that the thinner course would have been on the exterior surface of the cella wall. Evidence from Samothrace (the Rotunda of Arsinoe) also demonstrates different thicknesses of the interior and exterior orthostate blocks, where the thicker block is used in the exterior face of the cella: McCredie *et al.* 1992, 37–40, pl. LXXI. See also the orthostate course composed of blocks with different thickness in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae: Cooper 1992, pl. 20.9.

⁷⁵ There is, however, regional evidence of ancient blocks that have been reused in their entirety and transported over long distances; see Coulton 1973, 67; Pfaff 2003, 77–78.

⁷⁶ “It is such that if a man speaks it reverberates at least three times”: Paus. 5.21.17.

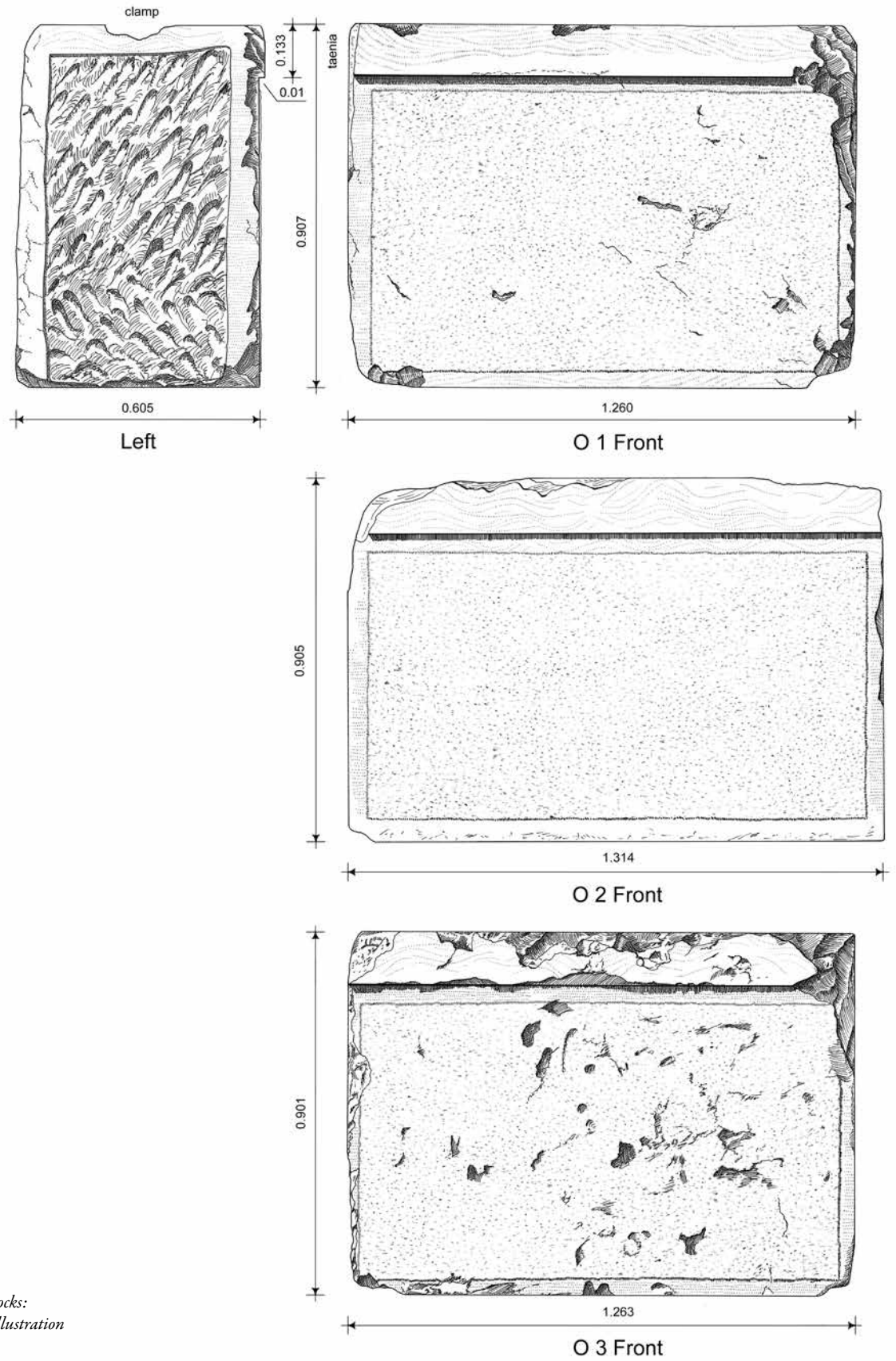


Fig. 17. Orthostate blocks:
O 1–3 (scale 1:15). Illustration
by Jesper Blid.

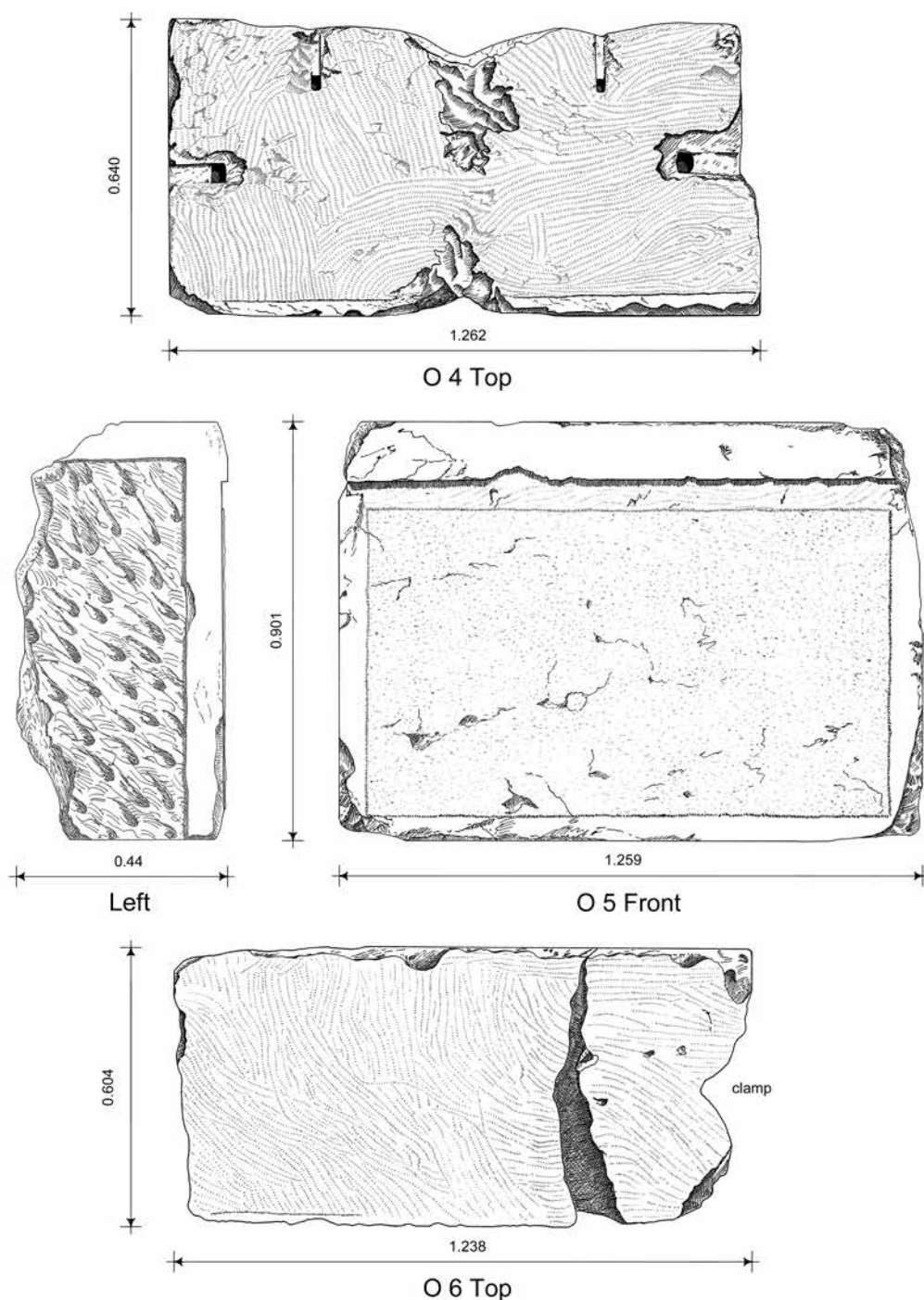


Fig. 18. Orthostate blocks:
O 4–6 (scale: 1:15).
Illustration by Jesper Blid.

front.⁷⁷ A similar building at Hermione may have served as a suitable quarry for the construction of the Taxiarches Church. A connection to the Heraion workmen seems plausible given the close stylistic similarities. The building account, which was

found close to the church, does in fact mention a travel allowance for a certain Androteles to be sent to Argos, presumably to hire workers (see *Appendix, inscription 12*).⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Koenigs 1984, 1.

