Cult and Society in Early Athens

Archaeological and Anthropological Approaches to State Formation and Group Participation in Attica

1000-600 BCE

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO STATE FORMATION AND GROUP PARTICIPATION IN ATTICA

CULTUS EN SAMENLEVING IN HET VROEGE ATHENE

ARCHEOLOGISCHE EN ANTROPOLOGISCHE BENADERINGEN IN STAATFORMATIE EN GROEPPARTICIPATIE
(MET EEN SAMENVATTING IN HET NEDERLANDS)

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT UTRECHT
OP GEZAG VAN DE RECTOR MAGNIFICUS, PROF.DR. J.C. STOOF, INGEVOLGE HET
BESLUIT VAN HET COLLEGE VOOR PROMOTIES IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN
OP WOENSDAG 17 MAART 2010 DES MIDDAGS TE 4.15 UUR

DOOR

FLORIS VAN DEN EIJNDE

GEBOREN OP 6 JUNI 1975
TE AMSTERDAM

Parentibus Carissimis

Peter van den Eijnde
Gerda van den Eijnde-Peetoom (+ 1996)

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Abreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Αναλεκτά εξ Αθηνών
AArch	Acta archeologica
ACPC	Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre
AE	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
AF	Attische Forschungen
AH	Acta Hyperborea
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AK	Antike Kunst
AM	Athenische Mitteilungen
AntCl	L'Antiquité Classique
AR	Archaeological Review
ArchDelt	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
ArchRev	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiani
	in Oriente
ASCSA	American School of Classical Studies at Athens
AW	Antike Welt
BCH	Bulletin de correspondence hellénique
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BICS	Bulletin if the Institute of Classical Studies
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BSA	British School at Athens (journal)
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CalifStClAnt	California Studies in Classical Antiquity
CB	Classical Bulletin
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
EH	Entretiens Hardt
Ergon	Το Εργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρεία
FM	Frühmittelalterlichen Studien
GRBS	Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift

JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MA	Mediterranean Archaeology
MarbWPr	Marburger Winckelmann-Programm
ÖJh	Österreichische Jahreshefte
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
PAA	Πρακτικά της Ακαδεμίας Αθηνών
PCPC	Papers of the Copenhagen Polis Centre
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
Prakt	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρεία
RA	Revue archéologique
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
RhM	Rheinisches Museum
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
WS	Wiener Studien
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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professional *ethos* is beyond any I have yet encountered. Lin Foxhall and Gunnel Ekroth have at various stages made important comments on various parts of this text. I feel humbled by their willingness to leave their own scholarship to help this manuscript get on its way.

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Floris van den Eijnde

Amsterdam
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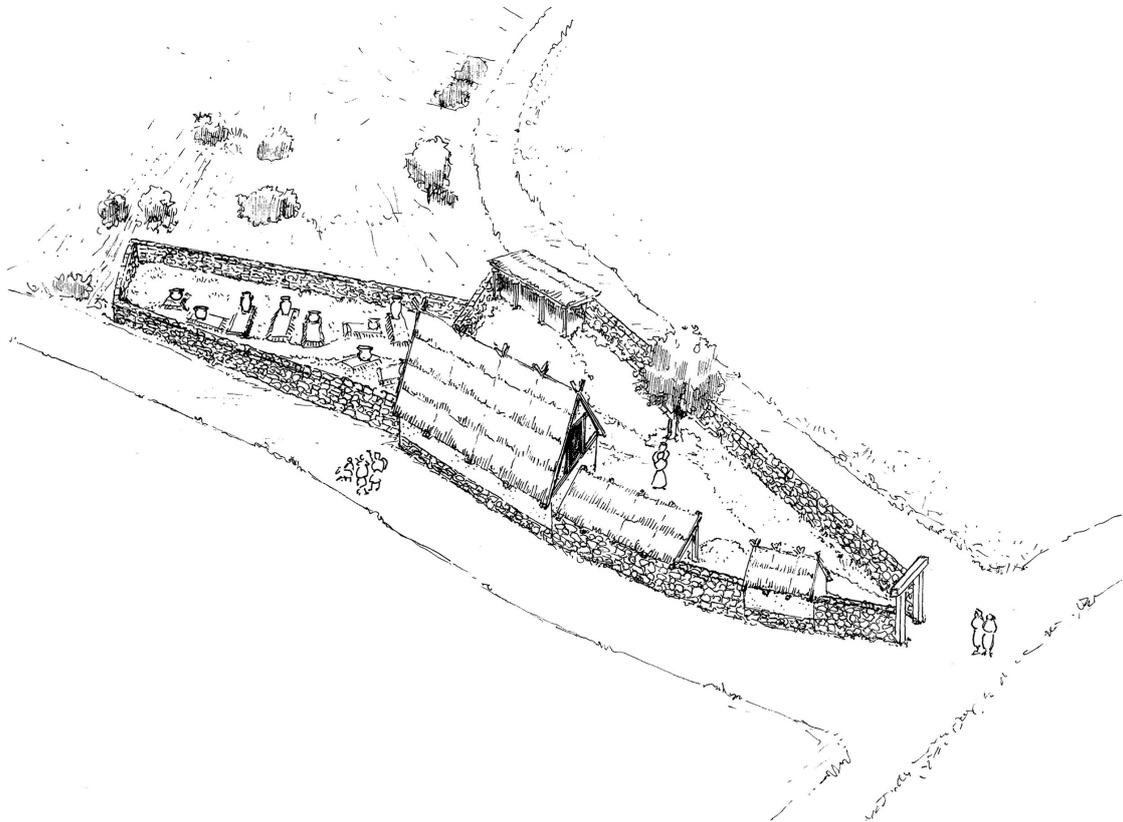
Floris van den Eijnde

They were depressed and upset at having to leave their homes and the sanctuaries which had always been theirs – relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government – and at the prospect of changing their way of life, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own community. (Thucydides 2.16.2.)

Introduction

In Pursuit of Early Athenian Society

In the introduction to his monumental history of Athenian religion, Robert Parker quotes a crucial sentence from Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*: "The general conclusion of the book which the reader has before him is that religion is something eminently social." The truth of this statement, according to Parker, is "far from being controversial among students of Greek religion", but has nevertheless failed to affect "the way in which the subject is commonly studied".[1]

These words reflect an often-recognized problem of the classical studies, a fondness of the particular – whether religious, economic or political – and resistance to a more integrated account of ancient society. More specifically, these words reveal how modern secularism has tended to isolate the study of religion beyond the reach of other disciplines. In the world of academia in particular, where spiritual beliefs have been relegated to the personal realm, any analysis of the wider historical and environmental context that shaped and was shaped by ancient religion is therefore inherently problematic. It means relating oneself to a topic that is not naturally familiar to our personal perception of how society operates.[2] In an attempt to grasp the essence of Durkheim's deceptively simple statement, it is therefore important to decide what we mean exactly when we say that religion is inherently social, in order

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[1] Parker, 1996, 1.
[2] On the importance of cultural estrangement see Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, 1992, 3-7.

to assess realistically how fundamental the role of religion is to the the study of ancient society.

More than a decade after the publication of *Athenian Religion*, Parker's complaint retains a great deal of its pertinence. In modern historiography, ritual content is still too often weeded out to make the ancient texts palatable for a scholarly audience, which, despite favorable currents, is still predominantly interested in studying the ancients from the political, economic or military angle. The residue is left to the specialists to be studied in a vacuum-sealed environment, far removed from its natural social context. From our sources we learn of *tropaia* being set up after a victorious battle, libations being poured before political meetings, religious prescriptions preventing avowed allies to show up at the battle scene. While modern commentaries tell us what the trophy was made of, what liquids were stipulated for the libations, or in what month the Spartans celebrated the Karneia, we tend to learn little or nothing about the social implications of these events. In sum, we have learned to read our sources with an amused, if somewhat condescending ignorance of the social importance of religious behavior.

Taking up the glove cast by Robbert Parker, I propose to remedy this situation for the specific case of Early Attica (1000-600 BCE). The objective is to reconstruct the Sacred Landscape from the archaeological remains (Part 2 – The Cults of Attica) and to arrive at a structural analysis of the region's socio-political configuration (Part 3 – Cult and Society). I will attempt to show how the cohesive and divisive qualities of cult have been responsible for the formation of social groups from the smallest (kinship) level to the interregional networks that were connected with the larger sanctuaries. We will see how group membership was formed at the microlevel through the participation in festivities that were marked by a strong sense of common ancestry. At a higher level social ties were created through cults that were focused on a ruler's dwelling, caves, mountaintops, or that honored the heroes of the land and the Olympians. In tracing these cults and the way they interact I believe we stand to discover the contours of a myriad of relationships and interdependencies that combined to form the early Athenian polis and, what I will call, the Attic ethnos as two interdependent but subtly differentiated tiers of identity.

Part One

An Anatomy of Cult

Chapter 1

Reconstructing Early Athens

Anthropological Approaches to Early State Formation

1   A Fresh Look at Athenian Prehistory

Anyone who wishes to discuss Athenian history needs to justify that undertaking in the light of a flood of previous discussions. The primary defense for this study lies in the type of source used, the archaeological remains of cult. Until now, Athenian prehistory has for the greatest part been studied from the burial record.[3] The progress made as a result of this type of research is considerable and will be amply used in the present study. Nevertheless, it is clear that a field of research that depends primarily on evidence originating in one particular segment of social discourse is bound to present a somewhat one-sided view of the society in question. Bringing the cultic remains into the arena broadens the scope of our understanding of what are without doubt the least understood centuries of Athenian history.

The second *trait particulier* of this study lies in its approach: a functional analysis of all cult activity in the period 1000-600 BCE. While the subcategory of Attic hero cult has enjoyed a good deal of attention,[4] an integral discussion of all the evidence, (cult of the dead, ancestral rites, cult of deities, etc.) has hitherto not been performed on the Attic record, whereas a good number of other Greek regions have by now received a structural treatment of their "Sacred Landscapes".[5] Notwithstanding Parker's skepticism, clear and recognizable headway has been made in recent years in the evaluation of the social importance of Greek cult and its

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[3] Houby-Nielsen, 1996, 1995, 1992; Morris, 1992; Whitley, 1991b, 1991a; Morris, 1987; Snodgrass, 1982a; Snodgrass, 1971.

[4] Cf. the literature on Attic hero cult: Ekroth, 2007, 2002; Boehringer, 2001; Antonaccio, 1999; Hägg, 1999; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999; Ekroth, 1998; Morris, 1997; Whitley, 1994b; Kearns, 1989; Calligas, 1988; Morris, 1988; Snodgrass, 1988; Whitley, 1988; Hägg, 1987; Lauter, 1985a; Snodgrass, 1982b; Coldstream, 1976. For a concise overview of the history of scholarship on this matter, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 349-352.

[5] Cf. notes 19 and 116.

potential for revealing social structures. Surprisingly, however, Athens is largely absent from this discussion,[6] which is at the least peculiar considering the importance of Athens in modern scholarship and the impressive list of cult sites in Attica in the period 1000-600 BCE.

To all intents and purposes, but contrary to standard terminology, this period counts as the final part of Athenian pre-history, since all historic accounts of it stem from a much later date and are essentially unreliable. With the exception of some graffito sherds from a few cult sites, no contemporary documents have survived.[7] All historiographical accounts are inherently suspect as they were written two centuries or more after this study's main period of interest and are notoriously difficult to place in an intelligible historical context.[8] The accounts of the attempted *coup d'état* by Cylon (ca. 630 BCE) and the laws of Draco (621 BCE?) are the first semi-historical events in Athenian historiography and the only ones that can be securely dated to the period before 600 BCE.[9] The incident of Cylon's coup stands with hardly any historical context.[10] Draco's laws on homicide may be well known, but it is impossible to know to what extent, if any, they relate to the actual historical figure.[11] In addition to these two events, modern historiography has sought to reconstruct early events based on Attic mythography, such as the issue of the synoecism of Athens by Theseus[12] and the war with Eleusis.[13] However, the generalistic scope of the sources involved renders them difficult to assess and they often serve as no more than an incentive to take a closer look at the contemporary (i.e. archaeological) sources. An important exception is a small book by Martin P. Nilsson, in which the author posits that Attic state formation may have been the result of a growing tendency toward religious integration.[14]

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[6] The work of François de Polignac is an important exception, especially de Polignac, 1995c, 1984, 85-92. The work of Sourvinou-Inwood, 1997, 1993, 1990 and Hölscher, 1998, 1991 has also made important contributions. Cf. chapter 3.

[7] Cf. part 2, **Hymettos 1**, **Parnes 1** and **Tourkovouni**.

[8] Osborne, 1996, 4-8. P.J. Rhodes, 1993[2] has collected the relevant sources in his exhaustive commentary on the Aristotelian *Athenian Politeia*. Insert Jonathan Hall 2007.

[9] Cylon: Herodotus 5.71, Thuc. 1.126, Pl. *Sol*. 12.1-9, *Ath. Pol*. 1 and schol. Ar. *Eq*. 445; for further accounts of this affair cf. Rhodes, 1993[2], 79-84. Draco: *Ath. Pol*. 2-4 and Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, no 86; cf. Rhodes, 1993[2], 84-87.

[10] Cf. Osborne, 1996, 215-217.

[11] On the law's historicity, see Osborne, 1996, 188. Cf. also the comparable issue of the authenticity of Solonic laws, Blok and Lardinois, 2006; Blok, 2006; Lardinois, 2006, 16; Scafuro, 2006; Osborne, 1996, 220.

[12] Frost, 1984; Diamant, 1982; Thomas, 1982; Holland, 1939. See also Cavanagh, 1991, 105-110. On the matter of Attic synoecism cf. recently Hall, 2006, 218-219.

[13] Simms, 1983; Padgug, 1972.

[14] Nilsson, 1951. Nilsson's book was anticipated by work done, in part by himself, on the cults specified in the Salaminioi decrees, cf. Ferguson, 1938; Nilsson, 1938, as well as work done on other cults, see Schlaiffer, 1943; Solders, 1931.

In Attica we are blessed with a plethora of cultic remains. Somewhere between fifty and seventy cult sites have been recorded thus far and new sites are still coming to light. This makes Attica extremely well suited for a systematic analysis of its cultic remains. A short explanation for the remarkable omission of this rich body of evidence in modern scholarship is therefore in order.

1.1 The Funeral Record

First, the excellent burial record in Attica seems to have impeded a thorough exploration of the cult record. This is understandable when we take into account how systematic research has been conducted in Attica during the previous century. The two long-term urban excavations at the Kerameikos and the Agora are located in areas of which the prehistoric record consists almost exclusively of burials. At the same time, the greatest religious site of all, the Acropolis, has failed to reveal the full extent of its oldest cultic remains, both as a result of its precipitate excavation and because of the distorting effects of later building activities. The resulting bias toward the grave as the primary object of anthropological interest has of course benefited our knowledge of early Athenian society greatly.[15] The studies by Ian Morris and James Whitley in particular have acquired the status of seminal works through the comprehensive and all-inclusive nature of their material analysis and the historical conclusions they have drawn from it.

But this bias toward the funeral domain has also diverted attention from other areas of archaeological interest, including the realm of cult. It may be illustrated at the Athenian Agora, where votives have been precipitously connected to ancestor worship, even if a cultic context is evidently more appropriate.[16] More seriously, however, it has led to a general tendency to treat cemeteries and cult sites as uniform units of settlement, resulting in a blurring of the specific semantic value of each class and a distortion of the historical conclusions drawn from them.[17]

1.2 Athenocentrism and its Critics

The emphasis on the funerary domain, however, only partially explains the absence of a critical review of the Attic cult record. A more fundamental explanation for this phenomenon lies in the real or perceived "otherness" of Athens, which has placed it in

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[15] Hölscher, 1998; Houby-Nielsen, 1996, 1995, 1992; Whitley, 1991b; Morris, 1987.

[16] Thompson, 1978, but cf. Michael Laughy's reinterpretation of the "Areopagus deposit", part 2, **Athens – Areopagus** and **Athens – Eleusinion**.

[17] D'Onofrio, 1997; Mersch, 1997; Osborne, 1989; Morris, 1987.

a category of its own. This Athenocentric point of view has a modern as well as an ancient aspect.

First there is the archaeological record, which appears so different from Greece at large. The excavations at the Athenian Agora and the Kerameikos are unique for their extremely long urban history. The excavation of the Agora has been a kaleidoscopic journey through time, as up to five meters of urban deposits leads one through all historical periods down to the Archaic; not counting of course the funeral remains underneath, which extend back another eight centuries. These circumstances are not paralleled anywhere in Greece and have led to a certain divergence in archaeological methodology. Ironically, the richness of the archaeological record has caused some of the advances of modern archaeology to reach Athens relatively late.

In particular circumstances it may indeed appear that modern technologies have little to contribute. Dendrochronology or radiocarbon (C-14) dating seem useless when stratigraphy and ceramic sequences can help us date a building to a decennium and additional literary or epigraphic sources may even tell us who commissioned it. However, this richness of the material has led to a certain disdain of modern techniques like seed analysis or floatation – as is evident from the popular saying that "inscriptions don't float" – even where they might add a whole new dimension to our understanding of the remains. To be fair, this situation has ameliorated considerably in the past two decades, but the consequences for the bulk of the remains, which were excavated earlier, may still be felt.[18] Thus, in a sense, the different archaeological situation has led to a solid but rather conservative Athenian archaeology as opposed to a more dynamic and interdisciplinary "Greek" archaeology. Navigating between the two can be tricky.

But the "otherness" of Athens also works in a more subtle way. Today, with a population of more than four million people, Athens is one of the largest cities in Europe, covering not only the ancient city, but as much as a third of what used to be the Attic countryside. All resources (libraries, foreign institutes, archaeological services etc.) and major routes of transportation are located in or connected with the city. This has had serious consequences for the way Athens and Attica are perceived by archaeologists, who depend on the city even if their focus of study lies elsewhere. It is also seldom recognized that this situation has had an impact on the way in which the territory has been excavated, the Athenian plain in particular. The ancient countryside of Attica not only has received much greater attention than most regions in Greece; it has also been subject to a different sort of interest. As rescue operations

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[18] A good example of Athenian archaeology leading the way is the revolutionary digitization project conducted in the Athenian Agora since 1998, instigated by the current director of the excavations, John McK. Camp, developed and supervised by Bruce Hartzler and funded by the Packard Humanities Institute.

have been the norm at many sites throughout the pedion, there has been an abundance of data, but less room for long lasting research projects.

The origins of Athenocentrism, however, extend far before the emergence of Athens as a metropolis in the twentieth century, or even before the emergence of modern archaeology as an independent field of study in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a truism that the overwhelming majority of classical writers who have influenced our common perception of the Greeks were Athenian residents writing from an Athenian point of view. This has not failed to affect Greek historians and archaeologists in general to a large extent. Nevertheless, regional archaeology has very much come into its own over the past decades, as innovative scholarship has moved away from the previously prevailing, teleological model that had the classical (Athenian) polis as its model.[19] One of the representatives of this new current is Catherine Morgan, who justly criticizes historians, such as Ehrenberg, Rocchi and Larsen, as well as archaeologists like Snodgrass and Morris, for being too Athenocentric.[20] Jeremy McInerney expresses the same concern in his monograph on ancient Phokis: "Athens came to be seen as normative when it was not even normal."[21]

One has to be aware, however, that "normal" is as problematic a term for early Greek society as for any other. If we concede that early Athens was not normative, we must surely guard against the natural impulse of discarding it as "not normal". As we have seen, Athens is remarkable for many different reasons. But most of its perceived uniqueness is the result of the dramatic historical circumstances that transformed Athens from one of many developing Greek poleis into the cosmopolitan and intellectual capital of Greece during the late Archaic and Classical periods. Without getting confused by the city's greatness in later times it is clear that even if the prehistory of Athens was determined by unique circumstances, this is only the case in as much as it is true for any other region in Greece. Ironically, to deny Athens its rightful place in between the other territories is in itself an inverted form of Athenocentrism.

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[19] Some scholarship on regional state formation: Morgan, 2003, 31-38, 2002 (Achaia); Funke, 1997, 1991 (Aetolia); Corsten, 2006 (Acarnania); Morgan, 2003, 38-44, 155-162; Heine Nielsen, 2002; Heine Nielsen and Roy, 1999; Jost, 1994, 1990, 1985 (Arcadia); Auffahrt, 2006; Piérart and Touchais, 1996; Hall, 1995a (Argos); Morgan, 1999; Hall, 1995a; Morgan, 1994b, 1994c (Corinthia); Morgan, 2003, 28-31 (East Locris); Morgan, 2003, 24-28, 113-135; McInerney, 1999 (Phokis); Morgan, 2003, 18-24, 85-106, 192-196 (Thessaly). For a more extensive overview of recent scholarship, see the introduction to part 2.
[20] Morgan, 2003, 9. Cf. Morris, 1987; Snodgrass, 1980; Larsen, 1968; Ehrenberg, 1965. Add Rocchi.
[21] McInerney, 1999, 4. Cf. Morgan, 2003, 9, n. 59.

1.3 Statement of Purpose

The main premise of this book is that prehistoric Attica is just as normal or strange as any other Greek region and therefore deserves an equal place as an object of study and is worthy of the same theoretical advances that have benefited our understanding elsewhere. Attic society, while peculiar in its natural and human environment, was not fundamentally different from the rest of Greece in the cultural mechanisms that responded to those conditions. This analysis tries to explain the development of a single territorial unit, Attica, and is embedded in the discourse of sacred landscapes elsewhere in Greece. To this purpose, all Attic cult sites dating to the period before 600 BCE are discussed in part 2 of this study, with a clear emphasis on their broader social function. Part 3 presents a structural treatment of the Attic state based on the evidence from the individual cult sites as laid out in part 2. The Attic cult sites are analyzed as nodes of social interaction by focusing in particular on the aspect of commensality.

Since societal models of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Attica have thus far mainly relied on graves,[22] one of the objectives of this study is to connect the Attic cults that are compounded here with the accumulated knowledge of the funerary realm. This has the benefit of introducing an additional element of human behavior to the silence of our stones. Part 3, which is largely structured in a chronological fashion, places the evolving sacred landscape of Attica against the backdrop of contemporary settlement patterns and established social and historical models. In so far as these theories are based on the literary sources, it is important to state beforehand that the relevant texts represent a highly elusive body of evidence and will only sparingly be used in juxtaposition to the archaeological remains; in no way are they intended to serve as independent evidence. Historical theories about pre- and proto-history based on (often much later) literary sources can be deceptive and stand a better chance to be illuminated by the archaeological sources than vice versa. Where the sources pertain to our theme they nevertheless need to be mentioned.

1.4 Chronological and Topographical Boundaries

The entries are limited geographically to the cult sites of Attica as defined by the territory of the Archaic Athenian polis, which includes the entire peninsula up to the

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[22] Mersch, 1997; Mersch, 1996; Houby-Nielsen, 1995, 1992; Morris, 1992, 1987; Snodgrass, 1982a; Snodgrass, 1980, 1977. A broader, but less developed approach was taken by D'Onofrio, 1997. A good summary of the archaeological evidence from Early Iron Age Attica can be found in Whitley, 1991b, 54-55. Whitley himself has sought to broaden the debate by including stylistic elements from (proto-) geometric vases, though these are for the most part taken from funerary contexts.

Thriasian plain, Eleutherae, Mt Parnes and the Marathonian plain. Both Salamis and Eleutherae have been included, even though these territories are generally not considered part of the Athenian polis until the sixth century. Salamis is thought to have been an area contested with Megara as early as the seventh century.[23] Eleutherae apparently joined the Athenian polis of its own accord out of fear of expansionist Thebes in the sixth century.[24] Oropos, on the other hand, is not included in the list, as it was not integrated until the fifth century and seems to have operated completely outside of Athenian influence during the seventh and sixth.[25]

The entries are limited to cult sites in operation between the Late Protogeometric (ca. 950 BCE) and Early Archaic (ca. 600 BCE) periods and focuses only on the archaeological data. In some cases, relevant literary sources from later periods have been used, but only where it enhances our understanding of the material remains. As Emily Kearns has shown, Attica knew hundreds of heroes and many of them received cult.[26] Some, like Erechtheus, may be suspected to have emerged prior to 600 BCE, but without confirmation from the archaeological sources, such potential cults have no place in this list.[27] In some cases, where hero cult is suggested by the material remains (cf. part 2, **Eleusis 3**, **Thorikos 2** and **3**), one may be tempted to try to attach a name to it, though this can never be more than an educated guess.

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[23] Lambert, 1997; Taylor, 1997, (with biblography), esp. 47; Guarducci, 1948; Ferguson, 1938; Nilsson, 1938.
[24] Lauffer, 1989, 213 (with bibliography).
[25] Hornblower, 1991, 279 (with bibliography).
[26] Kearns, 1989.
[27] Cf. note 152.

2   The Social Meaning of Ritual

As this study is aimed at uncovering those structural relations that shaped the early Athenian state, a discussion of the large supra-regional sanctuaries is an illuminating exercise. And indeed, the main sanctuaries at Athens, Eleusis, Brauron and Sounion will receive ample attention in the course of this study. However, the socio-political salience of sanctuaries is often taken for granted without providing a sufficient explanation of how such a role was acquired at the fundamental level of human interaction.[28] What does it mean to say, for example, that a certain sanctuary has a "liminal" quality, when it is not even understood how such a quality should have affected – even theoretically - the individuals involved?

The scarcity of archaeological data is undoubtedly the largest impediment to understanding how complex institutions such as sanctuaries operated. Identifying walls, recording the pottery and bagging the finds just may not be enough to unveil the subtle power relations at play in these places. But this is not to say that more cannot be done. A larger theoretical framework can help us understand how ideas and resources were manipulated through the medium of sanctuaries. However, we cannot expect to find such a framework based on the study of ancient finds and texts alone. If we hope to infuse some life into our fragmentary remains, we will have to turn to the social sciences, where the socially defining quality of religion was first acknowledged and supplied with a solid theoretical basis. As shown by a long line of social anthropologists from Emile Durkheim to Roy Rappaport, ritual acts are basic ingredients of social engineering.[29] A short overview of some of their main tenets will clarify the purpose of this research in the context of the wider academic debate.

2.1 Situations of Critical Reference

The underlying notion of this study is that the social structure of pre-classical Greece is defined and upheld by practices and beliefs that are shaped by public performances.[30] The occasions that provide a backdrop for individuals to manipulate – whether consciously or unconsciously – public opinion are many. Oratory, theatrical

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[28] The formative role of sanctuaries in the making of the Greek polis was first posited by de Polignac, 1984, but only formulated in rather abstract structural terms. The social technology at play at sanctuaries has hitherto been only cursorily investigated and will be treated more in depth in this chapter.

[29] Cf. Rappaport, 1999; Humphrey and Laidlaw, 1994; Bell, 1992; Durkheim, 1912.

[30] The codification of law is sometimes understood to be a replacement of this phenomenon, but this is misleading. While laws provide an abstract mechanism for social engineering, their fabrication and, above all, their practical application is always a matter of public negotiation, cf. Van 't Wout, 2010.

displays, religious ceremonies, funerals etc., all carry in them a dramatic force that is capable of influencing the audience's mood. Such events stand out from ordinary occurrences, precisely because the public's attention renders them socially more relevant than others and their meaning is "condensed".[31] Dramatic symbolism infuses norms and categories with emotion,[32] enabling public consciousness to be recalibrated and attuned to a specific social message. The socially constituting force of such events lies in their capacity to transcend the moment itself and transform the public's awareness of the social order. They are what I propose to call "situations of critical reference", because one may refer back to them when the social order is being disputed. The socially constituting power of such situations then is to a certain degree extended into the future.[33]

2.2 The Ritualization of Situations of Critical Reference

The ritualization of situations of critical reference is an effective way to secure their enduring and constituting social significance. First, ritualization involves the dramaturgical effects necessary to establish condensed meaning. By definition then, rituals are situations of critical reference, precisely because they convey a generally understood social message. Second, ritualization often entails a measure of repetition. The re-performance of a certain ritualized element (e.g. song, dance, libation) reinforces the socially constitutive effect of the event because it is expected to take place. Foregoing or amending the conventions of the ritual therefore creates a disruption in the communal framework of expectations and may cause the social value of the ritual to be questioned. This is why rituals tend to be conservative, because they serve to reinforce the social order by stabilizing the community's notion of it. Thus, ritual plays a fundamental role in maintaining social stability and the moral values that sustain it. In Catherine Morgan's words:

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[31] Cohen, 1979.
[32] Turner, 1967, 29.
[33] Cf. Van 't Wout, 2010. Her model of a situation of critical reference is modeled on Gilsenan's "situations of ultimate reference", coined for the so-called "status honor" society of Lebanon (Gilsenan, 1976). However, both terms specifically relate to public negotiation through the spoken word. Cf. Cohen, 1995, 85-86. In this study, the term "situation of critical reference" is understood to apply to all acts that convey a social message.

> *Ritual may be defined as a means of transmitting cultural regulations*
> *about ethical relationships within the community and between humans*
> *and the divine. It centres on performance, rehearsing a series of defined*
> *and meaningful acts.*[34]

This idea about the social significance of ritual is widely accepted and finds its roots in the sociology of Emile Durkheim.[35] In his view, ritual is responsible for "sustaining and reaffirming, at regular intervals, those collective sentiments and ideas that constitute its unity and identity."[36]

However, Durkheim's functional understanding of ritual as an adaptive system for the maintenance of social cohesion is rather static. Attention in modern scholarship has shifted to the instrumental role of ritual in "creating, defining and transforming structures of power."[37] The evolution of rituals mirrors changes in the social order and can be effectively used to manipulate that order. If the ritual fails to follow suit, it dies out. The communally performed ritual thus serves as a stage on which the social order is continuously negotiated. In theory this means that if we "read" the rituals properly, they should provide us with a general outline of early Greek social interaction and power relations. All ritual acts connected with Greek religion – singing, dancing, walking in procession, libation, sacrifice, ritual dining, etc.[38] – can then in principle be used as handlebars for a study of the fault-lines of society, because they effectively transform a public event into a situation of critical reference. A good example of this mechanism is the role of strongly ritualized religious processions in creating territorial cohesion while at the same time emphasizing otherness.[39]

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[34] Morgan, 1996, 45.
[35] Durkheim, 1912. For the relevance of ritual theory for archaeology see Kyriakidis, 2007 and especially the contribution by Renfrew, 2007 in that same volume for its application to the Greek context.
[36] Durkheim, 1912, 598. A good illustration of Durkheim's axiom may be found in Obrebski, 1977, who studied the cohesive force of rituals in a twentieth century Macedonian village.
[37] Dietler, 2001, 70.
[38] Greek rituals and cult places are discussed in Burkert, 1985, 55-118. See also Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, 1992, 27-48 and Bremmer, 1994, 38-54. For the instrumentality of animal sacrifice, see Durand, 1989 and Etienne, 1990. For a more detailed analysis of Greek sacrificial rituals see Ekroth, 2002 and of general cult practices, Hägg, Marinatos, and Nordquist, 1988. Svenbro, 1989 contains a bibliography accurate up until 1979. On offering: de Polignac, 1996b; Etienne, 1990; Bergman, 1987; Burkert, 1987. Ritual display: Linders, 1996. Processions and ritual space: Blok, 2009e; Graf, 1996. Ritual dining: Bookidis, 1993; Schmitt-Pantel, 1992; Murray, 1990; Detienne and Vernant, 1989; Kron, 1988; Lissarague, 1987; Hägg, 1983a; Detienne and Vernant, 1979; cf. also the introduction to part 2 in this book. Mortuary ritual: Metcalf and Huntington, 1991; Huntington and Metcalf, 1979. Ritual use of water: Water: Alroth, 1988; Cole, 1988.
[39] de Polignac, 1996b, 1996a, 1984, 85-92.

2.3 Ritual and Cult

Situations of critical reference can be categorized as either incidental (war, expiation ceremonies, irregular political meetings etc.) or structural (burial ceremonies, cyclical festivals, regular political assemblies etc.) occurrences. But while either class is subjected to ritualization, it is the second class that has a better chance of ending up in the physical record. A temple is, after all, easier to recover than a military *tropaion*, precisely because the habitual use of the former required its architecture to be of a more enduring quality. What we perceive in our sources, then, is a bias in favor of ritual acts that are highly repetitive and structural in nature.

This is an important point to bear in mind, because it means that the chronological scope of this study is necessarily broadly drawn. It also reveals one of the limitations of this approach. We should expect to define social phenomena (e.g. economic divergence, territorial relations, social cohesion) that are significant during a generation or more. Short-term fluctuations in social relations are much harder to detect, let alone the events that cause the system to change. This long-term evolution of the social construct will be the object of study in part 2 of this book. The *longue durée* built into this venture, however, is not only the result of a desire to detect long-term changes in ritual practice. It is also necessitated by the unpredictability that characterizes the archaeological remains' chance of recovery – a wide chronological range makes it easier to deal with statistical flukes.

The inherent difficulty of the method proposed here is apparent. The archaeological data often do not permit the recognition of ritual practices beyond a rather meager degree of precision. The ritual content is largely invisible in the material record beyond a few fixed categories, such as animal sacrifice or libation. This means that the great variety of rituals practiced simultaneously is lost to our view. This presents a methodological problem if we hope to use ritual in the reconstruction of early Attic social networks. However, if we cannot be very precise about the content of ritual activity, we can to a certain extent identify the places where that activity took place. I find the word "cult" a useful alternative to describe a certain set of rituals being shared by a group of people at a certain place. Since we often cannot be specific about the precise nature of the rituals, it will be useful to refer to them more generally as "cult activity". I prefer to take the word "cult" in its most literal sense, as "taking care of" (Lat. *colo/cultus*) various things that relate to the interests of the gods in particular or of the community in general. I therefore propose the following definition:

> *A cult is defined by those, often ritualized and re-performed, communal acts that tend to the interests of the community through its gods, heroes or ancestors in a more or less fixed environmental context. As such, both these acts and the place of performance are considered to be "sacred".*

The advantages of this definition include the fact that the meaning of the word "cult" covers more or less the Greek notion of θεραπεία and thus has the advantage of having a counterpart in the ancient vocabulary.[40] Also, the abstractness inherent in the word "cult" gives it a semantic flexibility: it refers to a set of rituals without the need to specify them beyond a rather general assessment of their content as apparent from the archaeological context (animal sacrifice, votive deposition etc.). By identifying the "cult community" as a fundamental social unit through its shared rituals, it can then be used to reconstruct elements of the wider social structure.

For archaeologists, however, cult and ritual present an imminent problem, because they relate to human activity that is by definition completed and therefore impossible to re-enact in its original historical context. The elusiveness of ritual practice becomes readily apparent when we try to identify it in the archaeological record, and downright problematic when we try to establish its possible social meaning. Even when we are able to extract ritual practice from the remains we may end up at a loss as to its social significance.[41] Of course, we may, in individual cases, be inclined to venture a hypothesis,[42] but the difficulty in identifying similar practices in multiple environments is a daunting obstacle when trying to reveal patterns with self-explanatory power. The (ritual) banquet appears to be an exception.[43] Storage vessels, serving containers and even permanent structures for feasting abound at many of the sites discussed in Part 2 of this study. Indeed, in many cases these attributes are responsible for the identification of these sites as sanctuaries or shrines in the first place. It may, therefore, come as a surprise that this wealth of information has seldom been scrutinized for its anthropological potential.[44]

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[40] Cognates of θεραπεύω/θεραπεία are λατρεύω/λατρεία and θρησκεύω/θρησκεία. It is interesting to note that the Latin *colo* and Greek θεραπεύω are semantically alike. Both signify the act of "taking care of" or "serving" something or somebody, and both are used in a more strict sense as "taking care of/serving/honoring the gods". However, the notion of "worship", which is absent in the word θεραπεία, is more prominently represented in *cultus*. It is therefore important not to overemphasize the notion of worship in the application of the word "cult".

[41] For new approaches in this field, see recently Kyriakidis, 2007.

[42] See my interpretation of the "bothros" in the "Sacred House" at Eleusis below (chapter 4.1.21.2).

[43] Dietler, 1996, 1990.

[44] Ulf, 2006.

3   Feasting as a Definition of Group Membership

The practical benefits for the current study of an anthropological approach based on feasting are clear. On the one hand our evidence for cult activity often consists solely of material remains that are related to banqueting, without clear reference to the divine realm. It thus provides us with a greater quantity of concrete evidence to work with. It also presents us with a broader theoretical framework. In this section I will argue that as a basic human trait, feasting precedes such categories as cult and religion, which are more commonly used in the fields of Ancient History and Archaeology. Furthermore, the theoretical concept of feasting allows us to approach the subject of cult practice in a more neutral fashion, without some of the prevalent preconceptions of traditional discourse, and establish a clear methodology for deducing social behavior from the archaeological remains.

As I have suggested before, banqueting is to be regarded as an exceptionally powerful venue for social exchange, political action and ideological self-representation. In principle, this holds for all chiefdoms and early states that developed during the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece, when the exertion of power had not yet been clearly defined in autonomous political institutions.[45] In Part 3 of this study, we will see how general theories about feasting can help us understand more about the nature of Attic cults. The main impetus for this approach stems from the recent scholarship of Brian Hayden and Michael Dietler, who have defined feasting as a pre-eminent medium for social exchange. In their view, feasts are "not simply epiphenomenal reflections of changes in culture and society, but central arenas of social action that have had a profound impact on the course of historical transformations."[46] This notion, I believe, has far reaching consequences for the way we understand the archaeological record of the Early Iron Age and the Early Archaic period, a formative period for many Greek states, including the Athenian polis.

3.1 The Micropolitics of Feasting

A feast can be defined as a social event that takes place at an unusual occasion and is accompanied by an unusual shared meal.[47] That is to say, it is essentially constituted by the communal consumption of food and drink, but is set apart from ordinary household meals through either the occasion or the quality and quantity of the meal. While anything out of the ordinary may serve as an occasion for a feast, there are

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[45] Hayden, 2001, 46.
[46] Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 16.
[47] Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 4; Hayden, 2001, 28.

certain recurring themes, such as "life-crisis" events (marriage, death etc.)[48], natural events (summer solstice), or religious festivals. In many instances, feasting will include a display of various things, such as food, special objects (luxury vessels, graves, buildings), individuals or groups. And above all, feasting requires abundance. Without a reasonable surplus of foodstuffs or luxury items, feasting is impossible. The importance of feasting as a conduit for social exchange depends primarily on the fact that food and drink are "highly charged symbolic media"[49] and as such function as preeminent tools for social engineering. The consumption of food in a festive context creates "condensed meaning",[50] which enables fixed social categories to liquefy. This quality of food is perhaps best caught in the words of Arjun Appadurai:

> *When human beings convert some part of their environment into food, they create a peculiarly powerful semiotic device. In its tangible and material forms, food presupposes and reifies technological arrangements, relations of production and exchange, conditions of field and market, and realities of plenty and want. It is therefore a highly condensed social fact. (...) This semiotic virtuosity has two general sources. One is the fact that, unlike houses, pots, masks or clothing, food is a constant need but a perishable good. The daily pressure to cook food (combined with the never-ending pressure to produce or acquire it) makes it well suited to bear the load of every day social discourse. The second fundamental fact about food, though this is much less well understood, is its capacity to mobilize strong emotions.[51]*

Feasts represent important arenas of social action in which the "micropolitics of daily life" are played out. As ethnographic and archaeological research has shown, feasts constitute a stage for historical transformations in power relations and the development of social stratification.[52] But feasts also contain important integrative qualities that are crucial to the upkeep of the political economy; they play a key role in establishing sentiments of friendship, kinship and community solidarity.[53] Michael

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[48] Cf. Wiessner, 2001, 116-117. Feasting may occur to bury the dead, appease ancestors, initiate youth, marry etc.

[49] Dietler, 2001, 72.

[50] Cohen, 1979.

[51] Appadurai, 1981, 494.

[52] Dietler, 2001, 66.

[53] Naturally, like rituals, feasting provides the opportunity for the maintenance as well as the transformation of social structures. Where "the Durkheimian functionalist understanding of ritual as an adaptive system for the maintenance of social cohesion" has rightfully been criticized (Dietler, 2001, 70), this is only because, since the work of Bourdieu, 1984, attention has now shifted to the "historically instrumental role of ritual in creating, defining and transforming structures of power."

Dietler has argued that this integrative function enables feasts to act as the nodal venues where regional exchange systems may be articulated.

Commensal hospitality establishes relationships between exchange partners, affines, or political leaders and provides the social ambiance for the exchange of valuables, bridewealth, and other goods that circulate through a region. Feasts may also provide the main context for the arbitration of disputes, the passing of legal judgments, and the public acting out of sanctions (ridicule, mimicry, ostracism, etc.) that maintain social control within a community.[54] In the important religious sphere, feasts also serve to provide links to the gods or ancestors that can be used to define the structure of relations between social groups or categories within a region or community. They also provide a crucial mechanism for the process of labor mobilization that underlies the political economy and they serve to articulate conversions between spheres of exchange.[55]

Naturally, food surpluses play a key role in sustaining the economy of feasting: the larger the surpluses, the greater the capacity for feasting. The production, use, transformation, control and distribution of surpluses are therefore intimately connected with the practice of feasting. It is only at the feast itself, however, that a reciprocal conversion takes place of economic and symbolic capital toward a broad range of "culturally appropriate" goals.[56] Feasts thus ensure that food surpluses are transformed into usable non-food items or services that are crucial for the upkeep and management of a social system.[57] This mechanism has far reaching consequences for the power relations (as defined by Bourdieu)[58] that exist in a given society. Three modes of manipulating power relations trough feasting can be discerned (though obviously more than one may be at play at any time):

3.1.1 Empowerment

The symbolic capital that is created by investing surpluses may attach itself to groups or individuals as a kind of "credit rating" that can be used to assume power. This rating ultimately depends on the ability to control the flow of nutrition and is closely related to the perceived success of a group or an individual. If institutionalized political status distinctions exist, but no formal rules to determine who is endowed with it, hosting feasts is generally the best instrument to assume and hold various offices. Since this kind of power system is fundamentally unstable, it continually

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[54] Cf. the importance of food and eating in mediating political disputes in the Iliad (9.202-228 and 24.601-642).
[55] Dietler, 2001, 69.
[56] Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 13.
[57] Hayden, 2001, 27 has gone as far as to argue that feasting may be a driving force behind the intensified production of surpluses beyond household needs for survival.
[58] Cf. note 53.

needs to be renegotiated, sustained, and contested through commensality. As Polly Wiessner has illustrated by the example of the Enga in New Guinea, "cultural constructions of value are constantly tested against the realities of the surrounding world. When contradictions occur (…) feasting can be called on to revalue goods and direct the course of change"[59] This negotiation depends on the obligation that is perceptibly incurred through the acceptance of an invitation to a feast. The members of a feasting community are often locked in a long-term social bond of ties and debts that is based on the implicit understanding of reciprocal obligation. The attempt to stage ever grander feasts is thus aimed at forcing an opponent's hand to either match the attempt or default the obligation and recede into a position of dependency (cf. next paragraph on patronage). A successfully executed feast, therefore, will result in increased prestige and status, which may be exchanged for economic gain or political influence.[60] This quality of empowerment represents one of the main interests in staging a feast, because it ultimately results in the ability to gain influence over group decisions or actions.[61] The empowering capacity of feasting may be at play at any festive context. However, life-crisis occasions, like weddings and funerals, are especially attuned to this purpose. As Sanne Houby-Nielsen has shown in the context of seventh century Attica, funerals are prone to attract one of the most fundamental bids for power, that of a younger generation assuming control of a kinship group and advertising itself to the community at large.[62] This phenomenon is well attested in Attica at several Archaic burial sites such as the Kerameikos, **Anavyssos 2** and **Palaia Phokaia**. As van Wees has pointed out, weddings too are an excellent opportunity for showing off one's largess.[63]

3.1.2 Patronage

A second power-related motivation for feasting lies in the maintenance of patron-client relationships. Conceptually less dynamic than empowerment, patronage is nevertheless a crucial mechanism of power in early states and, as we shall see, one that can readily be detected in the Attic record of the eighth and seventh century BCE. At Lathouriza, the local "chief" appears to have entertained the members of his community in his own dwelling, a practice that can be observed at many so-called "rulers' dwellings" throughout Greece (Chapter 9.5).[64] The intimacy of food sharing enables the participants of a feast to euphemize its self-interested nature and creates a

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[59] Wiessner, 2001, 116, cf. Hayden, 2001, 33-34.
[60] Hayden, 2001, 33.
[61] Dietler, 2001, 78.
[62] Houby-Nielsen, 1996, 1995, 1992.
[63] van Wees, 1995 adduces the case of the (Icelandic) Vikings and American Cosa Nostra to characterize the nature of Homeric feasting. Cf. also the use of feasting as a motif in Anglo-Saxon poetry (Beowulf).
[64] Cf. also part 2, **Lathouriza 1-3** and Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, esp. 270-286.

shared "sincere fiction of disinterested generosity."[65] Individuals can thus be manipulated "without questioning a shared vision of the social order that the feast reproduces and naturalizes".[66] Through commensal hospitality, relations of asymmetrical social power are legitimized and institutionalized. At patronage feasts, the expectation of reciprocal obligation is no longer maintained, because a majority of the community has effectively defaulted on their obligation and will continue doing so. "Rather, the acceptance of a continually unequal pattern of hospitality symbolically expresses the formalization of unequal relations of status and power and ideologically naturalizes it through repetition of an event that induces sentiments of social debt."[67]

3.1.3 Status Differentiation

The third type of commensal politics revolves around the diacritical manipulation of cuisine styles and modes of consumption as a "symbolic device to naturalize and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or classes."[68] Gender, age and status distinctions may be accentuated by the location where one eats, temporal distinctions (order of serving), differentiated types of dishes, and by differentiated types of food and drink. The emulation of "elite practices" and the resulting devaluation of diacritical significance can from time to time be countered by the adoption of sumptuary laws that restrict consumption or by adopting more exotic foods and paraphernalia that can only be accessed by the wealthier classes. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has pointed out several diacritic devices that may be at play during a Greek banquet. One is to differentiate pre-adult boys from their fathers: they are seated on the floor or behind their fathers; they receive a smaller share of food, sometimes consisting of meat only, and their drink is different (no wine?); they serve the adults their food and entertain them by singing.[69] Among the remains of eighth and seventh century Attica, the most apparent diacritic device is architecture, which elevates the status of a small part of the community by restricting commensal access to the crowd at large (see especially Chapter 9.7).

Feasting thus operates very much like other forms of social technology such as kinship, ritual, gift exchange or language.[70] On a functional level certain adaptive advantages may be established through feasting that are akin to other social technologies. In general, advantages may be sought and gained in warfare, mobilizing a labor force, acquiring mates, getting help in emergencies and catastrophes, and in

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[65] Dietler, 2001, 75. Cf. Bourdieu's notion of *méconnaissance* (Bourdieu, 1984).
[66] Dietler, 2001, 71.
[67] Dietler, 2001, 83.
[68] Dietler, 2001, 85.
[69] Schmitt-Pantel, 1992, 76-90, esp. 76-77. Cf. also Schmitt-Pantel, 1990.
[70] Hayden, 2001, 26.

establishing control over resources and people.[71] But the fundamental importance of commensality does not lie in *ad hoc* attempts to achieve short-term goals, but in the long-term maintenance and negotiation of social conventions and power relations.

3.2 Animal Sacrifice, Meat Distribution and Commensality

The convergence of the constitutive powers of rituals and feasting are conveniently illustrated by the sacrifice of animals, particularly because animal sacrifice is relatively well attested in the material record.[72] From an anthropological point of view, however, animal sacrifice transcends the physical attributes of the ritual (i.e. the animal, location, requisites etc.). The ritual act of sacrifice effectuates the transfer of individual to communal consciousness, imbuing the ritual with great social relevance.[73] In the words of Marcel Detienne:

> *"The simplest forms of the sacrificial act reveal a new orientation of will in human action. [...] With the appearance of sacrifice, everything changes, for the most obscure or even the crudest of sacrificial acts implies something unprecedented: a movement of self-abandonment."* [74]

The self is thus abandoned in favor of the communal and the abnegation symbolized by the sacrificial ritual becomes a necessary stage in the socialization of man, creating a shared identity between the participants in the sacrifice and excluding non-participants from sharing in the group's communal identity. Both the included and the excluded party are potentially aware of the social *kosmos* that is thus created.

After the kill – and when the animal has been flayed, gutted and cooked – the meat is divided both in equal portions, which are allotted among the members of the sacrificial community, and in choice portions, which are shared between the gods and priests as well as the lesser functionaries of the cult and local office holders.[75] This naturally raises important questions about the value system inherent in this practice

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[71] Hayden, 2001, 58. Of these examples the property of labor mobilization has been extensively documented in ethnographic scholarship, cf. Dietler and Herbich, 2001.

[72] For animal sacrifice in general see Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b, esp. 268; Hägg and Alroth, 2005

[73] Burkert, 1983, 35-48 has posited that this characteristic of animal sacrifice is aided by the psychological shock of the slaughter. But cf. recently Georgoudi, 2005, mitigating the dramatic value of the sight of an animal being slaughtered.

[74] Detienne, 1989, 20.

[75] Loraux, 1981a. Cf. recently Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b, esp. 268, both with extensive bibliography on the butchery, preparation and division of the sacrificial animal. See also Burkert, 1985, 57, 96-97.

and the creation of social hierarchies. There is a general consensus among scholars[76] that partaking in the sacrifice means to belong to a community, because it entitles one to take home or consume at the spot his or her share of the meat. Inversely, a disruption in the meat distribution has a deconstructive effect with regard to the cult community at large,[77] because it upsets the social expectations that accompany the sacrificial ritual. To Burkert, the appropriate division and allotting of the portions creates a social *kosmos* that is as real as anything and where "the stronger ones get their share first."[78] In Homer, the choice portions are an honor bestowed on deserving men such as the basileis. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods the priest or priestess (as representative of the god) occupies this position of honor.[79] The implications of this remarkable shift in prestige are not yet fully understood; we will return to this issue in part 3 of this study.[80]

Finally, after the butchering, preparing and apportioning of the meat comes the ritual banquet. Recent archaeological and anthropological scholarship on feasting laid out in the previous section presents us with an opportunity to have a fresh look at the socially constitutive aspects of the Greek banquet. As a ritual, feasting represents an important situation of critical reference reproducing the social order. Also, feasting tends to be archaeologically visible at those places where it has political salience, as the quantity of surpluses are expected to be reflected in feast investments, such as vessels, food, architecture, storage facilities and refuse.[81] To relate the concept of feasting to that of cult, it may therefore be helpful to define it along similar lines:

> *A feast is characterized by an often ritualized and communally shared meal. This meal may specifically be consumed in a cultic (sacred) environment. Often, however, there is no specific reference to the supernatural realm, which is nevertheless always present in the social context in which the feast is staged. As such, feasts may be considered more or less "sacred" according to the specific environment, occasion, etc. in which they take place.*

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[76] Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b; Schneider, 2006; Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, 1992, 45; Svenbro, 1989, 5, 13; Burkert, 1987, 46, n. 4; Gladigow, 1984; Baudy, 1983; Burkert, 1983, 6; Loraux, 1981a.
[77] Schneider, 2006.
[78] Burkert, 1987, 46.
[79] Cf. note 75.
[80] Cf. Dignas and Trampedach, 2008, Ekroth, 2008b, 269 has suggested that the status of the priests, which is generally considered to be low, may need to be reevaluated on account of this issue: "If we look upon Greek priests and priestesses from the point of view of meat distribution [...] they were of great importance and held high status. It is possible that we may not have fully grasped the significance of priests and priestesses in Greek religion."
[81] Hayden, 2001, 59.

Thus, the commensal aspect of cult, whether we define it as religious (i.e. with a clear focus on the gods) or not, will serve as the theoretical foundation for our inquiry into the nature of community allegiance and group formation in early Athens.

4   Citizenship, Ethnicity and the Athenian polis

It is thus agreed that group membership entails partaking in its shared rituals and meals. This is the essence of Greek cult practice. Of course, not *all* cults are shared between the members of the same group. Some cults may include members of other groups, whereas others may exclude certain members to create more select subdivisions. In this way a multi-tiered system of communal allegiance is established that can become wildly complex, as the example of Classical Athens well illustrates. The cults forming these allegiances are responsible, though not uniquely, for the creation of what Catherine Morgan has called "tiers of identity".[82] Other elements that help create tiers of identity are i.a. kinship, territory and a coherent set of visual representations. The social "messages" inherent in all these categories combine to shape a consistent universe for those participating in the system[83]. "Reading" this symbolism is very instructive of the communal identities that are at play in a given context. A standard set of tiers of identities in the EIA and Archaic period would entail a range of allegiances from kinship groups to local communities and from regional clusters to Panhellenic ties.[84]

4.1 Polis, Ethnos and Ethnicity

This reading of communal identities ties in with recent scholarship concerning ethnicity and the current theory of *ethnogenesis*, which explains the formation of regional group identity in a developmental model based on common cause and a perceived notion of shared ancestry.[85] It shows that in the EIA and the Archaic period, ideas about identity and ethnicity were fluid, highly adaptive and often divergent from modern ideas about ethnicity. Jonathan Hall in particular has shown that ideas about a common ancestry were consistently manipulated to reflect social and political realities, rather than a "real" or verifiable common ancestry.[86] This theory seems to be

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[82] Morgan, 2003, 1.

[83] Clifford Geertz would even go as far as to equate the complete set of symbols with religion, cf. Geertz, 1966. For a critique of Geertz' views, cf. Hicks, 2001, 11.

[84] Concerning Panhellenism as a nascent form of identity in the late EIA, see Morgan, 1993. For the concept of identity in general, see Derks and Roymans, 2009; Funke, 2003.

[85] Hall, 2002; Corsten, 1999; Hall, 1997; Ulf, 1996a, 1996b; Funke, 1993.

[86] Hall, 2002, 1997, 1995b. Early scholarship held that the Greek ethne were closed, blood-related ethnic groups, descending from a primordial ancestry that claimed its territory through a process of "Einwanderung", cf. Gschnitzer, 1960, 1958, 1955; Busolt, 1920, 128-130.

confirmed by a wide range of studies of regional ethnic groups.[87] As a result, and partly in reaction to the Athenocentric approach of past scholarship (cf. section 1.2), there has been a tendency to favor the classical *ethne* (Aetolia, Achaea, Phocis, Thessaly etc.) over the traditional *polis* states as objects of study.[88] This recent tendency to move "beyond the polis" has understandably placed much emphasis on ethnicity.

Yet, the concept of ethnicity is equally relevant in areas, such as Attica, which developed into large poleis, enveloping numerous local communities. In the past, scholarship has mainly focused on the political side of the coin, i.e. the synoecism that subjected local communities to the higher authority of the polis. However, to explain Athenian ethnicity in terms of a polis-ideology alone runs the risk of confusing several tiers of identity that may have diverged to various degrees at different points in time. To a modern observer it may seem that Athenian ethnicity runs parallel to polis ideology in the Classical Period. But as I hope to show, in the EIA and the Archaic Period the two are quite separate issues that were only gradually (and with much effort) aligned during the sixth and fifth centuries.

First, however, it is important to be clear about terminology before analyzing this historical development. The division between polis and ethnos is based on a passage in Aristotle's *Politeia*[89] and has led to an unfortunate evolutionary view of the two concepts in modern scholarship, which has tended to view ethne as political systems that somehow failed to develop into poleis.[90] Illustrating the fallacy of this view, many communities that combined to form ethnic leagues in the fourth century and beyond nevertheless conceived of themselves as poleis.[91] And to further the confusion, even the local communities of Attica – commonly referred to as demes – knew themselves as poleis, regardless of their incorporation within the larger political framework of the "Athenian polis" in the post-Cleisthenic era.[92]

The word ethnos is an ambivalent notion. For one, an ethnos may denote a state that is a non-polis. This concept is derived from a misreading of Aristotle's treatment of the variety of Greek states and constitutions.[93] It has traditionally been understood

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[87] Morgan, 2003, (Phokis, Achaia, Aitolia); Behrwald, 2000, (Lycia); Heine Nielsen and Roy, 1999, (Arkadia); McInerney, 1999, (Phokis); Piérart and Touchais, 1996 (Argos); Hall, 1995a, (Argos).

[88] Morgan, 2003; Gehrke, 2001; Lehmann, 2001; McInerney, 2001; Malkin, 1996a; Osborne, 1996, 286-288; Morgan, 1994a; Funke, 1993; Giovannini, 1971. Cf. also Lehmann, 2001 who focuses on the ethnos as defined in the works of Aristotle and Polybius.

[89] Arist. *Pol.* 7.4.7.

[90] E.g. Sakellariou, 1989, 297-298; Snodgrass, 1980, 42-47.

[91] Hansen, 1999.

[92] Cf. the passage from Thucydides (2.16.2) quoted at the beginning of the introduction. Thucydides specifically uses the word polis to denote the local communities of Attica.

[93] Cf. Morgan, 2003, 8-9.

to imply that the polis and ethnos are mutually exclusive entities. However, Aristotle's treatment should be considered in the context of the fourth century emergence of ethne as politically salient tiers of identity. This process continued into the Hellenistic Period when some ethne (notably Achaea and Aetolia) politically outperformed the autonomous poleis of the Archaic and Classical Period. However, this notion of ethnos as a "league", and thus as a political entity, is not the original meaning of the word, which is derived from a perceived sense of shared ancestry that does not stand in natural opposition to *polis*.

Without getting into the vast scholarship that has contributed to our understanding of the word *polis*, I would like to synthesize a few elements from previous research that strike me as particularly relevant to the topic. First, from a social point of view, polis seems to represents a relatively closed community of people. Second, from a geographic point of view, a polis is tied up with a definite territory. Third, from a political point of view, polis appears to denote a relatively high degree of political integration, i.e. a more or less hierarchical "chain of command" (whether this is embodied by a monarchy, aristocracy or democracy is irrelevant). And fourth, from a religious point of view, the polis is upheld by a consistent set of cults that creates and maintains its social order; to be a member of the polis community means to have access to at least some of its cults.

It thus becomes clear why an ethnos may comprise several poleis; several communities, with their own defined territory, chain of command and set of cults, may nevertheless share a notion of common ancestry, and as such are ethnically affiliated. It also explains why Athenian ethnicity has failed to attract much attention as a relevant subject of study: the Athenian polis and the Attic ethnos overlapped during the classical and Hellenistic periods. As I will show in Chapters 6-8, this had never quite been the case in the pre-Cleisthenic period.

The previous discussion has important implications for the way we define the notion of "state". Catherine Morgan has pointed out that several tiers of identity may acquire "political salience" according to the given circumstances at a certain time.[94] Thus, the political salience of a certain tier of identity determines whether that tier may or may not qualify as a state. To rephrase Morgan's words:

> *A state is a label attached to the specific tier of identity that has the greatest political salience in a specific context at a specific point in time.*

Thus, depending on which aspect of early Athenian society we wish to emphasize we may refer to the Athenian polis, Athenian state or Athenian/Attic ethnos. While "state" has a certain modern connotation, I believe that it is in some cases preferable

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[94] Morgan, 2003, 1.

to "polis", which implies an evolutionary entity culminating in the Classical Athenian polis.[95] Since one of the aims of this approach is to help explain the emergence of the Athenian *polis* it may at times be useful to use the more neutral "state" (without its modern connotation) but in its original sense of (socio-political) "condition" (cf. Lat. *status*). I choose to avoid referring to "Athens" when denoting the pan-Attic tier of identity partly for the same reasons, partly to avoid confusion about whether the name refers to the urban area around the Acropolis or to the Attic peninsula.

4.2 Citizenship

The previous discussion also leads to a re-evaluation of the notion of citizenship. The debate about what criteria should be used for citizenship is framed in a political and legalistic understanding of the concept.[96] The prevalent view boils down to an adjusted version of modern citizenship, an approach that has vast methodological shortcomings when applied to a society that depends largely on interactive politics rather than on written laws. In a certain sense modern citizenship is a relatively black-and-white situation. One either *is* or *is not* a citizen. The status of a citizen is carefully circumscribed by the legal system, which not only formulates who is, and who is not, a citizen, but also what rights and duties a citizen has. Confronting prehistoric Attica with this modern notion of citizenship leads nowhere, as none of the legal requirements we know today can be shown to be in place at this time. However, working from the definition of state given above, I would suggest the following definition of a citizen in prehistoric and archaic Greece:

> *A citizen is someone who has access to the shared set of rituals and symbols connected with that tier of identity that has the most political salience.*

This leads to a composite model of numerous groups, defined by multiple criteria of participation, as laid-out in the research of Josine Blok.[97] The most important of these criteria is the participation in a defined set of cults. This is an essentially open model since it allows for more than one type of citizen, as every individual will adhere to his

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[95] In this I follow Morgan, 1994c, *Ethnicity and Early Greek States* and Morgan, 2003, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*.

[96] One of the most notable proponents of this view is M.H. Hansen, cf. recently Hansen, 2006, 122-124.

[97] Blok, 2011. Cf. also Blok, 2010, 2009a, 2009d, 2009b, 2007, 2005, 2004, 2003. Blok's views complement, nuance and expand the theory of Greek citizenship as developed from Aristotle's definition of citizenship by Manville, 1990. Farenga, 1998 takes a somewhat similar approach to Blok's, albeit that his emphasis lies on the socially constituting force of narrative rather than of cult.

or her own set of cults. However, in the case of classical Athens – and as I hope to show in LG and EA Athens as well – this individual "set" of cults always includes Athena and Erechtheus. Considering that, in the Classical Period, women and metics partook in the Panathenaia in their own clearly defined capacities, this leads to an extended and multi-faceted concept of Athenian citizenship.[98] It represents a radical shift away from previous politically and legally based definitions of citizenship that exclude all but adult male citizens with a right to vote in the assembly.[99] The advantage of the approach taken by Blok for the present study is that it fully takes into account the cult-based criteria for group membership set out in the previous sections.

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[98] Concerning women, see Blok, 2004; concerning metics, see Wijma, 2010.
[99] Hansen, 2006, 57.

Chapter 2

The Sacred Landscape of Attica

Approaches to Early Athenian Statehood

In EIA and EA Attica local communities sought to define themselves with respect to neighboring groups by cultivating their own gods and heroes. Ties between such local communities were established through the cult of Athena on the Acropolis and the main rural sanctuaries of Attica. The cultic history of early Attica is thus closely connected with territorial issues.[100] It is one of the main tenets of this study that the territorial integrity of Attica depended critically on the cohesion created through cults.[101] Since this study aims to map the emergence and evolution of the socio-political constitution of Attica, it is important to have a closer look at the scholarship that has focused on the political ties created through cult. This line of research has been developed at sites throughout the Greek world and the power structure it unveils is sometimes referred to as "The Sacred Landscape".

1 The Heroic and the Divine: Cohesion, Integration and Mediation

The emblematic nature and cohesive force of religious cults have been dealt with in the previous chapter and do not need to be discussed *in extenso* here. Nevertheless, it will be useful to focus more closely on two types of Greek cult that are commonly distinguished in modern scholarship: hero cult and the cult of the Olympian gods.

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[100] On territoriality, cf. Malkin, 1996a; Malkin, 1996b; Rich and Wallace-Hadrill, 1991; Green and Perlman, 1985; de Polignac, 1984.

[101] In part 3, I will show how Attic group definition through cult is determined by concerns about the disintegration of a relatively homogenous society into numerous politically divided, local communities. This fragmentation was the result of a process of internal colonization of the Attic countryside from Athens and was in part reversed in the sixth century through a concerted policy of cultic integration focused on the Acropolis.

1.1 Hero Cult

What role did hero cult play in forming communal identities?[102] I will deal with this matter extensively in Chapter 9.6, but a few preliminary remarks are in place. The emergence of tomb cult in the later eighth century BCE has rightly been explained as a conscious attempt on the part of the local elite to claim the hereditary right to the land by propitiating the symbolic authority of a legendary ruler.[103] The worship of the community converted the rediscovered tomb into a sanctuary, while at the same time the deceased ruler was tacitly usurped and incorporated in the descent line of the local elite.[104] Hero cult not only strengthened their claim of ownership of the land, but also provided a religious focus for the local community as a whole; the elite legitimized its claim to power by displaying expensive votaries and staging ritual banquets. Thus, invisible lines were drawn, within the community between the elite and the rest and outside between this particular community and other groups in Attica. Through the worship of the hero the community at once established inner cohesion and outward definition. The structuring qualities of (hero) cult are effective at relatively small-scale tomb cults, such as **Menidi** and **Thorikos 2-3**, but do not apply to local groups alone. This is clearly illustrated by the cult of Erechtheus, which is likely to have been instituted well before 600 BCE.[105] As one of Athens' earliest kings Erechtheus/Erichthonios provided a common link between all Athenian citizens. Simultaneously, it must have been clear to people outside the peninsula that those who had an allegiance to Erechtheus belonged to the ancient Athenian pedigree. Thus, the cult of Erechtheus was an important medium through which the Athenians were able to affirm their identity.

1.2 Mediation and the Cult of the Gods

A similar kind of structuring effect can be observed in the worship of the gods, though the emphasis differs somewhat. The cult of (Olympian) deities supersedes the interests of a single group. It appeals to something that goes beyond a real or perceived notion of common ancestry. It can be described as a shared cultural

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[102] Heroes: Schachter, 1990, 52-54.

[103] Snodgrass, 1988, 19-26; Snodgrass, 1987/1989, 60-62; Snodgrass, 1982b, 107-119.

[104] The case of Menidi makes clear that the distinction often felt between cult at a rediscovered tomb of a Bronze Age ruler and the cult of the recently deceased is not so clear as would appear at first sight. At Athens, similar votives to the ones found at Menidi usually belong to the context of the cult of "true" ancestors, cf. Hägg, 1987 and Burr, 1933.

[105] Cf. Kearns, 1989; Kron, 1976; Mikalson, 1976. While the cult of Erechtheus is generally believed to be early it has not plausibly been connected with archaeological remains and for that reason it has not been included in Part 2.

(religious) heritage, common to all Greeks and solidified by epic poetry. This innate openness of the worship of the gods, even at an elementary level, illustrates the suitability of these cults for cross-cultural or cross-territorial exchange (i.e. interaction outside the group). It also explains why some divine cults were able to acquire a Panhellenic status. Thus, while sanctuaries to the gods may work cohesively on a higher (regional, polis or Panhellenic) level, they fundamentally serve the purpose of mediation between diverse communities, each of which has a unique cultural identity.[106] Susan G. Cole describes this purpose as follows:

> *"(...) conflicts between larger groups required more widely recognized mechanisms for adjudication of disputes. Collective ritual practice at the major sanctuaries provided an apparatus for mediation. Ritual traditions provided procedures to regulate aggression and competition, to ratify agreements, and to moderate warfare. Temple precincts created a space protected by a god, where laws and treaties of alliance could be displayed and decisions publicized."[107]*

The indispensability of a mediating sanctuary (and the significance of controlling it) is well illustrated by the historical struggle between the Pisans and Eleans over Olympia. Originally, the population of Elis consisted of a widely dispersed group of smaller settlements,[108] whose most important (if not only) common institution consisted of the shared rites and festivities at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. While the inhabitants of the northwestern Peloponnese did not develop a single, dominant urban center during the Early Iron Age, they invested all the more in the development of their main sanctuary. It is significant that, until the *synoecism* of 471, the lack of a single urban center did not prevent the Eleans from convening at a bouleuterion and sharing a prytaneion, both located at the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia.[109]

Recently, Angelos Chaniotis has explored how political rivalry was mediated at some Cretan border sanctuaries through maturation rites involving neighboring poleis.[110] Chaniotis explains this interesting phenomenon as an opportunity for young ephebes (the future warriors of their communities) to experience rivalry and enmity within the safe environment of the sacral space of a sanctuary, while at the same time establishing and maintaining interregional connections.

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[106] For Panhellenic identity, cf. Schachter, 2000; Gebhard, 1993; Morgan, 1993, 1990; Rolley, 1983.
[107] Cole, 2004, 69.
[108] Roy, 2002b, 254; for the 'eight poleis' in the Pisatis, cf. Roy, 2002a. Of course the town of Elis was always one of them, cf. Eder and Mitsopoulou-Leon, 1999.
[109] Cf. Cole, 2004, 69.
[110] Chaniotis, 2006. The sanctuaries discussed are that of Hermes Kedrites, Zeus Diktaios and Zeus Idaios.

1.3 In- and Exclusive Qualities of Cults

We may thus choose to stress the *inclusive* or *exclusive* qualities of cults respectively, according to the effect we wish to emphasize. When it comes to groups it may be preferable to speak in terms of *internal* cohesion and *external* definition, with cult as the primary agent. The cult of Erechtheus has an *inclusive* effect on the Athenians, but *excludes* Spartans. At the same time the cult builds *internal* cohesion within the Athenian polis, and defines it (*externally*) to the people outside Attica. It has often been assumed that hero cult is mainly geared toward the internal cohesion of groups. The members of a group feel the significance of hero cult first and foremost through a sense of shared belonging. The Spartans, for example, should not have cared too much about the peculiarities of the cult of Erechtheus, even if they acknowledged the fact that it belonged to the Athenians. But as I will show in Chapter 7, hero cult played an important role in establishing the ancient pedigree of old settlements amidst the emergence of new communities. Ancient heroes who had hitherto not received cult could be ritually "activated" in order to convey a political message to the outside community.

In the case of the worship of gods the subtle interplay between in- and exclusion is illustrated at the Panathenaic procession, where different groups (elite men, metics, women etc.) were able to present their separate identity, while at the same time confirming their common heritage.[111]

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[111] Cf. Wijma, 2010; Neils, 1996; 1992, 23-24.

2   The Construction of a Sacred Landscape

As the case of Elis illustrates, the mediating function of sanctuaries may be felt in a territorial sense – at least during the EIA and EA Period – as a result of the physical separation of the leading figures of socially coherent groups. The study of the interplay between territory and the sacred realm has been opened up and dominated by the work of François de Polignac. In his book *La naissance de la cité grecque* (1984) de Polignac advanced his influential theory regarding the bipolar cultic nature of the Greek polis. In his analysis of cultic behavior in early Greek society, de Polignac stresses the exceptional importance of extra-urban sanctuaries in the context of the emerging Greek city-states, especially when compared to the relative insignificance of cult activity in the main settlement of the polis.[112] In his view, the non-urban sanctuary functioned as a demarcation between the cultivated world and the wild, or "bestial", natural domain. At the same time, a sanctuary could function as a demarcation between two or more culturally or politically separate territories, as a place where communities of neighboring poleis might mediate or avert conflicts by joining in cultic rites and festivities and by vying for prestige through agonistic contests.

However, regions without clearly identified urban centers nevertheless developed important, even Panhellenic, sanctuaries, such as Olympia and Delphi. This should caution us not to rely too heavily on the urban-rural antithesis in our conceptualization of the Sacred Landscape in Greece. In the EIA, urbanization seems to have been largely a response to local conditions; in some cases it was deemed profitable to convene at larger "urban" sites, while in other situations a widely dispersed form of settlement seemed preferable. A combination of these two elements was equally possible, as the case of Athens indicates (Chapter 9.1). Also the dominant position of one major "rural" sanctuary, at some distance from the main "urban" area, no longer seems to conform to the material evidence of the EIA and Archaic Period. Corinth, for example, developed three important sanctuaries (Apollo, Poseidon and Hera).[113] Selinus has two main cultic axes, located to the east and west of the urban center.[114] As in the case of urbanization, the layout of the Sacred Landscape was determined by environmental conditions, both natural and cultural.

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[112]de Polignac, 1984, English translation: de Polignac, 1995a, esp. 52-53 (on the constitutive role of the non-urban sanctuary in general, cf. 32-88). Cf. also de Polignac, 1996a, 1995c, 1995b, 1994, 1988. For some critical remarks, cf. Langdon, 1997a, 122.
[113] Morgan, 1994c. Cf. also Morgan, 1994b.
[114] de Polignac, 1995a, 111.

2.1 Sacred Landscapes in Greece

These two points aside, de Polignac's theory of a sacred landscape shaping and reflecting concerns about territoriality has remained largely unchallenged. In the wake of de Polignac's seminal work large advancements have been made on a theoretical level[115] and a vast amount of investigations into regional "Sacred Landscapes" have been undertaken.[116] It is impossible to recount the vast amount of admirable scholarship on this subject, though a few examples may serve to illustrate the variety of possible approaches.

The capacity of cults either to define distinguished groups from one another or to act as an integrating force is well illustrated by the use of two cults in Boeotia by different ethnic groups. The sanctuary of Athena Itonios was a main focus of cult for those Boeotians who considered themselves "Dorian". This sanctuary served as a rallying point for this group of people and enabled them to assert their specific "ethnic" identity.[117] But while the cult of Athena excluded the "non-Dorians", it is also clear that the two "ethnic" groups combined to form a larger Boeotian identity. This identity was forged at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, which was frequented by the "Dorian" inhabitants as well as the "non-Dorian" element.[118]

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[115] General bibliography on the Greek sacred landscape: Corsten, 2006; Freitag, Funke, and Haake, 2006a, 2006b; Linke, 2006; Cole, 2004; Morgan, 2003; Hölscher, 1998; Morgan, 1997; Graf, 1996; Hägg, 1996; Malkin, 1996a; Malkin, 1996b; Burkert, 1995; Cole, 1995; Spencer, 1995; Alcock and Osborne, 1994; Morgan, 1994c, 1994b; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1993; Burkert, 1992; Hölscher, 1991; Morgan, 1990; Schachter, 1990; Schachter and Bingen, 1990; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990; Green and Perlman, 1985. For more general treatises on the interplay between Greek religion and society cf. Linke, 2006; Parker, 2005; Hägg, 1998; Langdon, 1997a; Morris, 1997; Simon, 1997; Hägg, 1996; Hellström and Alroth, 1996; Parker, 1996; Hägg, 1994; Burkert, 1992; Garland, 1992; Hägg, Marinatos, and Nordquist, 1988; Alroth, 1987; Garland, 1984; Langdon, 1984; Dietrich, 1983; Rolley, 1983; Durkheim, 1912.

[116] **Achaia:** Morgan, 2003, 31-38, 2002; **Aetolia:** Funke, 1997, 1991; **Acarnania:** Corsten, 2006; **Arcadia:** Morgan, 2003, 38-44, 155-162; Heine Nielsen, 2002; Heine Nielsen and Roy, 1999; Jost, 1994, 1990, 1985; **Argos:** Auffahrt, 2006; Piérart and Touchais, 1996; Hall, 1995a; Hägg, 1992; Rolley, 1992; Schachter, 1990, 12-13; **Crete:** Chaniotis, 2006; Sporn, 2002; **Corcyra:** Antonetti, 2006; **Corinthia:** Morgan, 1999; Hall, 1995a; Morgan, 1994b, 1994c; Schachter, 1990, 14-17; **East Locris:** Morgan, 2003, 28-31; **Elis:** Mylanopoulos, 2006; **Eretria:** Schachter, 1990, 18-21; Bérard, 1983; Bérard, 1982; **Etruria:** Torelli, 2000; Edlund, 1988, esp. 63-93; **Latium:** Schneider, 2006; Cornell, 2000; Smith, 1997; **Lycia:** Behrwald, 2000; **Magna Graecia:** de Polignac, 1995a, 89-127; Edlund, 1988, 94-125; Malkin, 1987; **Peloponnese:** Mylanopoulos, 2006; **Olympia:** Linke, 2006; Siewert, 2006; **Phokis:** Morgan, 2003, 24-28, 113-135; McInerney, 1999; **Samos:** Kyrieleis, 1993; **Sparta:** Schachter, 1990, 34-35; **Thasos:** Schachter, 1990, 22-25; **Thebes:** Schachter, 1990, 26-30; **Thessaly:** Morgan, 2003, 18-24, 85-106, 192-196.

[117] See the discussion of ethnicity and ethnos in chapter 1.4.1.

[118] Corsten, 2006, 161-2. A similar "merger" between Dorian and "autochthonous" groups is attested at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyclae, conveniently placed on Mt. Taygetos, which is the border between Laconia and Messenia, cf. de Polignac, 1995b, 65-68.

Similarly, the sanctuary of Zeus at Stratos was the original league-cult of the tribal Acarnanians. However, the cult of Apollo at Actium (on the southern peninsula of the Ambracian Gulf) became the league's new principal sanctuary in 216 BCE when western Acarnania freed itself from Epirote rule. The cult of Apollo Aktios integrated the Acarnanians with the powerful Corinthian settlement at Anaktorion. Thomas Corsten contends that while the sanctuary of Zeus at Stratos had previously been the league's main cult, it could no longer perform that function because it was rendered inaccessible through the ongoing domination of eastern Acarnania by the Aetolian league. The assimilation of the Corinthian colony of Anaktorion in the "liberated" league of western Acarnanians, was established through the establishment of the Corinthian Apollo cult as the principle cult of the league.[119]

In Magna Graecia the Greek colonists are traditionally (and anachronistically) perceived as dominant masters of the autochthonous population, stubbornly clinging to their own cultural heritage. In reality, the colonists behaved a good deal more pragmatically than is often assumed. Drawing on current anthropological models, Christoph Ulf has argued that interregional feasting played an important role in establishing ties of friendship between culturally different groups and this seems precisely what happened during the cultural collision in Sicily and Southern Italy.[120] Through the mediating power of cults, the Greek settlers sought to demarcate their territory from that of the previous inhabitants, but the resulting rural sanctuaries performed an important role as centers of intercultural communication.[121]

In a similar way, the struggle for control over the Delphic amphictyony during the Sacred Wars may be viewed as a bid for control over the important lines of intercultural communication that were connected with the sanctuary of Apollo.[122] But amphictyonies elsewhere could equally function as rallying points for communal identities. As the mythical founder of many cities and tribes Poseidon is the favored deity of amphictyonies on the Peloponnese, although he is conspicuously absent as a polis deity. Joannis Mylonopoulos has shown that several communities stressed their Ionian or Achaean roots through Poseidon's four Peloponnesian amphictyonies, thereby reinforcing their non-Dorian identity.[123] Mylonopoulos explicitly emphasizes their importance in constructing a common identity but contends that the political value of these amphictyonies was limited. In his opinion, this only changed during the Late Classical Period when the Calaurian league acquired some "political salience".

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[119] Corsten, 2006, *passim*.
[120] Interregional fests: Ulf, 1997. For the anthropological model of feasting see the work of Dietler and Hayden, 2001b as well as chapter 1.3.
[121] Antonaccio, 1999; de Polignac, 1995a, 89-127, 1994, 16-17; Malkin, 1987.
[122] Morgan, 2003, 123-131, 1993, 27-31.
[123] Mylonopoulos, 2006. For the importance of amphictyonies: Schachter, 1990, 8-9.

One might object, however, that the very existence of these amphictyonies implies political stature, precisely because the sense of a common identity that they created.[124]

And finally, the Argive Heraion played an important role in the political struggle for control in the Argive plain. De Polignac considers the transformation of the Heraion from a liminal sanctuary to a place where the Argives were able to demonstrate their growing political hegemony. In his view, the Heraion had been a place where the cultivated land of the Argive plain was separated from the wild, mountainous world outside the plain, from as early as its institution in the eighth century BCE. At the same time, the sanctuary mediated the political struggle of the three political communities of Tiryns, Mycenae and Argos. When, in the course of the seventh century, Argos rose to a position of dominance, Argive control over the cult became a symbol of the polis' dominance over its two rivals and the procession from Argos out to the Heraion thus embodied a political statement. Although politically subordinate to Argos, Mycenae and Tiryns were *included* in the greater Argive state and the sanctuary of Hera both represented and guarded the new order that was to be. In de Polignac's view, the sanctuary mediated the political struggle for power of the three communities in the plain.[125]

However, two important caveats are in place. First, the sacred landscape of the Argolid was the result of very specific local circumstances that are difficult to generalize into an all-inclusive theorem. And secondly, the "bipolar" model described by de Polignac does not necessarily do justice to the situation before the Argive conquest of 468 BCE. In a stimulating study ("How Argive was the Argive Heraion?"), Jonathan Hall has modified de Polignac's thesis by arguing that Hera was not in fact an Argive goddess, but rather belonged to the sacred landscape of the eastern Argive plain.[126] He contends that her sanctuary did not become truly "Argive" until the conquest of Mycenae and Tiryns in 468 BCE. According to Hall the Argives could only exploit the symbolic value of the sanctuary after their conquest of the eastern part of the plain. The procession from Argos to the Heraion in "enemy" territory integrated the conquered communities in the Argive polis.[127]

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[124] Cf. van den Eijnde, 2007a.

[125] De Polignac illustrates the paradigmatic role of Argos with the case of the Spartan king Cleomenes. The king was brought up on the charge of not having conquered Argos as required by an oracle, Hdt. 6.82. Cleomenes rebutted that the goddess had indicated that the oracle was fulfilled when he took the Heraion and expelled the Argive priests, thus effectuating the "symbolic conquest" of the polis.

[126] Hall, 1995a.

[127] This integrating force of processions is well attested and clearly plays an important role in the case of Eleusis in Attica, cf. de Polignac, 1995a, 84-85. Auffahrt, 2006 has argued that the foundation of the Heraion on a monumental scale in the eighth century BCE was deliberate Argive policy, which should be understood as an act of defiance geared toward Mycenae and Tiryns. In his view, the Mycenaeanizing Cyclopean terrace wall is a reference to the genuinely old fortress walls of Tiryns and Mycenae and

The common ground of all these cases is the constitutional role played by sanctuaries in the formation of early Greek polities. Francois de Polignac was the first to connect the mediating qualities of cults discussed above with their constitutive role in the formation of political systems, in particular in the emergence of the polis. We shall now turn to his model of early Athenian polis-formation.

3   The "Athenian Exception"

As already mentioned in the general introduction, Attica is eerily absent in the debate about sacred landscapes. De Polignac's reconstruction of the evolution of the Attic sacred configuration in *La naissance de la cité grecque* still remains the only comprehensive account.[128] This is remarkable considering the wealth of studies that have seen the light with regard to other regions. Publications pertaining to Attica have either tended to focus on a sub-region (Eleusis, Salamis)[129], or have remained on a more general or theoretical level[130].

De Polignac would see Athens as the one exception to the bipolar model described above (and exemplified by the case of the Argolid). He adduces two important arguments to support his view. First, the main sanctuary of Attica, that of Athena Polias, is situated inside the city (on the Acropolis), with the settlement wrapped around it. As a result the main (Panathenaic) procession led from the periphery to the heart of the town, while "processions all over Greece (…) set out from the centre of the inhabited area to make their way to the great territorial or peri-urban sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo, or Artemis."[131] Thus, when the Spartans annually invaded Attica during the Peloponnesian Wars, they did not have the option of symbolically conquering Attica through its major sanctuary, as had been the case for Cleomenes at Argos, a century or so before. The Athenians, hidden behind their impenetrable walls and getting their supplies from overseas, could not be conquered in this way, because they had their main deity safely tucked away inside the city.

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represents an explicit ideological message that was meant to undermine these cities' territorial claims to the eastern Argolid. Auffahrt's views, however, are widely contested and seem to be mitigated by the similarity of votives between the Argive Heraion and those found at Mycenae and other cult sites in the eastern Argolid, cf. Hall, 1995a; Antonaccio, 1992; Strøm, 1988.

[128] de Polignac, 1995a, 81-88. Cf. also de Polignac, 1995c and Catherine Morgan's summary account, Morgan, 1993, 31-32.

[129] Sourvinou-Inwood, 1997; Osborne, 1994.

[130] Hölscher, 1998; Langdon, 1997a; Hölscher, 1991; Morgan, 1990, 205-212; Schachter, 1990, 31-33.

[131] de Polignac, 1995a, 84. For the symbolic role of processions cf. also Graf, 1996.

Secondly, while recognizing the existence in Attica of extra-urban sanctuaries, de Polignac points to their relative insignificance when compared to the cult of Athena. Some of these cults were elevated to a degree of prominence, such as the sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon in Sounion, Athena Skiras at Skiron, Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia, and, most importantly, Demeter at Eleusis, but none approached the importance of the Athena cult on the Acropolis (fig. 4). De Polignac explains Athens' peculiarity as a result of constitutional continuity during the Bronze Age – EIA transition. The palatial structure was not wiped out (as for example at Mycenae, Pylos or Thebes) but gradually evolved from monarchy to aristocracy while retaining the original place of worship at the former administrative centre on the Acropolis. The main cult of the Athenians, then, was not shaped by a combination of natural and social factors typical of EIA Greece, as happened elsewhere, but was a legacy of an earlier period. De Polignac later nuanced some of his views, arguing for a plurality of sacred connections in Attica rather than a monolithic system cast around the cult of Athena.[132]

4   Toward a New approach

More than twenty-five years after the publication of *La naissance de la cité greque* and in the face of the enormous advances made in the field initiated by de Polignac, a fresh analysis of the early Attic sacred landscape is called for. The approach taken in this study is not preoccupied with the classical polis and aims to do justice to the large body of contemporary (EIA and EA) evidence brought together in Part 2. It does not seek to oppose Attica to other Greek regions but rather seeks to take into account that Athenian society, while peculiar in its natural and cultural environment, reacted to those conditions on the basis of a predetermined set of cultural responses, which it shared with the rest of Greece. Furthermore, this approach intends to contribute to the debate about early Athenian state formation by doing justice to the recent advancements made in the field of ethnogenesis (cf. Chapter 1). By "looking beyond the polis", this ethnos-based line of investigation has the advantage of registering cultural affiliations not normally taken into consideration in the standard view of the emerging polis.

In this way, I propose to place the emergence of the polis in the wider perspective of continuously evolving statehood and ever-changing social networks, without drawing the discussion into the rather one-dimensional perspective of the

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[132] For a critical review of aspects of de Polignac's general thesis, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1993, 2-5 (Homer); Calame, 1990, 361-362, 395, nn. 134-136 ("bipolarity").

traditional polis discourse. Something of this approach is reflected in the words of Tonio Hölscher:

> *Die vielen Kultstätten einer Polis bildeten kein festes, "theologisch" begründetes Grundmuster, sondern stellten vielgestaltige, variabele Systeme dar, eine religiöse Topographie mit Kulten von verschiedenen Funktionen, verschiedenen thematischen Schwerpunkten und verschiedenem Gewicht, die den historischen Traditionen und den gesellschaftlich-politischen Verhältnissen der einzelnen Poleis entsprachen.[133]*

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[133] Hölscher, 1998, 47.

Part Two

The Cults of Attica

Chapter 3

Introduction to the Evidence

Methodology and Presentation

1   Introduction

Before proceeding to discuss the evidence, it is necessary to establish how social institutions based on cults can be extrapolated from the material remains. In the following sections banqueting and cult practice will be defined and contrasted in terms of the material remains. Having laid out the evidence accordingly, this part will serve as the basis for further argumentation in part 3.

2   Identifying a Feast

We first turn to the find assemblage that is to be expected in the case of feasting *stricto sensu*. For the sake of simplicity, we will, for the moment, ignore the distinction between feasting as practiced in a sacred context and feasting that is to a certain degree removed from the realm of the sacred, i.e. feasting that is observed without a clear reference to the divine domains. Several good indicators for cult activity, such as votives, are not among the main archaeological features of feasting, while other indicators, such as drinking vessels, overlap – and in fact indicate the relatedness of the two. Feasting thus seems to be even harder to discern in the archaeological record than cult activity. This is begging the question whether it is even possible to discuss feasting in an archaeological context, let alone trace evidence of individual feasts.[134] While a handy interpretative formula may not be attainable, fortunately there are some correlates connected with feasting that show up in the archaeological record of pre-600 BCE Attica. The correlates used in this study (Table 1) are loosely adapted to the Attic circumstances from Brian Hayden's seminal 2001

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[134] Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 7.

publication on feasting.[135] Not surprisingly, these correlates correspond to a large degree to those mentioned in Chapter 1 for cult activity, although subtle but important differences remain.

2.1 Food

The communal preparation and consumption of food is a fundamental element of feasting in most if not all human cultures. Several indicators or material correlates of feasting are therefore directly connected with food. Among these food-related correlates, pottery naturally assumes pride of place. A first correlate is the quantity of pottery; an unusual amount of pottery found in a certain place may reflect a heightened emphasis on consumption. A difficulty often faced is whether the deposition of large amounts of pottery is the result of deliberate smashing or consecration, suggesting ritualized use, or of the natural wear and tear that comes from regular use. A second correlate is quality. An unusual high quality of serving vessels corresponds to the importance that is attached to the feast. The preponderance of high quality drinking vessels at the sites discussed in this study shows the emphasis on drinking in Attic feasting. This is where one would like to turn to iconography to tell us a bit more about the symposiastic habits of EIA and EA Atticans.[136] However, contrary to Attic Black and Red figure pottery, these periods have little to show for in the way of direct references to feasting.[137]

Some caution is warranted, however, for the presence of kylikes, skyphoi, kantharoi, cups etc. is sometimes equated with libation. However, libation is inextricably linked with drinking. Overemphasising the libation element leads to underestimating the larger "symposiastic" element. In many cultures, ritualized vessels for the consumption of intoxicating substances, such as alcohol, are among the more visible material correlates, presumably because their function is to enhance the communality of the feast.[138] The destruction of such prestigious vessels is also not a typically Greek phenomenon, nor is it an especially religious act, although in certain instances vessels appear to be deliberately smashed in the fire altar. In many cultures, the smashing of special purpose vessels – or of other prestige items – is very much an element of ritualized feasting. One need only be reminded of the Russian practice of smashing the vodka glass after a toast.

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[135] Hayden, 2001.

[136] For the value of iconography in the study of feasting, cf. Hayden, 2001, 41 (pictoral records of feasts).

[137] Subtle hints, such as the admonition implicit in the Polyphemus episode depicted on a well-known PA amphora from Eleusis, is the closest one gets to the actual practice of feasting.

[138] Hayden, 2001, 57.

The presence of an unusually large number of special preparation or cooking vessels can be a good sign of feasting. Unfortunately, this category, usually indicated with the term "coarse ware", is not only severely understudied – and therefore less well understood – but it is also likely to be disregarded in the official publications, especially of the earlier excavations. Presumably this neglect of this specific kind of pottery extends all the way back to the trenches, when the decision was made to "keep" or "throw" certain sherds. Wherever the preparation vessels are well documented, however, such as at the excavation at **Tourkovouni** led by Hans Lauter, they give a good impression of the kind of vessels we may be missing at other feasting sites. These vessels serve as an important reminder that our understanding of Greek "feasting" is perhaps unjustly biased towards drinking and may partially be geared to neglect the consumption of food.

Studies in Greek commensality generally revolve around the consumption of meat.[139] The methodological conflict that looms over this bias toward meat originates from the different chances of survival of the various dietary habits. Attestations to the contrary notwithstanding,[140] vegetarian cuisines are very unlikely to reveal themselves in the archaeological record (i.e. the pottery) without careful sifting and the aid of modern laboratory techniques. Since none of the material in this study has been subjected to such treatment there is very little we learn about vegetarian meals.[141] In some instances, storage facilities for grain or other foodstuffs may be surmised on the basis of architectural logic, but it is difficult to prove this with certainty.[142] Still, meals of vegetables, bread and dairy must have been a daily source of nutrition even for the more privileged members of the community. In fact, this may be part of the reason why meat dinners stand out in the record, precisely because they were a relatively extraordinary occurrence.

Another reason for the relative overrepresentation of meat in the record is the fact that they involve grilling, which tends to leave traces of animal bones, teeth and especially ashes. The latter, when excavated more or less in situ, also represent our best indication of the way the meat was prepared, at simple fire hearths without special architectural elaboration. More advanced preparation facilities have not been attested in our context. Since the consumption of meat was an extraordinary occurrence, it has been surmised that the killing of an animal always involved an act of sacrifice.[143] However, as this study amply illustrates, meat offerings are often

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[139] Cf. the contributions of Louise Bruit and others in Murray, 1990.
[140] Lauter, 1985a, 133-134.
[141] Gallant, 1991.
[142] Cf. unit 3 at **Lathouriza 1** and unit β at the **Academy 2**. Bothroi found at the **Academy 2** (unit ζ) and **Eleusis 3** (unit II) are of unknown function, though various uses including foodkeeping have been suggested.
[143] van Straten, 1995.

attested outside the religious realm (i.e. without being consecrated to a divinity) and hence the importance of distinguishing feasts in general (for example in the funeral realm) from religious feasts.

2.2 Architecture

A second important indication of feasting is architecture. Feasting is strongly implicated in the emergence of the first special-function architectural structures in pre-state societies.[144] This is also where the domestic domain looms large, as feasting may either concentrate on private dwellings or else may develop its special-purpose architecture directly from a domestic idiom. This is a trend commonly attested in the development of the Greek temple, where the earliest examples can be shown to derive from domestic architecture, if on a scale that may at times appear to be exaggerated.[145] Where evidence of feasting appears in the material record, however, it either tends to focus on chieftain's dwellings (e.g. **Athens - Agora 1** and **Lathouriza 1**), or on special-purpose buildings (**Tourkovouni**). The general invisibility of "normal" dwellings in the material record makes it difficult to establish a clear relationship between these two categories (cf. Chapter 9.5.2). I will argue that many of the agglutinative structures that are often situated near cemeteries are best understood as dining halls. These buildings are the best evidence for feasting in the EIA and EA Periods.

2.3 Context

Finally, location may be a signature of feasting, albeit of secondary value. The topography of these events is tied up with several more or less distinct domains. First, feasting is an important part of "life crisis moments", such as birth, marriage and death. Of these, the archaeological visibility of graves allows us a glimpse of the practices and ideologies at play during the funeral ceremonies.[146] Sanne Houby Nielsen has shown that funerals do not merely serve as an occasion for a banquet, they also serve as a reminder of the capacity of the deceased to organize banquets during his lifetime.[147]

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[144] Special purpose architecture for feasting has been attested in transegalitarian societies, cf. Hayden, 2001, 59.

[145] This trend is best illustrated by the case of the earliest apsidal temples of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, where the first temple was little more than a simple hut-like dwelling, cf. Whitley, 2001, 156-157. Cf. also the temple models of Perachora, Payne, 1940, 34-51.

[146] Cf. Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 9

[147] Houby-Nielsen, 1996, 1995, 1992.

Table 1 – Material Correlates of Feasting

A   Primary Correlates:
   1. Food consumption
       a.   Special serving vessels
            •   High quality
            •   Wine-related
            •   Method of deposition
                (Pyres / Intentional destruction / "Wear and tear")
       b.   Preparation vessels
            •   High quantity
       c.   Preparation facilities
            •   Hearths
       d.   Refuse
            •   Animal bone; teeth; ashes
       e.   Food storage
   2. Special-purpose architecture (banqueting halls)
B   Secondary Correlates
   1. Topographical features (context)
       a.   Cemeteries or individual burials
       b.   Mountain peaks
       c.   BA remains
       d.   Cult sites
   2. Absence of votives (negative)
   3. Absence of reference to the divine (negative)

In several instances banqueting halls are associated with a grave (**Eleusis 3**) or with a cemetery (**Academy 1**, **Athens - Agora 1**, **Anavyssos 2**, **Thorikos 1).** The examples of Eleusis and the Academy clearly indicate that funeral rites could be repeated and become embryonic cult sites. The abundance of drinking vessels and simple ash-hearths on mountaintops indicates that these places were considered an appropriate place for feasting too. Bronze Age remains played a similar role as an attraction for feasting. Finally, sanctuaries to the gods are a natural place for feasting as a result of the central role played by the religious festival and the animal sacrifice (cf. Chapter 1.3.2). Conversely, in the absence of primary material correlates for cult activity such as votives or a direct reference to the divine, a given archaeological context is best qualified as a feasting site. It goes without saying that these topographical signatures are by no means mutually exclusive.

It is important to stress that, as with cultic remains, there are instances where the evidence for feasting will remain debated. It is not my intention in this chapter to pass

the final verdict on this matter. Nevertheless, I believe that a method of "triangulation" based on the scarce remains available will allow for the important element of feasting to enter the debate of the emergence of the early Athenian polis. This chapter thus proposes to present the first thrust in that direction.

3 Identifying a Religious Cult

The material correlates of a religious cult have a broader scope than the correlates of feasting discussed above, since they include the correlates for feasting. In this sense, a cult site can be seen as a locality used for feasting that has acquired a deeper, religious meaning. There are many definitions of cult and many of them are valid in their own right. This study intends to investigate cults in a way that allows a (partial) reconstruction of the social structure in which they were created and shaped and it has been proposed that cults are an elementary expression of group identity and as such are a celebration of the group itself. Cults represent primal societal nodes of interaction, preceding and underlying the more formal political institutions that began to take shape from the sixth century onward. This social approach to Greek cults clearly depends on a sound understanding of the relationship between a cult as an historical fact and the material remains as they appear in the archaeological record. In Chapter 1 I have defined a religious cult as defined by human acts that tend to the interests of the gods, heroes or ancestors in a specific environmental context. To this we may now add that, as a manifestation of human behavior, the sacred acts that constitute a cult can be expected to leave their mark in the archaeological record. Thus, rephrasing the definition in archaeological terms:

> *A religious cult is defined by a coherent set of material correlates that are indicative of the habitual performance of sacred acts.*

For the purpose of presenting the individual cults, it is thus necessary to be more specific about the material requirements that allow us to distinguish a certain body of evidence as a form of "cult activity" rather than as the result of domestic or funerary practices. In other words, it is necessary to know what we are looking for before we begin to collect the relevant data.

3.1 "Reading" the Material Remains

Various scholars have presented archaeological and contextual criteria to determine whether a body of evidence may be labeled as "cultic" or "ritual". The behavioral correlates of cult that are believed to have left an impression in the material remains

have been variously summarized for close analysis. Two main approaches have been developed thus far.

The first was drafted by Colin Renfrew for the LBA sanctuary at Phylakopi and lists a number of possible (ritual) actions that can be expected to have carried sacred significance, such as the conspicuous public display of wealth, votive offering, sacrifice, the use of specific symbolism in architecture and iconography, the use of a distinctive set of architectural features etc.[148]

Korinna Pilafidis-Williams presented a second categorization of behavioral correlates in her study of the LH IIIC/SM shrine of Aphaia on Aegina.[149] Drawing on Renfrew's list, she collided some of the redundancies and introduced an important distinction between primary correlates that can stand on their own as evidence for cult activity (i.e. a cult statue) and secondary correlates that may be used as circumstantial evidence to support the evidence from the primary correlates.

Renfrew's behavioral correlates do not necessarily leave a direct impression in the material record. Conspicuous display, for example, may be a bronze tripod set up in a particular sanctuary or it may consist of a large festival, including processions, dancing and athletic contests. The material remains resulting from the latter activities may well remain archaeologically invisible or otherwise appear to be insufficient for a sensible interpretation. Pilafidis-Williams' list seems to be less biased toward one specific site (i.e. Phylakopi)[150] and has the advantage of focusing more directly on the way the behavioral correlates relate to the material remains. The material correlates listed in Table 2 are amended from this list to the specific circumstances of the Attic sacred landscape.

3.2 The Material Correlates of Attic Cult

Generally, a cult site needs votives and/or an offering place to qualify as such. The former may consist of terracotta or stone figurines, iron, bronze or ivory pins, jewelry, weapons, full-sized or miniature bronze tripods, miniature terracotta shields and, above all, pottery. In the latter category we move into an area fraught with difficulties. For what criterion sets a vase apart as a votive? In some instances, such as certain miniature wares and, most spectacularly, the louterion (cf. **Menidi**, esp. 4.1.34.2), the vases seem to have been designed with a specific ritual purpose in mind. Fine ware may have served as votive offering, but in itself it is usually not enough to define a cult site, as it may have been used in a domestic or a funerary context. Conversely,

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[148] Renfrew, Mountjoy, and MacFarlane, 1985, 19-20. Cf. more recently Renfrew, 2007, 115. For a concise discussion of Renfrew's correlates, cf. Prent, 2005, 12-26.
[149] Pilafidis-Williams, 1998, 124-125.
[150] Cf. Morgan, 1999, 303.

Table 2 – Material correlates of cult activity

A   Primary Correlates

    1.   Special facilities or equipment for ritual practice (altars, cult buildings, louteria etc.)

    2.   Attention-focusing devises in 1

    3.   Votive offerings, *i.a.*

        a.   Pottery (high quality, decorated)

        b.   Human or animal figurines

        c.   Weapons

        d.   Jewelry

        e.   Plaques

        f.   Tripods

        g.   Miniature shields

    4.   Iconography

        a.   Cult image of a deity

        b.   Reference to deity worshipped on votives

    5.   Bones and ashes indicating blood sacrifice/ritual dining (cf. section 2.1)

    6.   Resemblance to funerary rites

        a.   Symbolism

        b.   Commemorative/repetitive funerary rituals

B   Secondary Correlates

    1.   Material correlates involving feasting (cf. Table 1)

    2.   Investment of wealth in equipment or offerings

    3.   Topographical features (context)

    4.   The absence of habitation (negative)

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plain household ware is often encountered at cult sites, especially at "peak sanctuaries" and the dining halls, where ritual banqueting seems to occur quite frequently.

Whether ritual banqueting should be considered as part of a religious cult, is often a matter of degree.[151] While evidence of feasting is not enough to establish cult activity, it is often part of it. Thus, the material correlates involved with feasting (section 2) serve as secondary correlates in identifying a cult site.

Most often a combination of several of the features cited in Table 2 will determine whether a site qualifies as cultic. For example, the location or natural context is quite often an important determinant in defining a cult site. While fine ware in itself may not be enough to qualify a site as such, fine ware found on a mountaintop may be indicative of a peak shrine as domestic use seems implausible in that context

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[151] Cf. **Tourkovouni**.

(cf. **Olympos**). Similarly, a single figurine may not be enough to posit cult activity, but an idol found inside a cave may be suggestive of a cave shrine (cf. **Hymettos 2**).

3.3 The Problem of Interpretation

Unfortunately, not all entries listed here consist of sites with an equal potential of interpretative analysis. In some instances, this may be due to lower standards of publication, as is usually the case in those excavations carried out in the first half of the previous century. However, there are positive exceptions, in particular the American and German projects of the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos. In other instances, historical or environmental circumstances impede a consistent analysis of the remains. The Athenian Acropolis is a textbook example of a site compromised archaeologically both by primitive excavation standards and by the immense building activity that began shortly after our period of interest. Moreover, many peak sanctuaries have suffered from erosion.

Thus, identifying an archaeological site as cultic is not as straightforward as one would like. Inevitably, it will be based on a balanced weighing of several of the material correlates that have just been mentioned. In other words, we have to "triangulate" our position from unequal sources. This problem is partially circumvented by separating some sites from the main group in a separate list. Chapter 2.2 consists of those sites that lack the balance of archaeological and environmental elements necessary to qualify them as "certain" cult sites. Often these sites have been quoted as sanctuaries in other publications but do not fully comply with the set of material correlates used in this study. Their value as cult sites remains, therefore, in question.

The appendix (Chapter 2.3) presents a collection of votive figurines that presumably originate from a cultic context that can no longer be identified. These votives are mainly found on the slopes of the Acropolis and in some wells, shafts or eroded surface layers at the Agora.

4   The Typology of Cult

Much emphasis has been placed in the past on distinguishing various types of cults. Such typology is usually based on one feature that stands out in particular to the modern observer, such as "hero" cult, "ancestor" cult or "tomb" cult.[152] Peak and cave

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[152] Hero cult is hard to define, especially as a category separated from ancestor worship or tomb cult, cf. Ekroth, 2007; Boehringer, 2001; Antonaccio, 1999; Hägg, 1999; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999; Morris, 1997; Whitley, 1994b; Morris, 1988; Snodgrass, 1988; Hägg, 1987; Lauter, 1985a. The problem has much to do with the omnipresence of hero-cults from the

cults, chthonic and Olympian cults are additional categories that are often used. The main problem with such classifications is that the grounds for classifying a particular cult may vary from case to case both in terms of quantity and quality. It also presupposes that the Greeks were aware of the classifications that we use for them, which is far from certain.

Ideally, a consistent and unambiguous set of cult-internal elements (such as a fire altar, votives or religious architecture) identifies a cult site. Such is the case, for example, at Eleusis 1 and 3. In other cases cult activity may be suspected on cult-external grounds. These environmental features can be suspected to have played an important role in the emergence of a specific cult at a specific location. Mountaintops and caves are good examples of such external, environmental attributes. Often too, manmade conditions, such as a cemetery, may attract cult activity. Specifically, in the case of hero cult, ritual activity may be centered on a grave; in the case of tomb-cults, graves feature prominently as well, but they predate the cult generally by at least five hundred years, and should therefore be ranked among the environmental attributes of the community inhabiting a certain territory. However, labeling the cult site on Mt. Hymettos (**Hymettos 1**) as a "peak sanctuary" seems to unduly favor the natural environment over the object of the cult, as if it was not also a "sanctuary of Zeus", or a place for ritual dining. Similarly, in the case of a "cave cult" the cave itself may only be a convenient place providing shelter to the cult of a god or hero, which would otherwise have been staged out in the open.[153] Calling it a "cave cult" makes it appear as though the cave itself was worshipped, which is not the case. It is thus best to refrain from such one-dimensional descriptions.

Since the evidence for a cult is often ambiguous and difficult to interpret, it is better to focus on a combination of cult features, both inherent in the cult and as part of the physical context in which it existed. It is often only through the combination of a certain type of pottery in a certain environment that we are led to assume a cultic setting. Such is the case at certain mountaintops,[154] where the pottery is of a particularly generic kind and offers little information about its use. It is only through the combination with cult-internal attributes, such as traces of sacrifice, and cult-external attributes, such as a shrine's physical setting, that we are brought to label

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late archaic period onward. One way of defining a hero-cult would be to classify this category according to the literary and epigraphical sources, most notably Pausanias, cf. Kearns, 1989. However, based on the archaeological sources, none of these cults can be shown to predate 600 BCE with certainty. Pausanias (1.32.2) mentions a hero Anchesmos, who may be connected with the cult site at Tourkovouni. There is, however, no evidence to proof that this hero existed as early as the seventh century BCE. The graffiti from Hymettos, finally, may indicate the worship of Herakles as early as ca. 700 BCE, cf. Langdon, 1976, 15, no. 9., 19, no. 9.

[153] This is the case at **Brauron 1** and **Parnes 1**.

[154] E.g. **Agrieliki** and **Megalo Mavrovouni**.

such sites as cultic. On their own these attributes would probably not suffice. These considerations have led to the following presentation of the cultic material.

5   Presentation

In presenting the evidence in the most consistent manner possible, it is necessary to maneuver through a quagmire of differing archaeological standards and contexts while moving from site to site. The objective is always first and foremost to present the information as reported by the excavating team in a manner that is intelligible as well as relevant to the research questions at hand. This means that the entries are not meant to be summaries of the excavation reports. I have tried to restrict interpretation in the entries to the archaeological data. Interpretations on the level of society have been pushed back to part 3 as much as possible. On the other hand, many interesting aspects, such as iconography and religious experience have not been fully treated here, because they do not pertain to the social interest of this research. Such matters are relevant only where they stand to contribute to the larger theme of this study.

Since it is convenient to classify sites in a somewhat consistent manner, the following recurring categories have been adopted in the presentation of the cult sites:

Heading   In general the conventional names of sites have been used as captions to the entries, as in the case of the renowned excavations (Agora, Academy, Kerameikos, Eleusis). A number of sites have been uncovered either in recent years or else have not received considerable attention. In these cases the modern topographical names have been used (i.e. Palaia Phokaia, Nea Ionia etc.). The sites in Athens proper are all listed in the following manner: **Athens – Acropolis 1**. The listing is alphabetical so as to present the material in the most neutral fashion possible, without preference for topography or later importance. The alternative possibility of presenting the material by date of origin is less attractive because these dates are often not clearly fixed and liable to change.

Context   In order to grasp the nature of a certain site at first glance, it is necessary to understand the nature of its environmental context. The context of a cult site may be related to the natural environment (caves, mountains, springs, promontories etc.) or the man-made environment (graves or architectural remains). In the latter case Bronze Age remains can be a powerful attraction

to cult activity. In some cases no physical or manmade context is immediately apparent, though it is obvious that the ritual remains are direct antecedents of a later cult, which is known by name. In such cases, the identity of the cult recipient is named here by default.

Date Many sites cannot be dated very precisely. The dates are usually presented in quarters of centuries. Since there is still considerable debate about the standard chronology, the dates mentioned here are meant to present the reader with a general idea of sequence. For the chronology used, cf. section 6, Table 1.

Location Further geographical details not immediately apparent from the entry heading are listed here. Reference is made to both ancient and modern settlements or landmarks. Sites on hills contain the height above sea level (i.e.: +367).

Pottery Ideally pottery sequences are presented in the most detailed fashion possible e.g. LG IIB. This level of detail, however, is not attainable at all sites. Where possible, shapes are added to the classification as in the following example: **(SG)** cups and skyphoi. The abbreviation stands for the class of pottery (in this case Subgeometric, cf. section 6, Table 3 and Table 4).

Finds These generally include votive material and cult equipment.

Sacrificial Remains Mentioned here are the residuals of burnt offerings/animal sacrifice, such as animal bone and teeth as well as ashes or charcoal.

Architecture The architecture consists of anything built in relation to the cultic proceedings. These include, among others the (ritual) banqueting halls, the temple of Athena on the Acropolis and the Telesterion at Eleusis, but also altars, retaining walls, *periboloi* etc.

Preliminary Reports These are the preliminary reports as published in Greek periodicals such as Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Χρονικά) (ArchDelt), Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρεία (Prakt), Το ᾿Εργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρεία (Ergon), Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς (AE) and Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτά εξ Αθηνών (AAA). Sometimes, and especially in the earlier years The Archaeological Review (AR), Archäologische Anzeiger (AA), Revue archéologique (RA) and Bulletin de correspondence hellénique (BCH) have recorded excavations

not mentioned elsewhere. References are directly to the periodicals in which they have appeared and do not refer to the general bibliography.

Excavation Reports Most often these reports cover the results of one excavation season. They are frequently published in the Greek journals mentioned above. Foreign journals include the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA*), *Hesperia, Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* (*BCH*) and *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiani in Oriente* (*ASAtene*). References are directly to the periodicals in which they have appeared and do not refer to the general bibliography.

Summaries These are mostly the yearly reports in the *AR*, *BCH* and in the more recent years these reports have mostly been restricted to summaries of preliminary reports, most notably *ArchDelt*. References are directly to the periodicals in which they have appeared and do not refer to the general bibliography.

Main publication A minority of all listed sites has been fully published, either in a monograph or in a periodical. When available these discussions are generally the most valuable source of information about a site. References correspond to the general bibliography.

Bibliography This full list of bibliographical references contains references to the listed site not directly related to the actual excavations. References correspond to the general bibliography.

These listings are followed by a discussion of the general qualities of the site as well as those details relevant for the type of questions raised in this research. Throughout, the text is cross-referenced and explained with illustrations that are relevant for a good understanding of the material and include plans, restoration drawings and photographs of sites and objects. The spelling of personal and geographical names has been kept in accordance with Greek transliteration, except where the latinized versions have become standardized (Actium, Athens, Cleisthenes, Eleusis etc.). Otherwise the standard practice of the Oxford Classical Dictionary has been followed.[155]

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[155] Hornblower and Spawforth, 1996 (3rd edition).

6   Chronology and Abbreviations

The chronology presented here is meant strictly for convenience and as such adheres to the standard chronologies commonly in use.[156] The Late Helladic sequences are derived from Penelope Mountjoy's study of the material from that period.[157] The Protogeometric sequence is derived from that of Vincent Desborough,[158] that of the Geometric Period from Nicholas Coldstream.[159]

Table 3 – Chronology and abbreviations of the main periods discussed in the text

Period	Subdivisions	Absolute Dates	Abbreviation
Bronze Age (BA)	Early Helladic	ca. 2800-2100	EH
	Middle Helladic	ca. 2100-1550	MH
	Late Helladic I	ca. 1550-1500	LH I
	Late Helladic II	ca. 1500-1400	LH II
	Late Helladic III A	ca. 1400-1300	LH IIIA
	Late Helladic III B	ca. 1300-1190	LH IIIB
	Late Helladic III C	ca. 1190-1075	LH IIIC
	Submycenaean	ca. 1075-1025	SM
Early Iron Age (EIA)	Early Protogeometric	ca. 1025-1000	EPG
	Middle Protogeometric	ca. 1000-960	MPG
	Late Protogeometric	ca. 960-900	LPG
	Early Geometric	ca. 900-850	EG
	Middle Geometric I	ca. 850-800	MG I
	Middle Geometric II	ca. 800-760	MG II
	Late Geometric I	ca. 760-735	LG I
	Late Geometric IIA	ca. 735-720	LG IIA
	Late Geometric IIB	ca. 720-700	LG IIB
Archaic		ca. 700-480	A
	Early Archaic	ca. 700-600	EA
Classical		480-338	Cl
Hellenistic		338-31	H
Roman		31-565 (AD)	R

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[156] For a cursory overview of BA and EIA Chronology, cf. Dickinson, 2006, 20-23.
[157] Mountjoy, 1995.
[158] Desborough, 1952
[159] Coldstream, 1968.

Table 4 – Abbreviations of other pottery styles			
Attic Styles			
SG	Subgeometric		ca. 710-630
PA	Protoattic	"Orientalizing"	ca. 710-610
EPA	Early Protoattic		ca. 710-680
MPA	Middle Protoattic	"Black and White Style"	ca. 680-650
LPA	Late Protoattic		ca. 650-610
BF	Black Figure		ca. 610-450
EBF	Early Black Figure	"Corinthianizing"	ca. 610-550
RF	Red Figure		ca. 525-320
Corinthian Styles			
EPC	Early Protocorinthian		ca. 725-700
MPC	Middle Protocorinthian		ca. 700-650
LPC	Late Protocorinthian		ca. 650-625
EC	Early Corinthian		ca. 625-600
MC	Middle Corinthian		ca. 600-575
LC	Late Corinthian		ca. 575-550
Regional Orientalizing Styles			
Arg	Argive		ca. 725-600
EastG	East Greek		ca. 725-600
B	Boeotian		ca. 725-600
Cr	Cretan		ca. 725-600
Th	Theran		ca. 725-600
Sam	Samian		ca. 725-600
Mil	Milesian		ca. 725-600
Other			
BG	Black Glaze		From 6th c.

It should be noted that all these dates are approximations and some have been heavily contested.[160] The date as well as the existence of the Subgeometric Period has been called into question.[161] The end of the Protogeometric Period ca. 900 BCE is conventional, but relatively weak.[162] Finally, the absolute dates of the Middle and especially the Late Geometric periods have been the subject of renewed interest, the former being pushed back by some, the latter being pushed forward.[163]

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[160] Dickinson, 2006, 22.
[161] Rutter, 1978.
[162] Dickinson, 2006, 22.
[163] Dickinson, 2006, 22.

7   A Short Note on Collecting the Material

The ideal approach for a study such as this would be to visit each site and study all the remains that are stored in the many depots around the Attic peninsula. Unfortunately, the massive amount of votives and the great number of individual sites have made it impossible to do just that. I have visited many sites where possible for autopsy and looked at the material where it was readily at hand. Nevertheless, a good deal of the material has been collected from the excavation reports, especially from the more recent years.

While this study is the first to bring together all the cultic evidence from Attica predating 600 BCE, it is indebted to many investigations that have been undertaken at a smaller scale. A number of general surveys have appeared in the last two decades, the most complete of which have been the listings by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, Andrea Mersch, Robin Osborne, Anna Maria d'Onofrio and Ian Morris.[164] Surveys of particular classes of cults have been helpful as well. Important to mention are the works of Carla Antonaccio, David Boehringer and Herbert Abramson on hero cults,[165] that of Merle Langdon and Hans Lohmann on peak shrines,[166] Jere Wickens' catalogue of Attic caves,[167] Hans Lauter's study of Attic dining halls[168] and Michael Küper's treatment of the seventh century votive figurines known as "Stempelidole".[169] Furthermore the many archaeological reports (*AR*, *BCH*, *ArchDelt*, *AA*), as well as the extensive publications in the Agora and Kerameikos series have been indispensible in the compilation of these entries. Finally, I have to thank Jere Wickens and Michael Laughy, both experts of the Attic (sacred) landscape, for some additional references.

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[164] D'Onofrio, 1997; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997; Mersch, 1996; Osborne, 1989; Morris, 1987. The lists of Morris and d'Onofrio pertain to the Geometric period only, that of Osborne to the seventh century. Other general survey lists have been presented by Whitley, 2001; Langdon, 1997a; Parker, 1996; Snodgrass, 1982a.

[165] Boehringer, 2001; Antonaccio, 1995; Abramson, 1978.

[166] Lohmann, 1993; Langdon, 1976. Lohman's is a list of all archaeological sites in southern Attica, but contains a few cult sites not mentioned elsewhere.

[167] Wickens, 1986. I am grateful to Jere Wickens for discussing with me several issues regarding the Attic cave shrines.

[168] Lauter, 1985a, 159-169.

[169] Küper, 1990. Cf. also Appendix B.

Chapter 4

The Cult Sites of Attica

In this chapter all the evidence for cult activity in Attica for the period 1000-600 BCE has been collected and analysed. Section 1 contains all cult sites that adhere to the criteria set out in chapter 3. Those sites that cannot be identified with certainty have been relegated to section 2. Finally, the appendix in section 3 lists some possible votive finds without a clear archaeological context.

1 Main List

1.1 Academy 1

Context:	none
Date:	ca. 900 BCE[170]
Location:	in the general area of the Classical Academy, ca. 150 m SW of the Geometric Building (see Academy 2)
Pottery:	(**LPG-EG I**) ca. 200 kantharoi
Preliminary report:	Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ergon* (1958), 9, pl. 5.
Excavation report:	Stavropoullos, 1958, 8-9, pl. 6.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 142, n. 971, and 315; Antonaccio, 1995, 188; Wickens, 1986, vol. I, 160; Coldstream, 1977, 347; Snodgrass, 1971, 398; Desborough, 1952, pl. 12, nos. 2031, 2026.

Ca. 200 EG I kantharoi were excavated with no contextual evidence (Figure 1 and Figure 2). They were carefully placed in rows no more than 10 m in extent, one inside the other and resting on a layer of ashes.[171] This seems to be the result of some kind of early ritual activity, though it is difficult to understand its content or the sacred

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[170] The cups have traditionally been dated to the PG period, cf. Snodgrass, 1971, 398 and Antonaccio, 1995, 188. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 142 and 315 believes that they represent the stock of a potter's shop. This seems unlikely because there were ashes found between the remains.

[171] Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* (1959), 8-9. A ritual context connected with Akademos, as Stavropoulos thought, does not seem likely, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 142.

context in which it took place – the cups indicate some kind of libation ritual, while the ashes hint at sacrifice. Mazarakis Ainian has proposed that the Kantharoi are a stock from a potter's shop, which could perhaps account for the ashes.[172] The careful deposition seems to speak against the intentional destruction of such a workshop and it is unclear why such a large amount of pottery would remain untouched and in storage. The best solution is probably to interpret the kantharoi as consecrated votives in a sacrificial context, though no certainty is possible here.

It has been suggested that the cult, focused on the Geometric Building (**Academy 2**), ca. 150 m to the NE, originated in whatever rituals were responsible for the deposition of these kantharoi, but no positive evidence has been adduced to substantiate such claims.[173] I will argue below (section 1.2.1) that in neither instance a connection can be established with the hero Akademos/Hekademos, based on the present state of the evidence. While it seems certain that the kantharoi were intended to serve at some type of ritualized banquet, it is impossible to judge to what degree, if at all, such a banquet was associated with the gods and therefore merits the label cultic.

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[172] Cf. note 170.
[173] Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* (1959), 8-9, cf. Coldstream, 1977, 347.

Figure 1 – EG I Cup from the Academy area.

**Figure 2 – PG/EG I kantharoi as found *in situ*.**
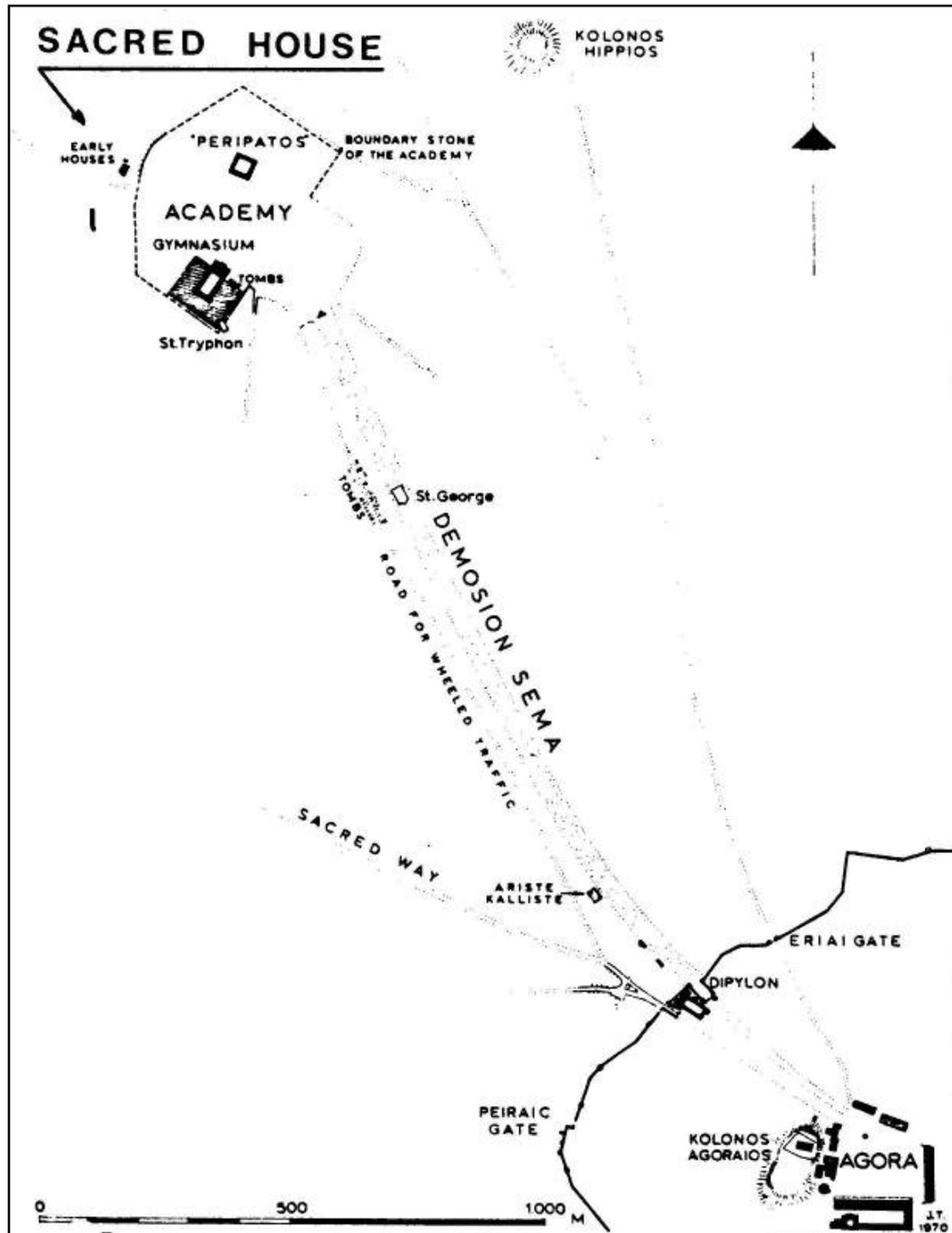
Figure 3 – Location of the Geometric Building (Sacred House) in relation to the classical Academy and the city of Athens.
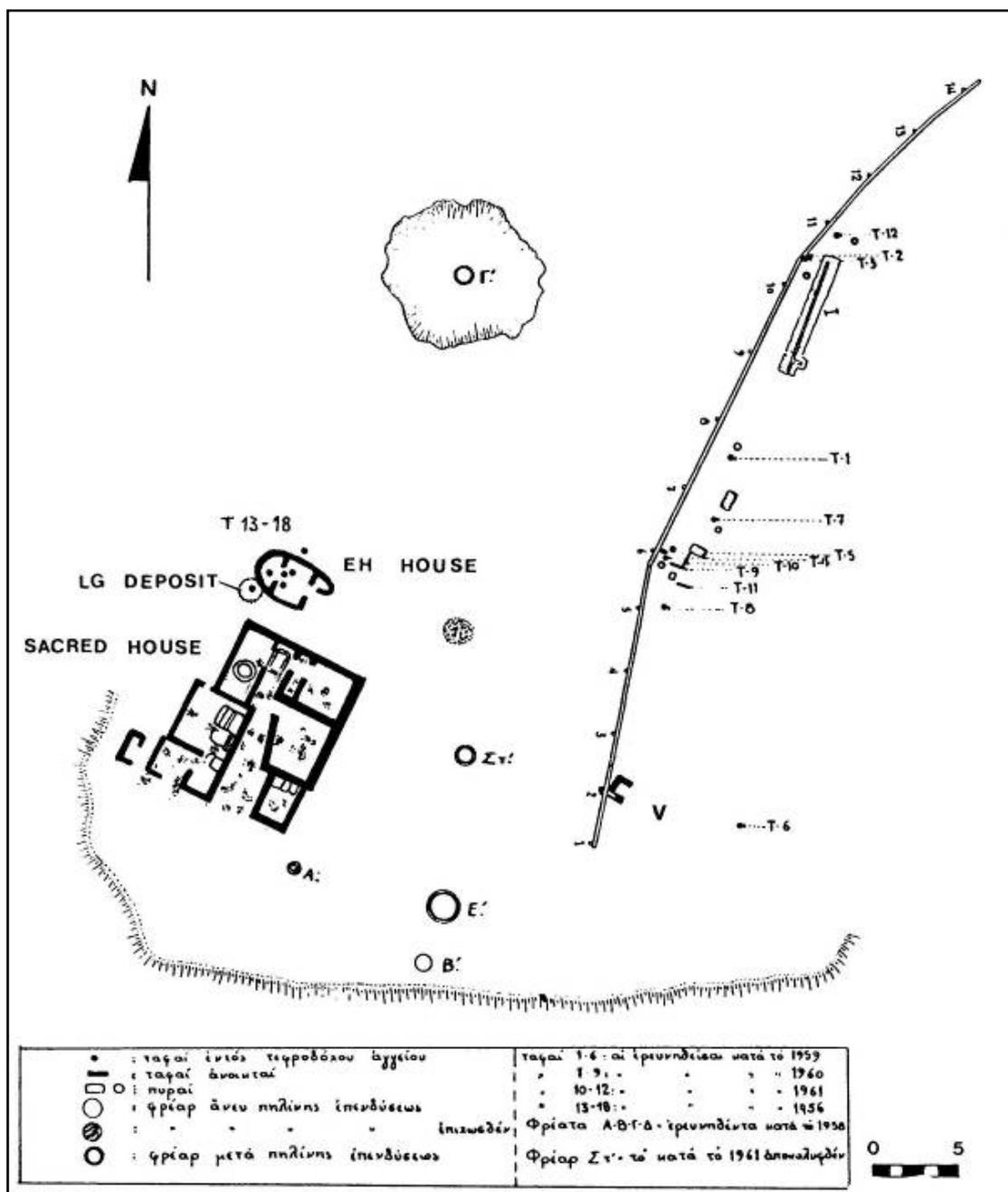
Figure 4 – General plan of the NW border of the classical Academy with EH House, Geometric Sacred House and Pi-shaped liminal chapel.

1.2   Academy 2

Context:	EH apsidal building; LG-EA cemetery
Date:	ca. 725 – 600 BCE (child burials LG I)
Location:	The remains of the LG building are situated ca. one kilometer NW of the Dipylon gate, just outside (W) of the classical *peribolos* wall of Plato's Academy.[174]
Architecture:	LG building with seven rooms on either side of a narrow central corridor; maximum extensions: 14.80 m (N-S) and 17.70 m (E-W); walls preserved to a height of 0.90m and composed almost entirely of mud brick. Adapted from an earlier and smaller LG complex, consisting of a unit with main room and anteroom as well as a large subsidiary room (Figure 7), maximum extensions: 11 m (N-S) and 11.50 m (E-W); mud brick walls preserved to a height of 0.90 m.
Pottery:	(**LG II - SG**) lekanai, oinochoai, skyphoi, pyxides, kraters (from pyres)[175]
Sacrificial remains:	pyre material included ashes, charcoal, animal bone, seashells, spindle whorls, an iron knife and the pottery mentioned above.
Excavation report:	Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1958, 5-13, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-5.
Related reports:	Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1956, 53-54, pl. 4α (remains of EH house); *Ergon* 1956, 10-13; *Ergon* 1958, 5-9; *Ergon* 1960, 8-10; *Prakt* 1961, 8-10, pls. 1β-3β; 1962, 5-7, pl. 1; *Ergon* 1961, 5-9; *Ergon* 1962, 5.
Summaries:	Ph. Stavropoulos, *ArchDelt* 16B, 1960, 33-5, pl. 32; *ArchDelt* 17B, 1961/2, 20-21, pl. 21,β; G. Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959), 576-582; 84 (1960), 644-646; 85 (1961), 616-618; 86 (1962) 654-657; 88 (1964), 682-693.

Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 16, 21.

1.2.1   Cult Recipient and the Bronze Age Remains

The first excavator of the extensive site of Plato's Academy, Ph. Stavropoulos, believed that the Late Geometric building was connected with the cult of Hekademos

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[174] For an overview of all the functions and buildings assigned to the larger Academy area cf. Binder, 1976, 4 s.v. Akademeia.

[175] Excavation diary, 208, 318, 325, 322, 325 cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 957.

(Akademos), because of its proximity to the classical sanctuary (Figure 4)[176] and that it was preceded by the deposit of a great number of Protogeometric or Early Geometric kylikes found ca. 150 m to the SW (cf. **Academy 1** and Figure 2 above). Just a few meters to the north of the building an Early Helladic apsidal building was found (Figure 5), which Stavropoulos claimed was the dead hero's house.[177] The cremated remains of six children have been found buried over the house and have been dated to the LG I Period.[178]

Anthony Snodgrass has argued that such juxtapositions represent a deliberate attempt to appropriate the past and to forge claims of historical legitimacy, in which case the ruins must have been still visible when the Geometric Building was constructed.[179] In this light, the proximity of the two buildings at the Academy would reveal a conscious effort to link the (EH) past with the Late Geometric present. Following Snodgrass' view, the cult at the LG building seems to have originated in the need to seek the hero's approval for the occupation of the land and to establish a legitimate claim over it.[180]

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[176] The building's excavator, P. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1956, 53-54 and *Prakt* 1958, 9, first made the connection between Hekademos and the LG house. Cf. Snodgrass, 1982b, 111-112. Although the precise limits of the sanctuary have not been conclusively established, a 5th century marker stone, reading (hó]ρος τε̃ς hεκαδεμείας), and the much later *peribolos* wall found nearby suggest that the sanctuary was situated at close range, cf. Travlos, 1971a, s.v. Akademie. It has to be noted, however, that the LG building is situated outside the area enclosed by the wall, cf. below.

[177] Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1956, 53-54, pl. 4α; *ArchDelt* 16 B, 1960, 34, pl. 32α.

[178] Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1956, 49-51. For the date of the remains, see Coldstream, 1968, 399.

[179] This view was expounded in a number of essays, cf. Snodgrass, 1988; Snodgrass, 1987/1989; Snodgrass, 1982b.

