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FELIPE PERISSATO

Eleusis: a relational and material-based approach to ritual practices in West Attica from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.

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FELIPE PERISSATO

Eleusis: a relational and material-based approach to ritual practices in West Attica from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.

Revised Version

(The original version can be found in the department that houses the Graduate Program in Archaeology)

> Ph.D. Thesis presented to the Graduate Program in Archaeology at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of São Paulo, Brazil, and Max-Weber-Kolleg für kultur- und sozialwissenschaftliche Studien, Universität Erfurt, Germany, to obtain a doctoral degree within a Cotutelle agreement (Doctor in Archaeology, São Paulo; Dr. phil., Erfurt).
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Name: PERISSATO, Felipe

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For Mayara.

o barro
toma a forma
que você quiser

você nem sabe
estar fazendo apenas
o que o barro quer

Paulo Leminski (1983)

Von allen Werken

Von allen Werken, die liebsten
Sind mir die gebrauchten.
Die Kupfergefäße mit den Beulen und den abgeplatteten Rändern
Die Messer und Gabeln, deren Holzgriffe
Abgegriffen sind von vielen Händen: solche Formen
Schienen mir die edelsten. So auch die Steinfliesen um alte Häuser
Welche niedergetreten sind von vielen Füßen, abgeschliffen
Und zwischen denen Grasbüschel wachsen, das
Sind glückliche Werke.

Eingegangen in den Gebrauch der vielen
Oftmals verändert, verbessern sie ihre Gestalt und werden Köstlich
Weil oftmals gekostet.
Selbst die Bruchstücke von Plastiken
Mit ihren abgehauenen Händen liebe ich. Auch sie
Lebten mir. Wenn auch fallen gelassen, wurden sie doch getragen.
Wenn auch überrannt, standen sie doch nicht zu hoch.
Die halbzerfallenen Bauwerke
Haben wieder das Aussehen von noch nicht vollendeten
Groß geplanten: ihre schönen Maße
Sind schon zu ahnen; sie bedürfen aber
Noch unseres Verständnisses. Anderseits
Haben sie schon gedient, ja, sind schon überwunden. Dies alles
Beglückt mich.

Bertolt Brecht (1932)

ABSTRACT

PERISSATO, F. **Eleusis: a relational and material-based approach to ritual practices in West Attica from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.** 2023. Thesis (Doctor in Archaeology, USP; Dr. phil., Uni. Erfurt), University of São Paulo and Universität Erfurt, São Paulo/Erfurt, 2023.

This doctoral thesis analyses the development of the sanctuary of Eleusis between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. in the context of its ritual practices. Unlike traditional archaeological interpretation which relates spatial and social development of Eleusis to the action of great political leaders, this research investigates the expansion and improvements in the sanctuary through different uses by various agents with lens to the reciprocal shaping between religious experiences and long-term investments. Thus, the thesis traces appropriations by different individuals, as manifested in expressive, ritual and political forms in material objects, discourses and the built environment. In parallel, it seeks to understand how the (built) environment influences different human agents. To this end, this PhD thesis incorporates the processing of archaeological data from ancient topography and epigraphy, in addition to textual sources. The research framing considers the natural landscape and built spaces of the sanctuary at Eleusis, its counterpart in Athens (the City Eleusinion), and the procession road with its roadside sanctuaries, which connects both parts in West Attica. The research was elaborated based on scientific literature review and organization, critical review of sources, crossing analysis of archaeological data from topography and epigraphy, elaboration of GIS Maps and preparation of Epigraphic Repertoire. Based on a relational and material-evidenced approach elaborated from recent theoretical concepts, such as network thinking and Lived Ancient Religion, this thesis is presented in four parts. In the first part, a critical review on the paradigm of Polis Religion is presented with notes to its inconsistencies and limitations in describing religious experiences in Eleusis. It then presents theoretical foundations for an alternative relational model capable of incorporating archaeological sources. Formalities regarding the organisation and methodology of data are presented in the second part, followed by a critical description of the archaeological, epigraphic and textual sources. The third part properly investigates the development of the sanctuary from uses by different agents in ritual practices. In addition, considerations are made about the agency of built and natural environment. Thus, the following rituals are analysed: practices of depositing, the ritual practice of procession, the practice of first-fruits offerings (*aparche*) and the practice of initiations. The fourth part presents a diachronic analysis to the development of the sanctuary through social organisation through networks at Eleusis. The focus is on the construction of relationships between different individuals based on their interactions with space and material objects in the historical context of Eleusis and the western border of Attica. The results of our approach are the composition of a more complex frame of change in ritual practices and social organisation of the sanctuary of Eleusis. The establishing of relationships between different agents and materiality throughout the historical process demonstrated that the development of the built environment and networks around the sanctuary occurred from tensions, negotiations and innovations in the face of historical contingency.

Keywords: Eleusis. Ancient Greek Religion. Eleusinian Mysteries. Lived Ancient Religion. Relational Archaeology. Religious experience. Ritual practice. Attica.

RESUMO

PERISSATO, F. **Elêusis: uma abordagem relacional e baseada na materialidade para práticas rituais na Ática Ocidental do século VI ao IV a.C.** 2023. Tese (Doutorado em Arqueologia, USP; Dr. Phil., Uni. Erfurt), Universidade de São Paulo e Universidade de Erfurt, São Paulo/Erfurt, 2023.

A presente tese de doutorado tem como objetivo a análise do desenvolvimento do santuário de Elêusis entre os séculos VI e IV a.C. no contexto de suas práticas rituais. Diferentemente da interpretação arqueológica tradicional que relaciona o desenvolvimento espacial e social de Elêusis à ação de grandes líderes políticos, esta pesquisa investiga a expansão e os aprimoramentos no santuário através dos diferentes usos por vários agentes, sobretudo a partir das experiências religiosas e investimentos de longo prazo. Assim, a tese busca traçar as apropriações por diferentes indivíduos que se manifestam de forma expressiva, ritual e política nos objetos materiais, nos discursos e no ambiente construído. Paralelamente, busca compreender como o ambiente construído influencia diferentes agentes humanos. Para isso, esta tese de doutorado incorpora o processamento de dados arqueológicos da topografia antiga e da epigrafia, além da fonte textual. O recorte da pesquisa considera a paisagem natural e os espaços construídos do santuário em Elêusis, sua contraparte em Atenas (o Eleusinion urbano) e a via de procissão que conecta ambos na Ática Ocidental. A pesquisa foi elaborada a partir de revisão e organização bibliográfica, revisão crítica das fontes, cruzamento de dados arqueológicos da topografia e da epigrafia, elaboração de Mapas SIG e preparação de Repertório Epigráfico. Com base em uma abordagem relacional e baseada na materialidade elaborada a partir fundamentos teóricos recentes, como o pensamento em rede e Religião Antiga Vivida, a tese é apresentada em quatro partes. Na primeira parte, uma revisão crítica do paradigma de Religião da Pólis é apresentada com apontamentos a suas inconsistências e limitações em descrever as experiências religiosas em Elêusis. Em seguida, apresenta fundamentos teóricos para um modelo alternativo relacional capaz de incorporar a fonte arqueológica. Na segunda parte, são apresentadas as formalidades a respeito da organização e metodologia dos dados e descrição crítica das fontes arqueológica, epigráfica e textual. Na terceira parte, o desenvolvimento do santuário é propriamente investigado a partir dos usos por diferentes agentes nas práticas rituais. Além disso, são feitas considerações sobre a agência do espaço construído e natural. Assim, são analisadas: práticas de deposição, a prática ritual da procissão, a prática ritual de oferta de doação de grãos (*aparche*) e a prática ritual das iniciações. Na quarta parte, é feita uma análise diacrônica do desenvolvimento do santuário a partir da organização das redes em torno de Elêusis. O enfoque é dado à construção das relações entre diferentes indivíduos a partir de suas interações com o espaço e os objetos materiais no contexto histórico de Elêusis e a fronteira oeste da Ática. Os resultados da aplicação de nossa abordagem são a composição de um quadro mais complexo da mudança nas práticas rituais e da organização social do santuário de Elêusis. A construção das relações entre diferentes agentes e materialidades ao longo do processo histórico demonstrou que o desenvolvimento do ambiente construído e das redes em torno do santuário ocorreram a partir de tensões, negociações e inovações frente à contingência histórica.

Palavras-chave: Elêusis. Religião Grega Antiga. Mistérios de Elêusis. Religião Antiga Vivida. Arqueologia relacional. Experiência religiosa. Prática ritual. Ática.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

PERISSATO, F. **Eleusis: ein relationaler und materialbasierter Ansatz zu rituellen Praktiken in West-Attika vom sechsten bis zum vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.** 2023. Dissertation (Promotion in Archäologie, USP; Dr. Phil., Uni. Erfurt), Universität São Paulo und Universität Erfurt, São Paulo/Erfurt, 2023.

Diese Dissertation untersucht die Entwicklung des Heiligtums von Eleusis zwischen dem sechsten und vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr. im Kontext seiner rituellen Praktiken. Im Gegensatz zur traditionellen archäologischen Interpretation, die die räumliche und soziale Entwicklung von Eleusis mit dem Wirken großer politischer Führer in Verbindung bringt, untersucht diese Dissertation die Erweiterung und Verbesserung des Heiligtums durch unterschiedliche Nutzungen durch verschiedene Akteure mit Blick auf die wechselseitige Gestaltung zwischen religiösen Erfahrungen und langfristigen Investitionen. In dieser Doktorarbeit werden die Aneignungen durch verschiedene Individuen nachgezeichnet, die sich in expressiven, rituellen und politischen Formen in materiellen Objekten, Diskursen und der gebauten Umwelt manifestieren. Parallel dazu wird versucht zu verstehen, wie die (gebaute) Umwelt verschiedene menschliche Akteure beeinflusst. Zu diesem Zweck werden in dieser Dissertation neben textlichen Quellen auch archäologische Daten aus der antiken Topographie und Epigraphik verarbeitet. Der Forschungsrahmen betrachtet die natürliche Landschaft und die gebauten Räume des Heiligtums in Eleusis, sein Gegenstück in Athen (das städtische Eleusinion) und die Prozessionsstraße mit ihren Straßenheiligtümern, die beide Teile in Westattika verbindet. Die Forschung wurde auf der Grundlage einer wissenschaftlichen Literaturrecherche und -organisation, einer kritischen Überprüfung der Quellen, einer Kreuzungsanalyse der archäologischen Daten aus Topographie und Epigraphik, der Erstellung von Geoinformationssystem-Karten und der Vorbereitung eines epigraphischen Repertoires durchgeführt. Diese Forschung basiert auf einem relationalen und materialbegründeten Ansatz, der sich auf neuere theoretische Konzepte wie Netzwerkdenken und gelebte antike Religion stützt, und gliedert sich in vier Teile. Im ersten Teil wird ein kritischer Überblick über das Paradigma der Polis-Religion mit Hinweisen auf seine Ungereimtheiten und Grenzen bei der Beschreibung religiöser Erfahrungen in Eleusis gegeben. Anschließend werden theoretische Grundlagen für ein alternatives relationales Modell vorgestellt, das archäologische Quellen einbeziehen kann. Im zweiten Teil werden Formalitäten zur Organisation und Methodik der Daten vorgestellt, gefolgt von einer kritischen Beschreibung der archäologischen, epigraphischen und textlichen Quellen. Im dritten Teil wird die Entwicklung des Heiligtums anhand der Nutzung durch verschiedene Akteure in rituellen Praktiken untersucht. Darüber hinaus werden Überlegungen angestellt, wie sich die bauliche und natürliche Umwelt auf die menschlichen Akteure auswirkt. So werden die folgenden Rituale analysiert: Praktiken der Hinterlegung, die rituelle Praktik der Prozession, die rituelle Praktik der Erstlingsopfer (*aparche*) und die rituelle Praktik der Einweihungen. Der vierte Teil präsentiert eine diachrone Analyse der Entwicklung des Heiligtums durch die sozialen Netzwerke in Eleusis. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Konstruktion von Beziehungen zwischen verschiedenen Individuen auf der Grundlage ihrer Interaktionen mit Raum und materiellen Objekten im historischen Kontext von Eleusis und der westlichen Grenze von Attika. Die Ergebnisse unseres Ansatzes sind die Zusammenstellung eines komplexeren Rahmens von Veränderungen in den rituellen Praktiken und der sozialen Organisation des Heiligtums von Eleusis. Die Herstellung von Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Akteuren und der Materialität während des gesamten historischen Prozesses zeigte, dass die Entwicklung der gebauten Umwelt und der Netzwerke um das Heiligtum aus Spannungen, Verhandlungen und Innovationen angesichts der historischen Kontingenz resultierte.

Schlüsselwörter: Eleusis. Antike griechische Religion. Mysterien von Eleusis. Gelebte antike Religion. Relationale Archäologie. Religiöse Erfahrung. Rituelle Praktiken. Attika.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Agora	The Athenian Agora Series: Results of Excavations conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
AIO	Attic Inscriptions Online
AIUK	Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections (2018 -)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Annuario	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
ArchDelt	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*
Archetai	*Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία* (The Archaeological Society of Athens)
ASCSA	The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
CGRN	Collection of Greek Ritual Norms
DAI	*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*
Ephem.	*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐγημερίς (AE) (1837 -)*
Ergon	*Ἔργον της Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας (1954 -)*
Hesperia	Hesperia: The Journal of American School of Classical Studies at Athens
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873 –)
Kernos	*Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique*
Kl. Pauly	*Der kleine Pauly* (1964 - 1975)
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques.* Paris, 1969.
LSJ	The Online Liddel-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon
Ostraka	*Ostraka: Rivista di Antichità* (1992 -)
Praktika	*Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας* (ΠΑΕ) (1937 -)
POCGD	The Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary (2002)
SAIA	*Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*
SATAA	*Studi di Archeologia e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica (Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–)
SGI	Searchable Greek Inscriptions – a Scholarly Tool in Progress
SIG	Dittenberger, W. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.* Leipzig: Hirzelium, (1883-1924)
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum,* I–V + index vol. (2004–2006)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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INTRODUCTION

Do distinct arrangements between humans and objects produce different spaces? Do different spaces produce distinct arrangements between humans and objects? These were the guiding questions which have driven the elaboration of this approach regarding the sanctuary of Eleusis and its festivals from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. with a special focus on appropriations by many and various actors.

The sanctuary of Eleusis was in the western frontier of Attica, roughly at the middle way between Megara and Athens, where was celebrated the famous Eleusinian Mysteries and other agricultural festivals. The Mysteries of Eleusis was a distinct and major cult dedicated to the agricultural Goddesses Demeter and Kore, especially after the local myth of "The Abduction of Persephone". As narrated by Homeric Hymn and retold by ancient writers, this Eleusinian myth concerns the wanderings of Demeter in search for her abducted daughter (Kore), who only returns of the Underworld after terrible consequences to mankind, such as the infertility of the soil and food scarcity. If the agrarian myth of Eleusis regards the passages of time and the change of seasons, the history of the sanctuary of Eleusis concerns the appropriation of this experience through time by various individuals. After all, many people who completed the initiations into Eleusinian Mysteries pursued both a good passage through life and successful harvests. Except for few restrictions[1], the cult at Eleusis was open to all: men, women, citizens or non-citizens, enslaved people. This aspect propitiated significant changes in ritual practices over the course of historical experience.

Archaeological research at the site at Eleusis has shown over the last two centuries that the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was intensively developed between the Late Archaic Period and the Classical Period (6th – 4th B.C.). Similar development is also evidenced at the City Eleusinion, a small sanctuary near the Acropolis of Athens, whose link to Eleusis was attested by a processional road through the landscape of West Attica. Such expansion of built environment was interpreted by archaeologists as a reflection of prominent political leadership, while material objects were studied and classified individually by each archaeological speciality (ceramology, epigraphy, etc.).

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[1] Initiations into Eleusinian Mysteries were only forbidden to those polluted by murder crimes and to non-Greek speakers, as language was a fundamental element of these rites (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 184).

However, if traditional interpretation sought to relate the expansion of the sanctuary of Eleusis to the action of great political figures such as Peisistratos, Kimon and Perikles, this approach rather analyses the development of the sanctuary through reciprocal formation between religious experiences and investments by various agents. After all, different actors were daily involved in expressive, ritual and political uses of the sanctuary and its festivals. For the purpose of exploring these distinct uses of the sanctuary and how its materiality affected such human actors, this doctoral thesis was designed in four parts.

Part I "Theoretical Models to the study of Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries" brings together chapters working on theoretical models developed over the last four decades to frame religious and social experiences of Antiquity, with a special focus on Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries. In order to situate this doctoral thesis in the wider debate on Ancient Greek Religion, Chapter 1 "A critical Review" presents a critical review of the structuralist model of Polis Religion as elaborated by its creators, which is considered insufficient to fully describe religious experiences at Eleusis. Alternatively, the chapter presents the promising Lived Ancient Religion approach as a satisfactory analytical framework for describing both religious experiences from the perspective of individuals and social interaction between different agents. Thus, Chapter 2 "A Proposal" presents the reader with the theoretical foundation for my approach, detailing the structural model of networks and assemblages and the notion of religious communication as analytical tools to investigate the establishment of relationships between different actors, including material objects. Thus, key theoretical concepts such as ritualisation, agency/appropriation and social space are described as theoretical basis for my relational and material-evidenced approach to ritual practices in West Attica.

Part II "Material and methods" presents a description of the archaeological and textual data used throughout chapters of this doctoral thesis. Chapter 3 "Organisational criteria and methodology" presents formalities and criteria adopted for organising archaeological, epigraphic and textual data, as well as a guide for reading resources produced by this research and presented here. Chapter 4 "Topographical data" describes in detail the archaeological sites of Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens, as well as archaeological sites adjacent to the ancient procession road of Eleusinian Mysteries (*Hiera Hodos,* the Sacred Way). The chapter further compiles the history and results of excavations, as well as presents a diachronic development of relevant buildings, temples

and monuments, punctuating the main and most recent interpretations. Then, Chapter 5 "Epigraphic data" presents the model of organisation adopted for processing data from the inscriptions on stone. It presents formalities adopted for the Epigraphic Repertoire[2] and a historical contextualisation of inscriptions on stone issued by Eleusinian sanctuary and deme. Furthermore, the chapter presents a method for the study of inscriptions on stone with a focus on the integral analysis of the inscribed object, that is, an approach which incorporates text, the archaeological support and implications of its placement.

Part III "Reframing Eleusinian topographies" analyses the development of the sanctuary and landscape of Eleusis between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. by long-term investments and uses by different agents during Eleusinian festivals and in the daily life of the sanctuary. Thus, Chapter 6 "Activating pyres and altars: sacrificial places and practices of depositing" describes practices of depositing, from animal sacrifices and depositing of material objects on pyres and altars to the depositing of plants and libations to Demeter and Kore. Then, Chapter 7 "Becoming initiates: processional landscape and the practice of pompe" focuses on the analysis of the procession between Athens and Eleusis as celebrated in the Eleusinian Mysteries and in daily uses of the road, focusing on individual appropriations by participants and passers along the way. Chapter 8 "Magnifying the dwelling: fortified walls and the offering of first-fruits" describes the annual practice of first-fruits offerings (*aparche*) by demes, tribes and cities allied to Athens. This practice of offering grain donations to the sanctuary of Eleusis is analysed in conjunction with the expansion of fortified walls circuit of the sanctuary. Then, Chapter 9 "Transforming the self: Telesterion and the ritual practice of initiates" compares annual appropriations of the Telesterion of Eleusis by different agents through initiations and the development of the temple's design and typology along the centuries.

Finally, Part IV "Eleusinian assemblages and networks" presents a diachronic analysis of the social organisation and the development of the sanctuary at Eleusis between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. In three chapters, this section discusses the formation of Eleusinian networks in the face of the historical contingency, with highlight to relevant socio-religious practices. So, Chapter 10 "Community and the honouring habit" describes the social organisation of Eleusis in the 6th century B.C. with a focus on the historical formation of Eleusinian networks in order to describe negotiations and

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[2] See Appendix D.

strategies regarding practices of honouring Eleusinian Goddesses and other deities. Then, Chapter 11 "Citizenship and the networking behaviour" discusses the impact of Cleisthenic Reforms on the social organisation of Attica during the 5th century B.C., with lens to the social and religious reverberation at Eleusis. Finally, Chapter 12 "Gift-giving and epigraphic strategies" describes the social transformation of the sanctuary in the 4th century B.C., combining social dynamics produced by the encouraging of gift-giving habit and practices of honouring.

PART I. THEORETICAL MODELS TO THE STUDY OF ELEUSIS AND ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

CHAPTER 1.
A CRITICAL REVIEW

The following chapter presents a critical review of the paradigm of Civic Religion from its most influential model in the field of Ancient Greek Religion: "Polis Religion". The text proceeds through identification of main features, framework, and mechanisms of Polis Religion, seeking to understand the place which the sanctuary of Eleusis in Attica and its Eleusinian Mysteries occupies in the model. Theoretical limitations and interpretative problems of Polis Religion in identifying the complexity of social organisation of Eleusis and its socio-religious practices are presented in order to introduce a more dynamic theoretical and methodological framework.

Lastly, the concept of Lived Ancient Religion is proposed in order to incorporate the vast archaeological documentation of Eleusis and the Eleusinian landscape by the perspective of different actors.

1.1. Polis Religion: a structuralist model

The first indications to a theoretical and unified model of ancient Greek religions were already present in the important works by Walter Burkert (1986; 1991) and Jan Bremmer (1994). Burkert argued sacrificial rituals were the central element of ancient Greek religion, which reassembled back to the sacrificial-killing acts of the Palaeolithic Period (BURKERT, 1986).[3] Although he considered sacrifice as the centralising element of Greek Religion, Burkert concentrated his studies on the normative and synchronic aspects of rituals (BURKERT, 1986; 1991). In a later paper, Burkert (1995, p. 202) establishes three arguments concerning the relation between Greek religion and the polis: 1- "self-representation of the community through religious cults"; 2- "control of religious

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[3] Benavides (2009) analyses aspects of Burkert's theory on sacrifice and sacrificial-killing and he states that, for Burkert, religion "[…] cannot be verified empirically,' being 'manifest in actions and attitudes that do not fulfil immediate practical functions,' but which nevertheless 'manifests itself through interaction and communication' in two directions: 'towards the unseen and toward the contemporary social situation'. Religion involves a 'claim for priority and seriousness', a characteristic that makes it 'vulnerable to laughter and derision'" (BENAVIDES, 2009, p. 55).

practices by the polis through its decision-making organs"; 3- "polis created and transformed its religious institutions" (KINDT, 2012, p. 17; cf. BURKERT, 1995, p. 202).

Based on a structuralist concept, Jan Bremmer argues religion "was totally embedded in society – no sphere of life lacked a religious aspect" and, therefore, religion was public and "strongly tied up with social and political conditions" (BREMMER, 1994, p. 2-3). He summarises his definition of Greek religion as follows:

> "Greek religion, then, was 'embedded'; it was public and communal rather than private and individual, and it had no strict division between sacred and profane. It was also polytheistic and 'interconnected'; it served to maintain order and produce meaning; it was concerned with the here and now and passed down by word of mouth not through written texts. Finally, it was male dominated and lacked a religious establishment." (BREMMER, 1994, p. 1-8)[4]

This perception of "embeddedness" of Ancient Greek Religion between scholars encouraged Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in elaborating a very influential model in order to integrate all religious practices, expressions, and experiences: Polis Religion.[5] This essentially Structuralist model was presented in two papers: *What is Polis Religion?* (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990) and *Further Aspects of Polis Religion* (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000). In both papers, the author claims the Polis was the centre of convergence of social organisation and all aspects of Greek religion. It operated in three dimensions of society: (1) the polis; (2) the "world-of-the-polis system" and (3) "the panhellenic religious dimension" (KINDT, 2012, p. 13; SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 295).

Polis Religion is a model which offers "a structuralist analysis to bear on the plethora of religious institutions, roles and experiences that that coexisted and interacted across the ancient Greek World" (EIDINOW, 2011, p. 13). This perspective on religious practices as operated under the authority of the Polis was systematized through evidences

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[4] Bremmer (2014) affirms that "in ancient Greece, religion was very much controlled by the city, the polis, to such an extent that in the last few decades scholars preferred to speak of polis religion. […]" (BREMMER, 2014, VIII).
[5] According to Bremmer (2014, VIII, note 7), the term "Polis Religion" was first coined by Reitzenstein (1910): "Polis-Religion" in German.

collected mainly from Athenian textual sources and some inscriptions of the Classical Period (5th – 4th B.C.) (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 295-322). According to Kindt (2012), the Polis Religion model resembles a Durkheimian description of religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices" (KINDT, 2012, p. 14; cf. DURKHEIM, 1996).

Sourvinou-Inwood argues "the polis anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity." (1990, p. 297). Such control of the polis over religious activities manifested on various scales, from individual participation in a religious and agonistic event to the organisation of major Panhellenic festivals. In her framework, *theoriai*, special emissaries from Panhellenic sanctuaries (such as Delphi), are interpreted as a representative unit of the polis who holds the mission of travelling to other poleis and sanctuaries for the purpose of communicating the calendar of festivals, informing the collection of first-fruits offerings and engaging individuals within religious activities (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 298). In Polis religion framework, "greek religion, then, consists of a network of religious systems interacting with each other and with the Panhellenic religious dimension." (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 300). The respect of individuals for deities and sanctuaries of other cities are interpreted as a behavioural code of the citizen of the Polis, which creates a strong bound and Panhellenic unity between religious systems (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 301).[6] Moreover, the polis also controls and centralises all religious discourses within it:

> "The Greek polis articulated religion and was itself articulated by it; religion became the polis' central ideology, structuring, and giving meaning to, all the elements that made up the identity of the polis, its past, its physical landscape, the relationship between its constituent parts. Ritual reinforces group solidarity, and this process is of fundamental importance in establishing and perpetuating civic and cultural, as well as religious, identities" (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 305)

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[6] Sourvinou-Inwood argues based on cases of sacrilege to the gods and goddesses as an attempt to usurp democracy, affronting the Polis. Her argument was based on case of sacrilege towards Eleusinian Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms narrated by Thucydides (6.28.1, 6.60-1) and Diodorus Siculus (13.2.3) (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 305).

In a Polis Religion framework, rituals are agglutinating and identity-forming elements attached to the polis.[7] All cultic acts, including those developed within civic borders, were under the control of the religious institutional setting of the polis and "were symbolically legitimated through the religious systems of the polis, which shaped the perception of the gods and articulated the men and the divine" (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 51). This means that all priests and priestesses "functioned under the authority and control of the polis" (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 38). Rituals, such as prescriptions on sacrificial calendars and the organisation and execution of rituals, were regulated by priests and priestesses, who acted in behalf of the community and reported to the authority of the polis (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 38-50).

Sourvinou-Inwood subdivides the diversity of Greek cults and religious practices from the Classical Period (5th – 4th c. B.C.) into three types: (1) "central polis cults"; (2) "central polis festivals"; and (3) cults from subdivisions of the polis (demes, phratries, gene) (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 307-320). The first encompasses "the cults of the civic divinities who, above all, are explicitly concerned with the identity and the protection of the polis as one whole, and thus focus and express the polis-holding aspects of polis religion" (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 307). The second considers "central polis festivals" which "connected with the poliad divinities and/or the constitution of the polis are, for example, the Panathenaia, the Synoikia, the Dipoleia in Athens, the festival of Zeus Polieus in Kos" (1990, p. 310). The third considers deme cults and other minor religious activities (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 312-314).

Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries fit the category of "central polis festivals" in the framework of Polis Religion. These are considered as one of "the most important sanctuaries outside the Athenian, ritually connected with its centre […]" (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 310). She argues that

> "Eleusinian cult was intimately intertwined with the other central polis cults; its symbolic place in the centre of Athenian religion was given material expression in the Eleusinion in the centre of Athens, whence began the procession to Eleusis and in which took place rites and acts pertaining to the relationship between the

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[7] In this sense, the author considers heroic cults and related mythical pasts as exponents of the individuality of each polis (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 305).

Eleusinian nexus and the Athenian polis (e.g. Andocides I.111)."
(SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 310)

In later papers, Sourvinou-Inwood presented arguments on Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which she gives some glimpses of position of this Athenian festival to Demeter and Kore in the framework of Polis Religion (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2003, p. 25-49).[8] Her conclusions could be summarised as,

"First, the Eleusinian cult had a double nature: it was an integral part of Athenian polis religion and at the same time a restricted cult accessible through initiation by individual choice, which led to membership of a category of mystai to which Athenians and non-Athenians had access (the latter since the "Peisistratean" phase in the sixth century). Second, Eleusis had been part of Athens from the beginning and was not incorporated later; the Eleusinian cult was, from the beginning, an important agricultural, 'central polis' cult – in which the worshipping group encompassed the whole polis – located in the periphery; it was ritually and mythologically connected with the centre and helped articulate symbolically polis territory, the integration of the periphery. Its agricultural and poliadic aspects are correlative with Eleusis' location in an especially fertile area and at the live frontier with Megara. Third, the nature of the cult changed in the early sixth century, when an eschatological facet was introduced, and the reshaped cult became mysteric, based on individual choice and promising a happy afterlife." (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2003, p. 26)

In short, Sourvinou-Inwood argues that Eleusis was a "central cult polis" that "always" belonged to Athenian territory and "always" functioned under the authority of Athens. However, the author does not clarify since when exactly Eleusis is part of the Athenian polis and how this was established historically. The author uses the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries as it was organised in the Classical Period as evidence that Athens and Eleusis were always ritually and symbolically connected (centre and periphery,

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[8] Sourvinou-Inwood's arguments were first presented in an earlier essay (1997, p. 132-164).

respectively).[9] In her argument, she also stated to substantive changes in the way the cult was organised in Eleusis in the sixth century B.C., when it leaved the "pre-mysteric" phase, of "advent festival" and "agricultural and poliadic central polis cult located in the periphery", and acquires an eschatological aspect, becoming a cult of initiations ("mysteric cult") (SOUVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 40-41). But she does not clarify how and why such a change occurred or why polis' authorities decided on the change for an initiation ritual and the adoption of "hypostyle hall" typology for the Eleusinian shrine.

As we shall see in the following section, Polis Religion presents inconsistencies and limitations both for a unified model on Ancient Greek Religion and for framing the social development of the sanctuary of Eleusis and its ritual practices in the period between the sixth and fourth century B.C.

1.2. Polis Religion: theoretical limitations and interpretative problems

Polis Religion presents several theoretical limitations, inconsistencies as model, interpretative problems and promotes a blurred view of the participation of individuals in rituals. Its framework has been receiving criticism over the last decades, especially by Kindt (2012), Eidinow (2011) and Rüpke (2011; 2020c). On the other hand, the universalistic ambition of Polis Religion was partially reconsidered and aspects of the model were adapted to present a Structuralist portrait of the polytheistic society of Athens (cf. PARKER, 2005; 1998).[10] After all, Athens is a major (and well-documented) exception in the vast Greek Mediterranean (FLORENZANO; HIRATA, 2010).

The first criticism to the Polis Religion is regarding the notion of "embeddedness", which circumscribes the model.[11] Kindt (2012) states the evidence of "communal self-

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[9] The author uses evidence of both City Eleusinion and Eleusis and their possible ritual connection since Early Archaic Period as evidence of political dependence of Eleusis towards Athens (cf. SOUVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 25-41).

[10] More recently, and different from my approach, Patera (2020, pp. 686-691) uses the concept of "individualisation" to understand the process of "self-categorisation" of the initiate during Mysteries, though she interprets this process through the intermediation of Eleusinian priests under the authority of the polis.

[11] Kindt identifies the idea of 'embeddedness' from Sourvinou-Inwood's model (1990; 2000) and Burkert's version (1995) comes from Moses Finley's notion of 'embeddedness' in ancient economics (FINLEY, 1973) (KINDT, 2012, p. 16). Furthermore, she reports the idea may also come as an "intrusive concept" from studies on monotheistic religions such as Christianity (KINDT, 2012, p. 16).

representation of social groups in the polis through religious cults", which is both present in Sourvinou-Inwood's and Burkert's models, is not enough to attest that Greek religion was totally dissolved in the polis (KINDT, 2012, p. 17). Although it is possible to state that such religious self-representation can be verifiable in the subdivisions of the polis (demes, phratries, gene), it is not possible to assert that polis coordinates and controls all religious aspects. Greek religion, in its diversity and plurality, was not entirely absorbed by the polis (KINDT, 2012, p. 17-18). There are many examples of religious practices that are beyond the polis. Kindt (2012) cites individual consultations to the oracles at Delphi, Dodona or Didyma, where there was certainly negotiation of the fee between the individual and the priest in charge (KINDT, 2012, p. 18).[12] Even aspects of Eleusinian festivals are negotiated between priestly families and polis officials, as we shall see in further chapters of this thesis.

The polis did not hold control over religious practices and institutions. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990; 2000), inspired by cultural anthropology (Geertz, 1973), seeks to understand Greek religion "as a part of a more general semantics of Greek culture" (KINDT, 2012, p. 18-19). However, collective forms of representation are not indications of social organisation and religious practices, but evidence of the "ancient perceptual filters which have shaped these [religious] symbols and through which they were perceived in their own time" (KINDT, 2012, p. 19). Representations are not fixed entities, but forms of strategy adopted by the ancient Greeks, as we shall see. In short, religious practices within the polis is just a reduced and chronologically delimited part of Greek Religion.

Polis Religion furthermore presents some inconsistencies in its theoretical model. Firstly, having the polis as the gravitational centre of Greek religion produces a mirage of internal coherence and consistency, as a stable entity.[13] As Kindt argues, "the construction of the polis as an internally and chronologically consistent and monolithic symbolic order is a simplification which does not do justice to the internal dynamics of these states." (KINDT, 2012, p. 21). Polis Religion framework is elaborated on Classical Period sources for a Classical Period "model of religion" (5th–4th century B.C.). This factor implies a reductionism for the religious phenomena of the Classical Period, as it is not able to

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[12] The role of the polis as a synthesising unit for Greek experience in the Ancient Mediterranean has been criticised in recent decades by scholars such as Vlassopoulos (2007b; 2009, p. 13-21). See also Florenzano and Hirata (2010) and Aldrovandi *et al.* (2012).
[13] See also Gould (2001), Ober (2005), Versnel (1990; 1993).

encompass the possible continuities and/or ruptures of more distant times or the ongoing processes that will imply or not future developments.

Moreover, Rüpke (2011) understands that the notion of "embeddedness", as implicit in the Polis Religion model, implies the assumption that "all members of ancient societies were in principle equally religious" (RÜPKE, 2011, p. 1). He argues that

> "This basic assumption of a homo religiosus is bound up with the political interpretation of ancient religion: since religion is an unquestioned given, religion is thought to be particularly well-suited to cultivate "collective identities" and to act as instrument for the justification of power. Paradigmatic of this approach is the claim, now historically disproved, that only citizens were entitled to take part in the rituals of the polis. Here the religious actions of individuals take place solely in those niches and predefined spaces permitted by the civic religion, which is in turn created and financed by the dominant social groups." (RÜPKE, 2011, p. 1)

In fact, Polis Religion is not able to address the individual and individual human agency in a consistent and historical way (RÜPKE, 2011). Only individuals linked to the instances of power have relevance in the model, practitioners and spectators are either adjuncts or completely ignored.[14] Besides that, Polis Religion approach is not able to incorporate diverse material culture documented from excavations at sites of sanctuaries and temples throughout the 20th century (RÜPKE, 2011, p. 2-3). The archaeological source was even ignored from the original conception of Polis Religion[15], except for the epigraphic source which has been partially incorporated.[16]

Finally, Polis Religion framework is insufficient to present a plural and diverse framing of ancient Greek religion. It is therefore insufficient for a relational and archaeological approach to Eleusis, Eleusinian Mysteries and other religious and agonistic festivals celebrated on the western border of Attica. Since it does not incorporate

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[14] In Polis Religion, priests and priestesses are "intermediaries", because they intermediate between the citizen and the Polis (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 1990, p. 320-321; SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000, p. 38).
[15] Although not from a relational perspective, Robert Parker not only incorporates the archaeological source but also articulates various types of material culture in his study of Athenian religion (PARKER, 2005).
[16] It is partial because only the texts of inscriptions were incorporated into the Polis Religion framework (especially in SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000). The archaeological support, its stages of appropriation and its placement are totally ignored.

a dynamic notion on "individual", "individuality" and "agency", it is unsuitable to incorporate heterogeneous forms of ritual practices and individual strategies of appropriation, such as in diversified practices of deposition (beyond just sacrifice) or in the practice of *pompé* in the processional landscape between Athens and Eleusis, for example.

In order to overcome the blindspots and shortcomings of this model, a more dynamic, agent-based framework is described for building a relational and material-based approach to the development of Eleusinian sanctuaries (Eleusis and City Eleusinion) through ritual practices by different agents between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C.

1.3. Lived Ancient Religion: an agent-based approach for Ancient Greek Religion

Polis Religion has its theoretical and interpretative limitations as it presents a defined and static model based on a hierarchic and rigid belief-based system, as we have seen in previous subchapters (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 2). In the search for a dynamic model capable of incorporating the complexity of the religious practices of Antiquity, "Lived Ancient Religion" is presented as a promising conception, especially for its agent-based approach and its characteristic as "religion in the making", as it also addresses change and tradition in a dynamic way.[17]

Lived Ancient Religion is then an adaptation of the concept of "lived religion" as developed by Religious Studies scholars who sought a new perspective on marginalised religious practices in urban centres of the United States of America (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 2).[18] The fundamental change was in moving beyond the institutional and dogmatic perspective of religion and focusing more on experiences, expressions, interactions and practices of religions in everyday life. Lived religion holds a perspective on the individual, and

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[17] The most important publications on Lived Ancient Religion can be found at Rüpke (2011; 2019), Raja and Rüpke (2015) and Lichterman *et al.* (2017, p. 3-10), Albrecht *et al.* (2018, p. 568-593). Further developments on Urciouli and Rüpke (2018), Rüpke (2020c) and Rüpke (2021).
[18] In this sense, McGuire (2008), Orsi (1999) and Hall (1998) have been the most influential scholars of 'lived religion' who have developed research from contemporary religious experiences.

"Focuses on what people do, experience and how and whether they ascribe meaning to it. What is conceptualized as religion is the sum and variety of such experiences, actions, beliefs, and communications hinging on human interaction with super-human or even transcendent agent(s), which the Ancient Mediterraneans usually conceptualized as gods. Material symbols, elaborate forms of representation, and ritualisation are called upon for the success of communication with these addresees" (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 2)

"Lived Ancient Religion" was elaborated by scholars from *Max-Weber-Kolleg* under leadership of Prof. Jörg Rüpke between 2012 and 2017.[19] The adaptation of the contemporary concept was intended to elaborate both a new perspective towards ancient religions and to calibrate a methodology for the historical analysis of literary and material sources from Antiquity.

The focus of Lived Ancient Religion is the lived experiences of the individual (human actor). In addition, the objects of study of Lived Ancient Religion include the social networks established by the individual and his or her appropriations of the material world to consolidate his or her relationship with deities.[20] The individual himself, a human actor, is constructed from the processes of *individuation* and *individualisation*. The first refers to how the individual is intersubjectively constituted (*individuation*), while the second refers to how the individual is "shaped by changing forms of communication" (*individualisation*) (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 350-351; cf. FUCHS, 2015).[21] Such conceptualisations of the individual still allow the incorporation of sociological and anthropological notions on 'body' and 'embodiment' from practices such as the use of ornamental objects, special clothing and amulets, dress code, body painting, and so on

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[19] Since then, research in *Max-Weber-Kolleg* has unfolded into two international projects. The International Graduate School (IGS) "Resonant Self–World Relations in Ancient and Modern Socio-Religious Practices" is a cooperation between Universität Erfurt and Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, whose approach is more relational, focused on understanding ritual practices and religious change from the concept of *Resonanz* by Prof. Dr. Hartmut Rosa (2016; 2020), having Prof. Dr. Jörg Rüpke *(Universität Erfurt)* and Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann (Universität Graz) as speakers. The *Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe* (KFG) "Religion and Urbanity: Reciprocal Formations" is an interdisciplinary group with a focus on spatial practices and urbanity from urbanism, religious studies and social space studies, co-lead by Prof. Dr. Jörg Rüpke (Uni-Erfurt) e Prof Dr. Susanne Rau (Uni-Erfurt).

[20] The relationships of human actors with deities were established through the notion of "religious communication" (RÜPKE, 2015). Moreover, "deities" are not something simply given, but they are socially constructed through relationality. This question is further developed in the next chapter.

[21] These processes of individuation and religious individualisation were further discussed at Fuchs *et al.* (2020).

(cf. RAJA; RÜPKE, 2015, p. 10-13; MORGAN, 2015).[22] Religious individualisation is a very relevant conception because it presents the constitution of religious identity from social interaction (formation of groups or networks). Lichterman *et al.* (2019) argues that

> "The formation of groups or of networks is a classificatory enterprise of the individuals involved as well as a strategy of interaction. The concepts of 'culture in interaction' and 'group styles' are central to the approach of 'lived ancient religion'. These concepts allow for theorising situational differences in creating and reproducing religious representations, knowledge and practices - away from public norms and religious specialists in ancient societies that control the conduct of a given set of religious practices by groups and individuals." (LICHTERMAN *et al.*, 2017, p. 3)

The concept of "culture in interaction" means the creative appropriation of "shared set of normativity" between social actors, in which individuals "interpret and use the same codes, discourses or other collective representations differently in everyday settings that are orchestrated in different styles." (LICHTERMAN *et al.*, 2017, p. 3). "Group styles" describes different strategies and plans in which "people group together and coordinate their action" (LICHTERMAN *et al.*, 2017, p. 3). So, a diversified way of representations can be detected by different "modes of speech, texts, selection of objects, dress and gesture, as well as choice of time and place", which is significant to establish groups or classify people (LICHTERMAN *et al.*, 2017, p. 3). More precisely, the formation of groups or networks is also related to creative appropriations individuals make of space. After all,

> "Shared sacred spaces are places where different groups were active. Their different strategies to communicate and to address others offer a layered insight into religious practices of groups on the one hand, and individual appropriations on the other." (LICHTERMAN *et al.*, 2017, p. 7)

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[22] For summary on "embodiment", see Bell (2006, p. 533-544). The category "individual" has also been densely discussed in Archaeology and has been pointing to similar developments. This discussion is described in Knapp and Van Dommelen (2008, p. 15-34).

Lived Ancient Religion perspective opens way for methodological incorporation of the diverse material objects, structures and built environments coming from excavations of archaeological sites, as it can be classified into the socio-material constellations that are established through interaction. Thus, the agency of material objects and environments are fundamental to this agent-based approach.[23] A dynamic interaction between human agents and deities in ritual practices presupposes not only the use of material objects, but the agents themselves (human and non-human) are "shaped by the very material and sensory foundation of these activities" (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 11). According to Rüpke,

> "The architecture of a sacred site must now be viewed with many perspectives, as a material thing with all its constructive and economic details, a social agent inviting people to visit or make a detour, a support for ideological claims to the primacy of a certain deity or its pious followers, and an object figuring in very different biographical, historical or mythical narratives. Things, as a consequence, are no longer seen as being determined by stable (even if unknown) meaning but as elements that are culturally and situationally activated. By being visible, they elicit response." (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 11-12)

As the concept of appropriation (DE CERTEAU, 1984) is very important to Lived Ancient Religion, material objects and the environment are appropriated in circumstantial and historically contingent ways, so they are "unstable" in face of socio-material associations. They are culturally "activated" through strategies established by human actors in communication with their divine addressees during ritual practices (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 12).[24]

Therefore, Lived Ancient Religion offers a new way of analytically incorporating both material objects and social organisation of the sanctuary of Eleusis in daily appropriations and expressive, ritual, and political uses by different agents, as opposed to

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[23] The key concepts and the operational framework of Lived Ancient Religion are developed in the following chapter.
[24] The development of these conceptions is also discussed by Morgan (2010), Raja (2013) and Gaskell (2011, p. 40).

the static and hierarchic frame of Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries towards the Athenian polis. In Lived Ancient Religion perspective, the polis is not interpreted as the institutional authority exerting control over all religious practices, expressions and discourses (Polis Religion), but as instrument of a two-way appropriation adopted by diverse individuals who strategically use official posts, priesthoods, the Council and citizen Assembly and, above all, ritual practices, in order to compose their social networks and establish successful religious communication with deities.