⁷⁸ A herald (*karyx*) acted as an official messenger of the building commission, travelling to different cities to let out contracts; see Burford 1969, 132, 160.



Fig. 19. Orthostates in situ in the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion, seen from the east. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

WALL BLOCKS

At least eleven relatively well-preserved wall blocks have been observed in the walls of the Taxiarches Church and nearby houses (catalogued **W 1–6**) (Figs. 15, 20–21). In addition, numerous fragments are reused in the abovementioned buildings. The blocks can be divided into subgroups A and B based on their dimensions. Group A has an average height of *c.* 0.452 m, length of 1.23 m, and width of 0.70 m. The building blocks seem to be cut from the same grey limestone as the orthostates and several display a point-dressed frontal surface. Clamp cuttings on top of the blocks can be observed in only two cases (**W 2**, **W 6**). On **W 2**, it is not possible to discern the type of clamp, but on **W 6** there is a clear cutting for a Π -shaped clamp along the long side, which indicates that the blocks of Group A may belong to a double-skinned wall. However, only 0.21 m of the top surface is visible, which makes it unclear whether **W 6** has the same width as the other blocks of this group. It is certain that the wall blocks, like the orthostates, were only connected lengthwise with a single, centred clamp. On the basis of comparison with better-preserved temples and stoas, the height of these blocks would be suitable for a building of the size of the temple on the Pron.⁷⁹

The second category, Group B, consists of a single well-preserved block (**W 4**), about 0.345 m in height and 1.24 m in

length. It has the same approximate length as the blocks from Group A, but the width is not preserved. No clamp cuttings are preserved. The height would fit well with the orthostate blocks.⁸⁰ The uniform length of the blocks of Groups A and B may indicate that they originate from the same building or, perhaps more likely, from buildings erected more or less contemporaneously by a common workforce and/or module of measure.

STEPS OF THE KREPIDOMA

Three fragmentary front blocks from a stepped platform (krepidoma) are built into the walls of the Taxiarches Church (**K 1–3**) (Figs. 15, 22). The blocks are embellished with a single recess or rebate moulding at the base, which has been characterized as common in Attic buildings.⁸¹ The fragment **K 2** belongs to a corner block, containing a minute cyma-reversa moulding at the right end of the rebate.⁸² Two more fragments (**K 4–5**) are presumably the rear side of blocks, similar to **K 2**.

⁷⁹ Height of wall blocks compared to height of orthostate course: Temple of Apollo at Bassae: 40% (Cooper 1992, pl. 20.9); Temple of Aphaia on Aegina: 41% (Bankel 1993, pl. 69).

⁸⁰ The height of the wall blocks at the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion is *c.* 0.35 m, approximately 40% of the height of the orthostate course.

⁸¹ Pfaff 2003, 76–77. Østby (2014, 320–321) notes that a single rebate is “conservative” but is also seen, for instance, on the stepped platform of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.

⁸² Cyma-reversa mouldings at the end of the groove occur in Peloponnesian temple architecture from the 5th century onwards; cf. the Temple of Apollo at Bassae: Cooper 1996, 172. The practice seems to become more widespread from the following century onwards; see, for instance, the Propylon of the “Gymnasion” at Epidauros, dated to about 300 BC

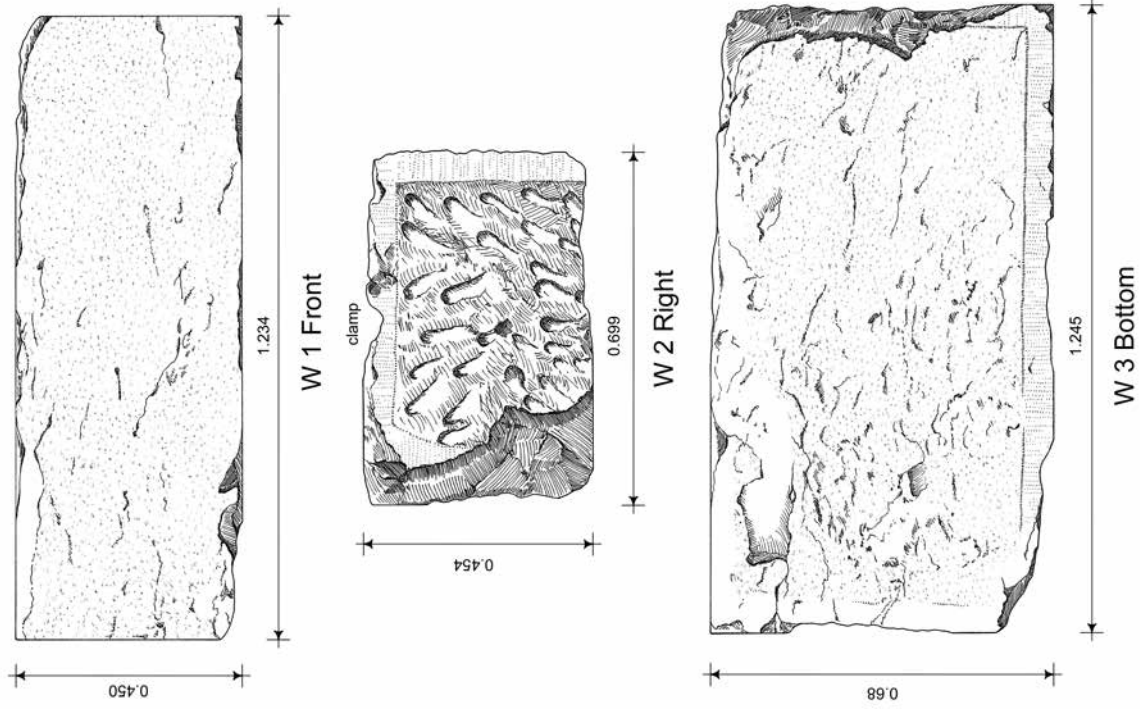


Fig. 20. Wall blocks: **W 1–3** (scale 1:15). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