[180] Snodgrass was followed by Coldstream, 1976 and Abramson, 1978, 188. A deliberate link between the two buildings was, however, first posited by Stavropoulos cf. n. 176, but he presented no material evidence to prove that the EH building was still known to its geometric neighbors, cf. also Abramson, 1978, 188; Coldstream, 1976; Snodgrass, 1971, 398.
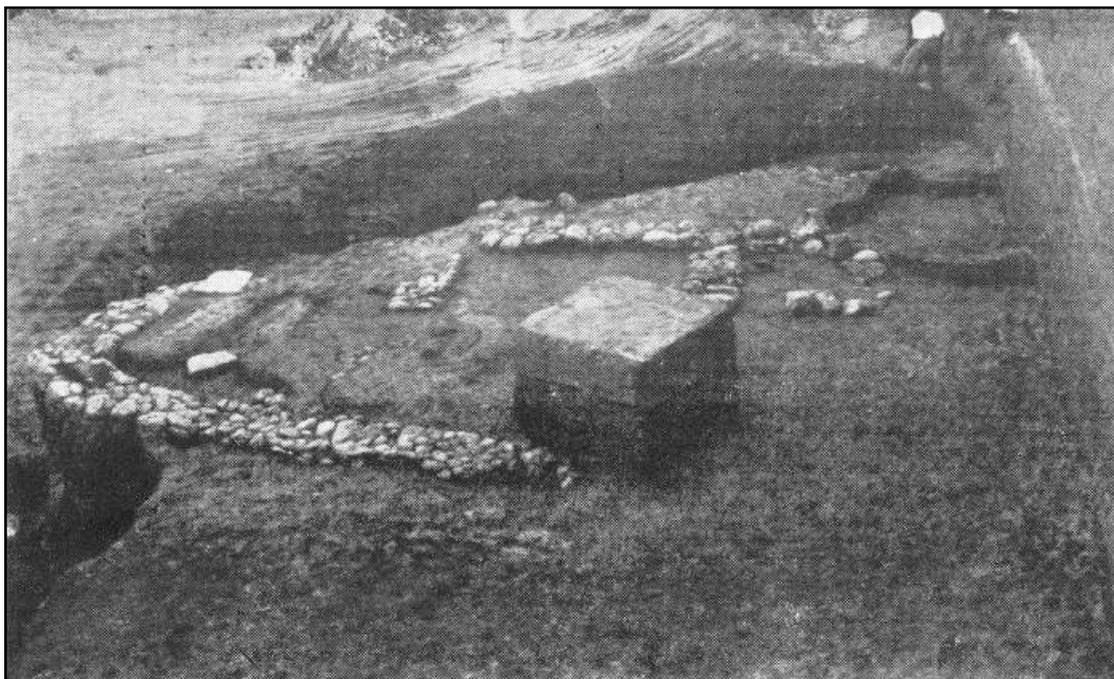
Figure 5 – Remains of the Early Helladic House adjacent to the Geometric Building, from north.

A number of scholars have argued against this, as it is difficult to understand how the Early Helladic ruins remained visible after a period of disuse lasting well over a millennium.[181] However, I believe that the juxtaposition of the two buildings is too poignant to be ascribed to mere coincidence. Early Helladic architecture is rare and to explain the remains of that period beside our cult building requires too large a strain on random probability. Furthermore, we can safely rule out the possibility that the children's burials, precisely over the apsidal house, occurred through sheer chance. Ian Morris has shown that children's burials are increasingly rare during this period (LG I)[182] and as such I am inclined to argue that they fit well in a ritual context. In other words, the sub-adult burials appear to represent a conscious attempt to establish a link between the occupants of the Geometric Building and the imagined "hero" of the (ruined) EH apsidal building. Finally, the later building seems to be deliberately constructed with an eye on the earlier building's orientation (Figure 4).

Stavropoulos' contention that this cult is connected to LPG/EG kantharoi (**Academy 1**) is more difficult to follow. For why were they not deposited near the prime object of veneration? Also, his attribution of the cult to Hekademos is

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[181] In particular, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 142 has been sceptical. As is often the case with Early Helladic architecture, this site does not appear to have been used during the intervening period. Boehringer, 2001, 77, n. 3 discounts hero cult, favoring a cult of the dead.
[182] Morris, 1987, 61-62.
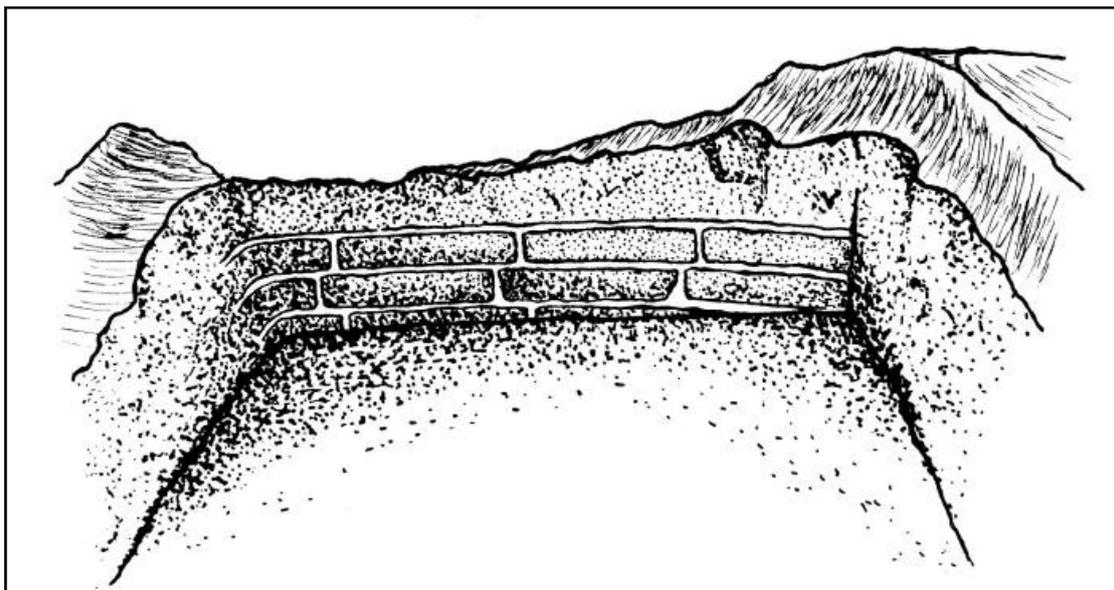
Figure 6 – Sketch of the mud brick tiles in the walls in Room A.

problematic.[183] First, there is no hard evidence of his cult before the Late Archaic Period.[184] Beazley restored an inscribed black figure sherd from the Agora as HEKA[ΔΗΜΟΣ].[185] The sherd dates to the second quarter of the 6th century and bears no relation to the geometric house. Plutarch is our only source for the cult of Akademos but makes no reference to the origins of his cult.[186] Furthermore, the remains were found outside the substantial area enclosed by the walls of the classical Academy (Figure 4),[187] implying a shift in the cult's spatial focus that is difficult to understand. Thus, for the moment, it appears safest to approach these remains without a definite identification, especially since the matter does not specifically concern us here.

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[183] Abramson follows Stavropoulos' visibility theory, but is skeptical about the connection with Hekademos, cf. also Whitley, 1988; Coldstream, 1976.

[184] Suidas, *s.v.* τὸ Ἱππάρχου Τειχίον, attributes the construction of a wall around the sanctuary to Hipparchos.

[185] Beazley, 1956, 27, nr. 36.

[186] Plutarch (*Thes.* 32.2). See also Kron, 1979, 55-8. For Hekademos/Akademos in literary testimonia see Kearns, 1989, 157.

[187] Cf. Kron, 1979, 57.
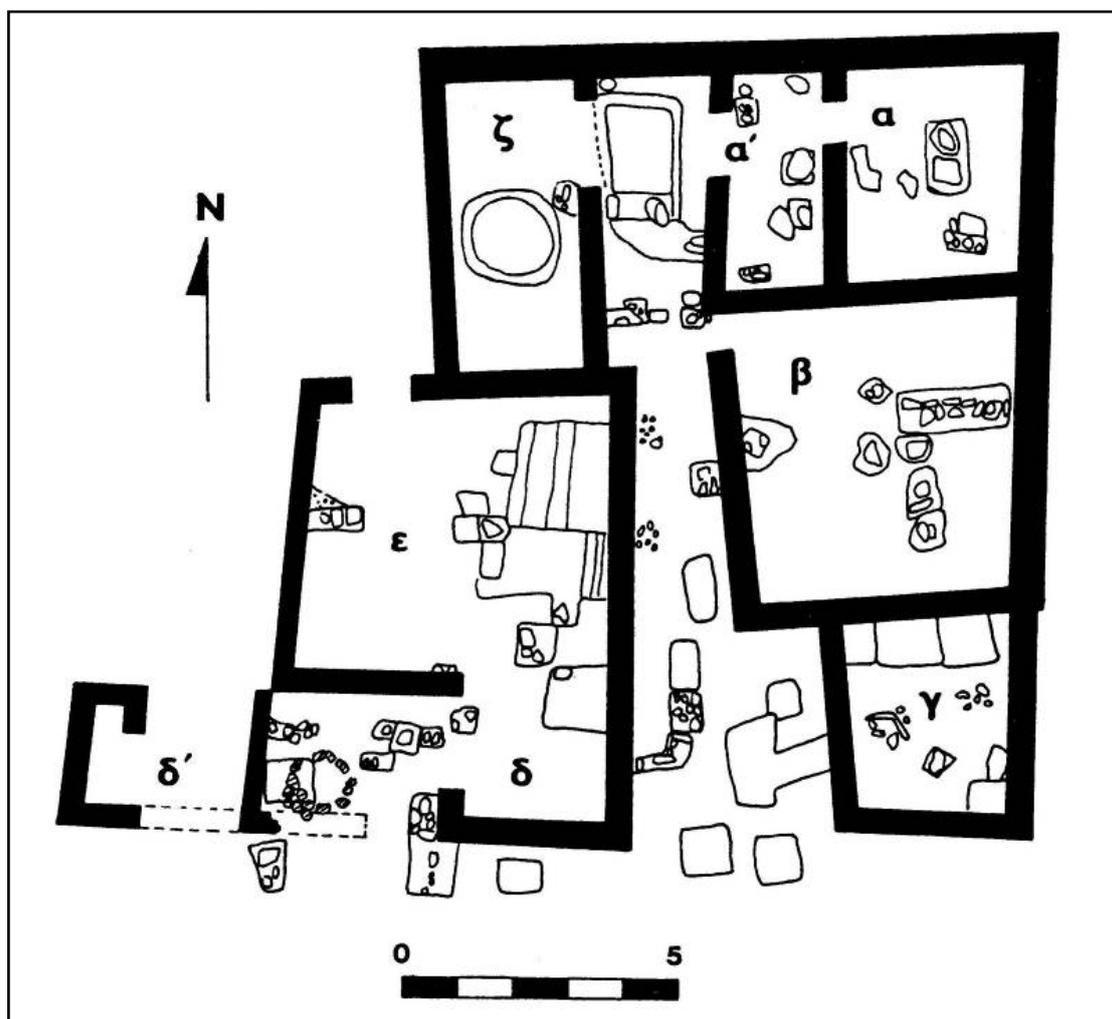
Figure 7 – State plan of the Geometric Building with indicated sacred remains.

1.2.2 Architecture

The building consists of seven rooms, arranged in an irregular fashion on either side of a small hallway running N-S (Figure 7). Its maximum exterior dimensions are 14.80 x 17.70 m. In most places the walls remain well-preserved up to a height of ca. 0.90 m, consisting entirely of mud brick, with no stone (rubble) socle (Figure 6),[188] a unique feature in geometric – early archaic Attica.[189] The excellent preservation of the walls seems to be the result of the fast rise of surface levels due to the deposition of pyre material (mostly ashes and pottery). As the building fell out of use at the end of the seventh century, the upper layer had more or less reached the present height of the

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[188] Exceptions are two walls of room β and the wall of room δ', cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 947.

[189] Indeed a unique feature in EIA architecture across Greece, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 947. The most obvious examples of stone-based architecture in Attica are **Athens Areopagus 1**, **Eleusis 3**, **Hymettos 1**, **Lathouriza 1** and **Tourkovouni**.
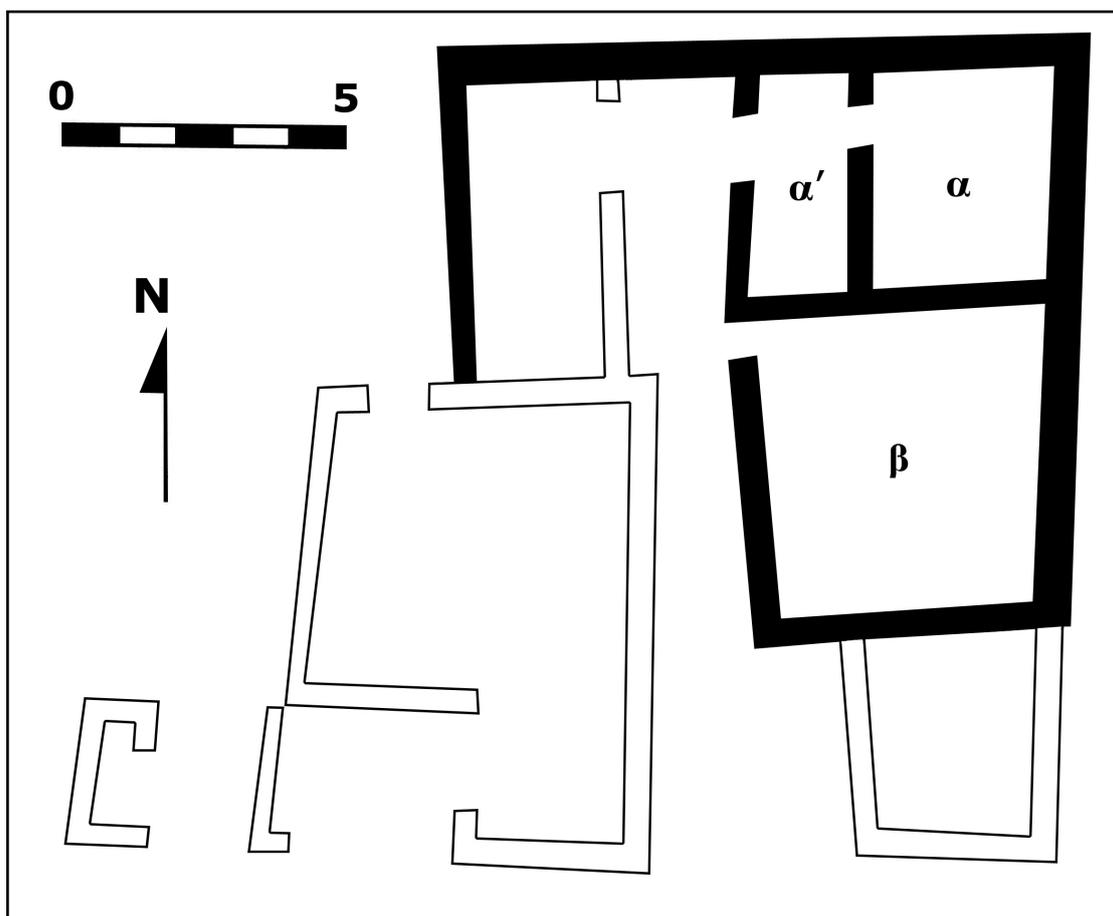
Figure 8 – Plan of the Geometric Building with architectural phase 1 indicated in black. Phase 2 additions are indicated in outline.

walls, thus effectively shielding them from (further) deterioration.[190] In fact, at some places the ashy layers covered parts of the walls, suggesting that some of the rooms may never have been roofed, the walls serving as simple parapets, demarcating several distinct (ritual) spaces. Indeed, it has been suggested that all rooms could have been hypaethral.[191] This, however, seems unlikely when we take a closer look at the building's state plan (Figure 7). The off-center doorways suggest that wooden posts were incorporated in the central part of the cross-walls, which would be consistent with a (thatched) roof covering unit α-α'. A similar argument has been made for unit XVIII at **Lathouriza 1**.[192]

A close analysis of the building's construction shows that the rooms were deliberately organized around an original nucleus consisting of α-α' and β (phase 1). The other rooms, γ, δ and ε appear to be later additions (phase 2).[193] The north and eastern walls of the former are constructed solidly in a consistent course, while the

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[190] The impressive rise in surface level can be observed on the photograph in *Prakt* 1962, pl. 2α, cf. also Figure 9 and Figure 11.
[191] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 142.
[192] Lauter, 1985b, 34-37. Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141.
[193] As argued by Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141.

walls of the other rooms were put up in a rather irregular fashion suggesting construction at a later date.[194] The lower layers that contained pyre material in fact extended underneath the walls of some of the western rooms (δ, δ' and ε), confirming that these rooms were later additions.[195] As I will argue below, this phased construction may be connected with a change in function.

1.2.3 Architectural phase 1

The original structure, consisting of α-α', β and perhaps ζ, bears definite resemblance to a residential unit (cf. **Athens - Agora 1**, building A). The layout of α-α' is of a standard type, consisting of a main room and an anteroom (*thalamos* and *prothalamos*), which is often referred to as "oikos" or "megaron". The form is reminiscent of residential buildings from this and later periods in Attica and elsewhere, though the terminology is either unnecessarily confusing or anachronistic and is thus best avoided.[196] At **Lathouriza 1** (unit I), we find a somewhat similar setup as part of a larger building, which has been styled the "Ruler's dwelling". At **Thorikos 1** a similar type building shows no evidence of cult activity. This type, consisting of a room and an anteroom, has frequently been associated with the abodes ("megara") of the ruling class in EIA Greece.[197] The simple "oikos-type" with anteroom is therefore better associated with a domestic than a cultic function.

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[194] Note, for instance, the joining of walls in the NE corner of room γ, the NE corner of room ε and the SE corner of room δ.

[195] From Stavropoulos' excavation diary, p. 316, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 959.

[196] The term "megaron" is derived from the great banqueting halls ("Megara") in Homer, cf. van Wees, 1995. For early architecture commonly referred to as "megaron" style, see Hoepfner et al., 1996, 141 (Smyrna), 159-162 (Emporio). In the Classical Period the main room with anteroom is sometimes used as the livingroom ("oikos") even if it is incorporated in a larger "pastas" house as at Priene or Olynthos, cf. Hoepfner et al., 1996, 274, 345. This has led to the application of the term "oikos", with its confusing parallel meaning of "nucleated family", to "primordial" Greek domestic architecture. Since this view is unnecessarily primitivist and essentialist, the term "oikos" is best avoided when referring to architecture. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, Tables I-VIII, esp. V uses the term "oikos" for closed buildings, as opposed to "anta-buildings".

[197] It has to be noted that Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 260, in his exhaustive study of building types, collected a few dozen examples of this type of building throughout Greece, showing that this type was used for cultic as well as domestic ends, none of the buildings that have yielded cultic material were found in Attica. Note that the fact that a number of the so-called sacred buildings ("*hierai oikiai*") consist of agglomerations of multiple rooms (rather than the distinct, freestanding units we find elsewhere) is a remarkable feature of Early Attic architecture.

Figure 9 – Room ε from west. Pedestalled pyre remains.

Thus, a mixture of domestic and ritual use may characterize the initial phase of the Geometric Building at the Academy, followed by a period of consistent ritual use, as is apparent by the deposition of pyres throughout the building. This gradual ritualization of the building seems to have required the construction of the additional (unroofed) enclosures γ, δ and ε.[198] The north and eastern walls of the original nucleus are constructed solidly in a consistent course, while the walls of the other rooms were put up in a rather irregular fashion suggesting construction at a later date (Figure 8).[199] The main focus of the first phase appears to have been unit α-α' with a main room and anteroom. This type of structure generally represents the main living space in geometric and archaic architecture, but extends basically throughout the rest of antiquity.[200] The off-center doorways suggest that wooden posts were incorporated in the central part of the cross-walls, which would be consistent with a (thatched) roof covering unit α-α'. A similar argument has been made for unit XVIII at **Lathouriza 1**.[201]

A second, rather larger enclosure (β) lay to the south and may have had a subsidiary function, such as storage or industry. However, the relatively large area circumscribed by its walls, suggests that it may have been an open courtyard (Figure 10).

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[198] As argued by Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141.
[199] Note, for instance, the joining of walls in the NE corner of room γ, the NE corner of room ε and the SE corner of room δ.
[200] Hoepfner, 1999; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 260.
[201] Lauter, 1985b, 34-37. Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141.
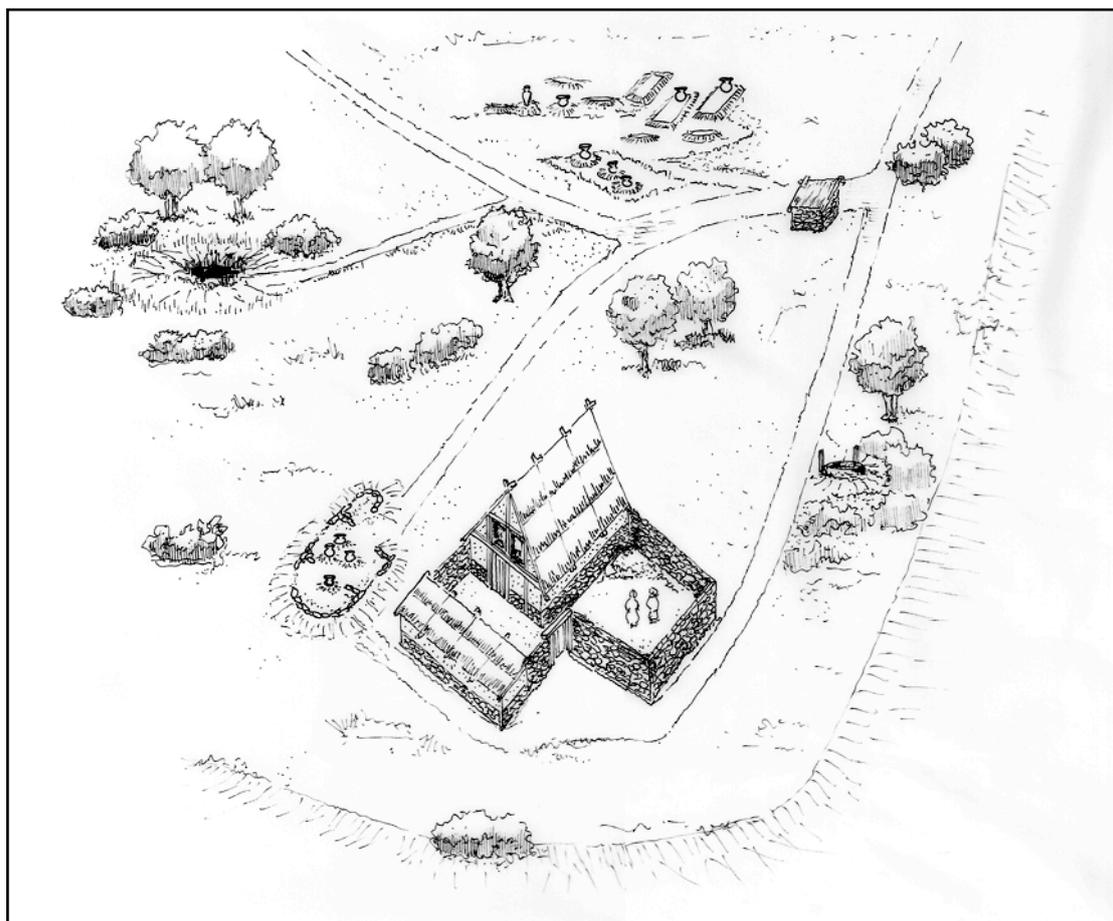
Figure 10 – Impression of the Geometric Building and its surroundings at the Academy (phase 1), ca. 700 BCE.

The area to the west of these three rooms is less certain. The first ashy layers containing pyre material extend underneath many of the walls and rooms on that side. This clearly means that these rooms or enclosures were added at a later time when the deposition of pyre material had already begun.[202] From the ground plan of the Geometric building (Figure 8) it is apparent how this remodeling was carried out. At some point these new walls were added, presumably in response to the increasing ritual function of the building. In several places ashy layers were found covering these walls, suggesting that some of the added rooms may never have been roofed, the walls serving as simple parapets, demarcating several distinct (ritual) spaces. Originally, however, the building would have had the appearance of a farmstead, somewhat similar to the one excavated in the Agora (**Athens – Agora 1**, Figure 26), though considerably smaller.

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[202] The lower layers that contained pyre material in fact extended underneath the walls of some of the western rooms (δ, δ' and ζ), confirming that these rooms were later additions. See comments about Stavropoulos' excavation diary, p. 316 in Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 959.

Figure 11 – Remains of the Geometric building at the Academy from west.

The reconstructed ground plan (Figure 8, darkened walls) of the building suggests that the area to the west of rooms α-α' and β was used as a courtyard, perhaps with a simple roof covering its western part. Further reconstruction of the building is difficult. Figure 10 gives an impression of what the farmstead may have looked like. The conjectural entrance to the south is based on the situation of the building with regard to the main access route from Athens, which may well have run by the small "chapel", situated ca. 15-20 m east of the Geometric Building.

In most places the walls were preserved up to a height of ca. 0.90 m. They consist entirely of mud brick.[203] This represents a unique feature among preserved examples of geometric and early archaic architecture in Attica, as all known buildings from this period were constructed on a stone (rubble) socle.[204] For this reason it is unnecessary to suppose that the method of construction was unique among contemporary architecture. In fact, mud brick seems to have been the principle means of construction, accounting for the scarcity of architectural remains during this period. We are thus at the Academy in a unique position to catch a glimpse of this, undoubtedly massive, part of architecture missing from the records. There is no marked difference with contemporary buildings with stone foundations in Attica, where mostly rectangular, agglutinative buildings are the norm.[205]

Stavropoulos posited that in antiquity the EH building immediately north was considered to be the dwelling of Hekademos/Akademos and that the remains inspired a hero cult at the Geometric Building.[206] As I have argued above, it cannot be securely proven that the people who made use of the building worshipped this hero. However, the EH building itself does seem to have been the main reason for the first inhabitants

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[203] Exceptions are two walls of room β and the wall of room δ', cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 947.
[204] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 947.
[205] Cf. **Anavyssos 2**, **Athens – Agora 1**, **Eleusis 3**, **Lathouriza 1** and **Thorikos 1**. For the use of rubble vs. mud brick masonry, cf. chapter 7.5.2.
[206] P. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1956, 53-54 and *Prakt* 1958, 9.

to construct the Geometric Building at precisely this location. Their immediate proximity cannot be ascribed to mere coincidence. Thus, it appears that, from the LG Period, human presence at this site was dictated by ideological considerations. The first "domestic" phase then revolved to a large degree around the desire of a group of people to stage feasts in the vicinity of a legendary ancestor. Whether or not the building was actually used as a residence cannot be determined.

1.2.4 Architectural Phase 2

Given the extensive evidence from the pyres found during the excavations, we may gather that the building was gradually turned into a sacred space between ca. 700 and 650 BCE, when a similar shift toward sacralization can be seen at **Eleusis 3**. It stands to reason that this shift coincided with the addition of hypaethral rooms γ, δ and ε.

Stavropoulos reported five layers of ashes inside the building. These layers and a large number of individual pyres represent the principal evidence that the building was used for ritual purposes.[207] The pictures from the original excavation reports reveal that these pyres were dispersed more or less evenly throughout the building (Figure 9 and Figure 11, cf. Figure 7)[208]. It seems therefore that we should understand the deposits as the result of a great number of offerings taking place at random locations inside the building, rather than a few depositions covering the entire building, with one layer neatly placed over the other. As a rule, the ashy patches were covered with another layer of clean earth. A small marker was set up over these pyres, consisting merely of a few unworked stones (Figure 9).[209]

It has already been mentioned that the lowest layer extended below the wall foundations of rooms δ, δ' and ζ, suggesting that it was deposited after the construction of the original nucleus of the building, consisting of rooms α-α' and β. This lowest layer was found resting on sterile soil, which in turn covered an EH stratum,[210] indicating that the place was not occupied during the intervening period. Stavropoulos dated the pottery to the Late Geometric Period,[211] but since the material has never been published some caution is called for. At least one individual pyre appears to have been consecrated ca. 600 BCE,[212] suggesting that the rituals were performed throughout the seventh century. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that Stavropoulos' dating is wrong and that the pottery from the upper layers, in fact, belongs to the seventh century, as the distinction between LG and SG is sometimes difficult to make and is thus often confused.

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[207] *ArchDelt* 17 (1961/1962) Chron., 21.
[208] E.g. *Prakt* (1958), 6, fig. 2 and pls. 3-5.
[209] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141.
[210] Stavropoullos, 1958, 7-8.
[211] Stavropoulos, *Prakt* (1958), 6-7.
[212] Stavropoulos, *Prakt* (1962), 7, pls. 2α and 3α; *Ergon* (1962), 7-8, fig. 4.

Figure 12 - Circular depression in room ζ.

The calcined animal bones (found in the ashes) indicate that fire rituals were performed throughout the building.[213] Other finds include seashells and broken vessels, a common feature found in sacrificial debris elsewhere in Attica.[214] The pottery consists mostly of lekanai, oinochoai and skyphoi, although large kraters and pyxides have been reported as well.[215] Various other features inside the building can be connected with ritual activity. Stavropoulos identified a circular hearth (eschara) in room ζ, 1.50 m in diameter (Figure 12), presumably a hearth or altar, as it was found to contain four distinct layers of ashes, including animal bone and "geometric pottery".[216] Outside room ζ and opposite unit α-α' in the northern extension of the corridor another hearth was found of rectangular shape made of mud bricks.[217] The iron knife found nearby[218] may well have been used to cut the meat in advance of the offering itself. In room ε two parallel drains, coated with clay, ran N-S along the

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[213] Excavation diary, 322, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 955. The fact that the bones were reported to be calcined has been taken as evidence that the animals were burned in a holocaustic fashion, *ibid.*, 303-304, 325, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 956. Gunnel Ekroth (pc) contents that this cannot be said unless it is known from which part of the animal the bones derived. A thysia generally results in calcined bones.

[214] Cf. **Eleusis 3**.

[215] *Prakt* (1958), 8. Cf. also Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 957.

[216] *Prakt* (1958), 8, pl. 4α. Note his use of the word ἐσχάρα on p. 8 and βωμός in fig. 2. Lauter, 1985a, 159-160 claims that the impression was the result of the removal of a pithos (cf. also Fagerström, 1988, 46, 137), but that it was later used as a receptacle of ashes. This interpretation has the disadvantage of requiring a change in function, for which we have no positive evidence. It appears especially unlikely in light of the abundance of offering debris throughout the building and seems to arise from a preconceived notion that the building, as it was uncovered in its entirety, had a profane function, cf. also Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141. For the reference of the animal bone mentioned as well as the date of the pottery see Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141 (n. 948, excavation diary, 316).

[217] Excavation diary, 284, 300-306, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 950.

[218] Excavation diary, 301, 306, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 141, n. 951.

eastern wall (Figure 7).[219] The excavator interpreted them as drains for blood sacrifice.

Hans Lauter favors a profane function of the circular depression in room ζ. Rather than it having been used as a hearth, he argues that the installation represents a "bothros" for industrial use. This would mean that the ashes, bones and pottery were deposited there at a second stage. The only parallel for this kind of circular depression in contemporary Attica is the "bothros" in room II at **Eleusis 3**. That "bothros" has been connected with industrial use as well as with libations. Similarly, he has argued that the drains in the adjacent room ε were used to press grapes to produce wine.[220] In room δ a circular stone structure was found underneath the ash layers. The contraption was found at the same level as the stone foundation of the walls, meaning that it was constructed before room δ, presumably while the original nucleus of rooms α-α' and β was already in place.[221]

1.2.5 Conclusions

Assuming that the order of events presented here is correct, the traces of industrial use would fit in well with an initial period of "domestic" use, corresponding to architectural phase 1, without excluding the possibility that the building was already ritualized to a certain degree from the beginning. The juxtaposition of the Geometric and EH buildings suggests a spiritual connection with the historical environment, doubtlessly attracting human activity to this location in the first place and inspiring certain rituals.

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[219] *Prakt* (1958), 8.
[220] Lauter, 1985a, 159-160.
[221] *ArchDelt* 17 (1961/1962) Chron., 21; *Prakt* (1961), 8-10.

1.3   Academy 3

Context:	Geometric Building (section 1.2); cemetery
Date:	ca. 700 BCE (?) or slightly earlier
Location:	ca. 15 m. E of Sacred House (Academy 2)
Architecture:	small, Π-shaped building (naiskos ?)
Pottery:	"Geometric"
Excavation report:	Ph. Stavropoulos, *Prakt* 1958, 10.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 143, n. 973, fig. 130 (V), table 1 (A 13).

Stavropoulos excavated a small building located ca. 15-20 m east of the Geometric Building (**Academy 2**, cf. Figure 4). The attribution of this building, measuring 2,5 x 2 m, as a cult building is not certain. Besides some "Geometric" pottery, no additional finds were reported to support the interpretation of this building as a shrine.[222]

However, there are two strong arguments to attach a ritual function to this building. First, its modest Π-shape ground plan is strongly connected with small liminal ("suburban", "extra-urban") shrines elsewhere.[223] Due to its openness on one side, this type of building must be deemed unfit for domestic use.[224] Also, besides the LG Sacred House found just slightly to the W, no other architecture has been excavated nearby, suggesting a close relationship between the two buildings. Facing E, the building's inside would have been clearly visible to the visitor coming from that direction (Athens). Also a similar Π-shaped building at **Lathouriza 2** has been identified as a small suburban chapel, and was built along the road leading to the settlement. The small building at the Academy may well have served a similar function with regard to the Geometric Building or the cemetery nearby (Figure 7).

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[222] The foundations of a small cult building were found nearby (ca. 10 m E), right over a LG grave, Stavropoullos, 1959, esp. 10. While there is no evidence to suggest a connection between this building and the Π-shaped building, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 143, n. 973 nevertheless mentions the former in his discussion of the latter, thereby tacitly suggesting a relationship.
[223] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, table 1 (A).
[224] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 259-260.

1.4 Agrieliki

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	ca. 725 (?) - 650 BCE
Location:	outcropping (+ 361) on eastern slope of Mt. Agrieliki, west of Marathon
Architecture:	possible stone altar
Pottery:	(**L-SG**) miniature drinking-vessels
Sacrificial remains:	ashes; burned animal bones
Preliminary report:	Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 40 (1936), 265.
Main publication:	Soteriadis, 1935, 154-155.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316.

Soteriadis detected an ash deposit with burned animal bones close to the rubble remains of a stone altar.[225] Though mostly dating to the (Sub-)Geometric Period, the material leads well into the Hellenistic Period. It is unclear how early the first material should be dated. Lauter found the assemblage comparable to that from Tourkovouni, which would place the Agrieliki sanctuary in the LG II Period when mountain peaks began to attract cult activity throughout Attica.[226] Wickens believes the cult place is ritually unrelated to the nearby cave (+ 209), which may however have been used as a dump or storage area.[227]
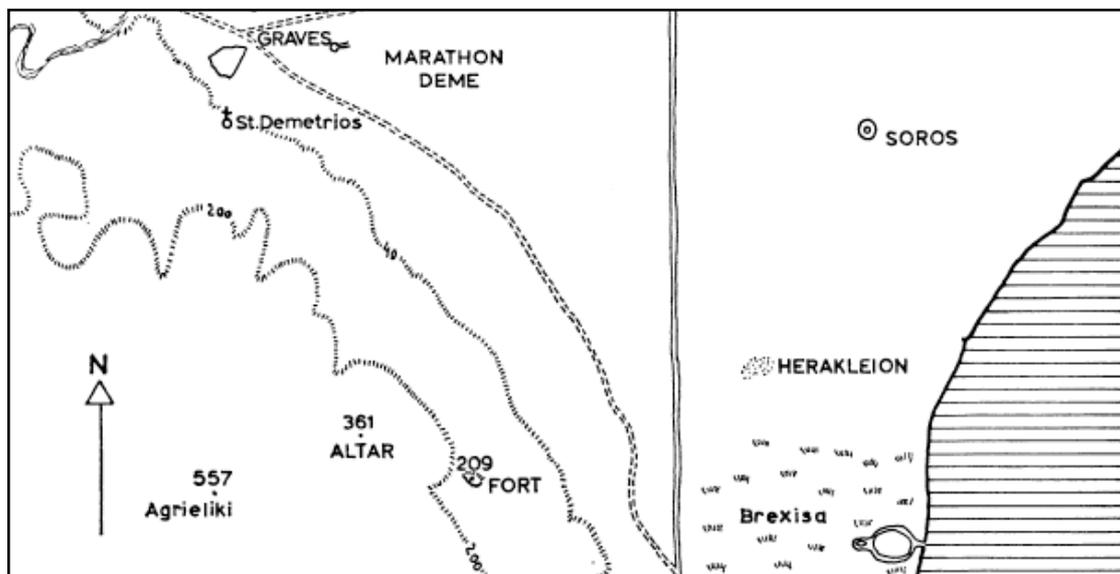
Figure 13 – Mt. Agrieliki with peak shrine indicated at +361.

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[225] The *AJA* report speaks of large stones. Lauter (1985), 135, n. 185 was not able to confirm this.
[226] Lauter, 1985a, 135.
[227] The G sherds were retrieved by G. Soteriades, *Prakt* (1935), 156; (1936), 42; (1937), 121; (1938), 158, n. 2.

1.5 Anavyssos 1

Context:	cave (sanctuary of the Nymphs?)
Date:	from LG
Location:	Spilia-tou-Daveli (cave) on the Kastella-i-Spilia; area of modern Anavyssos-Trypia Koryphi, within ancient Anaphlystos deme limits
Pottery:	**(LG)**; **(BF and BG)** including miniature lekythoi, as well as kylikes and kraters (mostly early fifth century)
Finds:	"Stempelidole" (seventh century); broken figurines and painted pinakes (late archaic-classical?)
Preliminary reports:	M. Oikonomakou, *ArchDelt* 49 B1, 1994, 67-68.
Summary:	D. Blackman, *AR* 1999-2000, 15.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 107 (no. 8); Lohmann, 1993, 123-126, 494 (AN1); Küper, 1990, 18-19, n. 15; Wickens, 1986, vol. II, 15-20, no. 2.

The Spilia-tou-Daveli (depth 8-15m; height 5.50m) was inspected in recent years in response to reports of illegal excavations.[228] A solid wall of unworked blocks found at the entrance presumably belongs to the fifth century establishment of a cult directed to Pan.[229] A large quantity of mostly classical pottery was found scattered throughout the eastern part of the cave.[230] Outside the cave many fragments from Late Archaic lekythoi were found. The earliest pottery dates, however, to the LG Period,[231] raising the possibility that cult activity might have been carried out here this early. The cylindrical idol that was found in what appears to be a robbed deposit somewhat

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[228] Cf. the preliminary report by Oinomakou.

[229] M. Oikonomakou, *ArchDelt* 49 B1, 1994, 68. Cf. Strabo 9.398 (9.1.21). This cult had been thought to belong to a cave on Mt Keratea (in ancient times known as the Paneion), cf. Brommer, 1972, 271, no. 294, until Wickens, 1986, vol. II, 18-19 (no. 2) connected it to the Kastella-i-Spilia (Thimari). However, Wickens had a different cave in mind than the Spilia-tou-Daveli, which is located at a slightly higher level, cf. note 230. The attribution of the cult of Pan to the Spilia-tou-Daveli was first made by Philippou-Angelou, 1992. Wickens has acknowledged in personal communication that the cult of Pan actually belongs to this cave, which has been catalogued by Lohmann as AN 1.

[230] M. Oikonomakou, *ArchDelt* 49 B1, 1994, 68. Lohmann, 1993, 494 describes the cave as "fundleer". A collection of pottery in the archives of the ASCSA (cf. Wickens, 1986, vol. II, no. 2, 18) appears to belong to this cave, rather than to the one at a slightly higher level as Wickens first believed (Catalogued by Lohmann, 1992, 494 as AN 12). Confusingly this higher cave is described by Wickens as the "lower cave", as there is one at a yet higher point and he seems to have been unaware of the Spilia-tou-Daveli at the time of publication of his monumental catalogue of Attic caves.

[231] M. Oikonomakou, *ArchDelt* 49 B1, 1994, 68.
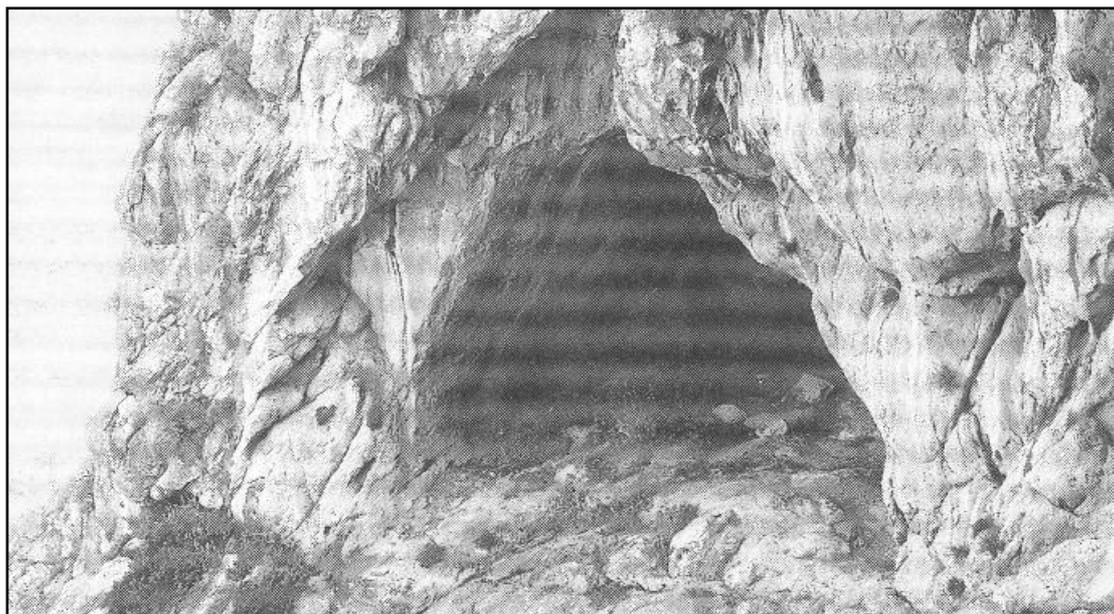
Figure 14 – The Spilia-tou-Daveli near Anavyssos.

below the cave, suggests that this was probably the case in the seventh century,[232] strengthening the argument that the excavated LG pottery belongs to a ritual context.

Küper has plausibly argued that this deposit, which belongs to the early fifth century,[233] may have originated from the need to clear space inside the cave, in order to make room for new votives.[234] Since the cult of Pan probably did not arrive in Attica until the Persian wars, it seems that the clearance and deposition of older votives took place in order to transform the cave into the Paneion as it was later known to Strabo (9.398). M. Oikonomakou could well be right in assigning the earlier material to a cult of the Nymphs,[235] as the two cults are often found side by side with Pan being added to a pre-existing Nympheum.[236] The late archaic lekythoi have been identified as a particularly suitable gift to these water-loving goddesses.[237]

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[232] As a detailed study shows, these so-called "Stempelidole", are an Attic product used locally only throughout the seventh century, predominantly during its first half, Küper, 1990, 23.

[233] The latest object that belongs to this deposit is a Late Archaic BF Lekythos, dated ca. 525-480, Küper, 1990, 18.

[234] Küper, 1990, 19.

[235] On the introduction of the cult of Pan after the battle of Marathon see for example Garland, 1992, 47-63 (chapter 2).

[236] Cf. for example Plato, *Phaedrus* 227c, Travlos, 1971a, 289, figs. 382, 386-387.

[237] Lohmann, 1993, 494. The lekythoi also imply a gift of oil-based ointment, which is a suitable gift to them.

1.6 Anavyssos 2

Context:	Geometric cemetery (MGI-LGII)
Date:	from ca. 700 BCE or slightly earlier (LGIIB)
Location:	ca. 150 m S of the Ag. Panteleimon church
Architecture:	building with 3 rooms; protective enclosure around cemetery.
Funeral remains:	Blackened, smashed pots.
Burial gifts:	(**MG I**) bronze bowls, iron knives, gold chains, gold and silver rings and gold plate; (**LG**) gold objects
Excavation reports:	K. Davaras *ArchDelt* 21B, 1966, 97-98; P.G. Themelis *ArchDelt* 29B 1973/74, 109-110.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 21; Langdon, 1997a, 115, n. 7; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 145, 316, fig. 154; Mersch, 1996, 104-105; Morris, 1987, 82-85, figs. 25-26.

1.6.1 The Cemetery

In 1965, 1969-1970 and 1973 K. Davaras, E. Mastrokostas and P.G. Themelis excavated a three-room building (Figure 16) inside the large cemetery at Anavyssos containing some 110 geometric graves (Figure 15). The first burials date to the MG I Period and are primary cremations. By the end of the MG II Period, however, the predominant funeral practice had changed to inhumations. The older burials were recovered toward the southeast, the younger toward the northeast of the plot. Three exceptionally rich cremations (65/I, II and LI) have been dated to the MG I Period and contained among other things bronze bowls, iron knives, gold chains, gold and silver rings and gold plate. Three other rich graves (Tombs 73/I-III) belong to the LG IB-IIB Period (ca. 750-720 BCE) and form the core of the northeastern burials. Burial 73/I represents one of the rare cremations from this period. The abundant smashed and blackened pottery recovered near these graves has been interpreted as evidence for burial meals (*perideipnia*).[238] While not all the funerary gifts are mentioned in Themelis' report, a good deal of gold was found as well. Alternatively, these ritual remains could belong to a combination of funerary and commemorative rites. The latest burial (70/XX) has been dated to the Subgeometric Period not much later than 700 BCE.

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[238] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 145.

Figure 15 – The cemetery of Anavyssos in the LG IIa (left) and LG IIb (right) periods.

1.6.2 The Building

The building was excavated in the northwestern area of the cemetery. In the middle of the first room (1.85 x 2.30m) are the remains of a freestanding stone base and along the western wall of room 2 (3.00 x 2.50 m) there was a stone bench. A doorway in the dividing wall may have connected both rooms. A third, not completely preserved, room (ca. 2.40 x 2.50 m) lay to the north.[239] No pottery has been connected with this building, perhaps because the building was cleared during a period of reuse in the fourth century BCE.[240] Beginning at the NW corner of room 2, a *peribolos* wall extends along the NW, N and NE sides of the cemetery, enclosing several graves of the LG Period, including the three burials mentioned above. The architecture of the building and the *peribolos* seem to belong to the very end of that period.

It is interesting to note that this was at a time when the area was gradually losing it function as a cemetery.[241] It is difficult to determine how long the building was used. LG IIB grave 65/XVIII seems to cut the SE corner of room 2, implying that it may not have been in use for more than a few years. On the other hand, the damage

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[239] Tomb XXII/73 seems to limit its extension to the north, cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 145, note 994.
[240] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 145.
[241] For the dates of the graves see Morris (1987), 83-84, figs 25, 26 (= MA, fig 156). Note that in both figures (though not in MA) the representations on the left and right have accidentally been switched.
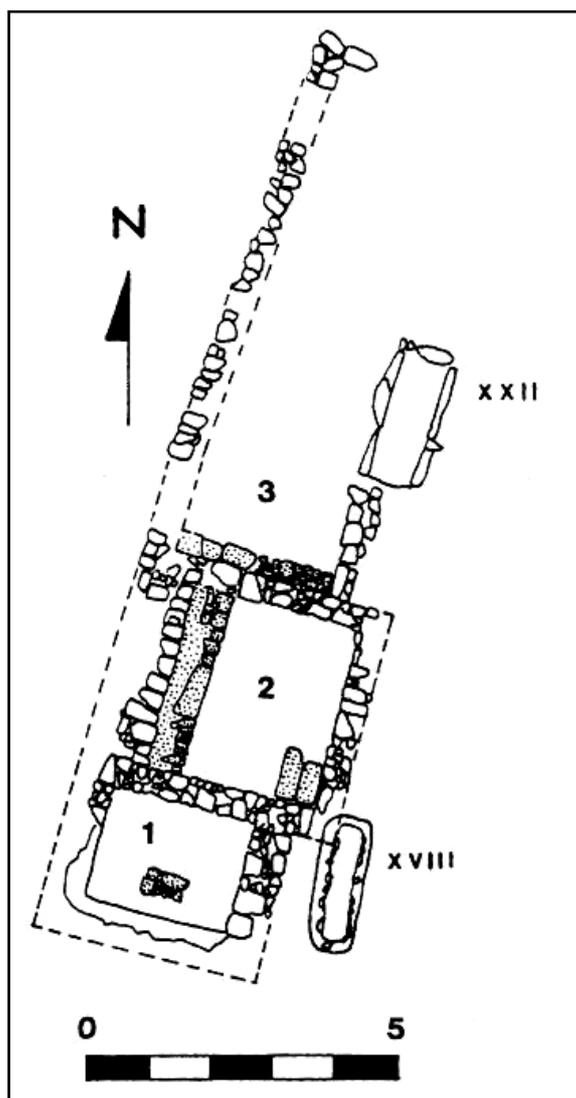
Figure 16 – Plan of the "Sacred Building".

to the SE corner of room 2 may be coincidental, in which case the tomb could predate the architecture. If so, the building may have survived well into the 7th century. Themelis believed that the building remained in use for more than 200 years. The fact that the building was reconstructed in the fourth century to serve as the house of a beekeeper, suggests that enough of it was still standing at that time to make it worth repairing.[242]

1.6.3 Function

The close spatial relationship with the adjacent cemetery leaves little doubt about the special connection of the building with the funerary realm. In this respect, the situation is similar to the buildings at the **Academy 2**, **Athens – Agora 1**, **Athens – Areopagus 1**, **Eleusis 3** and **Thorikos 1**, which were placed close to one or more graves. In the fourth century the building was rebuilt removing all traces of earlier activity, which makes it difficult to say anything about the function that is supposed to

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[242] Cf. note 240.

Figure 17 – Remains of rooms 1 and 2 at Anavyssos.

be connected with it. Morris has tentatively suggested that the building may have been used as a charnel house or ossuary on account of its proximity to the graves.[243] As will become readily apparent from a closer analysis of the Attic comparanda cited above, there is no reason to think that it served such a function.

Mazarakis Ainian has attributed a cultic function to the building.[244] He has interpreted the benches in room 2 and especially the freestanding stone base in room 1 as evidence for cult activity, although it is not clear how this base would have functioned (as a repository for ritual objects or as a statue base?). In Mazarakis Ainian's view, the fact that the floor level of room 1 is slightly lower than that of room 2 is evidence for a chthonic cult.[245] While the benches can be securely identified with a dining room, neither the slightly lowered floor, nor the stone base find parallels at any of the other dining halls in Attica and its ritual function at present remains uncertain. Given the proximity of the graves the building is likely to have been used as a banqueting hall by a group of kinsmen, whose identity as a group was centered on the dead ancestors buried in the cemetery. The bench in room 2 suggests that this is the most likely candidate for such a function.[246]

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[243] Morris (1987), 106.
[244] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 82-85.
[245] Themelis believed the same (*ArchDelt* 29B 1973/74, 109-110). Cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 145 + n. 997, adducing the case of an apsidal building at Mycenae with a similarly lowered floor.
[246] Benches have been attested at **Hymettos 1**, **Lathouriza 1**, **Tourkovouni** and **Thorikos**.

Based on statistical analysis Ian Morris has conjectured a maximum community connected to the cemetery of some 39 adults, or 20 considering only the burial location (plot) that held the "three rich graves."[247] Verdelis and Davaras situated the settlement that belonged tot these graves on the hill north of the cemetery.[248] However, as Morris' own research has shown, it is very hazardous to base demographic calculations on the basis of burials alone, as burial visibility may vary from period to period. Even in the LG Period when burial visibility is high there must have been a large group of "disenfranchised" (serfs, slaves) who do not show in the burial record. They would have made up an important part of the demographic group even if they did not partake in official dining and formal burial. It seems likely that the LG building and cemetery represents at least a good part of the Anavyssos region's elite. From what we can establish from the archaeological record, feasting and the connection with one's ancestors played a crucial role in the maintenance of that elite's identity.

[247] Morris (1987), 88, table 6: 22-39 people during LG I and 14-25 during LG II, the imbalance may be due to the fluidity of chronology. Morris identifies two separate plots, each belonging to a burial group of 12 to 20 adults. While these particular plots have been fully excavated, the cemetery has not. Therefore, these figures cannot be used to establish a relative correlation between smaller kin-groups and the larger "cemetery community." Other groups sharing a plot in this period are estimated at 6-8 (Piraeus), 9-12 (Kerameikos Plattenbau), 4-7 (Agora Tholos), and 9-15 (Thorikos D), indicating that the kin-group of Anavyssos was a relatively large group, Morris (1987), 88, table 6.
[248] ArchDelt 21B, 1966, 98.

1.7 Anavyssos 3

Context:	burial tumulus
Date:	7th-6th c. BCE
Location:	at OT 33
Architecture:	stone krepis
Preliminary reports:	O. Kakavogianni, *ArchDelt* 39B, 1984, 43-45.
Summary:	E. B. French, *AR* 1991-1992, 7.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 145, n. 998.

Underneath this tumulus (diam. 25 m) three G burials were cut into bedrock; inside, 38 cremation burials were excavated. One group dates to the 7th century and a second to the last third of the 6th century BCE. While many tumuli have been uncovered at Anavyssos, this tumulus is unusual in that a stone krepis (4.50 x 3.0 m) was uncovered on top of it (Figure 18). The excavators have identified this structure as a "heroon" based on its location on top of the tumulus. Its use seems to have to honor the dead buried in tumulus below. It is not clear what was the precise shape of this structure or its function. To its side the remains of what seems to have been at least two more similar structures were uncovered. Another such building was excavated at **Palaia Phokaia**. This proves what seems to be an *a priori* likelihood, i.e. that tumuli could attract cult attention superseding the one-time event of the regular funeral rites.
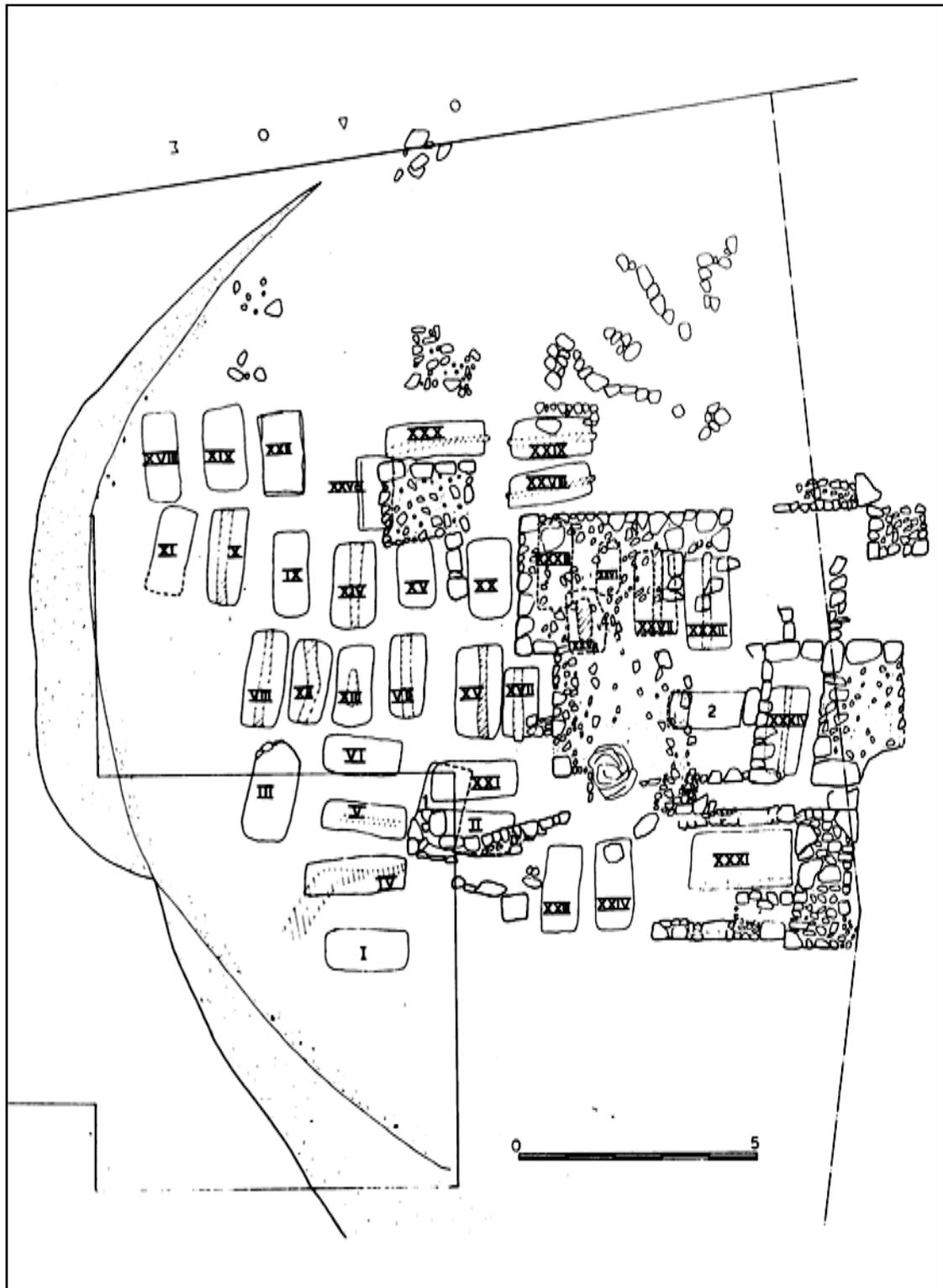
Figure 18 – Tumulus with stone krepis and graves indicated.

1.8 Aphidna

Context:	mountain plateau; LH remains (?)
Date:	late 8th-6th century BCE
Location:	at the Katsimidi fortification on Kotroni (+305)
Pottery:	(**LG**); (**PA**)
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 109-110, no. 11.1; Lauter and Hagel, 1990, 11, n. 14; Ober, 1987a, 140-141, nos. 12-13; McCredie, 1966, 81-83, plate 15 d-e; Milchhöfer, 1881-1891, III-VI 60.

On the oval mountaintop terrace of Kotroni, near the remains of a Late Classical fortress (Figure 19) LH, LG, PA and Cl sherds were found.[249] Lauter interpreted the fragments of LG and PA vases in the collection of the American School of Classical Studies as votives and characterized the terrace as the location of a cult place. Considering that BA remains became an important focus for cult activity from the LG Period, it is conceivable that the LH remains were part of the attraction for cult activity at Aphidna, which was part of the canonical dodekapolis,[250] although no LH architecture has been reported.
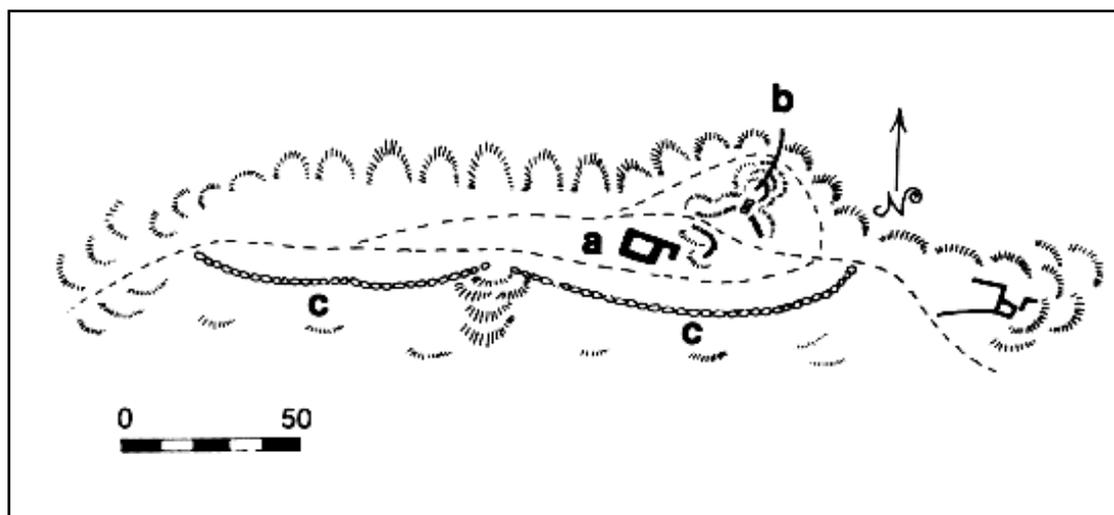
Figure 19 – State plan of the Katsimidi fortification (a watchtower; b highest crag; c rubble circuit wall).

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[249] Sherds: Inv. Nr. A 8. The round tower (Figure 19, b) dating to the classical period may have been part of the fortress mentioned in Dem. 18.38.

[250] Philochorus apud Strabo, 397; *Fr.Gr.Hist.*, 328 F 94. Other sites featuring cult activity near or on top of BA remains are **Athens - Acropolis 1**, **Brauron**, **Eleusis 1** and **Kiapha Thiti**.

1.9   Athens – Acropolis 1

Context:	sanctuary of Athena
Date:	from ca. 750 BCE
Location:	(Mycenaean) platform of archaic Dörpfeld foundations/"Old Athena temple"
Architecture:	2 stone bases, possibly belonging to a simple EA cult building
Pottery:	(The cultic context of the pottery has been debated and will be discussed below) **LG I:** many amphora's, some belly-handled (eight with funerary scene), kraters (one with a warrior); jugs; oinochoai; a disk; skyphoi; pyxis lids; some further open and closed vessels; **LG II:** some large amphora's (one with a warrior, and one with a tripod and animals); kraters (two with crewmen); jugs; kraters (one with funerary scene); various open and closed vessels; **LG:** kraters (two with a ship and one with fish), various open and closed vessels (including one with warriors, and one with a chariot wheel); 1 Siphnian vessel; **LG II-EPA:** various vessels (one with animal frieze, one with a horse and one with musicians); **LG-Orient. (Cr):** a pithos, one other vessel; **LG-SG (Th):** amphora; **PA:** amphora's, small ring-shaped flasks (including 2 non-Athenian); **PC:** lekythoi, jars and jugs; **EC:** skyphoi, (ointment) jars, plates, pyxides (?); **(Mil, Sam, Cyr):** cups, skyphoi, plates and bowls. (cf. Graef and Langlotz, 1909, vol. I, nos. 241-471 and Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), 43-49, table 4-8).
Votives/Other finds:	**Bronze:** ca. 70 fragments of bronze tripods, including legs, ring handles and bronze figurines (from ca. 750-680 BCE); 7th century orientalizing style: five or six leg fragments, three handles and some indeterminate fragments of bronze sheet, (see Touloupa (1991)); also a bronze architectural ornament (ca. 675-650, see Touloupa (1969)). **Terracotta:** (**LG II-EPA**) 1 geometric fragment of a house model (see Cook (1952), 93); 11 terracotta plaques and box-lids (geometric ornaments, ships, animals, a chariot, male figures, some with swords or shield, female figures, running hares, cf. Boardman (1954), 194 + n. 130, 196-197, nos. 2, 4, 5 and Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), 47-49); (**MPA-EA**) terracotta figurines Küper, 1990, 21; two Corinthian fragments of a lamp and a plaque.

> **Bibliography:** **General:** Hurwit, 1999, 85-98; Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998; Glowacki, 1998; Langdon, 1997a, 116-118; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 244, 315; Parker, 1996, 18-12; de Polignac, 1995a, esp. 80-81; Morgan, 1990, 205-212; Shapiro, 1989, 19; Bundgaard, 1976, 1974; **Architecture:** Gruben, 2001, 166-167, + fig. 132 (with bibliography on p. 501-502); Beyer, 1977, 56, n. 37; Travlos, 1971a, 143 (with bibliography); Iakovidis, 1962, 62-65; Nylander, 1962; Dinsmoor, 1947, 109; Holland, 1924; **Pottery** Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998; Langdon, 1997a, 116-118; Desborough, 1952, 315; Broneer, 1938224-228; Graef and Langlotz, 1909, nos. 241-414; **Terracotta's:** Boardman, 1954, 196-197, no. 1-10 (plaques); Dickins, 1912, 334-335, 345-347, nos. 598, 816, 1215 (figurines), p. 377-378 (masks); **Bronzes**: Coldstream, 2003, 126-129; Floren, 1987, vol. I, 37-43; de Ridder, 1896 (general); Touloupa, 1991, 242 (sheets); Zimmermann, 1989, 269-292 (horses); Weber, 1974, (figurines); Touloupa, 1972, (tripods); Weber, 1971, (tripods); Schweitzer, 1969, 145-147, pls. 151-161, 164-168 (statuettes); Touloupa, 1969, (Gorgon); Bather, 1892-1893, (ornamented bands and small objects); **Erechtheus:** Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 244; Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, 275; Küper, 1990, 21; Hadzisteliou-Price, 1979, 224-226; Abramson, 1978; Travlos, 1971a, 148-149, fig. 201; Iakovidis, 1962186, + n. 361; Kardara, 1960, esp. fig. 4; Welter, 1939, 11.

Two much quoted passages from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* mention the combined cults of Athena and Erechtheus in Athens' "well-built citadel".[251] Accordingly, some scholars have dated the origins of these cults to the Dark Ages or earlier. The particular lines, however, are heavily contested and have been dismissed as sixth century interpolations, rendering them useless as contemporary (*i.e.* 8th century) evidence.[252] Nevertheless, it does seem clear that by the sixth century the goddess and hero were perceived to be inseparable and the evidence from the so-called "Dörpfeld foundations" confirms this.[253] The hypothesis that the 7th century terracotta figurines

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[251] *Il.* 2.546-552, *Od.* 7.78-81; for another direct reference to Athens cf. *Od.* 11.322-323. For literary sources concerning the hero Erechtheus, see Kearns, 1989, *loc. cit.*

[252] Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 1884, 247, Seaford, 1994, 144-54, 183, West, 1988b, 38, n. 15 and Kron, 1976, 33-37, but note also Parker's comment (Parker, 1996, 19). Contrary to most widely held beliefs, Ruijgh, 1995 has made a strong argument to date the epics in the second half of the ninth century.

[253] The plan of the Archaic "Old Athena Temple" is largely mirrored in the complex design of the Classical Erechtheum: both temples were divided in a larger east room and

on the Nike Bastion were dedicated to Erechtheus cannot be verified and remains unattractive due to a lack of independent evidence.[254] In any case, the view that Erechtheus was originally a LH king may seem attractive, but cannot be proven. This is due to the complete absence of archaeological evidence from the two centuries after the collapse of the Mycenaean world. The remains from the Acropolis dating to this period are generally scarce; moreover, they are non-existent with regard to cult activity.

1.9.1 The Problem of Cult Continuity

An influential current in scholarship has previously sought to connect the collapse of the palace infrastructure and the ramifications of weakening social cohesion with a supposed increase in status of the main palace divinity. The vacuum left behind when the political structure was removed was filled when Athena transformed from the protectress of the palatial hierarchy on the Acropolis toward a new role as guardian of the more egalitarian proto-polis of the Dark Age.[255]

Two crucial objections to this view may be raised. First, we have no evidence that Athena was already worshipped in the Late Helladic Period on the Acropolis and (while her name has been attested on Linear B tablets at contemporary palatial centers) too little is known about the goddess' function to warrant any assumptions about her position in Athens. Second, the fact that not a trace of votive material was left behind during the Protogeometric Period makes it extremely dangerous to hypothesize about BA-DA continuity. The usual excuse for the silence in our records is that later landscaping and building activity have obliterated the evidence, but this is too convenient, especially when we take into account the considerable amount of Mycenaean and Geometric wares found on the Acropolis; by comparison, only a few sherds of the PG Period have been recovered and their context is impossible to reconstruct with certainty.[256] Thus, while continuity ultimately cannot be proven, I hope to show below (Chapter 8) that it is best to consider the evidence from the EIA as representing a cultic tradition created *ex novo*.

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three smaller compartments in the western half of the building. One of the smaller west-rooms of the Erechtheion has been identified as the cult place of Erechtheus and the same must be true for the earlier building, cf. Gruben, 2001, 169, 213-214, + figs. 132, 159.

[254] Cf. section on **Acropolis 2** (Nike Bastion).

[255] de Polignac, 1995a, 84.

[256] Some loom weights and spindle whorls from this period may have come from graves, the identifiable PG sherds are all skyphos-fragments, with a krater fragment dating to the PG-EG transition, Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 28-29 (also for the loom weight(s) and spindle whorls); Graef and Langlotz, 1909, no. 212, pl. 7 and 273, pl. 10; Desborough, 1952, 93 in his analysis of the sherds in Graef and Langlotz, has shown their lingering (Sub-)Mycenaean characteristics, which places them early rather than late in the PG sequence.

The beginning of the Geometric Period proper does not constitute a marked change with the picture painted for the PG Period. A krater and a kalathos fragment are all that remains from the EG Period and the latter perhaps originated in a grave.[257] For the MG Period, the record is completely silent.[258] Thus, the Acropolis may not yet have functioned as the main focus of Athenian religion as early as the early eighth century. On the other hand, the cult of Zeus (**Hymettos 1**, **Parnes**) was firmly established by 900 BCE and the EG Period probably saw the initiation of cult directed to Artemis (Brauron, Mounichia). It is certainly tempting, by way of retrojection, to assume that the cult of Athena was anterior to or at least contemporary with these rural cults. But we have to bear in mind that most (if not all) major Greek cults were peripheral to the main nuclei of habitation and Athens would not appear out of the ordinary if its first major cultic institutions were positioned on the territorial margins.[259] If Athena was known and worshipped as early as the ninth century, she may not yet have evolved into the polis deity of later periods, her status rather being of strictly local significance, as protectress of the Acropolis fortress, which was essentially her role in many other Greek poleis.[260]

1.9.2 The Rise of Athena

Evidence of cult activity remains scant or non-existent until ca. 750 BCE, when a virtual explosion of votive offerings can be detected. Apart from the many bronze votives which secure the cultic context from this time onward, well over 1000 sherds belonging to the second half of the century were found in the trenches that were dug in the late nineteenth century between the south side of the Parthenon and the so-called Cimonian wall.[261] Since none of the LG material was found specifically in a cultic context, the question arises whether the pottery should be understood as votive material. A good amount of these vessels is similar to the "regular" funerary ware (Dipylon and later). Many have either a prothesis scene[262] or are strongly related to the funerary realm. How are we to understand these vases if their iconography cannot be regarded as specifically cultic? A number of explanations have been forwarded for this phenomenon:[263]

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[257] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 29-30; Coldstream, 1968, 13, n. 2; Graef and Langlotz, 1909, no. 272, pl. 10. The fragment compares stylistically to the amphora from the grave of the "Rich Athenian Lady" (ca. 850 BCE), Smithson, 1968; Coldstream, 2003, fig. 13b; cf. Glowacki, 1998, 80.
[258] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 30.
[259] De Polignac, 1995, chapter 2, *passim*.
[260] Hurwit, 1999, 14; Schachter, 1990, 39-40.
[261] Graef and Langlotz, 1925-1933, 23.
[262] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, table 4 (no. 5-6) and 5. For the prothesis theme in general see Ahlberg, 1971.
[263] cf. also Hurwit, 1999, 89.

1   The vessels were transported from lower areas during the landscaping that took place in preparation for the Pre-Parthenon.[264]

2   The vessels bearing funeral scenes may have been votives set up by the victors of funeral games.[265]

3   The vessels were perhaps offered at the "graves of mythical figures, such as Cecrops and Erechtheus/Erechthonios, and must therefore originate in a cultic rather than a funerary context.[266]

4   The vessels are what they appear to be, funerary markers or grave goods, and should be associated with contemporary graves on the Acropolis.[267]

The first view, while difficult to discount completely, nevertheless appears unlikely. In particular, the large size of some pieces makes it hard to believe they were used as landscaping debris. Furthermore, the fact that some fragments did not originate from fill connected with the Pre-Parthenon – some fragments belong to the so-called "Perserschutt" deposit – considerably weakens this position.[268] The remaining three theories do not have to be mutually exclusive, as funerary games might have been associated with actual graves on the Acropolis, which in turn could have attained "heroic" status. Nevertheless, the second and third views have the disadvantage of missing the proper comparanda. There is no indication that these vessels were as a rule awarded at funeral games.[269] Attested hero cults in Attica (at Athens, Menidi and Eleusis) show no evidence of funerary vessels used as votives. In addition, while drinking vessels predominate in the votive records of many sanctuaries, only a few LG fragments have been attested on the Acropolis.

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[264] Langdon, 1997a, 116-118.

[265] Langdon, 1997a, 116-118.

[266] Langdon, 1997a,116-118; the attribution to these specific kings was made by Glowacki, 1998, 80.

[267] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 37-40.

[268] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 36.

[269] At the funeral games of Patroklos many valuable items were awarded as prices, but funerary vases were not among them, cf. the chariot race (Il. 23.262-270): Ἱππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά᾽ ἄεθλα / θῆκε γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαν / καὶ τρίποδ᾽ ὠτώεντα δυωκαιεικοσίμετρον / τῷ πρώτῳ· ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον ἔθηκεν / ἑξέτε᾽ ἀδμήτην βρέφος ἡμίονον κυέουσαν· / αὐτὰρ τῷ τριτάτῳ ἄπυρον κατέθηκε λέβητα / καλὸν τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχανδότα λευκὸν ἔτ᾽ αὕτως· / τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ θῆκε δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, / πέμπτῳ δ᾽ ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκε. Note that the fifth price, a two-handled phiale, is a "bowl or pan used as a saucepan for boiling liquids," Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed.), *s.v.* φιάλη. The prices of the other games: a mule and a two-handled cup (boxing, 651-656), a tripod and a slave-woman (wrestling, 700-705), a silver bowl, an ox and a price in gold (footrace, 740-751), a silver studded sword (hand-to-hand combat, 797-810), an iron hoard (throwing contest, 826-835), single and double axes (850-858), a cauldron (javelin hurling, 884-886). Some may consider the prices inflated in light of the epic tradition. Even so, the important point is that the prices are characterized by their immediate usefulness and have no bearing on the funerary rites themselves.

The fourth argument has been forwarded by Gauss and Ruppenstein and has the advantage of doing full justice to the funerary context on many of the vases. Even if the actual graves are missing, there is some evidence for continued burial practice throughout the EIA. Inhumations from the SM Period are securely attested,[270] while some, if circumstantial, evidence points to the existence of graves during the Protogeometric and earlier Geometric Period.[271] LG burials would therefore not be isolated occurrences on the Acropolis. However, I will argue below (Chapter 8.3.4) that the LG burials posited by Gauss and Ruppenstein may reflect the resumption of an ancient practice, which had been discontinued during the ninth century BCE, by the elite group who ruled Athens after the abolition of a basileus-centered type of government in the eighth century. I believe that the rise of the Athena cult should be seen in this context.

Also, it is not said that *all* LG pottery should be assigned to a funerary context. The fact that the votive record does not correspond neatly with other Attic sanctuaries could be a mark of this sanctuary's special status, as is suggested by the large amount of bronze offerings. In particular, the terracotta plaques or box lids are telling signs of votive practice, while certain scenes on some of these vessels, a tripod and women performing a "ring-dance"[272] evoke a ritual rather than a mortuary context.[273] Furthermore, there is no debate with regard to the votive character of the bronzes. Tripods (some 70 leg-fragments were preserved from the Geometric Period alone) and cauldrons (as represented by the rims, ring handles and attached figurines) stand out in particular.[274] In the LG Period Athens can be seen as a main center of tripod production, Attic exports having been attested at Olympia and Delphi.[275] But while bronze offerings in these two sanctuaries originated from various parts in Greece, all

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[270] Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), 21-24.

[271] Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), 27-30.

[272] Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933), vol I, nos. 251-256, 289, 295; Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), table 8 (no. 1). For the female "ringdance" see Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933), vol I, nos. 282, 286, 303 and 305 and in general Tölle, 1964, 11-40, esp. nos. 31-33, 51.

[273] Cf. Glowacki (1998), 80, who also adds ship scenes, chariot processions and warriors with Dipylon shields, but I fail to see the specific ritual status in these instances.

[274] Cf. Bather, 1892-1893, *op. cit*.; de Ridder, 1896, *op. cit*., no. 1-28, 48-49; Touloupa, 1991, 1972, 242. Most of the figurines were male (cf. Hurwit, 1999, 91, fig. 64; note: one female), holding spears, reigns or shields. Some represent mythological creatures, like the Minotaur (de Ridder, 1896, no. 51; Hurwit, 1999, fig. 65) attributed by Schweitzer, 1969, 138-140, pls. 153-154 to the Theseus myth. Some of the figurines may not have adorned the cauldron rims, but rather stood on independent platforms. In addition, sixteen horses were recovered (Hurwit, 1999, fig. 66) of which one may be a Lakonian import. One standing nude female statuette has been interpreted as an early representation of a kore, Richter, 1968, 21, figs. 23-24 or even of the goddess Athena, Langdon, 1984, 172, 227 n. 131, 245-247, 316, no. 136; the latter also includes another female bronze, *ibid*. 316, no. 137.

[275] Weber, 1971, 30; Coldstream (2003), 126-129.

but one of the Acropolis Bronzes were made in Athens. This indicates two things. First, in the eighth century the cult of Athena did not subscribe to Panhellenic status.[276] Secondly, the fact that tripods have only been found in sanctuaries, the sheer bulk of bronze tripod fragments on the Acropolis clearly stand out; by contrast, no contemporary Attic cult place has produced more than a few bronze fragments.[277] Bronze dedications are correctly regarded as the most important signs of early aristocratic rivalry and this, in turn, has been connected to the rise of the polis.[278] Thus, the deposited bronzes indicate the cult's importance to those who channeled their economic resources to it. As such, the Acropolis, being the main focus for the display of wealth in the period between LG I Period and the early seventh century BCE, should be seen as the cultic center of the emerging political structure of Athens.[279] Besides the bronzes, the host of terracotta figurines and plaques (as well as a few early votive inscriptions) supports this claim.[280]

Thus, even if we cannot be sure about the earlier history of the cult of Athena, it is clear that it was not elevated to its pre-eminent status until the second half of the eighth century.[281] Like some poleis (Mycenae, Tiryns), the Athenians actively sought to connect their cult with the heroic past by placing the main focus of cult on the Mycenaean terrace, which is thought to have accommodated the LH palatial center.[282] Indeed, this deliberate attempt to incorporate the mythical past (as represented by the BA remains) within the religious sphere has been attested in many regions during the LG Period[283] and seems to have been particularly widespread in Attica (cf. Chapter 9.2).[284] Considering the fact that the cult of Athena seems to be strongly embedded in this historical tendency and in light of the problematic archaeological evidence for cult continuity on the Acropolis during the BA – EIA transition, a LG (re-)invention of the Athena cult on the Acropolis is the most attractive hypothesis.

1.9.3 Seventh Century Decline

The seventh century witnessed a fall in the absolute numbers of deposited votives.[285] The amount of Protoattic pottery, for instance, shows a clear quantitative decline when compared to the Geometric Period. Graef and Langlotz list over 100 sherds from the second half of the 8th century (and mostly LG II) against 70 sherds from the

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[276] Morgan, 1990, 35-44; Glowacki (1998), 81.
[277] Langdon, 1997a, 118.
[278] Morgan, 1990.
[279] Cf. the discussion in Part 2.
[280] Hurwit, 1999, 90, fig. 62-63.
[281] Cf. Morgan (2003), 69.
[282] See for example Kevin Glowacki's (1998, 82) treatment of this matter.
[283] Cf. Coldstream, 1976.
[284] Cf. the sections on Menidi, Thorikos (2) and (perhaps) the Agora (6)
[285] Hurwit (1999), 94 and Glowacki (1998), 80.

entire 7th century.[286] In addition, only a few bronze artifacts were set up after ca. 680, which is a sign of less wealth being allocated to the cult of Athena.[287] Yet the cultic tradition certainly continued; there are still the occasional bronzes: human and animal figurines as well as griffin protomes and the bronze figured sheet of a wooden chest.[288] In addition, we have several terracotta heads and masks, as well as marble plaques, decorated with sphinxes, and marble lamps from the late 7th c., the latter perhaps serving to illuminate the interior of a temple dedicated to Athena.[289] In general, however, it seems safe to conclude that less wealth was directed to the Acropolis compared to the years before 700 BCE.

1.9.4 Architecture

The architectural context of the Geometric and Archaic cult of Athena is widely debated and no final solutions are offered here. Attempts have been made to read a temple and a cult statue in the well-known anecdote of the Cylon-affair, Athens' first (semi-) historical event, versions of which have been recorded by various authors.[290] Unfortunately these readings do not hold up to close scrutiny.[291] The *hieron* mentioned in the texts could refer to an open-air sanctuary as well as to a temple and the *agalma* may well be a fifth century anachronism.

This is not to say, however, that a seventh century temple did not exist. While the first architectural terracotta's have been dated to 590-580 BCE,[292] a temple of Athena predating the 6th century "Old Athena Temple" (OAT) was conjectured as early as Dinsmoor.[293] But even if a seventh or even eighth century cult building is easy to imagine, the remains to support it are especially meager. Two poros column bases found inside the cella of the OAT represent the earliest evidence of post-

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[286] Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933), vol. I, nos. 241-343 (Geometric) and nos. 344-414 (7th century).

[287] Coldstream (2003), 128; Hurwit (1999), 94; Touloupa (1991).

[288] Hurwit (1999), 95, + fig. 76.

[289] Hurwit (1999), 95-97.

[290] For example Hurwit (1999), 87-88, who adduces the slaughter of the supporters of Cylon (perhaps in 632/1) in various authors (Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126.3-12; Plut. *Sol.* 12.1-9) as proof that a temple, altar and cult statue were in place by this time.

[291] Cf. Thuc. 1.126.10-11: ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν, ὡς ἑώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπεχρήσαντο, Hdt. 5.71: καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα, and Plut. *Sol.* 12.1 Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν, ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἕδους κρόκην κλωστὴν καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο (etc.). cf. Glowacki (1998), 82.

[292] Winter, 1993, 213-214.

[293] Dinsmoor, 1947, 109 calls it the "hypothetical but necessary primitive temple."

Helladic architecture on the Acropolis (Figure 20). Originally, Dörpfeld labeled the bases "Mycenaean" and assigned them to the palace of the LH rulers of Attica (the "Strong House of Erechtheus").[294] Nylander, however, has shown that the stone from which the bases were cut (poros) was not used until the Geometric Period. Moreover, stylistically the bases seem to belong to the 7th century group from Prinias and the 8th century group from Dreros, and differ clearly from dozens of Mycenaean examples.[295] Accordingly, Nylander styled the building Geometric-Archaic, favoring a date between 700-650 BCE on stylistic grounds. Given the relative decline in bronze dedications after ca. 680, I would tentatively suggest a date of 700-680 BCE. The blocks would have carried wooden columns and presumably belong to a distyle-prostyle building of modest dimensions, recalling the famous clay model of the temple/house from Perachora.[296] In this light it is interesting to note that a LG terracotta plaque from the Acropolis has been interpreted as a fragment of a similar house model, though its poor condition makes it difficult to verify let alone restore. Several attempts have been made to attach terracotta and bronze elements to such a building.[297] It is to be expected that the building materials were mostly perishable, i.e. wood and mud-brick.

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[294] Dörpfeld, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *s.v.* Athena, p. 1952, but see *AM* 1887, 61 where he argues they are medieval; Holland, *op. cit.*, 162-169 and (1939), has constructed the most elaborate restoration, the bases forming part of the Mycenaean *Megaron*.

[295] Nylander, 1962, anticipated by Buschor, 1922, 94. The one surviving "true" Mycenaean base from the Acropolis is a good case in point as it is cut from the local Acropolis limestone. Furthermore, the poros blocks from the OAT cella are clearly divided in a square body from which the column base was distinctly articulated. Iakovidis, 1962, *loc. cit.* has previously assigned some wall fragments in room E of the OAT to a geometric temple. Nylander has dismissed them on the grounds that they belong to a different period.

[296] Payne, 1940, 34, fig. 7, 8, pl. 8, 9, 117.

[297] Bronze Gorgon: Touloupa, 1969, 882; (1991), 53; Hurwit (1999), 97; terracotta's: Beyer, 1977, who discerns two seventh century phases: I, ca. 700-650 and II, ca. 625-600. See also Hurwit (1999), 95, ns. 58 and 59 for an inscribed marble (Naxian) rooftile and some painted architectural terracotta's, perhaps dating to the final years of the 7th c.; Kevin Glowacki has recently (1998, 82) re-examined a terracotta plaque found by Broneer, 1938, 224-228 in the 1930's. While leaving room for doubt, Glowacki is less sceptical than Broneer about the possibility of the object having been used as a metope.

Figure 20 – Remains of the Old Athena Temple (Dörpfeld foundations) with arrows indicating two poros column bases.

1.9.5 Conclusion

The most important conclusions for our present study can be summarized as follows: There is no reason to assume that the cult of Athena was practiced before the beginning of the LG Period (ca. 760 BCE) and even if it was, it is likely to have been of lesser importance when compared to contemporary sanctuaries on Mt. Hymettos and at Mounichia. A large amount of pottery and votives dating to the period 730-680 attests to the rapidly increasing popularity of the cult at a very early stage. Bronze tripods and gold sheet were consecrated during this period and indicate that the cult had become the most preeminent in Attica. A simple cult building may have been erected during this period. After 680 a period of decline set in. This is evident from the slump in pottery and votives (both qualitatively and quantitatively) that becomes noticeable during the remainder of the seventh century BCE. This decline cannot be attributed to the so-called "seventh century gap" as the contrary trend can be witnessed at many regional sanctuaries throughout Attica.

1.10 Athens – Acropolis 2

Context:	cult of Athena Nike
Date:	seventh century BCE
Location:	Nike bastion
Other finds:	cylindrical figurines ("Stempelidole")
Preliminary reports:	N. Balanos, *AE* 1935-1939, 776-807; *BCH* 60 (1936), 455; 60 (1938), pl. 50B; 63 (1939), 289; G. Oikonomos, *AE* 1939-1941, 105-107, fig. 2.
Main publication:	Mark, 1993, 20-30 (esp. 22), 66-67, 145 (Balanos' excavation notes).
Bibliography:	Antonaccio, 1995, 145, n. 1; Kearns, 1989, 47, 60-61, 113-115; Whitley, 1988, 176; Jeppesen, 1987, 25-54, esp. 33-35; Hadzisteliou-Price, 1979, 224-226; Coldstream, 1976, 16; Kron, 1976, 40-45

The excavation of the archaic naiskos on the Acropolis Nike bastion has yielded a large number of "idols of different sizes (0.04-0.10 m), fragments of pots and two very small bones".[298] They were found in a poros repository (Figure 21), the hollowed-out base of an Archaic cult statue, presumably of Athena Nike.[299] The cylindrical bodies are "flared below to form a base," while the arms are "rough triangles" and the head is "pinched and has a flaring headdress" (Figure 22).[300] Unfortunately, the finds are now lost and can only be studied from unclear photographs.[301] A few more figurines and some pottery were found in a layer of earth that was removed for the construction of a 5th c. altar. Taking the date of the accompanying pottery into account (BF), we may conclude that the latter figurines may have been dedicated as late as the sixth century. This may not be the case for the figurines found inside the statue base. M. Küper has included the figurines in his study of "Stempelidole", showing that they belong to a Subgeometric sequence that was in use throughout the seventh century.[302]

In his thorough study of the Nike bastion, Ira Mark has sought to explain how the idols ended up inside the 6th c. statue base. He contends that the statue was

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[298] Quoted from the notes of the excavator, N. Balanos, as printed in Mark (1993), 145.
[299] Mark (1993), 20-30.
[300] Mark (1993), 22.
[301] Mark (1993), pls. 1-3, esp. 3a. Plan 1 shows the position of the Archaic naiskos with the statue base/repository inside (A).
[302] Küper, 1990, 21. Cf. Travlos, 1971b, 148. But see Mark (1993), 31-32, n. 7: "650-480 BCE". Küper, however, has shown that none of the idols found in Attica can be shown to belong to the later Archaic period. For differing datings of the figurines see Balanos (1936, 1938 and 1939), and Marinatos *apud* Iakovidis (1962), *loc. cit.*

demolished during the Persian sacks of Athens in 480 and 479 and that the sanctuary lay in ruins in the three subsequent decades, presumably in compliance with the Oath of Plataea.[303] When a naiskos was built in the 440's,[304] the workmen appear to have discovered the figurines and piously redeposited them inside the statue base. They neatly placed this repository underneath the floor of the naiskos and carefully fitted it against the foundations. Mark states: "Conceivably, the decision to prepare a foundation deposit grew directly from the discovery of the terracotta's. Confronted with these primitive, unfamiliar images, the workmen, we may imagine, were quick to enforce their reburial."[305]

Ch. Kardara has proposed that the deposit belongs to the early worship of Erechtheus, which was later conducted in the sanctuary of Athena Polias.[306] In the absence of hard evidence, there is, however, no reason to assume that this was the case. Perhaps it is not unlikely that the cult of Athena Nike originated in the seventh century when the figurines were first deposited. On the other hand, this type of votives is very common on and around the Acropolis (see Appendix B), which allows for the alternative possibility that they were consecrated to one of the many other known and unknown divinities worshipped on the Acropolis.[307]

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[303] Mark (1993), 128.
[304] This is the predecessor of the well-known tetrastyle building.
[305] Mark (1993), 66-67. For a similar 5th c. redeposit of earlier votive material, cf. the section on Agora 3.
[306] Kardara (1961), 67-70; Kardara (1960), esp. fig. 4. She erroneously dates the deposit to the PG or G period. Abramson, 1978, 105-106 is unconvinced by the argument, but leaves open the possibility of hero cult. Cf. also Chatzisteliou-Price (1979), 224-226 and Coldstream (1976), 16.
[307] Abramson, 1978, 111, likens the openings in the Classical Nike Bastion to those in the Mycenaean fortress, suggesting they may have been used for some sort of gate cult: "Would the Classical builders have duplicated the Mycenaean form were there no continuation of a gate cult?"

Figure 21 – Statue base underneath the classical temple of Athena Nike.

Figure 22 – "Stempelidole" found inside the statue base.

1.11 Athens – Acropolis 3

Type:	shrine of Nymphe
Date:	from ca. 650 BCE
Location:	on S slope, S of Odeion of Herodes Atticus
Pottery:	a few thousand sherds, (**PA**) hydriai, (**C**) aryballoi, plates (**EBF**) hydriai, kotylai, plates, bowls; (latest: **RF**).
Other finds:	three "Stempelidole"; pinakes; (6th century masks)
Excavation reports:	I. Miliades, *Prakt* 1955, 50-52; 1956, 262-265; 1957, 23-26, *Ergon* 1957, 5-12.
Summary:	G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958), 366-367, 660-666, figs. 7-14.
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 21, n. 39; Morris, 1987, 67; Morris, 1984, 10, n. 47; Travlos, 1971a, 361-364, figs. 84-94.

This hypaethral sanctuary dates from the middle of the seventh to the fourth century but was largely destroyed by Roman building activity. An elliptical *temenos* (Figure 23) was found on top of an earlier altar, which was surrounded by a great mass of pottery and votives. The identification of the sanctuary as that of Nymphe (not of the Nymphs) is based on a fifth century inscription reading: ΗΟΡΟΣ ΗΙΕΡΟ ΝΥΜΦΕΣ[308] and rests furthermore on the many loutrophoroi which have often been found in caves of Pan and Nymphs, as well as in the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia and the Amyneion. From the sixth century, Loutrophoroi played an important role in the marriage rituals; they were presumably consecrated after the ceremony. Even though their shape did not develop until the 6th century, the PA and C hydriai seem to function as their 7th century forerunners.

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[308] G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958), 366-367 and *SEG* 16 (1960), 4, no. 10.
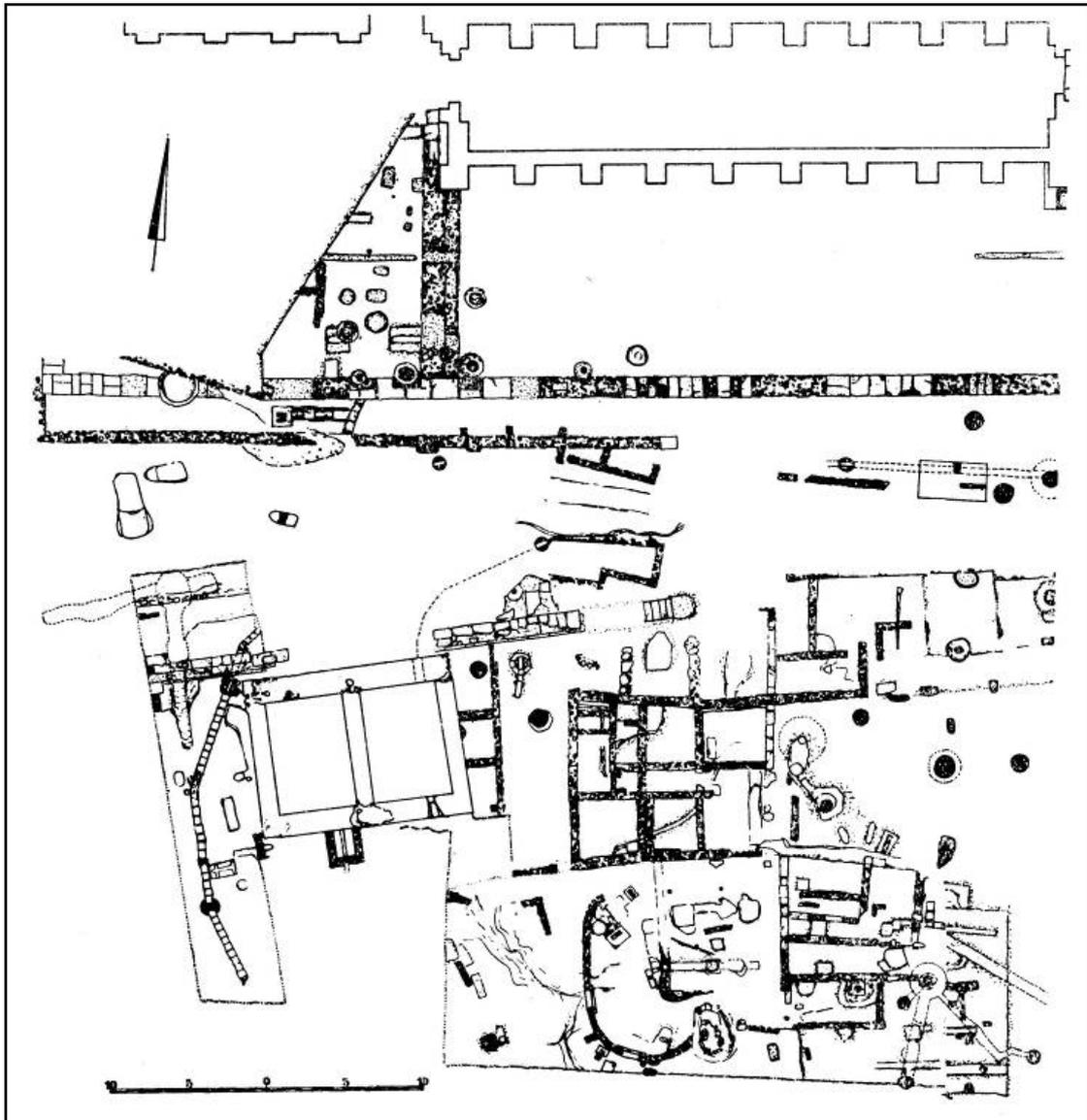
Figure 23 – Elliptical *temenos* of Nymphe (LA, bottom center), shown in relation to the foundations of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (above).

1.12 Athens – Agora 1

Date:	ca. 720-650 BCE
Location:	in between Tholos and "Strategeion"
Architecture:	"Building A", geometric retaining wall
Pottery:	(**LG-PA**) jugs, drinking vessels, pyxides
Burial gifts:	weapons; jewelry
Full Publication:	Thompson, 1940, 3-8 (building A); Young, 1939, esp. 6-13 (cemetery).
Bibliography:	Lang, 1996, 154-155; Antonaccio, 1995, 208; Camp, 1990, 54; Morris, 1987, 65, 127, fig.41a; Lalonde, 1980, 98; Rotroff, 1978, 196-209; Thompson, 1978, 99-100; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 73; Brann, 1962, 111-112, pl. 19 (F-H12).

1.12.1   The "Strategeion" Cemetery

South of the classical Tholos lies the so-called "Strategeion" cemetery, which contained twenty graves dating to the eighth to early sixth centuries BCE (Figure 24).[309] Apart from two children's graves, the burials belong to the period 720-650. Examination of the remains has suggested that these dead were related.[310] Grave goods included various pots including "jugs, which may have contained liquid offerings of milk and honey."[311] In the men's graves drinking vessels and weapons were found, while the women were given some of the richest finds, such as pyxides and jewelry. In addition, thick layers of ash and animal bone on some of the graves indicate that the funeral rites were practiced within the cemetery. Two pyre deposits contained typical ritual pottery, one amphora neck depicting the funeral ritual itself: "men carrying objects for use at the funeral, namely a wreath for the dead, a knife for the sacrifice or a sword for the dead man and a thymiaterion for burning incense."[312] An enclosing wall, standing at ca. 1.5 m above the street level and constructed of untrimmed blocks of limestone, at once marked off the cemetery area and served as a retaining wall, blocking erosion and water from sliding down the lower slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios. Material from one of the funeral pyres (XII), which fell from the terrace and amassed against the lower wall, serves as a *terminus ante quem* of 725 BCE for the construction of the wall.

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[309] Cf. Young, 1939.
[310] Angel, 1939.
[311] Brann, 1962, 112.
[312] Brann, 1962, 112, n. 6 (no. 336, pl. 19).
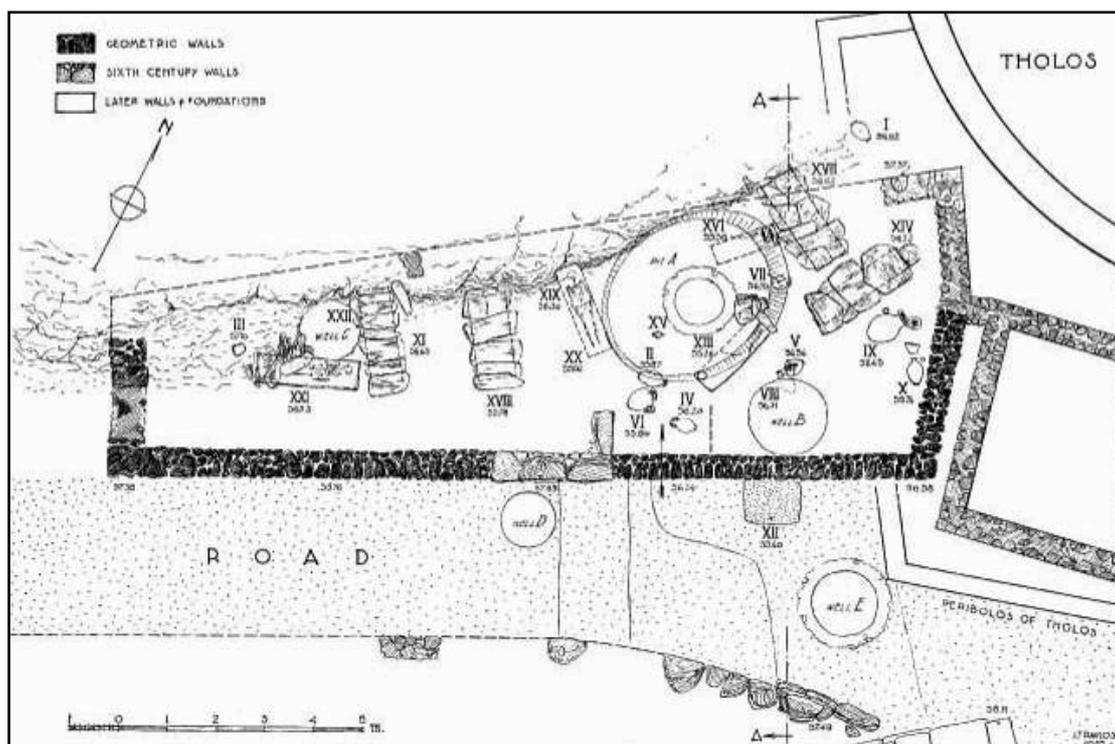
Figure 24 – "Strategeion plot" with geometric retaining wall, south of the Classical Tholos.

The construction of a sixth century well limits the cemetery's period of use. However, later in the same century the wall was rebuilt and the area of the old graveyard was never built over in later times.[313] In the Hellenistic Period a larger area around the original walls was enclosed. A small rectangular structure was built on the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, a little toward the NW of the original enclosure. If the identification of this structure as a shrine is correct, the area was still regarded as sacred.[314] It is tempting to hypothesize about the continuity of a cultic tradition, beginning with reverence for the dead and ending with hero cult. Based on literary testimonia, the excavators have tentatively identified the Hellenistic enclosure as that of the hero Strategos.[315]

1.12.2   Physical Anthropology

Analysis of the bones and skeletons was carried out with remarkable success: the buried members of the Tholos-plot group were related in the second degree, reckoning from the woman buried in grave XX dated in the last quarter of the eighth

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[313] The wells were traditionally taken as evidence for habitation, but have recently been connected specifically with potters' activity, cf. Papadopoulos, 2003, 272-279.

[314] Camp, 1990. During the reign of the emperor Augustus, the enclosure was adorned with a columnar gateway set in its south side, implying that the area was still regarded as sacred by the Roman period.

[315] Thompson, 1978, *loc. cit.* For the Heros Strategos cf. Kearns, 1989, 198 and *Agora III*, 176, no. 579. Epigraphical evidence: *Hesperia* 15, 221, no 48; *IG* II2 1053, line 53.
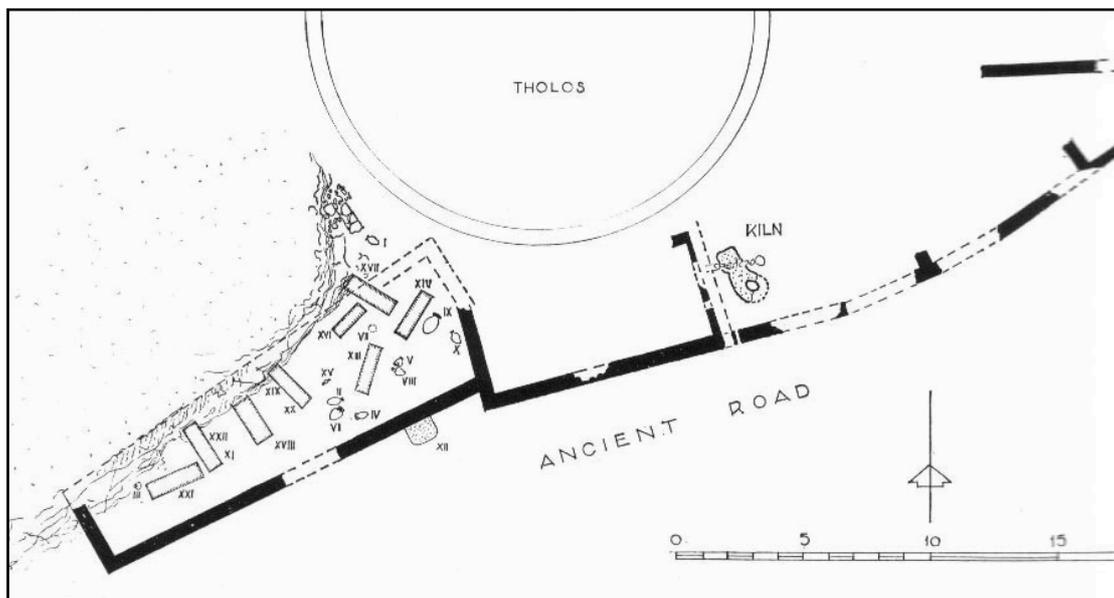
Figure 25 - "Tholos area" ca. 700-650 BCE. Geometric retaining wall and "Building A" are indicated in black.

century BCE.[316] She belongs to a first generation born between 760 and 740 BCE (XIX, XX and XXI). A younger generation was born ca. 735-715 BCE (XVII, XVIII and XXI). The health of the group seems to have been relatively good and the individuals were well-fed on a diet of tough food and milk. Their hybrid features exclude inbreeding and suggests that marital liaisons were deliberately sought outside the own "group", perhaps even abroad. All this, in combination with the rich burial gifts, suggests that the "Tholos-group" was one of the leading clans of Late and EA Athens.

1.12.3 "Building A"

To the NE the enclosure shared a party wall with the SW room of "Building A" (Figure 25). This complex in fact consisted of several structures, grouped around a courtyard (Figure 26) and measured 30.50 m along the fully preserved SE wall, which extended in roughly the same direction as the cemetery retaining wall. East of these walls the remains of a road were found. The maximum preserved width of the building is ca. 6.00 m but "may have been considerably broader".[317] Only "scattered lengths" of the lowest foundations were found as a result of much later construction and their presence below the current water table. "That the wall was primarily intended for the house is shown by the angles which it makes with the front walls of house and cemetery and by the fact that it stopped toward the north with the line of the north side of the house. Northeastward of this room the road wall continues at first

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[316] Angel, 1939.
[317] Thompson, 1940, 4.
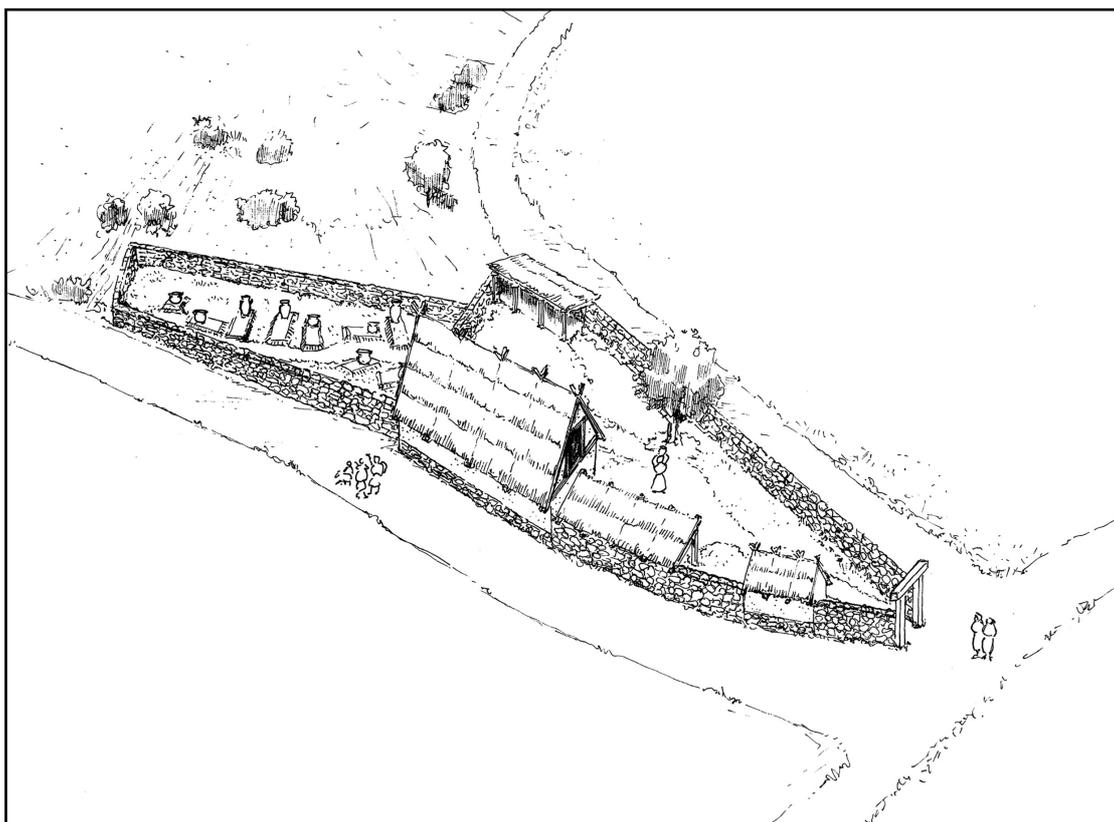
Figure 26 – Impression of the seventh century "Building A" on the Agora, with the so-called "Strategeion" cemetery.

in the same line, then with two slight bends till it reaches the northeastern limit of the building and returns on itself at an acute angle, leaving the building with a truncated point (Figure 25). Between the southwest room and the northeast end of building there remain against the inner face of the road wall two cross walls. The northwestern limit of the building in this region is uncertain. The lightness of the walls and the angles in the line of the road wall combine to suggest that these three northern divisions were open yards. [...] For the most part the foundations were carried down to bedrock with a uniform thickness of ca. 0.40 m. The street wall of the rectangular southwest room, however, since it served in its lower part as a retaining wall and would also seem to have carried the weight of a roof, has a more massive socle below floor level, (0.70-0.80 m. thick) and is built of larger stones. The southwest room was floored with hard-packed earth, the "yards" with sand and gravel."[318]

1.12.4 Chronology of the Architecture

The oldest construction was the enclosing wall of the cemetery. Material from one of the funeral pyres, which fell from the terrace and amassed against the lower wall, serves as a *terminus ante quem* of 725 BCE for the construction of the wall. The

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[318] Thompson, 1940, 4-5.

construction of a sixth century well limits the cemetery's period of use, but, as we have seen, no adult burials were made after the middle of the seventh century. Building A was used for an even shorter period. The walls' foundations were sunk into a "gravely accumulation" which included pottery from the final stages of the Geometric Period (ca. 700 BCE). The collapsed remains of the building's SE wall were mixed with the same type of Protoattic deposit as was found in the cemetery and, most notably, over the oval house on the Areopagus (**Athens - Areopagus 1**).[319] This deposit is to be dated to the middle of the seventh century BCE, indicating that building A was used for little more than half a century. [320]

1.12.5   Function of Building A

The fact that the building and the cemetery shared a wall is crucial to understanding their use. No contemporary buildings were found in the area of the Classical Agora, which means that a lack of space was clearly not an issue and indicates that the juxtaposition of Building A and the cemetery was not a matter of coincidence. I would suggest that the two were deliberately attached in order to convey an important message about the dynastic, and thus political, claims of those who exploited the building and were undoubtedly relatives of those interred in the enclosure. The large southwest hall was large enough to accommodate a great number of people and as such has the capacity of a megaron, a banqueting hall, of relatively large proportions. It appears that the building would have been constructed under the auspices of the younger generation buried in the cemetery in order to stage banquets there. Considering that the deceased were related, it stands to reason that these people formed a kinship group. Though not enough is understood about the northeastern section of the complex, it is not unlikely that some of the spaces were used as living quarters or as storage space. Industrial use is certainly attested in the form of a pottery kiln as indicated on Figure 25. The boisterous advertisement of illustrious ancestors no doubt served as an important cohesive for those making use of the house as well as conveying an important message of tradition to the passers-by on the adjacent road.

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[319] For the oval house cf. **Athens - Areopagus 1**.
[320] The first building to be constructed after the destruction of building A was building B with a *terminus post quem* in the early sixth century, Thompson, 1940, 8. Wells were traditionally taken as evidence for habitation, but have recently been connected with potters' activity, cf. Papadopoulos, 2003, 272-279.

1.13 Athens – Agora 2

Context:	LH and G cemetery
Date:	mid-7th to 6th or early 5th c. BCE
Location:	just opposite NE corner of the temple of Ares
Pottery:	**(PC-EC)**; further: MC (cup), BF, BG, RF (krater)
Votives:	terracotta figurines (horse and charioteers), pinakes, shields and a gold band and foil (7th c); a snake protome; a faience hawk; ivory fibula (7th c?); a bronze shield and arrow heads belong to the 5th c.
Sacrificial remains:	ashes and charred animal bones (including two cores from goat horns).
Main publication:	Thompson, 1958.
Bibliography:	Parker, 1987, 34, note 20 (no.1); Thompson, 1978; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 119-121; Brann, 1962, 111.

The votives were found inside a stone lined pit where they seem to have been placed in the first half of the fifth century (Figure 27). The terracotta figurines, shields and pinakes found in the deposit correspond to the finds from the Protoattic deposit on the N slope of the Areopagus (**Athens – Areopagus 3**) and those found in the dromos of the Tholos tomb at Menidi.[321] Accordingly, the excavator has suggested that the deposit belongs to some kind of ancestor or hero cult connected with one of the many Mycenaean chamber tombs found nearby; the worship of an Early Iron Age ancestor is, however, also a possibility as some PG burials were found at a close distance and Geometric and Archaic burials have been excavated throughout the Agora area (**Athens – Areopagus 1** and **2**). Based on the careful method of deposition, the excavator has posited that a ceremony including sacrifice was observed when the votives were finally deposited. It is hard to say when this occurred. A bronze shield, some arrowheads and a RF krater belong to the fifth century; they may represent an act of piety connected with the ritual deposition of the earlier votive material, rather than reflect the original cult. If so, an early sixth century (MC) cup may be the latest object belonging to the original cult, which was left unattended (at least in an archaeologically visible way) during the remainder of the sixth and early fifth centuries. After this time the votive remains were solemnly redeposited, perhaps as a result of the large scale landscaping that took place in the early fifth century, when the

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[321] Cf. Hägg (1987).
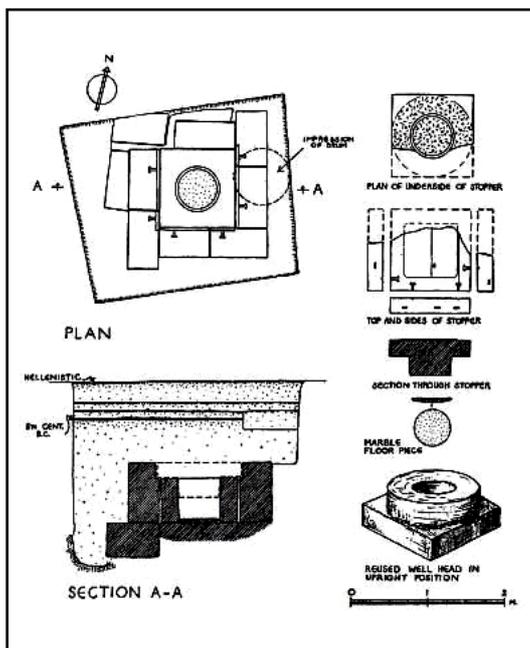
Figure 27 – Stone lined pit.
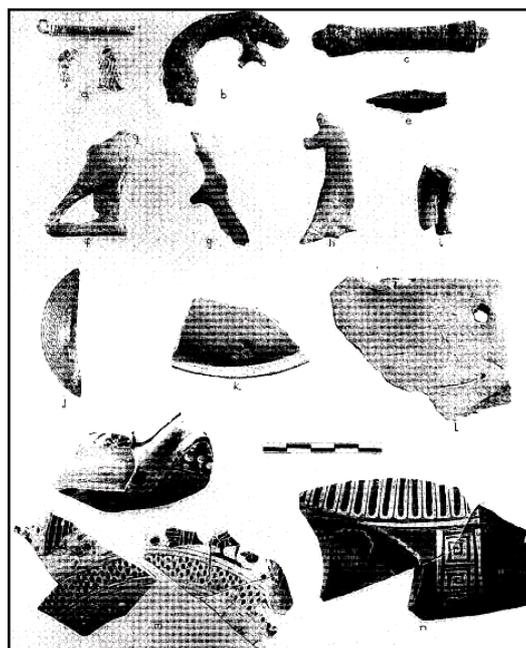
Figure 28 – Votive objects from the stone lined pit.

Classical Agora first seems to have been laid out.[322] This carefully placed fifth century deposit was in turn violently disturbed in the fourth century, when further landscaping was undertaken.

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[322] Papadopoulos (2003), 280-297 has recently argued that the Classical Agora was created as the main political and economic centre of Athens as a result of the massive Persian destruction of 480 and the layout of the Piraeus harbour, which shifted the main access into the city from the S to the NW. Accordingly, he has shown that the horos stones and *Stoa Basileios* may be downdated to after 480, while other buildings, such as the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Southeast Fountainhouse, may be explained outside the context of a formalized agora; see also Miller (1995). For the traditional view, which places the emergence of the area as the main city square at some point during the sixth century see, Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 1-19 (Solon) and Camp (1994), 9-12 (Pisistratidai).

1.14 Athens – Areopagus 1

Context:	EG-MG I cemetery
Date:	from 850-800 to slightly after 750 BCE
Location:	S of the Agora, on the lower slopes of the Areopagus
Architecture:	oval building
Pottery:	the material from within and underneath the building's floor represents the latest period of use and belongs to the EG/MG Period, including an oinochoe (Figure 32) and some household ware (Burr, 1933, no. 20); material from immediately above the floor is slightly less reliable and includes a MG II kylix and jug (*ibid*. nos. 28-29) as well as some household ware (*ibid*. nos. 26-27).
Full publication:	Burr, 1933.
Bibliography:	Coldstream, 2003, 315; Papadopoulos, 2003, 275; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 21, 1997, 86-87; Parker, 1996, 34, note 20 (no.3); Antonaccio, 1995, 122-123; Whitley, 1994a, 225; Fagerström, 1988, 44-46; Snodgrass, 1982a, 678; Lalonde, 1980, 97-98; Abramson, 1979, 159-160, 1978, 159-161; Thompson, 1978, 98-99; Wycherley, 1978, 193; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 17, note 50; Snodgrass, 1971, 409; Drerup, 1969, 29-30, 124, 126; Thompson, 1968, 58-60; Brann, 1962, 109-110, 131, pl.45. **Tombs in vicinity:** Coldstream, 2003, 30-32, 55-56, 1995, 393-394; Smithson, 1974, 1968.

The north slope of the Areopagus, just south of the classical Athenian Agora (Figure 29) boasts some of the most complex archaeology in Attica. Several distinct archaeological phases have been defined, some of which have been associated with cultic activity. In order to get a clear and complete picture of this complicated site, it is best to review them in chronological order.

1.14.1   Burials

In the ninth century BCE (EG to MG I) the locality was used as a burial ground for what has been identified as nine members of a single family.[323] A child's grave (Figure 30), typically the only inhumation of the group, was found directly underneath

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[323] Smithson (1974), 330-331. Morris (1987), 79 classifies the Areopagus group as a plot (rather than a cemetery) meaning that the burials belong to a single kin-group. The plot was in use for three to four generations.
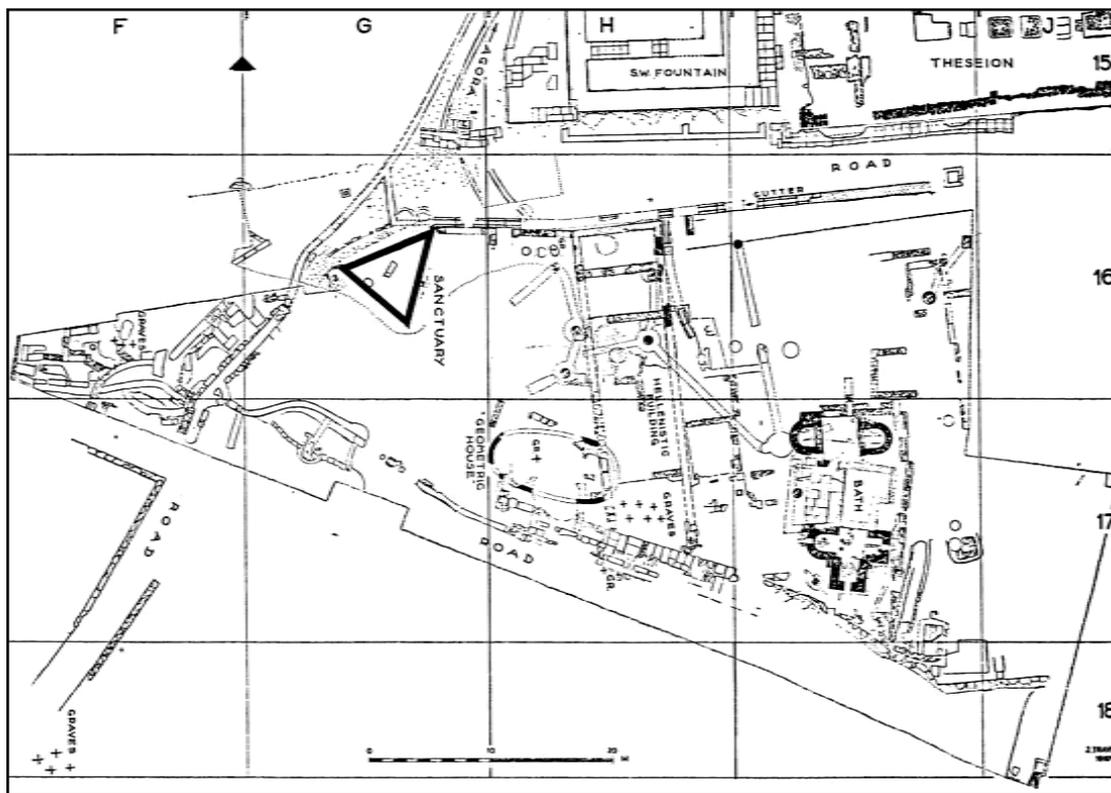
Figure 29 – Actual state plan of the remains on the north slope of the Areopagus.

the floor of an oval building of the eighth century BCE (Figure 30 and Figure 31).[324] Seven more cremations were excavated, some dating as far back as the Submycenaean Period. By the LG Period all burial activity had ceased.

1.14.2 The Oval Building

The oval building was constructed of small, unworked stones and measured ca. 11 x 5 m with 0.35-0.40 m walls. As a result of later activity only a few stretches of wall and part of the clay-cobbled floor have survived. Burr originally identified the structure as a house, but the absence of similar buildings nearby and its location inside the EG-MG I burial plot have caused some to speculate that it may have been used as a place where some kind of ancestor cult was practiced.[325] In Chapter 9.7 I will discuss a group of similar buildings which date to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Their function seems to be neither wholly domestic nor entirely cultic. Rather, it seems they were used as banqueting halls where influential Athenians entertained their guests.

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[324] Burr, 1933, 552, fig. 10.

[325] See now Papadopoulos (2003), 275 in addition to Thompson (1968), *loc. cit*, (1978) and Lalonde (1968). Papadopoulos argues convincingly that the area of the Classical Agora was not inhabited in the EIA, as previously argued by Camp (1986), 33 and others (cited by Papadopoulos, *op. cit*, 272, n. 2), based on the presence of wells from that period. Rather, Papadopoulos would assign these wells to potters' workshops.
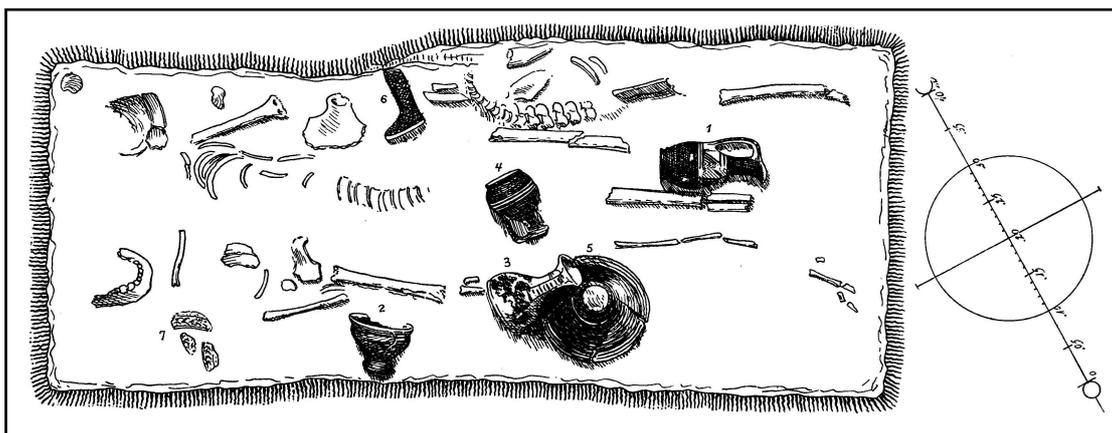
Figure 30 – Early Geometric child's grave underneath the Oval Building.

It has been contested whether the building was roofed; traces of a clay (mud brick) layer have been found on top of the walls and floors, suggesting that the walls reached beyond the preserved height of the stone socle. Homer Thompson, on the other hand, has posited that the traces of burning on the floor, "would be equally and perhaps more appropriate to a *temenos* open to the sky."[326] However, there is no reason to assume that a hearth could not be located inside a roofed structure. At **Tourkovouni** a building has been found that is very similar to the Areopagus building Figure 159 and Figure 160). It certainly possessed a roof. Furthermore, many EIA buildings with indoor fireplaces have come to light throughout Greece since the discovery of the oval building on the Areopagus.[327] In short, there is no reason to doubt that it too once had a roof.

Around the walls' inner side rocky patches ca. 0.15 m high were found. Perhaps they were part of a raised stone bench, or else they may have formed the substructure of wooden benches. The presence of the hearth and benches suggests that the building was used for ritual dining. Similar benches were found at **Lathouriza 1** inside the "Ruler's dwelling" and the (sixth century) circular cult building, as well as in the peak sanctuaries at **Hymettos 1** and **Tourkovouni**.

It is unclear exactly at what point the building was constructed. The infant grave – situated underneath the building and dating to the EG Period – suggests this happened at some time after the second half of the ninth century. The fill in and

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[326] Thompson, 1968, 60. See also Antonaccio (1995), 123 and Fagerström, 1988, 45. Thompson would compare the use of this building with that of the, much later, triangular shrine. It would seem, however, that the triangular shrine was an *abaton*, whereas the oval structure seems to have been used for communal gatherings. Antonaccio points to the hearth and household wares as evidence that the building was roofed, though either could have existed if the building had been hypaethral.

[327] In fact, indoor hearths are omni-present, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997: Assiros (figs. 8 and 11); Toumba (fig. 4); Kastanas (figs. 20-25); Vitsa Zagoriou (figs. 30-31) etc.
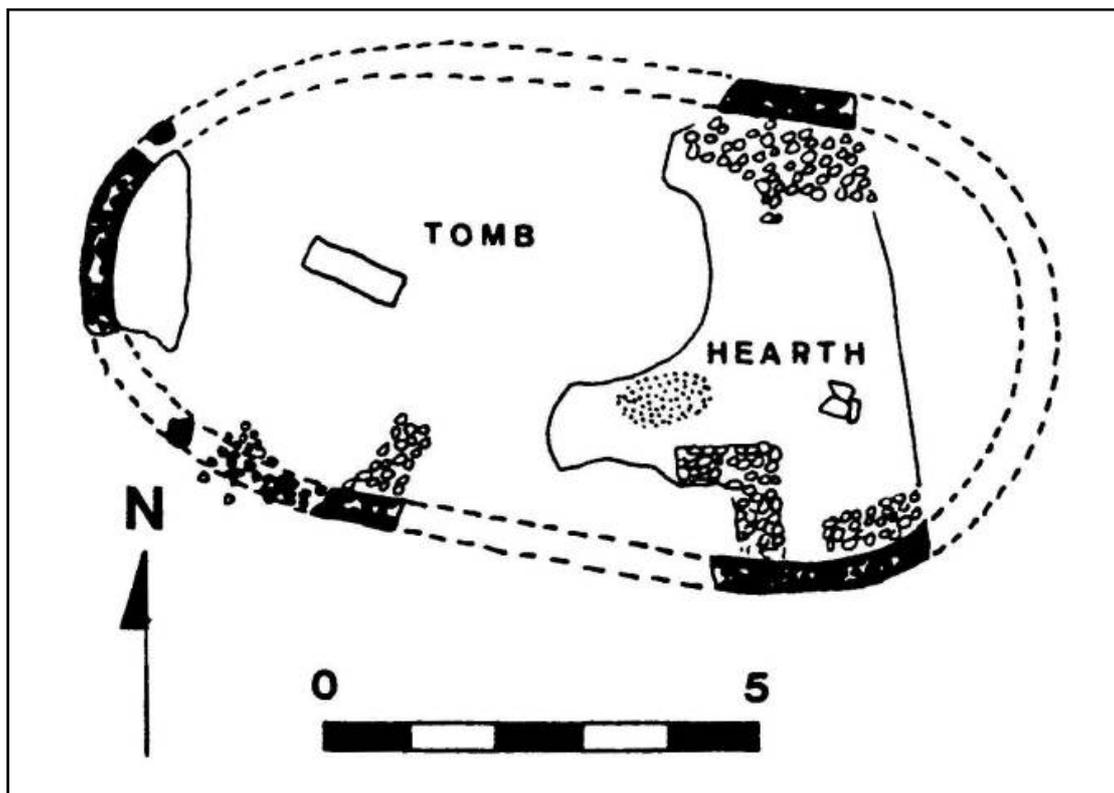
Figure 31 – Actual state plan of the MG Oval Building on the Areopagus.

underneath the floor, which contained PG and EG pottery, corroborates this. Furthermore, the building seems to be closely connected to a group of EG-MG I burials, which provide a good timeframe for the building's use. The building however remained in use when the burial plot was going out of use, probably ca. 800 BCE. The pottery and finds, containing a mixture of ordinary household as well as fine wares (including graffiti), reinforce the notion that these gatherings consisted of festive banquets. The building seems to have been abandoned shortly after the placement of a LG I oinochoe against wall A-'A, which abutted, but formed no part of, the oval building (Figure 32). Burr dated this oinochoe to the early eighth century, but it has since been down-dated to slightly after 750 BCE.[328] Pottery from the fill over the floors and ruined walls belongs to the LG II Period indicating that the building had collapsed by ca. 735.

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[328] Burr had dated the oinochoe to the MG II phase, but suspected an error in the chronology current at that time. Since, the chronology has been adjusted, see Bran (1962), 109, note 2; Antonaccio (1995), 123.

Figure 32 – Late Geometric I oinochoe from the Oval Building. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.

1.15 Athens – Areopagus 2

Context:	Late Geometric cremation burials
Date:	from ca. 700 BCE or slightly earlier
Location:	just S of the SW fountain house on N slope of the Areopagus.
Architecture:	rectangular structure, perhaps an altar
Pottery:	**(LG-PA)**
Votives:	2 terracotta horses; pottery cut disks
Excavation report:	H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 58-59.
Main publication:	Lalonde, 1968.
Bibliography:	Parker, 1996, 34, note 20 (no.2); Antonaccio, 1995, 121-122; Camp, 1986, 78; Abramson, 1978, 105-105; Thompson, 1978, 99; Wycherley, 1978, 192-193; Bourriot, 1976, 1155, note 217; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 119-121.

A triangular shrine lies near the SW corner of the Athenian Agora, at the intersection of two ancient roads leading toward the Areopagus-Pnyx valley from the East and North (Figure 29).[329] The three stretches of walls and accompanying boundary stones mark off the area of the shrine, defining it as ΤΟΥ ΗΙΕΡΟΥ, which has been dated to the 430's BCE on the basis of letterforms and pottery (Figure 33). The manner of construction and the date are reminiscent of the Tritopatreion, just outside the Themistoclean walls in the area of the German excavation at the Kerameikos.[330] Triangular structures like this one in the Agora are usually interpreted as restricted temene (abata) and have been found at Delos[331] and near the West Gate at Eretria.[332] The latter in particular resembles the shrine on the Areopagus, as graves have been found in connection with both; the six geometric bronze cauldron graves connected with the shrine at Eretria may find a counterpart in the circular depressions underneath the line of the west and east walls of the Areopagus shrine, even though

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[329] Thompson, 1968.

[330] Knigge, 1991, 193-194, n. 96 (with bibliography).

[331] For the first triangular structure on the east end of the Agora of the Italians, see Lapalus, 1939, app. 2, 205, and Bruneau and Ducat, 1983, 199, no. 71; for the second to the north of the Sacred Lake, see Vallois, 1944, 69, as well as Bruneau and Ducat (1983), 191, no. 63.