It also offers an analytical tool to frame religious change and transformations of Eleusinian topography and epigraphy from the 6th to the 4th century B.C. in opposition to the a-historical model of Polis Religion. Ruptures and continuities in the material patterns of a long-duration period can best be framed from this perspective. In the next chapter, a complete description of the Lived Ancient Religion framework and its key theoretical concepts are described in order to ground my relational and material-based approach.

CHAPTER 2.
PROPOSAL

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and key concepts to support my relational and material-based approach to the study of Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries. My argument starts from a discussion on networks and assemblages to define the structural *modus operandi* of social interactions. Then, it proceeds to a description of operational concepts which define a Lived Ancient Religion approach and its interpretation of archaeological and textual sources. Finally, the argument of the thesis is exposed based on the theoretical framework proposed in this chapter.

2.1. Networks and assemblages

Network-thinking perspectives are essential for the development of agent-centred approaches, which aims to overcome the theoretical and interpretative limitations presented by the structuralist model of Polis Religion, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Approaches such as Social Network Theory, Social Network Analysis, Actor-Network-Theory have influenced various fields of Humanities, including Archaeology of Ancient Mediterranean and studies on Ancient Greek Religion.[25]

Network thinking inverts the hierarchical and centralised structural model. Instead, it presupposes a social ordering based on the actor and his interaction arrangements with other actors (networks) (EIDINOW, 2011, p. 15). For most network approaches, a node is an "actor", whether be it an individual, a group of individuals, organisations of individuals, institutions, a cluster of institutions and individuals; while edges or lines are established associations between actors (KNOKE; YANG, 2008; EIDINOW, 2011, p. 15). In Actor-Network Theory, Bruno Latour even considers material

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[25] A state of the art of social network approaches does not fit in this chapter. For a summary of its uses in Archaeology, see Mills (2017, p. 379-397), Knappett (2011, p. 53-57) and study cases at Knappett (2013). For Social Network Theory and Archaeology of Ancient Mediterranean, see Malkin (2011) and Malkin *et al.* (2009). For Actor-Network-Theory, see Latour (2007). For application of Social Networks on Ancient Greek Religion, see Eidinow (2011, p. 9-38). For criticism and a different view, see Vlassopoulos (2007a, p. 91-111).

objects as agents (LATOUR, 2007).[26] In fact, his notion on agency has influenced several archaeologists to develop the agency of objects in their practical researches (cf. GOSDEN, 2005, p. 193-211; HODDER, 2012).[27]

This actor-centred perspective enabled the theoretical advances of post-Structuralism to be incorporated in the structural model of network.[28] According to Knappett, network analysis is "a relational rather than 'categorical approach' […], [it brings] a strong focus on interactions, thereby enabling more dynamic and fluid accounts on human socio-material assemblages.'" (KNAPPETT, 2011, p. 57). Moreover, network thinking allows us to consider the production of space from the interaction between different agents, and consequently, from the formation of social networks (KNAPPETT, 2011, p. 9).[29]

These features of network thinking are fundamental to the development of my argument. For this, I adopt both the notion of networks and that of assemblages, because a distinction between the two is relevant to differentiate different types of relations and different conceptions of agency. First, my argument incorporates a broad notion for actors (or agents), including human actors (individuals or groups of individuals), non-humans (sacrificial animals or deities, for example) as well as things (material objects in general). Although they are all considered actors, the agency of non-human actors and material objects is attributed by human actors in my argument, as we will see in more depth in the next item.[30]

Then, the concept of network, pace Actor-Network-Theory (LATOUR, 2007), is used to describe associations between actors that are intentional, consciously stable and non-fortuitous. Network is relevant to highlight all kinds of relationships clearly established between two or more actors based on plans, choices, strategies and

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[26] Droogan (2013, p. 149-174) offers a discussion on the agency of objects as elaborated by Latour (2007) in Archaeology.

[27] See also Raja and Weiss (2015, p. 137-147) and Rüpke (2019, p. 1201-1222). For criticism on Material Turn and its implications for the study of religions, see Sonia Hazard (2013, p. 58-78) and her proposal on New Materialism (HAZARD, 2019, p. 629-631).

[28] I refer to the theoretical impulses promoted by criticisms to Structuralism, which promoted more sophisticated notions on body, embodiment, affect and sensoriality, for example. For this discussion on notion of embodiment, material culture and the study of religion, see Morgan (2015). For incorporation of notions on affect/sensoriality and assemblages' theory, see Hamilakis (2017, p. 169-182).

[29] This debate has been pushed forward since the 1970s with theorists of the so-called "Spatial Turn", such as Foucault (1957) and Lefebvre (1974). For a synthesis of this discussion on Religious Studies, see Morales (2017, p. 216-234) e Knott (2010, p. 29-43).

[30] This concept of agency is grounded through the idea of appropriation (DE CERTEAU, 1984), as incorporated in Lived Ancient Religion approach (RÜPKE, 2015; ALBRECHT *et al.*, 2018, p. 568-593).

negotiations adopted by these agents in social interaction (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 19-50; RIEGER, 2020, p. 51-93).

On the other hand, the concept of assemblages, inspired by some materialist approaches (DELANDA, 2019; HAMILAKIS, 2017, p. 169-182), is relevant in my argument to describe associations between actors that are not fully intentional, but fortuitous and unstable. Thus, the intention is to qualify our argument for a historical analysis, highlighting assemblages formed by historical contingency and which do not always appear as conscious associations for human actors. In this sense, agency is not attributed but distributive, as historical contingency influences and drives actors to establish new relations (and create new networks). Such a conception of assemblages is relevant to attest changes and transformations from political instability, security crises and other social issues.[31] It is also relevant to attest to the possibility of transformative encounters (or resonant relationships[32]). This means that factors such as perception, affect and sensoriality are fundamental to the qualification of assemblages in my argument (HAMILAKIS, 2017, p. 169-182). Although it is not possible to empirically attest to the affection and perception of individuals through historical sources (archaeological and textual)[33], the idea of affordances proposed by Hodder (2012) offers a mechanism for understanding how materiality operates on human senses.[34] Thus, unlike networks, the notion of assemblage functions as a heuristic in my argument rather than an analytical tool.

Networks and assemblages are the way of structuring social relations in my approach to the development of Eleusis and ritual practices on the western border of

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[31] Such as the social instability on the western border of Attica between the period of tyrannies and democracy just before the Cleisthenic Reforms (ca. 508 B.C.); the impact of the Persian Wars in the sanctuary at Eleusis (499 - 449 B.C.), the crisis between Eleusis and Athens during the rule of the Thirty in 404 B.C. These historical contingencies are discussed in Part IV.

[32] Resonant relationships, after sociological term *Resonanz* coined by Hartmut Rosa (2016; 2020), refers to transformative and meaningful encounters between human actor and other actor (human, non-human, materiality, place). In oversimplistic terms, Resonance means a subjective meaningful experience after a transformative encounter which could not be predicted or controlled (*Unverfügbarkeit*). Rüpke discusses the term in ritual studies and its applicability for analysis of ritual practices of Antiquity in his monograph *Ritual als Resonanzerfahrung* (RÜPKE, 2021). For critical receptions of Resonance, see Susen (2019, p. 309-344) and the author's reply at Rosa (2020, p. 1-18).

[33] After all, a fundamental part of the senses (the brain) is inaccessible to any etic analysis (HAMILAKIS, 2013).

[34] Affordances could be defined as "the notion that properties of materials and things afford certain outcomes […]" (HODDER, 2012, p. 48-51).

Attica. The next step however is to frame relevant concepts to highlight how these relationships were established.

2.2. Concepts

In previous section, interaction models (networks and assemblages) and their distinctions were presented as a basis of my argument. In the following items, the guiding concepts of Lived Ancient Religion are described in order to ground a relational and material-based approach to ritual practices in West Attica.

2.2.1. Religious Communication

The main operational scheme of my argument is the notion of religious communication, as elaborated by Rüpke (2015, p. 344-366).[35] This framework starts from the assumption that "communication shares the actor's declared intention to establish a relation with the divine", but which considers this "divine" as a socially constructed actor through communicational scheme (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 28-29).[36] The element of "implausibility" is fundamental to his scheme, since it aims to overcome the Religious Studies' old paradigm, in which the "divine" was something simply given and institutionally reaffirmed (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 348-349). He states that implausibility "[…] refers to the risk envisaged or encountered by actors that their ascriptions of agency do not meet universal approval in the immediate situation or thereafter." (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 349). Thereby, "the divine" is always considered as a "not unquestionably plausible addressee" in (unstable) religious communication (RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1202).[37]

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[35] Religious communication framework is well developed in Rüpke (2018a, 2018b, 2019, 2020b and 2020a) and Rieger (2020). These texts are used as the basis for this section. For earlier and different formulation of "religion as communication", such as that from Niklas Luhmann (2000), are discussed in Beyer (2009, p. 99-114).

[36] See also Rüpke (2006, p. 215-235), Mylonopoulos (2006b, p. 191-208) and Stavrianopoulou (2006).

[37] According to Rüpke, "As the addresse was not as visible or tangible in the interaction as human addressees normally were, the actor's conception of the divine recipient had to be produced and confirmed, their qualities and personality, one of the most important features of religious ritual" (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 29).

In this way, the communicational scheme is triangular: human actors establish communication with their "not unquestionably plausible special" addressees, with the material world as intermediary. Materiality (material objects, altars, temples, sanctuaries) is a highly mediatised agent in the triangular relational dynamic (RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1208). Therefore, material objects have a greater communicative potential and can reach unexpected audiences, such as passers-by and witnessers ("second-order" communication). After all, material objects can be understood as "triggers" of attention, and can activate a series of emotional sensors to afford human experiences and behaviour (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 31; cf. HODDER, 2011, p. 48-51). Through mediation, material objects and built environment can facilitate the production of relevance and certainty, which qualify agents involved in communicational operation (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 29). According to Rieger (2020),

> "the understanding of religion as communication of different agents enables archaeology to usefully focus on the media of such communication – image-objects, motifs and their material, inscriptions, the spatial environment – that are more or less strategically involved establishing relations to the deities. Communication in this context goes beyond a semiotic conception of a message send with a certain meaning to be received and understood by an addressee. This falls short of explaining the variations, complexity and transformations of historical and archaeological sources. Religious communication is inevitably historically contingent and contextually embedded as well as individually experienced." (RIEGER, 2020, p. 56).

The relationality that exists in religious communication allows us to frame material objects and the built environment not by what it presents to us at first glance,[38] but by its transformation through social interaction (relationship) with other agents (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 207-236). For example, a votive figurine found on altar is not simply a votive. It became an *ex-voto* through religious communication, but before that it was an ordinary object sold in a ceramic workshop.[39] Before, the potter extracted clay and

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[38] After all, naming and iconography are stages of appropriation of the material object, rather than its precondition. Language is an essential part of the strategy of religious communication by human agents (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 229).

[39] In Archaeology, this notion was previously suggested by "the cultural biography of objects" by Gosden and Marshall (1999, p. 169-178) and earlier by Kopytoff (1986). According to Gosden and Marshall, "[…]

manufactured the statuette based on artistic knowledge obtained through interaction with other human agents. The figurine became a votive when it entered the communicational scheme between a human agent and its special addressee. When deposited on the altar of a temple[40], the material object (the figurine) produced relevance and certainty to the communicational frame between human agent and its (divine) addressee. It is in the search for these qualities that change/enhancement of forms, designs and improvement in its functionality are made. Therefore, the concept of religious communication offers an analytical tool to investigate "variations, complexity and transformations of historical and archaeological sources" (RIEGER, 2020, p. 56).

The importance of investigating material culture from religious communication framework lies in extracting from archaeological and textual data the stages of appropriation of the material world by different agents (RIEGER, 2020; RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1203-1205). Especially elements such as form, quality, discourses, historical and archaeological contexts. After all, religious communication is an individual experience which

> "depends on individual predispositions (informed by experiences, knowledge, habits, social habitus, expectations etc.) and leads to modifications, adaptations and variations of what could be transmitted, received and understood" (RIEGER, 2020, p. 57-58)

Such variations and traces of individual appropriations can be evidenced in material objects and the built environment, as I argue throughout chapters in Part III and IV. The relational perspective provided by the framework of religious communication offers a way to frame the vast material culture in a more dynamic model for Ancient Greek Religion.

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things could not be fully understood at just one point in their existence and processes and cycles of production, exchange and consumption had to be looked at as a whole." (GOSDEN; MARSHALL, 1986, p. 170).

[40] It is not a simple deposition though, but a deposition done through a religious action (ritualisation) (BELL, 2009; BELL, 1997). See also Rüpke (2019, p. 225-228; RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 32-35). This aspect is further developed in next item.

2.2.2. Ritualisation

In the previous item, religious communication was presented as the main framework of my argument. But how and in which contexts is religious communication established?

Firstly, all religious communication between a human actor and its (divine) addressee is established through religious action. But what differs religious action from everyday action? The primary distinction of religious action (i.e., through religious communication) with respect to ordinary action is that it confers relevance and certainty to the addressee (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 32).[41] In this sense, material objects and built environment, as intermediaries, play a key role in promoting relevance to divine addressees. After all, material objects like statuettes, vases, lamps, and structures like altars and temples, turn the communicational process special with their physical and sensorial markers (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 225).[42] Secondly, religious action is performed in rituals that rely on a material apparatus to improve their chances for successful religious communication, be it prayers, votive practices, sacrifices, processions, pilgrimages, initiations, etc. Therefore, there is very important element of "uncertainty" in religious communication.

Rituals are not fixed cultural entities though, but practices in transformative motion (ritualisation) (BELL, 2009). As practices, rituals are historic and experienced individually, which means material objects and built environment are appropriated by different agents in their communication with divine addressees. This means that body decoration, the use of garments and festive clothes can be understood as markers of an action through religious communication (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 32). The practice of music during rituals with the use of musical instruments, execution of chants, reproduction of hymns, as well as theatricality and dramatisation through performance, are also resources adopted by human agents during ritual practices to enhance religious communication (CHANIOTIS, 2011, p. 263-290; RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 33).[43]

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[41] Based on "specialness" as developed by Taves (2009).
[42] This debate on "ritual as a practice" and its impact on Archaeology is summarized by Fogelin (2007, p. 55-71).
[43] See also Kubatzki for musical performances in processions (KUBATZKI, 2016, p. 1-17; KUBATZKI, 2013).

In ritual practices, individuals and groups of individuals appropriate material objects and space through performance.[44] Thus, religious action mobilized in material objects and ritual practices "give the divine a concrete, located presence. [...] [ritual practice] turns to be a spatial practice that established and reshaped space, thus sacralising it and attracting further practices to these 'sacred spaces', 'sanctuaries' […]" (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 225).[45] Social actors who experience successful religious communication tend to create memories of transformative encounters, strengthening the relationships established and seeking to repeat experiences (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 39).[46] Therefore, the habitualisation of such practices tend to produce patterns of repetition (and sometimes disruption and "changed patterns"), which are traceable in historical and archaeological sources (RIEGER, 2020, p. 60). According to Rieger (2020, p.60),

> "if ritualization is fostered by repetition (and a creative adaptation of such repetition), this is reflected by patterns – but at the same time their disruption – in find situations and in iconographic, spatial, formal, stylistic, or material expressions. Patterns, then, also reflect habits. The creativity of human agents to adapt a set of practices and habits according to changed situations is marked by changed patterns."

The recursive character of ritual practices is relevant to attest the maintenance and rejection of patterns through archaeological sources such as topography or epigraphy, as I present them in Parts III and IV. As they are also spatial practices, ritual practices in a sanctuary or everyday socio-religious practices in a region like Attica occurred under various patterns and variations of these patterns over the centuries. Thus, it is possible to identify agencies of different actors from a refinement of the methodology with textual and archaeological sources.

2.2.3. Agency

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[44] For a discussion on performance, see Grimes (2006, p. 379-394).
[45] Based on Elsner (2012, p. 1-26). See also Mylonopoulos (2006a, p. 69-110).
[46] Moreover, ritualisation implies self-reflexity. As it is a practice, relationships established through religious communication are always "religion in the making" (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 35-38).

The conception of "actors" (or "agents") was already defined as well as how the notion of religious communication works in my argument. But how do agencies of different actors operate? And how do we identify them?

Since actors can be human, non-human and material objects, then there is a differentiated conception for each respective category of agency. Here, I follow Rüpke's reading of Emirbayer and Mische's concept (RÜPKE, 2015; EMIRBAYER; MISCHE, 1998, p. 962-1023), in which human agency can be summarized as

> "the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (EMIRBAYER; MISCHE, 1998, p. 970)

This conception considers creativity, imagination and resilience as fundamental factors for human agency, since human acts in order to search for a solution to a problem posed. This conception of agency is relevant to detect plans, strategies and solutions presented by different human actors. According to Rüpke,

> "[…] time and again the individual faces situations which simply cannot be treated in preconceived ways and be addressed by employing and referencing established strategies and meanings. In fact, it is precisely within the course of action, performed in order to solve an imminent problem, that aims, strategies and meanings are further developed or modified since the acting person is always part of a social context with other agents and traditions of action." (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 351).

Therefore, agency is historically contingent, as human agents acts in response to problems created by social interaction. According to Rüpke (2020b, p. 1204), human agency is developed in three temporal levels: (1) "schematizations", (2) "hypotheses" and (3) "contextualizations". In this order, the agent elaborates routines based on past actions,

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measures the consequences of his actions, and assesses the situation in the social context (RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1204).[47] After all, human actors do not simply have agency, but "act agentically when dealing with the structural context" (a network, for instance) (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 351).[48]

As mentioned earlier, religious agency is created out of a religious action done by human agents, conferring 'specialness' on non-human actors, particularly deities (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 351-352; cf. TAVES, 2009). So, agency of "special addressees" is attributed by human individuals who act agentically within their network. But what about intermediaries? How do the agency of objects and places work?

The agency of material objects and places is essential to my argument. As material objects and places fit as "media" (intermediaries) in the religious communication framework, they possess agency attributed by human actors. However, "by their form or very presence they make humans re-act, [they] 'afford' certain behaviour." (URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 126). Agency of objects "goes further than structuralist or symbolist concepts of indwelling syntax or ideological meaning being patterned with the built material world" (DROOGAN, 2013, p. 151). Material objects are agents in interaction chain with human agents because they have the property of affording certain behaviour due to their material and sensorial constraints (HODDER, 2012, p. 48-52).[49] So, it is possible to say that material objects and places have their "own" agency, because their characteristics, material constraints and stimuli reach a much larger and varied (and not often expected) audience.[50]

2.2.4. Appropriation

Appropriation is another key concept to my argument. Drawing from the concept elaborated by Michel de Certeau (DE CERTEAU, 1984; 1998) and incorporated into the notion of Lived Ancient Religion, "appropriation" is a term that is "implicit in the notion

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[47] See also Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 975-993).
[48] Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 1004) resumes as "the actors engage agentically with their structuring environments".
[49] The notion of material "affordances" was first discussed in Archaeology by Knappet (2005) and Ingold (2000) and earlier by Gibson (1986).
[50] Based also on Gosden (2005, p. 193-211), Rüpke (2020b, p. 1201-1222) and Rieger (2020, p. 51-93).

of agency" (RÜPKE, 2019, p. 3). The idea presupposes a distinction from the simple meaning of 'use' ("a one-way transmission"), it emphasizes a process in which both agents of appropriation are affected ("a potentially two-way process"), whereby "exchange and creative response may take place" (ASHLEY, PLESCH, 2002, p. 6).[51]

In general, the term appropriation designs a bi-directional transformation between human actors and their intermediaries (material things, space, language, and so on), "whereby the former agentically adopt and adapt the latter by gaining power and/or stressing identity via and over them." (URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 127-128). Within religious communication framework, this notion relates not only to the relationship of human actors with material objects, but also to their relationship with space (built or natural environment):

> "Like any other cultural practice, religious communication engages with space, in general, and urban space, in particular, in ways that can be described as 'apropriation'. Preceded by a selection, this use recognises and accepts the character of spaces as defined by previous, common or prescribed usages, but it also modifies the space through performance and thus changes the future memory of the place." (URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 128)

Therefore, it also underlines on the creative process of how human actors relate to the material world (cultural environment and material objects).

2.2.5. Social space

The notion of 'social space' is also central to my relational approach to the social development of the Eleusinian sanctuaries between the 6th to the 4th century B.C., including their built environment. Seeking to overcome a "Cartesian" notion of space exclusively focused on the physical transformation of space, I adopt a conception of

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[51] According to Ashley and Plesch (2002), "appropriation" had a negative meaning in Cultural Studies. This two-way process meaning was developed by Post-Colonial Studies (ASHLEY; PLESCH, 2002, p. 1-15).

"space" as a product and an agent constructed through social interaction between different actors.[52] In a nutshell, space is transformed by and through social interaction at the same time it acts upon agents through socio-material interaction. Therefore, it is *spatialisation*.

Henri Lefebvre's notions (1974) on "perceived space", "conceived space" and "lived space" are important to amplify and complexify how space is appropriated by different agents and, recursively, how it acts agentially on different agents and "affords" human behaviour endowed with materiality and sensorial stimuli. (LEFEBVRE, 1974; URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 127).[53] Urciuoli and Rüpke (2018) summarise this:

> "Whereas perceived space describes spatial practices that reproduce a spatial order (in the case of the urban, by mapping daily routines onto the established blueprints of everyday urban reality), and conceived space refers to the intellectually worked out dominant conceptions of space (e.g., that of the urban planners, social engineers, and administrative authorities), lived space highlights the human aspirational capacity to imagine space differently, to overlay it with unanticipated systems of symbols and signs, in a word: to change its use and appropriate it." (URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 127)

In this sense, all described concepts are fundamental for drawing up framework to transformations of social space and organisation based on the agency of different actors. In religious communication framework, space is a highly mediated intermediary of communication between human actors and their "divine" addressees (RÜPKE, 2020c).[54] Religious communication is established by different actors through ritualisation and this can be fostered by a recursive character (habitualisation), creating and undoing (material) patterns. This is also a spatial practice. In my argument, space can then be defined as an environment imbued with devices and triggers indicative of past

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[52] The notion of social space has been incorporated and developed in Archaeology over the last few decades, especially after the impact of discussions from the "Spatial Turn". This discussion between archaeologists was summarised by Ashmore (2002, p. 1172-1183). Further development was made in Archaeology of Landscape, especially by Ashmore and Knapp (2002). For a review, see Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick (2001).

[53] Knott also discusses the impact of "Spatial Turn" in Religious Studies (2008; 2010) as well as Agelidis (2017b, p. 230-248) discusses it on Archaeology of Ancient Mediterranean. Both were relevant to sketch my approach.

[54] Also based on the notion of "place-making" in Rüpke (2020c, p. 49-51).

experiences and memories of successful religious communication. This is the result of processes of appropriation by different actors, but which, in return, possesses the capacity to "afford" social behaviour.

After all, ritual practice is also spatio-temporal practice (RÜPKE, 2020c, p. 48-51). This theoretical background is the basis for the elaboration of chapters of Part III and Part IV.

2.3. Argument: a relational and material-based approach

The theoretical framework and key concepts outlined in this chapter are the operational background of this relational and material-based approach to ritual practices in Eleusis and West Attica from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.

My argument is built on a critique of the theoretical model of Polis Religion, in which Eleusis and its ritual practices appear reduced to a minor category and overshadowed by the authority of the polis (SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2000). I argue it also presented a static and undynamic view regarding different agents in the social development of Eleusis and the western border of Attica throughout the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. On the other hand, traditional archaeological bibliography relates the development of Eleusis between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C., especially with emphasis on the enlargement and transformation of the sanctuary, to the achievement of prominent Athenian leaders such as Peisistratus and Pericles (cf. MYLONAS, 2009), either by the overvaluation of these figures in textual source or simply by the chronological framing of building phases of the sanctuary.[55]

In order to present a relational and material-based approach, my argument is built on the elaboration of a theoretical framework capable of satisfactorily incorporating the vast archaeological documentation of Eleusinian sanctuaries (Eleusis and City Eleusinion) and interpreting them by the perspective of appropriation by different agents.

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[55] I am referring to the chronological framework elaborated by archaeologists who excavated the archaeological site of Eleusis throughout the 20th century after great Athenian leaders in nomenclatures such as "Solonian Telesterion", "Peisistratean Telesterion", "Periklean Telesterion" for instance. See Noack (1927), Mylonas (2009) and Cosmopoulos (2015). The discussion on topography after excavations is elaborated on Chapter 4.

In this way, the notion of religious communication is adopted as the main operational scheme of my approach, because it allows establishing how different human agents establish religious communication with their divinities from appropriations of material objects, places and discourses (RÜPKE, 2015). Such relations established through (unstable) communication are done through ritual practices, which confer relevance and certainty on non-human addressees and intermediaries when habitualised (BELL, 2009; RÜPKE, 2020b). This relevance can be empirically traced in the archaeological source, as such "intermediaries" are endowed with characteristics, forms, procedures, stimuli and devices that are able to 'afford' human behaviour (RÜPKE, 2020a; RIEGER, 2020). Thus, human agents establish religious communication with their special addressees by appropriating the material world. For this, individuals act from plans, strategies, negotiations when constituting their networks among other individuals. Since experience from ritual practices is "historically contingent and individually lived" (RIEGER, 2020), human agents and their networks are subject to historical contingency when fortuitous and non-intentional assemblages entail new challenges and problems.

As we have seen, ritual practices are also considered spatial practices in my argument. In this way, it is possible to attest change and transformation in built spaces and socio-religious practices from different agents and reframe topographies of Eleusis between the sixth and fourth century B.C.

PART II. MATERIAL AND METHODS

CHAPTER 3.
ORGANIZATIONAL CRITERIA AND METHODOLOGY

This brief chapter aims to present the organizational criteria of the material and textual sources, indicating methodological choices and the adoption of formalities. Furthermore, considerations on methodology and the critical reading of the secondary bibliography were made to fulfil the objectives of this research. Finally, this text also presents to the reader how sources were processed for preparation of the by-products of this doctoral thesis, such as maps, photographs, the archaeological plans and tables at Appendices.

Firstly, the spatial frame of this research was circumscribed to the landscape of West Attica, including the sanctuary of Eleusis on the western border and the City Eleusinion near the Athenian Agora (to the west of the Acropolis). It also includes structures and buildings bordering The Sacred Way (*Hiera Hodos*) from Athens to Eleusis. The criteria for this choice took into consideration the organisational model adopted for the administration of the sanctuary at Eleusis and its festivals[56], the landscape of the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries[57], of the other festivals in honour of Eleusinian deities and the everyday uses of these built or natural spaces.[58] In addition, social actors from other regions of Attica were considered in order to record the flows of individuals in the social construction of their relationships with agents engaged with the organization of the sanctuary and festivals at Eleusis. Second, the temporal frame is delimited from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth century B.C., because one of the aims of this doctoral thesis is to present a relational perspective on these major social and political transformations in Attica with a focus on the sanctuary of Eleusis and the western border. Although the focus is on the three centuries mentioned above, considerations of the earlier or later period are occasionally highlighted in order to reflect on continuities and ruptures.

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[56] Eleusis and the City Eleusinion of Athens were jointly administered by priests and priestesses appointed by the families of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes and by polis officials (*epimeletes*, *epistatai*, for example).

[57] The connection between City Eleusinion and Eleusis in the context of Eleusinian procession is very evident in textual and material sources, since the procession departs from one place to another annually. Also relevant are the roadside sanctuaries of the Sacred Way (*Hiera Hodos*), such as the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios and Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros.

[58] Besides the Eleusinian Mysteries, religious and agonistic festivals of Eleusis are also mentioned, such as the Thesmophoria, Haloa, Skira, Proerosia and Eleusinia. A table with the calendar of religious and agonistic festivals of Attica has been arranged to situate the reader, since it also shows relationships with the Gregorian Calendar (Appendix A).

As argued in Part I, "space" and "spatial practices" in their broad socioreligious sense are key elements for the construction of my argument. In this sense, two archaeological sources were fundamental to this research: topography and epigraphy.

Data relating to the ancient topography were organised from excavation reports, complete results, and subsequent critical reviews. In this sense, the secondary bibliography is presented to introduce the reader to the debate on the ancient topography of the Eleusinian sanctuaries and its implications for the historiography of archaeological research. Thus, the topographical data are presented in an overview way in Chapter 3 and deepened in chapters of Part III and Part IV. As a complement, a table with the main constructional interventions in the Eleusinian sanctuaries (Eleusis and City Eleusinion) presents the reader with a quick guide to the development of topography (APPENDIX B). The data concerning epigraphy were organised from published material, such as epigraphic catalogues[59], traditional *compendia*[60] and discussion after secondary bibliography[61]. However, a repertory with 47 (forty-seven) selected inscriptions was prepared in order to process the epigraphic information and support the discussions along chapters. The selection criteria for inscriptions took into consideration those published and displayed in the sanctuary of Eleusis and the City Eleusinion between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C.[62] Thus, inscriptions and the archaeological data concerning the material support were organized in the Epigraphic Repertoire (APPENDIX D). Inscriptions mentioned in the text are identified from the nomenclature of Clinton's catalogue (2005a) and entry number of my Epigraphic Repertoire [Ex.: I Eleusis 10 (**No. 3**)]. Furthermore, this research considered topographic data and epigraphy as complementary sources, since I explored the communicational and spatial dimension of inscriptions.[63]

Finally, information from "minor" materiality (vases, statuettes and small structures) and from textual source (ancient authors) were processed as a complement for

[59] The catalogues prepared by Clinton (2005a, 2005b, 2008) were used as a basis. However, other earlier catalogues are also used.

[60] I refer to the IG (*Inscriptiones Graecae*) and the SEG (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*).

[61] In this sense, I also consider Digital Humanities projects and research resources available at websites such as the excellent AIO (Attic Online Inscriptions) (AIO, 2023), organised by Stephen Lambert and team (University of Cardiff), and the CGRN (Collection of Greek Ritual Norms) (CGRN (2023)), organised by researchers at the *Université de Liège*.

[62] Inscriptions installed in other parts of Attica have not been included in the repertory, but they appear in the text as complementary or comparative indications. Complementary bibliography is given in all of them. Very fragmentary inscriptions have not been included either. For details on Epigraphic Repertoire, see Chapter 5 and Appendix D.

[63] This discussion is elaborated in Chapter 5.

discussion of the development and production of topography and epigraphic practices between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. In this sense, data were obtained from publications such as catalogues and discussion papers presented in periodicals. Furthermore, Digital Humanities resources aided in processing textual source information[64], such as ToposText, Perseus Digital Library, Perseus Under Philologic, and Nausitoo.[65] A table with textual source mentions on places and ritual practices of Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries is presented in Appendix C.

This doctoral thesis also presents some products of my authorship that complements the reading. Firstly, images from the author's photographic collection after study travels to Greece in the years 2014, 2016 and 2021 were used to support the processing of data and sketching arguments. They are mainly photographs of the archaeological site of Eleusis, in Elefsina (Attiki), and of the archaeological objects of Museums.

Georeferenced maps were prepared in QGIS3 software from remote sensing data extracted from NASA EarthData.[66] Thus, georeferenced maps were prepared for the topography of West Attica, the topography of the Sacred Way (*Hiera Hodos*) between Athens and Eleusis and a land elevation analysis indicating the main archaeological sites, sanctuaries, temples, and topographical features (See PLATES – I. Georeferenced Maps). In addition to the use of remote sensing data, the cartography was based on data from the secondary bibliography which were referenced in each map. Finally, this research also presents archaeological plans made from modification of previous archaeological plans in Image Editor softwares. The plan with building phases prepared by John Travlos (1988) [After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13)] has been modified to produce archaeological plants that fulfil two objectives. Firstly, a group of plans with isolated building phases with the aim of offering the reader an adequate view of what the sanctuary

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[64] This doctoral thesis adopts the abbreviation norm for ancient sources of Oxford Classical Dictionary (OXFORD CLASSICAL DICTIONARY ABBREVIATIONS, 2023).

[65] ToposText is a project from Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, which presents "an indexed collection of ancient texts and mapped places relevant the the history and mythology of the ancient Greeks from the Neolithic period up through the 2nd century CE" (TOPOSTEXT, 2023). The project Perseus Digital Library (2023) from Tufts University holds a digital library of ancient texts. Perseus Under Philologic (2023) is a project from University of Chicago for reading Ancient Greek and consulting etymologies. Nausitoo (2023) is a visual databank of all Greek poleis from the Laboratory on Studies of Ancient City from Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (University of São Paulo), which reunites information and images from bibliography in a georeferenced map.

[66] Especially from the use of the sensor *The Terra Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer* (ASTER Global DEM 30m) which produces digital elevation data and models for map making with relief data and natural features like rivers, streams and lagoons.

looked like in the period under discussion. Then, another group confronts different building phases of the same period (Classical Period, for example) in order to offer the reader a clear example of the development of building phases. These sanctuary plans are available at Plates (II. Archaeological plans).

A glossary with terms in ancient Greek referring to rituals, officials of Eleusis and Athens, Eleusinian priests and priestesses, Greek architecture, subdivisions of Attica, name for buildings and epigraphic terms were prepared in order to offer support to the non-specialist reader in Archaeology and History of Ancient Greece (See GLOSSARY).

CHAPTER 4.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DATA

This chapter presents the topography of Western Attica after archaeological, epigraphic and textual sources, which comprises areas from Eleusinian sanctuaries and festivals. So, the topographical frame comprises the whole landscape of the Thriassion plain and the Athenian basin, as well as mountain ranges that surround them and the coastline in front of the Saronic Gulf (**Plate 1**). This includes archaeological sites at Eleusis, Athens and at the Sacred Way, which connects both places through the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries.

4.1. The geological formation of West Attica

The central plain of Attica, also known as Athens Basin, is bounded by Mount Pentelikon to the north-east and by Mount Hymettos to the east, where the finest marble had been extracted along the centuries, and by mostly limestone-formed Mount Poikilon/Aigaleon to the west (**Plate 1**). A gentle passage between Mount Poikilon and Mount Aigaleon connects the Athens Basin to the Thriassion Plain, which is surrounded by Mount Parnes to the north, Mount Pateras to the west, Mount Kerata to the south-west and the Eleusinian Bay to the south in face of Salamis Island (**Plate 2**) (HIGGS; HIGGS, 1996, p. 26). The plains were floored by alluvium and Pleistocene sediments, while surrounding mountains have rocky formation, being especially rich in white and grey marble and limestone (Fig. 1). Few rivers cut the landscape, but they were especially relevant during Antiquity, such as Kephissos River and Eridanos River. The coastline, which cuts across a considerable part of the Attic territory, has always been appropriate for building good harbours, which was paramount to the Athenian success in trade and communication during the 5th century BC (PAGA, 2016, p. 179).
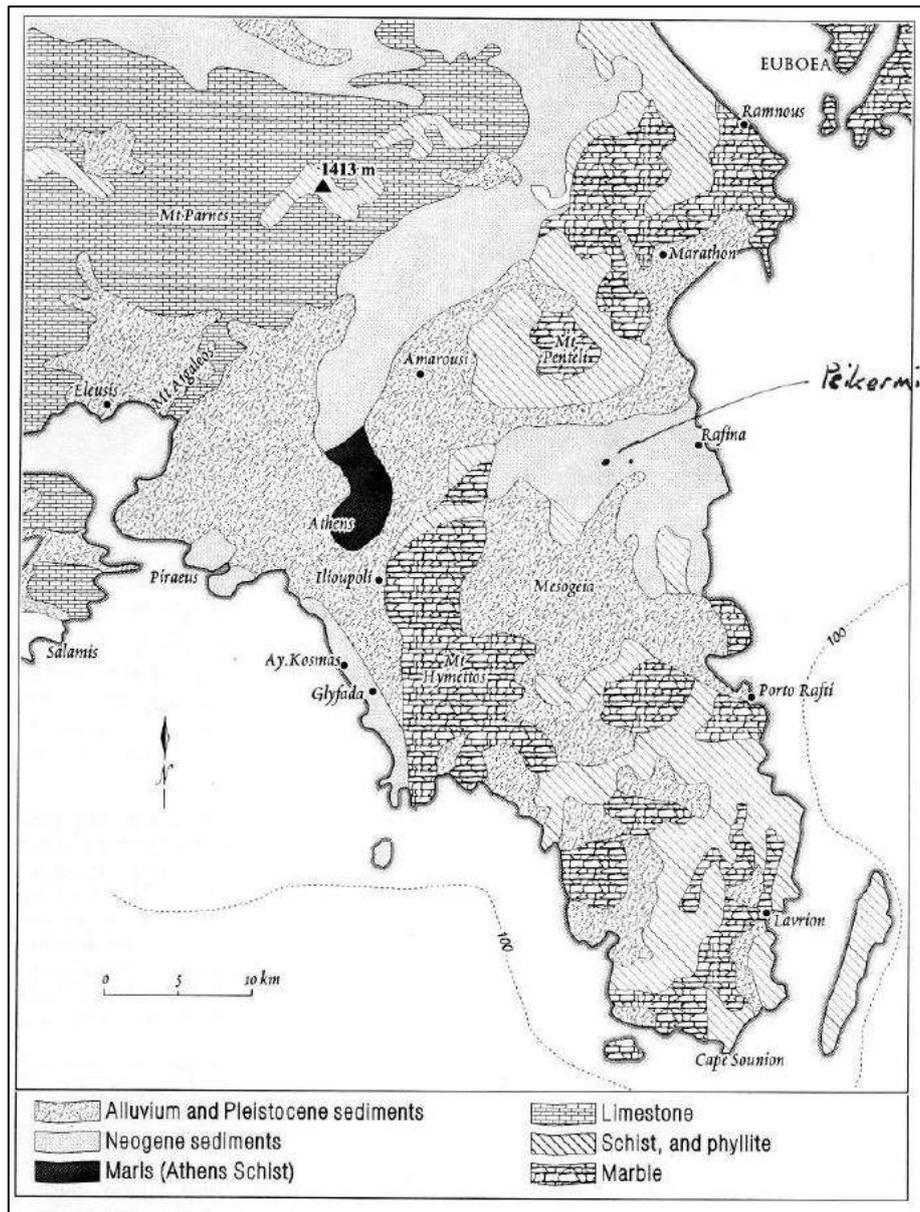
Fig. 1 The Geological formation of Attica (After Higgs; Higgs, 1996, p. 27).

The soil on Attic territory is historically unsuitable to agriculture and breeding, except for relatively flat areas in Thriassion Plain and to the east of Mount Hymettos (PAGA, 2016, p. 179). However, the cultivation of olives and grapes were not only abundant, but they detain a meaningful value to the ancient Greek culture and imaginary. Also of great importance is the plentiful existence of potter's clay supplies, to which Athenians could develop and improve their craft in pottery (HIGGS; HIGGS, 1996, p. 26).

The ancient Eleusis was located on a low hill of Late Cretaceous limestone at the southern part of Thriassion Plain, which is a Neogene sedimentary basin that lies south

of Mount Parnes and west of Mount Poikilon/Aigaleos (**Plates 2 and 5**). The acropolis, on which the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is located, is a 63-meter hill composed of pale-yellow to grey limestone and marl. The Eleusinian limestone has low-porosity biomicritic characteristics and was formed during the Mesozoic Period. It has been quarried since the Bronze Age for buildings at Eleusis (Megaron B, parts of Telesterion and fortified peribolos walls) and other sites (Delphi, Olympia and Athens) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 32-33). Water springs and shallow wells, such as the sacred Kallichoron well, were formed around the edge of the hill from absorption of rainwater (HIGGS; HIGGS, 1996, p. 31).

4.2. Eleusis

The archaeological site of Eleusis has been systematically excavated since the end of the 19th century by Archaeological Society of Athens (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 37-39). Before that, it was visited by travellers since the 13th century, who were responsible for documenting the first architectural and epigraphic findings (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 9-12).[67] The first archaeological interventions at the sanctuary of Eleusis were made by the expeditions of the Society of Dilettanti and published in *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica: comprising the Architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus* (1833). Under the direction of Sir William Gell, these antiquarians were responsible for archaeological interventions in areas of the outer courtyard and the Telesterion in the bucolic village of Elefsina. They also sketched the first ground plan of the Telesterion of Eleusis (SOCIETY of DILETTANTI, 1833, plate 5).

After the Independence of Greece in 1830 and the foundation of the Archaeological Society at Athens (*Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία*) in 1837, the village of Elefsina was visited by François Lenormant, responsible for compiling the first

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[67] Eleusis was visited by the following modern travellers: Niccolò da Martoni (1395); Cyriacus d'Ancona (1436); Monsieur des Monceaux (1668), Sir George Wheler and Dr. Jacques Spon (1675); John Montague (1738); Julien Le-Roy (1755); Philippides and Constantas (1791); Scrofani (1795); Olivier (1798); Richard Chandler and Nicholas Revett in the first expedition of Society of Dilettanti (1765-1766); Edward D. Clarke (1801); Edward Dodwell (1804); Chateaubriand (1806); Sir William Gell (1806); John Cam Hobhouse (1809-1811); Sir William Gell, John P. Grandy and Francis Redford in the second expedition of Society of Dilettanti (1812), Pouqueville (1815), François Lenormant (1860) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 34-37; LIPPPOLIS, 2006, p. 39-54; JUDEICH, 1897, p. 430-443). For a summary of Antiquarian excavations at Eleusis, see Mylonas (2009, p. 7-9) and Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 34-37). I also published a paper on the Antiquarian research in Eleusis (PERISSATO, 2021).

stone inscriptions (LENORMANT, 1862). He also published the first monograph on The Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis in 1864, in which he compares spatial references made by Pausanias in the 2nd century AD with remaining monuments on the Sacred Way (LENORMANT, 1864).

Systematic excavations at Eleusis took place under the direction of Demetrios Philios in 1882.[68] With the assistance of the German architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Philios excavated the central area of the sanctuary, in particular the archaic phases of the Telesterion and the fourth century Stoa of Philon (PHILIOS, 1889).[69] In 1894, Andreas Skias took over the direction of the excavations and continued the exploration of the Telesterion area, the Late Classical area in the south area and Bronze age remains next to the Eleusinian hill (SKIAS, 1912; COSMOPOULOS, 2015, P. 38). Between 1917 and 1945, Konstatinos Kourouniotes took over the excavation work at Elefsina and published research results concerning a considerably large part of the sanctuary (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, P. 38). Meanwhile, Ferdinand Noack published his research on the sanctuary of Eleusis in 1927. His book became the first reference work on the sanctuary of Eleusis, presenting the main archaeological plans and stratigraphic profiles (NOACK, 1927). Between 1945 and 1988, George Mylonas took over as director of the archaeological site and continued archaeological exploration with support from John Travlos, John Threpsiadis and Anastasios Orlandos (MYLONAS, 2009, P. 12-13). Mylonas published the most important archaeological reference work on Eleusis in 1961 (MYLONAS, 2009), while John Travlos compiled his architectural plans and archaeological drawings in his *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika* (TRAVLOS, 1988). The works of these authors are still fundamental references for the archaeological study of Eleusis.[70]

From 1988 to the present date, the Third Ephoreia of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture under the direction of Kalliope Papangeli took over the management of the

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[68] For a summary of the systematic excavations at Eleusis, see Mylonas (2009) and Cosmopoulos (2015).
[69] Philios also "unearthed part of Periklean Peribolos wall, base of statues of the Roman period, the Peisistratean Gate H24, the curved Geometric and Archaic retaining walls E5 and Z with remains of ritual pyres of the Late Geometric and early Archaic periods, the foundation K16 and K17 of a platform in front of the east side of the Telesterion, and the Kimonian Gate F5." (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 37).
[70] Moreover, it is important to mention the review of archaeological data and interpretation done by Italian archaeologists such as Enzo Lippolis (2006) and Tommaso Serafini (2019). The *Annuario* of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens (SAIA) also remain as an important journal of publication and review of archaeological sites of Attica. Besides that, SAIA published an archaeological review of the topography of Athens and Attica in the series SATAA (*Studi di Archeologia e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica*) under organization of Prof. Dr. Emanuele A. Greco, the former director of SAIA, between 2008 and 2014.

archaeological site of Eleusis and has been conducting rescue researches in the urban area, which are adjacent to the sanctuary of Eleusis (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011).[71]

The excavations carried out throughout the 20th century revealed a complex archaeological site with various stratigraphies and built phases. Furthermore, a large quantity of material objects such as ceramics, metal objects and stone objects with inscriptions were found in association with these stratigraphic phases (from Proto-Geometric to the Late Roman Period). In the following sections I describe buildings and building phases of the time frame between the sixth and fourth century BC.