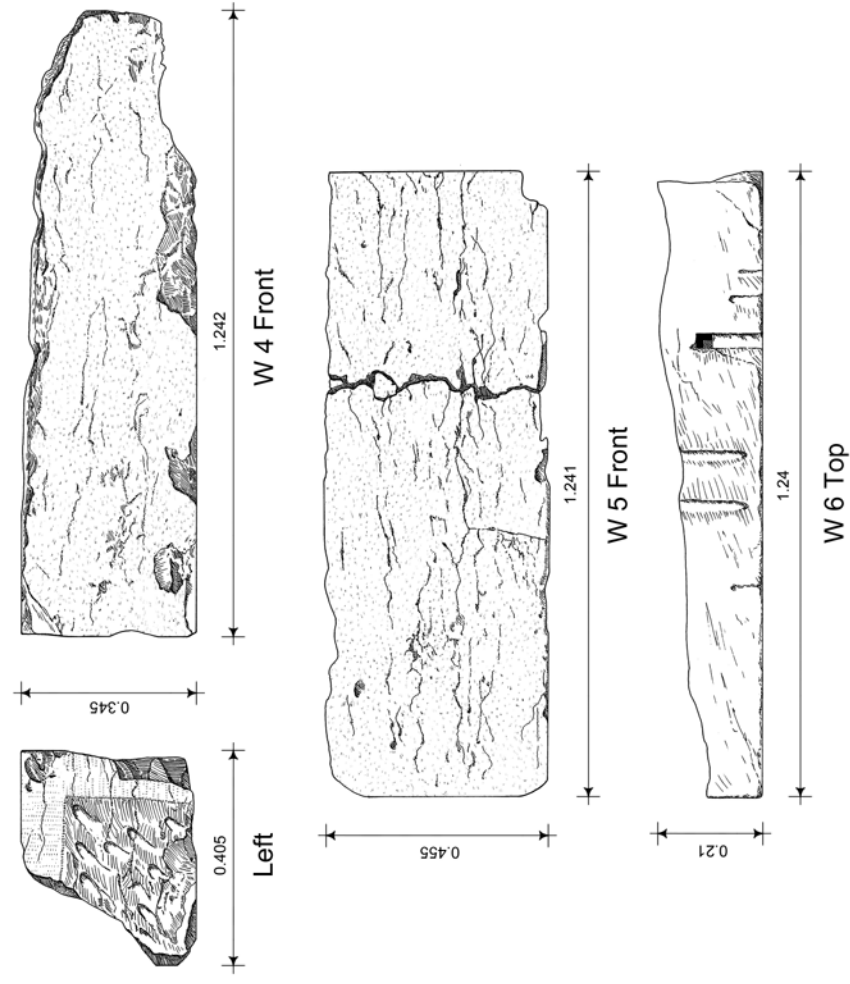


Fig. 21. Wall blocks: **W 4–6** (scale 1:15). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

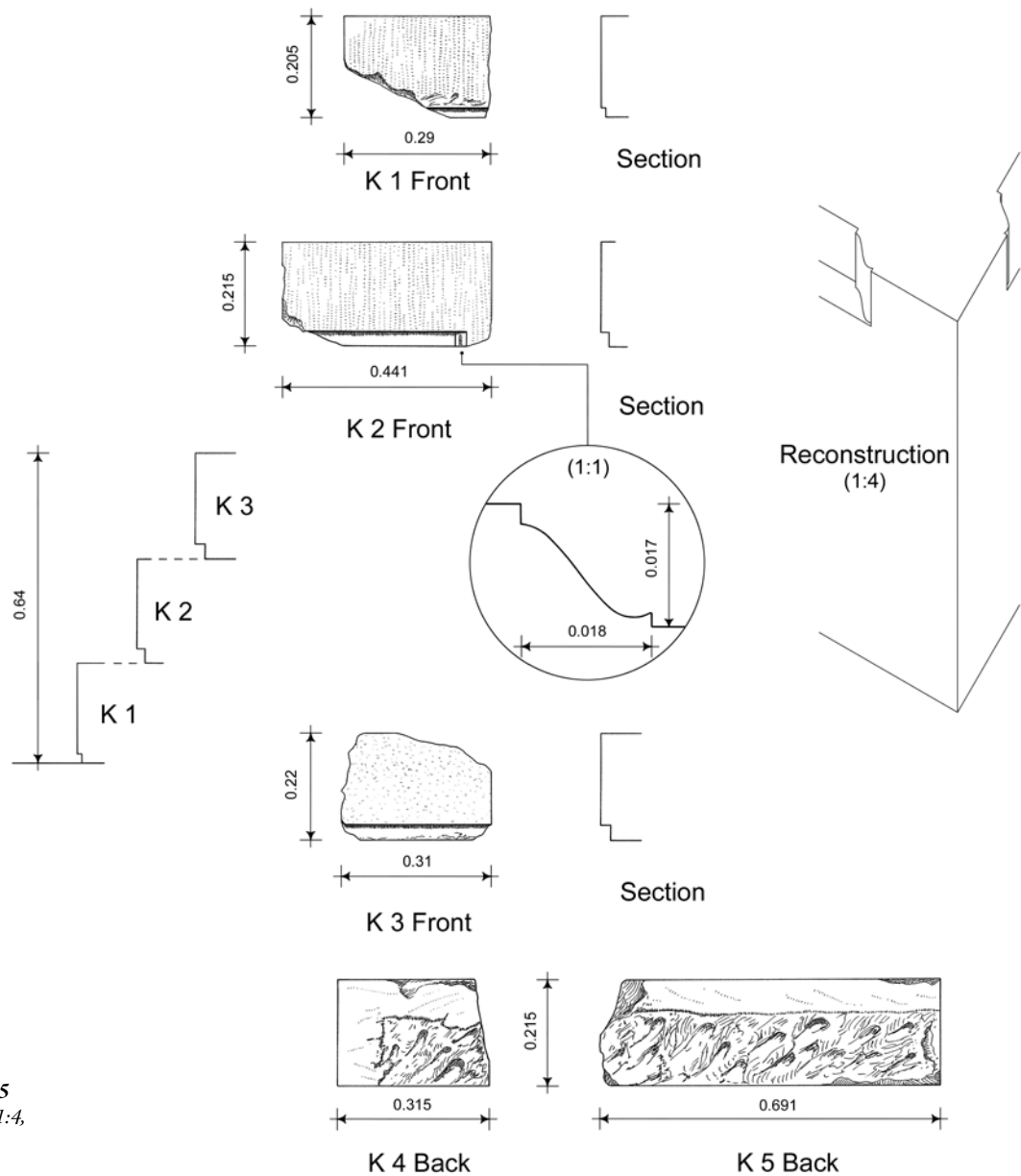


Fig. 22. Krepis blocks: **K 1–5**
(scale: 1:15, reconstruction 1:4,
section of cyma-reversa 1:1).
Illustration by Jesper Blid.

All blocks appear to be cut from hard grey limestone, and some have fine white veins. The blocks **K 1–3** have different heights: 0.205 m, 0.215 m, and 0.22 m, i.e. 0.64 m in total.⁸³ In Greek architecture, steps of the krepidoma commonly have graduated heights. These particular blocks, then, probably

belong together and come from the same building.⁸⁴ Pfaff argues that, unlike the single rebate, graduated heights of krepis blocks is not a typical Attic feature.⁸⁵ Different traditions, therefore, seem to have influenced the design of the blocks, just as Pfaff has argued for the Classical Temple of Hera. The front sides of **K 1–3** are plain and not decorated with panels,

(Kyriaki & Svolos 1988, 105, fig. 32, pls. 43–44), and the Propylon of Ptolemy II on Samothrace (Frazer 1990, 40, pl. 10).

⁸³ The individual heights of the blocks come rather close to the krepidoma of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros and the Tholos of Delphi: see Østby 2014, fig. 3.

⁸⁴ Pfaff 2003, 77.

⁸⁵ Pfaff 2003, 76–77.



Fig. 23. The apse of the Taxiarches Church, seen from the south-east, with catalogue numbers marked. Illustration by Jesper Blid.

which was a common feature from the 4th century onwards.⁸⁶ Even though the combined height of the krepis blocks appears too low for the temple remains under the Taxiarches Church, they are still within the size range of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros and the Tholos of Delphi, which suggests that they belong to a monumental building, conceivably from within the sanctuary.

THE “ROUND ALTAR”

Six well-preserved, slightly curved blocks of grey limestone constitute the wall base of the apse of the Taxiarches Church—an innovative way of reusing ancient blocks (**E 1–6**) (Figs. 15, 23). The surfaces of the blocks are dressed with a fine-toothed chisel, similarly to many of the other reused blocks (Fig. 24). Three of the blocks are embellished with a base moulding with a torus below a fillet, which indicates that they belong to a bottom course with a total length of 2.52 m. The three additional blocks have no mouldings and most likely belong to a second course, 2.48 m in length (the edges are slightly worn). The diameter of the structure is 1.605 m, the average height of the base course is 0.665 m, and the height of

the second course is 0.87 m. Only the frontal surfaces of these blocks are currently visible, which makes a secure identification of the structure difficult. Michael Jameson interpreted the members as part of a circular altar owing to a carved inscription (*IG IV 700*) on the block **E 5**, which mentions an altar of Helios.⁸⁷ Jameson dated the inscription to the late 3rd century AD, and, in my opinion, it is likely that it was cut secondarily into the curved block. As the six blocks in the apse form only a half circle, it is possible that the structure originally was a small exedra located somewhere inside the sacred precinct.