[332] See the work by Claude Bérard, in particular Bérard, 1978, 1970, 1969. For a general treatment of the last of the geometric princes and the significance of the heroon in the geometric archaic transition and the formation of the city, see Bérard, 1983; Bérard, 1982, as well as de Polignac (1995), 129-138. Note that all the structures mentioned here are presumed to have been *abata*.
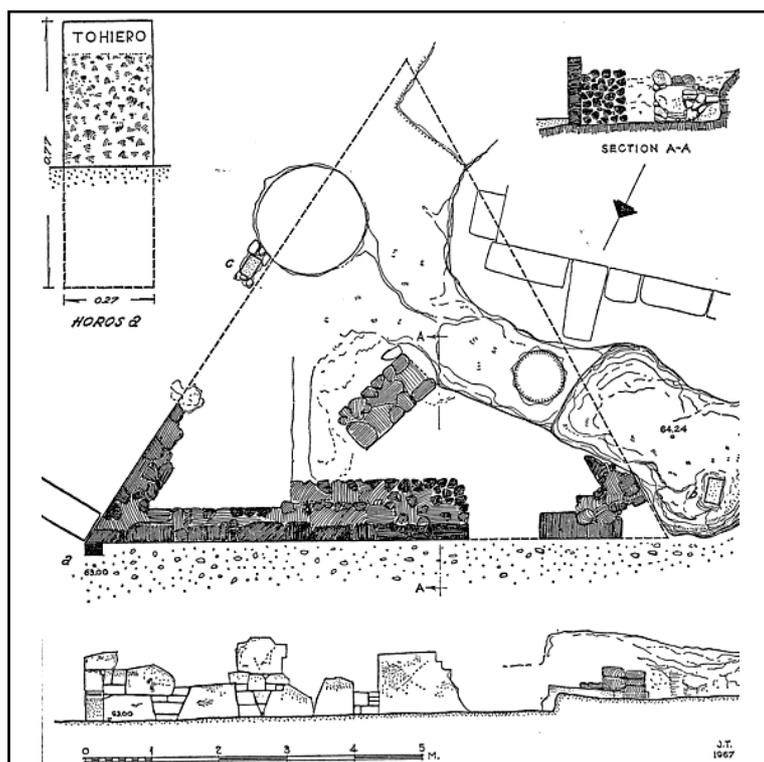
Figure 33 – Triangular shrine. State plan with section drawings and boundary stone.

the actual urns are missing. Recent rescue excavations at **Eleusis 5** have uncovered what seems to be another example of this type of triangular shrine, dating to the early seventh century. In any case, geometric graves have been found nearby and cult-continuity through the Archaic Period seems confirmed through the find of a rectangular structure within the triangular walls and at a lower level, dating to the seventh century BCE,[333] an indication that, as at Eretria, cult was probably initiated immediately after the Geometric Period. The rectangular shrine at Eretria has been identified as an altar or elaborate grave marker of a prominent ancestor-hero, one of the last "warrior princes" of the Geometric Period.[334] It seems reasonable to posit a similar function for the rectangular structure on the north slope of the Areopagus. Or perhaps the cult was directed to an entire elite family.

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[333] Cf. Lalonde, 1968, 130-133, but see Thompson (1968), 58, who favors a date in the sixth century.
[334] But see Camp, 1986, 78, who suggests a shrine of Hekate.

1.16 Athens - Areopagus 3

Context:	Debris-layer partially covering the "Oval Building" (**Athens - Areopagus 2**) and extending N toward "building A"
Date:	ca. 725-630 BCE
Location:	S of the Agora, on the lower slopes of the Areopagus
Pottery:	LG II to PA, including PC and Arg: **(PC)** aryballoi, oinochoai, skyphoi and pyxides; **(EastGr)** bowl; **(SG)** large neck amphora's, bowls, oinochoai, a smaller amphora, pyxis, kalathos and a kantharos; **(PA)** smaller amphora's and hydriai, louteria, and (large) open vessels (lebes), bowls, kantharoi, oinochoai, a kalathos and a cup; **(EBF)** and **(C)**.
Votives:	terracotta loom weights, spindle whorls, disks (perhaps used as stoppers), lamps, votive shields, figurines ("Stempelidole", horses and riders, four-horse teams, bearded warriors) and pierced votive plaques, including one of a goddess accompanied on either side by a snake; a bronze miniature tripod.
Main publication:	Burr, 1933.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001; Parker, 1996, 34, note 20 (no.3); Antonaccio, 1995, 123-125, 208-209; Küper, 1990, 22; Thompson, 1978, 98-99; Brann, 1962, 87 (votive plaque, no. 493), 111, 128-129 (H 17:4), pl. 30 (bottom); on tombs in vicinity see Coldstream, 2003, 30-32, 55-56, 1995, 393-394; Smithson, 1974, 1968.

1.16.1   The Fill from the Rectangular *Peribolos*

The fill excavated over the oval building contained material that belongs to three separate phases and seems to have been deposited during the construction of a fourth century rectangular *peribolos*, partly over the oval building:

1   Some of the material in this fill belonged to the EG II Period and has been shown to originate from the burial of the so-called "Rich Athenian Lady" nearby.[335]

2   This part of the fill is the only tangible evidence for cult activity at this site. Most of the fill consisted of a large Protoattic deposit (ca. 725-630; section 1.16.2)

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[335] Smithson (1968), esp. 78-79; at least ten joins were made between sherds from this fill and the Rich Lady's grave.

3   Smithson posited a fourth century rectangular *temenos*, based on a surviving stretch of wall and some sherds that were found inside the fill and belong to the fourth century.[336] In her view the entire content of the fill was created during the construction of its walls. The construction seems to be a part of a group of Classical *periboloi* on the Agora, presumably to accommodate for some sort of hero or heroized ancestor cult.[337]

1.16.2   The Protoattic Deposit

This is the large votive deposit that was found in the fill on top of the geometric oval building. In addition to the great abundance of Protoattic pottery (Figure 36, Figure 37 and Figure 38), the deposit contains subgeometric, protoargive and protocorinthian pottery. Other finds are mostly terracotta: votive shields (Figure 39 and Figure 40), lamps, figurines – horses, riders, four-horse teams and warriors (Figure 41 a-d) – loom weights and spindle whorls. Terracotta plaques were found in some measure (Figure 41 e), most notably one bearing the image of a goddess with raised arms and Figure 34). Also, a miniature bronze tripod (Figure 35) was found inside a Protoattic kantharos.

The deposit seems to have been made no later than 640-630 BCE, when the latest material was included. Burr believed this deposit belonged to a cult of the Semnai, avenging deities who were known to have been located on the Areopagus.[338] On the other hand, if Smithson is right in understanding the deposit over the oval building as the result of the construction of a fourth century rectangular *temenos*, the original location of the material may not be far removed. Since Burr's publication, the final date of the building's use has been down-dated, bridging the original temporal gap between the building's collapse and the first items from the votive deposit. Thus, a connection with the oval building as part of some continued cult of the dead cannot be excluded. This may also be advocated by the similarity of some of the votives with those found in the context of the cult at **Athens – Agora 2** (cf. Figure 28) as well as at the Tholos tomb of **Menidi**. The goddess accompanied by snakes could then be understood as belonging to a local cult of the dead. The snakes are chthonic creatures suitable to a cult of the dead. A snake protome found in the nearby cult could be seen in a similar context. However, a link with the MG burial plot and with the oval building as the preceding phase of worship, is hard to conceive as the method of

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[336] Smithson (1974), 78-79, cited by Antonaccio (1995), 125, note 474; Burr (1933), 636-640 believed that the deposit had come from a nearby cult of the Semnai dating to the seventh century.

[337] But see Antonaccio (1995), 125-6, who does not see any proof of hero cult in the Agora.

[338] Burr (1933), 637-638. Cf. Plut. *Solon* 12.1. See also Judeich (1931), 343-345 and *Hesperia* 15, 199, no. 40, lines 15-17.
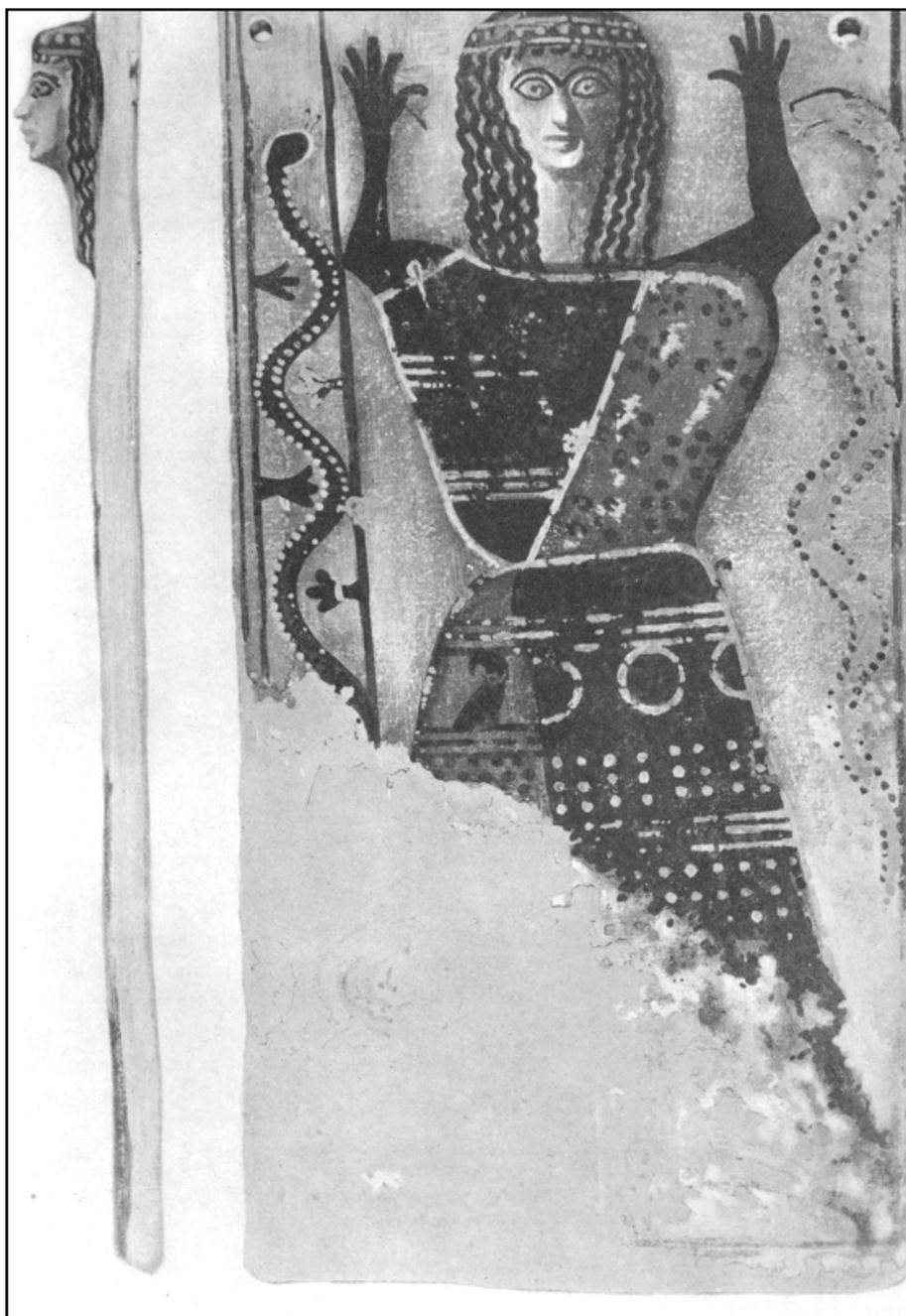
Figure 34 – Votive placque with snake goddess. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.

deposition bears little relation to the oval building or to building A, which it also covers. Recently, Michael Laughy has proposed a different solution. In an as of yet unpublished paper he argues that the deposit could have originated from the Eleusinion. In Chapter 9.4.2 I argue that, if Laughy's proposition is true, the Protoattic deposit may represent a major reformation of the cult of Demeter ca. 630 BCE.
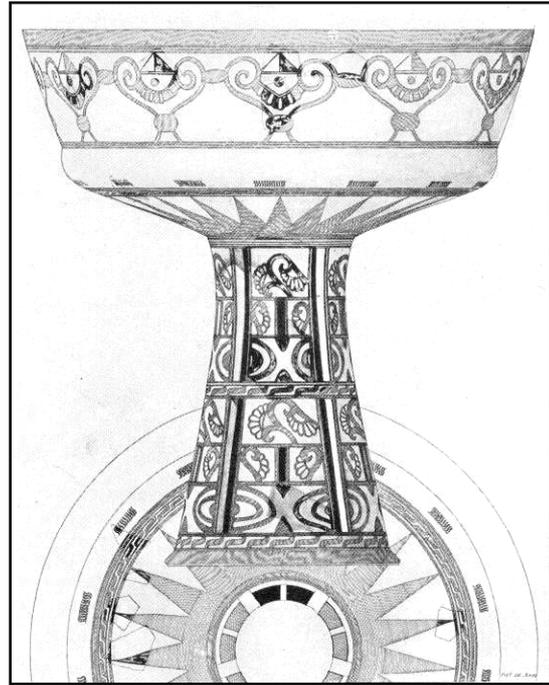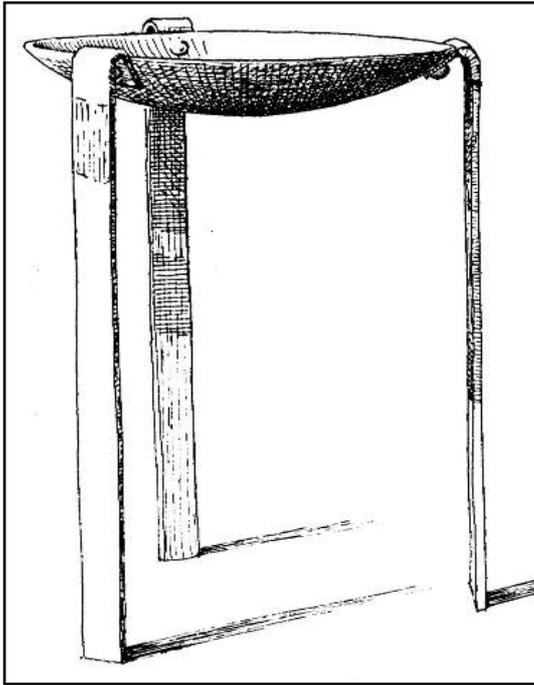
Figure 35 – Miniature tripod

Figure 36 – Reconstruction of a Protoattic Louterion. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.

Figure 37 – Protoattic plate. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.
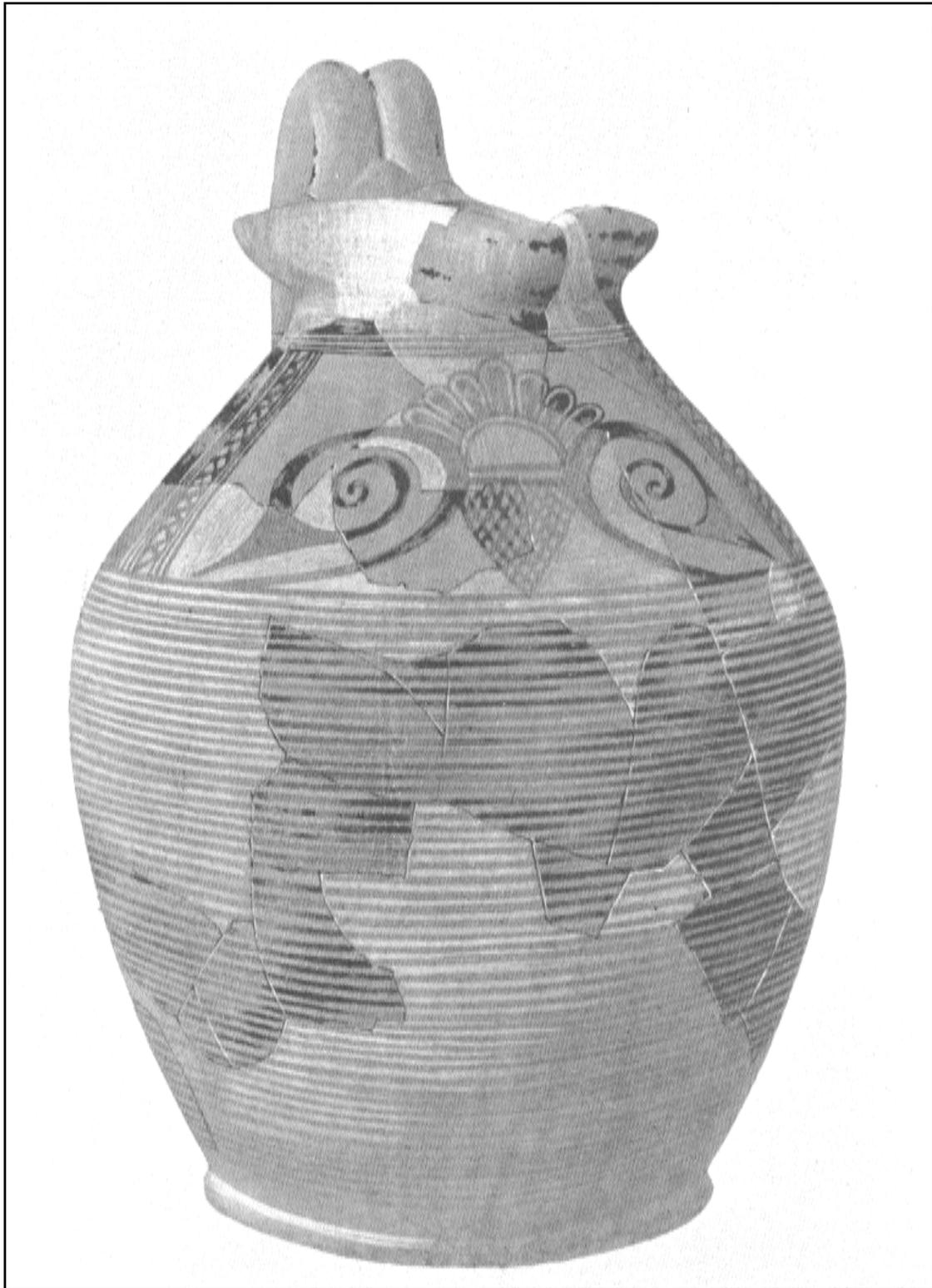
Figure 38 – Protoattic jug. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.
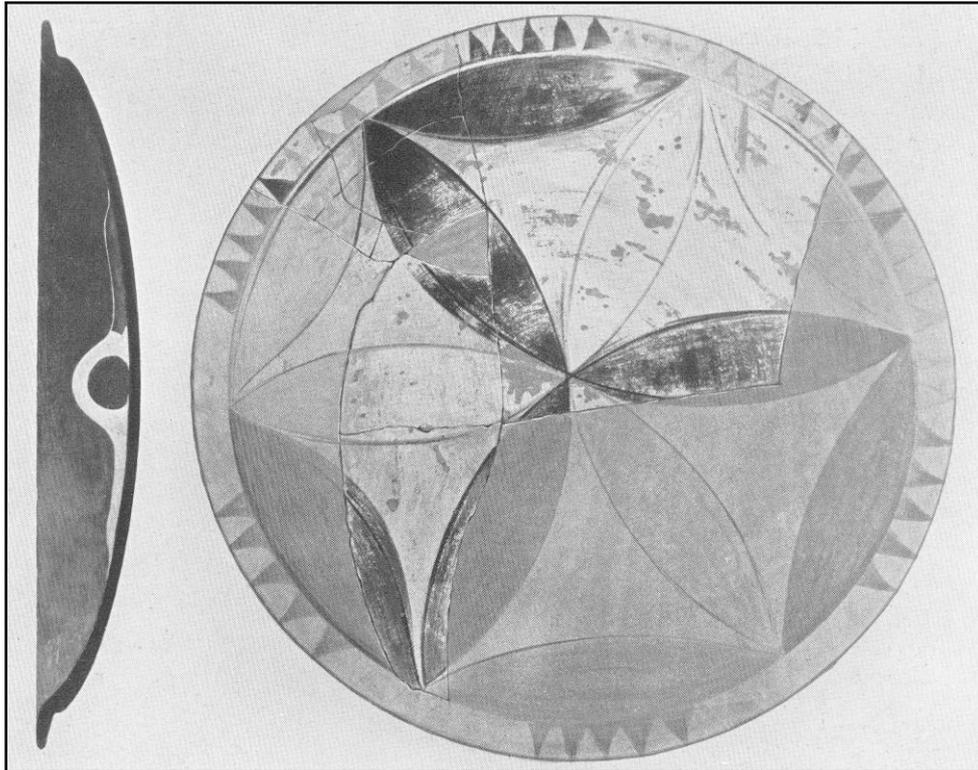
Figure 39 – Miniature Shield. Reconstruction drawing by Piet de Jong.
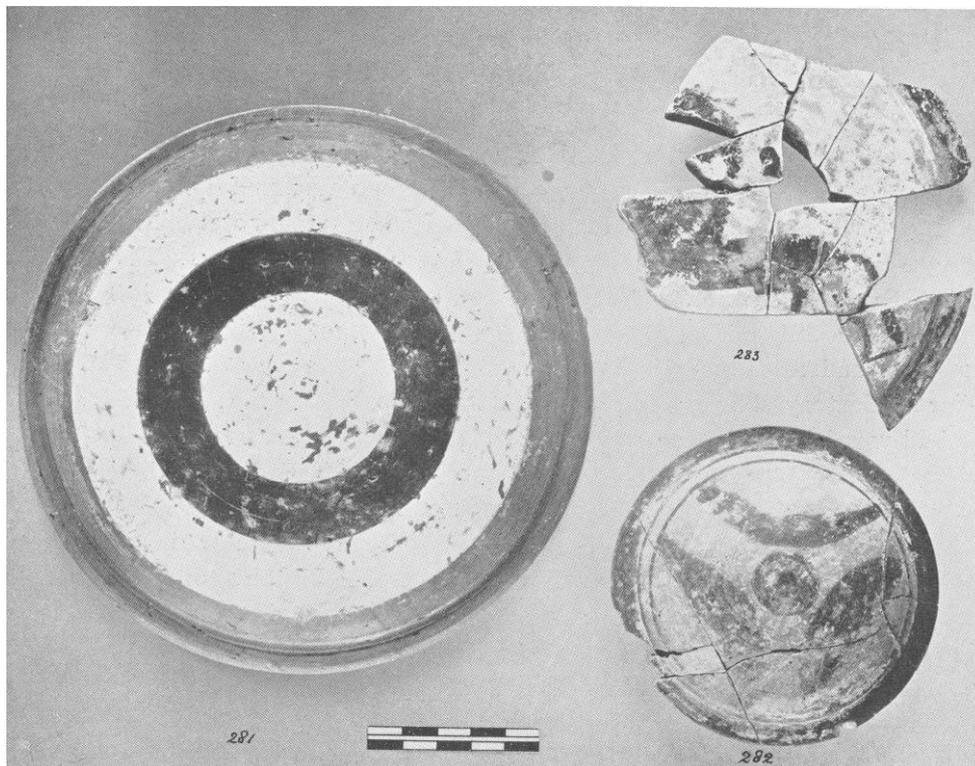
Figure 40 – Miniature shields.
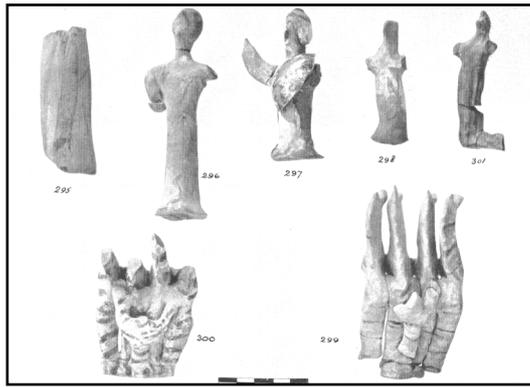
a
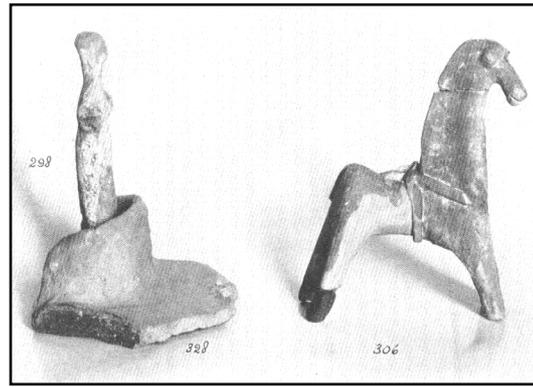
b
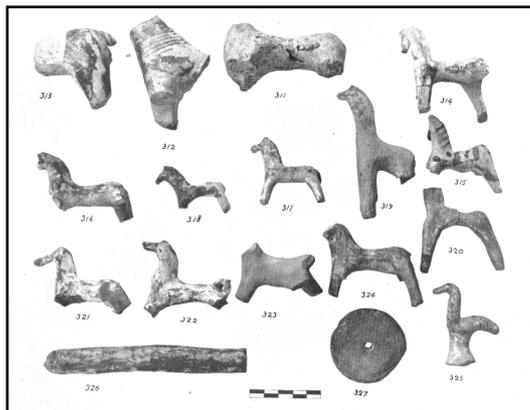
c
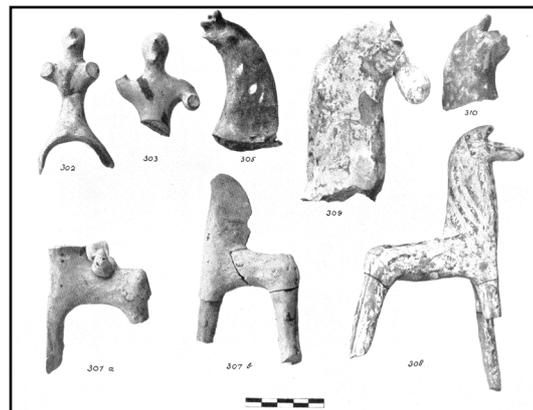
d
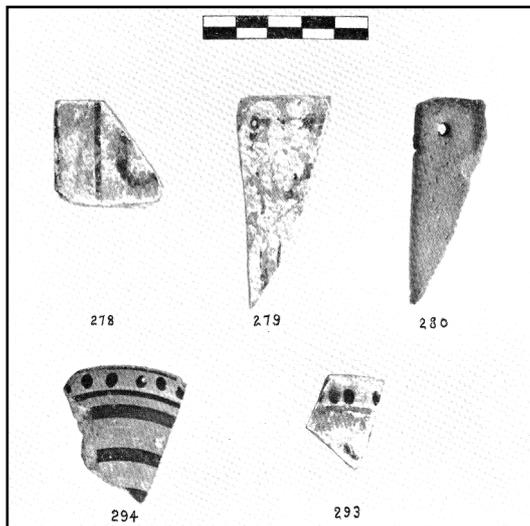
e

Figure 41 –Terracotta figurines (a-d – horses, riders, idols) and votive plaques (e).
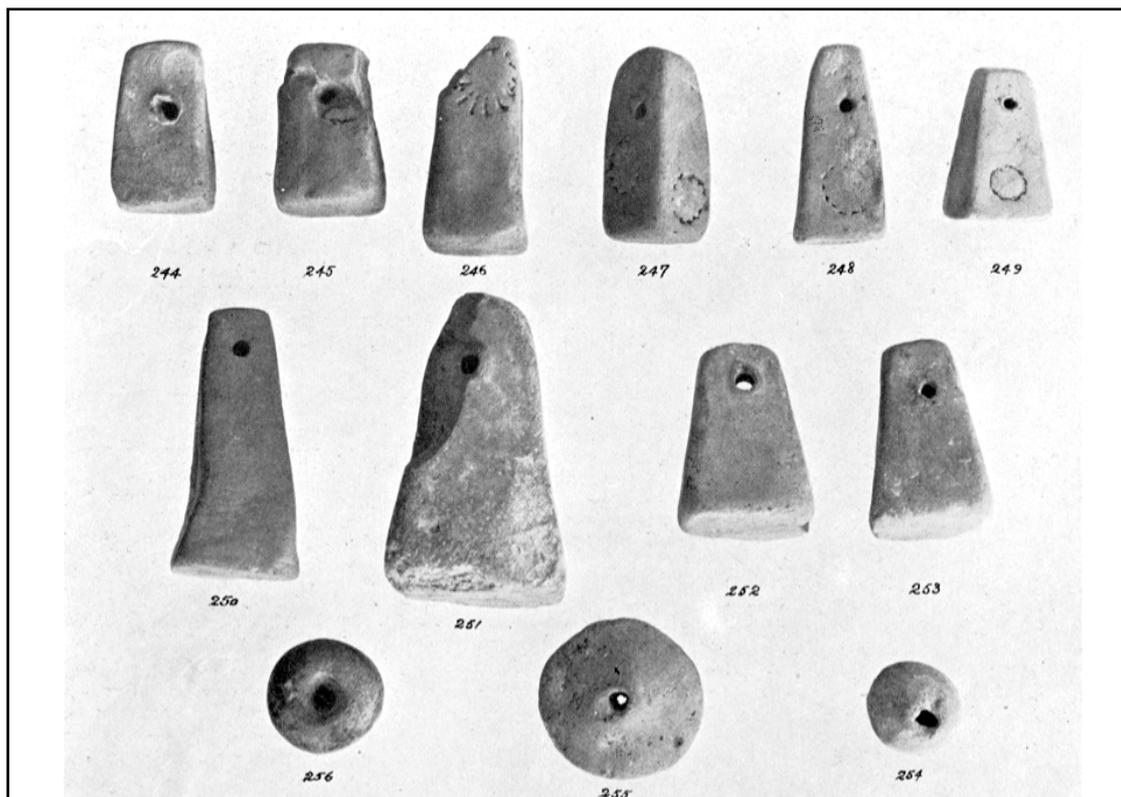
Figure 42 – Terracotta loomweights and spindlewhorls.
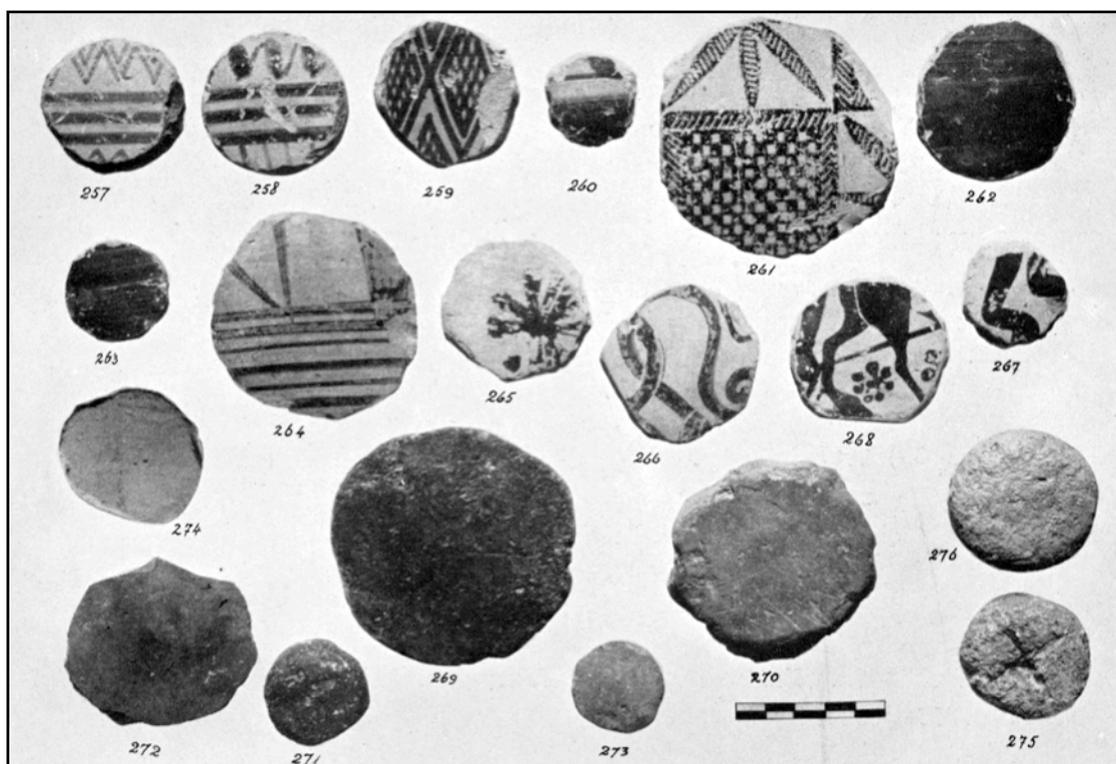
Figure 43 – Terracotta jar stopppers.

1.17 Athens – Eleusinion

Context:	sanctuary of Demeter
Date:	from ca. 700 BCE or slightly earlier
Location:	on slope below Eleusinion
Pottery:	**(LG II)** oinochoe; **(SG)** oinochoe; **(EPA)** amphora, hydriai, krater, bowl, plate, skyphos, kotylai, cups, cooking ware kados; **(MPA)** bowls; **(LG/PA)** incised ware.
Votives:	terracotta figurines and votive plaques
Main publication:	Miles, 1998, 16-19, fig. 4, cat. nos. 3-6, pls. 24-26.
Bibliography:	Brann, 1962, 111, 131.

A votive assemblage was uncovered in three wells (T19:3, T20:2 and T20:4) and one separate deposit (T20:3) in the area of the later Eleusinion. The deposits consist of pottery from the later eighth to the early sixth century BCE (mostly Early Protoattic) and a great number of terracotta figurines.[339] The cult of Demeter in this place has been securely attested from ca. 600 BCE and these deposits may well belong to the same cult.[340]
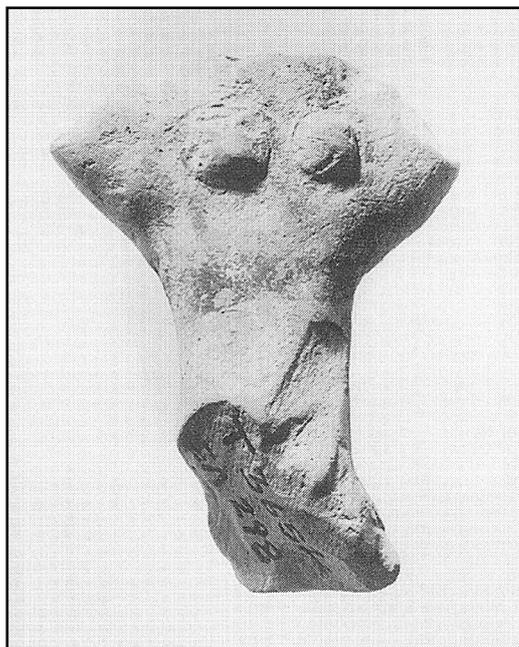
Figure 44 – Torso of female terracotta figurine.
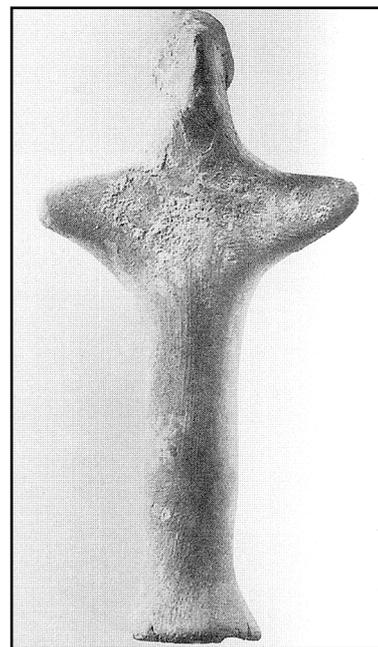
Figure 45 – "Stempelidol"

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[339] Notice how in Figure 44 the breasts and flaring of the arms seem to resemble the Mycenaean type, perhaps indicating reuse.

[340] Miles, 1998, 16-19.
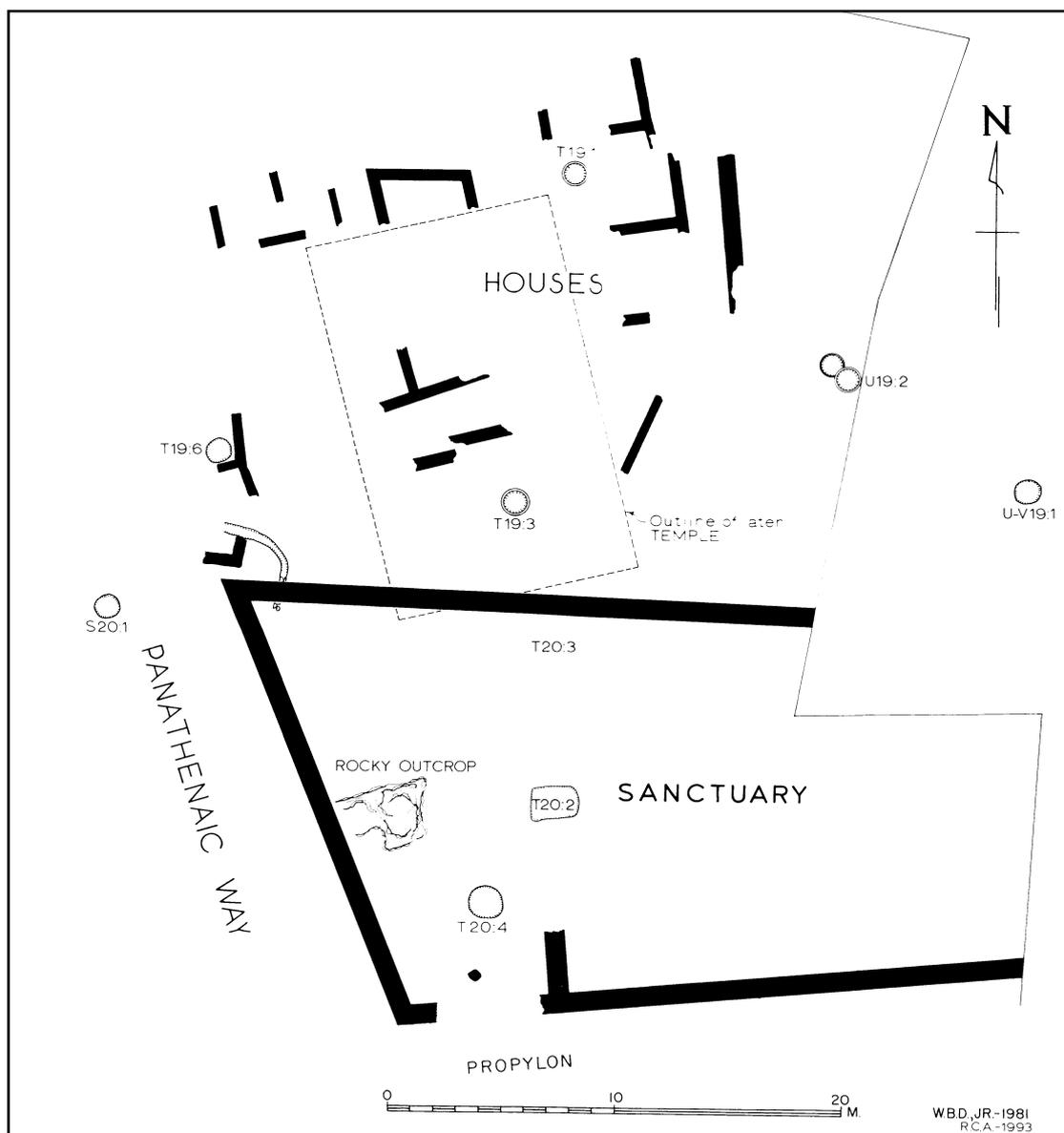
Figure 46 – Location of the votive deposits in relation to the sixth century Eleusinion.

Michael Laughy has recently proposed that the large Protoattic deposit that was found partially over the so-called Oval Building at **Athens - Areopagus 1** and extending south to "Building A" (Figure 25) represents votive debris from this location.[341] His identification of the so-called "snake goddess" as Demeter is particularly attractive. If his reconstruction of the facts is true we may postulate a major reorganization of this sanctuary of Demeter in the middle years of the seventh century, perhaps marking the novel association with the cult at Eleusis.

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[341] From an unpublished paper held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 2009.

1.18 Brauron

Context:	cult of Artemis
Date:	from late 8th c. BCE
Location:	sanctuary of Artemis, north of the acropolis
Architecture:	walls and paving beneath the central nave of the classical temple, perhaps part of an altar or temple belonging to the middle of the seventh century;[342] rooms used for storing and dining inside the cave, ca. 10 m S of the classical temple
Pottery:	**(LG II**, **SG** and **PA)** many drinking vessels; **(PC** and **C)** lekythoi and aryballoi; **(BF)** including krateriskoi; **(RF)**.
Votives:	small metal objects, including golden rings (8th c.); terracotta figurines and a marble lamp (7th c.)
Preliminary reports:	J. Papadimitriou, *Prakt* 1945-8, 86; 1949, 73-83, figs. 7-8; 1950, 173-187; ibid. 84, fig. 15; 1955, 118-120, pls. 37α and β; 1956, 73-77, fig. 1, pl. 19 a-c; 1957, 42-47, fig. 1, plate 9a-b and 10a; 1959, 16-20; *Ergon* 1959, 13-20, fig. 20; 1960, 23; 1961, 21, 28, 30-32; M. C. Picard, *CRAI* 1949, 3. (For more reports concerning the later sanctuary, cf. Ekroth, 2003, 60, n. 3).
Summaries:	M.S.F. Hood, *AR* 1955, 7; 1956; 5, 1957, 6; K. Schefold, *AK*, 1960, 95. Daux, *BCH* 86 (1962), 671.
Bibliography:	Ekroth, 2003; Themelis, 2002, 109; Langdon, 1997a, 118; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317; Mersch, 1996, 68-69, 114-115; Parker, 1996, 18; Antoniou, 1990, 42-60 (catalogue), 73-78; Kearns, 1989, 27-33, 57-58, 174 s.v. Iphigeneia; Kahil, 1988; Travlos, 1988, 55-80; Wickens, 1986, vol. I, 164, vol. II, 63-72; Kahil, 1977; Themelis, 1976, 54, no. 13, plan 11; Sale, 1975, 265-84; Desborough, 1972, 159; Themelis, 1971, 10; Kondis, 1967; Kahil, 1963; Papadimitriou, 1963. **Artemis**: Kahil, 1984, 1977, 1965. **Iphigeneia**: Ekroth, 2003; Hollinshead, 1985; Travlos, 1976.

John Papadimitriou excavated the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron between 1948 and 1963. His death in that same year prevented a full publication of the findings and effectively called the excavation effort to a halt. The only reliable publications are the preliminary annual reports in *Praktika*, *Ergon* and *BCH*, published by the excavator

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[342] Papadimitriou, *Prakt*. 1955, 118.
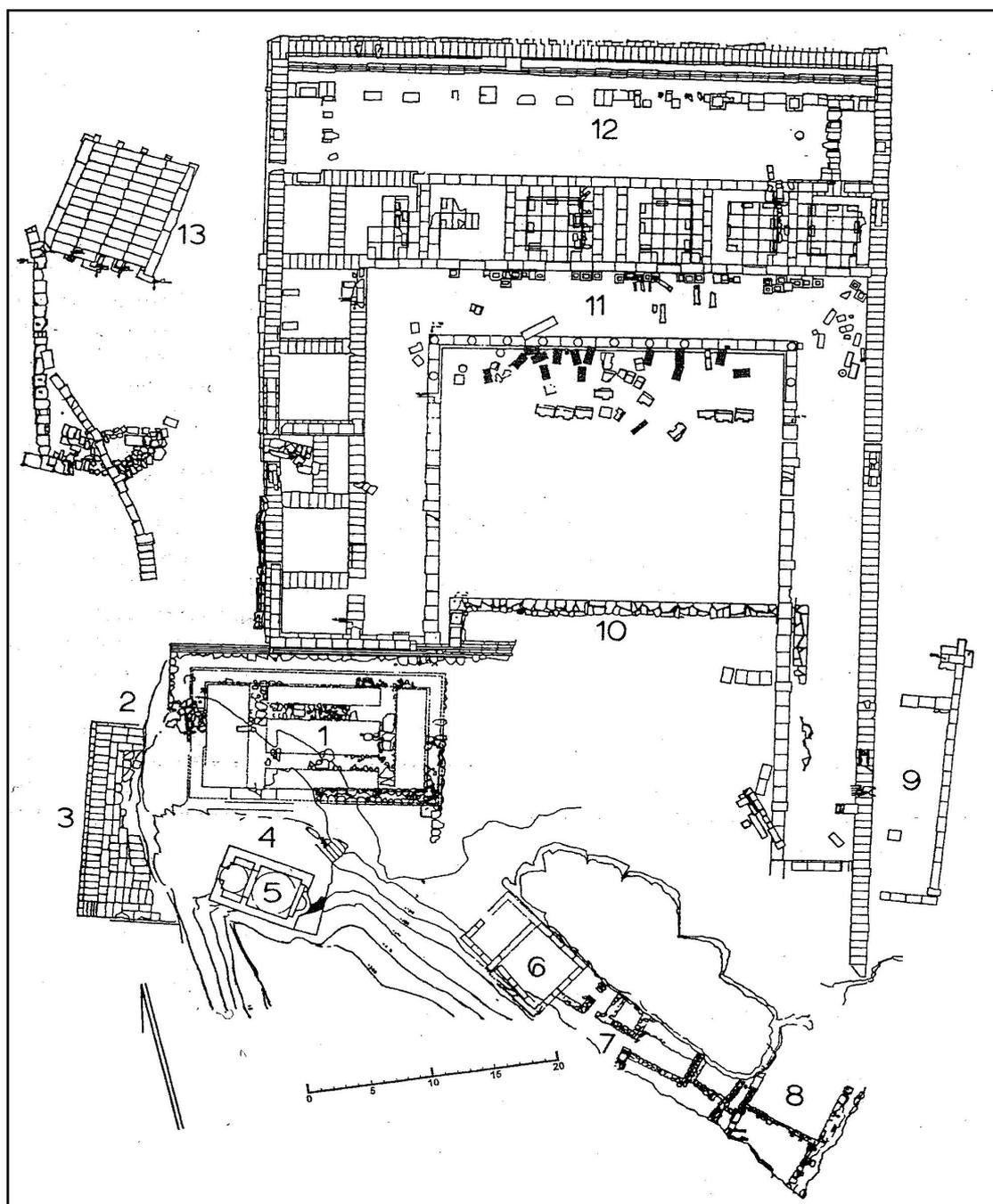
Figure 47 – Ground plan of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, with the temple of Artemis (1), the area of the spring (2), the cave (7) and the stoa (11).

following each campaign. These reports are useful as they present a general impression of the excavated material, but lack information such as object description, dating and stratigraphical details.

The earliest history of the Brauron sanctuary is therefore less well established than that of other classical sanctuaries, such as the cult of Demeter at Eleusis.

Recently, Gunnel Ekroth has published a thorough reconstruction of the remains to which the treatment of the site in this section is greatly indebted.[343]

1.18.1   The Site

The site of Artemis' sanctuary at Brauron is generally to be divided in four areas (cf. Figure 47): The area of the sacred spring, the classical temple, the area of the classical stoa and the cave. The first three, the spring, temple plateau and the flat land to the east, are embraced by the river, which supplies the area with ample vegetation and which may, together with the "Sacred Spring" (Figure 47, 2), in fact be partly responsible for the attraction of this location as a cult spot:

> *à Brauron, comme si souvent ailleurs, la déesse s'est installée dans son paysage favori, celui où l'eau est en abondance, une eau qui n'est pas nécessairement celle de la mer, ni même une eau particulièrement douce – à Brauron, en effet, l'eau est saumâtre, même celle de la source –, mais c'est l'eau qui favorise une végétation luxuriante, c'est celle que l'on retrouve à Sparte et dans bien d'autres sanctuaires de la déesse, où la présence d'une source est si fréquente et où un forêt avoisinante convient au caractère de la divinité.[344]*

From the beginning, ritual activity seems to have been oriented on the temple plateau and the cave (Figure 47, 1 and 7; Figure 48). Most votive offerings were found in this area and that of the "Sacred Spring" (Figure 47, 2). In fact, it has been suggested that the first signs of cult activity are to be found in a bothros in between the cave and the classical temple.[345] The fourth area, situated to the northeast and the site of the classical stoa (Figure 47, 11 and 12), was presumably used as a place for ritual dining (Festwiese). This lower-lying area near the Erasinos, could accommodate large numbers of cult-adherents. Hundreds of simple SG mugs found here indicate that, as was the case in most sanctuaries, ritual dining took place in the open air or perhaps in provisional tents.[346]

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[343] Ekroth, 2003, 103, n. 215.
[344] Kahil, 1988, 799-800, cf Ekroth, 2003, 103.
[345] Kahil, 1988, 800.
[346] Ekroth, 2003, 103. For the Festwiese as an important element of Greek sanctuaries, cf. Sinn, 1992, 182, figs. 11 and 13-14.
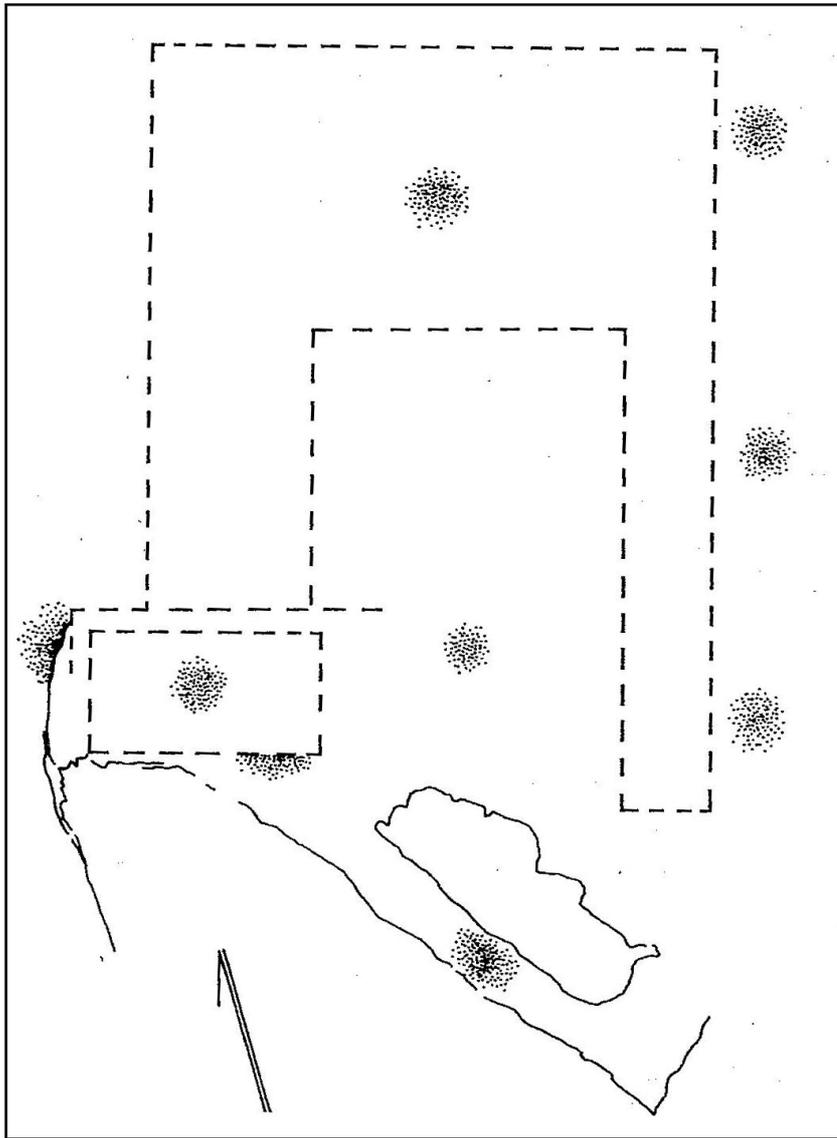
Figure 48 – Concentrations of 8th and 7th century BCE material in the sanctuary of Artemis. Classical buildings indicated in interrupted lines.
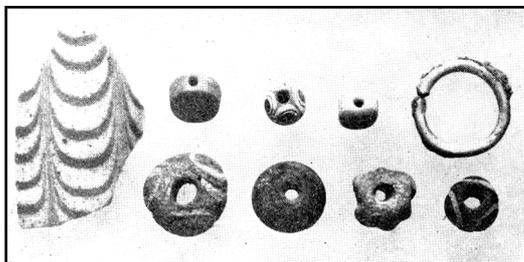

Figure 49 – Various objects from the sanctuary of Artemis.
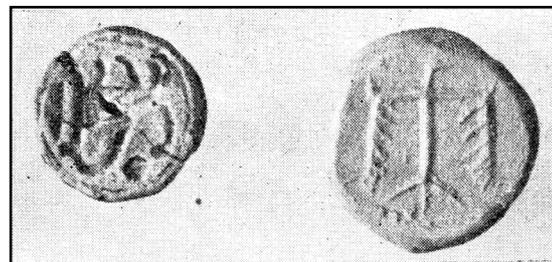
Figure 50 – Stone Seals from the Sanctuary of Artemis.

1.18.2   The Early History and Archaeology of the Cult of Artemis

In the Late Bronze Age, the acropolis of Brauron, immediately south and southwest of the sanctuary, had been inhabited and fortified. As was the case with all peripheral areas outside Athens, this settlement was abandoned after the LH IIIB Period. The ensuing "Early Iron-Age Hiatus" lasted until the LPG Period, when settlers returned to the area called Kipi (Kepoi) three kilometers east of Brauron and the center of the later deme of Philaidai.[347] Close by, some geometric graves were found on Kapsala hill suggesting the existence of a contemporary settlement in the vicinity.[348]

By contrast, the early history of the cult site is somewhat nebulous. EG I (or perhaps LPG) pottery was found, out of context, NE of the stoa. This material is frequently cited as the earliest evidence of cult activity at Brauron.[349] There is, however, no indication that the pottery in question was used in a ritual context and the fact that the area at large was inhabited from an early stage raises serious questions as to the provenience of these sherds. As we will see (Chapter 4.1.19 and 4.1.48-4.1.49), the other great peripheral sanctuaries in Attica did not emerge until the very end of the 8th century BCE.[350] At Brauron too, the first indubitable signs of cult belong to the end of the LG Period, when, it appears, the main ritual areas were laid out.[351] LG II sherds and various other objects were found underneath the S, SE and central part of the Classical temple (Figure 49 and Figure 50), as well as near the "Sacred Spring" and the bothros mentioned earlier.[352] Thus, even if we concede the possibility of some, very limited, signs of early ritual activity, it is nevertheless clear that the establishment of Brauron as a major regional cult center did not take place until the closing years of the eighth century BCE. The seventh century, however, yielded the

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[347] Settlement at Kepoi, cf. Antoniou, 1990, 74, who believed that the memory of the earlier settlement on the acropolis seems to have deterred the new settlers from inhabiting the same place again. As I will argue in part II, the settlers, being in a position of dependency with regard to Athens, had neither the need nor were they in any position to fortify themselves on the old acropolis. The new settlers, it appears, opted for a location with better access to the sea. For the "Early Iron-Age Hiatus", cf. van Gelder, 1991.

[348] Papadimitriou, *Prakt.* 1957, 45. Cf. Ekroth, 2003, 102, n. 212.

[349] Cf. Themelis, 1971: "Traces of life begin again in the ninth cent, as indicated by certain late protogeometric vases found in great depth and to the NE of the Stoa, in the area where is today the reservoir of the drainage system. The period of prosperity for the sanctuary begins however ca. 700 BCE [...]." Ekroth, 2003, 103; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317; Antoniou, 1990, 73. However, all acknowledge the uncertainty of the early material as well as the fact that the cult intensified toward the end of the eighth century BCE. Travlos, 1988, 55 believes the sanctuary was not in use until the LG period.

[350] Even the cult of Athena (**Athens - Acropolis 1**) is not an exception, with votive material emerging from ca. 750 BCE.

[351] Ekroth, 2003, 103; Langdon, 1997a, 118.

[352] Papadimitriou, *Prakt*, 1948, 86; 1949, 79.

greatest abundance of votives and pottery, mainly from the vicinity of the spring, which seems to have been the main area for the deposition of offerings.[353]

1.18.3   Architecture

The earliest architectural remains belong to the middle of the seventh century. Papadimitriou identified some traces of paving and a transversal wall as the remains of the first temple or altar just east of the classical temple.[354] Figurines and seventh century pottery were found here as well.[355] Given the choice of this location for the construction of the late archaic and classical temples, it seems very plausible that an altar was already in operation here during the seventh century. On analogy with **Eleusis 1**, I would suggest that the transversal wall could have been used as a terracing wall to enlarge the space on which the offering rituals could be performed. Whether a cult building was erected as early as the seventh century is essentially impossible to know, as the sixth and fifth century temple projects would have thoroughly erased any architectural traces from that time. Some 10 m to the southeast a confusing group of walls form small rooms inside the area of the cave. These will be discussed in the next section.

1.18.4   The Cave

The pottery found inside the cave indicates that it was in use as early as 700 BCE.[356] It also shows that, with the spring and the Erasinos river, the cave was one of the main attractions for the performance of cult activity at this location. Based on Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Papadimitriou identified the cave as the locus for a cult of Iphigeneia, and believed it contained her grave and heroon.[357] However, Gunnel Ekroth has pointed out that nothing in the cave specifically refers to a cult of Iphigeneia. She has shown that the graves, which Papadimitriou thought included that of Iphigeneia, belong to the Roman Period . In fact, the finds are remarkably similar

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[353] For the first votive figurines, cf. Papadimitriou, *Prakt*, 1959, 20; *Ergon*, 1959, 20. For the votive material from the Sacred Spring, cf. Papadimitriou, *Prakt* 1959, 16-19; *Ergon* 1959, 16; 1961, 30-34, figs. 33, 36-37; 1962, 27-28. Popularity of Brauron in the seventh century, cf. Ekroth, 2003, 103; Mersch, 1996, 69.

[354] Papadimitriou, *Prakt*, 1955, 118. See also Papadimitriou, *Prakt*, 1945-1948, 86; Mersch, 1996, 114; Antoniou, 1990, 77. Eustratiou (*Archaiologia* 39, 79) has posited a wooden temple, the predecessor of the Classical one, in the area of the later chapel of Hagios Georgios (Figure 47, 5), a view which has recently been discredited, Ekroth, 2003, 102, n. 215.

[355] Papadimitriou, *Prakt* 1956, 73-75, pl. 18b; 1959, 20, pl 15a; *Ergon* 1956, 25; 1959, 19-20.

[356] Eustratiou (*Archaiologia* 39, 79) believes that the first pottery should be dated to the eighth century BCE; see however Ekroth, 2003, 77, n. 87; Mersch, 1996, 69; Themelis, 1971, 10. The first datable published object is a fragment of a protoattic amphora from ca. 700 BCE, cf. Kahil, 1963, 6, cat. no. A1. Kahil attributed the piece, which was found inside the "Small Heroon", to the Analatos painter.

[357] Eur., *IT*, 1462-1467. Papadimitriou, *Prakt* 1950, 177; 1955, 118. Cf. Ekroth, 2003, 85.

to those that were found throughout the sanctuary and are commonly ascribed to the worship of Artemis.[358] Furthermore, the graves that were found in the cave area most likely date to the Roman Period and as such have no bearing on the "heroic nature" of the site.[359]

Since the argument for Iphigeneia's cult is based on a circular argument, we must assume that neither the cave, nor the "Small Temple" or Sacred House were dedicated to the heroine; there is nothing in the text itself that proves the existence of such a cult and it may well have been an invention by Euripides.[360] Having "deconstructed" Iphigenia thus, Ekroth points the way to a new interpretation of the cave.[361] At least three rooms were constructed during the 7th century, perhaps as early as 700 BCE (A, E and Δ – Figure 51). They presumably served as a dining facility as well as additional storage space for the cult of Artemis throughout the seventh and sixth centuries:

> *"The religious office holders and other prominent participants could have taken their meals in the cave, enjoying its seclusion and shade. The cave may also have been used as accommodation for the priestesses or other officials staying at the sanctuary for long periods. If the number of girls was very limited [...] the cave was perhaps used as living quarters for these arktoi. The material recovered from the cave suggested that it had a second function as well, namely as a storage space for dedications, perhaps supplementing the temple in this respect."[362]*

The 6th century Sacred House and the 5th century "Small Temple" may also be viewed in this light, as buildings that could accommodate priests and other cult personnel or high officials. In the 7th century, the cave itself performed this function. As the examples from **Parnes 1**, **Anavyssos 1**, and perhaps also that of Hymettos and **Kommeno Litari**, show, dining in caves was by no means an exceptional activity.[363] The coolness and shade was very conducive to an agreeable late afternoon banquet. It also excused the priests from having to construct a special purpose building, such as were common at many other sites (cf. Part III). Finally, this identification is further strengthened by the fact that, when the cave collapsed in the 5th century, a large stoa

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[358] Ekroth, 2003, 79-82, table 2.
[359] Ekroth, 2003, 82-87.
[360] Ekroth, 2003, 74, cf. also note 77.
[361] Ekroth, 2003, 78.
[362] Ekroth, 2003, 104.
[363] I suggest below that a LH Tholos tomb at Marathon (Vrana) may have been similarly used.
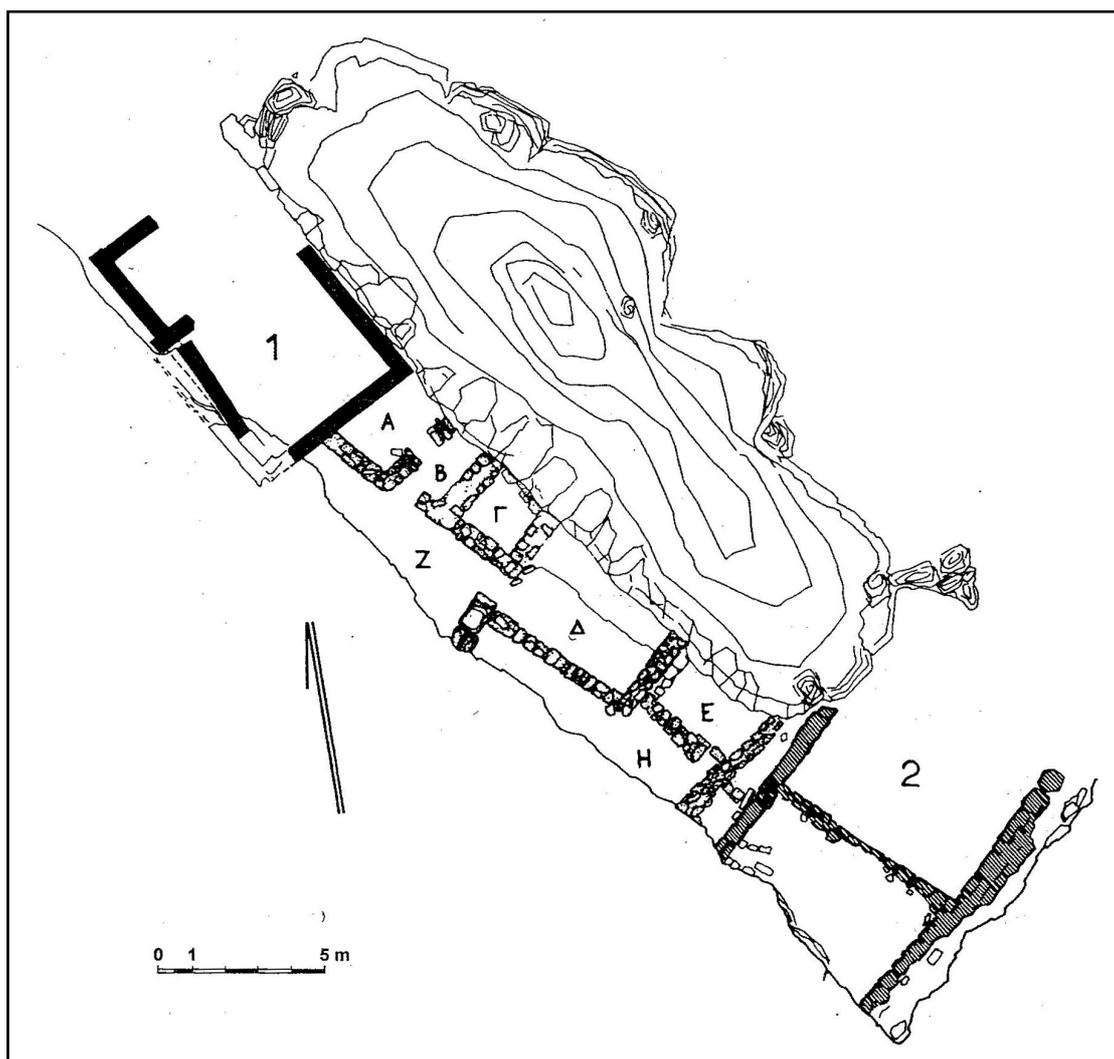
Figure 51 - Plan of the cave area southeast of the classical temple of Artemis.[365] **Early remains are indicated with Greek letters. 1 and 2 indicate the remains of the "Small Temple" and the Sacred House (5th and 6th c. BCE respectively).**

was built to accommodate large numbers of participants (Figure 47, no. 11).[364] The stoa consisted of ten square dining halls and was built at the site of what had formerly been used as the "Festwiese" (cf. section 1.18.1 above), the open field presumably used for impromptu dining tents during festival days.

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[364] Ekroth, 2003, 87-93, 108-11 (cf. ns. 146 and 241 for excavation reports); Travlos, 1988, 55-56; Coulton, 1976, 42-43, 226-227; Bouras, 1967, 127-140, pls. 11 a-b and 12 g.
[365] From Themelis, 1976, (fig. 11).

1.19 Eleusis 1

Type:	cult of Demeter and Kore
Date:	ca. 725 BCE or slightly earlier
Location:	underneath Archaic and Classical Telesterion
Architecture:	four rooms (B/B1-3) reused from LH II - LH IIIB
Pottery:	(**LG**) handmade conical oinochoai;[366] (**EPC**) spherical aryballos (probably not earlier than 720-690); (**PA/PC**) alabastra and aryballoi;[367] (**Arg**) monochrome ware.
Votives:	from Sacrificial Pyre Alpha: 31 votive tablets (plaques) with painted tripods, birds and snakes,[368] female terracotta figurines of columnar and flat types, including women holding babies and enthroned figures,[369] terracotta horse groups,[370] terracotta animals,[371] mold made protomai,[372] terracotta shields (?),[373] 7 lamp fragments,[374] gold sheet and jewelry (the earliest certainly datable terracotta's date from 710-690)[375]
Preliminary reports:	Philios, *Prakt* (1883), 50; (1884), 64-65, 76, pl. Δ; K. Kourouniotes, *ArchDelt* 13, Par., 1930-1931, 17-30; K. Kourouniotes, *ArchDelt* 14, Par., 1931-1932, 1-18; K. Kourouniotes and J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* 15, Par., 1933-1935, 32-33, figs. 33-35; K. Kourouniotes, *RA* 11 (1938), 97-98; G.E. Mylonas, *Prakt* (1981), 155; G.E. Mylonas and J. Travlos, *Ergon* (1981), 45-46; Catling, *AR* (1982-3), 10.
Main publications:	Binder, 1998; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 147-150, 317, 347-348; Travlos, 1983; Darcque, 1981; Mylonas, 1961, 55-76; Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933; Noack, 1927, 7-15; **Pyres:** Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, esp. 3-5 (summary)

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[366] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 1-11, pl. 7. For a concise discussion of the relevant pottery and finds see Binder (1988), 133.
[367] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 12-31, pl. 7-9.
[368] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 39-69, pl. 9-11.
[369] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 70-71, pl. 12 (late 8th c.); A 72-132-149, pl. 12-18 (7th c.); Boardman, 1954, 198, Eleusis nos. 1-5; Noack, 1927, 12-13, figs. 4-5.
[370] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 151-159, pl. 18-19.
[371] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, 160-162, pl 19.
[372] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 165-174, pl. 20.
[373] Skias, *AA*, col. 69; Wolters 1899, *AM*, 120, n. 12-13. These shields are now in the Eleusis museum. Their provenience is unknown.
[374] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 32-38. pl. 9.
[375] Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, A 175-185, 188-189, pl. 56, 58.

Bibliography:	Coldstream, 2003, 390-391; Cosmopoulos, 2003; Langdon, 1997a, 118-119; de Polignac, 1995a, 81; Kerényi, 1991; van Gelder, 1991, 60-61; Küper, 1989, 17, n. 3, p. 22, ns. 50-51, pp. 28-29, a-g; Mazarakis Ainian, 1988, 115; Travlos, 1988, 92, figs. 108, 111-118; Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 535-537; Burkert, 1985, 49; Garland, 1984; Thomas, 1982; Hope Simpson, 1981, 46; Mallwitz, 1981, 605, n. 28 and p. 642; Coldstream, 1977, 321; Snodgrass, 1971, 395; Travlos, 1970, 65-68; Drerup, 1969, 30; Desborough, 1964, 114-115; Travlos, 1951, 1949; Mylonas, 1942; Kourouniotes, 1940, 273, 1936, 11-17, 1935, 63-66, 1934, 8, 1933-1935, 21-26, figs. 23-28; Kourouniotes and Travlos, 1933-1935, 54-64; Kourouniotes, 1932; Mylonas, 1932b.

1.19.1 Introduction

The early remains in the area of the Eleusinian Telesterion have been object of protracted scholarly attention. After some initial explorations by the German pioneer-archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld, large scale excavations of this complex site commenced in the late nineteenth century under the supervision of Demetrios Philios (1882-1892) and Andreas Skias (1894-1907). These two archaeologists cleared much of the classical Telesterion, as well as most of the archaic and geometric remains underneath. A full publication of the findings was intended, but not carried out until the German scholar Ferdinand Noack compounded the data of his Greek colleagues as well as his own into his monumental study *Eleusis. Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums* (1927). In the 1930's, additional explorations were undertaken by K. Kourouniotes and George E. Mylonas, who were able to completely uncover the Bronze and Early Iron Age remains underneath the successive building phases of the Telesterion, conventionally termed "Solonian", "Pisistratean", "Cimonian", "Periclean" and "Roman" (Figure 52).

While we are concerned mainly with the "Solonian" and earlier remains, it is important to note that the archaeology of the site evidently suffered greatly from later construction, at times severely complicating our understanding of the remains. The many different archaeological sequences have occasioned a host of varying interpretations, some of which have tended to drift a good deal away from the archaeological data as presented in the seminal publications of Noack and Mylonas and Kourouniotes.[376] In particular, the exploration of the Mycenaean remains by the

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[376] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933; Noack, 1927.
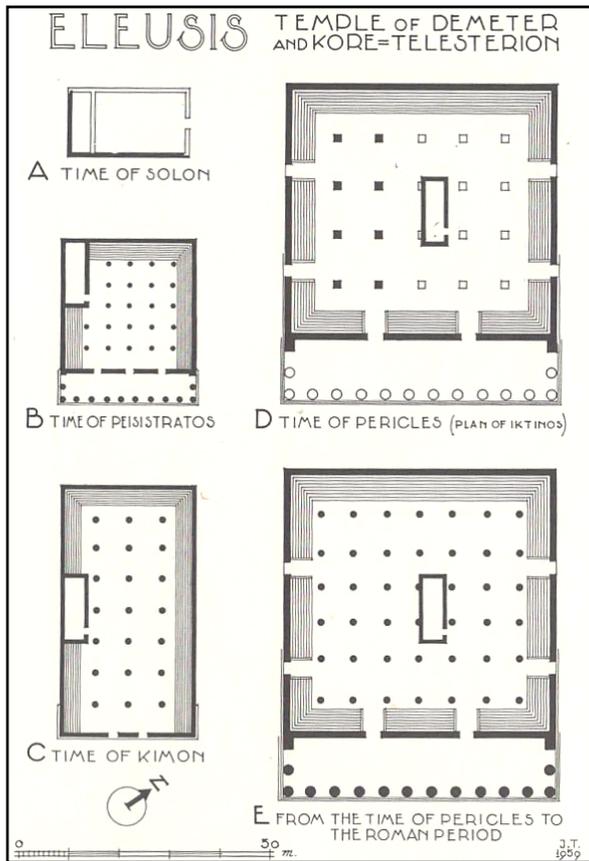
Figure 52 – Successive phases of the Telestesterion.

two latter scholars have prompted a long standing debate over the possibility of cult continuity extending back into the Late Bronze Age.

In general, three positions have been taken in this debate. The first was defended by Mylonas, who believed that the Bronze Age remains belong to a temple of Demeter whose cult was practiced from the fifteenth century BCE down to the historical period with no interruption.[377] Travlos took the middle ground, arguing that, while some of the Mycenaean rooms remained in use throughout the "Dark Ages", they did not serve as a temple, but rather as the seat of an important priestly family.[378] This family, the Eumolpidai, initially cultivated the goddess in their own dwelling before they consecrated it to her entirely ca. 760 BCE. Finally, Judith Binder took the skeptical approach, arguing that since no cult material has been proven to predate ca. 700 BCE, any reconstruction of what happened before this time, is unfounded.[379]

In recent years, the second view has tended to prevail as modified by Mazarakis Ainian, who argued for a period of abandonment followed by the reuse of the Bronze Age remains, perhaps as early as 900 BCE. In his view, members of the Eleusinian

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[377] Mylonas, 1961, 55.
[378] Travlos, 1983.
[379] Binder, 1998.
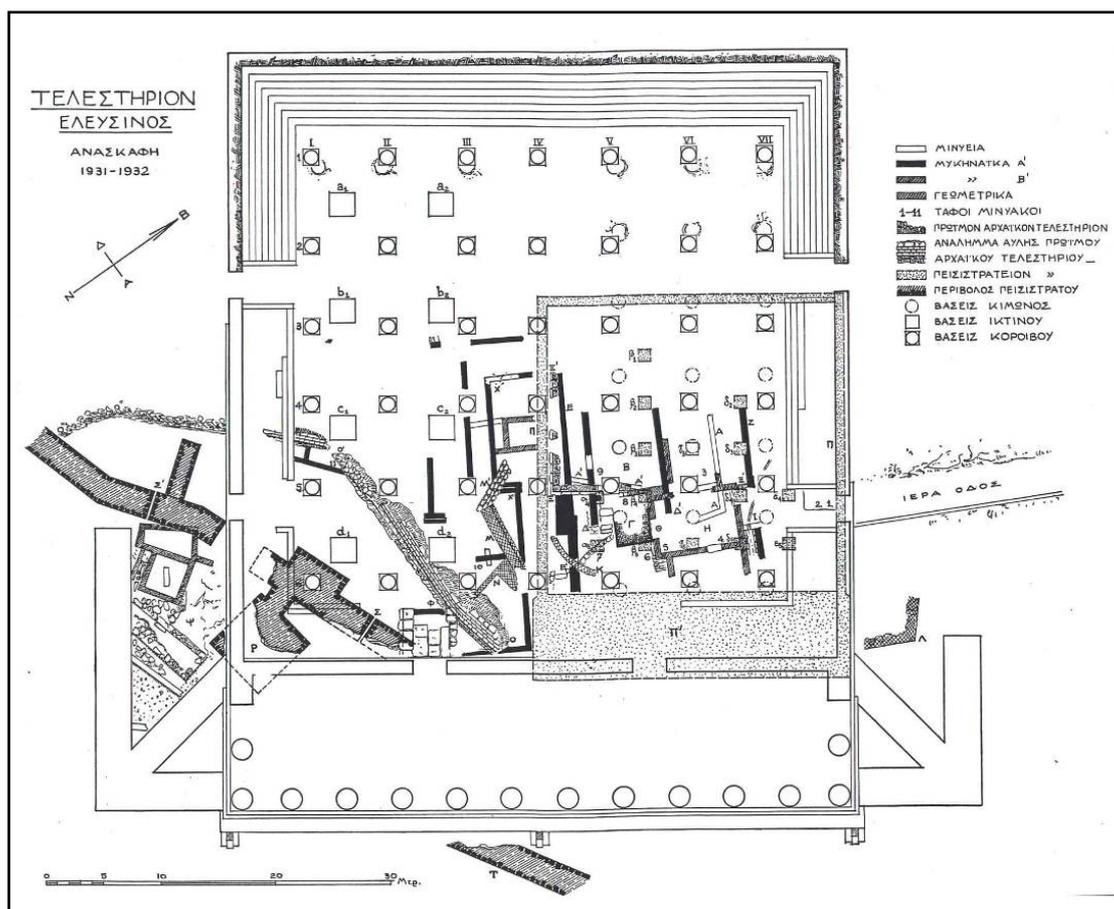
Figure 53 – State plan of the Telesterion site with prehistoric remains.

elite, perhaps the Eumolpidai, may have reoccupied the LH rooms, possibly based on some notion of previous ownership. This ruler's dwelling was in turn consecrated to the goddess in the second half of the eighth century BCE.[380]

Measuring ca. 8 x 6.5 m, the main room seemed to require two internal supports to uphold the roof, which the excavators restored on the main longitudinal axis, at regular intervals from each other as well as from the walls. In his general survey of Eleusis, Mylonas wrote in 1961 that one of the column bases had been found "left in its original position".[381] However, in the original report it is stated that: "no evidence of [the room's] interior arrangements, of the columns which most probably supported its roof, or of its hearth could be found in our work".[382] As no trace of the column is visible *in situ* today, this raises considerable doubt on the existence of these columns. A third column has been restored (*in antis*) in the portico situated to the SE, but here too no traces of its existence have been reported.[383]

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[380] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 347-348, cf. also Coldstream, 2003, 390-391.

[381] Mylonas, 1961, 35.

[382] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 275.

[383] A column in antis is usually restored in the portico, though Mylonas admitted that it would not have been a necessary element here, Mylonas, 1961, 35, n. 31.
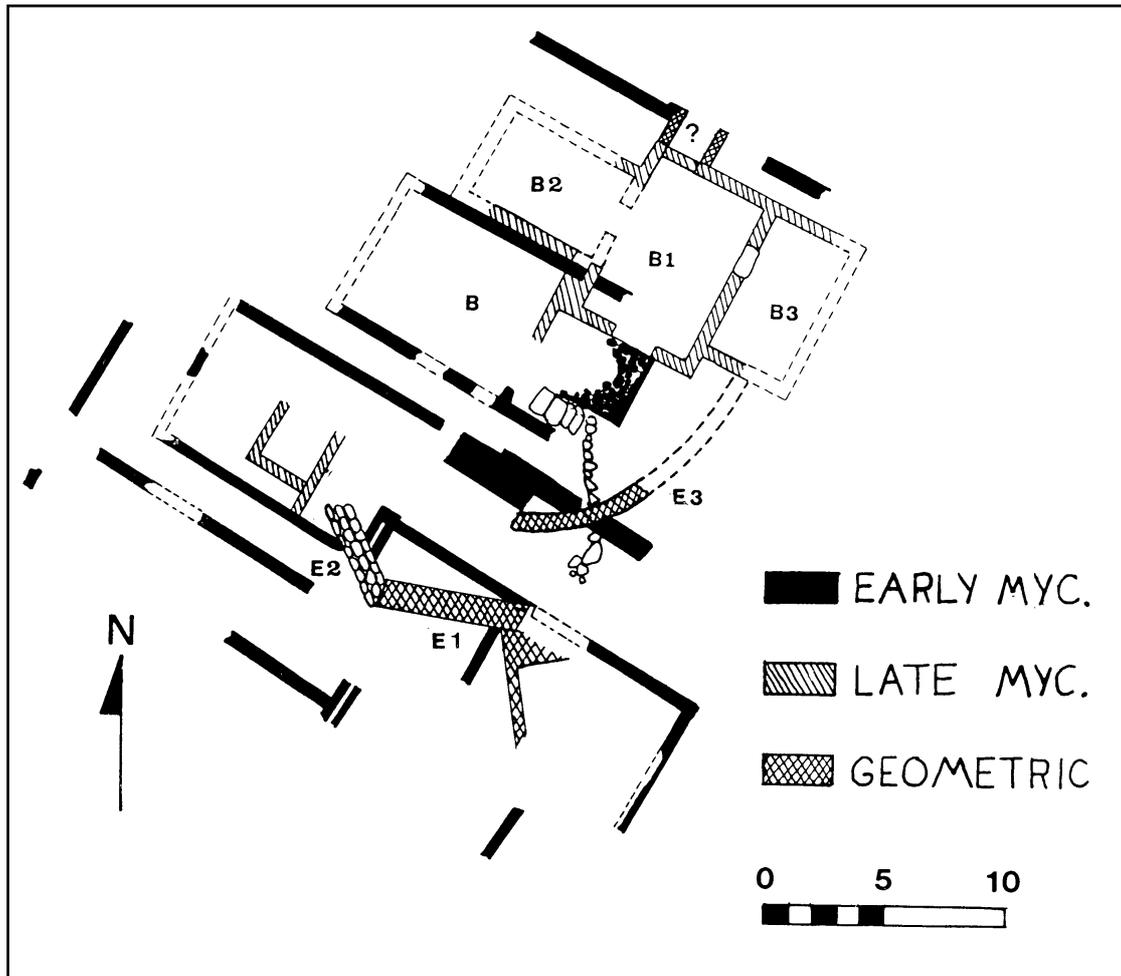
Figure 54 – Prehistoric remains below the Telesterion.

Since the Late Helladic remains play such an important role in the discussion of the cult's beginnings a short discussion is appropriate.

1.19.2 The Late Bronze Age

During their 1932 excavations, Kourouniotes and Mylonas investigated the Mycenaean layers underneath the classical Telesterion (Figure 53). A detailed state plan shows a large number of mostly perpendicular walls running NE-SW.[384] These walls, they argued, belong to two separate phases (LH II-IIIA and LH IIIB/C - Figure 54).[385] Focusing on the earlier phase, they arrived at a reconstruction of the remains which has since been widely accepted, acquiring notoriety as "Megaron B" (Figure 55 and Figure 56 left).[386] This one-room outfit was expanded in the next phase with three additional rooms (B1-3 – Figure 56 right). Of these, the two side rooms (B1 and B3)

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[384] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, pl. 34.
[385] "[...] these constructions were built toward the end of Late Helladic II and the beginning of Late Helladic III," Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 276. Note however that in their state plan (plate 34), the first period is styled LH IIIA only.
[386] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, fig. 6.
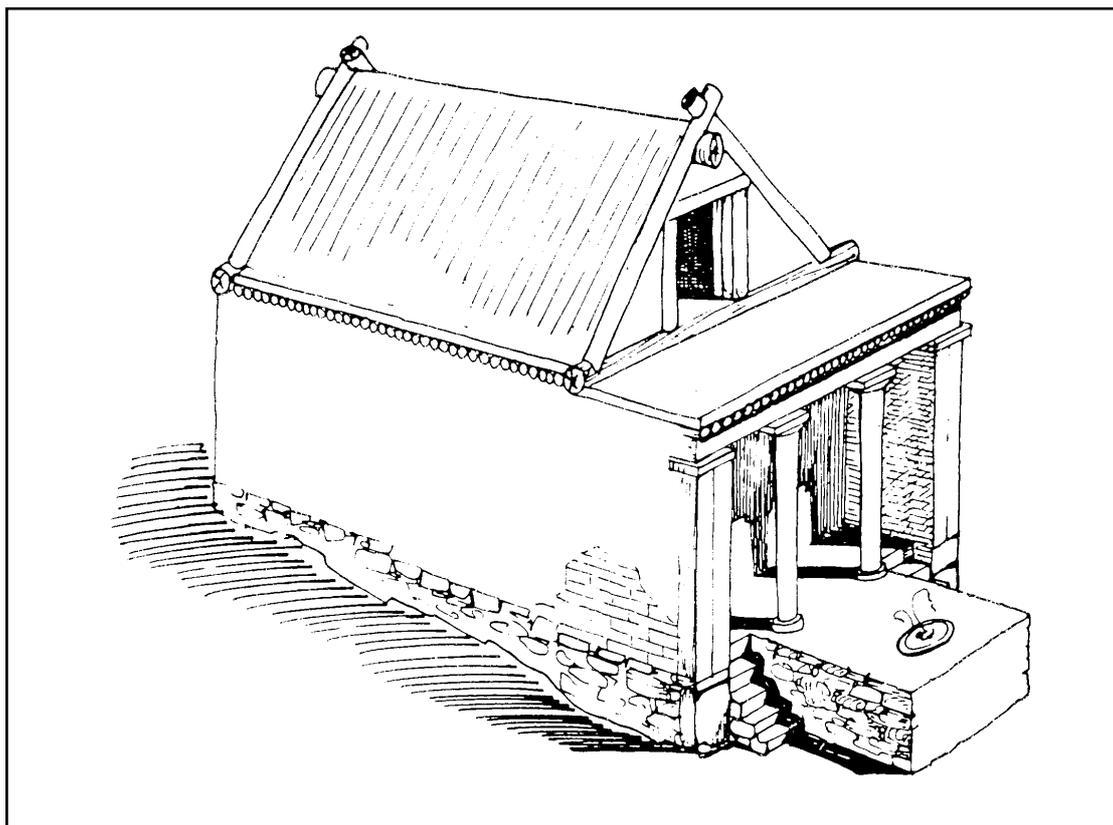
Figure 55 – Travlos' reconstruction of "Megaron B".

had access only to the middle room (B2), which in turn opened to a small platform in front of "Megaron B". Since most scholars have taken this reconstruction as the basis for arguing in favor of either continuity or later reuse – whether cultic or domestic – it is necessary to take a closer look at some of its main features and the problems that are attached to it.

In front of the main room, the porch opened to a small platform, the use of which is uncertain. Kourouniotes and Mylonas suggested that it had served as an altar.[387] They contended that, during phase 1, a short flight of steps to the W of this platform led down from the porch to a lower area, thereby following the natural decline of the bedrock. In most plans, a similar flight of steps is restored at the E side of the platform, creating a rather monumental entrance to the inner room. Nothing of these steps remains and it is uncertain whether such steps in fact existed.[388]

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[387] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 285.

[388] The excavators claim that "some of its flat steps seem to have been used in the building of a later wall", but since they do not specify this precise wall, their observation cannot be verified, Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 276. In defence of the second flight of steps one might argue (though the excavators have not done so explicitly) that the platform seems to end precisely at the point at which they should be expected to begin, had they in fact existed. Against this argument speaks the fact that the cobbled paving of the terrace abuts on to the later annexes B1-3, and therefore may originally have extended further NE.
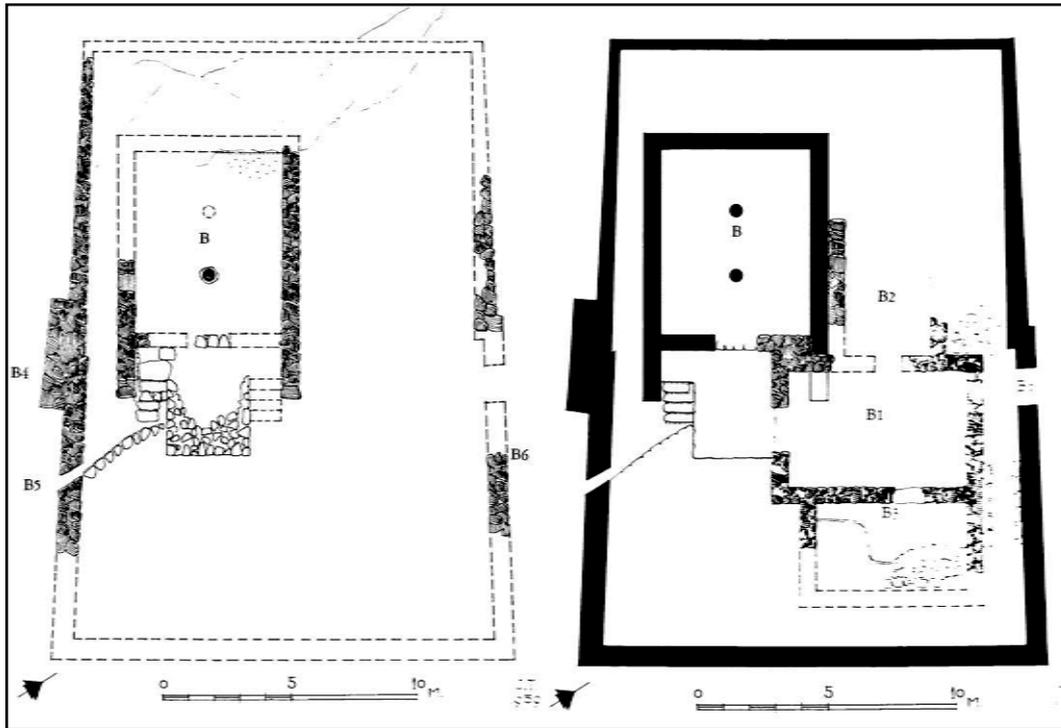
Figure 56 – Travlos' reconstruction of the Late Helladic remains: "Megaron B" and *peribolos*.

A similar problem is posed by another feature of the restored "Megaron B". In his restoration (Figure 56), the site architect, J. Travlos, indicated that the room was closed off to the NW by a rear wall, no trace of which has survived. Presumably, this restoration is based on the natural inclination of the bedrock at this point, which would have impeded access from this side anyway, but it is important to bear in mind that this is a "paper wall".

Finally, a *peribolos* was restored around "Megaron B". Some traces of walls have indeed been found to the SW and NE of the building, but again important stretches are missing including, most importantly, the complete NW and SE sides. Patrick Darcque, in a short but acute essay, has argued that the supposed *peribolos* wall in fact belonged to other rooms and corridors that are all part of a much larger domestic complex, in shape and size comparable to the large houses in the lower town of Mycenae.[389] A fresco fragment found in these layers shows that this building was of considerable importance.[390] It cannot be determined from the present state of the evidence whether this building was the seat of a local ruler, as has been suggested, or indeed whether Eleusis formed an independent political or administrative unit.[391]

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[389] Darcque, 1981.

[390] Mylonas, 1961, 43.

[391] The independence of Eleusis is usually attached to a period in which Attica was divided in a *dodekapolis* (cf. Strabo 397 C), the ancient notion of twelve independent "poleis", which is often thought to represent the state of affairs in the Bronze Age at the

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Therefore, rather than applying the term "Megaron" with its religious and political associations, it is preferable to use the more general "Mansion", when speaking of the Late Helladic remains, as it brings to mind the great subsidiary buildings near the palaces of Mycenae and Knossos.[392]

The presumed existence of a *peribolos* contemporary to and surrounding "Megaron B" seemed sufficient evidence for the excavators to identify the remains as a veritable Mycenaean temple. It appears that Kourouniotes and Mylonas were struck by the "Greekness" of the remains; that is, of their *reconstruction* of these walls as a one room naiskos *in antis* with steps leading up to the entrance. However, neither the temple nor the *peribolos* find a parallel in the LH record, where cult was usually incorporated within domestic structures, rather than separated from it as in historic times. It thus appears that the two scholars were influenced by their knowledge of archaic and classical temple architecture in their reconstruction of the remains.

In sum, crucial elements of the original restoration of "Megaron B" can no longer be sustained. The excavated remains that were thought to have been part of this building not only can be shown to lack those very features that were once thought to secure its identification as a religious building, but in fact make more sense when interpreted as part of a much larger building with a predominantly secular nature. This leaves us with no other option than to abandon the idea of a Bronze Age temple altogether. We therefore must now turn to the question of when the cult was initiated.

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time of Cecrops, cf. Camp, 2001, 14. If Eleusis were subject to local palatial rule – which is not certain – this may have been centered on the nearby Acropolis, where extensive Mycenaean remains have been found, cf Kourouniotes, 1933-1935, 21-26, figs. 23-28. This is what we would expect from our knowledge of palatial centers such as Mycenae, Tiryns and, presumably, Athens. Cf. Mylonas, 1932a, for the Bronze Age graves at Eleusis.

[392] Cf. the "West House Group" (Tournavitou, 1995; Mylonas, 1966a, 82, fig. 20), the "Panagia House Group" (Shear, 1987), "House M" (Mylonas, 1966a, 30, fig. 6) and the "House of the Columns" (Mylonas, 1966b) at Mycenae. Cf. also the Menelaion at Sparta (Catling, 1977) and a complex of rooms in Boeotian Orchomenos (*AAA* 7 (1974), 318). In Crete, at a somewhat earlier date, one may be reminded of the "Little Palace", the "Royal Villa" (Pendlebury, 1933, 57-64) and the "Unexplored Mansion" (Popham, 1984) at Knossos. Patrick Darcque, 1981, 604, thought that the general architectural disposition at Eleusis, with the centrally placed room "B", was somewhat dissimilar from both the Mycenaean palaces as well as the individual house groups at Mycenae, but too little has survived from the Eleusinian complex to draw any conclusions of this sort.

Figure 57 – SW wall of "Megaron B" (B4), Geometric curved wall (E3) and S corner of "Solonian" Telesterion (Z).

1.19.3 Cult Continuity

This observation has important repercussions for the argument in favor of cult continuity, as forwarded by Kourouniotes and Mylonas in 1933.[393] It is evident that the deconstruction of "Megaron B" critically undermines the basis for the hypothesis of cult continuity, unless one wishes to get into a fruitless discussion about the possibility of domestic cult within the Late Helladic mansion.[394] Yet, if we wish to investigate the hard evidence for the cult's beginnings, which cannot be shown to predate the last quarter of the eighth century BCE, we will first need to have a closer look at the, largely circumstantial, arguments that have been forwarded in favor of the cult's existence throughout the "Dark Ages".

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[393] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 284-285.

[394] Cult activity may well have taken place at some of the Cretan mansions, cf. note 392, and similar practices have been ascertained for some Mycenaean houses. This sheds an interesting light on the intertwining of the sacred and profane in the Bronze Age, which differs so much from the religious habit as it emerged from the Dark Ages, when we find the *temenoi* of the gods oftentimes separated from domestic buildings by means of *peribolos* walls or distinct temple buildings. But, even if it is not inconceivable that a part of the complex at Eleusis was reserved for some kind of domestic cult, clearly this was not the mansion's main purpose, *pace* Cosmopoulos, 2003. In any case, the large period of disuse of the site (cf. van Gelder, 1991) makes it highly unlikely that the historic cult of Demeter was derived from any such cult.

Two LG sherds were found on the floor of room B2, one of the three LH III B/C (phase 2, section 1.19.6) annexes of "Megaron B".[395] This has been taken as evidence for either continuous use of the Megaron complex or for a period of reuse in the Geometric Period, which Mazarakis Ainian has posited could have taken place as early as 900 BCE based on the LPG sherds found underneath terrace wall **E2**, which will be discussed below.[396] While it seems hard to believe that the two LG sherds – none of which survive – are all that has been left of a ritual tradition that is supposed to have spanned a gap lasting five centuries, there is also an alternative explanation at hand, which has not been noticed before. The two sherds were actually not found *on* the floor, but ca. 5 cm above it. It thus seems likely that the true relation is not so much between the sherds and the LH floor, but between the sherds and the Late Geometric retaining wall **E3** (Phase 1a, section 1.19.4) just a few meters to the south. If this hypothesis is correct, these sherds belong to the fill that was used to level the terrace on which the first cultic rites took place during Late Geometric II (ca. 725 BCE).

Secondly, in his main publication on the prehistoric remains at Eleusis of 1983, John Travlos employed a remarkable archaeological feature to sustain his version of the continuity argument. In his state plan of the Geometric Period he restored a "propylon" in the northeast corner of "Megaron" annex B2, which he claimed was an addition of the "Geometric" Period (Figure 58).[397] He argued that no such addition could be made if the building was not (still) in use in the eighth century. Following Travlos, Mazarakis Ainian used the propylon as an argument for a period of domestic reuse of the Late Helladic remains. Surprisingly, this feature appears neither in Kourouniotes' and Mylonas' original state plan of 1933 (Figure 53), nor in Mylonas' 1961 book *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Travlos himself speaks in a matter of fact way of the "κατασκευὴ ἑνός προπύλου", but omits a reference to the excavation reports. To my knowledge, no mention is made of a "Geometric" propylon in any publication before Travlos. The only explanation is that Travlos restored the propylon on account of a gap in the surviving northeast wall of room B2 (cf. Figure 54 and Figure 56). The obvious reason for this gap, however, lies in the fact that the sixth century construction of the "Pisistratean" column base D4 (Figure 53) required the removal of all earlier wall fragments at this location – down to bedrock – thus creating an opening precisely at the spot where Travlos restored his propylon. This means that even *if* the propylon ever existed, we would never have been able to know about it, because of the interference of the column's foundation trench. As a result,

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[395] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 277.
[396] Continuous use: Travlos, 1983. Reuse: Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 347-348. For the LPG sherds see also p. 149 below and note 403.
[397] Travlos, 1983, 330 and fig. 2.
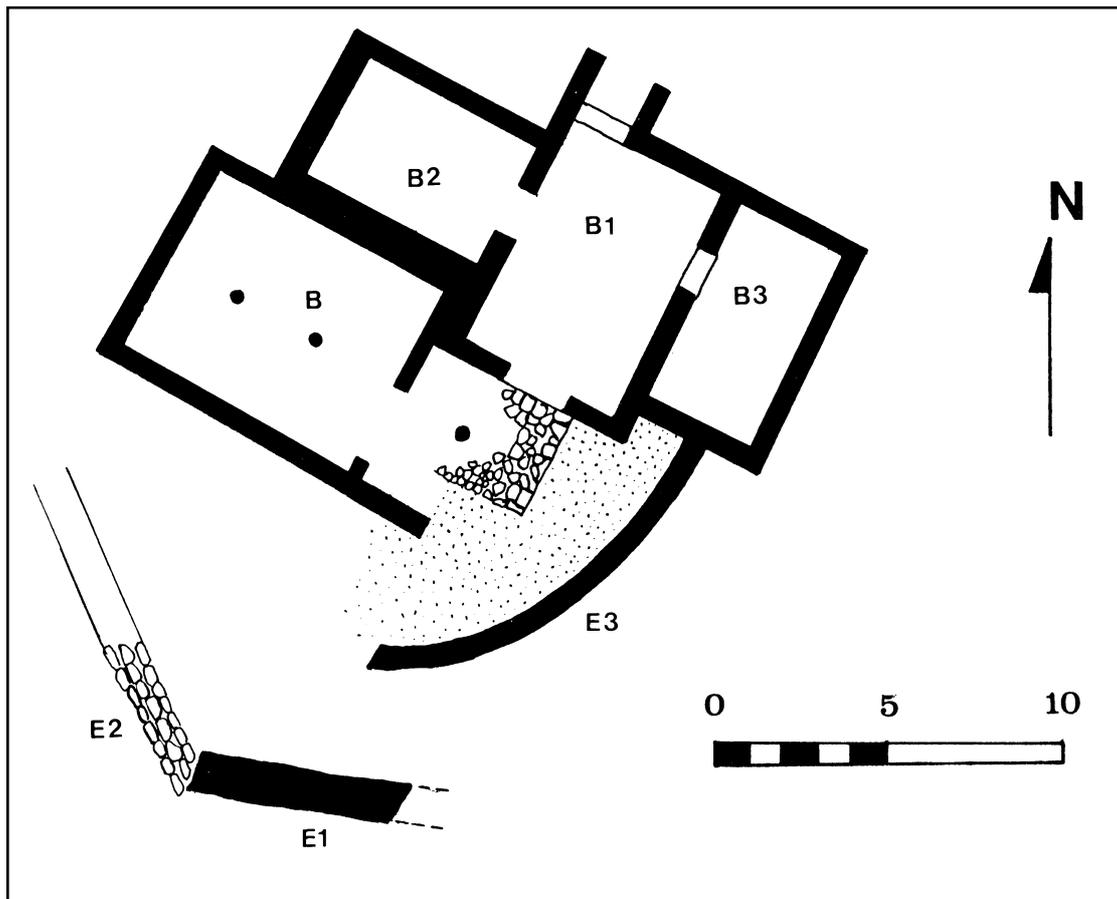
Figure 58 – Restored plan of Megaron complex in Late Geometric times, according to Travlos' theory.

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian's theory of a period of domestic reuse of the Bronze Age remains in the Geometric Period, which leans strongly on Travlos' propylon, is compromised as well.

Finally, a great deal has been made of a passage from the Hymn to Demeter, in which the goddess is presented as she lays down the specifications for the cult that is to be celebrated in her honor and the temple that is to be constructed *within* (ὑπαί) the settlement of Eleusis.[398] It may suffice here to say that there is no ground to suspect a

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[398] *Hymn to Demeter*, 270-272: ἀλλ; ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ; αὐτῷ / τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος / Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ· Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 285 saw evidence for the "Homeric authenticity" of "Megaron B" in the fact that it contained a platform, which they deemed a suitable place for an altar (p. 286). Mylonas, 1961, 33 took ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος as confirmation of this theory, since, as we have seen, many more Late Helladic walls were found surrounding "Megaron B" and on top of the Acropolis. Mylonas argued that the hymn specifically mentions that the temple should be built *underneath* (ὑπαί) the citadel. We do not know what the Mycenaean remains on the Acropolis constituted, cf. Kourouniotes, 1933-1935, 21-26, figs. 23-28, though there is no evidence of a Mycenaean fortification wall such as, for example, at Athens. We already noted that Patrick Darcque convincingly argued that these walls, including those thought to be part of "Megaron B" and the "*peribolos*", were part of a single building complex, rather than a settlement.

Mycenaean substrate for these verses. Rather, the text should be understood as an etiological explanation of the sanctuary's location (and nature), dating to the second half of the seventh century BCE or slightly later.[399]

The Greek excavators explicitly posited that the existence of what they considered to be a temple underneath the later Telesteria meant that this temple too was dedicated to Demeter. Thus, the presence of a cult building underneath the later Telesterion must entail full cult continuity from the Bronze Age, through the "Dark Ages", down to the Geometric Period, when they believed the second temple of Demeter was built.[400] While the problems with a cultic interpretation of the Late Helladic remains have been discussed, the argument is further undermined by a hiatus in the settlement record of Eleusis between ca. 1200 – 900 BCE.[401]

Furthermore, while Eleusinian graves show an uninterrupted sequence from the Late Protogeometric Period,[402] the only evidence for any activity in the area of the Telesterion before the end of the Geometric Period are a few inconclusive LPG sherds, which were found underneath retaining wall **E1** (Figure 58).[403] Unfortunately, these sherds have never been published and there is little reason to assume that they derived from cult activity. Thus the earliest signs of cult activity belong to the Late Geometric Period. Even if we assume that some kind of religious purpose was attached to the LH building (for which no evidence material evidence has been adduced) there is no reason to believe that this cult tradition could survive for such a long period without leaving any trace of its rituals or the people that were supposed to have participated in it. We must conclude then that nearly five centuries elapsed between the latest Helladic occupation of the site and the first beginnings of cult.

Therefore, no direct evidence can be gained from the reference to πόλιν in the hymn, neither deriving from its meaning as "citadel", nor as "settlement". Finally, Mylonas argued that the Kallichoron well was the one found by Kourouniotes (*ArchDelt* (1933-1935) Par. 32-33) in 1930 below the NE corner of the Stoa of Philon. Thus the sanctuary seemed to be constructed *over* (καθύπερθεν) the well as specified by the goddess. However, Binder, 1998, 137-138 countered: "Since the well had been emptied by persons unknown, there are no finds to date the period of use. In the absence of any description of the floor of this well, it is not even certain that it is a well. It may be a deep rock-cut pit like the one below the so-called Ploutonium." Pausanias (1.38.6) no doubt identified the well correctly at the entrance of the sanctuary.

[399] Richardson, 1974, 5-12 argues for a date between 650 and 550 on the basis of Hesiodic influences and the absence of Athens in the hymn, which would place the hymn at some time before the Athenians took control of the sanctuary. It will be argued in chapter 7.4.2 that the process of Eleusinian integration may well have taken place in the course of the second half of the seventh century.

[400] This temple is now generally considered to be a retaining wall, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997; Travlos, 1983, fig. 169.

[401] van Gelder, 1991, 60-61.

[402] Cf. for example Mylonas, 1961, 60-61.

[403] Mylonas, 1961, 56-57. Mylonas is the only scholar who has noted these sherds, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 149, n. 1037. Cf. also p. 147 above and note 396.
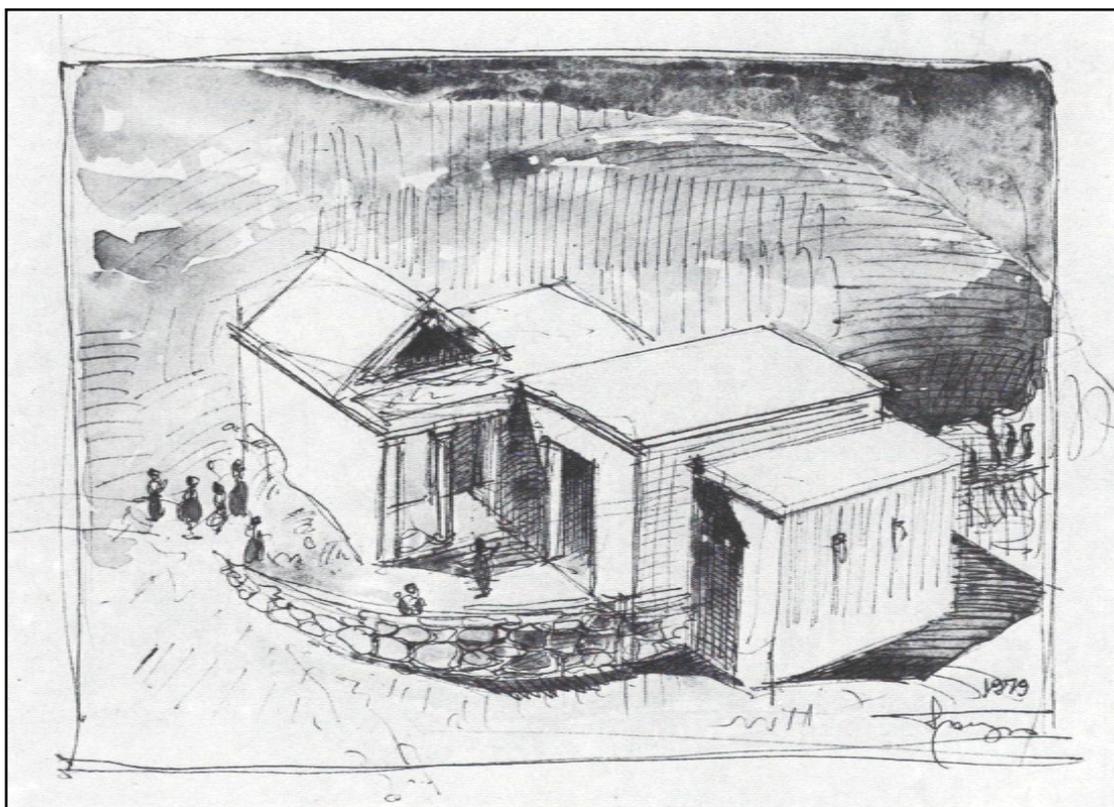
Figure 59 – Travlos' impressionistic sketch of the supposed Megaron complex in Geometric times.

The first incontrovertible sign of reoccupation of the Telesterion site belongs to the close of the Geometric Period, when a sacrificial pyre (see below, p. 165) indicates the beginning of cult activity. In Figure 60, the extant wall fragments of this period are shown (**E**). Detailed analysis of these remains will show that these walls can be subdivided in two phases (1a and 1b).
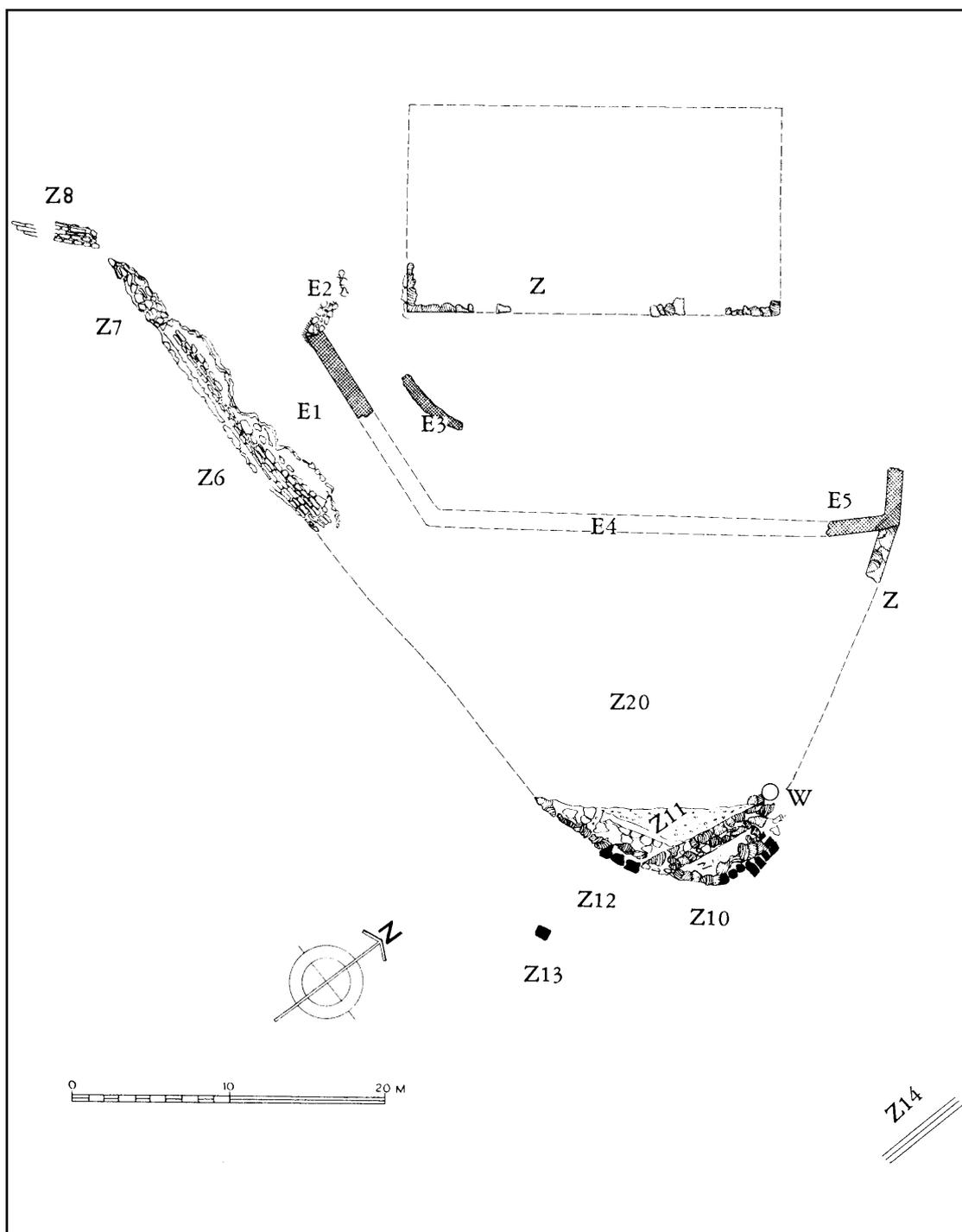
Figure 60 – State plan of the site of the later Telesterion, showing the first architectural phases. Phase 1a (Late Geometric): the curved terrace (E3); phase 1b (Late Geometric), the rectangular terrace (E1-2/5); phase 2 (seventh century), the Early Archaic retaining wall (Z6-12) with the "Solonian" Telesterion (Z).
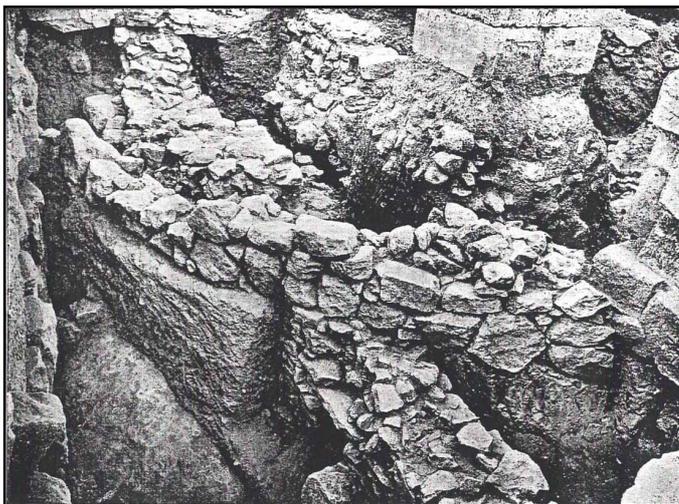
Figure 61 – Curved wall (E3) running over Late Helladic wall.

1.19.4   Phase 1a (Late Geometric II)

Wall fragment **E3** has been the source of considerable conjecture. Mylonas believed that the slightly curved, rubble wall (Figure 60 and Figure 61) belonged to an apsidal temple dating to the Late Geometric Period,[404] the "missing link" between the "Mycenaean temple" and the later Telesteria. However, Mylonas' theory was solely based on his own argument of cult continuity and is now largely discounted.[405] The remains themselves are highly inconclusive and would represent only a small part of a temple, which, when fully restored, would rank among the largest in eighth century Greece.[406]

Travlos was the first to abandon the idea of an apsidal temple. He argued instead that **E3** had been a retaining wall, providing a level courtyard in front of the restored "Megaron B" (*cum* annexes – see above), which he believed remained in use throughout the Early Iron Age as a multifunctional building, serving at once as the residence of the Eumolpid *genos* and as the temple of the goddess.[407] The date of the wall is somewhat problematic, as no diagnostic pottery has been reported. **E3** is situated over a Late Helladic wall (Figure 61) and does not seem to fit in with the rectangular layout of the Mycenaean building complex (Figure 54 and Figure 55). Both Mylonas and Travlos believed that it belonged to the subgeometric retaining

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[404] Mylonas, 1961, 57-59.

[405] *Pace* recently Sourvinou-Inwood, 1997, 133, n. 4. Coldstream, 2003 recently changed his opinion. Noack, 1927, 10 on the other hand compared the wall to the "Siedlungsresten" found underneath the sacred precinct of Olympia, Thermon and other sanctuaries.

[406] Cf. also Drerup, 1969, 30.

[407] Travlos, 1983. For the testimonia concerning the Eumolpids, cf. Blok and Lambert, 2009.
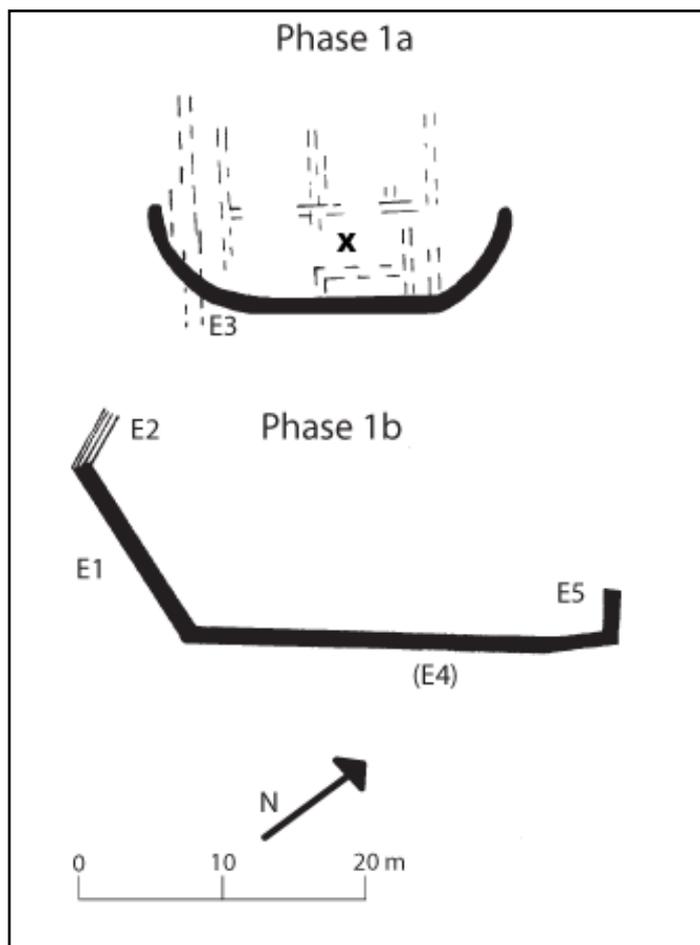
Figure 62 – Earliest cultic remains underneath the Telesterion: Phase 1a (Late Geometric II with ruined LH remains indicated in broken lines) and phase 1b (Subgeometric).

wall (Figure 60, **E1-2/5** – phase 1b below).[408] Noack, however, had already shown that it must be somewhat older, since it reached slightly below the hypothetical level of **E1-2/5**, which can be dated to ca. 700 BCE.[409] Apart from the inconclusive PG sherds mentioned above, the earliest pottery from the Telesterion area dates to the Late Geometric II Period, providing a terminus *post quem* for wall **E3** of 735 BCE at the very earliest.[410]

Even if we can now safely dismiss continued use of the Bronze Age mansion, we have to concede that Travlos was correct in identifying **E3** as a retaining wall. Judging from the course of terracing wall **E1/2-5** (Figure 60), as well as that of the "Solonian" terrace (phase 2, **Z**), **E3** should probably be restored as roughly

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[408] Travlos, 1983, 56-59, esp. 58; Mylonas, 1961.
[409] Noack, 1927, 11 ff. Binder, 1998 has effectively shown that none of the finds can be dated with certainty before this date. Cf. p. 156 below.
[410] This pertains both to the two "Geometric" handles already mentioned as well as to some pottery mentioned by K. Kourouniotes and J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* (1933-1935) Par. 32-33, fig. 35.
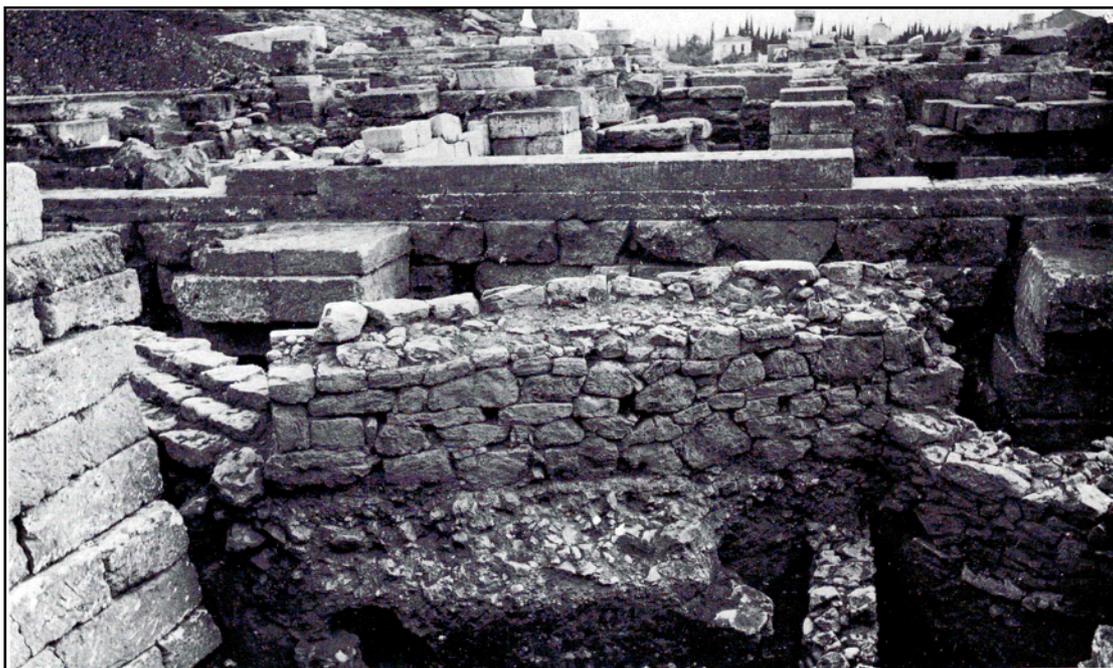
Figure 63 – Second (Subgeometric) terrace with retaining wall (right – E1) and stepped entrance (left - E2).

semicircular, the extreme ends extending more or less southwest to northeast (Figure 62, phase 1b).[411]

At this point the two geometric handles will be remembered that were found in room B2 of the "Megaron" annex (marked x on Figure 62). I would argue that these sherds belong to the fill of the first, more or less semicircular, LG II terrace. Provided that these handles date to the Geometric Period as reported, they represent the only indication of cult activity before 700 BCE and as such would agree well with our presumed date of construction for the first terrace (ca. 725 BCE).[412] The handles, shaped in the form of a gryphon head and a bird, are appropriate finds in a sacred context and may have been consecrated as votives in an offering pyre as was common practice during phases 1b and 2.

The purpose of wall **E3** cannot have been to create a level court in front of the "Megaron B" temple complex, as Travlos suggested, though it may well have been oriented on its ruinous remains. It is a well-established notion that the Late Geometric Period witnessed a renewed interest in the disintegrated monuments of the past. In literature this interest is evoked by the epic tradition, which was probably inspired by the same social developments that inspired the Greeks to become more fully aware of

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[411] On pl. 13 in Noack, 1927 the wall can be seen to follow more or less the contour line (+ 11m) of the slope. Perhaps the wall traced this line for some further distance, presumably before extending back up the slope.

[412] They seem to have been lost at some point after the 1932 campaign. Binder, 1998, 132 claimed that a seventh century gryphon handle is the one mentioned by Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 277, but this cannot be substantiated.

the monumental Bronze Age remains still visible in the landscape.[413] In Attica alone, at least half a dozen sites show signs of cultic attention directed to Bronze Age remains.[414] As such, the juxtaposition of the Late Geometric terrace and the remains of a Mycenaean mansion fits a familiar pattern.

It would appear then that the beginnings of cult at Eleusis were directed to the extensive Bronze Age remains underneath the later Telesteria. As the gryphon and bird handles show, the offering rituals may have been deliberately performed *over* the Late Helladic ruins. Whatever we may imagine the condition of the Bronze Age Mansion to have been after centuries of disuse, it is clear that they inspired the Eleusinians with a vision of a remote past. As the cult grew, the Bronze Age remains are likely to have eroded as a result of the attention. Terrace wall **E3** appears to have been built to preserve the ruins and accommodate the growing number of worshippers. Soon, however, this terrace proved too small and a second, more extensive retaining wall was needed.

1.19.5   Phase 1b (Subgeometric)

Three wall fragments (**E1-2/5** – Figure 60) appear to have been correctly reconstructed as a single wall, which was originally restored as the *peribolos* of either the apsidal temple or Travlos' "Megaron".[415] However, Mazarakis Ainian pointed out that the wall is dressed only at the outside, indicating that it served as a terrace wall instead.[416] The latter view is reinforced by the rapid inclination of the acropolis slope, as well as the fact that no stretches were found to the northwest where none were needed. Fragment **E2** abuts on to **E1** to the south (Figure 64) and exists of three preserved steps, presumably the main point of access to the terrace. A third stretch of the retaining wall (**E5**) survives some twenty-five meters northeast, where it turns sharply toward the slope. Mylonas and Kourouniotes confusingly dated this wall to the Geometric Period on the basis of "numerous sub-geometric sherds discovered around its lower courses."[417] This means that the terrace was in use during the seventh century and can hardly have been constructed before ca. 700 BCE. For lack of a better label we shall refer to both wall **E1-2/5** and the terrace as "Subgeometric".

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[413] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997; Antonaccio, 1995, 11-144; Crielaard, 1995; Antonaccio, 1994, 1993; Coldstream, 1976, 349-350.

[414] Cf. Menidi, Thorikos (2x), Athens – Acropolis 1, Academy 2, Marathon (?), Haliki Glyphada (?).

[415] Travlos, 1983; Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 274.

[416] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 148. In fact, Noack, 1927, 9 had already suggested a terrace, but was ignored by his successors.

[417] Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 279. Note the confused use of the term subgeometric on p. 284: "The sub-geometric sherds discovered will date these structures to the closing quarter of the ninth century [sic]." As this is obviously a nonsensical statement, I am inclined to rely on the attribution of style rather than the chronological statement.

Figure 64 - Subgeometric retaining wall E5 (a) with Early Archaic retaining wall Z (b) abutting to the left.

Sacrificial Pyre Alpha, the most crucial of all early remains, corroborates this date. The pyre was rich in votive offerings, clay figurines being most common among them. It was situated *against* **E1** and extended around and in front of the steps that led to the upper terrace (**E2**),[418] including numerous objects, such as votive tablets, more than a hundred terracotta figurines, lamp fragments, gold sheet and jewelry.[419] The earliest objects belong to the final quarter of the eighth century BCE, perhaps even to the very end of the century.[420] These include some LG oinochoai, Argive monochrome ware, an EPC aryballos, some of the terracotta figurines, plaques and gold jewels.[421] The latest finds have been dated to the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth century BCE.[422] The votive objects and the pottery were mixed with ashes and charcoal, indicating that fire-offerings took place in this location. Traces of burning on the adjoining terrace wall indicate that the pyre was found *in situ* and was not swept off the terrace, as Noack believed.[423]

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[418] Philios, *Prakt* (1884), 64-65, 76, pl. Δ; K. Kourouniotes and J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* (1933-1935) Par. 32-33, figs. 33-35; Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 279-280; Cf. Binder, 134; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 148-149, n. 1030}.

[419] For a full catalogue and analysis of this and other pyres cf. Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991

[420] 725-700: Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 140, n. 1030; ca. 700: Binder, 1998, 134.

[421] The finds from this pyre have been thoroughly studied by K. Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991.

[422] Early sixth century, cf. Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991, 488-495. However, the earliest objects from the later pyre, connected to the Archaic retaining wall (Z – see phase 2 below, section 1.19.6), include Corinthian, Proto-Attic and Orientalizing vases, cf. Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 281. Assuming the two pyres could not have been in use simultaneously, cf. Mylonas, 1961, 65, and allowing for the deposition of "heirlooms", it is most likely that pyre Alpha went out of use before the end of the seventh century.

[423] In situ: Mylonas, 1961, 57; swept off the terrace: Noack, 1927, 11. The later, Archaic, retaining wall (Z – phase 2, Figure 60) also contained traces of fire, Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 281.

Figure 65 – Lesbian masonry of the Early Archaic Retaining wall.

This is an important point, the full implication of which I believe has not been fully appreciated. The wall seems to represent a crucial element in the offering ritual. The main sacrificial area was located deliberately, and rather awkwardly, against the terrace wall rather than on the terrace, which might seem a more obvious location to a modern observer. In part II I will argue that there is reason to believe that the retaining wall did not merely serve a functional purpose, but was seen as an object of veneration in its own right.

1.19.6   Phase 2 (Archaic)

Shortly before 600 BCE the Subgeometric retaining wall (Phase 1b) was abandoned and filled in by a much larger terracing project (**Z** - Figure 60). As part of this project, the earlier wall was covered with a new terracing fill that both rose to a somewhat higher level and extended much further southeast. It seems likely that this second phase of construction was specifically designed to provide enough space for a cult building (see below), which was built soon after the new retaining wall was finished.

The newly created terrace was extended in southern and eastern directions, effectively doubling the sacred area. The masonry is Lesbian polygonal (Figure 64 (a) and Figure 65) and consists of a three-step socle upon which the first courses of the

actual wall rest and is constructed of more or less rectangular blocks. The wall averages one meter in thickness. Mylonas has suggested that a *peribolos* wall of mud-brick could have crowned the retaining wall proper, thus adding to seclusiveness of the *temenos*.[424] To the north, the existing Subgeometric wall was incorporated in the new terrace (Figure 64), but extending further to the east to create a large triangular platform (Figure 60). Most of the northeastern side was destroyed when the Stoa of Philon was constructed in the fourth century BCE. A small portion of it still exists, however, to the east of the Stoa, where a complicated mass of walls indicates the triangle's most extreme corner, surviving to a maximum height of 2.60 m (Figure 66).[425] The retaining wall returns again to the west of the Stoa, but at some distance south of the Subgeometric wall (**E1-2**). The main sacrificial area (**Sacrificial Pyre A**, cf. p. 165 above) was filled in and conserved in its original position.

The preserved wall fragments (**Z6-7**) indicate the extension of the enlarged *temenos* to the south. A small gap exists to the west, before picking up again in a more southern direction (**Z8** –Figure 60). Mylonas has suggested that this gap gave access to the enlarged terrace, which certainly seems plausible given the orientation of the stepped entrance (**E2**) of the subgeometric platform.[426] On the other hand, it could be argued that the strange course of **Z8**, running parallel to the acropolis slope, suggests that this wall served as a retaining wall for a road leading from the platform down toward the sea.

Close to this gap a second offering place was found (at mark **Z7** in Figure 60), apparently replacing **Sacrificial Pyre A**, located in front of and against the Subgeometric wall. Like its predecessor it was a hypaethral altar, consisting of ashes mixed with broken vessels and terracotta figurines mostly dating to the sixth century. The sherds include the entire range of Black Figure, as well as Corinthian and even a few Proto-Corinthian sherds. We are thus able to establish the *terminus post quem* of the beginning of the offerings at this place – and consequently the construction of retaining wall **Z** – with some confidence to the late seventh century BCE.

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[424] Mylonas, 1961, 66.
[425] cf. Mylonas, 1961, 64-65.
[426] Mylonas, 1961, 66.
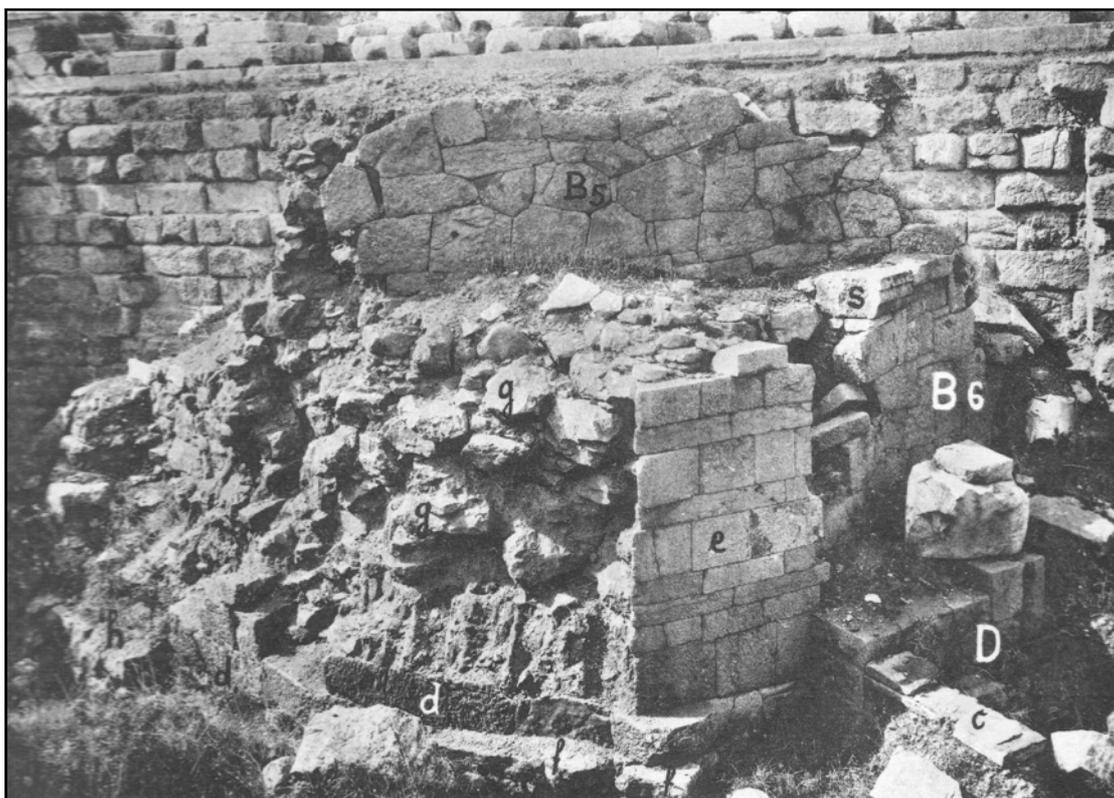
Figure 66 – Early Archaic remains SE of the Stoa of Philon, with retaining wall Z10 (here B6) and possible *peribolos* Z11 (here B5).

