THE INCORPORATION OF ELEUSIS INTO THE ATHENIAN POLIS:

THE CITY ELEUSINION AND THE SANCTUARY MATERIAL IN THE WELLS OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

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RMA Thesis Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies | Ancient Studies

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Place & Date Utrecht | 28 November 2020

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Acknowledgements

At first there are wanderings
and toilsome running about in circles and journeys
through the dark over uncertain roads and culs-de-sac;
then, just before the end, there are all kinds of terrors,
with shivering, trembling, sweating, and utter amazement.
After this, a strange and wonderful light meets the wanderer;
he is admitted into clean and verdant meadows,
where he discerns gentle voices and choric dances,
and the majesty of holy sounds and sacred visions.[1]

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[1] Plutarch, fragment 178, as quoted in Stobaeus, IV, 52.49. Translation from Graf 1953, 148.

> So we hasten to see, of Greece, Athens, but of Athens, Eleusis, knowing that the *polis* is the crown of Europe, but the sanctuary the crown of the *polis*.[2]

Nowadays, this phrase from the second or first century BC would astonish most visitors to Eleusis – or *Elefsina*, as it is called in modern Greek. The modern town, part of the Thriasian (*Thriassion*) plain immediately to the west of Athens and lying on the shores of the bay of Salamis, can hardly be described in this way anymore due to heavy industrialisation and urban developments in the first and second half of the twentieth century – it is now surrounded by industrial depots and oil refineries and part of the agglomeration of Athens. This is a far cry from ancient Eleusis, which was celebrated for its rural setting and the fertility of its soil; indeed, one of its primary deities, Demeter, with the help of the hero Triptolemos, was supposedly responsible for the spread of agriculture from Eleusis to the rest of the world. Eleusis also was an important midway between the commercial centres of Athens and Corinth, the principal border town between the regions of Attica and Megara and the biggest Athenian deme in the area (see figure 1).[3] The three roads from Attica, Megara and Boeotia met there, which made Eleusis a trading centre as well.[4] Nowadays, a considerable amount of generally well-preserved remains can still be seen, among which Roman bath complexes, an early Christian basilica and – most important for our purposes – the remains of the Sacred Way and the archaeological site of Eleusis itself. The latter is situated on the slopes of a defensible acropolis near the centre of the current town, and the ruins of impressive fortifications and religious buildings reveal what once was one of the most important sanctuaries of the Athenian *polis*. This was the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, where parts of the narrative in the well-known *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* take place and the world-renowned Eleusinian Mysteries were partly celebrated. The secret rites of the Mysteries were focused on agricultural renewal and the creation of favourable conditions for the afterlife of each voluntary initiate, and eventually attracted many people – from the Athenians themselves to international visitors, such as several emperors in Roman times.[5] This sanctuary was connected to Athens by the Sacred Way: this road was essential during the yearly procession to and from Eleusis and ran from the gates of the sanctuary to the south of the Athenian *agora*. The road ended there, in the political centre of Athens, at the City Eleusinion; this was the branch cult of the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore in Athens.

All this has resulted in much academic interest, not only in the archaeological site and the unknown

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[2] From an inscription from Maroneia in Thrace that combines both rhetoric and aretalogy of Isis (second or first century BC). See Papanikolaou 2009, 59; translation from Grandjean (1975, 18 l. 38-41) as quoted by Clinton 1992, 94-95.
[3] Miles (2016, 181) notes the size of Eleusis may be attributed to its function as both a (military) border site and an important cult centre.
[4] Eleusis and its market are brought to life in Menander's *Skyonios/Skyionioi*, in act four of the play.
[5] On the Eleusinian Mysteries and mystery cults in general, see Burkert 1985, 276-301; Burkert 1987; Clinton 1993; Clinton 2007; Bowden 2010; Cosmopoulos 2015, 14-26.

rituals that were celebrated there,[6] but also in Eleusis's relationship to Athens, both in the physical, religious and political sense. Inspired by the existence of the City Eleusinion, the Sacred Way and many other religious links shared between Eleusis and Athens, the latter part of scholarship has focused on the eventual political dependence of Eleusis upon the town that would become synonymous with Attica and unite the communities of the Attic peninsula into one *polis*. These early (mainly eighth to fifth century) ties between the two Attic towns and the incorporation of Eleusis into the Athenian *polis* and its religious life are also the main topics of this thesis.

Though we have some (literary) sources we could use to understand these links and the incorporation, many of these are Athenian and from the fifth century BC or later.[7] These sources paint an image of almost full control of the Athenian *polis* over Eleusis and its primary cult from at least the aforementioned fifth century until the closure of 'pagan' sanctuaries in the fourth century AD.[8] For instance, the Eleusinian Mysteries were mainly regulated by Athenian officials, and matters of importance concerning the Mysteries were decided upon by the *ekklesia* and *boulè*, which indicates the large amount of control Athenian (male) citizens held over the Mysteries.[9] As such, both Eleusis and its Mysteries were deeply anchored within Athenian *polis* religion at this point in time.[10]

The further embeddedness of the Mysteries and Eleusis is easily discernible: the annual celebrations of the Lesser and Greater Eleusinian Mysteries during the months of Anthesterion (February/March) and Boedromion (September/October) respectively drew in many Athenians and had a place in the official Athenian festival calendar.[11] Furthermore, the earlier mentioned City Eleusinion was established at some point; it was instituted at the place of an earlier sanctuary of Demeter, which was situated next to the Panathenaic Way and just to the south of the (political) centre of Athens, the *agora*.[12] This feat was eventually paralleled by the founding of local Eleusinia in demes like Marathon, Phaleron, Brauron, Paiania and

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[6] The most important recent scholars studying Eleusis and the rituals of the Eleusinian Mysteries are Kevin Clinton and Michael Cosmopoulos.

[7] Due to the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC.

[8] The earliest discernable attempts by the Athenian state to regulate the Eleusinian Mysteries can be seen in two decrees found in the City Eleusinion: one to regulate the emoluments of the Eleusinian priesthoods, and the other to lay down rules for certain sacrifices. From around 460 BC is a decree that imposed a fine of 1,000 drachmae on representatives of Eleusinian *genoi* if they attempted to initiate everyone at the same time, and in the third quarter of the fifth century the *boulè* appointed a board of *epistatai* at Eleusis to 'take charge of the Two Goddesses' property' (Garland 1984, 98). More decrees of similar nature can also be found in Garland 1984, 98. The development of full Athenian control over the Mysteries is made clear in Clinton 1994. Finally, Eleusis' position as an Athenian state cult ended in the fourth century AD and is marked by the closure of ancient 'pagan' sanctuaries by the Roman emperor Theodosius.

[9] Farnell 2010 [1907], 157. The head of management was the *archon basileus*, who formed a supervision 'committee' with a *paredros* and four *epimeletae*. Two *epimeletae* were appointed by the *ekklesia.*

[10] On the concept of *polis* religion, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2000. Eventually, during the fifth and fourth centuries BC, Athens succeeded in making Eleusis, as Kevin Clinton calls it, 'a special attribute of Athens'. Clinton 1994, 161.

[11] Attic Inscriptions Online 2017. The Lesser Mysteries were held at Agrai and were prerequisite to the initiation of the Greater Mysteries.

[12] The Panathenaic Way was the principal thoroughfare of the city and acted as the processional way for the procession that was part of the Panathenaic festival. It ran from the main city gate, the Dipylon, to the acropolis.

(possibly) Thorikos.[13] Two processions and other rituals during the Mysteries celebrated the physical linkage between Athens and Eleusis.[14] Ultimately, the Athenians promoted Eleusis's mystery cult and Demeter's supposed role in the spread of agriculture in their programme of cultural hegemony during the fifth century BC: the prestige of the Mysteries perfectly 'exemplified [Athens'] role as leader, teacher, and civilizer of the Hellenes',[15] as is also alluded to in a well-known passage from the Athenian rhetorician Isokrates (436-338 BC):

> When Demeter came to our land [as is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*],[16] in her wandering after the rape of Kore, and, being moved to kindness towards our ancestors by services which may not be told save to her initiates, gave these two gifts, the greatest in the world – the fruits of the earth, which have enabled us to rise above the life of the beasts, and the holy rite which inspires in those who partake of it sweeter hopes regarding both the end of life and all eternity – our city [Athens] was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind that, having been endowed with these great blessings, she did not begrudge them to the rest of the world, but shared with all men what she had received.[17]

The proclamation of several Athenian decrees geared towards the wider Greek world – such as the Sacred Truce (ca. 475-450 BC) and the First Fruits decrees (ca. 435 BC)[18] – are additional examples of this. The Eleusinian cult and its priests were honoured specifically by the Athenians, for instance by their participation in other Athenian rites[19] and the heralds of the Mysteries having the right to dine publicly in the Delion at Marathon during the year.[20] Disclosure of the secrets of the Mysteries (profanation) was made punishable by death by the Athenians,[21] and Eleusis was possibly given a prominent place in the most ambitious building programme of Athens ever instigated during antiquity: the west side of the Parthenon[22] perhaps depicts the mythological rivalry between the Eleusinian and Athenian royal families.[23] Further mythological links

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[13] On the other local Eleusinia – though there seems to be disagreement concerning which localities had an Eleusinion – see Nilsson (1986 [1951], 39) referring to his article 'Die eleusinischen Kulte der attischen Demen und das neue Sakralgesetz aus Paiania' (*Eranos* CLII, 1944). They are also mentioned by Osborne 1985, 177.

[14] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 144-45. During the procession of the initiates during the Greater Mysteries from Athens to Eleusis, the procession also stopped at Phaleron, to cleanse the bodies of the initiates in the sea.

[15] Clinton 1996, 112. This can, for instance, be seen in Athenian vase paintings and sculptural reliefs from the fifth century BC, in which Demeter's gift of agriculture to Athens and its spread to the rest of the Greek world by Triptolemos is emphasized (Shapiro 1989, 76-77; Clinton 1994, 163-65). There were even stories circulating in which the Eleusinian goddess saved Eleusis and the Athenians from defeat in many wars, but primarily the Persian wars (Boedeker 2007).

[16] Note how Eleusis has been replaced by Athens in Isokrates' mindset.

[17] Isokrates, *Panegyricus*, 4.28-29 (translation from Norlin 1980).

[18] Garland 1984, 98. The Sacred Truce decree (IG I³ 6), set up in the City Eleusinion in the Athenian agora, allowed for free travel to Athens during the period before and after the Mysteries (during the other periods, wars between poleis would often prevent safe travel, see Attic Inscriptions Online 2016a). The Athenians drew up the First Fruits decree (I Eleusis 28a), which dictated that the Athenian allies of the Delian League needed to dedicate their first harvest of wheat and barley to the Eleusinian goddesses (Demeter and Kore) and Athena, as the Athenian demes were already supposed to do (Attic Inscriptions Online 2016b). This was found in Eleusis. Several other inscriptions are mentioned in Spaeth 1991, 361.

[19] Such as the Thargelia, Pyanopsia, Proerosia and the Skira. Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 145-46.

[20] Attic Inscriptions Online 2017.

[21] Nilsson 1986 [1951], 39.

[22] If we can still call the great temple by that name, see Van Rookhuijzen 2020.

[23] Spaeth 1991.

between Athens and Eleusis derive from sources speaking of early wars between the independent Eleusinian and Athenian communities that ended with the subjection of Eleusis.[24] Thus, the embeddedness of Eleusis – and the Eleusinian Mysteries specifically – in Athenian *polis* life cannot be understated and is underlined even more when we realise the degree to which cults were integrated in Greek civic life – religion was inseparable from politics and the daily life of each citizen,[25] and had cohesive qualities.

These characteristics of religion and cult point towards their importance in processes of unification. In the case of the physical, mythological, and eventually political ties shared between Athens and Eleusis, however, this line of thinking has not yet been applied to its full potential. While many scholars have engaged themselves either explicitly or implicitly with the question of exactly when the Athenian *polis* incorporated Eleusis and how this unification came about, the answers to this long-standing question have not yet been satisfactory. As we shall see in chapter 1 and 2 of this thesis, this is largely because of a focus on the fifth-century sources partly discussed above, which seem to suggest a (violent) political unification after a series of wars. This narration seems to be supported by the Athenian synoecism – or *synoikismos* – tradition, which tells how the Athenian king Theseus united the whole of Attica politically with a centralization of government upon Athens.[26] Traditions like this – as well as the content of sources like the earlier mentioned *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* – have led scholars to focus on this specific (political) characterisation of the Athenian-Eleusinian ties and the incorporation of Eleusis. As such, the most pervasive theories reflect these narratives of conflict between two communities and an eventual (violent) political fusion, with no room for Eleusinian agency. They also assume a full political and religious incorporation at the same time. Additionally, a focus on the literary sources – with their accompanying dating and interpretational problems – has led this (political) incorporation of Eleusis to be dated variously between the twelfth and the sixth century BC. A similar variety in dating can be found within the part of scholarship that has tried to incorporate the (Eleusinian) archaeological sources into the debate. Not unsurprisingly, the archaeology is almost always used in support of the narrative described above.

To add more clarity and nuance to the scholarship on the incorporation of Eleusis, my thesis will ask the same question earlier scholars did – either explicitly or implicitly: when did the Athenian *polis* incorporate Eleusis, and how did this unification come about? Within it, I will provide a review of previous

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[24] References can be found in Jacoby 2005 [1923-1959] Suppl. (index Athens, Wars with Eleusis); Mylonas 1961, 16, 24-29, Foley 1994a, 176.

[25] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000.

[26] In the words of A. Snodgrass (1980, 34), *synoikismos* 'covers everything from the notional acceptance of a single political centre by a group of townships and villages whose inhabitants stay firmly put, to the physical migration of a population into a new political centre [...]. The crucial element in all cases is the political unification.' For the scholars of the Athenian synoecism who hold to communities accepting a single political centre, see Andrewes 1982, 363; Cavanagh 1991, 108; Diamant 1982, 38; Hignett 1958 [1952], 34; Simms 1983; Padgug 1972; Beloch 1912, 207; Judeich 1896, 2219; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 387; De Sanctis 1912, 24; Berve 1931, 79; Anderson 2000; Camp 2001; Deacy 2007, 224; Durant 1948, 130; Gilbert 1895, 101; Hammond 1972, 8; Hignett 1958 [1952], 34-35; Manville 1990, 57; Moggi 1976, 64; Musiolek 1981, 210.
For the minority of scholars ascribing to the Athenian synoecism having been a physical migration of a population (particularly the nobility) into Athens, see Alföldy 1969; Bonner & Smith 1938 [1930], 57; Van Gelder 1991, 62.
On other Athenian synoecisms in later periods, see Gouschin 1999. A short description of the synoecism tradition and its sources can be found in Hansen & Nielsen 2004 (624-25) and Musiolek 1981.

scholarship and show that the early (eighth to sixth century) bonds between Athens and Eleusis can be more satisfactorily characterised using two concepts first applied to early Attic history and archaeology by F. van den Eijnde: that of 'peer polity interaction' and the Attic *ethnos.* As such, this thesis will partly argue that the political unification of Eleusis and Athens was preceded by trade relations, conflicts, collaboration, but above all religious integration. These continuing integration processes eventually culminated in a true political unification of Athens and Eleusis during the time in which Athens became synonymous with Attica through the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC.[27]

Besides this, the question posed above includes the objective of trying to date the 'incorporation' of Eleusis. Since cults played a large role within the unification process described above, I will focus on the start of the cohering religious links between Athens and Eleusis. To be able to shed more light hereon, it is necessary to look at the archaeological remains of the two cultic tiers that made up the physical Eleusis-Athens axis: the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens. In the case of the sanctuary in Eleusis, scholars focussing on the incorporation of Eleusis have largely made use of the early structural remains on the site, but not of the contents of the earliest remnants of cult: the pyres A, B and Γ/C. As we shall see in chapter 2 and 3, these pyres have been dated from the final quarter of the eighth century and the seventh century (A) to the sixth (B and Γ/C) and fifth centuries (Γ/C) BC, and the specific votive groups found within constitute the first evidence of the cult of the Eleusinian Demeter and perhaps Kore. As votives at least partly reflect the cult of the deity they were gifts to,[28] a religious link between the sanctuaries of Demeter in Eleusis and the one in Athens can be reconstructed through comparing the votives from both the Eleusinian pyres and the contemporary, equally first, ones from the City Eleusinion in Athens. By doing this, I will demonstrate that the religious links between the two sanctuaries go back to at least the second half of the seventh century BC. In this period, it is possible that the famous Eleusinian-Athenian procession was instituted as well to further cement the beginnings of a religious union. The focus on the pyres of Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens fulfils a second void in scholarship: while scholars have made use of the archaeological remains of the sanctuary of Eleusis itself, the City Eleusinion and its place just to the south of the eventual Athenian *agora* have mostly been neglected. Though – as we shall see in chapter 2 and 3 – the earliest cultic and physical remains on the site of the Eleusinion have been put forward in favour of dating a political incorporation to the seventh century and sixth century BC,[29] an in-depth analysis of the material from the City Eleusinion in relation to our question has been missing.

To summarise, this thesis will add to the scholarly debate on the incorporation of Eleusis (and partly the Athenian synoecism) by offering an integration of the archaeological and historical evidence using the concepts of the Athenian *ethnos* and peer polity interaction. Before doing this, however, it will provide an analysis of the interpretations of previous scholarship of that same source material, leading to the conclusion that our topic currently lacks a status quo regarding the dating of the unification process. Then, I will

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[27] Kragset 2015, 5.
[28] Alroth 2010, online.
[29] Falling within the scholarly narratives described above.

establish the seventh century as the beginning of the religious links between Athens and Eleusis and the establishment of the City Eleusinion by comparing the votive material from Eleusis to that of the Demeter sanctuary below the *agora.* Before lining out the specific structure and methodologies used in this thesis, it is necessary to place its previously detailed objectives and the academic debates it adds to within their broader overarching theoretical framework: that of the influence of religion within the development of the (Athenian) *polis.*

Poleis like Athens[30] were the 'the typical Greek form of community in the Archaic and Classical periods'.[31] They consisted of 'a nucleated centre, called *polis* in the urban sense, and a hinterland, called *chora* or *ge*'.[32] The influence of cults on *polis* life has been perceived for quite some time, as *poleis* were strongly identified with their citizens who were in turn socially and politically united by cults as markers of identity.[33] As such, it has long been recognised that *polis* ideology most probably emerged and developed (eventually creating a *polis* in the political, urban and territorial sense) from at least the eighth century BC onwards,[34] when the first archaeological traces of the later *polis* cults can be found.

This line of thinking was first developed within scholarship in the first part of the twentieth century.[35] It gained momentum in the 1980s and 90s through the work of J.N Coldstream, Anthony Snodgrass and – most importantly – François de Polignac,[36] who all in some fashion equate the first traces of cult (or pottery distribution[37]) to early political unifications. De Polignac, however, outlined an extensive and influential religious model in his book *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (1995).[38] In it, he associates the importance and rise of extra-urban sanctuaries with the emergence and formation of the first Greek *poleis* in the eighth century BC. These sanctuaries were situated on outlying territory and were usually connected to a *polis* by an axis of processional routes. Their establishment marked out the territory of a new *polis* by way of establishing a distinction between the civilized urban space and the wilds beyond and in terms

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[30] Though *poleis* of course came in all sorts and sizes, and Athens was not the sample model of a *polis.*
[31] Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 3.
[32] Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 4.
[33] Morgan 1990, 4.
[34] Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 8-10. The longer definition of classical a *polis* would be 'a small small, highly institutionalised and self-governing community of adult male citizens (called *politai* or *astoi*) living with their wives and children in an urban centre (also called *polis* or, sometimes, *asty*) and its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*) together with two other types of people: foreigners (*xenoi*) and slaves. As a political community, the polis was felt to be one's fatherland (*patris*) and it was identified with its citizens more than its territory. Thus, a city-ethnic, i.e. an adjective derived from the toponym denoting the urban centre, was used collectively as the name of the polis and individually as a kind of surname whenever a citizen from a polis was mentioned alongside citizens from other poleis. Adult male citizens possessed the monopoly of political decision making but they were often split up into opposing factions and rivalry might entail civil war (*stasis*). Furthermore, warfare between poleis was endemic; the defence of the polis was a central aspect of the community and the urban centre of the polis was usually walled' (Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 31).
[35] An early example is M.P. Nilsson's work on Attic cults (Nilsson 1986 [1951]) and V. Ehrenberg's work on the development of *poleis* (('In whatever manner such a 'synoecism' took place, it certainly meant a union in administration as well as in religion', in Ehrenberg 1969 [1960], 24).
[36] For instance, Coldstream 1984, 9-10; Snodgrass 1980, 33; Snodgrass 1993, 38.
[37] In the case of Coldstream and Snodgrass. An elaboration on these theories will follow in chapter 2.
[38] The original French work was written by De Polignac in 1984: *La naissance de la cite grecque. Cultes, espace et société VIIIe-VIIe siècles avant J.C.* I have used the English translation by Janet Lloyd (De Polignac 1995a).

of establishing a political distinction between a *polis* and her neighbouring communities.[39] Extra-urban sanctuaries then were the places the wealthiest could manifest their power by the organization of cult, dedication of valuable offerings and eventually the building of temples, thus constituting ways of mediation between men and gods and the first so-called 'civic space'.[40] According to De Polignac, notions of citizenship and civic cohesion first developed in such a religious setting. One way or another, this model has influenced the work of many scholars working on the case of Athens (and Eleusis), including C.M. Antonaccio, C. Calame, H.P. Foley, and C. Sourvinou-Inwood.[41]

However, De Polignac's work has not gone unchallenged; as some scholars have pointed out, he mostly paid attention to a teleological depiction of the *polis* in its eventual, classical form,[42] and his emphasis on the importance of the urban-rural dichotomy relies too heavily on structuralism: regions without clearly identified urban centres nevertheless developed important sanctuaries, such as Delphi and Olympia.[43] De Polignac eventually somewhat modified his arguments,[44] and incorporated the case of Athens and Eleusis within his bipolar *polis* theory.[45] As mentioned earlier on in this introduction, my thesis likewise put emphasis on the unifying qualities of cult, but pushes the political side of the unification to a later period in the case of Athens and Eleusis. In earlier scholarship,[46] a similar view is only found in the work of M.P. Nilsson, who posits that the formation of the Athenian and Attic state may have been the result of a growing tendency towards religious integration.[47] Consequently, my thesis is not only a contribution to the scholarly research surrounding the linked debates on the incorporation of Eleusis and the synoecism of Attica, but offers a valuable insight in Athenian state formation, which in turn is a small part within the larger debates surrounding the development of *poleis* in general.

This thesis is divided in two parts: part I will be concerned with the historiography of the incorporation of Eleusis and the linked debates surrounding the Athenian synoecism, as well as with a historical analysis of the sources used by these scholars and a new interpretation of them based on the concepts of 'peer polity interaction' and the Attic *ethnos*. Part I consists of two chapters: one on the previous scholarship on their interpretations of literary sources, and one on the archaeological theories and the use of the archaeological sources by past scholars. Part II is devoted to the City Eleusinion and the Athenian *agora* and is made up of chapter 3. In this chapter, the hypotheses regarding the evolution of relations between Athens and Eleusis reached in part I will be further substantiated by comparing the votive material from the pyres of Eleusis to

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[39] De Polignac 1995a, 25, 34-36, 40.
[40] De Polignac 1995a, 20, 153.
[41] Antonaccio 1994, 99; Calame 1990, 361-63 (he places Eleusis and Demeter in a multipolar schematization of Athenian *polis* religion); Foley 1994a, 172; Warford 2015, 169 (argues that De Polignac in his 1995b article tried to fit all the cults of Archaic Attica 'into a comprehensive model that has very little to do with the bipolar polis'); Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 26; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 150.
[42] Hall 1995.
[43] Van den Eijnde 2010, 35.
[44] De Polignac 1995b, 100.
[45] De Polignac 1995b, 91.
[46] Besides that of F. van den Eijnde, as mentioned before in the context of the Attic *ethnos* and 'peer polity interaction'.
[47] Nilsson 1951.

that of the City Eleusinion. It will also give insight in the dating of the first religious links between the two.

Some of methods I have used throughout this thesis have been mentioned already: I have employed the concept of 'peer polity interaction' and developments within research on ethnogenesis to reinterpret the literary and archaeological sources already used by previous scholarship. The rest of my methodology I will shortly describe, as this will be elaborated further upon in the designated sections. In the case of the analysis of the literary sources deployed by previous academics, I have mainly made use of the historical hermeneutic method to analyse the usefulness of the sources for our subject and the plausibility of previous theories. These literary sources are difficult to navigate, however, since their authors (in my case mainly Homer, Herodotos, Thukydides, Andokides, Plutarch and Pausanias) in most cases lived centuries after the period we are interested in – especially in the case of Plutarch and Pausanias. However, earlier writers should also be approached with caution, since creating traditions about Archaic times can be called a characteristic of classical history writing: 'Classical Greece had two pasts, the actual past and the past it shaped for itself […].'[48] Sources like the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* bring its own sets of problems, due to oral origins. For the interpretation of archaeological sources, I have mainly relied on the authority of others in interpreting them, as they are sparse and often even more open to interpretation. To some of the archaeological sources I have applied the concept of *lieu de mémoire* (following M.B. Cosmopoulos) in order to make sense of the way the ancient Eleusinians treated earlier remains.

Chapter 3 I have tackled in a different way: first, I reviewed the archaeology of the City Eleusinion and its surroundings, with a special focus on the possible implications for early cultic connections between Athens and Eleusis. Yet, as mentioned before, the most important part of this chapter hinges on the cultic material from the City Eleusinion and Eleusis. As we shall see, the earliest votives from the City Eleusinion were found in pits throughout the later area of the sanctuary. To expand this dataset and further validate the proposed seventh century religious union between Athens and Eleusis, I took up a suggestion made by M. Laughy. In his article 'Figurines in the Road: A Protoattic Votive Deposit from the Athenian Agora Re-examined' (2018), he argues that a large Protoattic deposit found at the so-called Oval Building on the Areopagus could have originated at the nearby Eleusinion, and that it is probable that other terracotta votives from the same sanctuary ended up in the seventh-century wells of the Athenian *agora* as waste fill after periodical decluttering of the sanctuary,[49] a practice well attested in the Greek world.[50] To prove this – and to then use the material as an addition to the Eleusinion dataset to be compared to the Eleusinian material – I have made a database containing the so-called 'diagnostic' sanctuary material found within these wells. Eventually, this extended data will further validate the earlier proposed argumentation that the religious links between Athens and Eleusis were in existence from at least as early as the seventh century BC.

Before moving on to the first chapter, I would like to note that the results of this research are only tentative; we need to be aware that it is still based on difficult and scanty source material. This is,

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[48] Osborne 2006, 335.
[49] Laughy 2018, 670; Van den Eijnde 2010, 129, 376.
[50] Laughy 2018, 655-56.

unfortunately, the disadvantage of the period we have interested ourselves in. Still, I think we can come a long way with caution and minding the socio-cultural context of the Archaic period. Now, I will move on to consider the full corpus of scholarly work on Athenian synoecism and the incorporation of Eleusis, and to discover the processes by which previous scholars thought Eleusis became the crown of the Athenian *polis.*

PART I – STATUS QUO

> When the Eleusinians fought with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was killed, as was also Immaradus, son of Eumolpus [king of Eleusis]. These were the terms on which they concluded the war: the Eleusinians were to have independent control of the Mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians.[51]

Pausanias is one of the ancient authors who has recorded the subjection or incorporation of Eleusis in the guise of a war (or wars) against Athens.[52] In the eyes of the Athenians, this event had occurred in the distant and mythological past, before or in connection to the supposed synoecism of Attica. (This synoecism – or *synoikismos* – is, in most cases, defined as a political unification with the centralization of government upon Athens.[53]) Another version of the incorporation tells how the mythical Athenian king Theseus (also responsible for the synoecism of Attica in various sources[54]) defeated and killed the Eleusinian king Kerkyon in a wrestling match, though other traditions degrade Kerkyon to being a robber on the roads around Eleusis.[55] After winning Eleusis, Theseus ravished the daughters of the late king and gave the kingdom to the Eleusinian hero Hippothous or Hippothoon, a grandson of Kerkyon, to rule.[56] A third version recalls Theseus being involved in a different way: he captured Eleusis from Megara, a community which lay to the west of

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[51] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.38.3 (translation Jones, Litt & Ormerod 1918, online).

[52] The other references from antiquity to these wars or war can be found in Jacoby 2005 [1923-1959], Suppl. (index Athens, Wars with Eleusis); Mylonas 1961, 16, 24-29, Foley 1994a, 176.

[53] In the words of A. Snodgrass (1980, 34), *synoikismos* 'covers everything from the notional acceptance of a single political centre by a group of townships and villages whose inhabitants stay firmly put, to the physical migration of a population into a new political centre […]. The crucial element in all cases is the political unification.' For the scholars of the Athenian synoecism who hold to communities accepting a single political centre, see Andrewes 1982, 363; Cavanagh 1991, 108; Diamant 1982, 38; Hignett 1958 [1952], 34; Simms 1983; Padgug 1972; Beloch 1912, 207; Judeich 1896, 2219; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 387; De Sanctis 1912, 24; Berve 1931, 79; Anderson 2000; Camp 2001; Deacy 2007, 224; Durant 1948, 130; Gilbert 1895, 101; Hammond 1972, 8; Hignett 1958 [1952], 34-35; Manville 1990, 57; Moggi 1976, 64; Musiolek 1981, 210.
For the minority of scholars ascribing to the Athenian synoecism having been a physical migration of a population (particularly the nobility) into Athens, see Alföldy 1969; Bonner & Smith 1938 [1930], 57; Van Gelder 1991, 62.
On other Athenian synoecisms in later periods, see Gouschin 1999. A short description of the synoecism tradition and its sources can be found in Hansen & Nielsen 2004 (624-25) and Musiolek 1981.

[54] Thukydides 2.15.1-2; Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 10.3. Other ancient references can be found in Alföldy 1969, 6-7 and Moggi 1976, 67-80.

[55] For Kerkyon as the Eleusinian king and Theseus winning his kingdom from him, see Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca, Epitome* 1.3; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 38; Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 11.1; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.59.5; Suda, *Encyclopedia, s.v. Theseia* & *Mousaios*; Lucian, *Zeus Rants*, 21. On Kerkyon as robber, see Suda, *Encyclopedia, s.v. Kerkyon/Cercyon*; Isokrates, *Helen*, 29. Theseus became known as the inventor of wrestling (Bacchylides, *Dithyrambs*, 4.20; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.39.3), and in historical times, a wrestling school of Kerkyon existed along the road from Eleusis to Megara (Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca, Epitome* 1.3, quoting Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.39.3. However, the scholiast on Lucian, l.c., mentions the school was situated was near Eleutherae).

[56] Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 29.1. Hippothoon later became the eponymous hero of the Kleisthenaic *phyle* Hippothontis, which was comprised of the demes of Eleusis, Acherdous, Anakaia, Auridai, Azenia, Dekeleia, Elarious, Eroiadai, Hamaxanteia, Keiriadai, Koile, Kopros, Korydallos, Oinoe, Oion Dekeleikon, Peiraieus and Thymaitadai (McLean 2002, 98-99).

Eleusis in the Megarid region.[57]

Both the incorporation of Eleusis and the synoecism of Attica have thus been linked in the written sources, which is why the following two chapters will be concerned with the previous scholarship on both the synoecism and the question of the incorporation of Eleusis in the Athenian *polis* – though mostly the latter, since the former has generated a vast amount of scholarship which can only be summarised. Moreover, there are significant problems to be found in most of the scholarship on the synoecism, which has consequences for its usability when it comes to Eleusis.

The two discussions have been using two types of sources to construct theories on the supposed date of the synoecism or incorporation: literary and archaeological. Due to the different nature of these sources and the disciplines (history and archaeology) that have made use of them, the sources have mostly been used independent of one another and have spawned vastly different theories and dates. Therefore, I have chosen to approach these source categories separately, with one chapter devoted to each type. The first chapter will be concerned with the historiography on the literary sources, while the second will consider the archaeology used by scholarship: this primarily consists of the archaeological site of Eleusis itself. In both chapters, the major theories and usage of sources will be analysed and reviewed, primarily by making use of the historical hermeneutic method in the case of the literary sources. This method is catered towards evaluating the usability of a historical source (or sources) as historical evidence for a specific topic. It requires us to look at the source material critically by asking various kinds of questions pertaining to the author and the historical context of the text, text constitution (history of the text, possible oral backgrounds, etc.), genre and – if needed – reception and response at the time of writing. For the analysis of the use of archaeological sources by previous scholars, it was necessary for me to mostly rely on the available literature. In the end, it is my intention to establish the current (lack of) status quo in scholarship and to establish the weaknesses and strong points in theories by scholars before me. After this, in each chapter I will provide my own interpretation of the sources and argue that the early, pre-Classical relations between Athens and Eleusis are better understood with the help of the concepts the Athenian *ethnos* and 'peer polity interaction'. Moreover, we will see some small indications already that the Eleusinian and Athenian communities were linked in a religious sense already from as early as the seventh century BC.

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[57] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10.3.

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the literary sources used by scholars in their theories regarding the incorporation of Eleusis into Athens, the associated synoecism of Attica and the dating of both processes. As mentioned, the synoecism of Attica and the incorporation of Eleusis are linked in the primary source material. Interestingly, this has not led to a shared academic discussion: both debates generally make use of different source material, with the exception – as we will see – of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter.* Therefore, I will be treating both strands of scholarship separately in this chapter. The section on the synoecism of Attica and its scholarship will be significantly smaller due to usability problems of a significant portion of this scholarship and its source material, which will be elaborated upon below. Before I start with the discussion of each unification theory in the context of scholarship on the synoecism of Attica, there are a couple of general points that need be made.

First, within both strands of scholarship there is a lack of consensus amongst scholars regarding the dating of each respective process: both the incorporation of Eleusis and the synoecism of Attica have been dated variously between the Mycenaean age and the sixth century BC, though most scholars argue in favour of the seventh century. Second, while the synoecism of Attica has been interpreted in various ways (see 1.2), the incorporation of Eleusis has been characterised primarily as a one-time event, during which Athens easily yet forcefully politically and religiously incorporated Eleusis – no doubt this is influenced by the source material mentioning various mythological Athenian-Eleusinian wars. Moreover, throughout this chapter we will see that a majority of the written source material has been overinterpreted as supposedly reflecting a political incorporation when in reality, most sources only reflect other integrational forces, such as trade and increasing religious cooperation. If this is the case, I will denote so in the text. Throughout the discussions on the arguments of previous scholars, I will analyse their use of the literary sources and end with conclusions pertaining to what the literary sources can tell us and what not, and to evaluate their usefulness to our subject. At the end of the chapter, all this will be summarised before interpreting the source material through the concepts of 'peer polity interaction' and the Athenian *ethnos*.

1.2 The synoecism of Attica: previous scholarship on the literary sources

In the case of the Athenian synoecism there are, by and large, four different positions: a synoecism in the Mycenaean age (specifically the twelfth century BC),[58] the synoecism being a 'piecemeal' process occurring

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[58] Berve 1931, 168; Padgug 1972, 147-48; Sakellariou 1989, 328; Stubbings 1975, 347-48; Blegen 1975, 169; Thomas 1983; Camp 2001, 16; Alföldy 1969, 24; Huxley 1956, 22; Judeich 1931, 60; Judeich 1896, 2218; Meyer 1899 [1892], 516; Musiolek 1981, 212. Or a synoecism in the DA after the one in the Mycenaean period had collapsed: Andrewes 1982, 362;

throughout the tenth or ninth and sometimes eighth centuries,[59] or it being a prolonged process ending around 700 or in the seventh century by the 'subjection' of Eleusis and the Tetrapolis (and/or Salamis).[60] During the last decades some scholars have identified the occurrence of the synoecism as late as the sixth century BC,[61] while a minority argues the synoecism cannot be dated at all,[62] or that Attica was always a unit (presumably since the beginning of history.[63] Some connect the synoecism of Attica with the rise of the Athenian *polis* in the eighth century and later.[64]

1.2.1 The synoecism of Attica: Mycenaean period to the sixth century BC

Various scholars, led by R.A. Padgug, date the synoecism of Attica to the Mycenaean age.[65] They argue that if the synoecism or unification of Attica happened late (after the so-called Dark Ages), the Athenians should have some memory of it, as they did of the Kylonian affair – an attempt by the noble Kylon to seize power in Athens in 632 BC – and the struggles with Megara for Salamis (seventh and sixth centuries BC).[66]

These scholars often use various Homeric sources to further strengthen their case, on the assumption their contents refer to the Mycenaean age. In the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, for instance, only the '*demos* of Athens' is mentioned.[67] Similar to this are the contents of the famous *Catalogue of Ships* in the *Iliad*: only 'Athens' and the '*demos* of Erechtheus' are specified,[68] with no mention of any other Attic region or community. In the same part of this text, it is told how the king of Athens, Menestheus, brings fifty ships to Troy. According to some of the scholars who ascribe the Athenian synoecism to the Mycenaean period, he

Canavagh 1991, 107-8; Grant 2012, chapter 2 5/73; Hignett 1958 [1952], 36; Hurwit 1999, 87; Kourouniotes & Broneer 1936, 14; Pantelidou 1975, 261; Rhodes 1981, 76; Rhodes 2006; Snodgrass 2006, 207; Whitehead 2014 [1986], 9.

[59] Quote from Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 625. Other scholars adhering to this dating: Snodgrass 1971, 404; Snodgrass 1982, 668; Loukopoulos 1973, 9; Whitehead 2014 [1986], 9; Hornblower 1991 263-64; Andrewes 1982, 360; Coldstream 2003 [1977], 48; Grant 2012, chapter 2 9/73; Whitehead 2014 [1986], 9; Cosmopoulos 2015, 11; Moggi 1976, 67.

[60] Hignett 1958 [1952], 35; Jeffery 1976, 84; Bonner & Smith 1938, 66; Martin 1940, 50.

[61] Anderson 2003, 135-36; Anderson 2000, 404; Antonnacio 1994, 84-85; Boersma 1970, 24-25; Garland 1992, 39; Hall 2014, 247-51; Kearns 1989, 117; Manville 1990, 79; Stahl & Walter 2009, 139; Stanton 1990, 10; Ehrenberg 1925, 109.

[62] Bury 1991 [1975], 165; Gomme 1938, 49; Farnell 1907, 154; Grote 1852, 69. Though most of these still want to date the synoecism at least 'before the beginnings of recorded history' (Bury 1991 [1975], 165), excepting Grote 1852 ('We cannot determine the steps, or its date, or the number of portions which went to constitute the full grown Athens', 69).

[63] Finley 1970, 122; Farnell 1907, 154.

[64] Bury 1972; Beloch 1912, 208; Bengtson 1969 [1950], 85; Evans 2010, 118; Glotz 1926; Grant 2012 2 10/73; Lavelle 2019, 34; Valdés-Guía 1998, 86; Valdés-Guía 2001, 128.

[65] Padgug 1972, 149; Ehrenberg 1965, 29; Kausel 1882; Curtius 1935, 223; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 34; Kornemann 1934, 30; Hignett 1958 [1952], 34; Ehrenberg 1965, 29; Gomme 1938, 49; De Sanctis 1912, 23; Durant 1948, 130; Francotte 1907, 6-7; Gilbert 1895, 102; Harrison 1906, 6; Huxley 1956, 22; Judeich 1931, 60; Judeich 1896, 2218; Kourouniotes & Broneer 1936, 14; Picard 1931, 49; Blegen 1975, 169; Alföldy 1969, 17; Meyer 1899 [1892], 516; Sarkady 1966, 12.

[66] Padgug 1972, 144-46. For the Kylonian affair, see Herodotos, 5.71; Thukydides, 1.126. For the struggles between Athens and Megara, see Lavelle 2005 (30-65), who reconstructs the wars and the roles of Solon and Peisistratos, and goes into many of the sources.

[67] *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, l.30. Padgug 1972, 143.

[68] *Iliad*, 2.546-556.

could only have summoned those had he been king over all of Attica.[69] However, it has long been suspected the *Catalogue* is a later interpolation,[70] which has been plausibly argued for by J.M. Hall: the parts of the *Catalogue* that mention contingents of Athenians are instead best placed in the context of the wars Athens fought against Megara over Salamis in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and it is even possible that the *Catalogue* as whole was composed separately from the rest of the *Iliad*.[71] Last of the Homeric sources used in relation to the synoecism is the *Odyssey*, wherein Sounion is known as the holy cape or promontory of Athens.[72]

Also used frequently in addition to the Homeric material is the Athenian synoecism tradition, which makes the Athenian king Theseus responsible for the synoecism: has known for disbanding the local *bouleutêria* and magistracies in favour of a central *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* in Athens.[73] An earlier form of unification in myth had been attained by king Kekrops, who divided Attica into eleven or twelve communities – amongst which was Eleusis.[74] All these sources would then reflect a synoecism in the Mycenaean era, though there are scholars who have also used them in favour of dating the synoecism to later times.[75] Lastly, the Mycenaean archaeology of Attica is sometimes added to attempt making a stronger case, but that topic is part of the next chapter.

Unfortunately, all the sources mentioned above cannot be used to argue for an early political unification: the Homeric sources reflect an amalgamation of various periods;[76] there is no way to say whether, for instance, the section on Sounion reflects the ninth century, the sixth century or the period in between. Moreover, apparently scholars have seen mentions of Athens or the Athenian *demos* and Attica as largely interchangeable terms and therefore indicative of a synoecism, but this is a circular argument. In the case of the Athenian synoecism tradition, there is no indication it reflects the Mycenaean period either; on the contrary, more and more scholars recognise that this tradition was created in the sixth century BC around the

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[69] Padgug 1972, 143.

[70] See, for instance Moggi 1976, 66.

[71] Hall 2014, 246-47.

[72] *Odyssey* 3.278-80. Padgug 1972, 143; Meyer 1899 [1892], 516.

[73] Thukydides 2.15.2. The Synoikia, a public festival, would have been celebrated in commemoration of this event. Other references can be found in: Alföldy 1969, 6-7; Moggi 1976, 67-80; Kearns 1989, 112-13; Musiolek 1981, 211-13. These scholars probably dated the synoecism in the Mycenaean period due to the Athenian lists of kings, made by the fourth and third century BC Atthidographers, who wrote down the history of the Attic peninsula as it was known in their day and age. From their lists, modern scholars have derived specific dates for the reigns of each king. For example, king Theseus supposedly reigned between 1234 and 1205 BC. About the Atthidographers and the list of kings, see Jacoby 1973; Andrewes 1982, 364; Cosmopoulos 2014a, 182; Harding 2008. On the synoecism tradition, see Kearns 1989, 112-13; Moggi 1976, 66.

[74] Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, 33.18-20; *Etymologicum Magnum*, 352.53; Philochoros, fr. 94. This tradition goes back to Hekatios, fr. 126. Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 624-25.

[75] For the Homeric sources being used for a date in the Dark Ages, see Andrewes 1982, 360; Thomas & Conant 1999, 170. For the eighth century, see Cosmopoulos 2015, 11; Glotz 1926, 389; Beloch 1912, 208; Hignett 1958 [1952], 35-36. For ca. 700, see Cary 1925, 580; Kullmann 1960, 76-77. Others use them as sources for a synoecism, but do not date it: De Sanctis 1912, 24; Gomme 1938, 49; Hasebroek 1931, 41 (ninth and eighth centuries); Martin 1940, 50 (before seventh century BC); Bonner & Smith 1938, 58.

[76] Raaflaub 1998, 185.

time of the Kleisthenic reforms, as this was the period in which Theseus – first a general hero from Troizen – was adapted to fit Athenian ideals.[77] More on these reforms later (below and 1.2.5).

Other scholars have placed the synoecism at the end of the so-called Dark Ages,[78] and more specifically in the ninth and eighth centuries. They see the synoecism as a longer, gradual process (though almost all of the scholars adhering to the other positions recognise this).[79] One of them is A. Andrewes, who places the synoecism around 900 BC, to which he adds that the event would have been lost to exact memory and was instead attributed to Theseus by the authors of the classical age.[80] He does not mention any primary sources to verify his specific dating, however. He is also amongst the authors who believe a later synoecism (around the Kylonian affair in the seventh century or later) should have been remembered by the authors of the time and later (classical) times, similar to the stance taken by the proponents of the Mycenaean period. This line of thought is hard to substantiate, however, since the past was not valued by later (fifth-century) authors to record events, but for its usefulness in connecting the present with the heroic age.[81] Thus, there is no reason to assume a late synoecism should have been recorded; on other 'late' historical events, such as the Megarian wars in the sixth century BC, we know very little.

Another scholar, C. Hignett dates the synoecism specifically to the eighth century, but primarily lists reasons why the synoecism could not have happened in the Mycenaean age, the most notable of which is that the disunion of Attica was still clear in the fifth century: according to Plutarch, no intermarriage between the demes of Pallene and Hagnon was permitted.[82] A last argument mentioned here is a comparison with other synoecism traditions, specifically those of the nearby communities of Corinth and Megara. Their traditions stem from the eighth century, which could reasonably have been the period in which Athens developed its tradition as well. The implication here is, of course, a synoecism around the ninth century or the beginning of the eighth.[83] Still, these developments in Corinth and Megara do not tell us anything about Athens or Attica.

However, as noted, most scholars date the synoecism of Attica to the seventh century or slightly earlier. Some of them consider the earlier mentioned Kylonian affair of the 630s as the latest synoecism date – the circumstances of which we know nothing about – due to sources referring to 'the Athenians'. References to Athenians in general occur also in the Draconian homicide law from around the same period.[84] Scholars like G. Anderson deduce a need for a distinction between Athenians and non-Athenians in these sources, which would imply the reach of the Athenian state had been enlarged throughout the seventh century and

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[77] Kragset 2015, 61.

[78] Bonner & Smith 1938, 59 ('… the process began as early as 1000 BC').

[79] In the earlier literature, this view sometimes is based on Aristoteles' *Politics* alone, in which it is described how the Athenian *oikoi* eventually became one state. Glotz 1968 [1928], 555.

[80] Andrewes 1982, 362-63.

[81] Diamant 1982, 44.

[82] Hignett 1958 [1952], 36. Though it is perfectly possible Plutarch was referring only to his own (Roman) age, since he is the author who mentions this (Padgug 1972, 142).

[83] Hornblower 1991, 265.

[84] Demostenes, 23.53; IG I³ 104; Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1274b; *Athenian Constitution,* 4.

earlier: the *polis* needed 'to give some formal definition to the limits of its administrative reach'.[85] These scholars thus see the synoecism and the rise and development of the Athenian *polis* as related processes.

Lastly, there is an ever-growing group of scholars who place the Attic synoecism in the sixth century.[86] They argue that the tyrant Peisistratos promoted Attic unity by supporting cults, when first there were various political factions.[87] As a tyrant and champion of the Athenians, he then proceeded to unite the countryside and city religiously. Amongst the cults he supposedly promoted were those of Artemis Brauronia and the Mystery cult of the goddesses of Eleusis – though proving this has remained difficult, if not impossible.[88] Some argue complete political unity only succeeded through the Kleisthenic reforms in 508/7 BC: the very nature of these reforms would constitute the political unification or synoecism talked about in the sources, since it unified the outlying rural areas (including Eleusis) with the Athenian city centre.[89] It was with these reforms that the four old Ionic tribes were restructured into 139 demes (the basic unit of geographical division; Eleusis being one), thirty *trittyes* and ten tribes.[90] A late political unification like this would explain the political power of the phratries and *genē* before the end of the sixth century,[91] and why Athens was not a dominant force in archaic Greece (and thus did not have a standing army): instead, its acropolis was seized in various instances by Kylon, Peisistratos and Kleomenes and Isagoras, and the Athenians struggled through decades-long disputes with Megara over Salamis.[92]

1.2.2 The synoecism of Attica: problems regarding its usefulness for the incorporation of Eleusis
As we have seen, the scholarship about the synoecism of Attica has made extensive use of the small amount of (primary) source material from and/or about the possible periods in which the synoecism – and the incorporation of Eleusis – took place. This material has led the scholars involved to date the synoecism of Attica in many ways, with dates varying between the Mycenaean period and the sixth century BC – sometimes by making use of the same source material in favour of different time periods.

What is surprising, however, is that these scholars see Athens and Attica as largely interchangeable

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[85] Quote from Anderson 2000, 408. Other scholars agreeing with this view: amongst others, Manville 1990, 78-82.

[86] Amongst others, Anderson 2000; Hall 2014, 250; Kragset 2015; Boersma 1970, 24-25; Garland 1992, 39; Kearns 1989, 117; Manville 1990, 79; Stahl & Walter 2009, 139; Stanton 1990, 10; Ehrenberg 1925, 109

[87] These factions were called the *pedion, paralia* and *hyperakrioi.* Herodotos I.59; *Athenian Constitution* 13.4, used by Hall 2014, 250.

[88] For instance, while there is proof of a building programme in Eleusis (a new Telesterion was constructed and a peribolos wall was built) during the Peisistratid period (Mylonas 1961,77-96), there is no indication this was initiated by Peisistratos or his family (Mylonas 1961, 77). Only the archaeology is left to us.

[89] Kragset 2015; Anderson 2000, 405; Hall 2014, 247-48.

[90] These tribes were called after heroes from all over Attica, to help define the new identities of the Athenians. An Eleusinian eponymous hero who made the cut was Hippothoon, who in myth received kingship over Eleusis from Theseus. These choices were made probably because the appropriation and 'Atticization' of these heroes carried 'with it implicit Athenian claims to control […]' (Anderson 2003, 127-29).

[91] Anderson 2000, 407. The phratries and *genoi* were both social divisions; phratries were divisions within the old Ionic tribes in Attica and *genoi* claimed shared descent. Most *genoi* were noble families.

[92] Hall 2014, 247.

terms – a point already noted above in the context of a Mycenaean synoecism, but one that could also be applied to the other theories. When the sources (the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and particularly the later Draconian laws and literature surrounding Kylon), mention 'the Athenians' and the '*demos*' of either Erechtheus or the Athenians, it seems they refer to Athens as a set centre and the rest of Attica as its *polis* periphery, but when did this structure or way of thinking about Attica as Athens first emerge? Several scholars, primary J.M. Hall, F.J. Frost and G. Anderson have made several observations that date the emergence of Athens encompassing the whole of Attica to the sixth century BC.

Firstly, it appears that local inhabitants did not think of themselves as 'Athenian' before at least the sixth century, but rather in other regional terms like 'Attic'[93], 'Rhamnousian' or – in our case – maybe 'Eleusinian'.[94] With regards to this Hall mentions a gravestone from the 560s BC found at Sepolia (just to the northwest of the Athenian city).[95] By way of an inscription it tells passers-by to mourn the deceased Tettikhos, 'be you *astos* or *xenos*'. An *astos* can only be from the city of Athens,[96] which could imply that all non-urban Attic (or non-Attic) residents are regarded as *xenoi*.[97] Another example mentioned by Hall is the absence of free-standing funerary sculpture from the Athenian city cemeteries in the decades between ca. 590 and 530 BC, save a few possible exceptions towards the end of these decades.[98] To contrast this, ten large funerary sculptures (*korai and kouroi*) have been found associated with rural cemeteries, all in the southern part of Attica. Hall proposes the possibility of this region having been considered outside the jurisdiction of the Athenian statesman Solon, who supposedly passed legislation prohibiting elaborate funerary monuments.[99] Anderson has built on this by theorising that these sculptures could have been placed by the Alkmeonid family, who were exiled from Athens at the time and had various connections with the southern part of Attica and the Attic coast, as well as the wealth to pay for elaborate monuments.[100] These examples only make sense when Athens and at least several rural Attic settlements were not politically unified at the time, which is in favour of the theory that the political unification of Attica only truly succeeded with the Kleisthenic reforms. This also helps us to understand the several sixth-century Attic factions mentioned in Herodotus (1.59) and the *Athenian Constitution* (13.4). These factions represented groups from all over Attica and were represented by several well-known names, such as Lykourgos, Megakles and Peisistratos.[101] Lastly, what constituted a *polis* – or 'the Athenians' – was not so clear-cut, even in the Classical period. This is because the term *polis* signified three things at the same time: it was a synonym for *astu* – an urban centre –

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[93] See my discussions on the Attic *ethnos* in 2.6.

[94] Frost 1985, 62; Sealey 1960, 166.

[95] Funny enough, Sepolia owes its name to being 'outside the city' (ἔξω πόλεως), though there is no way to tell if this area had the same name in ancient times (Lazaris 2014, online).

[96] Since *astu* refers to the urban centre (Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 31).

[97] Hall 2014, 247.

[98] Hall 2014, 248.

[99] Hall 2014, 249.

[100] Anderson 2000.

[101] Hall 2014, 250.

as well as *gê* or *khôra* to denote a territory which included both the urban centre and its hinterland. Simultaneously, it could also refer to a political community.[102] Combined with a more regional mindset and the other examples described above, it is much more likely that 'the Athenians' in the sources are the population of the urban centre and its hinterlands, and the laws seem to have been intended for the population that lived in the vicinity of Athens itself.[103] Most of the source material used in synoecism scholarship thus cannot be used for the wider Attic peninsula and Eleusis, not even implicitly as many scholars have done.

Furthermore, the fact that so little of the mentioned source mention Eleusis specifically is also problematic for our purposes – an exception herein is the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, on which later more. In the sources mentioned above only Sounion (and Salamis and Aegina) are specified out of all the eventual Athenian/Attic regions and islands (in the *Iliad's Catalogue of Ships*[104]), and even then, it is not clear to what period the text refers to and for what purpose we can use it. Neither the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* or other texts used by these scholars mention Eleusis.[105] However, because scholars have thought the primary sources refer to a political situation in the whole of Attica, which *did* include Eleusis, they use these sources still to make general statements about Eleusis. It is now clear that current scholarship on the Athenian synoecism largely fails to ludicate how the settlement of Eleusis fits into this narrative with the use of actual Eleusinian source material.

However, sometimes Eleusis is treated as a special case within the Athenian synoecism process. In this specific theory within scholarship on the synoecism, the well-known *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is used to argue that – while the rest of Attica was incorporated anywhere between Mycenaean times and the eighth century BC – Eleusis was annexed later than the other regions.[106] Before discussing the *Hymn* however, it is necessary to review the scholarship on the incorporation of Eleusis, as the *Hymn* of course figures frequently in theories of scholars who only focus on this locality, without considering themselves with the rest of Attica.

1.3 The incorporation of Eleusis: previous scholarship on the literary sources
The incorporation of Eleusis has been dated as variously as the synoecism of Attica. While most scholars have dated the loss of Eleusis's independence to Athens in the seventh century BC, there are some arguing in

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[102] Hall 2014, 70; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 31.

[103] Frost 1990, 4; Hall 2014, 249. The latter lists even more examples as to why it is not likely that the Athenian community stretched over the whole of Attica in the sixth century and earlier, such as the evidence of the *naukrariai*, subdivisions of the Ionian *phylai* and the system on which the deme system was based. There were 48 *naukrariai* opposed to 140 demes, which could suggest that much of the Attican population had been outside the *phylê* system before the implementation of demes in the Kleisthenic reforms (248-49).

[104] In the *Iliad's Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad*, 2.555-65). Stubbings 1975, 347.

[105] Until now, I have not seen any scholar of Athenian synoecism refer to this part of the Theseus tradition in connection to Eleusis, which is why it is not mentioned in this part of the chapter.

[106] Amongst many others, see Nilsson 1986 [1951], 37; Camp 2001, 26; Cary 1925, 580; Durant 1948, 130; Alföldy 1969, 17; Allen, Halliday & Sikes 1936, 112; Beloch 1912, 208; Bury 1991 [1975], 173; Hignett 1958 [1952], 35; Humbert 1941, 39; Kosmetatou 2012, online; Noack 1927, 47; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 60; Philippson 1952, 979; Sealey 1960, 166 footnote 54; Solders 1931, 104; Weber 1937, 268; Walton 1952, 107; Judeich 1896, 2218 (though he places Eleusis loss of independence in the tenth century); Martin 1940, 50; Valdés-Guía 2001, 134, 160, 170; West 2003, 9; Stanton 1990, 9.

favour of the eighth or sixth century BC as well. In almost all these theories, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* play a role to some extent due to its contents. Depending on loose datings of the hymn, then, most scholar have placed Eleusis' incorporation just after the (written) creation of the hymn, somewhere in the eighth century, at the end of the seventh century BC or during Solon's rule as *archon* in the first half of the sixth century.[107] Other scholars are more critical and prefer not to date the hymn and its contents, though they still consider the hymn to be a reflection of a once independent Eleusis that was incorporated soon after the hymn was solidified to its current form.[108] The short period – mostly a few decades – that is assumed between Eleusis' supposed independence in the text and its fusion with Athens is based on the thought that 'the days when Eleusis was independent had not yet passed out of men's memories then'.[109] A more thorough discussion of the hymn will appear in 1.3.2; first, I will go into scholarship that has dated the incorporation of Eleusis to Mycenaean age and the eighth century BC, and the other sources that have been used in doing so.

1.3.1 The Mycenaean age – the wars between Athens and Eleusis

The scholars who date a political incorporation of Eleusis to the Mycenaean age make use of a literary tradition that specifies the incorporation of Eleusis was a result of wars between Eleusis and Athens (though even in this case scholars do not agree, and dates vary from the Mycenaean period to the tenth, eighth, seventh and sixth centuries BC – the only thing scholars *do* mostly agree on is that these mythological wars establish that Eleusis was once a separate community from Athens[110]).

The most used sources in this regard are Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* (3.15.4), Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (1.38.3), Plutarch's *Theseus* (10) and Thukydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (2.15.1). The authors seem to recall two wars, set in the mythological past. The later war, written about by Plutarch (ca. 46-ca. 120 AD), was associated with Theseus and depicted him capturing Eleusis from Megara under Diokles and Skiron.[111] The earlier war took place in the time of Erechtheus, and is more fully attested by the other authors

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[107] Amongst many others, see Nilsson 1986 [1951], 37; Camp 2001, 26; Cary 1925, 580; Durant 1948, 130; Alföldy 1969, 17; Allen, Halliday & Sikes 1936, 112; Beloch 1912, 208; Bury 1991 [1975], 173; Hignett 1958 [1952], 35; Humbert 1941, 39; Kosmetatou 2012, online; Noack 1927, 47; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 60; Philippson 1952, 979; Sealey 1960, 166 footnote 54; Solders 1931, 104; Weber 1937, 268; Walton 1952, 107; Judeich 1896, 2218 (though he places Eleusis loss of independence in the tenth century); Martin 1940, 50; Valdés-Guía 2001, 134, 160, 170; West 2003, 9; Stanton 1990, 9.

[108] Francotte 1907, 9; Grote 1852, 71; Pantelidou 1975, 262; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 774; Kern 1935, 1212; Richardson 1974, 8; Starr 1986, 48.

[109] Bury 1991 [1975], 174.

[110] For this literary tradition reflecting an incorporation in the Mycenaean period, see Lohmann 2006, online; Padgug 1972, 139; Foley 1994a, 170; Boardman 1975, 3. For the tenth century BC, see Hornblower 1991, 260; Alföldy 1969, 34; Judeich 1931, 60; Judeich 1896, 2218. For the eighth century, see Morris 1990, 195 (he uses archaeological sources to back this claim up, which we will see in chapter 2). For the seventh/sixth century, see Travlos 1960, 34; Valdés-Guía 2001, 134, 160, 170; Walton 1952, 111. For these wars reflecting history, but no specific date, see Picard 1931, 1, 3-6 (Picard even takes these mythological narratives literally); Mylonas 1961, 26-28; Weber 1937, 245; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 39; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff & Kiessling 1880, 125-26; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 744; Harrison 1906, 8; Jacoby 1973, 124.