MISCELLANEOUS BLOCKS

Many of the reused blocks are damaged and difficult to characterize; they most likely fall within the previous categories. I present only a small selection of the blocks that are relatively well preserved (**M 1–5**) (Figs. 15, 25). These blocks appear to be cut from the same limestone as those of the previous categories.

RELIEF WITH DOUBLE AXE

A small base or altar, featuring a double axe in high relief, is built into the gable of the south transept of the Taxiarches Church (Fig. 26). The block has a simple crowning moulding; owing to

⁸⁶ Such decorative panels occasionally occur as early as the 5th century, as on the steps of the krepidoma of the temple at Bassae: see Cooper 1996, 172. They become more standardized during the 4th century; see Martin 1965, 351. Østby (2014, 321), however, notes that such decorative panels do not exist at the temples of Nemea and Tegea.

⁸⁷ Jameson 1959, 115. See *Appendix, inscription 11*.

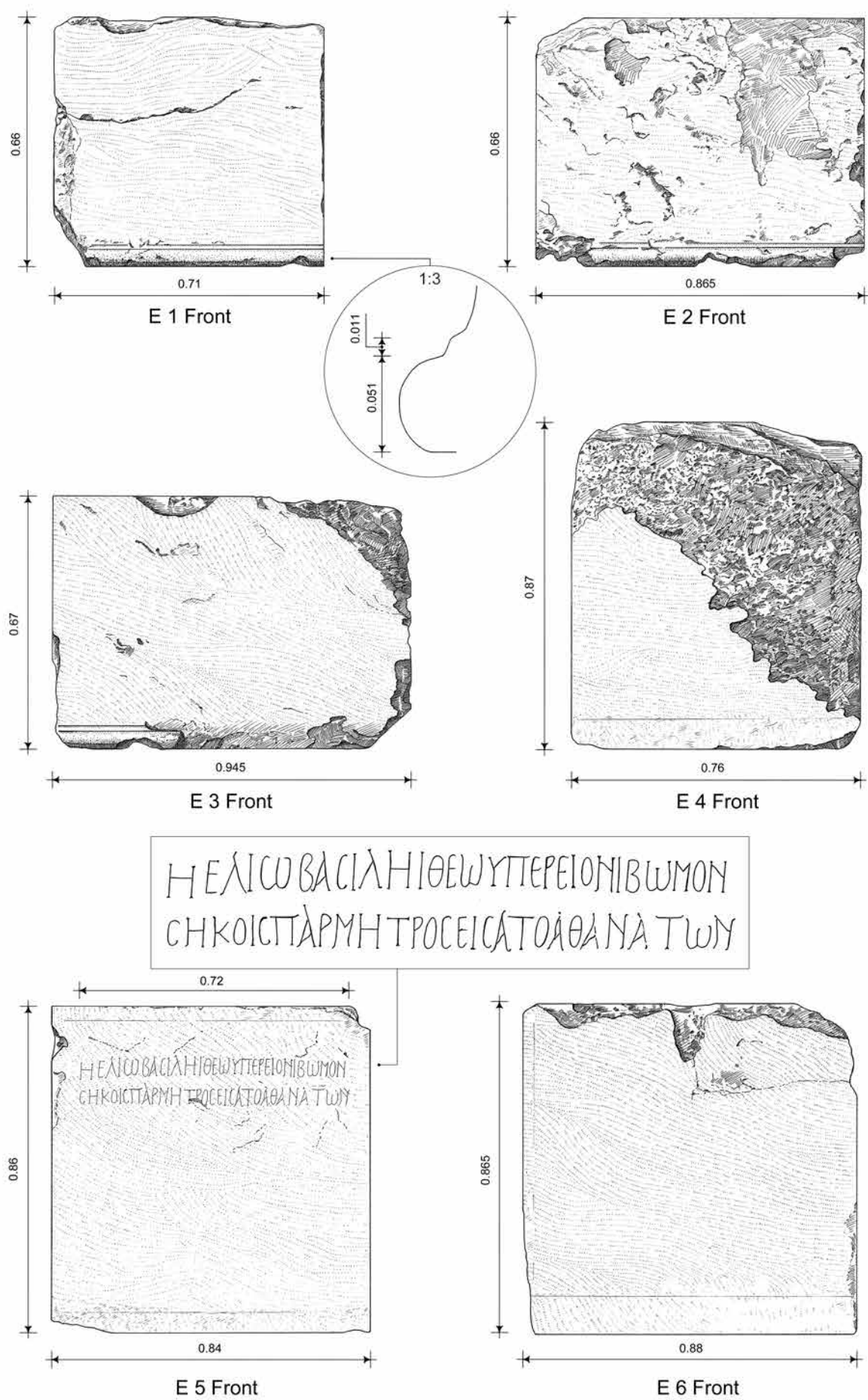
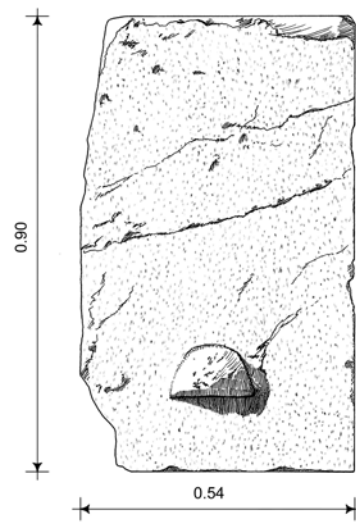
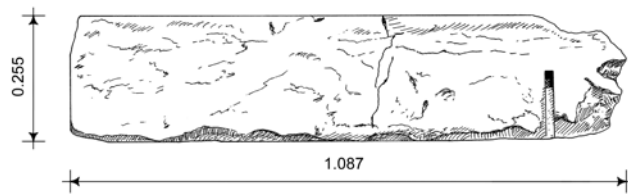


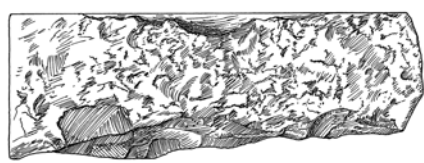
Fig. 24. Exedra blocks (?): E 1–6 and the inscription IG IV 700 (Appendix, inscription 11) (scale 1:15, section of base moulding 1:3). Illustration by Jesper Blid.



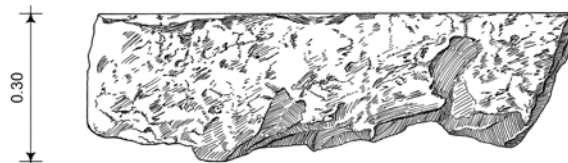
M 1 Front



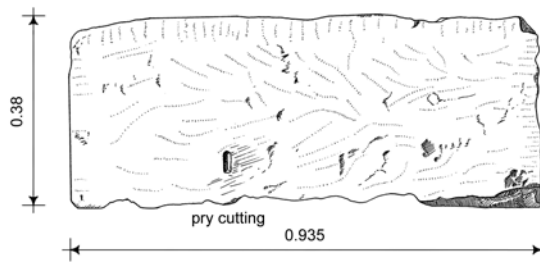
M 2 Top



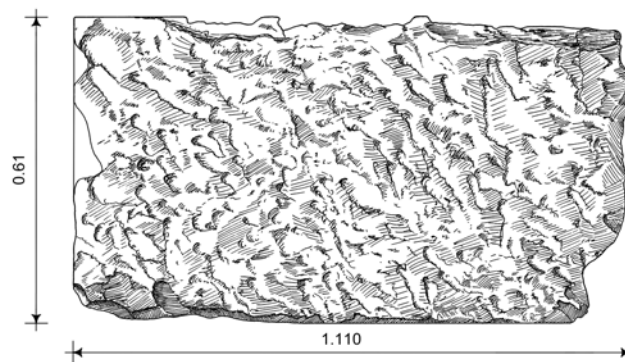
Left



M 3 Right



M 4 Top



M 5 Bottom

Fig. 25. Miscellaneous blocks:
M 1-5 (scale 1:15). Illustration
by Jesper Blid.