     Soon, if not immediately after the construction of the Archaic platform, a cult building was erected on top of the platform, close to the slope of the acropolis. As we have been able to establish that there is no hard evidence to sustain either a geometric apsidal temple or a Bronze and Dark Age rectangular cult building, this clearly was the first Telesterion of Demeter. Although this building is commonly known as the Solonian Telesterion, there is no evidence to suggest that Solon was responsible for its construction and it was constructed at least a decade before his archonship of 594-3 BCE. The building had an oblong shape (ca. 24 x 14 m, cf. **Z** Figure 60) and was constructed of blue-grey Eleusinian (Figure 67). Noack initially believed that the building had a flat roof (cf. Figure 68), but Kourouniotes found a number of roof fragments, including a terracotta sima and cornice (Figure 69), indicating a sloped roof and a triangular facade.[427] We cannot be sure about the applied building technique, although it seems likely that mud brick walls were erected on top of the blue limestone socle. Its remains have been found mostly on the long eastern side on top of foundations measuring roughly 1 m in thickness. The considerable width (14 m) of the building made internal supports an absolutely necessity. These were presumably wooden columns, placed in multiple rows, much like the later Telesteria. It should be stressed how odd this arrangement must have appeared in comparison to

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[427] K. Kourouniotes, *ArchDelt* 14 (1931-1932), Par. 4.
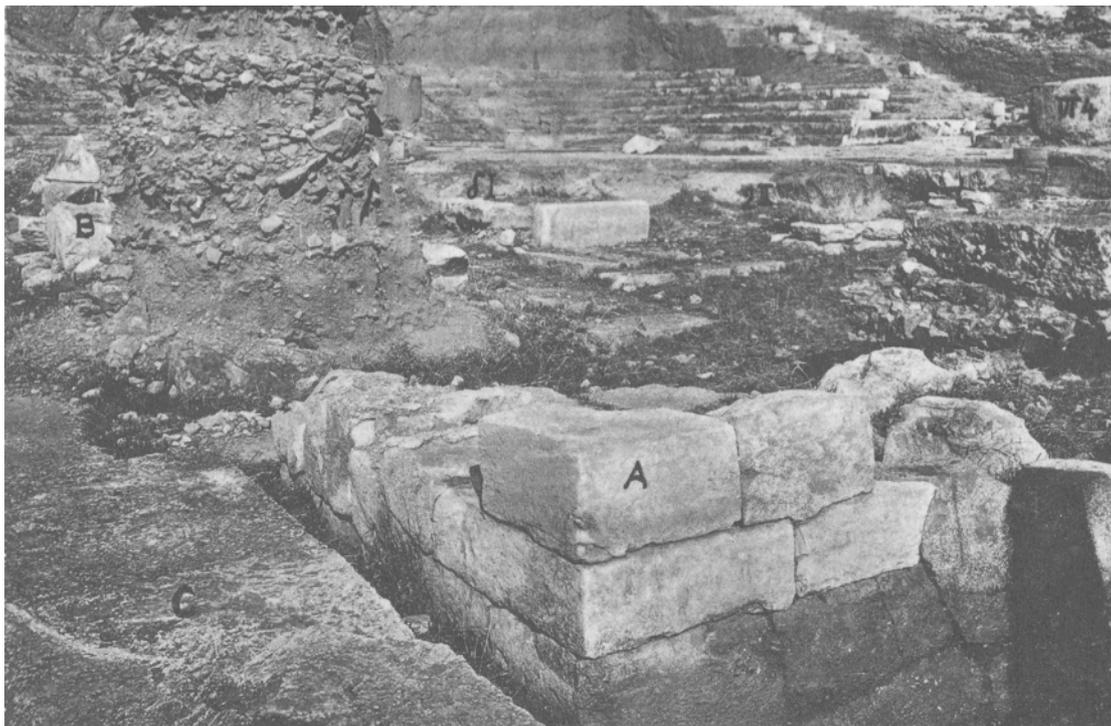
Figure 67 – South (A) and West (B) corners of the first "Solonian" Telesterion

other religious buildings in Greece. To my knowledge the "Solonian" Telesterion is the only hypostyle hall in seventh century Greece – not to mention one of the largest temples – and proves that the cult was already geared toward seclusiveness. The decision to erect the Telesterion was apparently caused by a rapid reorientation in the ritual proceedings at the end of the seventh century. I will return to this matter in more detail in Chapter 9.4.1).

1.19.7 Conclusion

The construction of retaining wall **E3** (phase 1a) after a period of near complete abandonment lasting some five centuries should be seen as a deliberate attempt to create a connection with the past by the act of worship at the site of the derelict Late Helladic Mansion. It appears that the retaining wall was intended to secure the rituals that were conducted over the ruined building and presumably to provide a platform for the cult participants to stand on. Even if we have no surviving remains of the rituals that were performed on this newly created platform, its immediate successor (**E1-2/5**, phase 1b) was certainly used for the performance of cult.

From the fact that no contemporary buildings were found, and the evidence from the slightly later "Sacrificial Pyre A" (see p. 165 above) it would appear that hypaethral offerings took place besides or over the Bronze Age remains, which, in their ruined state, were still visible after the construction of the first terrace. This is apparent from the fact that even today the earlier walls reach to a higher level than the
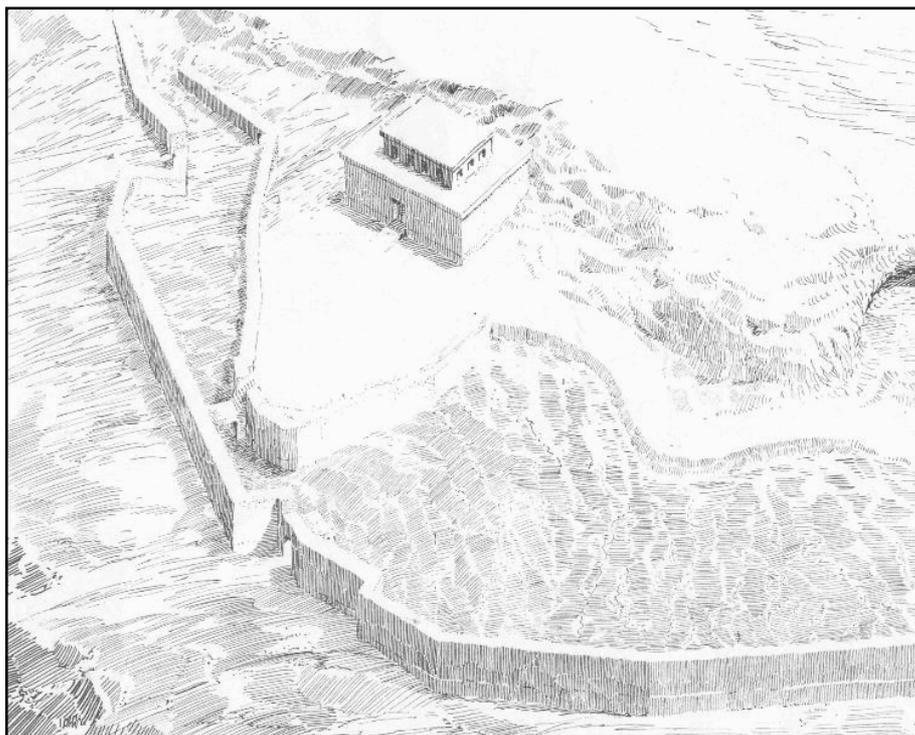
Figure 68 – Reconstruction drawing of the "Solonian" Telesterion.

terracing wall (Figure 57) and proves that they played a crucial role in the emergence of the cult. As the rituals began to attract an ever-greater audience, the first terrace wall was created to accommodate the growing crowds. This may only have been a few years after the consecration of the place. In the following centuries, each new building phase would require a new and enlarged platform as the popularity of the cult increased commensurately.

Perhaps not more than a few decades after the first terrace wall, around 700 BCE, a new and enlarged terrace was created at a slightly higher level than the first platform. The earlier semicircular platform was now effectively filled in, as the new terrace was designed at a somewhat higher level. Presumably the Bronze Age remains too were fully covered at this time by the fill behind the second retaining wall. The evidence from the Archaic sacrificial pyres shows that the offering ceremony and the deposition of votives did not take place on top of the successive platforms, as might have been expected. Rather, the worshippers chose to perform their rituals *against* the retaining wall, indicating that the walls were seen as sacred in their own right.
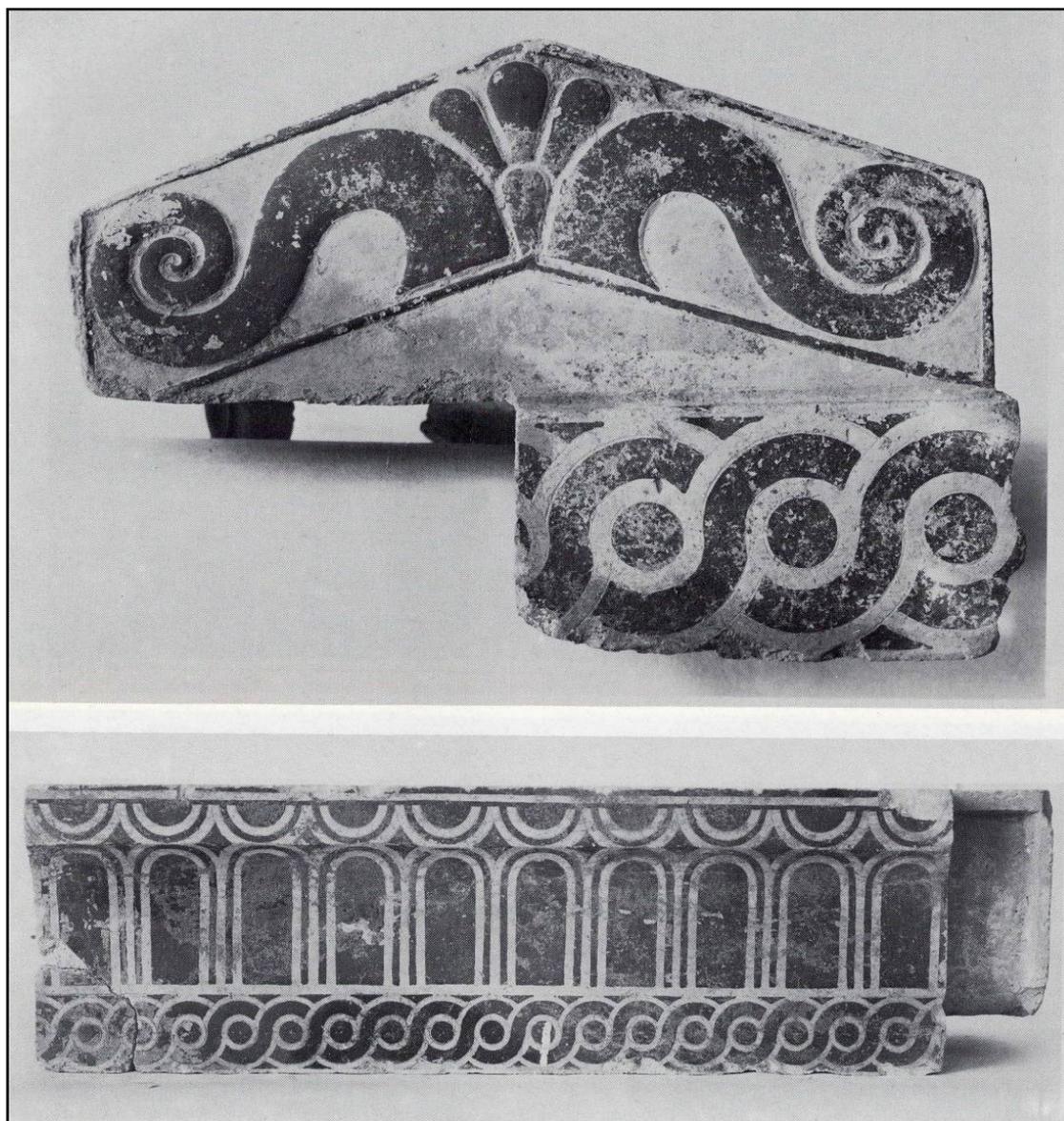
Figure 69 – Sima and cornice of the "Solonian" Telesterion.

This seems to indicate that the first retaining wall came to be regarded as an integral part of the "ancient" remains attracting some of its sanctity. The evidence lies with the fact that, when the second terrace was built and the fill of the new terrace had covered the actual Bronze Age remains, the offerings that were initially performed over and against the Mansion's remains, were now moved to the eastern facade of the second terrace wall. Even though it was built anew, this wall nevertheless retained the sacredness of its predecessor, thus explaining the curious placement of funeral pyre A.

Apparently, this custom was retained even after the construction of a third retaining wall and the laying out of a new platform (phase 2), as new sacrificial pyres were found to the east of this wall, again leaving traces of burning on the wall itself. Extending the retaining wall on three sides created an enlarged platform of nearly double its original side. On the fourth side, toward the inclination of the hill, the
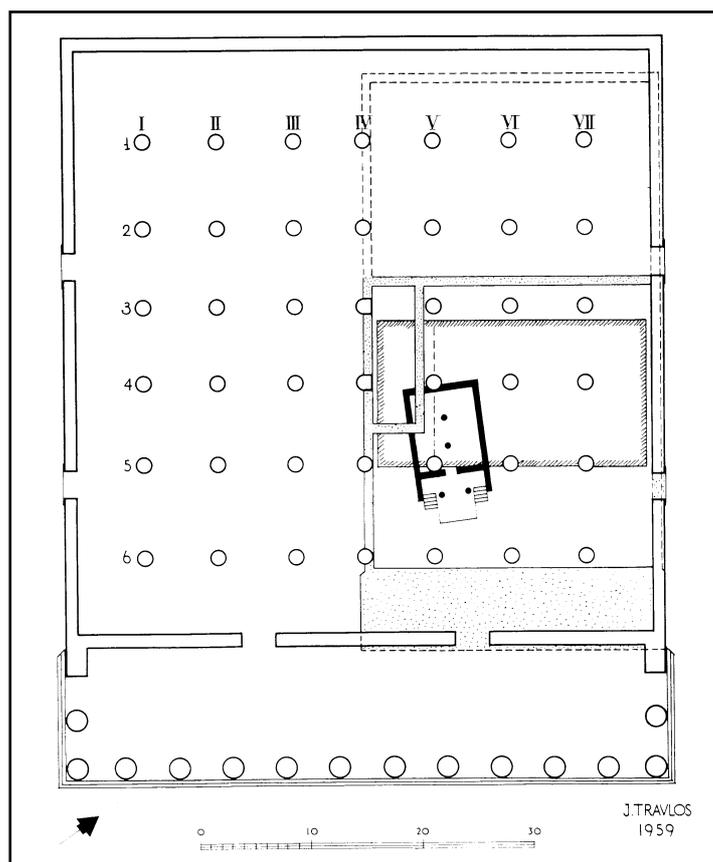
Figure 70 – Successive phases of the Telesterion and the anaktoron shown relative to the Late Helladic remains.

platform was extended somewhat by raising the general level of the terrace. The first Telesterion was built soon thereafter, perhaps at the very end of the seventh century BCE.

The tradition of a legendary ruler of Eleusis (Eumolpos) seems to have been inspired by the ruinous remains of the Bronze Age Mansion and lived on in the newly composed Hymn to Demeter and in the holy of holiest inside the Telesterion, in what was aptly called the "Anaktoron". The "Anaktoron" was placed precisely over the Bronze Age remains as a reminder of the palace of the legendary king and never changed position, even in the enlarged Telesteria of the later Archaic and Classical Periods (Figure 70). Perhaps these rites were celebrated from the beginning in honor of Eumolpos and Demeter, as is suggested by the hymn. If a small plaque from this pyre (Figure 71, bottom right, c) indeed represents the images of the two goddesses, it may tentatively be concluded that Persephone too was worshipped from an early stage.[428]

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[428] To my knowledge no one has raised this suggestion before. The image is only published in Noack, 1927, fig. 12, who merely discusses the idols and those plaques that bear the images of tripods (pp. 12-13), and Travlos, 1983, who does not discuss them at all.
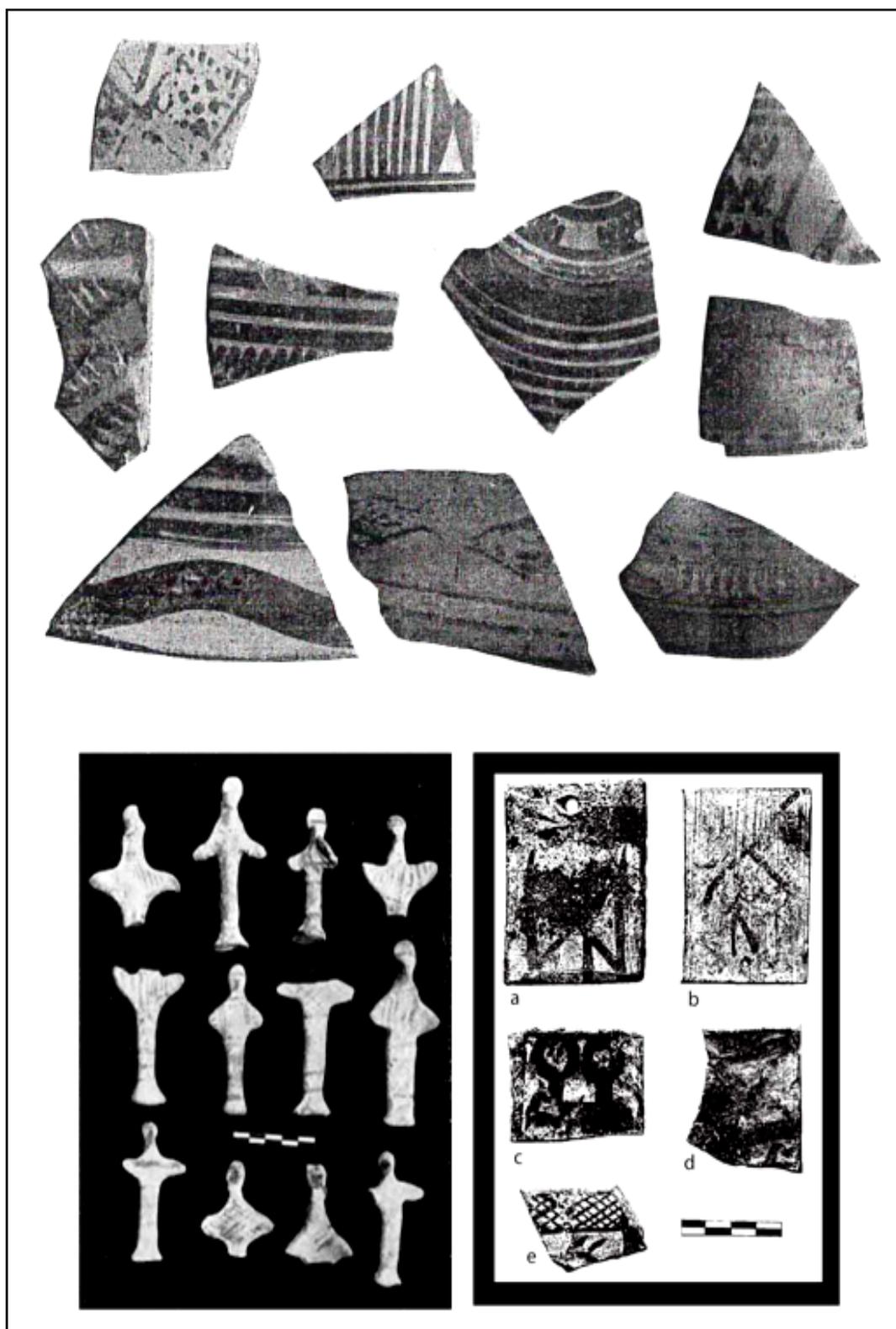
Figure 71 – Above: Late Geometric II pottery from the Telesterion area. Bottom left: Terracotta figurines from Sacrificial Pyre Alpha. Bottom right: Terracotta votive plaques from Sacrificial Pyre Alpha, with tripods (a, b, d and e) and possibly the two goddesses (c).

1.20 Eleusis 2

Context:	partially underneath the Roman temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater
Date:	from ca. 725-700 BCE
Location:	north side of the great Roman forecourt
Architecture:	curved (*temenos*?) wall
Pottery:	**(LG II)**
Preliminary reports:	K. Kourouniotis, *PAA* 15 (1940), 277-8; *Prakt* (1940), 15.
Bibliography:	Binder, 1998, 135; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 96, 317, figs. 164, 183; Travlos, 1988, 92, fig. 115; Drerup, 1969, 27; Mylonas, 1961, 60; Picard, 1943, 42-43; Orlandos, 1920.

Just E of (and extending underneath) the temple of Artemis and Poseidon, Kourouniotis excavated a massive wall with a curved angle of approximately 90° (Figure 72). The wall appears to be part of a substantially larger structure, the shape of which cannot fully be determined. The foundations have been preserved to a height of 1.40 m, its lower width measuring 1.40 m as well (Figure 73 and Figure 74). The wall proper is 0.75 m wide; the remaining 0.65 m may have been reserved for a bench.[429] The structure has been restored as a large apsidal building, even though the wall's unusual shape does not seem to form a true apse.[430] Another possibility is that the wall represents a *peribolos* wall. Pyre material was found inside the enclosure suggesting cult activity. Unfortunately, the material has not been published, which makes it difficult to determine what type of cult was practiced here. The nearby altar and overlying temple of Artemis Propylaia make early worship of that divinity plausible, not certain. Since the material has not yet been published, the date of the wall remains somewhat inconclusive. Kourouniotis suggested a late 8th century date, which agrees well with the contemporary construction of the proto-Telesterion and the *hiera oikia*.[431]

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[429] Mazarakis Ainian (1999), 96. For similar benched structures, cf. the sections on Tourkovouni, Lathouriza 1 and Hymettos (?).
[430] Mylonas (1961), 60; Travlos *apud* Mazarakis Ainian (1999), 96, n. 546.
[431] Binder (1998). She has argued convincingly that Travlos' building phase of ca. 760 BCE is a fiction.
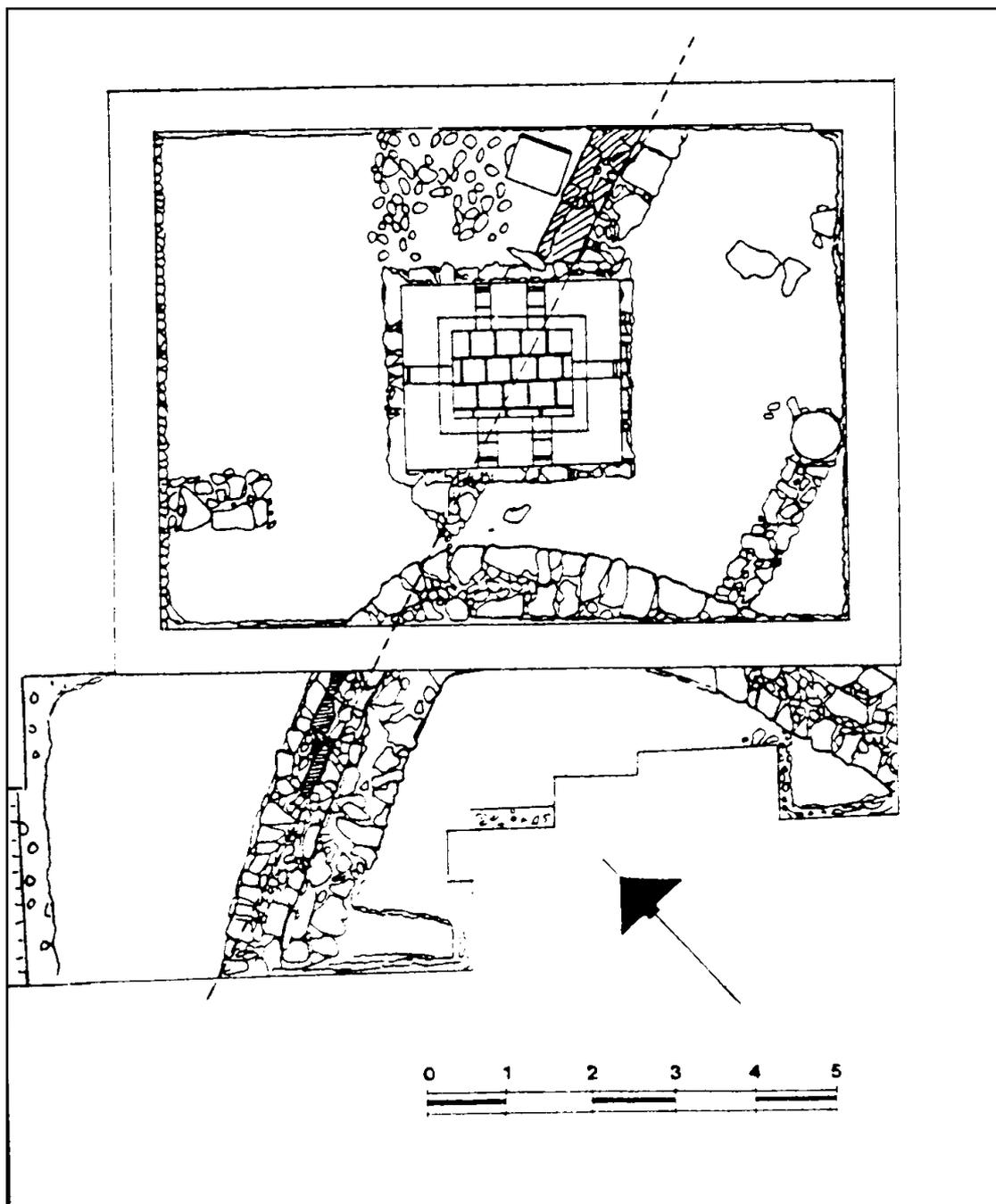
Figure 72 - State plan of the remains underneath the Roman temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater.

Figure 73 – Curved wall underneath the Roman temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater, from SW.

Figure 74 - Curved wall underneath the Roman temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater, from NW.

1.21 Eleusis 3

Context:	burial tumulus next to Sacred House
Date:	ca. 700 to 5th century (Sacred House to late 7th c. BCE)
Location:	directly outside the Lycurgan wall, near the S gate
Architecture:	LG building ("Megaron"); four room building with porch (Sacred House)
Pottery:	deposits inside the building: (**SG**) amphorai, chytrai (cooking pots), lekanai (bowls), prochoai (jugs); (**PC**) various small vessels including aryballoi and skyphoi.[432] inside the 6th c. *temenos*: (**BF**)
Sacrificial remains:	ashes, burnt animal bone, seashells (from pyre-deposits in and outside the building)
Other finds:	female terracotta figurines (6th c. BCE), stone akroterion of fleeing maiden (late archaic).
Preliminary reports:	*BCH* 44 (1920), 381; 48 (1924), 457-8; 52 (1928), 469-70; E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 29 (1925), 111-112.
Excavation reports:	K. Kourouniotis, and J. Travlos, *Prakt* (1937), 42-52; K. Kourouniotis, *RA* 11 (1938), 94-97.
Main Publications:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1998, 150-153, 317, figs. 172-180; Lauter, 1985a, 163-169; Travlos, 1983, 333-336.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 60-63; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 28-32; Binder, 1998, 135; Antonaccio, 1995, 190-191; Kokkou-Vyridi, 1991; Clinton, 1988, 72; Fagerström, 1988, 43-44; Travlos, 1988, 92, figs. 115, 119-122; Morris, 1987, 68-69; Abramson, 1978, 169-191; Coldstream, 1976, 16, n. 76; Drerup, 1969, 33; Mylonas, 1961, 59-60; Kourouniotes, 1940, 274-275, 1934, 50.

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[432] Kourouniotis and Travlos, *Prakt* 1937, 48; Kourouniotes, 1938; E. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 29 (1925, 111); Travlos, 1983, 334.
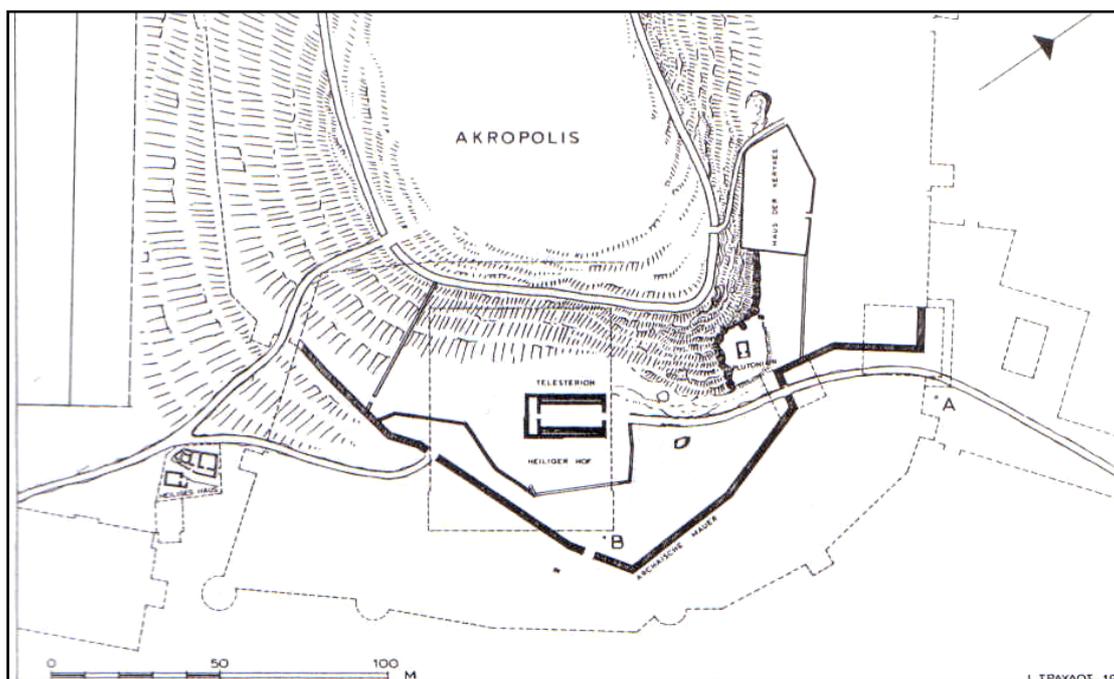
Figure 75 – Cult site (left) in relation to the Telesterion area (middle).

Along the ancient road that once led from the sea up towards the classical Telesterion (Figure 75) and situated just outside the western extension of the Lycurgan walls lie the archaeological remains of what is commonly referred to as the "Sacred House" of Eleusis, as well as several other distinct architectural phases (Figure 78 and Figure 79). Kourouniotis and Travlos excavated these remains, which were first published in *Praktika* 1937 and described in detail by Travlos in an unpublished report in 1938, which is now in the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society.[433] Travlos' views on the relationship between the various archaeological sites in Eleusis in general and the Telesterion in particular are accessible through an article published in 1983.[434] In his monograph on EIA architecture, Mazarakis Ainian restudied the remains of the Sacred House, adding some important new insights based on Travlos' unpublished report, especially with regard to the earliest phase.[435] Finally, in a concise article J. Binder made some critical remarks about dating and deconstructed much of Travlos' overarching theory about the early history of Eleusis.[436]

Cult activity at this site is almost entirely limited to the area circumscribed by a late archaic *peribolos* and is connected with five archaeological phases:

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[433] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150, n. 1039.
[434] Travlos, 1983.
[435] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150-153.
[436] Binder, 1998, 135.
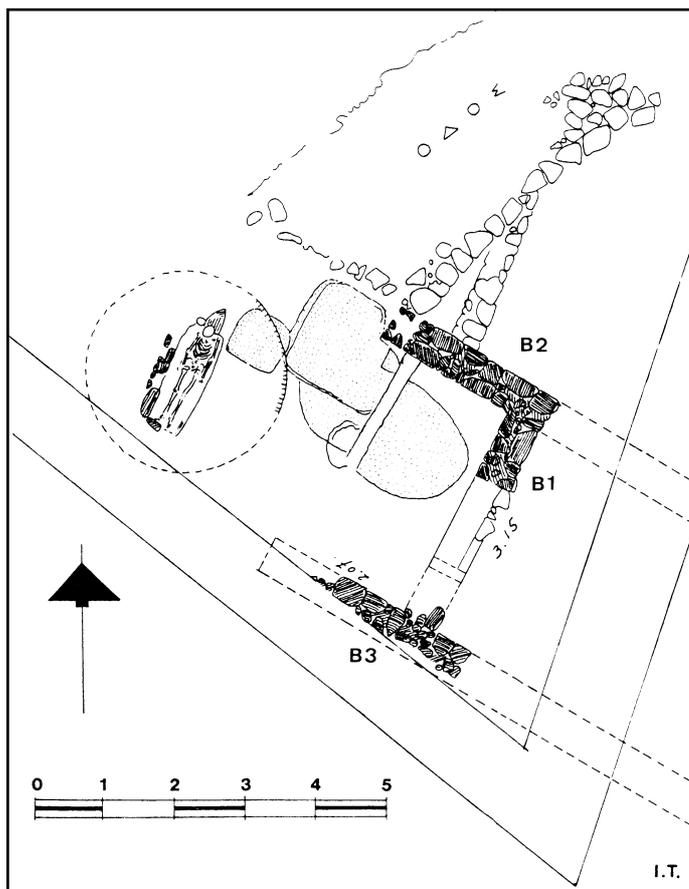
Figure 76 – Plan of tumulus and Megaron.
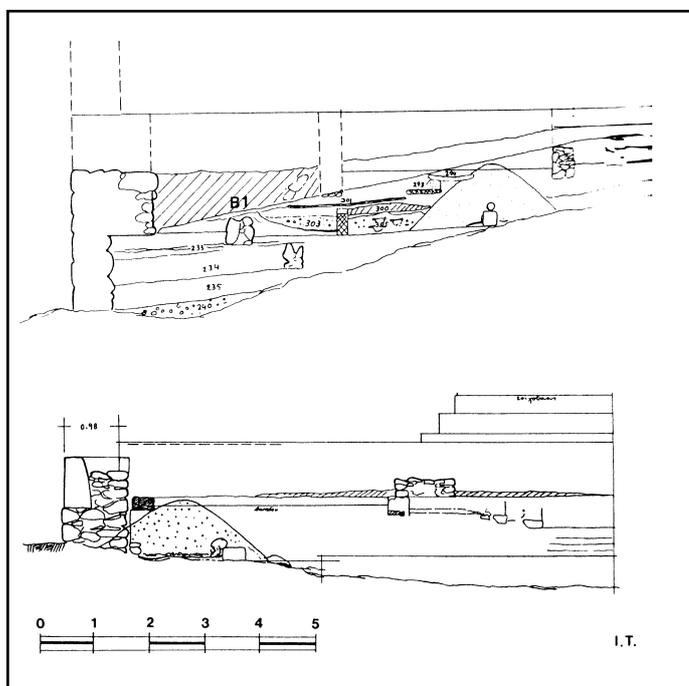
Figure 77 – Sections A-A' and Γ-Γ', Figure 76.

Figure 78 – Remains inside the rectangular *peribolos* from NE.

1.21.1 Phase 1: The Megaron

This structure represents the first architectural phase on the small piece of land surrounded by a Late Archaic *peribolos* (Figure 79, cf. also 1.21.4). The *peribolos* also captures the remains of the so-called "Sacred House" (cf. Chapter 4.1.21.2) and cultic remains that belong to several different phases extending from the seventh to at least the fifth century BCE. The way in which the architectural and cultic remains of this site are tied together is discussed in 7.4.1 and 7.7.

A few stretches of walls (B1-3), ca. 0.50-0.60 m wide and preserved to a height of 0.40 m, are all that remain of a small building unearthed in the S corner of the area contained by the late archaic *peribolos*. This building, styled "Megaron", dates to the LG Period.[437] Wall B1 is usually interpreted as the dividing wall between an anta porch and the main room of the building; it contained an opening, ca. 1.20 m wide. The porch must have been about 2.10 m deep and opened towards NW. Travlos appears to have been undecided about which direction the Megaron faced.[438] Mazarakis Ainian, however, convincingly showed that the main room must have been to the E of wall B1. If not, it would have included the burial mound, which was constructed at the same level as the building's walls, inside its main room. Furthermore, the natural upward inclination of the terrain toward NW would have complicated the extension of the building in that direction, while the poor preservation of the SE part of the building is well explained by the downward slope in

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[437] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 151-152. Lauter, 1985a, 167-168 and Antonaccio, 1995, 190-191, writing at an earlier time, were unaware of the "Megaron's" existence. Boehringer, 2001, 60-61 was able to and did take notice of the "Megaron's" remains. Date of the Megaron, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 151, cf. also n. 1057.

[438] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152, n. 1058.
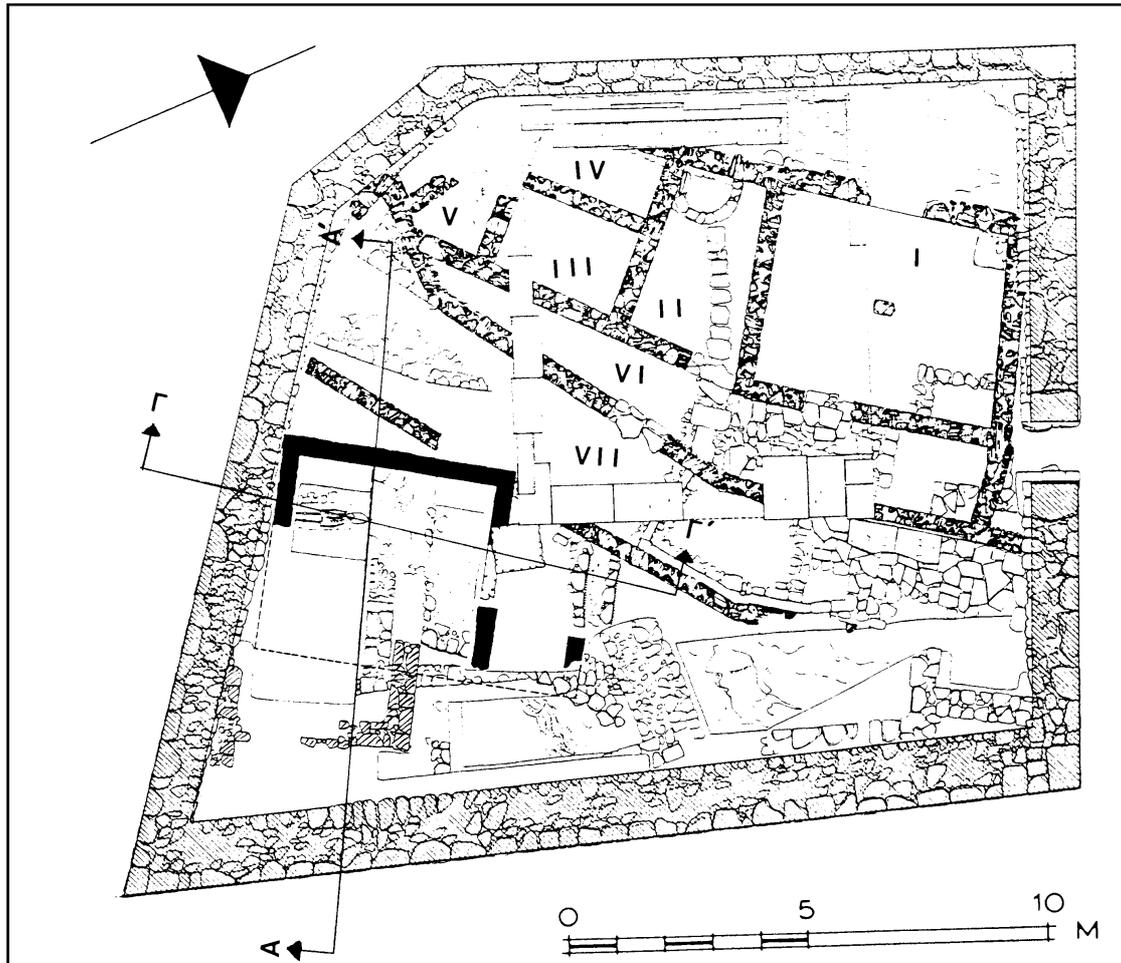
Figure 79 – State plan of the remains inside the Archaic rectangular *peribolos*. Megaron, lower left (grey hatched), Sacred House (I-VII), above (dark), rectangular enclosure, middle left (black).

this area and the construction of the Roman Mithraeum immediately on the other side of the Late Archaic *peribolos*.[439] Thus, an eastern entrance makes most sense of the building's archaeology as well as its relation to the tumulus.

Toward the end of the eighth century BCE, the skeleton of an adult male was deposited on top of the walking surface (bedrock), less than two meters from the entrance of the Megaron (Figure 78).[440] A stone-lined tumulus, ca. 3 m in diameter and exactly centered on the buildings main axis, was heaped on top of the corpse (Figure 76 and Figure 77). The corpse, which belonged to an adult male of ca. 30 years old, was placed face up on top of the bedrock surface, which seems to have impeded the construction of the customary shaft. A stone plate was placed under his head for support. A line of carefully placed stones was probably meant to give the appearance of a formally defined grave. Mazarakis Ainian noted that the head was aligned "exactly" with the Telesterion, as if to signify a special relation between the

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[439] *Prakt* 1937, fig. 3, cf. Boehringer, 2001, 60, n. 3.
[440] Cf. Travlos, 1983, 334-335.
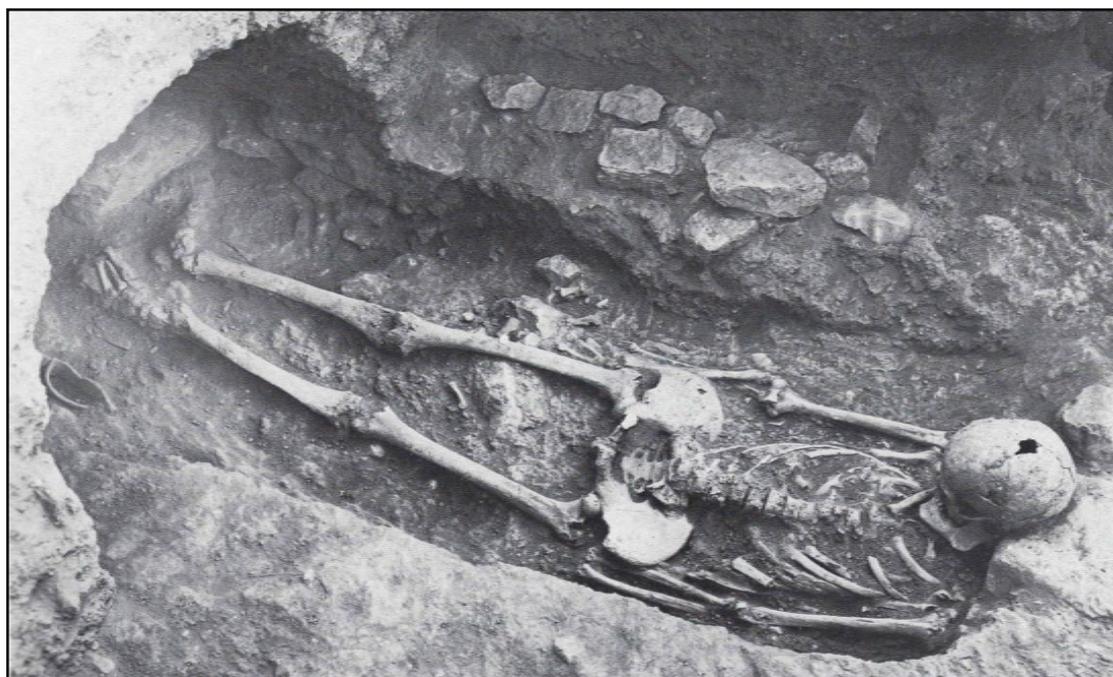
Figure 80 – Skeleton of the "Hero of the Megaron".

deceased individual and the cult of Demeter.[441] However, its perpendicular position in relation to the main axis of the Megaron suggests that the corpse was aligned with this building instead, indicating the existence of a special connection between corpse, burial tumulus and Megaron. One interpretation is that the "hero" was buried in front of his own dwelling.

At some point not long after his funeral, heroic honors were bestowed upon the deceased, as is indicated by the many offering pyres that were created near and partly over the remains of the tumulus and the Megaron, throughout the seventh century.[442] A total of six separate layers containing ashes, charcoal, crushed vessels, burnt animal bones and seashells were uncovered during the excavations. This makes it the only certain hero cult in Attica where the body of the individual has actually been preserved. Of the numerous pyres that are connected with the grave, one (305) contained fragments of mud-brick, which can only be satisfactorily explained as belonging to the collapsed walls of the Megaron. The pyre and the tumulus lay directly on top of the walking surface outside the building, implying that their deposition and the destruction of the Megaron was roughly contemporary. A second pyre (302) certainly postdates the building as it was deposited partly on top of its walls (cf. section drawing: Figure 77, section A-A'). The pottery from the pyres

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[441] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153, see also Travlos, 1983.
[442] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 151, n. 1053. While the excavators provided no date for the pottery Mazarakis Ainian writes that "the majority dates in the 7th c. BCE" For the sequence of the pyres, see his note 1067.
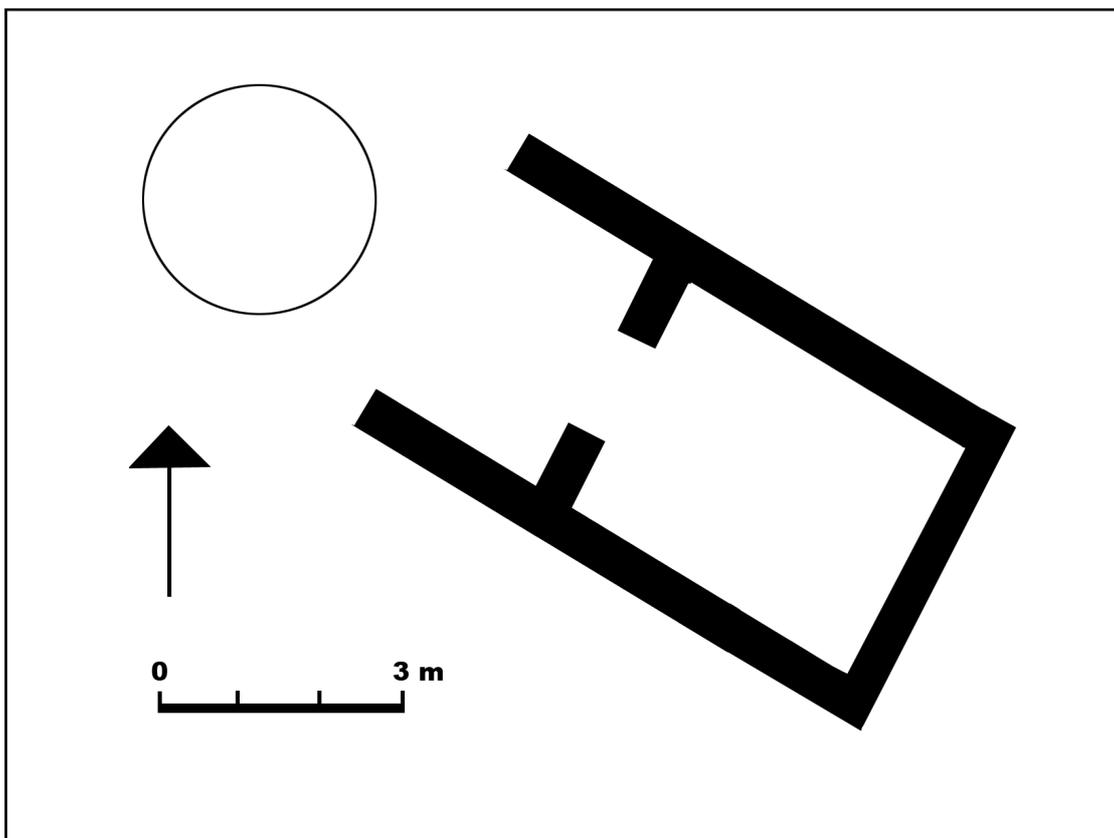
Figure 81 – Reconstructed ground plan of the Megaron.

covers the entire seventh century, indicating that the funeral took place at some point ca. 700 BCE. [443]

The fact that the building was destroyed so soon after the funeral, while the tumulus was bestowed with repeated commemorative funeral rites, has been taken as evidence for the fact that the destruction was intentional. It has even been suggested that the building was built specifically for the occasion of the funeral, as a short-lived heroon, recalling the well-known destruction of the Lefkandi house.[444] Whether we interpret the Megaron as a heroon or a dwelling, its destruction shortly after the funeral indicates how momentous this occasion was perceived to be.[445]

1.21.2   Phase 2: The Sacred House

At some point after the destruction of the Megaron, perhaps not long after 700 BCE, a second building was constructed near the tumulus of the dead hero (Figure 82).[446]

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[443] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152 and n. 1067.

[444] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, fig. 175. For a summary of the pyres, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152, n. 1067. Lefkandi "Heroön": Popham, 1979-1980.

[445] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152 and Boehringer, 2001, 60.

[446] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152. The pottery found inside the building can be dated to the early seventh century BCE, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 151 + n. 1057 (late eighth – early seventh century BCE). Travlos, 1983, 333 dated the construction to the middle of the eighth century BCE to fit this event with his theory about a reconstitution of the cult of

This is the well-known "Sacred House", consisting of four rooms (I, II, III/IV and V, Figure 82 and Figure 83) with a common porch built along a side arm of the major road that ran from the Telesterion platform down toward the sea. The archaeology of this building is divided in two separate phases. There is some disagreement as to whether the building was used for cultic purposes during the first phase. The argument mainly revolves around the so-called "bothros", a circular, stone-lined pit with a drain running out of the building. Lauter has interpreted this device as evidence of industrial use.[447] If so, the original function of the building may well have been domestic, comparable with the "Ruler's Dwelling" at **Lathouriza** (1.29). Mazarakis Ainian, however, interpreted the "bothros" as a place for communal libations. Since no additional finds or pottery can with certainty be attached to this first phase, there is essentially no way to solve this matter.

The Sacred House was constructed on a stone socle with a mud-brick superstructure.[448] This porch also served as an artificial terrace, necessitated by the downward slope towards the SE and creating an even plateau through which all four compartments could comfortably be reached. The roughly square room I was the largest of these spaces. A stone base in the center of this room indicates that a wooden post was used to support the roof. Furthermore, a square stone "bench" (0.40 m on a side and 0.70 m high) was positioned in the N corner; in the E corner there existed a rectangular "enclosure".[449]

Demeter around this period, but his view is not based on independent evidence, see Binder, 1998. Travlos, 1983, 334 himself mentions that the earliest sherds dated to the late 8th century BCE, though nothing in the finds has proved to predate the 7th century.

[447] Lauter, 1985a, 166.

[448] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150, n. 1040.

[449] This enclosure seems originally to have been semicircular, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150, n. 1043.
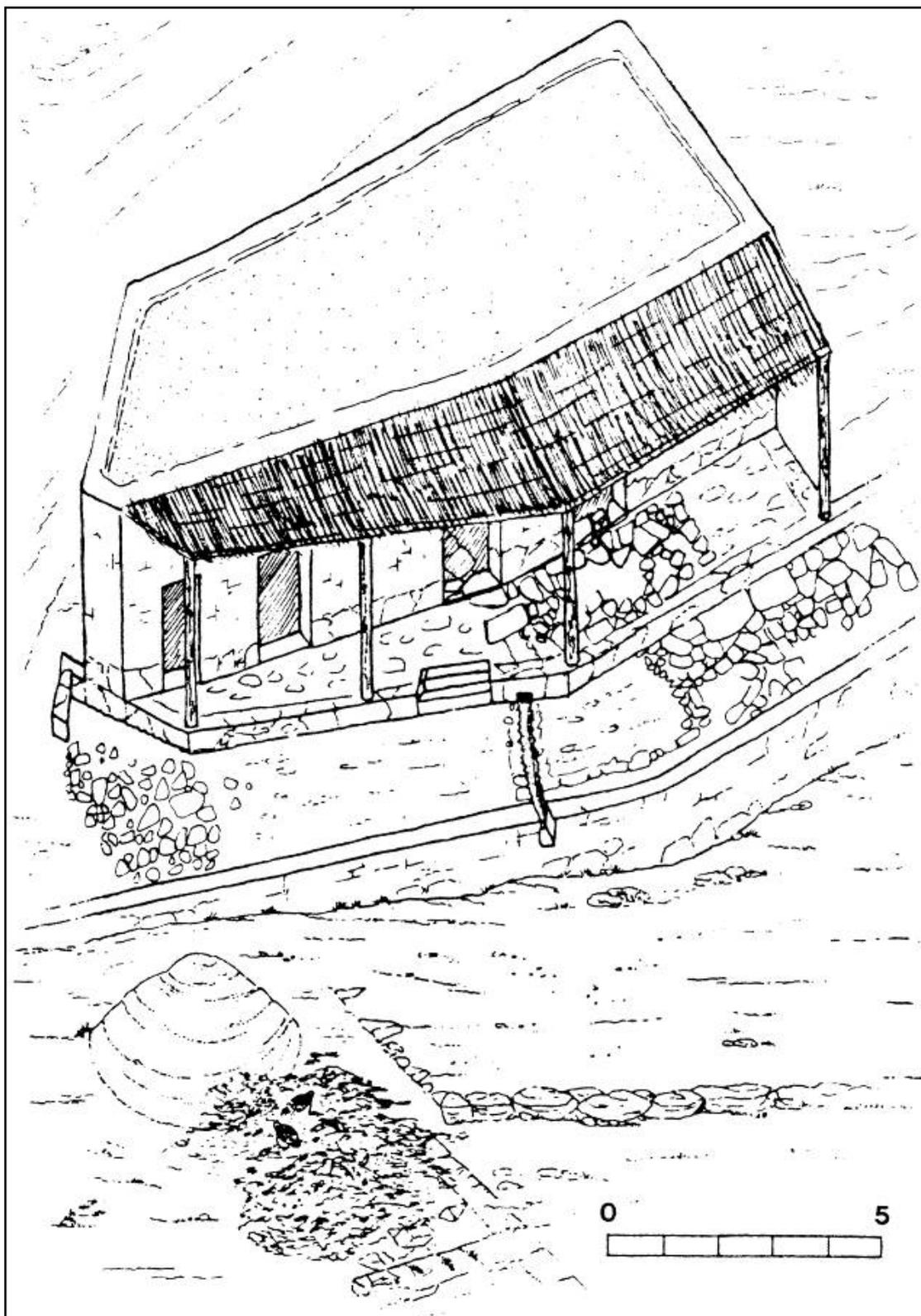
Figure 82 – Isometric reconstruction of the Sacred House. With the tumulus of the dead hero and remnants of the Megaron in the foreground.
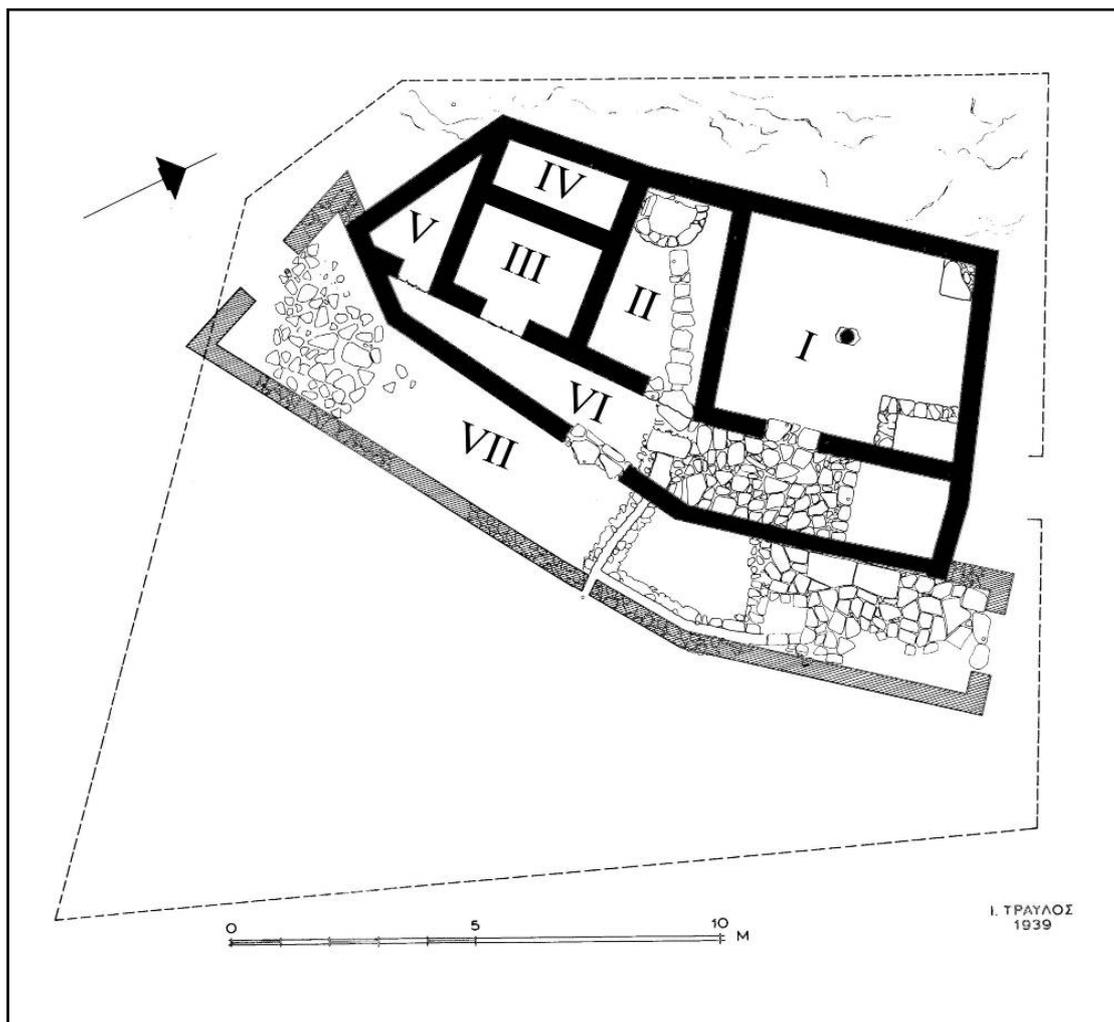
Figure 83 – Restored state plan of Sacred House.
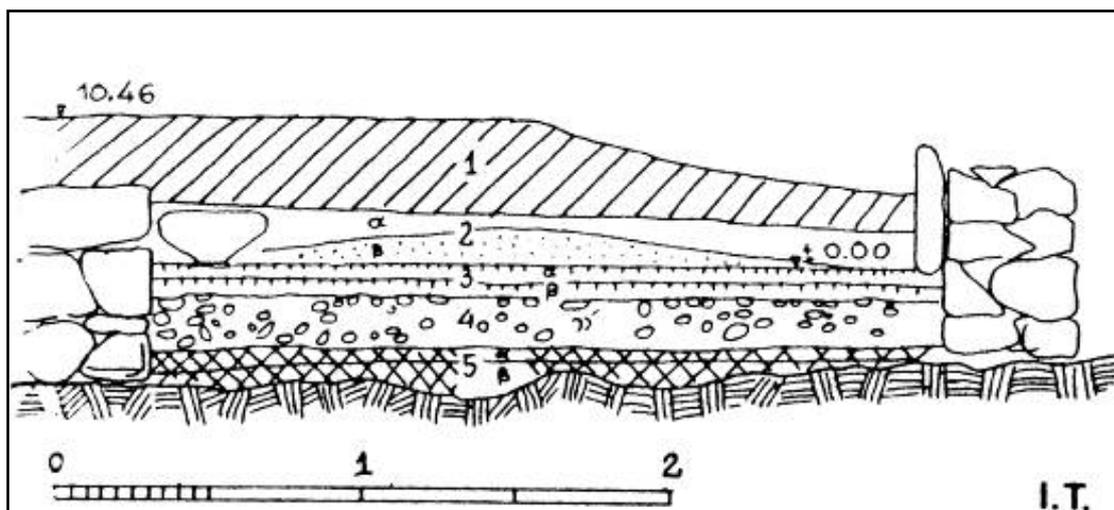
Figure 84 - Section through room III of the Sacred House (ash deposit marked 2).

In the narrower room II, a "well-like bothros" (diam. 0.8 m; depth 1 m) was constructed in the W corner.[450] It has alternately been interpreted as an industrial tool or as a receptacle for libation fluids, which implies a cultic function. Since no additional evidence in the form of finds or pottery has been reported in connection with this earlier phase, there is no way of ruling out either possibility. The "bothros" was outfitted with a stone-covered drain that passed underneath the room's threshold and the porch, apparently in order to release certain fluids through a spout that was created inside a second terracing wall. Hans Lauter interpreted this terrace wall, running approximately parallel to the one that supported the porch, as a side arm of the street leading toward the area of the Telesterion.[451] A third and fourth room were added to the southwest (III/IV and V).[452]

At some point during the seventh century BCE, the building was somewhat modified:[453] a dividing wall was constructed, establishing rooms III and IV as separate spaces and presumably at the same time the "bothros" and the connecting drain were covered up.[454] During this second phase the building certainly had a cultic function. The presence of numerous votive sherds, ashes and animal bones inside the building secure a cultic function for the building at this time. For the earlier phase we cannot be so sure. Inside the building a significant amount of amphora's, jugs, plates and cooking vessels, as well as a number of smaller vessels, was found, all mixed in with ashes and belonging to the second phase. These vessels were mostly recovered from rooms II, III, IV and toward the northern extremity of the porch. Furthermore, in room III the floor surface showed signs of burning, as it was covered by an ash-layer of increasing thickness toward the middle of the room (Figure 84), suggesting that additional pyres were lit within the building as well as outside. Since the floor levels underneath the ash layers were raised (see above), all pyre material inside the building

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[450] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150.

[451] Lauter, 1985a, 164-165, followed by Boehringer, 2001, 61 + n. 4. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150-151 is more hesitant. Originally, Travlos had interpreted the area in front of the porch as a court, but there are no indications that the area was closed off in the SW and NE. Note that the "entrances" to this so-called "court" in Figure 83 are Travlos' reconstruction and not based on the actual remains.

[452] Note the peculiar (triangular) shape of room V. Lauter, 1985a, 164 explained this feature by pointing at the course of the main road, which seems to wrap itself around this part of the building, leaving just this small triangular space. Perhaps it was used for storage, as has been proposed for room IV of the "Ruler's dwelling" at **Lathouriza 1**.

[453] No precise date can be given for this refurbishment. Travlos (*apud* Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150 + ns. 1044, 1045 and 1047) dated the remodeling to the middle of the century, but no evidence is cited and it seems that his date presented itself by dividing the two periods of use in roughly equal halves.

[454] The refurbishment of the building consists primarily of raised floor levels: besides the new floor covering the "bothros", the dividing wall between rooms III and IV also rested on an earlier floor. In room I two floor levels were excavated. Furthermore, a semi-circular "enclosure" replaced the rectangular one. Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 150; Boehringer, 2001, 61, n. 3.

must belong to the period after the refurbishment.[455] The smaller vessels were reportedly found between the fragmentary or intact larger vessels. It thus appears that the larger vessels were used to contain the sacred remains of the pyres that were lit inside and outside the building. This practice of storing the pyre residuals continued until the destruction of the building toward the end of the 7th century BCE.

The pottery found in between the pyre debris belongs to the more prestigious (orientalizing) PC style, while the vessels used to store the pyre material seem to have been the common (local) SG ware. Kourouniotis and Travlos speak of mostly large sherds (Figure 85), belonging to amphorai, jugs, plates and cooking vessels.[456] E. Pierce-Blegen mentions the type of smaller vessels that we recovered: "Near these [the larger amphorai etc.] were found a few small pots, lekythoi and small skyphoi of the customary funeral type."[457] The lekythos is not a current 7th century type, but the name is sometimes erroneously associated with the PC aryballos.[458] Since Pierce-Blegen styled these vessels "all Protocorinthian", it is probably safe to assume that what we have are aryballoi instead of true lekythoi.

The larger vessels are somewhat more problematic. Travlos attributed them to the Geometric style and dates all pottery from the late eighth to the late seventh century BCE.[459] The earlier *Praktika* report, however, later followed by Mylonas, dated all material to the early 7th century.[460] This means that the amphorai, chytrai (cooking pots), lekanai (bowls) and prochoai (jugs) belong to the SG and not the LG style. It thus appears that Travlos willfully ignored that the "Geometric" pottery in fact consisted of "Subgeometric" vessels, apparently because this fitted his theory of the general development of the Telesterion area better.[461]

The PC and SG vases found in the pyres near the tumulus of the dead hero (Figure 82) present us with the timeframe for the use and destruction of the Sacred House. Broadly speaking, the use of the Sacred House must have been contemporary with these pyres, which continued throughout the seventh century.[462] As we have seen, there has been some confusion over the final date of the building's use. Without full publication of the pottery and finds, no complete certainty can be attained concerning the end date. Indeed, the original report remains explicitly vague on this

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[455] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153.

[456] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Prakt* 1937, 48: "ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου μεγάλα ἀγγεῖα."

[457] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Prakt* 1937, 48: "ἄλλα μικρότερα διαφόρων σχημάτων". E. Pierce Blegen, *AJA* 29 (1925, 111).

[458] cf. Cook, 1960, 233.

[459] Travlos, 1983, 334: "ἀπό τά τέλη τοῦ 8ου ὥς τα τέλη τοῦ 7ου π.Χ. αἰ."

[460] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Prakt* 1937, 48: "εἰς τάς ἀρχάς τοῦ ἑβδόμου αἰῶνος." Mylonas (1961), 59, followed by Binder (1998), 135, but cf. *BCH* 52 (1928): amphora's 9th and 8th c. (!).

[461] Cf. Binder, 1998 for a critique of Travlos' theory.

[462] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152 and n. 1067.

issue[463]. However, external reasons favor a date rather toward 600 BCE. The small rectangular enclosure (cf. section 1.21.3, Figure 85 B) built over the demolished Sacred House indicates that whatever cult activity took place inside the Sacred House survived in some form into the sixth century.[464] Assuming that the gap between these two architectural phases lasted relatively short in order for the cult to continue in its altered form, it is reasonable to extend the building's period of use to the final quarter of the seventh century.[465] Since the pyres appear to span the entire seventh century BCE, the different phases may roughly be dated as follows:

1	Megaron (phase 1)	pre-700 BCE
2	Burial	ca. 700 BCE
3	Sacred House (phase 2a); pyres outside	ca. 700-650 (?)
4	Sacred House (phase 2b); pyres in- and outside	ca. 650 (?) – 600 BCE

In conclusion, we may state that during the first phase the building seems to have been used for ritual banquets, which appear to have been deliberately staged in the presence of the dead hero outside. During the second phase, this practice was continued, although the pyre material inside the building suggests a tendency toward seclusion, perhaps comparable to the sacralization of the banqueting hall at the **Academy 2**, ca. 650 BCE.

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[463] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Praktika* 1937, 49; cf. also *RA* 11 (1938), 96.

[464] Kourouniotis, *RA* 11 (1938), 96 mentions a few ripe Corinthian sherds (early 6th century).

[465] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152-153 and Boehringer, 2001, 62.
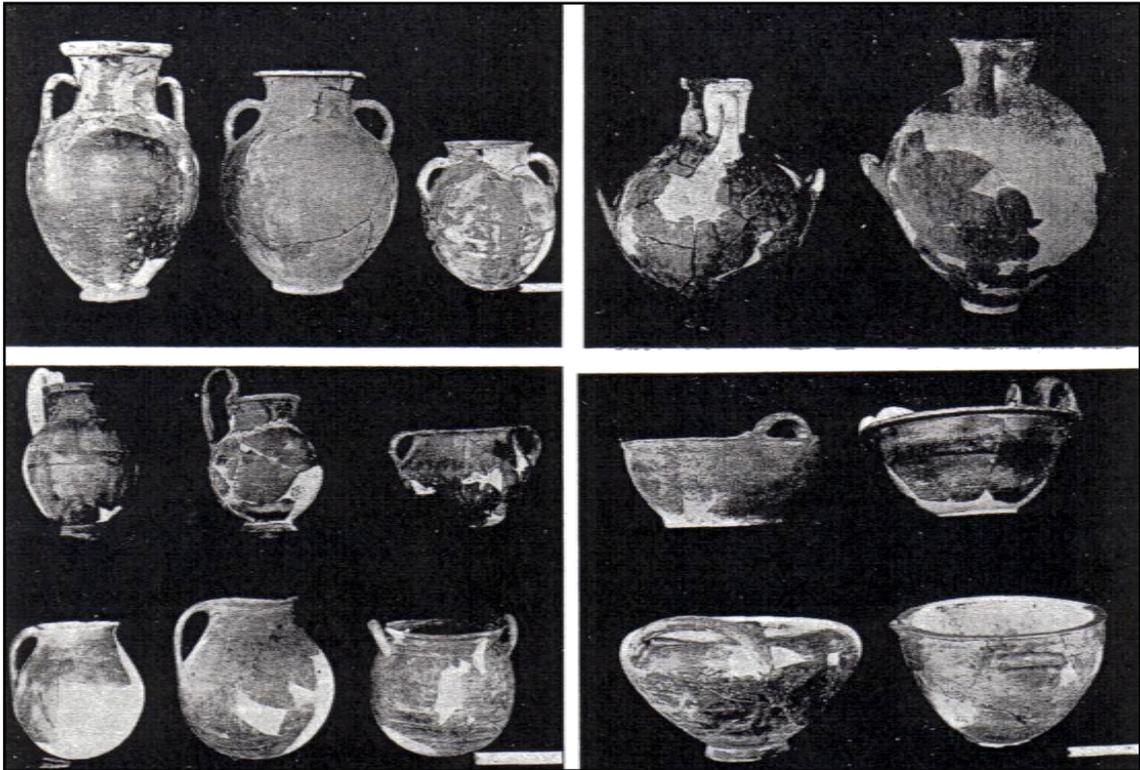
Figure 85 – Large vessels found in rooms II, III and IV of the Sacred House.
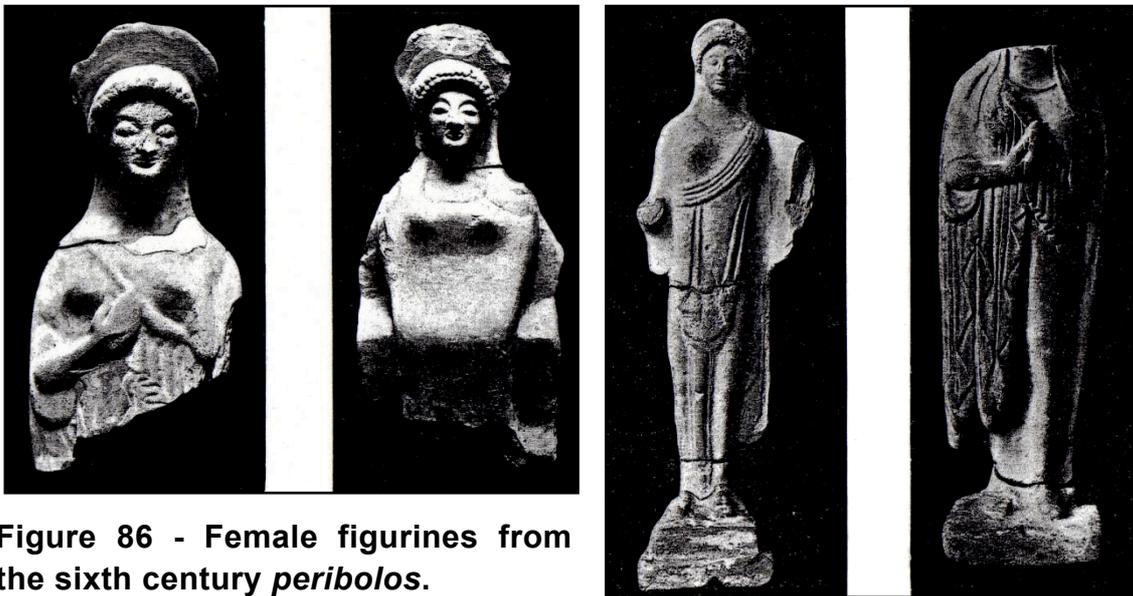
Figure 86 - Female figurines from the sixth century *peribolos*.
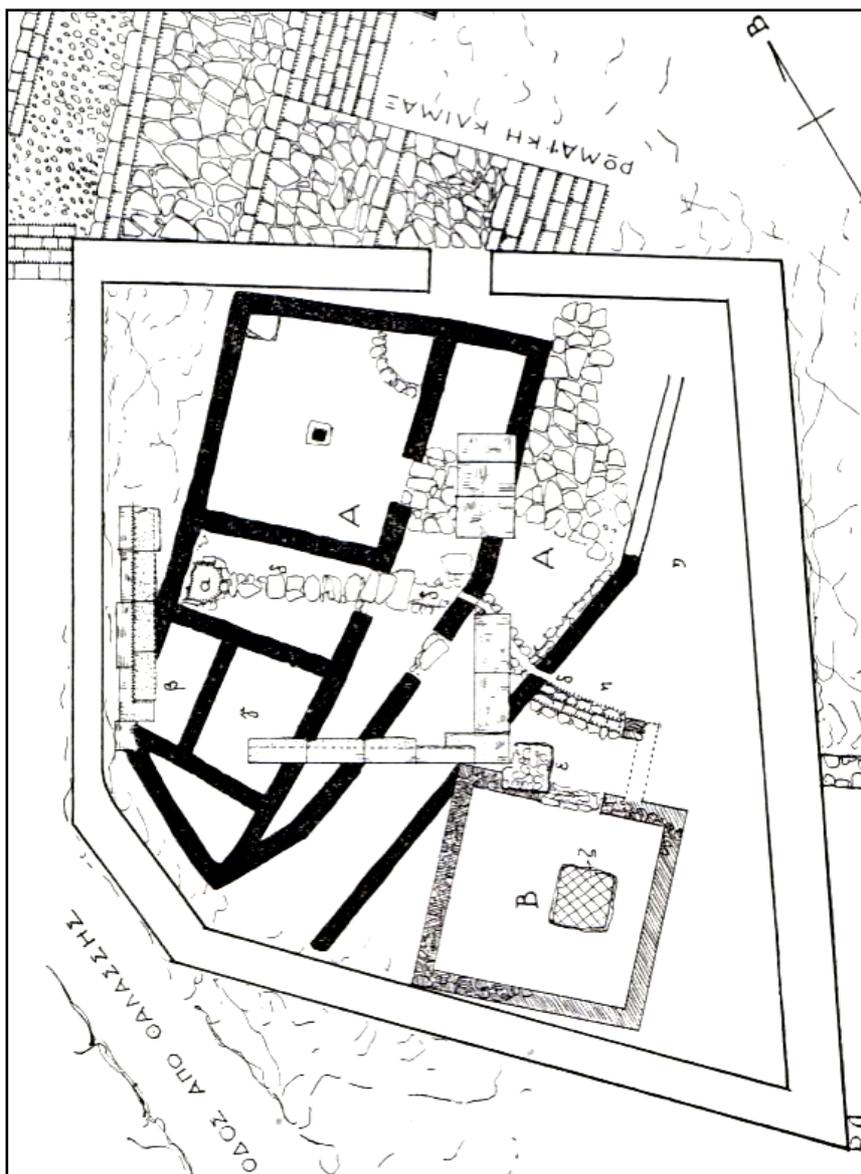
Figure 87 – Reconstructed ground plan of the Sacred House and the overlying remains.

1.21.3 Phase 3: Rectangular Enclosure

After the destruction of the Sacred House cult activity continued, albeit in a different shape. A small, rectangular shrine was constructed over the tumulus and became the focus of cult during the greater part of the sixth century. An altar (Figure 87, ζ) was created roughly in the middle, no doubt deliberately centered on the LG grave, indicating that this new offering place succeeded the seventh century offering pyres. The small enclosure and its altar were most likely constructed at some point early in the 6th century BCE, presumably in response to the phasing out of the Sacred House.[466] We cannot be more specific about the lifespan of this shrine other than that it lay in ruins by the end of the sixth century.[467]

The architectural remains are usually interpreted as belonging to a small temple-like building (variously indicated as *domation*, *naos* or *oikos*).[468] However, since no interior roof support is mentioned in the reports, it is doubtful whether the building was actually covered. An additional column would presumably be required to cover the rather large space (ca. 4 x 4 m). To be sure, larger stretches were covered without support in monumental Greek architecture. However, such buildings received greater stability from carefully fitted or clamped ashlar masonry to support the additional

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[466] A date in the early sixth century for the construction of the rectangular shrine was given by the preliminary report in *Prakt* 1937, 49, repeated nearly half a century later by Travlos, 1983, 335 and tentatively followed by Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152-153: "The Sacred House was presumably destroyed around the end of the 7th c. and was replaced by a bipartite oikos which was built on top of the grave mound." In his unpublished report of 1938, however, Travlos proposed an alternative possibility. Here he suggested that the rectangular shrine was constructed around the middle of the 7th century, contemporary with the remodeling of the Sacred House, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153 + n. 1069. In this account the small shrine and the Sacred House coexisted for nearly half a century until the latter's destruction close to 600 BCE. Two major problems arise from this view. First, the pyres inside room III of the Sacred House would have coexisted with the altar inside the rectangular shrine. Second, the SE retaining wall of the street ("court") in front of the porch of the Sacred House was cut by the construction of the later building's walls (N corner). On the other hand, section A-A' (Figure 84) suggests that the retaining wall may actually postdate the rectangular shrine. Cf. the remarks made by Boehringer, 2001, 62, n. 5. An early sixth century date is further supported by the similarity between the terracotta fragments and the late 6th century, "Solonian" Telesterion. These fragments now appear to have been lost.
[467] The second altar was constructed partly over its collapsed walls, cf. *Praktika* 1937, 49 and fig. 3.
[468] Kourouniotis and Travlos *Prakt* 1937, 49 already proposed that these walls belonged to a small building: δωμάτιον. There is some confusion as to whether it was outfitted with an anteroom of ca. 2 m deep. This depends on whether an additional stretch of wall
    Figure 87). Some have taken this as an indication of a temple-like structure, cf. Travlos, 1983, 336, fig. 14 ("μικρός ναός"); Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 152-153, also fig. 172 (bipartite oikos); Boehringer, 2001, 62 (temple). However, on the original plan there is no indication that the wall formed part of such an anteroom, cf. *Praktika* 1937, 49 and fig. 3 (no indication is given of an anteroom); cf. also Boehringer, 2001, 62. For the problematic term "oikos", cf. note 196.

weight of the large roof beams. The remains of the rectangular enclosure at Eleusis, however, indicate that its walls were made of mud brick on a rubble foundation. In comparison, the roof over room I of the Sacred House, which was of roughly equal dimensions, was certainly sustained by an interior column. But even if one imagines an interior column, it would be difficult to see how such a (presumably wooden) post would have functioned next to the fire altar in the middle of the room. In the absence of positive evidence to prove the existence of a roof, the walls are best explained as forming a *peribolos* around a hypaethral *temenos*. The find of a few fragments of sculpted "roof tiles" are best understood as having covered the floor surface or a mud brick parapet.[469] This proposition is strengthened by the fact that its successor, the late archaic, polygonal *peribolos* seems to be an enlarged version of this shrine: both enclosed an altar and opened toward the northeast.

1.21.4   Phase 4: Polygonal *Peribolos*

Late in the sixth century, a large, stone *peribolos* wall, built in polygonal masonry, replaced the small rectangular shrine, encompassing all earlier architectural phases (Figure 87). A new altar was constructed partly over the remains of the previous, smaller enclosure (Figure 87, ε). The new *peribolos* has been styled Pisistratid, though no convincing evidence for this attribution has been forwarded.[470] The polygonal style of the wall has been associated with the great processional ramp leading up the Acropolis. This ramp has been associated with the Pisistratid reforms of the Panathenaia in 566/565 BCE. However, this type of masonry remained in use well into the Classical Period and cannot be used as independent evidence for dating the wall.[471] Mazarakis Ainian, following Travlos' unpublished report, dates the *peribolos* slightly after the destruction of the rectangular enclosure, which in his view had occurred "by the end of the 6th c. BCE, when the [new] altar was built".[472] With the sixth century phase of worship belongs a large amount of small finds including terracotta female figurines (Figure 87).[473]

1.21.5   Phase 5: Classical Temple

Finally, a small, poros temple, variously dated between the Pisistratid and the High Classical Period, was built over the remains of the Sacred House. Lauter has provided

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[469] The sculpted roof tiles are mentioned by Kourouniotis and Travlos (*Prakt* 1937, 50: "Τεμάχια γραπτῶν πηλίνων κεραμίδων στέγης"), but have since been lost.

[470] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Praktika* 1937, 50 and *RA* 11 (1938), 96.

[471] In any case, there is no reason to associate the wall with the person of Pisistratos, as Kourouniotis did in *RA* 11 (1938), 95.

[472] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153.

[473] Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Praktika* 1937, 50-51 and figs. 8-11. No specific mention was made as to whether the finds belong to the small rectangular enclosure or to the late archaic *peribolos*.

the most convincing argument for dating the temple in the fifth century by comparing a smooth column shaft on the temple's krepis with the architectural members of the Classical Telesterion.[474] As to the moment when the cult was discontinued, we unfortunately lack conclusive evidence.[475]

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[474] Pisistratid: Kourouniotis, *RA* 11 (1938), 95; late archaic: Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153; high classical: Lauter, 1985a, 168. The fleeing maiden (Persephone?) then may not represent an ornament from this temple, cf. Pierce-Blegen, *AJA* 29 (1925), 112. Perhaps it was intended as a votary instead.

[475] Kourouniotis, *RA* 11 (1938), 97.

1.22 Eleusis 4

Context:	M/LH schist tombs
Date:	late 8th century BCE
Location:	west cemetery
Architecture:	protective enclosure
Preliminary report:	G. Mylonas, *Prakt* 1953, 81-87, fig. 10.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 63-64; Hall, 1999, n.31; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153, 316, fig. 182; Parker, 1996, 35, n. 25; Antonaccio, 1995, 112-117, fig. 11; Kearns, 1989, 130-131, 168; Whitley, 1988, 176; Snodgrass, 1982a, 683, fig. 67; Abramson, 1978, 100, n. 45; Mylonas, 1975, vol. II, 133-154, vol. III, vol. III, plates Λ and 145; Snodgrass, 1971, 4, 194; Mylonas, 1961, 62-63; Mylonas, 1958a, 317-318, 1958b, 1932b, 53-57.

At the W end of the West cemetery at Eleusis a *peribolos* wall dating to the LG period enclosed a group of MH and LH schist tombs (Figure 88). Mylonas, who excavated the graves, identified the area as the "Heroon of the Seven Against Thebes" who fell when they tried to restore the exiled prince Polynices to the Theban throne.[476] According to Plutarch, Theseus granted the fallen warriors the right to be buried at Eleusis and Pausanias mentions the place where their graves could be seen: along the road that led to Megara.[477] A number of objections have been raised against Mylonas' combination of archaeological and literary evidence. The disturbance of some of the graves has been taken as a sign of disrespect, which cannot be compromised with the supposed heroic esteem bestowed on the interred.[478] However, the alternate looting, reuse and veneration of the Helladic tombs in this and nearby cemeteries illustrate the complicated attitude of the EIA Eleusinians toward their Bronze Age predecessors.[479]

A more serious threat to Mylonas' interpretation is the number of graves, which have a hard time adding up to seven. The wall encloses a total of nine tombs. Out of these, one (Λπ7) is cut by the western wall and two (Λπ1 and Λπ3) may or may not belong to the enclosed group, depending on how the architecture of the walls is read. In any case, the argument remains somewhat forced, especially when we consider that only five of the tombs were disturbed by, and thus known to, the local population.[480]

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[476] Mylonas, *Prakt* 1953, 81-87 and (1975), vol. II, 153-154.
[477] Plutarch *Theseus* 29, 24-25; Pausanias I.39.2-3. Cf. also *FGrH* 328 F, 112-113.
[478] Antonaccio (1995), 115.
[479] Cf. Antonaccio (1995), 115-116.
[480] It has ingeniously been suggested that the seventh hero (Amphiaraus) might be missing on account of his deification, cf. Parker (1996), 35, n. 25, but also Mylonas' explanation
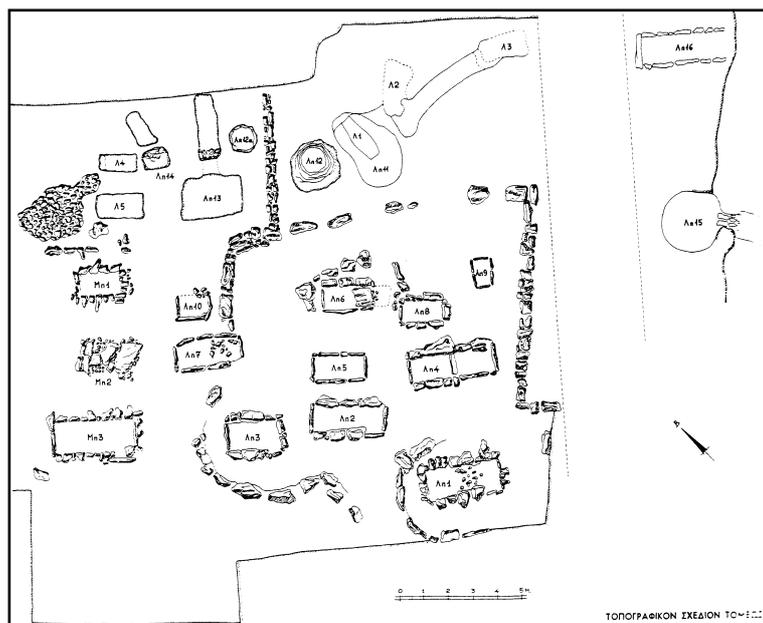
Figure 88 – The *peribolos* surrounding the tombs connected with the "Seven against Thebes".

The LG period saw a change from the EIA individual interments to archaic group burials, presumably of groups of kinsmen. The *periboloi* erected around groups of graves in the Kerameikos, Agora and the area south of the Acropolis (Erechtheion Street) marked this change, perhaps in response to the close proximity of tombs belonging to rivaling groups. Still, it is difficult to see how the *peribolos* at Eleusis around a group of BA tombs is to be connected with this practice.[481] The apparent absence of evidence for cult (votives) or ritual dining (drinking vessels) makes a direct comparison with cult activity at BA tombs (**Menidi**, **Thorikos 2** and **3**, **Athens - Agora 2**) tenuous. We have to consider the possibility that a certain aspect of the disturbed graves so disquieted the robbers as to cause the erection of the wall in order to prevent the content of the graves from entering the world of the living.

The fact that none of the enclosed tombs was reused, as opposed to the chamber tomb (Λπ11) immediately to the N of the enclosure, indicates that this was done successfully. The absence of votives reinforces the notion that the area was reserved

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in *Prakt* 1953, 85-87. The argument would be rescued if one takes into consideration that one of the other heroes, Adrastus, is supposed to have survived the battle, putting the total number of fallen heroes at five (*Thebaid* fr. 6 Davies). Adrastos is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 23.346-347) and Tyrtaeus (fr. 12 West), but only in indirect references. All this, however, is stretching the argument too far and it inspires little confidence that the eighth century archaeological material represents a reliable reflection of the fifth century tragic cycle.

[481] As does Antonaccio, 1995, 207.

as an *abaton*, perhaps comparable to some of the later examples from the Agora.[482] Finally, it has to be noted that the protective enclosure at Eleusis indicates a division in several distinct areas, rather than a *peribolos* enclosing a single *temenos*-like area: It seems likely that tomb Λπ1 was separated from the others, while the same may be said for Λπ3. Furthermore, the E wall protrudes for some distance beyond the point where it supposedly meets the, rather badly preserved, N wall while yet more walls may be lost to us completely.

Those who were active at the West cemetery of Eleusis seem to have been involved in an intricate play of establishing relations with the past. This is well explained by the need to obtain legitimacy for the use and sovereignty of the land.[483] At times this involved the looting of certain tombs and of reusing its space and goods, while at other times it was deemed necessary to distance oneself from particular tombs that were perceived to be more sacred than others. In the latter case, the use of protective enclosures could indicate which tombs were to be considered as inviolable, an understandable measure in an area so profusely endowed with tombs from the distant past. It is, furthermore, important to acknowledge that numerous shades of gray may appear where tomb cult is concerned: from simple reuse of tombs or setting them aside as *abata*, to full-scale tomb cult as has been observed elsewhere. On this scale, perception of the West cemetery *peribolos* may seem to lean somewhat toward a less obvious cultic installation. Its importance, however, lies precisely in the accentuation of the complex web of EIA attitudes toward the dead.

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[482] Another Classical hero shrine was found at the NW corner of the agora, between the *Stoa Basileios* and the Altar of the Twelve Gods. The small rectangular *temenos* dates to the period 430-400 BCE; no Archaic material was found, though a relation with the Geometric and Mycenaean graves found at close distance is not unlikely. However, there is no evidence of continuous cult-practice from the LG period. Cf. Shear, 1973, 360-69, 1972, 126-130; also Parker, 1996, 34, n. 20; Abramson, 1978, 126-129. A third century BCE rectangular enclosure has been identified underneath the Middle Stoa on the basis of a socket, which belongs to a *horos* block. The considerably higher ground level on the inside suggests that it may have served as some kind of *abaton*. A connection with the Mycenaean grave is highly suggestive, but again, there is no reason to assume cult continuity from the 8th or 7th century BCE. Cf. Lalonde, 1980; Thompson, 1966, 48-49; also Parker, 1996, 34, n. 20; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, 120; Lalonde, 1968, 132; for the Mycenaean grave below, see Lalonde, 1980, fig.1; Vermeule and Travlos, 1966, 56.

[483] Cf. Coldstream (1976).

1.23 Eleusis 5

Context:	2 LG graves
Date:	late eighth or first half of the seventh century BCE
Location:	ca. 300 m from Acropolis N slope
Architecture:	triangular foundation (altar?)
Finds:	terracotta figurines
Preliminary reports:	K. Papangeli, *ArchDelt* 47 B, 1992, 38.
Summary:	D. Blackman, *AR* 1997-1998, 13.

The triangular foundation (0.60 m on a side) is somewhat reminiscent of the slightly later, rectangular foundation underneath a Classical (and also triangular) shrine near the Agora (**Areopagus 2)**. The rectangular foundation appears to have served as an altar or an elaborate grave marker. The foundation at Eleusis seems to be related to the find of some clay figurines and two LG graves, which were found beneath it. Although the finds have not yet been fully published, some kind of ancestor worship is likely, as the figurines were not directly related to the graves, but rather seem to indicate ritual activity transcending the one time event of the burials.

1.24 Eleutherai

Context:	cave (of Antiope ?)
Date:	8th-5th century BCE
Location:	Kissos cave above ancient Eleutherae on Mt. Cithaeron
Pottery:	**(G); (PC); (C)** "small vessels" (aryballoi?); **(Cl)**[484]
Preliminary reports:	E.G. Stikas, *Prakt* 1939, 52; 1940, 16-17; E. Baziotopoulou-Valavannou, *ArchDelt* 1990 B, 68-69, no. 7.
Summary:	E. French, *AR* 1989-90, 36.
Bibliography:	Munn and Zimmerman-Munn, 1990, 36-37; Wickens, 1986, vol II, 274-275 (no. 50).

Eleutherae became part of the Athenian polis relatively late. According to Pausanias the inhabitants chose to do so out of fear of Theban expansionism.[485] In the eighth and seventh centuries the place appears to have been an independent polis, with an important sanctuary of Dionysos, from where the old wooden cult image was taken to

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[484] Fifth century pottery: J. Wickens p.c.
[485] Pausanias 1.38.8.

Athens upon Eleutherae's incorporation into the Athenian state. Of another sacred place Pausanias mentions the following:

> *A little farther on is a small cave, and beside it is a spring of cold water. The legend about the cave is that Antiope after her labor placed her babies into it; as to the spring, it is said that the shepherd who found the babies washed them there for the first time, taking off their swaddling clothes. Of Eleutherae there were still left the ruins of the wall and of the houses. From these it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain close to Cithaeron.*[486]

In 1939 and 1940 E.G. Stikas mentioned his explorations in this area. While he claimed to have discovered the cave mentioned by Pausanias, some confusion has remained about what he found and at what location. Several suggestions have since been made for the location of the site,[487] the most likely candidate being the cave at Kissos on the slopes west of Yiftokastro. In a short article presenting some of the results of the Skourta Plain Project, Munn and Zimmerman-Munn, apparently informed by E. Baziotopoulou-Valavannou,[488] epimelete of Megara, lifted the first part of the veil, comparing the votive assemblage to that from another cave shrine on Mt. Parnes **(Parnes 1)**, especially the Geometric and Proto-Corinthian ware.[489] Interestingly, Munn and Zimmerman-Munn mention that the Geometric pottery is of Corinthian manufacture. While Corinthian imports in Attica are abundant during the seventh century, they were not common during the eighth. At first glance, this appears to confirm Pausanias' statement that Eleutherae was originally independent from Athens. However, Munn and Zimmerman Munn contend that the Skourta plain was not inhabited from the tenth to sixth centuries BCE. In their view Athenian, Corinthian and Boeotian herdsmen used it as common pastureland in accordance with an ancient oath.[490] These herdsmen may have been the ones visiting the cave.

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[486] Pausanias 1.38.9.
[487] Cf. Wickens, 1986, vol. 2, 274-275.
[488] Munn and Zimmerman-Munn, 1990, 40. Cf. also E. Baziotopoulou-Valavannou, *ArchDelt* 1990 B, 68-69, no. 7.
[489] Munn and Zimmerman-Munn, 1990, 36. on Mt. Parnes many alabastra and aryballoi were found, cf. Mastrokostas, 1983.
[490] They refer to "common summer pasturage on Kithairon" (Soph. *OT*, 1123-1145). See also their report in E. French, *AR* 1989-1990, 36.

1.25 Hymettos 1

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	from ca. 950 to ca. 500 BCE
Location:	at the summit, ca. 1.5 km N of the highest point, on the west face of Mt. Hymettos, overlooking the Athenian plain
Architecture:	sacred house; heroon; votive pit
Pottery:	**LPG** to **BF/BG** with a quantitative peak in the 8th and 7th century: **(SM)** plain deep bowl; **(LPG)** fragments of oinochoai, giant skyphoid kraters and perhaps a kantharos; **(G)** fragments of oinochoai, skyphoi, kantharoi, one- and two-handled, as well as Phaleron cups, tankards (including one non-Attic), pyxides, round mouthed, trefoil and other jugs; also an EG Amphora fragment, an MG mug, and LG fragments of a krater, kotyle and a high rimmed bowl; **(SG)** fragments of skyphoi, jugs, two-handled cups, an oinochoe, a plate and a bowl; **(PA/EA)** fragments of oinochoai, two-handled cups, a kalathos, trefoil jug (cooking ware), skyphos and perhaps an amphora; **(C)** fragments of an aryballos, an alabastron and a closed vessel; **(Arg)** fragments of a votive oinochoe, a votive two-handled cup and a votive one-handled cup.
Sacrificial remains:	ashes and animal bone.
Votives/Other finds:	two terracotta lamp fragments and a terracotta horse figurine (7th century); various metal objects, including a bronze finger ring.
Excavation report:	R.S. Young, *AJA* (1940), 1-9.
Summary:	O. Walter, *AA* (1940), 174-5.
Main publication:	Langdon, 1976.
Bibliography:	Lambert, 2000, 77-78; Langdon, 1997a, 119; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 119, 143, 315, figs. 136-8; Parker, 1996, 29-33; Whitley, 1991a, 54-55; Lauter, 1985a, 101-102; Snodgrass, 1982a, 678; Scully, 1979, 135-136; Drerup, 1969, 31; Yavis, 1949, 110, n. 4.

1.25.1 The Site

The sanctuary (Figure 95) was excavated in the nineteenthirties by Blegen and Young, who published a preliminary report in 1940. Langdon conducted further research on the site and delivered the final publication. The importance of the peak sanctuary on Hymettos lies in its unusually early institution in the second half of the tenth century BCE (LPG). This makes it the earliest sanctuary attested with certainty in Attica. Its importance lays furthermore in the abundance of ceramic material, especially when compared to the other peak sanctuaries. Together with Parnes, this was the most frequently visited of all mountain shrines. As the sanctuary was not accessible from the E and S, it seems to have served mostly the people from the plain.[491]

It appears that Zeus was the main divinity worshipped at this sanctuary. Out of ten seventh century graffiti referring to a god, eight refer to Zeus (Anax, Semios, or simply Zeus), as well as one to Heracles and *Gaea* each.[492] Pausanias mentions an altar of Zeus Ombrios on Hymettos as well as a statue of Zeus Hymettios,[493] and both Langdon and Young agree this was the place he referred to. Still, the *epicleses* Ombrios and Hymettios may belong to a much later period than ours, since there are no graffiti referring to either. It is probably best for our purposes to simply refer to the sanctuary of Zeus, without further epithets.

The suitability of the location on Mt Hymettos for the worship of Zeus is self-evident. The location of the sanctuary on the north slope of Mt. Hymettos gave it a spectacular view over the Athenian plain and its dramatically changing weather conditions. The actual place of worship, however, was located inside a natural depression from where only rock and sky could be seen, creating a special relation between the worshippers and Zeus as sky- and weather-god.[494]

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[491] According to the sacrificial calendar from Erchia (375-350 BCE), the Erchians (who came from the E of Hymettos) sacrificed to Zeus Epakrios, though we cannot be fully sure this was at Langdon's Hymettos shrine, cf. Langdon, 1976, 99 and Lambert, 2000, 77, ns. 45-46.

[492] Langdon (1976), cat. nos. 1-10. Langdon considered Young's reading of Heracles (Young, 1940, 6, no. 2) "still the best solution", but considered an alternative reading possible (Langdon, 1976, 15, no 9). It is possible that Zeus was placated through the intervention of the goddess Earth. Pausanias (1.24.3) mentioned a statue of Earth on the Acropolis besieging Zeus to rain on her.

[493] Pausanias 1.32.3. Young, 1940, 5 believed strongly that a limestone pedestal served as the pedestal for the statue of Zeus Hymettios. Zeus Ombrios was a very common name for Zeus, not only on mountain tops, see Langdon, 1976, 84.

[494] Scully, 1979, 135-6.
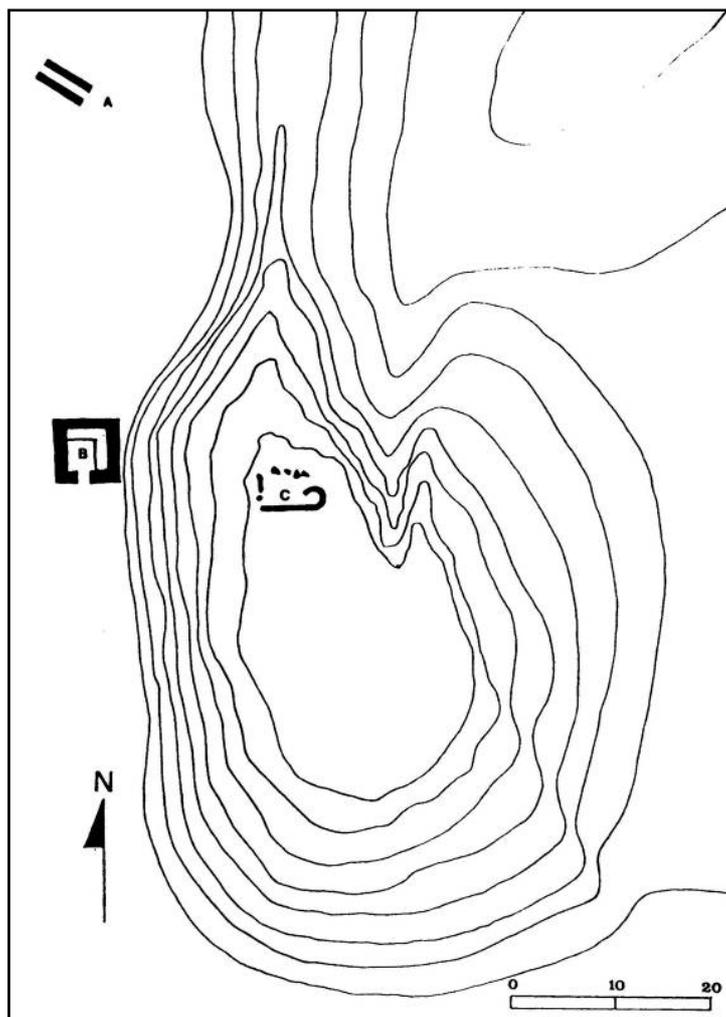
Figure 89 – Layout of buildings A-C at the sanctuary of Zeus on Hymettos.

1.25.2 Architecture

The architectural remains at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos are much less informative than the cultic remains. Three structures have been excavated (A-C) that probably date to the Geometric Period. The first two lay on the outside ridge overlooking the plain, the third inside the depression:

A) Two parallel walls (Figure 89 A) lie (some 30 m north of B), on the ridge and NW of the depression. This construction, whatever its function, was probably not roofed.[495] Yavis included it in his discussion of Greek altars, but no ashes or votives have been found in connection with it.[496] Young identified the structure as a heroon

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[495] Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 143.
[496] Yavis, 1949. Cf. Rupp, 1983, 101-102.
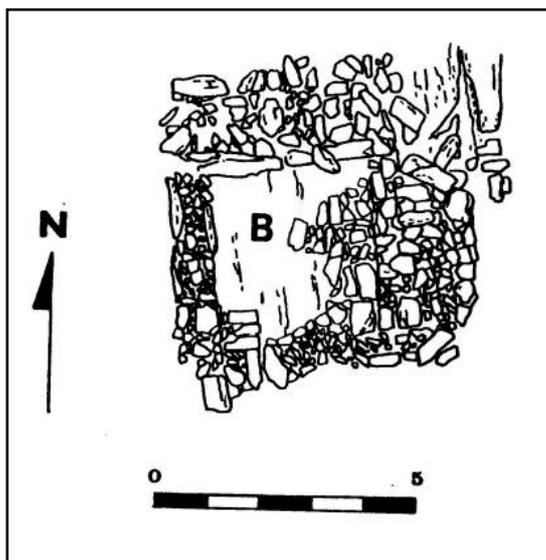
Figure 90 – Building B.   **Figure 91 – Building C.**
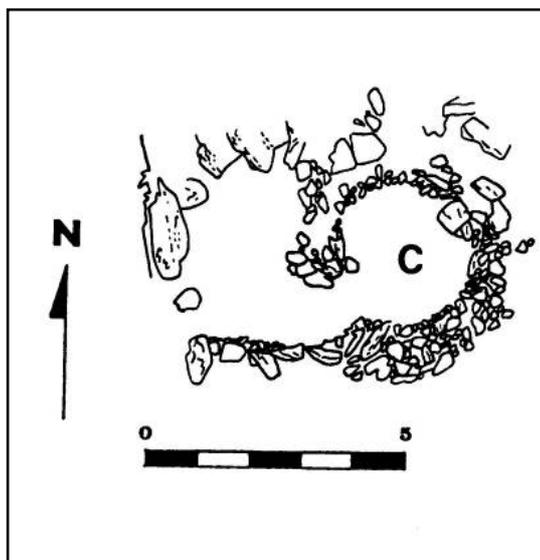
on the basis of an inscription found nearby bearing the letters HEP.[497] This has alternately been restored as HEP[OS], or HEP[AKLES].[498]

B)   The square dining room B (Figure 89 and Figure 90), measuring 5.80 x 5.80 m (outside walls), lies immediately west of the depression. Surprisingly, the N and E walls are ca. 2.00 m thick, while the S and W walls measure only ca. 0.80 m. The thickness of the N and E walls indicates that the wall foundations were combined with the construction of benches on the east side. Langdon identified some stones in the SW corner as an altar and would see the rectangular walls as a *peribolos* enclosing an open-air shrine, with a posited entrance in the S wall.[499] In his study of Attic "Sacred Buildings", Lauter has convincingly argued that the remains appear to belong to a roofed building, a sacred house, on analogy with the building on the Tourkovouni.[500] The irregularity of the walls would then be explained as allowing for the extra width of benches on the interior side of the walls. Also, Langdon's "altar" is better explained as a group of paving stones[501] or entrance steps (Figure 92). The fact that ashes and bones were recovered from the "depression" to the east of the building, not inside the building itself, seems to confirm this. It seems preferable in any case to seek for an altar inside the depression, with its sky-only view and its stone-lined votive pit and unexplained rubble walls (see C).[502] Furthermore, the benches inside Building B can

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[497] Young (1940), 3.
[498] Langdon (1976), cat. nos. **173** (inscription) and **9** (graffito). Cf. also note 492.
[499] Langdon (1968), 1.
[500] Lauter, 1985a, 135-6 and no. 14, but cf. Langdon, 1997a, 120-121.
[501] Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 145.
[502] Langdon (1976), 76-7: The excavation diaries mention ashes and burnt bones inside the depression. No such traces were found in the interior of the square structure B.
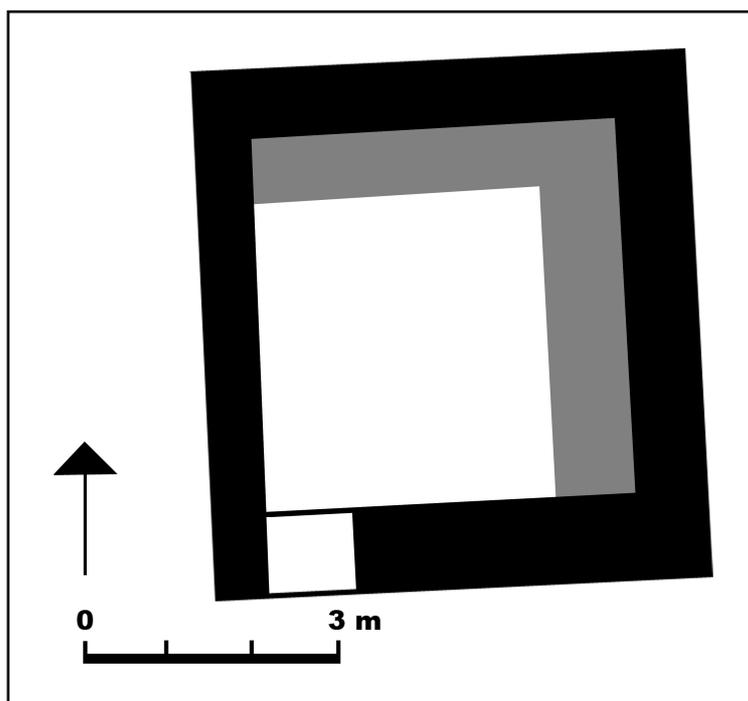
Figure 92 – Reconstructed groundplan of building B at the sanctuary of Zeus on Hymettos. Benches indicated in grey.

be compared with a number of similar roofed buildings in Attica.[503] Together with the banqueting halls at **Brauron** and **Parnes 1** (both situated inside a cave) the rectangular building at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos is the only dining facility securely to be connected with the worship of a divinity.

C)   This stone-lined votive pit (Figure 89, C; Figure 91), measuring 2.80 m in diameter, was found inside the hollow toward its northern extension. Its thick walls and general design are reminiscent of the so-called 'Tholos' of Lathouriza, which, although much larger, was similarly shaped and found equally full of votive pottery.[504] Mazarakis Ainian has identified the shape of the structure at Lathouriza as a symbolic imitation of a granary.[505] Unfortunately, there can be no sure architectural restoration of the circular structure because of its poor state of preservation.

1.25.3   Pottery

Most ceramics and finds came from the stone-lined pit C, where pots and sherds were stacked (Figure 93, Figure 94, Figure 95 and Figure 96). Thick layers of ash and animal bones were found in between. Much pottery was also found inside the

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[503] Buildings with benches are attested at **Athens – Areopagus 1**, **Lathouriza 1** inside the "Ruler's dwelling" and the (sixth century) circular cult building and **Tourkovouni**.
[504] See also Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 119; contra Langdon (1976), 7.
[505] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 119 + note 757, 1994b, 1994a: ("The replica of a granary would symbolize successful crops thanks to the rain provided by Zeus").

depression at large. Langdon concluded that there was no stratification and that the depression gradually filled up. The stone-lined pit itself was filled with (Sub-) Geometric pottery; pottery from other periods came from elsewhere inside the depression. The Bronze Age sherds are too few to be connected with cult-activity, though a single SM plain deep bowl may indicate cultic interest as early as the BA-EIA transition. The first indubitable signs of cult activity date to the LPG Period (69 sherds), including some fragments of giant skyphoi. A short period of decline during the EG and MG I phases (13 and 12 sherds) may be the result of a bias in the material record. From MG II there is a steady rise in the number of preserved sherds, culminating in the main period of use, the seventh century (589 sherds). There is a sharp decline of material from the sixth century (109 sherds) and no evidence at all from the fifth to second centuries. Drinking vessels clearly predominate in the votive record, emphasizing the importance of communality and social integration in the rituals. The additional jugs and plates strengthen this notion.

1.25.4 Ritual

Small votives were placed on the altar and unceremoniously swept aside by the next dedicant, the broken votives being dumped inside the depression or votive pit C, suggesting the altar stood nearby and not, as Langdon supposed, on the ridge (B).[506] The existence of this pit shows that during the (Sub-)Geometric Period, special meaning was attached to the discarded votive offerings, as much of it was neatly stored there. The pottery was mostly ordinary household ware.[507] Open shapes, suitable for drinking and libation preponderate; no pyxides, few amphora's, kraters and plates were found. If Lauter is right in identifying the remains of A as a sacred house, we should probably place this sanctuary in the context of a religious community (*genos*?) that was responsible for its rituals and, equally important considering the ashes and bones found, its religious banquets. Hero-cult in connection with a peak cult has also been posited at Tourkovouni.[508]

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[506] See also the altar at **Parnes 1**, which consisted of a thick layer of sherds mixed with ashes and bones.

[507] According to Langdon (1976, 77), it is closer in style to contemporary agora wells than to the Dipylon graves.

[508] See Lauter, 1985a and chapter 7.7 below for more examples of architecture used for ritual dining.

183   181   184 (1:2)

189

190 (1:4)   191 (1:4)   192 (1:4)

193 (1:5)   194 (1:5)   195 (1:4)
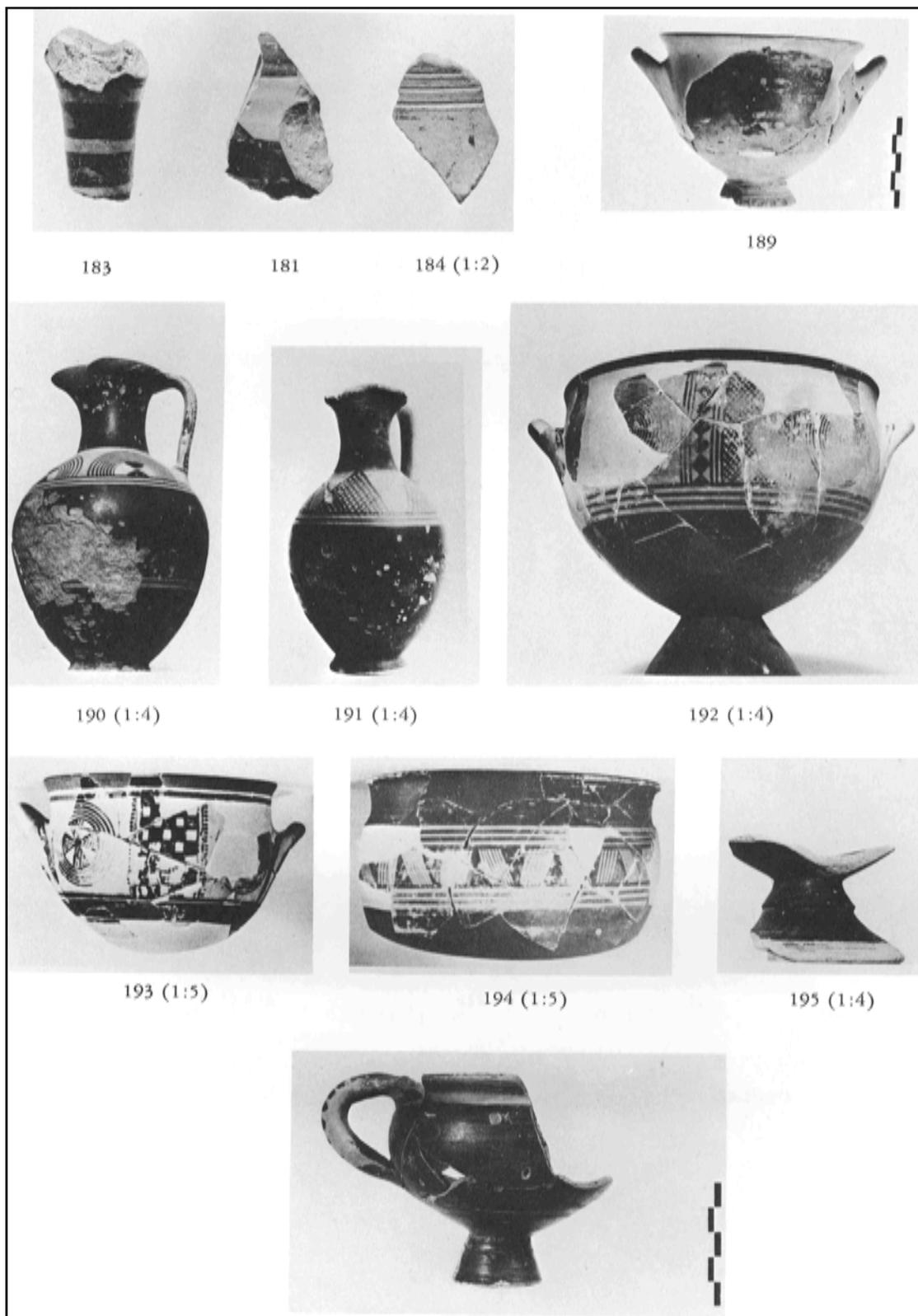
Figure 93 – PG vases from the sanctuary of Zeus

Figure 94 – Geometric pottery from the sanctuary of Zeus.

Figure 95 – Geometric pottery from the sanctuary of Zeus.
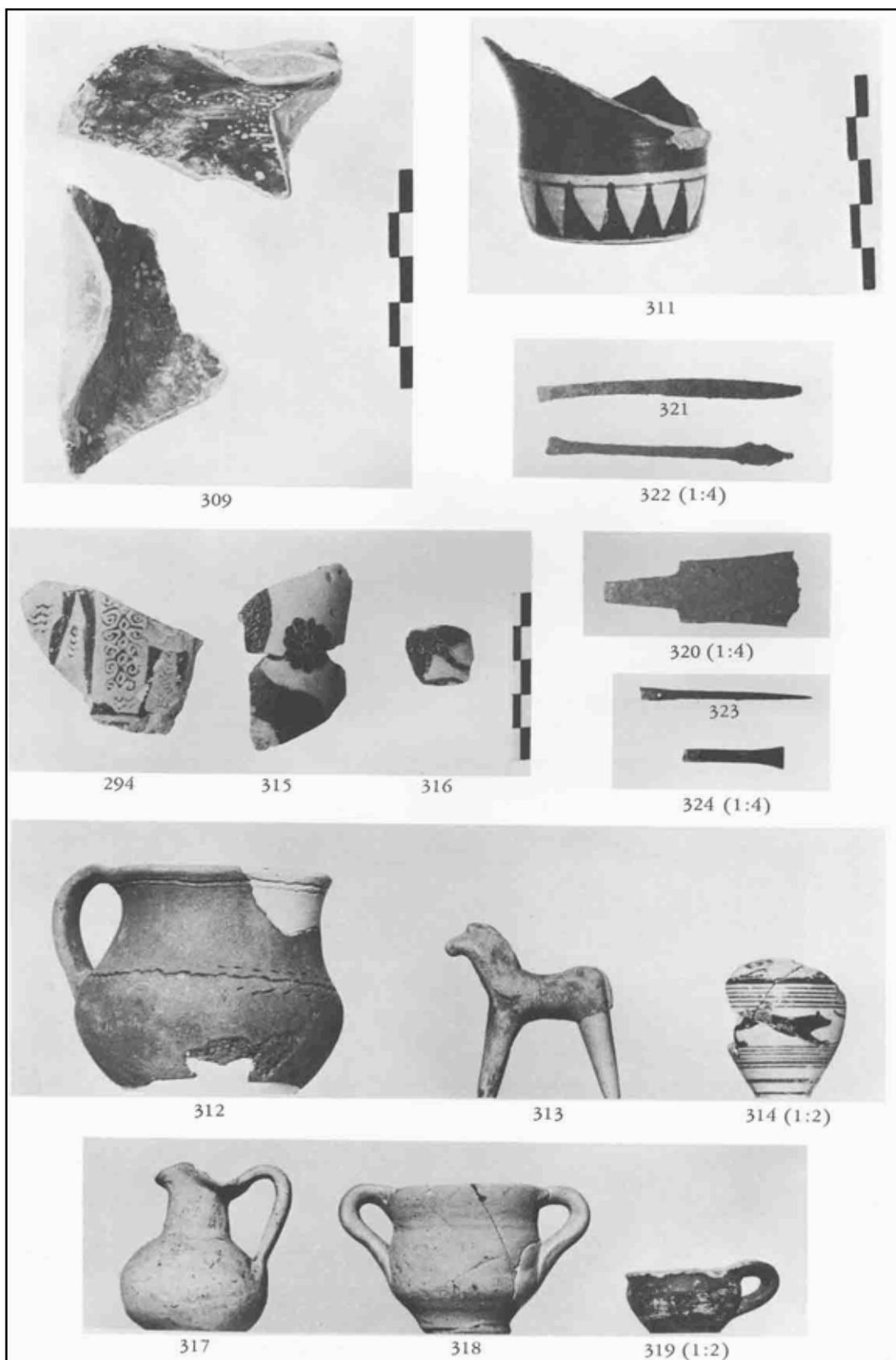
Figure 96 – Geometric, SG and Oriëntalizing pottery and objects.

1.26 Keratovouni

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	(late?) 8th – mid 7th c. BCE
Location:	summit (+ 650 m) in SE Attica, near Mt. Pani
Pottery:	**(L-SG)** cups and skyphoi; coarse ware
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316.

The site is located near the small plain of Anavyssos, but is inaccessible as the result of military activity. Smith and Lowry visited the site before it was expropriated, recording mostly Geometric and Subgeometric cups and skyphoi, but there were also numerous fragments of coarse ware. They encountered no traces of a stone altar or burned animal bones, but otherwise the site seems to resemble the ones on Pani and Merenda.

1.27 Kharvati

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	from ca. 700 BCE
Location:	small hill (+ 394) near the east coast of Attica (Porto Rafti)
Architecture:	possible *peribolos* wall
Pottery:	**(G)** and **(SG)**
Other finds:	obsidian fragments
Bibliography:	Morris, 1987, 224 (A80); Langdon, 1976, 103; Smith and Lowry, 1954, 29.

Some fragments of obsidian and sherds were found in and near a modest *peribolos* enclosure. Smith and Lowry reported an oval tumble of stones of roughly 2 m in diameter and suggested it could have been used as an altar. The pottery and *peribolos* suggest that, like many other Attic mountain peaks, the Kharvati summit was used for cult activity.

1.28 Kiapha Thiti

Context:	mountain peak, LH fortifications
Date:	first half of the 8th century BCE
Location:	southern foothill of Hymettos
Pottery:	**(MG-LG)** 25 skyphoi, 2 lekythoi, 2 plates, 1 pyxis, 1 lid; **(SG/PA)** 13 skyphoi and cups, 3 lekanai/plates, 1 lekythos (?); **(SG)** 40 Attic type skyphoi, 28 Corinthianizing kotylai; **(C)** ca. 650-550 BCE: 13 aryballoi, 5 alabastra, 3 alabastra/aryballoi, 14 kotylai, 9 miniature-kotylai, 1 kalathos (?), 1 amphoriskos, 2 pyxides (?). **(BF)**; **(RF)**; **(H)**.
Votives:	(from sacrificial pyres) 7th century: 48 early archaic (female) "Stempelidole"; 2 votive shields; 7th-6th century: 8 female protomes (Daedalic style) with pierced holes for suspension; 2 pieces of bronze; 6th century: 6 female archaic votive figurines; 3 votive poloi (?).
Sacrificial remains:	ashes
Main Publications:	Christiansen, 2000; Küper, 1990; Hagel and Lauter, 1987.
Bibliography:	Parker, 1996, 29 (n. 3), 30 (n. 4), 31 (n. 9); Eliot, 1962, 54-55, 54.

This peak sanctuary was established at the Mycenaean fortress on Kiapha Thiti (Figure 97, Figure 98 and Figure 99). Its relation to nearby settlement is not entirely clear. Since Kiapha Thiti was mainly accessible from the east, it stands to reason that it catered to the religious needs of the inhabitants of the Vari plain. François de Polignac has suggested that there had been a Geometric settlement nearby, but that the inhabitants moved elsewhere.[509] Eliot suggested a location for this settlement between Kiapha Thiti, Panaghia Thiti and Kitsi in the deme of Lower Lamptrai.[510]

The Kiapha Thiti peak contains three manmade terraces dating to the LH Period. Several trenches dug on the upper terrace yielded votives and pottery dating from the MG to Classical periods (Figure 103, Figure 104, Figure 105 and Figure 106). Most material however belongs to the seventh century. Evidence of at least five sacrificial pyres was found in one of the trenches, containing material of the seventh and sixth centuries. The remains of what appears to be an altar have been uncovered nearby, possibly dating to the same period. The middle terrace produced mostly household pottery dating to the seventh and sixth centuries. Most votives were found on the lower terrace, though the excavators claim that they were transferred there

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[509] de Polignac, 1995c, 88.
[510] Eliot, 1962, 54-55.

from the upper terrace.[511] These finds include a great number of primitive female figurines (Figure 100, Figure 101 and Figure 102), which have been taken as evidence of the worship of a goddess.[512] This raises a typological problem, since the site is also ranked as one of Attica's many peak sanctuaries, which are commonly dedicated to Zeus.[513] It is however more likely that cult activity was inspired by the abundant LH remains. This would also fit the identification of a goddess best, since female deities seem to be explicitly connected to Bronze Age remains of Attica.[514]

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[511] Christiansen, 2000, 88-90.
[512] Christiansen, 2000, 21-73.
[513] Parker, 1996, 29-33; Langdon, 1976, 83.
[514] Cf. **Athens – Acropolis 1**, **Brauron** and **Eleusis 1**.
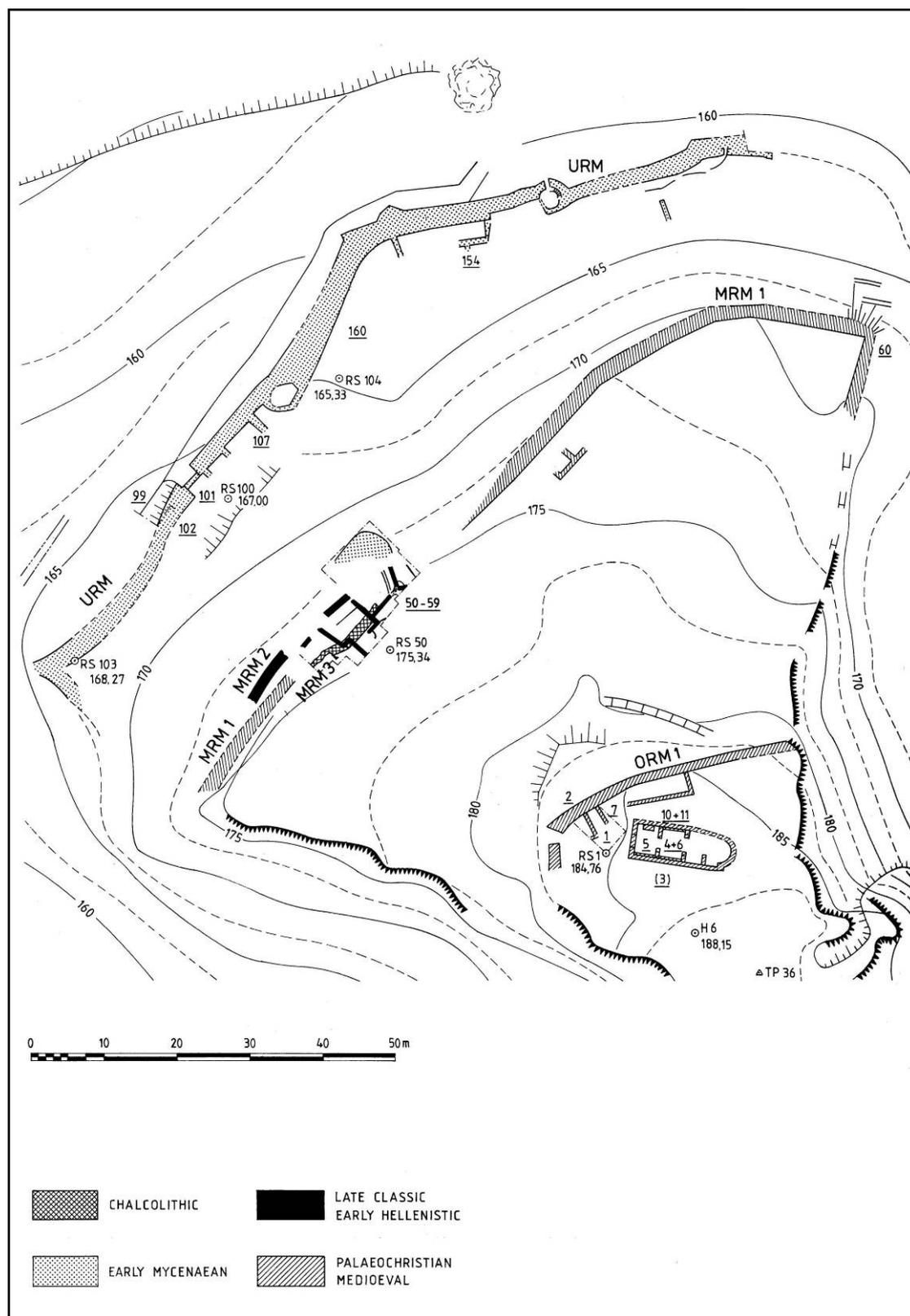
Figure 99 – The excavations on Kiapha Thiti.
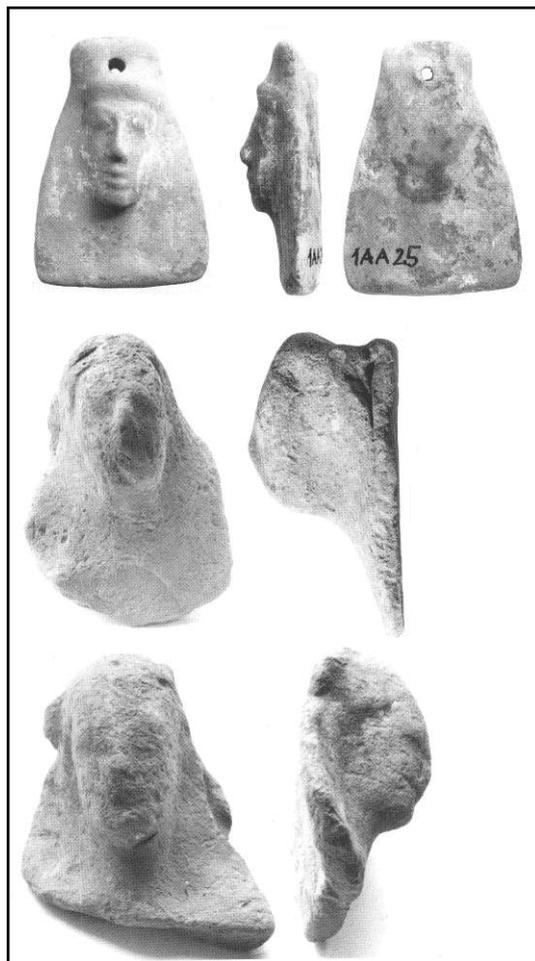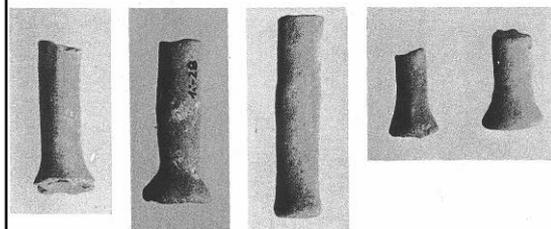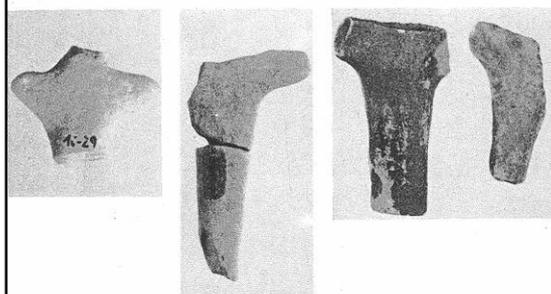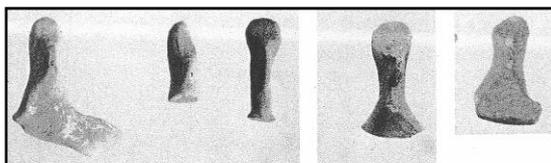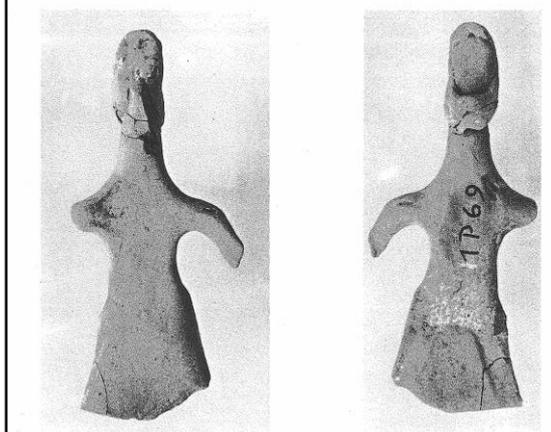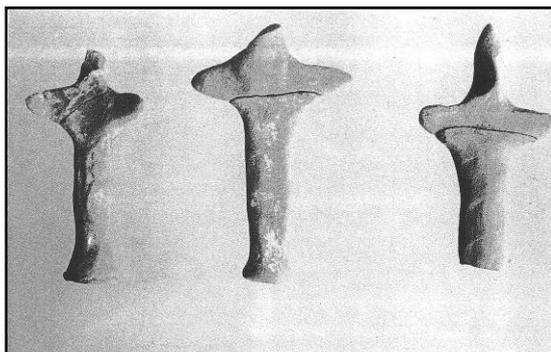
Clockwise:

Figure 100 – Seventh century BCE "Stempelidole" from Kiapha Thiti.
Figure 101 – Female protomes from Kiapha Thiti. Late seventh century BCE.
Figure 102– Fragments of "Stempelidole".
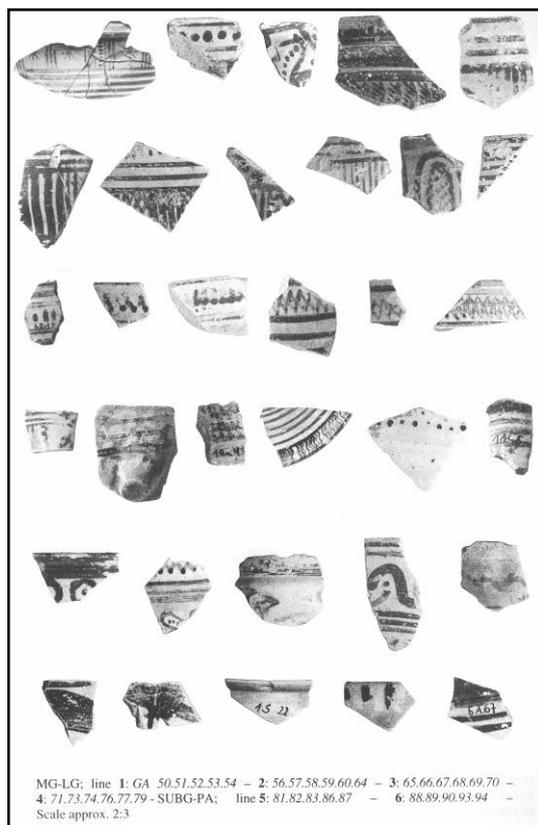
Figure 103 – Assorted sherds (MG-LG-PA-SG).
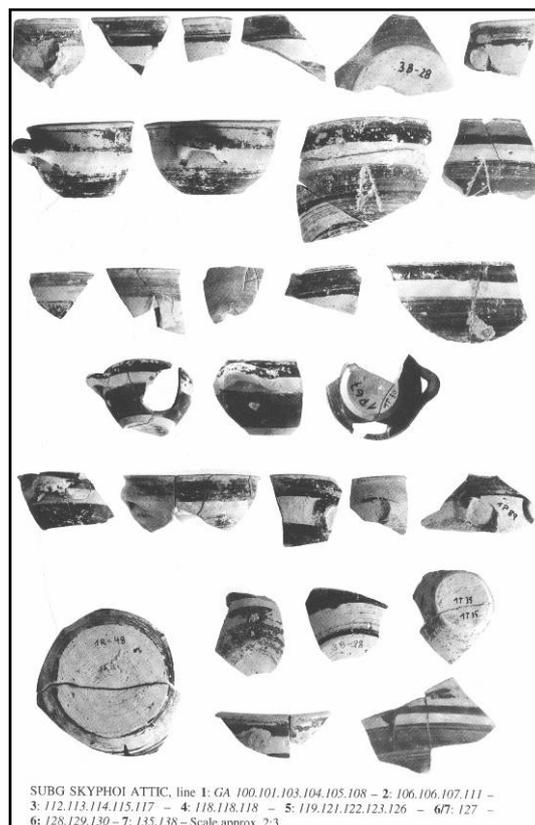
Figure 104 – SG Skyphoi (Attic Style).
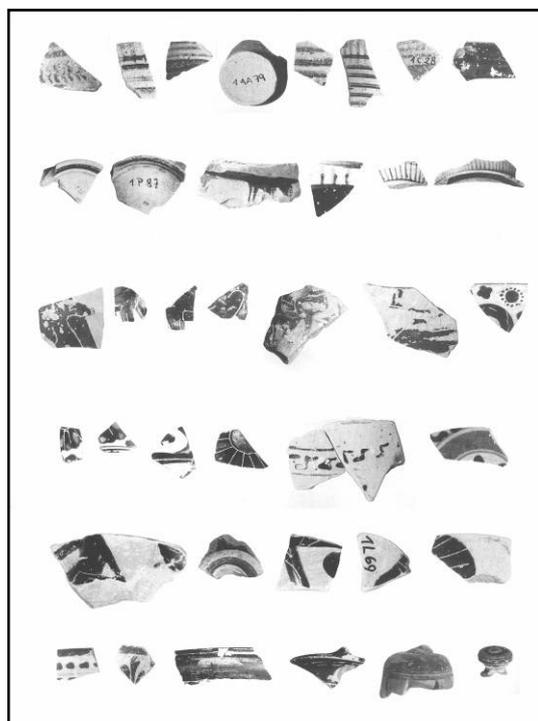
Figure 105 – SG Skyphoi (Corinthian Style).
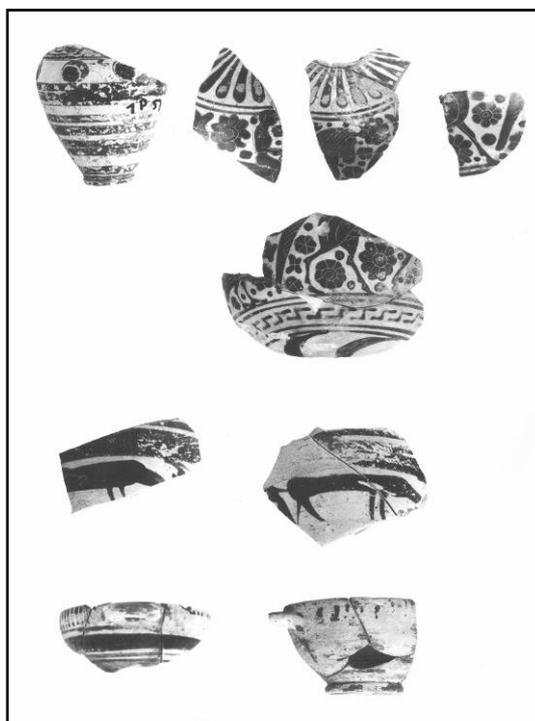
Figure 106 – Corinthian pottery.