[111] Simms 1983, 197.

mentioned above (amongst others[112]); in this war, either the Eleusinians or the Thracians under their king Eumolpos or his son Immarados[113] attacked the Athenians under Erechtheus. More details can be found from the Atthidographers (fifth-third centuries BC) onwards: the roles of Ion (the mythological ancestor of the Ionians[114]), the Dodonian seer Skiros and others were added by these historians of Attica.[115] In their versions, Ion aided the Athenians, while the Thracians and Skiros were involved on the side of Eleusis. It is supposed Athens annexed Eleusis during this war,[116] after Immarados was slain by Erechtheus.[117] Interestingly, many landmarks related to these Eleusinian-Athenian wars could still be found along the Sacred Way in Pausanias' time (ca. 115-180 AD): the grave of Skiros was situated just outside the walls of Athens and the tomb of Eumolpos lay near the streams called Rheiti, which was also the supposed ancient boundary between Eleusis and Athens.[118] In Athens itself, the grave of Immarados could be found in the City Eleusinion on the north slope of the Acropolis.[119] On the Acropolis itself were two large bronze figures of two men facing each other for a fight, called Erechtheus and Eumolpos.[120] Of course, the foundation of these landmarks could easily be inspired by the mythological war traditions discussed above, and their existence in no way proves the historicity of these specific wars.

As alluded to in the introduction to this chapter, the mythological wars between Eleusis and Athens are indirectly connected with the *synoikismos* tradition via Theseus. This is largely because Thukydides (2.15.1-2) places the wars between Eumolpos and Erechtheus right before Theseus' peaceful unification of Attica (this is, of course, in contrast to the tradition that speaks on Theseus being involved a war by taking Eleusis from Megara). Subtle hints like this at a timeline between various myths and kings have eventually resulted in the placement of the wars, synoecism and incorporation of Eleusis in the Mycenaean era:[121] the Atthidographers and historians of the Hellenistic era tried to backdate these events by cross-referencing all

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[112] Thukydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.15.1; Euripides, *Ion*, 277-82; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 854; Euripides, *Erechtheus*; Scholiast on Euripides; Xenophon, *Memorabilia,* 3.5.10; Demaratos, *Die Fragmente der Griechischer Historiker* 42F4; Plato, *Menexenos*, 239B; Isocrates, *Speeches*, 4.68; Demosthenes, *Speeches*, 60.8; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 310D; Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates*, 98; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 46; Aristides I 91 Dindorf; Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca*, 3.15.4.; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.27.4; 1.38.3; Photios, *Lexicon*, s.v. παρθένοι. Others referenced in Simms 1983, 197, footnote 2; Toepffer 1889, 41-44; Jacoby 2005 [1929-1953], index Athens, wars with Eleusis; Mylonas 1961, 24-29; Foley 1994a, 176; Kearns 1989, 113-15; Judeich 1896, 2216.

[113] For instance, Eumolpos is Thracian in Lykourgos (*Against Leokrates*, 98), Isocrates (*Speeches*, 4.68) and Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, 1.38.1-3). He is, however, Eleusinian in Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, 3.15.4).

[114] The Ionians were one of the four tribes the Greeks considered themselves to be consisting of (the others being the Dorians, Aeolians and Achaeans), which is partly reflected in the three major linguistic divisions in the Greek world (Dorian, Aeolian and Ionic). The population of Attica/Athens and the Attic dialect were considered Ionic.

[115] Jacoby 1973, 124. The Atthidographers were dedicated to writing histories of Athens called *Atthides.*

[116] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.38.3.

[117] Pausanias 1.5.2; 1.27.4; 1.38.3; 2.14.2. Simms 1983, 200.

[118] The grave of Skiros: Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.36.4-5. Eumolpos' tomb and the border: Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.38.1-3.

[119] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, 3.45.1; scholiast on Euripides' *Phoenissae*, 854; Scholiast on the *Iliad*, 18.483; Simms 1983, 200.

[120] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.27.4.

[121] In the case of the incorporation of Eleusis, amongst others: Padgug 1972, 141-42; Gomme 1938, 49.

ancient sources about them, with various lists of Athenian kings as a result. Modern scholars then applied the modern dating system to these Hellenistic lists (specifically a list of), with the result that Theseus allegedly reigned between 1234 and 1205 BC – right at the end of the Mycenaean era.[122] However, they tried to make sense of myths – scattered stories that are generally not connected among themselves – and the eventual list of Athenian kings only consists of fifteen sovereigns.[123] To base actual historical dating and descriptions of processes like the *synoikismos* or incorporation of Eleusis on this, is not persuasive or possible. At most, we can say these wars reflect memories of old antagonisms.[124]

1.3.2 The eighth century BC – the rise of the polis

Another theory – besides the scholars who refrain from dating and the ones that propose Eleusis was under Athenian rule several times before a final unification[125] – connects the incorporation of Eleusis with the rise of the Athenian *polis* in the eighth century BC.[126] Scholars adhering to this theory argue that Eleusis and its Mysteries were not incorporated in later centuries, but that the Eleusinian Mysteries were an important agricultural, central *polis* cult from the beginning of the development of the Athenian *polis* in the eighth century BC.[127] The sanctuary and its surrounding community then emerged in 'the late eighth century in the context of the formation, and as part' of said state.[128]

The most elaborate case is made by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, who bases her theory on the fact that Eleusis was 'ritually and mythologically connected with the centre [Athens]' and thus 'helped articulate

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[122] Kastor of Rhodes, fragment FGrHist 250; Harding 2008, 14, 53.

[123] Andrewes 1982, 364.

[124] Jacoby 1973, 126.

[125] Refraining from dating the process: Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 774; Kern 1935, 1212; Starr 1986, 48; Walton 1952, 108-9. Though at least Busolt and Swoboda still describe the phenomenon of the incorporation in terms of war and politics. Scholars maintaining the possibility that Eleusis needed to be incorporated on several separate occasions: Lavelle 2005, 32; Mylonas 1961, 25-28, 63-64.

[126] There are other, older theories on the how, when and why of Eleusis' incorporation into Athens, but these are generally even less substantiated than some of the theories we have seen above, and thus have not resonated within scholarship. We have, for instance, G. Grote, who has claimed that Eleusis was independent up until a comparatively late period, because the '[legends and religious ceremonies] of Eleusis are so remarkable, as to establish the probable autonomy of that township down to a comparatively late period' (1852, 71). He substantiates (1852, 72) this through Dicaearchus of Messana's *Vitae Graciae*, who mentions he could detect differences between Athenians and Atticans even in his own time (fourth and third century BC). Another example of such a theory is that a late political incorporation of Eleusis is proved by the short-lived independence of the deme in 403-401 BC, after the defeat of the Thirty Tyrants, a pro-Spartan oligarchy installed in Athens after its defeat in the Peloponnesian War (Judeich 1931, 2218; Nilsson 1951, 37). Lastly, we have a theory inspired by the so-called 'thukydideische Methode' (Thukydides-method). This method, applied by E. Kornemann (1934, 32-47) assumes Thukydides (*History of the Peloponnesian* War, 2.15.3-6) was right in his description of the oldest parts of Athens and concludes that the first cults to be incorporated into Athens are those on and to the south of the Acropolis. Since the Eleusinion was supposedly placed on its north slopes (it had not been found yet at the time), it could be assumed Eleusis was subjected later (in the seventh century BC) than other communities in Attica. This last older theory has received at least one response by J. Sarkady (1966, 17), who mentions rightly that all this is based on just one remark of Thukydides. One modern theory places the incorporation of Eleusis even in the fifth century, after the defeat of the Persians (Papadopoulos 2003, 286). J. Papadopoulos argues that the Athenian domination of Eleusis would have given greater prominence to the northern routes leading out of the city, and with that the site of the Classical *agora*.

[127] Parker 1996, 25; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 26.

[128] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 141.

symbolically *polis* territory, the integration of the periphery'.[129] Integral in this is Eleusis' location in an especially fertile area at the frontier with Megara,[130] which made it a perfect location for a border-articulating sanctuary. (Though Sourvinou-Inwood seems to ignore the Megarian wars, which could almost certainly be characterized as wars between two developing *poleis* seeking to secure their borders.[131])

In her argument that connections the incorporation of Eleusis to the eighth century, Sourvinou-Inwood mentions the many myths linking Athens and Eleusis. We have already come across the Eleusinian-Athenian wars which ended with the defeat and incorporation of Eleusis into the Athenian *polis*.[132] Sourvinou-Inwood claims these wars existed in Athenian memory in relation to the rise of the polis. To substantiate this, she mentioned Euripides' lost tragedy *Erechtheus*. In this play, the Eleusinians were threatening Athens and Eumolpos wanted to replace Athena with his father Poseidon as the poliad divinity of Athens. After Eumolpos was killed by Erechtheus, Athena appeared and instituted the cults of Erechtheus' sacrificed daughters as Hyacinthides and of Poseidon Erechtheus – a cult that was closely associated with that of Athena Polias. In the fragmentary verses 102ff., Athena continues with a prophecy about the Eleusinian Mysteries, which will be founded by Eumolpos (a descendant of the killed Eumolpos). As such, Sourvinou-Inwood believes both the war and the foundation of the Eleusinian Mysteries were related to the start of the central *polis* cults and of the *polis.*[133] There are, however, some problems with this. It is indeed a fact that Eleusis occupied an indispensable role in Athenian *polis* religion, but who is to say the origins of these specific connections as exemplified in festivals and other rituals date back to the eighth century and the earliest development of the *polis* of Athens? This makes her argument circular.

A similar circular argument is used in Sourvinou-Inwood's overview of the ritual movements, or processions, that linked Eleusis and its sanctuary to the Athenian centre (the Mysteries) and her examples of the involvement of various Athenian officials in the Mysteries and the participation of Eleusinian priests and priestesses in the Athenian *polis* cults, such Thargelia, Dipoleia, Bouphonia, Skira, Pyanopsia.[134] In this regard, she also mentions the procession to Skiron, where a temple (perhaps of Demeter and Kore) was the endpoint of a procession that took place during the Skira or Skirophoria, wherein the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus and the priestess of Athena Polias walked out from the Acropolis under a canopy.

These mythological, physical and ritual links between Eleusis and Athens are taken to exemplify Eleusis' role in the Athenian *polis* from its beginning in the eighth century onward: polyadic deities, agriculture and the relationship between centre and periphery were celebrated through festivals, concerns of

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[129] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 26.

[130] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 26.

[131] To not be too harsh: it is still possible Eleusis had been part of Athens before any border disputes with Megara, if we accept the rest of Sourvinou-Inwood's theory.

[132] See 1.3.1

[133] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 142.

[134] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 144-46, 149.

primary importance during the formation of a *polis*.[135] As such, Sourvinou-Inwood describes a process closely related to De Polignac's model of the bipolar *polis*: a sanctuary in the periphery ritually and mythologically connected with the centre and constitution of a *polis*. Nowhere, however, does she explain why all this means that Eleusis was incorporated in the eighth century. For instance, Sourvinou-Inwood specifically brings up the role of the hierophant, who had privilege of *sitêsis* at the prytaneion[136] Evidence for this specific roles, however, come from fourth century and Roman inscriptions, and it is deemed very likely the hierophant was not involved in all these rites in the fifth century or earlier; it was probably due to the eventual great prestige of his office and the cult he served that he became involved during the classical period.[137]

This is not to say we cannot take something from all these rituals, myths, festivals and processions, but I think we should be more careful in interpreting and – specifically – dating them. In the case of Euripides' *Erechtheus*, for instance, Eleusis' place in Athenian *polis* religion is envisioned in the way it was *at that moment* (the play was performed in 423/22 BC),[138] mixed with the mythological narrative of the Eleusinian assault on the Akropolis and the establishment of the cults of Erechtheus and his daughters. There is a core of strife between Athens and Eleusis here, though we still need to be careful: tragedy is a genre considered 'political in a more timeless, reflective sense'; it explored issues important to (Athenian) citizens set in a mythological context. Therefore, tragedies were also known as a 'mythmaking medium',[139] though essential cores of mythological stories were not altered as much.[140] *Erechtheus* thus likely reflects the incorporation of Eleusis and the formation of the Athenian *polis* as perceived by Euripides, our fifth century author. Still, some old antagonisms between Athens and Eleusis could be reflected here, as they were in so many other sources about the Eleusinian-Athenian wars (see 1.3.1).

1.3.3 The seventh century BC – the Hymn to Demeter

The most notable theory, however, places the loss of Eleusis' independence in the seventh century BC. This dating of Eleusis' incorporation to the seventh century BC is still widely accepted amongst scholars, maybe due to its age: its earliest mentions date from the 1850s,[141] which has proved to be ample time to integrate it in general scholarship.

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* relates one of the many versions[142] of the rape of Demeter's daughter

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[135] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 149.

[136] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 146.

[137] Parker 1996, 295.

[138] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 142. Sourvinou-Inwood partly recognizes this herself: *Erechtheus* places 'Eleusis in the Athenian *polis* specifically in the period in which the Athenian *polis* as it is 'now' is was being constituted and its most important cults instituted'.

[139] Blake Tyrrell 2010, online.

[140] Pelling 2000, 164.

[141] The earliest mention of this theory I could find was by G. Grote in his *History of Greece* (1852, 71). Other early allusions have been made by A. Philippi (1870), S.F. Hammarstrand (1872/1873), as noted by P. Musiolek (1981, 2017 footnote 3). Another important one is T. Kausel (1882), who wrote his dissertation about the synoecism of Theseus.

[142] All the other versions of this myth are mentioned in Foley 1994b, 30-31.

Persephone or – as she was known in Eleusis – Kore. In this version of the myth, Demeter arrives in Attica to search for her lost daughter and ends up in Eleusis, where she eventually institutes the Mysteries after getting her daughter back from Hades. Eleusis in this hymn is described as having its own kings and leaders (r. 153-155, 473-478),[143] and it has been noted that Athens and the Athenians are not mentioned at all. Additionally, various elements of the eventual contents of the Mysteries as celebrated in both Eleusis and in Athens from at least the Classical period onwards are missing from the hymn or are there in different forms: Triptolemos (an Eleusinian hero and in Athenian myth known for distributing agriculture across the Greek world) is only a noble; Iackchos (who – or rather his statue – accompanied the participants of the Mysteries on their procession from the Athenian agora to Eleusis) is missing and Eumolpos (an important Eleusinian hero king) is merely mentioned instead of playing a significant role.[144] Lastly, the absence of mentions of the Kerykes – one of the two priestly families responsible for the maintenance of the Mysteries – has been the basis of the assumption that this family was Athenian and their role an addition after the union of Eleusis and Athens.[145]

These observations have been taken by many scholars to mean that Eleusis as a state must have been independent from Athens at the time this hymn was written down – as such, it has been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the incorporation of Eleusis. However, except for a few who admit the Hymn is difficult to use in dating a transition from Eleusinian independence to dependence on Athens (inasmuch that they do not think Eleusis independence on the moment of composing can be argued),[146] scholars have mostly ignored two things: the dating problems of a hymn like the one to Demeter, and its genre. Both have implications for its use in the major theories described above.

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is part of a collection of thirty-three dactylic hexametrical hymns attributed to Homer (hence the name). Hymns were poems dedicated to specific deities, simultaneously a prayer as well as entertainment for its audience, and were performed during feasts, poetic contests, religious gatherings and festivals.[147] While the Homeric hymns all show similarities in style and content, their origins, sizes and dates vary.[148] They are connected to the Homeric works and Hesiod's *Theogony*: the hymns take place in the mythological time between the start of Zeus' reign over the *cosmos* as established in the *Theogony* and the end of Homer's heroic age, before the start of 'our' time. The Homeric hymns were, as it were, part of

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[143] They are described in the hymn as 'the men who control privilege here, who stand out from the people and protect the city's ramparts by their counsel and straight judgments' (West 2003, 42-43, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* r. 149-53) and 'lawgiver kings' (West 2003, 68-69, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* r. 473).

[144] Walton 1952, 105-8; Allen, Halliday & Sikes 1936, 111-14.

[145] Amongst others, Richardson 1974, 8 ('The absence of mention of a Keryx, amongst the other Eleusinian rulers in the Hymn, may well be significant, and is possibly an indication of composition before the period of Athenian control.'); Ferguson 1938, 42.

[146] Padgug 1972, 137-38. Though he still thinks the hymn could reflect Mycenaean conditions and Eleusinian independence at that time. Simms 1983, 199; De Sanctis 1912, 35; Farnell 1907, 154-55; Andrewes 1982, 362-63; Clinton 1992, 112 (who takes his argument even further when he proposes the hymn has nothing to do with Eleusis at all); Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 625; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 143.

[147] Foley 1994b, 29.

[148] There are references to collections of Homeric Hymns already in the first century BC; standard versions were maybe from the hand of Alexandrian scholars. West 2003, 20.

a shared Panhellenic theological system about gods, heroes and their relations to mortals.[149]

In the case of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* all of the above is made clear through an innovative rendition of the old myth of the rape of Kore/Persephone. From the beginning it is made clear that Zeus reigns, Demeter is already in charge of agriculture and mankind lives in settlements and sacrifices to the gods in a 'post-Promethean'[150] manner. While there could be some allusions to the Mysteries in the text and there certainly are some local traditions left in it,[151] the narrative itself is in the first instance more focused on larger (Panhellenic) cosmological problems, such as the anxieties of a girl and her mother about an undesired marriage[152] and theological concepts of mortality, immortality,[153] death and afterlife[154] – as such, it paves the way for the foundation of the Eleusinian Mysteries as a solution to the problem of death, and acts as an aetiology.[155] This is why the agricultural role of Demeter and her influence on the seasons are largely downplayed and the roles of Triptolemos and Eumolpos are diminished: the audience is expected to know of them, but they are less important for the message.[156] The language and the diction used in the hymn indicate the author was probably Attic though close to the Boeotian (or Hesiodic) tradition; the hymn was most likely composed at Eleusis itself.[157] To wrap this section up: Athens has no relevance to the cult as described in the hymn; it is an archaizing poem and an exoteric text set in a mythological world, most concerned with adapting local Eleusinian myths and cult to a Panhellenic system of thought. It is not a political text and should not be used as such.

This still leaves us the dating problem. While the longer hymns (including *Demeter*, which has 495 lines) can be dated from about the eighth to the sixth century BC,[158] it is hard to set a specific date. Therefore, the hymns are most often placed in a chronological order or relative sequence, in *Demeter*'s case broadly after Homer and Hesiod's general dating of the eighth and seventh century.[159] This is problematic for the use of the hymn as a *terminus*, as the dating of the incorporation of Eleusis is based on the hymn, and the dating of the hymn is likewise based on assumptions about the incorporation. This is a circular argument. Moreover, since most classicists dating the text are not versed in the historical and archaeological debate surrounding said incorporation, it is not surprising they mainly go for dates surrounding Solon or Peisistratos, around the end

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[149] Clay 1989, 207-8; Foley 1994b, 30.

[150] Clay 1989, 208.

[151] The Mysteries went largely undocumented in the archaic period and thus it is largely impossible to reconstruct their archaic form on account of the hymn only. It is, however, possible to glance the twofold initiation in it: while Demeter first inspires awe and terror, she finally induces happiness in humankind. Foley 1994d, 102.

[152] Foley 1994d, 79.

[153] Establishing that man can never become immortal is done through the failure of Demophoon's apotheosis. Clay 1989, 244.

[154] This is particularly explored through using Persephone as an eventual bridge between the upper and the lower world to unite the before then separated worlds of the dead, gods and men. Clay 1989, 213, 260.

[155] Hendriksma 2019, 102.

[156] Clay 1989, 231, 255; Foley 1994d, 99; Hendriksma 2019, 102.

[157] Janko 1982, 8, 66, 76, 181, 183. However, there are still scholars who consider the hymn to have nothing to do with Eleusis (Clinton 1992, 8).

[158] Richardson 2010, 15.

[159] Janko 1982, 7

of the seventh century, the beginning of the sixth or around 550 BC.[160] In addition to this, the vague dating of the Homeric hymns can lead to a myriad of other interpretations besides the ones we have seen: F.R. Walton, for instance, has argued – through the same observations on the lack of Athenian references as others – that the hymn should be seen in the light of the struggles *during* the incorporation of Eleusis and not before.[161] Arguments like this demonstrate how problematic the dating of our hymn is, and should instil caution when basing an interpretation on assumed chronologies. Concludingly, we can say the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is of little use in dating the incorporation of Eleusis and cannot be viewed as a political statement against Athens in the (supposed) final years of independence.

However, concerns with the rise of the city may still be discerned from the text. The hymn's representation of Eleusinian society and cosmological themes can be seen as a response to the evolution of the *polis* and the changing of civic realities:[162] the roles of specific leaders at Eleusis are deemphasized in favour of representing the cult as given to all; the community comes together to build Demeter's temple, and the women of Eleusis care for each other in a fashion that dissolves boundaries between households. Thus, Demeter's activities are of significance to the whole emerging *polis*.[163] Whether this *polis* was Athens, is a question that may be asked here; perhaps Eleusis was a *polis* on its own at the time (see the end of 1.4). Nevertheless, the only other thing we can discern from the source is the following: maybe Eleusis was once a separate community from Athens;[164] this is at least what the poet perceives ancient Eleusis to have been like.

While The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is most often used on its own, there are scholars who connect the *Hymn* – and the annexation of Eleusis – to either Solon or Peisistratos and specifically to the Athenian war or wars with Megara in the seventh and sixth century BC.[165] As elaborated upon above, this approach is not wise, though there are other sources that have indicated a connection of the incorporation of Eleusis to the Megarian wars.

1.3.4 The seventh and sixth centuries BC – the Megarian Wars, Solon and Peisistratos

The Megarian wars are still somewhat of an enigma, though we know that the island Salamis was a key to the

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[160] Richardson 1974, 8-9. He dates the hymn to around 550 BC due to the reasons many scholars use the hymn to date said incorporation: the omission of the Kerykes and the inclusion but lack of focus on heroes connected to the Eumolpidai. West (2003, 9) dates the hymn similarly, before the time of Peisistratos. Janko (1982, 182) points at 'Peisistratos at the latest' as *terminus ante quem*. Foley (1994b, 30-31) also refers to these historical grounds in dating the hymn; she prefers the early-sixth century 'if the mentioned temple' was constructed in the time of Solon.

[161] Walton 1952, 113.

[162] Foley 1994c, 143-44.

[163] Foley 1994c, 142.

[164] Padgug 1972, 137-38 (though he thinks the *Hymn* reflects Mycenaean conditions); De Sanctis 1912, 35; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 774; Hignett 1958 [1952], 35; Kern 1935, 1212; Starr 1986, 48.

[165] In favour of the seventh or sixth century BC (in connection to Solon), see L'Homme-Wéry 1994; L'Homme-Wéry 1999; Noack 1927, 47-48; Ferguson 1938, 42; Weber 1937, 268-69; Loukopoulos 1973, 56; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff & Kiessling 1880, 124-25; Goette 1993, 274; Figueira 1985, 278; Mylonas 1961, 63. The sixth century and Peisistratos, see Morgan 1990, 14 ('… any connection between Athens and Eleusis must have remained vulnerable until domination of Megara was achieved in Peisistratid times.'); Shapiro 1989, 67. A general connection to the Megarian wars, but no specific dating, see Lavelle 2005, 31-155, 256 n. 60; Van Effenterre 1985, 190; Boardman 1975, 3.

struggle: it was captured by Megara sometime in the seventh century, before Solon later roused the Athenians to take the island from the Megarians.[166] In the sixth century, Peisistratos played a large role as the Athenian *stratēgos* in the latest stages of the war by capturing Nisaia, Megara's major port on the Saronic gulf.[167] Both Megara and Athens were developing *poleis* in these centuries,[168] and their struggles are perhaps best characterised as attempts to control the sea lanes and trade in the Saronic gulf, and to define boundaries in an age of border insecurity, land crises and possible piratical attacks from Salamis itself. For Megara, Salamis was also paramount in maintaining communication and commerce with its overseas colonies in the Propontis and on Sicily; if in Megarian hands, it also could have been a base from which to attack Phaleron – Athens' port at the time.[169] Most important for our purposes, however, is the strategic importance of the area right across the Saronic gulf from Salamis and the midway point between Athens and Megara: Eleusis (see figure 1).

The geographical placement of Eleusis as 'border town' between Attica and the Megarid[170] is where some of the theories regarding the incorporation of Eleusis during the Megarian wars come in. B.M. Lavelle in particular argues that the incorporation of Eleusis was connected to these wars due to the fact that control over Eleusis would have rendered a great strategic advantage to either Athens or Megara over the other: Eleusis was the principal (defensible) town between Attica and the Megarid, and Eleusis and the Thriasian plain were major suppliers of agricultural goods.[171] Additionally, in the case of Athens, Eleusis was an important midway on the (trade) route to Corinth. As such, according to Lavelle, it would almost be inevitable that Eleusis played at least some role in the struggles between Athens and Megara: it is thus probable that Eleusis 'could not have been finally and fully incorporated into Attika or Athenian authority consolidated there until the Megarian war ended in Athens' favour'.[172] However, some suggest the opposite: they assert the wars began with Athens' incorporation of Eleusis,[173] mostly because 'it was only at the annexation of Eleusis that the possession of Salamis became a sort of geographical necessity for Athens'.[174] Although it is very much possible Eleusis was implicated in Athenian-Megarian hostilities, this does not say anything about a political incorporation by Athens; the argument is mostly based on assumptions of probability.[175]

While there are no sources directly connecting the incorporation of Eleusis to the Megarian wars, (and Solon and Peisistratos), there are some anecdotes that could point to at least a connection between the

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[166] Lavelle, 2005, 35.

[167] Lavelle 2005, 14; Herodotos, *Histories*, 1.59.4.

[168] Megara had been an independent *polis* from the early seventh century onwards. Before this time, it had been a dependency of Corinth.

[169] Lavelle 2005, 32, 35.

[170] The region in which Megara was the principal settlement.

[171] Lavelle 2005, 32.

[172] Lavelle 2005, 32.

[173] Figueira 1985, 278.

[174] Ferguson 1938, 42.

[175] A similar idea was put forward by Padgug (1972, 146), though he is in favour of Eleusis having been part of Attika/Athens since the Bronze Age.

two – a connection that is still largely interpreted in the sphere of (political) annexation. In the case of Peisistratos, however, there are only suspicions of Eleusis figuring in his 'great deeds' (*megala erga*),[176] and one literary source linking the tyrant to Eleusis. This source is a passage in *On the Defence of Fortified Positions* by the 4th century BC writer Aineias Taktikos. He makes Peisistratos the leader of the Athenians during an unspecified Megarian raid, in which 'the Megarians [were planning to] come in ships, and attempt a night attack upon the Athenian women while they were celebrating at Eleusis the festival of Demeter'.[177] After hearing this, Peisistratos intercepts the Megarian ships and turns their attack back on itself. However, this source cannot be used to substantiate an incorporation of Eleusis in Peisistratos' time; it only illustrates Eleusis could have been vulnerable to attacks during the wars (as described above), and can only be taken to vaguely refer to some military action seen by Peisistratos at Eleusis: as a military tactician, Aineias was not concerned with historical accuracy and more with establishing a *topos* of Peisistratos' cleverness.[178] Be that as it may, it is still interesting for our purposes to see that specifically Athenian women celebrated a festival of Demeter at Eleusis (probably the *Thesmophoria*): this is an indication of religious links existing between Athens and Eleusis at the time, and Eleusis maybe already being a part of an Athenian festival calendar.

Lastly (in the case of Peisistratos), while it is still generally understood that the Peisistratids 'founded or promoted major cults (such as that in Eleusis) in Athens in the mid-sixth century'[179], there is no explicit literary evidence of Peisistratos or his sons being particularly interested in the Eleusinian cult. In the case of circumstantial evidence, J. Boardman has argued that the myths on the initiation of Herakles into the Mysteries (as the first *xenoi*) by Eumolpos, as told in Apollodoros (*Library and Epitome* (2.5.12), Plutarch (*Life of Theseus* 33.2) and the Scholiast on the *Iliad* (8, 368) could be linked to Peisistratid involvement in the creation of narratives due to their particular interest in Herakles.[180] The same would be the case for the foundation myth of the Lesser Mysteries, in which Demeter created them so that Herakles could either be purified after his slaughter of the centaurs (Diodoros Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 4.14.3), or become an Athenian and then initiated into the Greater Mysteries (as told by the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Plutus*, 845).

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[176] Lavelle 2005, 49. These suspicions are probably due to the considerations regarding Eleusis' strategic importance, though Lavelle does not specify this. He *does* mention the passage of Peisistratos and Eleusis but comes to the conclusion this evidence is problematic for his claim (Lavelle 2005, 50).

[177] Aineias Taktikos (or Aeneas Tacticus), *On the Defence of Fortified Positions* (*ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΤΕΧΕΙΝ*), 4.8-10 (translation by Illinois Greek Club 1928, 40-41).

[178] Lavelle 2005, 51, 55.

[179] I will go into this more in chapter 2 (the archaeological sources), though even there the evidence is flimsy and at most circumstantial. Involvement by Peisistratos is mostly assumed because it is expected of tyrants to have had a good reason to manipulate cult (Garland 1992, 39). Quote by Foley 1994a, 172. Scholars who agree with Foley: Osborne 1994, 147-48; Garland 1992, 39 ('the evidence for this [Peisistratid involvement in the Mysteries] remains tantalizingly inconclusive'). Amongst the many scholars who suppose Peisistratos was majorly involved in the Eleusinian Mysteries, see West 2003, 8-9; Shapiro 1989, 67-83; Van Effenterre 1985, 171; Walton 1952, 111-12; Morgan 1990, 14.

[180] According to this myth, Herakles came to Eleusis wanted to be initiated into the Mysteries, but this was forbidden for *xenoi.* In addition to this, Herakles had just slaughtered the centaurs and was thus deemed impure. But Eumolpos purified and initiated him after his adoption by an Athenian named Pylios, who could have been a legendary kinsman of Peisistratos (who was named after the son of the Homeric Nestor of Pylos and traced his family back to the Neleids of Pylos – as told in Herodotos, *Histories*, 5.65.3-4). Boardman 1975, 6. He extends his argument further with the help of Herakles' status in Athenian art of the sixth century BC, but more on this in chapter 2 (see 2.4.5). Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.3.6) adds the Dioskouroi to Herakles as the first 'foreign' initiates into the Mysteries.

It is probable that, due to Greek myths often acting as legitimizing paradigms, such stories came into circulation in the context of the Mysteries becoming open to non-Athenians, maybe in Peisistratos' time.[181] So, while there are no direct sources, a good case can be made that Peisistratos was at least involved in the promotion of Eleusis in some way, though this is not enough to justify a political incorporation by him.

In the case of Solon, there are more sources directly connecting him to Eleusis. L.M. L'Homme-Wéry argues these literary connections demonstrate Solon's involvement in the annexation of Eleusis during the wars with Megara.[182] The examples she cites exist of Solon's poetry and a passage in Herodotos' first book of the *Histories.* In the case of Solon's poetry, she refers to the various instances in which Solon refers to 'black' or 'dark' earth. The main example here is fragment 30/36,[183] which is mainly about Solon's most important achievements as a legislator: the cancellation of debt and the end of land ownership, which removed the dependence of many Athenians on their landlords. The relevant section of the fragment is the following:

> In the verdict of time I will have as my best witness the mighty mother of the Olympian gods, dark Earth (Γῆ μέλαινα), whose boundary markers fixed in many places I once removed; enslaved before, now she is free.[184]

Generally, this quotation has been interpreted as Solon referring to the end of land ownership, since 'boundary markers' (*horoi*) have been taken to refer to the mortgaged land in Attika.[185] L'Homme-Wéry interprets this differently: the land in question would have been Eleusis, and the uprooted *horoi* were Megarian markers.[186] Most important here is the mention of 'dark' earth, which refers to the black colour of grain-bearing lands Eleusis was indeed well-known for.[187] The 'mighty mother of the Olympian' gods would then remind us of the supposed installation of the cult of the Great Mother on the Athenian *agora* by Solon, which acted as a celebration of the 'Earth of Eleusis'.[188] The Eleusinian soil is thus identified with another traditional goddess of the earth: Rhea, or Ge: Eleusis was now officially part of the 'Earth of Athens'.[189] This would make Solon not only de 'liberator' of the Athenians, but also of Eleusis from Megara. Unfortunately, it is not probable that the described black earth refers to Eleusis only: the Greek used here (Γῆ μέλαινα, r. 5) was widespread in archaic epic and became one of the most frequently used phrases in lyric poetry; it refers to the fertility of the earth and has religious connotations, not in an Eleusinian sense but in the sense of contrasting the goddess Ge with the brightness of the sky.[190] Despite this drawback, L'Homme-Wéry uses another source

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[181] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 144.

[182] L'Homme-Wéry 1994; L'Homme-Wéry 1999.

[183] This is fragment 36 in Gerber 1999, but fragment 30 in Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, both of which I have used.

[184] Solon fr. 30, 3-7. Translation by D.E. Gerber (1999, 158-59).

[185] Gerber 1999, 159 footnote 3.

[186] L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 111-121.

[187] L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 114.

[188] A supposed installation of a cult of the Great Mother by Solon is assumed here because Solon established a sacred calendar: 'As Solon established a sacred calendar inscribed on the *kurbeis,* he is very likely to have founded a cult to the Great Mother, in order to preserve the memory of his liberation of the Eleusinian soil.' L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 119.

[189] L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 119.

[190] Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 465.

to back up her claim: Herodotos, *Histories*, 1.30.3-5

In this section of Herodotos' *Histories*, king Kroisos of Lydia asks Solon who is the most fortunate man he has seen. Solon then tells the story of Tellos the Athenian:

'[...] his life was prosperous by our standards, and his death was most glorious: when the Athenians were fighting their neighbours in Eleusis, he came to help, routed the enemy, and died very finely [...].'[191]

There has been some debate regarding the identity of the 'neighbours in Eleusis',[192] but L'Homme-Wéry and others have identified them as the Megarians.[193] Tellos here would be an 'echo of Solon himself, who liberated the "black earth" of Eleusis when it was under Megarian occupation'.[194] After the tale of Tellos, the idea of happiness through death, or *olbos*, is then elaborated upon by Solon as he tells the story of Kleobis and Biton. He invite us to discover this Eleusinian way of dying: the *Homeric Hymn* tells us only initiates can enjoy a blessed afterlife.[195] Through all these links between Solon and Eleusis, Solonian *olbos* and Eleusinian happiness through death, Solon is styled as the liberator and incorporator of Eleusis during the wars with Megara..

One other source has linked Solon to Eleusis, though not specifically the Megarian wars. Instead, Solon is associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries through a law mentioned by the orator Andokides (c. 440-c. 390 BC). In *On the Mysteries* – a speech Andokides gave in court after being accused of profaning said Mysteries – he mentions that the Athenian Council (*boulē*) has to meet in the City Eleusinion the day after the Mysteries to hear the report of the officials regarding the celebrations, 'in conformity with a law of Solon's'.[196] According to some this means that during Solon's time Eleusis had been incorporated by Athenians, an interpretation that is supposedly encouraged by the fact that 'in the days of Solon Salamis was taken by the Athenians'[197] – although we have seen that an incorporation of Eleusis is not necessarily connected to the annexation of Salamis during the Megarian wars. Also, many others have pointed out that the orators often use Solon's name vaguely; mentioning his name only means that the law in question was perceived to be ancient.[198] This law concerning the Mysteries can thus not be used to connect Solon to the incorporation of Eleusis, much less to date the event. The only thing we can discern from it is that Athens had some control over the Mysteries in Andokides' time and some time before; otherwise, it does not tell us anything on a political incorporation.

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[191] Herodotos, *Histories*, 1.30.4-5 (text and translation by Godley 1920, online).

[192] More on this later, see 1.3.5.

[193] L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 116; Weber 1937, 268, 245; Von-Wilamowitz-Moelendorff & Kiessling 1880, 124.

[194] L'Homme-Wéry 1999, 116.

[195] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, l. 480-82.

[196] Andokides, *On the Mysteries*, 111. Translation by Maidment 1941, 425.

[197] Mylonas 1961, 63. The rest of his thought process goes as follows: 'Apparently Eleusis also was then brought into the orbit of Athens, for we hear that the Mysteries were among the Athenian sacred rites provided by Solon's special law'.

[198] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 27-28; Farnell 1907, 156. Garland (1984, 97-98) also implies that sources like this can only be used to argue Athens had some control over the Mysteries.

1.3.5 The seventh and sixth century BC – the end of the mythological wars between Athens and Eleusis

In addition to sources directly about the mythological wars between Eumolpos or Immarados and Erechtheus, there is one other source that would place the end of these wars very late, in the seventh or sixth century BC. This is the story of Tellos, which we have seen before in relation to Solon and the Megarian wars (see 1.3.4). Instead of the talked-about opponents being the Megarians, Herodotos supposedly tells his readers about a battle at Eleusis against the Eleusinians themselves. The disagreement here between scholars comes from the interpretation of the following Greek sentence:

> '[…] γεν μένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν π ήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα […].'

> '[…] when the Athenians were fighting their neighbours in Eleusis, he came to help, routed the enemy, and died very finely […].'[199]

Instead of interpreting the words 'πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι' as 'against their/the neighbours in Eleusis [the Megarians or the Boeotians]', some scholars have understood this part of the sentence to mean something akin to 'a battle with the Eleusinian neighbours'. Consequently, Herodotos 1.30.4-5 has been seen as proof of late wars between Eleusis and Athens: 'Eleusis was not part of the Athenian *polis* in the time of Solon's contemporary Tellos – that is, at the beginning of the sixth century.'[200] In the eyes of G. Mylonas, it is not only proof of another war, but of a period of refound independence for the Eleusians: '[…] we may assume that in the days that followed the ill-fated attempt of Kylon to become the master of Athens (ca. 632 BC) the people of Eleusis regained their independence, taking advantage of the internal strife of the Athenians.'[201] However, we do not know anything about the circumstances in which Kylon attempted his coup, and to suggest the incorporation of Eleusis was related to this is unfounded.

However, as indicated above, this theory rests on a difference in interpretation[202] Furthermore, even if the interpretation of the 'neighbours' as Eleusinians had been correct, the context of Tellos' story in the *Histories* does not tell us whether Tellos was a contemporary of Solon at all. There is no certainty as to the period to which the section refers,[203] which means it could also be mythological in nature. This is substantiated on the one hand by the narrative being linked to the mythological twins Kleos and Biton, and on the other by the meaning of Tellos' name. 'Tellos' is generally understood to be an *nom parlant* referring to *teleutē* (end/termination) or *telos* (purpose)*,* concepts that heavily figure in this passage*.* They place the

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[199] Herodotos 1.30.4-5 (text and translation by Godley 1920, online).

[200] Stanton 1990, 9. Early references in Grote (1852, 71), who did not believe in a late date himself. Scholars agreeing with Stanton: Weber 1931, 245, 268; Mylonas 1961, 63; Lavelle 2005, 32 footnote 60 (though he is aware of the mistranslation, he still entertains the idea); Nilsson 1951, 37; Boardman 1975, 3 ('later there may also have been difficulties'); Mylonas 1961, 63; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff & Kiessling 1880, 124.

[201] Mylonas 1961, 63.

[202] While this has already been noticed as early as Farnell (1907, 154), this theory still has its adherents. Other scholars who have noticed the mistranslation: Foley 1994a, 176; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 625; Hornblower 1991, 261.

[203] Padgug 1972, 139-40.

figure of Tellos within a philosophical framework in which it is made clear how the *polis* of Athens provides the context for Tellos' happiness and purpose in life (i.e. he has the good fortune to die in the service of his *polis*). Even Solon himself is used for a specific purpose by Herodotos: he fulfils the function of sage figure (*sophos*), and the communicates to the reader the programmatic idea that only a man who dies well is truly happy,[204] an idea that is developed more in following books of the *Histories.* This is not surprising, since Solon was one of the canonical Seven Sages.[205] Thus, this source cannot be used to argue in favour of late wars with Eleusis and an incorporation at this time; this is also the case for the use of Tellos in the theories that relate the subjection of Eleusis to the Megarian wars and Solon (see 1.3.4).

1.3.6 The seventh and sixth century BC – the administration of the Mysteries
Another theory links the takeover of the administration of the Eleusinion Mysteries by the Athenians to a political incorporation of Eleusis.[206] The dating of this is generally to the seventh or sixth century BC, though mostly the latter: a religious interest in Eleusis by Athens has been traceable in the literary sources to the sixth century BC,[207] Many of the ways in which the Athenian exerted control over Eleusis, its Mysteries and its mythology have been introduced in the introduction to this thesis, but the most important ones in this regard are the law of Solon mentioned above, the building of the (current) City Eleusinion (see 2.4.5), and the breaking up of the Mysteries in the Greater and Lesser Mysteries (the latter were exclusively celebrated in Athens).[208] Other characteristics of the Mysteries as held in Classical times that supposedly point towards a late incorporation are the roles of the Kerykes and the Eumolpidai – the two priestly families involved in the maintenance of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Kerykes would have been an Athenian addition to the Mysteries, 'to give other Athenians a worthy share in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries',[209] of which there is no evidence. As such, there is no ground to connect their role to the incorporation of Eleusis.[210] Additionally, there seems to be no reason to equate the existence of religious links between Athens and Eleusis from a certain century onwards to a political incorporation at the same time – these processes could easily be separate from each other.[211] While there are scholars – Padgug and S. Hornblower – who agree with

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[204] Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 13.

[205] On Tellos' name, see Hollmann 2015, 89 footnote 13. On his philosophical/mythological function, see Hollmann 2015, 90; Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 13. On Solon's role in the *Histories*, see Hollmann 2015, 107-9.

[206] Mylonas 1961, 240; Kornemann 1934, 47-48; Nilsson 1951, 39; Anderson 2003, 186; Garland 1992, 43 (under the Peisistratids).

[207] Foley 1994a, 171.

[208] Mylonas 1961, 239-43, 245-52, with references; Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* 1.14.1-4.

[209] Ferguson 1938, 42. Other scholars agreeing with this line of thought: Garland 1992, 43; Shapiro 1989, 67.

[210] Padgug 1972, 145-46; Osborne 1985, 175. Still, it is a fact that no Kerykes after the Kleisthenic reforms had an Eleusinian demotic. However, in Pausanias, the founder of the Kerykes was a son of the mythological Eleusinian king Eumolpos; though, in another tradition he was a son of Hermes and of a daughter of Kekrops. Boardman 1975, 4 footnote 10.

[211] This has also been remarked by Sarkady 1966, 17.

this assessment,[212] they assume Eleusis was part of the Athenian *polis* from an early age before Athens grew in power and brought more aspects of Attic civic life under its control.[213] They place the incorporation of Eleusis in the Mycenaean period and in the tenth century BC respectively, largely because of the literary tradition that mentions wars between Athens and Eleusis ending in the subjection of Eleusis but the Eleusinians keeping the control of the Mysteries.[214]

With regards to the administration of the Mysteries, there is one aspect that is held as proof of such an early date (seventh century): the role of the *archon basileus*. In Athens, according to the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*, this official oversaw not only 'charges of impiety', 'claims to hereditary priesthoods', disputes between 'clans and between priests' and 'murder cases', but also the 'ancestral sacrifices'.[215] Since the responsibilities of the *basileus* also included the general management of the Mysteries,[216] the celebration of the Mysteries – and the inclusion of Eleusis – in Athens must have been 'ancestral' already before the end of the Dark Age, when the *basileus* received his position of supervision.[217] K. Clinton adds that Athenian control must have preceded the year of the first known *archon eponymos* (683/2 BC), who was in charge of the cults generally later added to Athenian *polis* religion.[218] A last viewpoint on the matter, by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, does not date the incorporation of the Mysteries in the duties of the *basileus* specifically, but argues that the celebration of the Mysteries by the Athenians must have been ancient in some way, and could date back to the foundation of the Athenian *polis* from the eighth century onwards.[219] A few lines on the role of an Athenian official can thus spark various interpretations and dates, from the Mycenaean period to the eighth century BC. However, if the role of the *basileus* in the Mysteries can even reliably be dated to the seventh century, this would only indicate the start of a religious cooperation between Athens and Eleusis (which will be argued in chapters 2 and 3), not a political incorporation.[220]

1.4 The incorporation of Eleusis: summary of scholarship and further characterising the phenomenon
Throughout the expositions and analyses above, we have noticed how disunified scholarship is, not only on the matter of the Athenian synoecism (see 1.2), but this time on the incorporation of Eleusis. The centuries proposed for the incorporation are mostly the same as for the synoecism: primarily the seventh century BC,

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[212] Padgug 1972, 145; Hornblower 1991, 260. Others only speak of Athenian religious interest, and do not equate a political unification to these sources: Richardson 2011, 9; Shapiro 1989, 67-83; Boardman 1975, 3.

[213] Padgug 1972, 145; Hornblower 1991, 265 (implicitly).

[214] As introduced in the introduction to this chapter. Hornblower 1991, 260; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.38.3.

[215] *Athenian Constitution* 57.1. Translation by Rackham 1952, online.

[216] See the introduction to this thesis.

[217] Padgug 1972, 144; Clinton 1993, 112; Clinton 1994, 162; Sakellariou 1989, 327; Cary 1925, 592-93; Müller 1848, 250, 257. Müller adds to this that the union of Eleusis and Athens must have taken place before the Ionian migration to Asia Minor, since Strabo (14.1.3) reports that the *basileus* of Ephesos was in charge of the rites of the Eleusinian Demeter there as well. He does not take into account the possibility that this cult has been copied from the Athenian example in a later period (this observation was also made by Farnell 1912, 154).

[218] Clinton 1993, 112; Mylonas 1961, 251.

[219] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 145.

[220] Palinkas 2008, 145-46.

but there are also voices ascribing it to the sixth century, seventh century, eighth century and the Mycenaean period or somewhat later, in the beginning of the first millennium BC. Here I would also like to note that the incorporation of Eleusis is most often characterised as a single event, in which Eleusis is assumed to have been incorporated religiously as well as politically.[221] This is further exemplified by the use of words like 'conquest'[222] and 'annexation'[223] of Eleusis, or its softer variants 'union of Athens and Eleusis'[224] and 'amalgamation with the Athenian state'[225] in the literature; this is probably due to its connection with the Athenian *synoikismos* in some of the primary sources (see the introduction to this chapter. Moreover, scholars often connect the incorporation to wars and forceful subjection by Athens (see) or to Eleusis being part of the Athenian *polis* from its origins in the ninth and eighth century BC (see 1.3.1, 1.3.4 and 1.3.4); here, it is assumed the Athenians claimed land that had long been left empty to carve out the boundaries of their *polis*, a process that is sometimes called a 'synoecism by default'[226]. They assume the Mysteries were a purely Athenian invention,[227] despite the Mysteries having deep roots and connections to other purely Eleusinian festivals, like the Eleusinia and the Balletys[228]). If the incorporation is seen as a longer process by scholars, Eleusis is considered to have been politically part of Athens from an early age (the Mycenaean period), with Athens appropriating local religious customs like the Mysteries in a later period. (see 1.3.1).

I have also established how many of the various sources used in most of these theories cannot be used to date and characterise such an incorporation of Eleusis as described above, at least not in the ways previously done by scholars. For the sixth century, this meant that neither Solon (through Solonian poetry and Tellos' story in Herodotos 1.30.3-5) nor Peisistratos (Aineias Taktikos' *On the Defense of Fortified Positions* and myths about Herakles' initiation) and the Athenian interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries make convincing cases for the context of a political incorporation of Eleusis (see 1.3.4) in their respective parts of the mentioned century. At most, the sources show that religious connections between Athens and Eleusis were already in existence during this period, that Eleusis maybe played some role in the Megarian wars due to its desirable location and agricultural role, and that Peisistratos was involved in the promotion of the Eleusinian Mysteries in some ambiguous way. By no means does his involvement imply political control. Somewhat the same is true for the notion that wars between Eleusis and Athens, expressed only in

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[221] Mostly by mentioning Eleusis was incorporated by the Athenian state, thus implying a political *and* religious incorporation (amongst many others: Cosmopoulos 2015, 1; Garland 1984, 96). Or by including Eleusis either explicitly or implicitly in work on the Athenian synoecism and calling this the 'union' or 'unification' of Attica (amongst many others: Andrewes 1982, 360; Anderson 2000, 387; Antonaccio 1994, 99; Cavanagh 1991, 107; Dow 1942, 198; Moggi 1976, 67).

[222] Amongst many others: Padgug 1972, 146, 148; Dow 1942, 198; Goette 1993, 274.

[223] Simms 1983, 197.

[224] Dow 1942, 198; Goette 1993, 274; Padgug 1972, 146, 148.

[225] Garland 1984, 96.

[226] Parker 1996, 13 ('[...] the new towns of ninth-century Attica would always have recognized some measure of subordination to Athens itself'), 25.

[227] Parker 1996, 25; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997.

[228] During the agonistic Eleusinia mythology of the Eleusinian Mysteries was invoked in some way, while the Balletys was held in honour of Demophon (Parker 2005, 328-29).

mythological sources (and the story of Tellos mentioned above[229]), ended during this time, which cannot be sustained.

Other theories have similar issues and possible solutions: this is the case in the above mentioned mythological Athenian-Eleusinian wars, which have further been used to date the incorporation to the Mycenaean period and the early first millennium BC (this means that, while I have argued they do not reflect both periods specifically, it is possible the sources echo old antagonisms). The use of mythological material is further extended by the frequent use of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in almost all the theories above – the Mycenaean period and sixth century, in particular (1.3.3). I have shortly argued however, that while myths do not reflect specific political and historical realities, they have historical cores. This is also true for festivals: the festival cycle itself was 'rooted in a belief in that special [mythological, heroic] time'.[230] Festivals thus derived their power and legitimacy from mythology.[231] As such, they have a historical core, and can be used to interpret the past if we are careful:[232] for example, in the case of the incorporation of Eleusis and the Athenian synoecism we have seen how overinterpretation leads to the thought certain myths would reflect certain periods or centuries, and in some (admittedly older) cases scholars believed myth to the letter, down to the names of the heroes involved.[233] While myths cannot be used to read as accurate history, the harbour historical foundations.[234]

Therefore, I think it is not far-fetched to assume that the mythological sources we have seen used reflect historical events, however slightly. As I have mentioned before, but without the argumentation provided above, the many variations of the Eleusinian-Athenian wars could really echo old antagonisms between the two localities. It is also possible, then, for the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* to reflect a once independent Eleusis in a period that is not further verifiable. Similar struggles, but also instances of old connections, co-existence and maybe even cooperation can be discerned from the sources in this way. Accordingly, with these possibilities in mind, it is possible to see the ritual and mythological links between Eleusis and Athens mentioned by Sourvinou-Inwood in another light.

To this end, we will look shortly at the festivals mentioned by Sourvinou-Inwood: the Thargelia, Dipoleia, Bouphonia, Skira, Pyanopsia and the Haloa and Proerosia. In the case of the Thargelia and the Pyanopsia, we do not know the roles of the Eleusinian religious personnel involved in the celebrations, except that in the case of the Pyanopsia priests from Eleusis attended a central celebration (including a *pannychis*, an all-night celebration) in Athens.[235] The Thargelia was a pan-Attic old Ionian festival during which the city was cleansed through the ritual expulsion of scapegoats, and a competition between choruses was held. It was

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[229] Although this source can also be considered mythological, as established on 1.3.5.
[230] Parker 2005, 375.
[231] Parker 2005, 375-77.
[232] There are, however, scholars who actively argue against using mythological sources for historical purposes at all: Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 143; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 218.
[233] Picard 1931; Curtius 1935, 222-26.
[234] Dowden & Livingstone 2011, 4-5; Barthes 2000, 120 ('[…] it is precisely because they are historical that history can very easily suppress them'.
[235] Parker 2005, 480.

dedicated to Apollo Pythios and had an agricultural connection through a procession 'for the Sun and the Seasons' at which vegetable products were carried around. In a way, the festival was one of purification and marked the beginning of high summer.[236] The foodstuff that gave its name to the Thargelia is unknown, but lexicographers speak of a 'pot full of seeds', 'all produce of the earth', 'first fruits of the crops that have appeared' or 'the first bread made from the harvest'.[237] A similar role is put aside for the Pyanopsia, also a festival of Apollo, which marked the beginning of winter. This festival featured boys carrying around an *eiresione*, an olive branch with wool and various kind of fruits of the earth hanging from it, while begging for food. Other agricultural concerns were reflected in the preparation and offering/consumption of bean-stew (hence the name) by the women of Athens. The origin of this festival is said to be an ancient famine.[238] Both of these festivals and the possible myths associated with them thus cannot tell us anything about the character of Eleusis' relations to Athens. The same is true for the Haloa and Proerosia: both were agricultural festivals, but nothing is known about the role Athenian officials played and the myths associated with them; although, in the case of the purely Eleusinian Haloa, this could have to do with the 'threshing floor of Triptolemos'.[239] In the case of the Dipoleia, the festival of Zeus Polieus held on the Akropolis during high summer, the only information we have is on a ritual called the Bouphonia, which featured the killing of an ox and a trial to establish the culpability of said killing; in the end, the axe was found guilty because it could not defend itself and thrown into the sea.[240] In any case, it is only known that the heralds were involved in an unknown way but not anything about historical connections between Eleusis and Athens.[241]

The Skira, however, is more interesting for our question. During this festival, a procession took place to Skiron, during which the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus, the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Helios walked out from the Akropolis under a canopy. Their destination was a temple, probably of Demeter and Kore, where they probably performed a ram-sacrifice. Skiron is, of course, associated with the mythological wars between Athens and Eleusis, and it was believed to have been an old border between the two.[242] Interestingly, and this is something Sourvinou-Inwood does not mention, during the absence of 'Athena' and 'Erechtheus' oxen belonging to the Eleusinian Kerykes were led onto the Akropolis to be sacrificed.[243] We cannot tell how old this arrangement between Eleusis and Athens is (though the Skira was already part of the Solonian festival calendar),[244] but it could either add to their mythological strife (the Eleusinians 'taking over' the Akropolis, at least posing a serious threat to the city, as in myth) or some sort of

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[236] Parker 2005, 5, 74, 77, 164, 179, 181-82, 203.

[237] Parker 2005, 185. For primary sources on this festival, see Parker 2005, 481-82.

[238] Parker 2005, 203-4, 76, 185.

[239] For further information on the Haloa, see Parker 2005, 199-201.

[240] Parker 2005, 5, 187-88, 397.

[241] Parker 2005, 300.

[242] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 147; Burkert 1983, 143-44. Helios may be a Hellenistic addition to account for the dying of the year after the summer solstice (Burkert 1983, 145; Scullion 2007, 200).

[243] Burkert 1983, 146.

[244] Burkert 1983, 147.

cooperation. However, the Skira is not without its problems, since it was mentioned, like all the other festivals, only in sources from the fifth and fourth centuries. The purpose of other rituals during the festival and the origin of its name are unclear; apparently women ate garlic and abstained from sex (a feature it had in common with the Thesmophoria) and the name supposedly came either from the earlier mentioned canopy, the *skiron*, or from a plaster (*skiros*) image of Athena fashioned by Theseus on his return from Crete.[245]

More and more, an image emerges of a possible historical characterisation of the ties between Athens and Eleusis: an image of strife, but also one of co-existence and maybe even cooperation or a compromise between the powerful priesthoods of Athens and Eleusis[246] - a less identifiable level of religious cooperation could also been seen in the eras of Peisistatos and Solon (1.3.4) Moreover, Eleusis seems to have been an influential independent locality. There are some literary sources that can substantiate such a view; an integrating story can for instance be found in the myth that the Eleusinian ruler Keleos was responsible for the institution of free meals at the Athenian *prytaneion* (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 667D),[247] and conflicts between Athens and Eleusis can also be seen in one of the myths with which we started this chapter: the story on how the Athenian king Theseus defeated Kerkyon and effectively incorporated Eleusis into his kingdom (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.14). In a religious sense, the transition of Eumolpos from a purely Eleusinian hero-king and Mystery founder to a foreigner to Eleusis with genealogical ties to Athens could represent some sort of rivalry as well.[248] Even in the classical period, Eleusis still had strong independent traditions: the now deme had a disproportionate number of local heroes, and the hero shrine of Hippothoon, the eponymous hero of the *phyle* (tribe) Hippothontis,[249] was somewhere in the close vicinity of Eleusis instead of in Athens.[250]

Floris van den Eijnde has noted similar implications in his discussion on the foundation myth of both the Eleusinian sanctuary (as described in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*) and that of Athena on the Akropolis (*Iliad* 2.456-549; *Odyssey* 7.80-81): in both traditions, the corresponding citadels (of Athens *and* Eleusis) are conceived as imposing, each goddess is portrayed as physically entering the palace of the previous rulers

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[245] Parker 2005, 173-76. Philochoros, FGrH 328, fr. 89 (the eating of garlic); Lysimachides, FGrH 366 fr. 3 (the procession), quoted by Harpocration who uses the canopy of the procession to explain the origins of the festival's name; Scholion on Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.1.4 (on the plaster statue of Athena). Found in Scullion 2007, 200.

[246] The later interpretation regarding the priesthoods is one made by Parker with regards to the Skira (2005, 175), though he thinks the accounts on the Skira are mere antiquarian speculation (Parker 2005, 177).

[247] Kearns 1989, 115.

[248] Simms (1983, 204) shows how descriptions of Eumolpos change throughout history and dates these attempts to the sixth century BC.

[249] Interestingly, it was Hippothoon who assumed the rule of Eleusis after Theseus took it from king Kerkyon, see the introduction to this chapter. It is very much possible, however, that stories surrounding Theseus and his Athenian synoecism (including his deeds around the Saronic gulf, such as the defeat of Kerkyon) were created in the sixth century; these myths mirror the Kleisthenic reforms and could somewhat easily be implemented due to Theseus being a relative newcomer in Attic myths at the time (Kearns 1989, 118-19; Anderson 2003, 135-45; Anderson 2000, 405; Cosmopoulos 2015, 11; Finley 1970, 122; Welwei 1992, 2-3).

[250] Kearns 1989, 80-82, 114. The only other exception were Ajax and Salamis.

(Keleos and Erechtheus) and the goddesses take part in the upbringing of a member of the ruling family.[251] Because of this, he has characterised both Eleusis and Athens as proto-*poleis*, tangled in a constant web of peer polity interaction.[252] This seems to be very much in line with what has been proposed here. Maybe the concerns with the rise of the *polis* implied in the *Homeric Hymn* were not about the development of the Athenian *polis*, but about developments in Eleusis itself? This would make Eleusis a polyadic cult,[253] but not in the Athenian sense argued by Sourvinou-Inwood. It seems now that the relations between Athens and Eleusis during the Archaic period cannot be characterised in a political way: I would argue they were only politically unified through the Kleisthenic reforms (see 1.2.1), when the Attic localities were unified in demes, *trittyes* and tribes, with Athens as a political centre.