Building phases

Late Archaic Period (590 – 510 B.C.)

Archaeological research has attested a substantive transformation of the topography of Eleusis during the 6th century BC. The expansion of both the peribolos wall and the internal terrace opened space to shelter two pyres (Pyre B and Pyre Γ) and the first Telesterion, according to interventions by Kourouniotes and Mylonas (1933, p. 180).[72] The drawing by Noack illustrates the development of the terrace from late 7th century to 4th century B.C., demonstrating its function of planning the land for the construction of new buildings (Fig. 3) (NOACK, 1927, p. 9).[73] Noack also interprets this early terrace as a platform for an altar and open-air celebration of Mysteries (NOACK, 1927, p. 10). However, this interpretation was challenged by later archaeological interventions in the Bronze Age stratigraphic layer, which indicated the presence of an earlier temple (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 57). This terrace had the purpose of supporting the new temple to Demeter and Kore (earlier Telesterion - Archaic Phase I, **Plate 7 and Plate 12**) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 139).

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[71] Between 1994 and 1996, Michael Cosmopoulos took over the research with the Bronze Period stratigraphic phase and published his results in two books recently (COSMOPOULOS, 2014b; COSMOPOULOS, 2015).

[72] Descriptions could also be found at Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 139), Mylonas (2009, p. 55-56), Palinkas (2008, p. 55), Noack (1927, p. 16-23). See also Van den Eijnde (2019).

[73] Although later archaeological data have left his scheme somewhat outdated, Noack's stratigraphic profile remains relevant for the classical layers. See also Lippolis (2006, p. 163-176) and Mylonas (2009, p. 57-59). Recently, new data from Bronze age layer was presented by Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 43-128).

The first archaic phase of the Telesterion, also known as "Solonian Telesterion"[74], was built in the first half of 6th century BC. In rectangular shape, it was placed in northeast-southwest orientation and measured 24m x 15,5m (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 139; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 67-70) (Fig. 2; **Plate 12**).[75] According to Mylonas (2009, p. 68), "no traces of interior supports were found within the building, nor any other indications suggesting its interior arrangements", but a hypothetical inner columned is recently considered by Serafini (2019, p. 133). Its doorway was probably located in the northeast side in front of arriving point of the Sacred Way (SERAFINI, 2019, P. 133). The hypothesis of an *anaktoron* in this phase is still hypothetical, but wall evidences indicate inner division of the hall, which slightly corresponds to the placement of later *anaktora* (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 69; SERAFINI, 2019, p. 133).
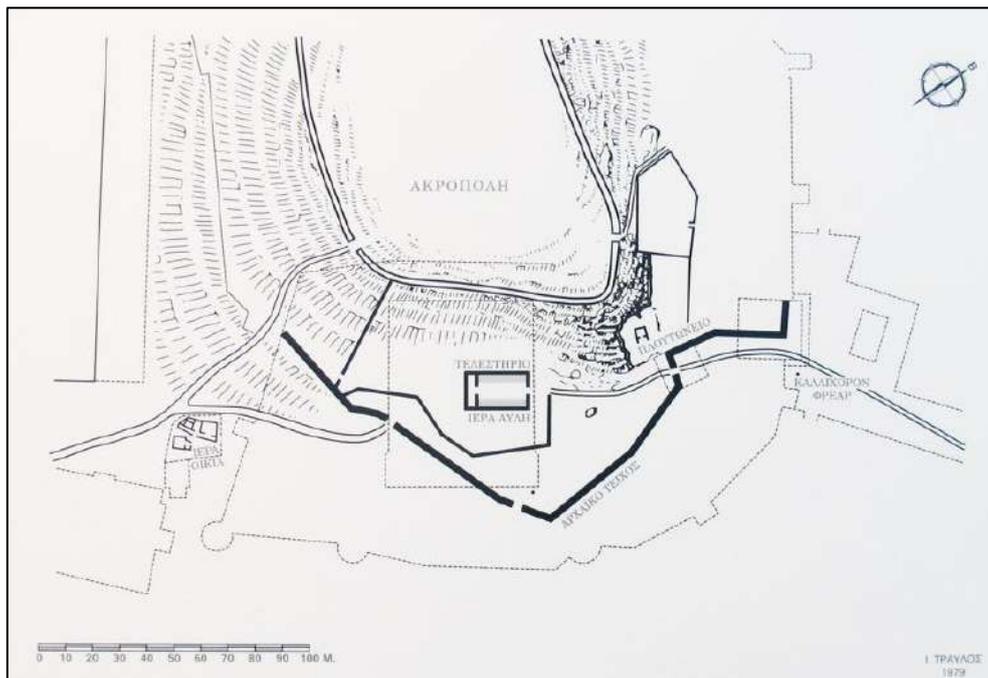
Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Eleusis in the 6th century B.C. (The Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion).
Source: Travlos, 1988.

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[74] The archaeological bibliography on Eleusinian topography traditionally assigns buildings and built interventions to leading political figures, such as Peisistratus, Pericles, or Lycurgus. But that do not necessarily correspond to authorship, benefaction or part of a building program. I adopted a neutral nomenclature throughout this thesis (Late Classical Period rather than Lycurgian Period, for example). I elaborate on this question in the introduction to Part III.

[75] For more details of Archaic Phase I (also known as Solonian Telesterion), archaeological descriptions were recently summarized by Serafini (2019, p. 133) and Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 139). Original descriptions and findings were made especially by Mylonas (2009, p. 67-70), Travlos (1950-1951, p. 10-11) and Noack (1927, p. 16-23).
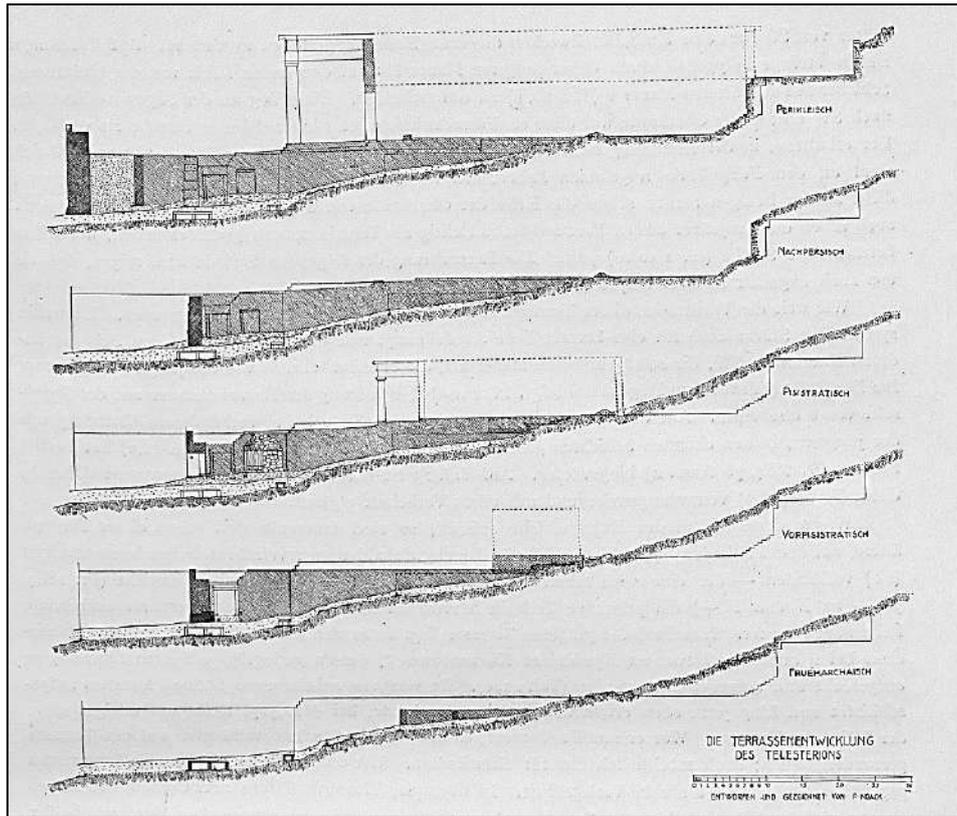
Fig. 3. Development of the Telesterion's terrace from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. From bottom to top: Proto-Archaic Phase, Archaic Phase I ("Solonian"), Archaic Phase II ("Peisistratean"), Destruction after Persian invasion, Classical Phase I and II ("Periklean" and Stoa of Philo). Source: after Noack (1927, p. 9). Drawing by Ferdinand Noack (1927).

To the east of the sanctuary, the Altar Z13 appears to belong to the same arrangement as the stepped podium discovered by Kourouniotes in 1933-1935 (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 72) (**Plate 7**). Mylonas speculated it was a support for dances in honour to Demeter to be seen from outside of the precinct. The Well W, located in a specific niche of wall, was also interpreted in according to its relevance in such ritual activities (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 72-73; cf. COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 139). However, Mylonas' hypothesis has little support, for it is based on projection from Pausanias' statement, a 2nd century AD author, on the later Kallichoron Well, which was located elsewhere.[76]

Important interventions in Eleusinian topography have been dated to the period between ca. 550 and 510 BC, at which time the tyrannies of Pisistratus and his

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[76] Pausanias mentions Kallichoron Well as a place "where first the women of the Eleusinians danced and sang in praise of the Goddess" (Paus. 1.38.6). Translation by W. H. S. Jones (1918).

descendants ruled Athens (**Plate 8**). The peribolos wall was erected in substitution to the former temenos' wall. It was accompanied by seven towers (H12, H14, H18, H21, H25, H37 and H39) and seven gates (South Pylis, South Gate, North Gate, Great Gate and three other doors) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, 141-142; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 78-88). According to Cosmopoulos, effort is being made to preserve the oldest features of the sanctuary, including an altar associated with the stepped podium area (2015, p. 141-142). In this period, first dates of the monumental phases of the Kallichoron Well and Temple of Plouton were attested. The Kallichoron Well was first identified by Philios (Fig. 7) (1882, p. 33-34) about 40 m northeast of the north gate, which replaced the Well W. [77] The Temple of Plouton was located inside of a cave in the northern part of Eleusinian hill (Fig. 8 and 9) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 142).[78]

The Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion (as known as "Peisistratean Telesterion" by archaeological descriptions[79]) was probably built in the last half of 6th century BC (550 – 510 B.C.) in a square plan (Fig. 4; **Plates 8** and **13**).[80] In the first appearance of the hypostyle hall typology, the main room measured 25,3 x 27,1m with a portico (*prostoon*) of 27,14 x 5,91m in dimension (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 133-134). Remnant steps suggest the existence of benches along the inner walls for the initiates (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 79; KAOURA, 2017, p. 199). The temple was placed in a roughly orientation east-west, in which the entrance with its three symmetrical doors were in the east side (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 133-134; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 79). It was "adorned with a Doric entablature of Parian marble, whose fragments of the triglyphs, metopes, cornice and *sema*, including the head of a pig, have been found." (Fig. 5 and 6) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141-142).[81] In this building phase, the *anaktoron* was in the northwest corner of the temple, where it would be used for guarding the sacred objects (*ta hiera*) (TRAVLOS, 1950/51). The whole structure was internally supported by 22 Ionic columns, which helped to support the roof along with the northern wall (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141-142).

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[77] Descriptions and studies in Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142), Ziro (1990), Mylonas (2009, p. 97-99), Lippolis (2006); Clinton (1992, p. 27-28).
[78] On Temple of Plouton: Agelidis (2017a, p. 147-167), Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142), Mylonas (2009, p. 99-100), Daux (1958, p. 800-802), Noack (1927, p. 79).
[79] This attribution was entirely hypothesised by stylistic comparison of architectural elements with the Old Athena Temple on Athenian acropolis (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 191-192).
[80] Complete archaeological description is detailed in Serafini (2019, p. 133-134); Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 141-14); Mylonas (2009, p. 78-88); Lippolis (2006, p. 179-180); Noack (1927, p. 48-70). See also Kaoura (2017).
[81] See also Kaoura (2017, p. 189-205).
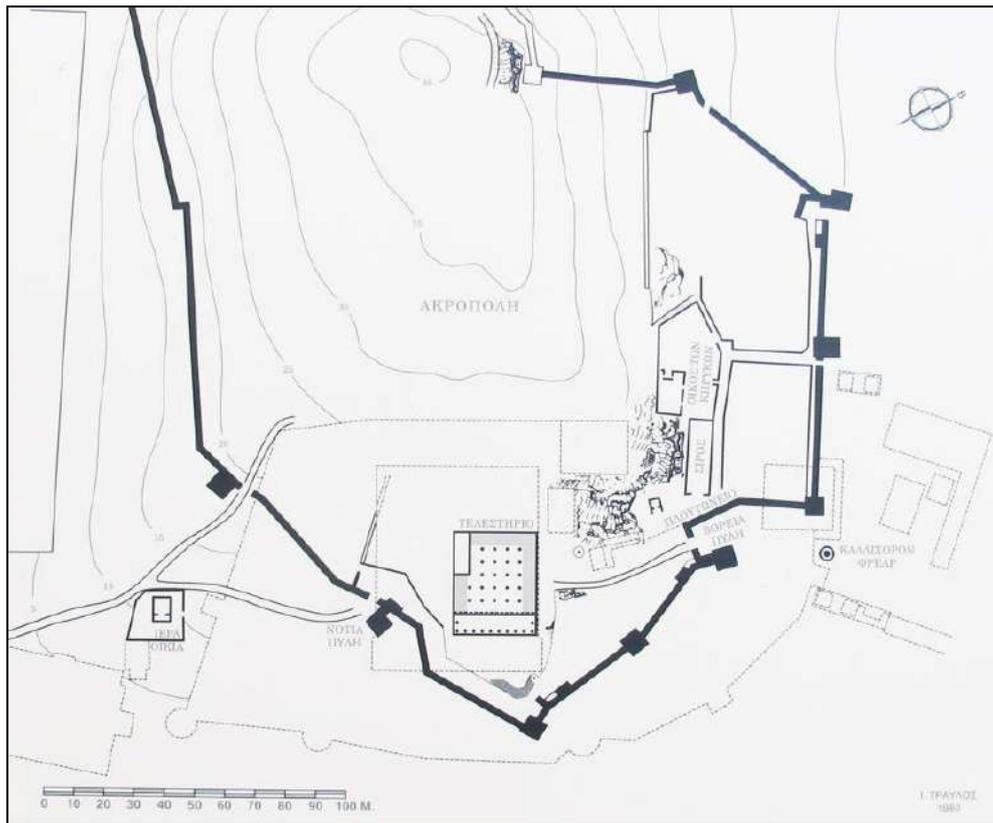
Fig. 4. Sanctuary of Eleusis in the 6th century B.C. (The Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion in the middle). Source: Travlos, 1988
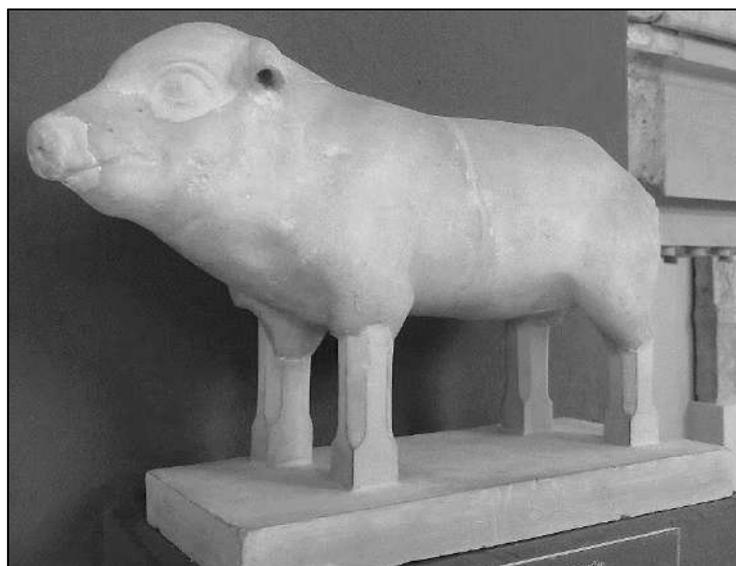
Fig. 5. Marble sculpture of a sacrificial pig – Museum of Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

Fig. 6. Architectural details of the Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion (as known as "Peisistratean Telesterion") – Museum of Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

The recent hypothesis that the Telesterion's design would have been inspired by *apadanas* of Persian palaces has been returned to scene by new evidences (SHEAR JR, 2016). Firstly, a careful comparison of the remains of the archaic Telesterion with Athenian buildings (especially the Old Temple of Athena) suggests its foundation in the first half of 500 BC, which corresponds to new dates suggested for the *apadana* of Persian palace at Susa (ca. 521-518 BC) (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 192-193; MILLER, 1997, p. 230-231).[82] Moreover, a recent review in Persian epigraphic sources, especially the DSF text (the so-called "Foundation Charter of Susa") and inscriptions on the column bases, indicates the presence of Ionian architects and builders during the erection of *apadanas* at Susa and Pasargadae (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 190-195).[83] Secondly, the inspiration in a structure belonging to the Persian palace may suggest a reference to the Eleusinian myth itself. According to the Homeric Hymn (265-274), Demeter was received by King Keleos in his palace and, after her revelation, ordered the building of the temple there. Shear Jr

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[82] For this discussion on comparison between Telesterion of Eleusis and apadanas from Achaemenid palaces, see Schefold (1968, p. 49-62), Meinel (1980) and Miller (1997).
[83] See also Stronach (1985, p. 433-445), Stronach and Roaf (1978, p. 1-11) and Harper and Prudence (1993).

(2016, p. 193) affirms that the architectural typology was chosen to express "the special imagery of the Eleusinian myth and sanctuary", since builders, architects and sculptors may be embedded into a network of technical and work exchange beyond the Greek poleis. This evidence favours the model proposed by this paper, since it considers the agency of individuals (builders and architects) in the current use of the sanctuary (not necessarily religious at this point though). In 480/419 BC, the Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion was destroyed after the long incursion of Xerxes' army into Attica, which was confirmed by the traces of destruction on the remaining parts of the building (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-91).

Fig. 7. The Kallichoron Well – The Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 8. Grotto and Temple of Plouton – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021

Fig. 9. Temple of Plouton – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021

The Ploutoneion (Temple of Plouton) was a small building which measured 5,12 m x 6,80m with a *cella* measuring 3,95m X 3m (Fig. 8 and 9; See **Plate 8**) (AGELIDIS, 2017a, p. 152). It was placed in a natural grotto of the Eleusinian hill and his first built phase is contemporary to Archaic Phase II of Telesterion (AGELIDIS, 2017a, p. 147-167).[84] Other structure, known as "The Sacred House", was built outside the *temenos* in ca. 550-510 B.C. in a trapezoidal shape terrace (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 142). Some archaeologists argue it was the find location of the sculpture of the "Running maiden" (Fig. 10) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 101-103).[85]

Fig. 10. The "Running Maiden" statue found at Trapezoidal shape building – Museum of Archaeological site of Eleusis. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2014.

Early Classical Period (480 – 461 B.C.)

The reconstruction of the whole sanctuary of Eleusis was carried on after the end of Achaemenid war. A late textual source indicates the effort of Kimon in restoring cities and sanctuaries to its former monumental character (Plut. Cim. 13.7-8). It would give a date between 479 and 461 B.C. This is the textual source on which Mylonas relies to argue for an early classical constructive phase in Eleusis, as this would have stemmed

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[84] For more information on Plutoneion from Eleusis, see Noack (1927, p. 79), Daux (1958, p. 800-802), Mylonas (2009, p. 99-100) and Agelidis (2017a, p. 147-167).
[85] The "Running maiden" was a pentelic marble sculpture from early 5th century B.C. Discussion on this piece on: Mylonas (2009, p. 102-103), Edwards (1986, p. 308-309), Noack (1927, p. 219).

from the reconstructions of Kimon (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 107-108). However, as we shall see more profoundly in Chapter 9, this attribution is not consistent, as the archaeological record does not indicate a clear design for the temple. So, archaeological bibliography indicates two possible interpretations in face of the evidences of this period.

A hypothetical earlier Classical Phase for the Telesterion, as known as "Kimonian Telesterion", was suggested by Travlos (1950-51) and Mylonas (2009, p. 111-113) (Fig. 11). According to these authors, this new design adopted a rectangular plan, replicating the typology of the hypostyle hall and following the east-west orientation. The whole structure measured 50 m x 27 m, attesting an expansion of 17,5 m by excavation of the Eleusinian limestone acropolis (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 111-113).[86] Topographical evidences imply a location for the *anaktoron* in left-central part of the hall. According to Mylonas (2009, p. 113), the building was never finished and was discontinued after Kimon's ostracism in 461 BC. However, Lippolis (2006, p. 184) dispute the hypothesis about the existence of this project. He argues that only temporary works took shape in the sacred precinct to keep the Eleusinian rites running.[87] Despite the divergence regarding interpretation of the archaeological findings, they converge in the statement that the Mystery cult continued even after the destruction of the temple. In Chapter 9, I agree with the "adaptation hypothesis" as suggested by Italian archaeologists for interpreting this historical stratum. Definitive reconstruction of the Telesterion was conducted at a more prosperous context in Eleusis and Attica, which the bibliography generally attributes to Perikles' constructive programme (Classical Phase I – **Plate 14**).[88]

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[86] The archaeological description of this hypothetical Classical Phase is detailed in Mylonas (2009, p. 107-113); Noack (1927, p. 93–106; Shear Jr (1982, p. 129–133, p. 135, n. 28). Recent descriptions by Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 144) and a new interpretation by Lippolis (2006, p. 184), which was recently followed by Serafini (2019, p. 135, note 39).

[87] This argument is followed by Serafini (2019, p. 135, note 39).

[88] Discussion on the development of Telesterion on Chapter 9 and interpretation of this historical context on Chapter 11.
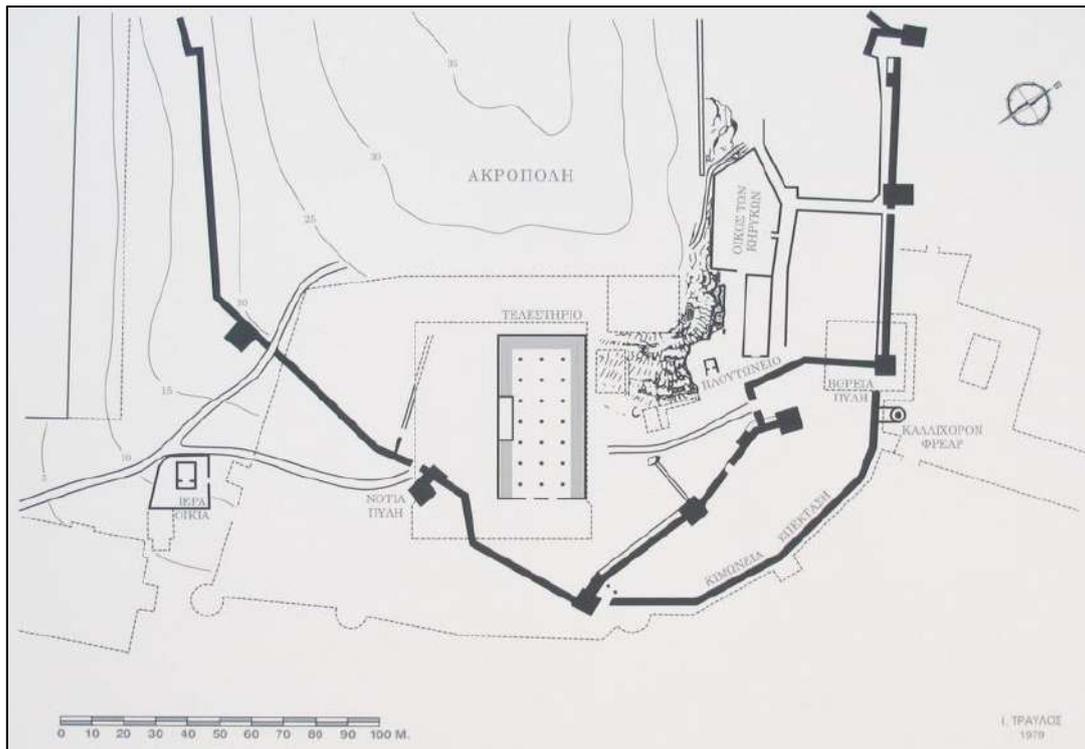
Fig. 11. Sanctuary of Eleusis in the 5th century B.C. (Hypothetical Classical Phase). Source: Travlos (1988, p. 131, plate 150)

Other buildings of relevance have been dated to the period between 480 and 461 B.C. The north-east expansion of the platform along with a new peribolos wall was erected from earlier Tower H25 to the Tower K20 (Fig. 12; **Plate 9**, in orange) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 142-144; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 99-100).[89] Dwellings were also built inside walls, with dimension area of ca. 110 m length X 30 m width. It was probably served to host initiates or those involved with the daily use of the sanctuary, for preparations and logistics. Moreover, Jennifer Palinkas suggests this northeastern area was not merely auxiliary, but was relevant for supporting the processional route and preparing the entrance to the interior of the sanctuary (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 94-97).

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[89] Further analysis in Noack (1927, p. 79) and Kourouniotes (1931-32, p. 18-22), Kourouniotes (1935, p. 73-75).

Fig. 12. Classical extension of peribolos' wall to the east of the Telesterion, 5ᵗʰ century B.C. as viewed from Tower K20 – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Classical Period (435 – 421 B.C.)

The effective revitalisation of the Telesterion is dated from the second half of fifth century B.C. as a project related to the Periklean building programme (Strabo, 9.1.12)[90], which occurred ca. 30 years after the destruction of Eleusis (**Plate 9**). Vitruvius credited the Athenian architect Iktinos as responsible for the first project of the new Telesterion (Classical Phase I); Koroibos, Metagenes and Xenokles were the architects who later adapted the Iktinian project (Classical Phase II); and Philo was responsible for the later addition of columned porch, so-called "Stoa of Philo" (Classical Phase III):

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[90] Original: *"εἶτ' Ἐλευσὶς πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκός, ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτῖνος ὄχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ τὸν παρθενῶνα ἐποίησε τὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος τῶν ἔργων: ἐν δὲ τοῖς δήμοις καταριθμεῖται ἡ πόλις."*

"At Eleusis, the cella of Ceres and Proserpine, of vast size, was completed to the roof by Ictinus in the Doric style, but without exterior columns and with plenty of room for the customary sacrifices. Afterwards, however, when Demetrius of Phalerum was master of Athens, Philo set up columns in front before the temple, and made it prostyle. Thus, by adding an entrance hall, he gave the initiates more room, and imparted the greatest dignity to the building." (VITRUVIUS, *On Architecture*, 7.16-17)[91]

The Classical Phase I was a typological replication of the earlier Archaic Phase II, but in a larger form both in dimensions and monumentality (Fig. 13; **Plate 14**). This means the square shape with internal supporting columns and side seats was reemployed, but some important changes and improvements were adopted in order to accommodate a larger number of initiates.[92] With a square plan, the new building measured 55,55 x 51,20 m, in which a wide space was enclosed by retaining walls, seven or eight rows of sculped seats from the Eleusinian limestone itself and a roof sustained by six rows of seven internal columns each (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 135) (**Plate 14**). The *anaktoron* was in the centre of the building as a rectangular enclosed room with 14,20 x 5,60 m of dimension, which access was granted exclusively to the hierophant. A very interesting feature of this new design of the building the addition of an *opaion,* a "skylight"*,* which is argued to be located above the *anaktoron* and was sustained by upper-level columns (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 144). This architectural solution implies a substantive change in the dynamics of internal illumination of the building.[93]

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[91] Original: "*Eleusine Cereris et Proserpinae cellam inmani magnitudine Ictinos dorico more sine exterioribus columnis ad laxamentum usus sacrificiorum pertexit. Eam autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum potiretur, Philo ante templum in fronte columnis constitutis prostylon fecit; ita aucto vestibulo laxamentum initiantibus operique summam adiecit auctoritatem.*"

[92] Noack suggests Classical Phase II and III would accommodate ca. 3000 participants inside the Telesterion (1927, p. 235). This is rather an exaggerated estimate. From the size of the Telesterion in its largest phase in area, the initiation hall should only hold a few hundred people. For comparison, Kaoura (2017, p. 199-200) gives a capacity of approximately 740-920 people standing or 420-525 people seated for Telesterion's Archaic Phase II. Moreover, the number of initiates must have varied according to social and economic factors, since initiation, although open to all Greeks, required payment to the priesthood and the purchase of a sacrificial animal. Certainly, it must have been a smaller number in times of political instability and insecurity in the region.

[93] On illumination of the Telesterion see Chapter 9.
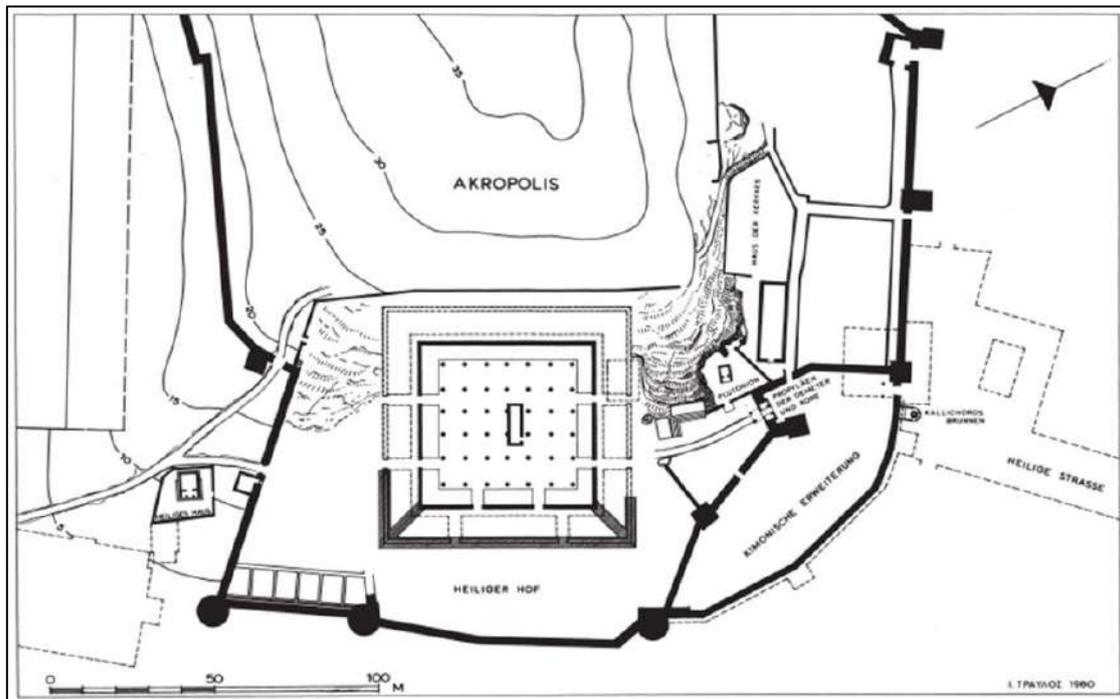
Fig. 13. Sanctuary of Eleusis in the 4th century B.C. (The Classical Phases II and III of the Telesterion). Source: Travlos (1988, p. 142, fig. 170).

Both South Gate (I10) and North Gate (H18) were renovated along with the expansion of the inner court (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 145). A new storage building at Gate F5 (next to I14) was built in this area in order to house first offerings (*aparche*).[94]

The following images are photographs of the Telesterion area at the archaeological site of Eleusis in Elefsina, Attiki, Greece. The photograph in Fig. 14 was taken from the northeast corner of the Telesterion in the paved area of the Stoa of Philo (See **Plate 15**). The image shows the dimensions of the hypostyle hall and the carving work of seating steps in the background. The photograph in Fig. 15 was taken in the northwest corner of the Telesterion on the upper platform from Roman Period (See **Plate 14**) and it shows the stratigraphic complexity of this area in the archaeological site. The photograph in Fig. 16 was taken from the southwestern corner on the upper platform (See **Plate 14**) and allows visualisation of the Telesterion's internal colonnade in its configuration of the Classical Phase II and III. It also indicates the foundations of the Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion in the centre of the image.

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[94] More information on Chapter 8.

Fig. 14. Telesterion of Eleusis as seen from northeast corner of the Telesterion; details of carved steps in the background – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Sources: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

Fig. 15. Area of the Telesterion of Eleusis as viewed from upper platform from Roman Period (northwest corner); details of paved Stoa of Philo and remains of columns in the middle – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2014.
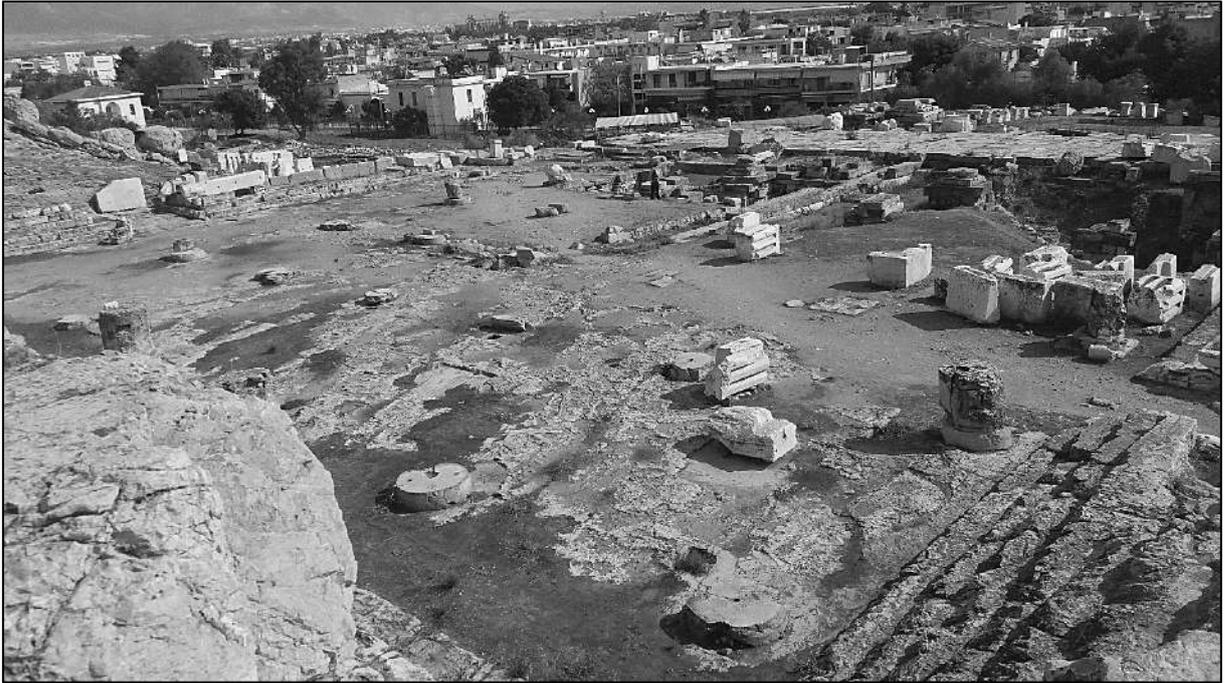
Fig. 16. Area of the Telesterion of Eleusis as viewed from upper platform from Roman Period (southwestern corner) – Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

Late Classical Period (370 – 307 B.C.)

The building activity attested in Late Classical Eleusis comprises a period with important interventions occurring between 370 and 307 B.C. Firstly, the southern area of the fortified peribolos wall is expanded from the areas between Tower I12 and Tower I11 to the area between Tower K7 and Tower K6. In this same context, the South Gate is moved from Tower I11 to Tower K6 (see **Plates 9** and **11**) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-147; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 135-137). This built intervention of expanding the inner area of the sanctuary along with the peribolos walls has been dating between ca. 370-360 B.C. (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 132-133).[95] Between 356/5 and 329/8 BC, the Telesterion became prostyle by receiving a doric *prostoon* (a portico with twelve columns in the front and two side columns) added to its structure, which was attributed to Philon (Vit. 7.17) (See **Plate 15**). The building was initiated after 360 B.C. and it was finished at the period Demetrios of Phaleron governed Athens (ca. 317-307 B.C.) (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 178-

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[95] The reason for this constructive activity is related to both the political and social instability of the historical context and the ritual practice of first-fruits (*aparche*), since this expansion allowed the building of new storerooms, as I argue in Chapter 8 and Chapter 12.

183; MYLONAS 2009, p. 133-135).[96] Further interventions could also be attested in the 4th century B.C., such as reforms at Ploutoneion, building of rock-cut stepped plataform on the west side of the Sacred Way and a Treasure (Fig. 17), repairs in the North Gate and a new tower (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-147).[97] Traditional archaeological bibliography relates these fourth-century B.C. building activities to Lycurgus of Athens. However, this relationship is problematic, since besides the absence of material or textual evidence of this attribution, some constructions in Eleusis precede the period of Lycurgus (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146).[98]

Fig. 17. Rock-cut stepped plataform (See Plate 9 for its location)– Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021

[96] The development of Telesterion is further developed in Chapter 9. For further bibliography, see Shear Jr (2016, p. 161-195) and Mylonas (2009, p. 133-135)

[97] For further bibliography on the development of Plutoneion, see Agelidis (2017a, p. 147-167).

[98] Mylonas dated the fourth-century peribolos wall to a period before Lycurgus ruled Athens (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 130-143). For different proposals, see Scranton (1941, p. 123-128) and Noack (1927, p. 202-214).

Fig. 18. Additional structure (A) on the Late Classical Telesterion and place for megaron d
(Compare with **Plate 15**, structure A) - Archaeological site of Eleusis, Elefsina. Source:
Author's photographic collection, 2021

4.3. *he hodos he Eleusinade*

Among many roads from Athens to its hinterland, the road to Eleusis is one of the
most relevant for the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Also known as the Sacred
Way (*Hiera Hodos*), it covered a distance about 20 km between the starting point of
Eleusinian procession in Athens and the end point, the sanctuary of Eleusis in Thriassion
Plain (**Plate 2**; details in **Plates 3**, **4** and **5**). Along the way, a series of roadside sanctuaries,
small temples, tombs of distinguished citizens and relevant monuments determined the
stops amidst a landscape formed by limestone mountains, olive trees, rivers and sacred
streams and the bluish silhouette of the Eleusinian Bay.

Although the road has been best known as *Hiera Hodos* (Ἱερὰ ὁδός) (Pausanias,
I.36.3)[99], recent research has pointed out it might not be its official name (FICUCIELLO,
2008, p. 25). A *horos* found in the archaeological site of Kerameikos, on which is
inscribed *ΗΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΣ ΟΔΟ ΤΕΣ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑΔΕ* (IG I³ 1096), indicates the beginning of

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[99] Original excerpt: "ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, […]"

the road (The Sacred Gate) which leads to Eleusis. Once in the Thriassion Plain, it was divided into two roads: one that borders the Eleusinian Bay towards Eleusis and another one that goes towards Delphi. This fact may explain the popularity of the name "the sacred way" among ancient Athenians, once a part of this path was used both during the Eleusinian procession and in the sacred travel to the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythias[100] (FICUCIELLO, 2008, p. 25-26).

Pausanias' text is one of the most important sources for the description of the sacred path to Eleusis. Within the selective logic of his work, he describes in detail the roadside shrines, tombs of Athenian wealthy citizens and mandatory stops during the processional rite of the Mysteries (Paus. 1.36-38).[101] In 1864, François Lenormant produced a monograph on the Eleusinian Sacred Way, in which he identifies some of these places and monuments based on landscape description by Pausanias (LENORMANT, 1864).

Along the 20th century, vertiginous urbanisation of Athens posed as an obstacle to archaeological research of the Sacred Way and most of the ancient route to Eleusis lies under the modern ΙΕΡΑ ΟΔΟΣ avenue. However, very important archaeological research has been made, especially during the construction of Athens Metro stations (Line 3 - Aigaleo and Eleonas) during 2000s. In Eleonas station, research brought to light vestiges of a bridge over the Kephissos River mentioned by Aristophanes (Frogs, I.135), besides parts of the ancient Hiera Hodos and architectural remains of workshops. In Estavromenou square, where Metro Station Aigaleo was built, several findings related to

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[100] In fact, a monument to the Pythia was found by Kampouroglou and later by Travlos (1988) in a section of the Hiera Hodos just before the crossing of Mount Poikilon and Aigaleon: "Dort wies Kampouroglou bei seinen Ausgrabungen nach, daß der Fels in großem Ausmaß abgemeißelt war, sicher zur Fundamentierung eines Denkmals. In der Erde, die darüber lag, fand er auch viele Marmorfragmente, die wahrscheinlich von Architekturgliedern des Denkmals der Pythionike stammen." (TRAVLOS, 1988, p. 177).

[101] In the 2nd century AD, Pausanias mentions the following monuments from Athens to Eleusis,: Tomb of Anthemocritus (I.36.3); Grave of Molottus (I.36.4); Scirum (I.36.4); Tomb of Cephisodorus (I.36.5); Grave of Heliodorus Halis (I.37.1); Grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus and grandson of Themistocles who fought the Persian Wars (I.37.1); Sacred Precinct to Lacius (I.37.2); Tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum (I.37.2); Altar of Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Athena and Poseidon (I.37.2); Place where Phytalus welcomed Demeter in his home (I.37.2); Tomb of Theodorus (I.37.3); Statue of Mnesimache and a votive statue of her son as a gift for Cephissus (I.37.3); Athenian Kephissos River and Altar of Zeus Meilichius (I.37.4); Grave of Theodectes of Phaselis and Grave of Menesitheus (I.37.4); Cyamites (I.37.4); Tomb of a Rhodian (I.37.5); Tomb made by the Macedonian Harpalus (I.37.5); Sanctuary with statues of Demeter and Kore, Athena and Apollo, probably the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios (I.37.6); Sanctuary of Aphrodite (I.37.7); Rheitoi (I.38.1); Tomb of Eumolpos (I.38.2); Shrine of the hero Hippothoon (I.38.4); Eleusinian Kephissos River (I.38.5); Erineus (I.38.5); Temple of Triptolemus, Temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon Pater (I.38.6); Kallichoron well (I.38.6).

Eleusinian cult and burial objects and monuments were found along with parts of the ancient road itself.[102]

In this sense, the road to Eleusis could be "reconstructed" after archaeological research of the following places (Fig. 19): 1- City Eleusinion; 2- Kerameikos; 3- Metro Station Eleonas; 4- Metro Station Aigaleo; 5- Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios (Monastery of Daphne); 6- Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros; 7- Rheitoi; 8- Bridge over the Kephissos River (Roman Period); 9- Sections of Hiera Hodos in Elefsina; 10- Sanctuary of Eleusis.[103]

Fig. 19. The Sacred Way to Eleusis and its archaeological sites (1-10). Source: Google Maps. Modified by the author.