1.29 Lathouriza 1

Context:	LG-A settlement
Date:	late 8th c. BCE to late Archaic
Location:	Lathouriza, southern foothill of Hymettos
Architecture:	"Ruler's dwelling and semicircular hearth with a four-post baldachin, inside 6th century BCE room VIII ("Tholos")
Pottery:	**(LG-SG)** miniature one-handled vases, amphoriskoi[515]; **(A)**
Votives:	several thousand terracotta votive figurines (some carefully painted, many seated and seemingly all female, including one particularly large example), "Stempelidole"; pinakes, and single and multiple nozzle lamps; small dedications such as clasps, rings, hairpins, boat-shaped earrings, bracelets and nails, made of silver, bronze and iron, as well as jewels decorated with rosettes; also, miniature lead jewelry of which Stavropoulos proposed they may have served as embellishments of some of the figurines.[516]
Preliminary report:	O. Walter, *AA* 1940, 177-8.
Main publications:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1994a; Lauter, 1985b.
Bibliography:	Goette, 2001, 190; Antonaccio, 1999, 195-197; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, 23, 1997, 119, 143, 315-316, 1995, 1994b, 196-197; Küper, 1989, 20; Osborne, 1989, 307-308; Fagerström, 1988, 48-50; Travlos, 1988, 446-447; Morris, 1987, 69, 97-98; Ober, 1987b; Seiler, 1986, 7-24; Roebuck, 1974, 491; Petropoulakou and Pentazos, 1973, 107, nos. 23-24; Drerup, 1969, 50; Eliot, 1962, 39-41.

Stavropoulos conducted the excavations of the LG-Archaic settlement on Lathouriza hill (Figure 107) in June and July 1939 under the supervision of Oikonomos. As a result of the outbreak of World War II the results were never disclosed – with the exception of a short note published by Walter – and the material was lost for further investigation. It was not until the publication of Lauter's monograph that the site received renewed attention. Unfortunately, Lauter's study had to rely solely on site investigation and surface finds, so that it is difficult to verify some of his conclusions. In the mid-nineties Mazarakis Ainian published a series of articles in which he drew fresh conclusions based on his study of the unpublished notebooks of Stavropoulos.[517]

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[515] A summary of all finds recorded in Stavropoulos' notebooks can be found in Mazarakis Ainian 1994a, 66-68. A few sherds indicate that the site was in use until the late Classical period, cf. Lauter 1985, 52, no. 1.

[516] Followed and quoted by Mazarakis Ainian, 1994b, 67; 1997, 119.

[517] Mazarakis Ainian, 1994a; 1994b; 1995; many of his findings can be found in his work on EIA architecture (1997).
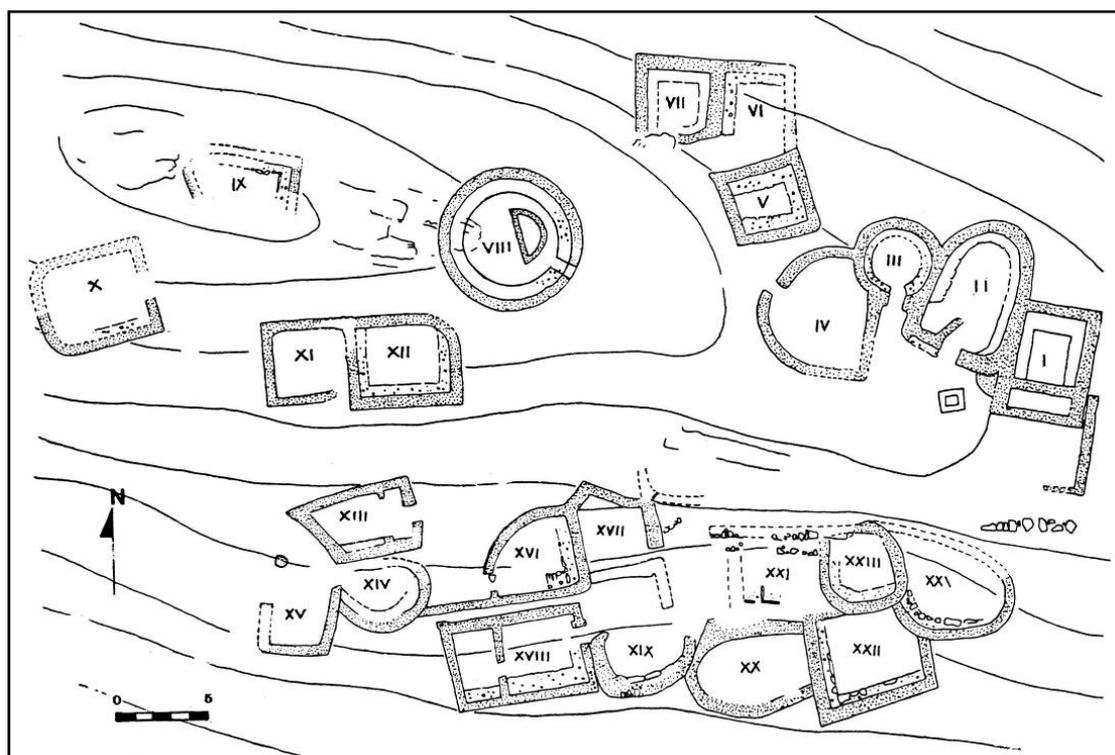
Figure 107 – Lathouriza, state plan.

These publications contain detailed descriptions of the finds and architecture and have become the basis of later study of the site.

1.29.1   The Ruler's Dwelling

The main building in Lathouriza, the 'ruler's dwelling' or 'Anaktoron', was conspicuously set apart from the other houses in the settlement. It consisted of four rooms of different shape (units I-IV on Figure 108) and was used from the LG to the end of the Archaic Period. A comparison between the agglutinative building I-IV and the other houses at Lathouriza shows that the settlement was dominated by a single oikos, i.e. a chieftain and his extended household.[518] Mazarakis Ainian has argued that the building was the first to be constructed when the site was first settled ca. 700 BCE.[519] Due to the natural terrain, which drops off toward the northeast, the building rested upon terrace walls on those sides. Judging from the large amount of rocky debris that had to be cleared during the excavation, the walls of the building were constructed entirely of rubble, a commodity which is readily at hand on the barren Lathouriza hill.

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[518] There is no question about either the fact that the settlement was controlled by a single 'ruler' or about the status of unit I-IV as the 'ruler's dwelling', cf. Seiler, 1986, 7-24.

[519] Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 153.
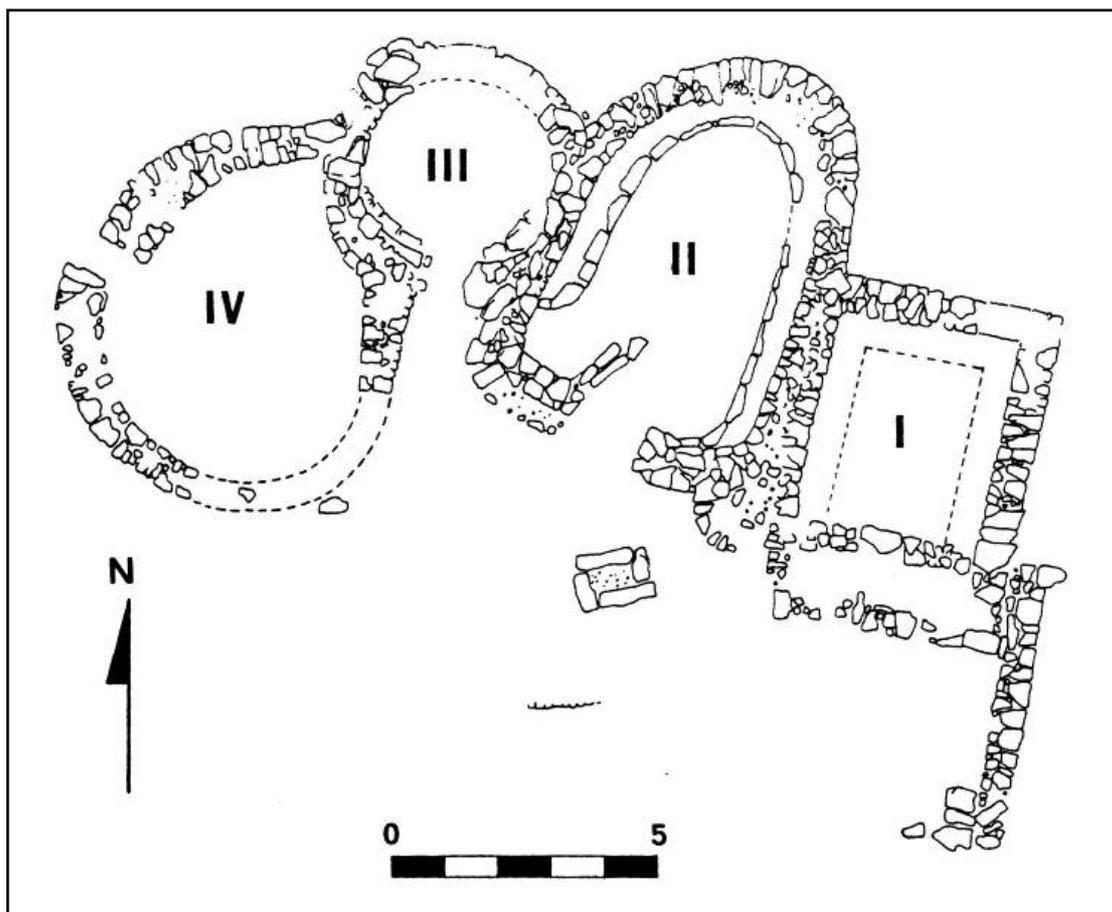
Figure 108 – Lathouriza, Ruler's dwelling.

Unit I (ca. 6.60 x 4.90 m) consists of a main room with an anteroom. Originally, a bench ran along three of its inner walls, but no part of it remains in situ to day.[520] Its rectangular layout makes it stand out from the other three units, which are constructed with more irregular, curvilinear walls. Its rectangular style is more reminiscent of the other, younger buildings in the settlement and may suggest that it was added later to a nucleus consisting of the apsidal room II and perhaps also III and IV.

Unit II (ca. 8.50 x 6.00 m) appears to have been the main living space of those inhabiting the building. As in unit I, a bench ran along three sides of the interior. Mazarakis Ainian proposed that the remains of a short stretch of wall, curling into the room from the entranceway served to support a wooden column on which a pitched roof was rested (Figure 109).[521] A rectangular hearth (ca. 1.50 x 1.00 m), composed of four slabs placed in an upright position, was conveniently placed in front of the entrance, suggesting that the room was used for festive celebrations. Since the hearth is situated outside the room, it cannot have functioned as a stove. It was clearly used to prepare food and since the main cult center of Lathouriza, the "Tetrastylon" (see

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[520] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 236.
[521] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 236.
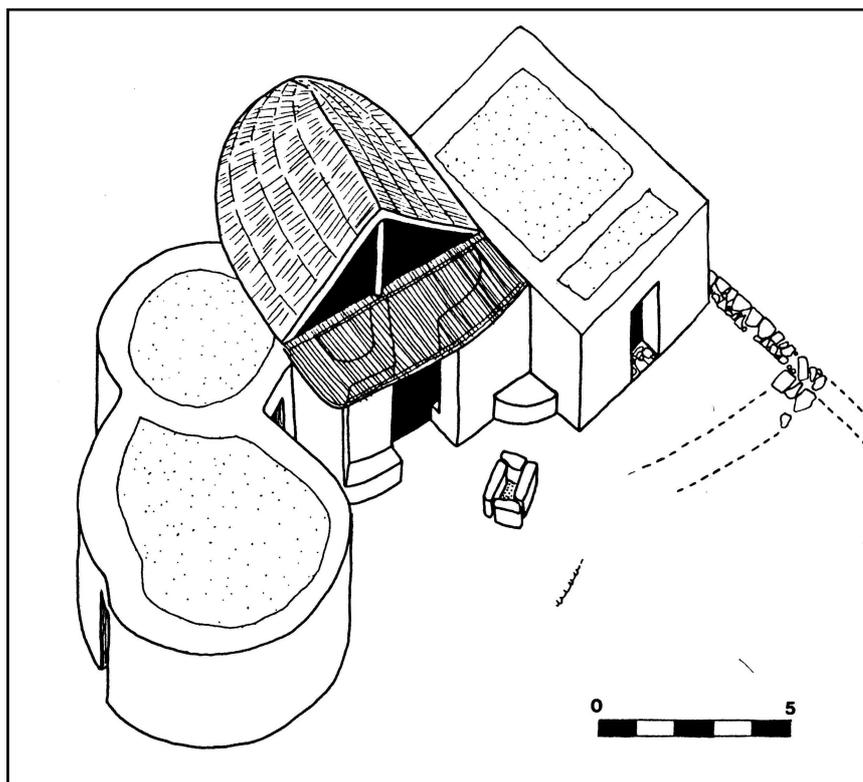
Figure 109 – Reconstruction sketch of the Ruler's Dwelling at Lathouriza.

below) was not yet in use when the apsidal room was constructed, we have to assume that the hearth also served as the focus of religious ceremonies in the LG Period (cf. Chapter 9.5).[522]

The oblong room IV and in particular the circular room III may have been storerooms, though other functions are equally possible.[523] The circular ground plan of unit III is very suitable for a granary, appropriately incorporated in the dwelling of the chieftain in charge of the settlement.

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[522] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 238.

[523] Lauter, 1985b, 25-26. He believes unit IV may have been intended for the 'ruler's' personel, or a women's quarter (*gunaikeion*), both impossible to prove. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 154 suggests that room III was used for the storage of grain, while unit IV could have functioned as a subsidiary to the sanctuary (Tholos, unit VIII).

1.29.2   Tetrastylon

A concentration of votives was found in and around the round building VIII, also known as the "Tholos" (Figure 107, VIII and Figure 113). It is clear that this building was the primary focus of cult in Lathouriza and that the votive scatter elsewhere on the site was the result of erosion of the "Tholos" area.[524] The walls of the building are 0.60-0.70 m thick, with an inner diameter of ca. 6.60 m, constructed in polygonal-style masonry. Along the inner face of the building ran a low bench, 0.50-0.60 m thick, which seems to have encircled the entire room, though it has only been partly preserved.[525] The entrance appears to have been oriented E-SE, facing room IV of the "ruler's dwelling" (Figure 107), and the large open space in the middle of the settlement ("agora"). Inside the round building, rather toward the NE, a large semicircular hearth was excavated (W side 2.90m; radius 1.80m). This hearth was also constructed in polygonal-style masonry – albeit of inferior quality – and was preserved in places to a height of 0.65-0.70m.[526] Four bases for posts to support a roof were found (Figure 110 and Figure 111).[527]

Mazarakis Ainian posited that these posts originally belonged to a baldachin or *tetrastylon* that supported a canopy over the hearth, *prior* to the building of the "Tholos."[528] Several arguments speak in favor of this reconstruction:

1   Only two of the four posts fit comfortably within the "Tholos", next to the hearth. Furthermore, two posts were found on the inside and two on the outside, suggesting that the latter were discarded when the walls of the "Tholos" made them obsolete. Originally all four posts would have been used to support the canopy of the *tetrastylon*.

2   The inferior quality of the masonry sets it apart from the more developed polygonal-style of the "Tholos."

3   The late date (*i.e.* sixth century BCE) of some of the material underneath the "Tholos" bench, whereas votive material appears at Lathouriza from ca. 700 BCE.

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[524] Eliot, 1962, 40 believed that the entire site represented a sanctuary, and that Lathouriza was to the Vari plain what the Acropolis was to the Athenian pedion. But cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 153.
[525] See Seiler, 1986, 9, fig. 2.
[526] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 117.
[527] Seiler 1986, 12-14, figs. 7-8. But see Fagerström 1988, 50 who reconstructs the building as an open-air sanctuary, because charcoal and fire-blackened votives indicate open fire. Hearths are, however, a feature regularly found inside EIA buildings.
[528] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 117; 1995, 151; 1994, 69. But note that later on in his 1997 publication (p. 316) Mazarakis Ainian, presumably unintentionally, dates the building to the EA period (7th century).
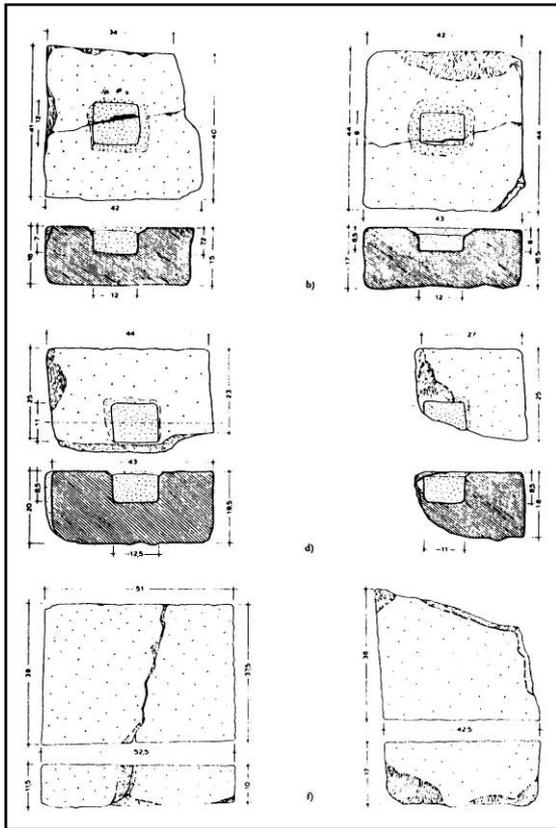
Figure 110 – Stone bases.
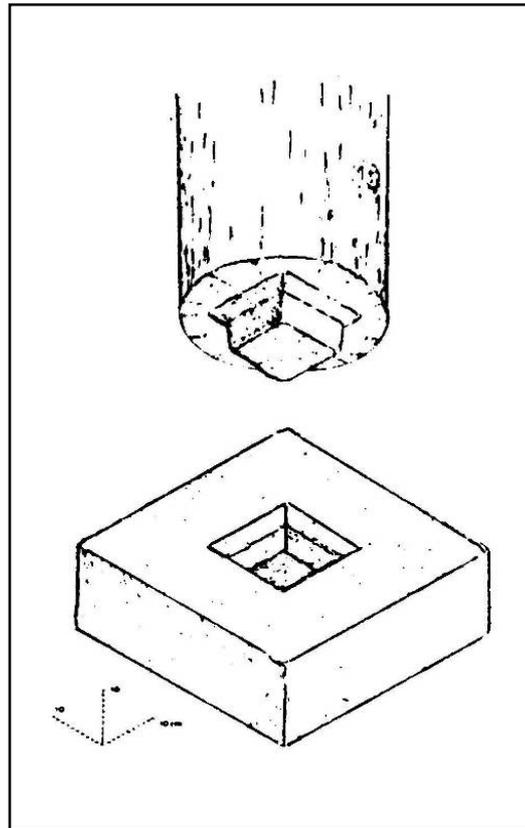
Figure 111 – Stone base and post.

4   A 6th century date for the "Tholos" is supported by the polygonal style masonry, while pushing the date of construction back to the seventh century leaves the building without architectural counterparts.[529]

The hearth with *tetrastylon*, then, belongs to an earlier phase of the cult, probably in the seventh century, but given the style of construction perhaps not as early as 700 BCE when the first votives appear.[530]

Given its prominent location within the settlement, facing the "agora," it has been suggested that the cult belonged to the hero *ktistes*, the founder of the

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[529] The polygonal style masonry can generally be assigned to the middle or later sixth century, *e.g.* the retaining wall of the Archaic ramp to the Acropolis. Both Lauter and Mazarakis Ainian recognized that the N wall of the sanctuary on the north spur of Lathouriza (Lathouriza 2) has similar masonry. Other than the building in Lathouriza the earliest examples of round buildings belong to the late Archaic and early Classical period (*e.g.* in the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi near Thebes and on the Athenian Agora), cf. Seiler 1986, 25-35. Seiler himself (p. 19-20) would date the Lathouriza "Tholos" to ca. 700 BCE, apparently undaunted by the enormous gap in the comparative material he has collected. Osborne, 1989, 308 tentatively dated the "Tholos" to the 7th century.

[530] The *tetrastylon* is closest to the one in Corinth, but similar Archaic baldachins with canopies can also be found at Didyma, Kallion and Thasos, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 151, notes 44-7.

settlement.[531] This view is attractive as it provides the thesis of "internal" colonization of the Attic countryside (cf. Chapter 9.2) with a rather standard feature from the colonial settlements in Magna Graecia. However, the finds do not support such conclusions, as no grave has been found in connection with the "Tholos".[532] Also, the votives do not favor a hero: all larger figurines that could be sexed were found to be female, and a fair amount of jewelry was found, including miniature jewelry that presumably adorned the female figurines.[533] Furthermore, the evidence of fire offerings (ashes and burnt bone),[534] as well as the orientation of the altar toward the east, favors an Olympian deity.[535] Given the presumed agricultural interests of the early settlers we may suspect them to have worshipped Demeter to protect their crops. Artemis, as protectress of marginal land, and Hera are also good candidates.

The bench, as well as the content of the hearth inside the "Tholos" (including plates and open vessels used for drinking) strongly suggests that the building was used for religious feasting.[536] As such, its use was very similar to that of the dining halls of the LG and EA periods. It seems likely that some kind of ritual banqueting was part of the EA rituals. In Chapter 9.5.5 I will argue that room II of the "ruler's dwelling" (I-IV) may have served such a function as well.

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[531] Lauter, 1985b, 50 and Seiler, 1986, 20-24. Seiler adduced the figurines and drinking wares as evidence. The figurines, however, appear to be female, and drinking vessels are no diagnostic proof of hero cult.

[532] Cf. **Eleusis 3**.

[533] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 119, 1994b, 68 (for the miniature jewellery see note 2). Cf. also Antonaccio, 1995, 249.

[534] Lauter, 1985b, 49.

[535] But note that Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 119; 1994b, *passim*, proposed that a chthonic fertility deity, such as Demeter, "would have almost been a prerequisite." Elsewhere (1995, 155), he suggests that more than one divinity could have been worshipped inside the "Tholos," given the small size of the settlement.

[536] In this respect it is interesting to note that no coarse ware has been reported (Mazarakis Ainian (1995), 153, note 50, Lauter, 1985b, 50 and Morris (1987), 164). This has led Lauter to conclude that formerly nomadic shepherds built the site. Their presumed uncivilized way of life would explain why they used no ordinary household dishes. His conclusions have elicited ample and justified critique elsewhere (Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, *passim* and Ober, 1987, 184-185), which will not be repeated here. The most reasonable, if not completely satisfying, explanation is that the excavations executed by Stavropoulos cleared away all coarse ware. Unfortunately, Mazarakis Ainian reports nothing positive or negative from the excavation diaries about Stavropoulos finding coarse ware.
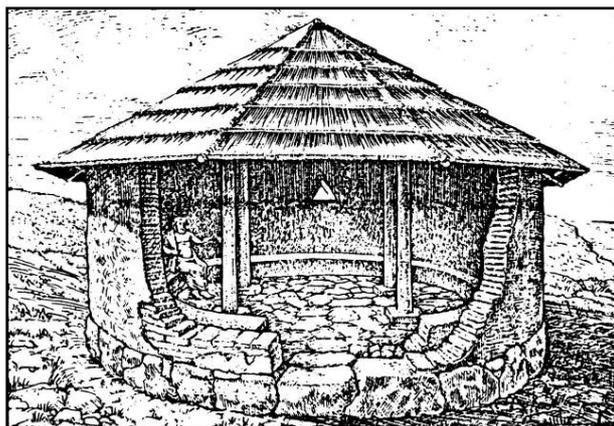
Figure 112 – Reconstruction of the sixth century "Tholos".
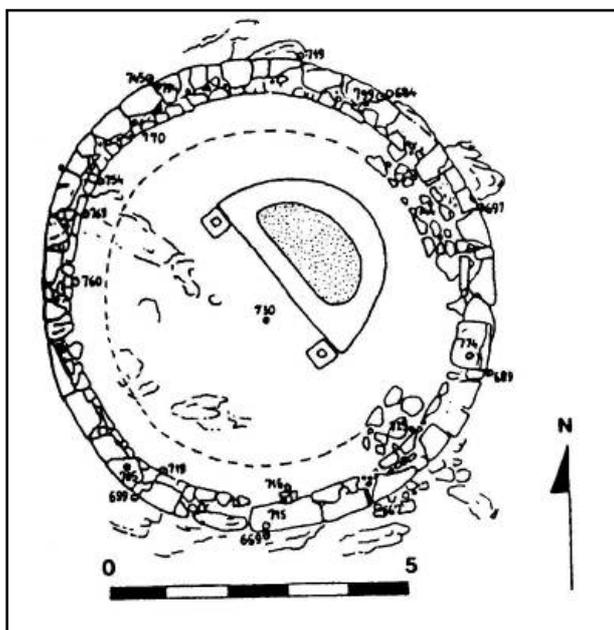
Figure 113 – State plan of the "Tholos"
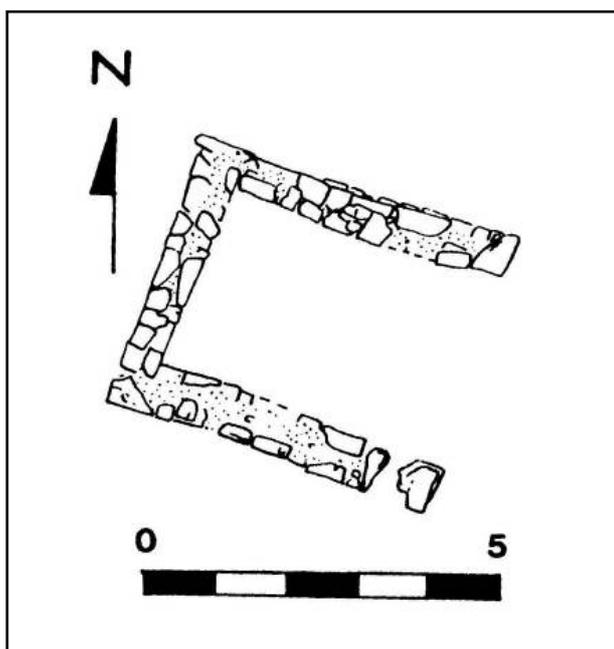
Figure 114 – Lathouriza 2, suburban shrine.

1.30 Lathouriza 2

Context:	peripheral to nearby settlement
Date:	ca. 700 (or slightly earlier) to 5th c BCE
Location:	north spur of Lathouriza hill, east of the Vari plain
Architecture:	small shrine with three walls and an open entrance *in antis*
Pottery:	(**LG-SG**)
Sacrificial remains:	ashes
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 144; (1995), 149 + n. 37; Lauter, 1985b, 57-63; Eliot, 1962, 41.

On the north spur of Lathouriza hill are the remains of a small naiskos (Figure 114) located only a short distance to the north of the LG/EA settlement. Both Eliot and Lauter concluded that the site had been cleared by excavation at an earlier period.[537] This would explain the small amount of surface sherds and the complete lack of votives. However, a number of circumstantial considerations support the identification of the building as a sanctuary.

Its somewhat isolated position with respect to the settlement, bordering the hill and the *chora*, is consistent with a suburban shrine.[538] The building's simple architecture, consisting of three walls (N 4.83 m; W 4.05 m; S 4.75 m; ca. 0.60-0.75 m thick) with an opening oriented toward the E-SE, is consistent with other buildings that have been identified as shrines.[539] In his survey of the area, Lauter came across a row of stones ca. 2.50 m E of the building, perhaps the remnants of an ash-altar.[540]

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[537] Eliot, 1962, 41 presumed that the clearing had been done during the Oikonomos/Stavropoulos campaign executed by the Greek Archaeological Service. Lauter, 1985, 57 came to the conclusion that it must have been the result of an illegal excavation. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 144 seems to lean toward the former position, though no mention was made of the shrine in Stavropoulos' diary, to which he has had access. Whatever the truth, no trace of any type of votive offering has been found.

[538] The examples of suburban shrines mentioned by Lauter, 1985, 63, n. 115 are Vroulia, Sounion (?), the Heraion at Samos and the Olympieion at Athens. For more examples cf. de Polignac, 1995, esp. 106-118, in particular from Southern Italy and Sicily.

[539] The walls were preserved in part to a height of 0.50 m, making it likely that they were entirely of stone construction, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 144, but see Lauter, 1985, 59 who favored walls constructed partially of mud brick. The closest parallel in Attica can be found at the **Academy 3**, where a similar Π–shaped building was constructed at a small distance from the Geometric Building (**Academy 2**). Similar architecture to that found at Lathouriza from the 6th century can further be found on the Acropolis (Nike temple), Sounion (Phrontis-shrine), Olympia (Oikos O) and Delphi (structure underneath treasury X), cf. Lauter, 1985, 60. These were all rectangular buildings with one side open, though some, like the building in Sounion, may have had columns in front of the antas. The suburban shrine at Lathouriza may have been supplied with a simple post *in antis* to

The lack of (votive) finds from the area makes it difficult to assess the kind of cult practiced in this place.[541] The few surface sherds collected by Lauter in the shrine's immediate vicinity range from LG/SG to the very end of the Archaic Period, though Eliot reports mostly Classical sherds.[542] The W and S walls are simple rubble and mud constructions, comparable to most of the architecture at the nearby settlement. The N wall, however, is built in the polygonal style used in the sixth century and seems to represent later repairing of the original building, which was probably erected with at least some of the first buildings in the nearby settlement.[543] The cult seems to have been discontinued after 480, perhaps because the Persian invasion put an end to habitation on the Lathouriza hill.[544]

The building is located at a small plateau on the northern ascent, leading toward the settlement from the valley that separates Lathouriza from the lower foothills of Mt. Hymettos. The valley below holds one of Attica's main thoroughfares, connecting the pedion with SW Attica and opening into the Vari plain (Anagyrous) toward the east. Consequently, the *naiskos* seems to have served two separate functions; as a kind of roadside shrine and as a suburban sanctuary marking off the general area of habitation on the hill from the cultivable *chora* in the plain below. Thus, the cult of the unknown deity seems to have been aimed at the spiritual protection of the Lathouriza acropolis and its inhabitants. As such, the god may have been thought to exercise some kind of apotropaic force on visitors from outside.

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uphold the roof, cf. Lauter, 1985, 59. The well-known clay models from the Argive Heraion and Perachora provide good parallels for this type of architecture.

[540] Lauter, 1985, 59.

[541] The suburban character of the shrine, as well as its orientation toward the east, led Lauter to the conclusion that it was likely to have been the place of worship of an Olympian deity and that it housed a cult statue, Lauter, 1985a, 57-63.

[542] Lauter, 1985, 61; Eliot, 1962, 42.

[543] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 144; 1995, 149 likens the masonry to that of room VIII (the "Tholos") inside the settlement, which he dates to the 6th century as well. Lauter 1985, 62, would date both the shrine and the "Tholos" to slightly after 700 BCE.

[544] See also the section on **Lathouriza 1** and the general discussion of the site (chapter 7.5 below).

1.31 Lathouriza 3

Context:	(?)
Date:	7th – 5th c. BCE
Architecture:	altar
Finds:	terracotta votives
Preliminary report:	*Kathimerini and Eleftherotypia* (12/08/2005)
Summary:	J. Whitley, *AR* 2005-2006, 12.

Nothing more than a simple mention in *AR* has been published. A partial or full publication will hopefully follow soon.

1.32 Loutsa

Context:	cult of Artemis Tauropolis (?)
Date:	from 8th century
Location:	ca. 200 m south of the Classical temple of Artemis at Loutsa (ancient Halai Araphenidai)[545]
Pottery:	"Geometric" and later
Preliminary reports:	I. Papadimitriou, *Prakt* 1956, 87-90, pl. 25; *Prakt*. 1957, 45-49 (Late Archaic and Classical sanctuary); K. Eustratiou, *Archaiologia* 39 (1991), 72-73 ("Geometric").
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317, n. 461; Mersch, 1996, 111-112 (no.1); de Polignac, 1995c, 81, n. 14; Hollinshead, 1985; Kahil, 1977, 95-96, n. 48.

Excavations in the classical temple have yielded geometric pottery and later finds. Although there is a considerable spatial gap between the deposit and the temple, the deposit has been considered the original focus of the cult of Artemis Tauropolis.[546] The identification of the classical temple with the cult of this goddess seems secure.[547]

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[545] See J. Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1957, 45-47 for the 4th c. temple.

[546] The epithet Tauropolis may have its origins in Asia Minor, Hollinshead (1985), 428, n. 42. It is uncertain, therefore, whether she was known by that name from the beginning, or received the epithet at a later time.

[547] Eur. *IT* 1456-1457; Strab. 9.1.22, cf. Mersch, 1996, 111.

1.33 Megalo Mavrovouni

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	7th-6th century BCE
Location:	subsidiary hill of Mt. Pentelikon, site lies on the northern summit (+ 762); also known as Mavrinora Megali
Pottery:	**(SG?)**; **(BG)**
Sacrificial remains:	ashes
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 173, no. 56,3; Langdon, 1976, 102; Smith and Lowry, 1954, 16, 18.

Among a number of coarse and BG sherds Langdon found several sherds "probably of the 7th century BCE" but also two or three black-glazed fragments. A patch of blackened earth contained "numerous coarse-ware sherds and tile fragments". The blackened earth seems to indicate a fire altar.

1.34 Menidi

Context:	*dromos* of LH III Tholos tomb
Date:	late 8th to mid 5th century BCE[548]
Location:	Modern Lykotrypa (Filadelfeia street) in the ancient deme of Acharnae (cf. Mersch, 1996, fig. 26 (no. 7))
Ceramics:	**(G)** 3 louteria, drinking vessel, 1 bird shaped vessel (lamp?), jug; **(SG)** Phaleron style louterion; **(PA)** ca. 4 or more louteria; **(PA/BF)** louterion; **(PC)** 2 alabastra, 2 skyphoi/cups; **(C)** ca. 7 aryballoi; **(EBF)** several louteria, kylix, oinochoe, amphora; **(BF)** several louteria, skyphos, kylix, other drinking vessels, amphorai; **(RF)** louterion, skyphoi, kantharoi, amphorai, oinochoe; **(?)** cooking vessels.
Votives:	22 painted shields (12-16 cm in diameter), with handles on the inside, geometric design on the outside; ca. 30 horse figurines belonging to quadruple teams, mostly preserved in two-horse pairs; 3 single horses; ca. 15 horse fragments; 3 human figurines, presumably riders (all terracotta's painted white, black and brown/red – mostly second half of the 7th century BCE); white-washed aniconic pinakes (same date).[549]
Sacrificial remains:	ashes, bones.
Main publications:	Wolters, 1899, 1898; Lolling, 1880, esp. 4-16.

[548] There is no general agreement as to the final date of this cult. David Boehringer has argued for a suspension of cult during the middle of the sixth century lasting two generations. The latest RF sherds are usually dated to the first half of the fifth century BCE, cf. Mersch, 1996, 95; Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, 60 (M 13). Wolters, 1899 has pointed to the upheavals of the Peloponnesian war as a possible cause for the cult's termination. A single louterion dating to ca. 400 BCE is the only evidence after that period, cf. Boehringer, 2001, 52, n. 6; Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, l.c.

[549] For an account of the pottery and finds, see Wolters (1899). For a convenient summary, see Hägg (1987), 95-96. Hägg likens the content of the Menidi deposit to that of the Areopagus (Agora 2).

Bibliography:	Coldstream, 2003; Boehringer, 2001, 48-54; Langdon, 1997a, 114, note 5; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316; Mersch, 1996, 64-66, 95; Parker, 1996; Antonaccio, 1995, 102-109; Whitley, 1994b, 222-224; Kearns, 1990, 130; Morris, 1988, 225, no. 11; Travlos, 1988, 1-3; Whitley, 1988, 176-178; Hägg, 1987, 93-99; Abramson, 1978, 96-100; Coldstream, 1976, 11, note 31; Pelon, 1976, 231-233, no. 32; Mylonas, 1966a, 181-184; Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, 43-65; Hope Simpson, 1958-1959, 292-294; Beazley, 1956, 40-42; Cook, 1953, 114, note 4; Nilsson, 1950, 600-603; Lolling, 1887.

1.34.1 The Archaeology

Lolling excavated the LH IIIA2 or IIIB Tholos tomb in 1879 (Figure 115) east of the Athens Menidi road, containing evidence of tomb cult spanning an unparalleled four hundred years, from the late eighth to fifth centuries BCE, including the largest amount of votives known from any tomb cult in Greece.[550] By contrast, none of the other attested tomb cults in Attica – Tomb I and Tumulus V at **Thorikos 2 and 3** and the Tholoi at **Vrana** and **Haliki Glyphada** – appear to have outlasted the seventh century BCE. In Menidi, the votives were deposited in various places near the 27.70 m long north wall of the *dromos* (width 3.0 m).

These deposits rested on top of a thick Mycenaean layer, which covered the complete entranceway to the tomb right after it was closed for its last inhumation.[551] This fill represented the *dromos'* ground level when it began to attract cultic interest in the last quarter of the eighth century.[552] A stone tumble was excavated inside this layer, in front of the Tholos' entrance. Since many blackened sherds were found nearby, these stones have been interpreted as an altar.[553] However, Mylonas has convincingly shown that the blackened sherds can be connected with funerary rites inside the Tholos at the time of the earlier burials and were swept aside during later inhumations. Concerning the tumble of stones in front of the entrance, they must have served to block the entrance from gravediggers coming from above, forcing them to

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[550] See Antonaccio (1995), 102, who considers the evidence from Attica to be limited in light of the city's tradition of autochthony, especially in comparison with Argos and Messenia.

[551] The placement of the votives has been compared to the practice of placing votives in the so-called *Opferrinne*, Antonaccio (1995), 109, n. 417; see Wolters (1899), 116, fig. 24, for a clear section of the dromos with the votives indicated in it.

[552] Cf. Cook (1953), 114, note 14, for the date of the earliest Iron Age pottery.

[553] This still appears to be the view of Mersch, 1996, 64, although she is not clear about the dates of these sherds, which have been shown to be Mycenaean, Mylonas, 1966a, 182. Earlier, Wolters, 1899, 103-105 and Nilsson, 19502, 600-603 had argued for a Mycenaean cult of the dead continuing into historical times.
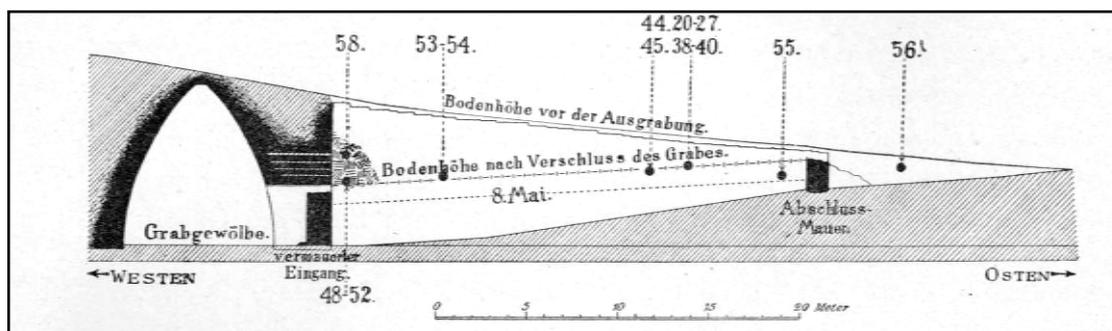
Figure 115 – Section through the Tholos tomb and dromos at Menidi.

dig at greater expense, having to cut around the stones.[554] Mylonas also argued that the stone tumble would have prevented water from flowing through the *dromos* fill toward the empty spaces left between the doorway and the lintel, as well as between the horizontal slabs above the lintel.[555] It thus seems that Lolling's reconstruction of a downward sloping fill inside the *dromos* was incorrect. Rather, we should imagine the fill to have ascended from the blockading entrance wall of the *dromos* toward the upper layer of the stone heap, thus allowing for the post-Mycenaean material (Figure 115, 20-27, 38-40, 44-45, 55) to have been deposited more or less on top of the Mycenaean fill. This earlier fill, the stone tumble and the construction of the Tholos itself, were left respectfully undisturbed.[556]

The post-Mycenaean deposits contained a large concentration of PA, PC, C and EBF pottery. Finds included painted shields with handles (Figure 116), horse figurines (Figure 125), some human figurines (riders?) and pinakes. The large standed basins known as *louteria* stand out in particular (cf. next section). The basins range from LG to EBF, some of the latter having been lavishly decorated with orientalizing motifs.[557] Open basins and conical stands are a characteristic feature.

1.34.2   Louteria and Communality

The monumental size and decoration of the louteria convey the prestige of the cult itself as well as the wealth and status of some of its participants. In the LG Period, they were fabricated without a spout (Figure 117, Figure 118, Figure 119, Figure 120 and Figure 121), but in the PA and EBF Period it seems that most included one

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[554] Mylonas, 1966a, 181-184.
[555] Mylonas, 1966a, 183, followed by Boehringer, 2001, 50. Wolters, 1899, 115-118, dismissed by the two other authors, believed that the tumble represented a post-Mycenaean crumbling of the eastern dromos wall.
[556] Note that this level is presumed to represent the original fill, covering the Tholos doorway after the body of the deceased had been deposited, Lolling (1880), 5 and Wolters (1899), 115-118.
[557] Whitley, 1994b, 223-4 has drawn attention to the aristocratic value of the orientalizing pottery, the use of which he attributes to the elite and to liminal contexts such as tomb cult and ancestor cult. For louteria elsewhere in Attica, cf. **Athens - Areopagus 3** and **Mounichia**.
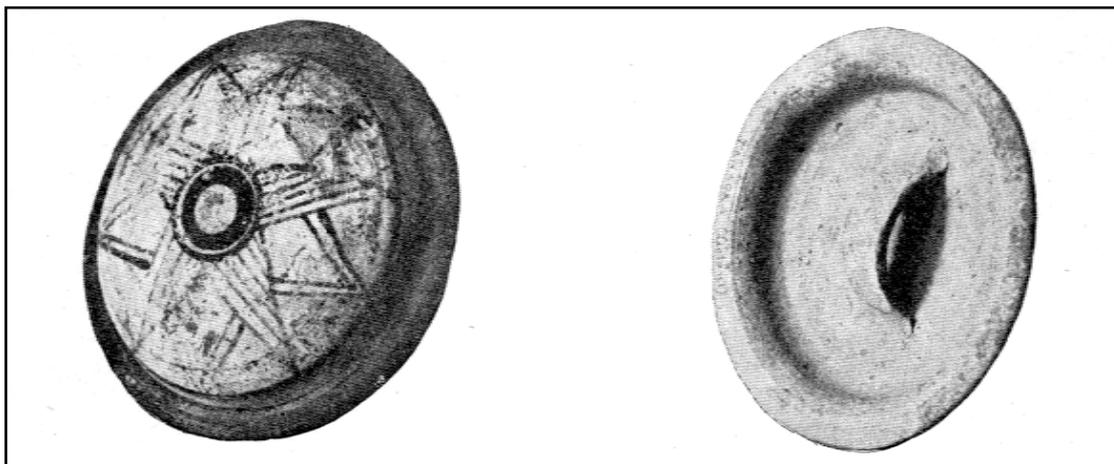
Figure 116 - Miniature terracotta shields from a votive deposit inside the Tholos' dromos at Menidi.

(Figure 122, Figure 123 and Figure 124), apparently to pour out the containing liquid in a more careful and effective manner. The conical stand appears somewhat disjointed, suggesting that the form was modeled on a metal prototype consisting of a loose kettle, which could be placed on a separate stand. The metal prototype was presumably kept in safe storage, while the terracotta imitations were set up as votives, both commemorating and illustrating the ritual. The only other examples have been found in votive deposits at **Athens - Areopagus 3** and **Mounichia**, all dating to the seventh century BCE.

The actual function of the louterion remains somewhat problematic. Wolters suggested that the vessels were used as part of a cleansing ritual connected with the heroized inhabitant of the tomb.[558] He justly noted that the most characteristic feature of the vessel, its spout, should determine its function. In his view, the ritual derived from a burial custom in which water would be poured over the grave in order to clean the deceased. It was from this act of cleansing (λούειν) that Wolters coined the term *louterion*. However, the earliest literary evidence he adduced dates to the fifth century, just about the time the louterion went out of use. As such the attribution of a washing ritual is tenuous and essentially impossible to prove.

Another interpretation of these vessels, I believe, is possible. Based on general cult practice connected with the funeral realm it seems more plausible that the liquid used would have been wine. Wine libations are an important aspect of funeral rites in Homer and there is ample contemporary evidence of libation rituals in funerary and cultic contexts throughout Attica.[559] The pouring of wine onto the grave was part of a

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[558] Wolters (1899), 132-133. Soph. *El*. 5.84 and 434; Aesch. *Cho*. 5.130. Other sources (Zenobius, Athenaeos) are much later.
[559] Libations in Homer: *Od*. 10.517; 11.25-95 (chthonic context involving a *bothros*). For Attic cult sites, see for example **Eleusis 3**, **Hymettos 1** and **Tourkovouni**. Note that all

chthonic ritual to establish a connection with the deceased.[560] The size of the louteria suggests that this was a communal act, in which the cult participants poured their individual libations into the larger vessel. Subsequently, the combined liquid would have been poured out in front of the tomb, carefully and at once, in an act of communality, an essentially cohesive gesture acted out by the participants. This interpretation has the added benefit of integrating the attested drinking vessels in the ritual. Among the votives are cups, kantharoi, kylikes and skyphoi from all periods, confirming that indeed libations were performed.[561] If this reconstruction is correct, the ritual should be understood as a rite of transformation, through which the individual worshipper became an integrated member of a larger group. This transformation was symbolized by the mixing of the wine.

1.34.3 The Hero and his Territory

This ritual had an added dimension as well. In pledging allegiance to a legendary ruler from a forgotten era, the community of worshippers established a direct connection with the surrounding territory.[562] Their reverence was dictated by a deep-seated religious concern to appease the former owner of the land. But the act of appeasement, and the link with the past thus established, also legitimized the cult participants as the new and rightful owners of this territory.[563] Carla Antonaccio has argued that the deposition of the votives is reminiscent of certain ancestor cults,[564] which strengthens the notion that the Late Helladic tomb was appropriated for pragmatic reasons besides real religious concerns. The reinvention of an emblematic forebear would have staked out the participants' claim to be the ideological, if not the real, ancestors of the initial rulers of their lands.

It is likely that the main body of cult participants consisted of the landholding aristocracy from the Acharnae region. This group had most to gain from the cult's symbolic value and would have been in a position to sustain it economically. This alliance of the local gentry ensured social stability as it created a platform where local interests could be mediated. The heightened concern with agriculture in the late eighth century seems to have caused an increase in population levels. The local cemeteries that lie nearby show signs of rapid development in the later eighth century, when cult activity was being initiated at the Menidi Tholos, and this cannot be explained solely

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three sites have been connected with hero cult, see also Boehringer, 2001, 60-63 (Eleusis) and 67-68 (Tourkovouni).

[560] Burkert, 1985, 70-73.

[561] Boehringer, 2001, 53 (table 1).

[562] This is the theory as forwarded by Coldstream, 1976.

[563] See also Whitley (1988).

[564] Antonaccio, 1995, 109, n. 417 is compelled by the similarity between the placement of votives here and the *Opferrinne* of the Kerameikos. Be this as it may, many of the offerings appear in funerary as well as in cultic contexts, cf. Wolters (1899), 128.

by changing burial habits.[565] It is also a sign of the growing economic value of the rural territories, which in turn encouraged their owners to express their ties to the land through religious landscaping, allowing us to get a glimpse of how early Attic society was structured (cf. Chapter 9.2 and 9.6).

1.34.4   Conclusion

As to the presumed identity of the cult's recipient, little can be said with certainty. He has been called an "anonymous hero",[566] but as we have seen, a strict division between hero, tomb and ancestor cult is problematic; this matter will be treated separately in Chapter 9.6.[567] It seems doubtful that the hero-ancestor was seen as an anonymous entity in the actual experiences of the cult participants; they must have had a name for him and his story would have been known.[568]

The rituals at Menidi proved successful enough to accrue broad religious importance. The fact that the cult at the Menidi tomb lasted longer than the standard two or three generations, which appears to have been the usual lifespan of other Attic tomb cults, clearly indicates that it was firmly embedded in the religious landscape of Acharnae and had transcended the interest of the original "*genos*" members who initiated and presumably remained in charge of the rituals. What seems to have started as the ritual appropriation of the surrounding territory became a permanent religious fixture to its inhabitants for nearly three centuries, a tangible reminder of supposed common origins, even if those origins were part of an imagined construct.

If Wolters was right in ascribing the cult's ending to the devastating effects of the Peloponnesian wars when the land was laid to waist, cults were disrupted and settlement patterns thoroughly shaken up. The rattling effects on the locals' mindset of the Spartan's annual invasions are nowhere more captivatingly portrayed than in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*.[569] It is tempting to consider the consecration of the lone louterion, dated to ca. 400 BCE, as a final act of piety by some of the local inhabitants, old enough to remember the ancient rituals of his community, as they returned to their homestead after the conclusion of the war.

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[565] Cf. chapter 7.2 and Morris, 1987. Graves from the LG period have been found in the vicinity, Antonaccio (1995), 109, n. 416; Travlos (1988), 1; Morris (1987), 225, no. 10; see Coldstream (1968), 402; Ohly 1957, A 22; Pernice (1904), 40.

[566] Antonaccio (1995), 109.

[567] Hägg (1987), 99 has argued that there was no "clear-cut division between the practices of funerary ceremonies, cult of the ancestors and cult of the heroes at this early [*i.e.* Geometric and Archaic] period." Cf. also Whitley (1994), 223.

[568] Kearns, 1989.

[569] Cf. also Thuc. 2.16.2, quoted on p. 1.
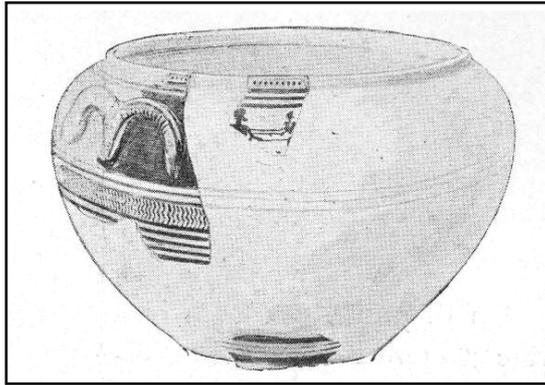
Figure 117 – LG louterion
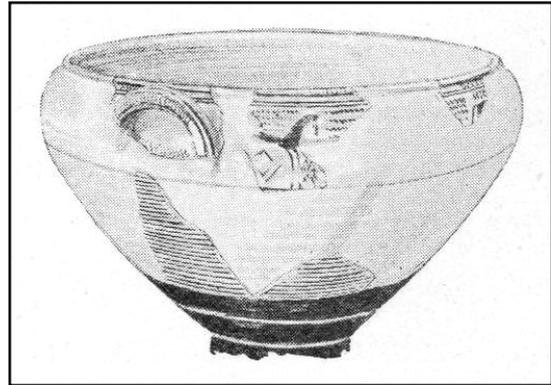
Figure 118 - LG louterion
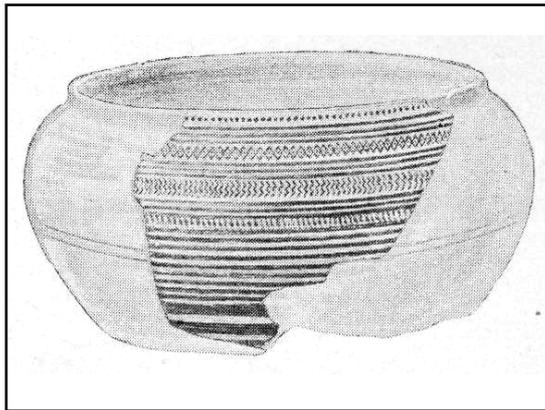
Figure 119 - LG louterion
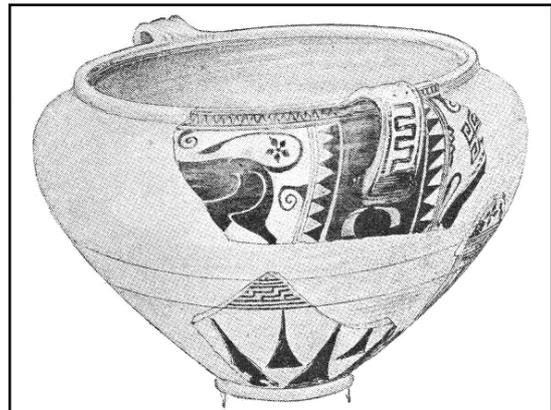
Figure 120 – PA louterion

Figure 121 – PA louterion
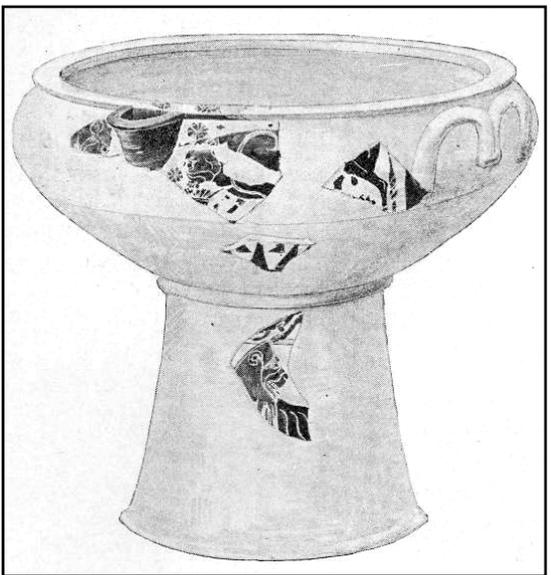
Figure 122 - PA spouted louterion

Figure 123 – Protoattic spouted louterion

Figure 124 - Spout
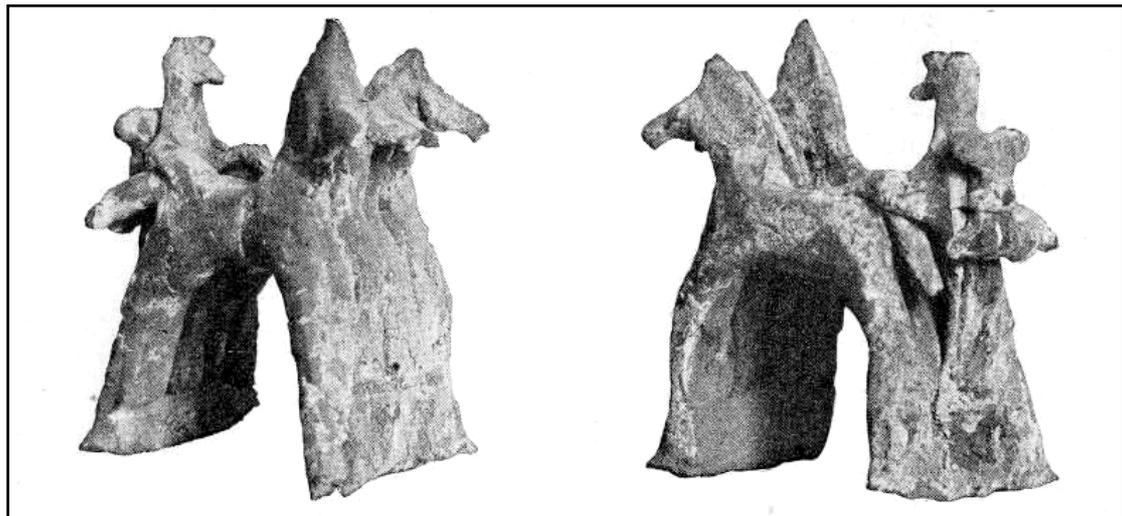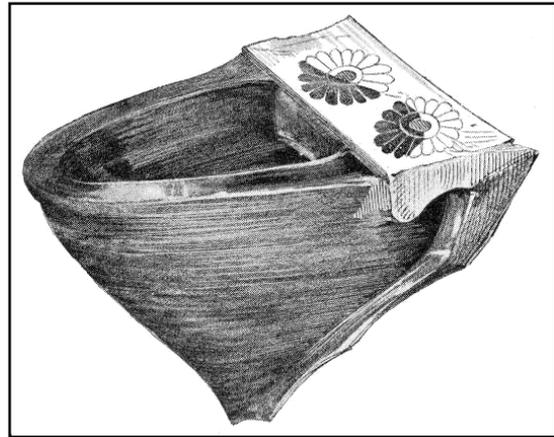
Figure 125 – Terracotta horses and riders

1.35 Mt. Merenda

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	(late?) 8th c. to ca. 600 BCE
Location:	summit (+ 612) on southern edge of the Mesogeia
Architecture:	possible rock altar
Pottery:	**(L-SG and PA)**, small and miniature drinking cups; household ware
Other finds:	burned animal bone
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 316; Langdon (1976), 103.

At the large, uneven plateau of the summit of Mount Merenda Langdon encountered, "a hole filled with loose earth and rocks, possibly enclosed by a wall of rough stones one meter on a side, although this is far from certain." The votives consist of small drinking vessels.

1.36 Mounichia

Context:	cult of Artemis
Date:	from 950-925 BCE
Location:	on Mounichia hill (Piraeus peninsula)
Ceramics:	**(LPG-MG)** skyphoi, kraters, cups, kyathos, kalathos (?); **(LG)** skyphoi, kraters, saucers, louteria (?), dinoi, pyxides, **(SG)** small skyphoi, plates and krateriskoi (Phaleron type); **(PA)** lekanis (?); **(PC and C)** aryballoi, alabastra, small kotylai; **(Arg)** lekythos; **(BF-RF-H-R)**.
Other finds:	8th-7th century (?) terracotta's: (female) idols, "Stempelidole", thrones, a horse, pinax
Excavation reports:	I. Threpsiades, *Prakt* 1935, 159-195.
Main publications:	Palaiokrassa, 1991, 53-54, 64-65, 84-85, 103-105, 129-132, 168-170, 175-177 (MA 10), fig. 1, tab. 12-13, 26-28, 48, 1989, 1983, 43, 57-58, 81-83, 153-158, 218-221, fig. 1, tab. 10-12, 33-35, 56.
Bibliography:	D'Onofrio, 1997, 69, app. no. 6; Langdon, 1997a, 118, n. 20; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 315; Parker, 1996, 18; Goette, 1992-1998, (classical inscriptions); Palaiokrassa, 1991, esp. 96; Küper, 1990, 18, ns. 6, 10, 13, p. 22, ns. 47-49; Travlos, 1988, 340; Garland, 1987, 113-114.
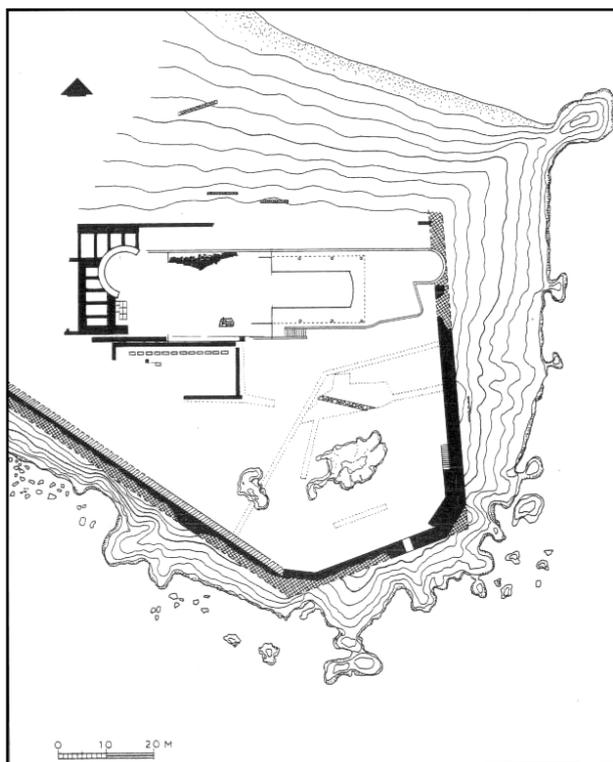
Figure 126 – Mounichia, sanctuary of Artemis.

Cult-activity in the sanctuary of Artemis on **Mounichia** hill in the Piraeus (Figure 126) goes back to the LPG Period.[570] While votive material from the cult's initial phase is not abundant, cult activity is suggested by the fact that the types of open pottery shapes (skyphoi, kraters, cups) persist in the Geometric and EA Period when cult activity is beyond doubt. From the 7th century the cult seems to have flourished; above all, the numerous terracotta figurines, as well as the first inscriptions, show that cult activity was considerably intensified at this time.[571] In myth, a certain Baros promised to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis of Mounichia in order to avert a plague from the Athenian people. This (human) sacrifice has been taken as evidence for the antiquity of the cult and of the *genos* in charge.[572] The credibility of the Baridai as a genuine *genos*, however, is debatable.[573] On the other hand, the name of the month Mounichia seems to corroborate that the sanctuary in the Piraeus had been an important focus of cult from a very early date.

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[570] Palaiokrassa 1989, 13, taken over by Mazarakis Ainian and d'Onofrio.

[571] Palaiokrassa 1989, 10, ns. 44, 45; Travlos (1988), 340.

[572] Garland, 1987, 113. For Embaros as the legendary founder of the sanctuary, cf. Kearns, 1989, *s.v.*

[573] Parker (1996), 319-320.
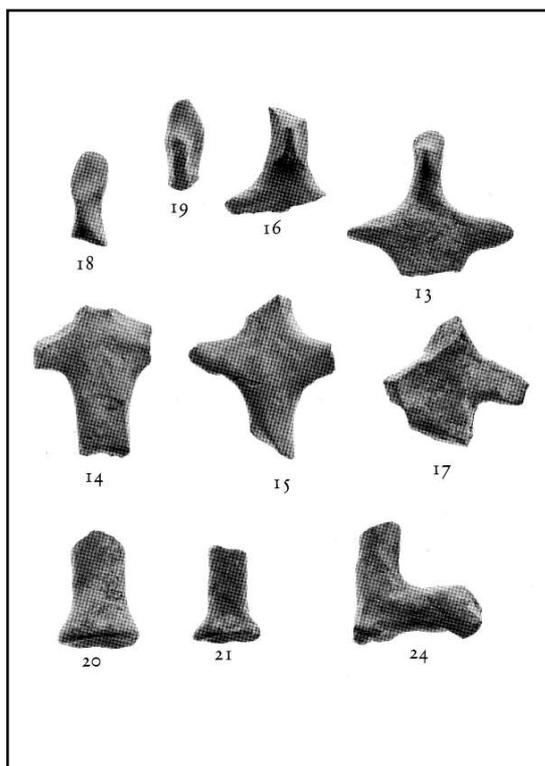
Figure 127 – "Stempelidole" from the sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia.
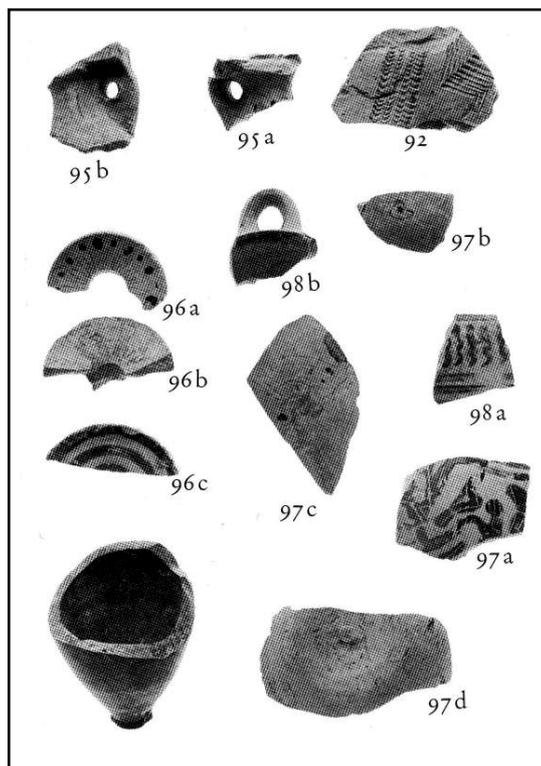
Figure 128 – Corinthian pottery and Archive Monochrome ware (no. 92)
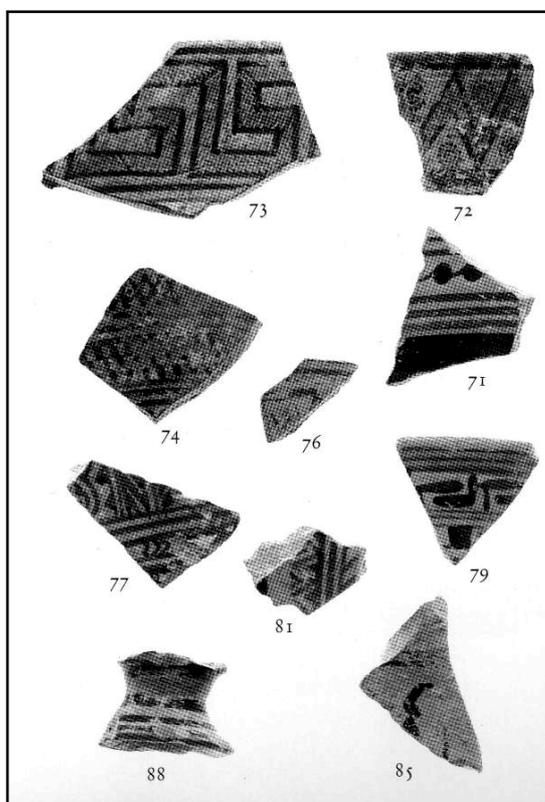
Figure 129 – Geometric and Protoattic sherds.
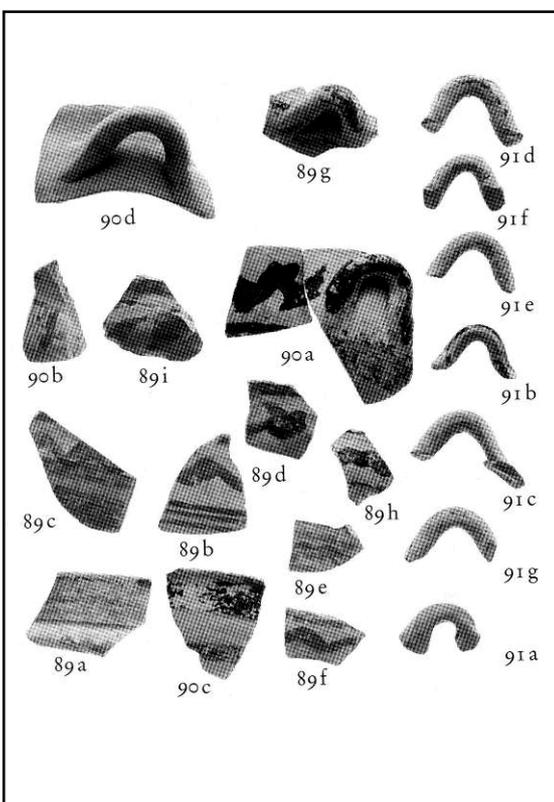
Figure 130 – Seventh century sherds.
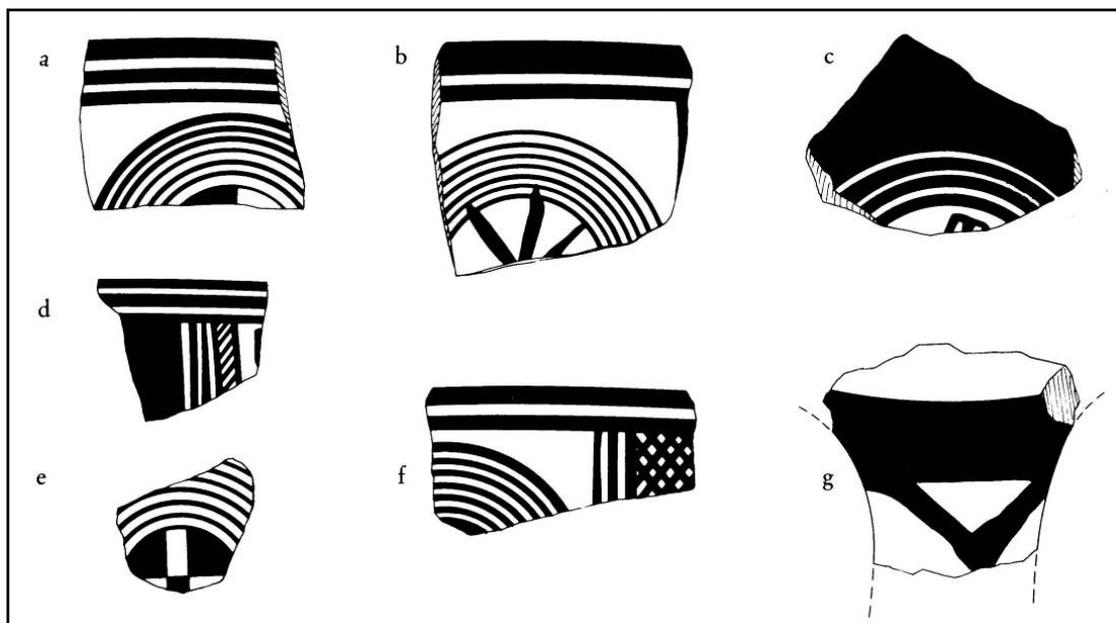
Figure 131 – Protogeometric sherds from the sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia.
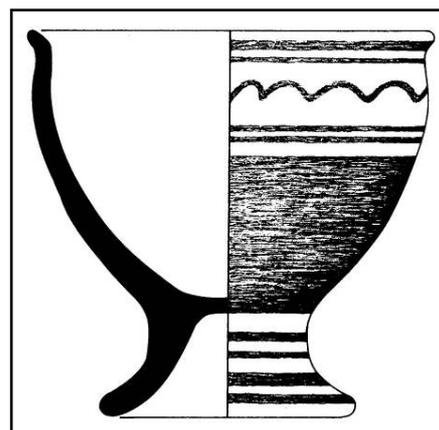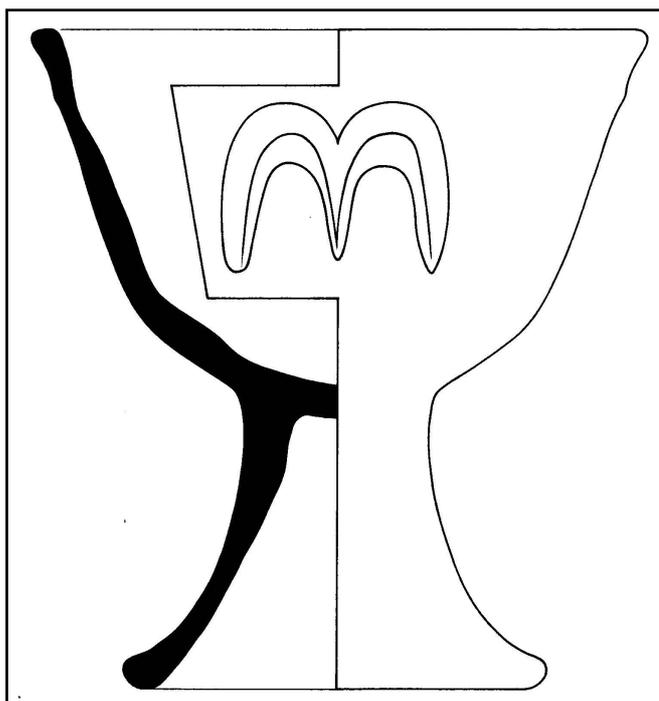
Figure 132 – Subgeometric krateriskos.

Figure 133 – Subgeometric skyphos.

1.37 Palaia Phokaia

Context:	LG-EA cemetery
Date:	ca. 7th to late 6th c. BCE (?)
Location:	in Kataphyki on Broulon Street
Pottery:	**(BF)** lekythoi
Architecture:	burial tumulus, with structure for ancestor cult
Preliminary report:	O. Kakavogianni, *ArchDelt* 42 B, 1987, 96-97
Summary:	E.B. French, *AR* 1993-1994, 11.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 145, n. 998.

This large burial tumulus (30 m diam.) enclosed 44 graves from the LG and EA periods.[574] On top of the tumulus a funerary structure similar to the one excavated at nearby Anavyssos (**Anavyssos 3**) was uncovered. The structure consisted of two parts, a larger one filled with rocks and a smaller one shaped like a *peribolos*. While the structure cannot be securely dated to before 600 BCE, some kind of ancestor worship may have taken place here in the seventh century.

Figure 134 – Remains of the funerary monument.

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[574] A second, apparently heavily damaged, tumulus was reported in the opposite plot.

1.38 Pallini

Context:	cult of Athena Pallenis
Date:	2nd half of the 9th c. BCE
Location:	at Stavros Geraka, on O. Androutsou and at the junction with O. Zalongou, along the E and N wings of the Classical temple of Athena
Pottery:	**(MG – H)**
Votives:	terracotta figurines of winged type (9th-8th c. BCE); T-shaped idols, some wearing a high polos (8th-7th c.); ca. 150 animal figurines (horses, bulls, goats and snakes); rectangular base of a male figure; 4 Daedalic heads; 80 bronzes, including pins and fibulae; 2 (pseudo-) silver finger rings, one with Egyptian characters on the bezel.
Preliminary reports:	K. Philis, *ArchDelt* 49 B, 1994, 71-73; M. Platonos, *ArchDelt* 52 B, 1997, 90-92; 54 B, 1999, 105-111; 2001 67-68.
Summaries:	D. Blackman, *AR* 1999-2000, 17; J. Whitley, *AR* 2002-2003, 11; 2005-2006, 13.
Bibliography:	Goette, 2001, 236-237, 1992-1998; Schlaiffer, 1943.

The remains were recently found and briefly reported upon. It appears that the votives came from the N and E sides of the Classical temple foundations (Figure 135), which connects them to the worship of Athena. It appears that the votives did not come from anything like a closed context. Philis sees the T-shaped idols as possible images of Athena Promachos. The cult of Athena Pallenis was widespread and seems to have exerted its influence as far as Paiania, Gargettos and even Acharnae. Pallini is located in between Mt. Hymettos and Mt. Parnes on the threshold between the Athenian plain and the Mesogeia. As such it may have had a liminal quality.

Figure 135 – Pallini (Stavros Geraki). NE corner of the temple where early cult remains were found (from SW).

1.39 Panagia Thiti

Context:	cult of Aphrodite or Dionysos (?)
Date:	7th c. BCE
Location:	ca. 1 km east of **Kiapha Thiti** near the Panagia chapel. Ancient deme of Lamptrai
Finds:	several fragments of "Stempelidole"
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 199, no. 72.3; Küper, 1990, 20; Willemsen, 1965, 122-126; Eliot, 1962, 58, n. 29.

The Panagia chapel lies at the site of an ancient sanctuary of Dionysus or Aphrodite.[575] The *temenos* was demarcated by horos-inscriptions dating to the second decade of the fifth century BCE.[576] Several fragments of "Stempelidole" were found nearby, justifying the identification of this site as a contemporary and complementary shrine to the one on nearby **Kiapha Thiti**. It is likely that both sites belonged to the same community. In later times, both were part of Lower Lamptrai.[577]

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[575] For the identification cf. Eliot, 1962, 58, n. 29.

[576] Willemsen, 1965, 122-123, fig. 3; Eliot, 1962, 56-58. The sanctuary included a small Doric anta-temple. A capital of this temple has been dated to the middle of the fifth century BCE, Willemsen, 1965, 123-126.

[577] Cf. Eliot, 1962, 60-61. Linnemann (AA 1993, 101) recovered a spolium referring to the deme of Lamptrai. The Classical settlement seems to have been somewhere between Kiapha, Panagia and Kitsi, in the interlaying plain.

1.40 Pani

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	(late?) 8th – 7th c.
Location:	southern ridge of Mesogeia (+ 635 m), near Keratea and Keratovouni
Pottery:	**(L-SG)**, small and miniature drinking vessels (cups, skyphoi); household ware
Sacrificial remains:	burned animal bone
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 316; Langdon (1976), 102-103; Smith and Lowry, 1954.

Two concentrations of sherds were found near the modern survey marker on the flat summit. The first is about 50 m north of the field-marker and at roughly the same elevation. According to Langdon "the spot is marked by a tumble of rocks around which can be picked up many fragments of plain and decorated Geometric and Subgeometric cups and skyphoi and splinters of burned animal bones. Twenty meters north of this, at a slightly lower level, occurs a similar concentration of sherds and bones." Smith and Lowry found two graffito sherds there. According to Langdon, these were fragments of the same types of Subgeometric cups which on **Hymettos** often carry (votive) inscriptions. The investigators have interpreted the tumble of stones as the remains of a rough altar and the area to the north of this as a possible votive dump.

1.41 Parnes 1

Context:	mountaintop; cave
Date:	late 10th to 6th c. BCE
Location:	cave just a few m below and to the south of Mt. Parnes' highest peak, Ozea or Karabola (+ 1412)
Architecture:	rubble wall and pavement inside the nearby cave
Pottery:	**(PG)** oinochoai and kantharoi; **(L-SG)** the votive oinochoai, oinochoiskai, aryballoi and cups are said to be dissimilar from those found in graves and domestic contexts; kylikes and kantharoi are also mentioned; **(PA)** not mentioned; (**PC-C**) alabastra (some styled pre-PC, ca. 700 BCE, by the excavator) and 215 aryballoi; **(BF)** few sherds; **(R)** lamps.
Sacrificial remains:	thick layer of ash 100 m^2 and ca. 2 m deep, filled with small animal bones; iron: 3000 knives, spearheads, swords, spits, sickles and axe heads (?); bronze: pins, 5 knives, shields and cauldron fragments.[578]
Excavation report:	E. Mastrokostas, *ASAtene* NS (1983), 339-345.
Summaries:	E. Vanderpool, *AJA* (1960), 269; G. Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960), 658; S. Hood, *AR* 1959-1960, 8; 1960-1961, 5.[579] **Graffiti**: *SEG* 33 (1983), 81-82, no. 244.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 315; Mersch, 1996, 167-168, nos. 53.1-2; Parker, 1996, 18, 31-32, ns. 2-4; Wickens, 1986, vol. I, 158-159, 165, vol. II, 243-245, site no. 46 ; Langdon, 1976, 100-101.

1.41.1   Introduction

A short notice in the Greek daily newspaper *Kathimerini* of August 7th 1959 mentioned the rescue excavation on Mt Parnes of what was then erroneously thought to be a large funeral pyre for a great number of warriors killed in battle. The excavation was undertaken inside a cave to allow for the construction of a military installation just a few meters below the Ozea, Mt. Parnes' highest peak. There is some confusion about the exact location of the altar. Mastrokostas' report mentions a cave, situated inside a chasm running N-S.[580] The mouth of the cave apparently opened to the south, had vertical sides and measured 3 x 5-6 m. Mastrokostas insists that the

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[578] As of March 14, 2008, some of these objects are on display in the Piraeus museum. I thank Michael Laughy for bringing this to my attention.
[579] The first mention of this excavation was made in a newspaper report (*Kathimerini, August 7*[th] *1959*).
[580] Mastrokostas, 1983, 339.

cave itself was the altar.[581] However, Mersch seems to imply that there are two cult spots, one on the peak and one inside the cave, but this may well be a misinterpretation of Mastrokostas' very scanty account.[582] Presumably the two spots are part of the same cult area, though for the moment this is impossible to prove as the area has been hermetically sealed by the military, preventing on-site inspection of the environmental conditions.

Many years nothing was heard about this enigmatic site, until 1976 when Merle Langdon published his monograph on the mountain shrine of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos.[583] Since the material from the excavations had not yet been published, Langdon had only the newspaper report at his service, but was nonetheless able to include the finds from Mt. Parnes in his catalogue of Attic mountaintop sanctuaries, some of which had already been noticed in an American School Paper by Esther Smith and Harriet Lowry in 1954.[584] Langdon's identification of the site as a summit sanctuary still stands today.

Langdon connected the sanctuary with the cult of Zeus Ombrios and Zeus Apemios, who, according to Pausanias 1.32.2, shared a common altar in this mountain range. Pausanias also mentions a cult of Zeus Semaleos who had an altar and Zeus Parnethios who had a statue nearby. However, as is the case with the sanctuary on Mt. Hymettos, it is impossible to tell whether Zeus was already called by any of these names as early as the Archaic Period. In the seventh century he appears to be worshipped at the ash altar as Zeus Parnesios and Zeus Hikesios, which is proven by the find inside the cave of two EA graffiti bearing these names.[585]

The first real publication of the Parnes site did, however, not appear until 1983, when Evthymios Mastrokostas lifted a tip of the veil with his report in the *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*. Unfortunately this report only contained a mere summary of the finds, so that a full analytical treatment is still badly needed. At the moment, Lydia Palaiokrassa, of the University of Athens, is preparing a full publication of the material found on Mt. Parnes.

1.41.2   Archaeology

The 1959 excavations revealed a thick layer of ashes stretching out over an area of 100 m^2. The layer measured well over 2 m in depth and was filled with pottery,

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[581] This is not mentioned explicitly in Mastrokostas' modern Greek account, but the Italian résumé says: "Anzi la grotta stessa era un altare", Mastrokostas, 1983, 342.
[582] Mersch, 1996, 167-168, nos. 53.1-2.
[583] Langdon, 1976.
[584] Langdon, 1976, 100-101; Smith and Lowry, 1954.
[585] Langdon also postulates a second altar, to Zeus Semeleos, on Harma (+ 867) near Phyle, based on Pausanias' description, Langdon, 1976, 101. In the Classical period lightning bolts were interpreted here as signs to send offerings to Delphi. There is, however, no evidence to suggest (or disprove) that this site originated in our period.

numerous votives and animal bones, mixed in with the ashes. But while the original newspaper article reported that these were the incinerated remains of soldiers from the Megarian war, there can be no doubt that the ash layer represents the remains of offering rituals. The enormous quantity of ashes is evidence of prolonged and consistently practiced sacrifice. This view is also borne out by the pottery. The earliest – Protogeometric – pottery seems to date to the late 10th century BCE; the latest sherds belong to the sixth century BCE.

This early date in itself merits our special attention, as it places the Parnes summit among the first Attic cult sites, together with the cult of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos and the cult of Artemis on the Mounichia peninsula. It has often been suggested that Athena was worshipped on the Acropolis continuously throughout the Dark Ages, but no positive evidence has been adduced for any cult activity there before the eighth century BCE (cf. section 1.9). The Protogeometric pottery on Mt. Parnes, mainly consisting of oinochoai and kantharoi, serves well in a cultic setting as requisites for drinking and libation. These types continue into the Geometric Period proper when the assemblage is expanded with such types as miniature oinochoai, aryballoi and various cups and kylikes, all comfortably fitting within a cultic context of drinking and libation. This picture corresponds well with the assertion of the excavator that the pottery differs from that found in funeral contexts, presumably referring to finds in the Agora and Kerameikos, where many oinochoai contain pierced holes in the bottom.

The Geometric sequence runs into the seventh century sub-Geometric. But while Proto-Attic ware complements the cult assemblage at most sanctuaries, nothing of the kind was found on Mt. Parnes. By contrast, we find Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian besides the Late Geometric and sub-Geometric types. The former consist of a few very early alabastra, dating to the later eighth century, and a surprisingly large number of 215 aryballoi, to which I will return shortly. Here it suffices to say that no other Attic sanctuary or mountain shrine has yielded anywhere near this amount of Corinthian wares.

The other finds are, however, equally if not more impressive. While some uncertainty exists over the precise amount and date of the finds, the general outline of the assemblage is clear. Although Mastrokostas did not mention them, the archaeological reports summarizing the archaeological effort of 1959 speak of 3000 iron knives or swords found mixed in between the ashes, a staggering amount, especially considering that nothing of this kind has been retrieved at any of the other early Attic shrines. Bronze finds include pins and shields as well as a few more knives. While we still await the final publication of the finds and therefore cannot date them precisely, it seems most plausible to connect them with the main group of the Corinthian wares, dating to the seventh century BCE.

Finally, the sixth century seems to have witnessed a short period of protracted use of Corinthian pottery before cult practice was discontinued here, as it was at most Attic mountaintops. A few Black Figure sherds are the last positive remains of cult activity.

1.41.3 Function

The excavator originally interpreted the site as a heroic burial of Megarian warriors who were supposed to have fallen during the war over Salamis (ca. 600 BCE).[586] There is, however, no good reason to believe that the soldiers should have been buried in this remote place (not to mention the problematic absence of human remains). There is no doubt that the ash layer represents the remains of offering rituals. Also, some of the pottery is specifically mentioned as differing from the pottery found in funerary contexts and points to a specific ritual purpose, such as libation.[587] This might be the case for the oinochoai, kantharoi and kylikes, though they were probably also used during the ritual banquets that took place inside the cave (see below). A third possibility is that they were used during the sacrificial ritual to invoke the spirit of the god. The aryballoi may have been used to the same effect. The rituals further seem to have included animal offerings. Animal bones are mentioned in the reports, though nothing is said with regard to the species involved. The enormous quantity of ashes indicates that the animal sacrifice was practiced consistently and over a protracted period of time.

1.41.4 Other Peak Sanctuaries

The archaeology of the Parnes sanctuary shows both similarities and differences with what we know of other Attic Peak Shrines. Langdon noted cult activity on nine peaks antedating 600 BCE.[588] Since the publication of his book in 1976, six more possible sites have been identified, largely thanks to the effort of the German scholars Lauter and Lohmann.[589] Many of these fifteen sites consisted of little more than a simple ash altar with a find assemblage generally confined to a few, mostly Subgeometric, sherds, indicating that the acme of this type of shrines located on mountaintops occurred in the seventh century.[590] Not only does this chronologically agree with the great number of Corinthian aryballoi found on Mt. Parnes, it also places the peak sanctuaries at the center of Attic religious life in a period which archaeologists have come to refer to as the "Attic Seventh Century Gap".[591] The two cults that stand out

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[586] S. Hood, *AR* 1959-1960, 8; 1960-1961, 5.
[587] Mastrokostas, 1983, 343.
[588] Langdon, 1976, 100-106.
[589] Lohmann, 1993; Lauter and Hagel, 1990; Lauter and Lauter-Bufe, 1986; Lauter, 1985a, 12, 415 (PH5), fig. 68, pl. 123, 1-2; 388 (CH60); 504 (AN 21); 379-380 (CH60).
[590] Cf. chapter 7.8.
[591] Whitley, 2001, 233-243; Osborne, 1989

from the rest in terms of finds and architecture are the one mentioned earlier at **Hymettos 1**, which was published by Merle Langdon, and the one at **Tourkovouni**, a few miles north of the Acropolis, published by Hans Lauter. It is important to note that, here too, the seventh century shows an intensification of cult activity, with Late Geometric, Protoattic and Subgeometric dominating the find assemblage.

The Parnes site differs also in several aspects. First, an unusual amount of Corinthian pottery was found in the ash deposit. By contrast, hardly any Corinthian ware has been reported from the other mountain shrines. Secondly, the enormous amount of iron knives/daggers that was found in the fill is unheard of at the other mountain peaks, or any other sanctuary for that matter, and testify to the extreme importance of the sanctuary in the 7th century. Metal objects were found in relatively large numbers in the sanctuaries of Athena (**Athens - Acropolis 1**) and at **Sounion 1 and 2**.[592] Elsewhere such finds are an occasional, if not rare occurrence. A third idiosyncrasy is the presence of a cave at the cult site.

1.41.5 The Cave

The cave was suitably placed near the top, inviting its use as a shelter against the rough weather conditions. The fact that the ash altar appears to have been found right in front of the cave suggests a close relation between the two. This cannot be a coincidence taking into account that several cult sites made use of nearby caves. It stands to reason that these caves served several purposes. Gunnel Ekroth has argued that the cave at the sanctuary of Artemis at **Brauron** was used for ritual banquets and as a storage place for votives and other ritual paraphernalia.[593] A similar function can be assigned to the cave on Mt. Parnes. This function was presumably comparable to that of the so-called "Sacred House" at the sanctuary of Demeter at **Eleusis 3**. Rubble walls and some pavement inside the caves at Parnes and Brauron show that the cave was used and that it could have played a role in the cult proceedings. None of the numerous other peak sanctuaries in Attica were connected to a cave, presumably because they were not to be found in the vicinity. At other locations, however, caves did attract cult activity. The so-called "Spilia-tou-Daveli" at **Anavyssos 3** may have housed a cult of the Nymphs as early as the last quarter of the eighth century BCE. The so-called cave of Antiope near **Eleutherae** was used as a focus of worship as early as the 8th century, and finally, at **Hymettos 1**, what is known to the locals as the "Lion's Cave" may have been used as a shrine in the seventh century BCE.

The combination of a cave cult and a summit shrine on Mt. Parnes seems to be no more than a coincidence due to the particular layout of the natural environment of this location. At the highest point in Attica, overlooking the peninsula to the south and

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[592] At **Sounion 2** weapons were found as well.
[593] Ekroth, 2003, 82-87.

neighboring Boeotia to the north, it was obviously the top of the Parnes mountain range itself that attracted cultic attention. The cave, on the other hand, was suitably placed near the top, inviting its use as a shelter against the rough weather conditions.

We do not know what transpired in the cave before, during and after the fire offering. The few reported traces of walls and stone paving may, nevertheless, point to a more protracted ritual function of the cave itself. A wall was constructed toward the back of the cave (north) and paving appeared underneath the altar at 2.20 m below the excavated surface. If the wall remains do indicate partitioning screens inside the cave, it is not unlikely that the resulting inner chamber played an instrumental role in the rituals. Since we can exclude a profane function for these walls at this remote location, it is tempting to ponder what may have transpired inside this inner room.

Fortunately, we have some comparative data. As we have seen, architecture is not an uncommon feature of 8th and 7th century BCE Attic sanctuaries. However, while the experiment with temple construction took place elsewhere in Greece during the same period, architectural practice in Attica leads us in a different direction. Some examples may serve to illuminate this point. First, Lauter reconstructed an oval-shaped building at the highest point of the hill at **Tourkovouni**,[594] This so-called "Ostbau" appears to have been used as a banqueting hall for a cult association, providing ample protection against the harsh winds at this altitude. Secondly, Mazarakis Ainian has plausibly restored the structure at **Hymettos 1** as a banqueting room.[595] Another space that may well have served as a banqueting hall is the easternmost room of the so-called "Sacred House" at **Eleusis 3**. As I will show in part 3 of this study, banqueting was a common practice in early Archaic Attica and it was to this end that the Athenians applied their architecture, both at mountain shrines and elsewhere. Without attaching absolute certainty to this identification, I would therefore propose that the cave on Mt. Parnes too possessed an inner room, expressly constructed for ritual dining and adding a sense of intimacy and shelter – not to mention secrecy – to the cave's most inner part. A similar attempt to increase a cave's secretive quality may be found at **Brauron** and the "Spilia-tou-Daveli" at **Anavyssos 3**, where a wall was constructed near the entrance in the Classical Period to fence off the inside.

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[594] Lauter, 1985a, 123-143.
[595] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 143. Note that Langdon attributed the rectangular structure to an altar.
[595] However, no offering remains were found at this location, but at a rather more easterly point, inside a natural depression in the terrain. This interpretation has the benefit of explaining the extreme thickness of the northern and eastern walls, which may have served as benches. Benches have also been attested inside other cult buildings, such as the seventh century Ruler's Dwelling and sixth century Tholos building at **Lathouriza 1**.

1.41.6   Social context

The two most diagnostic features in terms of ritual are the hoard of seventh century (Proto-) Corinthian aryballoi[596] and the enormous amount of iron knives. As none of the other peak sanctuaries have yielded anything resembling these finds, it will be necessary to place them in a somewhat larger social context.[597]

The use of Corinthian pottery in Attic contexts should probably be seen as complementary to Protoattic wares. Both styles were essentially expensive status objects, but while the Protoattic could be obtained on the local market, the Corinthian wares had to be acquired through trade at additional cost.[598] While Protoattic is abundant at many seventh century cult sites, it is completely absent at Parnes. The luxury ware of choice here seems to have consisted exclusively of Corinthian, which has been attested in great quantity. At other peak sanctuaries Protoattic is much preferred; only three Corinthian sherds are reported at **Hymettos 1** and elsewhere just a few were found as well.[599] It appears that special significance and prestige was thus attached to the sanctuary on Mt. Parnes, as the choice for Corinthian in favor of the local style set it apart from other sanctuaries and presumably entailed additional expenditure. The question is what lies at the root of this partiality.

The type of Corinthian wares, and the aryballoi in particular, favor a specific ritual preference such as pouring ointment over the fire altar. However, this may only be part of the explanation. It does not clarify why this is an important feature of the Parnes sanctuary, while it is largely absent at the other peaks. Secondly, it also does not explain why some of the other vessels for which perfectly good Attic equivalents existed, such as the kylix, were Corinthian imports. In fact, the Attic equivalent to Corinthian wares (Protoattic) appears to be wholly absent.[600] Since no satisfactory solution to this problem has been presented on purely ritual grounds, the answer is, in my view, better framed in an ideological, rather than a functionalist context.

The most obvious difference between the Zeus altar on Parnes and the other sites is their location. The peak sanctuaries of Attica are dispersed over much of its territory, but the only cult site approaching the border is the Zeus sanctuary. The

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[596] Mastrokostas, 1983, 341-342.
[597] The original *Kathimerini* article mentioned transmigrant (Corinthian?) shepherds participating in the rituals. This view has been rightfully discounted by Langdon, 1976, 101, n. 3.
[598] Cf. Whitley, 1994a.
[599] Langdon, 1976, 70, nos. 314-316 lists fragments of an aryballos, an alabastron and a closed vessel from **Hymettos 1**. All belong to the "Ripe" Corinthian style. In addition, there are two fragments from PC aryballoi at **Profitis Ilias** and a PC kalathos and some Protocorinthianizing kotylai at **Tourkovouni**.
[600] We have to bear in mind, however, that only a small part of the pottery was mentioned in Mastrokostas' preliminary report. The full publication of this material by Lydia Palaiokrassa is therefore anxiously awaited.

Parnes range divides Attica from Boeotia, two regions that were not merely politically separate, but also represented two differentiated cultural zones.[601] And indeed, there is evidence of cross-cultural attendance. An inscription in the Boeotian script on a Protocorinthian sherd suggests that people on the farther side of Parnes were aware of the shrine and acknowledged its existence.[602] To what degree the Boeotians were involved in the rituals is difficult to ascertain, but the absence of Boeotian wares seems to indicate that inhabitants of Attica controlled the cult.[603] We cannot be sure as to who the participants were on the Athenian side of the border, but another graffito of the same period has *Eroiades* inscribed on it, which may refer to people living in the area of the Cleisthenic deme Eroiadai near Mt. Aigaleos in the upper *pedion*.[604] The graffito thus may reveal something of the particular importance of this sanctuary in the upper *pedion*.

The large amount of Corinthian wares and knives are therefore perhaps best understood as the result of cross-cultural rivalry, mediated by the display of (relatively) expensive votives. Corinthian pottery was universally accepted in Greece during this period, functioning as a kind of material *lingua franca*. Assuming that people from Boeotia occasionally visited the sanctuary, Corinthian wares may have been seen as the most prestigious type of votives that were intelligible to both parties. It also explains the general absence of Corinthian wares at the other mountain shrines. The great promulgation of these sites from the late eighth century seems to have been caused by the need felt by the numerous disparate communities of Attica to have a peak shrine at close distance.[605] This entails that these sites had little value as centers of social interaction with other groups. Their prime emphasis lies on a certain functionality, which causes them to serve as focal points for ritual performances and social cohesion. In contrast with Parnes, these sites never attracted the same status symbols, presumably as a result of the absence of social or cultural tension between the various groups that made up the cult community; since all cult participants can safely be held to have been Atticans, there was no need for foreign import to communicate with the other cult participants.

The knives found at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Parnes represent another feature not shared with the other Attic peak sanctuaries. They seem to fit in the same mould as the Corinthian wares. But while the aryballoi may be interpreted as

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[601] Cf. Coldstream, 1983.

[602] Mastrokostas, 1983, 341.

[603] Awaiting final publication of the pottery, it is difficult to assess its precise content. Corinthian is followed by Attic BF and seems to have been preceded by Attic Geometric.

[604] Mastrokostas, 1983, 341. Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, Mt. Aigaleos has not yielded any concrete evidence of a peak sanctuary, cf. **Skaramanga**. There was also another deme called Eroiadai from the tribe Antiochis, which has not been located, though it may have been near its namesake.

[605] Cf. chapter 7.8.

expressing prestige through wealth, the weapons stress a martial ideology. They were apparently dedicated with an eye on their apotropaic potential. The offering of deadly tools, unique in the Attic sacred landscape, can be interpreted as a display of strength toward a culturally distinct group of people. Here it may be useful to point at the case of Olympia, where military gear of all kind was dedicated[606] as an exhibition of masculine prowess and prestige, thus serving as a deterrent against outside aggression and maintaining a subtle political equilibrium. The great Panhellenic sanctuaries thus symbolically served as frontier sanctuaries, places where *all* Greek poleis bordered eachother. The example of Olympia thus illustrates the importance of the Parnes sanctuary as a ritual hinge in Attic-Boeotian relations.

1.41.7   Conclusion

Thus, one of the least known of the early Attic sanctuaries appears to have been one of the most important in the still badly understood period between 900 and 600 BCE. The sanctuary at Mt. Parnes should be understood in a religious sense as a regional place of worship serving the people in the upper Athenian plain. What set this particular shrine apart from the many others that have been found dispersed over the Attic countryside, is its political connotation as a border or frontier shrine, which was a quite common element in Greek religious practice, but thus far seems to be a unique feature in Attica.

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[606] Mallwitz, 1972, 24-34.

1.42 Plasi-Tsepi (Marathon) 1

Context:	LH fortress
Date:	late 8th-7th century BCE
Location:	Magoula (+150-180), ca. 1200 m east of the "Soros" (burial tumulus of the Athenians at Marathon)
Pottery:	(**LG**); (**Or**); (**PA**)
Excavation report:	E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3, 1970, 14-21, pls. 1-5.
Additional report:	P. Themelis, *ArchDelt* 29A, 1974, 223.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 179-178, no. 63.3; Travlos, 1988, 216, 224, fig. 272.

The Late Helladic fortress can still be recognized today from its impressive circuit wall (th. 2.30 m), including a gate and a tower. Graves and walls extend back as early as the MH Period, though Neolithic sherds indicate that the site was used from a very early date. Few Geometric, Protoattic and "Orientalizing" (Corinthian?) sherds attest to renewed interest in the site from the late EIA. A *peribolos*, constructed over the BA remains, has alternatively been dated to the sixth (Mastrokostas) and Early Classical (Travlos) Period.[607] Miniature vessels have been taken as evidence that the *peribolos* wall demarcated a sanctuary.[608] If the Geometric and Orientalizing sherds are to be connected with the earliest phase of the sanctuary, the site stands among several others where BA remains were cultivated from the 8th century onward.[609]

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[607] Travlos, 1988, 216;Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3, 1970, 14-21.
[608] Mersch, 1996, 180, who takes the absence of graves as indicative for cultic use of the miniature vessels.
[609] Cf. **Athens – Acropolis 1**, **Eleusis 1**, **Kiapha Thiti** and **Brauron**.

1.43 Porto Rafti

Context:	sanctuary of Apollo
Date:	late eighth century BCE (?)
Location:	Natso, Dritsa-Sotirou plot
Pottery:	(**G**), (**A**), (**CI**), (**H**), (**R**)
Preliminary reports:	O. Kakovogianni, *ArchDelt* 39 B, 1984, 45; 40 B, 1985, 66-67, fig. 6.
Summaries:	H.W. Catling, *AR* 1986/87, 9; E.B. French, *AR* 1991/92, 9.
Bibliography:	D'Onofrio, 1997, 83, no. 65; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317, note 450; Mersch, 1996, 148, no. 37.2; Kakovoyanni, 1986.

During rescue excavations in 1984, finds from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Roman era, including a geometric stratum, were found N of an Hellenistic apsidal building (Figure 136). Geometric and archaic pottery had been found here during soundings in the 1960's in association with sculpture and inscriptions, which included a statue-head of Apollo (ca. 490 BCE). The excavator has associated the finds with the sanctuary of Delian Apollo at Prasiai, mentioned in Pausanias.[610] If Apollo was indeed worshipped at this early period, it may be questioned whether he was already associated with Delos.[611]
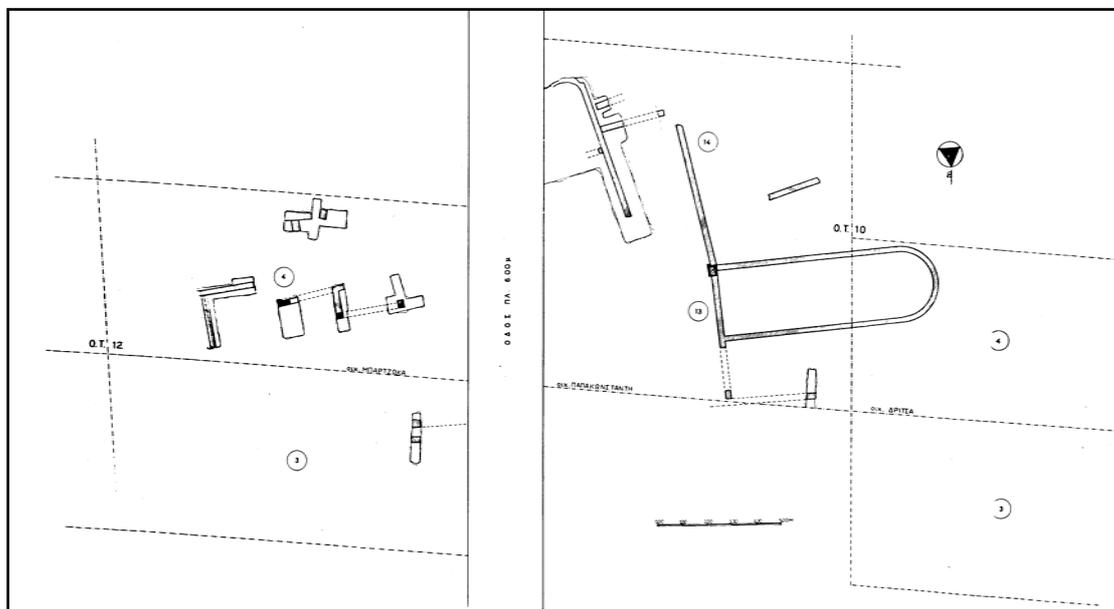
Figure 136 – The sanctuary of Delian Apollo at Porto Rafti.

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[610] Pausanias 1.31.2; *ArchDelt* 39 B, 1985, 45.
[611] Cf. the case of Apollo Delphinios (**Athens – Ilissos**).

1.44 Profitis Ilias

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	7th – 4th c. BCE
Location:	summit (+ 365) in southern Attica, west of the mining district and overlooking the plains of Kataphygi and Photini near Sounion; not to be confused with Profitis Ilias Imittou (**Hymettos 3**)
Architecture:	possibly an apsidal naiskos
Pottery:	**(PC)** fragments of two aryballoi; **(SG)** several Phaleron cup fragments. Some **(BG)**.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 197, no. 30; Parker, 1996, 31-32, ns. 2-4; Lohmann, 1993, 12, 415 (PH5), fig. 68, pl. 123, 1-2; 415; Travlos, 1988, 194; Langdon, 1976, 104; Smith and Lowry, 1954, 15.

The ceramic remains suggest that this site was used as a peak sanctuary from the first half of the 7th century. A wall in front of the Church of the Prophet Ilias measures 7.75 – 0.75 m and is oriented exactly toward the east where it curves to the north for an additional stretch of 1.10 m. Langdon thinks this could "possibly be the site of another small peak altar," and that "more pottery could perhaps be found by excavation."[612] Lohmann has convincingly interpreted this wall as part of a *naiskos*.[613] The shape of the wall suggests that the building had an apse and this may indicate that the building belongs to this study's period of interest. On the other hand, there is no independent ceramic evidence to support this view. Lohmann has sought to strengthen his interpretation of the site as a peak sanctuary by pointing to the closely related functions of the prophet Ilias and Zeus in his capacity of weather god.

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[612] Langdon, 1976, 104.
[613] Lohmann, 1993, 415.

1.45 Rafina

Context:	(?)
Date:	from ca. 600 BCE
Finds:	terracotta figurines
Preliminary report:	*Το Βήμα* (11/09/2003).
Summary:	J. Whitley, *AR* 2003-2004, 9.

This small and as of yet unpublished sanctuary has only briefly been reported upon in the newspaper *Το Βήμα* and was constructed over a MH building.

1.46 Rhamnous

Context:	cult of Nemesis
Date:	ca. 625 BCE
Location:	sanctuary of Nemesis
Pottery:	mostly early BF, as well as a few non-diagnostic LG sherds
Preliminary reports:	V. Petrakos, *Ergon* 1982, 35; J. Touchais, *BCH* 107 (1983), 752; H. Thocharaki-Tsitoura, *Archaiologia* 39 (1991), 42-43.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317

The few geometric sherds found beneath the temple in the sanctuary of Nemesis provide too small a basis for dating the cult's beginnings. It appears that a small temple was built at the beginning of the sixth century, which was decorated with painted terracotta's. The pottery indicates that the origins of cult activity at this location may have been slightly earlier, perhaps in the later seventh century.[614]

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[614] Thocharaki-Tsitoura, *loc. cit.*

1.47 Salamis

Context:	(?)
Date:	first half of the 7th c. (?)
Location:	Paloukia (?)
Pottery:	**(G)**; **(PC)**; further "attische Scherben"
Find:	**(SG)** one "Stempelidol"
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 23; Brommer, 1972, 273, no. 330.

Brommer published the "Stempelidol" and sherds together with other finds from the *DAI*. They are listed as belonging to the sanctuary of Athena Skiras. No information was given about their precise provenance and Athena Skiras may not be based on anything more than an educated guess. Even so, the attribution may indicate that the finds were made on one of the ancient terraces behind the harbor of Paloukia where the cult of Athena is roughly thought have been located.[615] If the pottery provides the context for the single "Stempelidol" the combined finds may represent a real cult, superseding the one time cult-event of **Mt. Hymettos 2**.

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[615]Goette, 2001, 330.

1.48 Sounion 1

Context:	sanctuary of Poseidon
Date:	from late 8th century BCE
Location:	on the southern promontory
Pottery:	mostly **(LG)** and **(SG)**; **(C)** including aryballoi, oinochoai and miniature vessels[616]
Votives:	(**A**) fragments of 17 giant stone kouroi;[617] bronze tools (axes and chisels) and weapons (arrows), as well as bronze rings and statuettes (including a Syrian cast figurine, perhaps of the storm-god Baal);[618] terracotta plaques, figurines (foot pierced for suspension);[619] beads seals and gems, including human and animal figurines;[620] ca. 50 Egyptian scarabs and seals (ca. 650-550).[621]
Excavation report:	V. Staïs, *AE* 1917, 168-213, esp. 194-197.
Main publication:	Staïs, 1920, 10-28.
Bibliography:	Goette, 2000, 19-21; de Polignac, 1995c, 81, n. 12; Morris, 1984, 99; Dinsmoor, 1971, 11. **Kouroi:** Goette, 2000, 19, n. 72; Stewart, 1990, 44-48; Papathanasopoulos, 1983, pls. 5-9; Richter, 1960, 30-45.

Surprisingly little is known about the earliest history of the cult of Poseidon on the tip of the Sounion promontory. Stais recorded several LG and SG sherds from a trench filled with cult material buried after the Persian sack of Athens and Attica in 480 BCE. The most dramatic sign of cult activity are the monumental nearly double-life-sized kouroi set up here, presumably as votives to the sea god (Figure 137). These huge statues are closely related with other giant kouroi that were being set up throughout the Cycladic islands from the late seventh century BCE. While kouroi are quite common in Attica, their size is rather unusual. Also, Attic kouroi do not appear in cultic contexts, but rather in the funeral sphere, such as at Anavyssos and the Kerameikos. The explanation is presumably pretty straightforward: all major Attic sanctuaries were dedicated to female deities.

It appears that the emergence of the sanctuary of Poseidon occurred roughly around the same time as the foundation of the sanctuary of Athena (**Sounion 2**). The

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[616] Goette, 2000, 20-21, pl. 10, fig. 18; Morris, 1984, 99; Staïs, 1917, 194-197, fig. 9.
[617] Goette, 2000, 19-20; Stewart, 1990, 44-48; Richter, 1960, 30-45.
[618] Goette, 2000, 20-21, pl. 10, fig. 15; Staïs, 1917, 194-195, fig. 7.
[619] Goette, 2000, 20-21, pl. 10, fig. 18; Staïs, 1917, 194-197, fig. 8.
[620] Goette, 2000, 20-21, pl. 10, fig. 17; Dinsmoor, 1971, 4; Staïs, 1917, 194-197, fig. 8.
[621] Goette, 2000, 20-21, pl. 10, fig. 17; Staïs, 1917, 194-197, fig. 9.
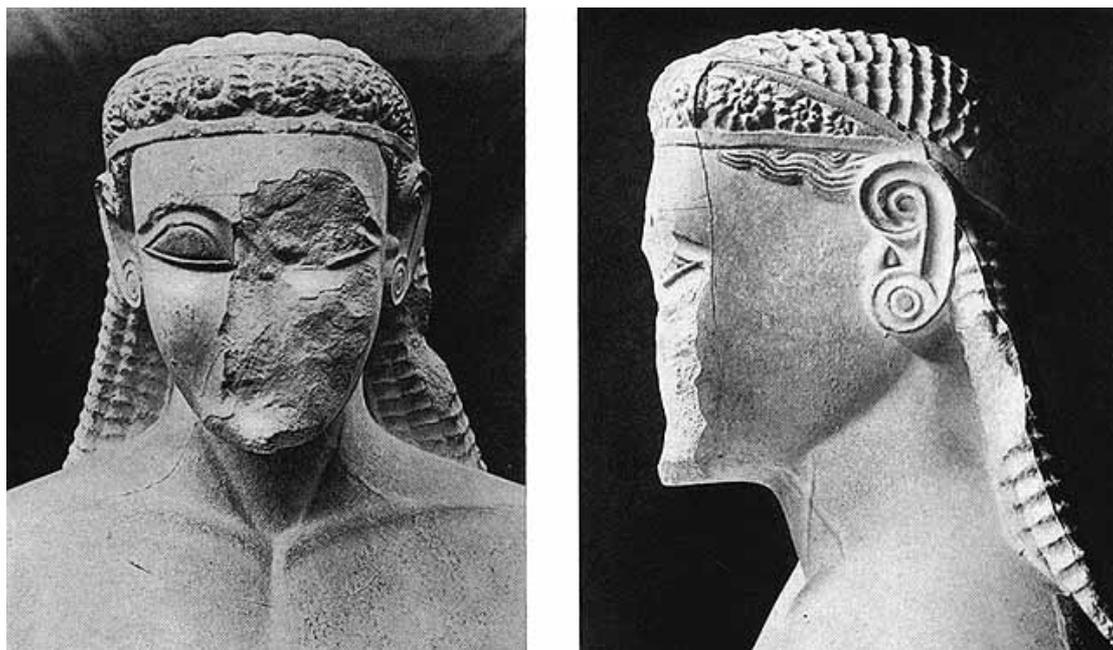
Figure 137 – One of the giant Kouroi found in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion.

metal objects and pottery date to the end of the 8th century at the earliest, while a hoard of ca. 50 Egyptian scarabs were dedicated from ca. 650 to 550 BCE. Still, it is important to note that the only context in either case is a votive pit with buried debris from the Persian sack. These pits happen to be situated inside the Classical sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon, but it is important to remember that the attribution of these deposits to these two deities ultimately does not derive from iconographical arguments, but from the locality in which they were found.
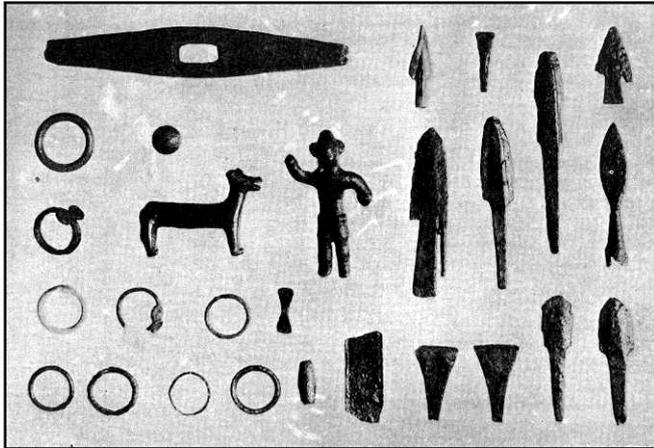
Figure 138 – Small metal objects from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion.
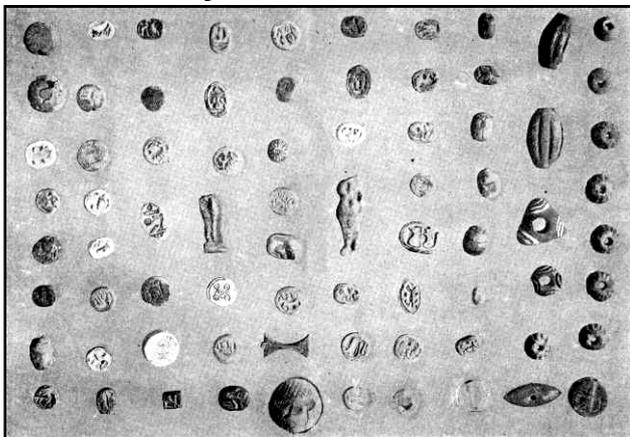
Figure 139 – Scarabs from the sanctuary of Poseidon.
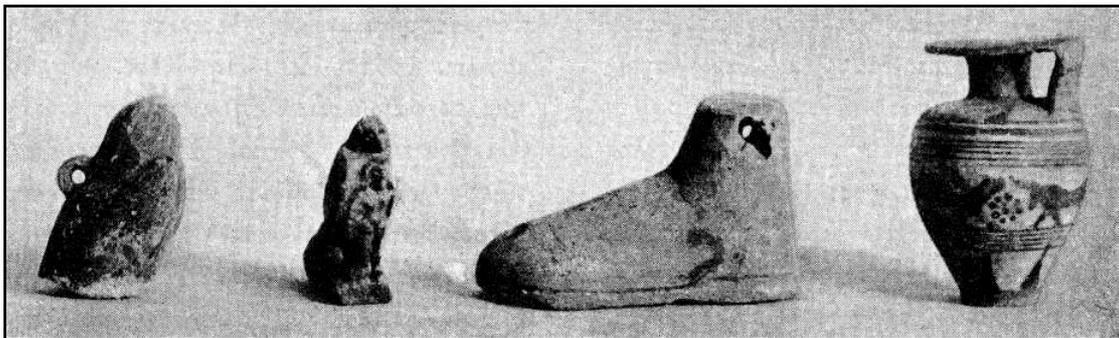
Figure 140 – Small terracotta objects from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion.

1.49 Sounion 2

Context:	sanctuary of Athena
Date:	from ca. 700 BCE or slightly earlier
Location:	on the shallow NE slope of the Sounion promontory (Classical *temenos* of Athena)
Architecture:	pi-shaped *naiskos* with two posts in front of the walls
Pottery:	**(PC)** aryballoi and oinochoai as well as various other vases
Votives:	"Stempelidole"; terracotta figurines of warriors, women (with poloi) and horses; thirty terracotta votive plaques; bronze miniature tripods and miniature shields; bronze pins; one gold and six silver rings; iron swords; lead *kouros*.
Preliminary reports:	Ch. Pickard, *RA* 16 (1940), 1-28; M. Oikonomakou, *Archaiologia* 39 (1991), 83-87.
Main publications:	Staïs, 1920, 1917, 178-180 (esp. 180, n. 1) and 207-213.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316-317, fig. 157; Parker, 1996, 18, n. 35; 35, n. 25; Antonaccio, 1995, 166-169; Kearns, 1989, 41-42, 106, 131, 205; Papathanasopoulos, 1983, 82-91; Abramson, 1979; Ridgway, 1977, 32 (1993 reprint); Dinsmoor, 1971, 4, plan p. 38; Staïs, 1920.

A rock-cut pit just southeast of the temple of Athena and within the *temenos* enclosure (Figure 141) contained votive material deposited after the Persian sack of Athens and Attica. The pit was excavated and published by Staïs in 1917. The excellent condition of most of the objects found in the pit suggests that they were "carefully deposited rather than thrown".[622] With the exception of two ninth century iron swords, the objects found inside the pit are votive objects dating to the end of the eighth or early seventh century. The finds include terracotta figurines of men, women and horses (Figure 144). In addition, thirty terracotta votive plaques have been found, some complete and some in fragmented state (Figure 143). Bronze miniature tripods, miniature shields and pins and clasps also came to light (Figure 142). Just east of the classical temple of Athena more dedications were found, including one gold and six silver rings, a lead *kouros* and fragments of five marble *kouroi* (Figure 145). It has been debated whether the votives fit a divine or a heroic context better.[623] However,

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[622] Abramson (1979), 9.
[623] Antonaccio (1995), 167 leaves the matter open, while Abramson (1979), 11 is more convinced of the heroic nature of the deposit. For a comparison with the Menidi and Areopagus deposits see Hägg (1987), 95-96.
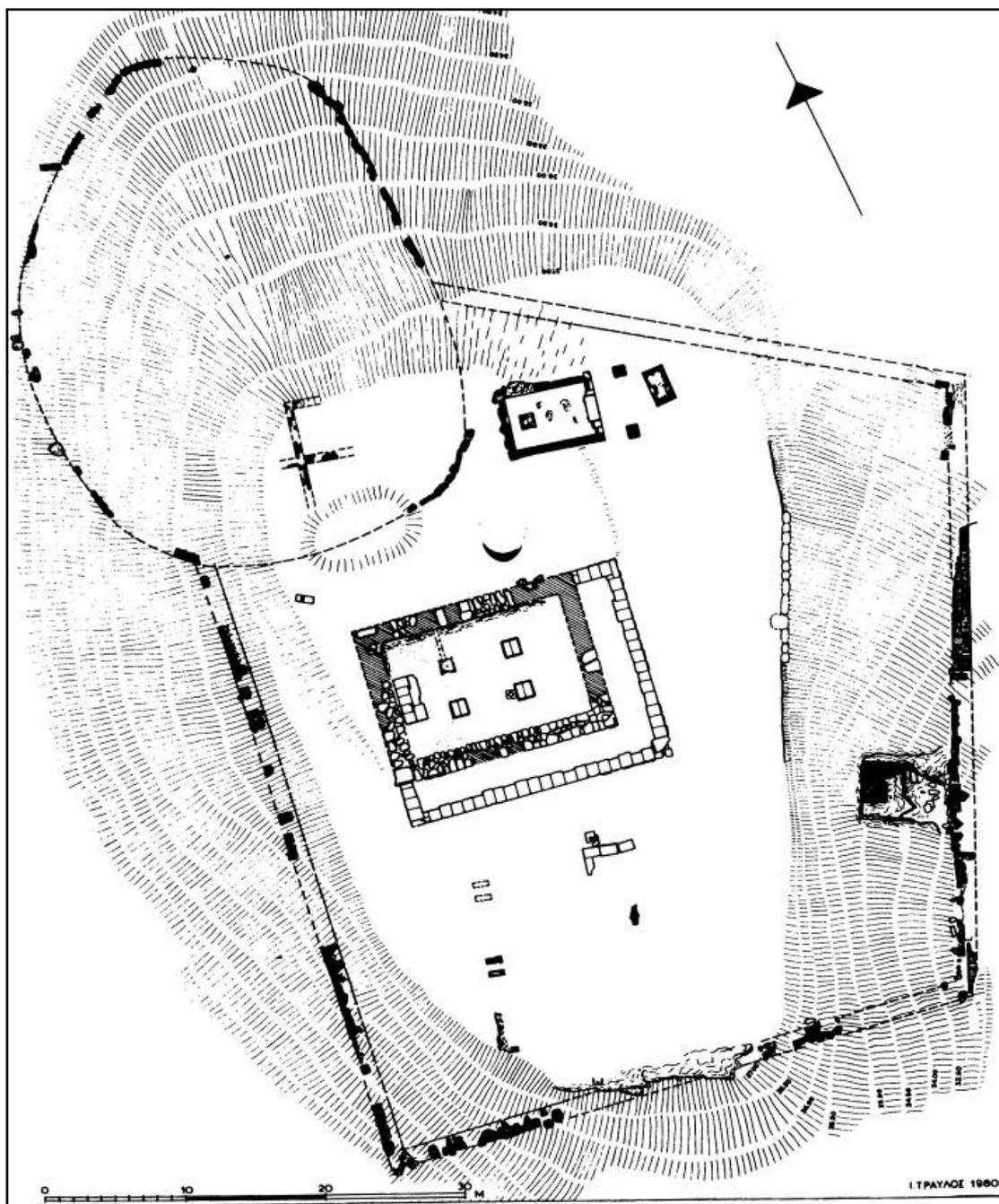
Figure 141 - State plan of the sanctuary of Athena at Sounion.

the proximity of the classical temple and the abundance of expensive metal votives seems to harm the case in favor of hero cult.

Abramson has connected the rich votive deposit with Phrontis, the helmsman of Menelaos, of whom Homer says that he was buried at Sounion.[624] Earlier, Picard identified *temenos* Δ as the cult site of Phrontis, which Abramson rejected, because this structure seems to have been part of the fortifications of the Sounion promontory. He is convinced that an oval *peribolos* and a small shrine belong to the cult of

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[624] *Od*. 3.278-285.
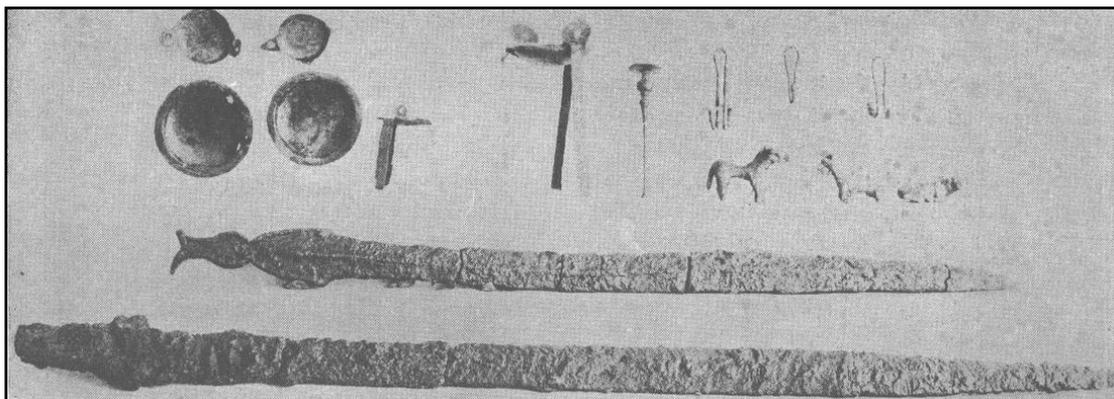
Figure 142 – Metal objects including iron swords and bronze shields, tripods and pins.

Phrontis as well, both located just north of and partially inside the classical *temenos* of Athena (cf. Figure 141).[625] The earliest surviving structure in this area is the oval *peribolos*, which has been dated to the Archaic Period. Also inside the *temenos* and north of the temple of Athena, there is a small shrine, facing east with a simple stone altar in front of it. This unpresumptuous structure has two columns in front and has alternately been dated to the Archaic (Staïs) and Classical (Dinsmoor) periods.[626]

A more likely possibility is that the *peribolos* represents an earlier phase of the cult of Athena. The most obvious reason lies in the fact that her cult was celebrated here in later times. One of the votive plaques, it is true, shows a ship with warriors and prominently includes a helmsman (Figure 143). Abramson has adduced this plaque as evidence that the deposit belonged to Phrontis. Furthermore, Kearns doubts whether Homer would have mentioned a relatively minor character such as Phrontis if his cult had not been a well-known landmark in Attica.[627] However, the earliest finds date to ca. 700 BCE, which is later than the traditionally accepted date of the composition of the Odyssey. On the other hand, as has been suspected in the case of the few other Homeric passages in which Athens or Attica are mentioned, the passage may be a later interpolation, in which case the whole argument evaporates anyway. As Gunnel Ekroth has convincingly argued in the case of the supposed cult of Iphigenia at Brauron, a literary reference to cult should not necessarily be taken at face value. We should be cautious to derive too much argumentative force from the Homeric verses, when we possess so little direct evidence to support a hero cult.

I see a similar problem with Abramsons identification of the "Phrontis" plaque. Recently, Susan Langdon has made a forceful argument against a too literal interpretation of early Greek "art".[628] Rather than trying to identify LG figural scenes

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[625] Dinsmoor (1971), plan p. 38.
[626] Staïs (1920), 41; Dinsmoor Jr. (1971), 50, followed by Antonaccio (1995), 168.
[627] Kearns (1989), 42, 131.
[628] Langdon, 2009.

as "true" renderings of mythic episodes, as Abramson has tried to do with the "helmsman-scene" from the deposit at Sounion, we should look for a much more generalized way of looking at Geometric figurative scenes, which, according to Langdon "is busy with agenda, mediating relationships, behavioral codes, a normative view of men and women, families and communities."[629] To get involved in a game of "tagging" mythical figures to a given scene, would be to seriously miss the point about the message conveyed, not to mention relying on a dubious methodology which has its roots in 19th century antiquarianism.[630] Extending Langdon's view to the Phrontis scene, I would say that the scene expresses first and foremost the maritime virtues that were held in such high esteem in the Sounion area from an early age. We are told that islanders from Aegina and Salamis settled the southern tip of the Attic peninsula, which in antiquity, as today, served as the last landing place on the mainland before the crossover to the Cyclades and the wider eastern Mediterranean basin.[631] We do not know what triggered the passage about Phrontis in the Odyssey, nor do we know when it was created, but it seems safest to conclude that, if this hero was ever worshipped at Sounion, his presence was derived from the virtues expressed by the plaque, rather than vice versa.

Reconsidering the evidence from the deposit, it is evident that it included a very rich votive assemblage indeed. Apart from the numerous aryballoi and terracotta figurines and plaques (Figure 143, Figure 144, Figure 146 and Figure 147), it is the metal, and in particular bronze votives that stand out the most. Outside Athens, hardly any votive assemblage contains more than a few fragments of bronze. The deposit at Sounion, by contrast, contains several miniature bronze tripods and shields, as well as bronze pins. Together with gold, silver iron, lead and marble objects (Figure 142, Figure 145 and Figure 148), these finds indicate the prime importance of the cult from which they derive. The only satisfactory explanation for this find assemblage is that it derived not only from a large cult community, but one that included some of the wealthiest inhabitants of the region. The connection between the deposit and Athena is thus far more fitting than with a relatively minor and, except for the passage in Homer, otherwise unknown hero. All major regional sanctuaries of Attica were dedicated to a major Olympian deity and there is no hard-pressing reason to suppose the situation at Sounion to have been any different.

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[629] Langdon, 2009, 55.

[630] Papadopoulos, 2009 (May 31) describes the situation well: "a shipwreck, no matter how anonymous, had to be that of Odysseus and his companions; a chariot race could only be the funerary games for Patroklos or some other hero, and a strange pair of "twins" on a trick vase in the Athenian Agora were ingeniously interpreted, in 1936, a year after its discovery, by Roland Hampe as the young Nestor battling the so-called Aktorione-Molione twins described in Iliad 9.707 ff."