1.5 Conclusions to chapter 1

In this chapter, I have discussed both the scholarship pertaining to the Athenian synoecism and that of the incorporation of Eleusis. With both, it has been impossible to establish a 'status quo': both phenomena were dated and characterised in various ways. In the case of Athenian synoecism, I have even established how most of its current scholarship fails to make us understand what the place of the settlement of Eleusis was within such a synoecism. However, this is also largely true of scholarship on the incorporation of Eleusis. The incorporation has been mostly characterised as a one-time event, with Athens easily yet forcefully politically and religiously incorporating Eleusis. The sources have been used as evidence for such an incorporation instead of reflections of the various types of relations between Eleusis and Athens through the ages: rivalry and strife, but also co-existence, religious interaction and maybe even cooperation (probably due to trading between the communities, but this is conjecture as of now), both as possible developing *poleis*. The sources then maybe reflect their relations during the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries BC. This could be in line with two of the usable observations made in the sections on the Athenian synoecism: that Attica shared a cultural and ethnic identity from early on, and that the real political unification happened only during the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC. Still, we need other sources to further substantiate these preliminary observations; chapter 2 will thus provide us with an overview and analysis of the archaeological sources used in the construction of theories on the incorporation, as well as a deeper dive into the concept of 'peer polity interaction' and the Athenian *ethnos*.

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[251] Van den Eijnde 2019, 103. Of course, he also recognizes that the rivalry between Athens and Eleusis is documented in the 'mythological enmity between Erechtheus and that other Eleusinian prince, Eumolpos' (Van den Eijnde 2019, 104).
[252] Van den Eijnde 2019, 104.
[253] Also observed by Van den Eijnde 2019, 104.

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the second part of the historiography of the incorporation of Eleusis in the Athenian *polis*, and the dating and characterisation of this process. As the literary arguments were discussed last chapter, the focus here will lie on the archaeological side of this specific part of scholarship. A small section will still be devoted to the synoecism of Attica, as we have seen this process has been associated with the incorporation in both historiography and mythology (see the introduction to part I). While I have exposed some problems regarding the literary scholarship on the Athenian synoecism in chapter 1 (and these are partly applicable here), it is still necessary to include it in this chapter, since Eleusinian finds have been part of archaeological argumentations regarding the synoecism.

Before the general theories and their main sources are described and analysed, however, it is necessary to present an overview of various Eleusinian and Athenian archaeological features, since this gives us the opportunity to follow the argumentations of previous scholars more easily. To this end, I will first provide a short topographical description of west-Attica to give insight in the communication routes between Eleusis and Athens and to highlight some topographical features. Then, an overview of the Mycenaean and Early Iron Age archaeology of Eleusis and Athens will be presented before embarking on the archaeology of the times most arguments favour for the incorporation: the eighth to fifth century BC. This archaeological outline will focus particularly on structural remains, graves, trade relations and cult, as these have been part of the argumentations of preceding scholars. Herein, the *agora* and City Eleusinion will feature less, since they have scarcely figured in argumentations regarding the incorporation of Eleusis. After that, the analysis of the theories, arguments and sources will follow in a chronological order (the Mycenaean era, the Early Iron Age, the Early and Middle Archaic period and the Late Archaic period). We will see there is once again a lack of status quo within scholarship on the issue of the incorporation of Eleusis, and that a reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence is in order. Therefore, the chapter will end with an elaboration of the preliminary conclusions proposed at the end of last chapter, using once again the work of F. van den Eijnde on the Attic *ethnos* and 'peer polity interaction', but this time to shed light on the archaeological sources. Another concept that will be applied to part of the Eleusinian material is that of *lieu de mémoire* (first applied to this subject by M.B. Cosmopoulos), as this explains some of the behaviour of the ancient Eleusinians with respect to some of the structural remains within the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

2.2 Communication lines and topographical features of west-Attica

Both Eleusis and Athens are situated in a plain, respectively the Thriasian plain and the plain of Athens. Communication between these two flatlands in antiquity was possible through three narrow passes, one between Mount Aigaleon and Mount Poikilon, one between Mount Aigaleon and the sea and one between

Mount Poikilon and Parnes (see figure 2).[254] Because of the location of these mountain ranges, Eleusis was relatively secluded from the rest of Attica, and the only main road that eventually connected Athens to Eleusis and the Thriasian plain – and Attica to the Peloponnese – was the Sacred Way (see figure 4). It ran from the Kerameikos (see figure 9) in Athens through the Aigaleon-Poikilon pass to the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Dafni and from there along the lakes of the Rheitoi to the sea; after following the shores of the sea from some distance, the road ended at the gates of the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (see figure 22). The Sacred Way was functional from at least the seventh century BC, since graves from the seventh and sixth centuries have been found alongside its route,[255] though it is probable that the route had been in use longer than that. A last point of interest here is the fourth century Dema wall,[256] which ran between the northern slopes of the Aigaleon and the southern outrunner of Mount Parnes, covering a total distance of 4,360 m and seemingly closing Athens off from Eleusis (see figure 3).

2.3 The archaeology of Eleusis and Athens
2.3.1 The archaeology of Eleusis: the Mycenaean period

Before the Mycenaean period, indications of relations between Eleusis and Athens consist of tradable goods: pottery pieces and a small collection of zoomorphic vases.[257] Eleusis at this time was inhabited by clans or kinship groups, each with its own collective identity.[258] As in later periods, the site was probably chosen because of its strategic location: a hill overlooking the sea, commanding the trade route from Athens to Boeotia and Megara and the sea pass of Salamis (see figure 1 and 2).[259]

These trade relations continued during the transition to the Late Helladic or early Mycenaean period, which saw emerging elite groups competing for power, economic structures becoming more complex and Eleusis growing into one of the largest known settlements.[260] An extension of the settlement to the east slope of the hill of Eleusis culminated in the construction of Megaron B and its precinct (see figure 5). The Megaron itself was a rectangular building measuring approximately 19 m east-west and 16 m north-south, with a large main room and a vestibule. Parts of its remains can still be seen underneath the later Telesterion (see figure 5 and 6,[261] and figure 7 and 8 for reconstructions). Some patches of floor, a column, a drain, two flights of steps leading to the Megaron and a platform in front the building also survived, together with some Middle and Late Helladic sherds and burned pig bones. The gate to the precinct was placed approximately in the middle of

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[254] Cosmopoulos 2015, 28.
[255] Palinkas 2008, 46. The earliest stratified layer does not start until the fifth century BC, however.
[256] Though more recent archaeological research has dated the wall to the fourth century; the Dema wall was used by various scholars in their theories regarding the incorporation of Eleusis. See 2.4.4.
[257] Cosmopoulos 2015, 58-68, 70, 72. Other contacts included Aegina (Kolonna), Boeotia and limited contact with the Cyclades.
[258] Cosmopoulos 2015, 75.
[259] Cosmopoulos 2015, 43-45.
[260] Cosmopoulos 2015, 103-5.
[261] The remains of Megaron B are the following: the long walls 6 and 7, the short wall 6a and the back wall of one of the rooms, wall 7a.

wall 8.[262] The animal bones indicate religious rituals, though the predominant function of the building was probably residential, perhaps serving the needs of a local ruler and his family.[263] Perhaps not unsurprisingly, considering the grandeur of the Megaron, graves from this period were increasingly embellished.[264] Traceable relations with Athens can be discerned from the presence at Eleusis of material with strong similarities to Acropolis Burnished Ware.[265] This (together with some decorated seashells) was probably imported from Athens.[266]

The Palatial period at Eleusis is characterised by building activity and economic growth;[267] Megaron B was extended with three rooms (B1, B2, B3; see figure 6, 7 and 8), [268] but no evidence has been found of a literate palace administration like in Thebes. The few graves of this period mark the introduction of the rock-cut chamber tomb, but this burial method never became popular and the Eleusinians continued the use of traditional cist tombs – in contrast to Athens, where the rock-cut chamber tomb became the standard type of burial.[269] Some ties between Athens and Eleusis stayed,[270] since both shared a preference for open pottery shapes in graves. Prosperity in terms of settlement and population size in Eleusis also coincides with similar developments in Athens (see 2.3).[271] During the final years of the Palatial period (ca. 1300-1250 BC), the settlement of Eleusis shrank,[272] a pattern that continued in the post-palatial and Submycenaean period. Remains from these periods are rare and exist of two graves, fragments of walls in front of the Stoa of Philon, some sporadic sherds and the fragmentary remains of a building beneath the Lesser Propylaea. The Megaron probably remained in use until ca. 1050 BC.[273]

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[262] Cosmopoulos 2015, 82-89.

[263] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 149; Cosmopoulos 2015, 90-92, 105-6. The pottery found consisted mainly of cooking, storage and drinking pots and the architecture is similar to that of residential units at other Mycenaean sites. A double residential-religious function is not surprising; this was often the case in this period. Cosmopoulos also proposes Megaron B may have served as a '"controlled centre of worship", used by the group of Megaron B to consolidate its authority' (p. 105). Mylonas (1961, 42) identifies Megaron B as a temple to Demeter, which is unlikely.

[264] Cosmopoulos 2015, 93. Graves could be found in the residential area and in the West Cemetery, amongst which Complex Built Cist Graves, 'normal' cist graves, jar burials and graves in shallow pits.

[265] Cosmopoulos 2015, 95-103. Particular to Eleusis was the use of a leaf-like motif, a hatched loop motif and the decoration of traditional shapes with matt-painted motifs drawn in lustrous paint.

[266] Cosmopoulos 2014a, 175-76.

[267] Though this could be the result of extensive destruction suffered by the Bronze Age remains in Eleusis. At least Mycenaean unit A could, judging by its size, have been part of a 'palatial' complex, though this is by no means certain (Cosmopoulos 2015, 123). See figure 5.

[268] No ritual remains were found. Cosmopoulos 2015, 126.

[269] Cosmopoulos 2015, 116. Tholos tombs also have not been found at Eleusis, though these are known from parts of the plain of Athens and east Attica (Cosmopoulos 2015, 117).

[270] There were also trade relations with Aegina and Boeotia, the latter being represented by an inscribed stirrup jar. This inscribed stirrup jar (*da-*22-to da-pu2-ra-zo wa*) referred to a place and personal name from Knossos as well as a Mycenaean ruler (*wanax*, through the abbreviation 'wa') was found under the Lesser Propylaea in a later context. The jar belongs to a class of large transport vessels with a Cretan origin which were primarily imported to Boeotian and Argolid sites, and it was probably a left-over from a shipload that was being moved through Eleusis (Cosmopoulos 2015, 123). Mylonas 1961, 49-51.

[271] And with the Argolid and Boeotia. Cosmopoulos 2015, 119, 122. However, in Athens, the preference for Acropolis Burnished Ware is replaced by Red Wash Ware, which has not been identified at Eleusis.

[272] Cosmopoulos 2015, 122-23 ('The sharp decrease in the frequency of LH IIIB2 pottery may be taken as an indication of shrinkage of the settlement during the final years of the palatial period'.

[273] Cosmopoulos 2015, 127-28, 130. The sherds were found in a couple of deposits to the south of the Peisistratid Telesterion, under the Lesser Propylaea, in Megaron B and the Lykourgeion. One complete vase maybe came from the

2.3.2 The archaeology of Athens: the Mycenaean period

In Athens, most of the Bronze Age material has been found on the north and south slopes of the Akropolis, in the area of the later classical *agora* and even as far the later Olympieion (see figure 9).[274] Like in Eleusis, there is very little material from the Early and Middle Helladic periods,[275] though the spread of pottery sherds over the entire *agora* suggests widespread human habitation in that area.[276]

For the Mycenaean (specifically the Palatial) period, there are more remains, including rich chamber tombs and graves on the Areopagos and in the areas of the Classical *agora*, Pnyx, Dipylon Gate and the hill of Philopappos (see figure 9).[277] On the *agora*, two wells, walls and forty-seven burials are recorded, mostly chamber tombs (as has been noted in 2.3.1), some with rich grave goods.[278] Lastly, on the Akropolis itself the remains of a fountain and some metals and quantities of lead have been identified. Terrace walls and architectural remains (a column base and possibly some steps) were excavated on the summit and a rich grave (the Warrior Tomb) was found on the south slope.[279] These remains can be dated to circa 1230/1220 BC,[280] which is around the period of decline at Eleusis and other Mycenaean sites in Attica. However, as at Eleusis, no evidence of a true palatial centre with an administration has come to light. Still, glanced from the high quality of the tombs and pottery, it can be assumed Athens was a centre of elite competition throughout the Mycenaean period.[281] In the post-palatial and Submycenaean period, as in Eleusis, remains are mostly absent, except for burials and remains of walls.[282] The Akropolis remained inhabited into the Submycenaean period.[283]

2.3.3 The archaeology of Eleusis: the eighth century BC

Between the Submycenaean period and before the eighth century BC the history of Eleusis is rather obscure. Some Protogeometric (ca. 1025-900 BC) and Early Geometric (ca. 900-850 BC) sherds have been found in the area of the later sanctuary; in the vicinity of Megaron B a group of Protogeometric sherds was discovered in

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vicinity of the Southwest Stoa. No burials have been found. The end of the use of Megaron B is based on analysis of the pottery from the building itself (Cosmopoulos 2014b, 127-31.

[274] See Immerwahr 1971, 53-54; Camp 2001, 19.

[275] There is only one burial from the Middle-Helladic period, a type of cist grave. It is assumed other burials of the period were shallow pit graves, and that they were later disturbed and thus have disappeared (Immerwahr 1971, 52). On the grave we do have, see Immerwahr 1971, 92-93.

[276] Immerwahr 1971, 51.

[277] Immerwahr 1971, 97. The richness of the chamber tombs on the Areopagos is exemplified in their names: The Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides and the Tomb of the Bronzes.

[278] See Immerwahr (1971, 111-12) for the remains of walls and wells. Immerwahr 1971, 98. For the grave goods, see Immerwahr 1971, 104-10 (pottery, bronzes in three cases, ivories in four cases, and jewellery and specialised offerings, such as figurines and shells).

[279] On the remains of the 'palace', see Iakovidis 2006, 190-96, 111-14. For the dating, see Privitera 2013, 49, 62-63. For the Mycenaean fountain and quantities of lead and the metals, see Broneer 1939; for the Warrior Tomb, see Mountjoy 1984.

[280] Camp 2001, 12, 16.

[281] Immerwahr 1971, 151; Lemos 2006, 508.

[282] Lemos 2006, 509-12.

[283] Van den Eijnde 2019, 110; Lemos 2006, 511.

the fill under Geometric terrace Wall E1 (see figure 6 and 10).[284] While Cosmopoulos has taken this as a continuation of habitation on the site, it is more probable the site had been deserted since the abandonment of Megaron B (see 2.2).[285] Judging from sherds found to the north of Megaron B, it is possible peripheral communities were developed there instead.[286]

In the final quarter of the eighth century, the actual sanctuary[287] started off with the construction of a polygonal terrace to replace the earlier Mycenaean platform.[288] It was supported by a retaining wall which has survived only through walls E5 and E1 (see figure 6, 10 and 13).[289] The terrace could be accessed by a flight of steps, of which three survive (E2).[290] On the terrace, on the south wall (Wall 5[291]) of what had been the Mycenaean *peribolos*,[292] stood Wall E3, which can be dated to the late ninth century or the first half of the eighth century.[293] This wall was probably constructed to create a new *peribolos* and served as a retaining wall to Megaron B.[294] At this time, the Megaron had been abandoned for perhaps a century,[295] though some of the monumental parts had probably remained standing.[296]

This Geometric *peribolos* would have been enclosed by a long wall, parts of which have been found in front of the northeast corner of the Stoa of Philon (E6, see figure 5, 10 and 11). If the wall enclosed the area of the later Telesterion, there could have been three gates (one north, one south and possibly one on the east side),[297] though there is no evidence for this. The only evidence we have (E6) points tentatively to a retaining wall for a sacrificial way leading up to something that might have been a gate (E10; see figure 13).[298] Lastly, remains of a paved road have been found in front of the steps leading up to the terrace (E2) and beneath the Lesser Propylaea (the south and/or north gate) and Stoa of Philon (east gate).[299] In the case of the latter, it is possible the road is older than the Geometric period, since the Geometric sherds found there have been

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[284] Cosmopoulos 2015, 184 (he refers to Protogeometric sherds uncovered by Mylonas); Mylonas 1961, 56-63.
[285] Van den Eijnde 2019, 103.
[286] For the peripheral communities, see Cosmopoulos 2015, 132, 184 (footnote 1). For the Protogeometric sherds uncovered by Mylonas, see Cosmopoulos 2015, 184 (footnote 2); Mylonas 1961, 56-63.
[287] See below for the first evidence of cult practices.
[288] Van den Eijnde 2019, 103; Mylonas 1961, 56.
[289] Wall E1 was dated through the deposits in pyre A, which could only have been made after the building of E1 (discussed below).
[290] Cosmopoulos 2015, 132, 184 (footnote 3).
[291] See figure 6, 11 and 12. On figure 12, Wall 5 is called B4.
[292] Cosmopoulos 2015, 90-92; Van den Eijnde 2019, 101
[293] On the basis of the sherds found in connection to Wall E3: Mylonas 1961, 58 (early eighth century BC); Travlos 1988, 92; noted by Van den Eijnde 2019, 101.
[294] Cosmopoulos 2015, 134l Van den Eijnde 2019, 101; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 148. Wall E3 is an object of much discussion, however. Earlier interpretations of the function of wall E3 are the following: an altar (Noack 1927, 10-13), a circular temple (Kouroniotes 1930-31, 23-24, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 133, 184 footnote 5) or an apsidal temple (Mylonas 1961, 57-59).
[295] See 2.2.
[296] Van den Eijnde 2019, 103. Cosmopoulos provides a similar reasoning, though he opts for a full survival of the whole complex (Cosmopoulos 2015, 128).
[297] Cosmopoulos (2015, 136) bases this interpretation on a suggestion of Travlos (that the Peisistrateian wall followed an already existing Geometric wall).
[298] Van den Eijnde 2019, 103 (though Cosmopoulos interprets the course of E6 differently, see figure 10. While there is no evidence left, it seems more likely to me the wall around the sanctuary would have followed the road to the entrance in some way, making the reconstruction by Van den Eijnde acceptable).
[299] For excavation reports of these road, see Cosmopoulos 2015, 184 (footnote 16).

described as being part of fill.[300] These road remains have been interpreted by J.L. Palinkas as indications of a sacrificial way: processions and visitors arrived from the north, and continued their journey along the road near E6 – where suppliants could have purified themselves at Well W – around the east side of the terrace before entering the buildings of the sanctuary.[301]

From the eighth century two other (religious) buildings have survived. One is an apsidal building beneath the temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon (see figure 5): either a Geometric-Early Archaic temple or a large domestic residence.[302] The other is the structure on the south slope known as the Sacred House (see figure 5 and 15), named after the *bothros*, household pottery, ashes and pyres found within its walls,[303] as well as its association with a male burial a few meters to the southeast.[304] This burial was located beneath an earth mound with sacrificial pyres (dated from the end of the eighth to the end of the seventh century BC).[305] The association between the grave and the Sacred House has been interpreted as a hero or ancestor cult;[306] the deceased continued to receive sacrifices in the form of burned goods throughout the seventh century.[307] Some have linked the priestly Eumolpid and Keryx families to the building and cult place.[308]

These were not the only possible hero or ancestor cults practiced by the Eleusinians. A structure like the Sacred House was found beneath the north-eastern corner of the Stoa of Philon; it included a *bothros* and floors covered with ashes.[309] Around a group of eight Helladic graves in the West Cemetery a *peribolos* wall was erected,[310] which was later interpreted as the precinct of the *heroon* of the Seven against Thebes mentioned by Pausanias and Plutarch.[311] A last case can be found at ca. 300 m from the north slope: a triangular foundation and some clay figurines were perhaps associated with two Late Geometric graves.[312]

Regular graves (cremation, inhumation and jar graves for children[313]) have been found on the south

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[300] Palinkas 2008, 40

[301] Palinkas 2008, 43.

[302] Mylonas (1961, 60) implies a domestic residence in his discussion of the building. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997, 135-36) accepts the building as a temple to Artemis. Cosmopoulos (2015, 136) notes its apparently large size for a domestic structure.

[303] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 151, 153; Antonaccio 1994, 190.

[304] The burial was perhaps also linked to Megaron B (Mazarakis Ainian [1997, 153] points out that the skeleton was turned exactly towards Megaron B, which may suggest 'that the person buried at the area of the Sacred House once dwelled inside the reused Mycenaean megaron beneath the later Telesteria', though there is no proof of this assumption). Below the burial lay a small *megaron*, a dwelling of the deceased or a funerary building) which was destroyed after the funeral and probably replaced by the four rooms of the Sacred House. The destruction of the building so short after the funeral is probably indicative of the destruction having been intentional: a momentous occasion (Van den Eijnde 2010, 174). Cosmopoulos 2015, 137; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 152.

[305] Travlos 1983, 333-36, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 137.

[306] Cosmopoulos 2015, 137; Mylonas 1961, 59-60; Mazarakis-Ainian 1999, 152; Antonaccio 1994, 190-91.

[307] Six superimposed pyres were identified on the grave mound (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 152).

[308] For the Eumolpid family, see Travlos 1983, 333-36. For the Kerykes, see Lauter 1985, 168 (footnote 261), as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 137, 185 (footnote 24).

[309] Mylonas 1961, 60.

[310] Antonaccio 1994, 117, 207. Mylonas 1961, 62; Mylonas 1975, B, 133-54, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 138, 184 (footnote 33).

[311] Pausanias, *Description of* Greece, 1.39.2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29. Applied to the enclosed graves by Mylonas (1961, 62-63) and Snodgrass (1982, 683).

[312] Van den Eijnde 2010, 189.

[313] Mylonas 1961, 61.

slope, the West Cemetery and in various clusters around the hill.[314] Considering the extent of these cemeteries, Eleusis was amongst the biggest settlements in Attica during this time.[315] Also notable is the richness of some of these graves: examples are Grave α (Middle Geometric I) and the 'Grave of Isis' (Middle Geometric II).[316] The latter contained a statuette of this Egyptian Goddess, as well as boots, clay balls, ivory, faience objects, gold jewelry, miniature granaries and *kalathoi.* The Eleusinians marked their dead with either a plain slab of stone or a vase.[317]

Eleusinian cult was not only reserved for ancestors or heroes: the cult of Demeter in Megaron B and its extensions also started in the eighth century. This is when the first ritual objects were deposited, in the form of ritual pyre A (to the south of Wall E1).[318] This pyre contained votives objects[319] and was marked with traces of fire.[320] The pyre extended around to the front of the steps that led to the terrace (see figure 6 and 10). Pyre A was succeeded by the pyres B and Γ/C (see 2.5), which were in use until the beginning of the sixth century. These pyres rendered hundreds of figurines and *pinakes* and establish Eleusis as an especially important cult centre at the time.[321]

2.3.4 The archaeology of Eleusis: the seventh and the beginning of sixth century BC
Going to the end of the seventh century[322] and the beginning of the sixth,[323] more and more material emerges, primarily from intense building. During this period, the Geometric terrace was enlarged, elevated and supported by a north and southeast extension (see figure 13 and 14).[324] The sacred area was doubled, a triangular platform was created, and Megaron B discontinued.[325] The new retaining wall (Z8) was probably stepped to provide worshippers with an opportunity to display votive gifts.[326] Pyre B replaced pyre A around this time, and was placed near a gap in the wall (Z7), a little further up along the road from where pyre A had been.[327] The stepped masonry there seems to break up and could have been a foundation that supported a ramp of a monumental staircase;[328] maybe the entrance to the new part of the precinct.[329] Another pyre (Γ/C)

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[314] Papangeli 2004, 405-6, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 137. Cremation was more popular in during Early Geometric times, inhumation and cremation both appear in the Middle period, though more inhumation graves have been found from the Late Geometric period (Papangeli 2004, 407, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 137, 185 (footnote 30).
[315] Camp 2001, 22.
[316] Papangeli 2013; Langdon 2005, 14, 16
[317] Mylonas 1961, 62.
[318] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 147. For the discussion on the interpretation of the recipients of the votives within the pyres, see 3.4.
[319] Mylonas 1961, 57; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, A1-189; Cosmopoulos 2015, 134. Late Geometric and Early Archaic figurines, votive plaques, pottery, lamp fragments, a gold sheet and jewellery; see 3.4.
[320] These traces of fire indicate that the pyre had been found in-situ (Cosmopoulos 2015, 134; Mylonas 1961, 57; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 42; Van den Eijnde 2019, 104). Earlier, Noack (1927, 10-13) had believed the pyre had been swept off the terrace.
[321] These amounts have no equivalent at other rural sites in Attica, such as Mounichia or Brauron. Langdon 1997, 118.
[322] Cosmopoulos 2015, 139; Mylonas 1961, 64, 66.
[323] Ca. 580 BC (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 44-49, 60-66, 216-259), on the basis of the figurines of pyre B (see below).
[324] Z1 to Z7 and the new retaining wall Z8 (Van den Eijnde 2019, 106).
[325] Since the rest of the wall (as well as E1 and 2) were covered with backfill. Mylonas 1961, 63-76.
[326] Van den Eijnde 2019, 106.
[327] Mylonas 1961, 66.
[328] Van den Eijnde 2019, 106.

was installed on the north side of Wall Z1 (see figure 14).[330]

On this terrace, a new rectangular temple to Demeter was built to replace Megaron B (see figure 16).[331] This building is also known as the Solonian Telesterion,[332] the first Telesterion[333] or the *Anaktaron.*[334] It had an entrance on the east side[335] and a small room at the southwestern end, which could have functioned as an *adyton* – possibly for the *hiera* of the early Mysteries.[336] An altar was erected (Z13) adjacent to the eastern part of the Archaic terrace in association with a stepped 'podium' (Z14).[337] This was probably the entrance to the larger sanctuary.[338] If that is the case, the general topography of the sanctuary can be quite well reconstructed (see figure 14). The stepped entrance (Z14) and retaining wall (Z8) were monumental parts of the processional route that ran beside them.[339] The worshippers then would have entered the sanctuary from the north (as had been the case in the earlier period, see p. 2.3.3) and paused to sacrifice their offerings before proceeding to the cult's main area: the temple.[340] This is supported by a layer of road surface has been found set against Z10.[341]

Generally, we have less information on the city of Eleusis itself. Houses from the early archaic period to the time of Peisistratos (ca. 550 BC) have not been found,[342] but Eleusinian graves continue to be comparatively rich and were sometimes marked by monumental vases (see figure 17 and 18).[343] No graves have been found dated to the sixth century.

2.3.5 The archaeology of Eleusis: the second half of the sixth century BC

In the second half of the sixth century more construction took place. The Archaic temple of Demeter was now replaced with and incorporated within a second, roughly square – 'Peisistrateian'[344] – Telesterion (ca. 550-500 BC;[345] see figure 5 and 16). The new structure included a portico and three entrances.[346] In the interior,

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[329] Mylonas 1961, 66.

[330] Mylonas 1961, 66-67; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 44-51, 60-68, 142-144, 216-259; Cosmopoulos 2015, 139.

[331] Van den Eijnde 2019, 106.

[332] Mylonas 1961, 67, who is tempted to attribute the construction of the temple to Solon.

[333] Cosmopoulos 2015, 186 (footnote 44).

[334] Clinton 1992, 126-32. Before Clinton made his case, the *Anaktaron* was thought to have indicated the *adyton* only.

[335] Cosmopoulos 2015, 139; Mylonas 1961, 64, 68 (who associated the building with Solon, but uses an outdated description of the temple). Mylonas think the altars would have stood there because they did stand there in later times.

[336] If there were any. This room was restored by Mylonas and Travlos: Mylonas 1961, 69-70; Travlos 1950-51, 1-16, as noted by Cosmopoulos 186 (footnote 46).

[337] Mylonas 1961, 70. In Peisistrateian times, this altar was enclosed in a niche with the new *peribolos* wall going carefully around it.

[338] Van den Eijnde 2019, 106. Though Mylonas (1961, 70-72) thought it had been a stand from which adherents could watch a ritual.

[339] Van den Eijnde 2019, 106.

[340] Van den Eijnde 2019, 107-8.

[341] Van den Eijnde 2019, 104.

[342] Administrative buildings and the houses of officials were perhaps situated to the northwest of the North Gate, though little in this area has survived (Mylonas 1961, 96).

[343] Mylonas 1961, 74-76.

[344] Mylonas 1961, 78.

[345] Though many have dated the structure to the middle of the sixth century or its third quarter, Paga (2015, 111-12) has argued the 'Peisistrateian' Telesterion is not connected to Peisistratos or his sons at all qua date, but instead dates this Telesterion to the final decade of the sixth century. She bases her argument on renewed dating of the ram's head – see footnote 104 – and the use of Z-clamps in other buildings dating to the early democracy.

three sets of nine steps were built, presumably to let worshippers view the mystery rituals.[347] While the Archaic terrace continued to be used, it was extended to the west against the slope of the hill.[348]

In the same century the sanctuary and city were enclosed by a long wall with at least seven towers and gates (see figure 22).[349] The main entrance of the sanctuary was the North *pylon* (below the Lesser Propylaea),[350] which meant the abandonment of the earlier stepped entrance.[351] Other construction included the Ploutonion (figure 5),[352] and a service road or processional route from the North Gate to the southern part of the terrace and the South Gate.[353] On top of the foundations of the Geometric Sacred House and the grave mound an undetermined building was constructed on a newly built trapezoidal terrace, and surrounded by a *peribolos* wall (see figure 14).[354]

2.3.6 The archaeology of Athens: eighth to fifth centuries BC

Before closing of this section on the archaeology, some words on Athens are needed. In the earliest centuries with which we are concerned here, its story was somewhat similar to that of Eleusis as we have little evidence from the tenth and nine centuries. After the middle of the tenth century, faint traces of Athenian settlements – and graves with weapons – can be found southern and north slopes of the Akropolis: this revival is earlier than the one at Eleusis (see p. 2.3.3).[355] Burials from these centuries are comparatively rich: one ninth century grave included grave offerings of gold ornaments and imports from the Near East.[356] However, in the later part of this period, single burials in amphorae (men and women) and pits (children) became the standard.[357] It is during these centuries that Athens also became an important centre for pottery production; Athenian Protogeometric and Geometric pottery was eventually found all over Attica,[358] including Eleusis.[359]

The eight century saw the emergence of the cult of Athena Polias on the Akropolis. Much like at Eleusis, this development was connected to the Mycenaean remains on the site.[360] In the same century, pottery from all of Attica continued to display an 'Attic' character.[361] Monumental grave-markers were used

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[346] Cosmopoulos 2015, 140-41; Noack 1927, 48-70; Mylonas 1961, 81. From this portico, fragments of the Doric entablature have been found, including triglyphs, a decorated ram's head, metopes and the cornice and sigma (Cosmopoulos 2014a, 141, 186 (footnote 53); Mylonas 1961, 80-81).
[347] Cosmopoulos 2015, 141; Mylonas 1961, 80, 88; Noack 1927, 95-97.
[348] Mylonas 1961, 78.
[349] Cosmopoulos 2015, 142; Mylonas 1961, 92-96.
[350] Cosmopoulos 2015, 142, Mylonas 1961, 93.
[351] Mylonas 1961, 72.
[352] Mylonas 1961, 93, 99-100; Noack 1927, 79; Cosmopoulos 2015, 142.
[353] Mylonas 1961, 100-101; Cosmopoulos 2015, 187.
[354] Mylonas 1961, 101-3. The well-known 'Running Maiden' is maybe from this area (Cosmopoulos 2015, 142). Mylonas is surely of this opinion and argues the statue was part of a pedimental group with as theme the abduction of Persephone by Plouton/Hades (Mylonas 1961, 102), though this has been debated (Edwards 1981).
[355] Van den Eijnde 2010, 326; Lemos 2006, 512-4.
[356] Morris 1987, 19.
[357] Lemos 2006, 516; Morris 1987, 18-19.
[358] Snodgrass 1971, 404.
[359] Boardman 1975, 4.; Mylonas 1961, 57, 66-67, 71.
[360] Van den Eijnde 2019, 110.
[361] Coldstream 1984, 20; Snodgrass 1977.

for a while[362] – as at Eleusis. After 700 the richness of Athenian graves of earlies centuries ends,[363] while in Eleusis richness abounded in Pyre A and various burials (see 2.3.3) – this development has been marked as a 'transfer of wealth from the centre to the periphery'.[364]

2.4 The synoecism of Attica and the incorporation of Eleusis: previous scholarship on the archaeological sources
Much like with the scholarship from a literary standpoint, the characterisation of the Athenian synoecism and incorporation of Eleusis as a concurrent and complete political and religious integration also applies to the interpretation of the archaeological sources. I also established that the sources used by scholars focused on the synoecism, in most cases, did not concern Eleusis. However, when it comes to the archaeological side of scholarship, academics *have made use of Eleusinian remains* in their argumentation in favour of an Attic synoecism. As this is where scholarship on the synoecism and the incorporation of Eleusis sometimes overlap, I will be treating both scholarly debates simultaneously.

Before I start with the discussion of each unification theory in a chronological order, it needs to be noted that many scholars fall prone to one fallacy specifically: that of deriving political control of Athens over Eleusis from various Eleusinian (and Athenian) archaeological remains. We will see this way of thinking applied to all periods (Mycenaean, the tenth and ninth century, the eighth century and the seventh and sixth century BC). However, it has long been established that archaeological cultures cannot serve as indicators of political territory, as these judgements about political unity are 'made on the basis of observations of residence patterns [in our case pottery distribution, cults and structures] and assumptions about their implications'.[365] Whenever this fallacy is used, I will denote so in the text.

Another point to note relates to the direction of the main approach and entrance to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. We will see that supposed changes and non-changes in this have caused various scholars to date the political incorporation of Eleusis as variously as the sixth and eighth centuries BC (see 2.4.3 and 2.4.5). On top of the clear occurrence of the fallacy pointed out above, throughout the exposition on the archaeological remains of Eleusis in the beginning of this chapter I have tried to show that while the entrance of the *precinct* – the terrace on which Megaron B and the later temple and Telesteria were positioned – had been to the south from the eighth century to at least the sixth century, the main entrance (the processional route) of the *sanctuary* lay in the north, from which the Sacred Way came (2.3.3 and figure 13 and 14). In any case, J.L. Palinkas has sufficiently proved that not political changes but the needs of the Eleusinian cult decided the direction in which the entrance was laid out: the cult and its placement on the hill of Eleusis demanded 'an elaborate processional route around the eastern side of the sanctuary, a well and a

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[362] Langdon 2005, 8/236.
[363] Morris 1987, 21.
[364] Van den Eijnde 2010, 368.
[365] Morgan 2003, 167, 172 [quote]; Morris 1987, 194-95; Hornblower 1991, 263 ('Material evidence cannot settle the date of what is [....] a political decision. Splendid tombs prove nothing about the political status of the (no doubt rich and powerful) men buried in them.')

pyre as sites of rituals, and monumental steps up to the open-air terrace on its southern side'.[366] Thus, the choice of a northern entrance was made for logistic and religious reasons.

Perhaps only the creation of a specific land route to the sanctuary could have been a manifestation of Athenian control, though not necessarily political.[367] This is, however, largely unprovable since the route of the Sacred Way had probably been in use for much longer than the periods we concern ourselves with. However, it should still be mentioned here that the Sacred Way could have functioned as the physical religious connection between Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens as early as the seventh century BC: as mentioned before, the earliest graves lining the route stem from this period (see 2.2). Thus, the processional aspect of the Mysteries with the *hiera* as known from fifth-century sources *could* in theory have existed and taken place at this time.[368] However, all this in no way proves a political incorporation of Eleusis in these centuries – a religious connection can be inferred here at most.

2.4.1 The Mycenaean period

As has been the case with the scholarship on literary sources, the earliest date for a unification of Attica is pinpointed in the Mycenaean period. Whereas in chapter one the used source material consisted mostly of later sources reflecting on earlier periods, such as the synoecism tradition and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in this case scholars have been able to use actual sources *from the period in question*.

For the Mycenaean era, these consist of Mycenaean tombs and structures found throughout Attica (see figure 19), including material from Eleusis (see 2.3.1). Scholars arguing for a synoecism or incorporation in the Mycenaean period point to the thirteenth century specifically, though they generally establish first that the earlier presence of the more impressive Mycenaean remains – say rich tombs or sometimes even fortifications – meant a settlement had been an politically independent entity first. In the case of Eleusis, such remains of course existed in the form of Megaron B, various cemeteries and houses (see 2.3.1).[369] The general decline around 1250 BC of not only Eleusis but other Attic settlements, such as Thorikos and Brauron, as well is then seen as the result of a synoecism – since it is around this same date that the Athenian 'palace' and fortifications were constructed. The concurrency of these developments has led scholars to believe that the other Attic strongholds were 'dismantled voluntarily as part of the scheme of unification that made the Athenian acropolis the citadel of all Attica'.[370]

Not only do the interpretations above fall prone to the material-culture-implies-political-territory fallacy mentioned before, such a movement of the people of Attica to Athens – thus creating a centralization

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[366] Palinkas 2008, 45.
[367] Palinkas 2008, 45.
[368] Palinkas 2008, 47.
[369] Padgug 1972, 148; Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 744; Cary 1925, 579; Mylonas 1961, 29.
[370] Quote from Blegen 1975, 169. Other scholars agreeing with this view: Alföldy 1969, 13; Camp 2001, 16; Huxley 1956, 22; Parker 1996, 11 ('There is no sign – from fortifications, for instance – that any other Attic town was remotely comparable to Athens in power in the late Mycenaean period'); Padgug 1972, 148; Cosmopoulos 2014a, 183; Lohman 2006, online.

upon Athens – is rather reminding of a physical synoecism instead of a political one.[371] Still, it is not clear at all from the remains on the Akropolis that Athens had in fact been a large palatial centre (see 2.3.2),[372] though the remains of its walls could at least have been used for a protective purpose. Even if there had been some sort of political unification during this period, it is widely recognized this was probably dissolved during the troubles of the Late Bronze Age collapse and the subsequent quiet Submycenaean and Protogeometric centuries.[373]

With regards to a specific Eleusinian incorporation during this period, sometimes the short distance of Eleusis to Athens and a transition from local burial forms to chamber tombs have been noted.[374] However, in the case of the latter it has been established that practice of chamber tombs never stuck in Eleusis as it did in Athens (see 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). Some scholars have even remarked that the continuous use of burial mounds and slabs by the Eleusinians implies Eleusis was not yet as closely connected to Athens (by which it is implied they speak of the political relations between the two instead of cultural ones).[375] Yet again, both are a good example of the political-material-culture fallacy.

In the case of the short distance between Athens and Eleusis, we have to read into the implication that it would have been easy for Athens to send an army and 'incorporate' Eleusis. Meanwhile, it is more often recognized by scholars that the secluded location of Eleusis on the other side of Mount Hymmetos and Aegaleos (see 2.2) implies it is more likely that the Eleusinian settlement in this period developed independently from Athens.[376] Still, the ca. 20 kilometre distance from Athens could easily have led to another form of contact between Eleusis and Athens: that of trade, which we have seen to be the case throughout the pre-Mycenaean, Mycenaean and later eras (see 2.3.1-6).

2.4.2 The tenth and ninth centuries BC

Another set of dates for the Athenian synoecism and Eleusinian incorporation concerns the tenth and/or ninth centuries BC. The first argument in this regard centres around economic and artistic developments in that period: a faster potter's wheel made vases more technically accomplished than their 'Dark Age' counterparts and the variety in shapes and decorations increased. Around the tenth century BC, this so-called Protogeometric style diffused from Athens – which had at this time 'resumed its former pattern of settlement and of its power'[377] – to all ends of Attica, including Eleusis (see 2.3.3). A few sites even produced this same 'Attic' style locally. In the eyes of primarily A.M. Snodgrass, the distribution of this style throughout Attica

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[371] For a political vs. a physical synoecism, see Hornblower 1991, 259; Musiolek 1981, 213; Rhodes 2006, online; Kosmetatou 2012, online; Whitehead 1986, 8; Diamant 1982, 43.
[372] Diamant 1982, 41-42.
[373] Amongst many others, Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 625; Snodgrass 2006, 207; Snodgrass 1977, 16; Snodgrass 1982, 668; Diamant 1982, 43. However, K. Van Gelder believes that Eleusis could never have recovered its independence, thus cementing the political connections between Athens and Eleusis throughout the 'Dark Ages' and subsequent centuries (Van Gelder 1991, 60-61).
[374] Benvenuti 2014, 228.
[375] Sealey 1976, 93; Mylonas 1961, 62.
[376] Beloch 1912, 207; Hornblower 1991, 261.
[377] Snodgrass 1982, 668.

signalled 'a crucial stage in the political and cultural unification of Attica'.[378] In the case of Eleusis, the distribution of Attic Protogeometric pottery in graves of the settlement – and from the ninth century onwards Attic Geometric and Corinthian, the same assemblage found in the contemporary graves of the Athenian Kerameikos[379] – has been used to argue this same point: an Eleusis that was culturally 'Athenian from as far back in the Dark Age as we can go', means, according to R. Osborne, that there is 'no reason to believe that Eleusis was not also politically Athenian from as early a date as it makes sense to talk of a political unit'.[380] With this unit, he means the *polis*.[381] To conclude this small section, it is safe to say that in the eyes of scholars like Osborne and Snodgrass, cultural uniformity is equal to political development. Thus, like many others they ascribe to the material-culture-implies-political-territory fallacy – as does the following set of arguments.

This second set of arguments builds on the one above: from the spread of pottery, but with the additions of the resurgence of cult activity and the reappearance of more and prosperous graves throughout Attica, scholars have derived that the Attic countryside was resettled *from* Athens after the abandonment of these sites – including Eleusis (see 2.3.3) – during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric period. All the while, Athens had remained inhabited (see 2.3.6). This repopulation of Attica has often been characterised in political terms (as are all the theories thus far described),[382] though there are some scholars who adhere to a more nuanced position: they hold that the colonised settlements were surely dependent upon Athens to a certain degree, but it cannot be established how this dependence and thus relations with Athens were maintained.[383] However, while, the prosperity of Attic graves has specifically been denoted as having resulted from a political synoecism in this period,[384] the rich Eleusinian graves ('outshining' those in Athens; see 2.3.3) have also been taken to mean Eleusis had not yet been incorporated at this time.[385] As noted, nothing in this material gives us any information on the political relations of the period, if there were any.

Last within this section are the arguments by R.M. Simms, who places the legendary wars between Athens and Eleusis and the Eleusinian incorporation in the tenth century, since this is when large quantities

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[378] Snodgrass 1971, 404. For the development of Protogeometric, see Snodgrass 1971, 43-54.

[379] Osborne 1994, 151-53.

[380] Quotes from Osborne 1994, 154. See also Osborne 1994, 152-53. Osborne recognizes that burial practices in Eleusis differed from those in Athens in the later Dark Age, but does this away with the notion that 'none of the differences could not adequately be accounted for by a certain time-lag between centre and periphery' (Osborne 1994, 152). He even takes his argument as far as that 'against this background of cultural homogeneity scholars have long attempted to paint a picture of hostility and separation between Athens and Eleusis' (Osborne 1994, 152). While I have established last chapter that hostilities in the later archaic period were not very likely, it is not unlikely that at least some forms of strife existed between Eleusis and Athens (see the conclusion to last chapter). Other agreeing scholars: Coldstream 1984, 20, 25; Andrewes 1982, 363 (who argues the prosperity in Attic graves during the ninth century was a result of the synoecism); Grant 2012, 2 9/73.

[381] Except for the fact that Osborne's argumentation is based on pottery, Osborne's claim is quite in line with the one of Sourvinou-Inwood, who connected (political) incorporation of Eleusis with the rise of the Athenian *polis* in the eighth century (Sourvinou-Inwood 1997).

[382] Cavanagh 1991, 108; Van Gelder 1991, 62; Diamant 1982, 46; Snodgrass 1993, 38; Snodgrass 1982, 676-677; Snodgrass 1977, 13, 16 (this 'was an exceptionally large-scale act of synoecism which brought into existence a single state'); Andrewes 1982, 363; Grant 2012, 2 10/73; Alföldy 1969, 13; Gilbert 1895, 103; Jeffery 1976, 84; Lavelle 2019, 19, 34.

[383] Van den Eijnde 2010, 328-29.

[384] Snodgrass 1982, 668-69, 676.

[385] Snodgrass 1982, 676-77.

of weapons appear in Athenian burials (see 2.3.6). Taken together with the quantities of lead found on the Acropolis near the end of the Mycenaean period (see 2.3.2), he speculates 'the archaeological evidence is at least compatible with the notion of two early wars'.[386] While it is not impossible there was increased martial activity during these two periods (the end of the Mycenaean period – or the Bronze Age collapse – could have involved attacks by foreign peoples and increasing quantities of weapons in graves could indicate a society that targeted a more military lifestyle), it is rather implausible that these two instances reflect specific wars between Eleusis and Athens, not to mention a political incorporation of the latter.

2.4.3 The eighth century – the rise of the polis
Osborne's argumentation above, based on ceramics and burial, is comparable with the theory of C. Sourvinou-Inwood of last chapter. She, however, connected the incorporation of Eleusis to the rise of the *polis* in the eighth century BC on the basis of Eleusinian cult, and argued that the cult and Eleusis itself never existed outside the Athenian *polis* and its religion and politics. She has been one of the few to try to fuse both literary and archaeological sources.

        In the archaeological part of her argument, Sourvinou-Inwood brings up the discussion on the entrance to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. As laid out previously, the orientation of this entrance does not necessarily indicate Athenian control of Eleusis and should instead be explained by the needs of the Eleusinian cult place (see 2.3.3). Sourvinou-Inwood, however, raises the thesis that the north-orientation of the sanctuary's entrance from its beginnings in the eighth century is an indication in favour of Eleusis's supposed political dependence on Athens from its origins onwards.[387] For her, the remains of the apsidal building beneath the later temple of Artemis Propylaea only further substantiate this view: the building – placed roughly on the same axis as the temple of Demeter on the terrace (see 2.3.3) – was probably an early temple of Artemis with a similar function as the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi; it perhaps functioned as a 'gateway' to the primary sanctuary.[388] Yet, it is not clear at all whether the building in fact was a temple (2.3.3). Nevertheless, Sourvinou-Inwood's theory remains firmly within the notion that architectural culture can shed light on the political territory of the Athenian *polis* at this time, which it cannot (see 2.4).

        Other eight-century readings in accordance with this fallacy are those by R. Parker and De Polignac. Parker has remarked that the simultaneous resettlement of the Attic countryside and start of many cults there – including at Eleusis – implies 'that the growing city of Athens marked out its claims to the whole of Attica in the ninth and eighth centuries by implanting precincts on virgin sites far from the capital'.[389] The placement of the Demeter sanctuary in the finest cornland of Attica would only add to this.[390] De Polignac has a similar view, and sees Athenian claiming of sites and the establishment of cults there as the first form of (political) unification in the eighth century: Athenian sovereignty over its new territory was made clear in

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[386] Simms 1983, 208.
[387] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 141.
[388] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 135-36.
[389] Parker 1996, 25.
[390] Parker 1996, 25.

this way.[391]

Lastly, other views place Eleusis as still distinct from Athens during this (the eighth) century, since it is in this period that burial customs at Eleusis still differ from Athens (see 2.3.3), while the rest of Attica shows considerable consistency in burial practices from ca. 1100 to 750 BC.[392]

2.4.4 The seventh century

Other proposals for the date of the Eleusinian incorporation are in favour of the seventh century. Some of the outdated ones depend upon an old dating for the Dema or Aigaleos-Parness wall (see 2.2 and figure 3) – or rather, the self-assignment of a date by scholars who found a place for this wall in their theories regarding the incorporation of Eleusis. They assign to the Dema wall a defensive function in the supposed eight or seventh century wars between Eleusis and Athens.[393] These specific dates are based on the (undatable) myths about such wars (discussed in chapter 1) and the belief Eleusis had been independent up until that time as supposedly evidenced by the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. This is once again a circular argumentation, which we have also encountered in the first chapter of this thesis regarding the work of C. Sourvinou-Inwood.

In reality, the Dema Wall was sufficiently dated to the late fifth or early fourth century by way of a survey in 1957. Later research has confirmed this dating, and the tactical purpose of the wall is now thought to have been the defence of Athens and the greater part of Attica against an invasion of Spartans during the Peloponnesian war.[394] The reason why the Dema-wall argument is still mentioned in this thesis (other than for completeness's sake), is because the Dema wall has made its way into a few of the more modern arguments and is sometimes still used to argue in favour of Eleusinian independence in the archaic period.[395]

There are not many other theories ascribing the political incorporation of Eleusis to the seventh century BC, which is surprising since this date was part of the most pervasive theory from last chapter. De Polignac, whose theory I have partly discussed above, places the last phase of the political integration of Attica during these centuries. In the case of Eleusis, he argues the abandonment of the Sacred House in the early seventh century BC can be explained as an example of this last phase: the integration of the Eleusinian cult into the *polis* was completed, as by the time of the construction of the first Telesterion at the turn of the century, and thus the Sacred House was no longer necessary.[396] Besides the fact that this theory is part of the material-culture-implies-political-territory fallacy, the cultic function of the Sacred House did not end in the seventh century but was instead taken over by a small square chamber with an altar in front, containing

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[391] De Polignac 1995b, 98.
[392] Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 625.
[393] Beloch 1912, 207; De Sanctis 1912, 35; Kornemann 1934, 47; Nilsson 1951, 37; Judeich 1896, 2216; Solders 1931, 104.
[394] On the date of the Dema wall, see Munn 1993, 42-46. On its tactical purpose, see Munn 1993, 98, 102. Padgug 1972, 140. Dow (1942) had already argued against the use of the Dema wall in argumentations regarding the independence or incorporation of Eleusis (1942, 198) but thought the wall instead could be dated to the Athenian campaign of ca. 506 BC against Peloponnesians in Eleusis (1942, 209-11).
[395] Moggi 1976, 68. Earlier theories, but only indicating Eleusinian independence instead of assigning the wall to the mythological wars between Athens and Eleusis: Busolt & Swoboda 1926, 744; Cary 1925, 579; Glotz 1926, 389.
[396] De Polignac 1995b, 99.

masses of black-figure pottery and figurines, that was in use until well into the sixth century.[397]

The destruction of the Sacred House has amassed more interest, and has been taken as the physical reminder of the 'overthrow of a locally powerful family during the final stage of the unification',[398] which illustrates beautifully the many ways in which archaeological evidence has been interpreted. In addition to the application of the same misconception regarding the nature of archaeological material as the majority of the theories described above, the Sacred House never had a residential function. It fulfilled a cultic function ever since its first construction (see 2.3.3).

A very similar point has been made by E. Lippolis, who observes that the abandonment of the Sacred House must have been related to changes in the social organization at Eleusis, resulting from the political unification with Athens. This event de-emphasized the cults at these houses in order to mitigate focus on Eleusinian heroes and downplay the aristocratic families' association with them.[399] However, cult (or a remembrance of that cult) associated with this house continued in the form of the bipartite *oikos* and later by the construction of an undetermined building on top of the foundations.[400] This does not align with the reasoning proposed by Lippolis.

Lastly, the building of the 'Solonian' Telesterion (see 2.3.4) has been used to pinpoint the incorporation of Eleusis to this century, as many scholars have assumed Solon had been involved in its construction.[401] There is no evidence for this, other than the fact that the construction period of this Telesterion aligns partly to the period in which Solon was active.

2.4.5 The sixth century

Going into the sixth century, the arguments in favour of ascribing the Eleusinian incorporation in the Athenian *polis* to that century become much more elaborate, mostly due to all the archaeological changes in the sanctuary of Eleusis (see 2.3.4 and 2.3.5).

The most notable argument is that the refurbishments of the cultic area – including the building of the 'Peisistratid' Telesterion, the enlargement of the terrace and the construction of the walls and towers – indicate political changes. These political changes would consist of the incorporation of Eleusis in the Athenian state by Peisistratos.[402] The fortifications would specifically have served as defence mechanisms against the Megarians during the wars of Athens against this locality. This specific function would not be impossible, though Peisistratos's involvement in the extension of the Eleusinian sanctuary can by no means be proven (on top of the fact that structural remains – as has been pointed out various times – cannot be counted as proof for a political unification).

According to J. Boardman, Peisistratos's involvement in Eleusinian affairs would be made more

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[397] Mylonas 1961, 59.
[398] Sealey 1976, 94.
[399] Lippolis 2006, 155-56.
[400] Mylonas 1961, 59; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 152-53; Antonaccio 1994, 190.
[401] Allen, Halliday & Sikes 1936, 111; Mylonas 1961, 64, 67.
[402] Goette 1993, 274; Shapiro 1989, 70; Boardman 1975, 5; Anderson 2005, 196; Walton 1952, 111-12; Garland 1992, 43.

plausible through the many scenes on sixth century Athenian pottery that show Herakles in connection to the Eleusinian goddesses and Triptolemos, the Eleusinian turned Athenian hero (on Peisistratos's link to Herakles, see chapter 1).[403] In some cases Herakles is simply depicted alongside Athena, Demeter and Triptolemos, but on others entire mythological scenes are shown – including Herakles's last labour, the capture of Kerberos from the Underworld. This myth can be linked with Eleusis, as Herakles's initiation in the Mysteries is often placed before this labour.[404] Around the mid sixth century (ca. 530 BC) a 'standard type' of this scene was created, which disappears on vase painting after the Kleisthenic reforms:[405] it shows Herakles dragging Kerberos or threatening him with his club, often accompanied by Athena, Hermes and sometimes Persephone and Hades (see figure 21). In any case, in the eyes of J. Boardman, they show the 'creation' of a myth regarding the origins of the new Lesser Mysteries and 'the importance of Athens' new role vis-à-vis Eleusis'.[406] (Yet, one could make a case these scenes are not necessarily Eleusinian, since further attributes of the Mysteries and Demeter are missing.)

To further substantiate this argument, Boardman points to a group of votive plaques and vases found in Eleusis which have an 'Athenian ritual shape' – meaning tall-necked *amphorae* and *loutrophoroi* – decorated with animals and figures of goddesses and priestesses. These would form some sort of anticipation of the political annexation of Eleusis by way of an 'Athenian commercial intervention, although of a very low order and decidedly private, in the sacred affairs of Eleusis'.[407] However, I deem it more likely they were simply products of trade, since trade relations between Athens and Eleusis go back for centuries (see 2.3.1).

While it is not improbable Peisistratos was interested in Eleusis and its Mysteries, the evidence is still as circumstantial as I have shown it to be in the first chapter. It does not indicate a political unification of Athens and Eleusis at this time, though a religious entwinement is not out of the question. An allusion to this could be the racepost dedicated around the middle of the century by the archon Alkiphron, which mentions that he made the race course for the Eleusinia (festival) at Eleusis.[408] It is therefore possible that an administrative body of the *polis* had increasing influence over some of the Eleusinian festivals – perhaps the Mysteries as well[409] – during this century, but that is the most we can say. On a related note, it is interesting that it took until after the Kleisthenic reforms for the Athenians to portray the actual personification of the city of Eleusis on their vase paintings – and via this way express the cultural, religious and now political ties between Athens and Eleusis. The very first representation is dated to ca. 490/489 BC and concerns a skyphos made by Makron, on which Eleusis fittingly is joined by Persephone, Triptolemos and Demeter (see figure

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[403] Boardman 1975, 7-8; Anderson 2003, 189-91.
[404] Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca*, 2.5.12.
[405] Boardman 1975, 7-10.
[406] Boardman 1975, 9.
[407] Boardman 1975, 5. He cites (5, footnote 13) *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters* [*ABV* or Beazley 1978] nr. 21. This was painted by the Painter of Eleusis 767, whose work can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century and who probably worked from Eleusis (Moore, Pease Philippides & Von Bothmer 1986, 78). Additionally, he cites *Para.* 54 (Painter of Eleusis 397; plaques) in the same footnote.
[408] Clinton 2005, 12 (no. 3).
[409] If Alkiphron was the archon basileus, who was in charge of 'ancient' rites (see chapter 1).

20).[410]

Another part of the sixth century argumentations relates to the discussion on the main approach to the sanctuary of Eleusis, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. While I hope to have shown that the entrance to the general sanctuary lay to the north ever since the eighth century (see 2.3.3), many more scholars have argued that the main approach changed from the south to the north during the sixth century BC.[411] While the North *pylon* was indeed built in that century (see 2.3.5), the main approach to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was not altered. In the eyes of many, however, this supposed change implies that Athens (under the direction of Peisistratos) had taken over Eleusis, as to the north of the sanctuary lay the road to Eleusis (see figure 22). Mylonas has added to this that the major landmarks of the Eleusinian sanctuary now all lay in this direction: the (new) Kallichoron well was situated near the North gate and the Ploutonion was constructed more to the north as well,[412] though the placement of the latter probably depended on the location of the cave. Furthermore, he feels that this 'turn towards Athens' would be more outspoken with the discovery of a main cemetery along the Sacred Way to Athens. At this time, this is improvable due to the buildings and gardens of modern Eleusis, which makes excavations impossible.[413]

There are three loose argumentations left in favour of a political incorporation during the sixth century: one of them is the foundation of City Eleusinion, which has long been thought to have occurred in the second half of the sixth century BC, when the temple (of Triptolemos) was built and the first inscriptions relating to the Eleusinion appear.[414] However, as we will see next chapter, the origins of the City Eleusinion go back to at least the seventh century BC, and temple building is not related to the institution of a cult (and a political integration, for that matter). As mentioned before, such a reasoning does not help us understand the development of the links between Athens and Eleusis during this period, as archaeology generally does not indicate political entities (2.2).

Another loose argument that needs to be mentioned here is the size of the eventual Athenian *polis*, which apparently indicated a late political unification. Athens namely comprised around 1,000 square miles of territory, a size only outmatched by Sparta (3,300 square miles) – though this *polis* had acquired its land by vast conquests. The average *polis* was only about 33 square miles (Aegina) with larger ones measuring around 230 square miles of territory (Corinth).[415] To this matter, I will return in section 2.6.

Before concluding this section on the sixth century, there is only one theory left – excepting the ones that are older and have not been used in modern scholarship.[416] While the Kleisthenic reforms probably

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[410] Cosmopoulos 2015, 140; Clinton 1992, 124. On the other side of the skyphos Eumolpos, Dionysos, Zeus, Poseidon and Amphitrite are depicted.

[411] Cosmopoulos 2015, 140, 142; Garland 1992, 43; Mylonas 1961, 103-4.

[412] Mylonas 1961, 104.

[413] Mylonas 1961, 105.

[414] Anderson 2005, 186; Boardman 1975, 4, 5; Kragset 2015, 35. admittedly, the publication of most of the material had only taken place in 1998 with the appearance of *The City Eleusinion* by M.M. Miles.

[415] Diamant 1982, 45; Anderson 2000, 405-7.

[416] Also, in the case of the archaeological sources there are older theories that do not seem worth it to be mentioned in the main text, so I will mention them here to complete the historiography on the incorporation of Eleusis. The one – besides the Dema wall argument discussed this chapter – I came across in this regard is that the fourth-century bronze Eleusinian

cemented the political union of the Athenian *polis*, one scholar – J.K. Papadopoulos – has claimed the Athenian 'domination' of Eleusis was assured only after the Persian defeat of 480 BC. This would have 'given greater importance to the roadway leading north-west of the Acropolis and with it the siting of the classical *agora*'.[417] There is no evidence, however, to substantiate the claim that Eleusis was incorporated later than the other Athenian demes.