Terrain Elevation Analysis

In **Plate 6**, I prepared an analysis of the land elevation along the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis in western Attica. This georeferenced map shows the line along which

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[102] The archaeological research on the Hiera Hodos was presented and discussed on Papangeli (2009), Drakotou (2009), Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2008). Mohr (2013) discusses the Hiera Hodos in comparison with other processional roads of Antiquity.
[103] See also Plates 2-5.

the ancient Sacred Way passed and the stretches where archaeological sites were excavated. It documented the remains of the road, which was much used both for the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries and for religious and non-religious travels. On the Map, points with the archaeological sites relevant to our argument are indicated as: City Eleusinion (CE), Temple of Apollo Daphnaios (TAD), Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros (SAE), Rheitos (RH), Sanctuary of Eleusis (SE). In addition, **Plate 6** presents a graph of distance travelled (km) per height (m), showing the variation in ground elevation along this road from relevant points indicated in Greek letters (α-κ). The points in Greek letters are also indicated on the map for comparison of elevation along the road.

The map data was retrieved from remote sensing data, mainly from the ASTER Global DEM 30 m sensor, provided by EarthData Nasa. These data were processed by the author in the georeferencing program QGIS3. The terrain elevation analysis of Sacred Way was done from the Terrain Profile Tool Plugin 4.1.8, while data from archaeological sites were plotted on the map after Geographic Coordinates from Google Maps and Pleiades.stoa.org[104]. Information on archaeological sites and the natural landscape in Antiquity was retrieved from complementary bibliography, such as Talbert (2000, p. 904-928, map 59), Papangeli and Chlepa (2011), Ficuciello (2008) and Travlos (1988).

The data presented in **Plate 6** gives extremely relevant information for processing the topography of the Sacred Way. In the first place, the beginning of the procession was made through a gentle declivity between the City Eleusinion and the crossing of the Kephissos River on the Athenian side (stretches α-γ). Secondly, the crossing of Mount Poikilon and Mount Aigaleon was done through a smooth passage that separates both mountains. An ascent of about 100m faced by participants of the procession begins at point γ and ends at point ε, that is, just before the passage through the Temple of Apollo Daphnaios (after point ζ). The Temple of Aphrodite and Eros was located about 2km after the Temple of Apollo Daphnaios on a slope situated in the pass between Mount Poikilon and Mount Aigaleon. This declivity ends just before the crossing of Rheitos (point θ) and walkers could follow without difficulty the remaining 7km route on the Thriassion Plain to the sanctuary of Eleusis.[105]

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[104] Pleiades.stoa.org "is a joint project of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University and the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill." and offers Geographic coordinates for ancient places. Available at: <https://pleiades.stoa.org/credits>. Access in 20.04.2023.
[105] This analysis of the Sacred Way terrain is taken up in Chapter 7.

4.4. Archaeological sites of the Sacred Way

Kerameikos

The archaeological site of Kerameikos is situated in the historic centre of the present-day Athens. It is a site of great stratigraphic complexity and topographic importance, where archaeological evidences of the Dipylon Gates (main gate to Athens in Antiquity), the Sacred Gate (beginning of the Hiera Hodos), the City Walls (so-called Themistoklean fortification walls) and auxiliary buildings to Attic festival processions (Pompeion) were located. It also includes the Archaic-Classical necropolis, the most famous Athenian pottery workshops and roadside sanctuaries and altars (Fig. 20 and Fig 21) (STROSZECK, 2014a). The Archaeological site of Kerameikos was excavated in the second half of the 19th century by Archaeological Society of Athens under the direction of S. Koumanoudis in collaboration with A. Brückner and F. Noack. Since 1913, the site has been systematically excavated by The German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*) (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 8-9; STROSZECK, 2014a). Excavations of the Sacred Gate was conducted by F. Willemsen in 1975 and afterwards by Ursula Knigge, Jutta Stroszeck and Wolf-Dieter Niemeier (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 9; STROSZECK, 2014a).

The Archaeological site of Kerameikos has a general chronology between 750 B.C. and 640 AD. The German Archaeological Institute conducts excavations and research in the site until nowadays and it is curated by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens from Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.[106]

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[106] The most important archaeological guides to the archaeological site of Kerameikos were published by Knigge (1991) and Stroszeck (2014a). Gerhard Kuhn published the most recent review of archaeological finds and structures of the Sacred Gate in 2020 (KUHN, 2020).
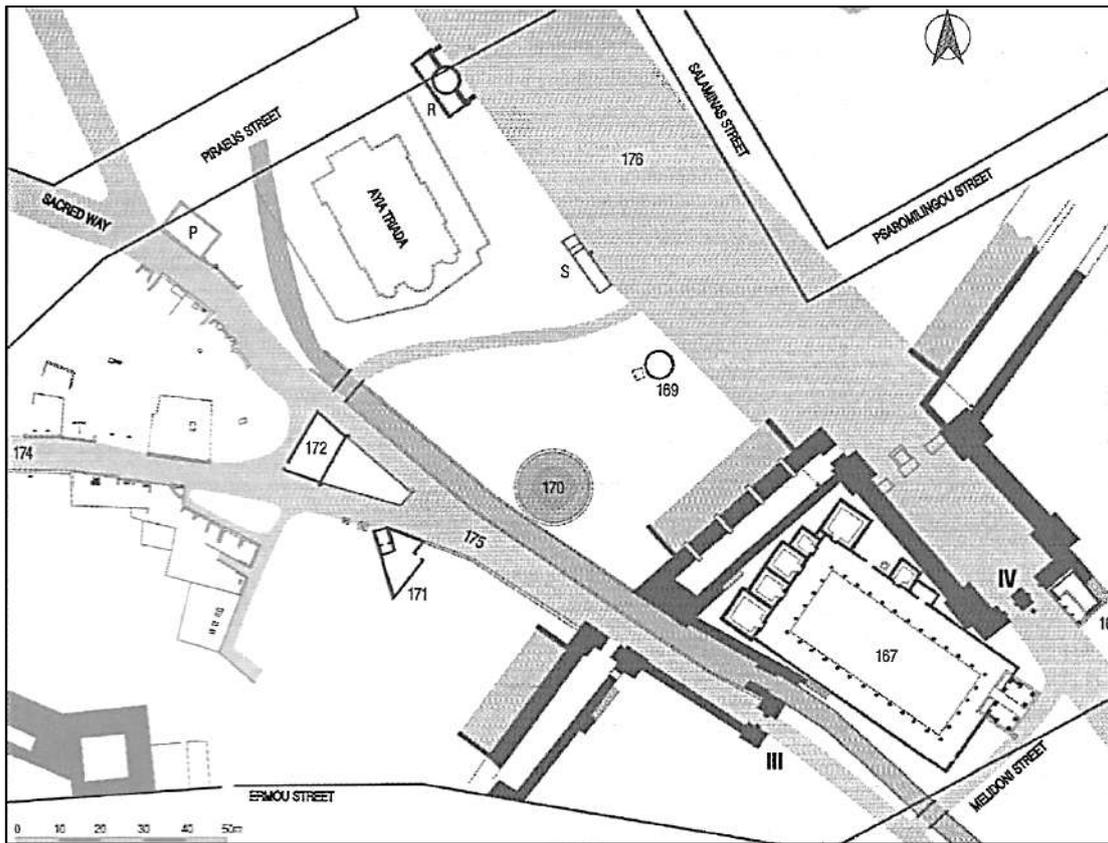
Fig. 20. Archaeological site of Kerameikos and its topographic features. Sacred Gate (III), Dipylon Gate (IV), Pompeion (167), Sacred Way (175), Street of the Tombs – 5th – 4th c. B.C. (174), Tritopatreion – 6th – 5th c. B.C. (172), Sanctuary for unknown deity – 5th c. B.C. (171), Circular grave enclosure – 7th – 5th c. B.C. (170). After Spathari (2009, p. 7, fig. 3). Drawing by J. Travlos, 1968. Modified by the author.
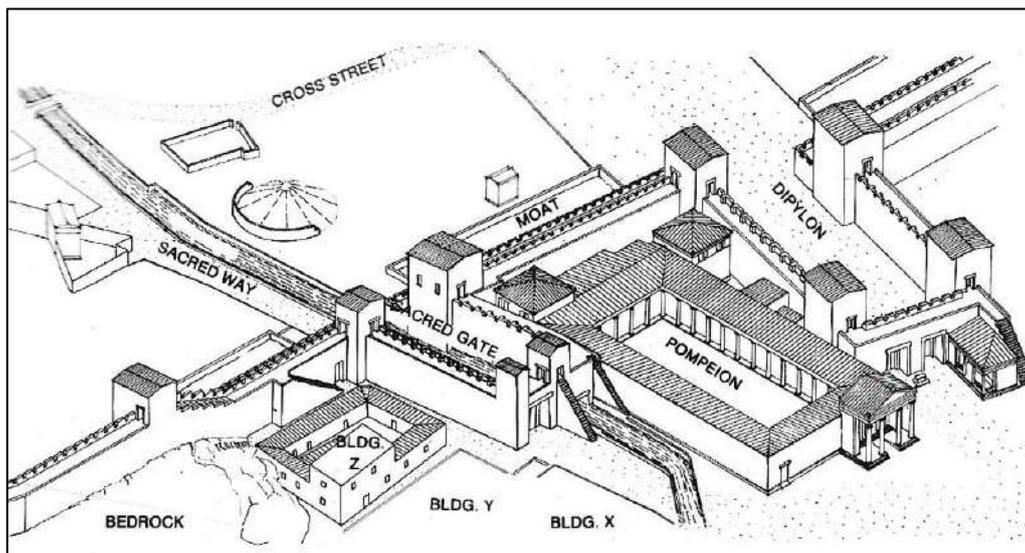
Fig. 21. Artistic representation of the Dipylon Gate, Sacred Gate, and adjacent buildings. After Knigge (1991, p. 50, fig. 48).

The Sacred Gate is the main gateway for the procession of the Mysteries as it leads procession participants to the road to Eleusis.[107] This is a gate that was monumentalised along with the fortification of the city walls[108] and the construction of the Dipylon in the 5th century B.C. (SPATHARI, 2009, p. 21; STROSZECK, 2014, p. 70-77). It followed the course of Eridanos River and was installed next to the Pompeion (building for supporting processions, especially for the Panathenaia) and the Dipylon Gate (Fig. 21) (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 56). It has eight construction phases: Phase 1 (478 B.C.); Phase 2 (ca. 420 B.C.), Phase 3 (394 B.C.), Phase 4 (338 or 307-4 B.C.), Phase 5 (early 3rd c. B.C.), Phase 6 (1st c. B.C. – 1st c. AD), Phase 7 (253-260 AD) and Phase 8 (6th c. AD) (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 57-67; cf. KUHN, 2020). In general, these building phases adapted the construction of the gate and its fortified walls along with the bed of the Eridanos river (Fig. 22 and Fig. 23; compare with Fig. 24). There is a gradual change in the course of Eridanos river along the centuries followed by build interventions in the Sacred Gate (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 57). According to Spathari (2009, p. 21),

> "[…] The Sacred Gate was built on the same principles as the nearby Dipylon Gate. The shape belongs to the type of gate with an inner courtyard, although it has a singularity in that it incorporated the bed of the Eridanos river in its construction. At the point where the line of the wall was interrupted to insert the gate, on both sides of the opening two square towers were built, which formed its basic supports. From the two outer towers of the gate two arms started towards the interior of the city enclosing the courtyard." (SPATHARI, 2009, p. 21)

Altars and temple-like structures have recently been discovered near the Sacred Gate (STROSZECK, 2014a, p. 99-108). Recent studies associate these constructions with religious practices both in everyday life and at religious festivals, as it was an important site for preparations of the Eleusinian Mysteries' procession (BAAN, 2022, p. 37-39; STROSZECK, 2014a).

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[107] Before reaching the City Gates, participants of the procession took the Panathenaic Way from the City Eleusinion and the Classical Agora. The streets within the city were discussed by Ficuciello (2008).
[108] The Athenian city walls were built in 478 B.C. by Themistokles according to Thucydides (Thuc. 1.93.2).
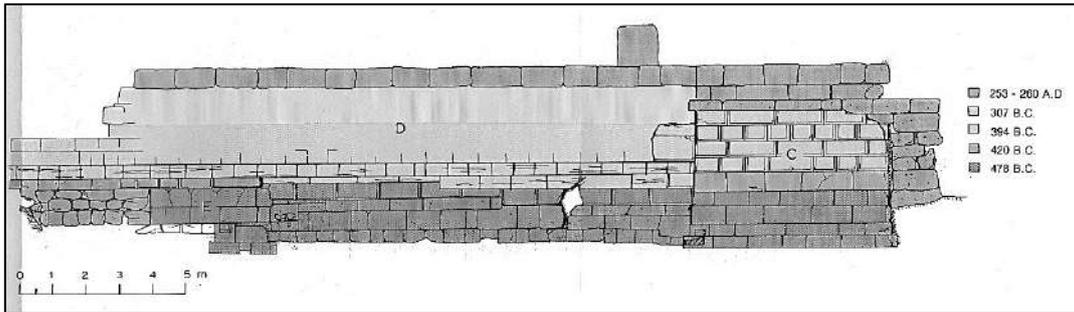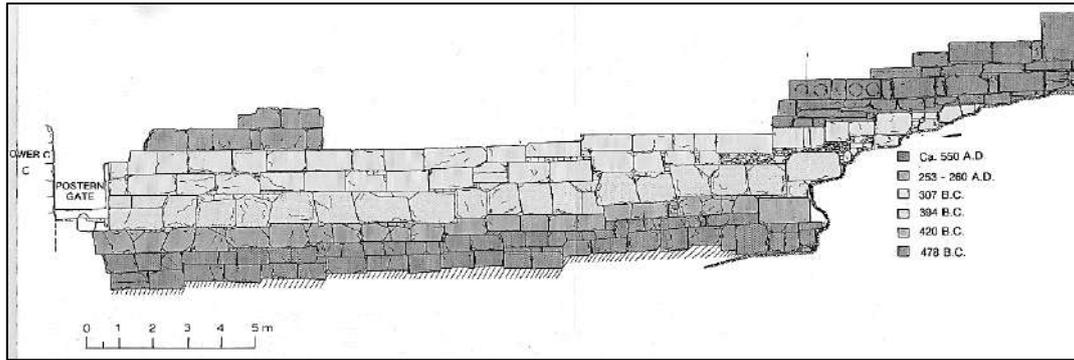
Fig. 22. Building phases of the City Wall. Figures: City Wall on left of the Sacred Gate (top) and Flank walls and Tower C of the Sacred Gate (bottom). After Knigge (1991, fig. 163 and fig. 164).

Fig. 23. Archaeological site of Kerameikos. Hiera Hodos from the view of the Sacred Gate towards Eleusis. Sources: Author's photographic collection, 2021.
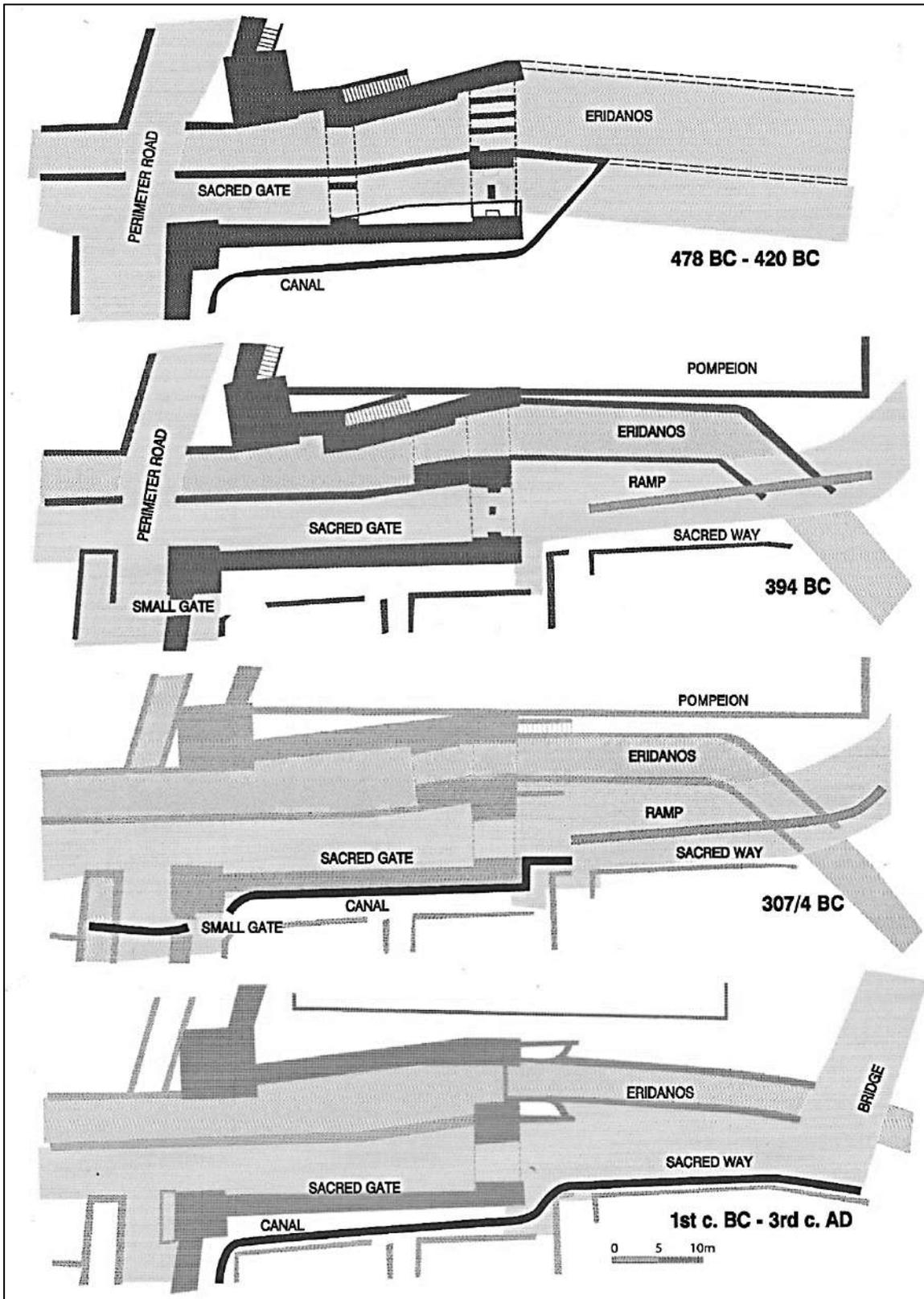
Fig. 24. Topographical development of the Sacred Gate in correlation with other structures and features from the 5th B.C. to the 3rd AD. After Spathari (2009, p. 20, fig. 17). Modified by the author.

The road from the City Eleusinion leads to the Sacred Gate, where the Sacred Way (*Hiera Hodos*) starts (Fig. 25) (FICUCIELLO 2008, p. 129-132).[109] The Procession Road of Eleusinian Mysteries follows through the Sacred Gate to the left bank of the Eridanos river when at 120m the road splits in two: to the left it becomes the Street of the Tombs and continues towards Piraeus to the southwest; to the right it continues as Hiera Hodos on its way to Eleusis (SPATHARI, 2009, p. 35) (Fig. 26). In the middle of this bifurcation was the trapezoidal precinct for the Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis (Tritopatreion) with dates between 6th and 5th century B.C. (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 103).[110]

Fig. 25. Archaeological site of Kerameikos. The Sacred Gate and Hiera Hodos. Sources: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

[109] For the most recent overview of Athenian roads, see Ficuciello (2008).
[110] According to Knigge (1991, p. 103), the name of Tritopatreion "is attested by boundary stones that are still *in situ* today.". There is little information about this sanctuary and the provenance of Tritopatres has little evidence and is still the subject of discussion among scholars (KNIGGE, 1991, p. 103-105; SPATHARI, 2009, p. 35-36).
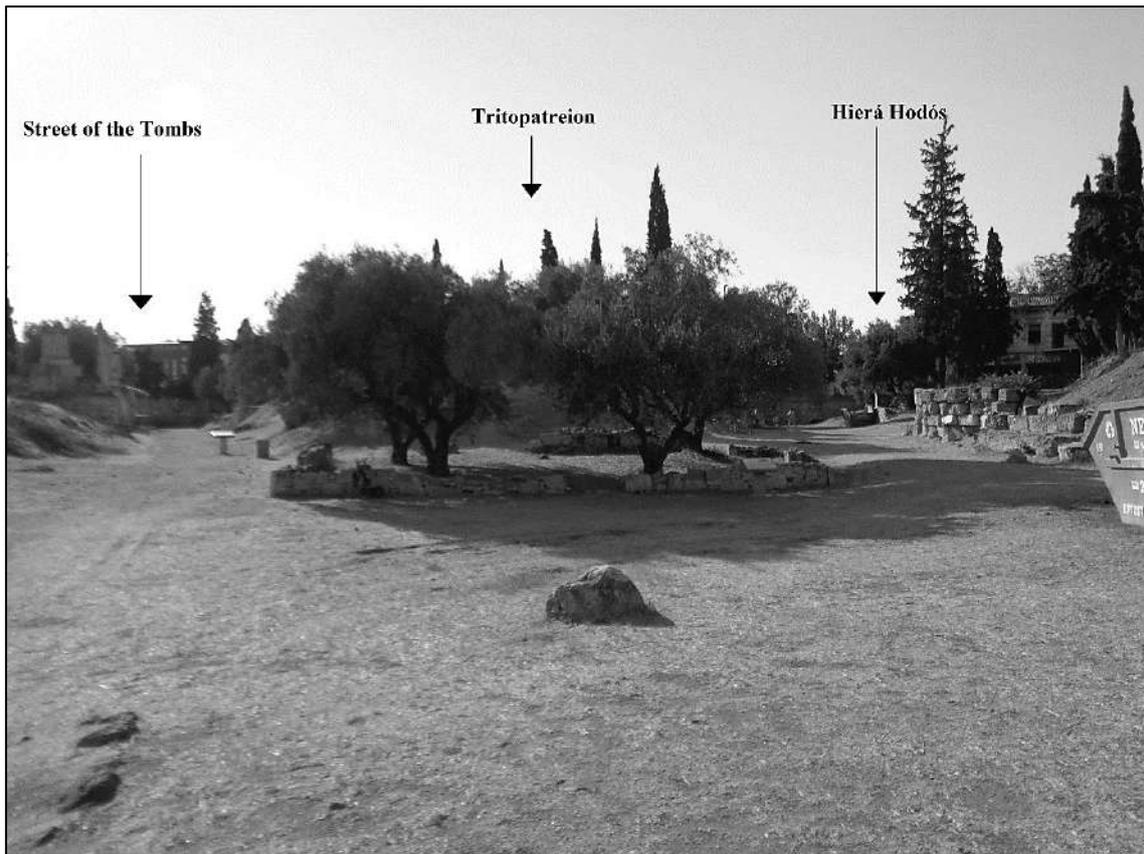
Fig. 26. Archaeological site of Kerameikos. The Street of the Tombs on the left, Tritopatreion on the middle, Hiera Hodos on the right. Sources: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Metro Station "Eleonas" (Hiera Hodos)

Along the Sacred Way route in Athens, there are few stretches whose archaeological sites have been rescued and documented by archaeologists. The reason for this is the vertiginous urbanisation of the modern city of Athens over this area throughout the 20th century. However, two areas along the homonymous Hiera Hodos Avenue were excavated in the context of the expansion of the Athens metro (line 3 - blue) in the preparation for the 2004's Olympics at Athens: Metro stations Eleonas (*Ελαιώνας*) and Aigaleo (*Αιγάλεω*) (**Plate 3**).

Metro Station Eleonas (*Σταθμός Μετρό Ελαιώνας*) is located at Aigaleo neighborhood in western part of modern Athens. In Antiquity, it was the site of the demos of Lakiades and the place where the Kephissos river passed through (Paus. 37.3). According to Hellenic Ministry of Culture's website, rescue excavations revealed three

foundation parts of a stone bridge over the Kephissos River (Fig. 27) and "the ancient riverbed of the Kifissos, architectural remains of workshops, and parts of the ancient Hiera Hodos (Sacred Way) and its roadside cemetery." (ODYSSEUS, 2023)[111]. Archaeological evidence has dates from the 6th century B.C. to the Roman Period (TSIRIGOTI-DRAKOTOU, 2008, p. 318). The archaeological site is under curatorship of Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports).

Fig. 27. Marble bases for the bridge over the Kephissos River – Archaeological site at Metro Station Eleonas. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

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[111] Odysseus is the website of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports for information on historical and archaeological heritage of Greece. This excerpt was written by Aik. Karkani. Available at <http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/eh352.jsp?obj_id=21027> Access in 20.04.2023.

Metro Station "Aigaleo" (Hiera Hodos)

Metro Station "Aigaleo" (*Σταθμός Μετρό Αιγάλεω)* is located at the Estavromenou Square in Aigaleo neighbourhood, about 2 km from previous Metro Station "Eleonas" (**Plate 3**). This station is also located underneath the modern Hiera Hodos. Rescue excavations were carried out during the construction of this station from Line 3 of Athens metro and revealed archaeological remains of the ancient Hiera Hodos (Fig. 28 and Fig. 29). Besides parts of the Sacred Way, archaeologists revealed roadside cemeteries with "eighteen fragmentary graves of different types (cist and tile graves, shaft graves, cremations, a jar-burial, and three sarcophagi)" (ODYSSEUS, 2023)[112]. The associated pottery gives a chronological span between the 5th century B.C. and 20th century AD (cf. TSIRIGOTI-DRAKOTOU, 2008, p. 311-319).

Fig. 28. Archaeological site of Hiera Hodos at Metro Station Aigaleo in Athens – Details of the street. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

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[112] Odysseus is the website of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports for information on historical and archaeological heritage of Greece (ODYSSEUS, 2023). This excerpt was written by Ioanna Tsirigoti-Drakotou.

Fig. 29. Archaeological site of Hiera Hodos at Metro Station Aigaleo in Athens – General View of the site. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Temple of Apollo Daphnaios (Monastery of Daphne)

On the crossing to Thriassion Plain, the Temple of Apollo Daphnaios[113] stood at the foot of Mount Aigaleo after an ascent of about 100m by all passers-by (Fig. 30; **Plate 2** and **Plate 4**). This archaeological site has been occupied continuously since Antiquity and today houses the Byzantine Monastery of Daphne, which was first built in the 6th century AD and renovated in the 11th century AD.[114] The foundations of the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios are located below the Monastery of Daphne, a location that coincides with the account of Pausanias from the 2nd century AD (Paus. 1.37.6-7) (TRAVLOS, 1988, p.

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[113] Today Daphne (*Δαφνί* in modern greek; *Δαφνίον* in the eighteenth-century language Katharevousa) refers to the byzantine monastery built in the township of Haidari. In ancient Greek, Daphni (*Δάφνη*) means "laurel" (Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary, p. 73) and it is generally associated with Apollo (Apollo Daphnaios – "Laurel-bearing Apollo") (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 34; DESPINIS, 2011, p. 24).

[114] The Monastery of Daphne had several built phases along the Modern times. It is now considered a UNESCO World Heritage Site along with monasteries of Hosios Loukas at Delphi and Nea Moni on the island of Chios for their byzantine architecture and mosaics (UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION, 2023).

177).[115] Pausanias states that in his time the temple displays statues of "Demeter, her daughter, Athena, and Apollo. [But] At the first it was built in honour of Apollo only." (Paus.1.37.6)[116]. The Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios was possibly a stop for both procession of Eleusinian Mysteries and for the Pitaide, the sacred travel from Athens through Hiera Hodos towards Delphi (GRECO, 2016, p. 167; DESPINIS, 2011, p. 24).[117] This ancient temple was destructed by Goths in 395 AD.

Kambouroglou first excavated the archaeological site in 1891-1892. Travlos and Kourouniotes excavated it between 1936 and 1939 (GRECO, 2016, p. 166; MACHAIRA, 2008). Today the site is under curatorship by Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports).
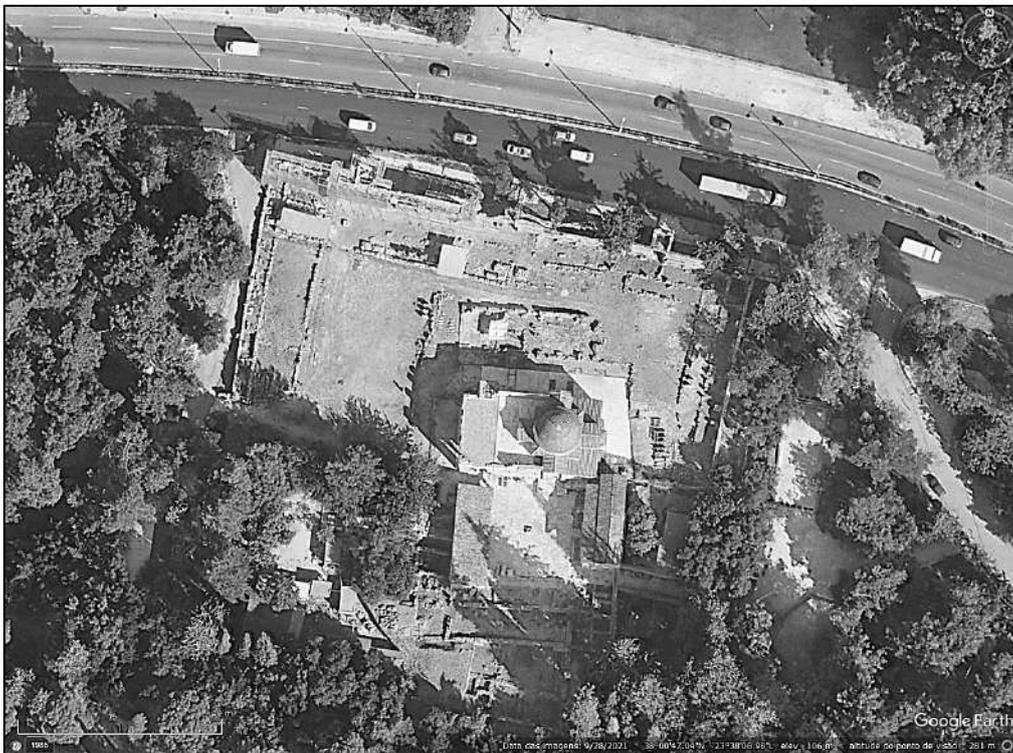
Fig. 30. Monastery of Daphne (Temple of Apollo Daphnaios) next to the Hiera Hodos. Source: Google Earth Pro. Modified by the author.

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[115] According to Travlos (1988), "Der Apollon-Tempel, den Pausanias erwähnt (1.37.6), verbirgt sich sehr wahrscheinlich unter der byzantinischen Kirche des 11. Jahrhunderts. Die aus Steinblöcken errichtete Mauer, die vor dem Narthex gefunden wurde, bildete wahrscheinlich das Westende einer frühchristlichen Basilika, der wohl ersten Kirche, die auf der Stelle des Apollon-Tempels errichtet worden war." (TRAVLOS, 1988, p. 177).

[116] Original: "ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς." (Paus. 1.37-6)

[117] Mohr also considers the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios as the first stop for procession and sacred travels which comes from Athens: "Die erste Prozessionsstation ausserhalb der Stadt war ein Heiligtum der Demeter und Kore, wo möglicherweise auch Athena und Poseidon verehrt wurden." (MOHR, 2013, p. 69).

Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros

The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros is on the slopes of Mount Poikilon, ca. 1,8km after the Temple of Apollo Daphnaios (**Plate 2**, **Plate 4** and **Plate 5**). Pausanias relates in his *Description* that "[…] after this [Temple of Apollo Daphnaios] is a temple to Aphrodite, before of which is a noteworthy wall of unwrought stones." (Paus. 1.37.7)[118]. The so-called "wall of unwrought stones" by Pausanias is a bedrock wall with niches for votives to Aphrodite and Eros, as it can still be evidenced *in situ* (Fig. 33 and 35). Thus, the sanctuary housed an open-air worship to Aphrodite and Eros and its operation can be framed to the period between the 5th century B.C. and 3rd century AD (MACHAIRA, 2008, p. 140; TRAVLOS, 1988, p. 177).

The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros was excavated by D. Kambouroglou in 1891-1892, afterwards J. Travlos and K. Kourouniotes excavated the site in 1932-1939 (GRECO, 2016, p. 166). New data on architecture, epigraphy, sculptures, and numismatic finds have recently been made by Machaira (2008), which monograph remains as the most recent reference to this sanctuary.[119] Unfortunately, the pottery data was not properly documented in older excavations, which made it difficult to refine the dating of objects and the building itself (MACHAIRA, 2008, p. 145).[120] The complex of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros was divided into three main buildings: (1) Sanctuary of Aphrodite; (2) Priests' House and (3) Guard Tower (Fig. 31 and 32).

The sanctuary itself had a floor plan that measured 73m x 21m and it was divided into three main structures and rooms: the propyleum, the area with the votive niches, the banquet hall, and a small temple (MACHAIRA, 2008, p. 140-142). Archaeological excavations revealed several marble relief figures of doves that were deposited as votives in the niches in the bedrock (Fig. 34). Statues and statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros were also deposited as votives in the niches of the sanctuary (Fig. 36) (MACHAIRA, 2008, p. 142-145; GRECO, 2016, p. 159-172).

The path of the Hiera Hodos passed next to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the way down to the Thriassion Plain (Fig. 31 and 37). So, the sanctuary was probably

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[118] Original: "*[…]—μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστι καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον.*" (Paus. 1.37.7).

[119] See also Travlos (1988, p. 177) and Mohr (2013, p. 69).

[120] More recently, the topography of this sanctuary has been reassessed by Emanuele Greco (GRECO, 2016, p. 159-172).

a stop for the procession coming from Athens towards Eleusis during Eleusinian Mysteries (GRECO, 2016, p. 168). The curatorship of the archaeological site of Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros is under the Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports).
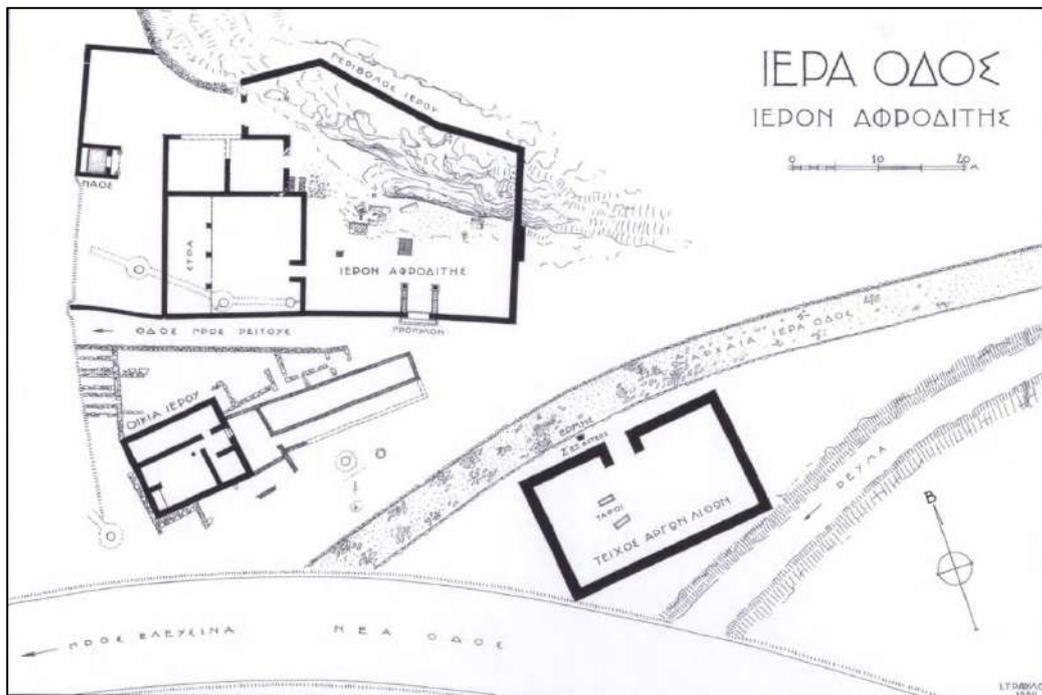
Fig. 31. Archaeological plan for the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros at Hiera Hodos. After Machaira (2008, p.15, fig. 5). Drawing by John Travlos, 1939.

Fig. 32. Aerial view of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros. After Machaira (2008, p. plate 3).

Fig. 33. Archaeological site of Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros – General view. Source:
Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 34. Votive doves in pentelic marble. Found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni, Attica
(1592, 1593, 6796, 6998, 7000, 7008) – The National Archaeological Museum at Athens.
Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 35. Archaeological site of Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros – Niches for votive offerings. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 36. On the left: Statuette of Aphrodite and Eros in pentelic marble, found at Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni, Attica – 300-275 B.C. (no.1599). On the right: Votive relief in pentelic marble from 420-410 B.C. – Aphrodite and Eros are figures at the centre of the image, while Demeter and Kore are flanking them (no. 1597) – The National Archaeological Museum of Athens. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 37. Archaeological site of Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, Athens. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Rheitos (Koumoudourou Lake)

Rheitos (today called Koumoudourou Lake) is sea-water spring next to the Hiera Hodos in Thriassion Plain[121], which is closer to the Eleusinian Bay and next to the slopes of the Mount Poikilon (Fig. 38; **Plate 4** and **5**). Ancient Hiera Hodos was divided in two paths after the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros into direction of Rheitos: a path followed an old trail behind the hill directly to Rheitos; the other way, more used by the procession of the Mysteries, went around the hill and then followed towards Rheitos (Fig. 39).[122] Both paths met in Rheitos and went on one way to Eleusis.

There is little information about ritual or everyday uses of these sea-water streams in textual and archaeological sources. However, Pausanias reports that Rheitos

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[121] Today these streams are part of the port-town of Skaramagkas, Haidari, in Attica.
[122] More information on Papangeli (2009, p. 124-137).

"[…] are said to be sacred to the Maid and to Demeter, and only the priests of these goddesses are permitted to catch fish in them. Anciently, I learn, these streams were the boundaries between the land of the Eleusinians and that of the other Athenians, and the first to dwell on the other side of the Rheiti was Crocon, where at the present day is what is called the palace of Crocon." (Paus. 1.38.1-3)[123]

Further information comes from epigraphy. The inscription I Eleusis 41 (= IG I³ 79 – **No. 46**) is a fragmentary decree inscribed on a stele of Pentelic marble from 422-1 B.C., which authorises the construction of a bridge over Rheitos (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 54). The text is a decree made by the Council and the citizen Assembly which also states that the bridge should ensure the safe transportation of sacred objects (*hiera*) by the Eleusinian priestesses during the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries (I Eleusis 41, **No. 46**, lines 9-11). It also states that the bridge should be large enough for pedestrians to cross and insufficient for the transportation of chariots (lines 11-14).[124] Above the inscription is a relief iconography featuring Demeter, Kore carrying torches, Eumolpos, and Athena (from left to right) (For picture, see Appendix D, **No. 46**).[125] The site is under curatorship of Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports).

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[123] Original: "[…] *λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥειτοὶ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἱρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὅροι τῆς γῆς Ἐλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβᾶσι τοὺς Ῥειτοὺς πρῶτος ᾤκει Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι βασίλεια καλεῖται Κρόκωνος.*" (Paus. 1.38.1-3). There is also a small passage of Rheitos in Thucydides (Thuc. 2.19).
[124] More information on I Eleusis 41, see **No. 46**. See also Clinton (2005a, p. 54) and Arnaoutoglou (2003, p. 145-146).
[125] Details on this iconography are discussed in Clinton (1992).

Fig. 38. Rheitos (Koumoudourou Lake). Source: Google Earth Pro. Modified by the author.
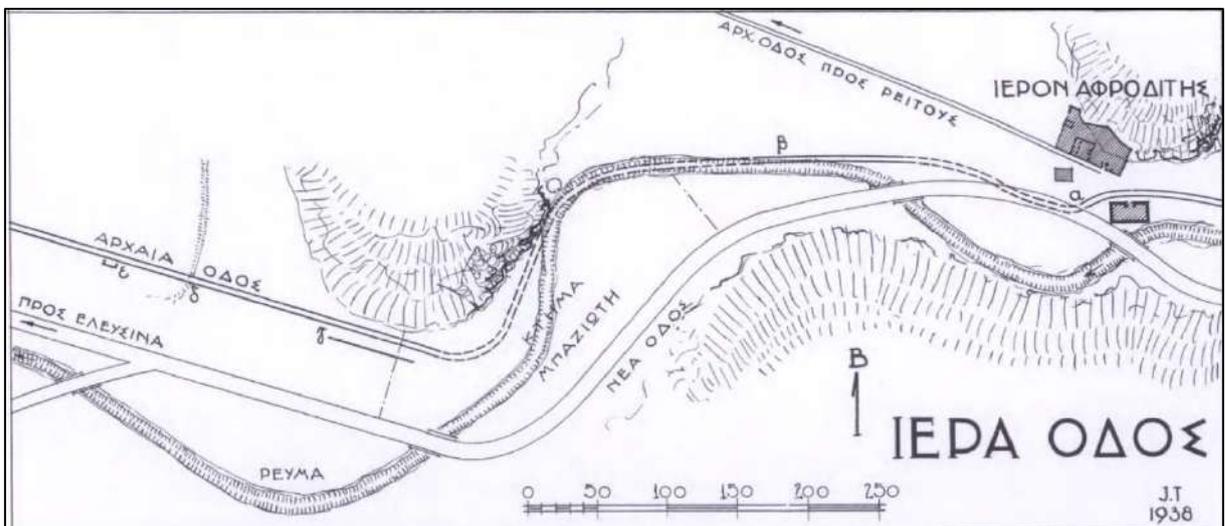
Fig. 39. Section of the Hiera Hodos next to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros (on the right) in direction to Rheitos (on the left). After Machaira (2008, p. 10, fig. 3). Drawing by John Travlos, 1958.

Sections of Hiera Hodos at Elefsina (Attiki)

Some sections of Hiera Hodos had been recovered after rescue excavations conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports) under directorship of Kalliope Papangeli (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 34-39).[126] According to archaeologists,

> "[…] the ancient Sacred Way ran almost parallel to its namesake in the modern city, at a distance of no more than a few metres to the south. In parts of the Sacred Way that have been studied, its width was 5.50m. The number of layers and thickness of paving as well as the mansory of its retaining walls vary at places." (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 34).

A bridge over the Eleusinian Kephissos River in Elefsina is also attested by archaeological research Travlos in 1950 (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011) (**Plate 5**). Metal conectors, the use of a mortar and masons' marks in Latin give a Roman dating to the building (2nd century AD) (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 40).[127] The Hiera Hodos leads to the north gateway of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, where some entrance buildings welcomed the participants of the procession of the Mysteries (MOHR, 2013, p. 69; PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 34).

4.5. The City Eleusinion at Athens

The Archaeological site of the City Eleusinion (*Ελευσίνιο εν ἄστει*) lies on an area on the northwest slope of the Acropolis of Athens, on the right bank of the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 41; **Plate 3**). This is a shrine dedicated to Demeter, Kore and Triptolemos which was administered along with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis by the Eleusinian traditional priesthoods and *epistatai*.[128] The City Eleusinion at Athens is mentioned in a

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[126] Rescue excavations at modern Elefsina had been published by Papangeli (1983; 1984; 1988; 1990; 2004).

[127] The Roman bridge over Eleusinian Kephissos was also studied by Lippolis (2010, p. 36-37), Mylonas (2009, p. 184-185) and Travlos (1988, p. 178).

[128] In addition to the City Eleusinion of Athens, the inscription IG I³ 32 (= I Eleusis 30 - Decree of the Epistatai from 432-1 B.C. – not included in my repertoire) indicates that Eleusis also administered another

few passages by authors of antiquity. The passage in Xenophon about military processions and the ideal display of cavalry gave some clues to archaeologists of the location of the City Eleusinion (Xen. Cav. 3.2) (MILES, 1998, p. 2).[129] Pausanias offered even more precise indications of the shrine's location next to the Athenian Agora: "[…] above the spring are two temples, one to Demeter and the Maid, while in that of Triptolemus is a statue of him […]" (Paus. 1.14.1-2).[130] Such mentions of the textual source and the large quantity of votives to Eleusinian deities found in the area led archaeologists to discover the foundations of the City Eleusinion (MILES, 1998, p. 6-7).