[631] Cf. Dinsmoor, 1971, 5.
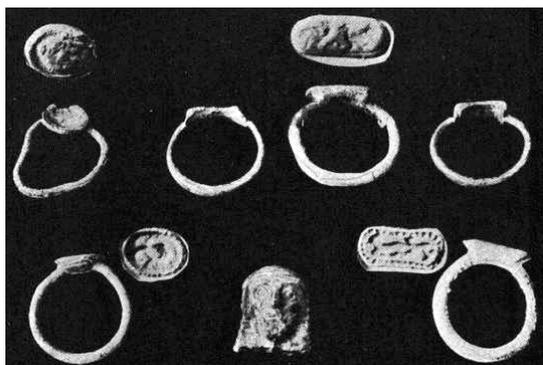
Figure 143 – Rings, scarabs and a deadalic head (bottom center).
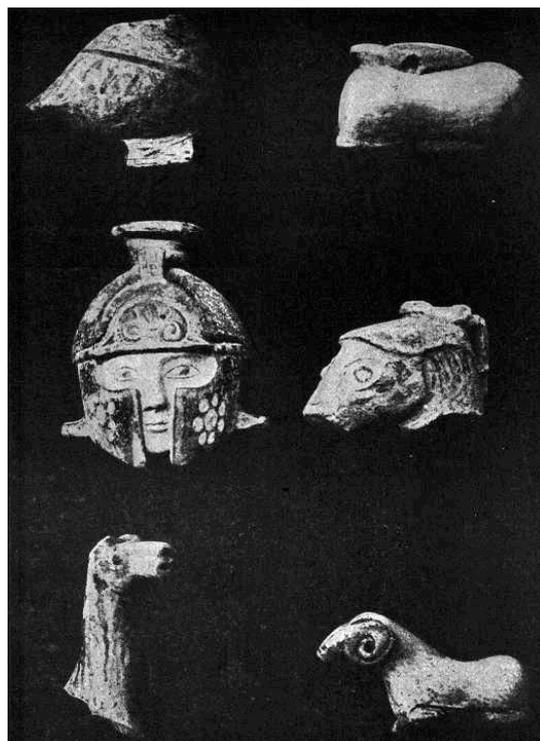
Figure 144 – Terracotta figurines.

This is not to say that Phrontis was not worshipped in some capacity at Sounion. If so, it is not inconceivable that epic inspired cult in this instance rather than vice versa.[632] Another possibility is that the Phrontis passage in the Odyssey is a later interpolation as has been suspected of other passages that concern Athens and Attica and indeed represents a reflection of an existing cult.[633] In either case, we remain at a loss as to the precise archaeological context of such a cult and the matter is best left aside here.

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[632] For the debate on the origins of cult vs. epic see Crielaard, 1995.
[633] Cf. notes 251 and 252.
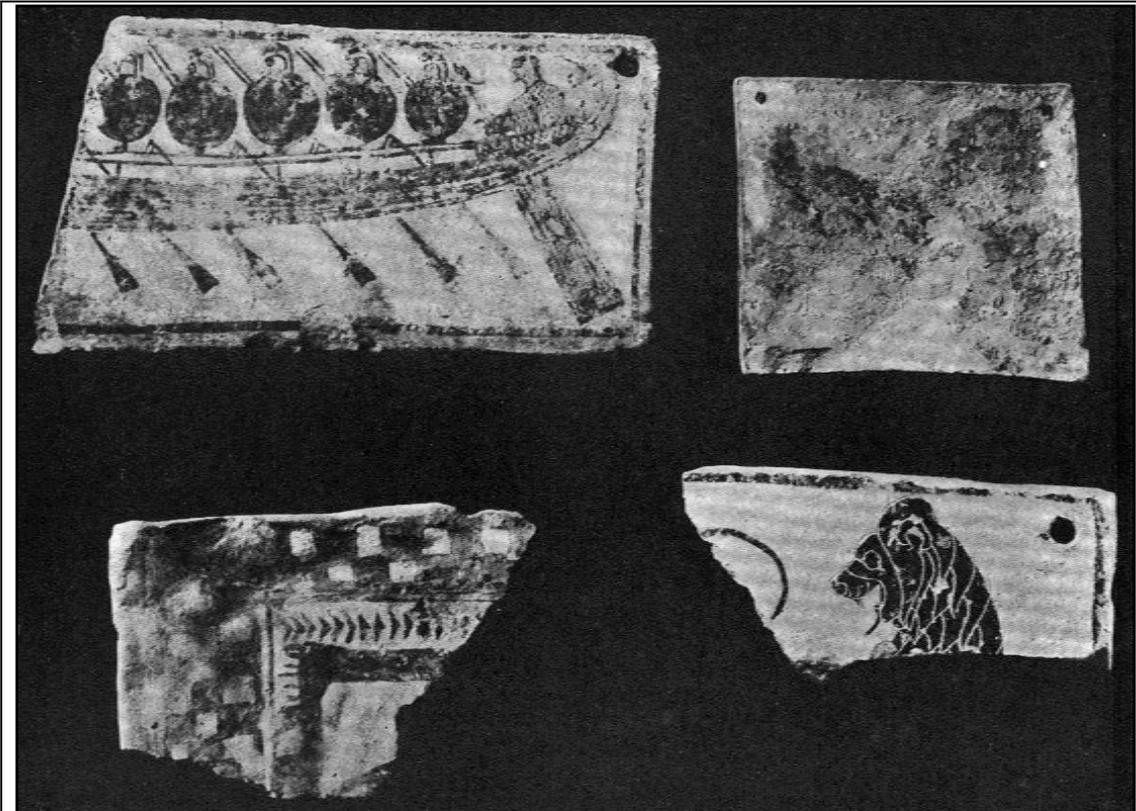
Figure 145 - Terracotta votive plaques with upper left the so-called Phrontis scene.
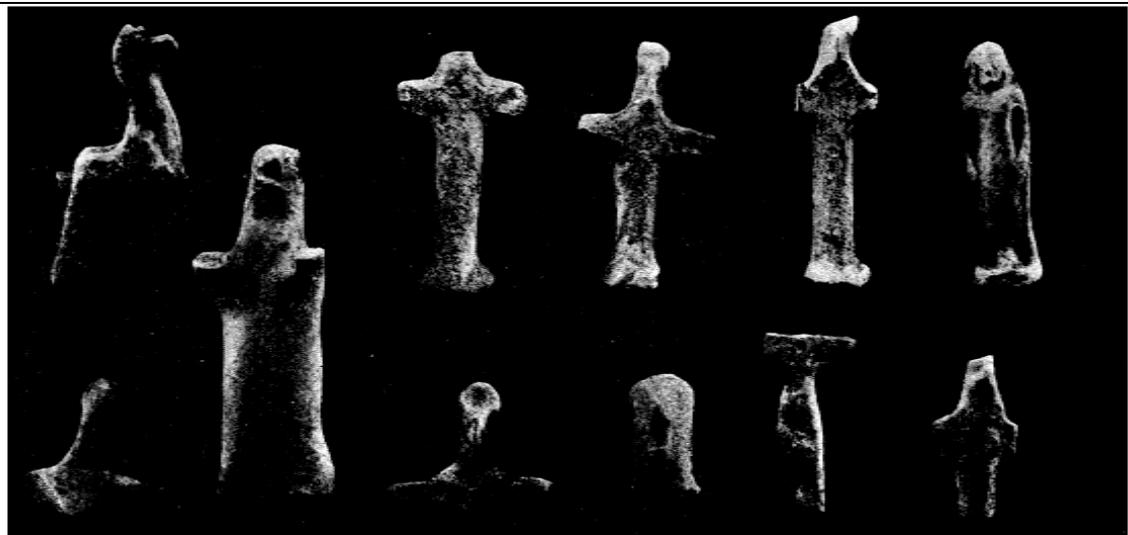
Figure 146 – Terracotta votive figurines including several fragments of "Stempelidole"
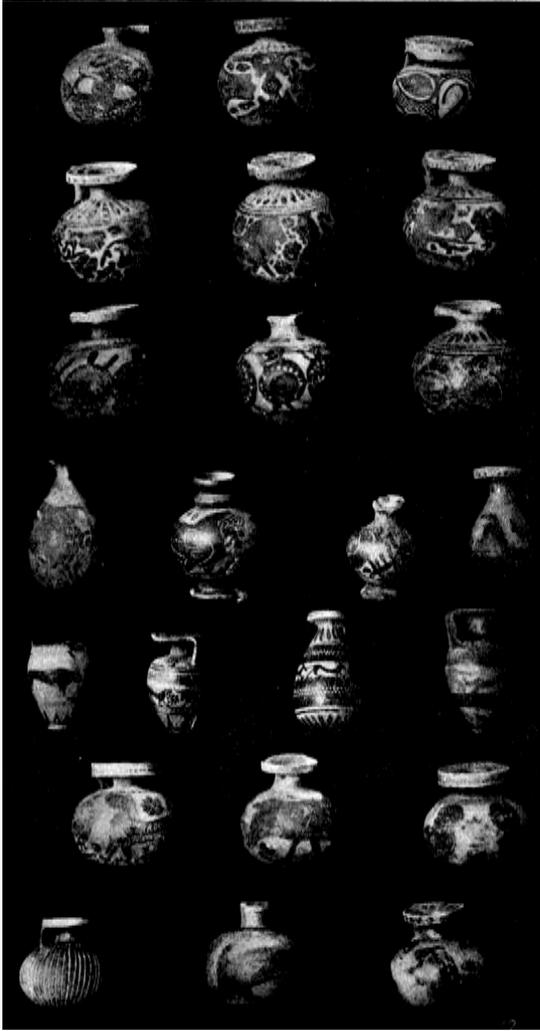
Figure 147 – (Proto-) Corinthian aryballoi.
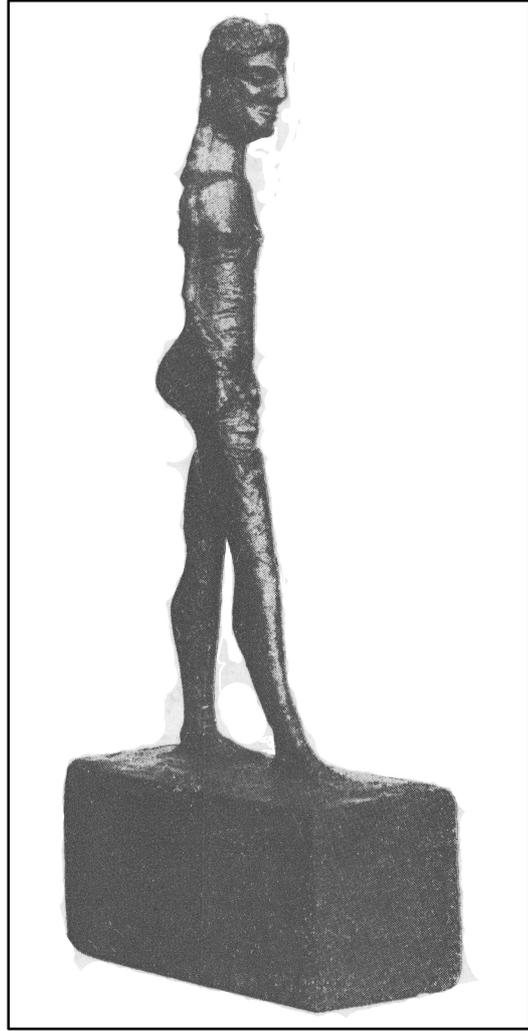
Figure 148 – Lead kouros from the Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion.

1.50 Thorikos 1

Type:	cult of the dead
Date:	ca. 750-700 BCE
Location:	west necropolis
Architecture:	G house with anteroom
Full publication:	Bingen, 1983, 144-146, 1969, 102-109, 1967b, 31-49, map 3, 1967a, 25-32, map 1.
Bibliography:	Langdon, 1997a, 115, note 8; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 146-147, 254, 284, 293, 317, figs. 160-162; van Gelder, 1991, 55-57; Fagerström, 1988, 51-52; Morris, 1987, 71, fig. 20b, app. 91.2; Lauter, 1985a, 163; Themelis, 1976, 52-53, no. 14, plan 12; Mussche, 1974, 25-29; Drerup, 1969, 22, 36, 51.

The architectural remains at the west necropolis at Thorikos (Figure 151, 1) have been assigned to two separate phases:

1.50.1   Phase 1

The first building has been dated to the EG (perhaps even LPG) Period (900-850 BCE) and seems to have consisted of three rooms (XXI, X-XII and III, Figure 149)[634]: The main room (X-XII) has benches extending along part of the N and E walls; a pit dug in the SE corner contained material dating to the LPG and EG I Period; room XXII seems to have served as an anteroom to the main hall; room III contained pits similar in date and content to the one found in room X-XII.[635] Litharge (refuse from silver production) has been found in the main room, arguing strongly for industrial usage of the early building.[636] The building seems to have collapsed by the MG Period (850 BCE).[637] No cultic remains were found in connection to this building

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[634] A fourth, badly preserved room (XXX) was excavated some meters south of the EG building. The excavator dated the remains to the LG I or MG II period (ca. 775-750).
[634] No contextual evidence can be adduced as to what its function was.
[635] The excavator of the building had only assigned the first two rooms to this phase. However, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 253-254 has built a convincing case that room III already formed part of the early construction. His arguments are based upon the way the northern wall of room III is bonded with the SE corner of room X-XII.
[636] Mussche, 1974, 52; See also Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 147 and 254; Lauter, 1985a, 163.
[637] See Coldstream, 2003, 70 for a cremation burial of ca. 825-800 that cut through habitation levels in courtyard (XXII).
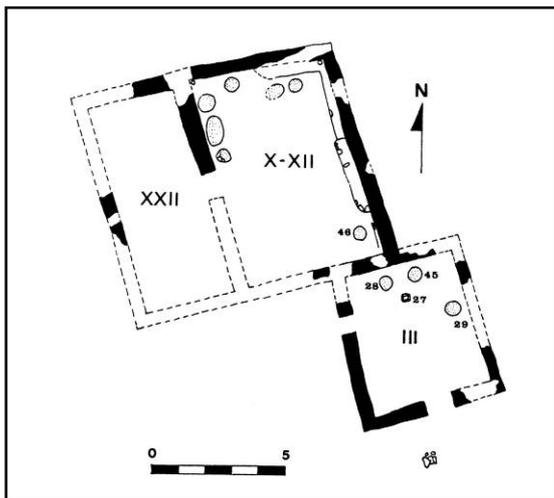
Figure 149 – The EG building.
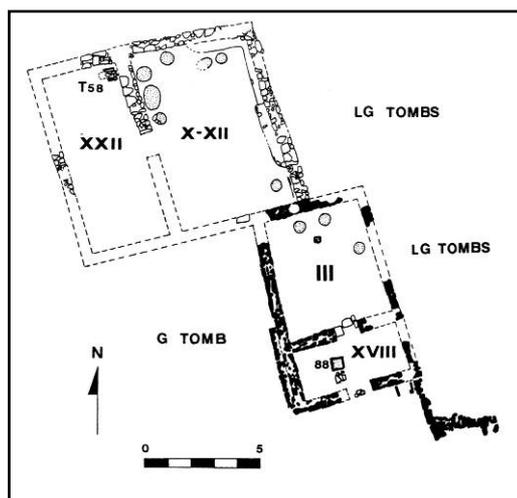
Figure 150 – The LG building.

1.50.2   Phase 2

In the LG Period only room III was rebuilt and provided with an anteroom of its own (XVI) on the south. Here the remains of a hearth were uncovered (Figure 150).[638] The building measured ca. 9 x 5 m. and was oriented N-S. No material from the two rooms has been able to provide further insight into the building's use; the vast amount of graves from this period immediately surrounding the building is to be considered as the only context available. Themelis was the first to posit that the building housed a cult of the dead (Grabbau), but without further specification.[639] Lauter picked up on this, but curiously preferred a cultic function in the first phase, when graves were scarce, rather than the final phase, when they were abundant.[640] As argued by Mazarakis Ainian, the evidence of silver production seems to preclude cult activity in the earlier period, although a multifunctional building cannot be completely ruled out. Both Mazarakis Ainian and Coldstream consider a cultic function reasonable, but only during the second phase.[641]

The find of a louterion in the doorway between rooms III and XVIII, appears to resolve this matter, as these vases are found predominantly in funerary and/or chthonic contexts.[642] The most famous examples have been found in the Areopagus deposit (**Athens – Areopagus 3**) and at **Menidi**, though many more came from funerary sites.[643] In both places the louteria appear to have been part of a ritual

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[638] Bingen, 1969, 104.

[639] Themelis, 1976, 52-53, no. 14.

[640] Lauter (1985), 163.

[641] Coldstream, 2003, 70-71; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 147.

[642] Bingen, 1969, 104-105, 1967a, 48, figs. 57-58.

[643] Outside cult sites, louteria have only been found at Attic necropoleis, such as Vari, Phaleron and Kerameikos. Few louteria were exported, e.g. to Aegina, Boeotia, Corfu and even Chiusi, see Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, 18-19, 29, 33, 41-43.

involving cleansing or libation.[644] The transformation of the area into a veritable necropolis in the LG Period – and the isolated position of the building within it – is yet another indication.[645] The building's function must have been similar to the one at the **Academy 1**, **Anavyssos 2**, **Athens Agora 1** and **Athens - Areopagus 1**, which were built in relative isolation near substantial cemeteries. It is likely that in all these cases groups of kinsmen gathered in close proximity to their deceased ancestors to assert their identity as a group through commensality. The LG complex at **Thorikos 1** presumably served a similar kind of cult of the dead.[646]

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[644] For a discussion of the ritual use of these vases see **Menidi**, section 2; cf. also Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 151; Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, 41-43. For a collection of louteria, see Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965.

[645] Cf. Mussche, 1974, 29. Graves appear in the area from the PG period (cf. Mussche, loc. cit.). From the MG period it was exclusively used as a burial ground, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 147.

[646] Cautious: Langdon, 1997a; contra: Morris, 1987, 71, fig. 20b, without further arguments; silent Antonaccio, 1995. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997 is undecided at p. 317, but seems to lean toward domestic use at 147. Fagerström, 1988, 52 suggested a lodging for mule skinners or ox-drivers. Besides the close proximity of the necropolis a further, but perhaps less pressing, argument for cultic use may be the shape of the building with the anteroom and axially arranged doorways reminiscent of later Greek temples. We should however not press this point too far, as still little is known about the function of many Geometric buildings (cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, chapter 6 *passim*, conclusions 257-258).

1.51 Thorikos 2

Context:	LH II tomb
Date:	from ca. 650 to 350 BCE (peak ca. 550-425 BCE)
Location:	cult deposit inside Mycenaean Tomb I on Velatouri hill
Pottery:	**(PA)** oinochoe, 4 skyphoi; various fragments; **(PC)** 4 pointed aryballoi with running dog pattern (ca. 650-600); 3 alabastra (ca. 625-600); 3 closed shapes (transitional); **(C)** aryballoi; kotylai, small skyphoi and cups; **(SG)** skyphoi (6th-5th c.); **(BF-RF-BG)** lekythoi, skyphoi/cups, lekanides, plemochoe, salt-cellars, amphora's/kraters, kylikes, pyxides, kothon, plates and dishes.
Votives:	Daedalic plaques with human heads (late 7th c.); bobbins; Attic and Corinthian female terracotta figurines (6th and 5th c.).
Architecture:	a *bothros* containing some of the votive material and a large limestone slab, perhaps used as an offering table.
Preliminary report:	V. Staïs, *ArchDelt* 1890, 160;
Main publications:	Devillers, 1988; Servais, 1968, 29-41, 1965.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 54-57, 89-94; Mersch, 1996, 66, 207 (no. 9); Parker, 1996, 33, n. 18; Antonaccio, 1995, 109-112; Kearns, 1989, 130; Whitley, 1988, 176-178; Morris, 1987, app. 91, 7; Coldstream, 1976, 11 + n. 33; Pelon, 1976, 223-238; Callipolitis-Feytmans, 1965, 171-172.

Tomb I on Velatouri hill was first explored by Staïs, but excavated and published by Servais in 1963. The tomb is an elliptical construction measuring 5 x 2 m and has been dated to the LH II Period (Figure 151, no. 7). The upper part of the structure is lacking today, though it was probably roofed, either with slabs or a corbelling vault (Figure 152).

A well-defined stratum of red brown earth contained Archaic and Classical material from the middle of the seventh down to the middle of the fourth century BCE. It lay on top of a yellowish layer of the Mycenaean Period directly covering the ground floor. Underneath, a rectangular pit – the actual grave – was found containing some fragments of pottery and bone. A large limestone block was found immediately on top of the Mycenaean pit (Figure 153). This has been interpreted as a table for offerings. A BF sherd underneath this block dates it to the second half of the sixth century when the cult seems to have reached its peak. To the right of the offering table a *bothros* continued through the yellow earth down to the schist slab covering the grave. It contained some Early Archaic sherds (Figure 155 and Figure 157), but
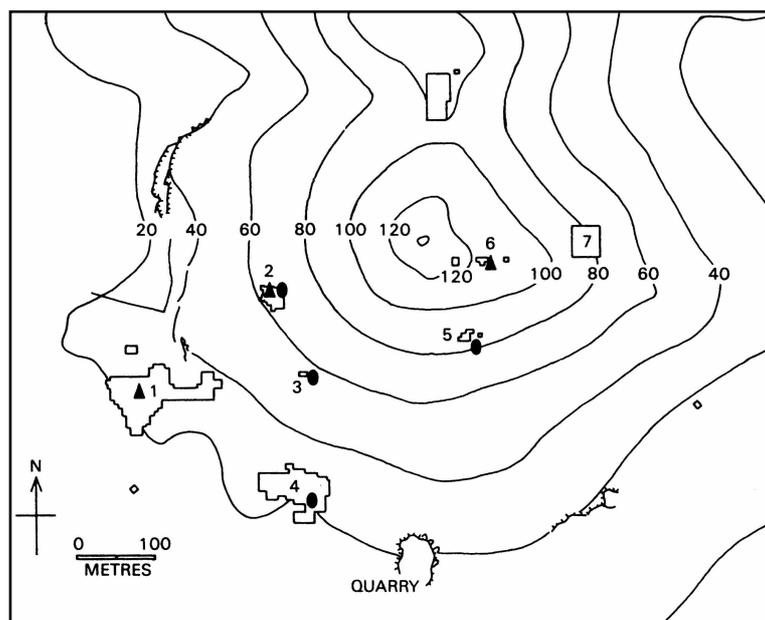
Figure 151 – Map of the remains of ancient Thorikos on the slopes of Mt. Velatouri.

most of the pottery was found to be from the (later) sixth century. The relative scarcity of votive material from the earlier period has been attributed to the periodic cleaning of the area, though some figurines and smallish objects were found (Figure 154 and Figure 156). The inviolate yellow layer on top of the grave and below the offering table and *bothros*, shows that, although the tomb was probably robbed during an earlier (perhaps even LH) period, it was treated with respect in historical times.

The only other evidence for prolonged tomb cult in Attica comes from **Menidi**, though several other tombs show signs of worship before 600 BCE.[647] Coldstream has attributed this Attic phenomenon to the fact that Mycenaean tomb-construction was so foreign to later Athenians as to attracted their curiosity and reverence.[648] Another explanation may lie in the Athenian tradition of autochthony, which would explain a specific interest in the earlier Bronze Age graves. As to the identity of the hero worshipped in Tomb I, a number of possible candidates are known from the religious calendar of Thorikos: Hyperpedios, Pylochos, Thorikos and Kephalos (with Prokris).[649]

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[647] See the sections on **Haliki Glyphada**, **Thorikos 3** and **Vrana**. Other Tholoi that have attracted cult activity in later times are the tomb of Clytaemnestra in Mycenae and the tomb at Orchomenos (see Antonaccio (1995), 39-41 and 127-130), the former yielding a great variety of Geometric and Archaic votives. Cult at Orchomenos, however, may not have begun until Hellenistic times.

[648] Coldstream (1976), 13; he has pointed out that no tomb cult occurred in regions like Thessaly that carried the tradition of Bronze Age tomb-construction down into the later EIA.

[649] For a discussion of these heroes, see Boehringer, 2001, 93-94; Kearns, 1989, 99 and app. 1 s.v. Boehringer prefers Kephalos or Thorikos, as these heroes seem to have been the most illustrious honorants on Thorikos' religious calender.

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Figure 152 – Mycenaean Tomb I on the east slope of Velatouri hill.

Figure 153 – Archaic cult deposit inside the Mycenaean tomb.
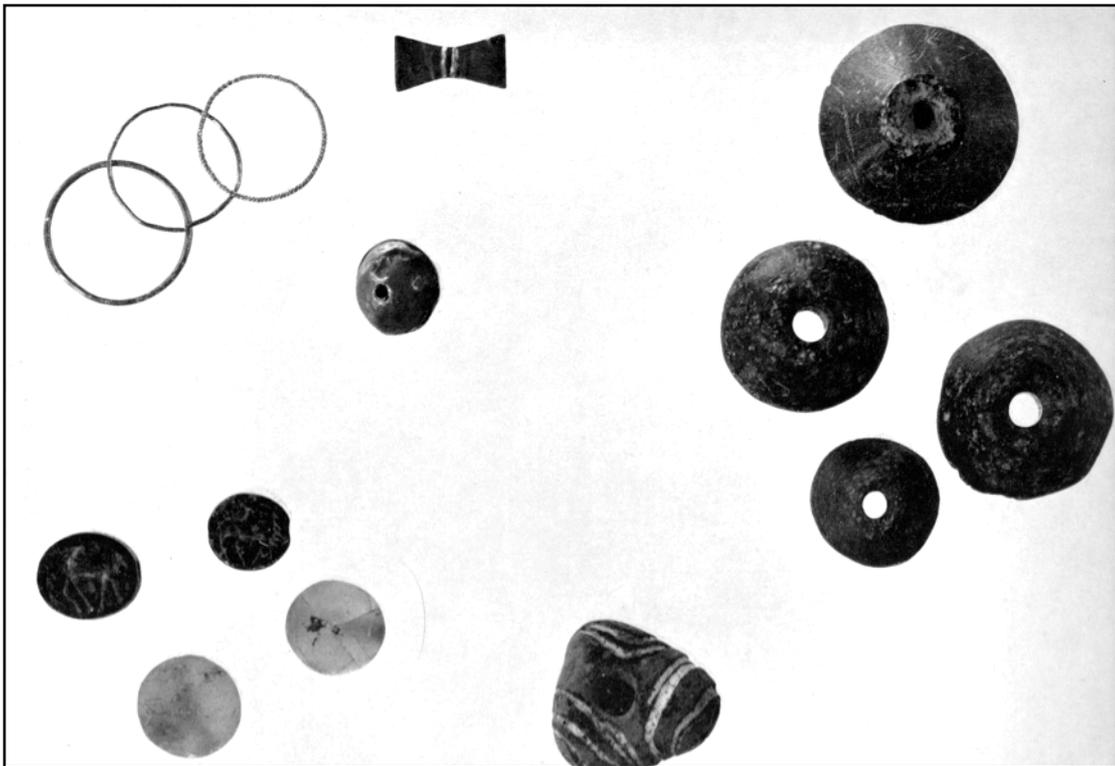
Figure 154 – Small objects from Mycenaean tomb I.
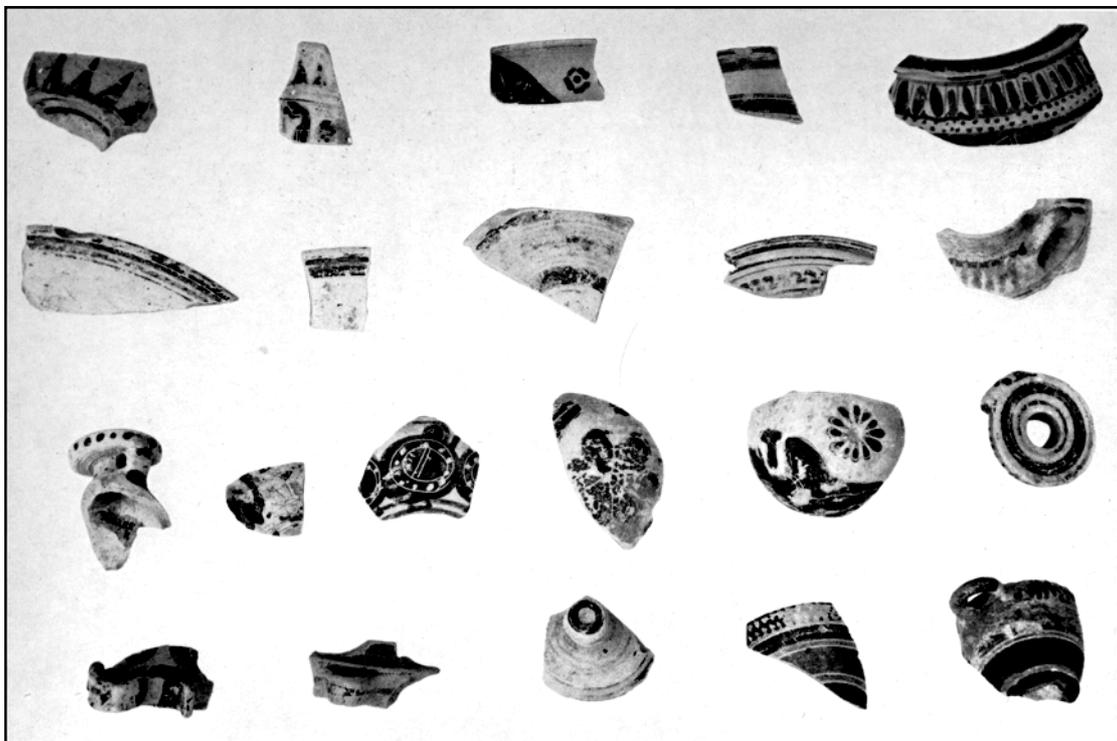
Figure 155 – Corinthian Pottery from Mycenaean tomb I.

Figure 156 – Late seventh century plaques with Daedalic heads.
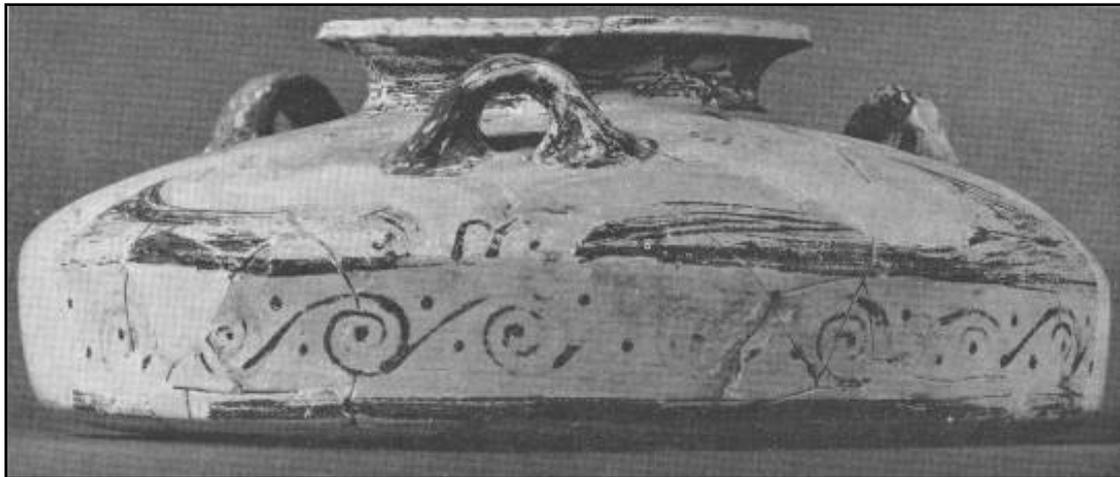
Figure 157 – Protoattic vase.

1.52 Thorikos 3

Context:	MH tomb
Date:	from late 8th century BCE (?)
Location:	near the LH Tholos tombs III (circular) and IV (elliptical)
Pottery:	**(G)**, **(BF)**; **(RF)**
Preliminary reports:	V. Staïs, *ArchDelt* 1890, 160.
Summary:	H. W. Catling *AR* 1979-80, 19.
Main publication:	Servais and Servais, 1984.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 57-59; Mersch, 1996, 66, 207 (no. 10); Antonaccio, 1995, 109-110; Mussche, 1994; Pelon, 1976, pl. 103.1.

The MH tumulus (tomb V) attracted cultic attention during the sixth through fourth centuries BCE. The archaeology of this site, which was excavated and published by J. and B. Servais, is complicated by possible intrusions by earlier excavations.[650] The MH tumulus was surrounded by an apparently contemporary *peribolos*. A small altar-like podium was built adjacent (NW). A square room (7,8-5,8 m) with walls jutting forward *in antis* surrounded the actual (shaft) grave underneath. Recently, it has been argued that this "megaron" may have been Late Archaic.[651] Covering the grave, the *peribolos* and the anta building was a large black-brown layer containing Bronze Age and Geometric, but mostly BF and RF sherds.[652] Boehringer has recently dated the beginning of this tomb cult to the sixth century.[653] However, this leaves the LG sherds unexplained.[654] One would therefore tentatively follow Mersch, who dates the cult to that period.[655] If correct, a date toward the end of the eighth century BCE is most probable given the cultic context of two other tomb cults at **Thorikos 2** and **3**, and the sudden emergence of tomb cult elsewhere in Attica during this time.[656] However, the material evidence before the sixth century is very limited; certainly none of the architectural features should be dated before this period. Boehringer has associated both Hyperpedios and Prokris with this cult.[657]

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[650] See Antonaccio (1995), 109-110. Note that here, too, Archaic figurines were found.
[651] Boehringer, 2001, 58 n. 2.
[652] Servais and Servais, 1984, 62.
[653] See also Antonaccio, 1995, 109-110.
[654] The BA sherds may belong to the MH grave itself or with LH Tholos tomb III.
[655] Mersch, 1996, 207 (no. 10).
[656] See **Menidi**, **Haliki Glyphada** and **Vrana**.
[657] Boehringer, 2001, 93-94; Kearns, 1989, 99 and app. 1 s.v.

1.53 Tourkovouni

Context:	mountain peak
Location:	Tourkovouni hill (+302 m), western extension of the Pentelikon ridge in the eastern *pedion*
Date:	late 8th to early 6th century BCE; (resumed in 5th c.)
Architecture:	Banqueting hall ("Ostbau"); fragmentary remains of a circular building ("Südbau"); 4th c. *peribolos* and altar.
Pottery:	LG II to EBF, with a clear peak during the first half of the 7th c. in quantity as well as in quality; sharp decline in 4th quarter for most shapes; 90 % of fine wares are open shapes: **(L-SG and PA)** cups (Phaleron, deep and shallow, also miniature); skyphoi (also miniature); further: jugs and amphorai/hydriai; **(Protocorinthianizing and C)** kotylai (also miniature, ca. 725-600 BCE); **(SG)** bowls; saucers; "näpfchen"; **(PA)** kantharos; **(PC)** kalathos; **(BF)**; very infrequent Classical fragments. Plain wares: cooking jugs, oinochoai, choai; (deep) bowls; amphora; very infrequent classical fragments.
Votives:	some figurines ca. 650-625 BCE (men, horses, centaurs?)
Sacrificial remains:	animal bones and teeth (horse, sheep, lamb, pig)
Full publication:	Lauter, 1985a.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 67-68; Langdon, 1997a, 119; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 87-89, 315, fig. 133; Mersch, 1996, 123, no. 23.3; Antonaccio, 1995, 191-195; Fagerström, 1988, 47; Langdon, 1976, 101-102; Brommer, 1972, 261, nos. 100-103; Smith and Lowry, 1954, 11-12; Yavis, 1949, 101, no. 11; Wrede, 1934, 13-29.

The complex of an oval and a circular structure on the two peaks of Mt. Tourkovouni represents one of the best-recorded and -published sites from the EIA and EA periods in Attica (Figure 158, Figure 159, Figure 161 and Figure 162). The function of the two structures is largely clear. General agreement concerns the fact that the oval building was roofed and presumably served as a dining hall.[658] Also, the circular structure on the south spur is believed to have served as a burial tumulus, presumably dating to the EH Period.[659] Furthermore, it is generally believed that the Tourkovouni

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[658] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 88; Lauter, 1985a, 123-128. But see Fagerström, 1988, 47, 161.

[659] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 88. Lauter, 1985a, 44-45 disregards these sherds as too early and likens the construction technique of the tumulus with that of the oval building, which
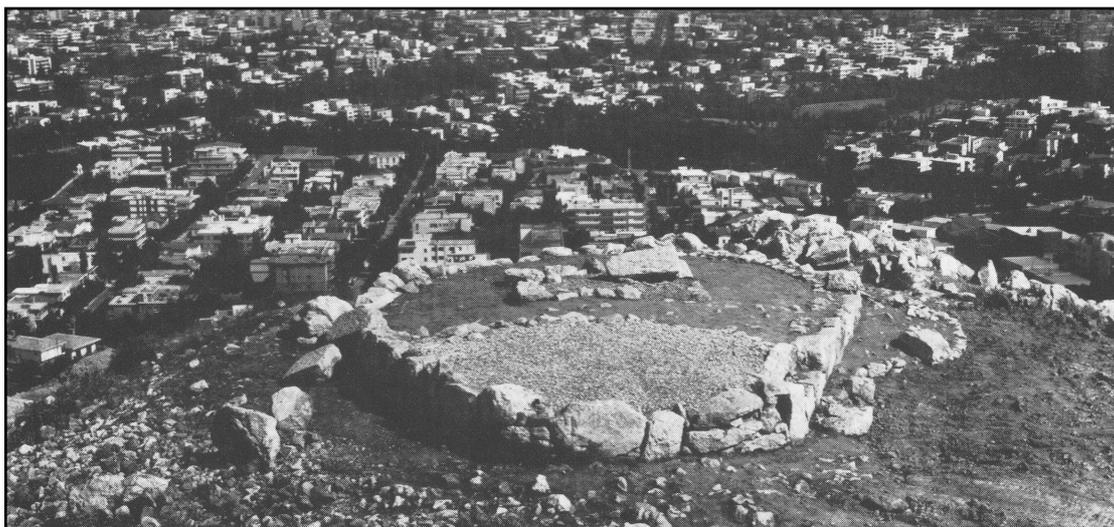
Figure 158 – The fourth century *peribolos* with remains of the oval building showing underneath to the right.

eastern summit is a cult site.[660] However, unlike the peak sanctuary at **Hymettos 1** there is no independent evidence such as graffiti or inscriptions of a Zeus cult in the Early Archaic Period on Tourkovouni.[661] In fact, the evidence of cult activity on Mt. Tourkovouni is somewhat meager.

The entire repertoire of ordinary household ceramics was found in connection with the oval house. By contrast only a small portion, or less than 15 %, of the pottery was firnished. Lauter has attached cultic use, *i.e.* libation, to the great abundance of open vessels, kotylai, cups and skyphoi, as well as the miniature vessels. He mentions especially the plain miniature cups with intentionally pierced bottoms.[662] He also notes that the peak sanctuaries at Agrieliki, Pani and Merenda have yielded similar miniature vessels as those found on Mt. Tourkovouni, though not all types have been attested with the same frequency.[663] According to Lauter, the evidence of libation should be taken as an indication that cult practice was mainly chthonic. Similarly, he suggests that the diet at Tourkovouni was vegetarian,[664] the plain wares favoring the preparation of traditional *maza* or *poltos* dishes, some of which may have been consecrated as the *panspermia* common in chthonic and fertility cults. In addition, six fragments of terracotta figurines were found (Figure 163). They represent the legs of humans and horses. One fragment (no. 455) has been interpreted, with a slight stretch

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he thinks is contemporary. Given the general rubble masonry that was used this seems a less attractive alternative.

[660] Boehringer, 2001, 67-68; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 89; Mersch, 1996, 123; Antonaccio, 1995, 128-133; Lauter, 1985a, 128-134; Langdon, 1976, 100-101.

[661] Cf. Lauter, 1985a, 149.

[662] Lauter, 1985a, 130, cat. nos. 117, 262 and 276.

[663] Lauter, 1985a, 130-134.

[664] Lauter, 1985a, 133-134. Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 89, n. 456.
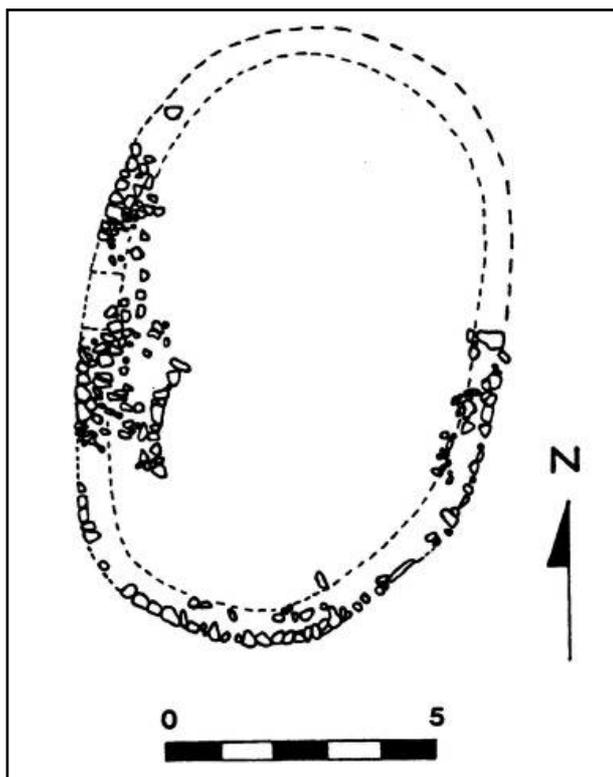
Figure 159 – Actual state plan of the "Ostbau".

of the imagination, as the leg of a Centaur.[665] These have been dated to the period around 650 BCE or slightly later.[666] Finally, the animal bone and teeth that were found are explained as resulting from animal sacrifice.[667]

A well-known passage in Pausanias (1.32.2) refers to the many cults of Zeus practiced by the Athenians on the mountains surrounding the Athenian plain. Pausanias refers to three mountains in particular, Hymettos, Parnes and Anchesmos. On the latter, he mentions, stood a cult image of Zeus Anchesmios. Lauter has suggested that the Anchesmos may be the hill known today as the Tourkovouni. If so, he argues, the epiclesis Anchesmios may recall a hero Anchesmos who was revered at this place at an earlier stage. Lauter interpreted a worked stone block found just outside the late classical *peribolos* as a base for a statue, possibly of Zeus Anchesmios.[668] The chthonic features he notes during the LG and SG phase on Mt. Tourkovouni would then indicate that a hero named Anchesmos was originally revered in this place, but was replaced by Zeus in the Classical and Hellenistic

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[665] Lauter, 1985a, 117, no. 455.
[666] Lauter, 1985a, 116-117.
[667] Lauter, 1985a, 119, 130.
[668] Lauter, 1985a, 145-146. The combination of hero-cult and a deity has also been attested at **Hymettos 1**. Cf. no. 3 above and Langdon, 1976, cat. no. 9.

periods, when an open air sanctuary was built over the remains of the oval building (Figure 158).[669]

1.53.1   The Oval Building

The oval-shaped wall of "Ostbau" has been preserved up to a maximum height of 1.10 m. Its location on the edge of the cliff seems to have been intentional. Its placement clearly emphasizes the natural terrain and the view of the plain below.[670] The building was roofed, constructed on a rubble foundation and, judging from the yellow and red clay-like earth found nearby, a mud brick superstructure,[671] presumably covered with a wood and straw roof (cf. Figure 160). With dimensions of 11.50 x 7,60 m the building enclosed well over 50 m^2. Lauter explained the abnormal thickness of the wall-foundations (1.50 m) by positing a bench inside the walls proper, which then would have measured only ca. 0.80-0.90 m, which seems to be the average thickness of wall foundations during this period.[672] The centrally placed doorway in the long west side of the building is borne out by the terrain and the increased thickness of the walls at this point. Mazarakis Ainian has pointed out that this situation corresponds with the oval building on the Areopagus (**Athens - Areopagus 1**), but differs from general practice in Euboean architecture.[673]

Oval plans are a rare feature during the LG Period, at least in Attica. While the majority of houses were constructed of perishable materials, irrecoverably lost for study, the more prestigious and better preserved architecture of this period discussed in this study shows a clear inclination toward rectangular architecture.[674] The only other oval structure in Attica is the building on the Areopagus, which dates to the MG Period and was presumably abandoned during the LG IA Period (ca. 750 BCE).[675] As

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[669] Another possibility is that the epiclesis simply refers to the name that was already connected to the hill in antiquity, irrespective of a hero that might dwell on it. Similarly, Pausanias (same passage) refers to a bronze statue of Zeus Parnethios on Mt. Parnes.
[670] The location of the Ostbau provides one with a view of the entire natural environment. Cp. the similar situation at Varkiza (no. 15); see also Hymettos (no. 3) for a sanctuary deliberately positioned in the natural terrain.
[671] Since the yellow and red clay-like earth is not natural to this locality it seems to have been intentionally brought to the site to be used as raw material for the construction of the oval building, Lauter, 1985a, 27. Fagerström, 1988, 47 however, maintains that the structure was an open-air *temenos*.
[672] Lauter, 1985a, 126. Cf. **Hymettos 1**. This combination of walls *cum* benches can also be observed at the sixth century Tholos at **Lathouriza 1**.
[673] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 88.
[674] Rectangular: **Academy 2**, **Anavyssos 2**, **Athens – Agora 1**, **Eleusis 3, Hymettos 1**, **Lathouriza 1**, **Thorikos 1**. Interestingly, with the rare exception of **Lathouriza 1** (cf. also chapter 7.5), apsidal architecture is wholly absent in Attica (cf. also units IX, X and XX, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 106). The so-called Megaron at **Eleusis 3** may have been rectangular or apsidal.
[675] According to Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 113 oval buildings in Greece occur exceptionally during the PG-MG periods, but are a common feature during the LG-SG
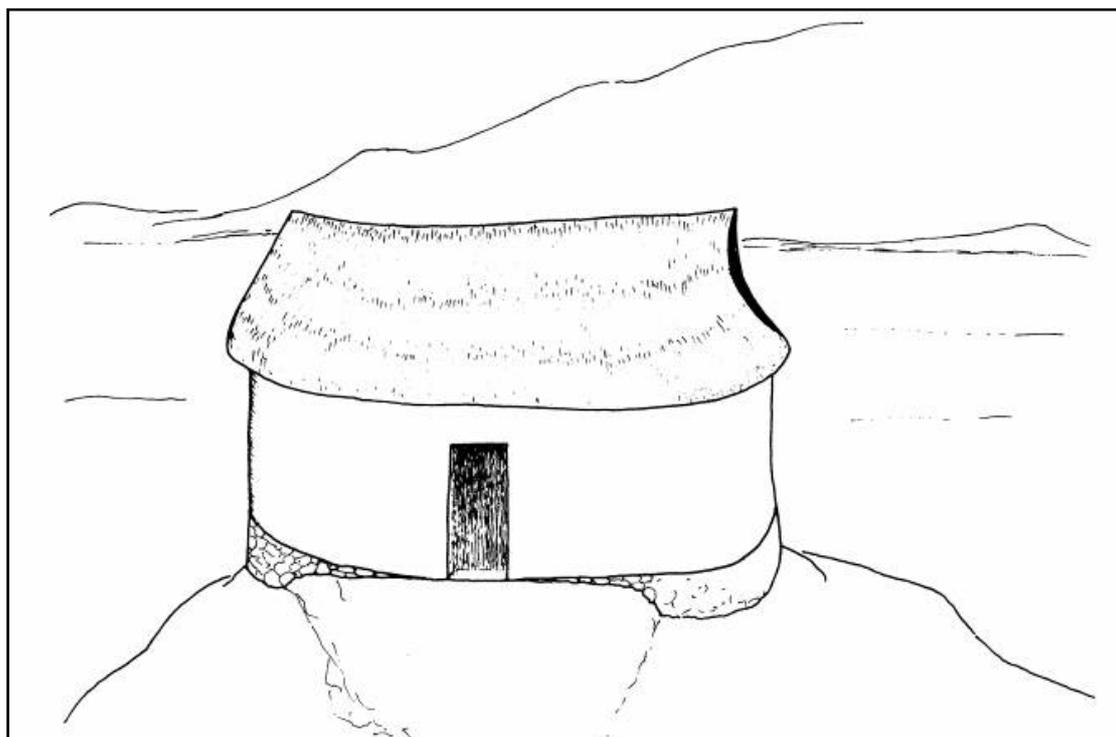
Figure 160 – Reconstruction of the "Ostbau".

for the date of the "Ostbau", Lauter's dating of the building in the LG II Period has unanimously been accepted, though it is not altogether clear that the earliest finds can be connected to the building. Slightly down dating the "Ostbau" to the early years of the seventh century seems therefore to be a possibility.

1.53.2   The Tumulus

This structure, also known as the "Südbau" was located on the southern extension of the Tourkovouni peak. It was probably more or less circular with a north-south diameter of ca. 14 m (Figure 161), though the destruction of the western half as a result of nearby quarrying makes this somewhat tentative. Its shape seems to have been rather like a truncated cone, built of earth and enclosed by a stone wall. Inside the eastern foundations the excavators uncovered an ash deposit, but no pottery besides some EH sherds. Lauter identified the structure as a burial tumulus, which is

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periods. He also states that they predominate in Attica and Euboea and in the eastern Greek poleis, cf. buildings A and B at Eretria, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 104, figs. 115, 118, 119. However, Mazarakis Ainian bases his views largely on evidence from Oropos, Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 101, which is not included in this study, because it lay outside the Attic and inside the Euboean sphere of influence, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1998. With the possible exception of a house at Miletus, oval buildings have been attributed a domestic function, cf. Lauter, 1985a, 111. I have argued that wall fragments at **Eleusis 1** previously thought to be part of an oval temple in fact represent the remains of a retaining wall for the earliest cult of Demeter.
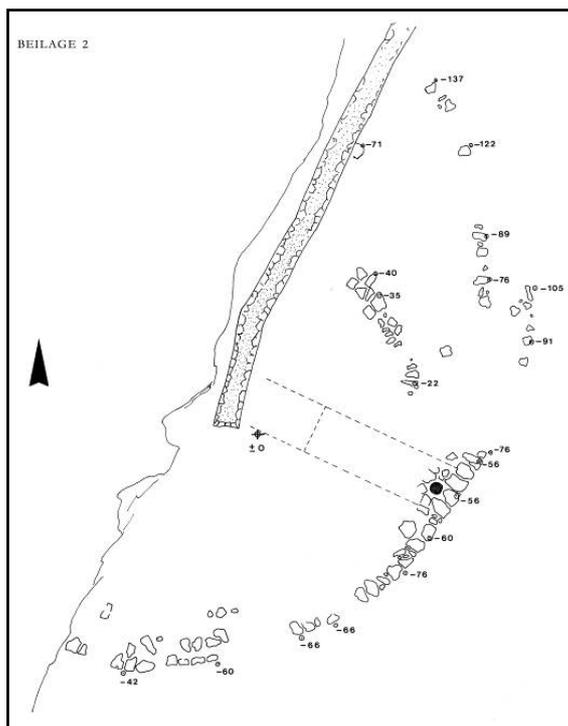
Figure 161 – Remains of the "Südbau" from SW.

Figure 162 – State plan of the "Südbau".

still the most reasonable interpretation.[676] However, it is not sure to what period the building belongs. Lauter compares the 'Südbau' to the LG and EA tumuli found in the Kerameikos and at Vari.[677] No human remains were found, however, perhaps because the corpse was interred in the western half of the tumulus, which was destroyed by quarrying. Or else, Lauter suggests, the tumulus may have been a cenotaph connected with a projected hero whose ritual and mythology were elementary in defining the worshipping group's identity. Mazarakis Ainian, on the other hand, has argued that, in the absence of any LG or EA material, the EH sherds are the most reliable basis for dating the tumulus.[678]

1.53.3   Pottery and Finds

A very broad range of household ceramics was found in connection with the oval house. Comparatively, the fine wares are underrepresented.[679] The pottery from the northern spur almost entirely dates to the SG Period; two LG sherds were found in the foundation of the oval building, indicating that the building was used mostly if not solely during the seventh century.[680] Lauter has interpreted the plain miniature cups with intentionally pierced bottoms as evidence for libation and has posited a larger

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[676] Lauter (1985b), 127.
[677] Kerameikos: Knigge, 1991, 24-29 (also on the function of tumuli in general), although these tumuli were used for multiple burials. Vari: Lauter, 1985a, 128, n. 158. Cf. also the sumptuous burial of Patroclus in the Iliad, *Il.* 23.255-6.
[678] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 89.
[679] Boehringer, 2001, 67.
[680] Lauter, 1985a, 122-123. LG sherds: p. 24).
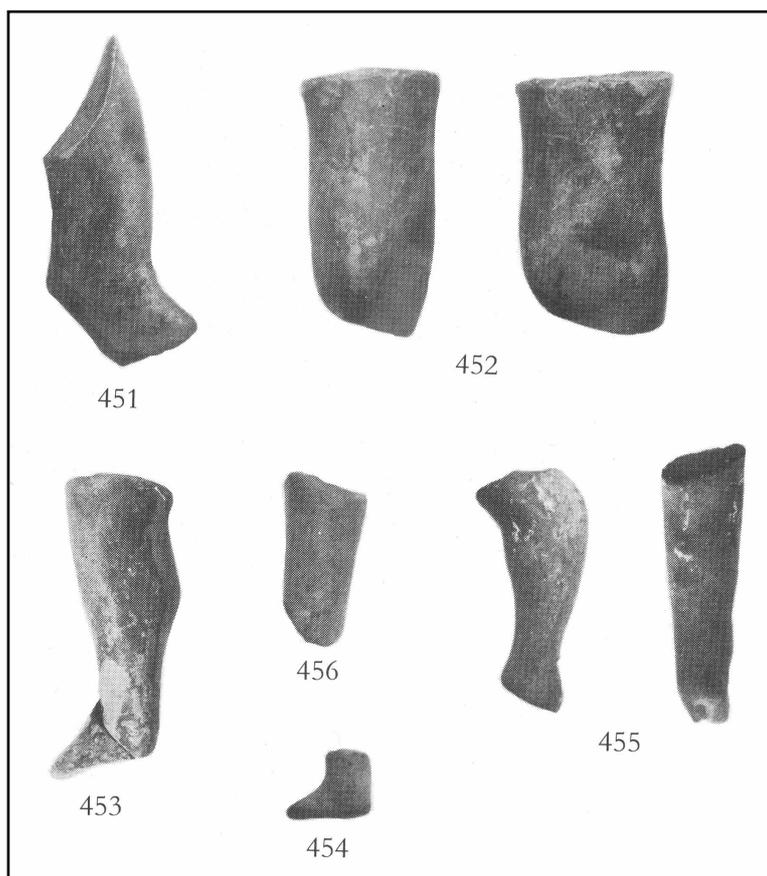
Figure 163 – Fragments of seventh century terracotta figurines.

cultic context.[681] However, the evidence for cult activity is minimal in comparison to other cult sites. Lauter mentions "very minimal" traces of animal bones, teeth and a general absence of ashes. Accordingly, he has suggested a vegetarian diet.[682] The find of some fragments of figurines is suggestive of cult activity, though again, the quantity of these finds is very small in comparison to contemporary cult sites and they are restricted to the second half of the seventh century BCE.

1.53.4   Function of the Oval Building

Lauter has suggested that the oval building served as a *hiera oikia*, a "Sacred building", the status of which lay somewhere between the truly sacred (temple) and

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[681] Lauter (1985b), 131. According to Lauter, the plain wares favor the preparation of traditional *maza* or *poltos* dishes, part of which may have been the *panspermia* that are the mainstay in chthonic and fertility cults. The supplication of the divine would further have been performed appropriately through libations made with the pierced miniature cups. Peak sanctuaries at **Agrieliki**, **Pani** and **Merenda** have yielded similar miniature vessels as Tourkovouni, though not all types have been attested with the same frequency, cf. Lauter (1985b), 130-134.
[682] Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 89.

profane (residence).[683] The barren position of the Ostbau on top of the hill, which exposed the building to the unrelenting cold and winds, and the distance to the arable land in the plain make actual living here unlikely; the "saddle" in between the northern and southern peaks would render a more suitable location, had anyone wished to live here. In Lauter's reconstruction of the cult, the oval building figures as the focus of the cult. Sacred banquets as well as offerings of *panspermia* etc. were staged here. The southern tumulus, on the other hand, was reserved as an *abaton*, a no go area representing the real spiritual focal point of the cult. Evidence for this he sees in the sterility of the soil and the ash deposit inside the tumulus. Lauter considers a number of possibilities. The tumulus may represent the actual grave of an ancestor to the group of worshippers visiting the place. Finally, it is possible that the tumulus was a cenotaph, serving a hero who was thought to have died in this location. In any case, the tumulus ought to suggest that some kind of heroic worship was practiced at Tourkovouni, perhaps that of Anchesmos.

A few critical points may be added to this account of Lauter's findings. First, the ritual and votive assemblages are not very impressive. Considering the extensive architectural remains the scanty fragments of terracotta figurines (Figure 163) interpreted as votive gifts almost appear as an afterthought. The unfirnished open vessels found in connection with the oval building suggest that the building was used first and foremost as a place for feasting. They should not principally be taken as evidence for a libation ritual, although the miniature vessels presumably did serve such a function, as did the few examples with pierced bottoms. However, the cups, kotylai and skyphoi were presumably used first and foremost for drinking with libation as the concomitant ritual, though they may also signify banqueting. Similarly, the animal bone and teeth may be explained as resulting from an offering ritual – even if it is uncertain how this should be reconciled with the supposed "chthonic" character of the cult – but they may also be explained as the natural refuse from banqueting.

This raises the interesting question of whether the so-called "peak sanctuaries" at Agrieliki, Pani and Merenda, which have yielded very much the same miniature vessels should not also be reconsidered as actual sanctuaries.[684] Finally, there seem to be no pressing reasons to assume that the predominance of coarse ware is indicative in any way about the diet at Tourkovouni, let alone that it was vegetarian. At the moment it is probably safe to say that too little is known about what type of crockery was used for a specific kind of diet. The modest amount of animal bones and teeth

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[683] The ambivalent status of the building may be compared to the "Sacred houses" at the **Academy 2** and **Eleusis 3**, which are both contemporary. The building on Tourkovouni may not be unique as is shown by a structure at **Hymettos 1**.

[684] Lauter, 1985a, 130-134.

indicates that the menu was more varied than suggested by Lauter. If the coarse ware tells us anything it is that the oval building was used as a place for dining.

Keeping these matters in mind we may tentatively reconsider the status of Tourkovouni as a sanctuary. First, as Lauter already articulated, there is no reason to assume that Zeus was already worshipped in the LG and EA periods, although it is a distinct possibility that Zeus was added as the object of worship at a later time, when the site had been transformed into an open-air sanctuary. Secondly, the remains that would help us identify the early site as consecrated to a god or a hero is slight and, perhaps revealingly, appear with some delay in the record. The terracotta figurines, the only items that securely qualify as votives, date to the middle of the seventh century. Some miniature ware appears from ca. 700 BCE though most is classified as (late) "seventh" century. Presumably the libations were made in honor of the hero of the EH tumulus.[685] The tumulus itself may be considered as the principle inspiration for the dining community, which is likely to have incorporated stories about the hero as the ancestor or emblematic founder of the group. As such, perhaps it was the wish to dine in the presence of the hero, rather than a wish to cultify his persona that enticed the community to this inhospitable environment.

Considering the meager evidence for religious activity on Mt. Tourkovouni, I would suggest to interpret its function as a sanctuary as secondary to the aspect of banqueting, both in functional and chronological terms. If anything, the case of Tourkovouni shows how subtle the relation between these two notions is and how difficult it can be to clearly separate them. Nevertheless, the oval building was clearly intended to serve, first and foremost, as a meeting place for a group of people that represented a community in the eastern part of the Athenian plain. The main ritual activity at these gatherings, as far as we can tell, was libation, according to Lauter to honor the "founding hero" of the tumulus. In his view, the Tourkovouni banqueting community ceased to function at some point during the sixth century BCE, which he believes was the result of the social upheavals of the period.[686]

While the Tourkovouni site differs in many ways from other "peak sanctuaries", a number of similarities may be pointed out. First, some of the pottery, in particular the miniature vessels, is similar to that on a number of other peaks.[687] Second, "peak sanctuaries" generally go out of use after this period. In this light it is interesting that the Tourkovouni site also experiences a decline during the sixth century BCE. In the

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[685] But cf. Antonaccio, 1995, 194 who sees no connection between the LG/EA activity on the north spur and the circular structure on the southern peak. She believes that the absence of a major divinity on the Tourkovounia "suggest[s] the sort of lesser observance recorded as thalysia: first fruits offered after a harvest".

[686] According to Lauter (Lauter, 1985a, 157) about a dozen families would be represented here.

[687] Cf. **Agrieliki**, **Hymettos 1**, **Merenda** and **Pani**.

fifth century, cult activity was picked up. This time the site was treated as an open-air shrine. In the fourth century it was restyled with the addition of a *peribolos* of polygonal masonry. It thus seems possible that the Tourkovouni community persisted even when Tourkovouni gradually lost its status as a place connected with feasting. This shift from feasting to cultic worship is remarkably similar to the situation at the **Academy 2** and **Eleusis 3** and will be commented upon in Chapter 9.7.

If the seventh century oval building should not primarily be considered a cult site, it cannot be said to belong entirely to the domestic realm either. The barren position of the "Ostbau" on top of the hill would have exposed the building to the elements. Furthermore, if the oval building had served as a "Ruler's Dwelling" such as the one at **Lathouriza 1**, one would expect more traces of habitation clustering near the main building (cf. Chapter 9.5).

1.53.5 Function of the Tumulus

With regard to the "Südbau", a number of possibilities present themselves. Lauter has suggested that the southern tumulus was reserved as an *abaton*, a no-go area representing the "cultic" focal point of the site. Evidence of this he finds in the sterility of the soil and the ash deposit inside the tumulus. In his view, the tumulus may represent the actual grave of an ancestor to the group of worshippers visiting the place, or else the tumulus may have been constructed as a cenotaph, in honor of a hero connected with this location. However, following Mazarakis Ainian's reading, the tumulus may well belong to the BA. In this scenario, these pre-existing remains may well have inspired the festive gatherings in the oval building. It is a possibility that cannot be confirmed that the person connected with the tumulus was known as the hero Anchesmos. In any case, it is probable that those who visited Tourkovouni were aware of the presence of some hero or ancestor through the tumulus. The evidence of libations is probably best understood in the same context. However, rather than over-emphasizing the cultic element at Tourkovouni as Lauter did, it is better to regard the tumulus as the spiritual, rather than the cultic focal point of the site.

1.54 Trachones

Context:	cult of Heracles (?)
Date:	7th c. BCE (?)
Location:	underneath the Byzantine basilica on the "small Pani" hill; in between Trachones and H. Kosmas
Architecture:	rock-cult altar
Pottery:	**(?)** miniature vessels, lamp
Other finds:	one "Stempelidol"
Preliminary reports:	G. Karo, *AA* 1930, 100; W. Peek, *AM* (1934), 39-41, no. 2 and *SEG* 10, 329.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 101 (no. 3); Küper, 1990, 20; Travlos, 1988, 6-7, 14, figs. 19-20; Brommer, 1972, 263, nos. 138; Wrede, 1934, 13.

In 1929, W. Wrede excavated the ruins of a fifth or sixth century AD church on the hill called "small Pani". Underneath, the remains of a classical sanctuary were found, including a rock-cut altar. Around 500 BCE a votive relief was dedicated here to Heracles.[688] However, classical inscriptions attest to the worship of Demeter, causing Wrede to connect the site with the Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore sanctuary. The inscriptions have also been interpreted as having been set up in the deme sanctuary of Euonymon.[689] Judging from the "zahlreiche rohe archaische kleine Idole" the sanctuary must have been founded during some earlier phase; the chronology of the "Stempelidol" places this event at some point between the late eighth and early sixth century BCE.[690] It is unclear whether Heracles was already the main cult recipient at this stage.

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[688] W. Peek, *AM* (1934), 39-41, no. 2 and *SEG* 10 (1949), 329.

[689] Pausanias 1.31.1. Wrede (*AA* 1930, 100) identified the sanctuary as that of Demeter, possibly the Thesmophorion of classical Halimous, on the basis of "Weihreliefs und Inschriften," dated to ca. 400 BCE; they were found amongst the church' ruins. Recently, Meyer, 1989, 117, 181 has reinterpreted one of the inscriptions as ΔΗ(ΜΟΣ), which seems more plausible given the fact that the letters are written over a standing relief figure (ibid. tab. 52.4) crowning another seated person. Carol Lawton (p.c.) agrees with this reading. This scene is presumably best read as the deme of Euonymon (to which modern Trachones belongs) crowning some unidentified honoratus, cf. also Wrede, 1934, 13. If this is correct, the identification of this site as the deme sanctuary seems secured. Mersch, 1996, 101-102, however, believes the inscriptions may have been transported to the site when the church was built.

[690] Cf. Küper, 1990

1.55 Varkiza

Context:	summit of Varkiza hill
Date:	ca. 700 to 4th c. BCE
Location:	(+ 110) on the Vouliagmeni peninsula
Architecture:	two terrace walls, an altar and a *sema* base
Pottery:	**(SG)** miniature cups
Main publication:	Lauter and Lauter-Bufe, 1986.

The orientation of this small *temenos* (Figure 164) seems to be intentionally facing east where it overlooks Vouliagmeni bay and the foothills of southern Attica. Two terrace walls enclose the area to the north and east; the main access seems to have been from the SW. The sharp inclination of the hill toward the NE necessitated the large terrace walls on that side, measuring 0.60 m in width, 11 and 6 m in length, and reaching a maximum height of 3 m. The altar itself measures ca. 3.5 x 4 m. The construction of walls and altar consisted of rubble and large irregular stones. In the SW corner the investigators discerned a small patch of rocks ('Mauersockel B'), which they interpreted as the basis for a *sema*. The architecture cannot be dated with absolute certainty, but in general there are similarities with the buildings of Lathouriza. Lauter would date them a little later, because of the right-angled corners and the slightly later date of the first pottery. There are similarities between some of the sherds found at Varkiza and ceramic groups Tourkovouni C and D. In all, the sanctuary with terrace walls and altars seems to have been in full use by the second quarter of the seventh century. It probably catered mostly to the environments of Varkiza and Vari, and as such seems to have functioned as a liminal sanctuary in between those two areas.
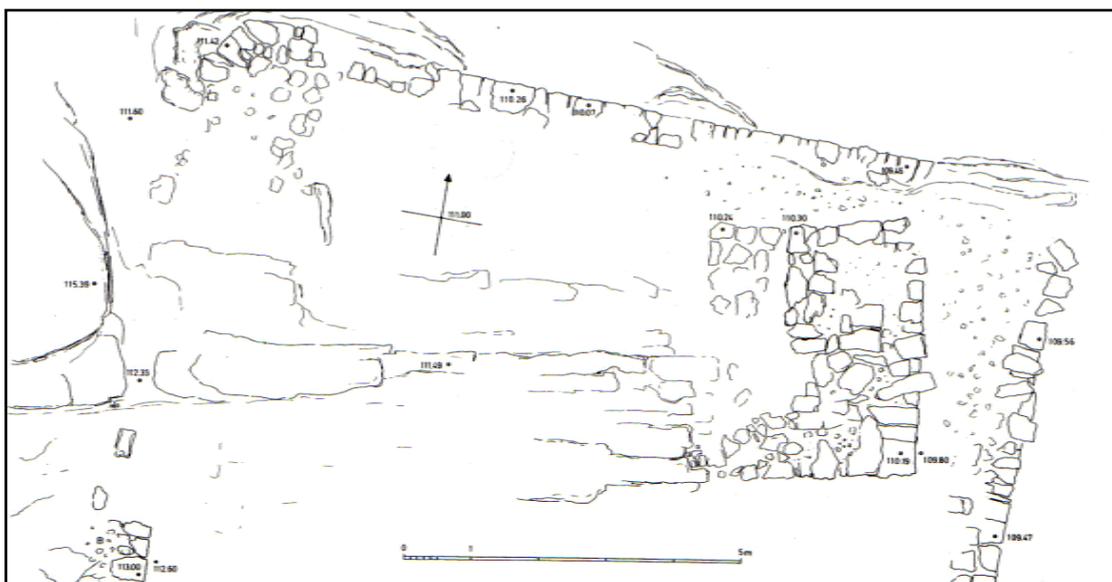
Figure 164 – Varkiza. State plan of the sanctuary.

1.56 Vrana

Context:	inside Mycenaean LH II Tholos tomb
Date:	LG (?)
Location:	north of the chapel of Aghios Dimitrios,[691] (cf. Figure 166, ancient Probalinthos?)
Pottery:	unpublished
Sacrificial remains:	ashes mixed with animal bone
Preliminary reports:	G. Karo, *AA* 1934, 148; 1935, 180-182.
Bibliography:	Antonaccio, 1994b, 118, n. 445; Ålin, 1962, 111. **Geometric Cemetery:** Mersch, 1996, 229, no. 78.1; Coldstream, 1968, 402; Desborough, 1952, 316.

A deep stratum of ash and animal bones inside the LH II Tholos tomb at Vrana (Figure 165 and Figure 166) has been variously interpreted as evidence of contemporary funerary meals in honor of the deceased or alternatively as the sacrificial remains of a much later tomb cult.[692] Unfortunately, little can be said with certainty about this material, as none of it has been published and nothing is known with regard to the date of the pottery found inside the ash layer. Nevertheless, the following considerations might help us to understand something of the context in which the deposit was created.

Let us begin with the suggested funerary meal after the death of the Bronze Age prince. The funeral ceremony itself could certainly have involved the ritual burning of the deceased person's possessions, a practice which has been established in the case of at least one other Tholos tomb in Attica.[693] However, the reported thickness of the ash layer seems incompatible with a single event such as the ritual burning of possessions during a funerary ceremony, while a frequent repetition of this ritual can be discredited on account of Mycenaean burial practice which prescribed that the Tholos tomb be sealed immediately after the burial.[694]

Rather, the amount of deposited ash and the animal bone found mixed with it suggests the presence of a hearth, which, for several reasons, is more compatible with the (Late) Geometric Period. First, the proximity of the nearby Geometric cemetery, which in effect enveloped the Tholos tomb on all sides, places the building in the context of EIA funerary practice. It is interesting to note that the cemetery seems to

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[691] Vanderpool, 1966, 322.
[692] Cf. two opposing views: G. Karo, *AA* 1934, 148 ("a princely heroön") and Ålin, 1962, 111 ("rich [geometric] offerings").
[693] I.e. **Menidi**, see Mylonas, 1966a, 182-183.
[694] Cf. Schofield, 2007, 55; Castleden, 2005, 97-98.
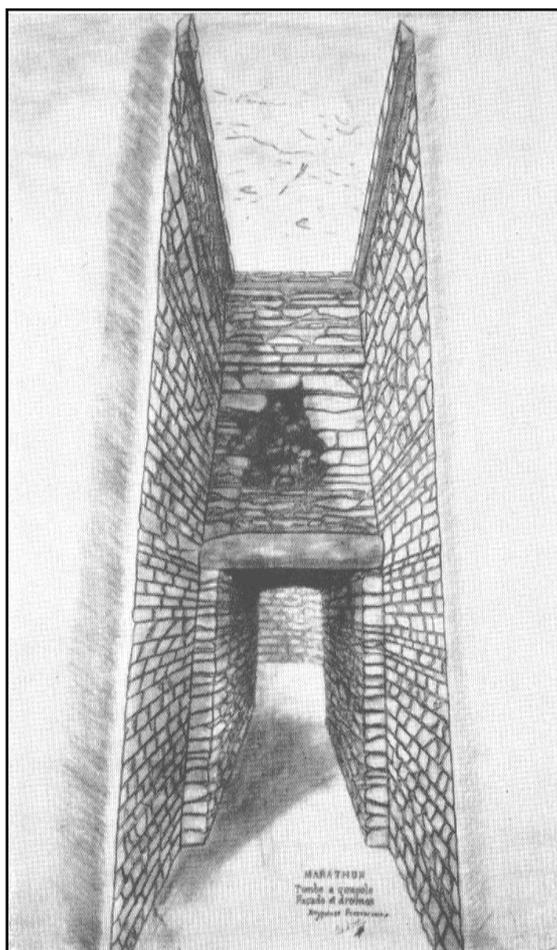
**Figure 165 – Dromos of the Tholos
tomb at Vrana (Marathon).**

have been deliberately centered on the Tholos tomb, as though it were intended to
serve as a communal *sema* for the surrounding graves.[695] Secondly, in the LG Period
several Mycenaean tombs received renewed attention. Such was the case at **Menidi**
and **Thorikos 2** and **3** where elaborate tomb cults emerge during the second half of
the 8th century, lasting well into the 7th century and beyond. The construction of the
oval building at **Tourkovouni** may have been inspired by a nearby tumulus, perhaps
dating to the EH Period. In other cases, such as at **Eleusis 3** and Athens - **Acropolis**,
Bronze Age architecture of a different nature became the focus of cult activity during
the same period. Thus, if we posit a period of reuse for the tomb, the evidence clearly
fits the LG Period best.

At the same time we must concede that the EIA remains differ substantially
from what has been found at some of the Mycenaean tombs elsewhere. First of all, no
votives were reported at Marathon. This is a serious problem for the identification of

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[695] The Geometric material spans the entire sequence, cf. Soteriadis, 1939; Coldstream,
1968, 402. A very late LPG amphora shows that this site served as a cemetery from ca.
900 BCE, cf. Soteriadis, 1939, fig. 2; also Desborough, 1952, 316.
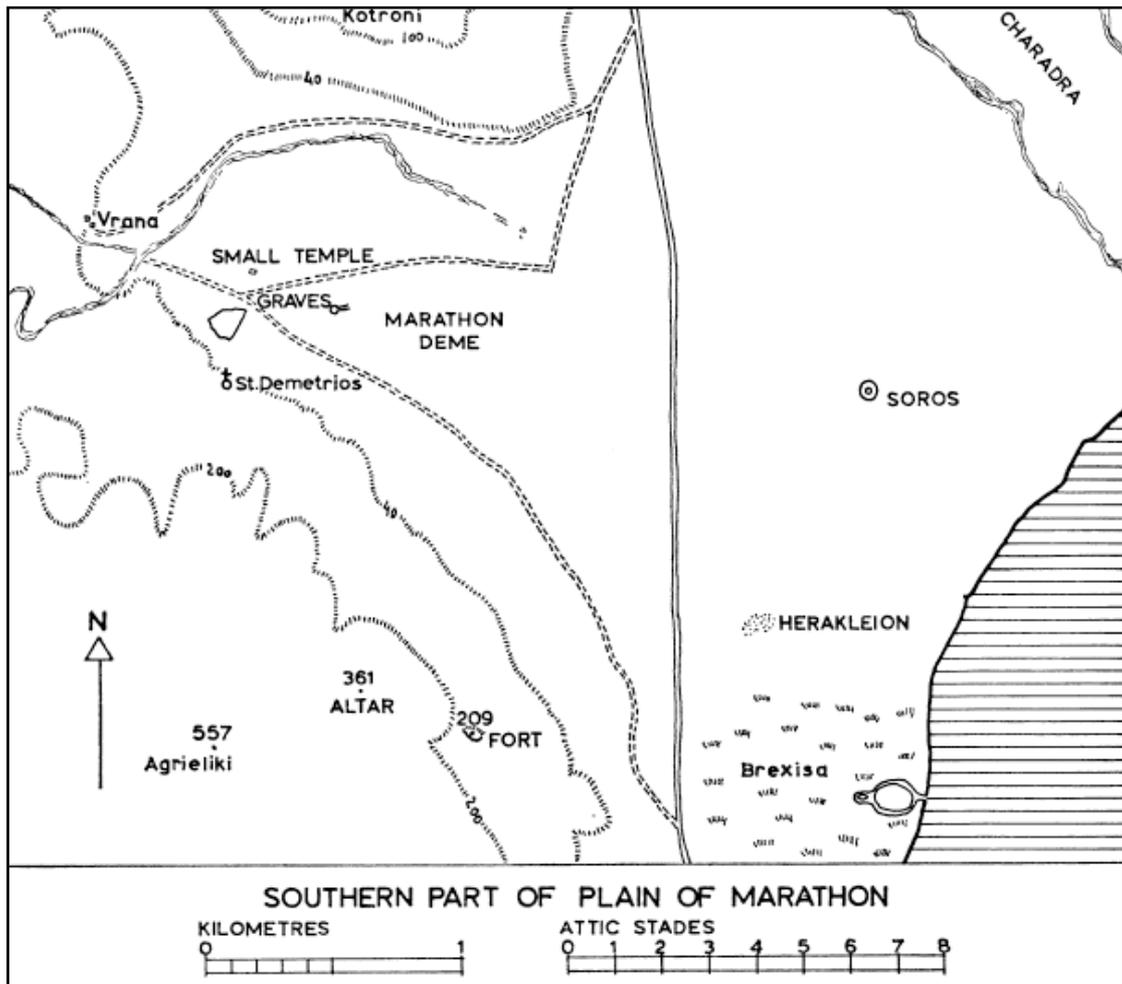
Figure 166 – Map of the area east of Vrana (ancient Probalinthos?); southern part of the Cleisthenic deme of Marathon.

the Tholos as the focus of cult, especially in light of the (relative) abundance of votives at other sites. While we have to keep in mind that only a preliminary report of the excavation was issued, it is hard to believe that any votives would have been omitted while animal bone was not.

A second difficulty is the presence of the ashes inside the tomb. At Menidi, the tomb's blocked entrance and *dromos* were reverently kept intact, while votive deposits were made at some distance *away* from the entrance inside the *dromos*. At **Thorikos 2** and **3**, two tombs were the focus of later cult activity. Votives were placed on an offering table inside a LH Tholos tomb that was considerably smaller in size than either the Marathon or Menidi tombs. A second MH tomb received cultic attention perhaps as early as the LG Period. Neither ash nor animal bone was reported from any of these tombs. This picture diverges considerably from the evidence of the Marathonian Tholos tomb, which did not attract votives, but contained a layer of ash

and bones instead and was apparently opened for looting before the building was reused.[696]

How then are we to interpret the ashy layer that was deposited during the latter period? Given the absence of votives and the abundance of ash and bones, I would tentatively propose that the tomb served as a banqueting hall. Considering the close connection between the tomb and the surrounding cemetery it is easy to envisage how the accessible space inside the tomb could have been used for such a purpose. It is impossible to ascertain whether this "culinary ritual" contained an element of a fire offering. Perhaps the dead received their share, but if so, the absence of votives indicates that the main emphasis lay on the shared meal. This picture fits in well with what we know from banqueting in or near graveyards elsewhere in Attica; despite the strong connection between the two, the deposition of votives in these banqueting halls is a rare occurrence.[697]

Thus the tomb of the LH "hero" would have provided an appropriate setting for a banqueting group exploiting the symbolic connection between the tomb of the dead prince and the recently deceased buried outside.[698] This link would undoubtedly have been strengthened by ritual banquets staged in the Tholos, which accentuated the group's claims to the surrounding territory as conceptualized by the mythical local hero.[699]

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[696] Given the deliberate orientation of the Geometric cemetery on the tomb, this looting is likely to have taken place at some earlier moment.

[697] Some figurines have been reported from the "Ostbau" at **Tourkovouni**. However, as I argue in chapter 4.1.53 these date to a period when the banqueting hall was slowly going out of use. Cf. also the two phases at the **Academy 2**.

[698] In this case the Tholos would have served as an impromptu kind of architecture, dictated by the preexisting natural or manmade environment, and is similar to the use of the caves at **Parnes 1** and **Brauron** as banqueting halls.

[699] For the use of tomb cult to establish a connection with the territory, cf. Snodgrass, 1988.

2   Uncertain Cult Sites

The cults listed here have not been established with certainty and for that reason have been kept from the main list. Cults have been included for a number of reasons. Some bear certain features of other, securely established cults, but miss the diagnostic features (votives, pottery) to assign them to the main list (sections 2.10, 2.12 and 2.13). In some cases cult activity has been established for later periods, but too little or no evidence pertains to ours 2.1, 2.5, 2.6, 2.9, 2.12 and 2.15). Other entries conform to cults elsewhere, but may not have exceeded the one time event of the deposition of a single votive (2.3, 2.4 and 2.16). In the case of cave shrines (2.4, 2.5, 2.8, 2.12 and 2.14) the natural context may be an indication of the cultic use of certain artifacts or pottery. Finally, in two cases (2.7 and 2.11) the remains have been briefly mentioned in the archaeological reports but require more extensive publication before their classification as cult sites can be confirmed.

2.1 Athens – Ilissos Area

Context:	cult of Apollo (?)
Date:	ca. 750 BCE
Location:	S of Olympieion, E of Classical temple of Apollo Delphinios
Architecture:	square building
Preliminary report:	J. Threpsiades and J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* 17 B, 1961/2, 9-14.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 245, 314, fig. 123, no. C, and fig. 128; Travlos, 1972, Ch III, pl. 3, 1971a, 83.

This "roughly square building" perhaps had two rooms and an apsidal compartment, but is badly preserved today (Figure 167).[700] A *peribolos* wall to the south of the building may have functioned as a terrace on which the building was built. Some vases connected with these walls have been dated to the middle of the eighth century. The excavators have identified the building as the forerunner of the cult of Apollo Delphinios. There has, however, not been any votive material reported to support this claim. As will be shown in Chapter 9.7 these buildings, consisting of several compartments, were often used in a (semi-) domestic context in which feasting played an important role. Several such places evolved into cult places during the 7th century BCE.

     If the remains do somehow relate to Apollo Delphinios they would fit well into the 7th century or later, when Athenian interests in Delphi appear to have become

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[700] Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 245 + n. 1961.
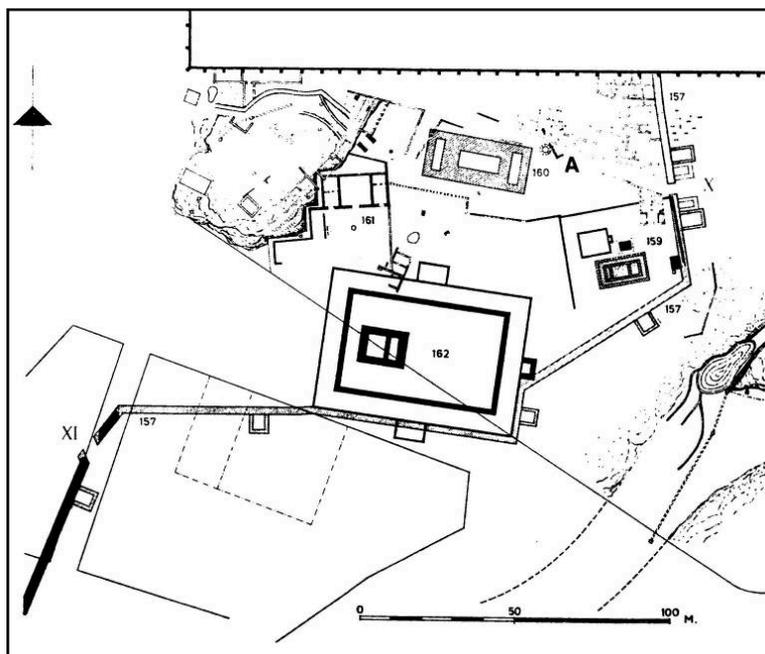
Figure 167 – SW Athens, with the Olympieion (top) and Illissos river (bottom right). Presumed remains of the cult of Apollo indicated A.

manifest.[701] On the other hand, if the cult was as old as has been proposed by the excavators (ca. 750 BCE), it might have simply been initiated to Apollo. At the moment there is too little evidence to safely certify this site as cultic.

2.2 Athens – Hill of the Nymphs

Context:	sanctuary of the Nymphs
Date:	7th century BCE and later
Location:	near the top of the Hill of the Nymphs
Votives:	terracotta figurines (7th-4th century BCE)

Two rupestral inscriptions of the 6th and 5th century BCE attest that a cult of the Nymphs was practiced close to the top of the hill. A large deposit of terracotta figurines was found close to these inscriptions and may represent the earliest phase of this particular cult. Unfortunately, the finds have yet to be published.[702]

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[701] Cf. Morgan (1990), 205.

[702] I thank Michael Laughy for drawing my attention to the existence of these finds.

2.3 Haliki Glyphada

Context:	LH chamber tomb
Date:	725-700 BCE
Location:	inside dromos of LH III chamber tomb Δ (Diakou Ath. Str.)
Architecture:	offering plate
Pottery:	(**LG II**) pyxis
Sacrificial remains:	ashes
Excavation report:	Papadimitriou, 1955, esp. 96, pl. 28e.
Bibliography:	Boehringer, 2001, 59; Mersch, 1996, 225 (no. 31); Antonaccio, 1995, 118; Travlos, 1988, 467; Abramson, 1978, 94; Snodgrass, 1971, 194; Coldstream, 1968, 401 (LGII).

Inside the dromos of LH chamber tomb Δ, ca. 5 m away from the actual tomb, were found slight traces of cult activity. On a flat stone (0.43 x 0.50 m) an earth layer contained traces of burning and was mixed in with the sherds of a LG IIB pyxis (Figure 168).[703] While the stone appears to have served as an offering plate, it is not clear whether cult activity exceeded the one-time that included the pyxis' consecration.

Figure 168 – LG II Pyxis from the dromos at Haliki Glyphada.

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[703] For the date, see Boehringer, 2001, 59, n. 5.

2.4   Hymettos 2

Context:	cave
Date:	7th c. BCE
Location:	"Cave of the Lion" at Korakovouni, northern spur of Hymettos facing E
Pottery:	(**BG**)
Votive:	one "Stempelidol"
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 133, no. 26.6; Küper, 1990, 23, 29 h; Wickens, 1986, vol. II, 175-183, no. 33; Vanderpool, 1967.

Eugene Vanderpool first visited the "Cave of the Lion" in 1958 and later connected it with the cult of Pan in Paiania, which is mentioned by Menander.[704] Küper lists one "Stempelidol", which made its way into the collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; this is all that suggests cult activity, although there are no indications that it was sustained.
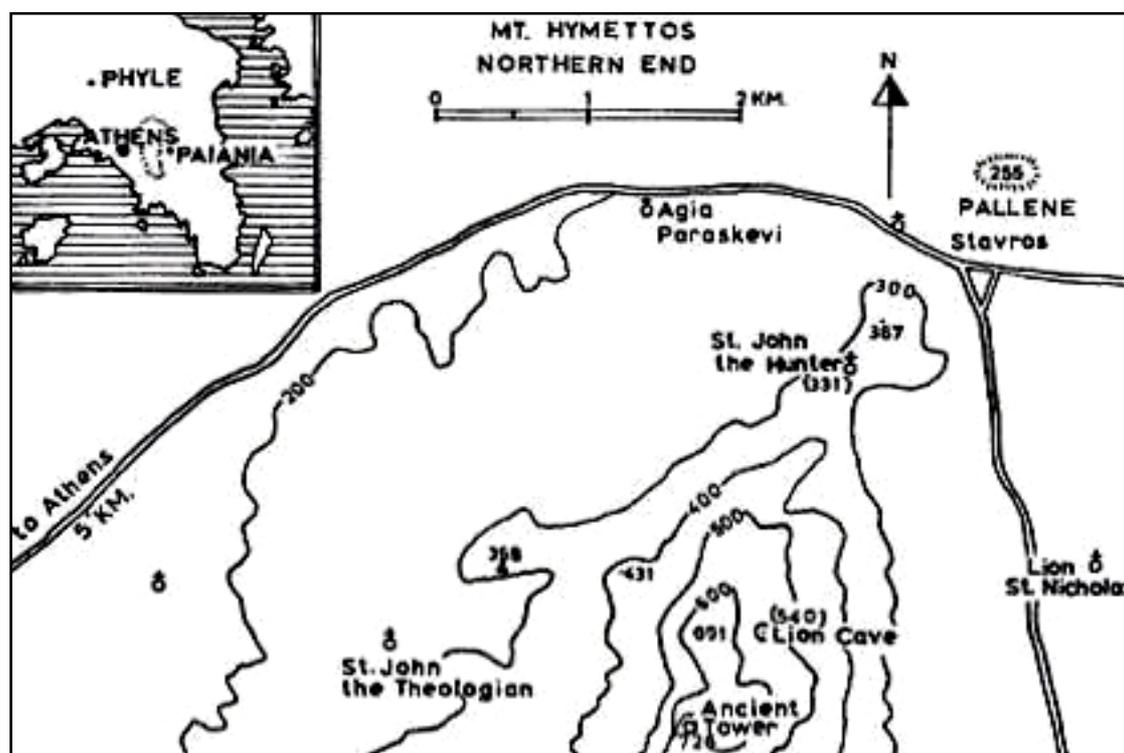
Figure 169 – "Cave of the Lion" on the North slope of Mt. Hymettos.

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[704] Menander, *Dyskolos* 407-409. Further observations on the early identification of caves as Pan shrines, cf. **Anavyssos 1** and **Parnes 2**. Cf. also Schörner, Goette, and Hallof, 2004.

2.5 Hymettos 3

Context:	sanctuary of Apollo Proopsios (?); cave (?)
Date:	from 7ᵗʰ c. BCE (?)
Location:	"Profitis Ilias Imittou" on the E slope of Hymettos (+220), ca. 5 km W and above Koropi; sherds come from a cave close to the assumed sanctuary of Apollo Proopsios[705]; not to be confused with **Profitis Ilias** in southern Attica.
Pottery:	(**SG**); (**A**); (**CI**)
Excavation reports:	N. Kotzias, *Prakt* (1950), 158-165 (6ᵗʰ century sanctuary: *Prakt* (1949), 51-74; 1950, 144-158).
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 315-316; Mersch, 1996, 132, no. 26, 1-2; Wickens, 1986, vol. I, 165-166, vol. II, 138-143, site no. 25; Langdon, 1976, 5-7.

In a cave close to the archaic and classical sanctuary of Apollo Proopsios traces of cult activity have been found in the form of some inscribed sherds, perhaps anticipating the erection of two 6ᵗʰ-century temples in the sanctuary. Wickens has suggested that the cave does not represent a genuine cult place, but could have been used as a dump: "This is the most plausible explanation for the presence of A and C inscribed sherds, which may have been from the Profitis Ilias sanctuary."[706] The date of the sherds is problematic; they belong to the seventh *or* sixth century.[707]

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[705] This attribution is based on Pausanias I, 32, 3.
[706] Wickens, 1986, vol. II, 143. Kotzias believed the cave was used for mining and erroneously assigned one of the temples to Zeus Ombrios, cf. Langdon, 1976, 5-7.
[707] The Geometric sherds reported had Archaic graffiti, arguing perhaps for a seventh century date (SG?). Kotzias, *Prakt* 1950, 162-163, figs. 15-17 dated them to the sixth century based on letter forms. On the other hand they may "either have been misdated, or (...) represent debris from the later sanctuary", Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 315.

2.6 Kassidis

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	ca. 600 - 200 BCE
Location:	on W summit of Mt. Kassidis (+230) near Charaka
Pottery:	(**SG**); (**CI**); (**H**)
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 198, no. 71.32; Lohmann, 1993, 388 (CH60)

Two perpendicular retaining walls form a terrace (11 x 11.4 m) on the summit of Mt Kassidis. Only a few sherds were recovered from this site, of which Lohmann claims that they belong to votive vessels. It is not sure whether the sherds predate 600 BCE.

2.7 Kokkinos Mylos

Context:	(?)
Date:	first half of the 8th century BCE (?)
Location:	Odos Thrakes
Pottery:	(**M-LG?**) 5 jugs (including 1 miniature), 4 amphoriskoi (belly-handled), 3 large kantharoi, 1 kalathos, 4 pyxides, 3 undefined vessels (Figure 170, Figure 171)
Other finds:	bronze buckles (3 intact, 2 broken) and 1 knife; 1 large iron knife
Preliminary reports:	M. Platonos, *ArchDelt* 48 B, 1993, 72.
Summary:	D. Blackman, *AR* (1998-1999), 13.

The identification of this find spot as a cult site is uncertain, as no positive evidence of cult activity has been found in connection with the finds. However, nearly all finds were found within two pits, the vessels unbroken, suggesting that they were carefully deposited here. No graves have been reported in the direct vicinity to suggest that the finds might have been deposited on the occasion of a funeral, though the excavation seems to have been of limited extent, confined to a single building plot. Without further contextual evidence it is impossible to discount (or ascertain) a cultic setting. The vessels and finds are, however, commonly found at cult sites throughout Attica.[708] Could their deposition be part of a ritual setting, in which case the ritual was performed on at least two occasions? Or was it the result of the clearance of a shrine elsewhere, in order to make room for new votives?

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[708] While the bronze buckles have no clear precedent in Attica, bronze and iron swords have been found at **Parnes 1** and **Sounion 1**. Amphoriskoi, kantharoi, pyxides and jugs are very common features, although the kalathos seems to be without parallel.
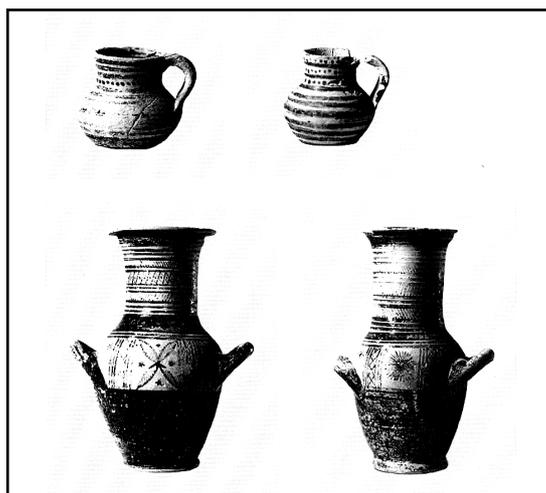
Figure 170 - Vases from Kokinos Mylos.
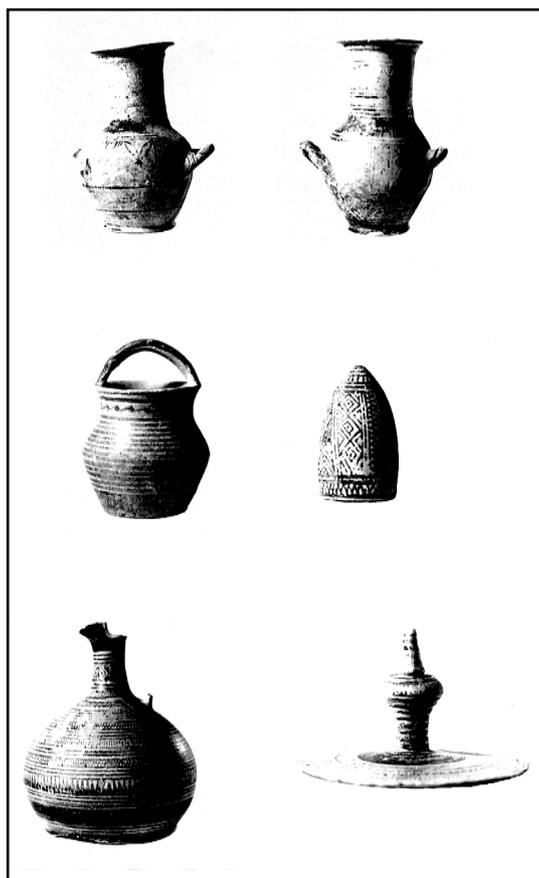
Figure 171 – Vases from Kokinos Mylos.

2.8 Kommeno Lithari

Context:	cave
Date:	ca. 800-700 BCE
Location:	southern ridge of Mesogeia (+ 635), near Keratea and Brauron
Pottery:	(**MG**), (**LG**) and (**CI**)
Preliminary report:	Wickens, 1986, vol 1, 157-163, site no. 9.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316; Wickens, 1986, vol. 2, 46-50.

The fine quality of the sherds may indicate cultic use, although Wickens is skeptical. Other possible uses have been suggested, such as a shepherd's shelter, a place of refuge or a campsite.[709]

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[709] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 316. Wickens, 1986, vol 2, 50 and personal communication.

2.9 Nea Kalymnos

Context:	classical naiskos
Date:	ca. 600 - 350 BCE
Location:	Paschalimonou plot (cf. Mersch)
Pottery:	amphorai; (**C**) kotylai
Excavation report:	I. Andreou, *ArchDelt* 43B, 1988, 73-75, plan 1, pls. 43-44.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 226, no. 76.34.

A good number of sherds were recovered inside a pit near a small, presumably classical, naiskos (3.50-2.30 m). The Corinthian kotylai may predate 600 BCE, though this remains uncertain.

2.10 Olympos

Context:	mountain peak
Date:	6th – 4th (?) century
Location:	N of the main summit of Mt. Olympos, on a secondary spur (+ 151), near the Christian chapel; ca. 400 m SW from the road from Kalyvia to Anavyssos
Pottery:	some (**BG**)
Bibliography:	Lohmann, 1993, 504 (AN 21); Lauter, 1985a; Langdon, 1976, 103-104.

The primary summit (+ 468) of Mt. Olympos has yielded some fragments and one intact fragment of a Megarian bowl, but nothing close to our period. However, on a subsidiary spur of Mt. Olympos Lohmann has recorded some fine black glaze sherds from underneath a Christian chapel and ossuary, possibly indicating the existence of a peak sanctuary during the 6th-5th century. If so, it is not unreasonable to suspect that it was already in use during the seventh century, since this was the most prolific period for this type of cult sites. The 6th century, on the other hand, witnessed their decline.

2.11 Plasi-Tsepi (Marathon) 2

Context:	PG House
Date:	late 10th century BCE
Location:	Plasi
Pottery:	(**LPG?**)
Preliminary reports:	*Καθημερινή*, September 14, 1984.
Summary:	H.W. Catling, *AR* (1984-1985), 11.
Bibliography:	Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 353.

Unfortunately no further information is available about this interesting discovery at Plasi (Marathon), where a cist tomb, containing vases, ornaments and weapons, was found inside a house of the PG Period. If the cist tomb does represent a heroic burial at the site of a ruler's dwelling, as was cautiously suggested by Mazarakis Ainian, the site may well have served as a heroon for some time after. However, nothing definite can be said until we learn more about the context of this burial.

2.12 Parnes 2

Context:	cave
Location:	Lychnotrypa, or Lychnospilia near Phyle on Mt. Parnes
Excavation reports:	K. Rhomaios, *AE* (1905), 99-158; (1906), 89-116, esp. 98 and 100; A.N. Skias, *AE* (1918), 1-28, esp. 18; *Prakt* 1900, 38-41.
Bibliography:	D'Onofrio, 1997, 83, no. 61; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 315, n. 430; Osborne, 1994, 148; Osborne, 1989, 304, n. 13 + map 3; Wickens, 1986, vol. II, 245-265, no. 47.

This cave on Mt. Parnes, not far from Phyle, was intensively used for cult purposes in the BA and from the Classical Period when it was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs. Robin Osborne has pointed to some G sherds from this site and included it as a cult in his discussion of 7th century Attica. Wickens' study of Attic caves has shown that the evidence probably consists of a single sherd, which might well belong to the SM Period.[710] No evidence for cult activity can therefore be produced for the period 1000-600 BCE.

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[710] While Rhomaios, *AE* (1906), 98-100 dated some of the sherds to the G period, Skias, *AE* (1918), 18 found no evidence from this period, cf. Wickens, 1986, loc. cit., 154.

2.13 Skaramanga (Aigaleos)

Context:	mountain peak
Location:	Skaramanga (+ 468), southern summit of Mt. Aigaleos
Main Publication:	Milchhöfer, 1881-1891, Text II, 12-14.
Bibliography:	Langdon, 1976, 105.

This heroon has not been seen since Milchhöfer, because the site is reserved for military purposes. There is no evidence that the remains belong to our period, other than the analogy of other peak sanctuaries, which go out of use in the first half of the sixth century. If the site was indeed dedicated to a hero, its only parallels are **Hymettos 1** and possibly **Tourkovouni**.

2.14 Stroma

Context:	cave
Date:	7th century BCE
Location:	on S face of the Stroma near Charaka
Pottery:	(**SG?**)
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 198, no. 71.31; Lohmann, 1993, 379-380 (CH60).

2.15 Vouliagmeni

Context:	sanctuary of Artemis
Date:	from ca. 600 BCE (?)
Location:	on Odos Spetson, near the ancient road linking Aixone with Halai Aixonides
Architecture:	small cult building with naos and pronaos (probably 6th century)
Pottery:	**(C)** skyphoi, aryballoi
Votives:	anthropomorphic figurines (chiefly female, of various archaic and classical types; classical lamps, pinakes and marble limbs).
Preliminary reports:	A. Patrianakou-Iliaki, *ArchDelt* 34B, 1979, 77-78.
Summary:	H.W. Catling, *AR* 1988-1987, 10.
Bibliography:	Mersch, 1996, 226, no. 76.33.

This sanctuary consisted of a small temple-like building, comprising naos and pronaos (4,87 x 3,17 m), facing east and dating to the Archaic Period, presumably sixth century. Of this building only the foundations of unworked stones, resting on bedrock, survive. To the NE an *apothetis* (ca. 10 m^2) came to light consisting of archaic and classical pottery and a good number of mostly female statuettes. A number of marble limbs appears to have been attached originally as votives to the inner wall, but were found fallen on the *sekos* floor. It is not quite clear how the earliest pottery should be dated. Based on the Corinthian sherds, a date around 600 BCE is a possibility, but further publication of the material is required.

2.16 Zoster

Context:	sanctuary of Apollo
Date:	late 7th c. BCE (?)
Location:	on the isthmus between Vouliagmeni and cape Zoster
Pottery:	**(C)** oinochoe (Figure 172)
Main Publication:	Kourouniotes, *ArchDelt* 11, 1927-1928, 9-53 (esp. 51, fig. 47).
Bibliography:	Pauly Wissowa, *RE, s.v.* Zoster; Mersch, 1996, 224, no. 76.30; Travlos, 1988, 466-468.

Epigraphical evidence has indicated this site as the sanctuary of Apollo, who, according to Pausanias was worshipped together with Athena, Artemis and Leto.[711] A temple and priest's house date to the late sixth or early fifth century. The only evidence clearly antedating the architecture is the Corinthian oinochoe found beneath the temple's foundations and one may doubt as to whether this constitutes enough evidence to follow Kourouniotes in dating the emergence of this cult in the seventh century.

Figure 172 – Corinthian Oinochoe from the Apollo sanctuary.

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[711] See Kourouniotis, *op. cit.*, 38-42; Pausanias, 1.31.1.

3   Appendix – Some Votives without Context in Athens

This list consists mainly of plain terracotta idols from the Subgeometric Period (mostly seventh century BCE). These cylindrical figurines are usually covered in white slip and sometimes painted. In the early reports they are usually referred to as "Primitives", though we may prefer the more neutral "Stempelidole", coined by Michael Küper, who catalogued the figurines from many different cult sites in Attica.[712] Examples have been found throughout Attica, such as **Eleusis 1**, **Mounichia**, **Kiapha Thiti**, **Pallini** (?), **Sounion** and even on **Salamis**. Some Athenian examples were found out of context and can therefore not be connected to any particular cult. The figurines from the Nike Bastion have been included in the main list, as they almost certainly belong to a single context, presumably of Athena Nike. They are mentioned separately here, because they seem to be indicative of cult activity, even if we are unsure of which kind. The idols were found inside a well, a rock cut shaft or the eroded debris from the Acropolis. Also included are a few other terracotta figurines found together with the "Stempelidole".

3.1 Athens – Agora 3

Location:	"rock-cut shaft" on the eastern slope of Kolonos hill
Votives:	(SG) one "Stempelidol"; various figurines
Main publications:	Vanderpool, 1946, cat. nos. 324-326, pl. 68, 1938, cat. nos. 47-48, fig. 41.
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 22.

The finds were found out of context in the so-called "rock-cut shaft". The "Stempelidol" points almost certainly to a sacred origin. The other pieces include horses and a siren.

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[712] Küper, 1990, esp. 18-23.

3.2 Athens – Acropolis 4

Location:	on N slope of the Acropolis (sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite)
Votives:	**(LG)** one figurine; **(SG)** a great number of "Stempelidole" and other terracotta figurines
Main Publication:	Broneer, 1938; Morgan II, 1934, 200, fig. 35.
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 21.

In 1935, Charles Morgan wrote: "More than five hundred terracotta figurines and fragments were found on the North Slope in the course of the excavations undertaken during the past three years. [...] the greater part of these seems to have been dedicated to the divinities enshrined on top of the hill [...]. Because of the sharp declivity of the site, becoming even more precipitous with each deposit from above, and because of the torrents of water that pour down it after every shower, it is rarely possible to determine the exact or relevant context for the individual objects." None of the subgeometric idols have been connected with the sanctuary in which they were found and it is reasonable to assume that they originated further up the hill. The other figurines include the fairly standard horses and riders, a few oxen, a monkey (!) and two boats.

3.3 Athens – Areopagus 4

Location:	on N slope of the Areopagus
Votives:	Terracotta figurines
Main Publication:	Young, 1938, 420, fig. 10, cat. nos. D30-34.
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 21; Brann, 1962, 129 (J 18:8).

This material belongs to Agora well J 18:8 excavated and published by Rodney Young. The votives include one "Stempelidol", two horses and two "Bird-face" figurines.

3.4 Athens – Pnyx

Location:	on N slope of the Areopagus
Votives:	one "Stempelidol" and some other figurines
Main publication:	Davidson, Burr, and Thompson, 1943, 135, nos. 1-4, fig. 152.
Bibliography:	Küper, 1990, 21.

The terracotta idol was found in the assembly place and may belong to a pre-existing shrine. Three more early pieces were found, including a seated goddess and a male torso, though it is uncertain if these predate 600 BCE.

3.5 Hymettos 4

Location:	(+ 255 m) on SW face Hymettos near Stavros
Votives:	two "Stempelidole"
Pottery:	**(G)** and later "attische Scherben"
Bibliography:	Brommer, 1972, 266, no. 184.

The two Stempelidole and some pottery were collected by Wrede and are now in the German Instite at Athens. They presumably originate from an undiscovered cult spot on Mt. Hymettos. At least one more idol was found in the so-called "Lion's Cave" on the north slope of the Hymettos (**Hymettos 3**).

Part Three

Cult and Society

Chapter 5

Setting the Stage

The Geographical Backdrop of Attic Cults

1   Introduction

In the course of the Archaic Period and culminating in the reforms of Cleisthenes of
508/7 BCE, the territory of the Attic peninsula came to be identical with that of the
Athenian polis. However, the Athenian polis and the Attic peninsula were not always
and of necessity equivalent entities, even if the environmental features may be shown
to have favored the realization of such a situation. Thus, before embarking on an
analysis of the crucial role of cults in the configuration of the Athenian state, we must
first take a closer look at the physical qualities of the territory. The natural terrain as
well as the major routes of communication, the strength or weakness of its neighbors
etc. all played a role in shaping historical developments.

2   The Natural Landcape

The territory of the Classical Athenian polis is in some important respects different
from that of other poleis. Important features include the fact that it consisted of
several plains instead one, most notably, its size.

2.1 Size of the Territory

The territory of Athens around 400 BCE comprised ca. 2500 km^2. The extent of the
Athenian polis is easily illustrated through a simple comparison with other Greek
poleis.[713] The territory under Spartan control was admittedly much larger (ca. 8400
km^2) when including helot Messenia and perioikic Arcadia. However, since these
areas were not truly integrated in the Spartan polis, its core territory may be estimated

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[713] Cf. Hansen and Nielsen, 2004.

as roughly equal to that of Athens.[714] The Argive polis measured ca. 1400 km^2, that of Corinth ca. 900 km^2 and Thebes ca. 650-800 km^2. These poleis were by all means vast. By contrast, the average size of a Greek polis varied between 100-200 km^2, while more than half of the poleis were smaller than 100 km^2.[715] These numbers are often presented in order to illustrate the extraordinary status of Athens as a polis.

However, EIA and Archaic Attica does not conform best to the standard, Classical polis model. As I will argue, the EIA and EA socio-political and religious relations are better understood as part of a larger ethnic construct as defined in part 1. Thus, speaking of size, it is helpful to compare Attica to other Greek ethne. We may take the division of the landscape according to Greeks' own idea of ethnic affiliations as the basis for our comparison. A quick look at the map will show that Attica is a region of medium size, smaller than Thessaly[716], Euboea, and Arcadia, about even in size with Messenia, Phocis, Laconia, Opuntian Locris, Achaea, Aetolia and the Argolid, and larger than Ozolian Locris, Doris, Elis, Boeotia and Acarnania.[717] Of course, ethnic affiliations are subject to continuous transformation and the configuration of an ethnos is very much subject to the period in which we choose to measure. However, there is no reason to doubt that the territory of Attica comprised an ethnos of more or less average size during the Archaic Period.

2.2 Natural Borders and Subdivisions

The basic "unit" for the Greek polis is the plain, which is typically defined on three sides by a range of mountains or tall hills, and on one side by the sea. Atypically, Argos shared a plain with two other poleis, while the Athenian polis comprised several plains. Of these plains, the Athenian (*pedion*) is the largest and most centrally located. The others are the Thriasian plain around Eleusis beyond Mt. Aigaleos, the Mesogeia south and east of Mt. Hymettos, the plain of Marathon beyond Mt. Pentelikon and several smaller plains, including the ones around modern Vari and Anavyssos (cf. plans in this chapter). The coastal plain of Oropos on the farther side of Mt. Parnes was subjected to Attic influence but was not added to the Athenian polis until the Classical Period.[718] The area to the south of the *pedion* is mostly hilly, though several regions, both coastal and inland, were suitable for cultivation.

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[714] The core territory of the Spartan territory may be defined by the Eurotas basin in between the Parnon and Taygetos and down to Cape Malea.

[715] Cf. Ober, 2008, 84-86 and n. 13.

[716] But note the subdivision in four regions (each with their own ethnic affiliations): Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis. Cf. Morgan, 2003, fig. 1.2.

[717] Cf. the plan in Morgan, 2003 (fig. 1.1).

[718] In the EIA and EA Period, Oropos seems to have belonged to the Eretrian/Euboean sphere of influence, cf. the work of Mazarakis Ainian, e.g. Mazarakis Ainian, 1998.

To the north, Attica was relatively shielded from the mainland, Mt. Parnes posing a formidable obstacle for traffic with Thebes, as the erratic course of both the old and the new Theban highways illustrate to this day. To the northwest lies Megara, safely hidden behind the Pateras range. A trip from Athens to Corinth by car, over the precipitous coastal roads between Eleusis and Megara, illustrates vividly why the Sacred Wars and the wars with Megara seem to have consisted largely of sea battles. Attica was thus relatively well protected from mainland incursions, at least in comparison to other mainland states. On the other hand, the Attic peninsula was favorably positioned for trade with the Cyclades, Crete and the wider Mediterranean.

2.3 Quality of the Soil and Settlement Patterns

This aspect is generally taken into account in regional surveys, but is often ignored with regard to state formation. The quality of the soil is nevertheless a constitutive element, not only because of its effect on agricultural production, but also because of its importance in determining patterns of settlement. In general, good soil has a tendency to create a more densely concentrated settlement pattern, while the reverse is true for low quality terrain.

The soil in the Athenian plain, as well as the smaller plains to the south and east, was already considered poor in antiquity.[719] It is thus not surprising that the Classical polis comprised ca. 140 demes, more or less evenly scattered throughout the map. While some demes, such as Acharnae and Eleusis, reached a quite formidable size, most demes were relatively small communities. This general pattern certainly extends back into the Archaic Period and may be attributed to the relatively low quality of the soil. The low produce of the land meant that relatively large areas had to be farmed (regardless of the important question of landownership).[720] To stay within walking distance of these lands, they would have had to choose a somewhat central location in relation to their plots of land. This precluded the possibility of large settlements, such as in the Argolid, where the plots were smaller and thus better accessible to a larger group of people. The latter seems to have been the case in the Thriasian plain, which was more fertile and is characterized by one large, nucleated settlement (Eleusis).

There is some uncertainty, however, as to how the smaller communities of the Attic countryside were laid out. An extreme view is taken by the German scholars Hoepfner, Schwandner and Lang, who posit that individual oikoi were settled in

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[719] Thuc. 1.3; Strabo 9.1.8.

[720] Cf. Foxhall, 1997. On landownership in the Classical Period, see Foxhall, 2002, esp. 218-219, bibliography: 209-210.

dispersed farmsteads (so-called *Einhaussiedlungen*).[721] However, in Chapter 9.5.2 I will argue from the evidence of the only surviving Archaic settlement, Lathouriza, that the standard settlement pattern presumably consisted of small villages, ranging from a few to several dozens of houses.

3   Position and Strength of Neighboring States

Next, the cultural environment should be taken into account. In ancient Greece, neighboring communities are potential enemies. The distance to and the strength of these enemies have a profound impact on the socio-political configuration. The situation in Attica may be summarized as follows. The natural borders, consisting of Mt. Parnes and the sea, kept external threats at a relative distance. Furthermore, during the Archaic Period, Boeotia to the north was politically divided and was therefore a relatively quiet neighbor.

Megara to the northwest was a small state, which had become a political unit at an early stage. The wars with Megara over Salamis (and the Salaminian strait) were fought in the course of the seventh and sixth centuries. I have already referred to the fact that Megara posed no real military threat to Athens in terms of land combat and anecdotal references to the war are consistently related to coastal raids.[722] It is probably not until the sixth century that the Athenians first encountered a serious military threat with the expansionist policy of Sparta under Cleomenes.[723]

The Euboeans in the northeast were active maritime traders from an early age. They colonized the area around Oropos in the ninth and eighth century and no doubt came into contact with the population of the Marathonian plain.[724] However, there are no sources that tell of any conflicts between the two groups, and Euboeans mercantile interests may not have favored territorial ambitions in Attica.

To the south, the Cycladic islands were early to form small but independent poleis. There is no evidence to suggest that these states posed a serious and continuous threat. Finally, the merchant navies of Aegina and Corinth must have been a dominant presence in the Saronic Gulf throughout the Archaic Period and before. It has been suggested that Athens lost its "maritime empire" to Aegina after a sea battle in the middle of the eighth century BCE.[725] This is not uncontroversial, but it is clear that whatever maritime ambitions Athens had found fierce competition from these two states.

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[721] Hoepfner et al., 1996; Lang, 1996; Hoepfner et al., 1994; Hoepfner and Zimmer, 1993.
[722] Ael. *VH* 7.19; Aen. Tact. 4.8-12; Hdt. 1.59.4; Paus. 1.40.5; Plut. *Sol.* 8-10; 12.3; Polyaen. *Stratagems* 1.20.2.
[723] Hdt. 5.69-76.
[724] Mazarakis Ainian, 1998, 1996.
[725] Coldstream, 1977/2003, 133-135.

4   Conclusion

It is clear that the natural environment of Attica allowed it to reap the benefits of the island states in terms of military security, while enjoying the territorial mass of a mainland state. As I have shown, the size of its territory conforms to the average ethnic regions Central Greece and the Peloponnese. Yet the relative security afforded by its natural boundaries and the relative weakness of its neighbors allowed it to progress to a large degree according to internal dynamics and local circumstances, such as a low-density settlement pattern.[726] With external threats a relatively minor issue, the rural population of Attica felt little pressure to congregate in large nucleated and easily fortifiable settlements. As we shall see below, this condition played a crucial role in the development of Attica's sacred configuration and may be held at least partly responsible for the many dispersed cult sites that developed throughout Attica from the Late Protogeometric Period onward (Table 5).

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[726] This pertains to Attica outside Athens, which is discussed separately in chapter 3.

Table 5 – Chart of Attic cults (1000-600 BCE)
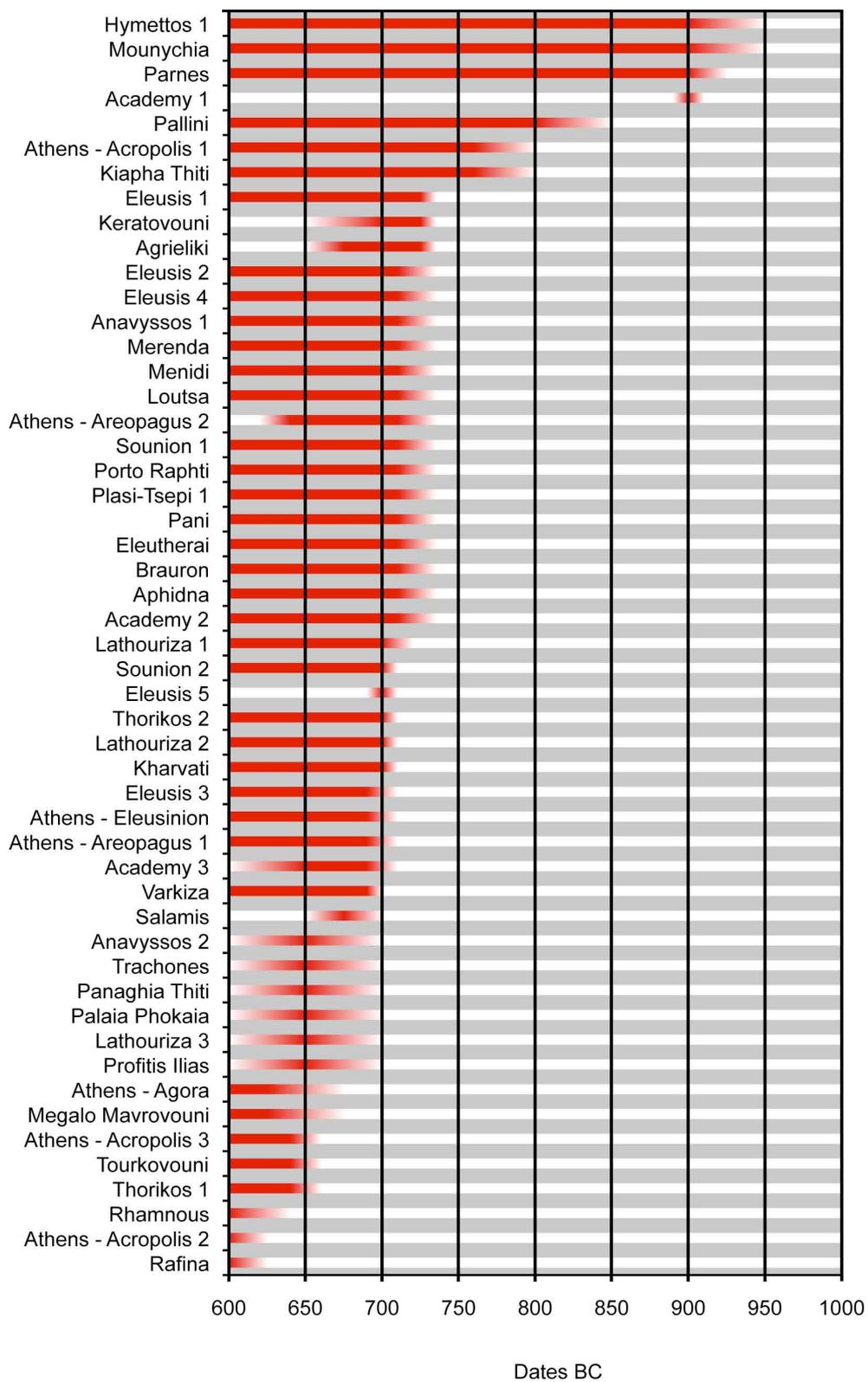
Chapter 6

The Transformation of Power

From Palace to Basileus (ca. 1400-960 BCE)

1   Introduction

In Athens, as elsewhere in Greece, the transition from BA to EIA was characterized by change, contraction and isolation. Still, in comparison with other regions the Athenian record is relatively clear. There appears to have been continuous habitation at Athens and the material culture, though rapidly transforming, shows a continuous pattern of development. On the other hand, we have seen in Part 2 that "evidence" for cult continuity – especially at Eleusis and on the Acropolis – is based on assumptions and preconceived notions and cannot be substantiated.[727]

In this chapter, I shall analyze the evidence and scholarship concerning the issue of constitutional continuity in order to establish how the transmission of power and the hierarchical command structure were related to the emergence of the first sanctuaries (Chapter 7). I will argue that a relatively weak and geographically limited monarchy evolved out of a strong palatial bureaucracy, a *wanax*-type government vs. a *basileus*-type government.

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[727] Cf. **Eleusis 1** and **Athens - Acropolis 1**).
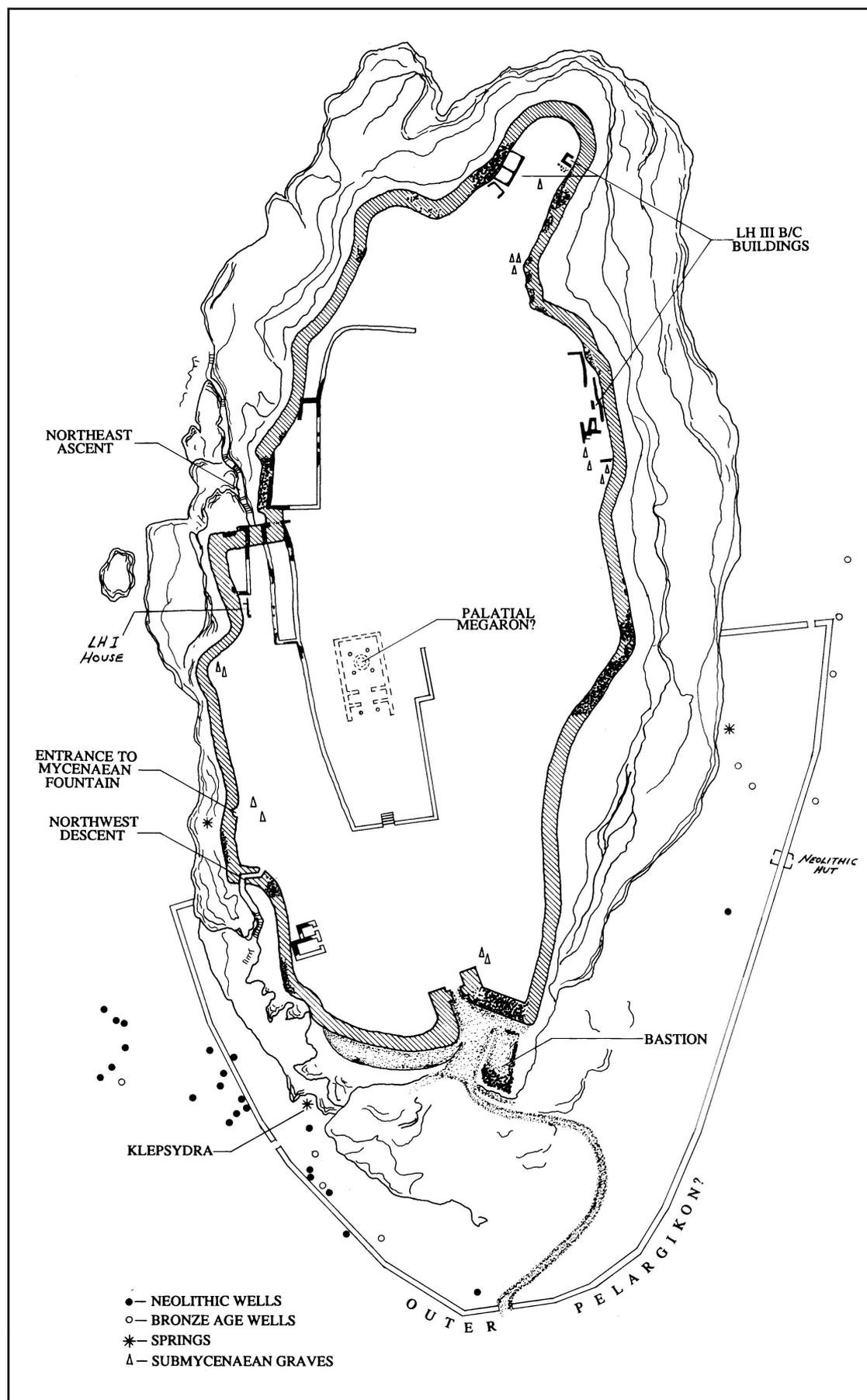
Figure 173 – Plan of the Acropolis. LH IIIB (13th century BCE).

The following labels appear on the plan:

- LH III B/C BUILDINGS
- NORTHEAST ASCENT
- LH I HOUSE
- PALATIAL MEGARON?
- ENTRANCE TO MYCENAEAN FOUNTAIN
- NORTHWEST DESCENT
- NEOLITHIC HUT
- BASTION
- KLEPSYDRA
- OUTER PELARGIKON?

Legend:
- ● — NEOLITHIC WELLS
- ○ — BRONZE AGE WELLS
- ✱ — SPRINGS
- Δ — SUBMYCENAEAN GRAVES

2   Archaeological Evidence for Settlement and Cult

A short summary of the archaeological evidence (ca. 1400-960 BCE) will clarify the main trends in settlement patterns during the final stages of the BA and during the transitional period.

2.1 The Late Helladic III Period (ca. 1400-1075 BCE)[728]

Outside Athens, various Late Helladic sites have been recorded. Marathon, Eleusis, Brauron, Aphidna, Thorikos and, to a lesser degree, Sounion and Rhamnous have yielded material evidence from this period. The LH I-II phase (ca. 1550-1400 BCE) appears to have been characterized by a tendency toward regionalism, epitomized by the Tholos tombs at **Vrana** and **Thorikos 2**.[729] From the middle of the fifteenth century BCE and during the transition from LH IIB to LH IIIA, an increasing number of chamber tombs by the Eridanos river at Athens illustrate its growing importance.[730]

2.1.1 Settlement

It is clear that Athens became the political center in Attica from the first half of the thirteenth century BCE (LH IIIB), when massive fortifications were constructed on the Acropolis (Figure 173). It is generally believed that the Acropolis served as one of the main centers of Late Mycenaean palatial government. However, unlike some of the other palaces (Mycenae, Tiryns, Knossos and Thebes) no Linear B tablets were found to support this claim, and the argument is based solely on the architectural remains.[731] As far as we know, no Tholos tombs were constructed in the Attic

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[728] For the conventional absolute dates of the Attic LH and SM sequences, see Mountjoy, 1995, 8.

[729] The tombs date to the sixteenth (Thorikos) and fifteenth centuries (Marathon, Thorikos).

[730] The tombs extend from the Areopagus to the Stoa Poikile, on either side of the Eridanos river, cf. Camp, 1986, fig. 7; Immerwahr, 1971, 151. Recently two chamber tombs were excavated a few meters northwest of the stoa, cf. Camp, 2003.

[731] Camp, 2001, 72-74; Hurwit, 1999.The evidence can be summarized as follows: A column base is traditionally cited as belonging to a Megaron-like structure, comparable to the palaces of Mycenae, Pylos and Tiryns, cf. Camp, 2001, 19; Hurwit, 1999, 73 + fig. 52, but can hardly be considered as conclusive evidence for the existence of a palace. Indirect – but more convincing – proof has been found in the construction of two enceinte fortifications toward the end of the LH IIIB period (ca. 1200 BCE). Especially the main, Figure 173) is similar in size and type of masonry to the well-preserved walls of Mycenae and Tiryns, though it should be pointed out that the – even larger – fortifications at Gla in Boeotia do not seem to have included a Megaron-type palace, cf. Immerwahr, 1971, 153, n. 405. Finally, as many as five terraces were constructed in the course of the thirteenth century on the north side of the hill, the uppermost of which would have been large Figure 173 and Hurwit, 1999, 72-73, fig. 7. In the Early Iron Age, this terrace became the focus of the cult of Athena and it has been argued that the latter emerged as a direct result
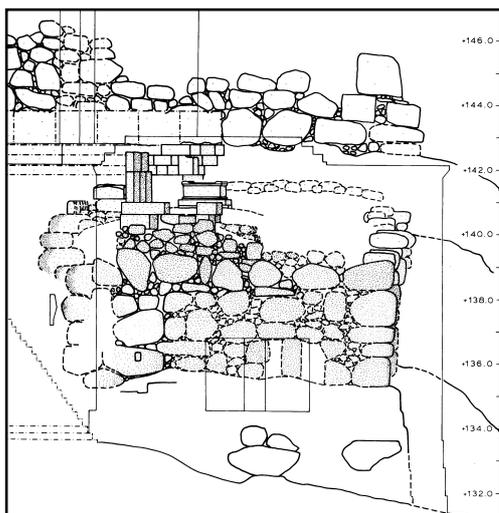
Figure 174 – Nike bastion from W. In outline two windows in the classical retaining wall giving access to the presumed Mycenaean shrine.
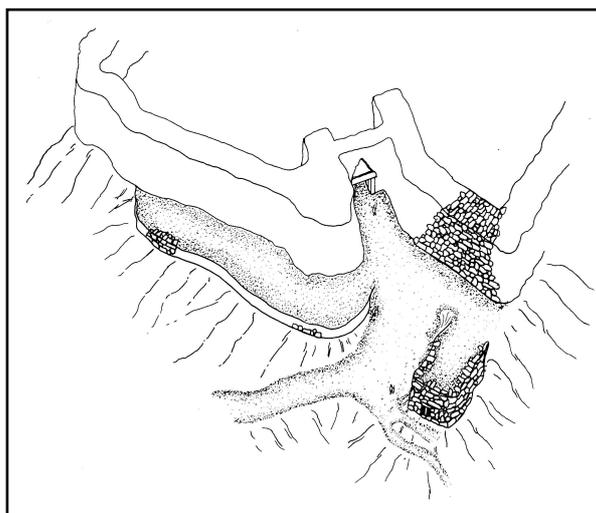
Figure 175 – Birdseye view of the Mycenaean bastion with the eastern entrance to the Acropolis.

countryside, while such tombs as were found at Marathon, Menidi and Thorikos date to the preceding LH II Period. This fact has been taken as a sign of the diminishing importance of the periphery corresponding to the simultaneous rise of Athens.[732]

An important caveat has to be made here: no Tholos tombs were discovered in or near Athens to match those found at Mycenae, although a great number of LH III chamber tombs were uncovered, in particular in the area of the Classical Agora.[733] The so-called '*lithos*', where office holders were sworn in during the democracy, has been interpreted as the lintel block of a (disintegrated) Tholos, but this remains speculative.[734] If there had been Tholos tombs at Athens, none of them survived.

2.1.2 Early Traces of Cult?

The material evidence of Attic cult practice during the LH Period is non-existent, with the exception of a small hollow in the Acropolis "Nike Bastion" (Figure 174 and Figure 175). This bastion was part of the LH IIIB fortifications.[735] Near the bottom of its tower-like structure, facing west, a cavern was carefully left open and supported with a column. No religious objects have been connected with this presumed shrine,

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of the demise of centralized palatial rule. Finally, as at Mycenae, a shaft was cut deep into the rock leading to a natural spring, cf. Broneer, 1938.

[732] The latest of the four Attic Tholos tombs is the one at Menidi, which dates to LH IIIA2-B period (ca. 1300 BCE).

[733] Immerwahr, 1971, 96-157.

[734] Camp, 2001, 1986

[735] Hurwit, 1999, 75-76, fig. 56; Mark, 1993.

but traces of fire may indicate that it once served as an altar.[736] If the Mycenaean bastion did harbor a cult place, one would be inclined to connect it with some type of liminal deity, as it was placed near the main entrance to the Acropolis. A somewhat similar cavernous space existed inside the Lion's Gate at Mycenae in the northeastern retaining wall.[737]

2.1.3 The End of the Bronze Age

During the final stages of the Bronze Age (LH IIIC), general instability and fear of conflict seem to have been responsible for the depopulation of the entire west coast of Attica and most of the interior peninsula. Nearly all previous settlements were abandoned at this time with the exception of Salamis, Athens and Perati. No cult sites are known from this period; archaeological evidence consists exclusively of burials.[738]

2.2 The Submycenaean Period (ca. 1075-1025 BCE)[739]

During the Submycenaean Period (1075-1025 BCE), the east coast of Attica seems to have been abandoned as well, with the demise of Perati. Pottery from graves on Salamis and at Athens (in particular from the Kerameikos and the Acropolis) is our only evidence of habitation in this period.[740]

2.2.1 Settlement

Traditionally, Athens has been regarded as one of the few places on the mainland that was not destroyed by a foreign invasion and as such remained "autochthonous".[741] However, the claim of Athenian autochthony was clearly exploited during the Athenian – Spartan conflict in the fifth century and it has proven a hazardous task to

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[736] The architects of the Classical refurbishment of the Acropolis took care to construct two small openings in front of the hollow, perhaps in recognition of its sacred nature, cf. Kardara, 1960, add pp.

[737] Wace, 1964, 54 identified the hollow as a "Porter's Lodge", which has an anachronistic ring to it.