2.4.6 The archaeological historiography: conclusions

It is clear that the archaeological material has been interpreted just as variously as the literary sources, though less scholars have made use of them. As was the case last chapter, the argumentations of many scholars are not sound: almost all of them derive political implications from the archaeological material. Such an equation of archaeological culture to political territory was applied to the abandonment of Megaron B, the diffusion of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery throughout Attica, to the disappearance of the Sacred House and the building of the various Telesteria – to name a few examples. This is also largely the case for burials – the introduction to the rock-cut chamber tomb in Eleusis comes to mind (2.3.1) – but given the importance of burial practices in the definition of a group, differences in regional customs can be somewhat informative. I. Morris, for instance, argues that the prime importance of the burial lay in its function as a rite of passage, and was a way for a kinship unit to symbolically enact the ideal social order and structure.[418] This unit did not have to be a political entity, as burial customs were geared instead towards the social structure within a settlement.[419] This observation is particularly interesting in the case of Athens and the rest of Attica, where there was considerable consistency in burial practices from ca. 1000 to 750 BC and the seventh and sixth centuries.[420] Throughout this period, however, Eleusis had somewhat more distinctive local customs (2.3.3), which might imply some sort of distance.[421]

An Attic cultural unity from early on perhaps became more outspoken after 750, when the *polis* ideal was developed. The possibility of such an occurrence has been implied multiple times throughout this thesis, followed by the observation that the political side of this coin was only recognized at the time of the

coins (displaying Eleusinian divinities, Triptolemos and a pig on the obverse and on the reverse ΈΛΕΨΣΙ' or sometimes 'AΘEN') could be explained by Eleusis being the last Attic locality to have been incorporated into the Athenian state (since there are no other such 'local' coins from other Attic settlements). The coins would represent 'a remnant of old sovereignty' (quote by Nilsson 1951, 37; Judeich 1896, 2218). This remembrance of Eleusinian independence was quickly taken advantage of during the reign of the Thirty tyrants in 403 BC: the Eleusinian *demos* was the only one to gain her independence back (Judeich 1896, 2215) (though in reality Eleusis was occupied by the Thirty and did not 'reclaim' her independence from Athens). E.C. Cavaignac took this line of thinking further and distinguished five series, maintaining that each of the series was struck when Eleusis was independent from Athens. To this end, he assigns the coins to the occupation of Eleusis by the Thirty in 403 BC, the war of Polysperchon against Kassander and of Kassander against Demetrios Poliorketes in 318 BC, and the occupation of Eleusis by Demeterios in 295 BC respectively (Cavaignac 2010 [1908], 16, 79-80). However, these coins probably were issued during the celebration of the Mysteries (Mylonas 1961, 223) or other special occasions during festivals (Thompson 1942, 214), and while Mylonas thinks the right of issuing them was conferred on the Eleusinians by the Athenian *polis* as a token of favour (Mylonas 1961, 223), it is more probable they were minted at Athens (Thompson 1942, 213-14).

[417] Papadopoulos 2003, 286.
[418] Morris 1987, 42-43, 54, 91.
[419] Morris 1987, 40.
[420] Morris 1987, 18-21, 195.
[421] Morris 1987, 195.

Kleisthenic reforms.[422] All of this means we might need to see an Attic integration during the Archaic period not in a political way, which unfortunately has been the standard conclusion in both the scholarship on the Attic synoecism and the incorporation of Eleusis (see 2.2 and the conclusion to chapter 1). Before turning towards what kind of 'cultural' unity we should think of instead, it is necessary to give another, less-politically inclined reading of the archaeology and the relations between Athens and Eleusis described in the beginning of this chapter.

2.5 Towards a new interpretation of the archaeology – an analysis of the Eleusinian and Athenian evidence
We have seen how Eleusis developed to a centralised settlement throughout the pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean periods: elite groups emerged and a local ruler or chief eventually made use of the newly constructed Megaron B as a residence and cult place. Most important for this thesis, these centuries also marked the start of the (traceable) relations to Athens, which only seem to have existed on a level of trade at this time. The settlement at Eleusis declined after the Palatial period, and while there are some sporadic traces of human activity (sherds) from the Submycenaean period, it becomes quiet after. Since Athens remained inhabited, a physical synoecism is possible: inhabitants from the Eleusis and the rest of Attica possibly moved to an Athenian centre to enjoy the protection of fortifications.

Eleusis was resettled in the eighth century; it is feasible this was instigated at Athens, though proving it is not possible. It is, however, very likely that Eleusis operated in an Athenian cultural orbit (on the level of earthenware, though not so much in the area of burial methods), and that a certain dependence on Athens was in place.[423] Whether the settlers actually came from Athens or not, Athens was an important and nearby centre of production at the time, and it is very possible the new Eleusinians partly turned to Athens during the (cultural) development of their town and sanctuary.[424]

Eleusis seems to have retained a strong local identity throughout this period; it became once again a very centralised settlement with various close-by burial grounds (which is rather unique in comparison to the rest of Attica during this time[425]). Possibly a new 'Eleusinian' identity was created via interpretations of the still visible remains of Megaron B – these might also have inspired the stories on the legendary Eleusinian rulers Eumolpos and Keleos (see the previous chapter). To create a tangible link with this past, wall E3 was constructed, the polygonal terrace was built to preserve parts of Megaron B and acts of worship were instituted, as can be derived from the later pyres and continuous enlargements of the terrace.[426] These acts also imply the Eleusinian cult attracted an ever-growing audience.

Around the seventh century, Megaron B was discontinued and presumably filled with earth to support a north and southeast extension of the terrace. Through continuous offerings in pyre A against the

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[422] Morris 1987, 216.
[423] Instead of the views of Parker and De Polignac, who have claimed the resettlement of Eleusis should be seen in a political way (see 2.4.3).
[424] Also noticed by Van den Eijnde (2010, 374).
[425] Van den Eijnde 2010, 376.
[426] Van den Eijnde 2010, 160, 161.

retaining wall of Megaron B a connection with the past was maintained.[427] The other pyres (B and Γ/C) were instituted later against the construction of another new retaining wall, and probably had a similar function. The first 'Solonian' Telesterion was built soon after, continuing the historical linkage to Megaron B through the placement of the building *on* the Mycenaean filled-in remains, a practice that was continued by the building of the 'Peisistratid' Telesterion on the same place.

Further interests in the past were made visible through the various instances of hero cult in and outside the Eleusinian sanctuary, such as the ritual banquets held in the Sacred House in the vicinity of its dead hero, the creation of the '*heroon* of the Seven against Thebes', the possible grave cults outside the sanctuary and the remains of cult beneath the Stoa of Philon. In these ways, a claim to the land and history of Eleusis was placed by its inhabitants; they used cult as a way to 'obtain legitimacy for the use and sovereignty of the land'.[428] This creation of an 'own' past thus lead to the historical landmarks of Eleusis – the graves and Megaron B – being used as *lieux de mémoires*, around which this new common identity was built.[429]

All of this was part of a broader interest in the past throughout the Greek world in the eighth century; many Mycenaean remains became the objects of veneration in this time and were sometimes seen as the graves or houses of heroes.[430] It could even be argued that the whole emergence of the cult of Demeter in Eleusis was an 'invention of tradition': an imagined past was created through the ancient remains of Mycenaean Eleusis.[431] Moreover, it is possible that the cult of Demeter in Eleusis was installed as a response to that of Athena on the Akropolis in Athens,[432] as both were built on the veneration of Bronze Age remains (see also Van den Eijnde's interpretation of their foundation myths in the previous chapter): in Eleusis, king Eumolpos or Keleos was imagined to have resided in the remains, while at Athens this central place was taken by Erechtheus.[433]

Eleusis also became a centre of elite competition, as can be derived from the various riches found in graves – particularly and α and Isis, whose occupants must have been part of a 'fairly wealthy and influential group'[434] – and in the pyres A, B and Γ/C. The latter establish Eleusis as an important cult site in comparison to other Attic sites (see 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). Relations with Athens seem more outspoken during this period: trade relations remained and the opportunities to house the *hiera* where there (see 2.3.4). This could imply that religious relations – perhaps instigated by the religious interest of individual Athenians in the Mysteries – were already in place during the seventh or beginning of the sixth century. As mentioned previously, the earliest evidence from the Sacred Way also dates to this century, which could reinforce this interpretation. The mystic element of the Mysteries was perhaps likewise present in this period: as Van den Eijnde argues, Megaron B and it's successors (the Telesteria) were no 'regular' temples, as their main cultic acts (the pyres)

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[427] Van den Eijnde 2010, 161-62.
[428] Van den Eijnde 2010, 188.
[429] Van den Eijnde 2019, 100; Cosmopoulos 2015, 162-64.
[430] The first to pay attention to the hero cult phenomenon was Rohde 2000 [1894]. A modern revival of the study of this phenomenon came with Coldstream 1976; Van den Eijnde 2019, 101.
[431] Van den Eijnde 2019, 102.
[432] It was instigated ca. three decades later (Van den Eijnde 2010, 375).
[433] Van den Eijnde 2010, 375.
[434] Papangeli 2004, 408, as noted by Cosmopoulos 2015, 138, 185 (footnote 32).

were disassociated from them.[435] (It is possible the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* was created to serve as an aetiological explanation of this lay-out of the sanctuary, since it replicated the fact that the 'altar' was situated below the platform of the cultic building.[436])

However, the evidence here is still quite tenuous and should be approached with caution (the reconstruction of an *adyton* could be wrong, and the Sacred Way could at this time still have had only a mundane function). For actual confirmation of the date of the start of cultic relations between Eleusis and Athens, the next chapter is needed, as the sixth century evidence from Eleusis only implies further popularisation of the cult (a larger Telesterion and an extension of the terrace).

2.6 A new interpretation of the archaeology – tiers of identity, the Athenian ethnos and 'peer polity interaction'
As established in the first chapter through the literary sources, the links between Athens and Eleusis in the Archaic period may be characterised as in various ways: trade, religious-interaction and strife, but an Athenian political superiority over Eleusis probably was not the case until the end of the sixth century. Thus, these links are not to be interpreted in a political way – as so many scholars have done – but are less simplistic in the sense that they consisted of various forms of interaction and integration.

To this reading, the archaeological evidence laid out above has added a cultural dimension: Eleusis existed within an Athenian cultural orbit yet was independent in the sense of having its own centralised settlement and cultic system. Such a partially shared identity with Athens was likewise established in the previous chapter. To understand the relations between Athens and Eleusis in this period, a discussion on tiers of identity, the emergence of an Attic *ethnos* in the tenth century and 'peer polity interaction' is warranted.

I start with tiers of identity. As we have seen in the first chapter, Frost and Sealey argued that the inhabitants of Attica did not yet think of themselves as 'Athenian' before the late sixth century. Instead, they saw themselves as 'Attic' or 'Eleusinian', and had their own local identities, cults and legends. Other scholars have similarly pointed out that the Attic people shared a common Attic feeling from early on,[437] though sometimes this is still seen in a sense of 'subordination to Athens itself'.[438] Such local and Attic identities were part of a complex and multi-tiered system of identity; a person could identify themselves with different tiers at different times. Two of these tiers were the *poleis* and *ethnē*. With regards to Attica and its cultural unity, this last one is quite important.

Ethnē have long been regarded as the primitive progenitors of the *polis.* However, modern scholarship has proved that the nature of their physical development and political engagement was of a more complex nature,[439] and that they were an alternative form of formation to the *polis*.[440] *Ethnē* now are mostly defined as a group of people whose common identity resides in kinship bonds, no matter how fictive, that

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[435] Van den Eijnde 2019, 99.
[436] Van den Eijnde 2019, 100.
[437] Philippson 1952, 980 (though he dates the emergence of such a feeling to the Mycenaean period); Parker 1996, 10-11; 14-17.
[438] Parker 1996, 13.
[439] Morgan 2003, 9.
[440] Hall 2014, 90.

were recognised by its members, who also shared rituals and customs. An *ethnos* offered a broader sense of belonging.[441] *Ethnē* could in fact act in the same way as *poleis*, and waged war, raised taxes and negotiated treaties.[442]

The identification of communities with these tiers could vary over time and per occasion.[443] Within the creation and maintenance of these tiers, cults were extremely important – see my claims on creating new 'Eleusinian' identities by way of cult above – as they relied on a notion of shared ancestry that could be expressed through cultic and mythological connections.[444] By practicing cult, distinctions were made between insiders and outsiders, where membership of a particular identity was formed through participation – in Eleusis this probably happened during the banquets in the Sacred House, and participation in the various hero cults and offerings that ended up in the pyres.[445] Cults and sanctuaries also formed important arenas in which elite competition took place and authorities were created (see 2.5 for Eleusinian elite competition).[446]

In the case of Attica, F. van den Eijnde has argued convincingly that throughout the centuries discussed above the Athenian *polis* and the Attic *ethnos* were two interdependent but different tiers of identity, both developing from the tenth century onwards.[447] During most of the Archaic period, the *polis* and *ethnos* ran parallel, and only aligned gradually. The territory of the Athenian *polis* and the Attic *ethnos* (being the Attic peninsula) then only converged completely with the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC.[448] With this in mind, the unusual size of eventual Athenian *polis* can be explained more satisfactorily: when comparing Attica to the size of other Greek *ethnē*, we find that Attica was only average in size, comparable to Laconia, Messenia and Phocis but smaller than Thessaly, Euboea and Arcadia.[449] Athenian ethnic feelings are perfectly described in the Attic autochthony myth, which shares the belief that the Atticans originated from the Attic earth and did not immigrate to Attica from somewhere else.[450]

In the case of Eleusis, then, it is likely they were part of this Attic *ethnos*, but not of the early *polis.* Within these shared Attic feelings, there was still room for both Athens and Eleusis to compete and act on their own throughout the periods described. In this sense, as well as religiously, Eleusis was 'independent': they were not part of the socio-political hierarchy established by Athens on its own plain. It is possible, however, that Eleusis *was* part of a complicated network of interregional ties based on intermarriage and guest friendships.[451]

This is where 'peer polity interaction' comes in. Going off the hereby posited analysis of both literary

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[441] Hall 2014, 91, 92. While the citizens of *polis* derive their identity from the urban centre and its institutions (91).
[442] Morgan 2003, 9.
[443] Morgan 2003, 1.
[444] Morgan 2003, 187.
[445] Van den Eijnde 2010, 2.
[446] Morgan 2003, 10.
[447] Van den Eijnde 2010, 2, 335. Parker (1996, 10-11) somewhat alludes to this when he says that the cultural unification of Attica was a distinct process from the political unification of this peninsula ('[…] the two processes are distinct, as is clear from culturally unified but politically divided Boeotia.')
[448] Van den Eijnde 2010, 26, 301.
[449] Van den Eijnde 2010, 302.
[450] Herodotos, *Histories*, 7.161.3; Isokrates, *Speeches*, 4.24; Plato, *Menexenos*, 245d.
[451] Van den Eijnde 2010, 376.

and archaeological sources, a framework of peer polity interaction fits the early relations between Eleusis and Athens best. 'Peer polity interaction' namely designates 'the full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and of information) between autonomous […] units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region'.[452] Glancing back on the way Athens and Eleusis have been characterised in this chapter and the last, peer polity interaction seems to be an apt way to describe their relations, all the more since it avoids laying stress upon relations of dominance and subordination between societies.[453] (Notably since a discourse of political dominance on the Athenian end has been a large problem in the historiography treated thus far.)

2.7 Conclusions to chapter 2

In this chapter I discussed the archaeological sources available and the scholarship pertaining to both the incorporation of Eleusis and the unification of Attica. As with last chapter, it has been impossible to establish an academic consensus on the date of both phenomena, though their characterisation seems to be largely in accordance (a political subordination, sometimes a process and sometimes a single act). In this sense, my conclusions are largely the same as previous chapter: the sources – in this case the archaeological ones – have been used to argue in favour of a political incorporation as just described, which is not a sound way to interpret archaeology. Instead, I have tried to show that Eleusis and Athens shared a cultural orbit (the Attic *ethnos*) but not yet a political one. They engaged not only in trade but competed (as can been seen in the establishment of the cult of Demeter after that of Athena on the Akropolis), and – most importantly – developed religious connections throughout the period between the eighth and fifth century BC. These relations can be described well with the framework of 'peer polity interaction'. All the while, Eleusis retained strong local identities, with an increasingly popular main cult and a large settlement in addition to the opportunity to easily defend themselves on their own acropolis.

However, it is not yet known when exactly the religious ties between Athens and Eleusis started, though we have seen that they could have been in place as early as the seventh century through evidence from both the Eleusinian sanctuary (a possible *adyton* and the mystic element) and the Sacred Way (graves). To this end, the Athenian *agora* and the City Eleusinion could enlighten us.

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[452] Renfrew 1986, 1.
[453] Renfrew 1986, 1.

PART II – THE INCORPORATION OF ELEUSIS: THE CITY ELEUSINION REVISITED

In Part I have established the various ways in which scholarship on the Athenian synoecism and the incorporation of Eleusis has largely been unable to provide a satisfactory understanding of the relations between Eleusis and Athens from the eighth century until the political integration of Attica in 507/6 BC. Through the analysis of the historical and archaeological sources and the use of the concepts of the Attic *ethnos* and 'peer polity interaction', I have tried to characterise these links: probably, the Eleusinians and Athenians encountered each other as developing *poleis* in a shared cultural setting, through which their inhabitants were able to communicate in the forms of competition, occasional strife and collaboration – not only via trade and probable marital links, but, most importantly, in the of field religion. Religious interests in the other's cult was perhaps sparked by the establishment of the cult of Athena on the Akropolis (2.3.6) and later – on the Athenian side – a fascination with an early form of the Mysteries or an ever-developing form of the Thesmophoria.

To further understand and date these religious ties, it is important to involve the Athenian branch cult of the Eleusinian Demeter: the City Eleusinion. How did this cult in the later Athenian *agora* develop, and when did the sanctuary itself become tied to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis? Throughout the first two chapters we have seen that the seventh century is a likely candidate for this development (see 2.4, 2.7), but to reach a more substantiated conclusion, the evidence from the area of the Athenian Classical *agora* is necessary.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the first centuries of the City Eleusinion and the insights some of the sanctuary material found in the Athenian *agora* could give in the matter of religious relations between Eleusis and Athens. This chapter is based on the latest observations regarding the well-known seventh-century Terracotta Votive Deposit (H 17:4[454]) and the possibility that not only this deposit but all the seventh-century sanctuary material in the *agora* wells could have stemmed from the Eleusinion.[455]

Before these points will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3, it is necessary to first provide an overview of the early archaeological history of the (later) City Eleusinion, the earliest votive objects there and the place of this Demeter cult in the later Athenian *agora* and within the early Athenian cultic landscape (3.2). This will further substantiate the suggestions described above. After establishing this broader context, it is time to delve deeper in the possible early cultic connections between Athens and Eleusis by way of the many deposits with possible Eleusinion votive material found in wells all over the *agora.* To be able to analyse these, I have focussed on what one might call 'diagnostic sanctuary material' – I will elaborate more on this in section 3.5.2.

I then gathered all the usable well material in a database (3.5 and appendix III), which contains all the deposits with sanctuary dump fill found in *agora* wells from the eighth to sixth century BC. While the first two centuries of this period will be most important for my hypothesis, the material of the sixth will be discussed shortly as well, since two of the Eleusinian pyres (B and Γ/C) were dated to this period. The material from the database will then be compared to that of the Eleusinion pits and deposit H 17:4 and almost simultaneously to the contemporary object from the pyres at Eleusis (3.6).[456] The insights gleaned from the overview of the Athenian cultic landscape will be of worth particularly in this section, since it establishes that the precinct of the Eleusinion was one of the only (traceable) sacred spaces in the early period of the seventh century – and certainly the most prominent in the immediate area of the *agora*.

All this will substantiate the earlier proposed claim that the religious links between Athens and Eleusis could have been in existence from at least as early as the seventh century BC, and that the procession between the two places may well have been established in this period as well. These religious ties then contributed to increasing feelings of mutual concern and belonging. Eventually the continuous religious integration culminated into Eleusis being included in the political unification of the Attic peninsula at the end

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[454] This is the usual way of listing the deposits (a deposit can mean either a well, pit or grave) found in the various parts of the Athenian *agora.* The 'H' and the number before the colon refer to the specific quadrant a deposit was found in, while the number after the colon indicates the specific deposit within that grid (see figure 23 for the grid system used for the excavations on the *agora* and for the wells used in this thesis). The listing as a whole indicates where the crates can be found in the Athenian *agora* depot, below the Stoa of Attalos.

[455] Laughy 2018, 674.

[456] The object from these deposits will be described in more detail in the sections 3.3 and 3.4.

of the sixth century.[457] In the conclusion to this thesis, this theory will be further contextualised within previous scholarship on the development of the Athenian *polis*, its synoecism and the incorporation of Eleusis.

3.2 The early history of the City Eleusinion (eighth-sixth century BC)

      3.2.1 The early history of the City Eleusinion: placement of the sanctuary, roads and the agora
Literary sources from the fifth century BC and later tell us that the City Eleusinion was a rather large sanctuary; apparently, it included numerous buildings, walls and other constructions, such as a temple of Demeter and Kore, altars, a temple of Triptolemos, the 'tomb' of Immarados and perhaps a Ploutonion.[458] Unfortunately, we do not know the exact dimensions of the Eleusinion in these later stages, as it has only been excavated partially: a considerable part of the sanctuary still lies beneath the streets of modern Athens.[459] What the excavations *did* reveal was a walled precinct containing a *stoa*, forecourt and an Archaic building (figures 27, 29 and 30). This building can – according to Miles[460] – be identified as the temple of Triptolemos, which mirrored the topography of Eleusis.[461] The precinct as a whole was officially identified as the Eleusinion in 1949, based on the high concentration of relevant inscriptions, pottery shapes (*kernoi* or *plemochoai*), and sculpture within its walls and in its immediate vicinity.[462]

      The area immediately to the north of the Eleusinion eventually became the southeast corner of the *agora* of Athens. The *agora* was the centre of Athenian civic life: activities of administrative, political, judicial, commercial, industrial and religious natures took place here in the various public office buildings, archives, temples, shrines, lawcourts, private shops and marketplaces (see figures 23 and 24). Potters, bronzeworkers, lime and coin makers, ironworkers and sculptors also carried out their crafts here.[463]

      The establishment of this area as a public space is generally dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, during the reign of the Peisistratids.[464] This is when the first public structures and monuments

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[457] Of course, Athens and Eleusis were not responsible for the political unification of the whole of Attica. It is, however, likely that in the same centuries we are discussing here Athens and other Attic localities fostered their (religious) relations, with the Kleisthenic reforms as an eventual outcome.

[458] For references, see Miles 1998, 2.

[459] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 229.

[460] Miles 1998, 44, 49-51. Miles identified the building as the temple of Triptolemos because Pausanias described the building, just as he did the outer temples at Eleusis. In the case of the Eleusinian cult, he normally neglected to describe the inner sanctuary, due to the requirement of silence regarding all cult activities. Pausanias's description is also the reason the area of this temple is generally described as a forecourt, as it is assumed it would not have been part of the inner sanctum. Pausanias's descriptions of the *agora* – though not without their difficulties and restraints – in general were very important during the identification process of many of the *agora*'s buildings (see Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 204-6; Wycherley 1957, 10-11). For other ancient testimonia about the Eleusinion and its other buildings and statues, see Miles 1998, 2-3.

[461] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.38.6.

[462] Miles 1998, 3-6; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 229. The relevant inscriptions were the so-called 'Attic stelai', known to have stood in the Eleusinion. These recorded the selling of the goods of Alkibiades and his associates after the profanation of the Mysteries in 415 BC (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 229); the relevant pottery shapes came in the form of kernoi or plemochoai, vessels used in the rites at Eleusis.

[463] Camp 2003, 4, 24; Camp 1986, 14-15; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 187-91.

[464] There are, however, scholars who think this 'classical' *agora* replaced an earlier one, which had supposedly been located to the southeast of the Acropolis (see Camp 2010, 15; Dickenson 2015; Papadopoulos 2003, 22; Dimitriadou 2019,

were built,[465] houses were demolished and many of the wells in the central square were filled.[466] The area was probably deemed suitable due to its more level ground and the short distance to and from the western entrance of the Akropolis, the other (religious) centre of Athens.[467] Moreover, some already ancient roads provided a neat framework around which the *agora* probably developed.[468] These eventually made up its principle square – the 'triangle' (see figure 23) – and provided access to various parts of the eventual city.[469] One of these roads later became the Panathenaic Way or *Dromos*, the main axis of the *agora* running directly to and from the Akropolis.[470] The *Dromos* was not only in use for regular traffic, but also served as a running and chariot racing track, the training ground for the cavalry and the primary route for the Panathenaic procession – the main event of the Panathenaic civic festival.[471]

Most relevant for our purposes, however, is that the Panathenaic Way also ran past the Eleusinion.[472] This points towards the important place this sanctuary occupied within the early Athenian cityscape. Whether the importance of the *Dromos* partly stems from the location of the later City Eleusinion (and the sanctuaries on the Akropolis beyond) or vice versa is not known. However, the role of sanctuaries in early

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111, 182-83). An allusion to 'a simple prototype' is also made by Thompson & Wycherley (1972, 19) and (Parker 1996, 8-9). J. Papadopoulos goes further and claims that the area of the classical *agora* was not in use as a public square until the early fifth century BC. Instead, he maintains the area was the 'original' Kerameikos (the pottery district which then moved to the northwest, near the Dipylon gate, in the early classical period), which he based on the various pottery dumps found in wells from the Early Iron Age to the sixth century BC (Papadopoulos 2003, 279). This view, however, does not account for the sanctuary dumps found in the same wells, as well as the possibility that pottery workshops were established in residential areas (Mazarakis Ainian 2007/2008, 387). A further discussion of an earlier *agora* is, however, not within the scopes of this thesis.

[465] Building C, D, F and J were the earliest (Camp 1986, 39-40, 44; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 26-28). These buildings were replaced after the Persian sack by the *Tholos*, which was to house the *boulē* and *prytaneis* (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 29). Other buildings from the second half of the sixth century were the Southeast Fountain House, the Old *Bouleuterion* beneath the later Metroon, the Altar of the Twelve Gods and perhaps the *Stoa Basileios* and the *Prytaneion* (Camp 1986, 53; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 84-89). On stylistic grounds the *Stoa* could be dated to the sixth century, though the earliest pottery stems from the fifth century BC. The *Prytaneion* has not yet been found, but it is generally assumed this had to have been one of the earliest public buildings of Athens, as it housed copies of the Solonian law code. It apparently stood somewhere on the north slope of the Akropolis (Camp 2001, 27). However, the first herms (the *agora*'s boundary markers) were placed in the early fifth century BC (Camp 2003, 39). Other important early (fifth century) and classical buildings and structures were the *Stoa Poikile*, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the Poros building (maybe the prison), the temple of Apollo Patroos, the altar of Aphrodite Ourania, the temple of Hephaistos, the Southwest Fountain House, the South Stoa I, the *Aiakeion*, various probable lawcourts – the *Heliaia* – and most of the administrative centre (the *Tholos*, the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, the New Bouleterion and the Metroon, which included the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods) (Camp 2003, 15-20, 41-43; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 38-45, 52, 56-63). The *agora*'s development continued throughout the Hellenistic (Stoa of Attalos, South Stoa II) and Roman (Odeion of Agrippa, Temple of Ares – a 'wandering temple') periods and reached its architectural limits around ca. 150 AD (see figures 23 and 24) (Camp 2003, 27-38).
[466] At least, it is thought houses were demolished *because* many of the wells were filled; structures from these houses have not survived. Camp 1986, 40; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 16; Morgan 2003, 66.
[467] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 19-20.
[468] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 193. The orientation of buildings of the *agora* were certainly aligned along these streets (Costaki 2006, 167).
[469] Costaki 2006, 109.
[470] However, the first public buildings and shrines arose in the west side of the triangular space, where another important artery could be found (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 20).
[471] Camp 2003, 8; Camp 1986, 45; Camp 2001, 39. This festival had supposedly been created during the sixth century BC by the Peisistratids.
[472] The part of the road to the Eleusinion dates to the sixth century BC (road gravel). However, the orientation of Mycenaean tombs alongside the road proves it had been a route before that time (Costaki 2006, 330).

urbanization phases has been stressed,[473] and the Eleusinion was the largest, earliest, and arguably only traceable sanctuary in the area of the *agora* during the eighth and seventh centuries (see 3.2.3). Such an interpretation has also been put forward by H.A. Thompson and R.W. Wycherley, who remarked that the course of the Panathenaic Way originally was further to the west, but that the growing importance of the 'Eleusinion' may have caused an eastward drift to its 'present' course.[474] Not unimportantly, the Panathenaic Way was part of the natural approach from central Greece and the Peloponnese to Athens, a route that also led through the plain of Eleusis.[475] In this sense, a location for an affiliated cult to the one in Eleusis could not be more suitably or more centrally located.

The Eleusinion had more striking features. Though the extreme popularity of both the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis only really skyrocketed starting in the fifth century BC (see the introduction to this thesis), the origins of both cult places can be found in the eighth century.[476] Another similarity between the two is their placements on slopes, which for the Eleusinion is the north slope of the Akropolis, with the Klepsydra spring and various cave sanctuaries as backdrop.[477] Lastly, both sanctuaries were partly centred around venerable outcroppings of bedrock: while the one in Eleusis is known as the Mirthless Rock (*Agelastos Petra*), where Demeter had mourned the loss of Kore, the City Eleusinion included the so-called 'Rocky Outcrop' within its later (sixth century) walls (for its supposed meaning, see 3.2.2).[478] These rocks even had similar topographical placements within their respective sanctuaries: just inside its entrance (or forecourt).[479] Such remarkable rocks were often worshipped in the ancient Greek world, and were mostly associated with Demeter.[480] More on this in the next section.

3.2.2 The early history of the City Eleusinion: cult activity and sanctuary architecture

At the time of the first activity in the area of the Eleusinion, the space of the later *agora* had been a burial ground for centuries, though there are also traces of habitation and industry.[481] The space of the later sanctuary can be divided in an upper and middle terrace, with its principal natural feature being the aforementioned 'Rocky Outcrop'. This outcropping of bedrock was situated on the upper terrace – see figures 27 and 57 – and may have been venerated from very early on, though there is no explicit evidence for this. It

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[473] Costaki 2006, 162. Though Costaki refers here to the Akropolis and the Panathenaic festival and procession, which was a creation of the sixth century BC. In addition to this, Costaki mentions other reasons for the creation of paths: moving to and from water sources, places of habitation, areas of food production and places of burial (and, indeed, worship) (Costaki 2006, 162).

[474] Miles 1998, 11.

[475] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 17.

[476] In the case of Eleusis, see last chapter (2.3.3).

[477] Miles 1998, 11. However, it must be mentioned that more Demeter sanctuaries have been found on hillsides. Though this could still support the notion that the Eleusinion was a Demeter sanctuary at this time (Cole 1994, 205).

[478] Miles 1998, 20-21.

[479] Palinkas 2008, 26.

[480] Miles 1998, 20-21.

[481] Camp 2003, 5; Camp 1986, 28-33. Namely wells and shreds of walls and pottery dumps in said wells. Sparse structures of the eighth and seventh centuries were found beneath the Tholos, the Heliaia and the Southeast Fountain House (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 17), and it is probable that house not only served private life, but harboured (light) industry at the same time, such as a pottery workshop (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 186). For the region of the Kerameikos, see Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 186.

probably became a focal point within the sanctuary once its sixth-century wall was constructed.[482] Before this time, however, the space had already been set aside as an open-air sanctuary by at least the mid-seventh century BC – possibly the late eighth.[483] The lack of any previous occupation on the upper plateau could indicate the spot had been reserved and revered even earlier.[484] It is possible that the same is true for the steep slope of section II of the sanctuary (see figures 26 and 30).[485] The middle terrace and the region further to the north were occupied by houses and potters, as indicated by wells.[486]

The first positive evidence for a sanctuary are two seventh-century deposits in the vicinity of the Rocky Outcrop: T 20:2 and T 19:3, found respectively on the upper terrace and the edge of this terrace. These contained terracotta votive offerings (see 3.3[487]). T 19:3 was found in a spot later covered by the Temple of Triptolemos, and included material from the late eighth century.[488] Other votive deposits with figurines in the area were T 20:3 (seventh century) and T 20:4 (sixth century; see figure 31).[489] Another fill of special interest is a pit with discards from a potter's workshop found to the north of the area of the Eleusinion (S 17:2). This deposit not only contained neatly stacked pots and other trial pieces, but also many terracotta figurines and other votive objects. It is likely that all these finds stem from the Eleusinion, as they are similar to the ones found within the area of the sanctuary.[490] The objects from the Eleusinion and its vicinity will be described in detail later (3.3).[491]

The probability is high that the cult was already devoted to a feminine deity, most likely Demeter (The Eleusinian Demeter – and perhaps Kore[492] – became the principal deity within in the second half of the seventh century.) This is derived from a few things: a preference for so-called 'columnar' female figurines or *Stempelidolen*, the singling out of the Rocky Outcrop and the placement of the sanctuary on a hillside.[493] The earliest epigraphical evidence identifying the sanctuary as the Eleusinion, however, stems from the end of the sixth century: two groups of fragmented inscriptions were set up during this time, recording laws that concerned the Eleusinian Mysteries, the prerequisites of priesthoods and sacrifices at festivals.[494]

Additionally, the sixth century saw the first (traceable) architectural features incorporated into the sanctuary: a polygonal wall with a simple southern entrance was constructed. This entrance lay along a road running east-west relative to the Panathenaic Way; the latter was widened around the same time, perhaps to

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[482] Miles 1998, 14.
[483] Palinkas 2008, 25.
[484] Miles 1998, 15.
[485] Miles 1998, 18. Though this could also stem from the steepness of the slope.
[486] Miles 1998, 18.
[487] T 19:3 had been indicated as a either a well or a pit in the Agora Excavations Collections database; this is why it ended up in my dataset (see appendix III).
[488] Miles 1998, 17; Palinkas 2008, 25.
[489] Miles 1998, 16-17.
[490] Miles 1998, 17-18.
[491] Miles 1998, 18.
[492] According to Cosmopoulos, Persephone/Kore had been established as queen of the dead already by the ninth century and was combined with the cult of Demeter early on as well, as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is only a written-down incarnation of a story that had probably been in existence since the early Iron Age (ninth century BC) and originated possibly at Eleusis/in Attica. Cosmopoulos 2015, 8-9.
[493] Miles 1998, 19; Palinkas 2008, 25. For the placement of Demeter sanctuaries on hillsides, see Cole 1994, 205.
[494] Miles 1998, 8. The inscriptions in question are IG I^3 231, 232 (Miles 1998, 200-1).

frame a new or larger processional way to account for more visitors to the Eleusinion (and the Akropolis sanctuaries).[495] The wall itself measured 22 m. on the west, 26 m. on the north, and 28 m on the south side. The course of its foundations, as well as 6 meters on the west side of the terrace and the southwest corner of the *peribolos* are still preserved (see figure 27).[496] The wall is dated to the first half of the sixth century (ca. 575-550 BC) on the basis of pottery below the wall.[497] Furthermore, throughout almost all of the excavated layers inside the walled precinct, terracotta figurines and miniatures were present.[498]

Finally,[499] at the end of the sixth century BC, the sanctuary was expanded to the north, and houses on the middle terrace were demolished. Within this extension, the foundations of the temple of Triptolemos (11.064 x 17.813 m.) were laid, though the temple itself was built later in the fifth century.[500] This monumentalisation of the sacred space encapsulated the areas of the earlier mentioned votive deposits and the Rocky Outcrop.[501] As it stands (as alluded to before), this outcrop was the first feature of the early-sixth century sanctuary one would have noticed at the time of entering. While it may not have been the setting of a sacred dramatic performance – a function the Mirthless Rock probably had at Eleusis[502] – it still evoked Demeter,[503] probably the Eleusinian one early in the sanctuary's life.

To elaborate more on this last point, I want to emphasize some of the statements I made in the previous two segments before moving on to the rest of the chapter. As we have seen in the previous section, there were various similarities to be found between the cult in Eleusis and the 'Eleusinion' in Athens: in both cults special properties were ascribed to rocks associated with Demeter, they were placed on slopes and both originated (arguably) in the eighth century BC. The Eleusinion conveniently lay along one of the direct roads from the direction of Eleusis. Besides, it can be argued that both sanctuaries developed hand-in-hand architecturally: while the *peribolos* walls of the Eleusinion were constructed, a similar wall was made in Eleusis to serve as a new *peribolos* and to increase the size of the terrace (2.3.4). On top of this the walls resembled each other in terms of masonry style.[504] Finally, construction of the temple of Triptolemos was started around the same time as the 'Peisistrateian' Telesterion (2.4.5).[505]

Such topographical and architectural links between the sanctuary of Eleusis and the Eleusinion can perhaps be explained if a religious association between the sanctuaries was already in existence around the seventh century. J.L. Palinkas argues in favour of the seventh century as well and adds the possibility that the

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[495] Palinkas 2008, 50, 51. The widening of the Panathenaic way near the Eleusinion is indicated by the closure of various wells outside the entrance to the sanctuary.
[496] Miles 1998, 25.
[497] Miles 1998, 26.
[498] Miles 1998, 25.
[499] For our time period (until 408/7 BC) at least. The Eleusinion saw more developments during the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods (see Miles 1998, 59-94).
[500] Miles 1998, 28, 39.
[501] Palinkas 2008, 25.
[502] Clinton 2007, 347, 353-55.
[503] Palinkas 2008, 27.
[504] Palinkas 2008, 49. And in the use of local limestones, though this is to be expected.
[505] Miles 1998, 28; Warford 2015, 173.

Eleusinian-Athenian procession could have existed during this time, as the infrastructure was there:[506] the 'Sacred Way' was operational (2.2) and there were storage possibilities for early *hiera* at Eleusis (see 2.3.4) and the City Eleusinion; in the case of the latter these did not have to be monumental, but could also have been wooden.[507] Furthermore, the construction of a formal entrance to the Eleusinion and the widening of the Panathenaic Way next to it open the possibility that a processional way was created or enlarged during this time (3.2.2) – something the cult in Eleusis already had (2.3.3).

However, we must keep in mind that the evidence is not all-encompassing, and the conclusion of a possible religious link between the sanctuaries at this time is still a tentative one. For instance, whether the Mysteries were celebrated already is not known – though this matter does not diminish a potential religious link between Eleusis and Athens in any way; it is equally possible that a (ever developing) form of the Thesmophoria was still the main celebration in both Eleusis and the City Eleusinion, perhaps with Kore's role alongside Demeter already in place (see footnote 492).[508]

3.2.3 The early history of the City Eleusinion: the Athenian cultic landscape

In the second century AD the Greek traveller and geographer Pausanias noted 'that the Athenians are far more devoted to religion than other men. [….] Outside the city, too, in the demes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods and graves of heroes […]'.[509] In the narration of his tour of the city of Athens itself, Pausanias elaborates on this statement by mentioning the shrines and temples he encountered all around, starting at the – in his case – Dipylon gate with a temple of Eleusinian Demeter.[510] Descriptions of shrines, sanctuaries, tombs, altars and statues follow as he details his walk through the Classical *agora* to the other side of the city and its surrounding countryside up until Eleusis.[511] Important to note here is the fact that the Eleusinion was not the only sanctuary situated near or on the *agora* in his lifetime. While this situation in the second century AD does not directly reflect the Athenian cultic landscape in earlier periods, we know from other literary sources, starting in the fifth century BC, that the area of the *agora* was packed with religious structures – arguably, the whole *agora* was sacred ground.[512]

Some of the sacred spaces mentioned in literature have been identified; amongst these are the altar of the Twelve Gods and the temples of the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite Ourania, Ares, Zeus Phratrios and

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[506] The possibility is mentioned by Warford 2015, 175, 212.

[507] Palinkas 2008, 46-47. They could have been wooden (Palinkas 2008, 27), as many early cultic objects were.

[508] Miles 1998, 22. However, the votive deposits (the pyres) and architecture in Eleusis could still point towards a secretive cult and a procession through the sanctuary, as the votives were left outside the walls of the sanctuary (Patera 2008; Evans 2002, 234, 238, 246).

[509] Pausanias, *Description of* Greece, 1.24.3, 1.29.2 (translation: Jones, Litt & Ormerod 1918).

[510] In it, there were statues of Demeter, Kore and Iakchos holding a torch. Pausanias *Description of Greece*, 1.2.4.

[511] For example, amongst the many cults and statues of gods and heroes in the *agora* he mentions a temple of Apollo Patroos, two other statues of Apollo, the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (with room for worshiping Zeus, Apollo and Demos), the Eleusinion, a temple to 'Glory', the temple of Hephaistos, statues of Hermes near the Stoa Poikile and various altars (Pausanias, 1.2.4-1.38.6).

[512] Its space was demarcated by *horoi* (boundary markers), which were commonly used to indicate limits of sanctuaries. Additionally, pollution was not admitted and the entrances to the *agora* were marked by basins (*perirrhanteria*) used to purify (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 117).

Athena Phratria.[513] However, there are many that are only know from texts; some that come to mind are the various cults inside the Bouleuterion and Tholos[514] and the precinct of Demeter Chloe (apparently near the entrance to the Akropolis past the Eleusinion).[515] Even the streets had their own gods, often variations of Hermes.[516] Because providing an overview of all the known deities and heroes honoured on and around the *agora* is way beyond the scope of this thesis, I will refer to R.E. Wycherley's *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (1957), which features a collection of all the literary references to gods and heroes with precincts or statues on and near the *agora*.[517] E. Kearns has done the same with all the heroes who were honoured throughout Athens (and Attica) in *The Heroes of Attica* (1989).[518]

All this could pose problems for the period of our inquiry – the eighth to sixth century BC. It is highly probable, however, that by far most – if not all – of these sanctuaries, altars and shrines were not in existence during these centuries. They can probably be linked to the early years of the democracy, the fifth century or later, as these precincts were either devoted specifically to gods, goddesses, heroes and heroines linked to the democracy (or the *polis* in general), the Hellenistic kings, or Roman empire. Most are mentioned only once or twice in a later period, which could indicate a late origin date. Thus, for the cults (already) in existence during the eighth, seventh and sixth century, it is fruitful to look at the archaeology.

The archaeologically traceable Athenian cults of the eighth to the sixth century BC can be found mostly on the Akropolis, its south and west slopes, the Areopagos and indeed the area of the *agora* (the north slopes). Of course, it still necessary to keep in mind there were many untraceable and unknown cults and divinities worshipped. Further away from our area there was cultic activity in the area of the Olympieion,[519] where, according to Thukydides, various 'ancient' shrines were situated – such as that of Apollo Pythias (to whom Peisistratos the Younger had dedicated an altar in 522/1 BC[520]), Gaia and Dionysos in the Marshes.[521] This is also the approximate place where the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus was found (with a large marble statue dated to the 530 BC).[522]

On the Akropolis, the sanctuary of Athena begins its activities around 750 BC (see also 2.3.6), which can be gleaned from two stone bases and the presence of votive material from ca. 750-680 BC. Amongst this material were ca. 70 fragments of bronze tripods, bronze and terracotta figurines (ornaments, ships, animals,

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[513] Other examples are the Aiakeion, the Crossroads shrine, the temples of Hephaistos and Athena, Apollo Patroos, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. These and more are mentioned in Camp 2010, 37-143; Camp 1980, 3, 26.

[514] Cults inside the Bouleuterion and the Tholos were devoted to Hestia, Artemis and Athena Boulaia, Zeus Boulaios, Artemis Phosphoros and the Phosphoroi (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 36, 45).

[515] Other examples – amongst many – are the shrines of Ikria and Orchestra, Dionysos Lenaios, Eirene and Herakles Alexikakos (Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 117-169).

[516] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 169.

[517] Wycherley 1957, 48-179.

[518] Kearns 1989, 139-207 (she has gathered the material on heroes all over Attica; throughout this database the specific Athenian heroes can be found).

[519] Dimitriadou 2019, 223; Parker 2005, 55, who calls the zone of the Olympieion the second most important religious zone after the Akropolis.

[520] Camp 2001, 36.

[521] Parker 2005, 55. Amongst the many cults beyond the river Ilissos, at Agrai, the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera was situated. At Agrai was also situated the 'Mother at Agrai', who presided over the Lesser Mysteries (Parker 2005, 57).

[522] Camp 2001, 36.

chariots, male and female figures), terracotta plaques, lamps and pottery.[523] After this surge of popularity, a period of decline set in after ca. 680.[524] Nearby, on the direct north-east slope (below the Akropolis wall[525]) the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite was located. More than five hundred terracotta figurines – a great number of the earlier mentioned columnar type – were found in the area. It is also possible they originated further up the hill, either from the sanctuary of Athena or from another shrine.[526] On the west side of the Akropolis, there were sanctuaries of (probably) Athena Nike and Nymphe.[527] The cult of Nike (on the Nike bastion) takes off around the seventh century BC, from when columnar female figurines were found in a hollowed-out base of an Archaic cult statue.[528] The shrine of Nymphe starts activity in the same century (ca. 650 BC), and was situated south of the later Odeion of Herodes Atticus. It consisted of an elliptical temenos on top of an earlier altar, which was surrounded by a mass of pottery (hydriai, aryballoi, plates, kotylai, bowls and loutrophoroi), sixth-century masks and again columnar female figurines.[529]

The area of the Areopagos was likewise home to cult activity. One possible cult site was the so-called Areopagos Oval Building, a lone oval structure in an Early Geometric burial plot. This may have sited an ancestor cult since it included possible infrastructure for ritual dining. The building was in use until ca. 750 BC.[530] Near the Oval Building, in the southwestern corner of the *agora*, the Triangular Shrine was found near some Late Geometric Burials (see figure 23 and 24).[531] Inside the shrine two terracotta horses and cut disks were found, as well as a rectangular structure dated to the seventh century BC.[532] However, it has been noticed that the figurines and cut disks were found in seventh-century road metal, which would lower the possibility of an early cult at that place considerably.[533] Lastly, on the north slope of the Areopagos on an 'assembly place' one columnar figurine, a seated goddess, a male torso and some other figurines were found.[534]

In the area of the later *agora* somewhat more cults can be found throughout our period. First is the possible ancestor cult known as the 'Strategeion' cemetery, which consisted of twenty family graves dated from the eighth to the sixth century. Various pyres were found on some of the graves, two pyre deposits contained ritual pottery, and around 725 BC an associated building (A) was constructed, perhaps for ritual dining. The graveyard was never built over and received an enclosure in the Hellenistic period;[535] it was probably known at the time as the *heroon* of Strategos.[536] A possible second mid-seventh-century cult place

[523] Van den Eijnde 2010, 92.
[524] Van den Eijnde 2010, 100. Though the sanctuary remained operational.
[525] Broneer 1932, 32-33.
[526] Van den Eijnde 2010, 297.
[527] Dimitriadou 2019, 223.
[528] Van den Eijnde 2010, 101-2.
[529] Van den Eijnde 2010, 104.
[530] Van den Eijnde 2010, 114-16.
[531] Dimitriadou 2019, 223.
[532] Van den Eijnde 2010, 118-19.
[533] Laughy 2018, 657-59.
[534] Van den Eijnde 2010, 298.
[535] Van den Eijnde 2010, 106-10; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 120.
[536] Van den Eijnde 2010, 110.

was a stone-lined pit just opposite the north-eastern corner of the 'Roman'[537] temple of Ares.[538] It contained some pottery (cup kraters), terracotta figurines (a horse and charioteers), plaques, a shield, a gold band and foil, a snake protome, a faience hawk, an ivory fibula, and a fifth-century bronze shield and arrow heads.[539] I, however, want to raise the possibility that this deposit (L-M 7:1[540]) also stems from the Eleusinion, as its contents resemble the finds from the Eleusinion pits and the Areopagos Votive Deposit (particularly the figurines, plaques and shields; see also 3.6.2). Additionally, it is probable that amongst all the houses and workshops in the area were more shrines, which have now disappeared or still lie hidden.[541] Lastly, R. Parker speculates on the existence of various other hero cults in the *agora* from the seventh century onwards, due to its function as an ancient burial site.[542]

Other traceable cults in the area of the *agora* start in the sixth century. One of the cults probably situated on the *agora* during that time was the Leokoreion,[543] the murder site of Peisistratos's son Hipparchos. A small crossroads sanctuary at the northwest corner of the *agora* square was accordingly identified, though its votives date from the fifth and fourth centuries BC (jewelry and loom weights).[544] Additionally, beneath the Hellenistic sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (*Metroon*) lie remains of a small, pre-Persian temple (6.90 m. by 18 m.),[545] and an archaic shrine was found beneath the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.[546] Twenty-five meters to its east, remains of an altar were found.[547] Lastly, the altar of Aphrodite Ourania is dated to ca. 500 BC.[548]

As we have seen, the Athenian *agora* and its immediate vicinity were the locations of much religious activity, though many of these cults are not archaeologically traceable anymore. They were either destroyed by later construction or hidden beneath the modern city. What can be said, however, is that the Eleusinion probably was the most prominent sanctuary in the part of seventh century Athens discussed here (see 3.2.3) – excepting only perhaps the sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis and the cult of Nymphe on the other side of the Akropolis rock. In the case of Athena, it is interesting to note that her sanctuary experienced a votive slump around the time the Eleusinion (and the precinct of Nymphe) became popular.

In the area of the *agora*, the deposits of the Eleusinion constitute the earliest religious activity (the

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[537] At least, the temple of Ares was moved to the *agora* in Roman times (Roman foundations), though the building itself is dated to the second half of the fifth century. As such, it is an example of a 'wandering temple'.
[538] Dimitriadou 2019, 223.
[539] Van den Eijnde 2010, 111; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 119. It is thought the bronze shield and arrow heads were deposited after the original cult objects were found during large scale landscaping in the early fifth century (Van den Eijnde 2010, 111).
[540] As this is not a well I have not placed it in my database but in an addendum (see Appendix III; 'Introduction and chronology of the wells').
[541] Parker 2005, 54.
[542] Parker 1996, 34.
[543] A shrine dedicated to the daughters of Leos, who were sacrificed to save Athens from a plague.
[544] Camp 1986, 47-48.
[545] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 30-31.
[546] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 96.
[547] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 96.
[548] Camp 1986, 57.

eighth century).[549] While there was some other early (seventh century) cult activity on the *agora* – such as the *Strategeion* cemetery[550] – other cults were located further away, more in the vicinity of or on the Akropolis. Consequently, I would deem it likely already that at least most of the sanctuary material found in *agora* wells from the seventh century – and perhaps even the eighth – originated from the Eleusinion, a suggestion first put forward by M. Laughy.[551] This is strengthened by the fact that the cult in the *Strategeion* cemetery seems not have attracted many gifts (only vases were recovered), which makes it unfeasible that any potential votives from this area would have made it into the wells. It should also be mentioned here that I believe that an origin of (at least) the seventh-century well material in burial sites and pottery workshops is not conceivable: the wells with possible sanctuary material did not contain pottery discards to indicate the dumps were in fact from a pottery workshop (see database I), and burial in the area of the later *agora* had largely come to a standstill in the seventh century.[552]

This changes partly in the sixth century: this is when the *agora* was developed as a political space and more cults were founded: from the traceable cults, we have already seen that the early *Metroon*, the 'Leokorion' shrine and shrine beneath the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios were in function. While some of the sanctuary material from the wells could thus have stemmed from these sanctuaries, the Eleusinion is still the biggest contender as it remained the largest one. Encouragingly, material from the City Eleusinion in later periods often *did and kept* making it into the pits and wells of the *agora*: an example is the Hellenistic Demeter cistern, which included female ritual figures and miniature votive pottery.[553] However, to make my eventual case stronger, it is necessary to bring forth the Eleusinion material the well finds need to correspond to.

3.3 Dumping Eleusinion sanctuary material: the City Eleusinion deposits and the Terracotta Votive Deposit
In this sub-section a description of the (probable) City Eleusinion material is offered. Before exploring the seventh-century Terracotta Votive Deposit, the deposits from the Eleusinion will be looked at. As has been mentioned at the start of this chapter, the material from the precinct of the City Eleusinion can be found in the following deposits: T 20:2 (upper terrace), T 19:3 (edge upper terrace, below the temple of Triptolemos), T 20:3 (upper terrace) and T 20:4 (upper terrace). One nearby pit (S 17:2) from a potter's workshop also included Eleusinion sanctuary material. I will treat the material chronologically.

The fill in pit T 19:3 ranges from the late eighth century to the mid-seventh century, though most of the material dates to ca. 675 BC (Early Protoattic period). The finds consisted of more than one thousand kept sherds,[554] votive miniatures, spindle whorls, 17 cut disks and at least 17 terracotta figurines. As the fill was

[549] Dimitriadou 2019, 191.
[550] Though this one did not receive much votives besides funerary vases, see 3.2.3.
[551] Laughy 2018, 670.
[552] Camp 2001, 23.
[553] Tsakirgis 2015, 9-10; Burr Thompson 1954, 72, 87, 105.
[554] With which it constitutes one of the major Protoattic deposits in the *agora,* with many decorated and fine pieces (Miles 1998, 17).

not stratified, it was probably dumped in all at one time.[555]

Similar finds come from the other pits: from the seventh-century T 20:2 pit – one deposit with later intrusions – we have 27 terracotta figurines, among which 4 other individuals with legs, 1 shield, 2 plaques, 1 driver, 3 horses, some fine black-figure ware (a miniature skyphos, aryballos, lekanis lid, olpe, and a Corinthian type skyphos).[556] The four inventoried figurines consisted of a seated figurine fragment, a columnar figurine (*Stempelidol*), a figurine with a pinched head and a draped (painted) figurine fragment.[557] From T 20:3 (seventh century) we have some Protoattic sherds (unidentifiable pieces, miniatures and some imported skyphoi) and 6 terracotta figurines, among which 3 of the columnar type (*Stempelidol*), 2 feet and 1 lower body.[558] T 20:4 (sixth century) gives us 61 pieces of terracotta votive objects (columnar figurines/*Stempelidolen*, a flat figurine, an animal figurine and 3 trays of plaques.[559] The last dump (S 17:2; second half of the seventh century) consisted – besides the potter's pieces – of many terracotta figurines (2 columnar figurines, a plaque with traces of white, 2 chariot figurines, a horse figurines, 4 male figurines, 5 seated female figurines, a shield fragment, some figurines on a round base, a bird figurine and a ram figurine; see figure 58).[560] The potter's workshop likely situated in the vicinity of this pit was probably the source of manufacture of the votives in the early sanctuary.[561]

To sum up: the votive material of the City Eleusinion consisted mainly of figurines (columnar, chariot groups, drivers, horses and seated figures), shields, miniature vessels, decorated pottery, plaques, spindle whorls, loom weights and cut disks. By far the most frequent type among the terracotta figurines was the handmade, plain, columnar figure of a female, with a flared skirt (no feet protruding), rudimentary arms and a pinched face (figure 28 for tallies of all the figurines in a table). Another name for this type of figurine is *Stempelidol* or Bird Face Figurine, a category which we encountered already on and to the south of the Akropolis (see figure 31 and 3.2.3).[562]

As pointed out by M. Laughy, the earlier mentioned seventh-century Terracotta Votive Deposit (H 17:4) includes similar material. Laughy restudied and partly republished it in his article 'Figurines in the Road: A Protoattic Votive Deposit from the Athenian Agora Re-examined' (2018). In this article, he argued convincingly that part of this specifically rich Prottoattic deposit hailed from the Eleusinion.[563] Due to the prominence of this sanctuary in the seventh century (see 3.2.3), he then put forward that most of the seventh-century votive material found in *agora* wells, pits and road fill, pre-eminently the terracotta figurines, could

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[555] Miles 1998, 17.

[556] Miles 1998, 17; the information on the fine black-figure ware comes from the T 20:2 entry in the Agora Excavations Collections (http://agora.ascsa.net/research?q=&t=object, access date: 15 October 2020).

[557] Entries T 1461, T 1460, T 1459 and T 1458 in the Agora Excavations Collections (http://agora.ascsa.net/research?q=&t=object, access date: 15 October 2020).

[558] Entry T 20:3 in the Agora Excavations Collections (http://agora.ascsa.net/research?q=&t=object, access date: 15 October 2020); Miles 1998, 17.

[559] Miles 1998, 17.

[560] Miles 1998, 17-18; further information on the specific types of figurines comes from entry S 17:2 in the Agora Excavations Collections (http://agora.ascsa.net/research?q=&t=object, access date: 15 October 2020).

[561] Miles 1998, 18.

[562] Reflections on the implications of this, see 3.6.2.

[563] Laughy 2018, 670-71.

have originated there.[564]

This theory is based on various points: first, despite the fact that the Terracotta Votive Deposit was found in the Areopagos Oval Building, it was not part of the earlier cult celebrated there (see 3.2.3). Instead, it was a collection of deposits dumped in later periods.[565] Second, Laughy found that the terracotta figurines[566] (and some other material) were part of only one of these deposits, gravel fill specifically.[567] Third, this gravel was probably road metal, as it revealed striking connections with fill from the roads east of Kolonos Agoraios.[568] Fourth, seeing the similarities of this – newly named by Laughy – Areopagos Votive Deposit to the material from the Eleusinion deposits – as well as the presence of the 'Mistress of Snakes plaque' (see below)[569] – the original location of the votives could probably be found there.[570] This last point is supported by the fact that it was not uncommon for votives to be discarded from a sanctuary;[571] we can assume the more prominent ones – like the Eleusinion in the seventh century – were periodically decluttered. Many votives then ended up in pits, natural depressions, wells, cisterns, other abandoned structures and – indeed – road fill.[572]

Part of Laughy's publication is a new catalogue for the Areopagos Votive Deposit specifically. This Eleusinion sanctuary dump now consists of the following material: kantharoi, aryballoi, an amphora, terracotta horses, chariots, charioteers, shields, a miniature bronze tripod and a plaque depicting a so-called 'Mistress of Snakes'. From the disturbed or mixed fills in the area of the gravel fill – not part of the Deposit as reconstructed by Laughy – comes still similar material: a kantharos, amphora, a terracotta tripod leg, horse figurines, charioteers, a shield and a four-horse team with charioteer. This is also the case for objects of unknown provenience: votive plaques, shields, horses, a chariot chart and a snake or chariot pole (see figures 32-34 and 59, table 2-4).[573]

There is one object that especially specifies the Eleusinion as place of origin: the aforementioned 'Mistress of Snakes plaque' (see figure 32). On the centre of this plaque the image of a goddess is depicted; she raises her arms and hands (a posture of epiphany) and wears a flaring skirt bound at the middle. Her mold-made head affixed to the flat plaque. Two large snakes border the goddess on either side, each in its own register. The mold-made head, the epiphany scene and the division of the field in three vertical registers all

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[564] Laughy 2018, 671.
[565] Laughy 2019, 636.
[566] Excepting one: a battered columnar figurine (Laughy 2018, 646).
[567] Laughy 2018, 637.
[568] Laughy 2018, 637, 653.
[569] Laughy 2018, 671.
[570] Laughy 2018, 672.
[571] Laughy 2018, 654-55. On these pages, Laughy goes into more specifics, as he elaborates on Greek inscriptions and literary accounts on the disposal of refuse (with references). As these accounts are generally silent on the disposal of dedications, he argues that these processes were largely unregulated. He also mentions various other examples of dedications being buried or used somewhere as: Persian destruction debris, for instance, was dumped all over the Akropolis and in the lower city, and evidence from other sanctuaries confirms that the burial of votives outside the *temenos* was not uncommon (with references). Furthermore, in footnote 73 (p. 654), he goes into the many scholarly texts insinuating that old dedications were still regarded as the deity's property, therefore being buried within the sanctuary.
[572] Laughy 2018, 655.
[573] Laughy 2018, 644-46.

represent a number of striking innovations when compared to other work of the period.[574] The identification of this goddess as Demeter primarily stems from the snake iconography on the plaque: representations of snakes in seventh century Attica were only found here, and in Eleusis – as we will see (see figure 37, 3.6.2 and 3.6.3).[575] This may make this plaque a representation of not only the Demeter of the nearby *agora* Demeter sanctuary, but of the Eleusinian Demeter specifically. Tellingly, a tale by Hesiod connects snakes to Demeter's cult at Eleusis as early as the seventh century BC: Demeter adopted a snake as her attendant after it was driven away from Salamis, where it had been raised by Kynchreus.[576] In later times, snakes are connected with Demeter at the Eleusinion as well.[577] The various protomes and plaque-heads found in the pyres of Eleusis could have been part of similar Snake Goddess plaques (see figures 43 and 49-50), though this is of course unprovable due to the erosion of the paint.