The archaeological site was first excavated by Kyriakos Pittakys in the 19th century, when he collected the first epigraphic evidence about the City Eleusinion (PITTAKYS, 1853; 1856). After Pittakys' interventions, Kourouniotes carried out further excavations in 1910 (MILES, 1998, p. 4-5). In the 1930s, the archaeological site was granted to the systematic excavation by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). Archaeologists from ASCSA has been publishing the results of excavations until nowadays in the official journals (Hesperia, Hesperia Supplements and The Athenian Agora series) (MILES, 1998, p. 5-6).[131] The complete results of excavations were published in The Athenian Agora series vol. XXXI by Margaret M. Miles (1998).[132] Even though the complete area of the sanctuary could not be fully excavated due to the limits of Modern city, the excavations conducted by ASCSA revealed a complex stratigraphy from the late 8th century B.C. to the 2nd century AD (Fig. 42) (MILES, 1998, p. 5-7; PALINKAS, 2008, p. 24-274).

The City Eleusinion is a very important sanctuary for the organisation of Eleusinian Mysteries, since its temple was both temporary shelter for the sacred objects (*tá hierá*) and starting point of the initiates' procession and the escort of Iackhos to Eleusis (**Plates 2** and **3**) (CHRISTOPOULOU, 2011, p. 82). The archaeological site is under the

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Eleusinion at Phaleron (lines 10-12) (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 163-164). This shrine was not found by archaeological research so far though. On administration of the City Eleusinion, see also Miles (1998, p. 64-65).

[129] There are passages that mention the City Eleusinion in Aristophanes (Kn. 566) and Thucydides (2.17.1).

[130] Original: "[…] *ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα*: […]" (Paus. 1.14.1).

[131] Preliminary results were published in Shear (1939, p. 207-212), Thompson (1960, p. 334-338), Osanna (1995, p. 103-118).

[132] Palinkas (2008) reviewed the archaeological data from comparison between the City Eleusinion and entrance buildings of Eleusis.

curatorship of Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports) and excavations are still conducted by the ASCSA.
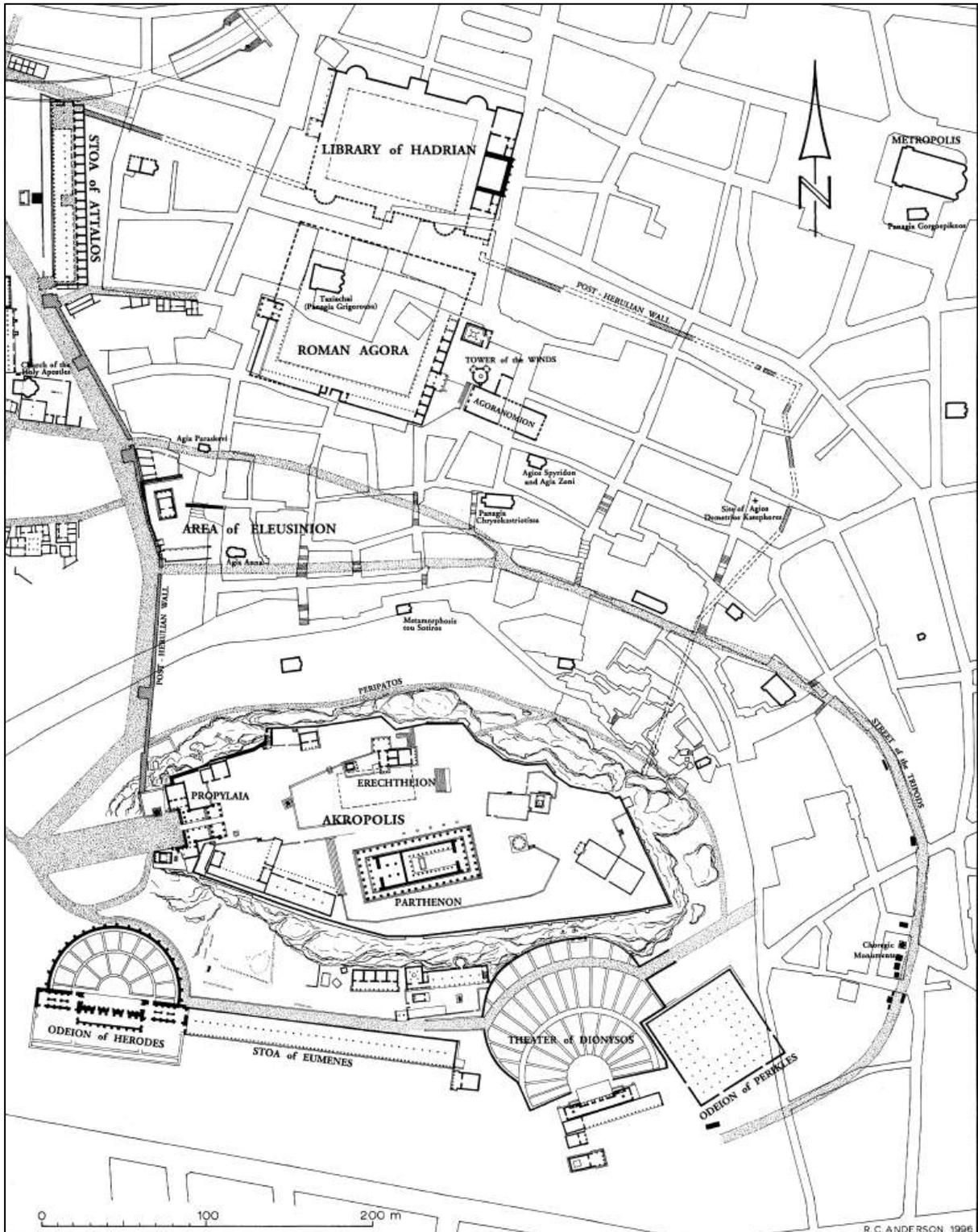
Fig. 40. Plan of the Acropolis in Athens and adjacent archaeological sites, and the City Eleusinion on the northwest of the Acropolis. After Miles (1998, p. 13, fig. 2). Drawing by R. C. Anderson (1996).
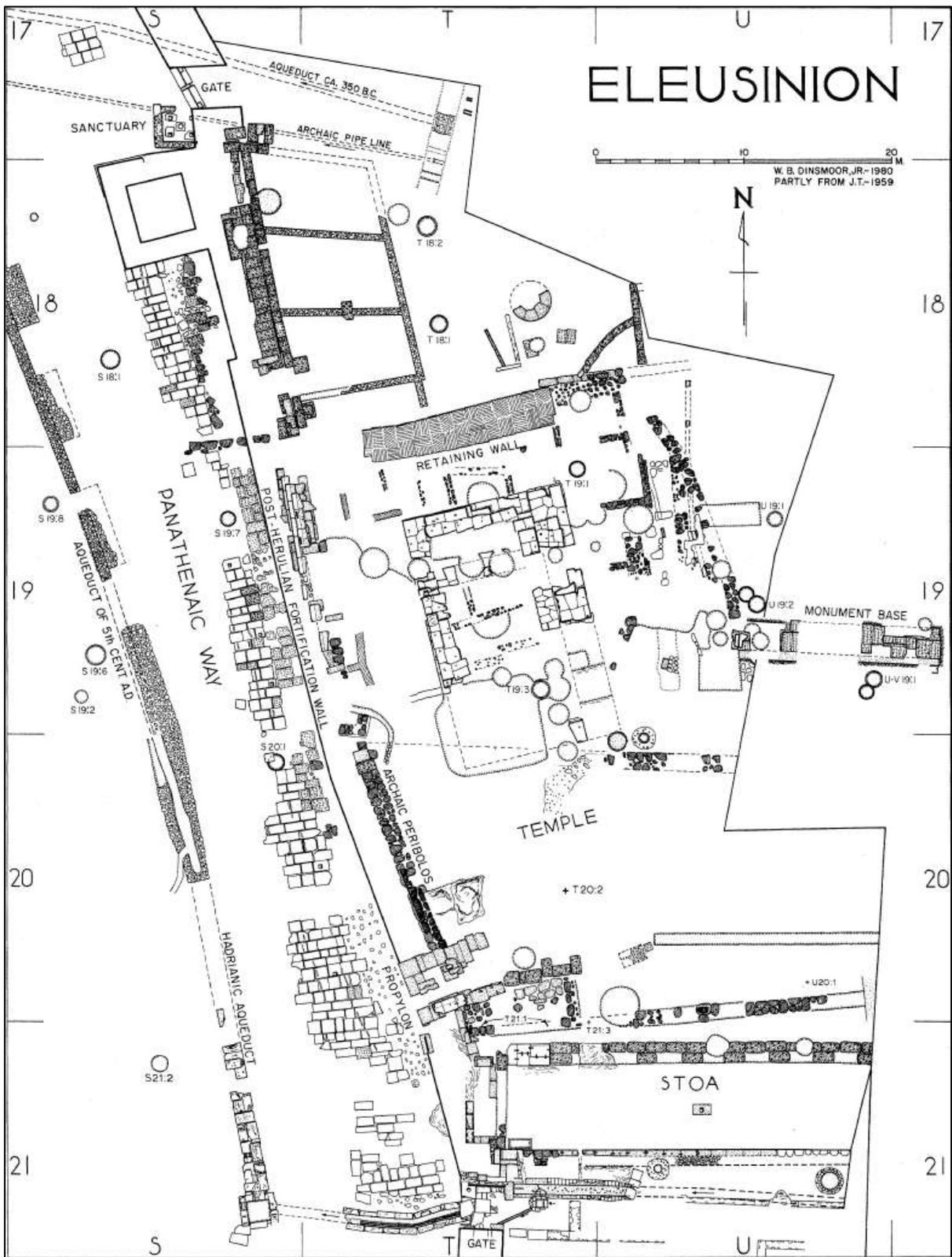
Fig. 41. The actual-state of excavations of the City Eleusinion. After Miles (1998, plan 2).
Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr (1980) and John Travlos, 1959.

Building phases

Late Archaic Period (600 – 508 B.C.)

The earliest architectural evidence is attested at the City Eleusinion in the 6th century B.C. (Fig. 43). The *temenos* is bounded by a peribolos wall that incorporates the Rocky Outcrop and two votive deposits (T20: 2; T20: 4), whose ceramic material has dates between the late 8th century and the 7th century B.C. (Fig. 43) (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 49). These walls from the archaic peribolos were composed by bluish limestone from the Athenian Acropolis and measured 22m (west wall), 26m (north wall) and 28m (south wall) (MILES, 1998, p. 25-26).[133] Layers of fill and ceramic fragments found beneath the walls helped to date these peribolos walls from the first half to the middle of the 6th century B.C. (MILES, 1998, p. 113-116; PALINKAS, 2008, p. 50).[134]

According to Palinkas (2008, p. 50-51),

> "The entrance to the sanctuary was located at the western end of the southern side of the peribolos wall, set somewhere within an opening in the wall that has a preserved width of approximately 5m. Oriented toward an east-west road that led to the Panathenaic Way, the start of the route that connected the sanctuary with Eleusis, this entrance was likely a simple gateway without porches, built in line with the wall"

The topographical configuration of this early archaic phase of the City Eleusinion indicates that open-air ritual practices were held in this site along the 6th century B.C. (CHRISTOPOULOU, 2011, p. 82). Moreover, Palinkas argues that wells outside the sanctuary were closed in the period between ca. 575-550 B.C., which led to a spatial re-alignment of the sanctuary with the Panathenaic Way (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 51). These constructive interventions in the Panathenaic Way were made as a result of reforms made in the Panathenaia festival at the time of the tyrannies (last quarter of the 6th century B.C.),

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[133] The eastern part is unknown because its foundations lied below modern buildings. However, its measurement was probably proportional to the west side (cf. PALINKAS, 2008, p. 50).

[134] These fills were excavated in the section D – D' in the north face of the Archaic peribolos wall on the southeast corner of the Temple of Triptolemos (Compare Fig. 42 and Fig. 43) (Miles, 1998, p. 113). Information on ceramic fragments, see "Context pottery descriptions no. 7" from Miles (1998). See also Palinkas (2008, p. 50, note 156).

which led to a widening of this road in order to open space for the crowd of the Panathenaic procession. Consequently, this opened enough space for people to congregate in front of the City Eleusinion (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 51-52). This is also the context of the preparation of a new expansion of terrace in City Eleusinion (MILES, 1998, p. 33).
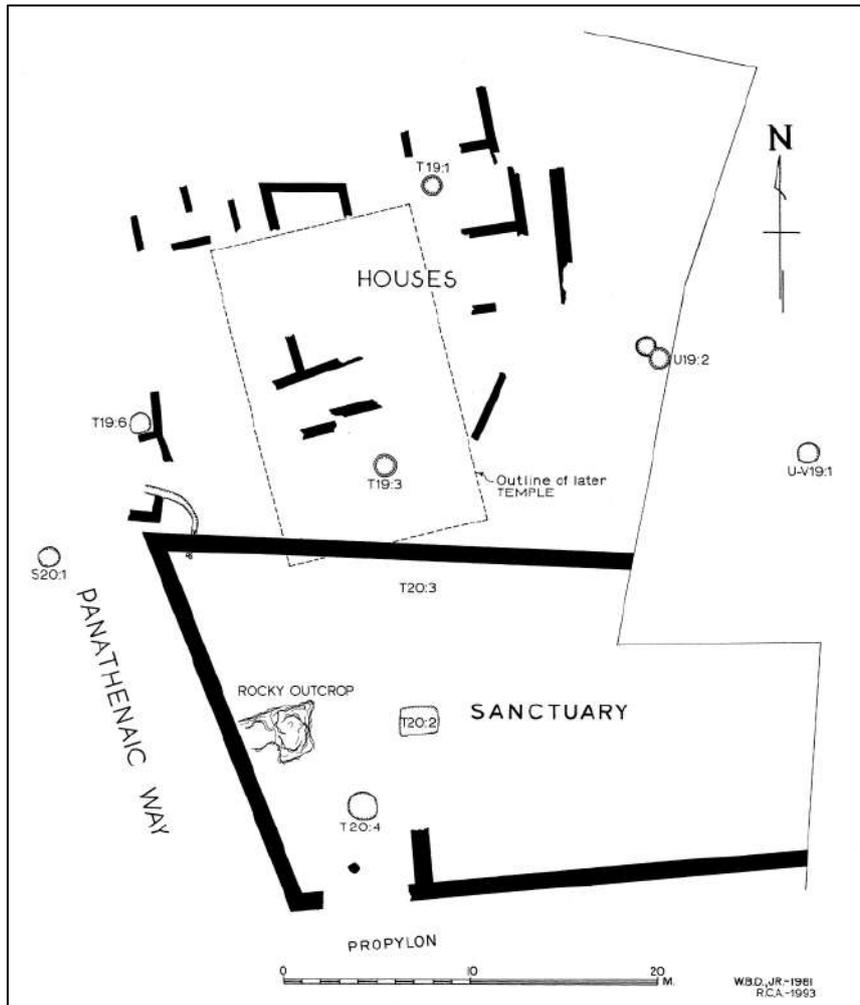
Fig. 42. Restored plan of the City Eleusinion in the 6th century B.C. After Miles (1998, p. 24, fig. 4). Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr (1981) and R. C. Anderson (1993).

These new interventions in the City Eleusinion also occurred between 550 and 508 B.C. and they were preparations for the further building of Temple of Triptolemos and a new peribolos wall (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 66-67).[135]

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[135] This Building activity in City Eleusinion is contemporary to the building activity in Eleusis between 550 and 510 B.C., where the Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion with its new hypostyle hall design and the fortified peribolos wall were built (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 65-82).

Classical Period (508 – ca. 340 century B.C.)

Major constructive interventions were carried out in the City Eleusinion between the 5th and the 4th centuries B.C., which was prosperous phase in Athens stemming from the Cleisthenic Reforms and the peak of the Athenian Empire. The first building interventions were carried out in the early 5th century B.C. with the expansion of the *temenos* area, a new peribolos wall, and the building of the Temple of Triptolemos. The second constructive activity in the City Eleusinion took place between ca. 450 and 320 B.C., with the construction of the monumental base and important renovations on the buildings (MILES, 1998, p. 59).

The expansion of the terrace between ca. 550 and 508 B.C. opened space to the building of the Temple of Triptolemos and a new peribolos wall, which expanded to the north (Fig. 44).[136] As mentioned before, this temple was dedicated to Demeter, her daughter Kore, and Triptolemos.[137] The identification of the deities most worshipped in the temple, as well as its attribution to Triptolemos, was made based on passages of Pausanias (1.14.1-4; 1.38.6-7) (MILES, 1998, p. 48-52). The recovery of the foundations and the remaining temple blocks allowed a reconstruction of the ground plan by Margaret M. Miles (Fig. 45) (MILES, 1998, p. 43-48). Thus, the foundations of the temple measured 11,06m x 17,81 m in hard Kara limestone (MILES, 1998, p. 35; PALINKAS, 2008, p. 86). The temple was considered a tetrastyle amphiprostyle, which means that it had four columns on both façades (front and back) and a cella, and a shallow *pronaos* (porch) (Fig. 44 and 45) (MILES, 1998, p. 35-52; CHRISTOPOULOU, 2011, p. 82).[138]

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[136] For discussion on the expansion and stratigraphy of peribolos walls of City Eleusinion see Miles (1998, p. 31-32) and Palinkas (2008, p. 85).

[137] Triptolemos was the Athenian hero responsible for spreading the teachings of Demeter (wheat and agriculture) to mankind. This figure could be classified as an "intermediary" between humanity and the Two Goddesses (Demeter and Kore). He appears both in *Homeric Hymn* (lines 153-155 and 470-480) and prescriptions for sacrifices (SEG 5248A and I Eleusis 13 – **No. 43**) from Eleusis and City Eleusinion (see Chapters 6, 7 and 10). His iconography in various supports was discussed by Clinton (1992, p. 56-63), Guedes (2009, p. 39-41) and Shapiro (1989, p. 76-77). More information on Parker (1998, 99-100).

[138] For further discussion on stratigraphy of the Temple of Triptolemos, see Miles (1998, p. 35-52) and Palinkas (2008, p. 85-89).

The Temple of Triptolemos was built probably in the Ionian style[139] and could be date to the second quarter of 5th century B.C. (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 86).[140]
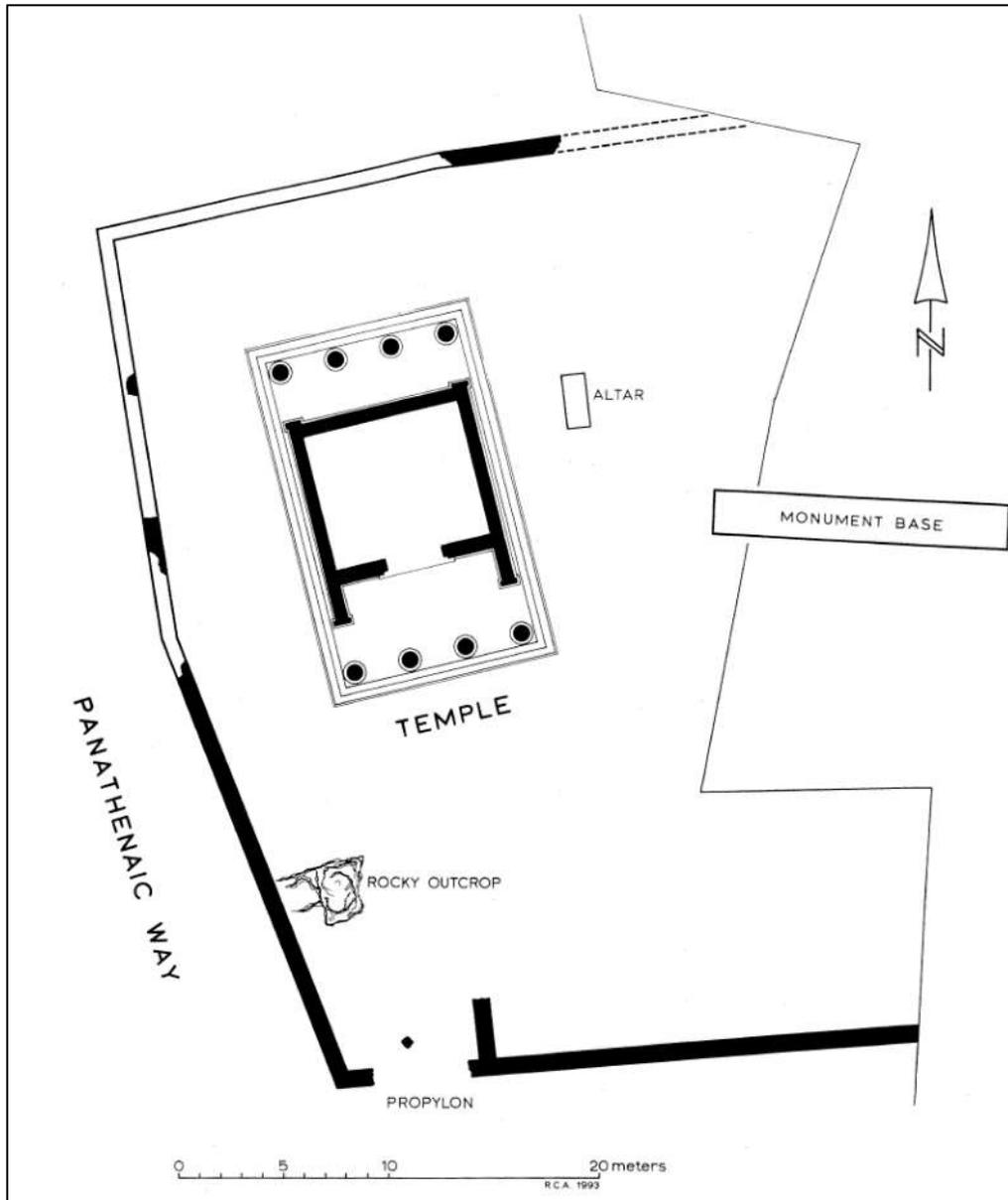
Fig. 43. Restored plan of the City Eleusinion in the middle of 5th c. B.C. After Miles (1998, p. 58, fig. 8). Drawing by R. C. Anderson.

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[139] According to Miles, "architectural fragments of various dates and materials, and both Doric and Ionic types, were found in the fill of the post-Herulian Wall and in late walls within the excavated area. […]" (MILES, 1998, p. 40). This associated archaeological material is not sufficient to attest with precision the architectural style of Temple of Triptolemos. But Miles speculates it holds Ionic style due to contemporary tetrastyle amphiprostyles temples in Athens, such as the Temple of Athena Nike in the Acropolis (ca. 430-420 B.C.) and the temple on the Ilissos river (435-430 B.C.) (MILES, 1998, p. 45).
[140] The dating of the temple was made by Miles (1998, p. 40-41) based on analysis of roof tiles and comparison with Cycladic marble roofs provided by Ohnesorg (1993).
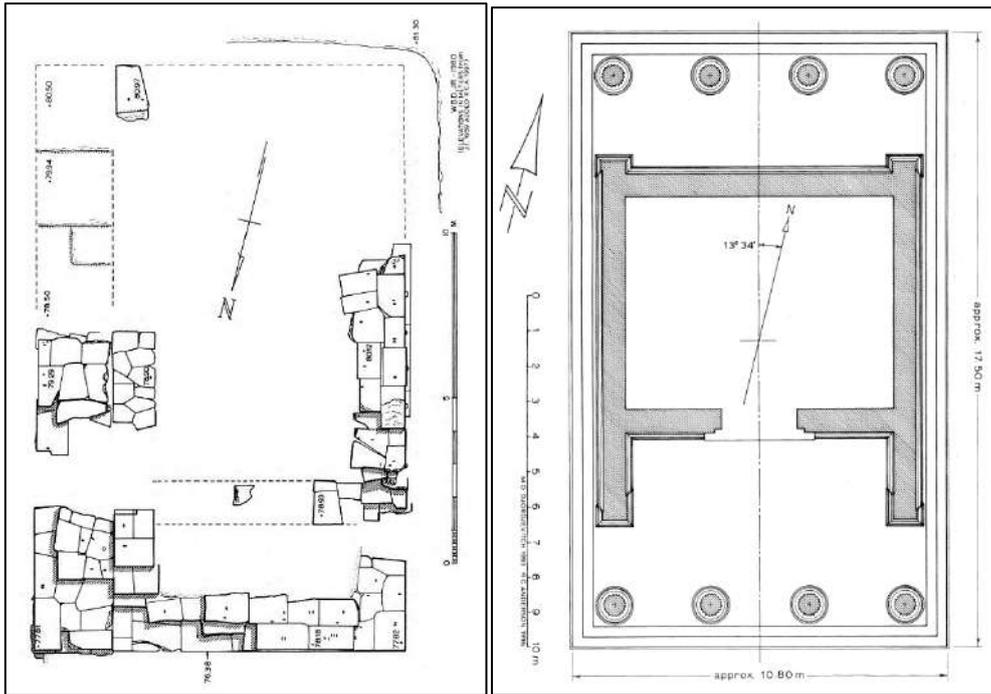
Fig. 44. Plans for Temple of Triptolemos. The actual state of excavations (left) and Restored plan (right). After Miles (1998, p. 37, fig. 5; p. 46, fig. 6). Drawings by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr, 1980 (left) and R. C. Anderson, 1996 (right).

Other built interventions in the City Eleusinion could be attested between ca. 450 and 320 B.C. A long monument base was built to the east of the Temple between 460 and 404 B.C. (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 111-112). Furthermore, a retaining wall was built on the north of the Temple of Triptolemos in the same context as buildings of the sanctuary received restorations and repairs at the entrance of City Eleusinion in the 4th century B.C. (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 132-135; MILES, 1998, p. 59-70).

CHAPTER 5.

EPIGRAPHIC DATA

The following chapter presents the method of working with stone inscriptions, indicates the methodological choices for an epigraphic repertoire and presents the conventions and formalities adopted for its elaboration. The text then moves towards a contextualisation of the Eleusinian inscriptions and argues that these should be understood within the larger *corpus* of Attic inscriptions. Furthermore, social information about individuals and groups of individuals must be processed in view of the regional framing of Attica and the dynamics between urban space (*asty*) and the hinterland (*khora*).

Finally, the text presents a method to trace a "biography"[141] for inscriptions on stone, even if incomplete in some cases. Taking the archaeological character of the inscribed object a stage further, the method proposes the incorporation of inscriptions into discussions on topography after processes of its building, such as (1) the elaboration of the text, (2) the passage or not through collective instances of the polis (e.g. voting in citizen Assembly), (3) the choice for the object, (4) the manufacture of the inscribed object by a sculptor, and (5) spatial arrangement of the inscribed object (and its social and religious implications).

5.1. Epigraphic repertoire: introduction and conventions

The production of inscriptions on stone is one of the striking and innovative features in the history of Attica in the period between the 6th and 4th century BC. Inscriptions in the Attic dialect on Statue bases, stelae, votive plaques, and other types of supports are important sources for study of social transformations of the region. Two aspects are fundamental to a relational study of inscriptions and their stone supports. Firstly, the

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[141] On "biography of inscriptions", I refer to the notion that assumes the object has a "life" trajectory, from the extraction of its raw material and its construction to its deposition/installation and subsequent recovery by the archaeologist. It considers not only the text of an inscription, but the inscribed object (monument) as a whole. So, it considers both the stages of preparation of the text to be inscribed and the building and emplacement of the inscribed object (monument). This notion is inspired by the approach of "cultural biography of objects" by Gosden and Marshall (1999, p. 169-178) and seeks to relate it to the stages of appropriation of the material object by different human agents (cf. URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 126; LAMBERT, 2017, 200). This notion is discussed in the last item of this chapter and further developed in Parts III and IV.

technical characteristics of the archaeological text and support offer information about the actors involved, the dating of the epigraphic object and, above all, the function that this object holds when disposed on public space. Secondly, the choice for the spatial arrangement of these objects presents a series of other information regarding its visibility, its interaction with other objects and buildings, its spatial function in composing the built environment, as well as it could indicate possible interactions with other social actors, from the reading and recognition of its images to the religious (and material) interaction by allowing small rites (deposition of a votive, for example). Such aspects are fundamental to compose both the historical panorama of the epigraphic production and the reconstruction of the choices and strategies made by those who aim to act in benefit of the community through their relationships with Eleusinian deities.

In this way, inscribing on stone and placing it on public space necessarily presuppose an action that could be interpreted in its social, political and religious dimensions. In order to reach that, a repertoire of inscriptions was organized, by taking as criteria the documents produced both by Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens. Drawing on the most recent catalogue prepared by Kevin Clinton (2005a, 2005b, 2008) and other epigraphic repositories, this thesis selected forty-seven (47) inscriptions on stone. They were divided into three sections according to the type of inscription: (I) Dedications; (II) Honorific decrees; (III) Sacred Laws, Regulations and Sacrificial Calendars. This epigraphic repertoire is a selection of previously published inscriptions, which means that its contents appear here reorganized to serve the arguments of this research. Therefore, its nature is essentially bibliographical on the one hand, since it synthesizes information and descriptions from main catalogues already published, but, on the other hand, it offers its own referenced comments and guidance to further bibliography. It also serves to provide information on the archaeological support for the arguments developed in the discussion chapters.

Inscriptions with inventories and accounts from Eleusis were not included in my repertory due to the length of both their text and archaeological support, which would require developments and discussions beyond the scope of my research.[142] However, some of these inscriptions are cited throughout my chapters as a complement to specific

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[142] Moreover, the issue of accounts and inventories is an epigraphic practice that becomes recurrent in Eleusis after the creation of the board of *epistatai* (449 - 448 B.C.). Most of the surviving (and well-preserved) documents are dated to the middle 4th century B.C., which disfavours the diachronic analysis that my research proposes.

inscriptions from the repertoire. All accounts/inventories mentioned in this monography are provided with relevant information on the text and archaeological support, as well as references to further bibliography.

Technical information regarding the text and the archaeological support is reproduced from Clinton's catalogue (2005a, 2005b, 2008). A link on each piece leads to the site of the digital library of Cornell University, responsible for keeping the digitalized photographs of Eleusinian inscriptions. The reconstituted text prepared by epigraphists is indicated individually in each file. The translations are also indicated individually. Inscriptions whose translations could not be located were finally made by the author. The comments and descriptions were prepared by the author based on the Clinton (2008), AIO Project, CGRN, LSCG (SOKOLOWSKI, 1969), and other bibliographic production.

The Epigraphic repertoire is organized according to the following conventions:

The entry name created after inscribed object (nomenclature from Clinton's catalogue (2005a) and the IG in brackets)		
Description	It contains a brief description of the object and its content.	
Type	Type of text (Dedication, honorific decree, decree, sacred law, calendar, etc.)	
Dating	Approximate date of the object / inscription	
Archaeological information	**Location**	It contains object's finding location, if this information exists.
	Type	Type of the archaeological support (Ex.: stelae, statue base, plaque, etc.)
	Material	Material and its origin (Ex.: marble, Pentelic marble, limestone, etc.)
	Conservation state	State of conservation of the archaeological support, according to the most recent catalogue (Clinton, 2005a)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Specific information, such as the inventory number, its location in the repository or technical reserve, and its physical dimensions (in meters). (After measurements by Clinton, 2005a) Abbreviations: H: Height; W: Width; Th.: Thickness; LH: Heigh of letters; Stoich: dimension of the stoichedon
Text information	**Editions**	It contains the main published editions by epigraphists and translations available.
Reconstituted text	Reconstituted text and the name of the epigraphist	Photography or the link for the image

Translation	Translation and authorship of the translation (if absent, it was made by the author)	(after University Cornell catalogue)
Bibliography	It contains the main bibliography in which the inscriptions are discussed.	

In the following chapters, inscriptions are referenced according to Clinton's (2005a) nomenclature followed by my Epigraphic Repertoire number in brackets. Example: "I Eleusis 3 (**No. 1**)".

5.2. Historical and archaeological context: Eleusinian inscriptions as part of the epigraphic *corpus* of Attica

The Eleusinian inscriptions (from the sixth to the fourth century BCE) should be considered as part of the major *corpus* of inscriptions from Attica, as they share the same historical context of production. So, after a careful analysis, it was possible to establish some distinctions between their types, formulas, dating and onomastic specificities.

Dedications, which corresponds to the majority of Eleusinian inscriptions in my epigraphic repertoire and the second most abundant category of Attic stone inscription, usually carry short texts, in prose or in verse, and comprehend a diverse range of objects: from stelai to bases which originally supported statues or other objects in bronze (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 7-8; GUARDUCCI, 2005, p. 155). According to Lambert (2019), they were disposed typically as "dedications in religious sanctuaries as gifts to the gods, seeking or acknowledging divine favour, but include also monuments such as bases carrying tripods commemorating the victories of sponsors of performance competitions at festival", which is the case of choregic monuments (e.g., I Eleusis 66 – **No. 12**). Dedications were commonly characterized by containing the verb ἀνέθηκε, or its equivalent, such as the noun χαριστήριον, but it varies according to the phraseology and could be omitted (even though is implied) (WOODHEAD, 1981, p. 41). In Eleusis, dedications were produced and placed in its sanctuaries since the sixth century and were numerous in the fourth century BCE. They were especially made by wealthy individuals

and their families as initiates[143], contingent of soldiers[144], ephebes[145], athletes or artists[146], members of the Eleusinian priesthoods and officials of Athens[147], for example. The drastic growth of dedications on stone can be seen in the following graphic which includes all inscriptions from Eleusis (after CLINTON, 2005a)[148]:
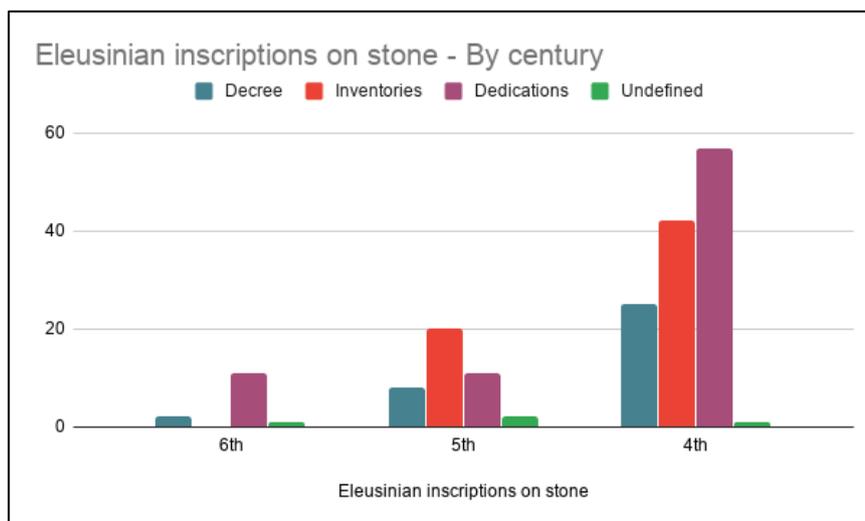
Fig. 45. Total of Eleusinian inscriptions on stone by century (Archaic to Classical Period). After data from Clinton (2005a).

The overall growth of inscriptions on stone in Eleusis was analogous to the rest of Attica between the sixth and fourth centuries B,C. (Fig. 46) (HEDRICK JR, 1999; MEYER, 2013).[149] Especially from the beginning of the fifth century, there is an increase in the number of accounts and inventories, since the need for recording expenditures and resources of sanctuaries or public buildings became relevant (HEDRICK JR, 1999). Dedications which were exclusively made to foreign benefactors gradually came to be employed for Athenian citizens in the transition from the 5th to the 4th century (MEYER, 2013). These numbers reach their peak in the fourth century BC, when a large amount of

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[143] See inscriptions I Eleusis 57 (**No. 7**), I Eleusis 58 (**No. 8**), I Eleusis 83 (**No. 18**) , I Eleusis 90 (**No. 23**), I Eleusis 91 (**No. 24**), I Eleusis 97 (**No. 27**), I Eleusis 98 (**No. 28**) and I Eleusis 103 (**No. 30**).

[144] See inscriptions I Eleusis 81 (**No. 16**), I Eleusis 92 (**No. 25**), I Eleusis 94 (**No. 26**) and I Eleusis 102 (**No. 39**)

[145] See inscriptions I Eleusis 82 (**No. 17**), I Eleusis 84 (**No. 19**), I Eleusis 86 (**No. 20**) and I Eleusis 89 (**No. 22**).

[146] See inscriptions I Eleusis 3 (**No. 1**), I Eleusis 6 (**No. 2**), I Eleusis 64 (**No. 10**) and I Eleusis 66 (**No. 12**).

[147] See inscriptions I Eleusis 77 (**No. 14**).

[148] Numbers of this graphic are not absolute, as the dating of many of the inscriptions produced between the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. are very fragmentary and have approximate dates. Therefore, this graph attest only the upward trend in epigraphic practice. It evidences the epigraphic "boom" of the 4th century B.C.

[149] Similar graphics concerning the entire production of inscriptions from Attica were presented by Hedrick Jr (1999, p. 392-394).

stone inscriptions was made. This is a phenomenon identified by specialists as a change in the epigraphic habit (MEYER, 2013; HEDRICK JR, 1999). Consequently, this evidence could indicate a major social turn or political change, as is argued in more detail in Chapters 11 and 12.

On the other hand, decrees (*psephismata*) are essentially "things voted" and correspond to a specific category of inscriptions with larger texts and material supports (GUARDUCCI, 2005, p. 111-115). According to Woodhead (1981, p. 38), decrees of the *Boule* (*βουλή*) and *Demos* (*δῆμος*) follows a specific phraseology. They begin with some introductory formula, varying in detail from period to period, but with common and typical characteristics. The text has the main objective to inform an Assembly's decision and follows the sequence: introduction accompanied by a record of the date and of the presiding magistrate(s) and the name of proposer of the decree and, finally, it comes the description of the collective decision (WOODHEAD, 1981, p. 38). Generally, decrees were recorded on stone by all sorts of groups of citizens, from "contingents of soldiers as well as *genoi*, phratries, demes, tribes to the Council and the citizen Assembly" (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 4). This means that any decree is subject of discussion, a decision and votes in the Assembly, which confers a special collective characteristic when they got inscribed on stone:

> "The Assembly could only take decisions on the basis of a prior resolution of the Council (probouleuma, which might be 'open' or make specific proposals), and in the fourth-century democracy the Assembly's decisions also had to be within the law, that is to say the body of Athenian laws as revised in a process begun between 410 and 404 and concluded after the restoration of democracy in 403/2.
>
> [...] after the revision at least until 322/1 new laws could be made by the 'lawmakers', *nomothetai*, a body equivalent to, or a subset of, the Assembly or the jurors." (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 4)

There are two important issues for the context of production of decrees in Eleusis (and in Attica in general). Firstly, they start being inscribed in significant numbers around the middle 5th century B.C., after the transfer of the treasury of the Delian League to Athens in 454 BC and especially about the start of the Periklean building programme (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 5). The latter explains the disposition of decrees in places such as

the acropolis and the agora of Athens (LIDDEL, 2003) and in shrines from Attica like the Eleusinian sanctuaries (MIKALSON, 2016, appx. 7).[150] Secondly, the most numerous of all Assembly decrees are honorific decrees, which were almost exclusively used for foreigners in later 5th century B.C. Decrees in honour of Athenians started only after the decade of 340 B.C. (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 5). These inscriptions could be defined as a regular type of decree which includes "thanks and honours of one kind or another to a citizen or alien who has deserved well of the state" (WOODHEAD, 1981, p. 39). The gratitude tended to become more elaborated along the later centuries and this kind of inscriptions were often displayed in greater material rewards. However, textual specificities remain constant and follow the same kind of formula of general decrees. In Attica, Lambert observes that honorific decrees sometimes:

> "[…] honour individuals prominent in the literary evidence, e.g. Dionysios of Syracuse (IG II2 18 = RO 10, cf. IG II2 103 = RO 33) or Lykourgos of Boutadai (IG II2 457 + 3207), or, at a later period, Kephisodoros, the pre-eminent Athenian politician at the time of the Second Macedonian War (IG II3 I, 1292), but more often the honorands made no other impact on the historical record, as for example the grain-trader Herakleides of Salamis, rewarded in the 320s BC for his contributions at a difficult period of Athens' grain supply (IG II3 I 367 = RO 95), or a priest or priestess who had rendered special service (IG II³ I 1026)." (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 5)

In Eleusis, honorific decrees particularly attributed to prominent Athenian politicians and prominent figures of society, such as wealthy citizens[151], members of the sacred *genoi* (*Eumolpida*i and *Kerykes*)[152], military soldiers stationed in Eleusis[153], foreigners[154], and officials of demes or the polis.[155] All these inscriptions were issued after 350 B.C. Honorific decrees have the particularity of guaranteeing official character to the honour practice, since the motion of honour towards an individual passes through the

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[150] For City Eleusinion, I Eleusis 138 (353/2-348/7 BC – not included in my repertoire) is an interesting example, once it summarizes the preparation for celebration of Eleusinian Mysteries (CLINTON, 1980).
[151] I Eleusis 87 (**No. 36**), I Eleusis 93 (**No. 37**), I Eleusis 95 (**No. 38**), I Eleusis 96 (**No. 39**), I Eleusis 100 (**No. 41**) and I Eleusis 101 (**No. 42**).
[152] I Eleusis 72 (**No. 34**).
[153] I Eleusis 80 (**No. 35**) and I Eleusis 99 (**No. 40**).
[154] I Eleusis 68 (**No. 32**).
[155] I Eleusis 87 (**No. 36**), I Eleusis 100 (**No. 41**) and I Eleusis 101 (**No. 42**).

decision-making and voting instances of the polis (the Council and the citizen Assembly) after proposal by a deme (such as Eleusis). Eleusinian priesthoods (Eumolpidai and Kerykes) also proposed the issuing of honorific decrees. Thus, such decrees are fundamental sources for an investigation of the political agenda of wealthy citizens, the formation of networks in the fourth century B.C., the substantive change in the practices of honouring as well as the typical tendency of the Late Classical context to promote wealthy individuals (LAMBERT, 2017, p. 198).[156]

Accounts, very numerous after the mid-fifth-century Eleusis, were lists and descriptions of treasury of sanctuaries, inventories, catalogues, building accounts, expenditure accounts. Inventories of temple treasures, like other kind of accounts, were in fact "an authoritative check of the items handed over by one board of treasurers to its successors in office" (WOODHEAD, 1981, p. 40; GUARDUCCI, 2005, p. 167-168). Building records, on the other hand, were

> "[…] similar records of expenditure for the treasurer-year, listing item by item each expense as it occurred, from one prytany to the next, and the result is to provide illuminating account, recording each detail as it came up, of the actual process of construction of some of the great monuments of ancient architecture, some of them still surviving." (WOODHEAD 1981, p. 40)

Many of these accounts and expenditure records of the Eleusinian sanctuary survived, even though fragmented. Some of these documents were issued regularly after ca. 449-8 B.C., when the board of *epistatai* is created in Eleusis following the model of the *epistatai* of the treasury of Athena on the Acropolis (MERITT; WADE-GERY, 1963; CAVANAUGH, 1996).[157] These officials produced annual inventories and then started to issue quadriennial accounts in the late 5th century B.C. (I Eleusis 45 – not included in my repertoire) (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 6). There are also the documents that recorded the donations of first-fruits to Eleusis (*aparche*) (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**). Accounts and inventories are very relevant documents for the study of the social organisation of Eleusis (and Attica), since they allow the historical tracing of the administrative and financial context of the sanctuary. Furthermore, it is possible to attest the agency of different

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[156] See also Guarducci (2005, p. 117-123).
[157] This is further discussed in Chapter 11.

individuals in the social organisation of the sanctuary through these documents. They include records of the purchase of materials, employment of workers in the works and restorations, uses of material for sacrificials, and so on.[158] They are important source for minimally reconstructing the daily lives of various agents in the affairs of the shrine at Eleusis and offers information to confront with inscriptions of my Epigraphic Repertoire.