its inaccessible location, I have not been able to measure it. The symbol of the double axe is often associated with the Karian cult of Zeus. No ancient sources mention such a sanctuary inside the city, but Michael Jameson has published a grave stele from Hermione featuring a name of alleged Karian origin.⁸⁸ At any rate, the votive base was not necessarily dedicated to a sanctuary of Zeus. It may also have been connected with Karian worship in Greek sanctuaries. The relief of Zeus Labraundos alongside the Karian satraps Idrieus and Ada from the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (now in the British Museum) is another, and more obvious, testimony to such Karian devotion.⁸⁹

THE AKROTERION

A marble sculpture portraying a female body partly covered by a thin chiton is exhibited at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (*Fig. 27*).⁹⁰ The figure is identified as an akroterion, and, as there are no remains for the attachment of wings, she is believed to represent a wind goddess rather than a Nike. According to the museum catalogue, the sculpture was purchased from Munich in 1909 and is said to have come from Hermione. With a proposed date for the figure of around 400 BC, it has been compared to the more famous akroterial group of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, which is dated to the first decade of the 4th century.⁹¹ The female statue at Copenhagen furthermore resembles two akroteria from the Agora of Athens, both of which have been dated to the last decade of the 5th century, or more recently, one decade earlier.⁹² Female akroteria, in some cases identified as Nike, are recorded at a number of Peloponnesian temples of the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods.⁹³ In several cases, they appear as lateral akroteria flanking a central, floral akroterion.⁹⁴

The head, arms, and feet of the figure in Copenhagen are missing, and its present height is 0.98 m. While approximately 0.20 m of the feet is lost, their original appearance can be estimated from what now remains. The missing head would probably have been about one-seventh of the total height of



Fig. 26. Votive base or altar of limestone, with double axe in relief, seen from the south. Photograph by Jesper Blid.

the sculpture. This gives an approximate total height of 1.40 m (minimum). The angle of the broken left shoulder indicates that this arm was raised in a gesture similar to the proposed reconstruction of the Nike of Paionios at Olympia (*Fig. 28*).⁹⁵

As a comparison to the size of the female sculpture in Copenhagen, the lateral akroterion no. 157 of the Temple of Asklepios in Epidauros is about 0.795 m high, and the central akroterion (no. 155) is currently 0.86 m high without head and feet,⁹⁶ with a reconstructed height of 1.25 m.⁹⁷ As the sculpture in Copenhagen is taller than the ensemble from Epidauros, it should belong to a taller building. If the provenance of the sculpture is correct, there are only two known buildings in Hermione that could house an akroterion of this size: the temple on the Pron and the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti. The temple on the Bisti has been dated to the Late Archaic pe-

⁸⁸ Jameson 1959, 114–115.

⁸⁹ Museum number: 1914.0714.1 There existed, however, at least one shrine of Zeus Labraundos in Mainland Greece. An honorary decree dated to 298/297 BC refers to a structure dedicated to the cult of Zeus Labraundos in Athens: see Carless Unwin 2014, 46.

⁹⁰ Moltesen *et al.* 1995, 60–61, museum number: I.N. 2432.

⁹¹ Prignitz 2014, 250.

⁹² See Danner 1989, cat. nos. 105 [inv. no. S 132] (17, pl. 10), 143 [inv. no. S 182] (22, pl. 19). Stewart (2019, 91–92, 94, fig. 4) has recently proposed a very precise, somewhat earlier date for inv. no. S 132 which “... should immediately postdate the Nike Temple Parapet (c. 425–423)”, and inv. no. S 182, c. 420–413.

⁹³ Cf. Danner 1989, 86; Reinhardt 2018, 151–156.

⁹⁴ E.g. the temples of Athena Alea at Tegea, Artemis at Epidauros and the Classical Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion (for the latter, see also Pfaff 2003, 143).

⁹⁵ See Hölscher 1974, 74, n. 5, fig. 3.

⁹⁶ Crome 1951, 20–23, pls. 1–3, 6–8.

⁹⁷ Danner 1989, 19.



Fig. 27. *Akroterion from Hermione in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. Photograph by Jesper Blid.*

riod based on the style of its polygonal masonry and therefore does not offer a plausible provenance. In his 1868 description of the temple on the Pron, Bursian mentions a few sculpture fragments in the area of the Taxiarches Church, which means that such objects could still be found on the Pron at the time.

If the akroterion in Copenhagen did come from Hermione, it seems likely that it belonged to the temple on the Pron. We can compare the restored height of the akroterion to the hypothetical height of the pediment of the temple: the width of the pediment was probably *c.* 15.4 m, and, with a hypothetical slope of 13 degrees,⁹⁸ the height would be 1.78 m. The ratio between the tympanon height and the akroterion is 1:0.79. The hypothetical column height can also be related to the akroterion. Compared to regional examples, the height of the peristyle columns (including capitals) probably ranged between 7.22 and 7.81 m. The relation between these column heights and the akroterion is 1:0.19 and 0.18, respectively.

⁹⁸ Cf. Pfaff 2003, 116–117.



Fig. 28. *Hypothetical reconstruction of the akroterion. Illustration by Jesper Blid.*

Based on the proportions of the well-preserved akroterial group of the Temple of Asklepios at nearby Epidauros, where the column height relates to the lateral akroteria as 1:0.15,⁹⁹ it seems that the sculpture in Copenhagen could have served as a corner akroterion on the temple at Hermione (Fig. 29).

Concluding thoughts

Pausanias' description of ancient Hermione places the city's important Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia on Pron Hill.¹⁰⁰ More specifically, it seems to have been located in the area of the Taxiarches Church, as suggested by inscriptions mentioning Demeter, Klymenos, and Kore found in the neighbour-

⁹⁹ Danner 1989, 88–89.

¹⁰⁰ Pausanias (2.34.10) describes the Pron as an area settled more recently than the promontory (Bisti), which was the site of the older city.



Fig. 29. Hypothetical reconstruction of the eastern façade of the temple on the Pron (scale 1:150). Illustration by Jesper Blid.

hood of the church.¹⁰¹ The foundations of an ancient temple, located under the church, therefore most likely belong to one of the buildings within the sanctuary. While the temple foundations are only partly visible and the state of preservation is poor, the dimensions clearly testify to a building of monumental proportions. The width of the cella, which can be determined with certainty, exceeds not only the local “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti promontory but also (even if only marginally) the “Hippolytos Temple” at Troizen and the Classical Temple of Hera. The total dimensions of the temple (19 x 38 m), as recorded by Blouet in 1833, indicate along with the width of the cella that this must have been the principal cult structure of the sanctuary. The close similarity in size between the three temples at Hermione, Argos, and Troizen can perhaps be interpreted as an expression of regional competition. The Temple of Demeter Chthonia on the Pron was most likely a hexastyle building with twelve columns along the flanks.

The proposed length of the exterior Doric frieze is *c.* 16.69 x 35.95 m; the stylobate would consequently be slightly longer. The interior of the sekos was *c.* 7.92 m wide and embellished with freestanding colonnades, perhaps in double rows of seven columns along the axis of the sekos.

The Taxiarches Church and neighbouring houses are built primarily from reused ancient building blocks, most of which do not appear to belong to the Temple of Demeter Chthonia. It seems, therefore, that the temple was almost completely dismantled to the level of the foundations by the time the oldest standing part of the church was built (perhaps in the 13th century). This also seems evident from the rather random way in which the church appears to be situated on top of the temple platform without reusing any ancient elements.¹⁰² Instead, a better-preserved structure within the old sanctuary, conceivably a stoa, served as a quarry for the construction of

¹⁰¹ An inscription (IG IV 743; see *Appendix, inscription 10*) mentioning a residence of the priestesses of the goddess Demeter has furthermore been found in the Panagia Church, close to the Taxiarches Church.