The identification of the plaque goddess as – I think – the Eleusinian Demeter makes the attribution of the Eleusinion as the original location of the Areopagos Votive Deposit very attractive. Though we know from literary testimonia that the Eleusinion was not the only precinct of Demeter near the *agora* in later times– a shrine of Demeter Chloe is mentioned by Aristophanes and Pausanias[578] – it surely was the most likely to receive such an impressive work of art at such an early stage.

Before moving on to the next section, a small summary is warranted. As we have seen, the material dedicated to Demeter at the City Eleusinion (including the Areopagos Votive Deposit) primarily consisted of pottery (kantharoi, amphorae, miniatures – including one tripod), figurines (horses, seated goddesses, columnar figurines or *Stempelidolen*, males or warriors and chariot groups), loom weights, cut disks, shields and plaques. The find with the most implications currently is the 'Mistress of Snakes' plaque, as she may represent the Eleusinian Demeter. The innovative aspects and unusualness of this work of art could then represent a major reorganization in cult practice at the sanctuary later known as the Eleusinion.[579]

All this could imply the establishment of religious links between the sanctuary of Demeter in Athens and that of Demeter (and Kore) in Eleusis. However, to make this case stronger I first need to discuss the finds mostly indicative of the Demeter cult in Eleusis during this time, as these will need to be compared to the ones from the *agora* to further establish the likelihood of the existence (and start of) of a religious connection between Athens and Eleusis.

3.4 The reference material: pyres A, B and Γ/C in Eleusis

As has been noted in the second chapter of this thesis, during the period between the eighth and the end of the sixth century three sacrificial pyres were successively in use in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis (see 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). The oldest is pyre A, with material dating from the final quarter or end of the

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[574] Laughy 2018, 667-68.
[575] Laughy 2018, 672.
[576] For references, see Laughy 2018, 672 footnote 202.
[577] For references, see Laughy 2018, 672 footnote 202.
[578] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 835; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.22.3; see Wycherley 1957, 84-85, 178, 225.
[579] Van den Eijnde 2010, 129.

eighth century to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century.[580] This is the most important pyre for our purposes, as it dates from the period we have hypothesised the religious links between Eleusis and Athens started. Meanwhile, pyre B was established in the sixth century,[581] and pyre Γ/C was started a little later, in the middle of the sixth century. The latest objects from this last pyre are dated to the middle of the fifth century BC.[582] According to K. Kokkou-Vyridi, who has published the pyres, the pyres were *enagismoi*, sacrifices to either heroes or the dead in the form of bloodless offerings, such as food and libations.[583] More recently, however, R.H. Sinos and I. Patera have pointed out that the types of votive material found in the pyres (see below) were not untypical for sanctuaries of gods and goddesses.[584] The pyres then were probably already acts of devotion towards Demeter. Below a description of the material will follow, starting with the earliest pyre.

In pyre A, mixed with ashes and charcoal, 31 votive plaques were found, some with birds and others with painted tripods flanked by snakes (see figures 36 and 37).[585] The pyre also contained more than one hundred figurines, primarily various sorts of terracotta female figures: there were women holding babies, mold-made heads (protomes; figure 40),[586] and those of the columnar,[587] seating goddess[588] and flat types (see figures 38-39, 41 and 41).[589] Terracotta animals came in the form of long-legged terracotta horses, horse groups and other animals (figure 42). Last of the figurines are some charioteers, seated figurines and a male figurine (figure 42).[590] Pottery was also represented (some Argive monochrome oinochoai, and Early Protocorinthian aryballoi),[591] as well as terracotta shields, lamp fragments, a gold sheet and jewelry (see figures 53 and 54).[592] The iconography on the pottery and some of the plaques is not extremely striking, as these show regular seventh-century scenes, generally depicting birds and sphinxes or just bands and rays.[593] The columnar and flat figurines occasionally show intricately painted drapery and jewelry – one even has a bird painted on her clothing).[594] On most of them the paint is gone.

In pyre B, ashes were similarly mixed with lamps, jewelry and golden sheets (see figures 53 and 54),[595] iron and bronze fragments,[596] broken pottery vessels (mostly black-figure and some Corinthian),

[580] Van den Eijnde 2010, 156.
[581] Van den Eijnde 2019, 105.
[582] Van den Eijnde 2019, 105-6; Cosmopoulos 2015, 138.
[583] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 147-59, 181-85. On *enagismoi*, see Ekroth 2002, 128. They were not ash altars (since animal bones were not found amongst the traces of fire) or a desacralisation of votive offerings (since the figurines were not burned; Cosmopoulos 2015, 138).
[584] Sinos 2012; Patera 2008.
[585] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 9, 10, 11.
[586] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 20.
[587] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
[588] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 18.
[589] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 17, 18.
[590] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 19, 12.
[591] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 7, 8.
[592] Van den Eijnde 2010, 138, 156; Van den Eijnde 2019, 104; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 40-44, 54-60, 197-216, plates.
[593] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 8.
[594] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 15.
[595] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 56, 60, 61.
[596] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 59.

lamps[597] and terracotta figurines. The vessels consisted of both ritual types – such as kernoi and thymiateria (figure 44 and 45)[598] – and of ones with a diarchy purpose (amphorae, olpes, kylikes, skyphoi, oinochoai, hydriai, askoi, lebes gamikoi, kalathoi and kantharoi[599]). There were also various miniatures of varying quality (see figure 59-61).[600] These miniature shapes include olpes, oinochoai, hydriai, askoi, lebes gamikoi, kalathoi, skyphoi and kantharoi. The figurines were made up of the several korai,[601] some seated goddesses,[602] female busts sometimes wearing a headdress[603] and some grotesque figurines (see figures 46, 47-48 and 49-50).[604] As the black-figure style had developed, the vases were adorned with the following iconography: sphinxes, birds, an (Athenian) owl, neatly painted goddesses, women and men caught up in processions, centaurs, dancing men and women, chariot scenes (sometimes depicting a goddess) and some farewell scenes.[605] At times, Athena specifically is depicted.[606] The rest of the pottery is mosty black-glazed or painted with only stripes, sometimes incised.[607]

The material of pyre Γ/C mostly corresponds to that of B: black-figure pottery (a phiale, an amphora with a male procession and lekythoi)[608] was similarly themed, and plaques, korai, seated goddesses and female busts (from a plaque?) were found, as well as grotesques, animal figurines, golden sheets and leaves, silverware, iron fragments and jewelry (see figure 55 and 56).[609] An inscribed lead 'altar' was found as well (see figure 56).[610]

In order to establish religious links between the cults of Demeter in Eleusis and Athens, it is necessary for the finds from the *agora* to resemble these Eleusinian votive objects, for example qua iconography. In what follows, the creation of the *agora* wells database will be discussed. Particular attention will be paid to 'diagnostic' sanctuary material and ways in which the material was gathered.

3.5 The creation of a database: sanctuary material in the eighth-sixth century wells of the Athenian agora
 3.5.1 The creation of a database: the wells of the Athenian agora
The material included in this database consists of the (diagnostic) sanctuary material found in the eighth to sixth century BC wells of the *agora.* Before I go into the gathering of the data, it is necessary to present an introduction to these Protoattic and Archaic wells – particularly on the various fills that accumulated in these after they had been used – and to constitute what 'diagnostic' sanctuary material consists of in the case of

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[597] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 44.
[598] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 45, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.
[599] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 24, 28, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43.
[600] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 41, 42, 43.
[601] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, Plate 47, 48.
[602] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 49, 50, 51
[603] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 52, 53, 45.
[604] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 54.
[605] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 26-36.
[606] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 34.
[607] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 37-40.
[608] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 45, 46.
[609] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32.
[610] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 62.

Eleusis, the City Eleusinion and the agora *wells.*

First and foremost, the wells of the Athenian *agora* are indications of either graves, habitation, industry, worship or commerce in the general area of a specific well.[611] It is very much possible the dividing lines between these activities were heavily blurred.[612] Most of the wells would probably have been sunk into the courtyard of private houses, or in a communal place serving a cluster of houses.[613] The nature of the fill generally indicates the type of establishment a well served. As such, the presence of 'wasters' and test-pieces should indicate the nearby presence of a potter's workshop, and domestic wear could point towards households.[614] We have seen, however, that this is not always the case: H 17:4 (though not a well, but a pit) included sanctuary material from the Eleusinion, which lay more to the east. Consequently, it is no surprise that the over four hundred wells discovered during excavations on the *agora* include material dating from the Neolithic period[615] up until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the excavations by the Archaeological Society and the German Archaeological Institute commenced.[616]

A well from our period (eighth-sixth century BC) generally appears as a roughly round pit or funnel containing a fill of crumbled bedrock and field stones. These stones come from a rough curbing around the top of the shaft or they were thrown in to reduce or correct settling.[617] Well heads often consisted of the neck and shoulder of a broken pithos; after the sixth century BC, terracotta and stone drums were specially designed. Holes in well heads and/or a wooden bar tied at the end of a rope facilitated the drawing of water.[618] Wells generally had a diameter of 1-1.50 m. and their depth ranges from 3. to 21 m.[619]

The Archaic wells with sanctuary material[620] were scattered all around the *agora* (see figure 25), though a heavier concentration can be found around the south-eastern part of the area, where the Eleusinion was situated. Other heavier concentrations are situated in the southwestern corner, in the approximate area of the Areopagos Oval Building – clearly, this area was regularly used as a dumping place.

As has been alluded to, the lowest and oldest layers in a well usually consist of stones, with silt and mud below (see figure 62). The next layer usually included finds from the period of use, most often made up of water jars that sometimes fell in.[621] The rest of the filling of a well consisted primarily of fallen bedrock – the collapsed side of a well – and unstratified fillings that were dumped in the well after it had been out of

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[611] Brann 1961, 306; Brann 1962, 108.
[612] Mazarakis Ainian 2007/2008, 387. In this text, Mazarakis Ainian gives some examples of places where pottery workshops were established in residential areas.
[613] Miles 1998, 15.
[614] Miles 1998, 15.
[615] Immerwahr 1971, 253-60.
[616] HYDRIA Project, 'Wells'. Though the bulk of the excavations only started in the 1920s, led by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Camp 2010, 30-32; Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 220-32.
[617] Brann 1962, 107-8.
[618] HYDRIA Project, 'Wells'.
[619] Brann 1962, 108.
[620] In quite some of the wells from the eighth to sixth century BC at least some (probable) sanctuary material was found. Exceptions are A 17:2, B 18:10, C 18:8, E 14:5, H 10:2, I 13:1, I 16:4, I 17:2, J 14:3, J 14:5, J 15:1, K 9:1, M 7:1, N 11:3, N 11:5, N 11:6, N 18:7, P 7:3, P 17:1, P 17:2, Q 8:9, Q 11:1, Q 12:2, Q 12:3, Q 17:2, Q 17:3, Q 17:8, R 10:5, R 11:2, R 12:2, S 20:1, T 18:2, T 25:5, T 25:2 and U 24:1.
[621] Brann 1961, 306; Brann 1962, 108; Papadopoulos 2003, 1.

use.[622] This is the fill most important for our purposes, as (part of) this dump fill or fillings could consist of discarded votives from the City Eleusinion or other sanctuaries.[623] Other dumped fill could have been originated in burial plots, courtyards and kitchens or other places were clutter accumulated.[624] Lastly, between this dump fill and the use fill, occasionally the well head is found (see appendix III).[625]

Sometimes wells were not available as a dumping place; in that case, rubbish pits were dug. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two – particularly when the period of use of a well was short, or if a well was abandoned before use.[626] However, pits are generally more shallow and do not contain water (see entry M 17:4 and O 7:9, which is listed as a 'pit or well').[627]

To sum this up: the wells of the Athenian *agora* were – after their period of use – recipients of many types of material and give a good indication of all the aspects of life in Athens throughout many centuries. However, for our purposes I have mainly looked at the dump fill of the eighth to the end of the sixth century wells, as these layers sometimes accumulated sanctuary material. The fact that many of the wells with sanctuary material were situated in the south-eastern (and southwestern) part of the *agora* could already indicate these votives came from the Eleusinion, though this is by no means certain without looking at the material.

3.5.2 The creation of a database: 'diagnostic' sanctuary material
As alluded to before, the votives to Demeter in the City Eleusinion need to be largely comparable to the ones in Eleusis to indicate a religious connection between the two sanctuaries. Above, we have seen that a myriad of different material types from many sources could end up in the wells of the Athenian *agora*, which makes it important to know what specific material could stem a sanctuary. The term I have used earlier to describe this is 'diagnostic'. Before labelling specific types of material as diagnostic sanctuary material, it is necessary to know what kind of objects were used as votives for a deity, the Eleusinian Demeter (and Kore) in this case.

From pyres A, B and Γ/C we know that pottery (regular sized finer ware and miniatures of many shapes), various types of figurines, plaques, protomes, miniature shields, jewelry, gold sheets, lamps, iron and silver ware constituted the Eleusinian votives to Demeter. From the City Eleusinion, we have similar objects, excepting the rich jewelry and supplemented by cut disks, loom weights and spindle whorls (see 3.3). More generally, looking at sanctuaries from around the Greek world, Demeter votives are characterised by miniature vessels for carrying water, female figurines, animal figurines (mainly pigs), offerings of pigs and piglets and vessels for the holding of a variety of cereals.[628] The latter are mostly characterised by the kernos or plemochoe – a shape associated with the rituals of the Eleusinian Mysteries and found frequently at both

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[622] Brann 1962, 108.
[623] Though, as I have established, the latter is not likely, and least not in the seventh and early sixth centuries BC.
[624] See 3.3 for the decluttering of sanctuaries. Brann 1962, 108.
[625] Brann 1962, 108.
[626] Due to, for example, an early encountering of bedrock, extremely hard soil or an unintended collapse of the well.
[627] Papadopoulos 2003, 3. Though not all wells contained water either, see the footnote above this one.
[628] Cole 1994, 203-4. Though Cole does not that these votive types on their own cannot identify a sanctuary of Demeter specifically without the presence of inscriptions or telling iconography.

the City Eleusinion and Eleusis (in Eleusis already in the pyres and in the City Eleusinion from the classical period onwards).[629]

The presence of finely made and painted or glazed pottery, cut disks, loom weights, spindle whorls, jewelry, iron and silver ware and lamps on their own, however, is not enough to be defined as sanctuary material.[630] These objects have a dual nature: they could have a votive function, but could also be personal items and remnants of a domestic or commercial context.[631] The cut disks are especially interesting, as no one actually knows their purpose: generally, it is assumed they were used as stoppers of vessels.[632] Perhaps they were even offerings in their own right. Nonetheless, in the case of pottery there were categories more likely to occur at sanctuaries, such as kraters, skyphoi, cups, tankards, jugs and oinochoai.[633] The presence of these drinking and pouring shapes is not unsurprising, as sanctuaries were locations of feasting. The Late Geometric Period (ca. 760-700 BC) saw an expansion in ceremonial vessels with the presence in sanctuaries of kantharoi,[634] pyxides, (spouted) bowls,[635] spouted kraters,[636] aryballoi, louteria, thymiateria (incense burners) and perhaps open basins and even braziers.[637]

Luckily for our purposes, the eighth century witnessed the revolutionary development of objects with a specific votive function, such as human and animal figurines, plaques, tripods and miniatures (shields, pottery and sometimes granaries and temple models).[638] The miniaturisation of shapes (and with it, their defunctionalisation[639]) specifically became increasingly popular during this period and was an indication of more massive participation in cult.[640] Miniatures could be made in any shape, though most of them were still the traditional ritual and drinking shapes, such as kantharoi. They were used as a votive in itself or served as the holding of an offering (thus playing an active part in a ritual).[641] Sometimes, a specific miniature shape can be associated with a particular cult. In the case of Eleusis, for instance, many miniature hydriai were found in pyre B.[642] Lastly, Corinthian-made pottery was generally popular in Archaic sanctuaries – in particular the

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[629] The kernos or plemochoe was an earthenware vessel, holding within it a large number of small cups stuck together. For the kernoi of the City Eleusinion, see Miles 1998, 95-104. For kernoi found at Eleusis, see Mylonas 1961, 221-22.
[630] Van den Eijnde 2010, 51; Miles 1998, 19.
[631] Van den Eijnde 2018, 80.
[632] Miles 1998, 18.
[633] Van den Eijnde 2018, 76.
[634] Brann (1962, 176) mentions this pottery shape does not occur much in household deposits and seems to have been used mostly as votives.
[635] Brann 1961, 314.
[636] Clearly not made for household use, according to Brann 1961, 315.
[637] For the open basins, spouted bowls and kraters, see Brann 1961, 315. For the rest, see Brann 1962, 175-76 and Van den Eijnde 2018, 76-77. For the use of braziers in sanctuaries, as these indicate cooking facilities and thus feasting, see Scheffer 2014.
[638] De Polignac 1995a, 14-15; Van den Eijnde 2018, 77. On the development of miniatures, see Barfoed 2018 and Gimatzidis 2011.
[639] Gimatzidis 2011, 9.
[640] Gimatzidis 2011, 32-33. Though most miniatures are indicative sanctuary material, they were sometimes also encountered in funerary and domestic contexts (Barfoed 2018, 111-12; Gimatzidis 2011, 22).
[641] Barfoed 2018, 117.
[642] Gimatzidis 2011, 28.

aryballos, plate and pyxis shapes.[643] This development we can trace in the pyres of Eleusis as well. These then, are the objects we have to specifically focus on when it comes to the material in the wells of the *agora*: figurines, tripods, plaques and miniatures.

3.5.3 The creation of a database: gathering the material

As stated and set out in the two sections above, my database specifically focusses on the diagnostic sanctuary material found in the upper (unstratified) fills that were dumped in wells from the eighth to sixth century BC after their period of use. To provide a complete picture of the contents of these upper fills, the database consists of four sub-databases. These will be explained in more detail below, though an introduction to the database can also be found in appendix III. For the actual databases and photos of the diagnostic sanctuary material, see this same appendix.

The primary or general database (I) covers the dating and further specifics of the wells: each entry starts with the specific deposit number of a well and functions simultaneously as its identifier (see figure 25). Then, the date of the dumped fill and period of use (if any) are mentioned. The middle of each entry is reserved for the 'diagnostic' and contextual sanctuary finds encountered amongst the catalogued objects[644] from each well: the amount of (cut) disks, miniatures, figurines, lamps, loom weights, plaques, shields, spindle whorls and tripods are all tallied here. The miniatures are described in more detail (for instance, their shape) in sub-database III, in the 'notes' section. Lastly, there is room for other finds ('rest') and the presence of pottery vessels is indicated. While most of these sub-entries are not diagnostics, they are indicative of sanctuary material when found in the presence of figurines, miniature pottery, plaques, miniature shields or tripods (see 3.5.2). This why they have a place in the database. The well deposits are treated in alphabetical order; a diagram with the wells in chronological order can be found in appendix III. At the end of each entry there is room for notes, a section which mainly relays information on further contents of the well fill. For example, some of the well dumps consist solely of probable sanctuary material, while others only harbour loose finds.

The 'catalogued finds' deserve an explanation. These are the finds kept and photographed by the excavators of each specific well, which means they lie preserved in the storage facilities of the Stoa of Attalos under the supervision of the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA)*. The latter has been in charge of the *agora* excavations since the first half of the twentieth century.[645] The catalogued finds, as well as the descriptions of the wells and photos (sub-database IV), I was able to examine via the Athenian Agora Excavations Collection, part of the ASCSA Digital Collections. In these databases the entire excavation archives have been (and are still being) digitalised.[646] Though most of

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[643] Gimatzidis 2011, 19-20. Of course, this development stems from the position of Corinth as 'market leader' of fine painted and glazed wares in the Archaic period.
[644] See the next paragraph.
[645] Camp 2010, 30-32.
[646] This project started in 2000, see Camp 2010, 33.

material has been made public, I was able to consult the unpublished material as well.[647] The relevant digitalised materials consisted of the entry of a well (via the deposit number), containing the following: a description of the well (depth, characteristics, a summary of the finds, information on the chronology and grid) and links to the finds cards (Agora Cards),[648] the excavation notebooks, entries of the catalogued objects, the various photos made of objects and references to the publications of the wells and finds.

In the other sub-databases, the various types of figurines (II) and pottery vessels (III) are counted. However, in the case of the vessels, only their presence in a well is indicated.[649] Though these vessels are not part of the diagnostic material, their presence and possible similarities to the Eleusinion and Eleusinian material could prove useful. As in sub-database I, these databases start each entry with the deposit number of the well but focus instead on the categories mentioned above. Thus, in sub-database II (see appendix III) the following types of figurines in each well are tallied: chariots, columnar figurines, doves (birds), female busts, grotesques, seated goddesses, horses (and rider), and other animals. A 'rest' category accounts for sole finds of other types. Sub-database III has the same structure but focusses on the many pottery vessel kinds, their provenance (if not Attic), notable iconography and a description of the specific shapes of miniatures. Lastly, the photos of the diagnostic finds from each well can be found in sub-database IV; these consist of mostly figurines and miniatures, though I have also come across a tripod fragment, some jewelry, thymiateria and pottery fragments with suggestive iconography.

With this dataset, I will be able to compare the sanctuary material of the Athenian *agora* to that of the City Eleusinion pits and the Areopagos Sanctuary Deposit, and eventually to the material from the pyres in Eleusis. The following section will thus be devoted to the pits (those of the City Eleusinion) and wells of the eighth and seventh century, and pyre A at Eleusis. At the end of that section, the existence of an early (at least seventh century) religious link between the sanctuaries of Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens will be reasonably sure, though there are still finds that do not exactly accord with each other. This could be explained by the need for an adjustment period, in which the votives at the City Eleusinion still partly have their own characteristics.

3.6 Religious links between Athens and Eleusis: comparing the Eleusinian and Athenian finds
In this section, the material from the Athenian *agora* wells database (appendix III) will be compared to that from the pits of the City Eleusinion, the Areopagos Votive Deposit, and pyres A, B Γ/C from Eleusis. To do this as methodically as possible, I will discuss the material chronologically and per century or half century (the eighth century, the first half of the seventh century, the second half of the seventh[650] and lastly the sixth century). Most attention will be paid to the material from the eighth and seventh centuries, as these reflect

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[647] See Appendix III, 'Introduction and chronology of the wells'.
[648] These contain a small photo of the object, a small description, the dimensions, find date and spot, and sometimes an illustration.
[649] Counting them proved to be too time consuming.
[650] Some of the seventh-century wells have material from the first half of the sixth century. This will also be taken into consideration here.

the hypothesis put forward throughout this thesis. The material from the eighth century has a place here, as there is a possibility the area of the City Eleusinion had been marked as sacred already around this time (3.2.2) and could thus have attracted votives. Additionally, one of the Eleusinion pits included sherds from the eighth century (3.2.2).

Throughout the discussion of the material, the focus will lie on the defined diagnostic sanctuary material (3.5.2): figurines (columnar, horses, rider and chariot groups, seated goddesses, other animal figurines and loose figurines), plaques, tripods, miniature pottery and shields. If needed (particularly in the earliest period), the relevant contextual sanctuary material will be mentioned: cuts disks, lamps, pottery, jewelry, bronze, and silver and iron ware. Sometimes, a section is devoted to relevant iconography, as some of the contextual finds – primarily pottery fragments – display potential cultic imagery. Lastly, throughout the analysis some considerations regarding various find groups (particularly the figurines, plaques shields and the iconographical employment of snakes[651]) are needed, as these generally had a more widespread distribution than just the sanctuaries of Demeter in Eleusis and Athens (see 3.6.3).

3.6.1 Religious links between Athens and Eleusis: the eighth century BC
The relevant wells with eighth century sanctuary dump fill – see appendix III for the chronological order of all the wells included in the database – are the following: P 14:2, B 18:6, D 12:3, L 18:2 and S 18:1. There is one well with sanctuary dump material ranging from the second half of the eighth to the first half of the seventh century: R 9:2.

The sanctuary material from the eighth century wells is not only characterised by its scarcity; a connection of these wells with the City Eleusinion is debatable, though not impossible. To start, from well P 14:2 we have only one diagnostic sanctuary object: a fragment of a terracotta chariot (no. 134[652]). This is also the case for D 12:3 – fragments of a tripod (no. 29) – and R 9:2 – a horse figurine fragment (no. 147). S 18:1 has two diagnostics: a wheel fragment and a miniature cauldron (nos. 181 and 182[653]). This scarce material is sometimes supplemented by contextual sanctuary material: the figurine of R 9:2 was found amongst 36 cut-disks, 3 loom weights, 1 spindle and drinking ware (bowls, kraters, oinochoai and skyphoi, some imported from Corinth[654]); in D 12:3, the remains of the tripod where found amongst similar pottery shapes. Remarkable amongst the contextual finds are those with possible cultic iconography: the neck of an amphora from R 9:2 shows stripes that could be interpreted as snakes (no. 146), and various pottery pieces display spoked wheels (nos. 9,[655] 30,[656] and 135[657]). These wheels could indicate the vases had a votive function, as

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[651] For snakes and Eleusis, see also 3.3.
[652] See the images of the diagnostic sanctuary material in Appendix III.
[653] Though these probably fell down during the well's period of use (they are from the lower fill in the well), see S 18:1 in sub-database I.
[654] Corinthian imports were often popular in sanctuaries, see Gimatzidis 2011, 22.
[655] From B 18:6.
[656] From D 12:3.
[657] From P 14:2.

they were modelled after actual bronze prototypes displayed in some sanctuaries.[658] In the case of the snakes, we have seen these animals were connected to the Eleusinian Demeter from an early age (see 3.3). However, archaeologically, snakes at Eleusis were found on plaques, not on amphorae.

It is hard to connect the above described material to the City Eleusinion, as we do not have diagnostic material from this specific sanctuary dating to the eighth century. However, if we compare these objects to those from the Eleusinion that are dated less than a century later, we see that miniatures, horses, tripods and chariots *were* found then[659] – as they were in pyre A at Eleusis.[660] No columnar figurines were found in these wells,[661] while these are omnipresent in the later Eleusinion pits and some were found in Eleusis. Moreover, while the presence of painted wheels could indicate the use of a vase as a votive, the application of this iconography is not known from the Eleusinion or Eleusis. Additionally, the possible snakes are not conclusive and not found on a diagnostic object. The only comparable materials are the miniatures, horses and chariot; yet, these votive types were part of the major eighth and seventh century votive categories found throughout Attica and the rest of the Greek world – as were plaques and rider, male, female and animal figurines.[662] While a cultic connection to Eleusis specifically cannot be established through this material, it is very much possible it still came from the (not yet) Eleusinion:[663] the area of the Eleusinion was the only known active nearby sanctuary at the time,[664] and the well material is comparable to that of the somewhat later Eleusinion pits – as noted at the beginning of this paragraph.

3.6.2 Religious links between Athens and Eleusis: the first half of the seventh century BC
There are three wells with sanctuary dump dated to the first half of the seventh century: R 17:5, T 19:3[665] and D 11:5. While the material from these wells mostly corresponds to the objects from the Eleusinion (and thus could have originated from there) and the pyres in Eleusis, it is difficult to establish specific links between the two sanctuaries based on this: this is primarily due to the point made above regarding the distribution of the same votive types throughout Attica in the eighth, seventh and even sixth centuries. There are, however, a couple of objects that can be interpreted in the light of a starting religious connection between the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the one in Athens.

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[658] Brann 1962, 67; Papadopoulos 2007, 120. The bronze wheels would then have been either free-standing or part of votive chariots or wagons. A mortuary function is also possible (Papadopoulos 2007, 120).
[659] Either from the Eleusinion pits or the Areopagos Votive Deposit.
[660] Though the tripods are displayed on plaques rather than made from clay.
[661] Though these seem to be a development of the seventh century, see Van den Eijnde 2010, 60.
[662] Van den Eijnde (2010, 52, 371) for the terracotta votives; for tripods, see Van den Eijnde 2010, 51; for an example of the distribution of horse figurines, see Van den Eijnde 2010, 91 (in the sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis), 111 (the stone-lined pit on the *agora*), 138 (at Eleusis), 191 (at Hymettos), 219 (at Minidi), 227 (at Mounichia), 232 (at Pallini), 252 (the sanctuary of Athena at Sounion), 268 (at Tourkovini), 297 (at the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the slopes of the Akropolis).
[663] Primarily due to the similarities between this material and the objects found in the somewhat later Eleusinion pits – an observation made at the beginning of this paragraph.
[664] The Strategeion cemetery functioned at the time but did not receive figurines (3.2.3). The only other known sanctuary not on the other side of Athens is the sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis, but I see no reason for Akropolis material to be dumped 'far' away in the area of the later *agora.*
[665] This one has also been characterised as one of the City Eleusinion pits, see 3.3).

In R 17:5 four diagnostic objects were found: two miniatures – a jug and an Argive oinochoe (nos. 173 and 174) – as well as a ram and long-necked horse figurine (nos. 175 and 176). Contextual finds were cut disks, loom weights, spindle whorls and various pottery shapes often found in sanctuaries (a spouted krater, a spouted kados, amphorae, aryballoi, bowls, hydriai, kotylai, lekythoi, oinochoai and pyxides), including various Corinthian imports. T 19:3 includes more diagnostic material: three plaques (no. 198[666]), 2 miniature shields, miniature pottery (a cup – no. 196) and 10 figurines: three long-necked and long-legged horses (nos. 197, 199 and 201), one seated goddess (no. 202), one chariot scene (a horse and rider; no. 200) and some animal figurines – 1 leg and 2 columnar figurines were not catalogued. Contextual material included cut disks, lamps and spindles. Lastly, D 11:5 was a large dump with neatly made pottery (many kotylai, kantharoi, amphorae, kraters oinochoai and cups, some of which Corinthian), cut disks, loom weights, spindles, various miniature kantharoi (nos. 10-13) and ten figurines: a model hut or granary, a chariot, a leg of a chair, various horses – of which at least one lock-necked – and the pinched head of a female figurine (nos. 2-28). In this well, the spoked wheels discussed above are represented on various neck fragments (3.6.1 and nos. 15-19).

As mentioned, the material from T 19:3, D 11:5 and R 17:5 corresponds in some ways. This is primarily true in the case of the animal figurines, chariots and contextual finds. Once again there a no columnar figurines or miniature shields in the wells outside the Eleusinion, though from D 11:5 we have the pinched head of a possible female figurine. Similar ones were found in the Eleusinion pits (T 20:2) and the pyres of Eleusis (see 3.4), though once again it needs to be mentioned all the above mentioned figurine types were part of widespread votary types. This is also the case for the long-necked horses and the seated figurines, which makes it hard to establish clear links with Eleusis and Athens despite the similarities in some of the votive types. This possibility is tentatively widened when looking at iconography, which is where R 17:5 and T 19:3 overlap.

Namely, several hydriai from both these wells and one jug show elaborate processions,[667] sometimes with the addition of snakes in a separate register, neck, handle or rim. From R 17:5, we have the neck and rim of a hydria, which has a plastic snake around its rim and its handles. Its neck shows three (female?) figures holding branches, seemingly walking slowly (no. 172). T 19:3, from the Eleusinion pit or well, has the necks of two hydrias and a collection of six jug fragments displaying a similar scene (no. 193, 194 and 195). No. 193 shows three women holding branches led by a lyre player, who faces three other female figures with branches; snakes are displayed on the strap handle of the hydria and its shoulder and rim. The scene painted on no. 194 is more like that of no. 172: a row of ten women walks to the right, hair covered by pointed net caps and each holding a branch. Lastly, the same scene is shown by the six jug fragments (no. 195) – though only two women can still be distinguished in this case.

The hydrias exhibit similarities to so-called 'snake amphoras'.[668] During the Geometric period, scenes on amphoras of this type were generally funerary, but in the Protoattic period – the period our samples stem

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[666] The other two were not catalogued, unfortunately.
[667] I did not come across depictions like this in any of the other wells.
[668] Papadopoulos 2007, 118. Amphorae of this type also featured applied snakes on the rim, shoulder and handles.

from – scenes were taken from contemporary ritual and life.[669] The scene on no. 193 would probably be a row dance, while the scenes on the other hydrias and the jug fragments are probably processions.[670] While these are amongst the general scenes found on some pottery during this period[671] it is interesting that the branches held by the women have been identified as myrtle,[672] which was used as the crown of initiates into the Eleusinian Mysteries.[673] Though this last bit of information can only stem from literary sources of the fifth century BC and later, I would say their presence on hydriai in sanctuary dumps related to the Eleusinion reveals the tentative possibility these scenes could refer to a procession which involved that cult of Demeter. A connection to Eleusis is harder to prove, though (miniature) hydriai seem to have been staples within Eleusinian cult by the time of pyre B (see 3.4). The use of snakes seems fruitful in this regard as well.

While the ideas set forth above do not conclusively proof a connection to Eleusis, there is one plaque from T 19:3 that could do more in this respect. This plaque (no. 198) bares the traces of snakes, exactly of the type found in the pyres of Eleusis (figures 36-37) – the characteristic tripod found on some of these Eleusinian plaques is missing, however. The presence of snake iconography on this seventh-century votive plaque is striking, as this type of iconography in this period only appears at two sites in Attica: Eleusis (the pyres) and Athens.[674] Two examples from Athens we have already encountered: the Snake Goddess from the Areopagos Votive Deposit – who can be identified as the Eleusinian Demeter (3.3) and the snake protome from the stone-lined pit in the *agora* (no. 236)*.* The other material in this pit (3.2.3) corresponds to that of the City Eleusinion and the Areopagos Deposit (and Eleusis), and could thus well originate from the former. Perhaps then, the snake protome was an indirect gift to the Eleusinian Demeter as well. The unexpected richness of the pit (the gold foil, a faience hawk and an ivory fibula,) would also be explained by this interpretation, as golden sheets and (faience) jewelry abounded in the pyres of Eleusis (3.3 and figure 55). The other examples of snake iconography in Athens are plastic snakes from the Akropolis and plastic snakes on loutrophoroi from the sanctuary of Nymphe. Snake iconography is then still only shared between Athens and Eleusis,[675] and is perhaps an indication of a wider religious link between the Athenian and Eleusinion communities – and possibly even a specific link between the Athenian cult of Demeter and the one in Eleusis, as snakes on plaques still seem to have been reserved for these two sanctuaries.

A last interesting – and puzzling – piece from this collection of wells is a fragment from an amphora, which shows a spoked wheel flanked by two snakes (no. 14). While a sanctuary context – and thus a connection to the Eleusinian Demeter – is conceivable (3.2.3), the snakes are accompanied by goats and horses in other registers. This latest point complicates the matter.

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[669] Papadopoulos 2007, 142.
[670] Papadopoulos 2007, 142.
[671] One example is a Corinthian aryballos: a small procession is made up of an aulos player, young men in pairs and leaping youth. Interestingly, the aryballos in question is inscribed with an inscription that can be interpreted as either 'the olpa is his, his very own' or 'here is a dance for Dewo' (Demeter). Papadopoulos 2007, 11-12.
[672] Papadopoulos 2007, 142; Burr Thompson & Griswold 1982 [1963], 29. Other possibilities are general branches, palm leaves or perhaps even the Dionysos's *thyrsus* if the displayed women are supposed to be maenads.
[673] Papadopoulos 2007, 142; Burr Thompson & Griswold 1982 [1963], 29. And at weddings.
[674] Laughy 2018, 672 footnote 198.
[675] See footnote 674.

Although very tentative, the beginnings of a religious link between Athens and Eleusis – and perhaps even between the sanctuary at Eleusis and the Eleusinion – can be discerned. The snake plaque (no. 198) and perhaps the procession hydrias (no. 172, 193-95) and snake-wheel amphora (no. 14) are indications of this.

3.6.3 Religious links between Athens and Eleusis: the second half of the seventh century BC
From the second half of the seventh century BC, sanctuary dumps were found in wells U 25:2,[676] J 18:8, M 11:3, O 12:1, P 7:2, R 8:2 and S 19:7. Other seventh-century sanctuary fillings had material from the first half of the sixth century as well (F 12:5, I 14:1, O 12:2 and U 25:2). I will start with the material that it certain to date to the second half or end of the seventh century.

First up is the lower dump fill of well U 25:2; the diagnostic material therein consists of some miniatures (nos. 215-17) and figurines (nos. 226-31): a nude, columnar, horse and horse and rider figurine, as well as one fragment of a hand and a fragment of a woman holding a child (nos. 226-31). Amongst the contextual finds were a spouted krater, various Corinthian imports (skyphoi, a plate and a miniature pyxides) and pouring and drinking shapes (cups, hydriai, kraters, lekythoi, oinochoai, olpes, phiales, pitchers), as well as a thymiaterion.[677]

This well has the first appearance of the columnar figurines (no. 228) outside the Eleusinion well/pit (3.6.2 and 3.3). While this could indicate the contents of well U 25:2 came from the Eleusinion and connected to Eleusis, columnar figurines or *Stempelidolen* were – too – amongst the finds common in (goddess) sanctuaries throughout Attica;[678] in Athens alone, they were found on the Nike bastion, in the shrine of Nymphe and in the shrine of Eros and Aphrodite (see 3.2.3)[679] – though in the last case it is possible the figurines fell down from the Akropolis. Interestingly, these figurines were an Attic phenomenon only,[680] which could indicate a continuous cultural (and perhaps religious) integration as discussed in the section on the Attic *ethnos* (2.6).

Like the figurines from the wells discussed in 3.6.2 and 3.6.1, the nude, female and horse (and rider) figurines from U 25:2 were part of common votive types found in seventh-century sanctuaries. This makes it hard to specifically identify the place of origin of the finds U 25:2, but it is still likely this was the Eleusinion: it is not too far off and was still the most prolific sanctuary in the period.[681] This is also true for other second-half-of-the-seventh-century wells with more generic sanctuary, such as O 12:1 – a horse figurine, some

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[676] This well had dumps from various periods: one from the end of the seventh century, one from the first half of the sixth century, and one from the last quarter of the sixth century BC.

[677] Though these come from the various dump fills – amongst which this one; the exact ones are not known – and could easily date to up to the end of the sixth century (see their entries in the database).

[678] Laughy 2018, 666-67. Other sites in Attica where columnar figurines were found: a cave sanctuary in Anavyssos (Van den Eijnde 2010, 81) and on the Hymettos (Van den Eijnde 2010, 287, 298), a peak sanctuary at Kiapa Thiti (Van den Eijnde 2010, 202), the sanctuary of Athena at Sounion (Van den Eijnde 2010, 252) and sanctuaries in in Lathouriza (Van den Eijnde 2010, 207), Mounichia (Van den Eijnde 2010, 227), Panagia Thiti (Van den Eijnde 2010, 233), Salamis (Van den Eijnde 2010, 248) and Trachones (Van den Eijnde 2010, 278).

[679] Nike bastion: Van den Eijnde 2010, 101. The shrine of Nymphe: Van den Eijnde 2010, 104.

[680] Küper 1989/1990, 23; Van den Eijnde 2010, 82 footnote 232.

[681] Though it is also possible these finds came from the Akropolis, since U 25:2 is also in the vicinity of the (cave) sanctuaries there.

phiales and a krater on a stand (nos. 118-121), I 14:5 – three miniatures, contextual pottery,[682] loom weights, and the torso of a male figurine (nos. 100-3), and O 12:2 – three miniatures and a clay wheel fragment (nos. 122-25).[683] Moreover, figurines, painted plaques and shields were not common in Attic sanctuaries of male gods in the seventh century.[684]

Such a shield (besides the one in T 19:3) was found in one other *agora* well (and in the stone-lined pit, see entry L-M 7:1 and no. 236): M 11:3. This well is simultaneously part of a group with material that more closely compares to the finds from the Eleusinion and the Areopagos Votive Deposit (together with J 18:8, F 12:5, U 25:2, P 7:2, R 8:2 and S 19:7), and probably originated as votives in the Eleusinion. In M 11:3, the diagnostic sanctuary material consisted of this shield (no. 110), a plaque (no. 111), miniatures (no. 106 and 108), a kernos (or plemochoe) fragment (no. 107) and the following figurines: a chair fragment, a horse and a wheeled animal (?) fragment (nos. 112, 105 and 113). Contextual material included spindles, lamps, cut disks and possible votive pottery and drinking and pouring shapes: a Corinthian alabastron, amphorae, bowls, aryballoi, cups, hydriai, kantharoi, loutheriai, oinochoai, olpes, pitchers, pyxides, skyphoi (some Corinthian) and a stand.

The shield can directly be compared to the ones from the Eleusinion, the Votive Deposit and Eleusis. While this could imply a religious connection, such terracotta shields were also found on the Akropolis and in a sanctuary of an unknown goddess at Kiaphia Thiti, to the southeast of Athens.[685] The painted plaque is badly damaged and unfortunately seems to display two horizontal red bands with a red circle between them instead of a snake[686] – though other depictions were present on the Eleusis plaques as well, such as birds (see figure 36). Moreover, a combination of painted plaques found with shields an horses (no. 113 in M 11:3) – the three major votive types of the seventh century – were only found at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Athens (the Eleusinion pits and the Areopagos Votive Deposit, Demeter at Eleusis and Athena on the Akropolis of Athens.[687] Through these votives, the tentative religious connection established in the first part of the seventh century (3.6.3) becomes stronger.

This possible religious connection between Eleusis and the sanctuary of Demeter in Athens is further substantiated by the display of possible snakes on an amphora (no. 109) from M 11:3[688] and the fragmentary remains of the kernos or plemochoe, a vessel associated with the pyres at Eleusis (see figure 45) and later the Eleusinian Mysteries and the City Eleusinion.[689] In later periods, many of these were also found at the City Eleusinion.[690] While on its own, a fragmentary kernos does not mean much,[691] I would argue its presence in

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[682] Alabastron, amphorae, aryballoi, bowls, cups, kraters, lekythoi, oinochoai, olpes, pitchers and skyphoi.
[683] As well as amphorae, bowls, kraters, kalathoi, kotyles, olpes, pitchers, pithoi and a stand, as well as some Cooking Ware.
[684] Laughy 2018, 667.
[685] Laughy 2018, 666-67.
[686] See the description on its Agora Card, which has been quoted in the description of this plaque (no. 111).
[687] Laughy 2018, 666-67.
[688] Though I would deem this as problematic as these could be snakes but also wavy lines.
[689] Mylonas 1961, 221-22.
[690] Miles 1998, 97.

this possible Eleusinion context could imply a religious connection.

Last in this section are a few wells with less diagnostic material, though still in the group that compares to the Eleusinion pits and the Areopagos Votive Deposit: J 18:8, F 12:5, U 25:2, P 7:2, R 8:2 and S 19:7. From J 18:8, we have diagnostic material consisting of five figurines: two horses and three of the columnar female type (no. 104); these were surrounded by fine ware (amphorae, bowls, cups, kotylai, oinochoai, pitchers, plates and skyphoi), cut disks, lamps and a spindle. From F 12:5, we have a bronzer disk (no. 126), three miniatures (nos. 127-29) and a recognisable large long-necked horse figurine (no. 130),[692] and a similar long-legged horse figurine and a horseman from R 8:2 (nos. 144-45). Additionally, there is a horse figurine (no. 183) from well S 19:7, which probably came from the Eleusinion.[693] Lastly, a well with probable Eleusinion material is F 12:5, which had the larger long-bodied horses (nos. 39-41), jewelry in the form of a clay ring (no. 42) – notably of the less rich kind than the jewelry found in the pyres of Eleusis (figure 55 and 56), two columnar figurines (nos. 36 and 38), a mourning figurine (no. 37) and five miniatures (nos. 31-35).

3.6.4 Religious links between Athens and Eleusis: conclusions and the sixth century BC

Though many of the votive objects from the *agora* wells discussed above fall within the common votive types found throughout Attica or Athens, there are some that indicate the start of a link between the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the Demeter sanctuary in Athens in the seventh century – especially coming to mind are the Mistress of Snakes-plaque, the kernos fragment, the 'general' snake plaques and the combination of painted plaques found with shields and horse figurines. Above all, the material speaks to the start of Eleusis's gradual religious integration with the Athenian *polis* through the merging of the cult of its primary goddess with that of the Athenian Demeter – all the while still maintaining a relative independence regarding other cultural and religious phenomena, such as burials and hero cults. This religious linkage between the Eleusinian and Athenian Demeter stayed throughout the sixth century, when the finds from the Eleusinion (including the Eleusinion pits and the *agora* wells[694]) and Eleusis (pyre B and Γ/C) both displayed a change towards seated goddesses and thymiateria as more dominant types.[695] Female head or bust protomes were also new,[696] though other votive categories remained the same (pottery,[697] columnar figurines,[698] grotesque

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[691] Brann 1961, 314-15, who argues this sole find of a kernos 'can scarcely be regarded as secure evidence for the history of the cult'.

[692] Along with contextual pottery in the form of amphorae, cups, lekythoi, louteria, oinochoai, psykters, a stand, salt cellar and skyphoi.

[693] This well was restudied by Papadopoulos, who came to this conclusion (see the entry of S 19:7 in the database).

[694] Though in this period it is increasingly possible some of these stem from new sanctuaries, such as that from the Mother of the Gods (see 3.2.3).

[695] See figures 44, 47 and 48 and nos. 46-50, 53-55, 67, 70, 72, 77, 78, 87, 88, 115, 141, 149-54, 156-63, 175, 177, 178, 188, 189, 201, 204, 213, 219 and 225.

[696] See figures 43, 49 and 50 and nos. 60, 83, 86, 94, 203 and 221-23.

[697] Some examples being a miniature black-figure hydria fragment displaying two girls at a fountain house adorned with a snake (no. 66), a black-figure lebes fragment depicting a man and a snake (no. 165), perhaps an aryballos in the form of a boy (no. 57) and a mastos (nos. 81 and 155).

[698] Nos. 3, 4, 98, 99, 116, 140, 141, 168, 205 and 207. Also, a Mycenaean figurine: no. 235.

and nude figurines,[699] horses – and riders[700] – and other animal figurines,[701] plaques,[702] miniatures[703] and kernoi).[704] Only the small korai (figure 46) are missing in the City Eleusinion material. Moreover, Demeter at the City Eleusinion seems to have received some riches only at the start of its connection to Eleusis in the seventh century – if I am right and the (bronze, ivory, faience and gold) objects from the stone-lined pit originated from the Eleusinion. In the sixth century, Demeter did not receive as much bronze, gold and jewelry as she did at Eleusis – this at least cannot be gleaned from the recovered material – but she perhaps was given some simple items, amongst which some clay rings (nos. 68 and 176), parts of an altar (no. 231), a base (no. 233), block with relief sculpture (no. 234), a finely-made loutrophoros with a stylised snake (no. 232) and bells (nos. 62 and 63), some bronzes (nos. 56 and 80) and a mask (no. 186).[705]

3.7 Conclusions to chapter 3

In this chapter I have further substantiated the hypothesis that the religious linkage between the sanctuaries of Demeter in Eleusis and Athens was probably in place as early as the seventh century BC. First and foremost, this has become clear through the analysis and comparison of the votive material from the City Eleusinion (made complete by assembling the material from the Eleusinion pits, the Areopagos Votive Deposit and the wells of the *agora*) to the sacrificial objects from the pyres at Eleusis.

In addition, we have seen that in the seventh century, the City Eleusinion was one of the few sanctuaries in Athens as a whole, and perfectly suited to merge with the cult of the Eleusinian Demeter (and Kore): it lay on a direct route from the Thriasian plain along one of the busiest routes in early Athens on a slope near a venerable rock that could be adapted into the merging Demeter cults quite easily. The sanctuaries of Demeter in Athens and Eleusis from then on developed alongside each other architecturally – through the building of walls, an expansion of the sacred area and eventually the construction of a temple. Though the specifics of the shared Demeter cult elude us still,[706] we know that the logistical side of a possible early Eleusinion-Athenian procession was well taken care of when the later Panathenaic Way was widened and the Eleusinion received a formal entrance.

We now know the cities of Athens and Eleusis were intimately connected through cult in an early stage of the development of both proto-*poleis*. This took place within the shared cultural orbit of the Attic *ethnos.* While animosity and competition between the two communities continued, they were from the seventh century onwards religiously bound to each other, until this bond became more permanent through a political union a few centuries later.

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[699] No. 43 and 224.
[700] Nos. 5-7, 44, 58, 73, 74, 76, 79, 82, 138, 139, 183 and 185.
[701] Dogs: nos. 220 and perhaps 76 and 92. Rams: no. 97 and perhaps 92. Birds: nos. 52, 117 and 169. Donkey: no. 8. Monkey: no. 190.
[702] Nos. 146, 218 and 182.
[703] Nos. 1, 2, 45, 61, 64, 65, 84, 89-91, 114, 131-33, 137, 148, 166, 167, 187, 202, 210-12.
[704] No. 213.
[705] For other examples, see nos. 56, 57, 80, 184, 147 and 202.
[706] Except perhaps that it included dancing and a procession, if the 'procession' hydrias are anything to go on.

In this conclusion, I will summarise all the observations made in this thesis regarding the research question posed in the introduction: 'When did the Athenian *polis* incorporate Eleusis, and how did this unification come about?' First, I will discuss the various strands of historiography on this process – this is necessary, as we have seen that the primary sources generally have been interpreted (wrongly) as reflecting a simultaneous political and religious integration of Eleusis by Athens without considering Eleusinian agency. Included in this summary will be the lack of consensus amongst scholars regarding the dating of the Eleusinian-Athenian unification and the ways in which the concepts of the Athenian *ethnos* and peer polity interaction could provide more insight. Second, I will discuss the dating of the start of the religious component of the unification to the seventh century BC through the use of the archaeology and diagnostic votive objects from the City Eleusinion (including the Eleusinion pits, the Areopagos Terracotta Votive Deposit and the sanctuary material from the wells of the Athenian *agora*) and the pyres found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. Then I will contextualise all these conclusions within the overarching theoretical framework advanced in the introduction: that of the rise of the (Athenian) *polis* and the influence of cult on this process of state formation. At the end of this conclusion, avenues for further research will be proposed.

The first part of this thesis was devoted to the work of previous scholars on the topic of the incorporation of Eleusis by way of dissecting their arguments and interpretations of the primary sources. The related scholarship on the synoecism of Attica was included as well, as Eleusis sometimes figured in arguments or was part of argumentations implicitly. This was done in two chapters – one on the literary scholarship and one on the archaeological scholarship. At the end of each my own interpretation of the primary source material was presented, in which I focussed more on the historical context and showed that the sources do not reflect an early simultaneous political and religious unification as described above. Instead, I argued that the archaeological and literary evidence pertaining to the bonds that existed between Eleusis and Athens in the eighth to sixth centuries can be understood better in the light of peer polity interaction and the Athenian *ethnos*: the Eleusinians and Athenians interacted with each other on equal terms in the fields of warfare, elite competition, trade and – most importantly – religion in a shared cultural framework. In this sense, Athens and Eleusis were 'unified' religiously and (partly) culturally from an early age, of which the religious component can be traced back to at least the seventh century BC.[707] While the religious ties between the two had integrating effects, only during the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC the political component came into play: Athens and Eleusis were politically unified in a process which made Athens officially the predominant political centre of Attica. In this way, I have offered not only an analysis of previous scholarship but an

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[707] As has been argued in chapter 3, see below (3.6.3).

integration of the extant literary and archaeological evidence regarding the 'incorporation' of Eleusis.

Aside from these overarching observations, we saw – beginning with chapter 1 – how a scholarly focus on literary sources from the fifth century BC and later, such as the synoecism tradition and narratives on mythological wars between Eleusis and Athens, has led to an overinterpretation of the early relations between Athens and Eleusis: as mentioned before, scholars have mostly interpreted the unification as a violent, one-time event in which Athens incorporated Eleusis both religiously and politically. Instead, I have argued that these sources at most reflect memories of religious integration, trade and possibly even old antagonisms between Eleusis and Athens. Another set of argumentations dated and interpreted specific the literary and oral traditions in an old-fashioned way – a good example in this regard were the Homeric sources, which reflect an amalgamation of cultures, centuries and places instead of specific political conditions in the Mycenaean period, the Dark Ages or the early Iron Age. Still other sources proved to be largely unusable for the question of Eleusinian-Athenian unification due to their specific purpose: the Homeric Hymn to Demeter was a case in point. A last group of scholars presented circular argumentations: Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, for instance, dated the political incorporation process to the eighth century solely based on the start of the development of the *polis* in that same century.

Similar problems arose in the case of the archaeological scholarship. Consequently, in chapter two I have showed that most of the arguments based on archaeological sources falsely derived Athenian political control over Eleusis from archaeological remains like the distribution of pottery styles and the construction of the various Telesteria. Other archaeological arguments were based on circumstantial evidence or an incorrect interpretation of the archaeology – primary examples in this regard were the role of Peisistratos in Eleusinian matters and the supposed change of the main entrance to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. Again, establishing an academic consensus on the date of the incorporation and synoecism was impossible, though a consensus existed in the characterisation of the unification of Eleusis and Athens: like with the literary scholarship, it has been described as a simultaneous political and religious incorporation. My own, less politically inclined, analysis of the archaeological evidence used by previous scholars showed instead only that Eleusis retained a strong local identity throughout the Archaic period, and that its links with Athens consisted of a partly shared cultural orbit (the Attic *ethnos*) and trade. Unfortunately, the archaeology used by previous scholarship could only partly shed light on the religious relations between Athens and Eleusis due to a large focus on the remains of the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter only. However, there were some remains that could set a preliminary dating of the start of these links to the seventh century BC; amongst these were the first graves along the Sacred Way and the possibility of storing the *hiera* in the first Telesterion at Eleusis and in the City Eleusinion. From the literary evidence, the supposed creation of the post of the archon *basileus* in this century was of help – though it should be mentioned here that it is not clear whether the Eleusinian Mysteries fell under his authority at this period in time already.

The second part of this thesis gave insight into the dating of the start of religious integration between Athens and Eleusis by focussing on the one place that could provide physical and contemporary evidence of Eleusinian-Athenian integration: the City Eleusinion to the south the Classical *agora* of Athens. By re-

examining its archaeological remains and primarily its eighth-to-fifth-century diagnostic sanctuary material – which was dispersed in the pits of the City Eleusinion, the Areopagos Votive Deposit in the Areopagos Oval Building and the various wells of the *agora* – I was able to tentatively date the start of religious connections to the seventh century BC. I did this by comparing the City Eleusinion votives to those of the contemporary Eleusinian pyres A, B and Γ/C while also considering that votive types like columnar and horse figurines were found throughout Attica. In the end, the combination of painted plaques with shield and horse figurines,[708] the remains of a kernos in a probable Eleusinian context and specific plaques – the so-called Mistress of Snakes plaque and others depicting serpents possibly related to the Eleusinian Demeter – were indicative of the probable development of physical links between the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the one in Athens starting in the aforementioned century. Other finds, such as the procession hydrias perhaps pointed to this as well. Moreover, the remains of the City Eleusinion and its vicinity revealed that a processional route was possibly framed in the seventh century, and that the religious infrastructure to hold an early version of the procession from Eleusis to Athens and vice versa could have been in place (though there are no physical remains of this). Lastly, the architectural development of the City Eleusinion was indicative of close cooperation as well, as this seemed to have unfolded together with construction at Eleusis. All this shows that the Demeter sanctuary at Athens developed relations with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis during an early stage in its life – the choice of this precinct as a branch cult is not surprising: the sanctuary had been devoted to Demeter sanctuary already, lay on the route from Eleusis to the Athenian Akropolis and its topography echoed that of the Eleusinian Demeter sanctuary already: it was situated on a slope in the immediate vicinity of a venerable rock.

To summarise all this in a more concise manner: the first tentative signs of integration between Athens and Eleusis on another level than trade and small-scale conflicts probably began in the seventh century. This is not surprising, as the seventh century was characterised by evolving *poleis* – development in Athens was exemplified by a period of introversion vis-à-vis the larger Greek world, the creation of the first laws and perhaps an attempted tyranny by Kylon.[709] It is plausible then that bonds closer to home were tightened – for the bonds with Eleusis this meant the establishment of formal religious links between the (now-called) City Eleusinion and the sanctuary of the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore. A possible procession instituted at this time would have been a physical reminder of these close religious links, though the contents of this and any further specifics of the shared Demeter cult unfortunately cannot be specified. Thus, starting in the seventh century, the two proto-*poleis* of Eleusis and Athens worked more closely together progressively, eventually crystalising in a political unification a few centuries later.

How do these observations fit into the overarching scholarly debates on the rise of the Athenian *polis* and the influence of cult upon this process? My emphasis on the important role of the Eleusinian Demeter cult in the creation of a part of the eventual Athenian *polis* fits within the strand of scholarship mentioned in the

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[708] This combination was only found in Eleusis and Athens, as established in 3.6.3.
[709] Camp 2001, 24-25; Dimitriadou 2019, 210. Though we do not know anything on the circumstances surrounding Kylon, as discussed in chapter 1.

introduction which has emphasised the role of cult and religion in the formation of *poleis*: cults were used to create markers of identity and to develop *polis* ideology by way of feasting and offering. As outlined above, the shared Demeter cult established physically through the founding of the City Eleusinion probably played such an integrating role throughout the seventh and sixth century BC – before the seventh century bonds between Athens and Eleusis had existed, however, though on a less-integrating scale in the fields of trade, the occasional strife and perhaps even regional wars.

While the importance of cult in the Eleusinian-Athenian integration process was one of the main observations throughout this thesis, this research has pushed the political side of at least the Eleusinian-Athenian unification to a later date. This contrasts with the work of scholars like François De Polignac, who have pinpointed the incorporation process as a political one from its origins in the eight century BC. Thus, the research posited in this thesis tends to agree with M.P. Nilsson, who argued that the formation of the Athenian *polis* was a result of religious integration. The links and relations of Athens to other Attic localities – such as Brauron – would have to be studied on their own to eventually provide a complete picture of the unification processes at work in Archaic Attica; chances are, however, that we would find a similar line of development as proposed in this thesis regarding Eleusis and Athens.