[738] General LH IIIC in Athens: Desborough, 1964, 112-119. Athens: Mountjoy, 1995, 50-62; Perati: Iakovidis, 1969-1970; Salamis: Styrenius, 1967, 103-123; 1962; Wide, 1910, 17-36, pls. 5-6.

[739] Cf. n. 728. For a "high" date (ca. 1125-1050 BCE), see Snodgrass, 1971, 123 or, more recently, Thomas and Conant, 1999, 61.

[740] The only monograph on this elusive pottery style is that of Styrenius, 1967, whose basic sequence is derived from Furumark type LH IIIC:2, Furumark, 1941, 576-582. Since then, however, there has been much debate as to whether Submycenaean pottery is a chronologically distinct style, as debated by Styrenius and later Schachermeyr, 1980, 248-249, or merely a local variation of LH IIIC (Rutter, 1978; Desborough, 1964. For the Athenian sequence, cf. Mountjoy, 1995, 63-68. More recent excavations tend to support the view that the Submycenaean style should be seen as a distinct chronological phase, cf. Jacob-Felsch, 1996, 8-9 (with bibliography).

[741] Foreign invasion, cf. Thomas and Conant, 1999, 60-84.

weed out its historical significance.[742] The fact that no evidence of violent destruction was found at Athens is usually taken to be significant, although the scarcity of the remains makes this difficult to validate. The gradual transformation of pottery styles from Late Helladic through Submycenaean to Protogeometric is a surer sign of continuity.[743] Furthermore, cemeteries in the Agora-Kerameikos area show an unbroken sequence of burials throughout the Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition, even if some important changes in burial customs took place.[744]

2.2.2 Cult

Cult activity during the Submycenaean Period remains a great question mark.[745] It is likely that the evidence of material continuity at Athens is a reflection of some form of continuity of cultural forms. Nevertheless cult practice, in whatever shape, must have undergone drastic transformations. The Submycenaean bowl found at the sanctuary on **Hymettos** has been identified as the earliest evidence of cult activity.[746] While the bowl is a remarkable feature in this remote spot, it is not clear whether it indicates cultic use.

2.3 The Early and "Ripe" Protogeometric Period (1025 - 960 BCE)[747]

By the Early Protogeometric Period, Athens is the only surviving settlement of the peninsula. As is the case for the Submycenaean Period, the scarce ceramic remains originate predominantly from graves in the Agora-Kerameikos area and on the Acropolis.[748]

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[742] Cf. also Hall, 1997, 51-56; Rosivach, 1987. On the issue of Athenian autochthony in general, see Blok, 2009c and (now somewhat outdated) Loraux, 1981b.

[743] A good summary of the issues and relevant literature can be found in Snodgrass, 1971, 28-34.

[744] In the Submycenaean Period cist tombs replace the Bronze Age chamber tombs and urn-cremations in the Protogeometric Period. For the Bronze Age cemetery in the Agora, see Immerwahr, 1971, 96-157. Good overviews of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic cemeteries in the Athens area can be found in D'Onofrio, 1997; Whitley, 1991b, 62-63, fig. 4; Morris, 1987, appendix 2. Cf. also section 3.2 below.

[745] Cf. chapter 5.2.1.2.

[746] Whitley, 1991b, 54-55 adduces a submycenaean bowl from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Hymettos (**Hymettos 1**) as a possible sign of cult activity during this period. However, the excavator, Langdon, 1976, 74 and cat. no. 55 (p.55), mentions that "a stray submycenaean goblet is the only piece until Late Protogeometric. No Early or Middle Protogeometric pottery was found. But a number of vessels all belonging to the latest phase of the Protogeometric period indicates that the sanctuary was established at that time, the latter half of the 10th century B.C."

[747] For the conventional absolute dates of the PG sequence, see Desborough, 1952, 294-295. Again, for the "high" date (from ca. 1050 BCE), see Snodgrass, 1971, 123.

[748] Glowacki, 1998; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997; Krause, 1976; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972; Desborough, 1952; Kraiker and Kübler, 1939.

2.3.1 Settlement

It is debatable whether a PG settlement existed on the hill itself (cf. section 3.2). However, burial practice seems to have continued on the Acropolis down until the PG/EG transition, suggesting that the old citadel remained in use.[749] In any case, it is likely that the Acropolis served as a kind of *Fluchtburg*, a place of refuge for the population scattered about its vicinity.[750] The large Mycenaean fortifications remained in use during the Early Iron Age and provided ample protection against external threats during this unstable period. While settlement remains are absent from the material record, it seems fair to conjecture that habitation was limited to a fairly short distance away from the safety provided by the Acropolis, as is indicated by the wells and graves found at close range (Figure 176). Most likely small settlement clusters, consisting of a few hut-like structures, housed a couple of families.[751] Defining or integrating elements must have included a common fear of invasion, as well as the common burial grounds girdling the citadel. Finally, there must have been a weathered sense of continuity amidst a thoroughly changed universe. This would have been apparent in the ancient burial grounds girdling the Acropolis and, we must presume, orally transmitted stories.

2.3.2 Cult

The LPG cults at **Mounichia** (Artemis) and on the nearby mountain ranges **Hymettos 1** and **Parnes** (Zeus) show no sign of any activity before the second half of the tenth century. The claim that the cult of Demeter in **Eleusis 1** was established in the Bronze Age and maintained throughout the Dark Ages[752] must be dismissed for complete lack of evidence. It appears that Eleusis was not or hardly inhabited during this period and no positive evidence for cult activity has been recorded with certainty before the end of the eighth century BCE.[753]

2.4 Conclusion

The Transitional Period shows certain signs of material continuity, in particular as regards pottery styles. Nevertheless, rapid changes occurred and the period is generally characterized by economic contraction and cultural depression. There is no

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[749] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998. Burials on the Acropolis were briefly resumed during the LG period, cf. section 3.4 below.

[750] Snodgrass, 1980, 31.

[751] Cf. note 750.

[752] Mylonas, 1961; Mylonas and Kourouniotes, 1933, 23-54. Travlos, 1983 argued that the cult was initially a private affair of the Eumolpidai, until it became public in the eighth century BCE.

[753] For continuity of habitation, or lack thereof, in the Attic countryside, see van Gelder, 1991. For a sobering account of the hard evidence at Eleusis, cf. Binder, 1998, passim.

evidence for cult continuity extending from the BA into the EIA, let alone leading into the LPG Period. None of the cult sites that were in use during the LPG Period show concrete evidence of earlier use.

3 The Mycenaean Palace and Its Legacy

Since Athens is the only site on the Attic mainland that shows continuity during the transitional period, it is appropriate to have a closer look at signs of political continuity there, beginning in LH III. With regard to constitutional continuity, much revolves around the existence of a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis, evidence of which is circumstantial but compelling.

3.1 The Mycenaean Palace

The arguments in favor of a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis (cf. Figure 173) are based on the close resemblance of the archaeological remains with those at Mycenae:

1   The Cyclopean masonry of the fortress, as well as its construction near the edges of the hill, is identical to that of the enceinte walls at Mycenae and Tiryns.[754]

2   Two monumental entrances (the Northeast Ascent and the West Entrance) may be compared to the ascent to the "Lion Gate" at Mycenae.

3   A deep shaft was cut into the hill to create a water supply inside the fortification.[755] At Mycenae, a similar well existed.[756]

4   Architectural remains indicate that the fortress was inhabited, as was the case at Mycenae.

5   The extensive and monumental terrace on the highest point accentuates the top of the hill and provides ample space for a palatial building.

6   A single LH column base may be attributed to such a Mycenaean palace.[757]

7   The presumed LH III B cult place near the entrance of the Acropolis fortress' "Nike Bastion" has been connected with some type of liminal deity (cf. Chapter 6.2.1.2; Figure 174 and Figure 175).[758] A similar space existed inside the Lion's Gate at Mycenae in the northeastern retaining wall.[759]

Finally, there is a good explanation of why any remains of a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis did not survive: the extensive building and landscaping of the hill in later times obliterated all traces of it. This is illustrated by the fact that most prehistoric

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[754] At Gla, the enceinte wall was made of Cyclopean masonry as well though here no evidence, direct or indirect, points to the presence of a Mycenaean palace.
[755] Broneer, 1938.
[756] Wace, 1964.
[757] Hurwit, 1999, 73, fig. 52.
[758] Hurwit, 1999, 75-76, fig. 56; Mark, 1993.
[759] Cf. n. 737.

remains were found on the edges of the hill where building activity was less intense in later times.

The similarities between the Acropolis of Athens and Mycenae indicate that the Acropolis was an important seat of "Mycenaean" rule during the LH III period and there is no reason to doubt that this center was ruled in the same way as the other palatial centers. It matters little for our purposes what we imagine the architecture of such a "palace" on the Acropolis to have looked like, but it seems likely that this building was situated on the monumental terrace constructed on the top of the hill. What matters most for the present study is the fact that a palatial infrastructure seems to have been in place by the end of the Bronze Age. From the Linear B tablets (especially those found at Pylos), it appears that power was hierarchically structured during the LH Period, with a single ruler, the *wanax*, commanding the system.[760]

3.2 The Legacy of the Palace and the Topography of Settlement

We now turn to the legacy of this palatial infrastructure in the transitional period. In the LH IIIC Period the Acropolis continued to be inhabited; architectural remains show continuity in building styles and habits. The lower town of Athens also fared largely as before with new chamber tombs on either side of the Eridanos. With settlement remains at Athens generally unchanged, there is no reason to doubt that the palatial infrastructure on the Acropolis remained relatively intact. The situation in Attica is not unlike the case of Tiryns, where the so-called "Unterburg" remained densely settled during the transitional period. It is even thought that the LH megaron on the citadel was (at least partially) repaired in the LH IIIC Period.[761] Continuity of palace administration at Tiryns is furthermore asserted by the find of Linear B tablets in a cult building in the Unterburg.[762] No matter how we conceive the nature of religious practice *at* the Mycenaean Palaces, the archaeological record shows major cult activity generally at some distance *removed from* the palaces.[763] This was the case at Mycenae and Tiryns and may well have been the case at Athens.

With the transition to the Submycenaean Period, however, we tread on thinner ice. At Tiryns, a new complex replaced the first cult center, showing at once continuity and transformation of religious customs.[764]

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[760] For the relationship Pylos-Nichoria, cf. Foxhall, 1995, esp. 244-250.
[761] Morgan, 1996.
[762] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997; Morgan, 1996.
[763] Dickinson, 1994.
[764] Morgan, 1996, 50-51.

3.2.1 The "City" on the Heights

At Athens the Acropolis remained in use judging from the graves found near the inside of the Mycenaean Cyclopaean wall. Seven graves have been attributed to this period with certainty and four more on a tentative basis. The practice of burying on the Acropolis appears to be new and may indicate that habitation on the Acropolis had contracted considerably. It is especially significant that out of these eleven SM graves eight have been identified as burials of infant children. Throughout history, stillborn or deceased newborn children have been interred inside settlements, while adults were relegated to the outside.[765] For example, no infants were recovered from the burial grounds in the lower city (notably the Kerameikos and the Agora). Several scholars have concluded from this fact that the Acropolis was still inhabited during the SM Period.[766]

It is generally thought that these interments ceased during the PG Period. And indeed, no new graves have been recovered from the PG/G Period. However, Gauss and Ruppenstein have also shown that some burial activity on the Acropolis persisted.[767] They base their conclusions on the find of three EPG lekythoi commonly associated with burials. John Papadopoulos would see some sort of occupation persisting on the Acropolis throughout the Protogeometric Period and, indeed, throughout the remaining Early Iron Age.[768] His argument is based on the following passage in Thucydides:

> *Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. Τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. Καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι· καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων πόλις.*

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[765] Papadopoulos, 2003, 299. This practice remained common until well into the Middle Ages when infant children were sometimes buried in pots inside a residence underneath the floor. Cf. Camp, 2003.

[766] Papadopoulos, 2003, 299-300; Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 23-24, n. 74; Little and Papadopoulos, 1998, 376, n. 3; Papadopoulos, 1996, 126.

[767] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 27.

[768] Papadopoulos, 2003, 297-316.

> *Before his time [i.e. the Athenian synoecism], what is now the Acropolis*
> *and the ground lying under it to the south was the city. Many reasons may*
> *be urged in proof of this statement: The temples of Athena and of other*
> *divinities are situated in the Acropolis itself, and those which are not lie*
> *chiefly thereabouts; the temples of Olympian Zeus, for example, and of the*
> *Pythian Apollo, and the temple of Earth and of Dionysus in the Marshes,*
> *in honour of whom the more ancient Dionysia are celebrated on the*
> *twelfth day of the month Anthesterion, a festival which also continues to*
> *be observed by the Ionian descendants of the Athenians. In the same*
> *quarter are other ancient temples, and not far off is the fountain now*
> *called Enneacrounos, or the Nine Conduits, from the form given to it by*
> *the tyrants, but originally, before the springs were covered in, Callirrhoe,*
> *or the Fair Stream. The water of this fountain was used by the ancient*
> *Athenians on great occasions, it being near the original city; and at*
> *marriage rites and other ceremonies the custom is still retained. To this*
> *day the Acropolis or Citadel is called by the Athenians Polis, because that*
> *neighbourhood was first inhabited. (Thuc. 2.15.3-6)*[769]

Now Thucydides, it is true, mentions that in ancient times the Athenian *polis* was situated on the Acropolis, as well as to the south. However, no argumentative force can be ascribed to this passage with regard to the Early Iron Age, let alone the Archaic Period. The passage in fact leaves open a number of things: first, and most importantly, it does not subscribe to a specific date, other than the period before the Athenian synoecism. The latter event, even if it indicates an actual historical occurrence, which is to be doubted, has been dated anywhere between the Late Helladic and Late Archaic Period and no consensus whatsoever has been reached in this respect.[770] Second, we may consider the meaning of the word *polis*, which is notoriously elusive. Granting the fact that Thucydides appears to stress the topographical connotation of the word when discussing the early *polis* (in the sense of actual settlement), I nevertheless fail to see how this situation should have persisted into the Archaic Period. Even Thucydides himself suggests that the original meaning of the word had become an empty shell in his own day. However, taking the wider meaning of the word *polis* into account, we may well remain comfortable with the label as attached to the Acropolis, without the necessity of positing habitation from the silence of the archaeological record. As Papadopoulos himself argues exceptionally well, the Acropolis remained the main fortification of the Athenians

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[769] Trans. Benjamin Jowett, 1881.
[770] For an overview of the various stances and interpretations, including his own, see Papadopoulos, 2003, 314-315 (with bibliography).

318
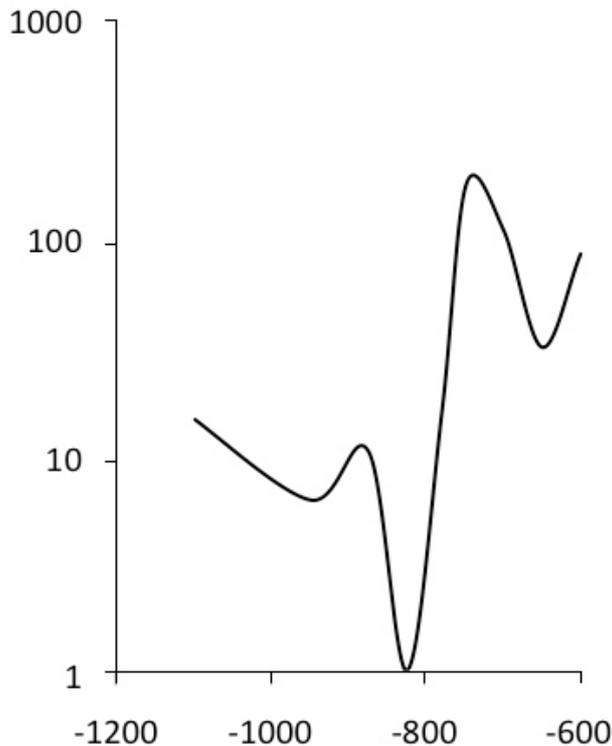
Table 6 – Left: Logarithmic scale of number of published sherds from the Acropolis (x100/yr). Dates BCE. Actual numbers per annum below.

SG/EPG	0,14
PG	0,06
EG	0,10
MG I	0,01
MG II	0,15
SG I	1,68
SG II	1,03

right up until the Persian Wars.[771] In addition, the main sanctuary of the Athenians was situated there. Both militarily and religiously then the Acropolis was the center of the Athenian *polis* throughout the Early Iron Age and the Archaic Period. In this respect it is interesting to note that Thucydides, in his discussion of the early polis, only mentions the religious topography, i.e. the cult of Athena on top and the other cults at the southern foot of the Acropolis.

With the historical and literary argument for continued habitation on the Acropolis out of the way, we may put to practice what Papadopoulos himself professes to do, but actually refrains from doing: studying the evidence from the contemporary (archaeological) sources, rather than working back from the Classical testimonia. In short, there is no hard evidence for settlement on the Acropolis after the middle of the tenth century BCE. First, the main argument in favor of the settlement in the earlier period – child burials within the settlement – ceases to play a role. For the LPG, EG and MG Period there is no convincing evidence in favor of burials on the Acropolis.[772] Secondly, and in my opinion more fatal to the continuation of settlement thesis is the devastating drop in recovered and published sherds during the ninth century. As Table 6 indicates, the number of known sherds from the Acropolis drops to nearly zero in the MG I period, indicating that burials (or indeed any kind of activity) had either ceased or become a negligible occurrence. It is not until the sudden emergence of a large number of LG Dipylon-style vases that renewed interest

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[771] Papadopoulos, 2003, 297-316.
[772] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 28-30.

in the Acropolis as a place for funerals becomes visible. I will address the significance of these vases in section 3.4 below.

I should like to add that, while the reliability of these numbers in absolute terms is limited, they are to be considered as serious evidence in a relative sense. To put them in perspective, we may begin by summarizing the problems as follows:

1   Uncertaintly about absolute chronology could conceivably distort the actual numbers.

2   Prolonged and intense building activity has in effect seriously distorted the archaeological remains.

3   When these sherds were excavated (under far from ideal circumstances), there may have been a tendency to keep certain sherds that were thought to be more attractive, while throwing others out. Theoretically this could have favored the chances of survival of sherds from a particular period, such as the LG Period, which indeed has yielded by far the most sherds.

These grave methodological problems do not, however, undermine the basic validity of the archaeological *trend* shown in Table 6. As to the first objection, no imperfection of the current chronology can account for the dramatic rise and fall in the numbers. Secondly, while later activity has obliterated the vast part of the prehistoric remains, there is no reasonable explanation how this should affect one particular period more than another, especially when we expect to find evidence of a settlement that no doubt would have occupied a considerable area of the hill. As to the third methodological hazard, the modern handling of the remains, there is indeed a case to be made that "pretty" Dipylon sherds may have stood a better chance of survival than earlier, less exuberantly decorated, sherds. Still, there are two good reasons why this may have effected the absolute numbers, without altering the general trend. First, the extreme rise in numbers between the MG I and LG I Period – an increase in recorded sherds per annum of 16,8 % within a period of ca. fifty years – cannot be wholly ascribed to partiality in the collection of the remains. Secondly, even if we were to ascribe this increase completely to this effect, we are still at a loss to explain the - less dramatic but still considerable – drop in recorded sherds per annum from the SM to the MG I Period (0.14 vs. 0.01 rs/a, or 7%). Surely, the former sherds do not count as the more attractive (especially by nineteenth century standards).

Summing up, I believe it is reasonable to assume that no settlement of any consequence was situated on the Acropolis after the middle of the tenth century.

3.2.2 The Lower Town

It has been a long-held belief that the site of the Athenian Agora was inhabited from an early age. Pottery from the numerous wells found in this locality seemed to

indicate that habitation here went back as early as the Protogeometric Period.[773] Recently, however, John Papadopoulos reexamined the material from the Agora and concluded that the pottery in these wells (and in particular the misfires) indicates that the area was used as a potters' quarter from an early age (the original "Ceramicus").[774] The pottery workshops were suitably located near the cluster of cemeteries in NW Athens. This begs the question of where the main nucleus of Athenian settlement was located in the (Proto-) Geometric Period.

There are several good reasons to assume that the nucleated settlement of Athens gradually sprawled to the southern slopes of the Acropolis after an initial period of contraction inside the Acropolis citadel during the SM Period. What little remains we have from contexts other than the funeral domain are largely clustered to the south (cf. Figure 176). This is where Thucydides claimed the "ancient" city was located before the synoecism of Theseus.[775] As we have seen Thucydides saw proof of this in the fact that all the important sanctuaries are either situated on the Acropolis or "at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south". Perhaps it is also significant that the sanctuaries in the lower town mentioned by Thucydides (Olympian Zeus, Pythian Apollo, Gaea and Dionysos 'en Limnais') are all located in an area that has remained rather free of settlement remains and graves (SE of the Acropolis, Figure 176, marked C).[776] Papadopoulos has convincingly argued that the passage in Thucydides has credence, because the situation he describes would have remained largely unaltered until the Periclean building boom.[777] In other words, he would have remembered this situation from his childhood years. A final argument for a southern location of the early city is derived from the so-called "Archaic Agora", which is thought to predate the Classical Agora. Most scholars now believe that it was located somewhere to the southeast of the Acropolis.[778]

On the other hand, the continuing decline of published pottery from the Acropolis during the tenth and ninth centuries (Table 6) indicates that all activity was

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[773] For the traditional view, developed by the excavators of the Agora, cf. Camp, 1986, 33. See also Hurwit, 1999, 88.

[774] Papadopoulos, 2003, esp. 272-279. In his view, the wells excavated by the Americans since 1931 point not so much to habitation, but to industrial activity, leaving the issue of the habitation cluster undecided from an archaeological viewpoint.

[775] Thuc. 2.15.3 (passage quoted on p. 317.

[776] This must remain hypothetical, since the retrieval of burials is extremely contingent on the excavation history, as is shown by the high concentration of retrieved graves in the American excavations of the Athenian Agora and the German excavations in the Kerameikos.

[777] Papadopoulos, 2003, 301.

[778] The literature on the site of the earliest nucleated settlement is vast, especially with regard to the topography of the "Archaic Agora". Selected bibliography includes: Papadopoulos, 2003, 280-296; Robertson, 1998; Papadopoulos, 1996; Miller, 1995; Habicht, 1985, 77-82; Dontas, 1983; Vanderpool, 1974; Wycherley, 1966; Oikonomides, 1964.
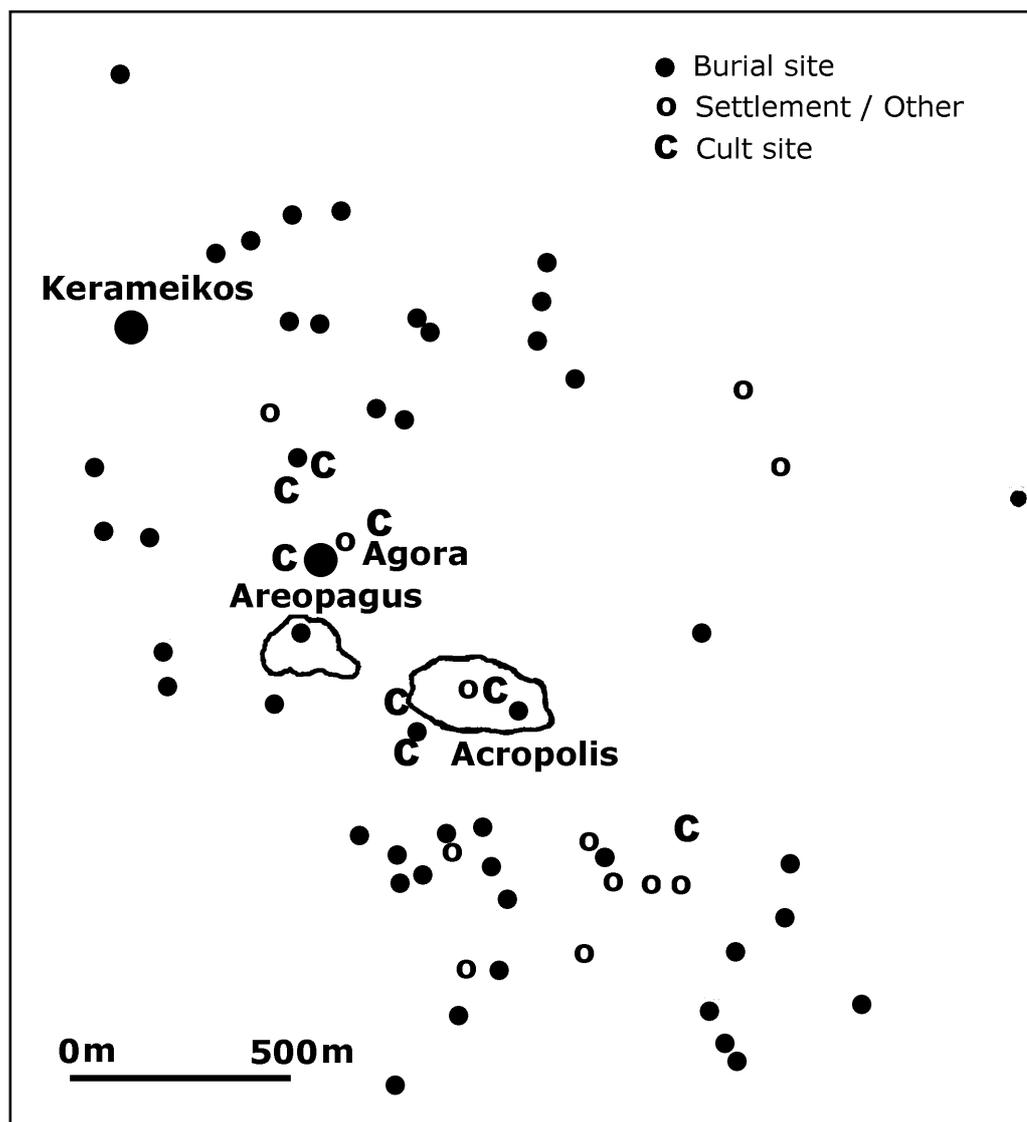
Figure 176 – Athens: Distribution of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic cemeteries, cult sites and other findspots, including wells (SM to EA: ca. 1100-600 BCE).

on the decline there and the focus of habitation gradually shifted from the Acropolis to the lower city in the course of the EIA. In the following section we will evaluate the repercussions of these findings for our understanding of the nature of the Athenian EIA power structure.

4 Constitutional Continuity

I have argued that a *wanax*-type of monarchy prevailed until the end of the LH IIIC Period. We have also seen that the Acropolis continued to be the focus of settlement during the Submycenaean Period, after which it gradually moved toward the lower city. While we cannot rely on later literary sources to represent an accurate account of EIA political history, there are a few things we may cautiously infer from the political constitution of Athens in later times.

4.1 The Athenian Constitution

According to Athenian tradition, as synthesized in the account in *Ath. Pol.* 3.2, Athenian institutions grew out of the command of a single ruler, whose office was for life:

> *The most powerful and earliest of the political offices were those of the King Archon (Archon Basileus), the Polemarch and the Archon. The first was that of the King, being traditional, while the office of Polemarch was the first added to this because of the incompetence of some of the kings in war (...). The last of the three was that of the Archon. (Ath. Pol. 3.2)*

It is often thought that this passage reflects the transition from a monarchy to a constitution with shared offices. Without getting into the difficulties concerning the historical reliability of the sequence of events implicated in this passage, we may infer from it that the office of Archon Basileus, who was in charge of the religious affairs of the polis in historical times, had genuinely evolved from a royal office but was stripped of its political power in the course of the centuries.[779] Since the office of basileus is well known from Homer and appears to represent a common type of leadership during the EIA, there is no reason to believe that it did not exist in Athens, where a recollection of such an office was retained in later times.

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[779] According to the account in the *Ath. Pol.* 3.1, Rhodes, 1993[2], 98-99, ad 3.1, and cf. Thomas and Conant, 1999, 81. The basileus may already have been called *Archon* prior to 753/2 BCE, when the highest office was possibly limited to a period of ten years. Little is certain with regard to the transfer of power from kingship to the limited one-year archontate, except that it took place. The institution of the latter has been dated to 683/2 and may derive from an actual list that was known to Hellanicus (Cf. Rhodes, 1993[2], 98-99, ad 3.1.) and later authors. The ten-year archontate, which was traditionally held to have been instituted in 753/2, could well correspond to the period of transition which is detectable in the archaeological record.

How do we relate this with the archaeological record? We must first note that later Athenian tradition conserved the recollection of a basileus, not the *wanax* that headed the LH palatial infrastructure. Thus, if we take the existence of a basileus at Athens as a historical fact, there must have been a moment when the latter office replaced the former. From the archaeological account presented in the previous section it should be apparent that the most likely moment for this occurrence to have taken place was during, or shortly after the SM Period. The sudden disappearance of burials ca. 1000 BCE and the general decrease in importance of the Acropolis as a focus for habitation in the period thereafter appears to suit the circumstances best.

4.2 The Topography of Power

One question that has remained unanswered is: where did the ruler live? For the SM Period the observation that the main settlement was located on the Acropolis seems to settle the matter. However, the residence of the basileus in the tenth and ninth centuries was most likely situated at the foot of the Acropolis in the main town, rather than on the Acropolis as is sometimes thought. As we have seen, the extreme reduction of recorded activity on the Acropolis (especially during the ninth century, cf. Table 6) makes the latter assumption unattractive. Moreover, according to Athenian tradition, the house of king Aegeus was situated in the lower town.[780]

What could have caused this spatial shift in power? First, it is important to consider that the capacities of the basileus were considerably limited in comparison to the *wanax*. For one, the leading office may have lost its hereditary quality (or at least the institutionalization of dynastic inheritance).[781] Secondly, given the large reduction of the size of the Athenian state (loss of people, resources and territory, cf. section 2.3 above), his powers must have been considerably restricted. A spatial shift of power is therefore consistent with the diminished status of the ruler. The fact that the office of basileus seems to have been connected with the lower town indicates that the still extant remains of the former palace were too closely associated with the great authority of the *wanax*. Since the basileus could not claim the same powers, his presence in or near the old palace would have seemed inappropriate. Thus, when the focus of the city shifted toward the foot of the hill, the newly created office of

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[780] Hölscher, 1998.

[781] It is generally assumed that the lifelong "Archons" were kings, originally "chosen" from the Royal Family, cf. Rhodes, 1993[2], 98-100, ad Ath.Pol. 3.1 and 3.3, but without automatic hereditary transfer of power. Perhaps the later archon-basileis assumed their office based on their actual powerbase, with less (if not without) emphasis on their lineage.

basileus followed suit, leaving the Acropolis an empty *Fluchtburg* that was used only in case of emergency.[782]

4.3 Cult and Feasting

Finally, we need to consider the cultic implications of all this. From what we know of Homeric society and the fact that the offices of *archon* and *archon basileus* in time evolved into separate magistracies, it is inferred that the ruler also represented the state in an important priestly capacity.[783] It has also been argued that the cult of Athena was attached to the royal palace from an early stage.[784] If so, however, there is no physical evidence to support this claim. The first indication of cult activity on the Acropolis dates to about the middle of the eighth century (cf. Chapter 8.2). Considering the fact that no direct evidence survives of religious practices during the transitional period, it seems best to approach the matter from the anthropological perspective of feasting as discussed in Chapter 1.3. As van Wees has argued, the position of the (Homeric) basileus was to a large degree contingent on his ability to "wine and dine" his followers and peers. The larger his capacity to do so, the stronger his position would be.[785] From this we may infer that cult activity in the post-Helladic age was intimately connected with the residence of the basileus in the lower town. Here the most prominent members of the Athenian elite were invited to take part in ritual banquets.

The basileus thus ruled as first among his peers at the dinner table and his residence ("Megaron") may be presumed to have been the primary focus of cult activity during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE. It is impossible to know for certain where the residence of the basileus was situated in the lower town, but a good candidate would be the Prytaneion in the Archaic Agora, where the communal hearth was kept burning.[786] Alternative cultic locations are the ancient sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides.

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[782] *Fluchtburg*: cf. page 313, note 750.
[783] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 369-374.
[784] This is essentially M.P. Nilsson's thesis, cf. Nilsson, 1967, 345-350 for a synopsis. Cf. also Morgan, 1996.
[785] van Wees, 1995.
[786] Archaic Agora, cf. n. 778; Prytaneion: cf. Paus. 1.18.3 and Miller, 1978, 38-66.

5   Conclusion

Athens underwent some very drastic changes during the transitional period. In terms of settlement, the main center of habitation gradually shifted from the Acropolis to its southern slopes. This realignment of habitation seems to have been accompanied by a devaluation of monarchical rule best illustrated by the presumed demise of palatial bureaucracy. In its place came a less stable type of government led by a single ruler that nevertheless succeeded to last throughout the tenth and ninth centuries. I have argued that this leader was a basileus-type ruler, who depended to a large degree on the support of other powerful leaders, essentially his peers, over whom he presided more as a *primus inter pares* than as a divine ruler. The transition from palatial bureaucracy to a more informally organized basileus-style government may be compared to the demise of the palace at Pylos versus the continuity at Nichoria.[787]

Naturally, all this had strong implications for the extent of this new constitution's authority. As we have seen, the peripheral areas of Attica were all abandoned. Only the safety of the Mycenaean Acropolis appears to have afforded its population sufficient protection in these troubled times. During the LPG period the outlying areas move gradually back into focus as the long-term process of "internal colonization" began. This process had important repercussions for the central authority at Athens. In the next chapter, I will argue that this element played an important role not only in shaping the Attic Sacred Landscape but also in the formation of ideas about identity (ethnicity) and political adherence.

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[787] Cf. note 760.

Chapter 7

The Rediscovery of the Periphery

Between Polis and Ethnos (ca. 960-760 BCE)

1   Cult and Settlement in the Center and Periphery

During the Late Protogeometric phase the process of repossessing the Attic countryside began, presumably in response to a diminishing of external threats. After a hiatus in the archaeological record lasting well over two centuries, evidence of (cremation) burials resumes at several places throughout Attica and a number of cult sites appear on the border of the Athenian plain (Figure 177). This process is the beginning of a movement of "internal colonization" which lasted well into the Archaic, if not Classical Period. I prefer to hyphenate the term, because it has often been used to describe a sudden peak in site numbers in the Late Geometric Period. However, as Ian Morris has shown, and as is indicated in Table 9, this peak may be regarded as an anomaly in an otherwise gradually rising trend that can be explained by a relaxing and subsequent restricting of access to formal burial.[788]

1.1   The Late Protogeometric Period (ca. 960-900 BCE)

During this period new settlements were founded throughout the peninsula (cf. Figure 177 and Table 7). While it is difficult to assess to what degree fluctuating burial visibility affects our understanding of the peripheral areas during this period, it is generally accepted that several centers of habitation were being reestablished throughout Attica.[789] The Athenian plain was now more fully taken advantage of with settlements at Nea Ionia and Menidi, as well as Daphni in the corridor to the Thriasian

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[788] Morris, 1987.
[789] Cavanagh, 1991, 8 has noted the expansion from Athens is real and not merely the result of an invisible population becoming visible.

plain.[790] Simultaneously, the coast was rediscovered, with settlements appearing at Eleusis, Marathon, Thorikos and Anavyssos. In the Mesogeia traces of settlement activity have been found at Brauron and Merenda.[791] The final stages of the Protogeometric Period also witnessed a modest revival of trade, Athenian pottery now appearing in a number of places outside Attica.[792]

1.1.1 Cult Activity

Apart from the problematic cult of Athena on the **Acropolis 1** the inhabitants of Athens worshipped Zeus at **Mt. Hymettos 1** and some of them may have taken part in a cult at the **Academy 1**. A second peak sanctuary was established on **Parnes 1** by the end of the tenth century BCE. Since Attic peak sanctuaries in general tend to be closely related to specific settlements,[793] the establishment of a second peak shrine on the northern mountain range could be explained as resulting from intensified use of the upper *pedion* as illustrated at Menidi and Nea Ionia, where a *peribolos* demarcated several graves, presumably in an effort to accentuate group affiliation.[794] As I have argued above, the sanctuary on Mt. Parnes may well have served a liminal function as a border sanctuary during the Late Geometric and Early Archaic Period (cf. **Parnes 1**), as it straddled the border between Attica and Boeotia. It is unclear whether this was the case from the beginning, but if so, the sanctuary surely extended its religious significance to the wider Athenian community.

A liminal quality may also be attached to the sanctuary of Artemis at **Mounichia**, which was established at the turn of the tenth century BCE. Situated on the rocky crest overlooking the great commercial and military harbors of classical times, the sanctuary commanded two of the best-sheltered landing points in Attica. Mounichia hill was thus a suitable place to stake domestic territorial claims and to mark the transition from Athenian rule to foreign lands (and vice versa) to those tradesmen who took part in the renewal of trading contacts taking place in this period.

Finally, the absence of cult activity in the Mesogeia as well as at Eleusis and Thorikos is noteworthy. These peripheral areas were re-inhabited during the Late Protogeometric Period, after a period of abandonment that had lasted about two and a half centuries. Based on the nature of the preserved material culture, the new

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[790] D'Onofrio, 1997, nos. 16 and 51.

[791] D'Onofrio, 1997, nos. 29, 48 and 52 (Eleusis, Marathon and Merenda); Desborough, 1952 (Aliki and Thorikos); Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 317, note 451 (Brauron). Stray finds have been found at Patissia, Peristeri and Kouvara, D'Onofrio, 1997, nos. 17, 18 and 44.

[792] Desborough, 1952.

[793] The shrine on Mt. Hymettos certainly catered to the settlement at Athens, cf. Langdon, 1976, 7-8, while from the LG II period sanctuaries seem to have served local settlements throughout Attica, i.e. **Agrieliki** and Marathon.

[794] Nea Ionia: Smithson, 1961. The possibility that the peak sanctuary on Mt. Parnes served the population of Eleusis is less likely, in light of the main access route through the mountain range, which led from the pedion, not from the Thriasian plain.

settlements appear to have been "colonized" from Athens. It is unclear what relations were maintained with the "metropolis", but presumably these outlying places were to a certain degree dependent on Athens. The relative homogeneous material record in these new communities supports a state of relative dependence in these early years.

Eleusis was an attractive choice for new settlers on account of the quality of arable land in the Thriasian plain, while the Mesogeia represented the largest extension of Athenian agricultural resources outside the *pedion*. Thorikos was famous for its silver ore; litharge, refuse from the production of silver, was found in an EG house in the West Necropolis,[795] though the silver mines may well have been opened before in the tenth century BCE. Perhaps the dependent nature of these settlements and their specialized economic trade explains why they did not develop a local religious culture before the second half of the eighth century.

1.2 The Early and Middle Geometric Period (900 - 760 BCE)[796]

During this period Athens continued to flourish.[797] General stability is apparent from the richness of some of the graves, the wide dispersal of Attic pottery throughout the Aegean and the fact that no major changes in cult-activity occurred during this time. This pattern of prosperity and stability continued throughout the ninth century. It is a matter of contention whether Athens was seriously involved in maritime trading, but the wide dispersal of its pottery at least indicates a familiarity with and consciousness of the wider Mediterranean world.[798]

1.2.1 Cult Activity

The sanctuaries at **Mounichia**, **Hymettos 1** and **Parnes** continued to prosper and from the available evidence it appears that no need was felt to add to the existing sacred landscape throughout the ninth century. Economic prosperity appears to have fostered political and social stability. This situation is reflected in the largely unchanged nature of the Attic sacred landscape and the persistence of the same type of ceramic remains (kraters, skyphoi, kantharoi)[799] throughout the ninth century BCE (compare Figure 177 and Figure 178). As was discussed in the previous section, the

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[795] Cf. **Thorikos 1**.

[796] For the conventional absolute dates of the EG-LG sequences, see Coldstream, 1968, 302-331, esp. 330.

[797] For the LG Period cf. chapter 8.2 and 9.3.2.

[798] Snodgrass, 1982a, 672-679; Coldstream, 1977, 135. It is however contested whether the wide spread of Attic pottery should be considered evidence of Athenian trading. The Euboeans and Phoenicians were certainly active seafarers and it is not impossible that they were at least partially responsible for some of Attica's ceramic exports, cf. Papadopoulos, 2004.

[799] Compare especially **Hymettos 1** and **Mounichia**. Parnes still awaits final publication of its remains.

cult of Athena remains archaeologically "invisible" until the middle of the eighth century. We do not know whether it existed before this time. However, on the north slope of the Areopagus (**Athens - Areopagus 1)**, overlooking the cemeteries that were excavated underneath the classical Agora, a prominent building was erected toward the middle of the ninth century BCE, representing the first positive evidence of cult activity at Athens itself. Some of the richest cremation burials date to this period; a number of these were excavated close by.[800] It is generally believed that the building was used for gatherings commemorating the dead.

In the second half of the ninth century BCE, the cult of Athena Pallenis (**Pallini**) was instituted in the narrow corridor between Hymettus and Pentelikon, at the threshold of the Mesogeia. I will discuss the function of this important sanctuary in Chapter 7.3. Suffice it here to say that the cult of Athena too served a liminal role, on the threshold of the frontier area to the south and east of the *pedion*. Finally, two sites have yielded some ill-understood remains. At **Kommeno Litari** on the southern ridge of the Mesogeia, some MG, LG and classical sherds were found inside a cave, but not enough is known about the cave's archaeological context to attach a cultic function with certainty. At **Kokkinos Mylos** in the upper *pedion* some good MG and LG pottery was found together with some metal objects – including an iron knife – but nothing to secure it as a sanctuary.

1.3 "Big Site" Athens

The emergence of new local centers notwithstanding, the continuing dominance of Athens in Attica throughout the EIA is beyond question.[801] The Mycenaean fortress on the Acropolis remained a political fact of considerable importance well into the Classical Period, dominating the Athenian plain throughout the EIA and Archaic Period. From a military point of view no other site in the *pedion* could compete with the Acropolis fortification, a fact that is amply illustrated in the literary sources.[802] Furthermore, the urban area of Athens was large by any standard. Ian Morris has estimated that the population never reached below 500, perhaps not even below 2000 souls, where most sites on the Greek mainland hardly reached 100.[803] By contrast, the new settlements in the Attic countryside would have appeared diminutive, especially when they were created in the tenth century.

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[800] Cf. Coldstream, 1995; Smithson, 1968.
[801] Cavanagh 1991, 8.
[802] Cf. the importance of seizing the Acropolis in the historical accounts of the Cylon-affair (Thuc. 1.126), the rise to tyranny of Pisistratus (*Ath.Pol.* 13-16; Hdt. 1.59-60; Plut. *Sol.* 185) and the Persian siege of the Acropolis (Hdt. 8,52-53).
[803] Morris, 1991, 29-34.

Furthermore, the relative stability of Athens during the transitional period and the EIA established Athens as the natural political nexus of the plain.[804] Whitley noted that this stability was marked by "a notion that did not depend upon the transient authority of a big man."[805] Presumably, the position of the basileus had a somewhat transient quality, though it is clear that this was not the case for the office itself, which persisted throughout the EIA.[806] Stability and size are the hallmarks of what Catherine Morgan calls "big sites"; places that hold a special symbolic significance because of the historical monuments and common traditions that were part of its physical and symbolic morphology.[807] In the case of EIA Athens, historical monuments would have included the ancient cemeteries and the Mycenaean fortress and palatial remains on the Acropolis. Common traditions would have included knowledge of (semi-) legendary kings and the myths that were connected to them, as well as the religious rituals defining the social configuration.

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[804] According to Cavanagh 1991, the concentration at Athens must reflect a political reality of central authority at Athens during the tenth century and beyond. Whitley, 1991a counted Athens among one of three "stable sites", the other two being Knossos and Argos. His main argument is derived from the strong continuity of burial practice, in particular at the Kerameikos (cf. Krause, 1976; Kübler, 1976, 1970, 1959, 1954; Kraiker and Kübler, 1939), Kriezi Street (near the Kerameikos, cf. O. Alexandri *AAA* I (1986), 20-30; *ArchDelt* 22 B, 1967, 92-96; 23 B, 1968, 20-27) and Erechtheion Street (near the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, cf. Brouskari, 1980. Excavation reports: *ArchDelt* 19 B, 1964, 87; *ArchDelt* 20 B, 1965, 84-87; *ArchDelt* 22 B, 1967, 55-57, *ArchDelt* 23 B, 1968, 55-56; *ArchDelt* 29, 1973/1974, 131-132).
[805] Whitley, 1991a, 353.
[806] Cf. Snodgrass, 1971, 386-390.
[807] Morgan, 2003, 45-106.
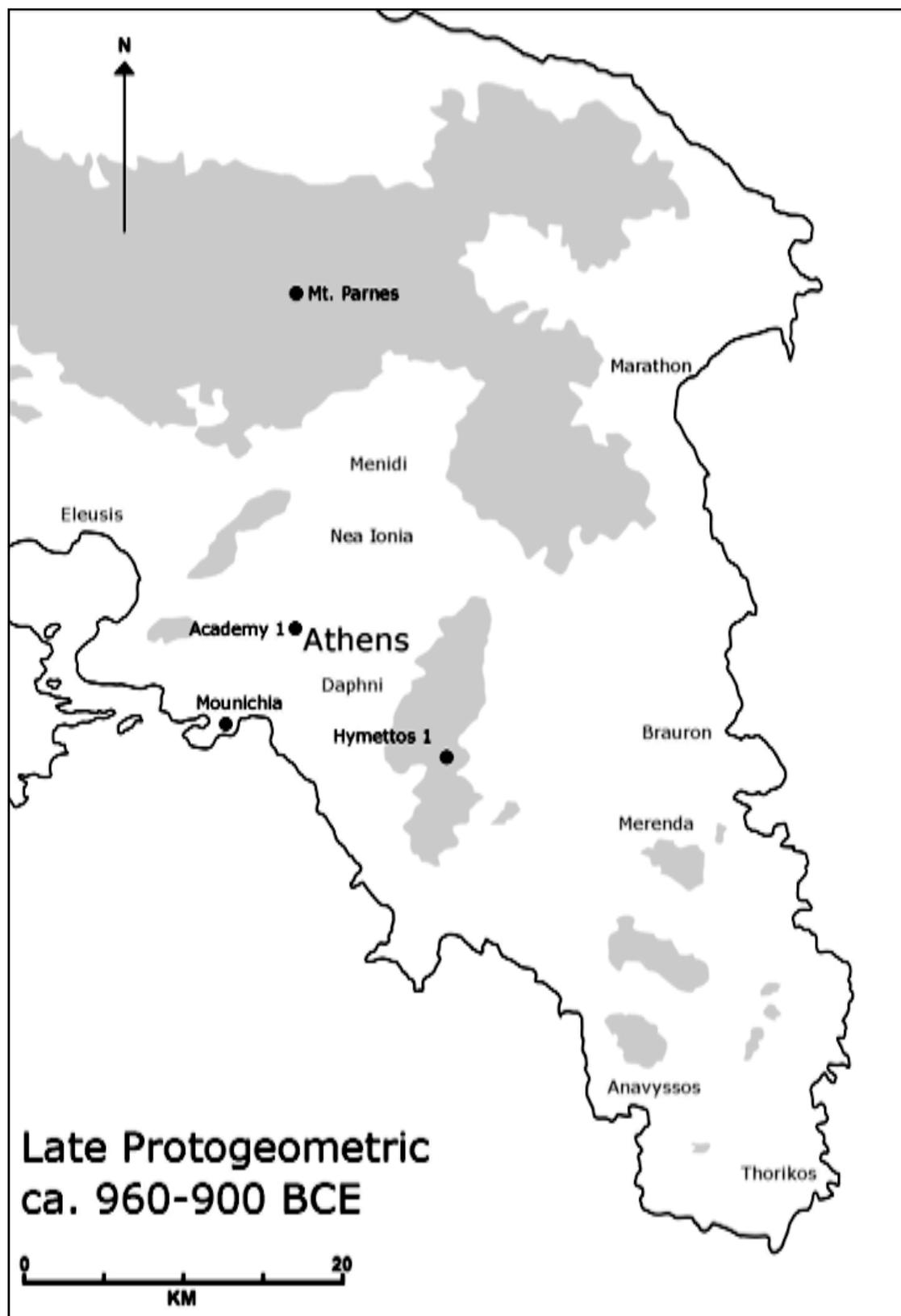
Figure 177 – Late Protogeometric cult sites in Attica (indicated with •). Contemporary settlements are indicated in lighter grey.

N

Mt. Parnes

Marathon

Menidi

Eleusis

Kokkinos Mylos*

Pallini

● Athens

P. Kokkinia
Mounichia Kallithea

Daphni

Hymettos 1

Argyroupoli

Braunon

Merenda

Kommeno Lithari*

Cape Zoster*

Anavyssos

Thorikos

Early and Middle Geometric
ca. 900-760 BCE

0   20   * Uncertain

KM
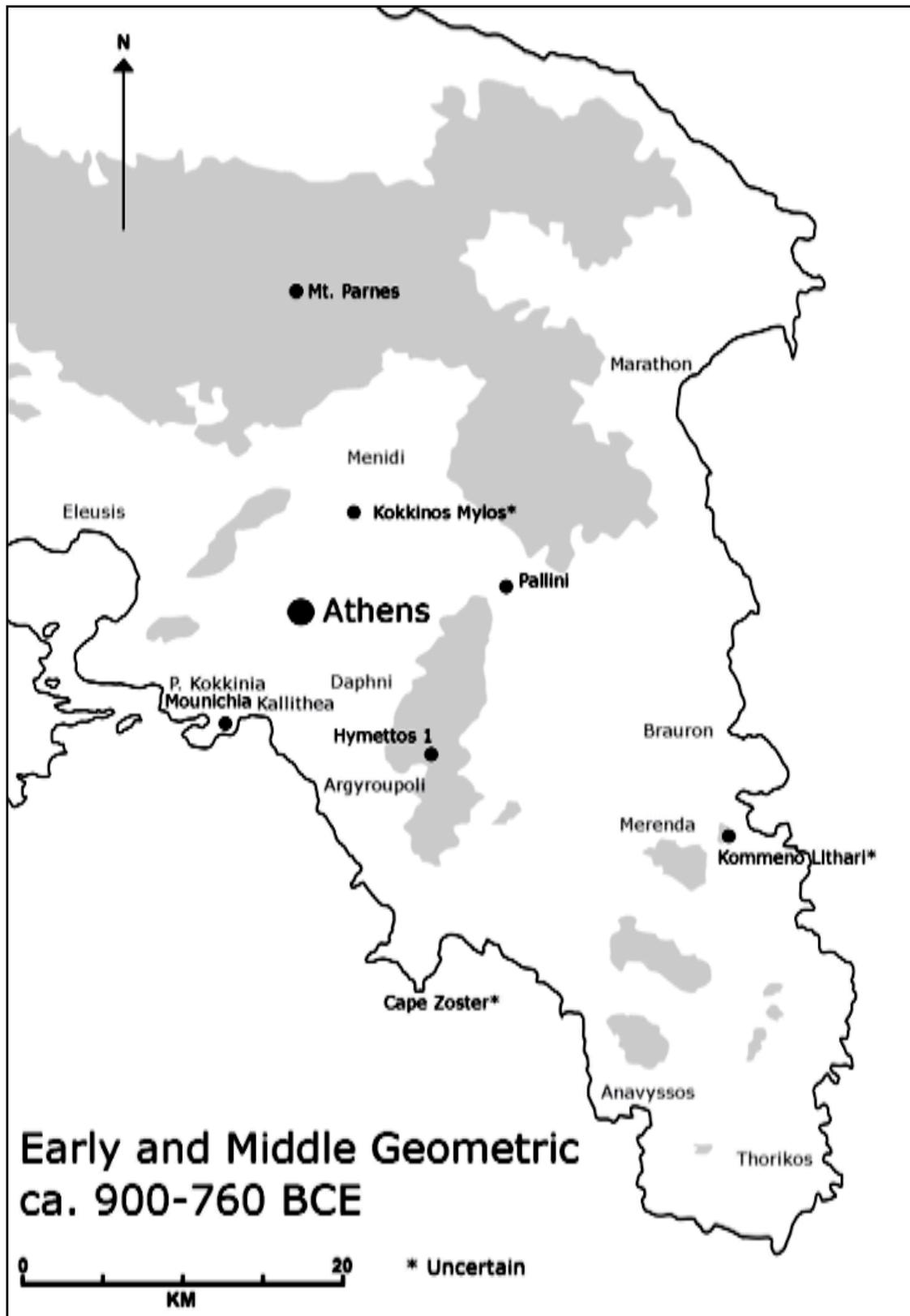
Figure 178 – Early and Middle Geometric cult sites in Attica (indicated with •). Contemporary settlements are indicated in lighter grey.

Table 7 – Attica: Distribution of Archaeological Remains Late Helladic IIIC to Late Geometric I, ca. 1200 – 735 BCE

Site	LH	SM	EPG	LPG	EG I	EG II	MG I	MG II	LG I
Athens	x	x	x	x	x	x	x/CD	x/CD	x/S/C
Salamis	x	x		x	x				
Perati	x								
Anavyssos				x	x	x	x	x	x
Brauron				x	x	x	x	x	x
Daphni				x	x	x	x	x	x
Eleusis				x	x	x	x	x	x
Hymettos				S	S	S	S	S	S
Marathon				x/H?	x	x	x	x	x
Menidi				x	x	x	x	x	x
Merenda				x	x	x	x	x	x
Mt. Parnes				S	S	S	S	S	S
Thorikos				x	x	x	x	x	x
Academy				V	V				
Nea Ionia				x					
Patisia				x					
Mounichia				S	S	S	S	S	S
P. Kokkinia							x	x	x
Pallini							S	S	S
Argyroupoli							x	x	
Kallithea								x	x
Kiapha Thiti								S?	S
Kokkinos Mylos								V?	V?
Kommeno								V?	V?
Vari									x

x	Finds from graves or without context
CD	Cult of Dead
H	Hero Cult
S	Sanctuary
V	Votive deposit

2   The Emergence of the Attic Ethnos

Since the uniformity of material culture suggests that the newly founded peripheral sites mentioned above were "colonized" from Athens,[808] we must assume that they took with them the notion of a common identity, based on the recollection of a shared ancestry. In addition, there must have been an awareness of a shared linguistic dialect. In the general introduction I argued that shared ancestry is the main element of ethnic affiliation. As such, I would propose that the fission of smaller settlements from the center during the LPG period was the moment when innate ideas about lineage became the constitutive element of a pan-Attic ethnic identity. In other words, the resettling of the peninsula marks the constitution of the *Attic ethnos*.

To be sure, I do not propose that no sense of ethnicity existed before the LPG period. People at any given time are aware of their ethnic affiliations. The Athenian phratries no doubt played an important role in the transmission of ethnic awareness. As Stephen Lambert has shown, the phratries are likely to predate the Ionian migration of the eleventh century BCE.[809] Also, the qualification of Athens as a "big site", to borrow Catherine Morgan's phrase, presupposes a strong sense of ethnicity. However, the concept of an ethnos (in the technical sense defined in Chapter 1.4.1) entails a group of political entities that may or may not be politically integrated, but nevertheless shares the notion of a common heritage. In section 2.1, I will show that this was the case in Attica during the second half of the tenth century BCE. First, however, we will turn our attention to the emergence of the first peripheral sanctuaries.

2.1   The Attic Concept of Ethnicity

If the local communities of Attica were not formally integrated in the emerging Athenian polis (as I argue in the next section), they were nevertheless intimately connected to the center and each other through their ethnic affiliations. We tread on dangerous ground when we try to attach specific elements of myth to ethnic identity during the tenth century BCE, yet a few general remarks may be permitted.

First, the notion of a common past caused the Athenians in later times to consider themselves as autochthonous, as having *sprung from the ground* – i.e. as opposed to a postulated Dorian invasion known to the Greeks from legend as the coming of the sons of Heracles.[810] Leaving the Dorian matter aside, which may well

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[808] Uniformity of pottery styles: e.g. Snodgrass, 1971, 404.
[809] Lambert, 1993, 267-269. For the origins of the Attic genos, cf. Lambert, 1999, with bibliography.
[810] Cf. Shapiro, 1998; Rosivach, 1987.

belong to the much later context of growing conflict with the Peloponnesian states, the autochthony myth in itself has an important ethnic ring to it. The myth allowed the inhabitants of the disparate Attic communities to feel a common right to the territory they inhabited. As such, we may tentatively connect the autochthony myth with the emergence of the Attic ethnos, even if we cannot say with certainty at what point the idea was activated.[811]

And secondly, ethnic affiliations in Attica (as elsewhere) must have been based on a notion of common ancestry. The person closest connected to the autochthony myth is Cecrops, first king of Attica, who is generally referred to as *gegenes*. I would suggest that the budding Attic ethnos was created around the perceived heritage of this figure, who is connected with the settlement of twelve independent cities (poleis), whose inhabitants were generally referred to as Kekropidai.[812] As such, Cecrops' close relation with the Attic ethnos may be compared to the relation Pelops – Peloponnesians or Aetolus – Aetolians. Like Pelops in Olympia, Cecrops received a grave in the precinct of the main sanctuary the regions named after him.

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[811] This is also not to say that the idea of autochthony was unique to Attica, or that it reflects a memory of BA-EIA continuity.

[812] Cf. Strabo, *Geo.* 9. 1. 19 – 20: "It suffices, then, to add thus much: According to Philokhoros, when the country was being devastated, both from the sea by the Karians, and from the land by the Boeotians, who were called Aonians, Cecrops first settled the multitude in twelve cities, the names of which were Kekropia, Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidna (also called Aphidnai, in the plural), Thorikos, Brauron, Kytheros, Sphettos, Kephisia. And at a later time Theseus is said to have united the twelve into one city, that of today." (trans. Jones); Hdt. 8. 44. 2: "The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Kranai. When Cecrops was their king they were called Kekropidai (sons of Cecrops), and when Erekhtheus succeeded to the rule, they changed their name and became Athenians. When, however, Ion son of Xouthos was commander of the Athenian army, they were called after him Ionians." (trans. Godley). Thuc. 2. 15.1: "Under Cecrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Attika had always consisted of a number of independent townships, each with its own town-hall and magistrates." Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.14.1: "Cecrops, a son of the soil, with a body compounded of man and serpent, was the first king of Attica, and the country which was formerly called Akte he named Kekropia after himself." (trans. Frazer). Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 3: "In the Acropolis at Athens the tomb of Cecrops, as Antiokhos says in his ninth book of Histories." (trans. Butterworth).

3   Peripheral Cults and the Athenian Polis

The emergence of the Attic ethnos runs parallel to a second important development of the LPG Period: the emergence of the first (archaeologically visible) cult sites. In this section I will argue that these sanctuaries mark the first noticeable civic institutions in Athens after the demise of the palatial bureaucracy and therefore herald in the age of the polis.

3.1 The First Cult Sites

With the sanctuaries at **Hymettos**, **Parnes** and **Mounichia** the history of Attica's sacred landscape truly begins (Figure 177). The dominant position of Athens in the EIA leaves little doubt that these sanctuaries were intimately tied up with the power structure of that city. Somewhat later, in the second half of the ninth century, a fourth rural sanctuary appears at **Pallini** in the narrow corridor between Hymettos and Pentelikon, at the threshold of the Mesogeia.

 The placement of these sanctuaries on the edges of the Athenian plain is illuminating with regard to Athens' territorial claims, as it illustrates the reestablishment of some kind of centralized control over the countryside. The cult of Artemis at **Mounichia** is fairly easily explained as a liminal sanctuary, marking the Athenian plain from the world at large, which was accessible by sea. Suitably placed on a promontory overlooking the natural harbors of the Piraeus, the sanctuary was a prominent landmark for travelers. But its symbolic relevance was equally geared to the inhabitants of the coastal parts of the plain who would have felt included in the Athenian state. The placement of two sanctuaries on the mountain ranges to the north (**Parnes**) and south (**Hymettos**) of the Athenian plain further defines the boundaries of the territory claimed by Athens. Finally, the sanctuary of Athena in **Pallini** served a liminal function as it was deliberately placed at the border of the *pedion* and the Mesogeia.

 It is interesting to note that in the first three cases the effective cause underlying the placement of these sanctuaries seems to have been the natural landscape. As de Polignac has shown, the natural environment played an important role in the emergence of rural sanctuaries;[813] the cultural environment too played an important role. As I have illustrated in Chapter 5, the natural position of Athens was unusual in that its neighbors were relatively far removed. The natural boundaries (mountains, sea) and lack of competing communities (which played such an essential role in the

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[813] De Polignac 1995, pp.

Argive plain) were therefore crucial factors in the creation of the Athenian sacred landscape. It is therefore not surprising that neighboring communities on the mainland (Megara and the Boeotian states) exerted no influence on this process. The sanctuary at **Mounichia** referred only indirectly to the outside world; it did not mediate potential conflicts between the Athenian state and any individual community. Furthermore, the fact that the Parnes range marks the border between Boeotia and Attica may not have become a salient feature until the seventh century, when a mass of weapons was consecrated at the peak sanctuary there (**Parnes 1**). Only the sanctuary of Athena Pallenis was placed strategically with regard to the communities of the Mesogeia, an important political fact to which we shall return shortly.

At this point a comment on the cultic nature of these three sites is in order. In each case, the finds consist solely of vessels connected with drinking and dining. As we shall see, votives do not appear in the cultic record of these and other sites until the eighth century BCE. While this is not the place to weigh all the religious implications of this fact, a few observations are nevertheless in place. First, there is no evidence that the deities that were connected with these sites in later times played a crucial role in the cult activity of the EIA. We must concede that it is quite possible that the rituals were conceptualized as being related to specific deities (though there is no evidence of this), but the exclusivity of evidence of ritual banquets (i.e. vessels connected with food and drink) emphasizes the festive character of these gatherings, rather than their religious content.

We may now recall the precarious nature of the EIA office of basileus. As I have suggested before, and as has been argued by van Wees,[814] his position was to a large degree dependent on his ability to maintain the social order by wining and dining his close relations. We have also seen that the hierarchical "distance" between the two parties cannot have been very large, which means that the precise observance of banqueting codes must have been a crucial element in the maintenance of the social order.

This naturally placed great emphasis on the residence of the basileus where such banquets were likely to be staged. In this light, the discovery of a rather large banqueting hall on the north slope of the **Areopagus 1** seems of particular interest. The building overlooked the cemeteries that were excavated underneath the classical Agora. Some of the richest cremation burials of this period were excavated nearby, including the famous grave of the "Rich Athenian Lady".[815] It is generally believed that the building was used to commemorate the dead, though the evidence of gatherings at such banqueting halls (cf. part 2) was principally geared toward the formation of a kinship identity (cf. Chapter 9.7). The proximity of these dining halls

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[814] Cf. chapter 6.4.3, above; van Wees, 1995.
[815] Cf. Liston and Papadopoulos, 2004; Coldstream, 1995; Smithson, 1968.

to cemeteries indicates the importance of ancestors in the creation of a shared kinship ideology.

Aside from the fact that this building, erected toward the middle of the ninth century BCE, represents the first positive evidence of cult activity at Athens itself, it also gives us a unique insight in the banqueting practices of the EIA elite. It would be going too far to assign this specific building to the basileus himself. But given our understanding that the office of basileus was not fundamentally hereditary in quality (though exceptions may well have occurred), we should imagine his "court" as a dynamic group of peers consisting of the leaders of a number of rivaling elite kinship groups. In its stable form, this type of government would have resembled Homer's description of the court of Alcinous at Scherie, where the king resided as *primus inter pares* amidst a group of nobles.[816] But Scherie represents an ideal; the reality of Athenian politics must have been a good deal more complicated with political factionalism potentially undermining the basileus, who stood to lose his position in the case of serious incompetence. The main instrument at his disposal to stabilize his position was a strict observance of a strict set of banqueting codes, which entailed the establishment of a social pecking order and the redistribution of wealth (cf. Chapter 1.3). The oval building on the Areopagus presents us with an important insight in the organization of one elite kinship group and presents a general idea of the way similar kinship groups sought to define themselves.

Now notice how the emergence of the three (later four) peripheral sanctuaries added an extra dimension to this delicate interplay between ruler and elite. The subtle equilibrium of the feast at the ruler's residence had to be retained while Athenian power began to assert itself across the *pedion*. In other words, if this narrow equilibrium at the center was to be extended across the territory it sought to command, an instrument was needed to project this balance of power to the periphery without upsetting it. Accordingly, the festive activities that were practiced "at court" in Athens were repeated (if not copied) at the borders of the territory. The emergence of cult activity at these peripheral sanctuaries must thus be seen as a deliberate attempt to reinforce the social order in the periphery. In order to emphasize the territorial claims that this order represented it was deemed necessary to transfer the main constitutive mechanism of the state, the "royal" banquet, to the edges of the state. This emphasis on banqueting in marginal places is not unique to Attica, as is illustrated by the cases of Isthmia and Kalapodi, where evidence of commensality represents the first and only evidence of cult activity. Not surprisingly, both sites were

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[816] Homer, *Od.* 6-8.

marginal to the Late Helladic palatial world, as were the four earliest Attic sanctuaries.[817]

3.2   The Emergence of the Athenian Polis

The Late Protogeometric Period thus witnessed the reestablishment of political control over a relatively large territory, which seems to have coincided with the Athenian *pedion*. De Polignac postulated that the emergence of the first (rural) sanctuaries served as the *acte constitutif* of the emerging polis.[818] In part 1, I have stressed that *polis* and ethnos are rather elusive notions, the meaning of which very much depends on the definition that is ascribed to it. However, scholarship has largely tended to follow de Polignac in his assessment that the origins of the polis and its religious institutions are intimately connected. In the words of Tonio Hölscher:

> *Solche gemeinschaftlichen Heiligtümer und ihre kollektive Rituale waren*
> *für die Integration der Polis konstitutiv.*[819]

Following the conceptualization of the polis as defined by its major cults, we cannot but attribute the emergence of the Athenian polis to the Late Protogeometric Period, when the Athenian state began to stake out its territorial aspirations by defining its borders through peripheral cults.

This conclusion has at least two remarkable consequences. First, it shows that (according to the definition of the word described above) the emergence of the Athenian polis occurred nearly two centuries earlier than previously thought. This places it in the chronological range of other major cult-networks in Greece during the tenth century (e.g. Olympia, Delphi). And secondly, despite his own conclusions to the contrary, the situation at Athens corroborates de Polignac's main thesis, i.e. that the first major cults were situated at a considerable distance from the main urban centers.

Thus, we may conclude that the emergence of the Athenian polis broadly coincides with the emergence of the Attic ethnos. Why stress this point if both seem to denote the same thing? The answer is that they do not. I have stressed that the Athenian state asserted its political control over the Athenian *pedion* by creating peripheral sanctuaries, thus giving rise to something we may call the nascent Athenian polis. However, a number of the newly founded settlements fell outside this Athenian sphere of influence. Merenda, Brauron, Thorikos, Marathon and Eleusis were not subordinated territorially to the Athenian polis. In this respect the early importance of

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[817] Morgan, 1996.
[818] de Polignac, 1995a, ch. 2, cf also Morgan, 1994c, 105.
[819] Hölscher, 1998, 47. Cf. also Schachter, 1990, 9-11, 36.

the cult center on Hymettos is especially notable, as it effectively excluded the entire southern and southeastern part of the peninsula. The same is even truer for the cult of Athena Pallenis, which was established a century later and was literally placed on the border between the *pedion* and the Mesogeia. Given the relatively small size of the peripheral communities and their proximity to Athens it is not unlikely that some form of dependency existed, especially during the early years, but we must nevertheless assume that these new settlements were not considered to form an integral part of the political hierarchy of the Athenian polis.

It may be objected that it does not really matter whether a settlement was situated in or outside the boundaries drawn by the peripheral sanctuaries, since these boundaries were symbolic. This objection is as understandable as it is unfounded. Since the initial impetus for the establishment of these cult sites was to extend the banqueting order of the "royal" court to the edges of the territory over which it claimed to exercise control, the banquets staged there naturally reflected the political hierarchy as it existed at Athens. Local leaders from Eleusis, Thorikos etc. would not have been part of the Athenian kinship system and would not normally have been included in the pecking order established at the banquets. They may (and in fact are likely to) have partaken in such banquets, both in the city and in the peripheral sanctuaries, but only in the capacity of *guests* of the Athenian political order. This explains how these communities simultaneously stood in a relationship of dependency and autonomy with regard to Athens. We will leave aside, for the moment, the question of whether these new satellite communities represented poleis in their own right, because we know nothing about their local cultic configuration. It also matters little to the general argument here. What is important is that they appear to represent political entities in their own right, with a local power structure that was not integrated in the Athenian political hierarchy of state.

As I will argue, the subtle difference between the Athenian polis and the Attic ethnos in the tenth century BCE would prove to be *the defining element* of Athenian state formation during the next five centuries.

Chapter 8

The Men of Athena

The Rise of the Aristocratic *koinonia* (760 - 680 BCE)

1   Introduction

The emergence of the cult of Athena (**Athens – Acropolis 1**) in the middle of the eighth century BCE represents the major hallmark in the history of the Attic sacred landscape. As stated before, it is impossible to know whether the cult had already existed before this time. However, the sudden emergence of bronze sheet on the Acropolis heralds a new stage when great wealth was invested indicating that the cult of Athena began to function as podium for both elite competition and political concord. The first phase of cult activity on the Acropolis ranges broadly from 760 to 680 BCE. After this time cultic interest seems to decline (section 3.5) in favor of the many rural cults that emerge throughout the Attic peninsula (Chapter 9 *passim*). More problematic is the deposition in vast quantities of Late Geometric "Dipylon-style" pottery. In this chapter I propose to account for both phenomena from the perspective of a changing political constellation, in which the basileus-type government discussed in the previous chapters was replaced by an aristocratic *koinonia* that was focused on the cult of Athena on the Acropolis.

2   The Emergence of the Cult of Athena

Thus far, I have avoided the problematic case of cult activity on the Acropolis. Now we must address this issue head-on. The difficulty lies in the conflicting methodological approaches as well as the invisibility of the remains. We will consider three possible moments that have been suggested for the introduction of the cult of Athena to the Acropolis: after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial infrastructure, when the first votives appear (ca. 760-750 BCE) or at some point in between these two events. Let us therefore draw some conclusions from the findings in Part 2 and the preceding chapters.
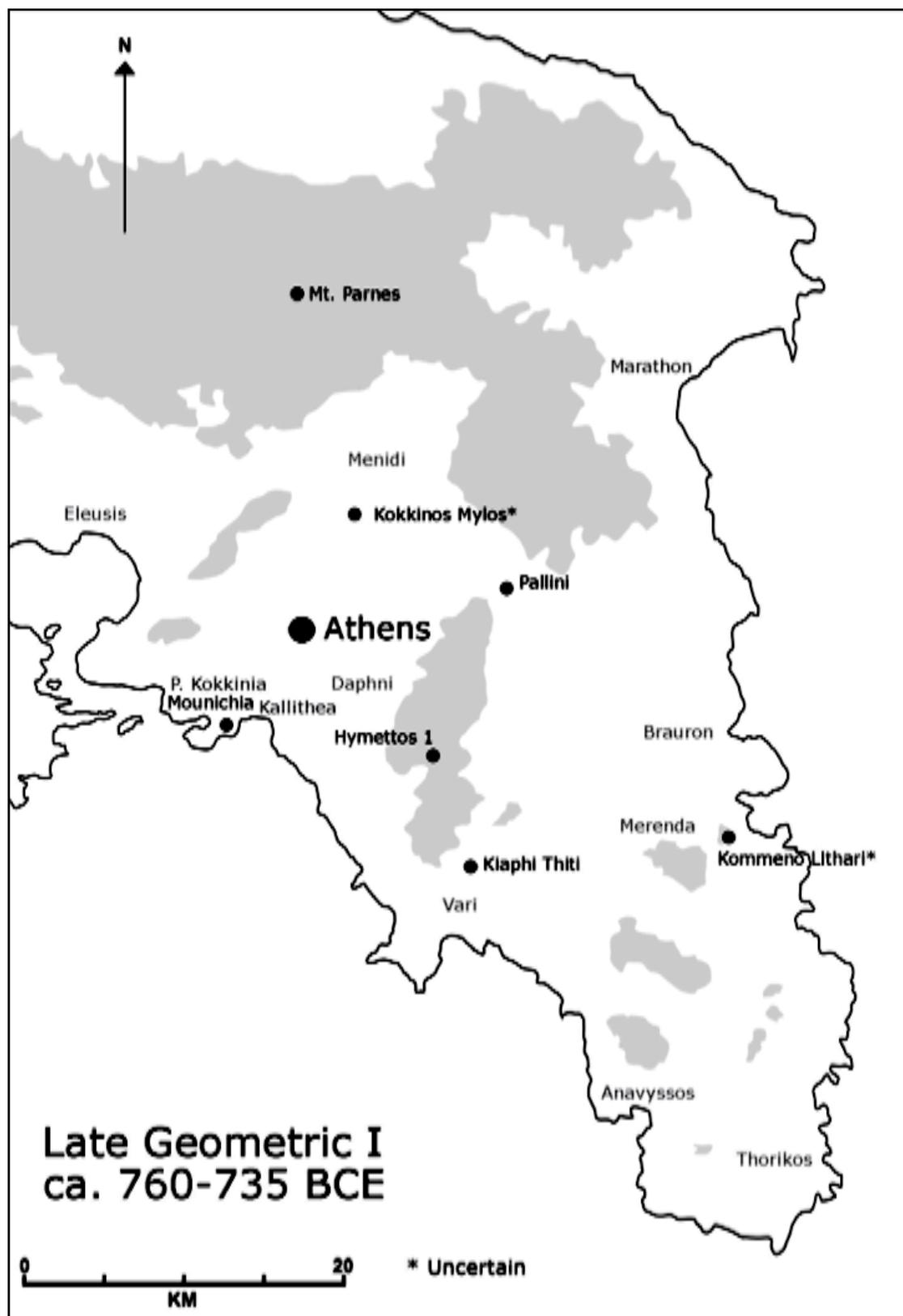
Figure 179 – Late Geometric I cult sites in Attica (indicated with •) Contemporary settlements are indicated in lighter grey.

2.1 The Strong House of Erechtheus

The idea that the cult of Athena was established "on the ruins" of the old Mycenaean palaces is an old one. It is well phrased by Victor Ehrenberg:

Der Gott selbst nahm (...) die Stelle des Königs ein, er wurde Monarch des im Menschlichen völlig unmonarchisch gewordenen Staates.[820]

According to this view, the political hiatus left by the demise of the powerful Mycenaean kings was filled through the elevation of the palace god to poliad deity. This god may already have played a role in the religious household of the palace, but was not politically activated until the vanishing authority of the *wanakes* necessitated the stabilizing force of a central deity to counteract the centripetal forces threatening to destroy the new social order. Most scholars have now rejected this causal connection between the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and the rise of poliad deities.[821] But in the case of Athens the notion of a poliad deity replacing a former palatial-based power system has proved to be resilient. Some historical truth may underlie the symbolism of a well-known passage in the *Odyssey* (7.78-81) where Athena is said to have entered the "strong house of Erechtheus" or of another in the *Iliad* (2.546-549) where the goddess made Erechtheus live in her temple on the Acropolis, even though both passages have been thought to be later interpolations.[822] Evidence of settlement continuity and the hint of an early fragmentation of monarchical rule into several distinct magistracies have helped to sustain this notion.[823]

2.2 The Evidence of Cult Continuity

The main problem with the theory of cult continuity is the absence of cultic remains in the period before the LG Period. At most other sites this problem would be sufficient evidence to disprove continuity, but in the case of the Acropolis the complicated archaeological context of the early finds has been adduced to explain this hiatus; the early remains are supposed to have been lost as a result of later churning of the Acropolis surface. The evidence in favor of cult continuity on the Acropolis is

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[820] Ehrenberg, 1965, 19.
[821] Cf. Hölscher, 1998, n. 24.
[822] Cf. Antonaccio, 1994, 88-89. On the interpolation of these passages, cf. page 92 and note 252.
[823] Cf. de Polignac, 1995, 86: "The archê of several temporary magistracies (…) would account for the exceptional importance, in the city of Athens, of the only acropolis where a truly poliad deity really did take over from the last vestiges of a disintegrating royal house." For the fragmentation of monarchical rule cf. p. 323 above.

thus not only based on a theoretical assumption; it also rests on an argument from silence. There are two strong reasons why we should not follow this line of reasoning.

First, as I have shown in the previous chapters, the number of published sherds shows a clear trend: a medium amount during the SM-PG Period, a sharp decrease in the EG-MG I Period, and a steady rise from MG II with a high peak during the LG I Period (Table 6). A single sherd has been attributed to the MG I Period, but may actually belong to the EG Period,[824] indicating that the Acropolis was strictly avoided during the second half of the ninth century. It could be objected that the published sherds represent only a part of all excavated fragments, a random selection that has survived by chance. However, Hurwit has aptly pointed out the inconsistency behind this argument:

> *(...) it is unlikely that the churning [of the Acropolis surface] could have been so selective as to wipe out virtually the entire archaeological record of the tenth-, ninth-, and early eighth-century Acropolis (had one existed) but not that of the late eighth-century Acropolis.*[825]

To this we might add that the eleventh century (SM-LPG) record was apparently not wiped out either. Thus, while we may concede a certain degree of chance in the survival of sherds, the *general trend* shown in Table 6 must be a relatively accurate representation of actual human activity on the Acropolis. This trend may be interpreted as inconsistent with large-scale cult activity during the tenth and ninth century BCE.

Secondly, it is clear that the cult of Athena was directly related to the Late Helladic palatial remains on the upper terrace of the Acropolis. Cult activity connected with BA remains, in Attica and elsewhere in Greece, can be shown to emerge in the eighth century BCE, and nearly exclusively in the second half. Throughout Attica, this type of cult activity has been attested at many sites that were not disturbed in later times, or considerably less than the Acropolis. Cult activity at the LH I fortress of **Kiapha Thiti** has been attested from the second quarter of the eighth century or earlier. Many other sites began to develop in the LG II Period, either near BA settlement remains (**Eleusis 1**, **Brauron**) or tombs (e.g. **Menidi**, **Thorikos 2** and **3**). Evidence from cult sites throughout Greece confirms this picture (including the cults of Athena and Hera on top of the palatial remains at Mycenae, Argos and Tiryns respectively).[826]

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[824] Schweitzer, 1918, 51, cf. Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 44.
[825] Hurwit, 1999.
[826] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 320, fig. 200 (Mycenae); 321, fig. 207 (Argos) and 321, fig. 218 (Tiryns).

The evidence of cult continuity at the palace on the Acropolis is thus based on speculation and finds no parallel elsewhere. This is not to say that Athena had no place on the Acropolis before the LG Period. It is simply impossible to say whether she had been associated with the Acropolis in general or with the Mycenaean ruins in particular before this time. But even if we assume that she had been around for some time, it nevertheless took until the middle of the eighth century BCE for her "presence" to be activated in terms of cultic worship. The emergence of expensive votives (most notably bronze objects) signifies a redirection of wealth toward the Acropolis, which occurs quite suddenly and is unparalleled by any other cult in Attica. This leads to the central question: what caused the cult of Athena to emerge so swiftly to such a position of prominence?

2.3 MG: An Untold Revolution?

From a historical point of view, Middle Geometric Period is difficult to piece together. All we have are bits of evidence. To begin with the larger picture, the first half of the eighth century BCE (broadly coinciding with the MG II Period) marks the end of a period of more than two hundred years of steady but gradual evolution in the archaeological record. This process culminates in several wealthy graves dating to the transition from EG to MG (ca. 850 BCE). After that, a sharp increase in the archaeological visibility of adult graves and a general decrease in wealth invested in these graves sets in during the last quarter of the ninth century and continues until the number of graves begins to drop around 760 BCE, the beginning of LG I (Table 8).

A second clue may be taken from our literary sources. Traditionally the abolishment of the lifetime archonship was dated to 753/52 BCE after which the office was limited to a ten-year period.[827] While it is difficult to determine how much historical significance should be attached to this fifth century account, it is clear that it refers to a period of political reform.[828] It is equally evident that the curtailing of the lifetime archonship was part of a larger movement to reorganize the concentration of power in the hands of a single person; this at least is suggested by the passage in the *Athenaion Politeia* quoted above.[829] However, what was undoubtedly a much larger process became fixed on a single year (753/2) in the standardized account of later historiographers. While there is no good reason to trust the historical veracity of this specific date as based on the account itself, it is generally accepted that the basileus-type of government was on its way out in many parts of Greece during the eighth

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[827] Hell. *FGH* 323a F23. For further bibliography on the subject see Rhodes, 1993[2], 99.
[828] Cf. n. 779.
[829] Cf. page 323 above.

century, a development that is generally connected with the "Greek Renaissance" of the LG Period and the rise of an elite that was the result of aristocratic *isonomia*.[830]

However, the coincidence of the institution of the cult of Athena, the peak in burial visibility and the limiting of the archonship in the written sources shortly before the middle of the eighth century is too striking to ignore. Without trying to reconstruct the exact historical details,[831] we may generalize the historical trend as follows: the increasing burial visibility from the MG period indicates that an increasingly large group of people could claim a position of political and religious prominence and influence.[832] This development coincides with a gradual decrease in wealth invested in these graves and suggests an equally gradual disruption of the equilibrium of power between the basileus and his peers (cf. section 4.). With the widening of elite membership the position of the basileus seems to have come under increased pressure to the point where his position was curtailed, both temporally by limiting the duration, and in terms of capacity by separating the religious, political and military authority of the office. Clearly this development did not happen overnight and there is no reason to attach this transformation of power to a single year. Rather the Middle Geometric rise in burial visibility gives us the broad range in which this development took place. We may conclude that by the end, Athens was no longer governed by a single ruler with a small college of peers, but by a larger body of kinship groups, such as the one attested on the slopes of the Areopagus.[833] It is in this context that I suggest interpreting the emergence of the cult of Athena.

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[830] Langdon, 1997b; de Polignac, 1995a; Hägg, 1983b.

[831] As we have seen (p. 323), the Athenians attributed the abolishment of the basileus to the incompetence of some of the kings. Coldstream (*l.c.* n. 798) has suggested that a large naval defeat may have delivered the *coup de grace* to the office.

[832] Morris, 1987, 97-109.

[833] Cf. **Athens – Areopagus 1**, as well as chapter 7.3.

3 Rivalry at the Dinner Table

From an anthropological point of view, it appears that the central position of the feasting community of the basileus (the "royal court") was undermined by the emergence of rivaling feasting communities. If the oval house on the Areopagus (see **Athens – Areopagus 1**) is somewhat representative of these communities, these new groups defined themselves by feasting at banqueting halls that were deliberately placed beside the graves of common ancestors. Kinship, therefore, was the basic integrating element of these groups. The leading men of these groups were presumably also part of the feasting community of the basileus, who had to maintain the balance of power between himself and these men through the use of what Michael Dietler has called "patronage feasts".[834] However, his "clients" were creating a new tier of identity, below the centralized court of the basileus, based on kinship feasting. It would not be surprising to find that this lower level of kinship feasts was also based on patronage, the former clients now performing the role of patron. In due course, allegiance to the basileus shifted to this lower tier based on kinship. This development had a number of consequences.

3.1 Feasting Communities

First, the authority of the lower-tier leaders must have grown considerably now that they could lean on their own power bases. Secondly, the emergence of a lower tier based on ties of kinship explains why burial visibility steadily rises throughout the MG Period; the members of the kinship groups were now, through their leaders, connected to the central feasting community of the basileus. Following the notion of citizenship as defined in Chapter 1.4, the members of these groups may be called citizens of the Athenian state, because they shared in the rights and rituals of that tier of identity (the polis) with the greatest political salience. We thus find confirmation of Ian Morris' contention that burial visibility and citizenship are interrelated.[835]

It should be stressed that the decline of single-person rule and the emergence of a lower level tier of identity did not diminish the need for centralized institutions. The kinship groups never became "states", because they remained subordinated within a larger system of political hierarchy. The curtailing of the power of the basileus and the creation of new political offices should be regarded as a sign that rivaling factions based on kinship ties were now vying for political power. Without the centralized authority of the basileus and in the face of a growing group of Athenians who could

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[834] Dietler, 2001, 83. Cf. also chapter 3.1.2 above.
[835] Morris, 1987, 97-109.

claim citizenship, it is clear that a new mechanism was needed to keep the expanding polis-state from spiraling out of control, a new *covenant* (to borrow Blok's phrase)[836] to unite the Athenians, as the centripetal force of the basileus' court was disintegrating. This mechanism was created through the institution of the cult of Athena on the Acropolis.

3.2 Mediation: Periphery or Center?

The need for mediation between emerging subgroups of the polis through a major polis cult is far from unique to Athens. It appears to be a typically eighth century phenomenon, which is well attested throughout the Greek world and amply documented by de Polignac. In this light it is interesting to note that it is during this time that the first votives appear at cult sites. I have noted before that cult practice revolved mainly (if not only) around feasting in the tenth and ninth centuries. Now, various parties seeking to enhance their status begin to set up wealthy bronze votives at Olympia, Delphi, the Argive Heraion and, indeed, the Acropolis of Athens. Not surprisingly, the first evidence of athletic contests dates to the eighth century.

De Polignac observed quite rightly that many of these cults were situated at some distance from the main urban area(s). However, as we have seen in the cases of the preexisting peripheral cults in Attica, this choice of cult sites is not unique to the eighth century. The choice of a suitable place where rivalry between groups could be mediated must have largely conformed to the same considerations that led to the choice of earlier cult sites. Many interregional cults that rose to prominence in the eighth century had already been in use before that time.[837] De Polignac argued that the special situation at Athens was the result of a continuation of a palatial cult after the disintegration of the palatial structure. However, I have argued that there is no evidence to support this claim. We may therefore ask why the Athenians did not choose one of the preexisting rural cult sites as the new mediating cult representing their new socio-political order.

Here it is helpful to recall the specific geographical circumstances of Attica. As we saw in the previous chapter, the location of the rural sanctuaries of the Athenians was largely determined by the physical landscape of the Athenian plain. Mediation with neighboring communities played a minor role, as Athens was relatively shielded from external threats. The peripheral sanctuaries were relevant primarily because they transferred the authority of the social hierarchy as it existed at Athens throughout the *pedion*. When the gradual revolution of the MG Period necessitated the creation of a

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[836] Blok, 2010.

[837] Cf. in particular the work of Catherine Morgan on Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia: Morgan, 1999, 1997, 1994c, 1993.

major polis sanctuary to mediate rivalries and establish political concord, no need was felt to reemphasize Athens' claim over the periphery. In fact the preexisting sites remained in use and even experienced an increase in cult activity throughout the eighth and seventh century.[838] But the lack of serious outside threats did not encourage the Athenians to make a show of their political unity in potentially vulnerable parts of its territory, simply because there were no such parts. No expensive votives were set up there and there are no indications of athletic contests.

We may recall the situation in the Argive plain where three political communities vied for dominance. At least two of these centers (Mycenae and Tiryns) had substantial LH remains inside their urban areas. Nevertheless, none of these ruins became the main focus of the Argive sacred landscape, even though they all attracted cultic attention during the LG Period.[839] Rather, the Argive Heraion became the dominant sanctuary of the region in the eighth century, because uncertainty over territorial issues was of paramount concern in the choice of this location.[840]

3.3   The Acropolis: From Taboo to Cult

At Athens, the location of the new polis cult on the Acropolis was determined by different circumstances. I have indicated that the extreme drop in recorded activity (*i.e.* published sherds) on the Acropolis during the ninth century (especially the later half) is an archaeological fact steeped in historical reality. I have suggested that the association with the immense power emanating from the ruins of the LH palace had become increasingly problematic in a state run by a basileus-type government. This ban on contact with the palatial remains can be explained in political terms, as a preventive measure to prohibit anyone to profit from the symbolic value of the place. In religious terms, however, we may speak of a taboo: the LH remains had become so filled with awesome meaning that they in effect constituted an *abaton*.

The period of sterility in the archaeological record reached its peak in the MG I Period, but a downward trend in published sherds is increasingly noticeable from the MPG Period (ca. 1000 BCE, Table 6). Then, from MG I to LG I the extrapolated number of published sherds per annum increases from 0.01 to 1.68. These vase fragments include a large amount of Dipylon-style vases, which have been plausibly

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[838] Hymettos: Langdon, 1976, cat. nos. 227-291; Mounichia: Palaiokrassa, 1989, 14-15, 1983, 57-58, 67; Parnes is unfortunately too poorly published to determine, though the seventh century especially experienced a huge increase in votives, cf. Mastrokostas, 1983.
[839] Cf. chapter 2.36, p. 77.
[840] Note that the alternative reconstructions of the role played by the Heraion in the political history of the Argolid do not change this essential fact, cf. Chapter 2.2.1.

interpreted by Gauss and Ruppenstein as evidence of renewed funeral activity.[841] The social roots of this astonishing transformation of the Acropolis – from an *abaton* to the focus of not only intense cult activity but even of human burials – has received surprisingly little notice in modern scholarship.

3.4 Athenaioi

The new covenant between the various kinship groups of Athens is epitomized in religious terms by the establishment of the cult of Athena. I have suggested that the Acropolis may already have been considered a highly sacred place; political circumstances caused the Athenians to set the place apart as an *abaton* not to be treaded upon except perhaps under very strict circumstances.[842] It is even possible that the Acropolis became connected with Athena at some point during the sacralization of the place in the tenth and ninth century. Ca. 760 BCE the religious taboo was lifted, because the political circumstances no longer necessitated complete abstinence, although the sanctity of the place had to be kept intact. The specific circumstances under which the Acropolis could be treaded were relaxed to allow two types of activity, cult and burial. The cult was directed to Athena, who may already have been connected with the place. The graves must have included the most prominent Athenians. I would propose that these were the leaders of the kinship groups mentioned above, the connection with the goddess conferring an extreme honor upon those who were buried there.

We may pause for a moment to reflect on the latter group of people. It would be unwise to imagine a monolithic system with a fixed number of kinship groups, each headed by a single leader. This system must have been in a perpetual state of flux, with new groups appearing and older ones growing extinct. Similarly, within the kinship groups, leadership was continuously contested and would have been reflected by the pecking order of the banquet. Thus the "prominent Athenians" who were buried on the Acropolis during the Late Geometric Period, would first have to establish their positions within their kinship groups and then also among the group of strong men from other kinship groups. Only the strongest kinship groups could claim a formal burial on the Acropolis for their most senior representatives and perhaps even then only if they had distinguished themselves especially with regard to the polis. Thus, formal burial on the Acropolis may *in principle* have been open to all

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[841] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 30-40, cf. also the discussion in **Athens – Acropolis 1**, esp. chapter 4.1.9.2 above.
[842] The Cyclopean fortification was probably used in case of emergency, although we cannot know for sure whether such emergencies did arise.
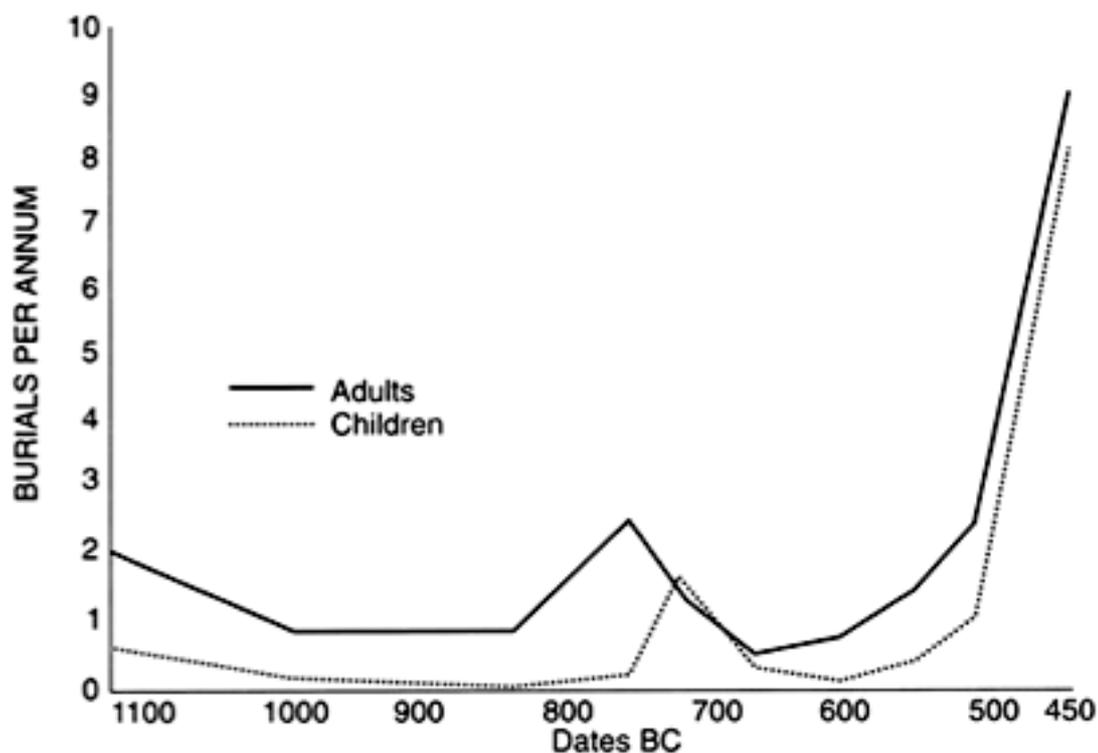
Table 8 – Burials at Athens, extrapolated per annum.

members of recognized Athenian kinship groups, though the requirements were extremely strict.

3.5 Decline

The paradoxical consequence of these developments was that the opening of the religious venue on the Acropolis heralds the end of a period of increasing burial visibility and marks the beginning of decline. Table 8 shows a clear peak in the number of recovered graves around the middle of the eighth century. Apparently, within the body of citizens some rights became more restricted and this may well have happened through a more thorough selection process at the kinship level. It is difficult to indicate why this happened. With the cult of Athena as a new stage for the display of power, some kinship groups may have been unable to sustain the pressure to compete and as a result lost their accreditation. Or perhaps membership of the kinship groups in general became more selective and difficult to attain.

Simultaneously, the prospering of regional cult practice from the late eighth century is offset by developments on the Athenian Acropolis (**Athens – Acropolis 1**). While expensive metal dedications flourish at the regional sanctuaries, the cult of Athena shows a marked decline. From the Late Geometric Period some seventy fragments of bronze tripods have been recovered, including legs, ring handles and bronze figurines. These bronzes date from ca. 750 to ca. 680 BCE. Terracotta finds

from this period include a possible fragment of a house model[843] as well as numerous plaques.[844] By contrast, the period 680-600 BCE shows a steep decline in expensive metal votives: five or six bronze leg fragments, three handles, some sheet fragments of the orientalizing style, as well as a bronze architectural ornament.[845] Furthermore, only a few terracotta figurines,[846] two Corinthian lamp fragments and one plaque were found. It thus seems that the restriction of the right to formal burial is somehow related to the shift of religious interest to the periphery and a concomitant sagging interest in the main cult of the center, for which a combination of factors may be held responsible, a shrinking of the citizen body and growing tendency toward regionalism. The latter could be the result of the increased importance of the elite, which steadily began to retreat to their country estates and local power bases.

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[843] Cook, 1953, 93.
[844] Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 47-49; Boardman, 1954, 194 + n. 130, 196-197, nos. 2, 4, 5.
[845] Touloupa, 1991, 1972, 1969.
[846] Küper, 1990, 21.

4   Conclusion

The previous discussion had at least one remarkable consequence: if citizenship was predicated by participation in the cult of Athena, which was instituted ca. 750 BCE (or slightly earlier allowing some time for the cult to become visible), the citizens of Athens cannot have been called *Athenaioi* before that time, since that name cannot mean anything other than "adherents of the cult of Athena". From what we know from the literary sources, groups bearing a name derived from a god are not very common[847] and it is likely that some time went by before the name Athenaioi took root, especially outside of Attica. Presumably, several names had been current in the early history of Attica, each denoting a specific tier of identity, including kinship groups, cult groups and the Attic ethnos. The people who partook in the cult of Athena were presumably called Athenaioi from an early age and it is likely that the connection with the citizens of the "Athenian polis" was also established early on, since the cult of Athena came to define the tier of identity that held the most political salience.

Nevertheless, many other names must have remained in use, as in fact was the case in historical times when people could be denoted by their deme, phratry, *genos* etc. It would be interesting to know how "the Athenians" were called before they became Athenians. Here, we are well in the realm of speculation. In Classical times the inhabitants of Attica were called *Attikoi* and this name may well predate the emergence of the cult of Athena.[848] Alternatively, the people connected with the Attic ethnos, may have been called after an eponymous hero, perhaps *Kekropidai* after the legendary first king of Athens.[849] Likewise, it is reasonable to assume that the inhabitants of EIA Athens were known by a common name, perhaps also taken from one of the early kings, such as Erechtheus or Boutes who were closely related to the cult of Athena and the Acropolis in the Archaic and Classical Period.

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[847] Cf. the Artemisioi phratry at Naples, Cornell and Lomas, 1995, 112 or the tribe called Dionysioi in Thrace/Macedonia, Sayles, 2007, 42.
[848] Blok, 2005, 23-24.
[849] Cf. p. 336, n. 812.

Chapter 9

Local Identities

The Changing Face of the Countryside (735-600 BCE)

1   Introduction

Thus far the discussion of Attica's sacred landscape has mostly concentrated on the social and political development of the Athenian polis. Although new settlements emerged outside the Athenian plain during the LPG-EG Period, no evidence of cult activity has been related to these peripheral communities. As we have seen, the cult centers of the tenth and ninth century (Hymettos, Parnes, Mounichia, Pallini and the Acropolis) defined Athenian territory and constructed a political entity that excluded many peripheral communities. This picture changed profoundly during the LG II and EA Period (ca. 735-600 BCE).

While the evidence from the funeral domain is on the decline during this time, the cult record more than compensates for this relative slump. Especially, during the first half of the period in question (ca. 735-680 BCE) cult sites emerge throughout the countryside and continue to flourish during the remainder of the seventh century (Figure 182, Figure 183 and Table 5).

In this chapter, I will show how a wide variety of cult types structured these local communities in both smaller and larger forms of association, both resulting from and adding to an apparent shift in power from the center to the periphery.

2   Regional Trends in the Archaeological Record

During the LG II Period new settlements become visible throughout the Attic peninsula and dozens of new cult sites appear (compare Figure 179 and Figure 182). Before discussing the many kinds of local identities shaped by these new cults, we will first have a closer look at some of the major historical trends in between the late eighth and late seventh centuries BCE.

The rapid emergence of new settlements throughout the countryside in the LG Period has been characterized as a movement of "internal colonization" (cf. section 3.2).[850] Evidence of settlement consisting mostly of burials now appears at a few dozen sites around the peninsula, many of these along the coast and in the interior (Mesogeia), but some new settlements emerge in the Athenian plain as well. The Thriasian plain of Eleusis is notably absent from this list. In all, forty-six new sites, mostly consisting of burials, have been recorded outside Athens, representing an increase of nearly two hundred percent when compared to the preceding five hundred years.[851] This development took place within half a century, perhaps slightly longer when allowing for some imprecision in the dating of these sites[852] or for inconsistencies in standard chronology. This enormous change in the archaeological record thus seems to have taken place in no more than two generations. The ensuing decline in site numbers has equally occupied scholars who were mystified by this "seventh century gap". The initial impetus was to connect this downward trend with actual demographic changes.[853]

However, many unanswered questions remain with regard to the burial record during this time. It is not sure, for example, whether these "new" sites were settled from Athens, or from preexisting peripheral communities. A good number of the

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[850] Coldstream, 1977, 135.

[851] Cf. D'Onofrio, 1997 and Mersch, 1996, as well as reports in *AR* of later date. For sites Figure 179 and Table 7. In LG II, new sites appear in Agrieliki, Aigaleos, Aliki, Alimos, Analatos, Ano Voula, Ay. Paraskevi, Aspropyrgos, Draphi, Glyphada, Haliki Glyphada, Helleniko, Kaki Thalassa, Kalyvia, Kephissia, Keratea, Keratovouni, Kiapha Thiti, Kitsi Pigadi, Kokkini, Koropi, Koukouvaones, Kouvoura, Lambrika, Lathouriza, Liossia, Markopoulo (?), Mt. Merenda, Mt. Pani, Nea Kokkinia, Nea Makri, Peristeri, Phaleron, Rhamnous, Sounion, Spata, Sphettos, Stavros, Tavros, Tourkovouni, Trachones, Votanikos, Voula, Vouliagmeni, Voyiati.

[852] Some reports list merely "late geometric" pottery, without further distinction. On this problem, see p. 363.

[853] Snodgrass, 1983; Snodgrass, 1980, 22-24, 93; Camp, 1979; Snodgrass, 1977, 10-18. Snodgrass posited a change from pastoralism to agriculture and an ensuing expansion of the population. As Snodgrass, 2006, 198 himself admitted, grave numbers are too crude an instrument to perform demographic calculations on. Camp's theory of a disastrous drought in the LG II has been dismissed, cf. Morris, 1987, 160-162. On the archaeological record of the seventh century in Attica in general, cf. Osborne, 1989.
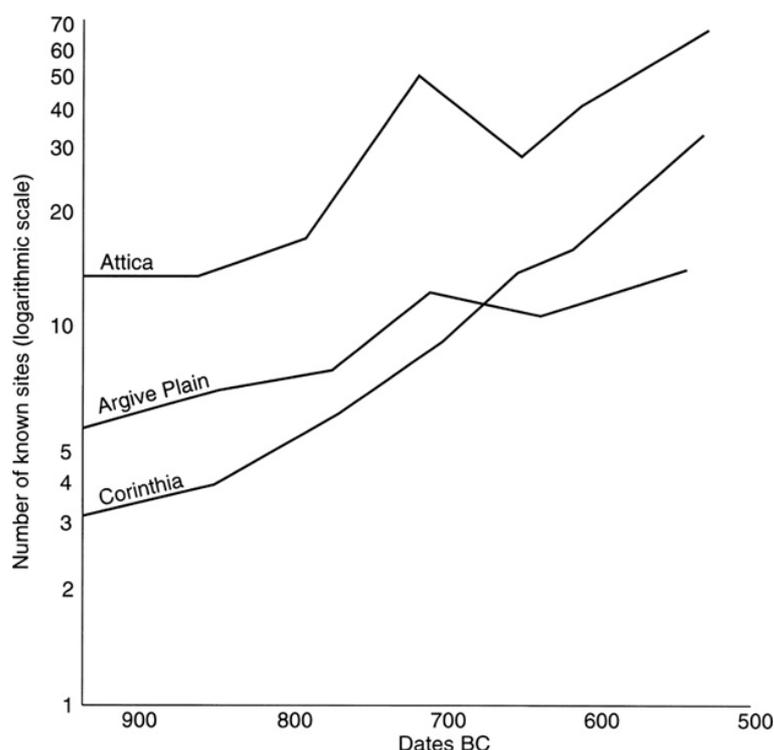
Table 9 – Development of site visibility in Attica, the Argolid and the Corinthia (tenth through sixth centuries BCE).

newly visible sites are situated in the Athenian plain, but it is conceivable that some people ventured outside the plain.

It could also be argued that not all new sites on the map represent actual "new" settlements, as they may appear in our record as a result of changed burial practices. Ian Morris has shown that burial visibility is not *per se* indicative of population numbers, arguing that the increase and subsequent decline in retrieved burials during the eighth century in Athens (Table 9) can be attributed to a temporary widening of the citizen body.[854]

In a similar way, James Whitley has sought to explain another aspect of the seventh century slump in the archaeological record. He argued that a more restrictive use of expensive Orientalizing ware (Protoattic and Protocorinthian) as compared to Geometric pottery must be seen as an attempt on the part of the aristocratic elite to "maintain a stable aristocratic social order".[855]

Sanne Houby-Nielsen has detected a similar emphasis on the interaction between the elite and the wider community. In her view, the burial "language" of the Kerameikos interments confirms that the social gap between the two groups appears to be widening at this time. While burial visibility is dropping, some of the burials are now more affluent than ever.[856] As we have seen in the previous chapter, this development set in around the time when the cult of Athena was established and a new order of strong leaders backed by kinship groups gained power.

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[854] Morris, 1987, 97-109.
[855] Whitley, 2001, 240-243, 1994a, 1991b.
[856] Houby-Nielsen, 1995.

Taking these considerations into account, it is reasonable to suspect that population numbers kept rising slowly but steadily throughout the eighth and seventh centuries.[857] While the number of visible Attic sites declined during this period (Table 9), this may not reflect actual settlement patterns. A first clue is the fact that the general dispersal of sites over the peninsula remains largely the same (compare Figure 180 and Figure 181). Secondly, when burial visibility rises again in the middle of the seventh century, it largely follows the same upward curve that had set in during the ninth century. The sudden "explosion" of new sites is thus more problematic than it initially seems, as it may be attributed to preexisting groups popping in and out of the record, as they first obtained and then lost the right to formal burial, according to a changing funeral ideology.

It thus appears that a gradual growth of the population occurred over a protracted period of time. On balance, this gradual growth is better explained by a natural increase of the local population than by a large scale and sudden colonization movement from Athens to the countryside (allowing for occasional exceptions). Also the "seventh century gap" seems to be largely explained by changing funeral ideology and is offset by a wealth of new local cults. The resulting image of seventh century Attica then is not one of a society in decline. Rather, a smaller number of individuals appear to be accumulating a greater proportion of the available resources, coinciding with a growing rationing of status display focused mainly on the newly created regional cults.

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[857] Cf. Osborne, 1996, 78-81.
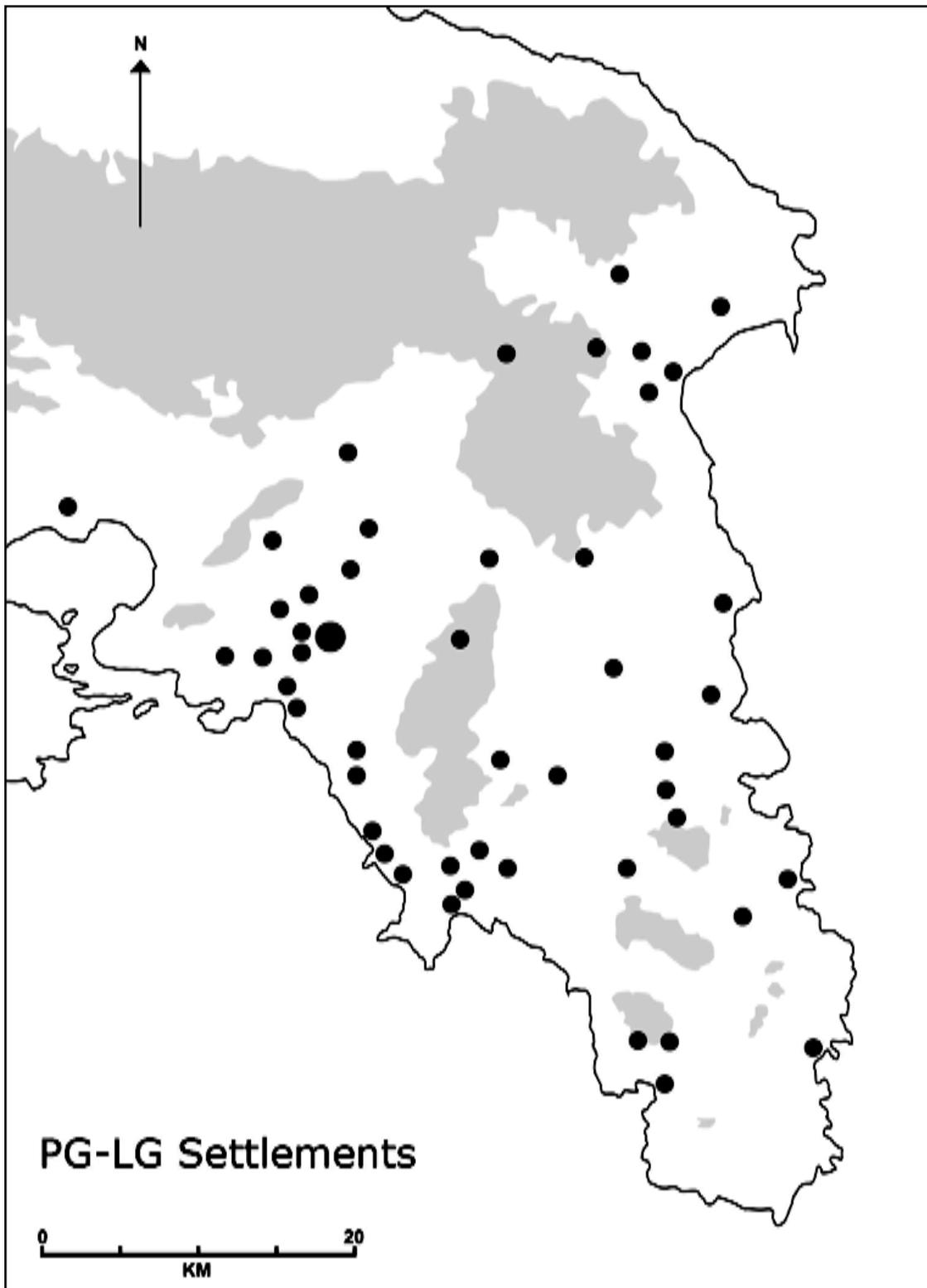
Figure 180 – Protogeometric – Late Geometric settlements.
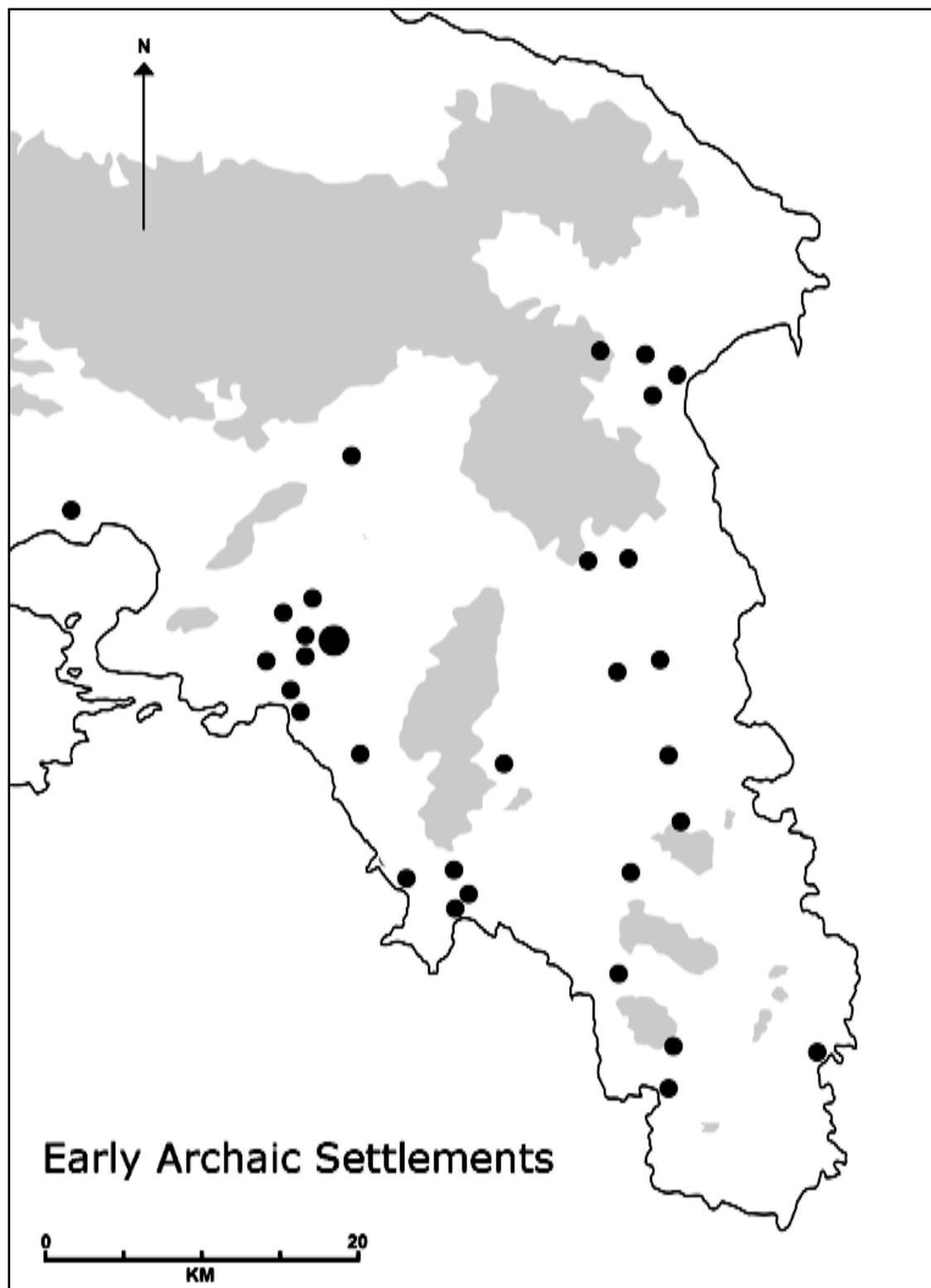
Figure 181 – Early Archaic settlements.

3   A Short Account of Cult Practice (760-600 BCE)

This section contains a comprehensive chronology and topography of the cultic remains outside Athens in the period 760-600 BCE.

3.1   The Late Geometric I Period (ca. 760-735 BCE)

The obvious surge in cult activity on the Acropolis is not mirrored elsewhere in Attica during this period, with the exception of the peak sanctuary at **Kiapha Thiti**, which can now with confidence be assigned to this period.[858] Several LG I skyphoi were uncovered dating from ca. 760-750 BCE. As at most other peak sanctuaries, open shapes represent the mainstay of the pottery assemblage, indicating an emphasis on libation and perhaps also on banqueting. The skyphoi from Kiapha Thiti are the first indication of the worship at peak sites spreading outside the Athenian plain.

What little evidence we have from other regions is mostly controversial. In Athens on the north bank of the Ilissos River (**Athens – Ilissos**), remains beneath the temple of Apollo Delphinios have been dated to the middle of the eighth century, but no unequivocal evidence of cult activity has come to light. The so-called Sacred House at the **Academy 2** was constructed during the subsequent LG II Period (see below), but several graves of children were uncovered on top of the Early Helladic house to the north. These graves date to the LG I Period and may well be a first indication of cultic interest at this location.

Finally, there is a small category of eighth century sites that are difficult to date, because the pottery is simply referred to as "Geometric" or "Late Geometric". Some peak sanctuaries (**Keratovouni**, **Merenda** and **Pani**) and one cave shrine (the Spilia-tou-Daveli at **Anavyssos 1**) have been classified as such. These sites have been assigned here to the ensuing LG II Period based on statistical likelihood (i.e. the institution of a vast amount of new sites in the later period) and the fact that both the peak sanctuary on Tourkovouni and, to a lesser degree, the shrine at Agrieliki have been dated to that period with certainty.[859] **Brauron 1**, **Thorikos 1**, **Loutsa** and **Porto**

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[858] Note that the MGII/LGI material consists of skyphoi that are mentioned only in Christiansen, 2000. The earlier reports (insert from MA 316, note 445) hint at a date ca. 725 for the establishment of the cult. This date is no longer tenable in view of Christiansen's final publication of the pottery. It is also important to mention that skyphoi and cups are the main elements in the pottery assemblage. There is thus no need to separate the earlier cups from later cult activity at this site.

[859] Lauter, 1985a compared the material from **Agrieliki** to that of **Tourkovouni**, both dating to the last quarter of the eighth century BCE. Lauter concluded that both assemblages were very similar.

Rafti are also hard to classify beyond a generic "Late Geometric" date and they have been assigned to the LG II Period on similar grounds.

3.2 The Late Geometric II and Early Archaic Period (ca. 735-600 BCE)

The LG II Period shows the rapid emergence in the archaeological record of new settlements throughout the Attic countryside.[860] The reverse of this phenomenon is noticeable at Athens, where some went out of use during this time; as I have argued above (section 2), this probably indicates sagging population numbers in the old "urban" area. The cult record confirms this notion of increased local importance. Peak sanctuaries (**Hymettos 1**, **Parnes**), deity cults (**Athens – Acropolis 1**, **Mounichia**, **Pallini**), and the cult of the dead (**Athens – Areopagus 1)** had thus far only been established in connection with the Athenian plain.[861] Now, instances of all of these types of worship emerged in various parts of the peninsula. Also, two new types appeared: tomb cult and hero cult.

Throughout the seventh century, Attic cult sites continue to flourish.[862] While general archaeological visibility (relying mainly on graves) decreases in this period, the number of cult sites remains stable. In fact, none of the newly created cult spots of the LG II Period went out of use before the very end of the seventh century. Rather, new cults were added to the sacred landscape throughout the century (cf. Figure 183) suggesting that Attic society remained dynamic during a period that has sometimes been styled "the seventh century gap".[863]

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[860] Coldstream, 1977, 135.
[861] This is not counting the uncertain instance of a PG hero cult in **Marathon (2)**.
[862] Cf. also Whitley, 2001, 236; D'Onofrio, 1997; Osborne, 1996, 200-202.
[863] Whitley, 2001, 233-234; Osborne, 1996, 200-202; Osborne, 1989
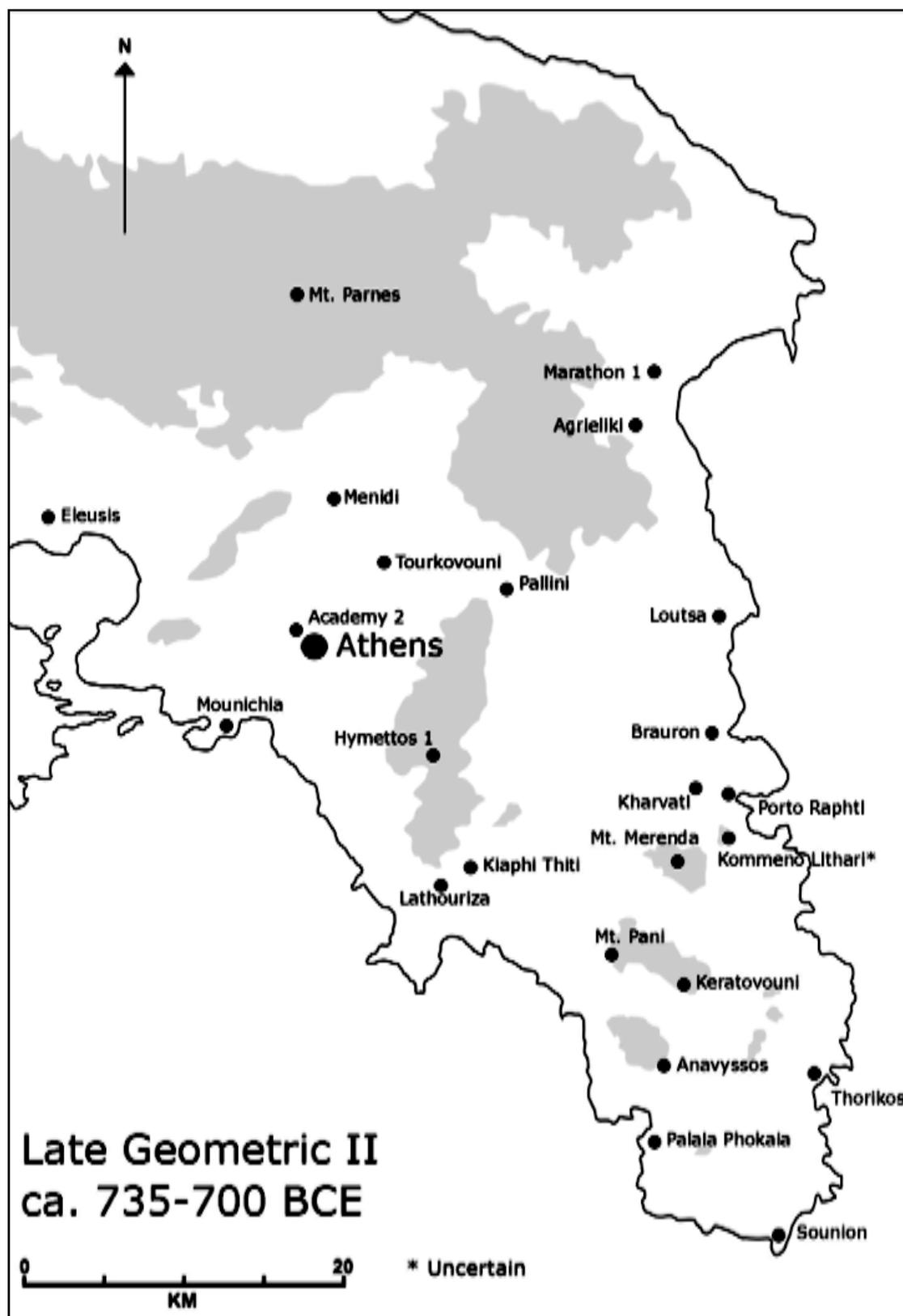
Figure 182 – Late Geometric II cult sites in Attica indicated black: • Hymettos 1. Contemporary settlements are indicated in lighter grey.
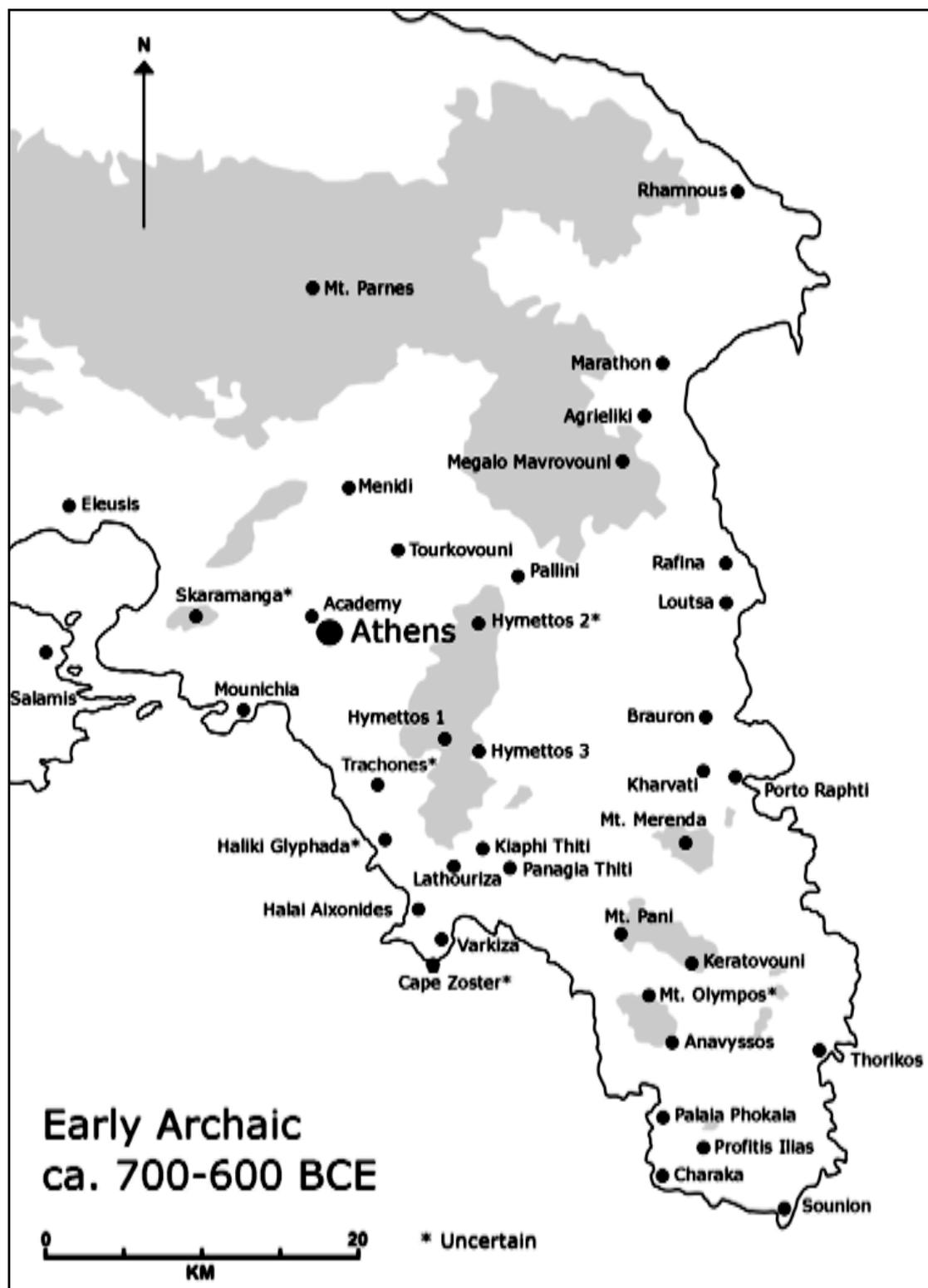
Figure 183 – Early Archaic cult sites in Attica indicated black: • Hymettos 1. Contemporary settlements are indicated in lighter grey.

3.2.1 Allocation of Wealth

Moreover, a growing distinction is discernible between those sites that received rich offerings, such as metal objects and orientalizing ware, and the more modest shrines where the local and simpler Subgeometric has been found. In general, peak sanctuaries belong to the latter category. The sanctuaries on **Hymettos 1** and **Tourkovouni** have yielded some orientalizing ware, while most regional peak sanctuaries offer only plain or Subgeometric sherds. The peak shrines that were founded in the LG II Period continue to prosper and are joined by new cult places on **Megalo Mavrovouni**, **Kharvati**, **Profitis Ilias**, **Charaka, Varkiza**[864] and, perhaps, **Olympos**. Two new cave shrines are established at **Anavyssos 1** and, possibly, **Hymettos 2**. The finds typically include subgeometric cups and skyphoi, suggesting the importance of the symposiastic element in the rituals.

On the other hand, rich metal votives and expensive orientalizing pottery appear during this time, in particular at some of the main regional sanctuaries dedicated to Olympian deities (**Eleusis 1**, **Sounion 1** and **Brauron**). Orientalizing pottery is also dedicated at Mycenaean tombs such as **Menidi** and the newly founded shrines at **Thorikos 2**; **Vrana** and, most notably, the large deposit at **Athens – Areopagus 2**. At **Menidi** some (Proto-) Corinthian pottery was found inside the dromos to the Tholos tomb. Of the local Protoattic ware, the monumental Louterion stands out in particular.[865] Other finds include painted shields, some with handles on the inside, pinakes and figurines. At **Athens - Areopagus 2** a large amount of Protoattic and Protocorinthian ware has been found, in addition to more modest terracotta objects, such as loom weights, spindle whorls, lamps, votive shields, figurines and votive plaques, including a famous one of a goddess accompanied by snakes (Figure 34). A bronze miniature tripod represents the only significant metal find. Nearby (**Athens - Agora 2**), a votive deposit, possibly connected with a cult of the dead, contained Proto-, Early and Middle Corinthian pottery, while on the Acropolis south slope (**Athens – Acropolis 3**), the sanctuary of Nymphe, founded ca. 650 BCE, contained Late Protoattic hydriai as well as Corinthian aryballoi and plates.

With regard to the allocation of expensive pottery, we should probably guard against the simplistic assumption that the "Subgeometric" shrines were sanctuaries of the poor, while the "Orientalizing" sanctuaries were patronized by the elite. The sanctuary of Zeus on **Hymettos 1** is a case in point. This sanctuary was founded in the LPG Period and was presumably visited by elite groups from the beginning. There is

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[864] Hans Lauter has qualified the sanctuary at as a peak sanctuary, Lauter and Lauter-Bufe, 1986. This interpretation has its merits given the modest Subgeometric vessels that were found. On the other hand the architectural layout of the site with terrace walls, an altar and a sema base, as well as the relative low position compared to other peak sanctuaries, may speak against such an interpretation.
[865] Cf. chapter 4.1.34.2.

no indication that this group ceased to visit this peak during the seventh century. Conversely, it is not said that the poorer Attic population was excluded from sites where expensive votives have been found. The question that needs answering is why certain sites were chosen for the allocation of wealthy or exotic votives. Broadly speaking, we may conclude that those sites that stand out for their low investment of wealth (i.e. peak sanctuaries and cults buildings near graves) were closely connected to the smaller social nuclei, inparticular kinship groups and local communities. Such cults seem to be focussed more on social cohesion within the group, rather than the interregional sanctuaries, which attracted considerably more wealth as they were used for competition between these groups.

3.2.2 Geographical Distrubution of Wealth Investment

At the same time, a gradual transfer of wealth can be detected from Athens to the periphery, a theme that will be explored in further detail throughout this study. On the Acropolis (**Athens – Acropolis 1**) some seventy fragments of bronze tripods have been recovered, including legs, ring handles and bronze figurines. These bronzes date from ca. 750 BCE to the early years of the seventh century. By contrast, only a few expensive votives have been found that belong to the period 680-600 BCE, a development that is mirrored by a general decline in retrieved pottery and terracotta objects.[866]

The situation at Athens appears to be the reverse from that in the country. At **Sounion 1/2**, finds now include bronze miniature tripods and shields, bronze pins, gold and silver rings, iron swords, a lead *kouros*, fragments of five marble *kouroi*, as well as terracotta figurines and votive plaques. At **Eleusis 1**, finds from Sacrificial Pyre Alpha include gold sheet and jewelry, votive tablets, over a hundred terracotta figurines and lamp fragments. Pottery includes a good amount of Orientalizing ware. The hero shrine at **Eleusis 3**, on the other hand, yielded mostly utilitarian pottery, no expensive finds. Finally, at **Brauron 1**, small metal objects and terracotta figurines testify to a growing cultic awareness in the Mesogeia. The ancient sanctuary of Artemis at **Mounichia** yielded (Proto-) Corinthian aryballoi, alabastra and rather small kotylai. The **Parnes** sanctuary is the only peak site to have yielded a great amount of (Proto-) Corinthian ware, but our imagination is particularly drawn to the ca. 3000 iron knives found in a large deposit of ashes and votives, which also

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[866] Only five or six bronze leg fragments, three handles and some indeterminate fragments of bronze sheet of the Orientalizing style, as well as a bronze architectural ornament of ca. 675-650 were recovered, cf. Touloupa, 1991, 1972, 1969. Terracotta finds from the Late Geometric Period include a fragment of a house model, Cook, 1953, 93. Eleven plaques and box-lids of the LG to EPA Period, cf. Gauss and Ruppenstein, 1998, 47-49; Boardman, 1954, 194 + n. 130, 196-197, nos. 2, 4, 5. By contrast, only a few terracotta figurines date from the period after the first quarter of the seventh century, cf. Küper, 1990, 21.

included bronze pins, knives and shields. Finally, in the sanctuary of Athena at **Pallini**, which was founded during the Middle Geometric Period, a great variety of votives are recorded: T-shaped idols, ca. 150 animal figurines (horses, bulls, goats and snakes), the rectangular base of a male figure, four heads carved in the Daedalic style, ca. 80 bronzes, which include pins and fibulae, silver rings, of which one carried Egyptian characters on the bezel.

3.2.3 New Sanctuaries

Thus far we have, with few exceptions, discussed the evidence from sanctuaries and shrines that had already been established by 700 BCE. As we have just seen, the most spectacular changes happened at pre-existing sites. Nevertheless, some new cult sites emerged during the seventh century, especially during the latter half, though evidence for the most part is limited or even uncertain. Our evidence for the first fifty years is relatively sparse, as it mainly depends on the chance finds of votive idols, known as "Stempelidole". These are notoriously hard to date, but should in general fall between the end of the eighth end the beginning of the sixth century BCE.[867] Context finds places what may have been the cult of Athena Skiras on **Salamis** in the first half of the seventh century BCE. A large number of "Stempelidole" have been found in a later cult base of Athena Nike on the **Acropolis 2**. A single example was found at the later sanctuary of Heracles in **Trachones** and several fragments at the sanctuary of Aphrodite or Dionysos at **Panagia Thiti**. None of these finds allow a date more precise than the seventh century BCE. Loose finds of "Stempelidole" and figurines from the same period have been found out of context at the **Agora 2**, on the **Pnyx**, **Areopagus 4**, **Acropolis 4**, as well as on **Hymettos 2**. Finally, sherds from a possible dump of the cult of Apollo Proopsios on **Hymettos 3** may date to the seventh century and at **Lathouriza 3** an altar was recently excavated with finds reported "from the seventh to fifth centuries BCE".