¹⁰² Unlike the “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti, which was converted into a church in a more conventional way with an apse added to the eastern porch of the building; see McAllister & Jameson 1969, 179. The remains of the apse are evident in *Fig. 11*.

the church. The stylistic similarities to building blocks at the Argive Heraion suggest a connection between the two sites: perhaps the same workmen were involved in their construction. A fragmentary building account found close to the Taxiarches Church at Hermione documents, furthermore, that a herald was sent to Argos and several other cities, such as Corinth, Megara, and Sikyon, most likely to hire workmen.¹⁰³ This account therefore attests to the widespread mobility of skilled workmen, similarly to the large dossier of building accounts found at the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros.¹⁰⁴

As I have not been able to access detailed stratigraphical data from the excavations of the temple foundations, the chronology can only be estimated based on stylistic and circumstantial evidence. One significant feature is the foundations for freestanding colonnades inside the sekos, rather than half-columns or engaged columns bonded directly to the cella walls. Even though this is not a solid chronological criterion, this feature is generally more common before the Hellenistic period. Also noteworthy are the thicker foundations for the entrance wall of the cella; these were intended for either parastades or a solid wall, and they seem more widespread in the area from the late 5th century onwards.¹⁰⁵

Even though most of the ancient building blocks that have been reused in the area of the Taxiarches Church cannot with certainty be attributed to the temple, they do give a chronological indication as to when some of the other monuments in the sanctuary were erected. It seems plausible that this would roughly correspond with the construction of the temple itself as the building materials, tool marks, and types of clamps appear to be similar. The orthostate blocks are almost identical to those of the South Stoa and the West Building at the Argive Heraion, which are generally dated to the second half of the 5th century. However, the lack of “double-T clamps” may indicate that the orthostates at Hermione slightly postdate the aforementioned buildings of the Heraion as we find only Π-shaped hook clamps in the blocks at Hermione. According to Roland Martin, such clamps were used consistently for the first time in the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros in the early 4th century and they were frequently employed in temples at

Delphi just a few decades later.¹⁰⁶ This could therefore suggest that some of the buildings within the Sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione date to the early 4th century or later. At any rate, the mid-4th century coins of Hermione with the portrait of Demeter point to the fact that her cult (and sanctuary) was firmly established by this time.¹⁰⁷ Finally, there is the fragmentary building account which Baumeister found built into the wall of a house close to the Taxiarches Church (*IG IV 742: Appendix, inscription 12*). The find-spot may indicate a connection to a building in the sanctuary. The inscription is commonly dated to the first decades of the 4th century and lists, for example, the expenses for fluting columns, delivering capitals, and carting poros limestone from the harbour. Taken together, this evidence suggests that the Temple of Demeter Chthonia was likely constructed around the same time as the Heraion of Argos and the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.¹⁰⁸

It seems evident from the excavations inside the Taxiarches Church that the temple remains do not rest on older foundations. The design, therefore, did not have to adopt the archaic plan of a previous building, as was often the case in Greek sanctuaries. The proportions of the platform (1:2) and ratio between the cella width and total width (0.51:1), however, correspond exactly with the older “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti, which may indicate the influence of the local building tradition. In the light of this parallel, I propose that the proportions and outline of the cella of the Temple of Demeter Chthonia also followed the predecessor on the Bisti, with a pronaos, sekos, and opisthodomos.¹⁰⁹ The Temple of Demeter Chthonia surpassed the older “Temple of Poseidon” on the

¹⁰³ At least three Argive sculptors are also mentioned on dedicatory inscriptions found at various locations at Hermione (See *Appendix, inscriptions 2* [*IG IV 684*], 4 [*IG IV 687*], 8 [*IG IV 690*]).

¹⁰⁴ See, for instance, the building account for the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros: Prignitz 2014, 28–32.

¹⁰⁵ The “Temple of Poseidon” on the Bisti does not contain this feature, but it is widely represented in Peloponnesian temple architecture, for instance at Bassae (Cooper 1996, 212–218), the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (Bronceer 1971, 62, pl. 4), the Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion (Pfaff 2003, fig. 53), the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (Roux 1961, pl. 28), the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Norman 1984, 183–185, fig. 9), and the Temple of Zeus at Nemea (Hill & Williams 1966, 26–27, pls. 2, 4).

¹⁰⁶ Martin 1965, 279. For further details on the Π-shaped clamps used in the early 4th-century Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, see Roux 1961, 91. Such clamps are also frequently used at the Temple *en calcaire* at Delphi, dated to about 360 BC: Michaud 1977, 105–106, 118.

¹⁰⁷ Dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter, Klymenos, and Kore (e.g. *IG IV 683: Appendix, inscription 1*) are known from the first decades of the 4th century. It should be noted here that Argos also struck new coins in the late 370s with a depiction of Hera, presumably not long after their new temple had been finished; for further bibliography, see Kritzas 2006, 421.

¹⁰⁸ In this case, it appears likely that different types of clamps were used simultaneously in the region by the early 4th century with double-T clamps used in the Temple of Hera and Π-shaped, hook clamps in the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (and at Hermione).

¹⁰⁹ Knell (1983, 207) has identified a Late Classical tendency in Doric temple architecture to reduce the size of the opisthodomos or even omit it entirely, which he labels “*der Kurztempel*”. The reduced opisthodomos was also introduced in Asiatic Ionic architecture as early as the Late Classical period, arguably for the first time in the Temple of Zeus at Karian Labraunda (Hellström & Thieme 1982, 47, pls. 39–40), which most likely dates to before the death of Artemisia in 351/350 BC (for a new proposed chronology for this temple, see Hellström & Blid 2019, 252–254). An opisthodomos is also found in the Nereid Monument of Xanthos (Coupel & Demargne 1969, pl. 25), but, according to a recent study, it was not built before the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda (Pedersen 2013, 140).

promontory in size, in line with its prominence as the new chief sanctuary of the city. About 500 years after its construction, the temple was still in use, its appearance still remarkable to the well-travelled Pausanias, who praised it as “the object most worthy of mention” at ancient Hermione.

Catalogue of building blocks

ORTHOSTATES (FIGS. 17–18)

O 1. Complete orthostate block (grey limestone), at the north-eastern corner of the Taxiarches Church (currently upside down), front and left sides are visible.

H. 0.907 m, L. 1.260 m, W. 0.605 m (at bottom), 0.601 m under taenia, and 0.615 m at top. Front side has a decorative, point-dressed panel surrounded by a smooth margin (*c.* 0.055–0.060 m wide), a crowning taenia at the top (H. 0.133 m). Parts of the edges of the short sides of the block are slightly damaged. Left side has well-preserved anathyrosis (W. 0.075–0.080 m). Damaged remains of a clamp cutting, centred at the top of the block.

O 2. Orthostate block (grey limestone) at the south-eastern corner of the Taxiarches Church (upside down), front surface visible. H. 0.905 m, L. 1.314 m. Front side has a decorative, point-dressed panel surrounded by a smooth margin (*c.* 0.045 m wide), a crowning taenia at the top (H. 0.134 m).

O 3. Orthostate block (grey limestone) in the southern wall of the Taxiarches Church, front surface visible.

H. 0.901 m, L. 1.263 m. Front side has a decorative, point-dressed panel surrounded by a smooth margin (*c.* 0.045 m wide), a crowning taenia at the top (H. 0.134 m). Top corners are chipped off.

O 4. Orthostate block (grey limestone) at the south-eastern corner of the Taxiarches Church (above **O 2**), top surface visible.

L. 1.262 m, W. 0.640 m. Top side is chisel-dressed, and an incised line marks the surface on top of the projecting taenia. There are large clamp cuttings on the short sides of the block (0.045 x 0.030 m), *c.* 0.12–0.174 m from the edges. Smaller clamp cuttings at the back side of the block (0.035 x 0.030 m), 0.12–0.13 m from the back edge.

O 5. Broken orthostate block (grey limestone) at north-eastern corner of the Taxiarches Church (above **O 1**), front and left sides visible.

H. 0.901 m, L. 1.259 m, max. W. 0.44 m. Front side has a decorative, point-dressed panel surrounded by a smooth margin (*c.* 0.045–0.055 m wide), a crowning taenia at the top

(H. 0.134 m). Top right corner is chipped off. Front side tapers *c.* 3 mm from bottom to top (under the taenia). Left side has well-preserved anathyrosis, while broken at the back.

O 6. Broken orthostate block (grey limestone) in the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church, top surface visible. Presumably an “end” block.

L. 1.238 m, W. 0.604 m. Anathyrosis along the edges (*c.* 0.045 m wide). Remains of clamp cutting on right-hand side (0.102 m from the side). The block is broken into two pieces, and much of the original right edge is chipped off.

WALL BLOCKS (FIGS. 20–21)

W 1. Wall block in grey limestone, built into the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church, front side visible.