Lastly, it should be repeated that, while promising, the results of this study are tentative: the source material is scarce. In the case of possible votives from the City Eleusinion, however, the well material presented in this thesis could eventually be supplemented by sanctuary objects from pits, cisterns and other dumping places on the Athenian *agora.* A case in point already incorporated in this thesis was the stone-lined pit (L-M 7:1). Additionally, during my research of the wells I came across other promising (perhaps) sanctuary dumps: one pit housed vessel fragments with painted tripods so characteristic of some of the material in the Eleusinian pyres (figure 63-64) and two others housed respectively a finely-made bowl with a snake and a sherd with a serpent and Kore (figures 65 and 66).[710] Through objects like this the scarcity of the evidence from the City Eleusinion could eventually be partly overcome, and – if I am right – further substantiate the claim that the Eleusinion as a branch cult of Eleusinian Demeter was founded in the seventh century.

In this way, our understanding of the development of the *polis* of Athens and its relations to its eventual demes is ever evolving. This thesis on the origins of the shared (Eleusinian) Demeter cult between Athens and Eleusis is only the beginning of a more thorough comprehension of the developments influencing Attic state formation in the centuries before the Kleisthenic reforms*.*

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[710] Another promising object is a columnar figurine from Archaic road fill (T 4460; (http://agora.ascsa.net/research?v=list&q=columnar%20figurine&sort=&t=object, access date 9 November 2020).

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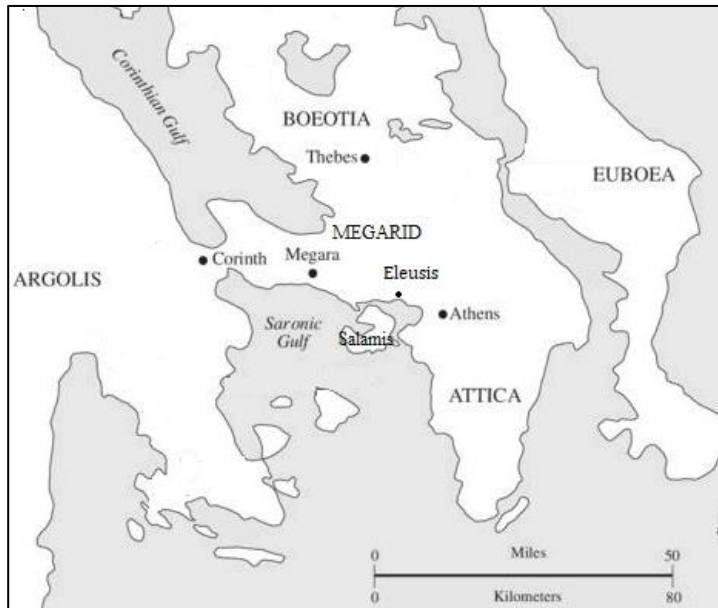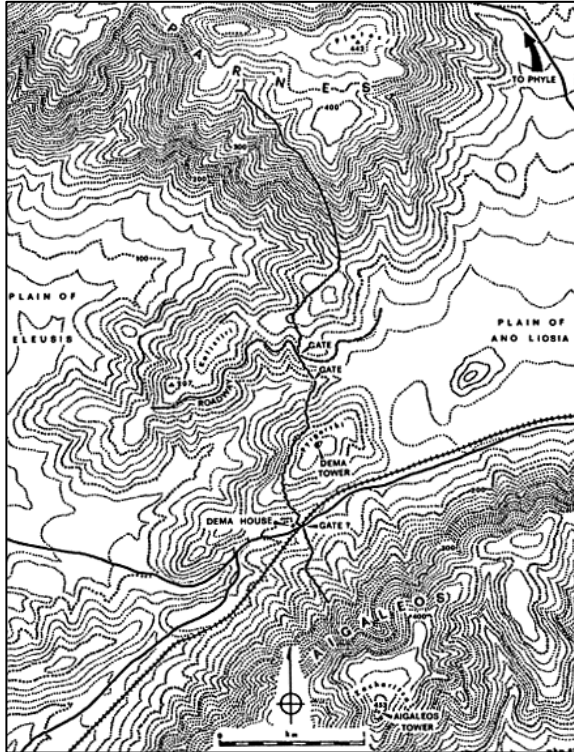
Figure 1. *Map showing the locations of the various regions and localities mentioned in this thesis* (Echeverría 2017, online; additions of Eleusis, Salamis and the Megarid by author)*.*

Figure 2. *Map of Attica showing Eleusis, Athens and geographical and topographical features* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 29).
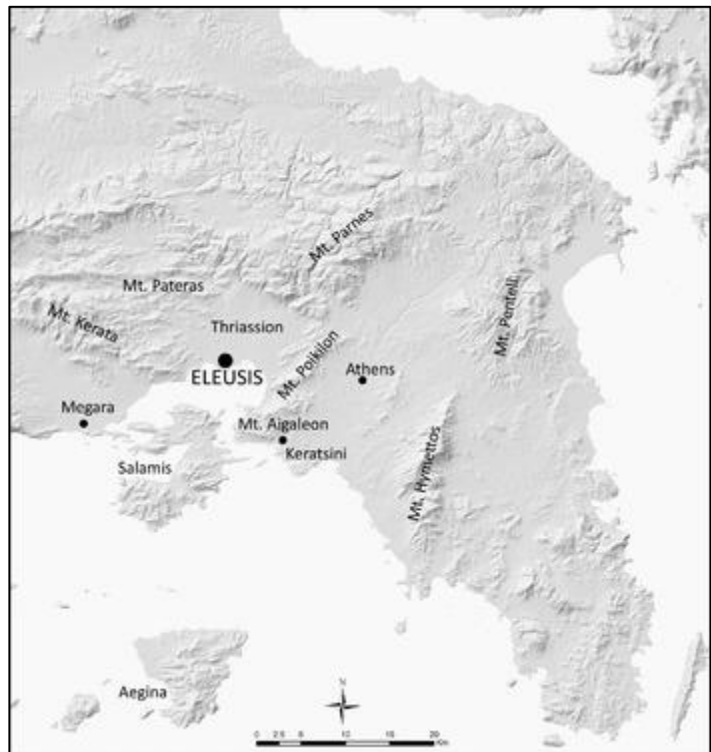
Figure 3. *The Dema wall between Aigaleos and Parnes/Poikilon* (Munn 1993, 39).

Figure 4 (below). *The Sacred Road between Athens and Eleusis* (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_sacred_way_from_Athens_to_Eleusis.jpg, date: 5 August 2020).
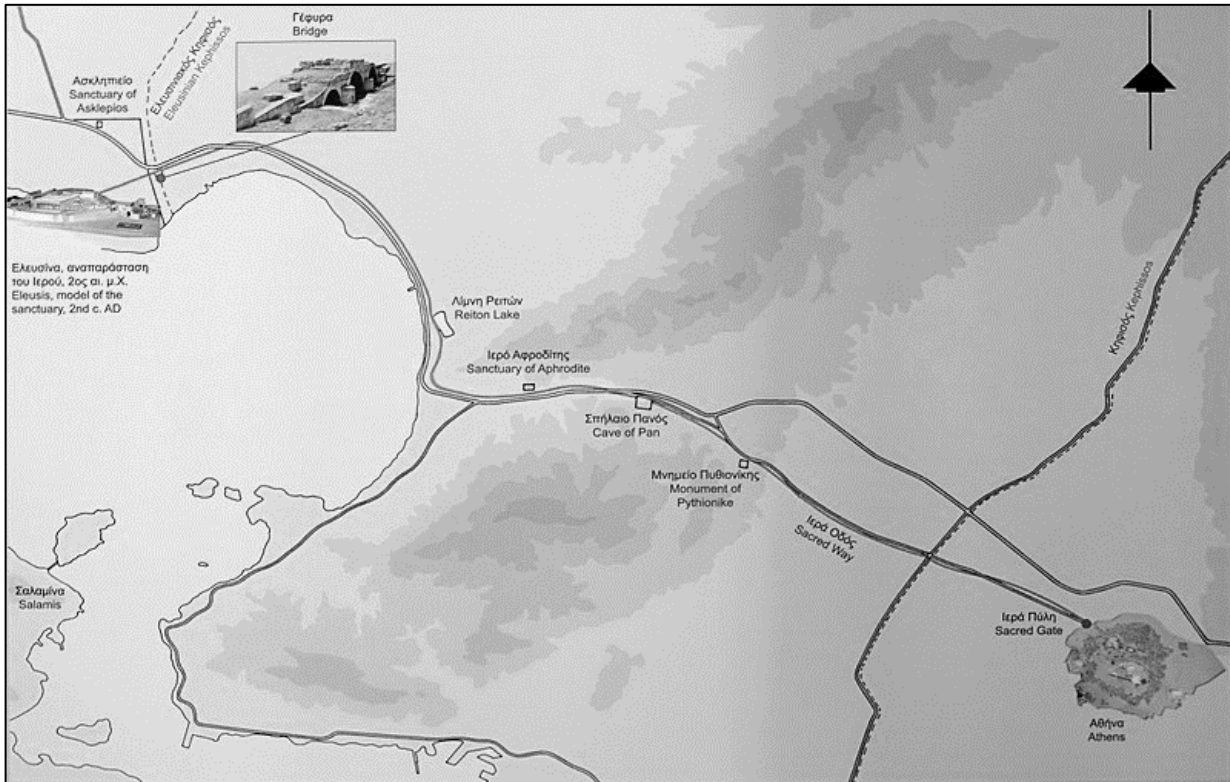
Figure 5. *Map of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis* (Perseus, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/image?img=Perseus:image:1990.33.1055, access date: 5 August 2020; numbers added by author).
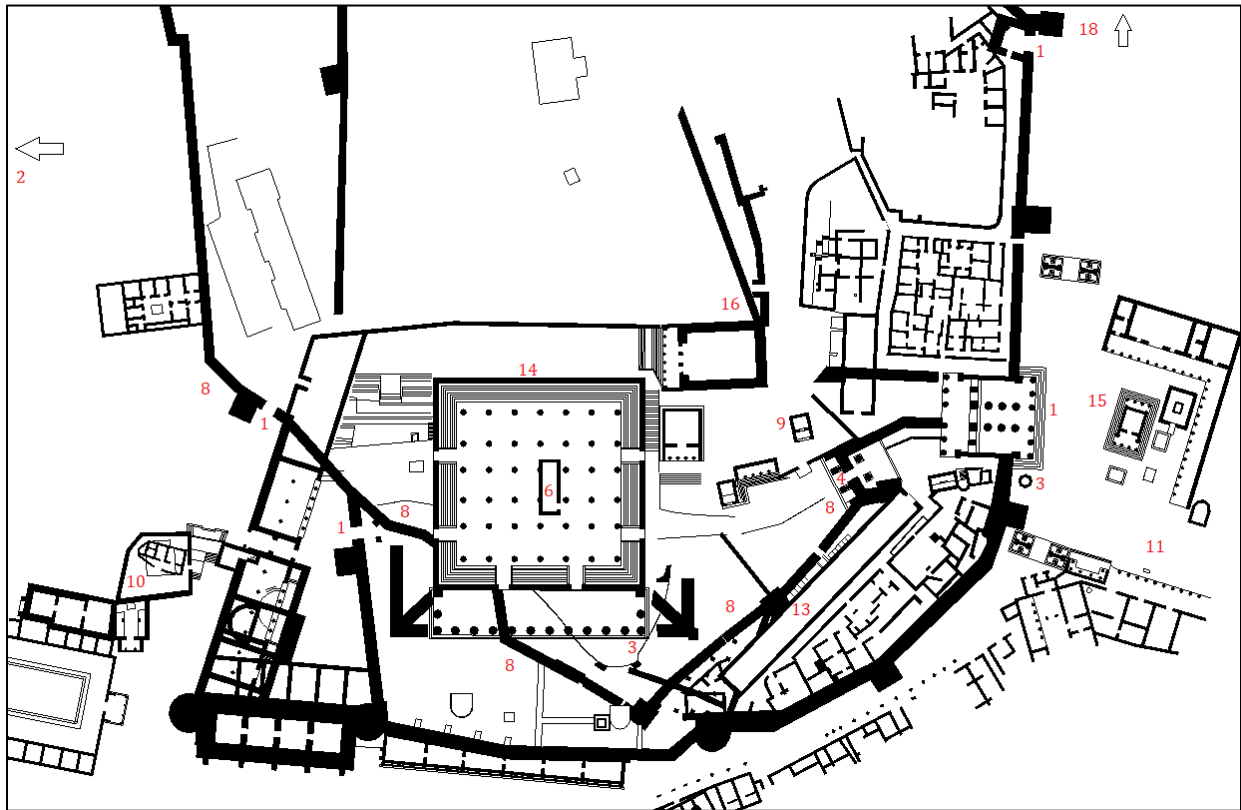

|	
Legend	*North:*
Gates and *pyloi* (sixth century and later; see also figure 22)	1
Helladic houses (H, I, K, Λ)	2
Kallichoron Well (Well W and later well in the forecourt)	3
Lesser Propylaea	4
Megaron B and extensions B1, B2, B3	6
'Peisistrateian' walls	8
Ploutonion	9
Sacred House	10
Sacred Way (see also figure 22)	11
Stoa of Philon	13
Telesterion	14
Temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon	15
Unit A, B, C, D	16
West Cemetery (see also figure 22)	18

Figure 6. *Plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion with the remains of the Mycenaean walls* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 81).
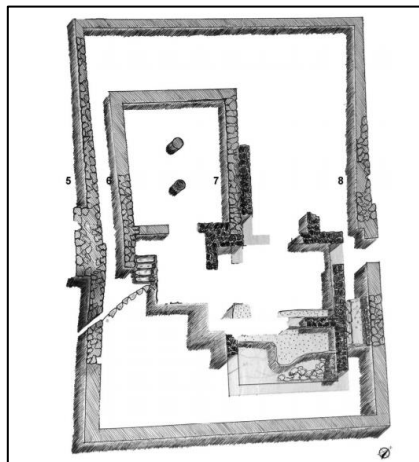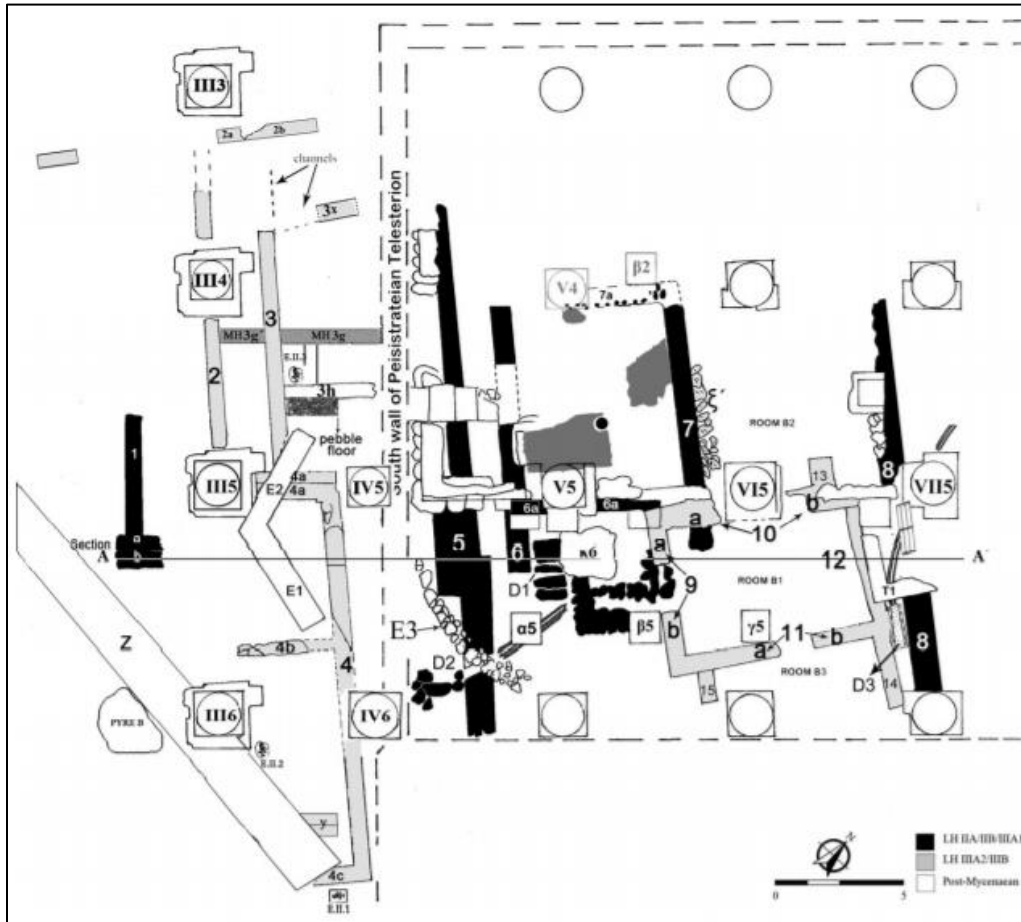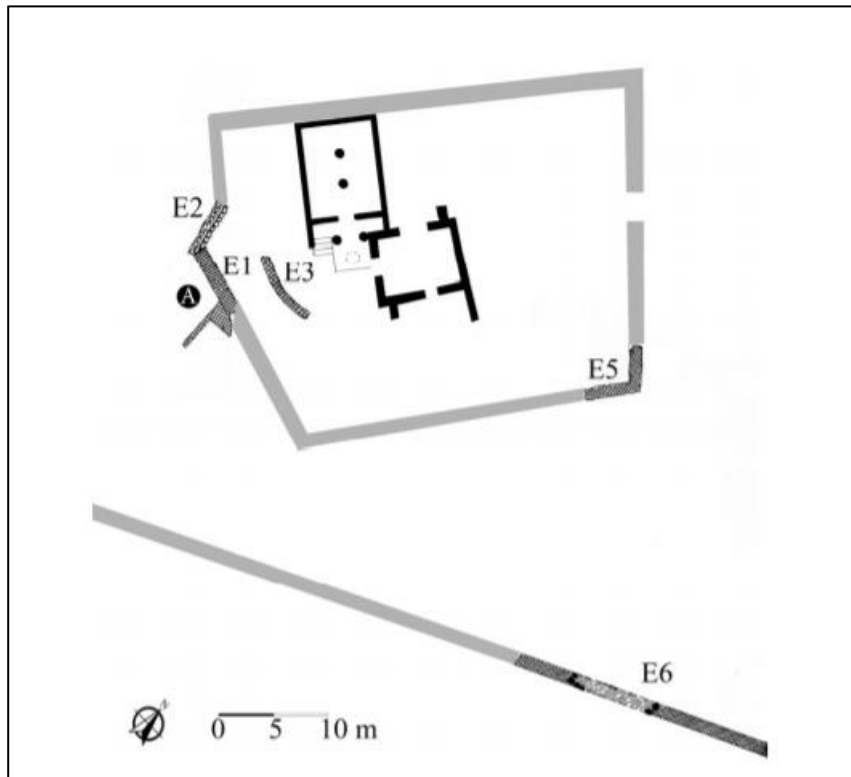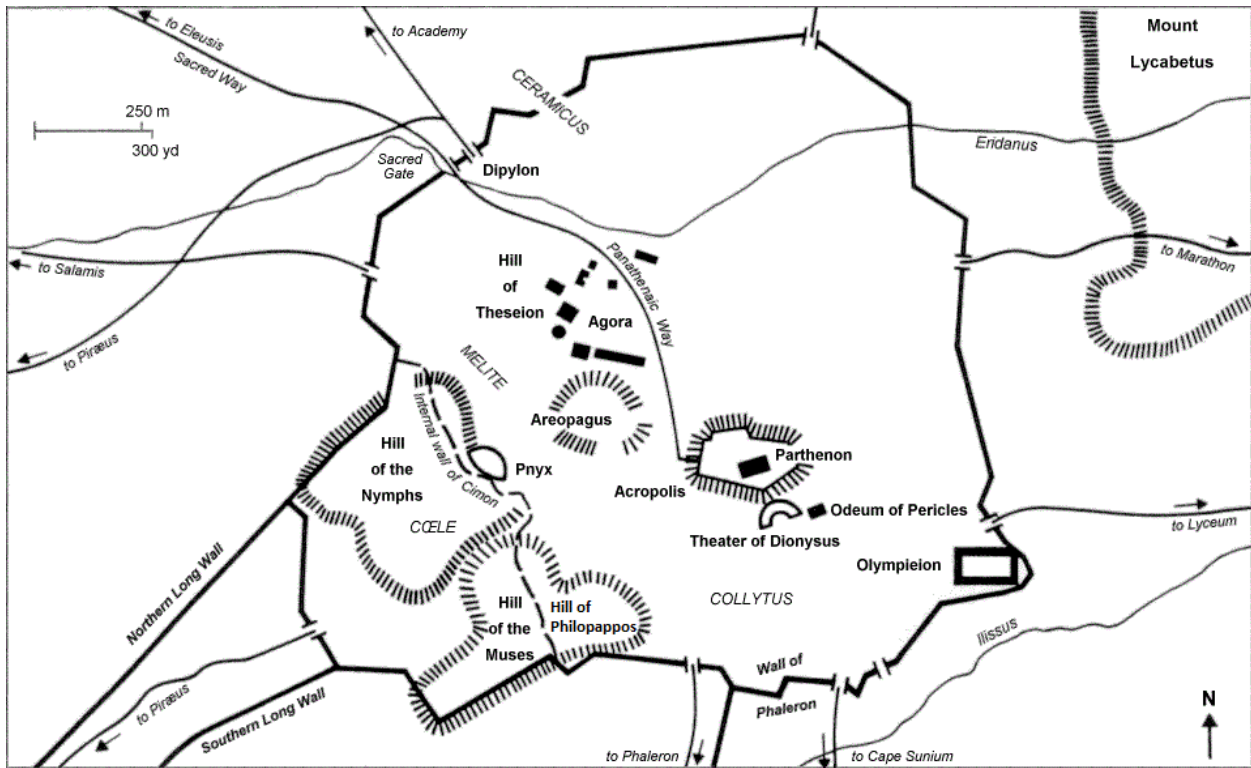

Figure 7 (left). *Reconstruction of Megaron B in the Palatial Period* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 109).

Figure 8 (below). *Reconstruction of the façade of Megaron B* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 88).
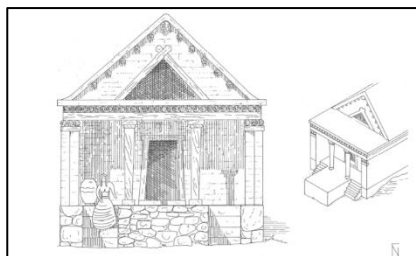
Figure 9. *Map of Athens showing the various locations mentioned in this thesis* (plato-dialogues.org, https://www.plato-dialogues.org/tools/athensim.htm#panathenaea, access date: 5 August 2020; small additions by author)*.*

Figure 10 (left). *The Mycenaean and Geometric remains in the area of the Telesterion* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 135).

Figure 11 (below)**.** *Reconstruction of the Geometric terrace and Megaron B with its extensions and wall E3* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 135).
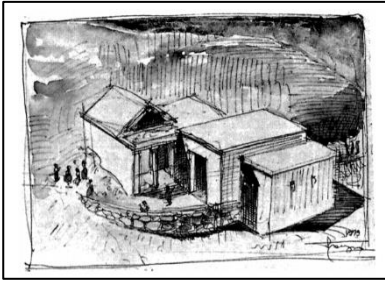
Figure 12. *Van den Eijnde's reconstruction of the Geometric terrace* (Van den Eijnde 2019, 100).

Figure 13. *Reconstruction of the Late Geometric terrace and retaining walls* (Van den Eijnde 2019, 103).
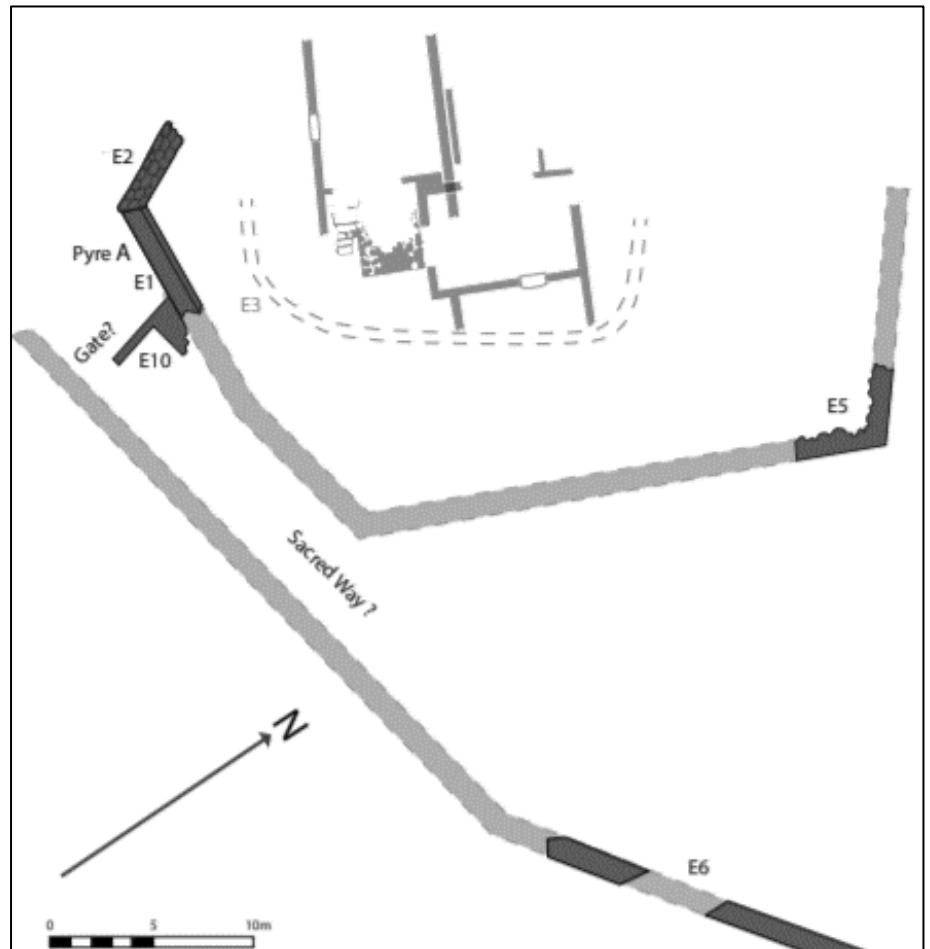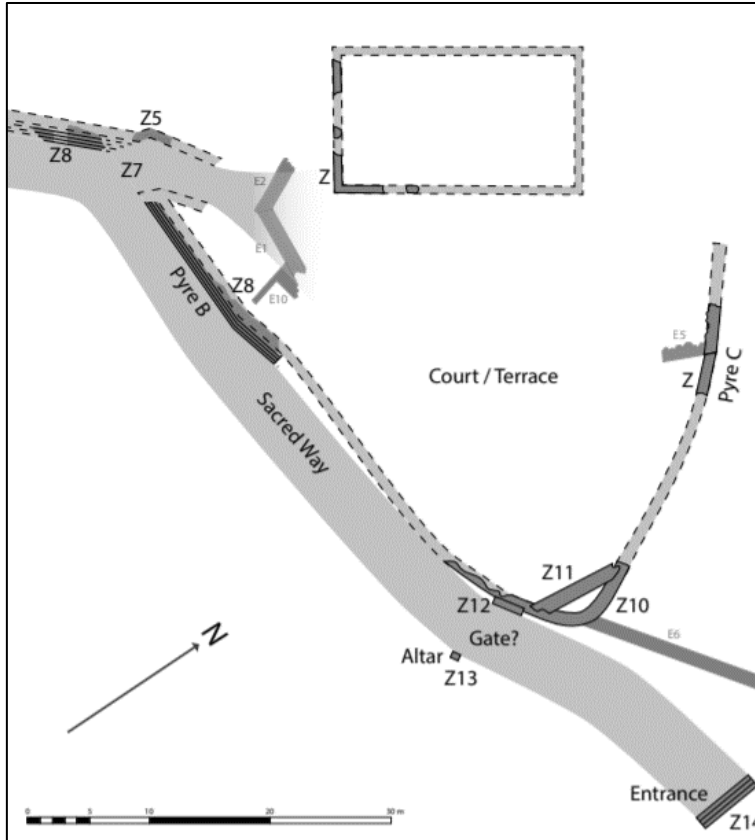
Figure 14 (left). *Archaic remains in the area of the Telesterion* (Van den Eijnde 2019, 105).

Figure 15 (below right). *Plan of the Sacred House and its associated male burial, and the Archaic trapezoidal terrace* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 137).
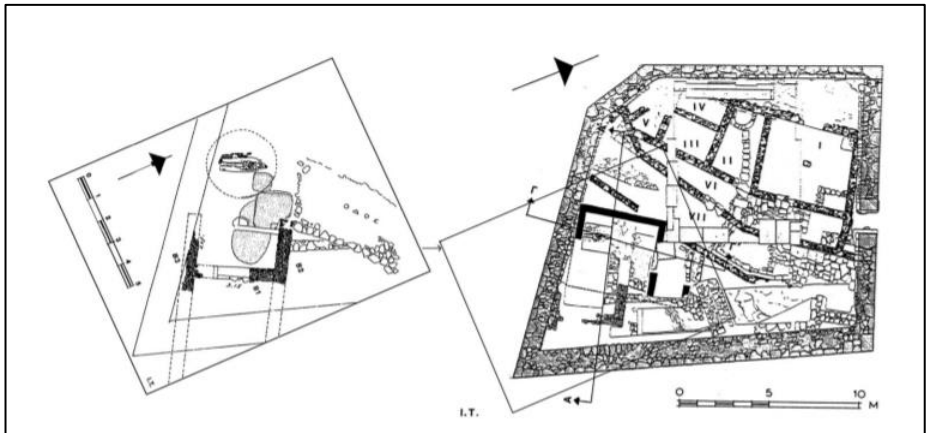
Figure 16 (below left). *The Early Archaic (left) and 'Peisistrateian' Telesteria (right)* (Cosmopoulos 2015, 141).
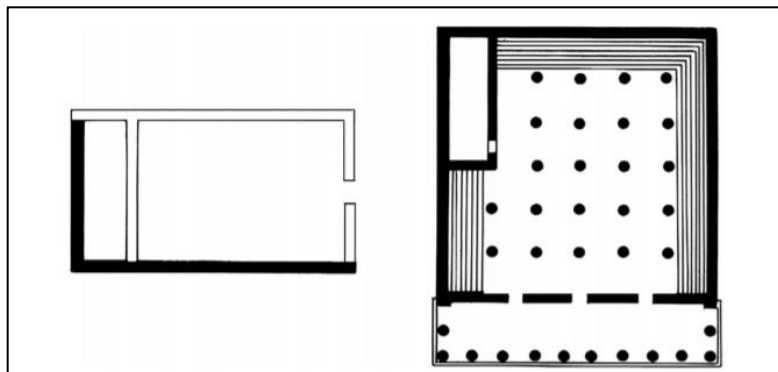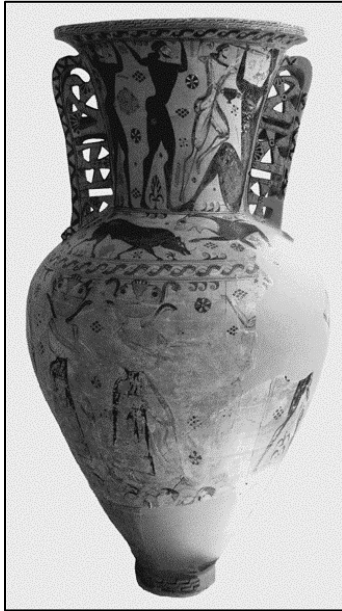
Figure 17 (left). *The monumental protoattic Eleusinian amphora (ca. 650 BC)* (Classical Art History, https://classicalarthistory.wordpress.com/2015/07/22/eleusis-amphora/, access date: 8 August 2020).
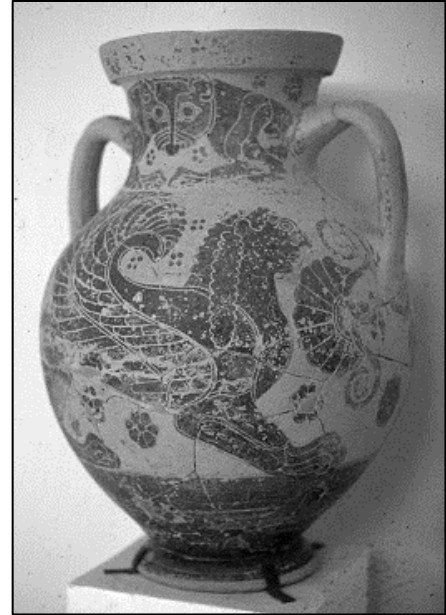
Figure 18 (right). *The 'Chimaera painter' Attic black-figure amphora (ca. 610 BC).* (Blogspot, http://teegeeessays.blogspot.com/2011/11/iv.html, access date: 8 August 2020).
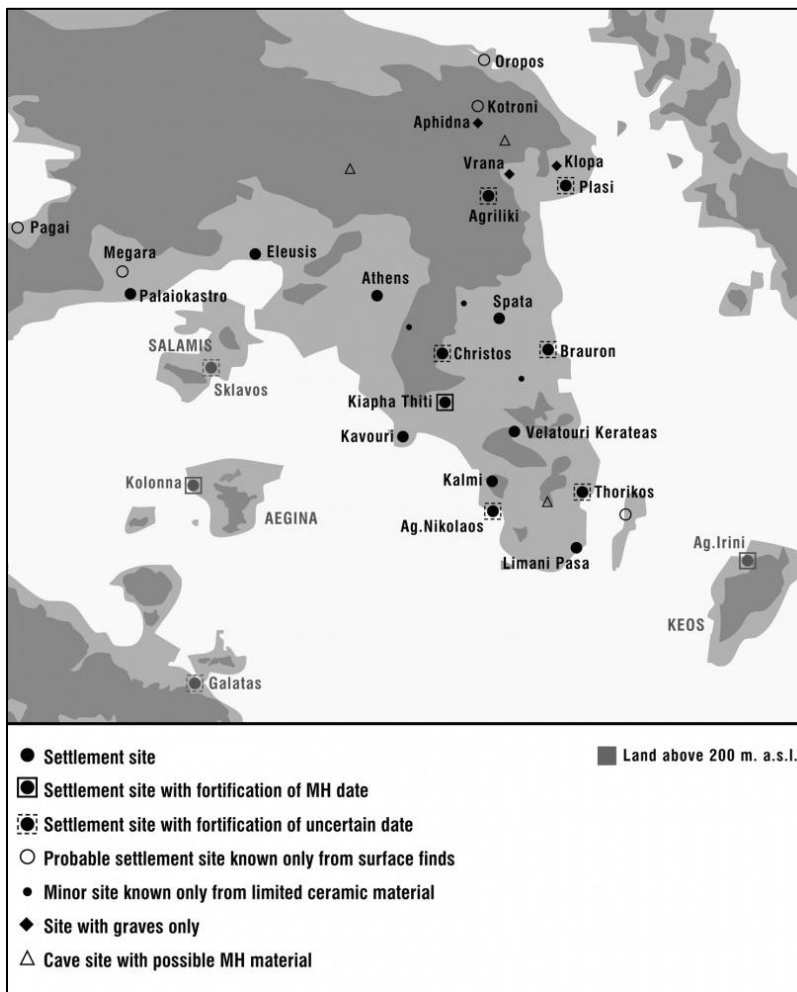
Figure 19. *Mycenaean remains in Attica* (Papadimitriou 2017, http://www.chs-fellows.org/2017/09/11/sunoikisis-mycenaean/, access date: 11 August 2020.

Figure 20. *The first representation of the personification of Eleusis in Athenian art* (British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-375, access date: 17 August 2020).

Figure 21. *A collection of vases showing the standard type of the sixth-century Herakles' tenth labour* (a selection from Boardman 1975, plates I-IV).

Figure 22. *City of Eleusis and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore* (Mylonas 1961, fig. 32).
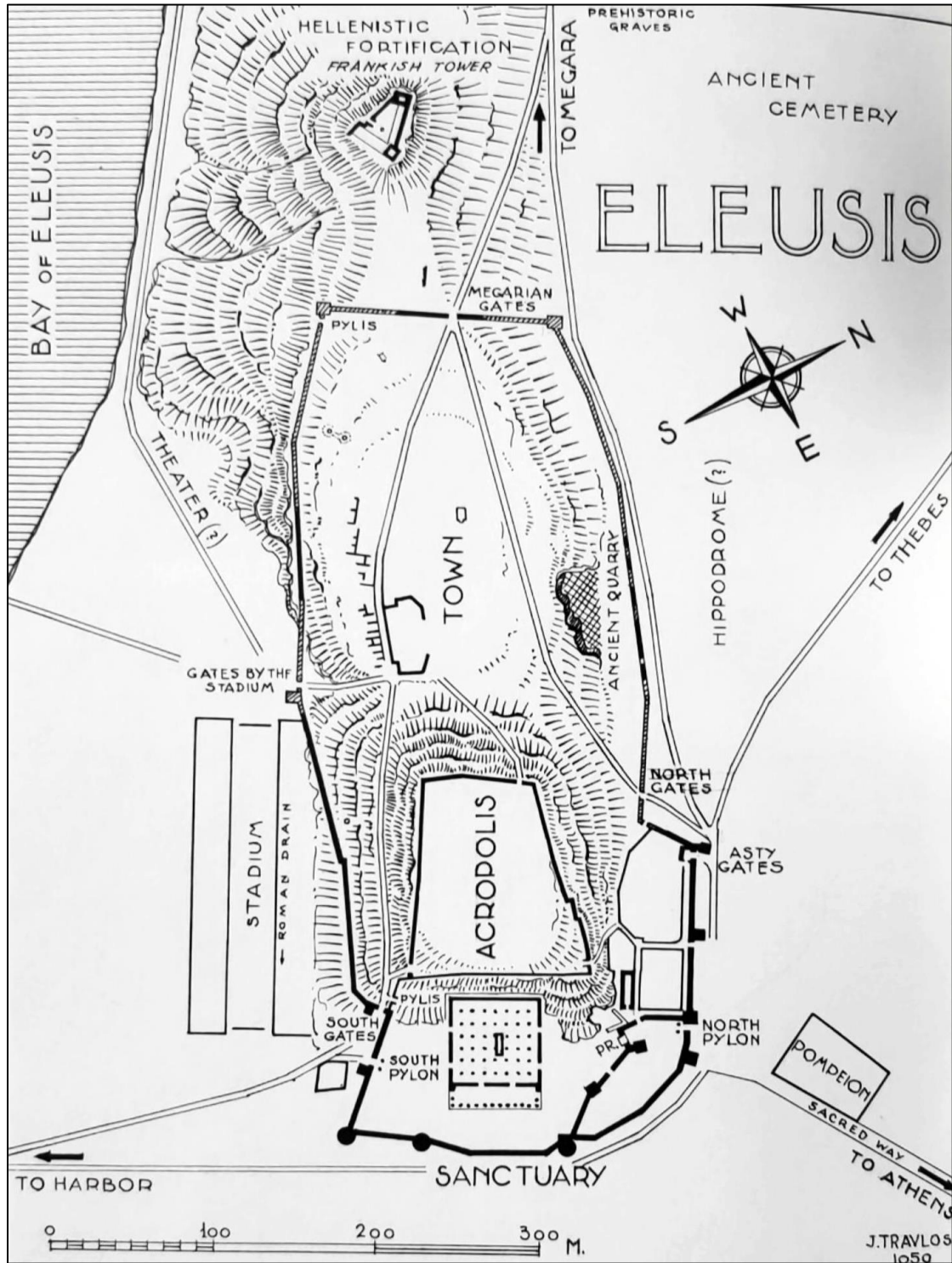
Figure 23 (right). *Map of the Athenian agora at the height of its development (ca. 150 AD)* (Agora Image 2008.20.0002). The Eleusinion is not on this map, but could be found more to the southeast, along the Panathenaic Way.
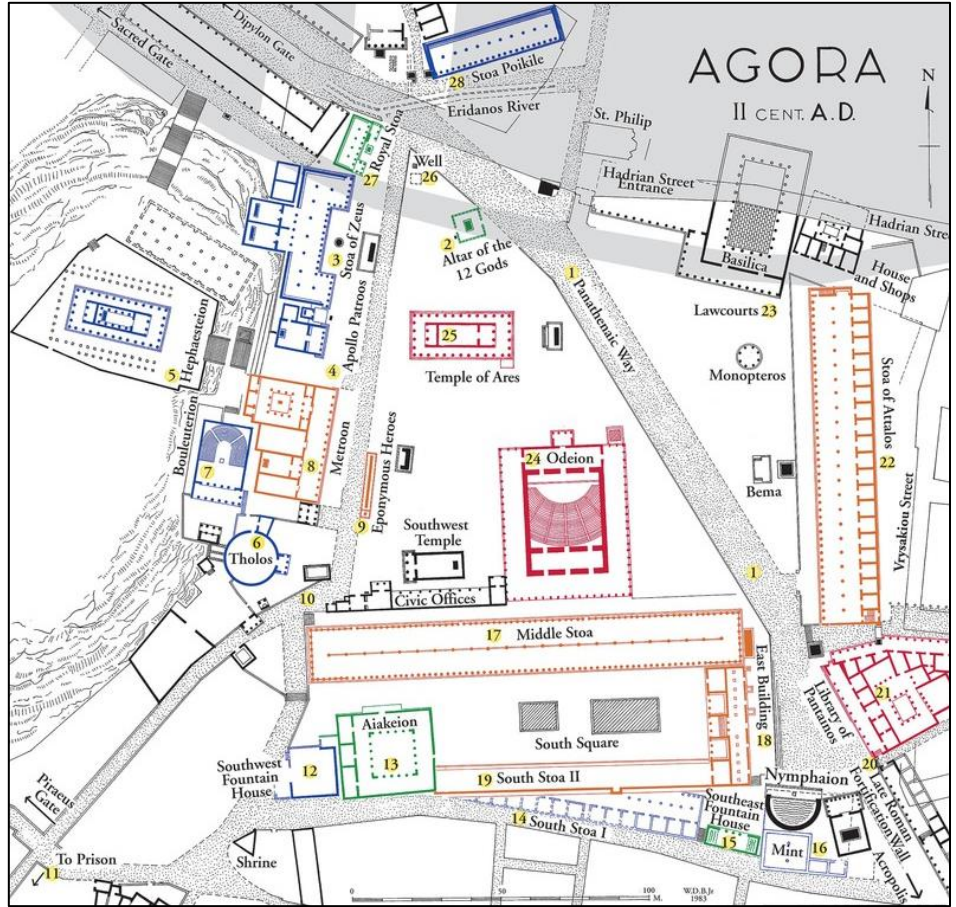
Figure 24 (below). *Reconstruction of the Athenian agora at the height of its developments (ca. 150 AD)* (Agora Image 2008.20.0096). The Eleusinion can be seen past the southeast corner of the *agora*, on the slopes of the Akropolis (no. 32).
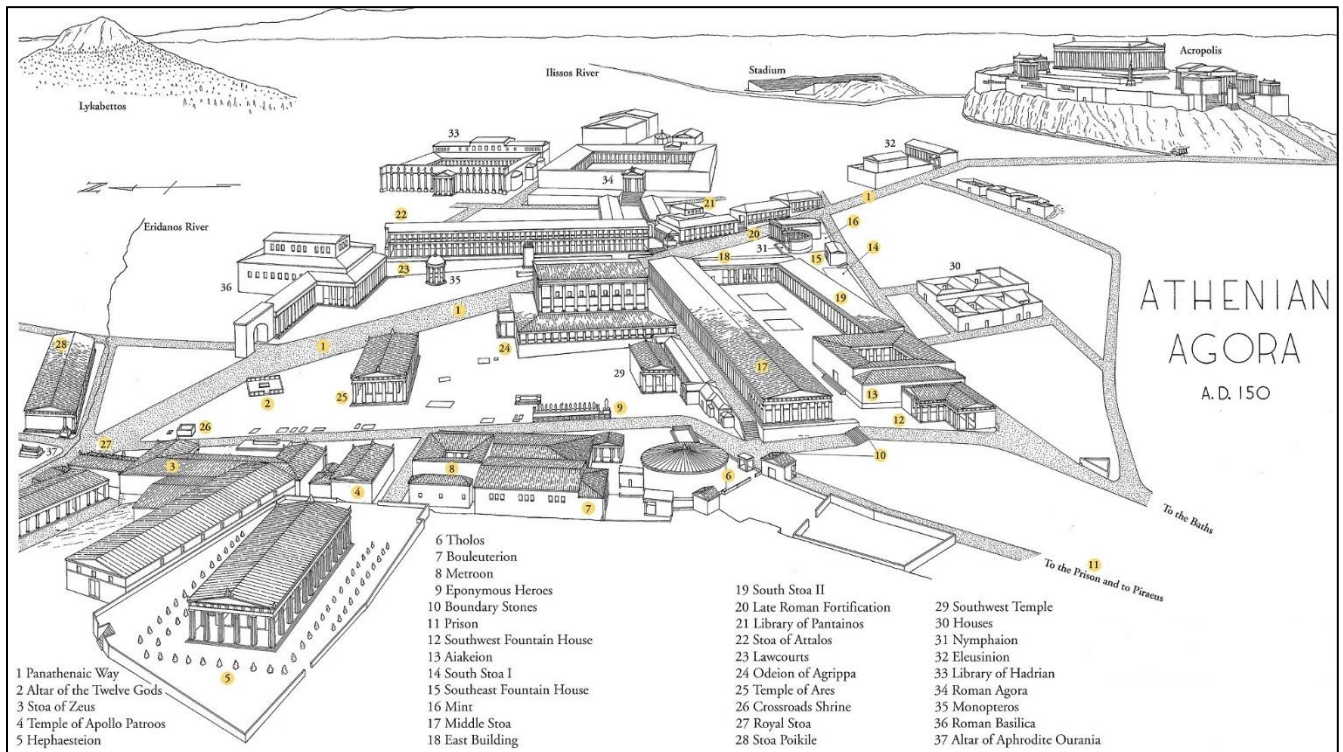
Figure 25. *Wells on the Athenian agora with sanctuary material and/or dump (eighth-sixth century BC, with spurs to the fifth century BC)* (original map: Brann 1962, s. 194; modifications by author).

Figure 26. *Plan of the Agora excavations, with the area of the City Eleusinion excavations marked in dark grey* (Miles 1998, plan 1).
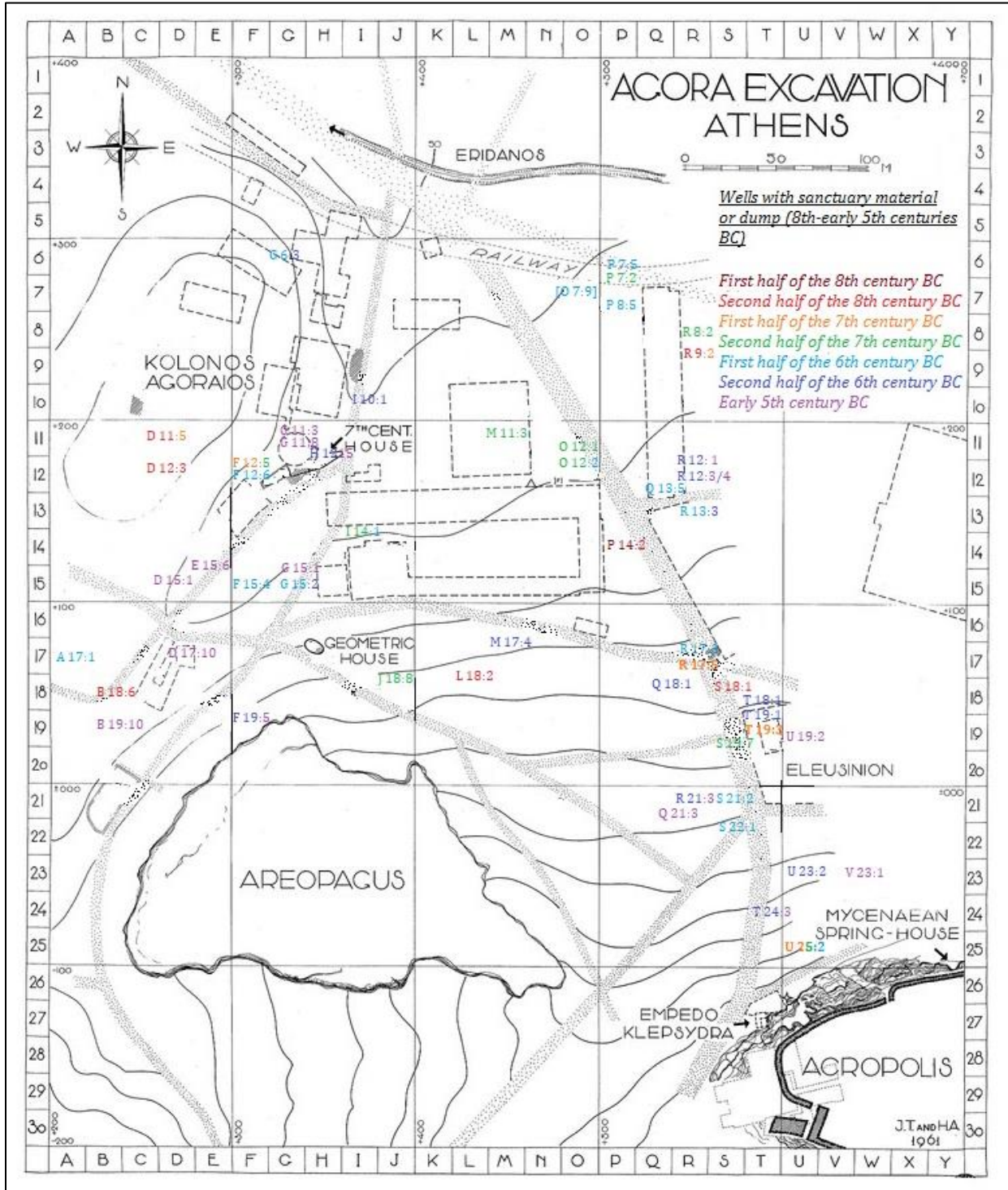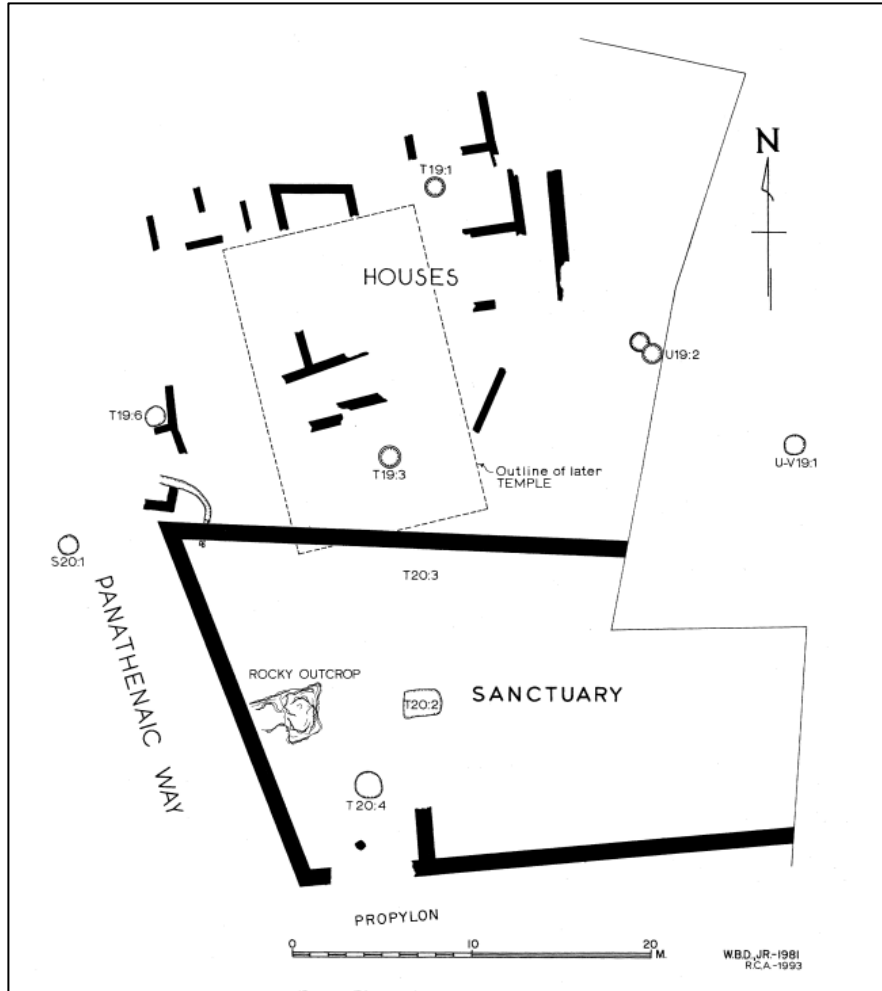
Figure 27. *Restored plan of the sanctuary; structures (walls) and an outline of the fifth-century temple of Triptolemos (sixth century BC)* (Miles 1998, 24).

Figure 28.
Terracotta figurines and fragments from the three Protoattic deposits in the area of the Eleusinion (Miles 1998, 20).

FIGURINE TYPE	T 20:2, T 19:3, T 20:3	WITH T 20:4 ADDED	H 17:4
Columnar female	39	94	1
Male figure	0	0	3
Chariot group:			
group	2	2	3+ frags.
driver	2	3	1
horse	0	0	1
Seated figure	1	1	0
Horses	4	4	22+ frags.
Other animal	2	3	2
(animal?) legs	8	8	unknown
Rider/horse	0	0	2
Shields	4	4	33
Plaques	6	9	6
Other	2	3	1

TABLE 1. Terracotta Figurines and Fragments from Three Protoattic Deposits

Figure 29. *State plan of the excavated parts of the City Eleusinion, section I (north)* (Miles 1998, plan 2).
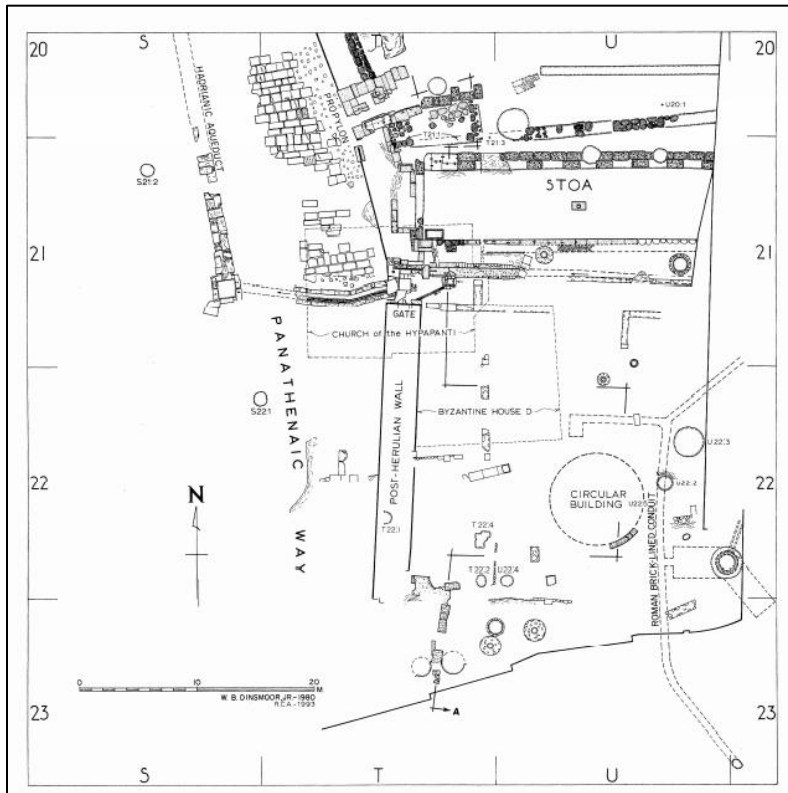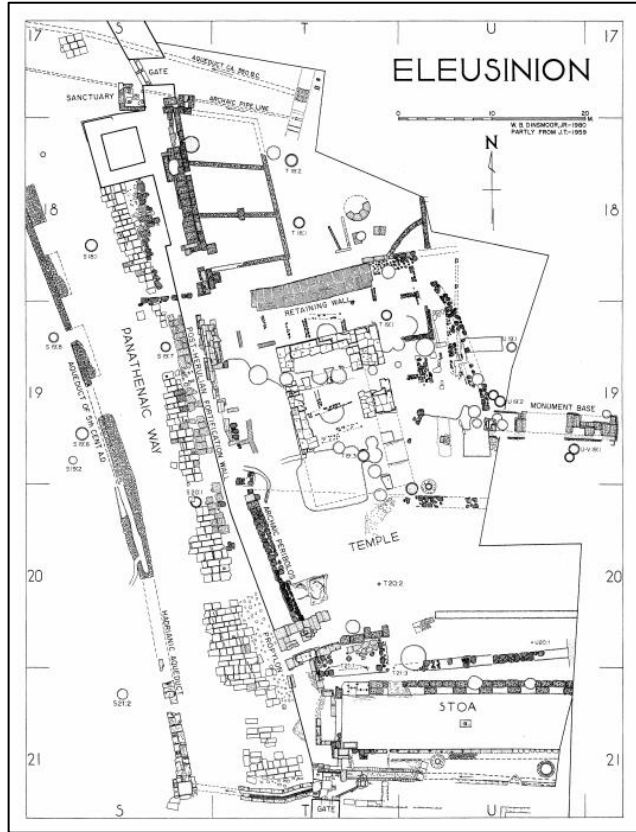
Figure 30. *State plan of the excavated parts of the City Eleusinion, section II (south)* (Miles 1998, plan 3).

Figure 31. *Terracotta figurines from deposit T 20:4* (Miles 1998, plate 25).

Figure 32. *The 'Mistress of the Snakes' Plaque from deposit H 17:4; watercolour (right) by Piet de Jong and photo* (Laughy 2018, 641).

Figure 33. *Terracotta plaque and shield fragments from deposit H 17:4* (Laughy 2018, 641).

Figure 34. *Case 21 in the Museum of the Ancient Agora (Stoa of Attalos) in Athens; 'offerings from a shrine (Deposit H 17:4)'* (Agora Image 2000.02.0723; photo made in 2000).
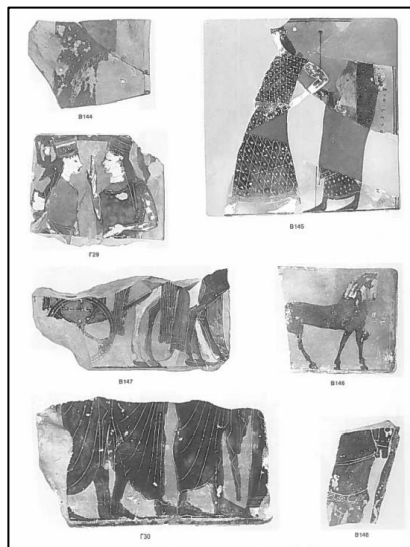
Figure 35. *Black-figured plaques (including goddesses with headdress) from pyres B and Γ/C in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 45).