With the exception of the cult of Nymphe at **Athens - Acropolis 2**, which was initiated somewhere ca. 650 BCE (see above), new, certifiable cult initiatives were not undertaken until the final years of the century, some of which were to become important cult centers in later times. The cults of Artemis at **Halai Aixonides** and of Nemesis at **Rhamnous** were established ca. 600 BCE. At **Rafina** terracotta figurines dating from the same period have been found; the deity worshipped is unknown. Kourouniotes dated the cult of Apollo on Cape **Zoster** to the final years of the century, but evidence here is very scanty. In the case of the cult of the dead, we notice an escalation of ever-larger tumuli toward the close of the seventh century in the Kerameikos and the Anavyssos area (**Anavyssos 3** and **Palaia Phokaia**). Ill-understood architectural features (altars, heroa?) appearing on these tumuli are

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[867] Küper, 1990.

difficult to date but were probably constructed at the end of the seventh or early sixth century.

While these new sanctuaries, dedicated to deities, hint at changing cult practices, perhaps a more remarkable transformation of religious habits at this time is found in the negative. The hero cult at **Eleusis 3** was discontinued toward the end of the seventh century BCE and its so-called Sacred House was demolished. In its place an angular *peribolos* was set up with an altar. I have argued that the Sacred House should be interpreted as a ritual center for a select group of local aristocrats and that its replacement by an open air sanctuary, ca. 600 BCE, should be viewed as a sign that the cult came to include a larger part of the population. If my reading of the archaeological remains at Eleusis is correct, we should perhaps understand the disappearance of similar buildings elsewhere in the same light. Significantly, both the cult buildings at the **Academy 2** and at **Tourkovouni** are relinquished ca. 600 BCE. Precisely when the cult buildings at **Anavyssos 2** and **Thorikos 1** met their end is unclear, but they certainly did not outlast the century. Another change in cult practice can be witnessed in the gradual loss of popularity of peak sanctuaries from ca. 600 BCE, after flourishing throughout the Early Archaic Period. On the other hand, cultic remains at tomb cults throughout Attica tell a more nuanced story. Of the known tomb cults in Attica, those at **Haliki Glyphada** and **Marathon 1** were discontinued in the LG II and EA Period, while those at **Menidi** and **Thorikos 2** continued to be used until the fifth and fourth centuries.

3.2.4 Cult and the Rationing of Resources

There are important indications that the population of Attica continued to prosper in the eighth and seventh centuries as cult activity flourished throughout the peninsula.[868] Not only does the growing number of cult sites follow the dispersal of new archaeological find spots, their number shows no sign of decreasing during the seventh century. In fact, none of the newly created cult spots of the LG II Period went out of use before the very end of the seventh century. Rather new cults were added to the sacred landscape throughout the century (cf. previous section) suggesting that Attic society remained very much dynamic during this period. The fact that the decreasing number of overall sites is offset by an increasing number of cult sites reinforces the notion that we are dealing with a changed allocation of resources, from burials to cult,[869] and that there is no ground to suspect that population numbers suffered in any sense.

This brings us to Whitley's theory of rationing resources mentioned above (p. 369). The cult record clearly indicates that this phenomenon spared cult activity while

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[868] Cf. also Whitley, 2001, 236; Onofrio, 1997.
[869] Cf. Snodgrass, 1980, 1971.

cutting into the number of retrieved graves. In fact, this mechanism may even have supported the expenditure of wealth toward religious practice. As I have indicated above, a growing distinction is discernible between those sites that receive rich offerings, such as metal objects and orientalizing ware, and the more modest shrines (such as peak sanctuaries) where the local and simpler Subgeometric has been found.

Now we should guard against the simplistic assumption that the "Subgeometric" shrines were sanctuaries of the poor, while the "Orientalizing" sanctuaries were patronized by the elite (cf. section 3.2.1). The sanctuary of Zeus at **Hymettos 1** is a case in point. This sanctuary was founded in the LPG Period and was presumably visited by elite groups from the beginning. There is no indication that this group ceased to visit this peak during the seventh century. Conversely, it is not said that the poorer Attic population was excluded from sites where expensive votives have been found. We should rather ask why certain sites were chosen for the allocation of wealthy or exotic votives. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this question is closely related to the mechanism of mediation. Some cult practices, such as dining on mountain peaks, remained largely unaltered. They did not share in the eighth century trend of increasingly expensive votives, apparently because they did not serve as interregional mediating sanctuaries where elite competition caused the consecration of expensive votive objects.[870]

3.3   The Formation of Local Identitites

This chapter is concerned with the creation of local identities from the late eighth century BCE. This development was preceeded by a wave of new cemeteries throughout the countryside, indicating a first step toward local group definition. When the concomitant peak in formal burials subsided, a new strategy was adopted to promote regional autonomy through a variety of cult types that shaped a complex web of local and regional identities. I will investigate this protean system by beginning with the largest local tiers, the great regional sanctuaries that competed with the cult of Athena on the Acropolis (section 4). Moving down the ladder, we will first investigate the structuring of local settlements at the crossroad of ruler-based feasting and emerging community cults (5), and next the ideology of a shared ancestry displayed at BA tombs (6) and the local ties of kinship that emerged at shared sanctuaries (7). Finally, we will take a closer look at the sudden proliferation of peak cults during the seventh century BCE (8).

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[870] Very few votives were found at any of these sites including those that were newly founded in the eighth and seventh century. The major exception is the sanctuary at **Parnes 1**, which received great quantities of weapons in the seventh century BCE.

4   The Maturation of Regional Polities

Judging from the lavish finds of expensive metal votives at **Eleusis 1**, **Brauron** and especially **Sounion 1** and **2**, these sites were the main peripheral mediation sanctuaries for elite competition outside Athens. Nevertheless, there are some striking differences between Eleusis on the one hand and Brauron and Sounion on the other. For one, the strong centralization that is so apparent at Eleusis seems to be lacking at the two other sites, in particular with regard to the proximity of cemeteries. Both Brauron and Sounion lack the extensive cemeteries encountered on the west slope of the Eleusinian acropolis. Rather, a cluster of settlements, each with their own graveyard, surrounds each cult site (Thorikos and Anavyssos near Sounion and Merenda and Kipi near Brauron are but a few of many examples). While Brauron and Sounion do not seem to have been important settlements in their own right, their sanctuaries must have grown out of a regional need for political mediation and negotiation and as such their emergence in the final years of the eighth century may be regarded as the first step toward regional political unification. It cannot be a coincidence that these cults were gradually copied in or near the Acropolis in the century leading up to the great Cleisthenic reforms.[871]

Also, two important classical sanctuaries, of Artemis Tauropolos at **Loutsa** and Apollo at **Porto Rafti**, have yielded "Geometric" material, including votive figurines. Not much is known at this point about the early history of these sites as a detailed publication of the finds is still being anticipated.

While most local cults were established during the LG II Period (Figure 182), they truly began to flourish during the seventh century. Expensive metal votives (including gold) appear at regional sanctuaries such as **Sounion 1/2**, **Eleusis 1**, **Brauron 1, Pallini** and **Parnes**. The more luxurious, orientalizing pottery (mainly PA and PC) is a standard feature at such local sanctuaries as **Mounichia**, where many open shapes were found, as well as PC aryballoi and alabastra. Furthermore, regional shrines show a great proliferation of terracotta votives, such as "Stempelidole" as well as human and animal figurines (horses, riders, chariots, bulls, goats, snakes etc.).

Finally, we may consider the enigmatic remains at **Lathouriza 1** on the southern foothill of Mt Hymettos. The twenty-odd rooms found clustered in what appears to have been a small settlement represent the only comprehensive domestic architectural remains before the sixth century BCE in Attica.[872] Mazarakis Ainian has argued that room II was used as a banqueting hall and may well have served as the

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[871] Cf. van den Eijnde, 2007b; Morgan, 1993, 31-32; Nilsson, 1951.
[872] Other remains are too scanty or ambiguous to interpret, e.g. Thorikos, Eleusis and the area of the later Olympieion, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 245, 315.

focus of communal rites. It is not possible to ascertain what type of cult was practiced in the ruler's dwelling at Lathouriza. As such we may provisionally refer to it as a ruler-oriented cult. Since the cult at Lathouriza seems to be unparalleled in Attica it will be treated separately in section 5.

4.1 Kiapha Thiti and the "Other" Attic Acropoleis

The first local sanctuary to emerge outside the Athenian plan was that of Kiapha Thiti. The finds include a skyphos dating to the MG – LG transition or around the same time cult activity commences on the Athenian Acropolis. In this respect it is noteworthy that the nearby LG I cemetery at Vari contains the first evidence for renewed settlement outside the Athenian plain since the Late Protogeometric Period (cf. Table 7). No doubt cemetery and sanctuary were interdependent components of a more or less coherent local population. It is reasonable to surmise that the people in the Kitsi valley were one of the first communities in Attica to form a polity similar (if much smaller) to that at Athens. If so, the local nobility surely must have chosen this location because of its Bronze Age ruins, much like cult worship at Athens and elsewhere in Attica, where Bronze Age acropoleis were sacralized in order to appropriate the legendary past. While the LG cults at **Eleusis 1** and **Brauron** were situated at the foot of Mycenaean fortresses they clearly stood in a direct relationship to the remains on top of the hill. At Eleusis, the cult center was actually constructed over some LH remains, perhaps a subsidiary mansion to the remains on top of the hill (cf. Chapter 4.1.19.2 and Figure 54 above). Similarly, cult activity has been recorded on the acropoleis of **Aphidna** and **Thorikos**. In both instances, there seems to be a direct connection with BA ruins.

It is noteworthy that five of these sites (Athens, Eleusis, Brauron, Aphidna and Thorikos) ranked among the canonical twelve cities that were traditionally held to have been independent poleis up until the synoecism of Theseus. I would propose that the BA remains at these sites served an important reminder of the situation in the legendary past and may well have inspired such notions of former political fragmentation. Thus, I would take this as a further argument against taking the traditional notion of political synoecism too literal.[873]

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[873] Papadopoulos, 2003, 314-315 (with bibliography).

4.2 Eleusis

In the EIA and EA Period Eleusis is the only settlement in the Thriasian plain that is visible the archaeological record. This contrasts with the other plains, especially the *pedion* and the Mesogeia, which were dotted with settlements (cf. Figure 180 and Figure 181). The relatively good quality of the soil allowed a higher population density. This in turn may have favored a concentration of settlement at Eleusis, although there is no concrete evidence in the form of domestic architecture that this was the case. It is possible that farmers were able to work the land from this centrally located settlement without the need for smaller villages around the plain, as seems to have been the case at Athens. Also, Eleusis' location on the coast made a separate port-site redundant. Alternatively, Eleusis may have functioned primarily as a focus for communal identity; a place where their cults and cemeteries were located, while most of the population lived dispersed throughout the countryside.

4.2.1 Archaeology

The early history of Eleusis has been the object of great interest in the past, the main focus of inquiry revolving around the question whether Eleusis had initially been an independent polis.[874] As I have argued in Chapter 2, polis identity is a fluid notion and may merge and converge with other tiers of identity as circumstances change. Before reaching any conclusions about the particular interplay of these identities at Eleusis, it is usefull note a few historical facts. As van Gelder has shown, the countryside of Attica is empty of archaeological remains during the Transitional Period, although this does not necessarily mean that the Thriasian plain was not inhabited. When Eleusis comes back in focus, it is clear that it adhered to the dominant material standards set out at Athens. This may indicate that the repopulation of the plain was conducted from Athens, although it may also be a sign that a formerly invisible local population turned to Athens for their cultural development. From the LPG Period Eleusis shows increasing signs of activity, mainly in the funeral sphere, resulting in increasingly large and sumptuous cemeteries on the west side of the acropolis. It is probable that the location of these graves was at least partially determined by the extensive BA remains, both on top and south of the acropolis. During the Middle Geometric Period the grave goods of Eleusis are especially rich, surpassing even those at Athens.[875] This concentration of wealth at Eleusis is presumably to be connected with the rich agricultural yield from the plain.

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[874] Simms, 1983; Padgug, 1972. For the synoecism of Attica in general cf. Frost, 1984; Diamant, 1982; Thomas, 1982; Holland, 1939. Recent scholarship tends to subordinate Eleusis within the Athenian sphere of influence, cf. Hall, 2006, 220; Parker, 1996, 13, 25; Osborne, 1994, 152-153.

[875] Coldstream, 2003.

4.2.2 Cult Practice

At **Eleusis 1**, the cult of Demeter was established before the end of the eighth century, as one the first of the major regional cults. It seems to have been deliberately focused on the remains of a Bronze Age residence. It is difficult to determine the exact date of the cult's initiation, although it is clear that cult continuity from the Bronze Age must be ruled out. I have argued that a date ca. 730 BCE is likely, although the first datable objects appear toward the very end of the eighth century. If my interpretation is correct, the construction of a relatively small, semicircular podium may mark the beginnings of cultic worship (ca. 730-720 BCE), no more than a decade or two before the deposition of the first votives. An irregularly curved wall at **Eleusis 2** underneath the temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater has been interpreted as the earliest evidence of worship of these deities. While pyre material indicates cult activity as early as the LG II Period, it is far from certain whether this should be connected with Artemis or Poseidon. Other rituals were performed at the "Sacred House" (**Eleusis 3**).

There are some indications that the establishment of the cult of Demeter (about three decades after that of Athena on Acropolis) was a response to the foundation of its Athenian counterpart. Like Athena, Demeter at was revered on top of LH ruins, in the case of Eleusis situated at the southern foot of the Acropolis. And as the Athenians imagined the legendary king Erechtheus as the erstwhile ruler of these ruins, so did the Eleusinians venerate their remains, because it allowed them to objectify their notions of a common past, which was very similarly embodied by a mythical king (Eumolpos). It is interesting to note that, as the cult grew and the ancient remains became too trampled and cramped, veneration in the form of a series of sacrificial pyres was transferred to a sequence of retaining walls that enlarged the cultic space and which upheld the terraces that now covered these ruins. It seems that the Eleusinians regarded the new terrace walls as the symbolic successors of the ruins that had been removed from sight. Perhaps we see here an analogy with Athens where the main cult area was situated on top of the large LH terrace that once supported the palace. In any case, it is apparent that the cult at Eleusis was closely modeled on that of Athena.

The unusual number of cults clustered around the slopes of the acropolis of Eleusis stands in stark contrast with the absence of cults elsewhere within the plain. This concurs with the observation that formal burials were exclusively situated in Eleusis. This situation diverges from the picture in the rest of Attica, where cults and cemeteries structured the landscape more evenly.[876] Also, no peak sanctuary has been connected with Eleusis. Since peak sanctuaries seem to have been a standard cult

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[876] Cf. Hölscher, 1998.

feature for communities throughout Attica, this ommision is remarkable in light of Eleusis importance (second only to Athens from the Late Geometric Period on). The distance to the nearby mountain ranges of Parnes and Aigaleos cannot have been the cause of this if we take into account the relative distance from Athens to the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos.

4.2.3 Poltical Status of Eleusis

Thus, Eleusis appears to take a rather unique place in the Attic cult record. It was strongly centralized and wealthy from as early as the Geometric period and had recourse to an easily fortifiable acropolis. While it is tempting to connect this with the tradition of a once politically independent Eleusis, caution is necessary. The small but fertile Thriasian plain allowed a centralized and affluent socio-political system. I have suggested above that the (Proto) Geometric liminal sanctuaries patronized by the socio-political hierarchy of Athens was predicated on the Athenian plain and seems to have deliberately excluded the outlying plains, including the Thrasian. In this sense, Eleusis was "independent" and some recollection of this situation may have persisted in the pseudo-historical battle between Erechtheus and Eumolpos.[877] However, as I have argued in the previous chapter, the *Attikoi* must have had a sense of shared ethnicity, even if their political systems were not fully integrated until the Cleisthenic reforms. There is no reason to doubt that a complicated network of interregional ties based on intermarriage and guest friendship was already in place in the Geometric and Early Archaic Period.

In Chapter 4.1.17 I have considered Michael Laughy's proposition that the large Protoattic deposit found in the Athenian Agora (**Athens – Areopagus 3**) may originate at the nearby Eleusinion. If so the disposal of a large amount of votives may represent a major reformation of that cult site ca. 630 BCE. Perhaps this signals the beginning of the cultic association between Athens and Eleusis through the cult of Demeter.

4.3 Brauron and Sounion

The case for early local independence has been extended (though to a lesser degree) to Sounion and Brauron and finds its origin in a statement of Plutarch that the Athenians had been divided into twelve poleis prior to the unification by Theseus (cf. section 4.1 above).[878] There is no reason to assume that this situation refers to the Bronze Age, as has been assumed in the past.[879] Nevertheless, the tradition does seem to convey a

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[877] Hdt.; Plut.
[878] Plut.
[879] Cf. Camp, 1995; contra Hall, 2006.

certain awareness in later times that the peninsula had once been politically divided.[880] As I have argued in the previous section, this seems to pertain to Eleusis and there is no reason to see why this should not have been the case for the other peripheral regions that were similarly excluded from the Athenian *koinonia*.

As at Eleusis, cult activity at **Brauron 1** too may have been directed toward Bronze Age ruins, albeit at a somewhat greater distance, on the nearby Acropolis. The early remains at Brauron have not received the same detailed discussion as those at Eleusis, but enough is clear to state that cult-activity, undoubtedly directed to Artemis, was formalized and possibly initialized during this period. The only earlier remains have been found in a deposit near the North Stoa, at some distance from the cult's focus at the site of the later temple, and have not been positively identified as originating from a cultic context.

The sanctuary of Poseidon at **Sounion 1** shows cult activity from ca. 700 BCE, while the nearby sanctuary of Athena (**Sounion 2**) seems to have been founded around the same time. In the latter precinct a large votive deposit has been shown to date as early as 700 BCE or slightly earlier. The identification of this site as a place of worship for the Homeric steersman of Menelaos, Phrontis, is tenuous, Athena being a more likely candidate.

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[880] The demographic contraction into Athens during the LH IIIC to the MPG Period (ca. 1190-960) was too severe to retain a memory of such a situation, especially considering the fact that Athens seems to have dominated the peninsula in the two centuries before. It is thus more plausible to explain the tradition from the imagined past of later Athenians, who would have been very familiar with the Bronze Age remains in the countryside. Of the twelve poleis mentioned by Plutarch, at least five can be shown to have extensive BA remains (Athens, Thorikos, Eleusis, Aphidna, Brauron), while other sites, such as Kiapha Thiti, may be connected to some of the unidentified sited on the list.

5   Lathouriza

The low hill of Lathouriza near the west coast of Attica contains the most complete evidence of nucleated settlement on the peninsula before 600 BCE. First, it seems that the settlements architectural foundations have survived almost completely in tact (Figure 184). Second, the remains allow us to reconstruct in broad terms the social fabric of this small community. Finally, if my reconstruction of the special status of Lathouriza within the Attic record (below) is correct, it may tell us much about how the early inhabitants of Attica were organized and how they interacted. Even so, Lathouriza holds a special place within the archaeological record. It is thus important to first introduce the site in general terms (section 5.1) and second to indicate how it stands apart from the hundreds of sites that have been excavated throughout Attica (5.2).

5.1 History and Nature of the Site

Some twenty-four rooms seem to have been divided over a dozen or so houses and were clustered around an elongated open area. Most units open unto this space, as does the largest building, the so-called 'ruler-dwelling'.[881] Hans Lauter has estimated that the total population of the settlement consisted of some 85 people, though this number may be somewhat inflated.[882] The buildings are commonly dated to the seventh century, though the first units appear to have been built slightly before 700 BCE.[883] It appears that the inhabitants abandoned the village at some point during the

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[881] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 7, n. 1887.

[882] Thirteen units were outfitted with a bench, indicating that they were used as "living rooms" used for sleeping and eating, rather than for storage. Lauter (75-77) has estimated the total living space at ca. 260 m^2. Taking an average (and arbitrary) 4 m^2 per person he arrives at 65 people, plus ca. 10 on the cleared areas and ca 10 in the ruler's dwelling, equalling 85 people. Lauter thinks this a minimum number and posits a maximum of 100 inhabitants or ca. 20 families. Morris (1987), 97-98 is unconvinced by Lauter's estimate ("wildly exaggerated") and would rather see some 30-40 people living within the settlement, believing that this is more in line with the ca. 180 graves from the seventh and sixth centuries in the nearby cemetery (Cf. also the sixth century burial mound, Lauter 1985, 64). These considerations lead Morris (197) to conclude that Lathouriza had one "noble" and five or six "non-noble" households. However, one could argue that the units outfitted with benches each represent the nucleus of a family. Since about half of the twenty-four units were outfitted with benches, the number of households may have totaled a dozen (at the peak of the habitation), in which case the settlement may have held some 50-60 inhabitants.

[883] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 238.
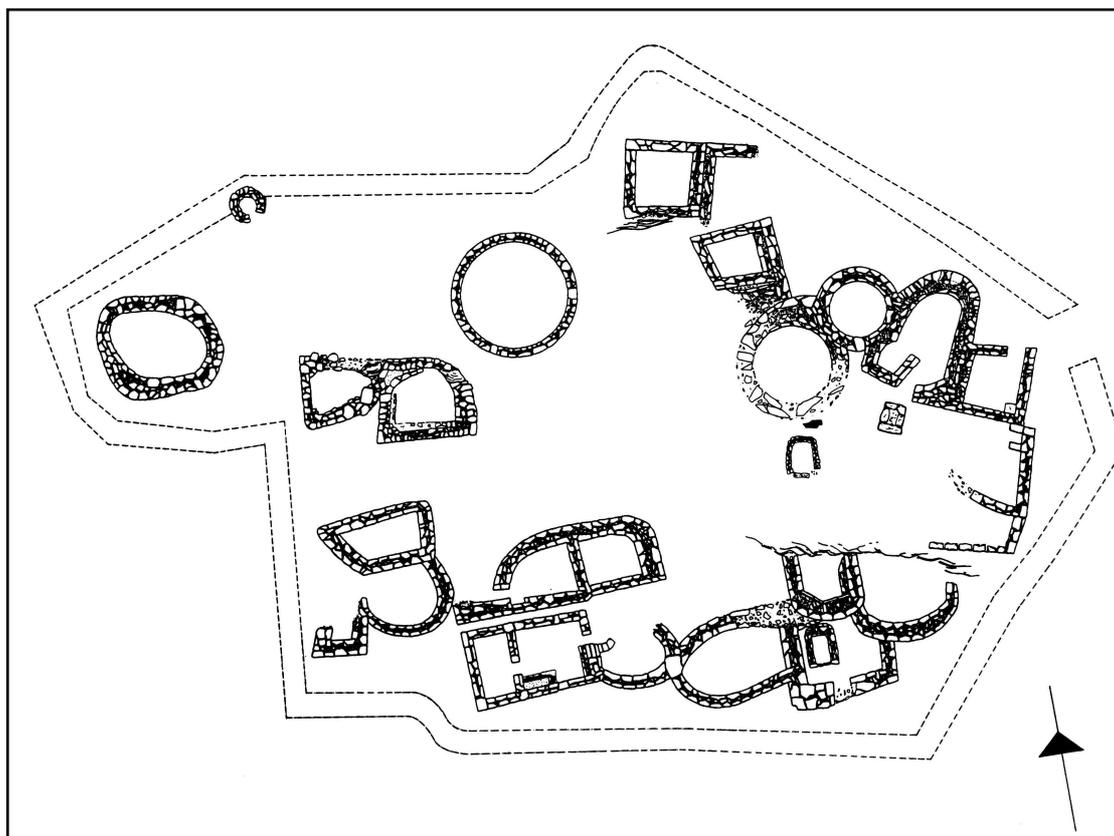
Figure 184 - State plan of the settlement at Lathouriza.

sixth century, perhaps rather toward its end, though this may have involved a gradual process.[884]

    Most houses consisted of a single "living room" with a bench and, in some cases, an additional room intended for activities not directly related with eating and sleeping such as storage or manufacture. The main building, the 'ruler's dwelling' or 'Anaktoron' (cf. **Lathouriza 1**), was conspicuously set apart from the other houses. It consisted of four rooms of different shape (units I-IV on Figure 185) of which the two easternmost, I and II, were outfitted with a bench. Unit I, a rectangular space with anteroom, has the typical 'oikos' format. It stands out from the other three units, which are constructed with irregular, curvilinear walls. This suggests that unit I was added later. Unit II appears to have been the main living space of those inhabiting the building. A hearth was conveniently placed in front of the entrance. Rooms III and IV may well have been storerooms, though other functions are equally possible.[885] A

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[884] Mazarakis Ainian 1995, 155, n. 67, with access to Stavropoulos' notes, posits that the settlement may have been used until the end of the Archaic Period; the Tholos may have been visited for two more centuries. Hans Lauter (1985), 69 erroneously believed that the settlement was abandoned within two or three generations after its establishment.
[885] Lauter, 1985b, 25-26. He believes unit IV may have been a intended for the 'ruler's' personel, or a women's quarter (*gunaikon*), both impossible to prove. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 154 suggests that room III was used for the storage of grain, while unit IV could
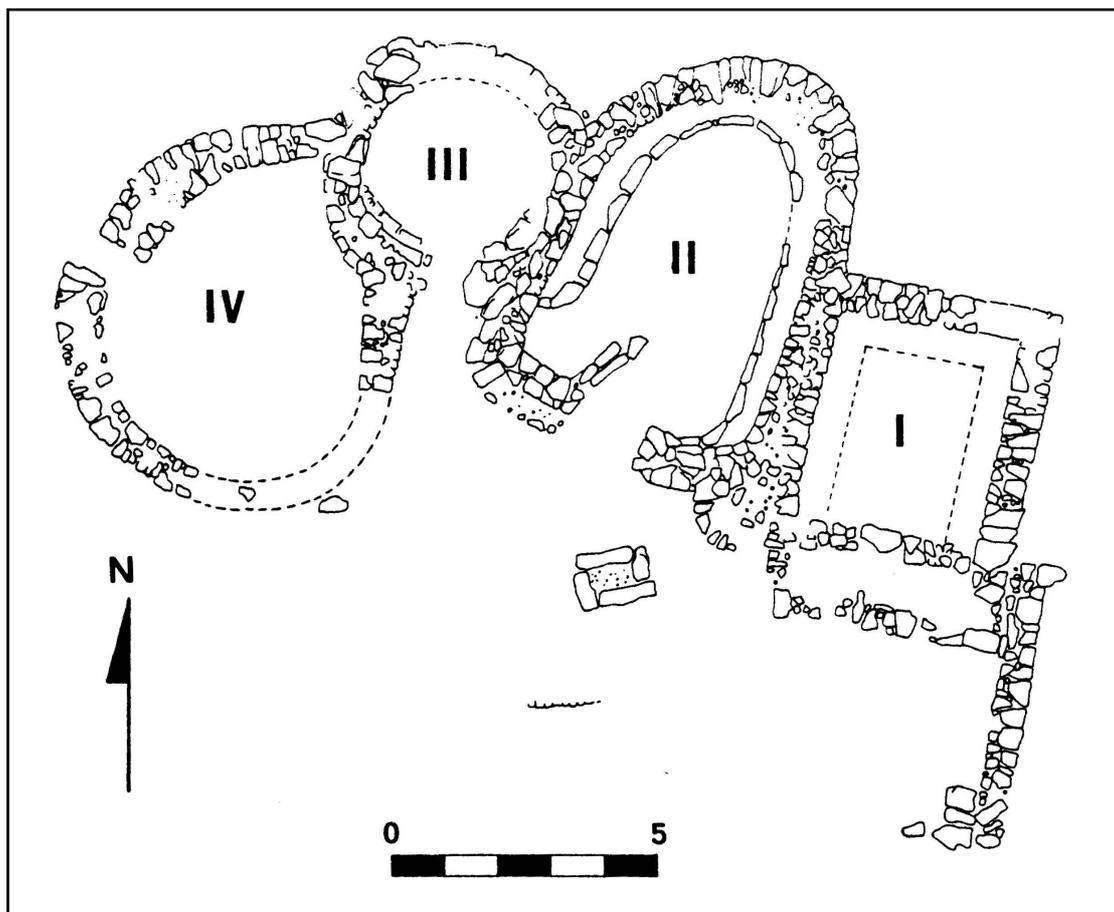
Figure 185 - State plan of units I-IV (Ruler's Dwelling).

comparison between the agglutinative building I-IV and the other houses at Lathouriza (Figure 184) shows that the settlement was dominated by a single oikos, i.e. a chieftain and his extended household.[886]

Mazarakis Ainian has argued that the chieftain's house was the first building to be constructed when the site was first settled ca. 700 BCE.[887] I would add that the other residential units were constructed over the course of the seventh century, the curvilinear generally preceding the rectangular shapes as I have suggested in relation to unit I. At some point during the seventh century the so-called 'Tetrastylon', a baldachin, was created, presumably to cover a sacrificial installation several meters west of the chieftain's house.[888] The circular hall, called 'Tholos' (unit VIII), from where thousands of votives have been retrieved, replaced this contraption in later seventh or sixth century BCE (Figure 107, Figure 112 and Figure 113). This became

have functioned as a subsidiary to the sanctuary (Tholos, unit VIII). Probably round ("irregular oval", but see note 59). Room II most likely had a pitched roof, despite Lauter.
[886] There is no question about either the fact that the settlement was controlled by a single 'ruler' or about the status of unit I-IV as the 'ruler's dwelling', cf. Seiler, 1986, 7-24.
[887] Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 153.
[888] Cf. chapter 4.1.29.2, Figure 110 and Figure 111.
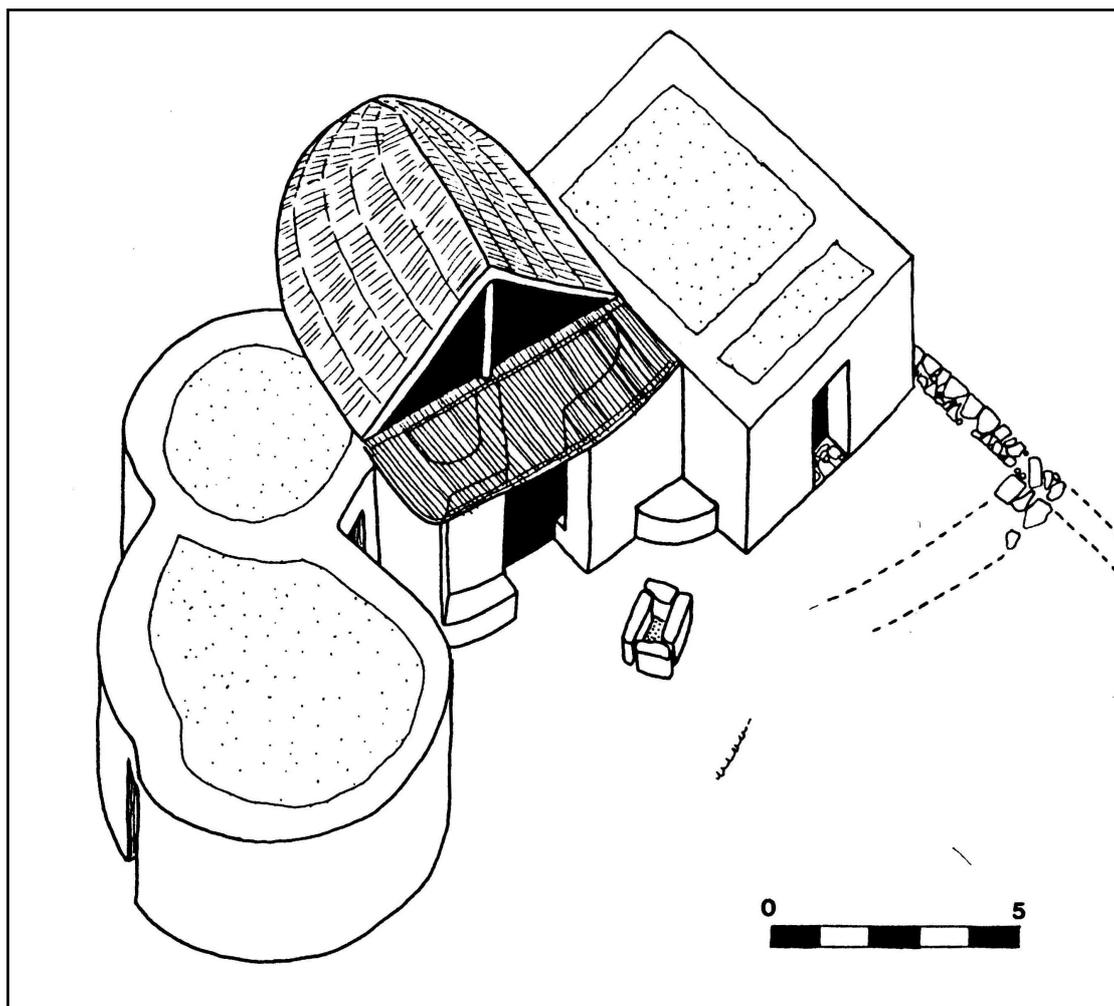
Figure 186 – Isometric reconstruction of units I-IV (Ruler's Dwelling).

the central cult place of the settlement, the significance of which carried beyond the hill of Lathouriza judging from the fact that it remained in use long after the settlement had been abandoned.[889]

Contrary to what some scholars naturally assumed, it is now clear that the large circuit wall indicated on some maps is not ancient (Figure 184).[890] Based on the notebooks of Ph. Stavropoulos, the original excavator of the site, Mazarakis Ainian was able to show that archaeologists erected the wall in order to dispose of the scattered rubble debris from the ruined houses.[891] The large amount of debris incorporated into the modern circuit wall suggests that the buildings' walls were

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[889] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 239 would see the cult continuing into the fourth century. However, there is a case to be made that the disruptions of the Peloponnesian war with their devastating effect on the rural countryside and its shrines may have been the cause of the cult's termination. The matter is, however, not to be resolved from the discussion of the finds recorded in by Stavropoulos' notes, Mazarakis Ainian, 1994a.

[890] Cf. Lauter and Lauter-Bufe, 1975, 2-3. See also Ober 1987, 184, who suggested that the wall was of Hellenistic date.

[891] Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 145-146.

constructed entirely of rubble masonry, rather than mud brick. The confusion over the circuit wall is due to the fact that Stavropoulos was not able to publish the results as a result of the outbreak of WWII, upon which the finds were lost. Only a brief summary was published in 1940.[892]

The integrity of the settlement's community is underscored by the location of a small rectangular shrine on the northern spur of the hill (**Lathouriza 2**). This naiskos served as a roadside shrine along the main ascent to the village leading from the valley that separates Lathouriza from the Hymettos range. As such, it manifests itself as a suburban sanctuary effectively delimiting the general area of habitation from the main thoroughfare below, which connected the Athenian plain with the southeastern coast.

5.2 Lathouriza: Extraordinary or Normal?

The exceptional status of Lathouriza in the Attic record has often been commented upon, but has never been explained in a satisfactory manner.[893] The list of Early Archaic Attic settlement remains is short, scanty and therefore difficult to interpret. If we eliminate those structures that have been connected with ritual activity, the list becomes even shorter. Only a few out of several hundred recorded sites show even the slightest clustering of habitation and none of these sites come anywhere close to Lathouriza in size. It has been suggested that some buildings at the **Academy 2** and **Thorikos 1** were used for industrial and/or residential purposes, but the case for sustained settlement activity usually depends on other (i.e. ritual or funerary) evidence. It is against this background that we should consider the case of Lathouriza.

To be sure, the likelihood of archaeological survival may in part be responsible for the lack of known settlement sites in Attica. Its location on top of the non-arable Lathouriza hill, for example, although subject to the effects of natural erosion, may have aided the preservation of the building units as no later building activity was undertaken at this location. By contrast, lower-lying sites are more likely to have accumulated a thick layer of sediment, or they may have been built over by the modern city. Furthermore, it has been argued that the "urban area" of early Athens consisted of scattered "hamlets" consisting of a few households.[894] If this was the case, these small settlements may have stood a lesser chance of coming to light. Still, rescue excavations have been conducted throughout the metropolitan area of modern Athens for many years without yielding anything close to what has been found at Lathouriza.

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[892] Walter, 1940
[893] Cf. Lauter, 1985, 69.
[894] Snodgrass, 1980, 31. Cf. also chapter 5.2.3 and chapter 6.2.3.

Demographic studies for this period, tentative as they mey be, rate the Attic population at five to ten thousand souls at the very minimum.[895] However, heavily relying on visible burials these figures remain very tentative and we remain at a loss as to where these people lived. The most plausible, if not concrete, solution is to posit that residential buildings were modest, hut-like structures composed entirely of perishable materials. This would explain why hardly a trace of residential architecture has survived from the Athenian urban area. Assuming, as most scholars do, that the settlement (or cluster of settlements?) of Athens was relatively large throughout the Early Iron Age,[896] there remains no other way of explaining why nothing of it has been recovered.

The buildings at Lathouriza, then, are remarkable in at least two respects. First, their construction of rubble stone is virtually without parallel in early Attica, at least within the domestic realm.[897] As we have seen, the excavators piled up the scattered stone to form a modern circuit wall around the site (cf. Figure 184). It stands to reason that these stones belonged to the disintegrated houses. From their sheer quantity we may infer that the houses were fully constructed of rubble masonry, perhaps reinforced with manure or clay. Typical Attic architecture, on the other hand, as a rule consists of a rubble footing built up with mud brick tiles. Also, the Attic buildings that survive in our record have a predominantly cultic or ritual function, even if a degree of domestic use cannot always be disproven. Thus far, no good explanation has been given for this inconsistency.

Second, the density and introverted planning of the buildings stand out immediately upon first inspection. While the circuit wall has been revealed to be modern, the inward orientation of the buildings appears to have been designed with a defensive strategy in mind, as only small gaps were left between the buildings.[898] These effectively served as sally ports for those inside the settlement when it came under siege.

5.3 A Frontier Town

Hans Lauter has argued that (semi-) nomadic shepherds originating from the Attic mountains settled at Lathouriza amidst an agrarian population consisting of Athenian settlers. He sees proof for this in the cramped style of living and the rough terrain on the hill, which was unsuitable for agriculture. Also, the defensive nature of the

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[895] Osborne, 1996; Morris, 1987.
[896] Cf. also Whitley, 1991awho sees Athens as one of only a few "stable sites" and Morgan, 2003 who ranks Athens as a 'Big Site".
[897] Eliot, 1962, 39-41.
[898] Mazarakis Ainian 1995, 146.

settlement indicates that the inhabitants had reason to fear their neighbors at a time when conditions were generally peaceful and coastal communities had otherwise little to fear from seaborne invaders or pirates. Finally, Lauter regards the absence of pottery as a sure sign of a nomadic way of life. As time went by, the shepherds were gradually accepted by the population in the lower valley and were integrated beyond the point of further recognition.[899] Contrary to what Lauter believed, however, pottery had been found at Lathouriza, though it had been lost during WWII. Also, there is no need to associate the "rough" terrain with the nomadic lifestyle of roaming shepherds, which in any case would have been abandoned when the group settled at Lathouriza. It is more plausible that the newcomers chose the site on the hill for the safety provided by its rugged environment. The Vari plain below could have served their agricultural needs. Finally, the distinction between agriculture and transhumance made in Lauter's argument has justifiably been called into question.[900]

How then can we explain the unusual building technique and settlement pattern of Lathouriza? To answer this question it is important first to gain a general understanding of EIA and EA settlements. These have been found throughout the Greek world, but nowhere in greater number than on the islands of the Aegean, most notably the Cyclades and Crete.[901] Furthermore, it is in these areas that we encounter the specific type of full rubble masonry, which appears so infrequently in Attica and elsewhere on the mainland. As we have seen, the near complete lack of surviving domestic architecture in Attica implies that residential units were presumably built of perishable materials, notably mud-brick and wood. Where we do find architectural remains, these usually consist of rubble foundations built up with mud brick walls that can be shown to have an out of the ordinary – often cult-related – function. Elsewhere on the mainland and Euboea, houses were sometimes constructed with rubble foundations, but only seldom were they entirely made of full rubble masonry.[902]

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[899] Lauter 1985, 69-78. He seems to suggest that these nomadic shepherds represent a non-Athenian ethnic group, roaming large parts of Greece, although this particular 'Stamm' had "vielleicht schon länger in Attika Gast- und Weiderechte Genoß[en]" (78). Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 155 has dismissed the ethnically-laden argument of the "hostility" of indigenous communities toward the settlers at Lathouriza.

[900] Mazarakis Ainian, 1994a, 66 has argued for a mixed basis of subsistence, referring to Lathouriza as an "agropastoral" community, which would accord well with the diverse landscape of the Vari region.

[901] Cyclades: Vathy Limenari (Donoussa), Zagora (Andros), Minoa (Amorgos), Tsikalario and Grotta (Naxos), Xoburgo (Tenos), Hagios Andreas and Kastro (Siphnos), Koukounaries (Paros); Eastern Aegean: Vroulia (Rhodes), Emporio (Chios); Crete: Dreros, Karphi, Prinias, Vrokastro, Kavousi. Bibliography in Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, cf. also Hoepfner et al., 1996.

[902] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997.

Towns on the islands of the southern Aegean on the other hand are mostly built from such loosely fitting rocks as were lying about.[903]

The reason for this dichotomy should be sought in the practicality of construction rather than in cultural differences. Communities on the islands, in particular those of the smaller Cycladic islands, had limited access to the muddy clay that was readily available in the mainland plains, such as the Athenian *pedion*. Additionally, the island communities tended to build their towns on high, easily defendable positions, as they were particularly vulnerable to raids from the sea.[904] The only construction material available to these communities would have been the rubble that eroded from the hills and mountains on which they chose to fortify themselves, rather than the more adaptable tiles of sun-dried mud or clay. It is surely no coincidence that just the same environmental conditions apply to Lathouriza as well as to the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos, the only place in Attica where full rubble masonry has been attested. Like many of the sites in the southern Aegean, the settlement at Lathouriza only lasted a relatively short while, as certain disadvantages, such as a long distance from good water supplies and arable land, began to outweigh the advantages afforded by its strategic position.[905] Again, this is better explained by a similarity of historical and environmental conditions than cultural intervention.

There is thus no need to see Cycladic influence in the architecture of Lathouriza or even posit direct control of the site from the islands in the form of an emporium or a small-scale colonial enterprise. This is the more unlikely given the irregularity of the units' design (apsidal, curved, round, rectangular), which is so dissimilar from the highly structured terracing of the Cycladic towns, where rectangular units are economically placed side by side.[906] Rather, the planning of Lathouriza suggests that people unaccustomed to this particular method of construction carried it out, adopting a strategy of trial and error.[907]

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[903] The walls thus constructed were presumably "cemented" with earth or manure for strength and platered over in much the same way as mud brick walls would have been.
[904] Hoepfner, 1999; Hoepfner et al., 1994
[905] Cf. Lauter, 1985b, 87.
[906] Hoepfner, 1999; Mazarakis Ainian, 1997; Hoepfner et al., 1994.
[907] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997.

Figure 187 – Satelite view of the Lathouriza corridor.

It remains to explain why the settlers of Lathouriza opted for this locality in the first place. The settlement of Lathouriza stands is part of the gradual but steady movement of internal colonization of the outlying areas of Attica, which began in the late tenth century and carried on at least into the seventh and probably sixth centuries. Placed along the only possible thoroughway leading from the *Pedion* to the southern peninsula, the village commanded one of four vital roads leading to the Attic periphery (cf. Figure 187).[908] Along this route important local centers sprang up in the final decades of the eighth century, most notably Anagyrous (Vari), Anaphlystos (Anavyssos) and Sounion. It is therefore not surprising that a stronghold was created just at the border between center and periphery; between the plain and a frontier

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[908] The other three are (1) the road leading in between Mts. Aigaleos and Parnes through modern Dafni to Eleusis (along the *hiera hodos*), (2) that in between Mts. Parnes and Pentelikon to Marathon, and (3) that in between Mts. Pentelikon and Hymettos to Brauron.

territory where a new landed aristocracy was beginning to amass its wealth.[909] To accomplish this, one single oikos assumed control of what was strategically the most sensitive point of this line of communication, not by occupying the lower-lying area around modern Vari, which held possibilities for agriculture, but on top of a barren foothill of Hymettos that commanded one of Attica's main arteries. Forced by their particular choice of location the settlers had to construct their new home from a material to which they were unaccustomed, as is plain from the oldest building, the 'ruler's dwelling' constructed ca. 700 BCE, which shows a remarkable variety of shapes. The unintended result of this choice, of course, was that the remains of the village, in its eroded state, are still visible today. Thus, uniquely in Attica, Lathouriza provides a modest view into the nature of Attic settlements and allows us to study the social interaction of power as mediated by cult. It is to that cult that we must now turn.

5.4 Ritual and Community at Lathouriza

At Lathouriza, more than anywhere else in Attica, the ritualization of the social structure can be traced in some detail. Over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, a local cult connected to a female deity was transformed from a humble local affair to a popular regional sanctuary. As a result of the relatively favorable state of preservation, the village of Lathouriza reveals how power relations were sustained and transformed through ritual and commensality. Two ritual locations can be discerned inside the settlement, the 'Ruler's Dwelling' and the site of the 'Tholos' and both were intimately connected with (ritual) banqueting.

When the first generation of inhabitants settled at the Lathouriza foothill ca. 700 BCE, their first concern was to construct a home. There is good reason to believe that the "Ruler's Dwelling" was the first building to be erected.[910] The apsidal layout of unit II, and the circular construction of rooms III and IV, contrast strongly with the more regular, rectangular design of most of the other units in the settlement, including unit I, which was presumably added on to the "Ruler's dwelling" at a later time". The prominently located and well-demarcated hearth in front of the entrance to the apsidal unit II indicates that it was used as a dining room. As such it was the most important space in the house and, indeed in the settlement, at least until the construction of the 'Tholos' in the sixth century BCE. Presumably the apsidal room was used as the main living quarter of the leading family of Lathouriza simultaneously serving as council chamber for the local chief and other leading citizens, who could be seated and served

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[909] Camp, 1994 makes a strong case that the Alcmeonidai were descended from the area around Anaphlystos.
[910] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153.
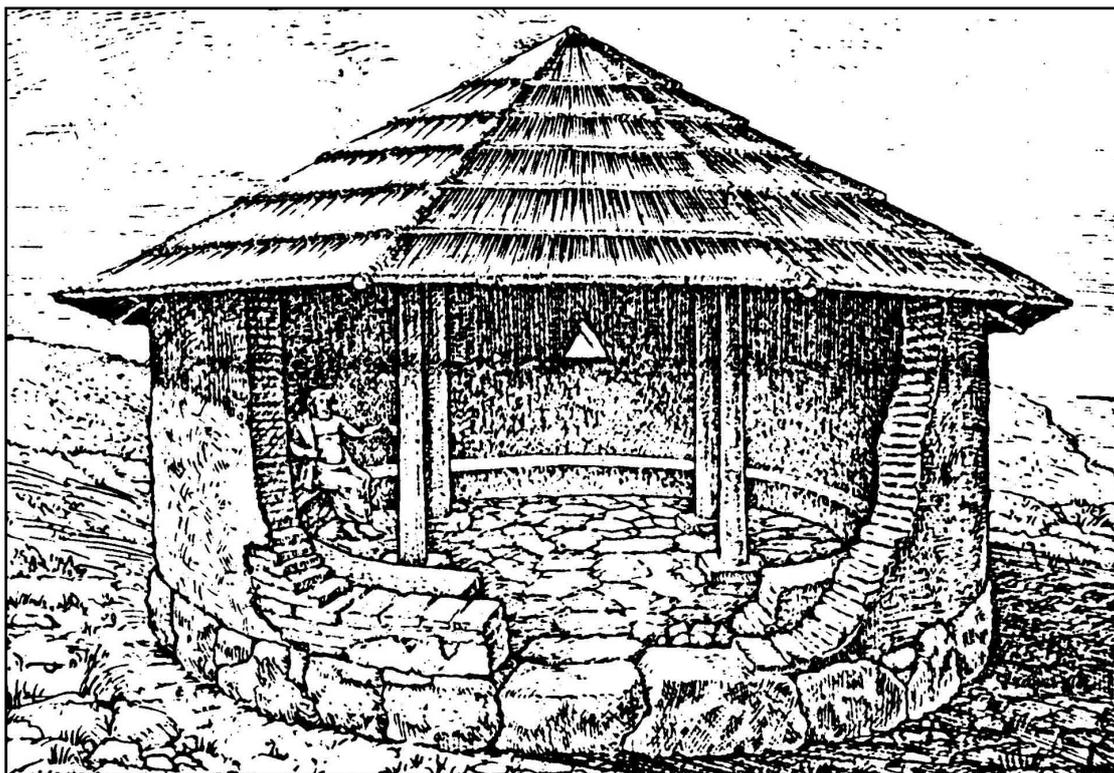
Figure 188 - Reconstruction of the circular cult building ("Tholos").

on the bench that ran along the north, west and east face of the interior wall. The hearth that was located in front of the entrance thus not only served a practical need, but also signified the prominence of the "Ruler's dwelling" and unit II in particular as the symbolical hearth of the community at large. Its placement in front of the entrance adjacent to the central "agora" thus seems to have been a deliberate act of self-advertisement on the part of the 'oikos' in residence. Originally, then, there appears to have been no spatial separation between the everyday meals and the 'special meals' that were part of the community's festival days. But as we have seen above (p. 389), a second room with bench was added at some later time, probably before the end of the seventh century BCE. Given the similar size of the two rooms and the number of people that could be accommodated in them, it appears that the construction of unit I represents a deliberate choice to separate these two functions.

The identification of the circular building VIII (the "Tholos") as a cult building is beyond doubt and is based on thousands of terracotta figurines found concentrated around its remains, though many were scattered throughout the settlement as a result of erosion.[911] The figurines are almost universally female and seem to imply the

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[911] Eliot, 1962, 39-41 interpreted entire site as cult place on account of the votive scatter. No coarse ware has been reported, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153. However, Mazarakis Ainian calls it only "interesting" with regard to Eliot's thesis. If coarse ware was found, it was presumably not recorded by Stavropoulos and lost with the other finds in WWII.

worship of a goddess at the 'Tholos'.[912] They belong to the seventh and sixth century BCE, which appears to have been the main period of cultic interest.[913]

The 'Tholos' was presumably erected in the sixth century BCE judging from the polygonal style of masonry, which contrasts markedly with the rubble masonry of the houses. Furthermore, pushing the date of construction back to the seventh century leaves the building without architectural comparanda.[914] In a second building phase the "Tholos" was outfitted with a stone bench. As is evident from the votive figurines, however, the cult was initiated earlier, in the seventh century. Mazarakis Ainian has convincingly argued that at this time a baldachin supported by four posts ('Tetrastylon') was constructed at to cover (or monumentalize) a hearth.[915] As the hearth presumably came before the baldachin, the following architectural phases can be discerned:

Phase	Chronology	"Ruler's Dwelling"	"Tholos"
1	ca. 700 BCE	Unit II constructed	_
2	early 7th c.	(Construction III/IV?)	Hearth
3	7th c.	Unit I constructed	Baldachin covers hearth
4	early 6th c.	_	"Tholos" constructed around hearth
5	6th c.	_	Bench constructed inside "Tholos"

Table 10 - Phases of the "Ruler's dwelling" and the "Tholos".

The hearth and bench inside the "Tholos" indicate that the consumption of ritual meals and the accompanying fire offerings were a central part of the ritual prescripts at Lathouriza. This is also supported by the contents of the hearth, which included cups and plates.[916] But where were these meals consumed before the construction of

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[912] The larger figurines are all female, cf. n. 533 above. Also, a good amount of jewellery was found, some of which miniature, which may have served to embellish the female figurines. Evidence of fire offerings (ashes and burnt bone) and the eastern orientation of the altar may indicate an Olympian deity; Demeter, Artemis and Hera have been suggested, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 119, cf. also Antonaccio, 1995, 249. Lauter favors a cult of the founder of the settlement, the hero-ktistes, Lauter, 1985b, 50, cf. also Seiler, 1986, 20-24, 20-24, who misguidedly adduced the figurines and drinking wares as evidence for Lauter's thesis.

[913] While the loss of these objects during WWII does not permit certainty in these matters, the excavator's notebooks imply that the deposition of figurines decreased sharply during the fifth century.

[914] Cf. Seiler, 1986.

[915] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian (1995), 151, ns. 44-7.

[916] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153. In this respect it is interesting to note that no coarse ware has been reported. This has led Lauter to conclude that the site was build by

the "Tholos"? It has been plausibly suggested that the cult of the 'Tholos' was first initiated at the "Ruler's Dwelling".[917] As we have seen, unit II served as the first place for festive gatherings when the first settlers occupied the Lathouriza hill (Table 10, phase 1). The festive character of these meetings can be deduced from both from the large size in comparison to other units in the settlement and because of the added elements of benches (indoor) and hearth (outside). As I have argued in Chapter 1, such festive gatherings would have imcorporated both political and religious aspects, including, I would argue, the embryonic cult of the goddess of Lathouriza. If any offerings to her were made at this early stage, they would have been performed at the simple hearth in front of its entrance and the communal banquet served inside.

In the course of the seventh century the size of the settlement at Lathouriza expanded and with it the complexity of its religious rituals and institutions. First a separate hearth was created ca. 20 m west of the first hearth, close to the highest point of the hill (stage 2). Judging from the votives this cult place was specifically devoted to the goddess, although other deities may have received offerings here as well. The banqueting that followed the offerings presumably still took place in the main room of the "Ruler's dwelling", unit II. At some point during the seventh century, the need was felt to separate the common, day-to-day activities of the ruler's oikos from the more ceremonial gatherings. To accomplish this, the rectangular unit I was constructed, complete with anteroom and benches along three of the four walls (stage 3). In the meantime, the offering place became more and more embellished, first with a semicircular container for the hearth, then with the baldachin or "tetrastylon" and finally with the semicircular "Tholos" (stage 4, Table 10).[918] Through all these refurbishments, the "Ruler's dwelling" remained the main venue for ritual banqueting until it was decided that a select group of people should dine at the hearth inside the "Tholos". To make this possible a bench was added inside the circular building (stage 5) and it is hardly a coincidence that the benches in units I and II could accommodate roughly same number of people as the "Tholos" (cf. Figure 108 and Figure 113).[919] The close connection between the two buildings is accentuated by the entrance to the "Tholos", which opens toward the "Ruler's dwelling" and the hearth in front of unit II. In turn, the entrance to unit IV, which was an adjunct to the ruler's dwelling, was

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previously nomadic shepherds. Their presumed uncivilized way of life would explain why they used no ordinary household dishes. His conclusions have elicited ample and justified critique elsewhere, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, passim; Ober, 1987b, 184-185. See also p. 384 and n. 899.

[917] Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 238.

[918] Cf. Chapter 4.1.29.2 (**Lathouriza 1**) above.

[919] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1997, 153.

oriented on the "Tholos" and may well have been connected to the rites at the hearth.[920]

It is thus possible to trace the development of the cult of the goddess from its inception at the hearth of the village chief to more or less independent religious institution. The connection with the communal hearth of the village evokes associations with the Prytaneion, which served as the spiritual center of so many Greek poleis, including Athens. And while this is not to say that Lathouriza could ever aspire to the kind of political autonomy generally associated with poleis, it at least hints to the fact that its community could self-assuredly perceive itself to be a full member of a larger Athenian koinon.

5.5 Politics and the Economy of Feasting at Lathouriza

In the preceding section I have discussed the emergence of Lathouriza's main cult against the background of a community asserting itself as a social entity. In this section, I will briefly discuss some of the implications for the internal socio-political constitution of the community. As we have seen, the sixth century BCE cult in the "Tholos" originated at the hearth of the local ruler's dwelling. Given the prominent role of the ruler's dwelling as the social and religious nexus of the settlement, we may expect that the village chief to have initially assumed a leading role in conducting the religious rites. Acting as priest de officio, he was in charge of conducting the essential sacrifices and libations and dispensing the appropriate portions of offering meat. For the dispensing of the meat is not only the prerogative of the priest, it is also the political privilege of the one who is in control of economic resources. We find that political and religious authority is so intimately connected that the two are embodied in one and the same person. In this light it is significant that the ruler's dwelling seems to have had a special storage room where food surpluses could be stored.[921]

This situation adheres closely to the power relations connected to patronage and the symbolism of this relationship is played out, maintained and renegotiated during the patron-client feast as described in Chapter 1.3.1.2) which is in effect an umbrella term for the banquet, offering, deposition of votives and many other archaeologically invisible elements, such as singing, dancing, prayer etc. The relationship between village chief (patron) and villagers (clients), is aptly formulated by Michael Dietler:

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[920] Lauter, 1985b, 26 assumed that this room functioned as a *gunaikon*. See however, Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 153.

[921] Mazarakis Ainian, 1995, 154 identified unit III as grain storage.

> *On the one hand, those who are continually in the role of guests are*
> *symbolically acknowledging their acceptance of subordinate status vis-à-*
> *vis the continual host. On the other hand, the role of continual and*
> *generous hosts for the community at large comes to be seen as a duty*
> *incumbent upon the person who occupies a particular elevated status or*
> *formal political role. Institutionalization of authority relies on this*
> *binding asymmetrical commensal link between unequal partners in a*
> *patron/client relationship. (Dietler, 2001, 83)*

The economic privileges enjoyed by the chief enabled him to maintain his status, but only for as long as he was able to provide for his community. As we have seen in the introduction to this chapter, this interplay of economy and status is most apparent in the case of commensality, because it is concerned with the dispensation of essential foodstuffs and as such symbolizes the economic and political order.

But besides the patron-client relationship, there is also an important diacritical element at play in the banqueting practices at Lathouriza. We have seen that by establishing the "order in which one eats" the social order of a group may be reified as well. Presumably, the community of Lathouriza had many diacritical tools at its disposal to establish an internal pecking order. However, the only instrument that is still visible in the archaeological record is the architecture. Judging from the average length of the benches in units I, II and VII (ca. 12 m) we may cautiously posit a banqueting community of ca. 10-20 members[922] and this may just correspond with the number of adult male members of the community.[923] But this is only one side of the coin. We have seen that the actual community living in the settlement prospered during the seventh century, but slowly declined during the sixth. By 500 BCE Lathouriza must have been a virtual ghost town. Nevertheless, the cult of the goddess clearly continued to prosper throughout the sixth century – as is evident from the construction of the "Tholos" – and even seems to have continued well into the fifth century.[924] This indicates that, at least as early as the late seventh century BCE, the wider community of Lathouriza exceeded the actual inhabitants of the village on the hill. Clearly if this was not the case, there would be no worshippers to maintain the cult in the "Tholos" toward the end of the sixth century. Where did these people live?

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[922] Given an inner diameter of 2.50, the inner circumference of the bench measured ca. 15 m. Allowing for the doorway, this would leave room for some 10-20 people to sit comfortably. There is no evidence that reclining was already a habitual practice, and in any case is difficult to imagine in the context of the circular Tholos. Reclining seems to have become increasingly popular in the course of the sixth century, cf. Lissarague, 1987, figs. 1, 69, 70.For dining and reclining space, cf. Bergquist, 1990.

[923] Cf. page 378 and note 882 above.

[924] Cf. page 381 and note 890 above.

Presumably the "community" of Lathouriza began to disperse into the lower-lying areas of the Vari plain, where the land was more suitable to agriculture. If the necropoleis near Vari provide any kind of measure of the size of the larger Lathouriza community,[925] it becomes evident that only a small part was able to partake in the intimacy of the sacred banquet at the ruler's dwelling and later inside the "Tholos". Since the Vari cemeteries date as early as the settlement at Lathouriza (if not earlier) and the community at large may have exceeded the population of the village itself from the beginning, it is perhaps not inconceivable that the inhabitants of Lathouriza always represented an elite group within the Vari region. Being present at the chieftain's house during a ritual banquet in the seventh century therefore was considered as much a gauge of the social standing of the other participants as it was of the status of the leader of the clan.

Later, in the sixth century, the ruler seems to have become an ever more dispensable figure. As the settlement withered, the political importance of the leader declined. The construction of the "Tholos" is a good indication that the relationship between the original ruling family and the community at large had changed. Membership of the cult community remained the prerogative of an elite group, presumably descendants of the original clan that inhabited Lathouriza, but who had now dispersed throughout the region. However, the conspicuous position of a single "big man" now seems to be lost. In fact, it can be argued that the unique shape of the "Tholos",[926] a perfect circle, represents something of a new ethos, revolving around the equal status of the members. While it is inevitable that the cult community had to choose a priest from its midst, he could be called heir to the seventh century chief in a symbolic, religious sense only. The political component of his office had now devolved to what we may now call the combined cult community. This step represents the incarnation of the seventh century cult community into a *genos* as defined in the terms of late Archaic and Classical sources.

The agenda of the *gennetai* in the sixth century is obvious. The construction of the "Tholos" around the 7th century hearth represents a conscious effort to exclude the presence of the larger community in the Vari region at the fire offering. These people did not actively participate in the cult, but this is not to say that the cult did not pertain to these people as well. The elevation of the *gennetai* through their direct association with the goddess is only meaningful if we understand that a larger group was willing to be a witness to it. In fact, it is likely that this larger group was present

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[925] Mazarakis Ainian, 1995.
[926] For the unicity of this form cf. Seiler, 1986. While Seiler's date for the Tholos, 700 BCE, is preposterously early, his collection of circular buildings nevertheless shows that the Lathouriza Tholos is the first of its kind in Greece. This is not including building C on **Hymettos 1**, however, which Seiler does not mention.

at the festivities for the goddess, and perhaps even partook in the banquet that followed the offering ceremony. Still, there would have been conditions. Only a small group of accredited *genos* members was allowed to be present at the fire ritual inside the Tholos, while a much larger crowd waited outside (in this respect the situation very much resembles that at **Eleusis 3**). Furthermore, it is only reasonable to assume that the *genos* members carried away the best parts of the offering meat, before distributing the remains among the rest.

6   Hero Cult

What constitutes a hero cult is a bone of contention, which often complicates the identification of specific archaeological remains as such.[927] Before discussing the nature of the evidence we may therefore first consider those sites that have been associated with hero cult in the past.

6.1   Evidence for Hero Cult

Hero cult is certain at **Eleusis 3**, where a thirty-year old male was buried in the final years of the eighth century;[928] his funerary rites seem to have been reperformed for some time before gradually acquiring cult status. At **Brauron 2**, pottery of the Late Geometric Period has been found in and near the "cave of Iphigeneia" though it is assumed that the material belongs to the earliest stages of the worship of Artemis. Finally, at the peak shrines of Hymettos and Tourkovouni, circumstantial evidence may indicate the practice of hero-worship. At **Hymettos 1** a graffito bears the letters HEP, which has either been restored as *heros* or *Herakles*. At **Tourkovouni** the salvaged half of a circular building ("Südbau") has been identified as a grave or cenotaph. The absence of pottery suggests that the area may have been an abaton, cult activity having been restricted to the nearby oval building ("Ostbau"). The cult is tentatively ascribed to Anchesmos on the basis of Pausanias, 1.32.2.

Hero cult has also been posited at **Menidi**, inside the dromos of a Mycenaean Tholos tomb, where, among other objects, large Louteria were consecrated, interesting objects which otherwise have only been found at **Athens - Areopagus 2** and perhaps **Mounichia**. At **Haliki Glyphada** a flat stone seems to have served as an offering plate inside the dromos of a local Tholos tomb, but it is not clear how long-lived cult practice was at this site.

While not directly classifiable as hero cult, funeral enclosures in the Agora[929] and Eleusis (cf. **Eleusis 4**) show that special care was taken to separate specific graves within a larger burial ground. In the former case, a wall delimited a group of Late Geometric burials, presumably to set them apart from burials nearby. At Eleusis, another wall respectfully enclosed a group of Early Helladic graves, perhaps to prevent gravediggers from disturbing them. The *peribolos* is probably wrongly

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[927] For a recent critical review of this matter, cf. Ekroth, 2007.

[928] Compare the "prince" buried near the Sacred Gate at Eretria, Bérard, 1983; Bérard, 1982; Bérard, 1978, 1970.

[929] Cf. Antonaccio, 1995, 207-212.

identified as the shrine of the Seven Against Thebes, mentioned by Pausanias, 1.39.2-3.

Finally, Hans Lauter has posited a cult of the hero-oikistes at Lathouriza, which has now been plausibly discredited by Mazarakis Ainian (cf. previous section).

6.2 Past Scholarship

The nature of hero cult and its emergence in particular is a messy subject if one takes into account the sheer size of publications that have been devoted to it. Much thought has been devoted to the question of what caused hero cult to exist. Broadly speaking, two schools can be discerned when it comes to answering this question. E. Rohde instigated the first current, arguing that hero cult derives from the veneration of ancestors.[930] This view was taken up by G. Nagy in his ground-braking *The Best of The Achaeans* and remains influential with many scholars to this day.[931] The main problems with this view are centered on the fact that it remains unclear why the ancestors came to be venerated in this "heroic" way and that it is difficult to see evidence of this "evolution" (from regular respect paid to the recently deceased to full blown hero cult) in the archaeological record.

The second current began with Farnell, who connected hero cult with mythology.[932] Following in his course, Coldstream, in an influential article in 1976, forwarded the hypothesis that the emergence of hero cult may have been inspired by the circulation of Homeric epic.[933] Allowing for the polemical nature of his article, it is nevertheless difficult to maintain that hero cult and Homeric epic poetry are causally connected.[934] Rather, both are likely to be part of a more general interest in the past and the heroic individuals that figured in its narrative. The problem is that it is difficult to say what inspired this "sudden" curiosity.

It is not my intention here to solve this matter, and indeed it may be doubted whether it can be done at all. Neither do I intend to put a final word to the more theoretical aspects of this discussion or to define what the "nature" of a hero is. To a large extent this matter hinges on the perspective one chooses to take. A hero is commonly described as "somewhere between human and divine" or "a divine being who lived and died". Such labels matter little for the discussion at hand. More

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[930] Rohde, 1894.

[931] Nagy, 1979.

[932] Farnell, 1921.

[933] Coldstream, 1976. *Contra* Snodgrass, 1982b; Hadzisteliou-Price, 1979, 1973. Add pp. Snodgrass.

[934] Mainstream scholarship puts the emergence of hero cult in the second half of the eighth century, the same time in which the Homeric epics are commonly dated, cf. Hurwit, 1985, 73. However, note that dissenting views place the epics either earlier (ninth century: Ruijgh, 1995) or later (seventh century: West, 1988a).

pertinent is the question: "What shape did hero cult take when it emerged toward the end of the eighth century BCE?" And equally important, but much harder to answer: "What role did hero cult play in forming communal identities?"

In its early years, hero cult is often treated as an overarching category combining several subtypes, such as "tomb cult", "cult of the recently dead" and the cult of epic heroes.[935] It is instructive to compare these terms with the Attic material record and see to what degree they "fit". At this point I would like to make an exception for the cult of the recently dead (or ancestor cult), as it is very questionable whether the dead served as the object of veneration. In section 7 I argue that they rather served as the "occasion" for cult activity and for that reason they will be treated separately. In this section I will focus on three types of hero-cult that are commonly associated with the Attic remains, what I propose to call "true hero cult", the cult of epic heroes and tomb cult.

6.3 "True Hero Cult"

In some cases, cult activity could be staged in the presence of a single person. In the cases of **Eleusis 3** and Eretria such instances eventually gave rise to heroization.[936] These instances are sometimes referred to as "true" hero cult, because they focus on the grave of an actual individual whose lifetime reputation inspired a desire to maintain that legacy. This is generally the case with the so-called "hero-oikists" leading a colonial enterprise; in case of success they were bestowed with heroic honors.[937] At Eleusis, the burial of an adult male seems to have been followed by protracted funeral rites, which eventually evolved into an established cult. This specific instance of heroic worship is a unique occurrence in Attica.

6.4 Cult of Epic Heroes

The second category (cult of epic heroes) has allegedly been attested at **Eleusis 4** and **Sounion 2** but the arguments that have been presented are weak. In the case of Eleusis Mylonas identified a *peribolos* wall enclosing a number of EH graves the "Heroon of the Seven Against Thebes".[938] According to Plutarch, Theseus granted the fallen warriors the right to be buried at Eleusis. Pausanias mentions the place where their graves could be seen: along the road that led from Athens to Megara.[939] However, the

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[935] For a thorough treatment of this division and an overview of scholarship, cf. Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, add pp.

[936] For Eretria cf. Bérard, 1978, 1970.

[937] Antonaccio, 1999; Malkin, 1987. Add pp. Malkin.

[938] Mylonas, *Prakt* 1953, 81-87 and (1975), vol. II, 153-154.

[939] Plutarch *Theseus* 29, 24-25; Pausanias I.39.2-3. Cf. also *FGrH* 328 F, 112-113.

number of graves does not necessarily add up to seven, especially when we consider that only five of the tombs were disturbed by, and thus known to, the local population.[940] Also, no cult remains have been connected to these graves. And finally (and perhaps most damaging to Mylonas' theory), there is no indication that this place was considered to be very unique. Many graves in the neighborhood were fenced of with walls, presumably because they were considered dangerous and the need was felt to set them apart from areas that were safe to tread.

Abramson has connected a rich Archaic votive deposit and an oval *peribolos* at **Sounion 2** with Phrontis, the helmsman of Menelaos, who (according to Homer) was buried at Sounion.[941] He has also argued that a small naiskos should belong to the cult of Phrontis.[942] A small, unpresumptuous building with two columns in front has alternately been dated to the Archaic (Staïs) and Classical (Dinsmoor) Period.[943] While the small naiskos may have been dedicated to Phrontis, there is no reason to attribute the large and sumptuous votive deposit to him. Athena, to whom the precinct was dedicated, is a more likely candidate. Thus the evidence for a cult to Phrontis is very tenuous and at best pertains to a relatively late date.

6.5 Tomb Cult

Only with the third subcategory do we reach solid ground in the Attic record. As Coldstream already pointed out, Attica is rich in cults directed to Bronze Age tombs. One of the reasons he adduces for this phenomenon is the fact that by the LG Period burial customs had changed dramatically from the Tholos type grave of the Bronze Age. As a result they came to be seen as alien monuments that inspired veneration. And indeed it is interesting to note that those regions that did not fundamentally change their burial habits such as Thessaly and Crete also did not develop tomb cults.

Tomb cult has been associated with a movement led by a new elite that assumed power after the abandonment of the basileus-centered monarchy of the Early Iron Age.[944] That same elite is said to have sought to legitimize their claim to power by

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[940] Cf. Antonaccio (1995), 115. It has ingeniously been suggested that the seventh hero (Amphiaraos) might be missing on account of his deification, cf. Parker (1996), 35, n. 25, but also Mylonas' explanation in *Prakt* 1953, 85-87. The argument would be rescued if one takes into consideration that one of the other heroes, Adrastos, is supposed to have survived the battle, putting the total number of fallen heroes at five (*Thebaid* fr. 6 Davies). Adrastos is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 23.346-347) and Tyrtaeus (fr. 12 West), but only in indirect references. All this, however, is stretching the argument too far and it inspires little confidence that the eighth century archaeological material represents a reliable reflection of the fifth century tragic cycle.

[941] *Od*. 3.278-285.

[942] Dinsmoor (1971), plan p. 38.

[943] Staïs (1920), 41; Dinsmoor Jr. (1971), 50, followed by Antonaccio (1995), 168.

[944] Bérard, 1983; Bérard, 1982.

asserting their heroic descent.[945] Snodgrass has argued that the sudden appearance of hero cult should be connected with a shift from a pastoral to an agricultural way of life. The new rural agricultural class sought to legitimize their claim to the land they tilled by establishing connections with the dead rulers of a heroic age whose impressive tombs they encountered in their own backyards.[946] The shift from pastoralism to agriculture defended by Snodgrass now seems less attractive. If any shift is to be detected it should probably be from maritime trading to agriculture, though even this is contested.[947] In any case, it seems certain that the cultification of BA tombs represents a deliberate attempt to legitimize territorial claims. In the words of de Polignac:

> *[A heroic] cult established a link between the previous and the existing masters of the land and, through the sanction that the past thereby seemed to provide, legitimated the present state of things.*[948]

These claims to power were particularly relevant amidst a rapidly changing social order.

But what did this new order consist of? A general consensus has tended toward the position that the Attic countryside was slowly "colonized" from Athens during the Early Iron Age and the EA Period. As we have seen, this process was initiated in the late tenth century, but seems to have intensified during the second half of the eighth century and lasted well into the seventh. Coldstream has argued that in the first half of the eighth century the Athenians were still important maritime traders, but from the middle of the century they "turned their backs on overseas ventures and preferred to colonize their own countryside."[949] These settlers are thought to have tried to reinforce their claim to these new territories by connecting to a heroic past of which they found tangible reminders in the Bronze Age tombs.

6.6 A Reconsideration of the Evidence

However, I believe an opposite solution along similar lines is not only possible but also more attractive. Taking the supposed movement of "internal colonization" as a point of departure, it is surprising to note that none of the new settlements of the Late Geometric Period has produced evidence of tomb cult. Rather, tomb cult appears in places that were inhabited from a very early date. Eleusis, Acharnae, Marathon and

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[945] Hurwit, 1985.
[946] Snodgrass, 1988; Snodgrass, 1987/1989; Snodgrass, 1982b.
[947] Coldstream, 1977, 133-135. Cf. Papadopoulos, 2004.
[948] de Polignac, 1995a/2003, 140.
[949] *L.c.* note 798 above.

Thorikos were certainly inhabited from the LPG Period; the coastal strip of Aexone shows signs of settlement from MG Period (cf. Table 7, Argyroupoli and Vari). Other signs of tomb cult have been detected at Athens, though their precise nature remains unclear.[950] It thus appears that the old communities tried to emphasize their pedigree in the face of a wave of newcomers spreading out over the peninsula from the third quarter of the eighth century BCE.[951] By emphasizing their heroic ancestry through newly created tomb cults, they staked their claim to the territory they had inhabited for many generations. Clearly, this was not an option for the settlers spreading out over Attica during the second half of the eighth century, or at least it was an option they did not choose.

6.7 Conclusion

The example of the "true" hero cult at Eleusis aside, it is clear from the preceding summary that when we speak of hero cult in the eighth and seventh centuries we refer to tomb cult. This is not to say that the inhabitants of Attica did not know more heroes. Indeed the impressive list compiled by Emily Kearns suggests that heroes played an important role in the imagination of the Athenians in the historical period and there is no reason to assume that this was not already the case at this early stage. But it would be wrong to seek cultic worship behind every hero of whose existence we know. Heroes played an important role in the construction of a coherent social kosmos, a projection into the past to create a shared sense of identity. Certainly, the Bronze Age tombs were such powerful monuments as to inspire cultic worship of the hero inside the tomb. But only few heroes were worshiped in a cultic sense (i.e. with rituals and dedications). Many heroes presumably were not worshipped until a much later period when their cult became a useful tool for the political assertion of certain groups (such as Pandrosos Aglauros and Herse in the case of the Salaminioi,)[952] or of an individual (such as in the case of Cimon and the bones of Theseus)[953].

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[950] Antonaccio, 1995, 119-126.
[951] Note that a similar line of argument was taken by Whitley, 1988, who would see competition for land-ownership as the cause of hero cult in Attica, as the elite felt threatened by the lower classes. Cf. also Whitley, 1994b. Critical remarks in Morris, 1988.
[952] van den Eijnde, 2007b.
[953] Garland, 1992, 82-98.

7   Kinship Groups

Kinship cults are set apart from hero cult by the fact that the dead buried near the cult places do not appear to have been the object of cultic veneration. After the one-time occurrence of the funeral ceremony, no further rituals are performed at the grave. In this sense it differs fundamentally from the hero-cult at **Eleusis 3**. I have argued that the several funeral pyres that have been excavated suggest that the rituals were reperformed over a protracted period of time, first at the grave, and later in connection with the "Sacred House".

Kinship cults generally operated differently. As we have seen above (Chapter 4.1.14 and 7.3.1) the oval building at the Areopagus was situated near an EG-MG cemetery. It is generally assumed that the iuxtaposition is intentional and that the architecture is in some way meant to house a cult honoring the dead. In this section, I propose to nuance this view. We may consider the evidence first.

7.1 The Evidence for Kinship Cults

From the LG II Period, remains that are functionally akin to the one at **Areopagus 1** and architecturally similar to **Eleusis 3** have been identified as cult buildings near cemeteries at the **Academy 1**, **Athens - Agora 2, Anavyssos 2** and **Thorikos 1**. Some type of cult involving the ancestors of a kinship group is highly likely in all four cases the proximity of the cemeteries is very commanding - but nothing indicates that cult activity was initially focused on the dead themselves.

A fourth building is somewhat harder to classify. At **Tourkovouni**, one of the low foothills that extend from Mt. Pentelicon to the Acropolis, an oval building has been associated with a cult association, but unlike the buildings mentioned above, it is not situated near a cemetery. Indeed its location on this low hill sets it apart. Nevertheless, a second structure (the "Südbau"), located at close range has been identified as a tumulus. Whether it ever contained a grave (or graves) will never be known, because quarrying destroyed about half of the tumulus. No human remains were found in the remaining half and it has been suggested that the tumulus may represent a cenotaph. In either case, it seems clear that the tumulus refers to the realm of the dead and the fact that no ritual remains – or indeed evidence of any other kind of activity – has been recorded at this otherwise well-studied site suggests that the tumulus itself was not the object of veneration. As such, I am inclined to include the oval building on the Tourkovouni, even if it is somewhat anomalous, in the list of kinship cults.

Further support for this interpretation may be found at two burial tumuli in southeast Attica. The cemeteries at **Anavyssos 3** and **Palaia Phokaia** each contained a large burial tumulus with a rectangular structure on top of it. These buildings have not been studied beyond their initial publication, but there can hardly be any doubt that these too were banqueting halls for kinship associations.

Elsewhere, ancestor cult has been posited as well. Votive material found in some wells in the Eleusinion in Athens date from ca. 700 BCE (**Athens – Eleusinion**). The votives, found in three wells and a pit, have been assigned to a cult of the dead, given its proximity to the Agora cemeteries, but too little is understood about the context to put this above speculation. A connection with Demeter is presumably more likely.[954] Ca. two hundred meters west (**Athens – Areopagus 2**) a small rectangular structure has been connected with a cult of the dead, perhaps dating as early as the late eighth century BCE. Nearby, the famous Proto-Attic votive deposit also included LG II pottery. It has been tentatively identified as a cult of the dead and may represent some continuation of the MG-LG I oval cult building (**Athens – Areopagus 1**), but this is hard to prove.

7.2 Interpretation

The dead ancestors that were buried in a communal burial ground failed to inspire directly such ritual activity as would normally be considered as cultic (e.g. animal sacrifice and votive deposition). Of course, this is reasoning from what remains in the archaeological record; we may never fully know what rituals were observed that left no traces, such as libation for example. But as I will argue below, the ancestor connection is often treated as an occasion to do something else: i.e. feasting. In a sense feasting entails cultic behavior, because the feasting community rallies around a common ideology, which entails a shared group of ancestors. But that is not the same as saying that the dead ancestors were the *objects* of veneration. Rather, they seem to provide the *occasion* that invites cult activity, a subtle yet important distinction to make. Feasts were intentionally organized near cemeteries so as to include the ancestors in the banqueting ceremony, thus stressing that the ancestors, even when deceased, remained an integral part of the kinship group. In the past, the ancestors had created and/or maintained the kinship group and their inclusion in the banqueting ceremonies emphasized the transfer of a mutual *covenant* to the living members of the group.[955] While many such instances in Attica have been listed as examples of "hero cult" in fact none of them qualify as such, because the ancestors were neither considered to be heroic, nor were they cultified.

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[954] Cf. p. 129 and section 4.2.3 above.
[955] Cf. Blok, 2010.

Finally, it is noteworthy that a number of the buildings mentioned above became sacralized during the final stage of their existence, most notably **Academy 1**. At some point during the seventh century, the original building was extended with several rooms containing sacrificial remains. The building became filled with sacrificial pyres (an ash pit and cult utensils were also found), while two parallel drains in room ε have been connected to blood sacrifice. At Tourkovouni some votive figurines were found that can be dated to the second half of the seventh century, in the final decades of the buildings use. It is difficult to assess precisely the meaning of these ritual remains. One possible explanation is that the original *raison d' etre* for these cult associations, to commemorate a shared ancestry, became less poignant as the memory of the buried ancestors faded. However, the need for social cohesion afforded by these kinship groups may have outlasted the actual ties of kinship, upon which the buildings themselves became sacred.

7.3   Kinship and "True Hero Cult"

This brings us back to the "true hero cult" at **Eleusis 3**. A large quantity of sacrificial remains was found in the "Sacred House" in connection with its second architectural phase. It cannot be a coincidence that, like the rituals remains at the Academy and Tourkovouni, the second phase at Eleusis has been dated to the second half of the seventh century, a period when these kinship associations either go out of use or are transformed. This is exactly what happened at Eleusis, where the sacralization of the initial cult continued even longer with the replacement of the "Sacred House" by a rectangular peribolos and the possible redirection of the cult toward a femal Olympian deity in the sixth century BCE.

This should warn us against applying the categories we impose too strictly. Different circumstances called for different cultic answers. The analogy between the kinship groups and the cult at Eleusis suggests that, while the occasion for the establishment of cult was different in the latter case (an exceptional person calling into existence a cult association, rather than a group of dead ancestors), this did not prevent cultic habits to develop along similar lines, because they originated from a comparable need for social organization.

8   Peak Sanctuaries

The Late Geometric II Period shows a sharp increase in peak sanctuaries. At the end of the Late Geometric I Period only three such shrines had been established, at **Hymettos 1**, **Parnes** and **Kiapha Thiti**. At this time, the Athenian tradition of visiting mountain peaks as a place of worship was exported to the more peripheral areas of Attica. Not surprisingly in this period of rapid expansion, peak sanctuaries followed the track cut out by the new settlers of the Attic countryside. Before 700 BCE new shrines had appeared on **Tourkovouni**, **Keratovouni**, **Merenda**, **Pani** and **Agrieliki**,[956] serving the outlying plains – with the notable exception of the Thriasian plain (Eleusis), which never attracted a mountain shrine of its own – and following the general trend toward rural self-sufficiency.[957] The shrines at **Merenda** and **Agrieliki** can be associated with nearby settlements at Merenda and Marathon. Finally, at **Anavyssos 1** a cave shrine was established at the Spilia-tou-Daveli.

The establishment of peak sanctuaries in the countryside thus seems to be a delibarate attempt at cultural emulation of the center by the periphery. I would suggest that local polities began to organize their own peak cult from the last quarter of the eighth century to establish their independency from the political hierarchy at Athens.

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[956] The shrines on the Keratovouni, Merenda and Pani are generally dated loosely as "Late Geometric" or just "Geometric". They are included in the list of LG II shrines, based on the find assemblages of Tourkovouni and Agrieliki, which Hans Lauter examined closely and dated to LG II, Lauter, 1985a, 135.
[957] This interesting point will be taken up in chapter 7.2.

9   Conclusions

A general pattern has thus emerged. By the late eighth century, local sanctuaries were being established in honor of divinities such as Athena, Zeus, Demeter, Artemis and Poseidon. These local sanctuaries served the local inhabitants of the outlying plains, building interregional networks and connecting various local polities. These polities typically would have access to a peak sanctuary of their own and perhaps one or more hero cults that connected them to the mythical past of the land. Various kinship groups within these polities sought to express their own identity at banqueting halls at local cemeteries.

Interestingly, three of these pillars – sanctuaries to the Olympians, peak sanctuaries and kinship groups – had already been in place in the Athenian plain by the Middle Geometric Period (ca. 800 BCE) and it seems that the new communities of the second half of the eighth century roughly copied this scheme in an effort to assert their local independence from the Athenian polis. The only exception seems to be hero cult, which seems to have been an invention of the Late Geometric Period. The strong emphasis on the Bronze Age remains is a likely explanation for the late introduction of this type of cult and is mirrored by the contemporary introduction of worship of the Olympians on or near Bronze Age acropoleis throughout Attica.

While remaining closely related through intermarriage, xeneia and a shared sense of ethnicity, several polities thus emerged alongside that of Athens. The strong emphasis on kinship during this period suggests that these new polities should not necessarily be considered as opposed to the older Athenian political structure. They represented a new emphasis on local authority that I have connected with the rise of a new elite that sought to consolidate themselves on their country estates. This shift in the topography of power is also noticeable in the faltering of cult activity on the Athenian Acropolis in a period when peripheral sanctuaries flourished.

As a result we may conclude that the Athenian polis, being centered on the cult of Athena led an ambivalent existence throughout the seventh century. It was not until the sixth century that strong centripetal forces elevated the cult of Athena to its previous preeminent position and sought to establish cultic ties between the center and the most important peripheral sanctuaries. In time, this process would lead to the gradual overlapping of the Athenian polis and the Attic ethnos, a mixture of politics and ethnicity that was unique in the Greek world.

Epilogue

Summary of Conclusions

With Some Thoughts for further Research

Since the evidence for cult activity often consists of material remains related to banqueting (*i.e.* without a clear reference to the divine realm), I have proposed to study the remains from the anthropological vantage point of "Feasting" (cf. chapter 1). As an essential human attribute, preceding the relative recent notions of cult and religion, Feasting allows us to approach the subject of cult practice in a neutral fashion, without some of the prevalent preconceptions of traditional discourse, and establish a clear methodology for deducing social behavior from the archaeological remains (chapter 3). Feasting is an exceptionally powerful venue for social exchange, political action and ideological self-representation. In principle, this holds for all chiefdoms and early states that developed during the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece, when the exertion of power had not yet been clearly defined in autonomous political institutions. As the recent scholarship of Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden suggests feasts are "not simply epiphenomenal reflections of changes in culture and society, but central arenas of social action that have had a profound impact on the course of historical transformations."[958]

A feast is defined as a social event that takes place at an unusual occasion and is accompanied by an unusual shared meal. That is to say, it is essentially constituted by the communal consumption of food and drink, but is set apart from ordinary household meals through either the occasion or the quality and quantity of the meal. Feasts represent important arenas of social action in which the "micropolitics of daily life" are played out. As ethnographic and archaeological research has shown, feasts constitute a stage for the transformation of power relations and the development of social stratification.

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[958] Dietler and Hayden, 2001a, 16.

However, feasts also contain important integrative qualities that are crucial to the upkeep of the political economy; they play a key role in establishing sentiments of friendship, kinship and community solidarity. This integrative function enables feasts to act as the nodal venues where regional exchange systems may be articulated. Commensal hospitality establishes relationships between exchange partners, affines, or political leaders and provides the social ambiance for the exchange of valuables, bridewealth, and other goods that circulate through a region. Feasts may also provide the main context for the arbitration of disputes, the passing of legal judgments, and the public acting out of sanctions (ridicule, mimicry, ostracism, etc.) that maintain social control within a community.[959] In the religious sphere, feasts serve to provide links to the gods or ancestors, which define relations between social groups within a region or community.

Focusing in on Greece, we see that feasting is largely incorporated in the religious realm. In the Early Iron Age and the Archaic Period in particular, the convergence of the constitutive powers of sacred rites and feasting in cults is conveniently illustrated by the sacrifice of animals, which is relatively well attested in the material record.[960] Thus, the commensal aspect of Greek cult, whether we define it as religious (i.e. with a clear focus on the gods) or not, provides a solid theoretical basis for our inquiry into the nature of community allegiance and group formation in early Athens. The sacrificial ritual creates a shared identity between the participants, while excluding non-participants from sharing in the group's communal identity.[961] Partaking in a sacrifice means to belong to a community, because it entitles one to take home or consume at the spot his or her share of the meat.[962] Inversely, a disruption in the meat distribution has a deconstructive effect with regard to the cult community at large,[963] because it upsets the social expectations that accompany the sacrificial ritual. To Burkert, the appropriate division and allotting of the portions creates a social *kosmos* that is as real as anything and where "the stronger ones get their share first."[964]

Animal sacrifice also has important implications for the creation of social hierarchies. After the sacrifice, the meat is divided both in equal portions, which are allotted among the members of the sacrificial community, and in choice portions, which are shared between the gods and priests as well as the lesser functionaries of

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[959] Food and the mediation of political disputes in the Iliad: 9.202-228 and 24.601-642; feasting in the Iliad: van Wees, 1995.
[960] Animal sacrifice: Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b, esp. 268; Hägg and Alroth, 2005
[961] Detienne, 1989, 20.
[962] Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b; Schneider, 2006; Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, 1992, 45; Svenbro, 1989, 5, 13; Burkert, 1987, 46, n. 4; Gladigow, 1984; Baudy, 1983; Burkert, 1983, 6; Loraux, 1981a.
[963] Schneider, 2006.
[964] Burkert, 1987, 46.

the cult and local office holders.[965] In Homer, the choice portions are an honor bestowed on deserving men such as the basileis. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods the priest or priestess (as representative of the god) occupies this position of honor.[966]

Of course, not *all* cults are shared between the members of the same group. Some cults may include members of other groups, whereas others may exclude certain members to create more select subdivisions. In this way a multi-tiered system of communal allegiance is established that can become wildly complex, as the example of Classical Athens well illustrates. The cults forming these allegiances are responsible, though not uniquely, for the creation of what Catherine Morgan has called "tiers of identity".[967] A standard set of tiers of identities in the EIA and Archaic period would entail a range of allegiances from kinship groups to local communities and from regional clusters to Panhellenic ties.[968] This composite model of group membership allows for more than one type of citizen, as every individual adheres to his or her own set of cults.[969] This approach represents a radical shift away from previous politically and legally based definitions of citizenship that exclude all but adult male citizens with a right to vote in the assembly.[970]

In terms of natural environment Attica has the benefits of island states in terms of military security, while enjoying the territorial mass of a mainland state, its size conforming to the average *ethnos* in Central Greece and the Peloponnese (cf. chapter 5). The relative security afforded by its natural boundaries and the relative weakness of its neighbors allowed it to develop to a large degree according to internal dynamics and local circumstances, such as a low-density settlement pattern. With external threats a relatively minor issue, the rural population of Attica felt little pressure to congregate in large nucleated and easily fortifiable settlements. This condition played a crucial role in the development of Attica's sacred configuration and may be held at least partly responsible for the many dispersed cult sites that developed throughout Attica from the Late Protogeometric Period onward (Table 5).

During the transitional period that marked the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age (ca. 1075-960 BCE, cf. chapter 6), Athens witnessed some drastic changes. The main center of habitation gradually shifted from the

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[965] Loraux, 1981a. Cf. recently Ekroth, 2008a, 2008b, esp. 268. See also Burkert, 1985, 57, 96-97.
[966] Cf. Dignas and Trampedach, 2008; Ekroth, 2008b, 269.
[967] Morgan, 2003, 1.
[968] Panhellenism: Morgan, 1993; identity Derks and Roymans, 2009; Funke, 2003.
[969] Group membership and citizenship: Blok, 2011; Blok, 2010, 2009a, 2009d, 2009b, 2007, 2005, 2004, 2003; women and metics: Blok, 2004; metics, Wijma, 2010.
[970] Hansen, 2006, 57.

Acropolis to its southern slopes. This realignment of habitation seems to have been accompanied by a devaluation of monarchical rule accompanying the disintegration of the palatial bureaucracy. In its place came a less stable type of government that nevertheless succeeded to persist throughout the tenth and ninth centuries. I have argued that this government was led by a *basileus*-type ruler, who depended to a large degree on the support of other powerful leaders (essentially his peers), over whom he presided more as a *primus inter pares* than as a semi-divine ruler. The transition from palatial bureaucracy to a more informally organized *basileus*-style government may be compared to the demise of the palace at Pylos versus the continuity at Nichoria.

Naturally, all this had strong repercussion on the extent of the ruler's political authority. As we have seen, the peripheral areas of Attica were all abandoned; only the safety of the Mycenaean fortifications on the Acropolis appears to have afforded the population sufficient protection in these troubled times. During the Late Protogeometric Period the outlying areas gradually come back into focus as the long-term process of "internal colonization" began. I have argued that this element played an important role, not only in shaping the Attic Sacred Landscape, but also in the formation of ideas about identity (ethnicity) and political adherence.

The Late Protogeometric Period (960-900 BCE, cf. chapter 7) saw the reestablishment of political control over a relatively large territory largely coinciding with the Athenian plain. Following the conceptualization of the polis as defined by its major cults, I have attributed the emergence of the Athenian polis to the Late Protogeometric Period, or nearly two centuries earlier than generally accepted. During this time, the Athenians began to stake out their territorial aspirations by defining its borders through peripheral cults at **Mounichia**, **Parnes 1**, **Hymettos 1** and, somewhat later, **Pallini** (Figure 177), placing Athens in the chronological range (tenth century BCE) of other major cult-networks in Greece (e.g. Olympia, Delphi). Interestingly and despite his own conclusions to the contrary, the situation at Athens coincides with de Polignac's main thesis, that the first major cults were situated at a considerable distance from the main urban centers.[971]

The emergence of the Attic ethnos broadly coincides with the emergence of the Athenian polis. While a nascent Athenian state asserted its control over the Athenian plain, many newly founded settlements fell outside the Athenian sphere of influence. Merenda, Brauron, Thorikos, Marathon and Eleusis were apparently not subordinated to the Athenian polis. In this respect, the early foundation of the sanctuary of Zeus on Hymettos is especially notable, as it effectively excluded the entire southern and southeastern part of the peninsula from the Athenian state. The same is true for the cult of Athena Pallenis, which was established a century later and was literally placed

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[971] de Polignac, 1995c, 81-88.

on the border between the *pedion* and the Mesogeia (Figure 178). Given the relatively small size of the peripheral communities and their proximity to Athens it is not unlikely that some form of dependency existed, especially during the early years, but we must nevertheless assume that these new settlements were not considered to form an integral part of the political hierarchy of the Athenian polis.

Since the initial impetus for the establishment of these cult sites was to extend the banqueting order of the "royal" court to the edges of the territory over which it claimed to exercise control, the banquets staged there naturally reflected the political hierarchy as it existed at Athens. Local leaders from Eleusis, Thorikos etc. would not have been part of the Athenian kinship system and would not normally have been included in the pecking order established at the banquets. They may (and in fact are likely to) have partaken in such banquets, both in the city and in the peripheral sanctuaries, but only in the capacity of *guests* of the Athenian political order. This explains how these communities simultaneously stood in a relationship of dependency and autonomy with regard to Athens. It matters little to the general argument whether these new satellite communities represented poleis in their own right, because we know nothing about their local cultic configuration. What is important is that they appear to represent political entities in their own right, with a local power structure that was not integrated in the Athenian political hierarchy of state.

Since the extended network of peripheral communities were settled from Athens, it is natural to assume that they were aware of some type of kinship with the metropolis and I have argued that the inhabitants of the Attic peninsula conceptualized this kinship in terms of ethnicity, perhaps with a single primogenitor (Kekrops, Ion, Erechtheus?) and a single name (*Attikoi*?). This subtle difference between the Athenian polis and the Attic ethnos in the tenth century BCE would prove to be *the defining element* of Athenian state formation during the next five centuries.

In Part 2, I have shown that there is no good reason to assume that the cult of Athena on the Acropolis was founded before the first half of the eighth century BCE. This has at least one astonishing consequence that has hitherto received no consideration: as "citizenship" or group membership of the Athenian state was predicated on participation in the cult of Athena, the citizens of Athens cannot have been called *Athenaioi* before that time, since that name means nothing other than "adherents of the cult of Athena" (cf. chapter 8). Indeed, the area of the Acropolis and environs cannot have been known by the name "Athens". It is likely that several names had been current in the early history of Attica, each denoting a specific tier of identity, including kinship groups, cult groups and the Attic ethnos. In chapter 8, I have shown that the prestigious topography of the cult of Athena over the ancient Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis indicates the ascent of an elite order of kinship

groups that eclipsed the power of the *basileus* in the first half of the eighth century BCE. These people were presumably called *Athenaioi* from the beginning of the foundation of the cult of Athena, which in time became synonymous with "member (citizen) of the Athenian polis".

Nevertheless, many other names must have remained in use, as in fact was the case in historical times when people could be denoted by their deme, phratry, *genos* etc. It would be interesting to know how "the Athenians" were called before they became Athenians. Here, we are well in the realm of speculation. In Classical times the inhabitants of Attica were called *Attikoi* and this name may well predate the emergence of the cult of Athena.[972] Alternatively, the people connected with the Attic ethnos, may have been named after an eponymous hero, such as *Kekropidai* after the legendary first king of Athens.[973] Likewise, it is reasonable to assume that the inhabitants of EIA Athens were known by a common name, perhaps also taken from one of the early kings, such as Erechtheus or Boutes, who were closely related to the cult of Athena and the Acropolis in the Archaic and Classical Period.

A general pattern of cults emerged throughout the Attic countryside from the late eighth century (cf. chapter 9). Local sanctuaries were being established for the worship of divinities such as Athena, Zeus, Demeter, Artemis and Poseidon. These sanctuaries served the local inhabitants of the outlying plains, building interregional networks and connecting various local polities. These polities typically would have access to a peak sanctuary of their own and perhaps one or more hero cults that connected them to the mythical past of the land. Various kinship groups within these polities sought to express their own identity at banqueting halls at local cemeteries.

Interestingly, three of these pillars – sanctuaries to the Olympians, peak sanctuaries and kinship groups – had already been in place in the Athenian plain by the Middle Geometric Period (ca. 800 BCE) and it seems that the new communities of the second half of the eighth century roughly copied this scheme in an effort to assert their local independence from the Athenian polis. Hero cults are an exception, as they seem to have been an invention of the Late Geometric Period. The strong emphasis on Bronze Age remains during that time is a likely explanation for the relatively late introduction of this type of cult and is mirrored by the contemporary introduction of worship of the Olympians on or near Bronze Age acropoleis throughout Attica.

While remaining closely related through intermarriage, *xeneia* and a shared sense of ethnicity, several polities thus emerged alongside that of Athens. The strong emphasis on kinship during this period suggests that these new polities should not necessarily be considered as opposed to the older Athenian political structure. They represented a growing emphasis on local authority connected with the rise of a new

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[972] Blok, 2005, 23-24.
[973] Cf. p. 336, n. 812.

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elite seeking to consolidate itself in the country. This shift in the topography of power is also noticeable in the faltering of cult activity on the Athenian Acropolis in a period when peripheral sanctuaries flourished.

I have shown that the Athenian polis, defined as the social group that held access to the cult of Athena on the Acropolis, led an ambivalent existence throughout the seventh century. It was not until the sixth century that strong centripetal forces elevated the cult of Athena to its preeminent position and that cultic ties were established between the center and the most important peripheral sanctuaries. In time, this process would lead to the gradual overlapping of the Athenian polis and the Attic ethnos, a development unparalleled in the Greek world. The cultic integration of Attica in the sixth century unfortunately lies beyond the scope of the present study, but remains a promising area for future investigation. From the end of the seventh century and well into the sixth century BCE, this process of cultic exchange opened the way toward social and political integration that culminated in the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508/7 BCE and the foundation of a democratic government.

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Index

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Cultus en samenleving

De sociale geschiedenis van Athene – 1000 tot 600 v.Chr.

1   Inleiding

In de inleiding tot zijn monumentale geschiedenis van de Atheense religie citeert Robbert Parker een cruciale zin uit Emile Durkheim's *Les formes élementaires de la vie religieuse*: "De algemene conclusie van het boek dat de lezer voor zich heeft, is dat religie iets uiterst sociaals is." Volgens Parker is de essentie van deze bewering weliswaar "verre van controversieel onder studenten van Griekse religie", maar heeft deze notie "de manier waarop het onderwerp wordt bestudeerd nauwelijks weten te beïnvloeden".[974]

Van oudsher hebben historici zich liever verdiept in individuele onderzoeksdomeinen (zoals religie, economie, politiek, oorlog of *gender*) en zich onthouden van een meer geïntegreerde beschouwing van de antieke samenleving. De neiging om de bestudering van religie te isoleren van andere disciplines werd daarbij nog extra gevoed door de invloed van het moderne secularisme, waarin de scheiding tussen kerk en staat – of tussen heilig en profaan – een onwrikbaar bestanddeel van ons wereldbeeld is gaan uitmaken. Met name in de academische wereld, waar spiritualiteit als iets persoonlijks naar de marge van het discours is gedirigeerd, is een analyse van de wijdere historische en sociale context van religie inherent problematisch.

In de moderne historiografie is de religieuze inhoud van antieke teksten vaak gescheiden van wat men beschouwt als het dominante "historische narratief", alsof religieuze verwijzingen slechts bedoeld zijn als slagroom op de taart, een eigenzinnigheid van antieke schrijvers die men ongestraft kan negeren. De antieke

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[974] Parker, 1996, 1.

tekst wordt op die manier geprepareerd voor een academisch publiek dat vaak in de eerste plaats is geïnteresseerd in de politieke, economische of militaire kant van het verhaal. Het residu van rituele handelingen wordt overgelaten aan specialisten om in een vacuüm verpakte omgeving, los van hun sociale context te worden bestudeerd. We lezen over militaire monumenten (*tropaia*) die worden opgericht na een gewonnen slag, plengoffers vergoten voor politieke bijeenkomsten en religieuze voorschriften die van gezworen bondgenoten weinig minder dan deserteurs maken. Hoewel moderne commentatoren ons vertellen van welk materiaal het monument gemaakt was, welke vloeistoffen gestipuleerd werden voor het plengen of in welke maand de Spartanen de Karneia vierden, leren we weinig of niets over de sociale achtergronden van deze handelingen. Kortom, we hebben geleerd onze bronnen ten aanzien van de religieuze inhoud met een geamuseerde desinteresse te lezen.

Wie zich wijdt aan een studie over de sociale rol van religie moet zich dus dwingen zijn persoonlijke wereldbeeld te verlaten en te accepteren dat de Griekse *kosmos*, hoezeer ook bewierookt door verlichtingsdenkers, wordt gevormd door normen en waarden die niet de onze zijn en veelal een religieuze component hebben. Zonder dit component ontbreekt een essentieel onderdeel van de wereld die wij pretenderen te bestuderen en geven we hooguit een fragmentarisch beeld van de antieke samenleving. Als overtuigd liberaal en atheïst is het voor de auteur van dit boek dan ook de allergrootste uitdaging geweest om zijn eigen wereldbeeld te verlaten en een *kosmos* te conceptualiseren waarin goden, helden en overleden voorouders een vast onderdeel van de werkelijkheid uitmaken.

1.1   Culten en rituelen in het vroege Athene

Dit proefschrift behandelt de vroegste geschiedenis van Athene als stadstaat (polis), en beslaat grofweg de periode van 1000 tot 600 v.Chr. Voor deze vroegste tijd bestaan nauwelijks betrouwbare historische bronnen. Naast Homerus, die wel in deze tijd maar niet over Athene schrijft, bestaat er een groep auteurs, waaronder Herodotus, Thucydides en de slecht overgeleverde Atthidografen, die wel over Athene, maar lang na de gebeurtenissen zelf schreven. De enige contemporaine bronnen die tot op heden zijn ingezet om de vroegste Atheense samenleving te reconstrueren, zijn afkomstig uit de archeologie en met name de vele graven die verspreid over het gehele Attische schiereiland uit deze periode bewaard zijn gebleven.

Voor deze studie heb ik gebruik gemaakt van de rituele en cultische overblijfselen uit het vroege Athene (ca. 1000-600 v.Chr.), materiaal dat tot op heden noch in zijn geheel, noch vanuit een sociaal perspectief is bestudeerd. Het is mijn bedoeling geweest om naast de grafcultuur een tweede domein voor sociaal onderzoek te creëren. Daarbij biedt de integratie van deze twee gebieden de

mogelijkheid ons begrip van de vroegste geschiedenis van Athene niet alleen te verbreden, maar vooral ook te verdiepen. In Athene en Attika zijn ca. zeventig afzonderlijke cultusplaatsen geattesteerd, maar is tot op heden nog niet aan een dergelijk onderzoek onderworpen. Ik meen dat een belangrijke reden voor dit achterwege blijven gezocht moet worden in de werkelijke of veronderstelde uniciteit van Athene als onderwerp van historische studie.

1.2 Athene en het "Athenocentrisme"

Tegenwoordig is Athene met ruim vier miljoen inwoners één van de grootste steden in Europa. Het bedekt niet alleen de antieke stad, maar tenminste een derde van het van het schiereiland Attika (onherbergzaam berggebied uitgesloten). In Athene bevinden zich alle transportmiddelen om het land mee te bereizen, alsmede de voor oudheidkundigen noodzakelijke voorzieningen als bibliotheken, buitenlandse archeologische instituten, nationale archeologische diensten en de voornaamste universiteiten. Deze tegenstelling tussen centrum en periferie heeft onherroepelijk haar sporen achtergelaten vanwege de door Athene bepaalde kijk op Griekenland. De oorsprong van dit "Athenocentrisme" (zie hoofdstuk 1.1.2) is echter ouder dan de ontwikkeling van Athene tot moderne metropool, en gaat zelfs verre vooraf aan het ontstaan van de moderne archeologie.

Reeds in de oudheid waren Atheense schrijvers en denkers toonaangevend in Griekenland en hele gehelleniseerde wereld. Deze situatie heeft de oudheidkunde indringend beïnvloed. Pas in de laatste decennia is de regionale archeologie buiten Attica zich gaan emanciperen. Wetenschappers zoals Catherine Morgan hebben zich losgemaakt van een ideaalbeeld van Griekenland dat grotendeels is gebaseerd op de Atheense (klassieke) polis. In de woorden van Jeremy McInerney: "Athene werd gezien als normatief, terwijl het zelf abnormaal was."[975] Deze "regionale" stroming binnen de Griekse archeologie heeft veel vooruitgang geboekt, juist ook op het gebied van etniciteit en de sociaal-cohesieve werking van cultische netwerken. Gezien de geschiedenis van het vak valt het daarom te verklaren dat Athene en Attika vooralsnog niet van deze vooruitgang hebben mogen profiteren (hoewel deze anti-Atheense houding ironisch genoeg een omgekeerde vorm van Athenocentrisme behelst).

We moeten ons er echter van bewust zijn dat de kwalificatie "abnormaal" even gevaarlijk is als het verheffen van Athene tot de norm. Eén van de grondslagen van dit onderzoek is dan ook dat het vroege Athene net zo "normaal" of "abnormaal" was als enige andere Griekse regio. De Atheense samenleving was weliswaar uniek in de haar

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[975] McInerney, 1999, 4.

kenmerkende natuurlijke en historische omstandigheden, maar was niet fundamenteel anders in de culturele reflexen waarmee ze op die omstandigheden reageerde en ze verdient het daarom onderzocht te worden binnen dezelfde moderne theoretische kaders.

2   Theoretische grondslagen

Een cultus wordt gevormd door een groep mensen die hun verbondenheid middels bepaalde, regelmatig terugkerende rituelen bevestigen en herbevestigen. Hoewel een cultus vaak een religieuze dimensie heeft – d.w.z. dat bepaalde rituelen tot doel hebben de connectie met het goddelijke of bovennatuurlijke tot stand te brengen – is in de praktijk het gezamenlijk nuttigen van een maaltijd een kenmerkende eigenschap. Ook in het archeologische landschap zijn deze 'diners' vaak één van de voornaamste indicatoren voor cultische activiteit. In deze studie heb ik getracht cultische genootschappen te bestuderen vanuit het antropologische perspectief van het cyclisch terugkerende feest, juist omdat deze activiteit zijn sporen in de grond relatief duidelijk heeft achtergelaten (zie hoofdstuk 1). Michael Dietler en Brian Hayden hebben recentelijk betoogd dat feesten de gelegenheid bieden voor sociale uitwisseling, politieke onderhandeling en ideologische reflectie.[976] Het belang van dit theoretische kader is gelegen in het feit dat in de vroege ijzertijd politieke macht nog niet binnen autonome en onafhankelijk te bestuderen instituties was georganiseerd.

2.1 Het feest als antropologisch model

Een feest kan worden gedefinieerd als een sociale gebeurtenis die plaatsvindt op een ongewoon moment dat gemarkeerd wordt door een ongewone gedeelde maaltijd, waarbij een bijzondere gelegenheid of de bijzondere kwaliteit of kwantiteit van drank en voedsel het evenement doet onderscheiden van een alledaagse maaltijd. Tijdens een feest kunnen machtsverhoudingen tussen de deelnemers bekrachtigd of ontkracht worden. Etnografisch en archeologisch onderzoek toont aan dat feesten een belangrijk kader bieden voor veranderingen in machtsrelaties en ontwikkeling van sociale gelaagdheid.

Tegelijkertijd hebben feesten ook een integrerende functie die van groot belang is voor de politieke organisatie van een gemeenschap: zij spelen een belangrijke rol in het ontstaan van gevoelens van vriendschap, verwantschap en onderlinge verbondenheid. Deze integrerende functie maakt feesten tot gelegenheden die cruciaal zijn voor contact en uitwisseling tussen groepen en individuen in een bepaalde regio.

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[976] Dietler en Hayden, 2001.

Het delen van de maaltijd bevestigt verhoudingen tussen politieke leiders, (handels)partners of door een huwelijk verbonden families en verschaft het sociale decor voor de uitwisseling van kostbare goederen of bruidschatten. Feesten kunnen ook de context verschaffen waarin een rechtsoordeel wordt geveld in een conflict of publiekelijk een sanctie wordt bepaald. In religieuze zin scheppen feesten verbanden met goden of voorouders die belangrijk zijn voor de gedeelde identiteit van de bewoners van een regio of gemeenschap.

De mogelijkheid tot het houden van feesten is uiteraard sterk afhankelijk van het voedselsurplus: hoe groter het surplus, hoe uitgebreider de feestmogelijkheden. De productie, het gebruik, het beheer en de verdeling van overschotten zijn daarom sterk verbonden met de organisatie van feesten: op het feest vindt namelijke de omzetting plaats van economisch in symbolisch kapitaal. Zo doen feesten voedseloverschotten veranderen in zaken die met voedsel weinig van doen hebben, maar des te belangrijker zijn voor de instandhouding en regeling van een sociaal systeem. Dit mechanisme heeft verstrekkende gevolgen voor de macht die in een bepaald samenlevingsverband wordt uitgeoefend.

In de eerste plaats biedt een feest de mogelijkheid macht te verwerven. Het "symbolische kapitaal" dat is gecreëerd door de investering van overschotten kan zich hechten aan groepen of personen als een vorm van denkbeeldig krediet dat vervolgens kan worden ingezet om macht te verwerven. Een tweede machtsgerelateerde functie van het houden van een feest is gelegen in de bestendiging van de verhouding tussen patroon en cliënt. Een langdurig ongelijke verhouding tussen gastheer en zijn gasten is een uitdrukking van ongelijkheid in status en macht. De inherente schuld die op die manier tijdens een feest ontstaat wordt door de regelmatige herhaling van de gelegenheid in stand gehouden. Een derde aspect van de machtswerking van feesten komt naar voren in uiteenlopende wijzen van bereiding en consumptie van het voedsel, waardoor een onderscheid kan worden gemarkeerd tussen verschillende sociale groepen.

2.2 Het belang van offeren voor het creëren van een groepsidentieit

In de context van Griekenland zien we dat feesten over het algemeen in meer of mindere mate onderdeel uitmaken van het religieuze domein, d.w.z. dat de relatie van de deelnemers tot het bovennatuurlijke in het algemeen een rol speelt tijdens de festiviteiten. De archeologie van de vroege ijzertijd en de vroege archaïek wijst uit dat het houden van feesten in deze periode sterk verbonden was aan sacrale riten die gepaard gingen met dierenoffers. Waar deze offers een frequent en cyclisch karakter hebben, kunnen we spreken van een cultus. Zij die deelnemen aan de plechtigheid hebben een gedeelde identiteit; tegelijkertijd worden zij die niet deelnemen aan het

ritueel van de groepsidentiteit uitgesloten. Dit mechanisme bepaald wie het recht heeft een bepaald deel van het offervlees ter plekke te consumeren of mee naar huis te nemen. Een juiste verdeling van het offervlees bestendigd zo de sociale orde. Omgekeerd heeft een verstoring in de verdeling van het vlees een ontwrichtende werking op de cultusgemeenschap in haar geheel. Zo'n verstoring frustreert immers de sociale verwachtingen die door het ritueel zijn gewekt.

Vanzelfsprekend behoren niet alle leden van eenzelfde groep altijd tot dezelfde cultusgemeenschappen. Sommige culten incorporeren leden van andere groepen, terwijl andere culten leden van hun eigen gemeenschap uitsluiten om een meer selecte subgroep te formeren. De culten die dit complexe systeem mogelijk maken zijn verantwoordelijk voor het in stand houden van een gelaagd stelsel van identiteiten. In de vroege ijzertijd en de vroege archaïek strekte dit stelsel zich uit van verwantschapsgroepen (clans) tot lokale gemeenschappen en van regionale clusters van gemeenschappen tot allianties op Panhelleens niveau. Daarbij moet worden bedacht dat opvattingen van identiteit en etniciteit zeer veranderlijk zijn. Zo worden ideeën over een gedeelde herkomst voortdurend gemanipuleerd om de sociale en politieke werkelijkheid te reflecteren. Etniciteit is met name relevant in het geval van Attika, aangezien in het verleden de "Attische etniciteit" naar mijn mening nog te vaak is bestudeerd vanuit de ideologie van de *polis*. Voor de klassieke periode gaat dit misschien deels op, maar zoals dit onderzoek heeft uitgewezen lopen etniciteit en polisideologie sterk uiteen juist in de vroege periode, waarmee een op de polis geënt concept van etniciteit het risico met zich meebrengt dat identiteitslagen die meer (of minder) omvatten dan de *polis* worden veronachtzaamd.

De geografische eigenschappen van het Attische schiereiland brachten haar bewoners in militair opzicht voordelen zoals elders alleen eilandstaten die kenden, maar tegelijkertijd ook een territorium dat qua oppervlakte de gemiddelde polis verre ontsteeg en eerder overeenkwam met een gemiddelde Griekse *ethnos*, wat een politiek los georganiseerde stamverwantschap impliceert (zie hoofdstuk 5). Het biedt dus voordelen om de situatie in Attika, behalve vanuit de polis, ook vanuit een afzonderlijk ethnisch perspectief te beschouwen. Dankzij de veiligheid die gewaarborgd werd door zijn natuurlijke grenzen en de relatieve zwakte van zijn buurstaten ontwikkelden de Attische gemeenschappen zich grotendeels op grond van plaatselijke omstandigheden. Dit uitte zich bijvoorbeeld in het grote aantal kleine nederzettingen. Aangezien er maar weinig externe dreiging ervaren werd, voelde de boerenbevolking van Attika zich aanvankelijk niet genoodzaakt om zich fysiek te verenigen. Deze grote spreiding van de bevolking heeft doorslaggevende gevolgen gehad voor de ontwikkeling van het cultische landschap en kan worden gezien als een belangrijke oorzaak van de vele, verspreide cultusplaatsen die in Attika ontstonden vanaf de tiende eeuw v.Chr.

2.3 François De Polignac

In zijn boek *La naissance de la cité grecque* uit 1984 poneerde François De Polignac dat de belangrijkste polisculten in het algemeen buiten de stad zijn gelegen (zie hoofdstuk 2). In zijn opvatting fungeerde het buiten de stad gelegen heiligdom als de afscheiding van de beschaafde wereld ten opzichte van de wilde natuur. Daarnaast kan een heiligdom volgens De Polignac functioneren als een begrenzing tussen twee in cultureel of politiek opzicht afzonderlijke gebieden. Het heiligdom biedt daarbij volgens hem een plaats waarbij aangrenzende gemeenschappen conflicten bezweren door gezamenlijk te participeren in rituelen en feesten en prestige na te jagen door deelname aan onderlinge wedstrijden.

Volgens De Polignac is Athene op dit tweepolige model een uitzondering. Hiervoor draagt hij twee belangrijke argumenten aan. In de eerste plaats is het belangrijkste heiligdom, gewijd aan Athena, gelegen op de centraal in de stad gelegen Akropolis. De route van de panatheneïsche processie, die vanuit de periferie naar het centrum leidt, is hiermee in overeenstemming; de Polignac constateert voorts dat de richting van processies elders in Griekenland over het algemeen tegengesteld is. Ten tweede wijst De Polignac op het relatief geringe belang van perifere culten in vergelijking met de cultus van Athena.

De Polignac verklaart de uitzonderingspositie van Athene als het gevolg van een zekere continuïteit gedurende de overgang tussen de bronstijd en de ijzertijd. In tegenstelling tot de situatie in Mycene, Pylos en Thebe bleef het hof in Athene intact. Tijdens de geleidelijke overgang van monarchie naar aristocratie verloor het hof zijn bestuurlijke functie, maar behield haar centrale religieuze rol. De belangrijkste cultus van de Atheners week dus af van de situatie elders in Griekenland doordat zij niet pas in de vroege ijzertijd werd gevormd, maar nog stamde uit een eerdere periode. Deze verklaring van De Polignac is tot nog toe het enige alomvattende model van waaruit het cultische landschap van Attika is verklaard.

3 Samenvatting van de conclusies

3.1 Instabiliteit en ontwikkeling van de macht

De analyse van het cultus-materiaal zoals in deze studie voorgesteld, wijkt op een aantal fundamentele punten af van de theorie van de Polignac. De belangrijkste tegenwerping is dat er geen enkel bewijs is gevonden voor continuïteit van de cultus van Athena tijdens de overgang van Brons- naar IJzertijd (ca. 1075-960 v. Chr.), een periode waarin Athene ingrijpende veranderingen doormaakte (zie hoofdstuk 6). Het centrum van bewoning verplaatste geleidelijk van de Acropolis naar de zuidzijde van de heuvel, een ontwikkeling die gepaard lijkt te zijn gegaan met een vermindering van de status van het koningschap en het verdwijnen van een centralistische, vanuit het paleis aangestuurd staatsapparaat. In plaats daarvan kwam er een minder stabiele regeringsvorm, met aan het roer een *basileus* ('koning') wiens positie sterk afhankelijk was van de steun van andere vooraanstaande edelen over wie hij eerder regeerde als eerste onder zijn gelijken dan als de halfgoddelijke '*wanax*' uit het vorige millennium. Deze regeringsvorm bleef bestaan gedurende de 10^e en 9^e eeuw v.Chr.

Vanzelfsprekend had deze ontwikkeling grote gevolgen voor de reikwijdte van het "koninklijk" gezag: de Attische buitengebieden werden verlaten en alleen de Myceense verdedigingsmuren op de Acropolis lijken de bevolking voldoende bescherming te hebben geboden om zich er in de buurt te blijven ophouden. Pas aan het eind van de tiende eeuw kwam er een voorzichtig proces van 'interne kolonisatie' op gang, dat desalniettemin een belangrijke stempel zou drukken op de vormgeving van het cultische landschap van Attika en op de daar prevalente ideeën over identiteit, etniciteit en politieke ordening.

3.2 Polis en ethnos

In de Late Protogeometrische periode (960-900 v.Chr.) herstelden de Atheners hun politieke controle over een relatief omvangrijk territorium dat min of meer samenviel met de vlakte rondom Athene (de *pedion*). In deze tijd begonnen de Atheners hun territoriale ambities te accentueren door perifere culten te stichten langs hun polisgrenzen, bij **Mounichia**, **Parnes 1**, **Hymettos 1,** en, iets later, **Pallini** (afbeelding 177 en 178 en zie hoofdstuk 7). Deze ontwikkeling strookt met de gelijktijdige opkomst van vergelijkbare cultusnetwerken rondom Olympia en Delphi. Ervan uitgaande dat de *polis* als staatkundige eenheid primair gedefinieerd wordt door haar belangrijkste culten, dateer ik de opkomst van de *Atheense* polis dan ook in deze periode, ruwweg twee eeuwen eerder dan algemeen wordt aangenomen.

In deze vroege fase strekte de controle van Athene zich zoals gezegd uit over de Atheense vlakte. Veel nieuwe Attische nederzettingen vielen echter buiten haar invloedssfeer. Merenda, Brauron, Thorikos, Marathon en Eleusis waren waarschijnlijk niet direct aan haar onderhorig. Gezien de relatief geringe omvang van de perifere gemeenschappen en de nabijheid van Athene is het wellicht aannemelijk dat er een vorm van afhankelijkheid bestond, maar niettemin moeten we aannemen dat deze jonge nederzettingen geen integraal onderdeel uitmaakten van de staatkundige hiërarchie binnen de Atheense *polis*. In dit verband is de vroege stichting van het Zeusheiligdom op de Hymettos opmerkelijk aangezien het min of meer het gehele zuidelijke en zuidoostelijke gedeelte van het Attische schiereiland buitensloot.

Echter, gezien het feit dat de nieuwe gemeenschappen vanuit Athene lijken te zijn gesticht is het waarschijnlijk dat er weldegelijk een collectief Attisch bewustzijn van een gemeenschappelijke afkomst heeft bestaan. Ik heb betoogd dat de lokale gemeenschappen van Attika tesamen een *ethnos* vormden, vergelijkbaar met Phokis of Thessalië. Het ontstaan van een dergelijke pan-Attische etniciteit valt min of meer samen met de opkomst van de Atheense *polis*. Maar waar de Attische *ethnos* territoriaal gezien omvangrijker was, was het in politiek opzicht verreweg minder significant dan de Atheense *polis*. Men zou een moderne parallel kunnen trekken met het Britse Gemenebest vlak na de dekolonisatie, waarbij een gevoel van saamhorigheid meerdere, politiek autonome gemeenschappen op een losse wijze met elkaar verbond.

Door het reeds genoemde proces van interne kolonisatie vanuit Athene ligt het voor de hand om aan te nemen dat de bewoners van deze nederzettingen zich bewust waren van een bepaalde vorm van verwantschap met de moederstad. Ik betoog dan ook dat de bewoners van Attika deze verwantschap als een etnisch kenmerkend element moeten hebben ervaren dat zij wellicht relateerden aan een stamvader (Kekrops, Ion, Erechtheus?) en van een gemeenschappelijke naam (*Attikoi*?) voorzagen. Dit subtiele onderscheid tussen de Atheense *polis* en de Attische *ethnos* ontstond in de 10ᵉ eeuw v.Chr. en zou een bepalende rol gaan spelen in de formatie van de Atheense staat in de vijf eeuwen die daarop volgden.

Vanuit het antropologische model van feesten kan de stichting van perifere culten aan de grenzen van het Atheense territorium worden beschouwd als een extensie van de banket-cultuur zoals die in het centrum vorm had gekregen. Het subtiele evenwicht tussen *basileus* en edelen zoals dat tijdens religieuze festivals werd geëtaleerd, werd symbolisch (her-) opgevoerd aan de randen van het territorium waar het zeggenschap over kon claimen. Aangezien de perifere culten aldus de grenzen van een politiek coherente eenheid representeerde, heb ik de conclusie getrokken dat (1) er al vroeg zoiets bestond als "de Atheense polis" en (2) deze politieke entiteit slechts een deel van Attika omvatte, te weten de vlakte van/rondom Athene.

Plaatselijke leiders in Eleusis, Thorikos en andere perifere gemeenschappen konden geen aanspraak maken op een plaats in de pikorde die vastgesteld werd tijdens de banketten in Athene. Het is echter heel goed mogelijk (om niet te zeggen erg waarschijnlijk) dat ze van tijd tot tijd deelnamen aan deze banketten (zowel in de stad zelf als bij de perifere heiligdommen), maar dan in de hoedanigheid van *gasten* van de Atheense politieke hiërarchie. Zodoende kan worden verklaard hoe deze gemeenschappen op hetzelfde moment zowel in een autonome als een afhankelijke relatie tot Athene stonden. Voor het betoog maakt het vervolgens weinig uit of deze randgemeenschappen gezien werden als op zichzelf staande *poleis*, aangezien we voor deze periode niets weten over de regionale cultische mores. De voornaamste conclusie is dat ze op zichzelf staande politieke entiteiten lijken te hebben gevormd, dus met een plaatselijke machtsstructuur die niet volledig was geïntegreerd in de Atheense *polis*.

3.3   De mannen van Athena

In deel 2 van deze studie heb ik trachten aan te tonen dat er geen goede redenen zijn om aan te nemen dat de Athena cultus op de Acropolis gesticht is vóór de eerste helft van de achtste eeuw v.Chr. Dit heeft op zijn minst één paradoxale consequentie die tot op heden nog niet is opgemerkt: aangezien "burgerschap" of "groepslidmaatschap" van de Atheense staat bepaald werd op basis van participatie in de cultus van de godin Athena is het niet mogelijk dat de burgers van de stad Athene voor die tijd *Athenaioi* ("Atheners") werden genoemd (zie hoofdstuk 8). Die aanduiding betekent immers niets anders dan "zij die deelnemen aan de Athenacultus". Evenmin kunnen de Acropolis en het omliggende gebied voor die tijd de naam "Athene" hebben gedragen. Waarschijnlijk waren er in de vroege geschiedenis van Attika verschillende namen in omloop, die stuk voor stuk uitdrukking gaven aan een specifiek aspect van de identiteit van de bewoners. Zulke namen zullen zijn gebaseerd op verenigingen op verschillende identiteitsniveau's, van verwantschapsgroepen (clans) en politiek machtige cultusgemeenschappen tot de Attische ethnos-identiteit als geheel.

In hoofdstuk 8 laat ik zien dat de prestigieuze positionering van de Athenacultus bovenop het oude Myceense paleis op de Acropolis in de eerste helft van de achtste eeuw v.Chr. een sterke profilering uitwijst van een clan of groep van clans die zichzelf beschouwden als een elite in een periode waarin het gezag van de *basileus* werd uitgehold. Vermoedelijk noemde deze groep zich reeds *Athenaioi* vanaf de vestiging van de cultus voor de godin Athena, maar werd de naam pas in de loop van de tijd een synoniem voor "burger van de Atheense *polis*".

Desondanks zullen veel andere namen in omloop zijn gebleven, evenals in de historische tijd toen bewoners konden worden aangeduid met bijvoorbeeld de naam

van hun deme, hun *phratria* of hun *genos*. Helaas kunnen we slechts speculeren over de naam waarmee de Atheners werden aangeduid voorafgaand aan de vestiging van de cultus van Athena. In de vijfde en vierde eeuw werden de bewoners van Attika "*Attikoi*" genoemd, een naam die misschien al bestond voor de vestiging van de Athena cultus. Een andere mogelijkheid zou kunnen zijn dat ze vernoemd zijn naar een eponieme held, bijvoorbeeld "*Kekropidai*", naar Kekrops, de legendarische eerste koning van Athene. Evenzogoed mogen we veronderstellen dat de bewoners van het Athene van de vroege IJzertijd aangeduid werden met een gemeenschappelijke naam, die misschien eveneens ontleend was aan één van de vroege koningen, bijvoorbeeld Erechtheus of Boutes, die nauw verwant waren aan en geassocieerd werden met de Athenacultus en de Acropolis in de archaïsche en klassieke periode.

3.4   Regionale identiteiten

Vanaf de late achtste eeuw ontwikkelde zich een duidelijk herkenbaar cultisch landschap in Attika (zie hoofdstuk 9). Er werden plaatselijke heiligdommen gewijd aan godheden als Athena, Zeus, Demeter, Artemis en Poseidon. Deze heiligdommen waren bedoeld voor de bewoners van de Athene omringende vlaktes. Ze maakten onderdeel uit van interregionale cultische netwerken en brachten verschillende plaatselijke gemeenschappen met elkaar in contact. Deze gemeenschappen hadden veelal toegang tot hun eigen plaatselijke heiligdom op een bergtop en misschien tot één of meer heldenculten die hen verbonden met het mythische verleden van hun land. Binnen deze gemeenschappen probeerden diverse clans hun eigen identiteit te markeren in banketzalen vlakbij begraafplaatsen.

Het is interessant dat drie van de bovengenoemde elementen – de heiligdommen voor de Olympische goden, heiligdommen op bergtoppen en verwantschapsculten – reeds bestonden in de Atheense vlakte ten tijde van de Midden Geometrische periode (ca. 800. v.Chr.). Het lijkt erop dat de nieuwe gemeenschappen die in de loop van de tweede helft van de achtste eeuw gevestigd werden dit model kopieerden om hun onafhankelijkheid van de Atheense *polis* te markeren. Heldenculten zijn in dit verband een uitzondering, aangezien deze pas hun intrede doen aan het eind van de achtste eeuw. De plotselinge interesse in Bronstijd resten (met name graven) als potentiële cultusplaatsen voor helden is karakteristiek voor dit tijdperk en wordt weerspiegeld in de contemporaine introductie van de verering van de Olympische goden op of vlakbij *acropoleis* uit de Bronstijd verspreid over Attika (overigens wederom naar analogie van de situatie in Athene).

Ondanks een hechte verwantschap op basis van huwelijken, gastvriendschappen en een gedeeld gevoel van etniciteit ontwikkelden zich diverse gemeenschappen parallel aan en onafhankelijk van Athene. De sterke nadruk op verwantschap in deze

periode lijkt te suggereren dat deze jonge gemeenschappen in toenemende mate uitdrukking trachten te geven aan hun plaatselijke gezag. Deze verandering in de machtsbalans in Attika wordt weespiegeld door een afnemende activiteit rondom de cultus van Athena op de Acropolis en een evenredige intensivering van heiligdommen in de periferie.

3.5 Verder onderzoek

In mijn visie leidde de Atheense *polis* – gedefinieerd als de groepering die toegang had tot de cultus van Athena op de Acropolis – een ambivalent bestaan gedurende de zevende eeuw v.Chr. Pas in de zesde eeuw trad er een sterke centraliserende beweging op waardoor de cultus van de Athena zich een dominante positie verwierf en verbanden werden gelegd tussen het cultische centrum op de Acropolis en de belangrijkste perifere heiligdommen. Mettertijd leidde dit tot de stapsgewijze gelijkschakeling van de Atheense *polis* en de Attische *ethnos*, een ontwikkeling die zijn gelijke in de Griekse wereld niet kent. Deze "cultische integratie" van Attika in de zesde eeuw v.Chr. ligt buiten het bereik van deze studie, maar biedt een veelbelovend perspectief voor verder onderzoek. Vanaf het einde van de zevende eeuw en tot ver in de zesde eeuw v.Chr. leidde deze uitwisseling van culten tot steeds verdergaande sociale en politieke integratie, uiteindelijk resulterend in de hervormingen van Cleisthenes in 508/7 v.Chr. en de aanvaarding van een democratische bestuursvorm.

Curriculum Vitae

Floris van den Eijnde is geboren op 6 juni 1975 in Amsterdam. Van 1987 tot 1993 bezocht hij daar het Barlaeus Gymnasium, waar hij in de jaren daarna nog driemaal zou terugkeren om Klassieke Talen te doceren. Na zijn eindexamen studeerde hij Grieks, Latijn en Klassieke Kunstgeschiedenis aan Lawrence University in Appleton, WI. In 2000 studeerde hij af in Mediterrane Archeologie (*cum laude*) aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, gevolgd door Klassieke Talen in 2001. Tussen 1998 en 2002 was hij onder andere als veldsupervisor verbonden aan de Amerikaanse opgravingen op de Atheense Agora geleid door John McK. Camp II. In 2000-1 was hij regular member van de American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) en volgde een postdoctoraal programma aan die school.

Het onderzoek waar deze dissertatie de vrucht van is, werd verricht tussen 2004 en 2010 en was onderdeel van de onderzoeksgroep *Atheens Burgerschap*, onder de bezielende leiding van Prof. Dr. Josine Blok. De onderzoeksgroep werd financieel mogelijk gemaakt met geld van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO).

Floris van den Eijnde is werkzaam als docent bij het departement Geschiedenis en Kunstgeschiedenis van de Universiteit Utrecht.

Hij is getrouwd met Maaike en heeft twee kinderen, Julia (4) en Luuk (2).