5.3. Method: tracing "biographies" of inscriptions and the epigraphic placement as a strategy of communication

This item describes a proposed method for the spatial study of inscriptions within a religious communicative framework. It starts from Rüpke's (2015; 2020) conception on religion as communication to establish the intermediary place of inscriptions on stone. As media within religious communication between humans and their divine addresses, inscriptions and their stone support, as well as the accompanying statue or other sculpture, become receivers and transmitters of the actors who dispose of them and those who read them. They are thus accessible to their own audiences, interacting to varying degrees with "passers-by, witnessers, tourists" (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 357). Considering inscription as archaeological object, which is embedded in a spatial context, allows a comprehensive way to understand the interaction between human agents and the material world. Thus, three not-necessarily successive stages are developed from this premise: 1- visibility and material limits; 2- audiences and scope of readings (verbal and non-verbal); 3- material and social interaction. Finally, it is argued that the use of historical-topographical reconstruction promoted by Archaeology could be employed for tracing the "biography" for these inscriptions (cf. GOSDEN; MARSHALL, 1999, p. 169-178).[159] Even if it remains a lacunar biography, the proposal aims to bring to light the stages of individual and collective appropriations behind the act of inscribing on stone and its display in public space.[160]

The first stage concerns the (re)composition of the epigraphic object, within the possible limits of materiality. For instance, the text of a dedication does not exist in itself,

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[158] Information and elements from Eleusinian accounts are presented as complements to inscriptions of the Repertoire and further discussed in Chapters 8 and Chapter 11.
[159] See also Kopytoff (1986, p. 64-91) and Appadurai (1986).
[160] This proposal is also based on authors who explore the communicative nature of stone inscription. See Chaniotis (2012, p. 302-303), Lambert (2011; 2017, p. 69-72) and Osborne (1999, p. 341-358).

but it is a part of a material support, such as a statue base. Such a base is built to support a sculpture, be it a statue or other sculptural object. Finally, the whole set is spatially arranged in a chosen place, but within the boundaries of the social, religious, political and economic order. It is not always possible to archaeologically verify the place where the original epigraphic object was placed. Sometimes it is not even possible to recover its trajectory or its reuses over time. However, characteristics of the text and the material itself, recovered from the archaeological documentation, allow to outline considerations about its original site. For example, I Eleusis 57 (**No. 7**), 58 (**No. 8**) and 75 (**No.13**) are statue bases in pentelic marble which carry the inscription *ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ*, which means they were sculpted by the famous Athenian sculptor Cephisodotus II. This aspect is strong evidence that the base carried a statue of inestimable sculptural quality, which can be confirmed from evidence about the person responsible for its commissioning (the benefactor). It would therefore be logical to consider that such an object would have been arranged in a place in perfect condition to be seen, recognised and appreciated (LAMBERT, 2017, p. 200-201). This information can be gathered from the combination of epigraphic, archaeological and topographic descriptions of a particular object under analysis. This is the role fulfilled by the epigraphic repertoire proposed in this research.

Once the degree of visibility of a given epigraphic object has been established on the basis of textual and material evidence, the next step is to consider its possible audiences, in addition to the scope and limits to which verbal or non-verbal readings can be made. For example, bases such as the one made by ephebes of Hippothontis (I Eleusis 86 – **No. 20**) or a dedication made by patrol-leaders to a general (I Eleusis 81 – **No. 16**) are both arranged in an area of the entrance of Eleusinian sanctuary on the same spectrum of visibility. Such bases can have as audiences both individuals in service of the ephebia, stationed soldiers or diverse figures of the Athenian elite or even citizens of other poleis and foreigners. If we consider the object as a whole, with sculptures and spatial context, one can investigate the scope and limits for visual, textual and non-verbal readings.[161] These possibilities are circumscribed to the level of literacy of those who frequent the site, as well as the social position of each possible reader within Attic social networks. Furthermore, the epigraphic object and the way it communicates with its audiences allows to consider strategies adopted by social actors in building their self-image in society. It

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[161] This possibility was earlier suggested by Lambert (2017, p. 193-214).

also creates negotiations from actors' perspective and their resilience towards social norms, cultural customs or religious traditions.

In Chapter 12, I argue the phenomenon of epigraphic habit in Attica during the fourth century B.C. reflects the impact of historical contingency on individual epigraphic strategies. In this sense, the emplacement of honorific decrees in a place of appropriate visibility, such as the entrance of a sanctuary or a passage way, can present the legitimacy to the honour guaranteed to the benefactor (public recognition by the community) (LAMBERT, 2017, p. 201). After all, such a procedure requires a motion approved by the citizen Assembly. On the other hand, it reveals the agency of the individual who seeks to be recognised for certain actions, aiming to conquer a social position. There is evidence of individuals seeking honorific recognition through epigraphic strategies in Eleusis, once dedications in their honour were erected not only there, but at various sacred sites of Attica.[162]

The third step is in mapping the interaction between epigraphic object and other objects or buildings in the composition of a landscape. The key element to understand this aspect is on how socio-religious practices were established in a given environment. Ritual practices like sacrifices, processions, libations and purifications or socio-religious practices like gift-giving and culture of honour are the driving force upon which material and social relations were established. As we will see in chapters of Part III, each ritual or socio-religious practice has its particularities and, therefore, requires a separated analysis according to its material and textual sources. However, one aspect is fundamental: both practices and relations which were established by practices should be understood not as fixed entities, but as elements which, like their agents, are in constant transformation. It is not possible to establish the original location in which an inscribed object was installed without a convergence between archaeological find data and textual source information. However, it is possible to establish sites with communicative potential for the arrangement of objects with inscriptions. Places where people gather, entrances, exits and paths are areas where objects with inscriptions are usually arranged. In Eleusis, as we will see in Chapters Part III and IV, there is a tendency for objects with inscriptions to be disposed in the entrance hall in front of the North Gate (especially in relation to

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[162] This is the case of Neoptolemos of Melitte (I Eleusis 93 – **No. 37**), a wealthy individual from Attica, who was responsible for benefactions in several sanctuaries, such as Eleusis and Delphi, but also contributed by serving or dedicating in the Athenian Agora, in his deme Melitte and in the slope of the Acropolis of Athens (CLINTON, 2008, p. 104). More on the case of Neoptolemos of Melitte in Chapter 12.

dedications and honorary decrees) or inside the *temenos* (such as sacred laws and accounts) (cf. LIDDEL, 2003, p. 83).

In short, retrieving such information makes it possible to recover stages of appropriation of a given object with an inscription and thus to recover the "biography" of such inscriptions. As argued in Chapter 1, material objects are embedded in the framework of religious communication as intermediaries in a relationship between human actors and their divine addressees (cf. URCIUOLI; RÜPKE, 2018, p. 126). Therefore, objects like inscriptions on stone are appropriated by human actors as well as objects (its emplacement and its relationship with the environment) can "afford" certain human behaviour (DROOGAN, 2013, p. 151; HODDER, 2012, p. 48-52). So, tracing their "biographies" can help in structuring the objects' life the context of social interaction (cf. GOSDEN; MARSHALL, 1999, p. 170).[163]

Firstly, the investigation can start from the purposes and objectives behind the drafting of the text to be inscribed in stone. A dedication can have the purpose of recognising an individual for an achievement or making oneself known for a particular act, for example. Second, the research can investigate the specific type of inscription under analysis and check whether it goes through some instance of collective decision-making or official legitimacy. The text of regular and honorific decrees is proposed and debated, then it is drafted and read out in public. Afterwards, it is approved in the Council and voted in the citizen Assembly. Third, the appropriate kind of object (its format, size, and material) is chosen by the individual or collective who proposed the inscription.[164] If it carries a statue, a votive niche or it is just a stele are relevant information. Then it goes to the sculptor's workshop for its material projecting and building. A large number of sculpture workshops existed throughout Attica and many individuals specialised in sculpting inscribed objects (HOCHSCHEID, 2015). Finally, it is the spatial arrangement of the inscribed object. This stage involves choosing the most appropriate location for the type of communication the application is intended to establish.[165] For example, a dedication or a honorific decree is relevant in a highly visible location or close to an

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[163] According to Gosden and Marshall (1999, p. 170), "Not only do objects change through their existence, but they often have the capability of accumulating histories, so that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected."
[164] See also Lambert (2017, p. 208-209, note 22) and Davies (2005).
[165] See Liddel (2003, p. 79-93).

improvement or benefaction.[166] An account is relevant near public buildings where citizens or officials can check information, on the other hand. A sacred law is relevant within the *temenos* of the sanctuary, as an object of intermediation of religious communication.

Therefore, these five steps can offer a way for reconstructing the "biography" of inscriptions: (1) the elaboration of the text, (2) the passage or not through collective instances of the polis (e.g. voting in citizen Assembly), (3) the choice for the object, (4) the manufacture of the inscribed object by the sculptor, and (5) spatial arrangement of the inscribed object (and its social and religious implications). This method consists in recovering from inscriptions on stone the stages of appropriation by different agents, shedding light on the agencies behind that object and understanding epigraphic production from the relational model of space production.

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[166] Lambert (2017) argues "honorific inscriptions should be conceptualised as monuments to be seen and not merely as texts to be read (or indeed simply as speaking texts); and certainly one should think in terms of the monument as a whole, and not merely the text, as carriers of the honorific intention." (LAMBERT, 2017, p. 200).

PART III. REFRAMING ELEUSINIAN TOPOGRAPHIES

INTRODUCTION

The following section has the objective of (re)framing Eleusinian topographies. The aim is not to simply offer a different interpretation for the topography of Eleusis and Eleusinian landscape, but to evidence the development of built environment through routinised ritual practices by different agents. So, the argument is developed with the aim of describing socio-material associations established through religious communication between individuals and their divine addressees (the Eleusinian pantheon). As argued in Chapter 2, such communication procedure was established through mediation of material objects and places.

Another aim of this section is to offer an alternative to the still predominant interpretation in archaeological bibliography, which relates the development of the sanctuary of Eleusis between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. to the actions of great Athenian statesmen and prominent political figures. This interpretation has become recurrent especially since the publishing of archaeological findings and research by archaeologists who excavated the site of Eleusis throughout the 20th century, such as Ferdinand Noack (1927) and George Mylonas (2009).

Responsible for excavations between 1945 and 1988, George Mylonas brings together all archaeological results in the fundamental book *Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries* from 1961 (MYLONAS, 2009). In it, he interprets the development of the sanctuary of Eleusis in the historical period (6th c. B.C. - 2nd c. AD) not only from historical contingency, but above all by the action of great Athenian leaders. This interpretation permeates all his topographical description throughout the book, but is synthesised in the conclusion, when he comments on the exaltation of the Mysteries as made by Sophokles and Pindar[167]:

> "When we read these and other similar statements written by the great or nearly great of the ancient world, by the dramatists and the thinkers, when we picture the magnificent buildings and monuments constructed at Eleusis by great political figures like Peisistratos, Kimon, Perikles, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and

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[167] These are the passages in Sophokles (fr. 837) and Pindar (fr. 121). This statement is also present in Homeric Hymn to Demeter (lines 480-482).

others, we cannot help but believe that Mysteries of Eleusis were not an empty, childish affair devised by shrewd priests to fool the peasant and the ignorant, but a philosophy of life that possessed substance and meaning and imparted a modicum of truth to the yearning human soul." (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 285)

The established relationship between great political leaders and production of space by scholarship is problematic and mainly reductionist, as it implies a direct action perpetrated by these individuals that often lacks criticism. Although there is available evidence on the building programme in Attica during the period of Perikles for example, it is not possible to reduce the whole historical and social experience of the building programme in Attica to the figure of the Athenian statesman.[168] Evidently, a chronological relation for the simple purpose of dating and chronological framing of stratigraphic phases was fundamental for documenting the site and subsequent publishing of archaeological studies. However, this interpretation is insufficient when one analyses the development of the built environment in conjunction with transformations of ritual practices during Eleusinian Mysteries and other festivals at Eleusis.

Therefore, chapters of this section seek to overcome this perspective focused on the primacy of great leaders and frame the production of space at Eleusis and Eleusinian landscape between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. from ritual practices and socio-material networks established by different agents. The argument seeks to assess agencies of various individuals who use and appropriate these places during ritual practices, both in Eleusinian festivals such as the Mysteries and on ordinary functioning of the sanctuary. So, this section includes chapters which discusses: practices of depositing and sacrificial places (Chapter 6); the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries and the landscape of West Attica (Chapter 7); the practice of first-fruits offerings and the monumentalisation of Eleusinian peribolos walls (Chapter 8); and the ritual practice of initiations and development of the Telesterion at Eleusis (Chapter 9).

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[168] Nor can one apply this model to building experiences of other historical periods, such as the early 6th century B.C. (Period of Solon) or 4th century B.C. (Period of Lycurgus).

CHAPTER 6.

ACTIVATING PYRES AND ALTARS: SACRIFICIAL PLACES AND PRACTICES OF DEPOSITING

The following chapter aims to frame structures and objects related to the practice of depositing into the framework of religious communication in order to describe creative strategies adopted by different agents in approaching Eleusinian deities. To this end, my argument is elaborated on a critique of the use of essentialised terms as analytical tools to describe material structures and objects related to deposition practices, such as "altars" and "votive" objects. The broad term of "practices of depositing" is then adopted to recover various forms of strategies in which human actors used to establish communication with their divine addressees.

In this way, practices of depositing are investigated through their spatial and time-related aspects. Firstly, structures of the Eleusinian landscape identified as "*bomos*", "*eschara*", "*pyra*" and "*megaron*" are described from their material characteristics and, above all, from related archaeological material. This information provides the basis for a critical discussion on ritual practices at Eleusis which were usually associated with the act of offering/depositing an object in a specific structure or place. Finally, the argument moves to an analysis of the sacrificial calendars at Eleusis (I Eleusis 13 and 175[169]) in order to discuss the recursiveness of such ritual practices and the tendency of repeating socio-material patterns.

6.1. Terminological issues and topography

The elaboration of an actor-based perspective on the phenomenon of practices of depositing necessarily requires starting from a critical premise regarding the terms used for this type of analysis. After all, the English terms "votive", "temple" or even "altar" derive from Greek-Latin vocabulary that designate certain practices, objects or structures that can be useful for historical analysis. It is a tool that the archaeologist and historian

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[169] Repertoire Nos. **43** and **47**, respectively. See Appendix D.

generally use in stages of classification and structuring of the information in their research.

However, the indistinct and uncritical employment of these terms as analytical tools brings a problem that scholars must consider when interpreting ancient sources. The simple fact of calling an object "votive" eliminates important stages of meaning and appropriation existing in its biography - that is, its trajectory - between making it and depositing it in a particular environment. According to Rüpke (2018a, p. 228-229), the employment of ancient terms ('votive' from *votum*, 'altars', 'gifts', and 'vows') as analytical tools to artefacts (from miniatures to structures like altars and temples) implies an automatic association with certain religious practices, when in fact language itself is part of the actors' strategies in establishing religious communication. Therefore, "the language that is part of these strategies, rather than their precondition, does not offer a typology that is ready to use" for academic analysis today (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 229). Rather than using such terms as tools, the very language of iconographies and writing of such objects can be analysed as strategies of these actors within their context of practice. In other words, this means the analysis of archaeologists and historians should turn to the stages of appropriation, such as the selection and making of objects, their use and modification by individuals in order to elucidate processes of (mis-)interpretation and innovation (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 228). In this sense, terms derived from *votum* or *templum*[170], to name but a few, for description of objects, practices and structures are reductionist from a relational and agent-based perspective. It is reductionist since the analytical focus of the archaeologist will only be directed at the fixed entity of the final product and not at the strategies behind its formation, appropriation and spatial arrangement. Thus, an agent-based analysis on artefacts, structures and spaces needs to shift the focus from the identification and classification of rituals to "the strategy of invoking, modifying, and terminologically fixing such rituals" (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 209). This assumption is fundamental especially in relation to the interpretation of religious communication practices:

> "[…] Paying tribute to the complex process of individual selection, use, modification, misinterpretation, and innovation of

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[170] The same argument applies to the Greek terms *naos* (*ναός*) and *ieros* (*ιερός*), whose denominations bring the scholar's gaze closer to the canon in the morphological aspect of a temple or sanctuary. Moreover, it also presupposes certain ritual practices, which is just one step of the appropriations of space.

actions and tools that had previously been used by others in religious actions, has thrown light on the 'strategic' character of religious action. Ritualisation and sacralisation, employing religious communication and the situational shaping of that communication according to the situation is a conscious choice in the face of non-religious forms of action (or not acting at all). If religious action is fundamentally a complex communicative act, its many facets cannot be captured by terms that were themselves employed due to the strategic reasoning of those who coined or used them […]. Terms like 'votives', 'altars', 'gifts', and 'vows' or 'games' suggest a predefined set of religious practices, a tool-box neatly classified by our historical subjects that is easily applicable for our descriptions. This is not the case if we focus on the agents." (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 228-229)

The appropriation of such objects or spatial activation of structures by agents in a ritual context, under the terms "ritualisation" and "sacralisation", can be deduced from the networks of relations between individuals, whether participants or mere spectators within the religious context. The criticism posed by Rüpke (2018a) is also relevant for reassessing practices of depositing at Eleusis, since this analytical lens onto socio-material patterns pushes for a more comprehensive and plural perspective towards strategies of religious communication, which goes from a simple deposition of a statuette or a plant to animal sacrifice.

This uncritical use of terminology led archaeologists and historians to postulate the existence of altars within the sanctuary of Eleusis throughout the 20th century. They also speculated the practice of animal sacrifice (*thysia*) may occurred in secret stages of Mysteries within the Telesterion, even in the face of absent material evidence (EVANS, 2002, p. 238). The recurrence of altars associated with sanctuaries and temples, amply supported by the canon of a "typical" Greek temple after numerous excavations in Attica and Peloponnese, has led specialists to the misleading consideration of the spatial organisation of temples and buildings corresponding to stable ritual practices. A case quite illustrative of this is the artistic drawing prepared by John Travlos (Fig. 47), which was reproduced in the most traditional archaeological studies on Eleusis (e.g. MYLONAS, 2009, p. 91, plate 25)[171]:

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[171] This critical remark was firstly pointed out by Evans (2002).
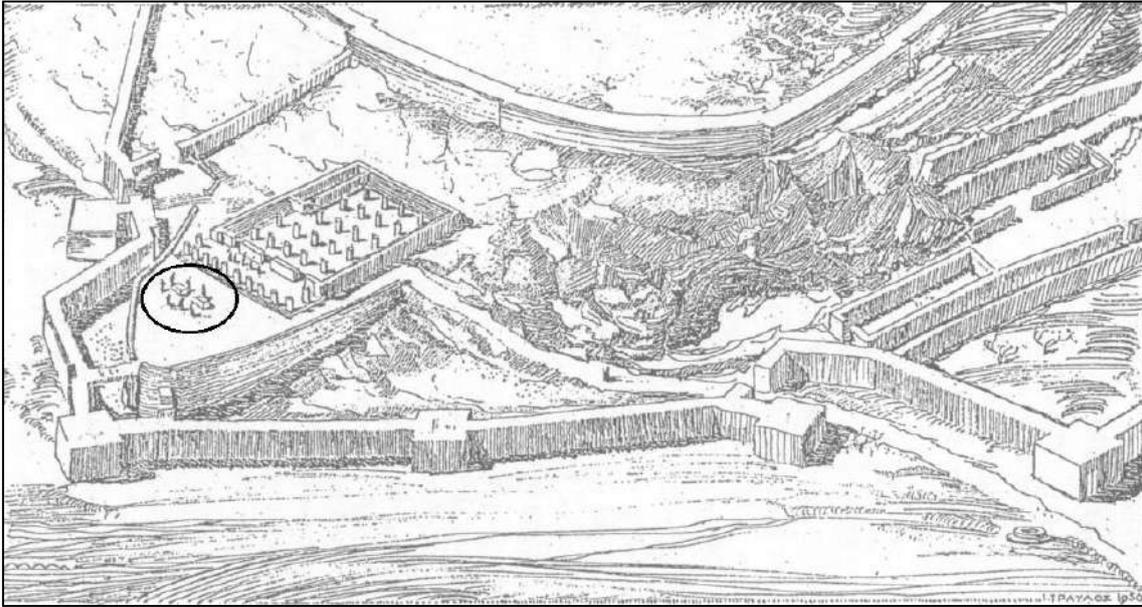
Fig. 46. Artistic overview of the Sanctuary of Eleusis with hypothetical altars (6th century BC). After Mylonas (2009, figure 25). Drawing by John Travlos, 1936. Modified by the author.

Archaeologists who excavated Eleusis were the first to speculate on the existence of altars in the intramural area of the sanctuary. Ferdinand Noack (1927), the first to produce a monograph on the Eleusinian topography in 1927, already argued that the existence of altars was a typical of the configuration of Greek sanctuaries, although his evidences were questionable (NOACK, 1927, p. 10).[172] Like Noack, Kourouniotes (1936) argued that "within the court, the two altars of the Goddesses must have stood, but the exact location is unknown", with hypothetical altars dating back to the Mycenaean period (KOUROUNIOTES, 1936, p. 63). Taking this hypothesis further, George Mylonas (2009, p. 57) also defined areas with potential to house altars, which influenced the making of the above drawing by John Travlos.[173] In fact, Mylonas was inspired in a passage by Euripides (Eur. Supp. 30-35) and some inscriptions in order to attest for altars in front of Telesterion (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 91).[174] Walter Burkert speculated about the practice of

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[172] Mylonas indicated that the Mycenean absidal temple which Noack (1927) interpreted as "a terrace on which cult acts were held [...]. He [Noack] further maintained that only an altar was constructed on it and that in front of that altar the Mysteries were celebrated. However, if we accept as a fact that the Megaron B of Mycenean times was the Temple of Demeter, we have to accept that a building must have replaced it in the Geometric period, and not a mere altar." (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 57).

[173] Mylonas (2009, p. 91): "In front of the portico [of the Archaic temple], however, the terrace forms a triangularly shaped court, over 25m. in extreme length, where the altars of the Goddesses must have stood".

[174] However, the mention in Euripides might relate to structures outside the *temenos* of the sanctuary of Eleusis, and not in front of the Telesterion as Mylonas expected. Inscriptions IG II² 1672, line 1.141 (= I Eleusis 177 - not included in my repertoire) and IG I² 76, lines 36-37 (= I Eleuis 28a – **No. 45**) did not

animal sacrifices (*thysia*) within the sanctuary as a "climax" of the Mysteries, using only comparative evidence from other cultic contexts (BURKERT, 1983, p. 282-283). These arguments would only be refuted later with more excavations and archaeological analyses of structures from the sanctuary of Eleusis, especially after the studies of Clinton (1988, p. 69-80), Kokkou-Vyridi (1999) and Evans (2002, p. 227-254).

Using these critical notes, Nancy A. Evans (2002) advocates for the absence of animal sacrifices during the secret stage of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the Telesterion. Below, I describe some of her arguments, which I intend to complement in this chapter:

1) *Thysia* presupposes social differentiation, since only citizens can participate, which contradicts the proposal of the initiations (*myesis*), since participation is open to citizens and non-citizens (EVANS, 2002, p. 247-248). *Myesis*, on the other hand, advocates equality between initiates before the Two Goddesses: "*Thysia* privileged priests and magistrates, the men with visible, political power. This ritualized expression of social hierarchy was necessary for the everyday functioning of Greek society" (EVANS, 2002, p. 249-250). Besides that, the author agrees with Burkert (1983) in the argument that sacrificial rituals could have been present on the last day of the Mysteries with a transitional function to mark the return to social normality (BURKERT, 1983, p. 292), but outside Telesterion.

2) None of the three stages of *Mysteria* presupposes blood sacrifice: *dromena* ("things done"), *deiknymena* ("things shown) e *legomena* ("things spoken") (EVANS, 2002, p. 245-246).[175]

3) According to Evans (2002, p. 250), "The absence of altars within the sanctuary at Eleusis points to a different sort of symbolic relationship between divine and human – as well as human and human – that was experienced during the Eleusinian Mysteries".

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mention a specific place for setting the altar. The fact is that the terrace of the inner court of Eleusis was modified along the centuries and no traces of altars in front of Telesterion could be attested at all. Except for pyres and *megara*, which I will describe later in this chapter. See Mylonas (2009) and Evans (2002, p. 227-254).

[175] Little is known about such stages of Mysteries cult. The interpretation of Mylonas (2009) on meaning of these terms is synthesised in my Glossary. More information on Mylonas (2009, 261-274) and Foucart (1914, 355-431) for earlier speculations.

These arguments are taken further throughout this chapter, by following the relational perspective this research proposes. My argument here starts from a broad term for practices of depositing. This means that offerings, from animal sacrifices to the deposition of miniatures, deposition/burning of plants or outpouring liquids (from a *phiale*), are a form of religious communication practised between individuals and their divine interlocutors, which uses intermediaries such as altar-like structures and material objects. Thus, artefacts found in pits or near altars should be analysed from the strategies (selection, modification, use, interpretation, innovation, spatial arrangement) evidenced in their form, iconography, and archaeological context. This information not only helps to better contextualise the structure (altar, pyre, pit), but also allows us to understand the individual appropriations of spaces based on processes of routinisation and repetition. After all, practices of depositing as religious communication in the context of ritual practices is a form that invites repetition and routinisation. After all, altars, pyres, or pits "are tools, infrastructure and memory of religious performances" (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 216). Thus, sacrificial spaces can be better framed and elucidated from a diachronic point of view.

The argument will be developed from two aspects of religious communication. As a spatial practice, spaces of deposition practices which are located both in the City Eleusinion and in Eleusis will be described from archaeological and textual evidence in order to present how individuals creatively appropriate objects and space to ascribe meaning and relevance to Eleusinian addressees. Furthermore, the particularities of each structure or deposit will be highlighted in order to build a discussion on various types of sacrificial practices and deposition practices, in opposition to the hypothesis of altars' existence within the sanctuary of Eleusis. Secondly, sacrificial practices from the perspective of religious communication are also discussed as a time-related practice. Thus, I analyse two epigraphic sources (a sacrificial calendar and a decree) in order to understand strategies on organization of rituals to maintain the regularity and repetition of religious communication towards Eleusinian deities.

6.2. Dissecting practices of depositing in Eleusis

My first argument for framing practices of depositing into the framework of religious communication is by considering it a spatial practice (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 225). This means that stages of appropriation, such as selection, modification, continued use, interpretation, placement, are processes occurring through interaction of individuals with built and natural space. The relationship with these spaces is recursive, which means that these spaces are appropriated daily, and not only during the ritual practices of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In the following, I describe spaces and their related objects in West Attica with the aim of elaborating a framework for the relational pattern and its particularities.

Between Eleusis and Athens, archaeologists have identified many altar-like structures and sacrificial places thanks to the evidence of material objects and even due to the characteristics of sediments. Here I highlight sacrificial places (altars, pyres, pits) and their development which were identified both around the sanctuary of Eleusis and in the City Eleusinion, as well as in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros beneath the Sacred Way. Firstly, physical structures of these altars and pits are described according to recent bibliography in harmony with archaeological finds from each site. Secondly, recurrent interpretations of each structure and their connection with deposition rituals will be presented along with commentaries.

6.2.1. *Bomos, eschara, pyra, megaron*: built structures and material patterns

Ancient Greeks used different words to designate intermediary material altar-like structures for their communication with deities, depending on the type of religious action and ritual practices upon this material structure. This can be attested in different designations evidenced on ancient textual sources. The term *bomos* (*Βωμός*) was designated as a stand (for chariots) or statue base in Homeric epic poetry (Il. 8.441; Od. 7.100) and hold the meaning of "sacrificial altar" only in ionian-attic dialect from

Archaic-Classical Period (BEEKES, 2010, p. 251; CHANTRAINE, 1999, p. 203).[176] The *eschara* (ἐσχάρᾱ) is designated as "hearth, fireplace, pan of coals; altar" (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 139, ἐσχάρᾱ).[177] A pyre (πυρά) designates a "place where fire is kindled; funeral pyre; burial place" (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 284, πυρά).[178] Megaron is a word used in many different contexts and many meanings over time, ranging from "inner room of a temple, sanctuary" to a "chamber, hall" (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 206, μέγαρον).[179] These four terms were used by archaeologists in order to classify structures from City Eleusinion and Eleusis, as we will see carefully below.

The analytical use of such Greek terms to investigate material structures found in archaeological sites is a problematic issue, as it depends on the state of conservation of the archaeological context, especially of objects associated with each structure. As we saw earlier, care is needed when naming a structure or establishing a link between a structure and a specific ritual practice, since such an association may reduce the object or structure to a spatio-temporally circumscribed point of its social existence. In the following, structures and associated material objects from Eleusis and City Eleusinion are described in order to grasp various practices of depositing by different agents in the daily life of the sanctuary.

Eleusinian landscape (City Eleusinion and surroundings of Hiera Hodos in West Attica)

Some bases and altar-like monuments were identified by archaeologists next to buildings of the Eleusinian circuit (See **Plate 10**, in yellow). Firstly, evidences of a small rectangular monument were identified near the Temple of Triptolemos in City Eleusinion (MILES, 1998, p. 62-63). A foundation of rough stones with measures 1,10 x 2,70m were located just three meters to the east of the temple with north-south orientation (See Chapter 2). It

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[176] Burkert relates *bomos* to the altar for sacrifice of animals, "most essential element [of the temenos] is the altar, bomos, on which the fire is kindled" (BURKERT, 1994). See also Kl. Pauly vol. 1 (1979, p. 279, altar) and ThesCRA I (2004, p. 60-132).

[177] According to Chantraine (1999), "[...] employé notamment pour des foyers de sacrifice, dinstingués des *Βῶμοι* plus élevés; se dit parfois d'autels mobiles (ion.-att.)" (1999, p. 379-380). Beekes defines it as "hearth, house, sacrificing hearth" (2010, p. 472). See also Kl. Pauly vol. 1 (1979, p. 279), ThesCRA I (2004, p. 60-132) and Burkert (1994).

[178] Pyre (*pyra*) is specially related to the word "fire" (πῦρ; πῦρός) (BEEKES, p. 1260, πῦρ; πῦρός). See also Kl. Pauly vol 1 (1979, p. 279), ThesCRA I (2004, p. 60-132) and Burkert (1994, p. 56).

[179] See also Kl. Pauly vol. 3 (1979, p. 1149, megaron).

was composed by reddish crystalline limestone, which suggests a dating contemporary with foundations of the Temple of Triptolemos, around 500 B.C. (MILES, 1998, p. 63). Shape, location and dating led to the speculation that this was the altar for the temple or perhaps a small monument for inscribed object (stele, statue base, or other). Miles suggests this foundation held possibly one of the altars inscribed with sacred laws regarding the Eleusinian Mysteries (MILES, 1998, p. 63).[180] However, related-findings and the structure are not enough to affirm whether it was a typical altar for sacrifices (*bomos*) or a support for a statue or inscribed object (MILES, 1998, p. 62-63). Other poros stone bases were found by excavations and listed in Margaret Miles' publication as "altars" (MILES, 1998, p. 214, plate 34 – Fig. 48)[181]. However, even though the possibility of being "altars" could not be fully discarded, there is no clear evidence to affirm such fragmented bases were sacrificial altars, altars for depositing objects or just bases for steles, decrees or other object.
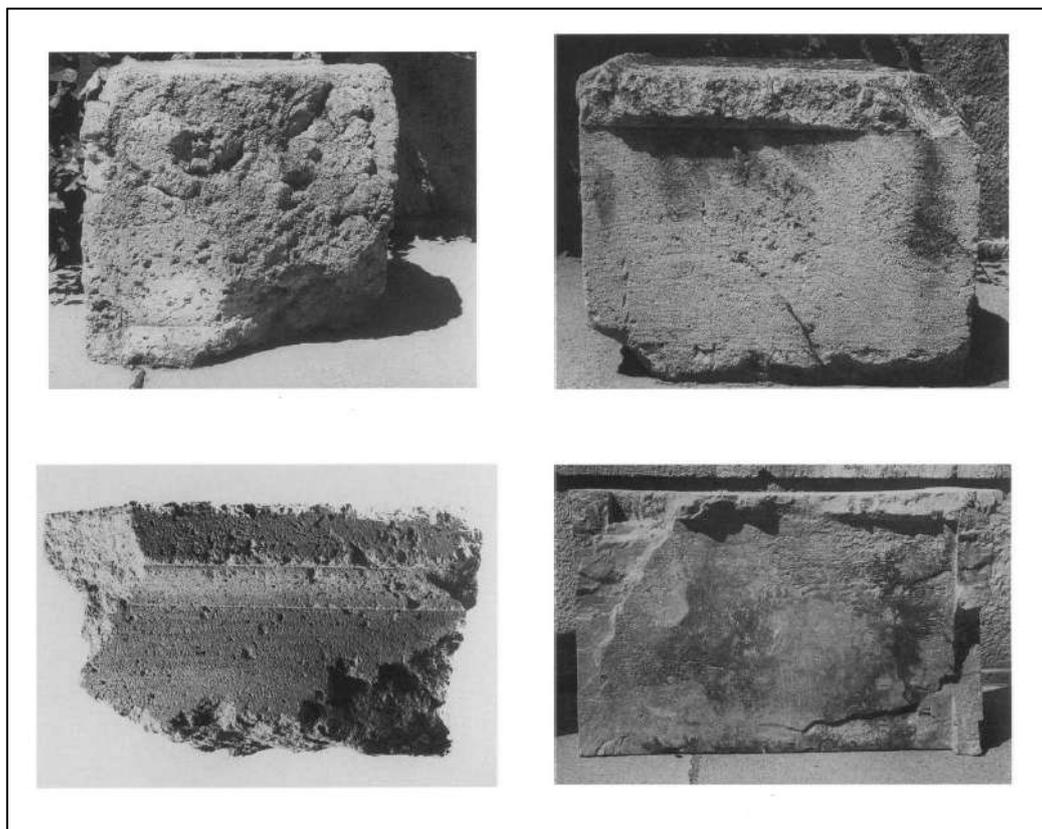
Fig. 47. Bases from the City Eleusinion classified as "altars". Left: Poros altar A 2827 (top) and Poros altar A 2829a (bottom). Right: Poros altar A 2828 (top) and Marble offering table A 2829 (bottom). After Miles (1998, plate 34; p. 214). Modified by the author.

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[180] See subchapter 4.4 (Chapter 4) for more details and archaeological plans of the City Eleusinion.
[181] They are identified as Poros altar A 2827; Poros altar A 2828, Poros altar A 2829a and Marble offering table A 2890.

The excavations conducted in the City Eleusinion by ASCSA since 1930s provided a rich description of archaeological finds (MILES, 1998). Besides mentioned bases, several closed Deposits and Wells were documented by North-American archaeologists, whose ceramic sherds provided the basis for dating and chronological framing of related-structures and buildings of the City Eleusinion (cf. MILES, 1998, p. 105-186). It also provided several deposits, where many fragments and whole parts of plemochoai vessels were found, such as Deposit T 22:1, which was located outside the *temenos* (Fig. 49; Fig. 50).[182]
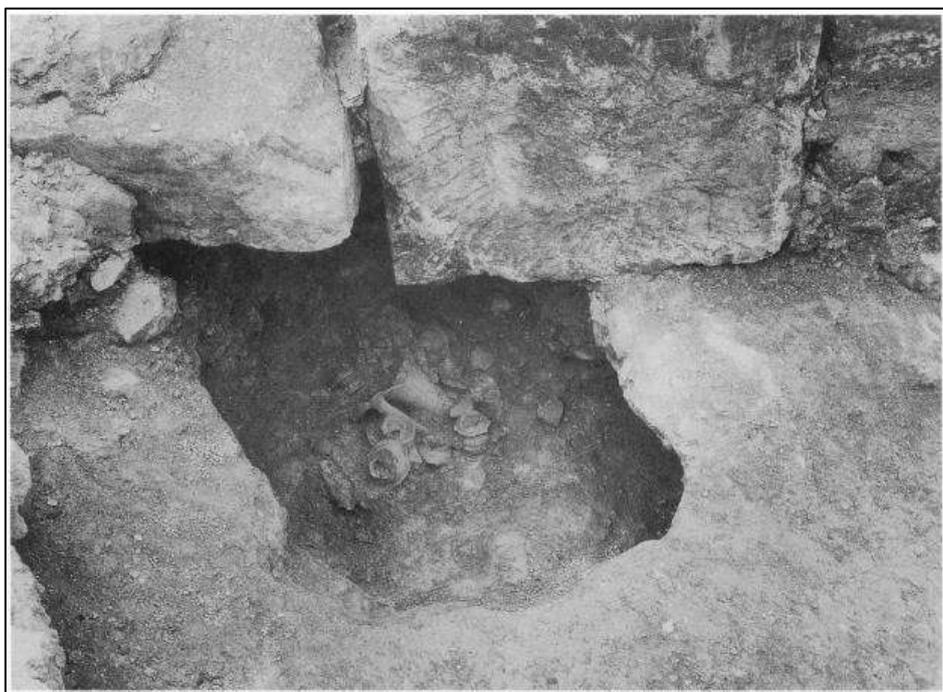
Fig. 48. City Eleusinion. Area II. Deposit T 22: 1 (1938). After Miles (1998, p. 269. Plate 19).

These deposits with *plemochoai* were relevant for the identification of the area of City Eleusinion by archaeologists (MILES, 1998, p. 95). These vessels were very important during Eleusinian Mysteries and for chthonic cults, as individuals outpour liquids onto the ground in a religious action for communication with underworld deities,

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[182] According to Miles (1998), other main *plemochoai* deposits were T 22:2; T 18:5; T 21:2; T 20:1; U 20:1, U 22:4; U 22:5. All *plemochoai* deposits were located around the sanctuary. For precise location of each one, see Fig. 42 of Chapter 4 and Miles (1998, plans 2 and 3).

such as Hades and Persephone (MILES, 1998, p. 99).[183] It was also an object carried by participants of the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries, which may also be decorated and used for burning incenses (MILES, 1998, p. 99-100). Fragments of these Eleusinian vessels are also evidenced along all the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis mostly dated from 5th and 4th century B.C., as attested in excavations from archaeological sites of the Kerameikos and those in metro stations Eleonas and Aigaleo (cf. MITSOPOULOU, 2011, p. 189-227).[184] This is evidence that such objects were relevant for Eleusinian Mysteries and the procession between Athens and Eleusis.
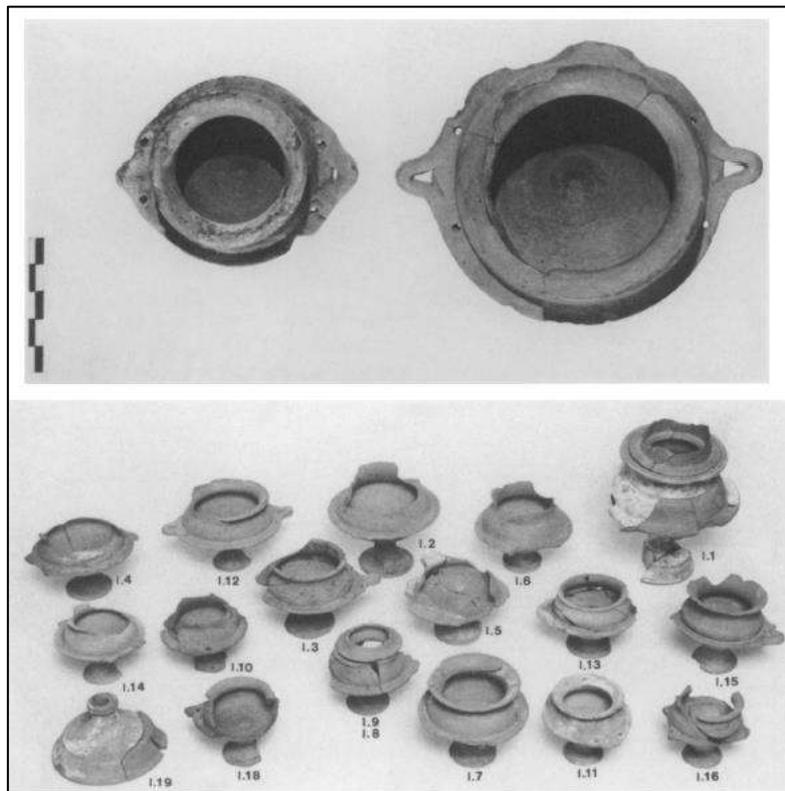
Fig. 49. Eleusinian vessels (*plemochoai*) from Deposit T 22 1, City Eleusinion (After POLLITT, 1979, plate 66).

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[183] This information was given by Athenaeus (Ath. 11.93): "[…] But they use it at Eleusis on the last day of the Mysteries, which day they call *Plemochoai,* from the cups. And on this day they fill two plemochoæ, and place one looking towards the east, and the other looking towards the west, saying over them a mystic form of words; […]". Original: "[…] χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ᾗ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς,7 τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀνιστάμενοι ἀνατρέπουσίν, ἐπιλέγοντες ῥῆσιν [p. 212] μυστικήν.". See also Clinton (1988, p. 78-79).
[184] The vessel is present also in iconography, such as Ninnon tablet and other vases. See more on Ninnion Tablet in Chapter 7. See also Mitsopolou (2011) for a complete analysis on *plemochoai*.

The sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, located on the banks of *Hiera Hodos* at the margins of Mount Aigaleon, was possibly a stop for practices of depositing during the procession of the Mysteries. The niches of various sizes on the bedrock of Mount Aigaleon to the north of the sanctuary were places for the deposit of votive objects, which could be related to the cult site of Aphrodite and Eros on the slopes of the Acropolis (Fig. 51) (GRECO, 2016; MACHAIRA, 2008). It may also be relevant during Eleusinian procession. However, pottery data of Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros was not properly documented during first excavations and this information could not be fully attested, as said earlier in Chapter 4 (MACHAIRA, 2008, 145).
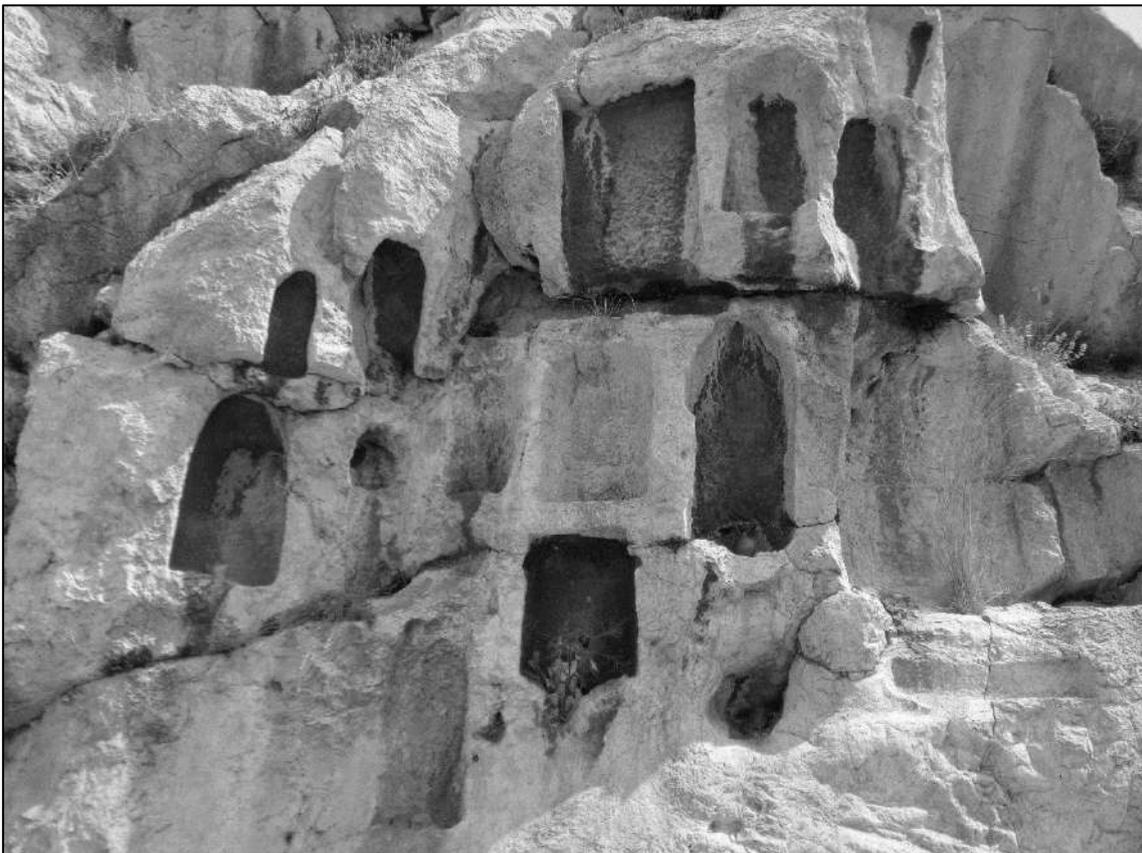
Fig. 50. Niches for offerings at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros next the Hiera Hodos. Archaeological site of sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros. Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

There are structures that have traditionally been identified as altars by archaeologists in the outer courtyard of the sanctuary of Eleusis (See **Plate 10**) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 168-170). Facing the entrance to the north of the sanctuary, it is agreed among scholars that this outer area became a place for reception court for initiates

arriving by procession (cf. PALINKAS, 2008, p. 275-278; ZIRO, 1991, p. 291-297). Thus, it was the place for the transitional stage between the procession and the secret stages of the Mysteries, as well as concentrating buildings of fundamental importance both to the narrative of the Eleusinian myth (like Kallichoron Well). The site is one of the most visible places for display and arrangement of stelae and sacred laws between the 6th and 5th centuries BC and statuary and other monuments, and especially for inscribed bases in large numbers from the 4th century BC onwards (CLINTON, 2008, p. 1-4).