H. 0.450 m, L. 1.234 m. The surface is point-dressed.

W 2. Wall block in grey limestone, built into the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church (at the north-western corner of the old section), presumably right side visible.

H. 0.454 m, W. 0.699 m. Well-preserved anathyrosis (W. 0.065–0.075 m).

W 3. Wall block in grey limestone, built into the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church (above **W 2**), bottom side visible (no clamp cuttings).

L. 1.245 m, W. 0.68 m. Anathyrosis preserved, *c.* 0.06–0.07 m wide.

W 4. Wall block in grey limestone, built into the north-western corner of the Taxiarches Church, two sides visible (currently placed upside down).

H. 0.345 m, L. 1.242 m, max. W. 0.405 m. Well-preserved anathyrosis (W. 0.090 m). Right side of the block is broken. Long side has point-dressed surface.

W 5. Built into the wall of a courtyard of a house north of the Taxiarches Church, front side is visible.

H. 0.455 m, L. 1.241 m. The block is broken in two parts. The surface is point-dressed.

W 6. Built into the southern façade of the same house as **W 5** north of the Taxiarches Church, back and part of top side are visible.

H. 0.455 m, L. 1.24 m, max. W. 0.21 m. The surface of the rear side is poorly preserved. The top side is worn and has remains of a square clamp cutting (0.030 m), 0.10 m from the back edge of the block. Two secondary parallel grooves have been cut into the upper side.

STEPS OF THE KREPIDOMA (FIG. 22)

K 1. Fragmentary krepis block (grey limestone) in the southern wall of the Taxiarches Church (close to the south-eastern corner). Front side visible.

H. 0.205 m, L. 0.29 m. The front surface is chisel-dressed and with a single rebate moulding at the bottom of the block (H. 0.022 m, and 0.014 m deep). Left side of block diagonally broken.

K 2. Fragmentary krepis block (grey limestone) in the eastern wall of the Taxiarches Church (south of the apse). Front side visible.

H. 0.215 m, L. 0.441 m. The front surface is chisel-dressed and has a single rebate moulding at the bottom of the block (H. 0.030 m, and 0.017 m deep). The rebate terminates in a cyma-reversa moulding (L. 0.018 m), 0.055 m from the right corner. The right side of the block is preserved while the left side is broken.

K 3. Fragmentary krepis block (grey limestone) in the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church (just east of the more recent extension of the building). Front side visible.

H. 0.22 m, L. 0.31 m. The front surface is point-dressed and with a single rebate moulding at the bottom of the block (H. 0.040 m, and 0.02 m deep). Parts of the top and sides of the block are broken.

K 4. Fragmentary krepis block (grey limestone) in the eastern wall of the Taxiarches Church (located a couple of courses above **K 2**). Back side visible.

H. 0.215 m, L. 0.315 m. Well-preserved anathyrosis (0.07 m wide); the right side of the block is broken.

K 5. Fragmentary krepis block (grey limestone) in the eastern wall of the Taxiarches Church (next to **O 2**). Back side visible.

H. 0.215 m, L. 0.691 m. Well-preserved anathyrosis (0.05 m wide); the left side of the block is broken.

THE “ROUND ALTAR”/EXEDRA (FIG. 24)

E 1. Curved block (grey limestone) with a base moulding (torus and fillet), in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.66 m, L. 0.71 m. H. of torus 0.051 m, H. of fillet 0.011 m. Front surface dressed with fine-toothed chisel. Lower left corner chipped off.

E 2. Curved block (grey limestone) with a base moulding (torus and fillet), in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.66 m, L. 0.865 m. H. of torus 0.051 m, H. of fillet 0.011 m. Front surface is worn and the edges are chipped off.

E 3. Curved block (grey limestone) with a worn base moulding (torus and fillet), in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.67 m, L. 0.945 m. Front surface dressed with fine-toothed chisel. Base moulding is almost entirely worn off.

E 4. Curved block (grey limestone) in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.871 m, W. 0.76 m. Half of the front surface is worn off; the other, left, half preserves traces of a fine-toothed chisel.

E 5. Curved block (grey limestone) in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.86 m, W. 0.84 m. Front surface dressed with fine-toothed chisel. Inscription (*IG IV 700: Appendix, inscription 11*) secondarily cut into the block.

E 6. Curved block (grey limestone) in the apse of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.865 m, L. 0.88 m. Front surface dressed with fine-toothed chisel.

MISCELLANEOUS BLOCKS (FIG. 25)

M 1. Unfinished block, perhaps an orthostate, in grey limestone with a lifting boss. Built into a house north of the Taxiarches Church. Front side visible.

H. 0.90 m, L. 0.54 m. The left side of the block is broken. If the lifting boss was centred on the block, the original width was 0.56 m.

M 2. “Backer” in grey limestone, in the northern wall of the Taxiarches Church (directly west of **O 5**). Top side preserved. L. 1.087 m, W. 0.255 m. Worn remains of chisel marks on the surface. Very worn remains of a clamp cutting on the left-hand side. Better-preserved clamp cutting on the right side of the block (0.02 m square, 0.07 m from the back edge). The right side is broken.

M 3. Toichobate block (?) in grey limestone, in the north-eastern corner of the Taxiarches Church (under **O 1**). Two damaged sides are visible.

H. 0.295–0.30 m, L. 0.815 m (eastern side), L. 0.965 m (northern side). Both sides are badly damaged. The right corner (far west) is broken.

M 4. Block in grey limestone with pry cutting (0.30 m from the short edge), in northern wall of the Taxiarches Church. Top surface visible.

L. 0.935 m, W. 0.38 m. The top surface is well preserved and dressed with a fine-toothed chisel. A pry cutting is located 0.30 m

from the upper edge of the block (not centred on the block). There is no dowel hole in connection with the pry cutting.

M 5. Block in grey limestone, built into the southern wall of the Taxiarches Church (above **O 3**), bottom side visible (no clamp cuttings).

Max. L. 1.110 m, W. 0.61 m. The block is worn but shows traces of a coarse point-dressed surface. The width makes it likely that this is the bottom side of an orthostate block.

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Appendix: selected inscriptions from Hermione

By Baukje van den Berg

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS TO DEMETER, KLYMENOS, AND KORE

1. *IG IV 683*

Rectangular limestone base, found on the Bisti promontory.¹¹⁰ Michael Jameson dates this inscription and *IG IV 684* (*inscription 2* below) to the early decades of the 4th century BC and suggests that the statues represented the special victims of the rite of Demeter Chthonia.¹¹¹

Ἀλεξίας : Λύονος : ἀνέθε[κε]
τᾷ Δάματρι : τᾷ Χθονίαι
ἡρμιονεύς
Κρεσίλας : ἐποίησε : Κυδονιάτ[α]ς

The Hermionian Alexias, son of Lyon, erected (this statue) for Demeter Chthonia. Kresilas of Kydonia made it.

2. *IG IV 684*

Rectangular limestone base, found on the Bisti promontory.¹¹²

Ἀριστομένες ἀνέθε[κε] Ἀλεξία
τᾷ Δάματρι τᾷ Χθονίαι
ἡρμιονεύς

Δορόθεος ἐφεργάσατο Ἀργεῖος

The Hermionian Aristomenes, son of Alexias, erected (this statue) for Demeter Chthonia.

The Argive Dorotheos made it.

3. *IG IV 685*¹¹³

Ἀριστοφάνης, Εὐμάρ-
ιχος [Α]ῖσχίονα τᾷ Δ-
άματρι, Ἑρμιονεῖς.

The Hermionians Aristophanes and Eumarichos erected (this statue of) [A]ischion for Demeter.

4. *IG IV 686*

— — — Δάματρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόραι ἀν[έθηκε].

... erected (this statue) for [Demet]er, Klymenos, Kore.

5. *IG IV 687*

Found in a house; probably dated to the 1st century BC.

ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἑρμιονέ-
ων Νίκιν Ἀνδρωνίδα Δάμα-
τρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόραι.
Θεόδωρος Πόρου Ἀργεῖος ἐποίησε.

The city of the Hermionians (erected this statue of) Nikis, daughter of Andronidas, for Demeter, Klymenos, Kore. The Argive Theodoros, son of Poros, made it.