Figure 36-37. *Plaques from pyre A in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 10-11).
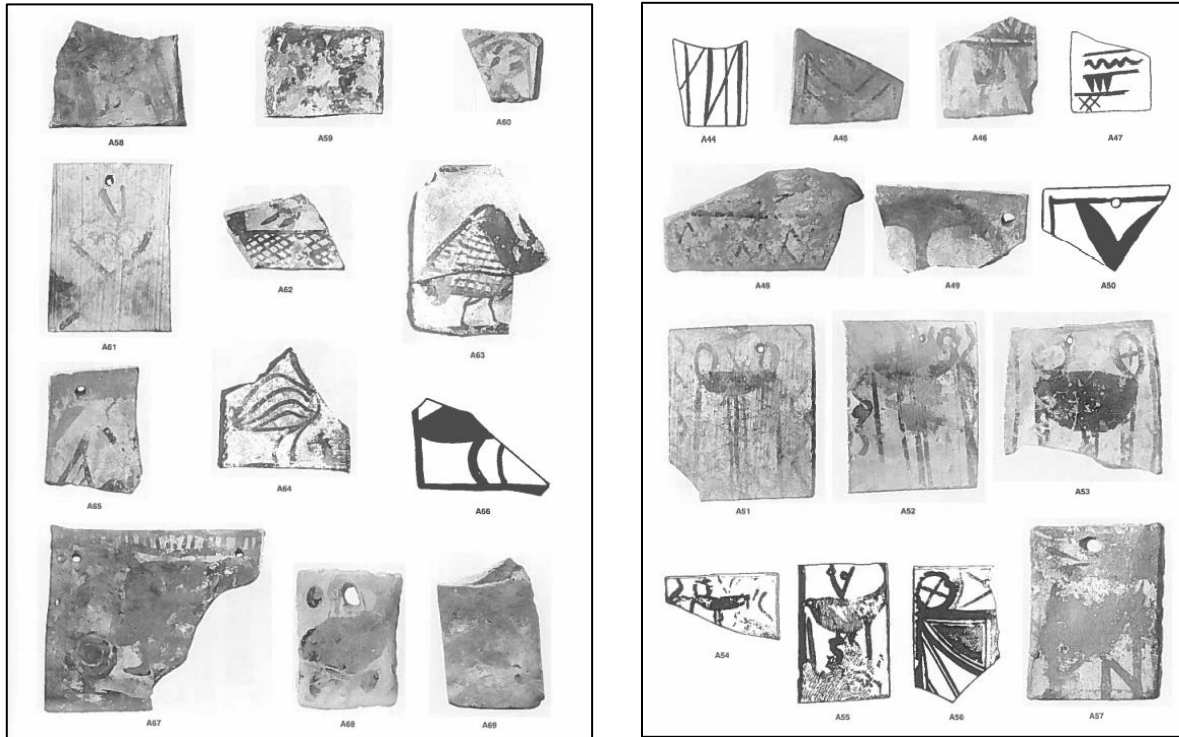
Figure 38-39. *(Columnar) Figurines from pyre A in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 12-13).
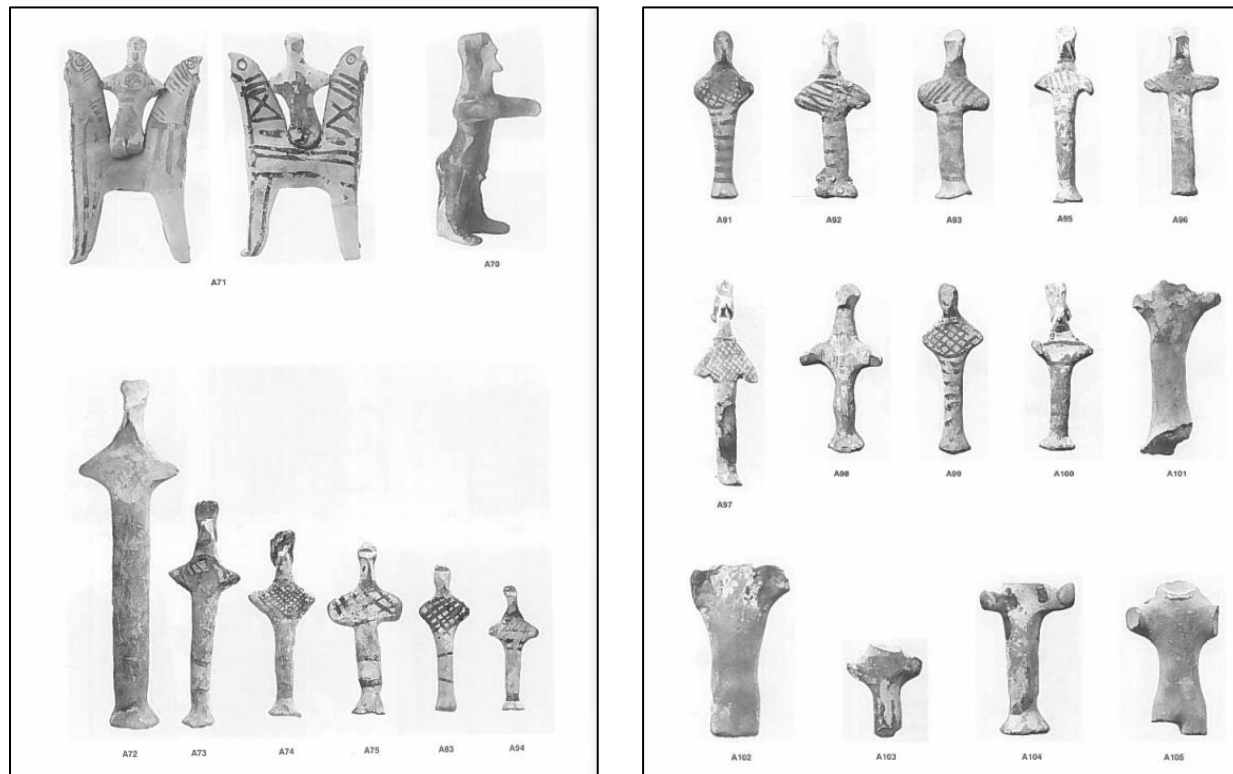
Figure 40-41. *Standing and seated figurines from pyre A in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 17-18).
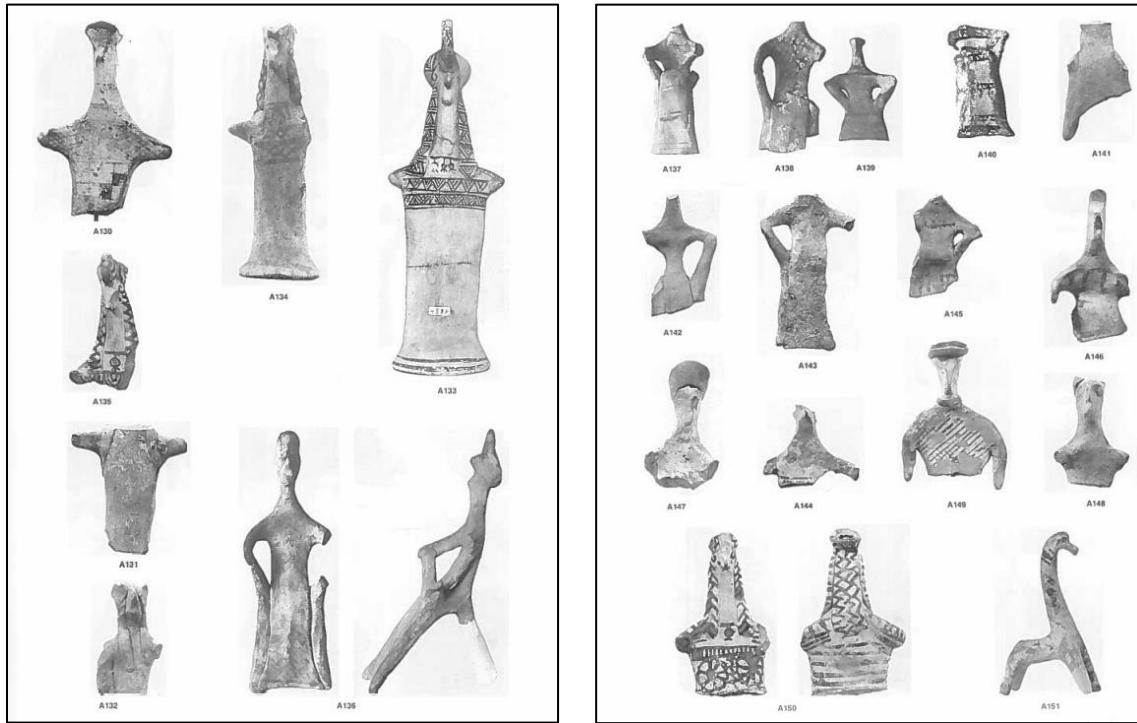
Figure 42 (left). *Horse (and rider) and animal figurines from pyre A in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 19).

Figure 43 (right). *Female head protomes* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 20).
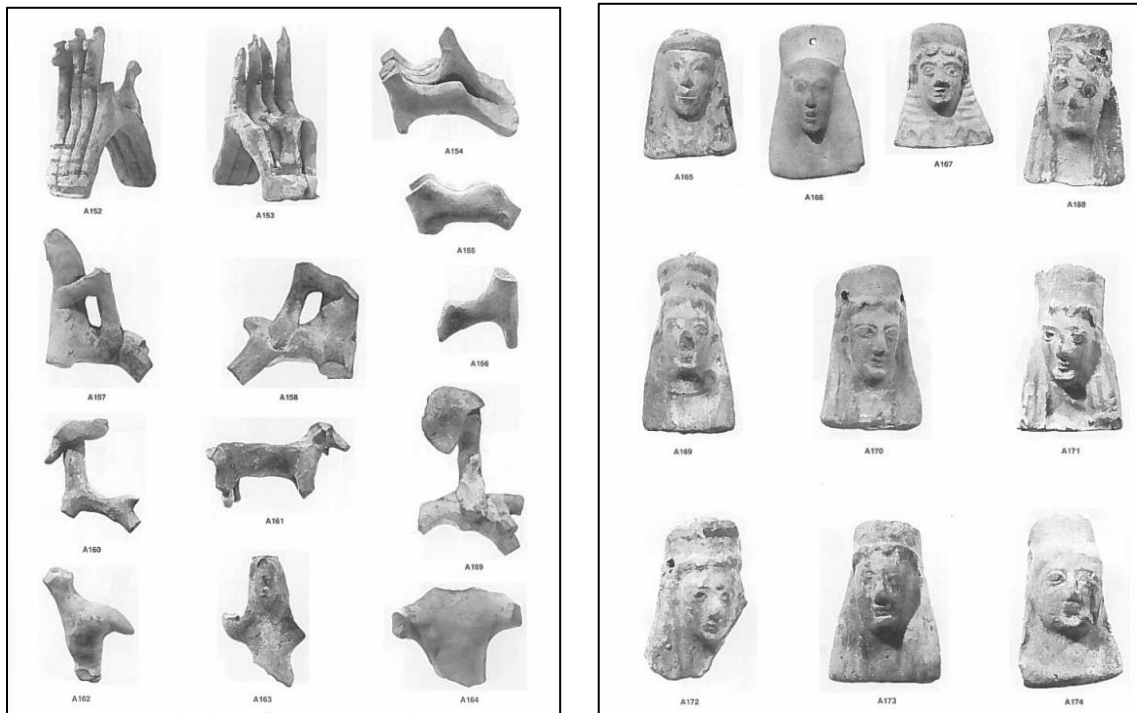
Figure 44 (left). *Thymiaterion from pyre B in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 21).

Figure 45 (middle). *Lamps and a kernos from pyre B in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 44).
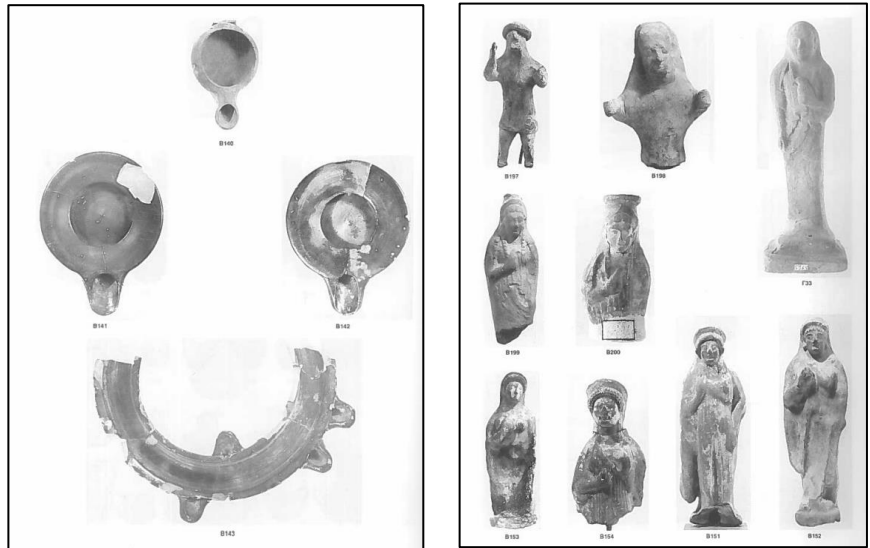
Figure 46 (right). *(Kore) Figurines from pyre B and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 47.

Figure 47 (below left). *Seated goddesses and female busts from pyre B and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 49).

Figure 48 (below right). *Seated goddesses from pyre B in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 50).

Figure 49-50. *Female heads/protomes on plaques from pyre B and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 52-53).
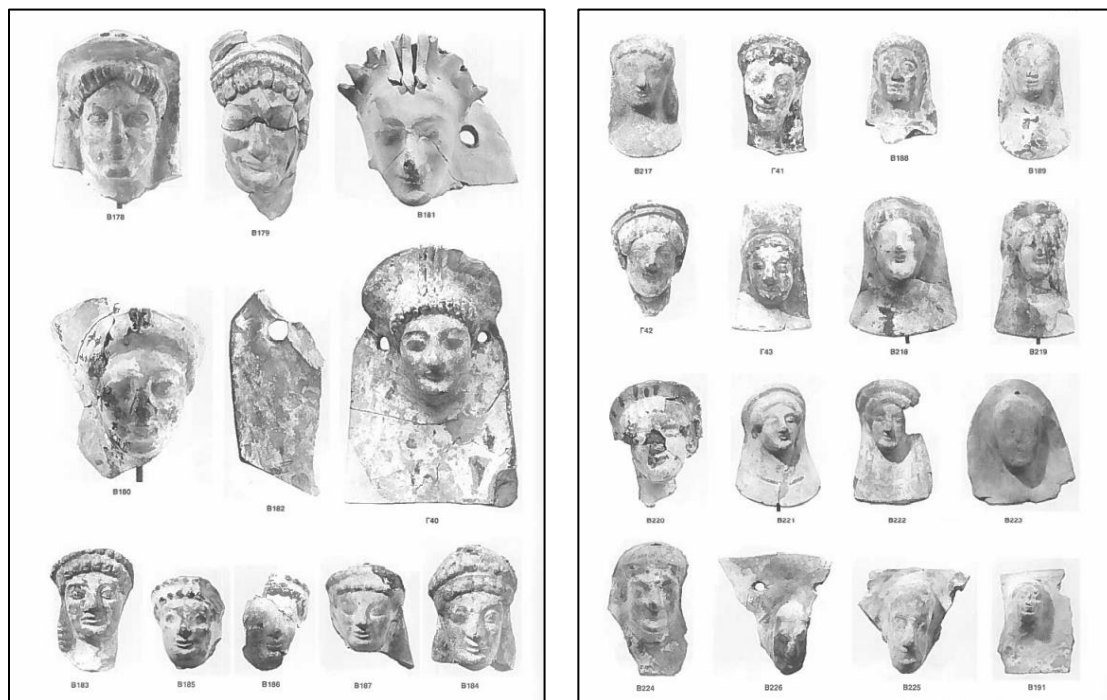
Figure 51 (left). *Grotesque and seated figurines, a reclining figurine and a female head on a plaque from pyre B and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 54).

Figure 52 (right). *Some animal (horses, a pig and a dog) and standing faience figurines from pyre A and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 55).
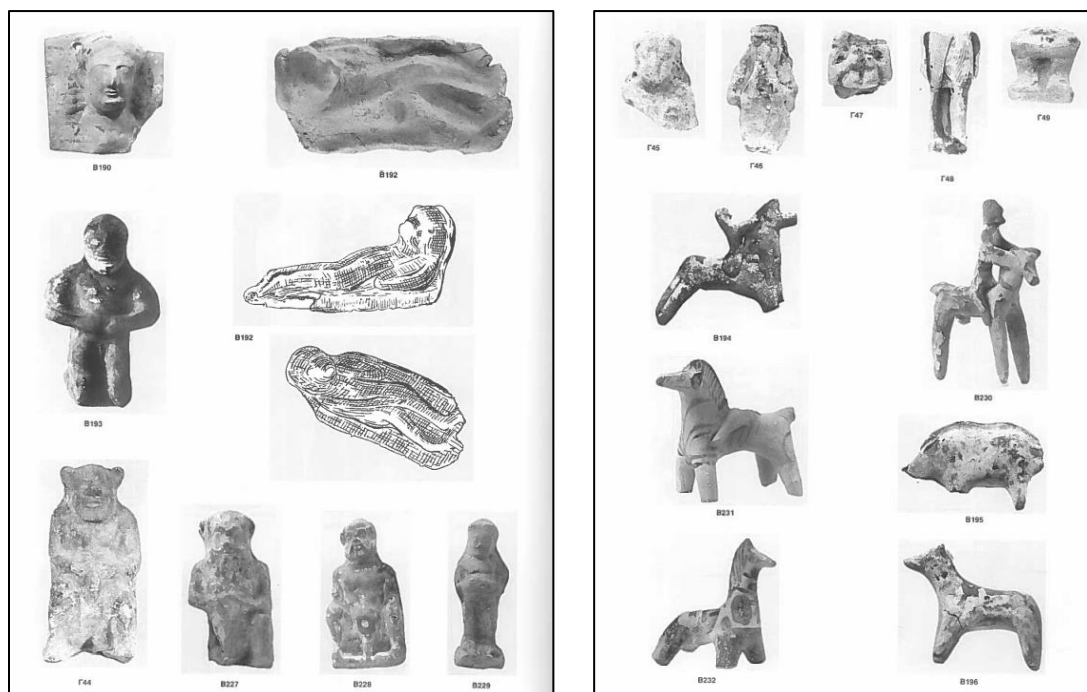
Figure 53-54. *Golden jewelry and sheets from pyres A, B and Γ in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 57-58).
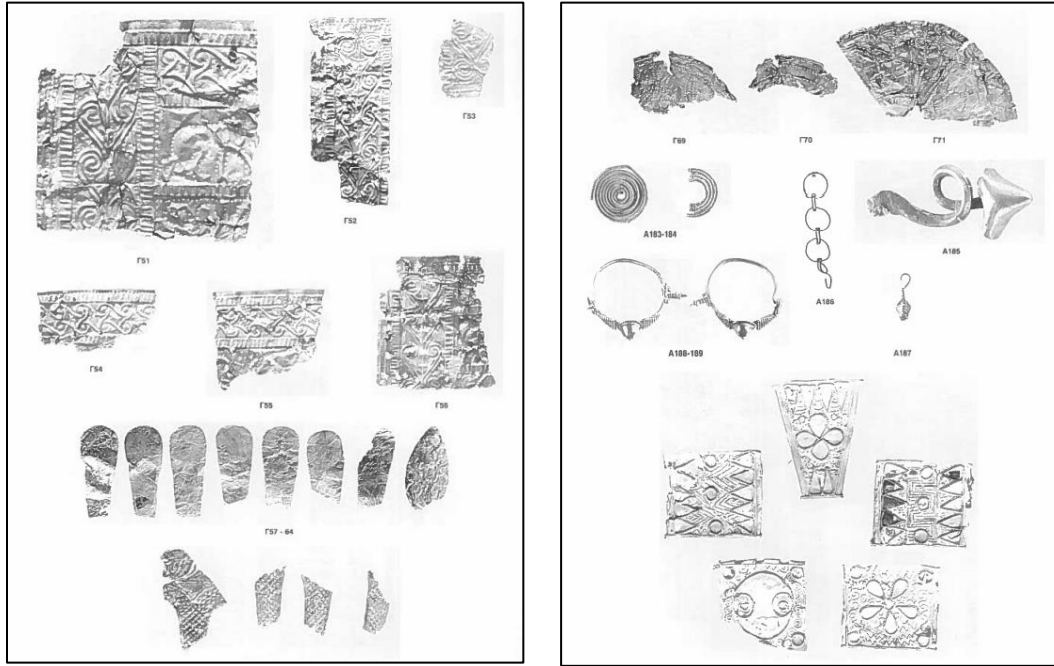
Figure 55 (left). *Gold and silver jewelry from pyres B and Γ/C in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 61).

Figure 56 (right). *Iron and silver rings, pieces of silverware and inscribed lead 'altar' from pyre Γ/C* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 62).
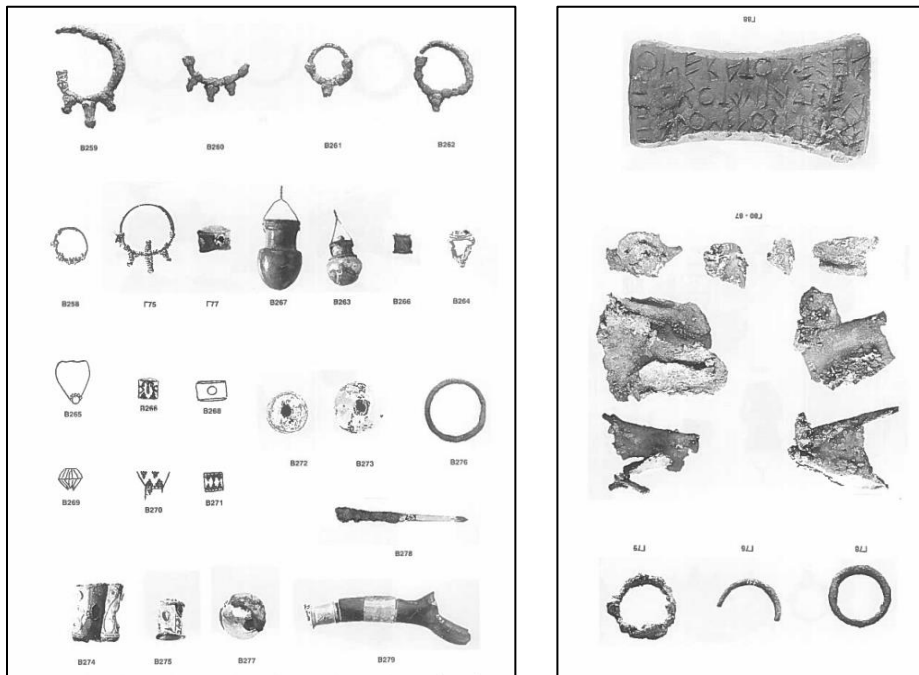
Figure 57. The (now mossy and overgrown) 'Rocky Outcrop' in the City Eleusinion (photo made in 2003) (stoa.org, http://www.stoa.org/athens/sites/cityeleusinion/source/d030829082.html, access date: 13 October 2020).

Figure 58. *Photos of some of the figurines from deposit S 17:2* (entries T 3589, T 3616, T 3619, T 3621, T 3649, T 3648 in the Agora Excavations Collections, http://agora.ascsa.net/research?v=list&q=&sort=&t=deposit, access date: 15 October 2020).

Figure 59. *Catalogue of the Areopagos Votive Deposit (table 2-4)* (Laughy 2018, 644-46).

TABLE 2. CATALOGUED OBJECTS FOUND WITHIN THE GRAVEL FILL

Agora No.	Reference	Object Type
FIGURINE GROUP 1: 44–46/IΘ–K (H/6,9–17/6,8)		
RECORDED DURING EXCAVATION AS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ONE ANOTHER		
P 530	Burr 1933, p. 589, no. 200	Middle Protoattic kantharos
P 531	Burr 1933, p. 589, no. 201	Middle Protoattic kantharos
P 576	Burr 1933, pp. 572–573, no. 133	Protoargive amphora, mid-7th century
P 577	Burr 1933, p. 568, no. 98	Protocorinthian aryballos, ca. 650–640
P 578	Burr 1933, p. 568, no. 97	Protocorinthian aryballos, mid-7th century
B 87ª	Burr 1933, p. 621, no. 329	Miniature bronze tripod
T 200ᵇ	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 304B	horse
T 201	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 322	horse
T 218	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 314	horse
ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP'S AREA AND DATE OF RECOVERY		
P 579ᶜ	Burr 1933, p. 589, no. 204	Middle Protoattic kantharos
T 202	Burr 1933, p. 614, no. 291	shield
T 219ᵈ	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 307B	horse
T 220	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 316	horse
T 223	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 307A	horse
T 224	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 306	horse
FIGURINE GROUP 2: 46/IΘ (H/8,9–17/6,7)		
RECORDED DURING EXCAVATION AS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ONE ANOTHER		
T 176	Burr 1933, p. 610, no. 281	shield
T 177	Burr 1933, p. 610, no. 282	shield
T 178	Burr 1933, p. 611, no. 285	shield
T 179	Burr 1933, p. 611, no. 286	shield
T 180	Burr 1933, p. 614, no. 292	shield
T 181	Burr 1933, p. 612, no. 287	shield
T 182	Burr 1933, p. 614, no. 290	shield
T 191	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 324	horse
T 192	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 305	horse
T 193	Burr 1933, p. 615, no. 296	charioteer
T 194	Burr 1933, p. 615, no. 297	charioteer or warrior
T 195	Burr 1933, p. 616, no. 302	horse rider
FIGURINE GROUP 3: 44–45/KA–KB (H/7,9–17/8,10)		
RECORDED DURING EXCAVATION AS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ONE ANOTHER		
T 186	Burr 1933, pp. 615–616, no. 299	four-horse team and charioteer
T 187	Burr 1933, p. 620, no. 325	bird
T 188	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 318	horse
T 189	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 315	horse
T 190	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 321	horse
T 196ᵉ	Burr 1933, p. 617, no. 304A	horse

TABLE 2—Continued

Agora No.	Reference	Object Type
T 197	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 310	horse
T 198	Burr 1933, pp. 618–619, no. 309	horse
T 199	Burr 1933, p. 617, no. 303	charioteer or warrior
ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP'S AREA AND DATE OF RECOVERY		
P 832ᶠ	Burr 1933, p. 589, no. 203	Middle Protoattic kantharos
T 175	Burr 1933, pp. 604–605, no. 277	votive plaque
T 183	Burr 1933, p. 610, no. 283	shield
T 321	Burr 1933, p. 620, no. 327	chariot wheel
FIGURINE GROUP 4: 45–46/IΘ–KA (H/8,9–17/6,9)		
RECORDED DURING EXCAVATION AS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ONE ANOTHER		
T 277	Burr 1933, p. 612, no. 289	shield
T 278	Burr 1933, p. 612, no. 288	shield
T 279ᵍ	–	shield
T 280	–	shield
T 281	–	shield
T 282	–	shield
T 283	–	shield
T 284	–	shield
T 285	–	shield
T 286	–	shield
T 287	–	shield
T 288	–	shield

TABLE 4. CATALOGUED OBJECTS OF UNKNOWN PROVENIENCE

Agora No.	Reference	Object Type
T 184ª	Burr 1933, p. 605, no. 278	votive plaque
T 412ᵇ	Burr 1933, p. 606, no. 279	votive plaque
T 413	Burr 1933, p. 606, no. 280	votive plaque
T 414ᶜ	Burr 1933, p. 614, no. 293	shield
T 415	Burr 1933, p. 614, no. 294	shield
T 417	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 312	horse
T 418ᵈ	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 313	horse
T 419ᵉ	Burr 1933, p. 620, no. 326	snake or chariot pole
T 420ᶠ	Burr 1933, p. 621, no. 328	chariot cart

TABLE 3. CATALOGUED POTTERY AND FIGURINES FROM THE SAME AREA AS THE GRAVEL FILL, BUT IN DISTURBED OR MIXED FILLS

Agora No.	Reference	Object Type
P 214, P 215ª	Burr 1933, p. 589, no. 202	Middle Protoattic kantharos
P 641ᵇ	Burr 1933, p. 576, no. 137	Protoattic amphora
P 843ᶜ	Burr 1933, p. 579, no. 155	Protoattic terracotta tripod leg
T 203ᵈ	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 319	horse
T 205	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 311	horse
T 204ᵉ	Burr 1933, p. 618, no. 308	horse
T 206	Burr 1933, p. 616, no. 301	charioteer
T 208	Burr 1933, p. 615, no. 298	charioteer
T 268	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 320	horse
T 207ᶠ	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 323	horse
T 209ᵍ	Burr 1933, p. 619, no. 317	horse
T 245ʰ	Burr 1933, p. 611, no. 284	shield
T 249ⁱ	Burr 1933, p. 616, no. 300	four-horse team and charioteer

Figure 60. *Miniature pottery from pyre B in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 43, 42).
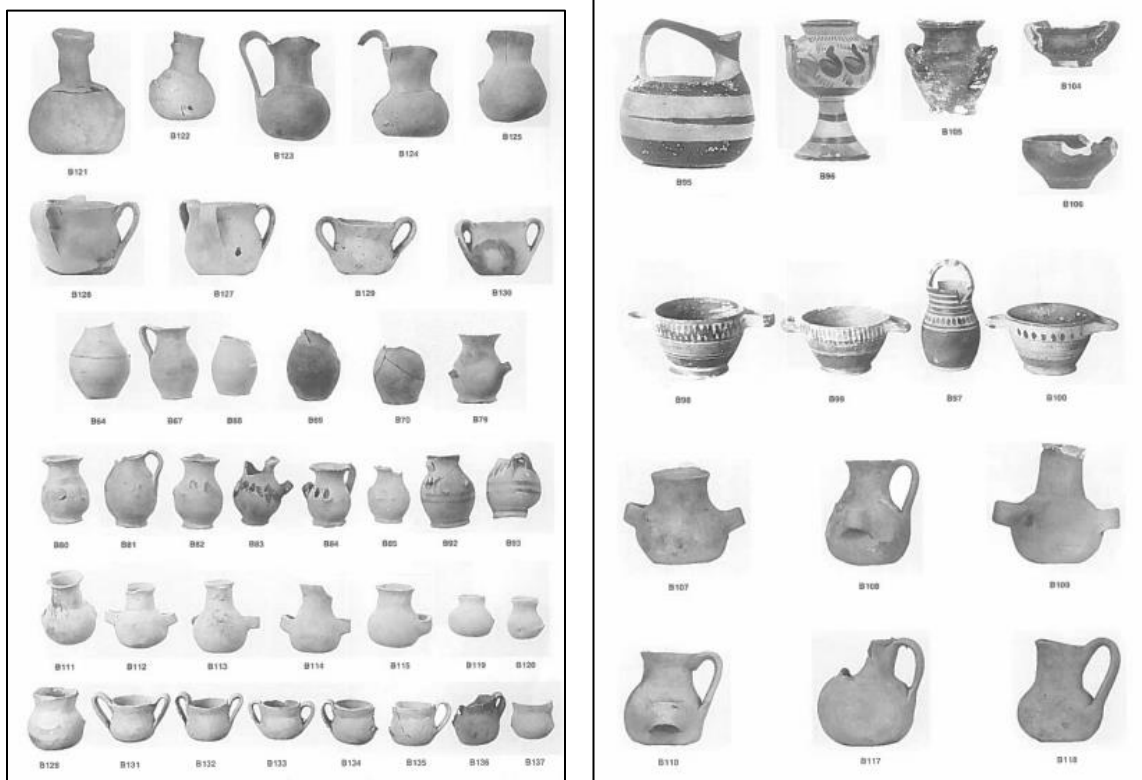
Figure 61 (left). *(Miniature) Pottery from pyre B in Eleusis* (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, plate 41).

Figure 62 (right). *Section through a typical well* (Brann 1962, 107).
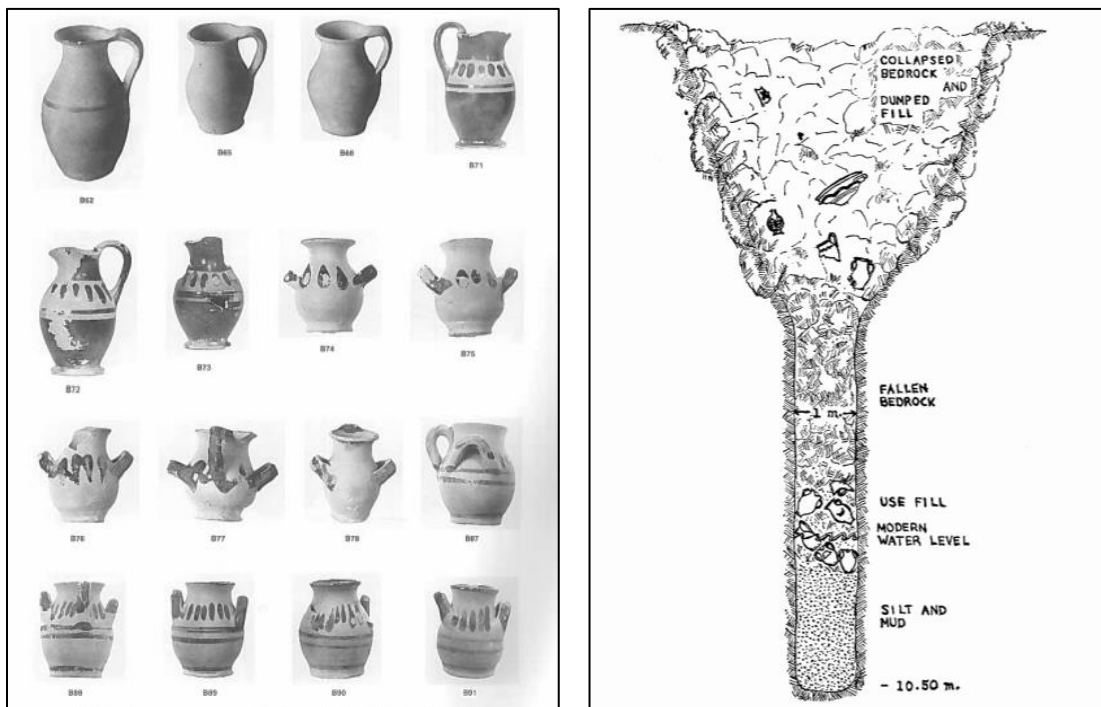
Figure 63-64. *Geometric vessel fragments with tripods* (Agora Image 2012.55.1393, http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/image/2012.55.1393?q=references%3A%22Agora%3AObject%3AP%2018496%22&t=&v=icons&sort=rating%20desc%2C%20sort%20asc&s=2, access date: 9 November 2020).
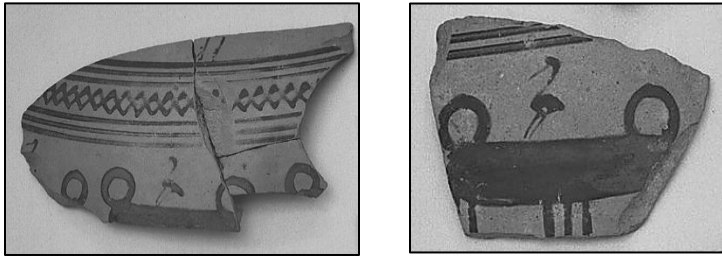
Figure 65 (below left)**.** *Geometric bowl with ribbon handles* (Agora Image 2012.26.0262, http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/image/2012.26.0262?q=references%3A%22Agora%3AObject%3AP%206474%22&t=&v=icons&sort=rating%20desc%2C%20sort%20asc&s=2, access date: 9 November 2020.

Figure 66 (above right). *Red-figure skyphos fragment displaying Triptolemos' departure; Kore holds torches and Triptolemos holds a phiale; a snake in the background, perhaps part of Triptolemos' chariot* (Agora Image 2000.01. 0275, http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/image/2000.01.0275?q=references%3A%22Agora%3AObject%3AP%202021370%22&t=&v=icons&sort=rating%20desc%2C%20sort%20asc&s=3, access date: 9 November 2020).

APPENDIX I – USE OF IMAGES

Front page:

The image of Demeter, Kore and Athena is an adaption by the author of a drawing of the *Regina Vasorum* or Queen of Vases (Cumae, fourth century BC). It was first published in the anonymous *Nordisk familjebok* (1907, 379-80), but is now in the public domain (Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ideal_framst%C3%A4llning_av_eleusinska_j%C3%A4mte_atenska _gudomligheter_och_eleusinska_pr%C3%A4ster,_Nordisk_familjebok.png, access date: 10 April 2020 – with a link to the original in the *Nordisk familjebok*).

Other images have been fully annotated in their descriptions, see 'Figures' (p. 119).

APPENDIX II – LIST OF PRIMARY SOURCES*

* If translations are referenced in the text of this thesis (only when parts of a primary sources were quoted), these can be found in the bibliography.

Authors and texts

Andokides, *On the Mysteries* – Aineas Taktikos (Aeneas Tacticus), *On the Defence of Fortified Positions Positions* (*ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΤΕΧΕΙΝ*) – Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* – Aristotle, *Politics* – *Athenian Constitution* – Aristeides, fragment I 91 – Aristeidos, *Panathenaicus* – Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*

Bacchylides, *Dithyrambs*

Clemens Alexandrinus*, Protrepticus*

Demaratos – fragment 42F4 – Demosthenes, *Speeches* – Dicaearchus of Messana, *Vitae Graciae*, Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*

Euripides, *Erechtheus* – Euripides, *Ion* – Euripides, *Phoenissae – Etymologicum Magnum*

Hekatios, fragments – Herodotos, *Histories* – *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* – *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* – Homer, *Iliad* – Homer, *Odyssey* – Hyginus, *Fabulae*

Isokrates, *Helen* – Isokrates, *Panegyricus* – Isokrates, *Speeches*

Lucian, *Zeus Rants* – Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* – Lysias, *Speeches* – Lysimachides, fragments

Menander, *Skyonios/Skyionioi*

Pausanias, *Description of Greece* – Philochoros, fragments – Philostatus, *Vitae sophistarum* – Plato, *Menexenos* – Plutarch, fragments – Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* – Plutarch, *Moralia* – Photios, *Lexicon* – Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca, Epitome*

Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Plutus* – Scholiast on Euripides' *Phoenissae* – Scholiast on the *Iliad* – Scholias on Pausanias 1.1.4 – Solon, fragment 30/36 – Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* – Suda, *Encyclopedia*

Thukydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*

Xenophon, *Hellenica* – Xenophon, *Memorabilia*

Inscriptions

AIO 1189 (see Attic Inscriptions Online 2017 in 'Bibliography')

3 (Clinton 2005)

I Eleusis 28a (see Attic Inscriptions Online 2016b in 'Bibliography')

IG I^3 6 (see Attic Inscriptions Online 2016a in 'Bibliography')

IG I^3 104 (see Attic Inscriptions Online 2013 in 'Bibliography')

IG I^3 231, 232 (Miles 1998, 28, 200-1)

Papanikolaou 2009, 59-60 (Isis inscription)

Introduction and chronology of the wells

This database consists of four sub-databases. The primary database (I) covers all the catalogued[711] find groups (presence and amount) from sanctuary dumps or fill from the eighth to sixth century BC wells in the Athenian *agora*. One sub-database (II) dives into the various types of figurines found in the wells, while another (III) shows the range of vessel types recovered from specific wells. It is possible that not all of these materials stem from a sanctuary (which is also true for the general find groups), though sometimes I was able to discern probable sanctuary dumps or fills with at least some sanctuary material. This information can be found in the 'notes' section of sub-database I. Other note sections (primarily in sub-database III) reveal the provenance of the vessels (only specifically mentioned if that provenance was not Attic), finds that did not fit my established categories and the types of miniature vessels.

        The last sub-database (IV) harbours photos of the diagnostic finds (indicating a sanctuary dump or fill). These are mostly photos of the figurines and miniatures, though I have also come across tripod fragments, some jewelry and thymiateria and pottery fragments with suggestive iconography (possibly related to Eleusis, the procession or at least a 'snake goddess').

   I.   Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – <u>I: general find groups</u>
                * *Deposit number (DN), Date of dumped fill (DODF), Period of use (POU, if any)*
                * *Catalogued finds: (Cut) disks, Figurines, Lamps, Loom weights, Plaques, Vessels, Shields,*
                        Spindles (whorls), Tripods, Rest
                * *Notable information wells*
   II.   Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – <u>II: figurines</u>
                * *Deposit number (DN)*
                * *Figurine types: Chariot, Columnar, Dove (bird), Female busts, Grotesques, Seated*
                        goddess, Horse (and rider), Other animals, Rest
                * *Notes*
   III. Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – <u>III: sherds</u>
                * *Deposit number (DN)*
                * *Sherds: Alabastron, Amphora, Aryballos, Askos, Bowl, Brazier, Chytra, Cup, Dinos,*
                        Hydria, Kados, Kalathos, Kantharos, Krater, Kothon, Kotyle, Kylix, Lebes, Lekanis,
                        Lekythos, Lopas, Louterion, Loutrophoros, Mastos, Mug, Miniature, Oinochoe, Olpe,
                        Pelike, Phiale, Pitcher, Pithos, Plate, Psykter, Pyxis, Salt cellars Saucer, Stamnos,
                        Skyphos, Strainer, Thymiaterion, Unguent pot, Unknown, Rest
                * *Notes: Provenance (if not Attic/local), Miniatures, Rest (observations)*

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[711] If relevant, I will mention non-catalogued objects/contexts.

IV. Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – IV: photos of diagnostic finds

Legend:

* (1), (2), (3), etc. = number of the object within this database

* B/MC/P/T numbers (examples: P 18010, T 2391) = Agora object numbers (inventarisation number Agora excavations)

A = akroterion (limestone)

B = bronze object

BI = ivory

G = faience

J = gold

I = inscription

MC = miscellaneous object

P = pottery

S = sculpture

T = terracotta

After each object, its dimensions, Agora object number and the publications in which it has featured are mentioned. These commonly consist of Hesperia supplements or Agora publications (examples: Agora 12.2, no. 34; Hesperia suppl. 2, no C 72). Lastly, if known, the context of the find is mentioned.

All photos[712] and information regarding the objects and the photos stems from the ASCSA (American School of Classical Studies at Athens) Digital Collections (http://ascsa.net/research?v=default). I specifically made use of the Athenian Agora Excavations Collection, wherein the documentation of the (well) deposits has been digitalised. Though most of material has been made public, the unpublished material can be viewed only by researchers with the necessary permission. With the help of dr. Mike Laughy and dr. Floris van den Eijnde I was able to access this material.

Chronology of the wells: wells from the early fifth century BC are partly included, as these sometimes overlap with material from the sixth century BC.

Grey = wells with sanctuary (dump) fill from overlapping periods

8th century: first half	P 14:2
8th century: second half	B 18:6, D 11:5, D 12:3, L 18:2, P 14:2, R 9:2, S 18:1

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[712] Most of the photos are from either the Agora Card of a specific object or from the specific Agora Notebook page. If this is not the case, I will mention and reference the photo in question.

7th century: first half	D 11:5, F 12:5, R 9:2, R 17:5, T 19:3, U 25:2
7th century: second half	F 12:5, I 14:1, J 18:8, M 11:3, O 12:1, O 12:2, P 7:2, R 8:2, S 19:7, U 25:2
6th century: first half	A 17:1, F 12:5, F 12:6, F 15:4, G 6:3 (lf), G 15:2, I 14:1, [O 7:9], O 12:2, P 7:5, P 8:5, Q 13:5, R 13:3, R 17:3, S 21:2, S 22:1, U 25:2
6th century: second half	F 19:5, G 6:3 (uf, lf), G 15:2, H 12:15, I 10:1, [M 17:4], Q 18:1, R 12:1, R 12:3, R 12:4, R 13:3, R 21:3, T 18:1, T 19:1, T 24:3, U 23:2, U 25:2
5th century: first half/beginning (only those overlapping with the sixth century wells)	F 19:5, G 6:3 (uf), H 12:15, [M 17:4], R 12:1, R 12:4, R 21:3, T 24:3

ADDENDUM:

The stone-lined pit of the Classical *agora* : cataloged sanctuary material							Legend	
							DN = deposit number	
DN		Figurines	Plaques	Sherds	Shields	Rest	Notable information wells	Photos
L-M 7:1		3	3	ca. 5		4 1 doric capital, 1 cornice fr., 1 column fr., 1 snake protome, 8 arrowheads, 1 short rod, 1 ivory fibula fr., 1 faience hawk, golden band and leaf fr., 1 iron clamp,	several bronze objects: the snake protome, arrowheads, rod the votive gifts found within this pit can be classed as fine/expensive: faience hawk, ivory fibula, golden ban and leaf fragments sherds: 1 plate, 1 oinochoe fragments, Corinthian cup fragments, column krater fragments (red-figure), bowl fragments (banded) figurines: upper part of a chariot driver, probable chariot driver, large horse fragment	no. 233

Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – I: general find groups

DN	DODF	POU		Cut disks*	Figurines	Lamps*	Loom w.*	Miniatures	Plaques	Sherds*	Shields	Spindles*	Tripods	Rest*	Notable information wells	Photos
A 17:1	ca. 575-560	ca. 575-550			6	5	3	2		ca. 27		1		well head fr.	dumped (A 17:1.1) filling mixed with broken bedrock	nos. 1-8
B 18:6	third quarter 8th cent.	no use fill								ca. 2				1 5th cent. mold seated goddess fig.	"gravelly filling in collapsed upper part of well-shaft containing a few vases and fragments of the early 5th century" (probably Persian destruction fill; some sanctuary material; probably an unused well	no. 9
D 11:5	late 8th and first half of 7th century	late 8th and first half 7h century or 700-650		8	8		2	4		ca. 180		5			registered as "well and pit"; well was filled at one time (not stratified), which makes it difficult to estimate the date of the dumped fill; 700-650 (Young and Camp); many painted vessels, neatly made	nos. 10-28
D 12:3	second half 8th century	ca. 775-725								ca. 72		6	1	1 pumice	presence earlier material thrown out from disturbed graves; some sanctuary material; tripod is made from clay	nos. 29-30
F 12:5	7th cent.-ca. 570	no use fill		1	6	1	8	5		ca. 80		2		1 commode 1 clay ring	unfinished well (no water); Shear (1975) dates closing of well to 575-550	nos. 31-42
F 12:6	ca. 575-550	ca. 575-550			1					ca. 17						no. 43
F 15:4	ca. 600-575	no use fill			1	4	1			ca. 19					some sanctuary materiall; some Geom	no. 44
F 19:5	ca. 520-480	no use fill		2	10	3	2	1		ca. 45		2		1 cover tile 1 roof tile fr. 1 bone flute bone objects 1 ostrakon 2 mortars	unfinished well-shaft; perhaps Persian destruction dump	nos. 45-55
G 6:3	upper fill: ca. 510-480	no use fill	upper fill:		2	3	1			ca. 46		1		1 bronze handle 1 protome 6 bone styli	caved-in well, never used; sanctuary dump in lower filling; Persian destruction dump in upper filling, with some sanctuary material	nos. 56-79
	lower fill: ca. 575-535		lower fill:		11	49	11	4		ca. 416		3		1 clay ring 14 ostraka	protome: mould-made; similar to those found on the Acropolis	
G 15:2	6th century	ca. 550-525			1	2				ca. 14				well head fr. bronze vessel fr. 1 mill-stone 1 protome	upper filling: 6th century; sanctuary dump; Hellenistic infiltration in upper part	nos. 80-83
H 12:15	ca. 520-480	ca. 520-480			5	6	3	4		ca. 90		4		1 brick 1 millstone 1 weight 1 bundle of reed pens 1 hook 1 mortar 1 bone stylus 1 lamp stand 1 bead	two layers of dumped fill and material from period of use; first dump: Persian destruction fill with some architecture and sanctuary material (H 15: 2-5; lower dumped fill, dumped fill, upper dumped fill, supplementary top fill); supplementary fill of the end of the 5th-start of the 4th century	nos. 84-94
I 10:1	ca. 550-525	no use fill			5	3	18			ca. 20				1 stopper 3 stand fr. 2 grinders 2 mortars	some sanctuary material; well west of the Eponymous Heroes monument; excavation terminated at depth of 4.25 m., due to collapse of rock	nos. 95-99
I 14:1	ca. 620-570 or 620-600	no use fill			1	2	3	3		ca. 70				1 die	no clear distinctions in filling, but well used as suggested by number of water jars of various sorts in the lower fill levels	nos. 100-3
J 18:8	ca. 625-600	no use fill		1	5	2				ca. 27		1			unfinished well, probably because of rock hardness; refilled at once with sanctuary dump and collapsed rock from the shaft; compares in date and objects with the Terracotta Votive Deposit; lot Y1: imitation protocorinthian kotyle fragment; subgeometric skyphoi and geometric fragments of miniature votive cups	no. 104

ID	Date 1	Date 2							ca.			Objects	Notes	nos.
L 18:2	ca. 730-700	ca. 750-700							ca. 23			1 mold fr. for female head	well contained dumped filling of 8th century and some Roman pottery at the top; perhaps cleaned out and refilled with its own contents at time of building the Roman house; indication of sanctuary or at least potterer nearby (mold of archaic female head); also Roman POU	
M 11:3	ca. 650-600	ca. 650-600	4	3	2	4	2	1	ca. 69	1	1	1 capital fr. of Odeion well head fr. 1 small stone ball	contents match with Terracotta Votive Deposit	nos. 105-13
[M 17:4]	late 6th-early 5th century	not clear		1	7		1		ca. 23		1		could be a shallow well or a pit; black-figure vessels, some red paint	nos. 114-15
[O 7:9]	ca. 600-550	no use fill			2	3			ca. 14				could be either a shallow well or a pit; fine ware in general; only excavated to a depth of 3.10 m due to rock conditions	nos. 116-17
O 12:1	ca. 650-625	ca. 650-625			1	2	1		ca. 62		1	2 mortars 1 well head 1 pebble stopper 1 pebble 3 grinders 1 quern	no stratification; thin layer of dug bedrock on top containing Hellenistic sherds; fill in the well heavy and dark to thick stucky mud at the bottom; many domestic items and some fine pieces (1 amphora with bull painting) and votive material	nos. 118-21
O 12:2	ca. 625-575	ca. 625-575						3	ca. 18			1 grinder 1 wheel fr.	Olive Tree well; maybe some sanctuary material	nos. 122-25
P 7:2	ca. 675-625	ca. 675-625	1	1	4	1	3		ca. 53		2		1 cut disk = 1 bronze counter/disk; large horse figurine corresponds to those from the Terracotta Votive Deposit	nos. 126-30
P 7:5	ca. 600-550	ca. 600-550			1		1		ca. 6				left undug; finds from top of the shaft	no. 131
P 8:5	ca. 580-560	ca. 580-560			4		2		ca. 20			1 ostrakon 1 wing mold	not fully excavated, because bedrock crumbly and dangerous; well-diggers may have cut through a Mycenaean child's burial (Mycenaean figurine figurine T 1653 and feeder fragment P 12680; these will not figure in this database); some sanctuary material	nos. 132-33
P 14:2	ca. 775-725	ca. 775-725		1		1			ca. 17		1	1 grinder	figurine (chariot) was first thought to have been a painted plaque (Agora Card P 21806)	nos. 134-35
Q 13:5	ca. 575-550	no use fill	4	3	2	2	3		ca. 67			1 antefix fr. 1 bone stylus 2 grindstones 2 wooden combs 1 sima sprout 1 ring 1 whetstone	architecture, cooking material/coarse wares, drinking/pouring vessels, some sanctuary material, ovens	nos. 136-40
Q 18:1	ca. 550-525	ca. 550-525		3	1	2			ca. 21		1	well head fr. 1 tile fr. (votive to Hermes) 1 millstone 1 mold fr. seated fem.		no. 141
R 8:2	ca. 650-625 and poss. 625-600	no use fill	2	2	1	1			ca. 49		1	tub fr.		nos. 142-43
R 9:2	ca. 725-675	ca. 725-675	5	1		3			ca. 24		1	31 other clay disks 1 bobbin (foot cup) 1 pestle	largely dump fill; few use fill finds; double well (with a well 17th century AD well)	nos. 144-45
R 12:1	ca. 520-480	no use fill		3	7	10	1	1	ca. 81		1	2 unknown objects 1 plastic griffin 1 wooden cork	probably Persian destruction dump	nos. 146-54

Well							pottery			rest	comments	nos.
R 12:3	ca. 525-500	ca. 525-500	3	1			ca. 16				period of use indicated by three pots; dump of clay of different colours: possible potter's dumb, but some sanctuary material	nos. 155-58
R 12:4	ca. 500	ca. 525-500	5	1			ca. 6			1 well head fr.	only upper filling seems to be dumped [ΣA 520]; only objects certainly from fill are the figurines and some other objects	nos. 159-63
R 13:3	ca. 550	ca. 575-550	4		2	2	ca. 30		1		later disturbances of the 4th century BC; figurine in bottom (use?) fill (seated animal)	nos. 164-66
R 17:3	ca. 600-575	ca. 600-570	2			1	ca. 13				date of use based on fragmentary water jars, represented by one pitcher (P 12528); dumped filling included the figurines and is dated to the first quarter of the sixth century and the beginning of the second quarter	nos.166-69
R 17:5	ca. 675-650	7th century	2 (+2)		11	2	ca. 55		10	1 well head, 1 arrowhead, ochre marine turtle fr., 1 weight, 1 lump of ochre, 5 grinders	some sanctuary material in use filling	nos. 170-74
R 21:3	ca. 500	no use fill	1				ca. 13			1 Doric capital fr., wooden couch fr., 1 clay ring	shaft probably never used as well	nos. 175-78
S 18:1	late 8th century	late 8th century									upper fill is dump; lower fill is period of use; during period of use some sanctuary material fell down (1 wheel = MC 463, 1 miniature cauldron = P 12117)	nos. 178-80
S 19:7	ca. 650-600	ca. 700-650	1				ca. 3				the well was restudied by Papadopoulos and harbours a host of vases destroyed in the making, and figurines and other votive objects that seem to come from the area of the Eleusinion; sanctuary material from upper fill (dump)	no. 181
S 21:2	ca. 600-550	no use fill	1	1	1		1 ca. 24				loom weight with stamped rosette-spoked wheel	nos. 182-84
S 22:1	ca. 600-575	ca. 600-575	1	2	1		ca. 4		1	1 votive mask	use filling of mainly water-jars; scanty dumped filling above	nos. 185-86
T 18:1	ca. 550-500	ca. 550-500	2	3	2	1					well was abandoned and filled immeditately (fallen condition of rock wall and shalowness of the well); most of the filling is dump	nos. 187-89
T 19:1	ca. 550-500	ca. 550-500	1		1		ca. 35			1 antefix fr., 1 bead	well briefly served as water supply (two oinochoe and a well-head), but soon served as a dump (chips of yellow poros and limestone from the working of the temple of Triptolemos); "nothing to indicate a sanctuary sanctuary deposit" (though monkey figurine?)	no. 190
[T 19:3]	ca. 700-675	no use fill	3, 10	2		1	3 ca. 32	2	2	1 handmade object, 1 terracotta ball with pierced hole	area of the later Eleusinion; shallow well; single dumped filling, probably from a sanctuary; many uncatalogued diagnostic objects: figurines (see database II): cut disks, plaques, shields; with later intrusions	nos. 191-200
T 24:3	ca. 500	ca. 500	2		1		1 ca. 26		2	roof tile fr., 1 channel, 1 well head, 1 bone obj., iron objects, 1 carnelian bead, 1 mortar, 1 millstone fr., water pip fr., 1 chimney pot, 1 bone styl., 1 weight, 2 grinders	use filling represented by one oinochoe (P 13506); large dumped filling; some probable sanctuary pieces; architecture (see 'rest')	nos. 201-4

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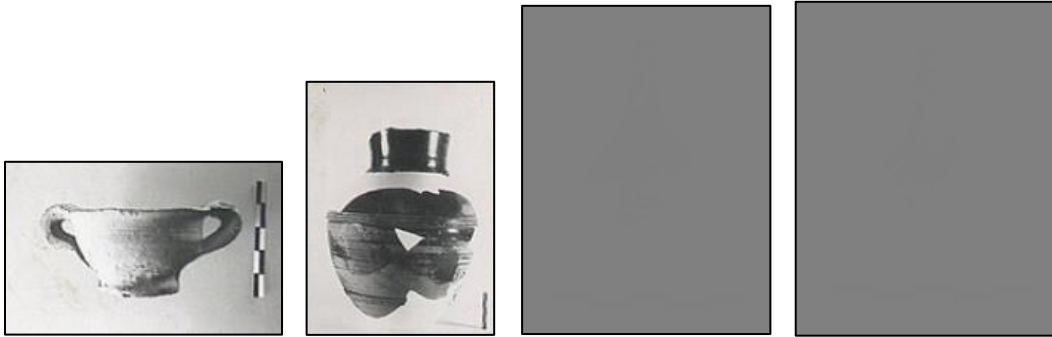| U	date	fill		C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	ca.	C7	C8	C9	finds	description	nos.
U 21:1	late 6th-early 5th century	no use fill			1	1	9			ca. 10			3		5 akroteria 1 pediment fr., 1 bronze weight, 1 base fr., 1 lead spike/ clamp, 1 block with relief sculpture, 2 stone tools, 1 stone burnisher, 1 piece of textile, 1 wooden bucket	various (Hellenistic) layer with rubble before dumped fill. sherds: various black-figure fr. from unkown vessels, a neatly made black-figure skyphos, a stemmed dish, a black-figure stand, loutrophoros fragments	nos. 231-35
U 23:2	ca. 525-500	ca. 525-500		1	3	2				ca. 15						several finds from period of use (bottom fill); two dumps: one in the middle fill and one in the upper fill (Byzantine); one of the columnar figurines is from unknown depth	nos. 205-7
U 25:2	7th-6th century	no use fill		1	13	18	3	7	2	ca. 100					1 arrowhead 1 iron object 1 ir. dagger 3 stands 1 burnisher 1 petasos-like object 2 molds for female heads 1 horn obj.	three fills from different dumps: (1) end of the seventh century BC, (2) first half of the sixth century BC, (3) last quarter of the sixth century BC	nos. 208-29
			Total	36	126	159	95	54	9		3	51	1			

Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – II: figurines

Database Wells Athenian Agora (8th-6th centuries BC) - II: subgroup figurines										Legend
										DN = deposit number
										* columnar = birdfaced idols or *Stempelidolen*

Wells		Figurines sanctuary dump or fill									
DN		Dove/bird	Chariot	Columnar*	Dog	Ram	Seated goddess	Horse (and rider)	Other animals	Rest	Notes
A 17:1				2				3	1		the waist of the columnar figurines is broken off, but they have a pinched had like others of the type. other animals: rider and animal, possibly a donkey
D 11:5			1	1				4		1 leg of a chair 1 hut model	the possible columnar figurine has the same pinched head as others of the type
F 12:5				2				3		1 mourning figurine	
F 12:6										1 nude youth figurine	youth figurine (rider urging on his mound)
F 15:4								1			
F 19:5		1					8			1 standing draped female figurine or charioteer	
G 6:3	lower fill:							1		1 torso of siren figurine	horse: 1 pair of horses figurine
	upper fill:						4	4		1 unidentified figurine 1 stand female fig. fr. 1 head of female figurine	
G 15:2								1			
H 12:15		1					2		1	1 Baubo female fig. fr.	other animals: ram or dog
I 10:1				2		1			2		other animals: 2 unidentifiable animal figurines
I 14:1										1 male figurine (torso), possibly a rider	
J 18:8				3				2			
M 11:3								1	1	1 chair fragment	other animals: 1 leg of a wheeled animal (?)
[M 17:4]							1				
[O 7:9]		1		1							
O 12:1								1			
P 7:2								1			the horse is larger than normal
P 14:2			1								figurine (chariot) was first thought to have been a painted plaque (Agora Card P 21806)
Q 13:5				1				1		1 rider figurine fragment	
Q 18:1				1					1	1 figurine fragment (arm)	possible columnar figurine: pinched face and torso left; animal figurine: unidentifiable
R 8:2								2			long-legged horse
R 9:2								1			
R 12:1							3				
R 12:3							3				
R 12:4							5				
R 17:3		1		1							
R 17:5						1		1			
R 21:3							1				
S 19:7								1			
S 21:1								1			
S 22:1								1			
T 18:1							2		1		other animals: monkey figurine
T 19:1											
T 19:3				2			1	4	2	1 leg (uncatalogued)	7 catalogued figurines. Uncatalogued: 1 leg, 2 columnar figurines
T 24:3							1				
U 21:1										1 Mycenaean figurine	
U 23:2				2					1		animal figurine: unidentifiable
U 25:2				1	1		2	2		1 plaque-like figure 1 female head from above plaque 1 squatting grotesque fig. 1 nude figurine fragment 1 hand fragment 1 woman holding a child	
	Total: 126	4	2	19	1	2	32	36	10	20	

Database Wells Athenian Agora (eighth-sixth centuries BC) – III: sherds

Database Wells IV: photos of diagnostic finds

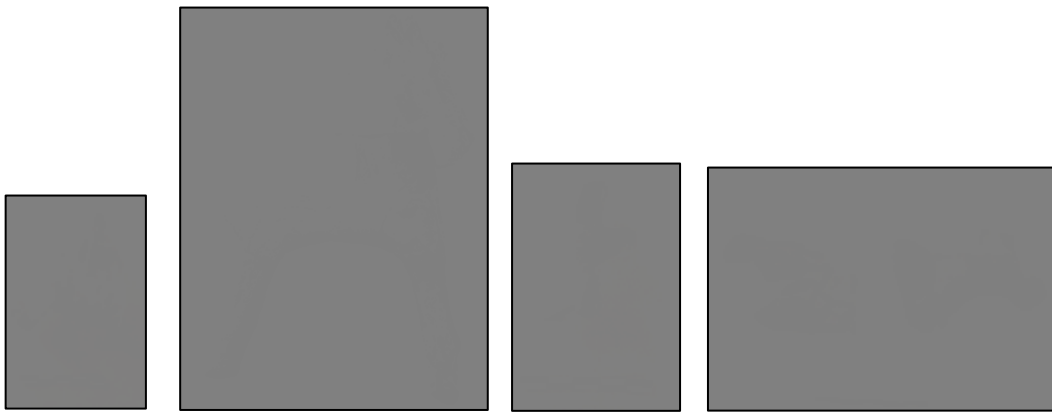<u>**A 17:1**</u>

From left to right:

       (1) *miniature kantharos (h. 0.034; diam.; 0.058 cm) (P 18011; Agora 12.2, no 1422) (dumped filling)*

       (2) *pitharion (h. 0.27; diam. 0.215) (P 18523; Agora 12.2, no. 34; Hesperia 70, no. 50) (upper fill)*

       (3) ████████████████████████████████████

       (4) ████████████████████████████████████

From left to right:

       (5) ████████████████████████████████

       (6) ██

            ████████████

       (7) ██████████████████████████████
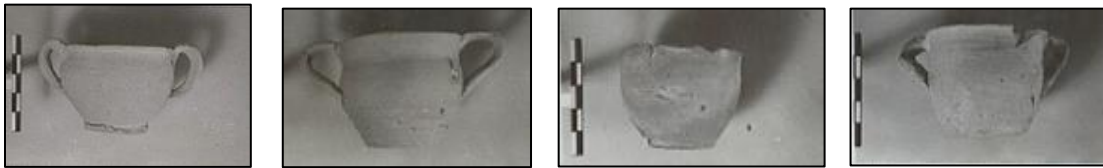
       (8) ████████████████████████████████████

B 18:6

(9) *two-handled cup; glazed outside except for three reserved circles on each side, the central ones filled by a four-spoked wheel (H. 0.09; diam. 0.113) (P 19843; Agora 8, no. 128) (Agora Image 2012.52.0581)*

D11:5

Left to right:

(10) *miniature kantharos (h. 0.045; diam. 0.062) (P 6998; Hesperia Suppl. 2, fig. 111; Desborough 1952, p. 103) (mouth of well; adjoining protoattic pit)*

(11) *miniature kantharos (h. 0.049; diam. 0.06) (P 7066; Desborough 1952, p. 103; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 74, Agora 8, s. 131, p. 117) (protoattic pit)*

(12) *miniature kantharos with missing handles (h. 0.044; diam. 0.056) (P 7067; Desborough 1952, p. 103; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 73; Agora 8, s. 131, p. 117) (protoattic pit)*

(13) *miniature kantharos (h. 0.04; diam. 0.059) (P 7068; Desborough 1952, p. 103; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no C 72) (prottoattic pit)*

(14) *rim and fragment of a Dipylon amphora; 'decorated with crossed horizontal zigzags, the resulting*

lozenges dotted. The same between bands below the rim. Rectangular panels separated horizontally by triple bands, vertically by a hatched vertical meander, running left (down). Top panel: at centre, four-spoked wheel, fringed, with hourglasses between spokes; dotted snake on each side; filling ornament, hourglasses and star. Below, a band with bearded goats with reserved and dotted eyes. Below part of a large panel with a horse right, and filling ornament'[713] *(P.H. 0.305 and 0.07) (P 7024; Hesperia 87, p. 672, n. 198; Papadopoulos 2007b, p. 120, fig. 116a; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 134; Agora 8, no. 246) (Agora Image, no. 2000.02.0110) (watercolour made by Piet de Jong = Agora Drawing, no. DA 13032) (prottoattic pit)*
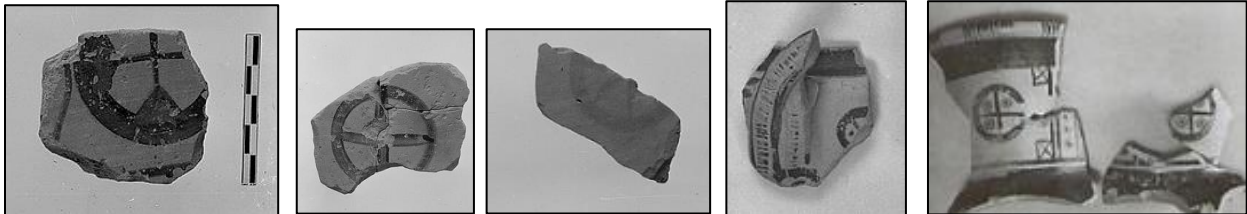
From left to right:

(15) *amphora neck fragment; a four-spoked wheel, the spokes ending in triangles; wavy line beside and band below the wheel (max. dim. 0.06) (P 8376; Agora 8, s. 132, p. 118; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 130) (Agora Image 2012.26.0259 7-527)*

(16) *amphora neck fragment; a four-spoked wheel (max. dim. 0.1) (P 8375; Agora 8, s. 132, p. 118; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 131) (Agora Image 2012.26.0259 7-527)*

(17) *amphora neck fragment; part of an eight-spoked wheel (max. dim. 0.72) (P 8377; Agora 8, s. 132, p. 118; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 132) (Agora Image 2012.26.0259 7-527)*

(18) *stamnos fragment; four-spoked wheel under double rolled horizontal handle (P.H. 0.063) (P 8361; Agora 8, s. 132, p. 118; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 112)*

(19) *amphora fragments; 'Two non-joining neck fragments. Reserved band on outer face of lip, with parallel vertical stroke series. Panels on neck divided by columns of dotted circles between vertical bands; in corners of panels, St. Andrew's crosses in boxes. Four-spoke wheels, with dotted circles between spokes. Shoulder glazed'*[714] *(P.H. a) 0.155, b) 0.085) (Hesperia 1939, fig. 133)*

From left to right:

(20) *fragment of a horse figurine (P.H. 0.078; w. shoulder 0.028) (T 1063; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 182) (protoattic pit)*

(21) *base of a chariot (P.L. centre 0.075; w. 0.13; Th. 0.013) (T 1064; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 185) (protoattic pit)*

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[713] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 7024'.