However, there is an archaeological problem regarding the outer courtyard, as it was paved in the Roman period.[185] Thus, earlier strata have few documented data from excavations, much of it are object of speculation by scholars. This context is related to both a structure which was identified as *eschara* by Kourouniotes in 1936, contemporary to the paving of the courtyard, and the altars related to the Temple of Artemis and Poseidon from Roman Period (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 168-170). At the northeast corner of the Temple of Artemis and Poseidon, the so-called *eschara* (Fig. 52) was an unpaved rectangular structure made of a line of stones 7.15m on the east side and 6m on the west side; 8.50m on the north and 8.28m on the south (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 169-170). There are blocks of burnt bricks forming a ground-altar in the centre to support the metal grid (*eschara*), on which animals were sacrificed and burnt. Although undoubtedly Roman in date, it is argued that the area may have been the site for earlier sacrificial structures (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 169). Also, from Roman times, other altars were evidenced around the Temple of Artemis and Poseidon. The first in front of the temple was 3.10 x 2.48m and the second, 4 x 3.35m, besides others with very little material remains. The existence of such places favours the argument that there stood structures from $5^{th}/4^{th}$ century B.C. for reception of the procession (ZIRO, 1991, p. 191; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 169). After all, the main entrance to the sanctuary was transferred from the South Gate to the North Gate in the late 6th century B.C. (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 76-77). The hypothesis of continuity between the Roman structures evidenced by the archaeological research and possible Late Archaic and Classical Period structures in the strata below the pavement has strength when one considers this area became the main entrance to the sanctuary after the late 6th century B.C. Furthermore, inscriptions I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**), dated ca. 500-470 B.C., and I Eleusis 175 (**No. 47**), dated ca. 330 B.C., record prescriptions for

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[185] It was certainly related to monumentalisation of entrance buildings in the 2nd century AD. See Mylonas (2009, p. 155-156)

sacrifices and presuppose regularity for sacrificial practices, which may corroborate to the hypothesis of an outer courtyard which concentrates structures for these purposes.[186] Moreover, this hypothesis is fostered by the evidence in Euripides which mentions such altars. In a scene from the tragedy The Suppliants by Euripides of 423 B.C., the women of Argos appear seated on the altars of Demeter and Kore (33-34: μένω πρὸς ἀργναις ἐσχάραις δυοῖν θεαιν Κόρης τε καὶ Δήμητρος) next at the North Gate (104: ἐν πύλαις) and the Kallichoron Well (391-392), which description corresponds to the location of the outer courtyard and entrance to the sanctuary of Eleusis.[187] The inscription I Eleusis 175 (**No. 47**) uses the word *bomos* (lines 25-28) for the structure, while the play of Euripides mentions *eschara,* which may correspond to the structures attested by archaeological research in the outer courtyard. However, it is not possible to go any further in this regard as the objects associated with these structures has not been documented by archaeological research.[188]

Fig. 51. Structure for "*eschara"* in the outer courtyard of Eleusis (Source: author's photographic collection, 2014).

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[186] Both inscriptions are further developed in next subchapter.

[187] Euripides, Suppliants (Lines 33-34; 63-64; 93; 290; 391-392). Discussion in Clinton (1988, p. 69-80) and Evans (2002, p. 239-240).

[188] The area of the outer courtyard and northern entrance to the sanctuary of Eleusis was excavated by Society of Dilettanti and later by first archaeologists of Archetai in the 19th century B.C., when archaeological methods were still incipient.

Sanctuary of Eleusis (inside and outside the temenos[189])

Three sacrificial pyres were found in the sanctuary of Eleusis by archaeologists during early systematic excavations (See **Plate 10** for structures mentioned here). Demetrios Philios found Pyre A and Pyre Γ during excavations between 1883-1885, while Konstantinos Kourouniotes discovered Pyre B in 1931 (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 39-51). Although much of the evidence relating to the pyres was destroyed during the Second World War, both archaeological records made by the mentioned specialists and an important part of archaeological finds have been preserved (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 262). As a result, the partial reconstitution of its context was only possible thanks to the research and monograph by Kokkou-Vyridi (1999) and the photographic documentation recorded by John Travlos (1988) (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 262). Pyre A was found in the southern part of the retaining wall of the Geometric Period court belonging to the Temple of Demeter (Figs. 53-54; See also **Plate 10**), which dates the period of its operation from the mid-eighth century to 580 BC.[190] According to Kokkou-Vyridi (1999, p. 262-264), the wall showed traces of burn next to a layer between 0.80 and 1.00m of thick earth mixed with ash, charred wood, and many bird-faced figurines, which was further supplanted by a second layer formed by traces of ash, charcoal and a several burnt objects and fragments.[191]

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[189] The *temenos* of sanctuary of Eleusis was delimited by peribolos' walls, which was expanded and monumentalised from the 6th to the 4th century B.C. This question is further developed in Chapter 8. See also Mylonas (2009) and Lippolis (2006).

[190] Therefore, Pyre A is contemporary with the Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion (so-called "Solonian Telesterion").

[191] Regarding this layer, Kokkou-Vyridi informs the evidence of "[...] burnt broken Protocorinthian vases (aryballoi and alabastra), clay plaques, pieces of gold sheet, and jewelry." (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 262)
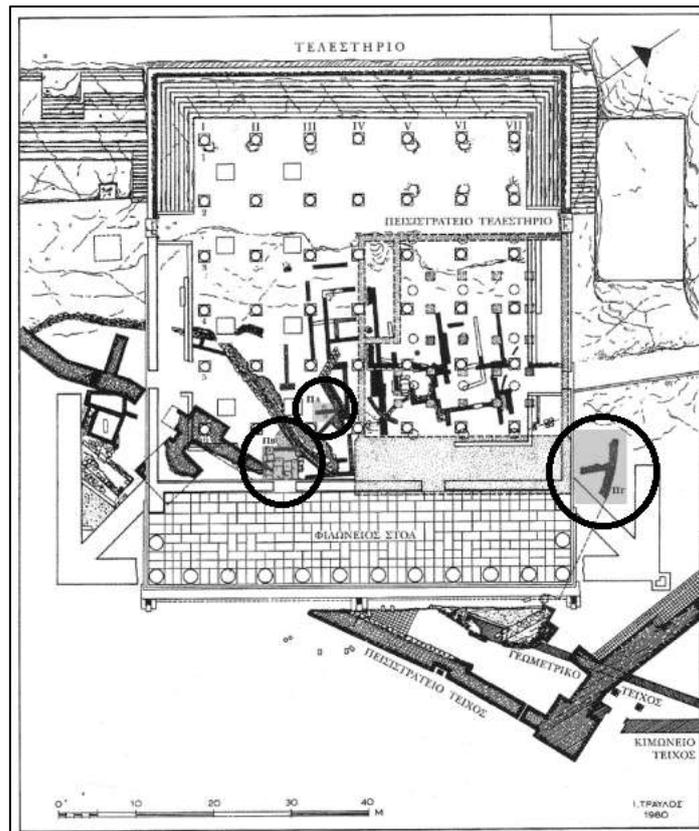
Fig. 52. Sacrificial Pyres B, A and Γ in sanctuary of Eleusis (from left to right) (After
KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, plate 7; Modified by the author). Original drawing by Travlos
(1988, p. 143, fig. 172)

Pyre B was found near the entrance of the Archaic Telesterion (Archaic Phase
II)[192], opposite the southern retaining wall of the early Archaic court of the temple
(KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999). Its period of operation corresponds to the period between
580 BC to the mid-5th century BC, which was obtained by relating the dates of the
building phases of the sanctuary. According to Kokkou-Vyridi (1999), the archaeologist
who was responsible for the systematical study of the sacrificial pyres, the excavation of
Pyre B involved a "layer of ash, 0.80-1.00m thick near the wall, extending for 2.50-3.00m,
which contained wood-ash, carbonized wood, and a large number of fragments of burnt
vases, figurines and metal objects" (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 264). The iconography
of these ceramic fragments corresponds to the Corinthian black figure style (VAN DEN
EIJNDE, 2019, p. 104; KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 44-49)

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[192] Pyre B is contemporary of Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion (so-called "Peisistratean Telesterion").
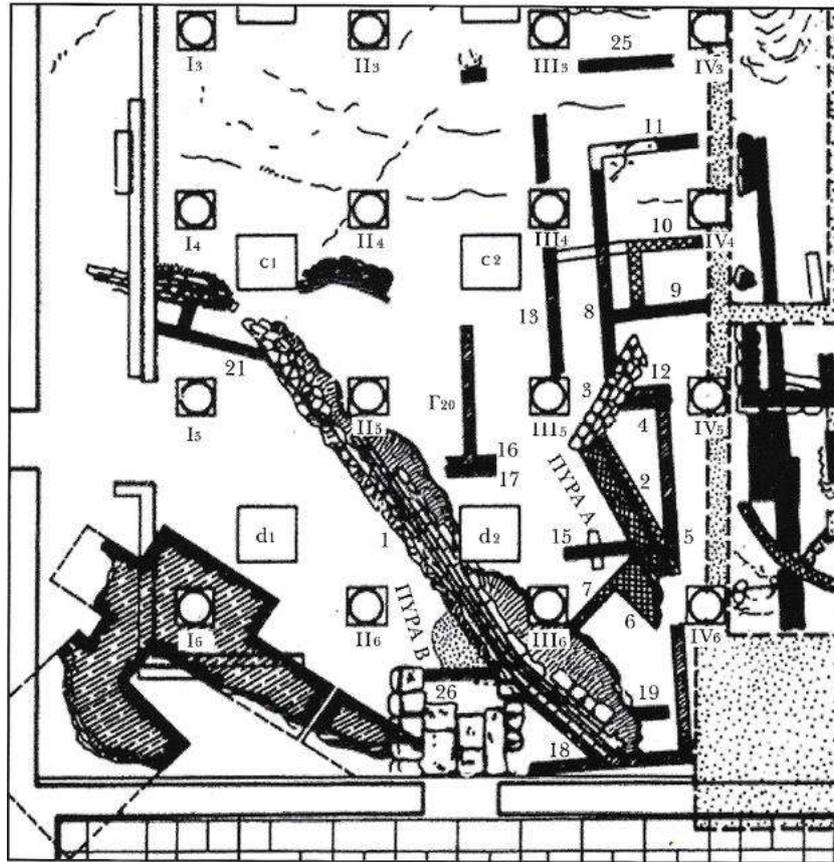
Fig. 53. The inner court of the Sanctuary of Eleusis. Pyre A and Pyre B (After KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, plate 8). Drawing by Travlos (1988, p. 143, fig. 172)

Finally, Pyre Γ was identified as a structure between the north retaining wall of the same court of the Archaic Telesterion and north-east section of the Peisistratean Wall. Although there is little information about its excavation, the presence of ash and burnt findings, such as fragments of vases, clay tablets, figurines, metal objects and jewellery, were identified in the area (Fig. 55). These material dates roughly from the second half of the 6th century to the first half of the 5th century B.C. (VAN DEN EIJNDE, 2019, p. 106; KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 49-51). Analyses of the stratigraphic context allowed a dating for the use of this pyre between the early 6th century and its end around 560 BC (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 262-264)[193].

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[193] Pyre Γ is also contemporary of Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion (so-called "Peisistratean Telesterion").
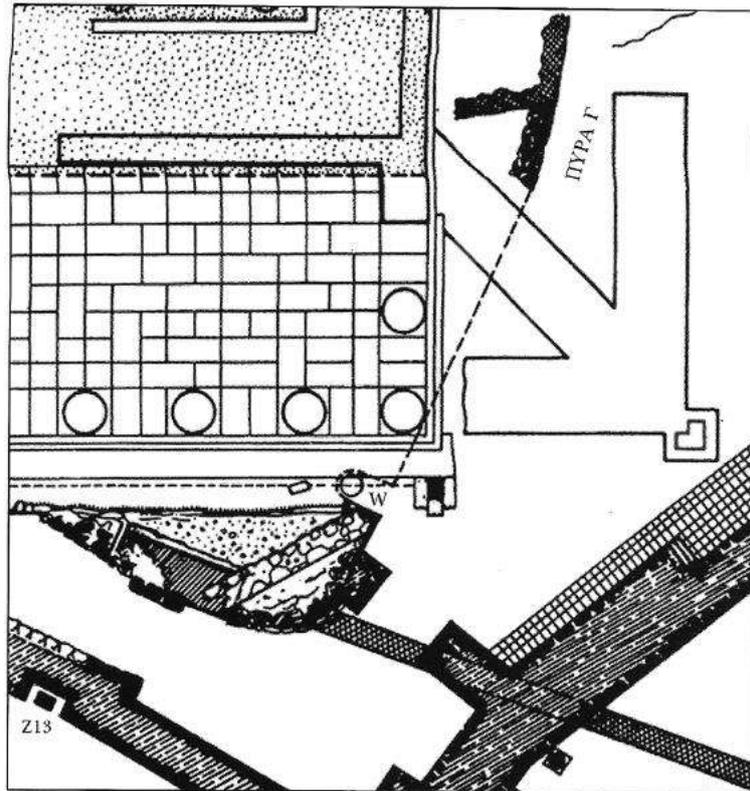
Fig. 54. The inner court of the Sanctuary of Eleusis. Pyre Γ (After KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, plate 9). Original drawing from Travlos (1988, p. 143, fig. 172).

Two details regarding the sacrificial pyres are important to highlight. Firstly, none of the pyres were situated inside the Telesterion, but always adjacent to the temenos along the development of the sanctuary walls. Secondly, the analysis of the archaeological context of these structures permits to note the complete absence of both, animal bones and remains of foodstuffs. Moreover, Kokkou-Vyridi (1999) states that this information is sufficient to definitively exclude the possibility that these structures were related to the open-banquets for initiates during the Eleusinian Mysteries (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 264). Furthermore, absence of pits and the lack of evidence of fertile "black earth" does not allow one to relate these pyres to animal sacrifices. However, the pattern of finds allows relating them to *enagismoi* rituals, that is, deposition of burnt and unburnt material objects promoted by individuals to the dead, to heroes or to chthonic gods (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 264). I will return in more detail to this type of ritual in the following item. But what about animal sacrifices? Was there a structure within the Eleusinian *temenos* for this practice?

Data from five pit-like structures (possible *megara*) were brought into focus by a careful analysis by Kevin Clinton in 1988 (CLINTON, 1988, pp. 69-80) (Fig. 56: structures a-e; See also **Plate 10** and Fig. 57). These are square structures with deep pits of about seven metres of depth. These structures, which were firstly excavated by Philios (1884, p. 64-66), were discovered attached to the front of Stoa of Philon, which is the late fourth-century B.C. columned façade of the Telesterion, although they served no structural purpose.[194] Besides that, Philios recalls that megaron A was found with a massive "black earth" presence (*μελανωπὴ γῆ*), which is full of compost, in addition to common clay pots, common stones, fragments of decorated "*skyphoi*" and bronze vessels (PHILIOS, 1884, p. 64). Clinton notes that such "*skyphoi*" are undoubtedly "Hellenistic moldmade relief bowls" or "Megarian bowls" (CLINTON, 1988, p. 73. notes 43-44). The findings from the other pits are similar and they also show fertile soil with the presence of animal bones, which strongly suggests these were the *megara* mentioned in a sacrificial calendar (I Eleusis 13 – **No. 43**) (CLINTON, 1988, p. 73-74). Thus, Clinton relates with a high degree of reliability such structures to the *megara* used for the throwing of sacrificed piglets by participants of the Eleusinian celebration of the Thesmophoria or even during Eleusinian Mysteries. Furthermore, he argues that the period required for the decomposition of the animal in the *megara* suggests that piglets were thrown between the end of the celebration of the Mysteries and the beginning of the Eleusinian Thesmophoria (CLINTON, 1988, p. 69-89).[195]
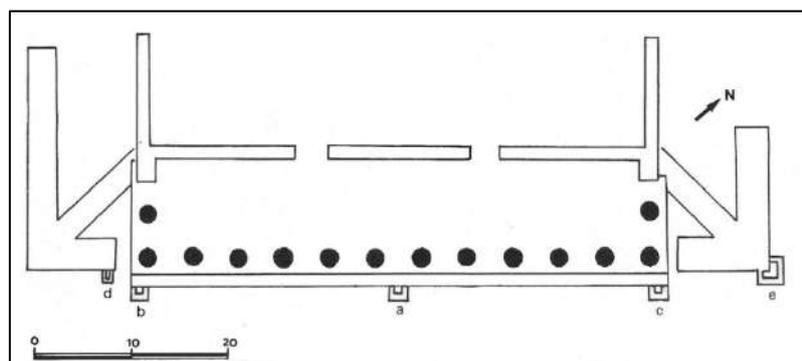
Fig. 55. Sanctuary of Eleusis. Portico of Telesterion, megara a-e. After Clinton (1988, p. 74, fig. 4) Drawing by Lily Papageorgiou.

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[194] Furthermore, Kevin Clinton (1988) argues that these structures are not even mentioned in the stone inscription among architectural specifications (IG II² 1666), which favours his hypothesis that they are structures for ritual purposes.

[195] The author goes further and suggests a connection between Eleusinian Mysteries and Eleusinian Thesmophoria, which was developed over centuries (CLINTON, 1988). See also Motte and Pirenne-Delforge (1992, p. 119-140).

The evidence gathered in section above strongly suggests that animal sacrifices (*thysia*) took place only in areas outside the Telesterion, possibly in the outer courtyard close to the North Gate. This position, already suggested earlier by Evans (2002), attests that the continuous use of the sanctuary of Eleusis throughout various festivals allowed for a variety of rituals of depositing, even if today the possibility of having animal sacrifices inside the Telesterion is considered remote by archaeologists (EVANS, 2002; CLINTON, 1988).

Fig. 56. Megaron E (to the right of the Telesterion, see previous figure). See also Plate 10.
Source: Author's photographic collection, 2014.

6.2.2. Ritual practices

The built structures mentioned before were related to certain ritual practices by archaeologists who excavated Eleusis, City Eleusinion and other archaeological sites in Western Attica during the 20th century. Details such as shape, size and related-objects can allow the relation of these places with ritual practices such as sacrifices, burning objects practices, libations and others. As previously indicated, my aim is to discuss these practices as a strategy of individual appropriation in the context of religious

communication. For this purpose, I will reconstruct stages of ritual practices on the basis of a source-based description previously presented in order to investigate steps of individual appropriation and their relations to Eleusinian spatial production.

Thysia: ordinary animal sacrifices

Animal sacrifices involve several stages of appropriation in which participants can act, as well as it has the quality of building a relationship with priests and the audience. Firstly, there is the selection of the sacrificial animal based on criteria of good appearance and apparent health (BURKERT, 1994, p. 55-56) In the case of Eleusinian Mysteries, each initiate is responsible for the care of his piglet and leads it to the sacrifice to be performed by a priest specially prepared for this (*ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμῷ*).[196] Before this, the animal is prepared, purified in the waters of Phaleron, it is adorned for the occasion, since the offering needs to be accepted by the Goddesses. During procession, the animals are carried by the initiates and led to the altars in the outer courtyard of Eleusis, when they are sacrificed by the priests.

As argued in previous subchapter, material and textual evidence indicates that animal sacrifices might be performed during Eleusinian Mysteries only in the stages after the arrival of the procession at Eleusis and/or on the last day of festival, but not during the nocturnal step at the Telesterion.[197] The absence of evidences of sacrificial altars inside the sanctuary of Eleusis favours this claim, since initiations into the Mysteries presuppose a different kind of communication between participants and Eleusinian deities (EVANS, 2002). This does not mean that sacrificial practice was absent or of minor importance during Mysteries. On the contrary, its practice might be fundamental in stages before the nocturnal *teletai* or in the last day of festival (CLINTON, 1988).

Furthermore, material and textual evidences presented in last subchapter indicate that blood sacrifice was made after the arrival of the procession from Athens at the courtyard of the entrance to the sanctuary, where structures for this purpose were

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[196] There is not enough evidence to detail the activities of this priest, only that he was exclusive for the activities with the altar (perhaps he is responsible for the sacrifices). The epigraphic evidence is gathered in Clinton (1974, p. 82-85).
[197] The argument presented by Burkert (1983, pp. 274-293) in defence of the existence of sacrifices inside the Telesterion finds no support in the archaeological documentation as seen above.

concentrated (EVANS, 2002). This area in front of the North Gate was probably the place for sacrifices of oxen, goats and pigs, as evidenced by inscriptions I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**; from 500-470 B.C.) and I Eleusis 175 (**No. 47**; from ca. 330 B.C.), where is now evidenced by pavement and altar-like structures and temples from Roman Period. This outer courtyard was also the main entrance to the sanctuary after late 6th century B.C., which gives access to the sacred inner area, where the temple of the Two Goddesses was located. The initiates' piglets, which might be sacrificed in at this place before entrance, was then possibly thrown into the pits (*megara*) located inside the *temenos* (but not inside the Telesterion), as it is evidenced by fertile "black earth" and presence of animal bones (CLINTON, 1988, p. 69-80). Clinton (1988) also argues the rotting remains of these animals stayed in these pits from *Mysteria* to the Eleusinian Thesmophoria, when women participants took these remains to spread on the soil (CLINTON, 1988, p. 76-77).[198] Although the textual sources are not precise about the order of sacrificial practices during Mysteries, the topography of the sanctuaries of Eleusis seem to indicate that such practices could take place after the arrival of the participants in the outer courtyard and most likely in the end of the festival (EVANS, 2002). However, the absence of material evidence both structural (existence of an altar-like structure) and sedimentary (presence of animal bones and fertile sediments) discourages the hypothesis for sacrifices inside the Telesterion. This indicates Telesterion of Eleusis might house another type of religious communication between humans and Eleusinian deities.[199] On the other hand, occurrence of animal sacrifices might be relevant in other stages of Eleusinian Mysteries and should occur at other places, such as the outer courtyard of Eleusis for public display, for instance. After the nocturnal rites, sacrifices might also take place on the last day for sharing meat among participants. Moreover, the closing banquets of the Mysteries of Eleusis had the function of restoring urban hierarchies and the social order, previously suspended for initiations (BURKERT, 1983), as we have showed above, when I added further aspects in arguments previously presented by Evans (2002).

So far, structures previously discussed and the related-objects allow us to state that practices of depositing which involve animals as intermediaries of religious communication between individuals and their divine addressees tended to be concentrated

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[198] Eleusinian Thesmophoria occurred in *Pyanopsion*, just a month after the celebration of Eleusinian Mysteries (See Appendix A for a calendar of festivals). Clinton bases the throwing of piglets and its withdrawal in *Thesmophoria* on information from textual sources, such as Lucian (Schol. 275.23-276.24) and Clement of Alexandria (Clem. Al., Protr. 2.7; 2.10).
[199] This is further developed in Chapter 9.

in spaces outside the Telesterion of Eleusis, either in the entrance courtyard of the sanctuary or in pit-like structures (*megara*). These spaces are evidence of creative appropriations made by different agents throughout the ritual and expressive uses of the environment during both Eleusinian Mysteries and Eleusinian Thesmophoria.

Enagisma: practices of burning objects

In general, what has been called by scholars *enagisma* rituals are burnt offerings, or even unburnt offerings, of statuettes, ceramics and other types of offerings made by individuals to the dead, to heroes and to chthonic gods (EKROTH, 2002, p. 74-75; BURKERT, 1994).[200] By ascribing purifying character, these mournful rites were performed by human actors in order to establish communication with underworld deities or dead ancestors. As they contained "the *agos* (pollution) of communication with the dead in the Underworld; they were accordingly held in an isolated area (enclosure, room), and the offerings made were destroyed and the remains covered with stones, or tiles, or buried" (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 264). The sacrificial pyres (A, B, Γ) located within the sanctuary of Eleusis can be associated with *enagismoi* rituals according to the archaeological information gathered by Kokkou-Vyridi (1999), as mentioned in this text earlier.

The appropriation of miniatures (figurines, vases and others) for deposition on sacrificial pyres might indicate on the establishment of religious communication with deities to ensure both a good life trajectory for the individual and the blessing of seeds, soil fertility and good harvests. On the one hand, the shape of these vases indicates the practice of libations onto structures, as well as the use of censers and the deposit of miniatures consisting of female figures. On the other hand, Kokkou-Vyridi (1999, p. 265) argues "the position of the pyres, too, outside the court of the Telesterion, in a confined, isolated space, suggests a desire to keep mournful rituals connected with communication with the Underworld, away from the area of the Telesterion". Regarding calendar, the uses and operation of sacrificial pyres are not necessarily related to the celebration of Eleusinian Mysteries, but rather to the Proerosia[201], an Attic festival celebrated after

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[200] More information on Furley (1981), ThesCRA (2004, p. 62-63) and Kokkou-Vyridi (1999).
[201] See Appendix A for a reconstructed calendar of Attic festivals.

Mysteries, which is related to autumn sowing practices (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999; cf. PARKER, 2005, p. 75).[202]

The existence of the sacrificial pyres is related to the annually use of the sanctuary, especially in relation to the appropriation of them for fulfilling rites for agrarian cycle and religious communication between individuals and deities of the underworld. Archaeological evidence suggests the use of the pyres ceased in mid-5th century B.C. probably as a result of changes in the formalities of Eleusinian Mysteries or the Proerosia (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999, p. 265). The adaptation of the Telesterion after its destruction in 480 B.C. may also have influenced the sudden end of the use of Pyre B. There is no other evidence of pyres at Eleusis from the Hellenistic Period onwards.

hai plemochoai: libations employing Eleusinian vessels and other practices

The act of outpouring liquids was the basic common religious communication between individuals and their divine addressees.[203] Libations are always associated with the evocation of deities and prayers and often have a complementary character to acts of sacrifice, either to initiate a rite or to conclude it by throwing the liquid into the flames of a pyre or altar. Liquids poured onto the earth are generally destined for the dead or for the gods of the underworld (BURKERT, 1994, p. 70-73). The act of libation to a deity involves transformation of a simple action into a religious action, in which every individual could perform by using a material object, such a *phiale* or a specific vessel. It might involve a structure such as a base or an altar for this religious act or just pouring the liquid straight onto the soil. This act reinforces the communication between the individual and deities, as they could also be considered as "gifts of food".

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[202] The sacrificial calendar on inscription I Eleusis 175 (**No. 47**) also gives information on Proerosia. See next subchapter and Appendix D.

[203] Burkert (1994, p. 71) points to the fact that libations could be called by three names in the Greek World. Besides *leibein* and *loibe*, the Greeks used *spendein* and *sponde* to associate with libations of wine. And *cheein* and *choe* to associate with honey and oils. However, names relate more to the kind of vessels and the way the liquids are handled than the type of liquid to be poured on the floor or altar. He argues "the *sponde* is made from the hand-held jug or bowl and the pouring is controlled; the *choe* involves the complete tipping and emptying of a larger vessel which may be held or may stand on the ground." (BURKERT, 1994, p. 71)

The practice of libation was a common act of daily life of individuals and it was present on most ritual practices of a sanctuary such as Eleusis. It was fundamental in the last stage of the Eleusinian Mysteries on the 22th *Boedromion* (*Plemochoai*), when participants use the typical Eleusinian vessel (the *plemochoai*) to pour liquids into the earth (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 279-280). There is a large amount of *plemochoai* deposits in both City Eleusinion and Eleusis, especially from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., as we presented earlier. According to recent studies, these deposits are evidenced even on the margins of the Sacred Way to Eleusis (TSIRIGOTI-DRAKOTOU, 2008).

The practice of pouring liquids and/or cereals and the practice of depositing objects such as *plemochoai* or statuettes may be related to some structures of the Eleusinian circuit, especially bases and altar-like monuments. These objects are found in a variety of contexts, from closed deposits near the City Eleusinion to structures in Eleusis.[204] Therefore, it may be related to both everyday practices and specific practices of depositing during Eleusinian Mysteries. The iconographic presence of *plemochoai*, phiale and other objects reinforce the uses of these objects in festival contexts and the importance of libation as a regular way of communicating with Eleusinian deities.[205]

6.3. Sacrificial calendars: another aspect for an agent-based perspective

The second argument for framing practices of depositing into the framework of religious communication is by considering it also as a time-related practice (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 228). In the same way that built and natural spaces "afforded" human behaviour in the communication process, temporality also has its point of influx. The experience of time – such as the passage from day to night, equinoxes and solstices, the cycle of the seasons, the cycles of earth fertility, the rhythms of agriculture, etc. - is also individually experienced and could be socially regulated, modified and perceived in different manners. This can be attested from elaboration of calendars and schedules of religious festivals to the rhythm of ritual practices and the frequency of practices of depositing. As we have seen in previous subchapters, the continuous use of the sanctuary of Eleusis for the

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[204] See Mylonas (2009, p. 221-222) and Mitsopoulou (2011).
[205] The following chapter presents two examples of this presence in Eleusinian iconography. See Chapter 7. For more information on uses of plemochoai, see on Mistopoulou (2011).

celebration of various religious and agonistic festivals throughout the calendar year suggests the routinisation and habitualisation of spaces through ritual practices. Taking into consideration these ritual practices in everyday life in Antiquity are totally tied to the cycle of the seasons and the rhythms of agriculture, this subchapter analyses two inscriptions on stone, whose content deals properly with sequential calendar of sacrifices at Eleusis. Thus, I will present three fundamental aspects to define religious communication as a time-related practice and its relation towards processes of routinisation of the built environment. The aim is to recover stages of appropriation which epigraphic sources can reveal, especially regarding the use of time, the intentional repetition and its spatial implications.

Dating between 500-470 B.C.[206], the inscription I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**) is a decree which regulates sacrifices to be made during the agonistic festival *Eleusinia*.[207] The inscription is written on one side of a square white marble base whose top contains a rectangular cut in the centre and two circular cuts on the sides (Clinton, 2005, p. 16-17). It is not possible to attest exactly the kind of object this square base supported, whether a statue or other object. Early editors suggest it had supported an offering table ("*mensa sacra*") (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 13, note 1), while Clinton argues that it supported statues of Demeter and Kore (CLINTON, 2005, p. 16-17). The monument was probably placed inside the *temenos* of the sanctuary[208] and had as its main audience the body of priests, priestesses, officials of Eleusis and Athens, initiates and possibly secondary audiences. The text reflects a decree with the early presence of the resolutive formula of the Council and citizen Assembly (*probouleuma*)[209], in addition to instructions to preliminary sacrifices for *Eleusinia*. The instructions mainly indicate the choice of the animal to be sacrificed to each deity: a goat for Hermes Enagonios and the Graces; a goat for Artemis;

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[206] See information on Appendix D. The date of this inscription is based on forms of letters, which is not inscribed *stoichedon*. See Clinton (2005, p. 16-17) and Lambert (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 13).

[207] There is a discussion concerning the term Ἐλευσινίον (line 2) due to the fragmentary character of this inscription. Clinton argues the term relates to "of the Eleusinians" and refers to a group of religious officials (CLINTON, 2005, p. 16-18). On the other hand, Lambert argues, in my view convincingly, that it is the agonistic festival Eleusinia, since epithets of the gods to be offered is related to agonistic practices, such as Hermes Enagonios ("competitive"), Telesidromos ("race finisher"), Dolichos ("of the Long Course") (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 13).

[208] It is not possible to argue precisely where this piece was found, but according to François Lenormant's account this base was found in the area to the south of cave-precinct (*Ploutoneion*): "Ce monument a été trouvé en opérant un sondage dans la cour d'une Maison de la grande rue du village, située sur l'intérieur du second péribole, [...]" (LENORMANT, 1862, p. 71)

[209] This is the term "The Council and the People decided…" (I Eleusis 13, **No. 43**, Line 1: "ἔδοχσεν τεῖ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι").

a ram for Poseidon[210]; a triple offering led by a bull for Demeter and Kore (I Eleusis 13, lines 1-5, **No. 43**). The recommendation of which animal to be sacrificed to each deity (or group of deities) allows the deduce three pieces of information. Firstly, it presupposes ritual practices were carried out in specific spaces during the preparatory stage for the festival. As I previously presented in this chapter, the *eschara* and altars next to the Temple of Poseidon and Artemis in the outer courtyard of Eleusis (with dates of the 2nd century AD) could be used in conjunction with the information of this inscription to reinforce the hypothesis that this site was dedicated to these deities since Late Archaic Period (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 168-170). Second, a hierarchy among deities to be honoured at the sanctuary is evident in this inscription, as the main Eleusinian deities, Demeter and Kore, appear last with a sacrifice of three victims and a bull (I Eleusis 13, **No. 43,** Lines 1-5). Finally, the fact that this is one of the first inscriptions with probouleumatic formula indicates that this text went through the approval of the Council and voting at the citizen Assembly (Line 1).

Therefore, the issue of this inscription is embedded by a collective character, which may indicate some evidences of appropriation by different agents. These characteristics must be interpreted in the light of historical contingency. After all, the issue of this inscription is symptomatic of major social transformations in Attica arising from the Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.), which has been reverberating in growing the power of demes and implicating in transformation of epigraphic practices. The materialisation of this calendar of sacrifices of Eleusis on a marble base placed at the sanctuary may be interpreted as a strategic appropriation by the collectivity of the Council and the Citizen Assembly, which is also a symptom of the emerging political system. It indicates a tendency by different agents towards a stabilisation of religious communication with Eleusinian deities. This can be verified through the effort of routinisation and fixing of such ritual practices of depositing by creating and regulating its repetition.

The same determination regarding sacrifices appears in an inscription dated to ca. 330 B.C. (I Eleusis 175, **No. 47**). This is a white marble stele whose text records the sacrificial schedule for festivals in the fourth month of the Attic calendar (*Pyanopsion*).[211]

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[210] This line is missing but is based on a repeated formula of other Eleusinian inscriptions (I Eleusis 13 – **No. 43**; AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 13).

[211] The *Pyanopsion* is an important month for the fertile cycle of agriculture, because it is when pre-ploughing festivals are celebrated. See Appendix A. More information on Burkert (1999, p. 225-226) and Simon (1983).

There are no records of the find location of this stele and little information on its original location. The text is still partially preserved, as the heading and the final part of the inscription are lost, which disfavours the identification of the issuing authority of this inscription (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 175).[212] However, a passage which seems to correspond to the middle of the inscription reveals some provisions to be made: announcement and preparations for the festival of *Proerosia* in the 5th *Pyanopsion* (Lines 5-7); preliminary sacrifices for *Pyanopsia* festival on the 7th *Pyanopsion* (Lines 8-19); preliminary preparations and sacrifices for the *Thesmophoria* (Lines 22-27).[213]

The historical context of I Eleusis 175 (**No. 47**) is different from the previous inscription. Although the fragmentary nature of this inscription does not permit the identification of its issuing authority, the text does allow us to note the regulation and organisation of festivals linked to the agricultural cycles. In addition, it gives evidence to spaces relevant to practices of depositing, such as *megara* (I Eleusis 175, **No. 47,** line 22) and *bomos* (line 27). This inscription can provide confirmation that structures discussed in this chapter, such as the five pit-like strucutures identified as *megara* by Clinton (1988) for instance, are embedded in a context of regulation and annual repetition of deposition practices.

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Both analysis of inscriptions and the synthesis of the built environment in this chapter allow to argue on two statements. Firstly, the recurrent use of spaces for practices of depositing, whether sacrifices of animals/plants or the offering of objects and libations, aims at the establishment of stable religious communication with Eleusinian deities on the part of individuals. Both Eleusinian Mysteries and Eleusinian festivals, such as *Proerosia* or Eleusinian *Thesmophoria*, are celebrations in which creative forms of appropriation of lived space and material objects may take place. This strategy manifests

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[212] Dow and Healey (1965) suggest the Eleusinian deme as the issuing authority, while Clinton suggests this fragmentary inscription may be extracts from the city's calendar. However, the fragmentary nature of the inscription does not allow to confirm the exact issuing authority (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 175). Further information can be found at Lambert (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 175) and CGRN (2023, 94).

[213] In addition, some editors suggest that there would be provisions for the festival Skira in honour of Demeter in the right column of the inscription (Lines 28-30) (AIO Online, 2023, I Eleusis 175). However, there are not enough evidences to confirm this information.

itself in iconography, forms of offering vessels or miniatures, different ways of depositing and even in the verbal and body language adopted during ritual practices. It is the mechanism by which the participants and audience appropriate their environment in order to achieve stability of religious communication. In this sense,

> "all of the pits, objects, and structures discussed formed part of strategies for separating action as religious communication from other forms of action which did not ascribe relevance to any divine addressees (whether gods or ancestors). To this extent, it was the objects and the related religious practices that gave the divine a concrete, located presence. Here, religion turns out to be a spatial practice that established and reshaped space, thus sacralising it and attracting further practices to these 'sacred spaces', 'sanctuaries', which evidently had proven useful in making religious communication successful" (RÜPKE, 2018a, p.225).

This process leads to the second point of the argument: the routinisation of ritual practices. This is a fundamental point, because religious communication is not only a spatial practice, but a practice experienced temporally (RÜPKE, 2018a). Human actors are always acting to appropriate and organize time. When infrastructure is monumentalised and shaped by different individuals, altars, sacrificial pyres or pits become tools to perpetuate the "memory of religious performances" (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 216). This memory, whose material dispositions and stimuli invite repetition, are "activated" during ritual practices. This means, structures such as altars may have an ordinary role in the daily life of the sanctuary, as they figure as a monument which reminds observers of their religious experiences. During festivals, meaning and relevance are ascribed to these structures. In other words, they are "means of transmission" of the communication practiced by diverse agents with their divine addressees, which bring to their materiality the mnemonic shaping of these performances.

CHAPTER 7.
BECOMING INITIATES: PROCESSIONAL LANDSCAPE AND THE PRACTICE OF *POMPE*

> "But grief yet more terrible and savage
> came into the heart of Demeter,
> and thereafter she was so angered
> with the dark-clouded Son of Cronos
> that she avoided the gathering
> of the gods and high Olympus,
> and went to the towns and rich fields of men,
> disfiguring her form a long while.
> And no one of men or deep-bosomed women
> knew her when they saw her,
> until she came to the house of wise Celeus
> who then was lord of fragrant Eleusis."
> (Homeric Hymn to Demeter II, 90-97)

The following chapter discusses both the procession between Athens and Eleusis during the Eleusinian Mysteries and forms of individual appropriation while walking on the Sacred Way both in religious and non-religious contexts.[214] On the one hand, it seeks to frame the ritual practice of the *pompe* (procession) as a creative way of establishing religious communication, whose elements of aesthetics and performance are key elements to successfully reaching divine addressees. And, on the other hand, it discusses how spatial production promoted by the routinised practice of procession implies also into the collective construction of the initiates' social identity while repeating and performing the narratives of the Eleusinian sacred cycle. Furthermore, I argue the procession between Athens and Eleusis was ritual practice individually experienced, which temporally suspends urban identities and social hierarchies for the social constitution of the individual as an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries.

7.1. The wandering of Demeter: dramatisation during the *pompe* between Athens and Eleusis

The path taken by Demeter in search of her daughter is the episode in the Homeric Hymn's narrative that leads to the building of the narrative's climax, when the Goddess reveals

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[214] To see the places and structures mentioned in this chapter, see **Plates 2**, **3**, **4**, **5** and **6.**

herself in Celeus' palace at Eleusis and orders Persephone's return (Homeric Hymn to Demeter II, 90-270). There are many reasons to postulate the dramatisation of Demeter's wandering by initiates during the procession between Athens and Eleusis. Firstly, material evidence and the presence of buildings along the Sacred Way, which connects Athens and Eleusis, are closely related to the cult of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The procession engages participants to the involvement with these practices. Secondly, Pausanias gives a precise description of the monuments along the road, pointing out the ritual practices practised there, as well as he highlights stories related to the road (Paus. 1.36-38). Other ancient authors also report the use of the road between Eleusis and Athens for the practice of procession of Eleusinian Mysteries.[215] These arguments have led some scholars to consider the procession was a key stage of the dramatisation of Demeter's steps and the consolidation of the agrarian cult at Eleusis (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 252-258).

The procession between Athens and Eleusis during Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated between 19th and 20th *Boedromion* of the Attic calendar, was one of the key points in the process of shaping the individual into an initiate. This argument was firstly presented by Fritz Graf (1996):

> "the personal encounter with the divine is impossible inside the town, where the individual defines himself and is defined as part of concentric larger groups (phratry, clan, polis) and where even the gods are defined by their functions in these groups. The encounter has to take place outside the town, ritually outside the polis and its organization. Since such an encounter marks a much greater break with day-to-day routine than even a festival like the Panathenaia, the move away from town is slow and long drawn out, passing through a ritual bath, fasting and long journey to a place well outside the town, comparable to the climax of a Christian pilgrimage which, incidentally, also aims at a personal encounter with God in a sacred place" (GRAF, 1996, p. 64).

Fritz Graf also highlights particularities of the Mystery cult over other Greek cults, since participation and experience is more individual rather than a collective matter. "Here, not the collectivity, but the individual approached the gods, at the same time defining himself" (GRAF, 1996, p. 63). This perspective may be attested also in the

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[215] Such as Plutarch (Plut. Alc. 34.3; Plut. Them. 15) and Aristophanes (Ran. 340-350). Plutarch affirms that sacrifices, choral dances and other ritual practices were usually performed by participants of the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries (Plut. Them. 15).

Homeric Hymn, since "Demeter praises the single man for his experience and promised wealth in this world and a better fate afterwards to him […]" (GRAF, 1996, p. 64). If, on the one hand, initiation into Eleusinian Mysteries allows a differentiated approach to the Two Goddesses (EVANS, 2002), especially during the nocturnal stage at the Telesterion, the procession between Athens and Eleusis is the preparatory stage that gradually leads the participants to the stages of a greater religious communication with deities.

After all, the procession is not simply a walk between two distinct points, but a dynamic celebration that involves location (space), participants (practitioners and audience), form and mediality (performative aesthetics) and context (a festival, for example) (GRAF, 1996, p. 64; STAVRIANOPOLOU, 2015, p. 349). As a strategy of religious communication, processions are events that are constituted from the progression of individual and collective (re)actions and appropriations, forming "emotional communities" from the spatially lived experience (CHANIOTIS, 2013, p. 177-190). The main appropriation mechanism used by participants is performance, since it is endowed with individual agency:

> "[...] processions are autopoietic systems that are characterized by a continuous feedback loop operated by an ongoing interaction between performers/participants and audiences/spectators (Fisher-Lichte, 2008, p. 38-75). It is not the co-presence of participants and spectators that creates community, but rather the interplay between actors and spectators, between them and aesthetic elements (clothing, smell, music and song, group arrangement) or the particular space to be traversed that generate instances, which, in turn, evoke the creation or collapse of communities" (STAVRIANOPOULOU, 2015, p. 350).