¹¹⁰ Jameson 1953, 149–150. The text follows Jameson.

¹¹¹ For two further inscriptions mentioning Demeter, see Jameson 1953, 150.

¹¹² Jameson 1953, 148. The text follows Jameson.

¹¹³ The text and descriptions of the following inscriptions are based on *IG IV*. For further details, see the respective entries there.

6. *IG IV 688*

Found built into the wall of a house.

[Ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]
Καλλίμαχο[ν, αὐτᾶς καὶ]
[Κ]αλλίνου υἱ[όν, ἀνέθηκε]
[Δά]ματρι, Κλυ[μένωι, Κόραι].

[So-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, erected] (this statue of)
Kallimachos, son [to her and] [K]allinos, for [De]meter,
Kly[menos, Kore].

7. *IG IV 689*

Built into a house close to the Taxiarches Church.

Σώδαμος Ἑρμία τὸν αὐ-
τοῦ ἀδελφὸν Ἑρμίαν Δά-
ματρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόραι.

Sodamos, son of Hermias, (erected this statue of) his brother
Hermias for Demeter, Klymenos, Kore.

8. *IG IV 690*

On a marble base in the area of the previous house.

[Ἀσ]κληπιόδωρος Τηλέφου Ἀθηνα[ῖος]
[Ἀρι]στοξέναν Περικλείδου, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυνα[ῖκα],
Δήμητρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόρηι.
Ἀργαῖος Ἀριστον[ί]-
[κου ἐπόει].

The Athenian [As]klepiodoros, son of Telephos, (erected this
statue of) his wife [Ari]stoxena, daughter of Perikleides, for
Demeter, Klymenos, Kore.

The Argive Ariston[ikos made it].

9. *IG IV 691*

Built into the wall of a house.

Διον[ύσιος τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν]
αὐτο[ῦ καὶ τῆς δεῖνος υἱὸν]
Διονύ[σιον ἀνέθηκε Δήμητρι],
Κλυμέ[νωι, Κόρηι].

Dion[ysios, son of so-and-so, erected] (this statue of)
Diony[sios, son to] him [and so-and-so, for Demeter],
Klyme[nos, Kore].

10. *IG IV 743*

Metrical dedication; found in the Panagia Church. Based on
the script it has been dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.¹¹⁴

τὸν παρθενῶνα τόνδ' ἔτε[υξε – υ –],
πορῶν θεῆς Δήμητρος ἱερείαις [στέγος],
ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ νέου Πα[– υ –]

... built this *parthenon* ...,
offering [accommodation] to the priestesses of the goddess
Demeter,
in the time of the new commander Pa...

IN THE APSE OF THE TAXIARCHES CHURCH

11. *IG IV 700*

Semi-round stone built into the apse of the Taxiarches Church
(E 5 above). The inscription is probably dated to the late 3rd
century AD.¹¹⁵

Ἡελίω(ι) βασιλῆι θεῶ(ι) Ὑπερείονι βωμὸν
σηκοῖς παρ Μητρὸς εἴσατο ἀθανάτων

Altar dedicated to the divine ruler Helios Hyperion, at the
sacred precinct of the mother of immortals [sc. Kybele].

¹¹⁴ On this inscription and the term *parthenon*, see also Reinach 1908, 505; Graindor 1938.

¹¹⁵ Jameson 1959, 115. On the cult of Helios at Hermione, see Paus. 2.34.10. The text follows Jameson 1959, 115.

BUILDING ACCOUNT¹¹⁶

12. IG IV 742

The inscription was found built into the wall of a house; its current location is unknown. The stone is described as dark and broken on all sides in an irregular manner with the result that the amount preserved varies greatly from line to line.¹¹⁷ The inscription is dated to the beginning of the 4th century as it resembles the earliest Epidaurian accounts. The letter forms as given by A. Conze (Ϻ = Ny, Σ = Sigma) and the double dot separating the entries also point to this date.¹¹⁸

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Text (after IG IV 742)

1 ————ταις ἐς τὰν ἀγκάθα[ρσιν ————]
———: Σωδάμωι συγγρόφου ————
———Ϻ: μισθωτοῖς: ϺϺϺ: σκυτα[λώσιος ————]
———ος λ[ιθ]ων: Μελανθίωι: ϺϺϺ—
5 [— ἐφόδι]α Ἀνδροτέλει ἐς Ἄργος: Γ: Ἄσ—
———[.] ἐφόδια Λυσιθέωι ἐς Μέγαρ[α ————]
———Γ: Πραξιτέλει [.] ἐφόδια ἐς Ε—
———ύστερου: Ι: ζευγώχωι Λεον—
[— — — ὀρθ]οστάταις: ΛΛΛϺϺ— ζευγώχ[ωι ————]
10 ————μισθωτοῖς: ΛϺ: μισθωτοῖς: [— — —]
———ἐς Σικυῶνα: Γ: ἐφόδια Δαμοφ—
———μωι διακαλίσιος: ϺϺϺ: Μένων[ι ————]
[— — — ἐ]ς Κόρινθον: ΛΛΛϺϺ: Γοργίαι ἐφόδι[α ————]
[— ἀγωγᾶς] πῶρων ἀπὸ λιμένος: ΛΛΛΛϺϺϺ: Β ————
15 [— — — ἀγω]γᾶς λίθων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς: ΓϺ: Ἀγ[άθωνι ————]
———εἰ Ἀνδροτέλει ἀγωγᾶς: ϺϺ: Ἀγάθωνι ————
———Ι: Σιμύλωι ἐπικράνων ἀγκομιδᾶς ————
[— — — Ι]Ι: Λυσικύδει ἐπικράνων ἀγκομ[ιδᾶς ————]
———απι ἐς Ἄργος: ποὶ τὼς ἐγ—
20 ———λλωνίδαι ὑθαρᾶν Λ—
———ϺϺϺϺ: Γ ————
[— — — ι]ας ————

1 ἐργά]ταις Foucart || 3 σκυτα[λώσιος *supplevit* Prellwitz || 7 ἐς Ε[πίδαυρον Foucart || 9 πρ]οστάταις Schneidewin, ὀρθ]οστάταις Prignitz coll. IG II² 1668 v. 64, IG IV² 103 v. 89 || 19 in. de <O>ΠΙ (Χάροπι, Πέλοπι), fin. de ἐς Ἄργος: Γ [.] οἱ τὼς κτλ. cogitavit Prignitz || 20 Κα]λλωνίδαι vel Ἀπο]λλωνίδαι

Translation

1 ———— to ——— for the cleaning
——— to Sodamos for the contract
——— 1 dr. 3 ob., to hired workers: 2 dr. 3 ob., for the fluting (of columns)
——— of stones; to Melanthios: 1 dr. 3½ ob. ———
5 ——— travel allowance for Androteles for going to Argos: 5 dr. ———
——— ½ ob., travel allowance for Lysitheos for going to Megara: ———
——— 5 dr., to Praxiteles a travel allowance for going to E——
——— for the ——— behind: 1 ob., to the yoke-owner Leon——
——— for ——— for the orthostates: 32 dr. ½ ob., to the yoke-owner ———
10 ——— to hired workers: 11 dr., to hired workers: 10 dr. ———
——— for going to Sikyon: 5 dr., travel allowance for Damoph——
[to ———]mos for transportation by means of rollers: 1 dr. 4 ob., to Menon ——
[to ———] for going to Corinth: 23 dr., travel allowance to Gorgias ——
——— for carting poros limestone from the harbour: 43 dr. 1 ob., to B ——
15 ——— for carting stones for (done by) a slave: 6 dr., to Ag[athon ——]
——— to Androteles for carting: 2 dr., to Agathon ——
——— 1 ob., to Simylos for delivering capitals ——
——— 2 ob., to Lysikides for delivering capitals ——
——— to ——— for going to Argos for the (?) ——
20 ——— to ———llonidas for ——
——— 4 dr. 2 ob. ——

¹¹⁶ We would like to thank Sebastian Prignitz for his help with the text and translation of this inscription.

¹¹⁷ Baumeister 1854, 181; Fränkel, comm. ad IG IV 742.

¹¹⁸ Pers. comm. with Sebastian Prignitz. For the Epidaurian building accounts, see Prignitz 2014.

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