[714] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 7493'.

(22) fragment of a horse figurine (P.H. 0.033; P.L. 0.062; P.W. 0.029) (T 1114; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 181) (protoattic pit and well)

(23) fragment of a horse figurine; rump and part of back legs; traces of a rider which is broken off (T 1271; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 183) (protoattic pit)

(24) fragment of a horse figurine (rump) (T 1272; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no C 184) (protoattic pit)
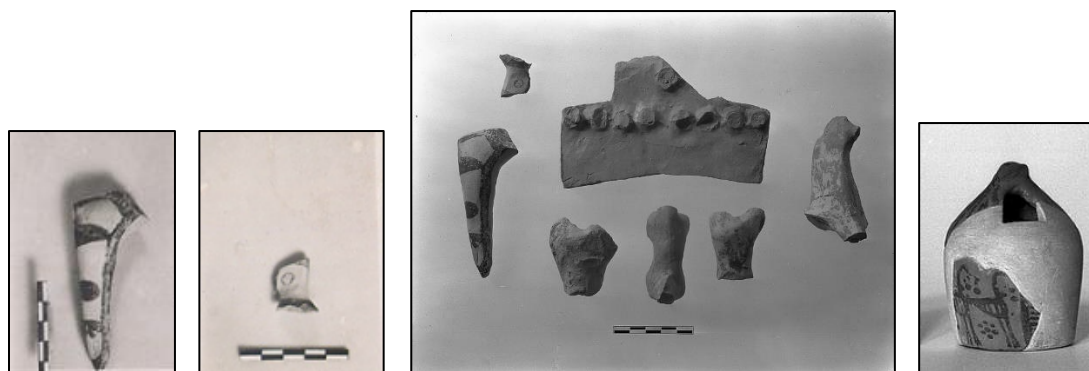

From left to right:

(25) leg of a chair (P.H. 0.093) (T 1273; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 186) (protoattic pit)

(26) head (fragment) of a columnar figurine (?) (T 1274; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 187) (protoattic pit)

(27) group photo of all the (fragmentary) figurines from well D 11:5 (Agora Image 2012.26.0159)

(28) hut model (granary?); 'small flat-bottomed pot with straight side wall and incurving upper part, forming a dome, with a handle at the top and a small rectangular opening or door just beneath it. On the bottom, multiple cross. On the side, procession of birds to right, with dot rosettes; on dome, radiating bands'[715] (est. diam. top 0.053; est. diam. bottom 0.05; P.H. 0.07) (P 7292; Agora 8, no. 367; Hesperia Suppl. 2, no. C 149; Hesperia 37, n. 41, 9, p. 93, n. 43)

D 12:3
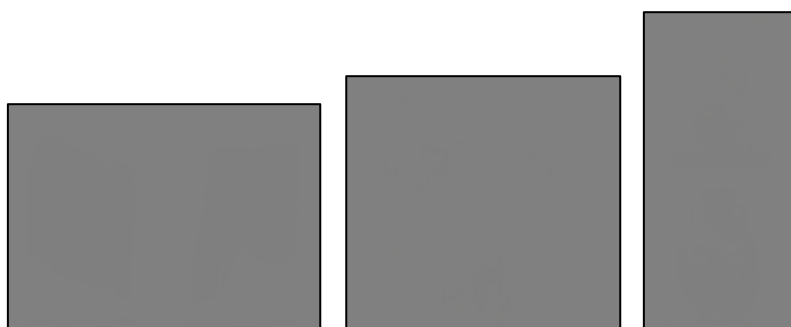
(29) tripod fragments, possibly part of the shoulder or handle and stand (P.H. 0.069 and 0.076) (P 25402; Hesperia 30, no. I 14) (drawing from Agora Notebook ΠΘ-19-90, p. 3771)

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[715] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 7292'.

(30) amphora; 'lip one handle and much of body restored in plaster. Nearly vertical ring foot and strap handles. Reserved circles, one on each side of neck, quadrisected into four-spoked wheels; a dot rosette between each spoke. Entirely covered with badly peeled black to red glaze'[716] (diam. 0.44; rest. H. 072) (P 8248; Agora 8, s. 132, p. 118; Hesperia 30, no. I 2)
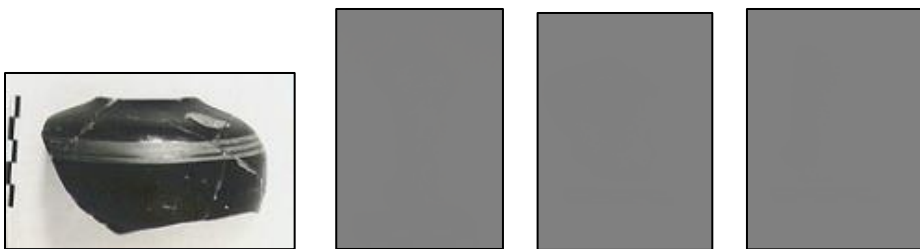
F 12:5

From left to right:

(31) miniature squat pot (or unguent pot) (h. 0.049; diam. 0.066) (P 4793; Agora 12.2, no. 1164; Agora 8, no. 237)

(32) ███████████████████████████████

(33) miniature one-handled cup (h. 0.037; diam. 0.045) (P 4798; Hesperia 7, p. 424; Agora 12.2, no. 1388)

(34) ███████████████████████████████

From left to right:

(35) amphoriskos (P.H. ca. 0.05) (P 5402, Agora 12.2, no. 1148)

(36) ██

(37) ██

(38) ███████████████████████████████

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[716] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 8248'.
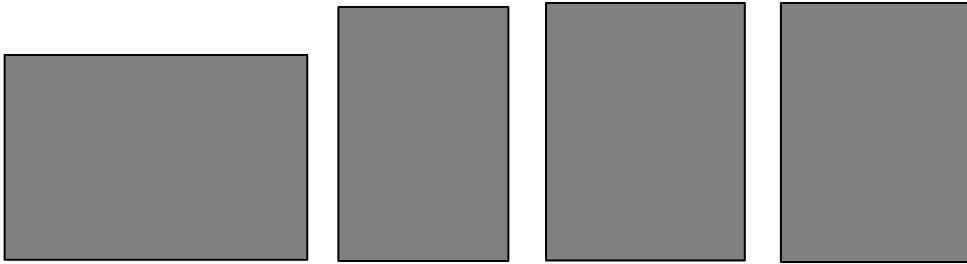
From left to right:

(39) ██
(40) ████████████████████████████████████
(41) ████████████████████████████
(42) ██████████████████████
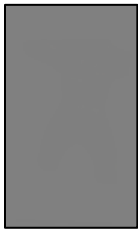
F 12:6

(43) ██
████

F 15:4

(44) ██

F 19:5

From left to right:

(45) ██████████████████████████████

(46) ████████████████████████████████████
██████████████████████

(47) █████████████████████████████████████
█████████████████████

(48) ████████████████████████████████████
████████████

(49) ███████████████████████████████████████
██████████████████████

From left to right:

(50) ██
██
██████████████████

(51) ██
██████████████

(52) ██████████████████████████████████

(53) ██
██████████████████

(54) ███
███████████████

(55) ███
████████████████████
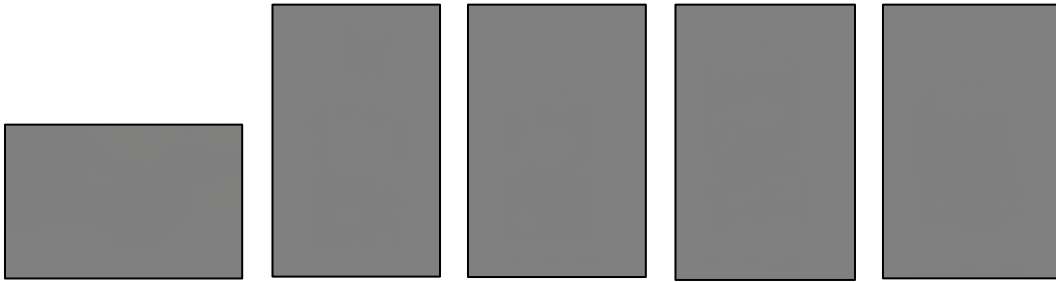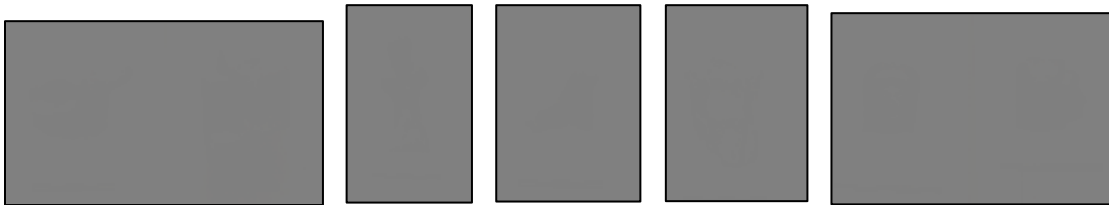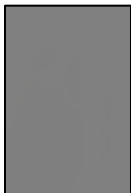
G 6:3

Lower fill:

From left to right:

>>**(56)** *bronze handle of vessel (span 0.195; w. 0.021; Th. 0.01) (B 65; Hesperia 7, no 54)*
>>**(57)** *kneeling boy aryballos (diam. top 0.049; h. 0.255; w. 0.154) (P 1231; Agora 14, p. 93; Hesperia 6,*
>>>*figs. 1-9, pl. X; Hesperia 2, p. 459; Hesperia 7, no. 30, fig. 30; American Journal of*
>>>*Archaeology 37, no. 2, p. 294; 16 other publications)*

From left to right:

>>**(58)** *fragmentary pair of horses figurine (P.H. 0.057; w. 0.021; P.Th. 0.033) (T 343; Hesperia 7, no. 48)*
>>**(59)** *torso of siren figurine; breasts with locks of hair, most of the upper arms and body and stumps of*
>>>*legs (P.L. ca. 0.093; P.W. 0.045) (T 344; Hesperia 7, no. 47)*
>>**(60)** *protome fragment (P.H. 0.066; P.Th. ca. 0.01; H. ca. 0.03) (T 1600; Hesperia 7, no. 46)*

Upper fill:
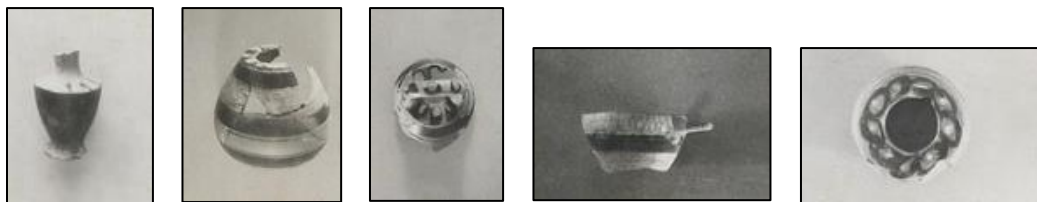
From left to right:

>>**(61)** *miniature lekythos (P.H. 0.051; diam. base 0.022) (P 1292; Agora, 12.2, s. 28, p. 401; Hesperia*
>>>*15, no. 261)*
>>**(62)** *banded bell fragment (diam. 0.066; h. 0.054) (P 2608, Agora 12.2, no. 1365; Hesperia 15, no. 301)*
>>**(63)** *banded bell fragment (diam. top 0.031; P.H. 0.04) (P 2609, Agora 12.2, no. 1365; Hesperia 15,*

no. 302)

(64) *miniature Corinthian skyphos (diam. 0.051; P.H. 0.028) (P 2687; Hesperia 15, no. 313)*

(65) *miniature kothon (h. 0.012; diam. 0.055) (P 2728; Agora 12, no. 1408, pl. 45; Hesperia 31, p. 176; Hesperia 15, no 295)*

(66) *miniature black-figure hydria fragments; most of the circumference at the shoulder and a small bit of the neck ('Fountain house scene with two girls, facing, filling their hydriai at lion's head spouts. On each side of them and between, a column. The back of the vase ornamented with enclosed palmettes. The central column white over black; the outer columns white over the clay ground which has an orange wash. The capitals of the columns have incised necking and volutes and abaci with scalloped incision. They reach just to the junction of shoulder and neck and are surmounted by a band of black glaze. This band is stripes of white in groups of three, alternating with small squares enclosing a star pattern, the whole making a triglyph and metope arrangement resting on the Ionic columns. The pediment is provided by the ornament on the neck, of which is preserved a long serpent with panther's head and two smaller snakes beneath him. White for the architectural detail and for the girls' flesh and the stripes down the lions' noses. Red for the girls' broad fillets and the strings which tie them. Red (or white) for embroidery on their dresses. White for the hearts of the palmettes at the back. The neck glazed inside; the remainder unglazed'[717]) (diam. shoulder 0.074; P.H. ca. 0.06) (P 2642, Agora 23, s. 462, s. 355, s. 202; Hesperia 15, no. 197) (watercolour by Piet de Jong = Agora Drawing PD 462 [DA 10675]; Agora Image 2012.50.0864 IX-61)*
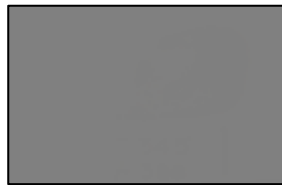
From left to right:

(67) *thymiaterion lid (h. 0.055; diam. 0.069) (P 16777; Hesperia 15, no. 300; Agora 12.2, s. 39, p. 412)*

(68) *clay ring (diam. 0.2; Th. 0.012) (P 16778; Hesperia 15, no. 303; Monaco 2000, p. 242)*

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[717] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 2642'.

(69) *figurine, two feet protruding beneath an edge of drapery (?) (P.L. 0.049; P.H. 0.018; P.W. 0.036) (T 345)*
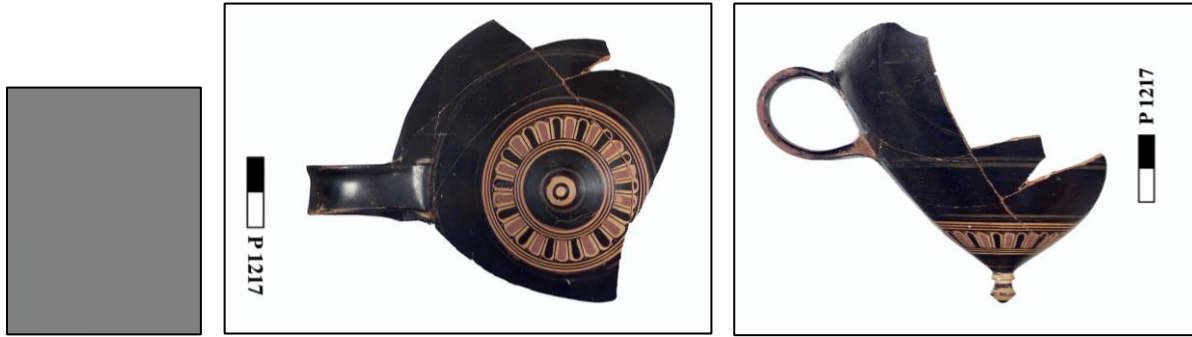

From left to right:

(70) *seated female figurine fragment (seated goddess type?) (P.H. 0.118; w. head 0.044; P.Th. 0.04) (T 346; Hesperia 15, no. 319; Σωτηριάδη-Sedgwick (1939), pp. 62, 64.)*

(71) *head of female figurine (P.H. 0.048; P.W. 0.036; P.Th. 0.038) (T 347; Hesperia 15, no. 320)*

(72) *lower part of seated draped female figurine (seated goddess type) (P.H. 0.062; P.W. 0.052; P.Th. 0.052) (T 348; Hesperia 15, no. 321)*

(73) *fragment of horse figurine (hind quarters) (P.H. 0.04; P.L. 0.049) (T 489; Hesperia 15, no. 325)*

From left to right:

(74) *torso of horse figurine (P.H. 0.039; P.L. 0.069; P.W. 0.032) (T 490)*

(75) *standing figurine fragment (max. diam. 0.049) (T 491; Hesperia 15, no. 324)*

(76) *torso of horse (or dog) figurine (P.L. 0.049; P.H. 0.025; P.W. 0.018) (T 492; Hesperia 15, no. 327)*

(77) *fragment of seated draped female figurine (seated goddess type) (P.H. 0.094; P.W. 0.054; P.Th. 0.053) (T 493; Hesperia 15, no. 322)*

(78) *fragment of seated draped female figurines (seated goddess type) (P.H. 0.08; w. 0.04; Th. 0.045) (T 494; Hesperia 15, no. 323)*

(79) *head of a horse figurine (P.H. 0.044) (T 495; Hesperia 15, no. 326)*
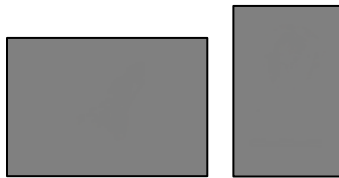
G 15:2

From left to right:

      (80) *numerous bronze vessel fragments; incised tongues on outer edge of foot; scale pattern and diagonal lines on what may be part of a rim; fragments of handles (dimensions unknown) (B 1279; Agora 12.2, s. 46, p. 419)*

      (81) *black-figure mastos fragment (h. ca. 0.085) (P 1217; Agora 23, s. 18, s. 387, p. 2, p. 371; Hesperia 71, no. 1) (period of use)*

From left to right:

      (82) ██
          ████████████
      (83) ██

H 12:15

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[718] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: T 2249'.

From left to right:

(84) ██
██

(85) *Baubo female figurine fragment; woman squatting, holding her ankles with her hands (P.H. 0.055) (T 3264; Hesperia 25, n. 127; Hesperia 64, n. 173) (lower dumped fill)*

(86) ██
█████████████████████████████████

From left to right:

(87) *fragments of* ████████████████████████████████████
████████████████████████

(88) *fragment of* ██
████████████████

(89) *miniature oinochoe (h. 0.041) (P 23119; Agora 12.2, no. 1410; Agora Picture Book 12, fig. 43) (upper dumped fill)*

(90) ██

From left to right:

(91) *black-glazed miniature cup (h. 0.048; diam. 0.088) (P 23331; Hesperia 62, p. 399) (upper dumped fill)*

(92) ██

(93) ██████████████████████████████████

(94) *multiple protome (two female heads, wearing stephane) (P.H. 0.103 + 0.062) (T 3262; Kurtz & Sparkes) (upper dumped fill)*

I 10:1

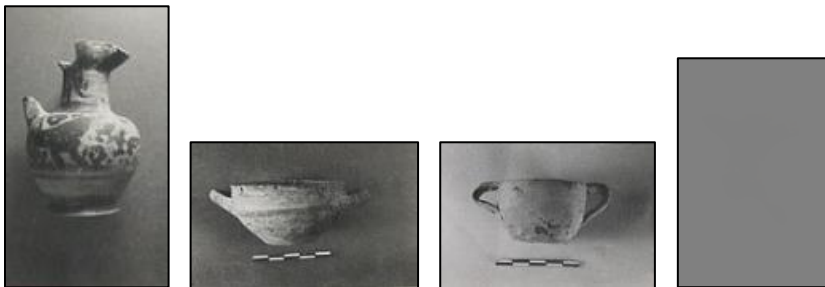*From left to right:*
(95) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(96) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(97) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(98) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(99) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

I 14:1

From left to right:
(100) *miniature oinochoe (diam. 0.056) (P 3241, Agora 23, no. 746)*
(101) *miniature skyphos (h. 0.033; diam. 0.063) (P 3479; Agora 12.2, no. 364)*
(102) *miniature two-handled cup (h. 0.034; diam. 0.05) (P 3484; Agora 12.2, no. 1421)*
**(103)** ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

(104) figurines from sanctuary dump of well J 18:8; two horse figurines and three columnar figurines
　　　　T 1305: right horse figurine (P.L. 0.07; P.H. 0.079) (Hesperia 7, no. D 34)
　　　　T 1320: left horse figurine (P.H. 0.0415; P.L. 0.075) (Hesperia 7, no. D 33)
　　　　T 1306: middle columnar figurine (P.H. 0.062; w. of base 0.022) (Hesperia 7, no. D 32)
　　　　T 1307: right columnar figurine (P.H. 0.092; w. 0.054) (Hesperia 7, no. D 31)
　　　　T 1319: left columnar figurine (P.H. 0.105; w. base 0.028 (Hesperia 7, no. D 30)

M 11:3

From left to right:
　　　　*(105) clay leg of wheeled animal (?) (P.H. 0.039; w. 0.028) (MC 685; Hesperia 30, no. H 71)*
　　　　(106) miniature kantharos (h. 0.029; diam. rim 0.053) (P 17355; Hesperia 20, no. H 42)
　　　　*(107) kernos fragment (listed as plemochoe, but it is noted there is a strong indication that it broke of a
　　　　　　　ring vessel; Brann 1961 [p. 314-15] lists it as a kernos fragment, notes that it 'is among the
　　　　　　　earliest examples known from Athens') (P.H. 0.057; diam. rim 0.035) (P 17335; Agora 8, s. 134,
　　　　　　　p. 120; Hesperia 30, no. H 41)*
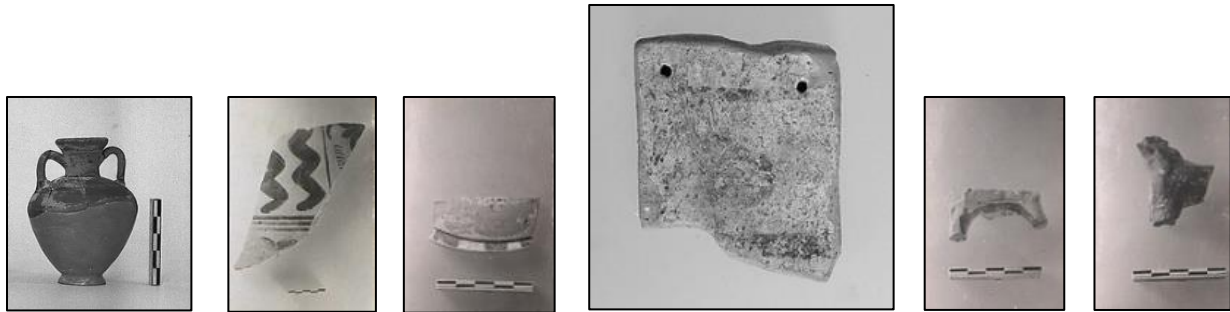
From left to right:

(108) *miniature amphora (h. 0.082; diam. Rim 0.03) (P 17357; Hesperia 30, no. H 44) (well 7th century BC)*

(109) *protoattic amphora fragment with vertical wavy lines (snakes?) and to the right a part of a panel (?) with the edge of an unidentified object with incision (max. diam. 0.26) (P 17361; Hesperia 30, no. H 3)*

(110) *round convex shield fragment (P.H. 0.019; P.L. 0.059 (T 2318; Hesperia 30, no. H. 65)*

(111) *plaque with suspension holes; front and sides covered with white; on the front two horizontal red bands with a red circle between them (P.H. 0.069; w. 0.059) (T 2319; Hesperia 30, no. H 66)*

(112) *chair fragment with stumps of two legs; attachments underneath for two more legs (?) or supporting stretchers; band of dull black glaze (P.H. 0.032; P.L. 0.046) (T 2320; Hesperia 30, no. H 84)*

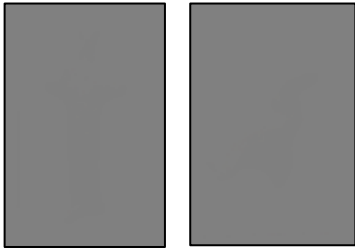**(113)** *horse figurine fragment (P.H. 0.05; P.L. 0.043) (T 2321; Hesperia 30, no. H 63)*

[M 17:4]

From left to right:

(114) ████████████████████████████

(115) ██████████████████████████████

170
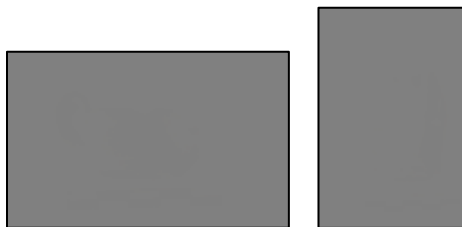
[O 7:9]

From left to right:

       (116) ████████████████████████████

       (117) ████████████████████████

O 12:1

    (118) *horse figurine fragment (P.H. 0.073; P.L. 0.08) (P 22304; Hesperia 30, no. F 59)*

    (119) *phiale (h. 0.06; diam. rim 0.154) (P 22297; Agora 8, s. 135, p. 121; Hesperia 30, no. F 24)*

    (120) *phiale (h. 0.055; diam. rim 0.126) (P 22706; Agora 8, s. 136, p. 122; Hesperia 30, no. F 26)*

    (121) *krater on a stand; resembling spouted kraters found in a votive deposit in Menidhi, as noted by Brann 1961 (p. 315) (h. handle 0.044, 0.040; max. diam. 0.215; diam. 0.091) (P 22737; Agora 8, no. 243; Hesperia 30, no. F 74)*

O 12:2
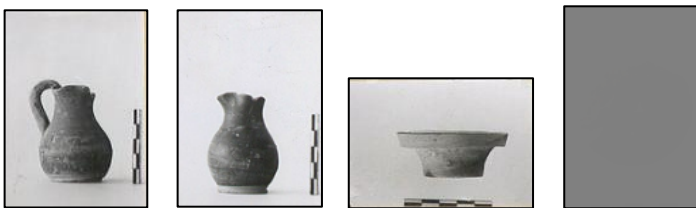
Left to right:

    (122) *miniature black-glaze oinochoe (h. rim 0.0174) (P 25656; Agora 12.2, no. 1367)*

    (123) *miniature black-glaze oinochoe (h. to rim 0.074) (P 25657; Agora 12.2, no. 1368)*

    (124) *miniature kalathos (h. 0.034; diam. rim 0.064) (P 25658; Agora 12.2, no. 291)*

(125) ██
██████

P 7:2

From left to right:
    (126) ██
    (127) miniature black-glazed kothon (h. 0.026; diam. 0.062) (P 12329; Agora 12.2, no. 1387)
    (128) miniature oinochoe (h. without handle 0.059; diam. 0.061) (P 12331; Agora 8, no. 70) (Agora
          Image 2019.03.0466)
    (129) ██
    ████████████████████
    (130) ██
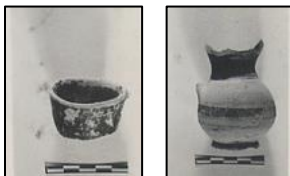
P 7:5

    (131) miniature black-figure oinochoe; procession of swans (h. 0.05; diam. 0.035) (P 23545; Agora 23,
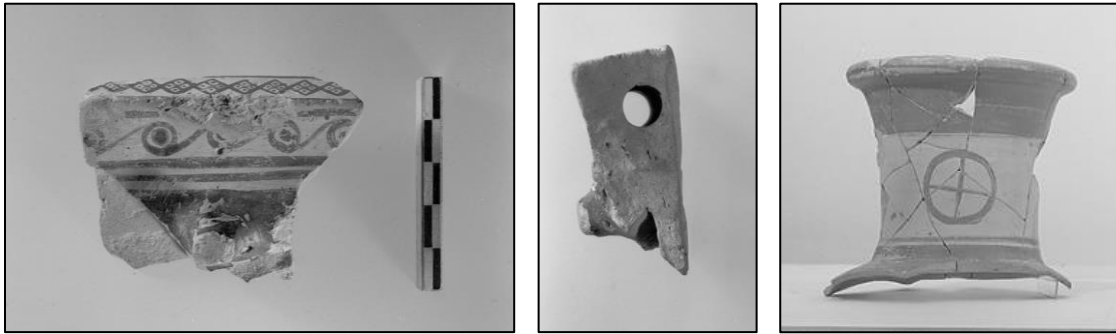   no. 732)

P 8:5

From left to right:

> **(132)** *miniature black-glazed cup (h. 0.027; diam. 0.045) (P 12678, Agora 12.2, no. 1388)*
>
> **(133)** *miniature black-glaze jug (PH 0.071; max. diam. 0.050) (P 12683, Agora 12.2 no. 1389)*

P 14:2

> **(134)** *chariot (first thought to have been a fragment of a painted plaque) with decoration (running spiral with dot centres and bands) and stump of one leg preserved; made by folding the clay over a stick (?) which was later removed to provide the vent hole (intended for the axle to which wheels were attached); from a plastic chariot group on a platform (P.L. 0.065; P.W. 0.05; Th. 0.02) (P 21806; Agora 8, no. 331)*
>
> **(135)** *amphora body (adjoining neck) fragment; wide unglazed area on neck decorated towards the bottom with a narrow band, and above with a four-spoked wheel) (h. base of neck to rim 0.205; diam. rim 0.228) (P 21800; Hesperia 30, p. 103, under nos. I 2, K 1, P 2, pl. 13) (Agora Image 2012.55.1158 81-353)*
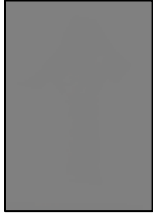
Q 13:5

From left to right:

> **(136)**

(137) *miniature two-handled cup (h. 0.032; diam. 0.056) (P 24970, Agora 12.2, no. 1423)*
(138) ██████████████████████████████
(139) █████████████████████████

(140) ████████████████████████

Q 18:1

(141) *figurines and mold from dump of well Q 18:1, from left to right:*
  T 1702: mold for seated female figurine (seated goddess type) (P.H. 0.055) (Hesperia 8, no. 28)
  T 1911: columnar figurine (?) (P.H. 0.048) (Hesperia 8, no. 29)
  T 1912: figurine fragment (arm) (max. diam. 0.065) (Hesperia 8, no. 30; Hesperia 64, p. 415, n. 30)
  T 1913: animal figurine fragment (P.H. 0.033; P.L. 0.051) (Hesperia 8, no. 31)

R 8:2
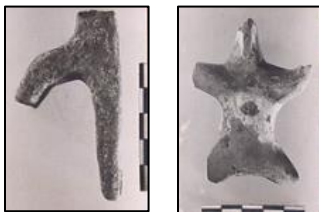
Left to right:
  (142) *horse figurine fragment (long-legged) (P.H. 0.073) (T 3326; Agora 8, s. 138, p. 124; Hesperia 30,*

no. G 47)

(143) *horseman figurine fragment (P.H. 0.08) (T 3327; Agora 8, s. 138, p. 124; Hesperia 30, no. Q 46) (dump)*

R 9:2

Left to right:

(144) *amphora fragment (mouth and beginning of neck; thick dotted circle with vertical wavy lines; snakes?) (P.H. 0.137; diam. 0.175-0.183) (P 21430; Agora 8, no. 25; Agora 31, p. 161, 169; Hesperia 30, no. P3)*

(145) *horse figurine fragment, with traces of rider on back; decorated with glaze lines (P.H. 0.064; P.L. 0.053) (T 3073; Agora 8, s. 138, p. 124; Hesperia 30, no. 27) (dump)*

R 12:1

Left to right:

(146) *fragment of black-figured plaque; two bearded heads and outstretched arm to the right (P.H. 0.081; P.W. 0.063; Th. 0.032) (P 20754; Agora 23, no. 1942; BSA 50, no. 13) (dirt pile)*

(147) *plastic attachment (griffin head with gaping mouth) (P.H. 0.032; L. head 0.04) (P 20756; Agora 8, no. 402)*

(148) *miniature banded cup (h. 0.046; diam. 0.1) (P 20759; Agora 12.2, no. 417; Hesperia 62, p. 399)*

(149) *thymiaterion lid (h. 0.055; diam. 0.095) (P 20782; Agora 31, p. 179; Agora 12.2, no. 1346)*

(150) *thymiaterion fragment (stand) (P.H. 0.198; diam. base 0.118) (P 20783; Agora 12.2, no. 1351)*
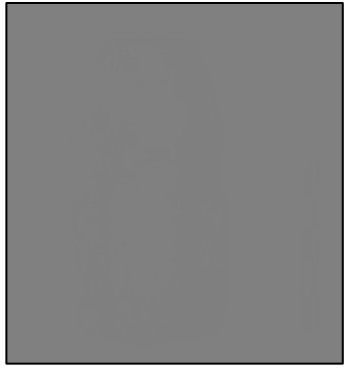
From left to right:

(151) *thymiaterion fragment (stand) (P.H. 0.114; diam. base 0.105) (P 20784; Agora 12.2, no. 1353)*
(152) ███
██
(153) *██*
███████████████████████
(154) *██*

R 12:3

From left to right:

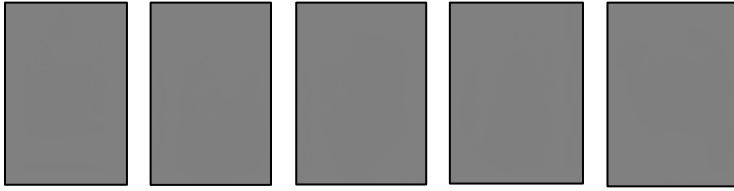**(155)** *black-glaze mastos (P.H. 0.065; P.W. 0.115) (P 25277; Agora 23, s. 18, s. 387; Hesperia 71, no. 3)*
(156) ██
(157) ██
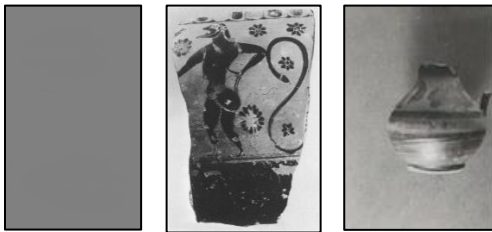**(158)** ██

R 12:4

From left to right: seated draped female figurines in various states of preservation (seated goddess type)

    (159) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

    (160) ▮▮▮▮▮▮

    (161) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

    (162) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

    (163) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

R 13:3

From left to right:

    (164) amphoriskos (P.H. 0.058) (P 20533; Agora 7, no. 1148)

    (165) black-figure lebes fragment (wall and shoulder; band of single tons, a man wearing a shirt and the hand of a second figure; a snake behind the man (P.H. 0.153) (P 3015, Agora 23, no. 417) (6th century BC fill) \

    (166) miniature black-figure oinochoe (P.H. 0.056; diam. 0.052) (P 3019; Agora 23, no. 765)
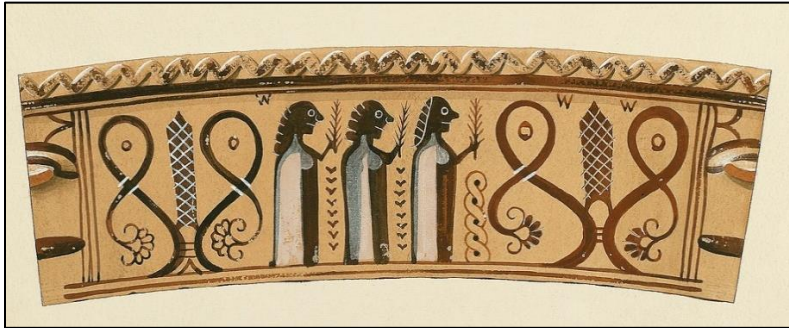

R 17:3

From left to right:

    (167) miniature basin (PW 0.059) (P 25292; Agora 8, no. 500) (upper fill)

    (168) columnar figurine (P.H. 0.053; w. arms 0.049) (T 1834; Agora 8, s. 145, p. 131) (upper fill)

    (169) bird figurine on a high stand) (T 1835; Agora 9, s. 145, p. 131) (upper fill)

R 17:5

(170) *neck of a protoattic hydria; 'flaring rim with plastic snake around it. Handle bears the beginning of a plastic snake. Three figures holding branches on front between spiral ornaments. Incision for hair, eyes, nose. Two narrow bands just inside rim, and a wider one lower down. Applied white over glaze of gowns(?)'*[719] *(P.H. 0.12; diam. mouth 0.157) (P 26411; Agora 8, no. 417; Hesperia 30, no. S 3; Agora Picture Book 8, fig. 43; Papadopoulos 2007b, fig. 132C) (photo: Agora Image 2012.56.0249 82-234; watercolour by Piet de Jong = Agora Image 2008.03.0203)*

From left to right:
(171) *miniature Argive oinochoe (P.H. 0.05; diam. 0.047) (P 26469; Agora 8, no. 234)*
(172) ████████████████████████
(173) *ram figurine (P.H. 0.068; l. 0.097) (T 3586; Hesperia Suppl. 31, p. 187)*
(174) *miniature horse figurine fragment (l. 0.034) (l. 0.034) (T 3601; Hesperia Suppl. 31, p. 187)*

R 21:3

From left to right:
(175) *black-figure thymiaterion fragment; four standing filleted women, separated by lines of dotes; similar scene on the lower zone; two rows of ivy leaves on raised band (P 15389; Agora 23, no.*

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[719] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 26411'.

1851; Agora 12, p. 182)

(176) ██

(177) *black-figure thymiaterion fragments (from one or more thymiateria) (P.H. 0.051, 0.052, 0.05, 0.049, 0.017, 0.012; diam. 0.044, 0.048) (P 17862; Agora 12.2, p. 182)*

(178) ██

S 18:1

From left to right:

(179) *wheel fragment (h. 0.19; est. diam. 0.1) (MC 463; Agora 8, s. 138, p. 124; Hesperia 30, no. L 56) (lower fill)*
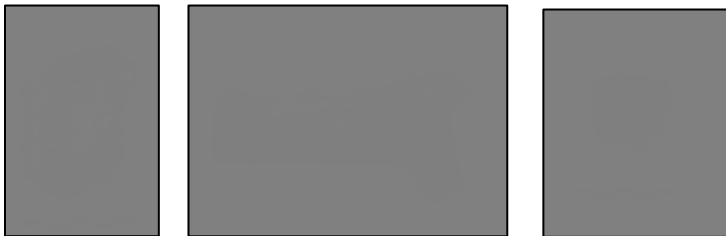
(180) *miniature cauldron (max. diam. as restored 0.105) (P 12117; Agora 8, s. 133, p. 119; Hesperia 30, no. L 24) (lower fill)*

S 19:7

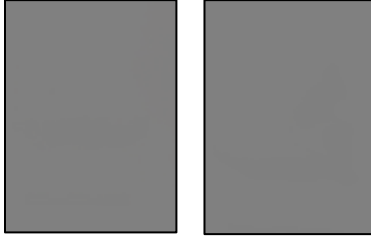**(181)** *horse fragment (head) (P.H. 0.036) (T 1915; Agora 8, s. 145, p. 131)*

S 21:2

Left to right:

(182) ██

████████████████████████████

(183) ██

(184) ██

████████████████

S 22:1

Left to right:

(185) ██

████████████████

(186) ██

██

T 18:1

From left to right:

(187) *miniature jug (h. 0.037; diam. 0.025) (P 14369; Agora 12, no. 1435; Agora 31, p. 163, CPD 52)*
(upper fill)

(188) *seated draped female figurine (seated goddess type) (h. 0.037; diam. 0.025) (T 1053; Agora 12,*
no. 1435; Agora 31, p. 163, CPD 52)

(189) *fragment of a seated draped female figurine (seated goddess type) (P.H. 0.067; P.W. 0.048) (T*
1075; Agora 31, s. 186, p. 161, CPD 52) (6th century BC)

T 19:1

(190) *monkey figurine (P.H. 0.085; w. 0.03) (T 3588; Agora 31, s. 144, p. 121)*

T 19:3 *[some uncatalogued diagnostic pieces: plaques, shields, figurines; see database I and II]*


(191) *hydria fragments; 'Much of body and neck, one handle and all of base missing. Restored in plaster. Slender body; straight neck, outcurving rim with snakes in relief on it; one strap handle with snake, and snakes around shoulder. Glaze mostly gone. On preserved part of neck, to left of handle, a band of S scrolls; parts of four figures in panel below. Starting at right, two female figures holding palm branches facing left, then a male figure holding a lyre(?) facing them. Some object, perhaps a pointed amphora, between him and the last female figure. Behind the male, another female figure facing right holding palm branches. On shoulder, band of hooks; then a wider band, almost illegible, of vertical lines and waves; a horizontal band of lines and herringbone pattern and below this rays and another band of horizontal lines and herringbones.'[720] (diam. rim 0.12; max. diam. 0.042, 0.037; P.H. 0.28, 0.105) (P 10154; Agora 21, p. 111; Agora 8, no. 384; Hesperia 7, fig. 23; Papadopoulos 2007b, fig. 132A)*

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[720] Description from the Athenian Agora Excavations Collections database, 'Objects', 'Agora Object: P 10151'.

(192) hydria fragments; "Neck of hydria. A bit of edge of flaring lip preserved and, at bottom, shallow groove that separated neck and shoulder. Handle missing except for solid lower bar, triply pierced. Around neck, a row of ten women facing right; their hands are joined, each one holds a palm branch. Their hair is covered by pointed net caps, projecting behind. White paint used to fill in skirts. Pinkish-buff clay, matte red to black paint. (diam. bottom 0.095; h. 0.13) (P 10229; Agora 31, p. 111, CPD 4; Agora 8, no. 416; Hesperia 7, p. 343, noted; Hesperia 30, p. 327, noted under F10; Papadopoulos 2007b, p. 142, fig. 132B) (from the Agora Image group 2012.02.4057-4093; watercolour by Piet de Jong = Agora Image 2008.03.0202)*
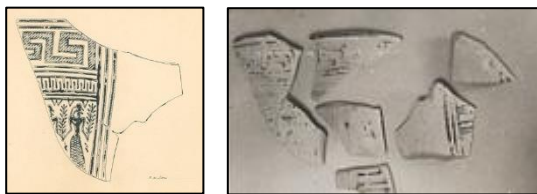
(193) six jug fragments; row of dancing women (diam. lip 0.215; P.H. 0.125, 0.064, 0.076, 0.05, 0.046, 0.05) (P 10621; Agora 31, s. 134, p. 111; Agora 8, s. 80, s. 132, p. 66, p. 118) (drawing by Piet de Jong = Agora Drawing PD 2390-a DA 6701)*
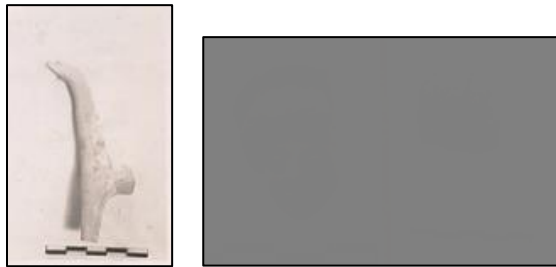
From left to right:

(194) *miniature cup (h. 0.032; diam. 0.045) (P 10627; Agora 31, s. 133, p. 110)*

(195) *head of large horse figurine (h. 0.097; l. of head 0.067) (T 1486, 4; Agora 31, p. 110, 127, nos. 4, 20) (disturbed early fill)*

(196) *plaque with holes pierced at two corners; front and edges covered with white colour, over which are wavy bands in red between black lines (l. 0.078; w. 0.064; Th. 0.006) (possibly snakes?) (T1499; Agora 8, s. 145, p. 131; Agora 31, s. 133, 1. 284, p. 110; Hesperia 87, p. 672, n. 200)*

(197) *horse figurine (P.H. 0.085; P.L. 0.045) (T 1502; Agora 8, s. 145, p. 131; Agora 31, p. 110, no. 4; Hesperia 87, p. 672, n. 200)*

(198) *fragment of driver and horse figurine; driver attached to the hind legs of his horses (P.H. 0.054; w. 0.041; 0.015) (T 1503; Agora 8, s. 145, p. 131; Agora 31, p. 110, no. 4)*

(199) *horse figurine fragment (P.H. 0.09; P.L. 0.027) (T 1504; Agora 31, p. 110, no. 4; Hesperia 87, p. 672, n. 200)*

(200) *head of seated goddess type figurine (P.H. 0.032) (T 1485; Agora 31, p. 111, no. 4) (votive deposit; later 8th-mid 7th century BC)*

T 24:3

From left to right:

(201) *thymiaterion stand (P 13384; Agora 12.2, no. 1354)*
(202) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(203) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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(204) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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U 23:2

From left to right:

(205) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(206) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(207) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

U 25:2

From left to right:

(208) *miniature black-glaze miniature vessel on stand (h. 0.033; diam. 0.047) (P 13022; Agora 12.2, no. 1406; Agora Picture Book 12, fig. 43) (upper fill)*
(209) *black-glaze miniature oinochoe (diam. 0.04; P.H. 0.073) (P 13023; Agora 12.2, no. 1369, pl. 45) (upper fill)*
(210) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(211) *black-glaze thymiaterion (P.H. 0.041; diam. 0.071; est. diam. lip 0.065) (P 13796; Agora 12.2, no. 1349) (upper fill)*
(212) *black-glaze kernos (one-third of bowl and part of overhanging rim) (P.H. 0.053; est. diam. 0.18) (P 13804; Agora 12, no. 1339) (upper fill)*
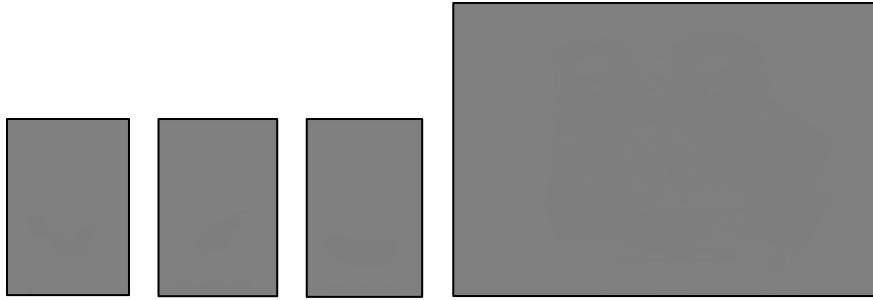
From left to right:

(213) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(214) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(215) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(216) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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From left to right:

(217) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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(218) *dog figurine (h. 0.045; l. 0.049) (T 1815; Hesperia 8, p. 243) (middle fill)*
(219) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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From left to right:

(221) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
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(222) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(223) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
(224) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

From left to right:

(225) ████████████████████████████████
(226) ██████████████████████████████████
(227) ███████████████████████████████████
(228) *fragment of hand (P.L. 0.041; P.W. 0.037) (T 1905; Hesperia 64, no. 30) (lower fill)*
(229) ██
████████████████

ADDENDA:
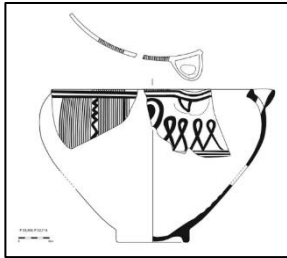
(230) *spouted bowls found in several wells:*
   J 18:8 (P 9015, P 9015 BIS), M 11:3 (P 17383, P 17401),
   O 12:1 (P 22715[721], P 22716, P 22302) and R 9:2 (P21419)

   spouted kraters found in several wells:
   R 9:2 (P 21233), U 25:2 (P 13806) and R 12:1 (P 20797)

   spouted kados found in well R 17:5 (P 26493)

U 21:1

From left to right:

(231) *palmette akroterion; a crowning palmette akroterion from an altar (P.H. 0.105; P.L. 0.106; Th. 0.067) (A 4997; Hesperia 76, fig. 25) (1 of 5 altar akroteria: A 4995, A 4996, A 4998, A 4999)*

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[721] Example image is of this spouted bowl (= Agora Drawing DA 12327).

(232) *loutrophoros fragments with wavy line (stylised snake) around rim (P.H. a) 0.083, b)*
0.052, c) 0.143, g) 0.07; P.W. a) 0.771, b) 0.07; diam. g) 0.057; max. diam. d) 0.063, e)
0.0405, f) 0.038) (P 34449) (P 34439; Agora XXIII, no. 375)

(233) *inscribed fragment of a base (P.H. 0.120; P.L. 0.118; P.Th. 0.155; H. letters 0.02; diam. of cutting*
0.025) (I 7623)

From left to right:

(234) *block with relief sculpture (P.H. 0.190; P.W. 0.214; P.Th. 0.053) (S 3526; Agora XXXVIII, no. 64)*

(235) *Mycenaean figurine (h. 0.019; w. 0.007) (T 4641)*

L-M:7

(236) *objects from the stone-lined pit (from left to right)*
G 549: faience hawk (h. ca. 0.04) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Paterakis 2003a, II2.4.1-II2.4.7; Paterakis
2002, 257-260; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Agora Picture Book 22, fig. 33; Hesperia 27 1958,
pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

T 3528: horse figurine fragment (max. diam. 0.056) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 17, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

T 3520: charioteer figurine fragment (P.H. 0.052) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42)

B 1206: snake protome (P.L. 0.055) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42)

B 1209: bronze rod (diam. 0.015; l. 0.075) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

J 136: gold band and leaf fragments (L. a) 0.04; W. a) 0.004; Max. Dim. b) 0.02, c) 0.02) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Hesperia 27, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

T 3522: plaque fragment (P.H. 0.073; P.W. 0.06; Th. 0.006) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

BI 757: ivory fibula fragment (max. diam. 0.055; est. diam. 0.065) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

T 3525: shield fragment (max. diam. 0.06; diam. 0.065) (Camp 2010, fig. 75; Camp 1990, fig. 69; Hesperia 27, pl. 42; Agora XIV, pl. 65b)

other: arrowheads, Corinthian cup fragments, red-figure column krater fragments

SUMMARY

This thesis centres around early (eight-sixth century BC) Athenian and Attic state formation by focussing on the relations between Athens and another Attic locality that would occupy an important religious role within the Classical Athenian *polis*: Eleusis. The research question that is answered is the following: 'When did the Athenian *polis* incorporate Eleusis, and how did this unification come about'? In summary, it is argued that Athenian-Eleusinian religious integration (starting in the seventh century BC) preceded a political unification at the end of the sixth century BC, when Eleusis became an Athenian deme.

The first half of the thesis is devoted to literary (chapter 1) and archaeological (chapter 2) scholarship on the question of the incorporation of Eleusis and the related process of the Athenian synoecism. The argumentations and sources used by previous scholars are examined, and it is determined that these sources do not reflect a simultaneous (early) political and religious incorporation, as has been posited previously. Instead, the Archaic relations between Athens and Eleusis presented in the sources can be understood better with the help of the concept of 'peer polity interaction'. It is then argued that throughout the Archaic period the Eleusinians and Athenians interacted with each other on equal terms in the fields of warfare, elite competition, trade and – most importantly – religion, all within a shared cultural framework (that of the Attic *ethnos*). While (shared) cults had integrating qualities, a full political unification only took place at the end of the sixth century BC, by way of the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BC.

This hypothesis is elaborated upon in the second half of the thesis, in which the origins of Athenian-Eleusinian religious ties are examined. Thus, chapter 3 focusses on the one place that provides physical and contemporary evidence of Eleusinian-Athenian religious integration: the City Eleusinion, a branch sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter to the south the Classical agora of Athens. To be able to date the start of religious integration between Athens and Eleusis, the diagnostic sanctuary material of the Eleusinion (including that from the Eleusinion pits, the Areopagos Terracotta Votive Deposit and the wells of the Athenian agora) is compared to the votives found in pyres A, B and C at Eleusis. In the end, it is argued that this material reflects a start of religious cooperation in the seventh century BC: in this period, then, the inhabitants of Athens and Eleusis were united for the first time on another level than trade and small-scale conflicts. A formal religious link between Eleusis and Athens was established, and perhaps the later-famous yearly procession between the two had roots in this century as well.

The results of this thesis thus provide valuable insights into the process of Attic state formation in the centuries before the Kleisthenic reforms.