Moreover, processions like that one of Eleusinian Mysteries are ritual practices capable of gradually distancing the participants from the hierarchy and social order of the city during the religious action in a process of immersion into another world, the world of the "initiated in the Mysteries", where different rules and socio-religious boundaries apply. According to Graf, "[…] the progression of the sanctuaries [along the Sacred Way] signals the slow departure from the city and an equally slow approach to Eleusis" (GRAF, 1996, p. 63). This is a process in which participants appropriate the natural and built environment during the procession:

"The group builds a relation to spatial environment and organizes space, but at the same time it organizes itself through the arrangement of the procession: in the space which is available to the community human relations are formed and power associations are manipulated and negotiated" (KAVOULAKI, 1999, p. 297)

The ambivalent relationship in which a group in procession appropriates the environment and the processional practice organises and structures the aesthetic and performative form of the group is a process that can be understood through the notion of religious communication. As a form of strategy, participants appropriate the environment in order establish successful communication with Eleusinian deities. For this, performative aesthetics is fundamental to achieve success in the transmission of religious messages, especially by ascribing relevance and meaning to divine addresses and the environment in which the ritual practice is performed (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 349; RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 29). The participants seek to constitute themselves as "apt initiates" to successfully approaching Eleusinian Goddesses, which was completed in the nocturnal stage in the Telesterion. These strategies of individual appropriation can be traced in the use of garments, festive clothes, use of musical instruments, chants and dances, dramatization and theatricality through performance (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 32; cf. CHANIOTIS, 2011, p. 263-290).

To build this argument, I develop an analysis of key elements of aesthetic and performative constitution of the initiates. Firstly, I will analyse the preparation of the participants for the procession, from purification rites to the choice of appropriate garments and adornments based on textual and iconographic sources. Then I discuss steps of appropriation during procession through the transport of objects, individual performances and rites in Sacred Way parades, using textual, epigraphic and archaeological sources as a way to reconstruct the socio-religious context.

7.2. In order to become initiates: individual appropriations during the procession

Individual strategies of appropriation during ritual practice of procession manifest themselves in various ways both in material sources and in discourses, narratives, iconographies reproduced in the textual or archaeological source. The main tool the individual uses, be it an initiate, a priest or a mere spectator, to appropriate the environment during ritual practices is mainly verbal language (speeches, denominations, invocations, texts) and non-verbal language (visual, symbols, icons, representations). After all, language is the primary means of religious and non-religious communication and appropriation of the material world by individuals and collectives in a religious procession (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 350). As communication, an icon or representation can be read not for the meaning emanating from its social context, but rather as a device which was strategically adopted by individuals to successfully achieve divine addressees and success in ritual (RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 207-236). In this way, it is possible to analyse how iconographic representations of Eleusinian deities can offer evidences about the stages of appropriation (selection, modification, personification, and interpretation) adopted during processional practice.

In this sense, participants of the procession between Athens and Eleusis adopt various strategies to successfully reach their divine addresses (Demeter, Kore and other deities of the Eleusinian pantheon). During the walk to Eleusis, participants leave behind their urban identity to constitute themselves as "initiates into the Eleusinian Mysteries", whose closeness to the Two Goddesses is gradually built up from the procession practice.[216] This process of individual appropriation of the processional landscape takes place in various aspects and culminates in the nocturnal stage of *teletai* inside the Telesterion. In the following, stages of individual appropriation are explained from three aspects observed from the analysis of the iconography of ceramic vases: 1) clothing and adornments, which reflects the embodiment of these ritual practices; 2) the transport of objects; 3) music and dances. I will then confront these aspects with the parades and middle-way rites which is highlighted by textual and archaeological sources.

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[216] This dynamic process can also be defined through the concept of "individualisation", in which the individual identity is shaped by "changing forms of communication" (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 350-351). See also Fuchs *et al.* (2015).

7.2.1. Clothing and adornments

The preparation for the procession between Athens and Eleusis took place before the 18th or 19th *Boedromion*. First, the Eleusinian priests (*Eulmopidai* and *Kerykes*) and ephebes conducted the *hiera* (sacred objects) from the sanctuary of Eleusis to the safeguard at the City Eleusinion in Athens on the 14th *Boedromion*. On the following day, 15th *Boedromion*, the people who wished to be initiates were gathered in the Athenian Agora to hear the proclamation of the beginning of the festival by the priests, especially the hierophants and the *dadouchos*.[217] People interested in Eleusinian Mysteries were informed of those who were eminently forbidden to participate of the initiations: those who do not speak Greek (the "barbarians") and those polluted by blood crimes (cf. Lib. Or. IV; Suet. Ner., 34). On the following days, the initiates engaged into purification rites, such as baths to purify both their own bodies and their sacrificial piglets in the Phaleron[218] on the 16th *Boedromion* (PARKER, 2005, p. 332; AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 181-182).[219] These early movements demonstrate spatial appropriation, as initiates would head to the Phaleron to purify themselves in marine waters.[220]

Preparation resumes shortly before the start of the procession on the 18th or 19th *Boedromion*, when the initiates dress appropriately and decorate the spaces for the processional event. Specific clothing and adornments were adopted by the initiates in order to mark their transformation into "initiates". So, they wore old worn-out himation, put a wreath of myrtle on their heads and a myrtle branch in their hands (PARKER, 2005, p. 361). The Eleusinian priests and priestesses also wore special clothes ("sacred garments"), adopted a "sacred haircut", and put on a myrtle crown on their heads (PARKER, 2005, p. 334).[221] The adoption of specific clothing is intended to contemplate the visual configuration of the procession in appropriate manner to the occasion

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[217] On the proclamation to the start of Eleusinian Mysteries, see Aristophanes (Ar. Ran. 369) and Isocrates (Isoc. Paneg. 157).

[218] The inscription IG I³ 32 suggests two Eleusinia: the City Eleusinion next the Athenian agora, which is attested by archaeological records; and another "Eleusinion" in the Phaleron, which was not found yet (Parker, 2005, p. 332). They were both under the administrative and financial control of Eleusis and they mostly served as small sanctuaries to assist Eleusinian festivals (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 161-196).

[219] On purification rites: Libanius (Decl. 13.19). For more information, see Parker (2005, p. 347, note 86), Parker (1983), Foucart (1914, p. 311).

[220] Besides purification rites, there is evidence of dietary restrictions and sexual abstinence (PARKER, 2005, p. 347).

[221] Regarding priests' garments, the following bibliography reunites sources: Clinton (1974, p. 32-48), Clinton (1992, p. 70, n. 38), Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, p. 61) and Agelidis (2019, p. 182).

(AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 182). It also promotes a religious hierarchy between priests and priestesses on the one hand and ephebes in service and initiates. These were probably differentiated from non-initiates (spectators). Another important element is the use of torches from dusk onwards to aid arrival at Eleusis. The carrying of torches for the nightfall has not only utilitarian function, but it seems to indicate some important reference to the episode of the Eleusinian cycle itself (CLINTON, 1992).[222] After all, torches are relevant iconographic elements of Eleusinian scenes in vases, as we shall see below (Figs. 58-60).[223] In addition, torches represent the appropriation of time changes during the procession practice, since the following stages of Eleusinian Mysteries are nocturnal.

Such aesthetic elements related to the performance of actors in the procession between Athens and Eleusis can be further evidenced through the iconographic analysis of ceramic vases and other objects. I will analyse two objects for building of the argument of iconography as a strategy of individual appropriation, which on the one hand offers a historical strategy adopted by individuals in self-representation and on the other it gives important information regarding the uses of garments and performances during procession. The first of these objects, known as the "Ninnion Tablet" (Fig. 58), is a *naiskos*-form plaque offered to the Goddesses by an individual named Ninnion[224], as the object was found in the excavation of the Telesterion area (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 213-221).[225] It was crafted with the red-figure technique and, therefore, dated to the first half of the fourth century BC. It was found in nine fragments and, once restored, measures about 0.44m in height and 0.32m in width (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 213). This piece was probably one of many ceramic objects offered, which was displayed in the temple of Demeter itself, since there are holes in the four corners for hanging it on the wall.[226]

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[222] Torches are attributes which identify two Eleusinian deities: Iakchos and Eubouleus. Sometimes even Eumolpos (ancestor of Eumolpidae) is depicted bearing torches in Eleusinian iconography (CLINTON, 1992, p. 71 and p. 81). More information on Iakchos, Eubouleus and Eumolpos in Clinton (1992, p. 64-95).

[223] In addition, there is the *dadouchos* ("The torch-bearer"), who is a priest very close to the hierophant and of great importance for Eleusinian rituals.

[224] The dedication with her name is inscribed on the lower edge of the plaque: *NINNION TOIN ΘE[OI]N A[NEΘEKEN.*

[225] The Ninnion Tablet is in exhibition in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. A copy can be found in exhibition in the Museum of Archaeological Site of Eleusis in Elefsina.

[226] Mylonas further notes there is an inscription with dedication to the Two Goddesses by Ninnion at the bottom (2009, p. 213). More information on Mylonas (2009, p. 213-221) and Clinton (1992, p. 73-75).
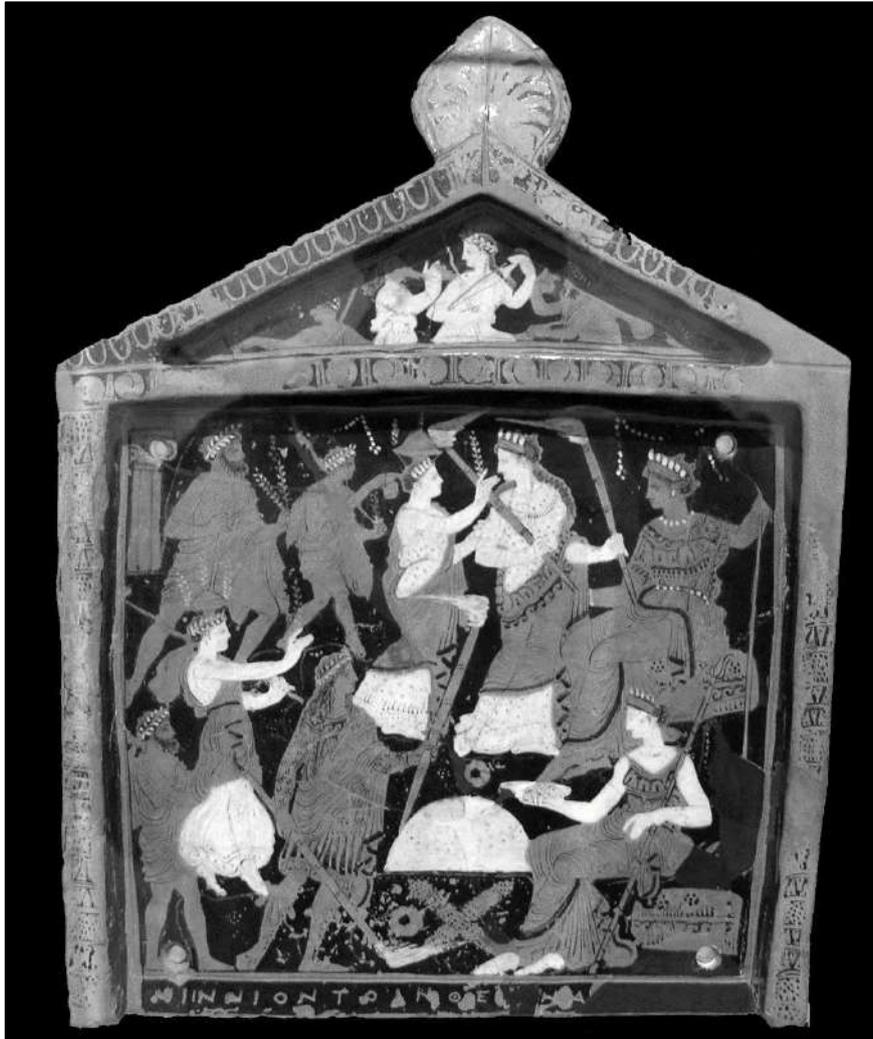
Fig. 57. The Ninnion Tablet, votive *naisko*s-form plaque (National Archaeological Museum of Athens). Source: Wikicommons, 2023, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported. Modified by the author.

There is a consensus among researchers that the votive plaque represents the initiation of the benefactress Ninnion in two scenes, one at the bottom and one at the top (Fig. 58[227]) (CLINTON, 1992; MYLONAS, 2009; NILSSON, 1940).[228] On the bottom, it is possible to see the arrival scene of Iakchos' procession in Eleusis as it took place probably in 18th or 19th *Boedromion* (Fig. 59). In the lower right corner, it is possible to identify a seated Demeter. She holds a phiale in her right hand and a sceptre resting on her left arm and shoulder (CLINTON, 1992). Beside her it is possible to visualize an

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[227] License of the image: Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported. Link: < https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:NAMA_Myst%C3%A8res_d%27Eleusis.jpg>. Access in 15.05.2023.

[228] The dedicator also appears in the central scene of the *naiskos*' pediment.

empty seat, which refers to the absent daughter. In the lower left corner, it is possible to observe the arrival of Iakchos, who leads two initiates (a male and a female figure) to meet Demeter.[229] Iakchos wears the processional garment of a priest (*dadouchos*, the torch-bearer) and carries two torches, while the male and female figures carry the clothing and adornments of initiates (himation, wreath of myrtle, branch of myrtle). The female figure appears with gestures that seem to indicate dance movements. She also carries a *plemochoai* vase adorned with myrtle branches on her head (Fig. 59).

Fig. 58. The Ninnion Tablet. Bottom scene. On the left, Iakchos leads two initiates; on the right, Demeter seats and besides her the absent throne. Source: Wikicommons, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported. Modified by the author.

The upper part represents the final scene of the Eleusinian Mysteries, when the daughter Persephone/Kore returns to her mother (Fig. 60). There is consensus among specialists that this scene depicts the final act of the *Plemochoae*, when the initiates practise libations after the nocturnal stage of Mysteries (CLINTON, 1992; MYLONAS, 2009). In the upper right corner, it is possible to identify a Demeter seated on the throne

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[229] The presence of this Eleusinian deity represents the arrival of the procession in Eleusis, since Iakchos is the personification of the cry of the initiates. The escorting of the statue is reported in Pausanias (Paus. Descr., 1.36-38) and Plutarch (Plut. Alc. 34.3). More information in Clinton (1992).

wearing a more elaborated dress. There are two female figures in the central part: on the right, there is a torch-bearing Persephone/Kore going to meet Demeter; on the left, there is possibly the dedicator herself (Ninnion) at the conclusion of her initiation. The dedicator Ninnion is depicted wearing similar garments to Persephone (next to her) and carrying a torch and a myrtle branch. The position of her arms indicates a choreographic movement.[230] Persephone appears carrying two torches in her encounter scene with her mother, while Ninnion appears carrying the *plemochoae* vase over her head. The arrival of Ninnion, led by Persephone, to the seated Demeter is indicative of the completion of her initiation. In the upper left corner, there are also two male figures: a bearded initiate carrying myrtle branches on the left and a young initiate who is practising libations with a jug on the right (Fig. 60).[231]

Fig. 59. The Ninnion Tablet. Upper scene. On the left, two masculine figures approaches; on the right, a female initiate is beside Persephone, they approache a seated Demeter. Source: Wikicommons, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported. Modified by the author.

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[230] There is a consensus among scholars that this figure in fact is Ninnion (the dedicator). Clinton (1992, p. 74) suggests the purpose of this dedication is to commemorate the *Plemochoai* by Ninnion. He follows a later interpretation by Nilsson, who argues the tablet does not have "a direct representation of a scene in the Mysteries, which it was forbidden to divulge not only in words but also in pictures" (NILSSON, 1940, p. 55). Others argue it was to celebrate her initiation in the two degrees of Eleusinian Mysteries (*myesis* and *epoteia*) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 215).

[231] This interpretation is based on Nilsson (1952, p. 542-623), Clinton (1992, p. 73-75) e Mylonas (2009, p. 113-121).

The offering of the Ninnion Tablet indicates interesting elements for a relational analysis which is little considered by the bibliography yet. Firstly, the choice for the gift in the form of a ceramic *naiskos*, decorated with a rich iconography, indicates the prestige and wealthy status of the benefactress. More than this indicator, visual resource demonstrates a thoughtful strategy in achieving successful religious communication with the Eleusinian deities. Although it is not possible to recover the original deposition context of this object, the existence of holes for hanging it indicates that it could reach secondary audiences, such as other initiates and perhaps spectators. It is important to note that the benefactress, Ninnion, modifies the status of this object by inserting it into a different context, since *naiskos* are generally used in funerary contexts.[232] It incorporated incorporates a refined technique of red-figure ceramics and insert the object into a sacred context as a gift to the Two Goddesses, which reinforces her religious communication strategy. Furthermore, the iconographical evidence which represents the initiates closer to the Eleusinian divinities seems to corroborate the argument put forward by Evans (2002), in which initiations into Eleusinian Mysteries presuppose a differentiated type of relationship between participants and their divine addressees. This argument can be complemented from the scene at the bottom of the Ninnion Tablet, in which the initiates are led by Iakchos, a deification of the procession, to the encounter of Demeter at Eleusis (CLINTON, 1992, p. 73-74). Clothing and adornments adopted by participants for the processional practice indicate an important stage for the appropriation of the landscape and objects, as these individuals approach the Goddesses in a "temporary suspension" of their ordinary urban identities. They suspend it when they "become initiates" and are therefore closer to Eleusinian deities by calibrating religious communication. In the upper scene, Ninnion, the initiated benefactress, chooses to represent her success in ritual practice by sharing with the Two Goddesses the final joyful reunion, with her commemoration of the final libation practice (the *Plemochoai*) (CLINTON 1992, p. 74).

The second representative case of aesthetics and performance adopted during ritual practices, gradually appropriated by the procession, and which is strategically depicted in iconography is the famous relief hydria "*Regina Vasorum*" from Cumae[233]

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[232] Most of *naiskos* are in marble and were present in funerary contests, as as tomb decoration. Some few naiskos plaques in ceramic of religious context were documented, but studies on this kind of objects are still incipient. More on Palagia (2016, p. 374-389).

[233] Cumae was an *apoikia* in Magna Graecia, which was founded by settlers from Euboeia in the 8th century B.C. See Nausitoo (2023, Cumas).

(Fig. 61).[234] This vase has an extremely detailed and rich decoration, which reveals a craft possibly intended for the wealthy spheres. There is a rich relief decoration of deities related to the Eleusinian Mysteries on the neck of the hydria. Deities of the Eleusinian cycle are presented in symmetrical pairs: Demeter and Kore in the central part (Fig. 61; 5, 6); Herakles and Dionysus as initiates (Fig. 61; 7, 4); Triptolemos and Athena (Fig. 61; 3, 8); Iakchos and Eubouleus (Fig. 61; 2, 9); probably Demeter and Persephone (Fig. 61; 1, 10) (CLINTON, 1992, p. 79-80).[235]
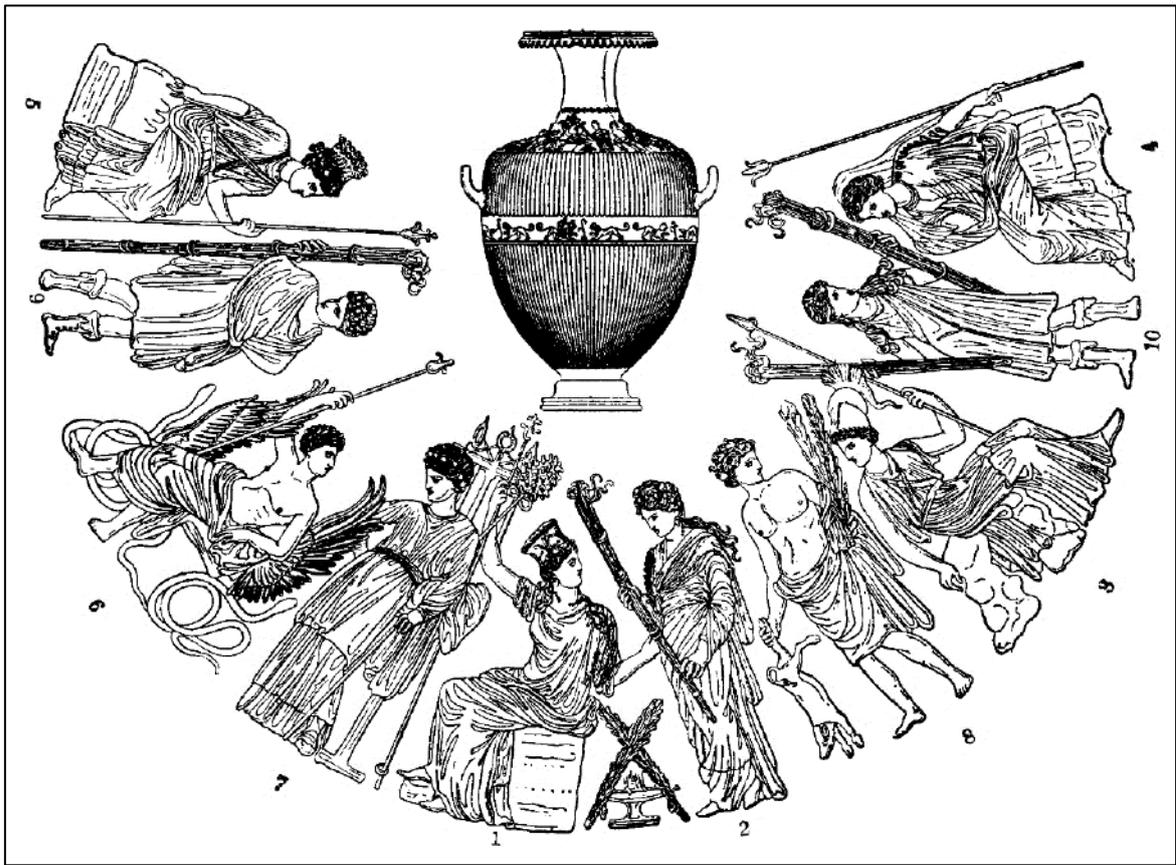
Fig. 60. Drawing of the relief hydria "Regina Vasorum". St. Petersburgh, Hermitage (after CLINTON, 1992, p. 79, III.9).

The choice of representing Herakles and Dionysus as initiates is an interesting point to highlight, since the initiation of both is abundantly evidenced in the textual

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[234] The piece is currently at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.
[235] The complete discussion on identification of Eleusinian deities is well developed in Clinton (1992, p. 78-81).

sources.[236] On the Regina Vasorum, Herakles is depicted carrying a sacrificial piglet in his right hand and a branch of wheat or myrtle resting on his left arm. His gaze is turned towards the goddess Athena (CLINTON, 1992, p. 80). Dionysus, on the other hand, wears clothing appropriate to his status as an Olympian god, holding a sceptre with floral motifs and his gaze is turned towards Triptolemos (CLINTON, 1992, p. 81). Both deities are worshipped in Eleusis, although the location of their temples is not fully evidenced.[237] The choice of representing divinities as initiates is an important religious communication strategy, since these figures are evoked to the dramatization of the Eleusinian cycle. These representations appear in many other objects.[238]

Thus, clothing and adornments are fundamental parts for the individual, which are gradually appropriated during the procession between Athens and Eleusis. They are the embodiment of this expressive, social and religious transfiguration of individuals into initiates, which can be evidenced through the strategies adopted in the iconographic or textual representation in order to approach the Two Goddesses.

7.2.2. Transporting objects

The transport of material objects is another important element of appropriation on the part of the procession between Athens and Eleusis.[239] Both sacred objects (*hierá*) and the statue of Iakchos were transported from Atenas to Eleusis. However, two hypotheses were elaborated by scholars about the transport itself. Clinton (2013) argues that the sacred objects were transported by the Eleusinian and Athenian priests and officials from the City Eleusinion to Eleusis on the 19th *Boedromion*, while the statue of Iakchos was transported by the initiates on the following day, 20th *Boedromion* (CLINTON, 1993, p.

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[236] For Herakles, Dionysus, and Eleusinian Mysteries, see Colomo (2004, p. 87-97), Boardman (1975, p. 1-12) and Clinton (1992).

[237] The temple of Dionysus has not been found yet, although there is ample evidence of marble votives. There is evidence of a shrine to Herakles in one part of the ancient quarry to the north side of the hill (CLINTON, 1992, p. 81).

[238] Stroszeck (2014b, p. 145-162) presents a series of ceramic vases in form of statuettes, found near the Sacred Way in Kerameikos, which represent the same iconographic configuration presented in Regina Vasorum, namely initiates wearing the appropriate garments and myrtle crowns, while carrying their sacrificial piglets. For more information: Clinton (1992).

[239] There are a lot of sources that attest to the transport of sacred objects (*hierá*) and Iakchos. Inscriptions: IG II² 1078 (200 AD); IG II² 847.17–18; IG I³ 79 (4th century BC); IG II² 1191.15–23. Textual sources: Plut. Phoc. 28.5; Anth. Pal. 9.14. Bibliographic discussion: Foucart (1914, p. 334-337); Mylonas (2009, p. 184-185); Cavanaugh (1996, p. 135-143); Travlos (1988, p. 177-189).

116). Other authors assume that the transport of both was carried out on the same day: the priests and officials carried sacred objects ahead, followed by the initiates who carried Iakchos (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 182; GRAF, 1996, p. 62). This last hypothesis seems more viable for logistical reasons, although the consideration of two movements (transport of *hierá* with the priests and transport of Iakchos with the initiates) proposed by Clinton (1993) has the merit of illustrating the hierarchy of the procession. There is no clear solution for this problem, because both hypotheses are possible due to conflicting information from the textual source. Scholars bases them on two fundamental sources to argue on one or two processional movements, one of which is passages in Plutarch (Plut. Cam. 19.6[240]; Plut. Phoc. 28.1[241]) and other is a late Roman inscription (IG II² 1078[242], dating 220 AD).[243] Plutarch mentions the transport of Iakchos occurred on 20th Boedromion, while the late Roman inscription informs ephebes escorted the *hiera* on 19th Boedromion (CLINTON, 1988, p. 70). It is also possible that both hypotheses were correct, after all there may have been changes in this formal aspect of the procession between Athens and Eleusis. The procession which was made in a single day in the period of Plutarch (46 – 120 AD) might be divided into two days in 220 AD. After all, textual sources also bring evidences that the procession of Eleusinian Mysteries was adapted due to moments of insecurity in West Attica (Plut. Alc. 34.3).

Another information on transport of objects during procession of Eleusinian Mysteries came from epigraphy. The inscription I Eleusis 41 (**No. 46**) is a decree of 422/1 B.C. in a white marble stele found next to the North Gate of sanctuary of Eleusis, which determines the building of a bridge over Rheitos in order to provide a safe crossing of the sacred objects (*hiera*) by Eleusinian priestesses during Eleusinian Mysteries (lines 5-11). The text also informs the bridge should be wide enough for the crossing of pedestrians, but insufficient for chariots (I Eleusis 41, **no. 46**, lines 12-17). This specification presupposes that the bridge could only be used for the ritual transport of sacred objects along the procession or by pedestrian crossing, but not for carriages and chariots, which

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[240] Original: *"εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος, ᾗ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἴακχον ἐξάγουσιν."* (Plut. Vit. Cam. 19.6). My bold.

[241] Original: *"[...] οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τῷ πάθει προσέθηκεν ὁ καιρός, εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρὰ Βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσήχθη, μυστηρίων ὄντων, ᾗ τὸν Ἴακχον ἐξ ἄστεος Ἐλευσινάδε πέμπουσιν, ὥστε τῆς τελετῆς συγχυθείσης ἀναλογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῶν θείων καὶ τὰ πρόσφατα,[...]"* (Plut. Phoc. 28.1). My bold.

[242] Original: "[…] *[δὲ τῆι] ἐνάτηι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος προσ[τάξα]ι τῶι κοσμητῆι τῶν ἐφήβων ἄγειν τοὺς ἐφή[βους] [πάλιν Ἐ]λευεῖνάδε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος π[αραπέμ][πο]ντας τὰ ἱερά. [...]"* (IG II² 1078, lines 19-22). My bold.

[243] See also AIO (2023, IG II² 1078).

should take another route. This question is related to the importance Rheitos has for the Two Goddesses and ritual practices (Paus. 1.38.1-3). Moreover, this stele presents a relief with interesting choices adopted for the iconography, from left to right: Demeter, Persephone carrying torches, Eumolpo and Athena.

Therefore, the escorting of such material objects indicates the hierarchy of the procession, since only Eleusinian and Athenian officials could escort the sacred objects (*hierá*) in the first place. On the other side, the escort of Iakchos – deification of the cry of the initiates – was routinised by the processional practice to represent the transformation of the participants into initiates. The iconography of Iakchos leading the way of initiates to Demeter in Eleusis indicates this hypothesis, as we have seen in this chapter.

7.2.3. Music and dances

Chants and dances are bodily forms of individual appropriation of the environment, capable of producing collective involvement, besides providing the processional movement with engagement and rhythm during the ritual practices. Their use is possibly eminent in religious processions, as some sources point out.[244] Moreover, the processional performance is endowed with "highly aesthetic and symbolic qualities", whose participants strategically appropriate material resources, sometimes manipulating a range of objects, sometimes performing through chanting and choreographic movement (KAVOULAKI, 1999, p. 295). In the previous discussed Ninnion Tablet, the choreographic movement presented by the female figure (Ninnion) is another evidence that the Eleusinian procession might be embedded with dances, chants, perhaps playing of musical instruments.

However, the representation of musicians or musical instruments is totally absent in procession scenes in ceramic vase iconography or in sculptures (KUBATZKI, 2018). The presence of musical instruments might be is intrinsic to the processions, being irrelevant to mention in textual sources (KUBATZKI, 2018, p. 143-144). Although evidence of dances and ecstasy-inducing instruments is attested in Mystery cults in

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[244] In Aristophanes (Ran. 340), the procession of Iakchos was emulated in such a way it indicates the presence of choral chants, as an allusion to the procession between Athens and Eleusis. Dance and chants for Iackhos are also mentioned in Sophokles (Soph. Ant. 1146-1152).

general, the absence of scenes with musicians and musical instruments is also verifiable in Eleusinian iconography (CLINTON, 1992). On the other hand, Plutarch mentions the usual presence of choral dances, besides other ritual practices, along the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis (Plut. Alc. 34.3).[245] The transport of a statue of Iakchos – the deity who personified the cry of the initiates – to Eleusis also indicates that participants "sang joyful songs and voiced the cultic cry" (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 182).[246] The processional performance could also alternate the practice of singing and dancing with moments of silence, as occurred in chthonic cults (WEST, 1992, p. 13-14; KUBATZKI, 2017, p. 144).

As mentioned, few passages in textual sources and iconographic evidence allows to conclude that choral dances, reproduction of chants and hymns were employed by participants of the procession between Athens and Eleusis. This could be interpreted as a experience individually lived, as strategy for charging the intensity of the ritual practice of procession and fulfilling religious communication with deities.

7.3. *Hiera Hodos* and the procession: possible stops and middle-way rites

Both escorts of "sacred objects" (*ta hiera*) by priestesses and the statue of Iakchos by the initiates, whether it was made together in a single or two processions[247], were made along the Sacred Way (*hiero hodos*). The procession to Eleusis was made at a slow pace over the course of a day (19th or 20th *Boedromion*), beginning in the morning and arriving at the Eleusinian sanctuary only at nightfall (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 182).[248]

The Sacred Gate, next to the city's main gate - the Dipylon - is the departure point of the route to Eleusis (*Hiera Hodos*) (See **Plate 2** and **3**). Its initial stretch is marked by the presence of monuments and altars from the Kerameikos necropolis, where there is a visible reference to figures from the Athenian past, as well as the presence of ceramic and marble workshops (Mylonas, 2009, p. 252-254). This is the site where archaeologists

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[245] "[…] ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἱερῶν, ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἴακχον, ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἐξελείπετο." (Plut. Alc. 34.3)

[246] The iconography of Iakchos was discussed by Clinton (1992, p. 64-71) and Graf (1974, p. 187-188).

[247] According to the proposals by Clinton (1993) and Robertson (1998).

[248] The hypothesis that the procession should last all day, starting in the morning and concluding at nightfall, is also based on the passage from Aristophanes (Ar. Ran. 343): "light-bringing star of the night-time rite", as translated by Parker (2005, p. 350).

found a great number of ceramic objects, vases and statuettes (STROSZECK, 2014b). In the vicinity of Kerameikos, some deposits with complete units and fragments of Eleusinian vessels (*plemochoai*) were recently discovered, which shows a strong relation with the Eleusinian procession (TSIRIGOTI-DRAKOTOU, 2008, p. 316; MITSOPOULOU, 2011, p. 190).[249] This information could be combined with textual sources mentioning preliminary practices were performed in the course of the procession to Eleusis, such as libations, offering of objects at monuments and sacred sites, and purification rites (PARKER, 2005, p. 347-350).[250]

Two ritual practices regarding the crossing of bridges occurred during the Eleusinian procession. The *krokosis*, which probably occurred in the first traverse of the Athenian part of Kephissos River, was the practice in which the initiates tied a saffron-coloured ribbon on their right wrist and left leg after crossing the first bridge (Paus. 1.38.2) (BREMMER, 2014, p. 6-7). On the second traverse, which was in the Eleusinian part of the Kephissos River in Thriassion Plain, the procession crossed the bridge in which they were followed by insults and mockery uttered by the audience (a rite called *gephyrismoi*) (Strab. Geo. 11.1.24).[251] The description of Pausanias, a traveller of the 2nd century AD, still indicated the existence of symbolic sites of Demeter's wandering, such as the site of Persephone's abduction by Hades (Erineus) (Paus. Descri., 1.37.5-6). The crossing of the Rheitoi, a lake sacred to the Eleusinian deities, whose inscription I Eleusis 41 (**No. 46**) indicates the construction of a bridge in the 4th century BC to aid the crossing of the priestesses carrying the "sacred objects" (τά ιερά).

There were also stops for rites at shrines along the Sacred Way (Paus. Descr. 1.36-38). Two roadside sanctuaries between Mount Aigaleon and Mount Poikilon are relevant in the way to Eleusis, which may be related to other ritual practices, such as depositing objects, libations and others. The Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios, which was located just

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[249] See also Orfanou (2001, 382, no. 439-442).

[250] Besides that, Plutarch mentions in his Life of Alcibiades an episode when the general escorted by sea the participants of the procession of the Mysteries between Athens and Eleusis. He mentions that facing the presence of the enemy, "the festal rite had been celebrated with no splendor at all, being conducted by sea. Sacrifices, choral dances, and many of the sacred ceremonies usually held on the road, when Iacchus is conducted forth from Athens to Eleusis, had of necessity been omitted." (Plut. Alc. 34.3-4). This excerpt shows how the rites, which was usually practiced along the Sacred Way, took all the splendour out of the processional practice. Moreover, the late inscription IG II² 1078 (220 AD), a decree issued by the deme which was found in Eleusis, also indicates "[…] sacrifices and libations and paians on the way" (IG II² 1078, 29-30). See AIO (2023, Eleusis 638). This inscription was also worked in Clinton (2019) and Perissato (2020).

[251] See also Parker (2005, p. 347) and Mylonas (2009, p. 256)

after the steepest ascent, was possibly the first stop, where rites were practiced with references to deities worshipped there. Next is the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, located at ca. 2 km from the previous sanctuary, where even statues of Demeter and Kore were found along with Aphrodite and Eros (See **Plate 4** and **5**).

The Terrain Elevation Analysis (**Plate 6**), which was based on remote sensing data, indicates a rise of about 140 m distributed over a stretch of about 8.0 km between the City Eleusinion in Athens and the Temple of Apollo Daphnaios on Mount Poikilon (**Plate 6**, between α-ζ). The initial section of the procession features a slight declivity between the exit through the Sacred Gate to just before the crossing of the Kephissos River in Athens (between α-β). The walk requires greater effort from point γ to point ε, where there is a steeper ascent (about 100 m distributed over 4 km). There is a slope of approximately 70m distributed over a 2km long stretch between the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, which could favour the walking after the initial effort of the procession start (between ζ-η). The stretch between the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros to Rheitoi is of a gentle slope (between η-θ). The remainder of the Sacred Way on the Thriassion Plain indicates a flat path without many physical challenges for the walkers (stretches θ-κ). The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis lies on a gentle elevation (ca. 30 m – point κ).

These data indicate that both Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios and Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros should be possibly important stops for the procession to Eleusis facing a difficult walk. Furthermore, the marked presence of places for depositing offerings to Demeter and Kore, as argued in previous chapter, may indicate the existence of rites performed by the group in procession. At dusk, the procession arrived at Eleusis and was received by spectators for sacrificial rites and dances at the altars, the Kallichoron Well and sacred sites in the outer courtyard (BREMMER, 2014, p. 7).[252]

7.4. *Hiera Hodos* as a route for religious procession and non-religious travel

The Sacred Way (*hiera hodos*) was not only the processional route to Eleusinian Mysteries, but one of the main roads connecting Attica and other regions of Balkan

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[252] These rites at the entrance of the sanctuary of Eleusis could be reconstructed through the passages in Euripides (Eur. Supp. 30-35), Aristophanes (Ar. Ra. 342-343) and Sophokles (Soph. Ant. 1146–1152).

Greece. It became one of the main connections with the Thriassion Plain and offered Athens an important access and transport route for goods, raw materials, and people, especially with the Megarid and the Peloponnese (FICUCIELLO, 2008, p. 24-26). Moreover, the first part of this road was used by the Athenians and inhabitants of Attica for the sacred journey to Delphi (FICUCIELLO, 2008, p. 25).

This information allows us to consider two main ways of using the Sacred Way: ordinary everyday use and religious use during the procession to Eleusis and sacred journey to Delphi. The first use deals with the ordinary appropriation of the road, in the daily life of the inhabitants and is characterised by the flow of products for supply and trade, as well as the transport of travellers, soldiers and workers in mines, ports and woods. It is important to mention the construction of commercial shops, ceramic workshops, and sculpture ateliers along the way as a support to the continuous flow of products and people. On the other hand, the second use deals with the type of extraordinary appropriation, proper of religious or funerary celebrations and contexts, as it is the case of the Eleusinian procession. After all, space is appropriated by procession participants and spectators during religious practice to achieve successful religious communication with the addressed deities. This extraordinary appropriation of the processional space was worked on in this chapter.

The procession between Athens and Eleusis is a ritual practice, in which participants of Eleusinian Mysteries prepare themselves for the initiation stages. After all, the processional practice provides participants with the temporary emancipation from the urban social order and established hierarchies of the polis to constitute themselves as initiates to the Eleusinian Mysteries, thus ensuring the appropriate transition to the stage of approaching the Two Goddesses (the *teletai* in the Telesterion). As we have seen in this chapter, this aspect is demonstrated by the individual appropriation of the participants as a preparation for the procession, such as the preliminary rites, corporal purifications and purification of the sacrificial animal, the wearing of specific garments and adornments. Individual appropriation should be understood as a two-way process, in which creative response may take place (ASHLEY; PLESCH, 2002, p. 6). This means that material objects and place are not only shaped by different agents, but it has material constraints and stimuli to shape human behaviour, who may act accordingly during performances of the procession.

Moreover, this two-way process transformation is manifested in spatial appropriation individuals make in the very path of the procession, when they participate in rites such as libations, sacrifices, dances, songs, dramatization, and remembrance of Demeter's steps. This occurs both through the transport of the sacred objects (*hierá*) by the priests and the statue of Iakchos by the initiates and through possible stops at monuments, roadside sanctuaries (Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnaios, Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, amog others.) and sacred places (Erineus, Rheitos, Phytalius among others.) in the 22km-way to Eleusis.

As *rite de passage* (GRAF, 1996)[253], the practice of religious rituals along the Sacred Way during the celebration of Eleusinian Mysteries, held annually in the month *Boedromion*, leads to the material appropriation of the space. The construction of altars, monuments, temples, or shrines along the way is the result of continuous appropriation elaborated in a diachronic way, which in turn invites repetition and routinisation of ritual practices (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 354-357; RÜPKE, 2018a, p. 207-236). Such uses of space and their material consequences are elaborations that are both the fruit of individuals' performances and elements that keep "memory" of these practices and therefore invite to the repetition of these ritual practices. It is evident that the performative and religious uses of the built environment along the Sacred Way is present in the materialized memory of the place, which impacts even during everyday uses, inviting passers-by to the sporadic and ordinary ritual practice of the site, such as the offering of votives.

Finally, all listed arguments are relevant in the process of *individusalisation* of the initiate (cf. FUCHS *et al.*, 2020). This means that the individual who participates of the procession is shaped by different and creative ways of communication with Eleusinian deities, at the same time each participant ascribes relevance and meaning to divine addressees. This process helps in shaping the individual by suspending their urban identities along the march to Eleusis in a process of becoming an initiate into Eleusinian Mysteries, in which his/her interaction with built and natural environment of the processional way is the main point of my argument.

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[253] A similar perspective is discussed in Endsjø (2000), who uses the concept of 'liminality' to frame mythical receptions of Heracles and Eleusinian Mysteries with geographical periphery (*eschatia*) (ENDSJØ, 2000, p. 351-386).

CHAPTER 8.

MAGNIFYING THE DWELLING: FORTIFIED WALLS AND THE OFFERING OF FIRST-FRUITS

"For most of the Hellenic cities, in memory of our ancient services, send us each year the first-fruits of the harvest, and those who neglect to do so have often been admonished by the Pythian priestess to pay us our due portion of their crops and to observe in relation to our city the customs of their fathers.1 And about what, I should like to know, can we more surely exercise our faith than about matters as to which the oracle of Apollo speaks with authority, many of the Hellenes are agreed, and the words spoken long ago confirm the practice of today, while present events tally with the statements which have come down from the men of old?" (Isocrates, Panegyricus, 4.31)

This chapter deals with the ritual practice of first-fruits (*aparche*), which is donations of grain offered by Attic tribes and demes or allied cities to the sanctuary of Eleusis. Is it possible to establish a relationship between the ancient custom of first-fruits offerings and the ornamental expansion of Eleusinian peribolos wall? Before situating it in the political and historical context, this text seeks another nuance to address the *aparche* practice, as it discusses its agencies and its impact for the spatial transformation of the sanctuary. To this end, the chapter surveys data on some inscriptions of *aparche* offerings, presents information from this type of source and analyses it in confrontation with data of the successive phases of the peribolos wall and storage buildings, such as silos and granaries.

Finally, these information gives support for a discussion about the monumentalisation of Eleusis and the impact of *aparche* practices in sanctuary's daily life. It concludes that, beyond the defensive character of the fortified walls for protection of treasuries, the embellishment and enlargement of the sanctuary seeks to establish (and to promote) ties between tribes, demes and cleruchies. I argue that the magnification of the sanctuary is a strategy to attract the social engagement and individual investments on the western border of Attica.

8.1. Keeping gifts to the Two Goddesses: the practice of *aparche* at Eleusis

The practice of first-fruits consists in the offering by political bodies, such as tribes, Attic demes or Athenian cleruchies, of a portion of their annual production of wheat or barley grain to the Eleusinian deities, Demeter and Kore, in their dwellings at the sanctuary of Eleusis. The procedure is regulated by Eleusinian priests followed by approval by the Council and citizen Assembly (*Boule* and *Ekklesia*). First-fruits are gifts to the gods and goddesses, which should be "set down on a sacred spot where they are left to other men or animals, they may be sunk in springs and rivers, fen and sea, or they may be burned; gift sacrifice turns into sacrifice through destruction" (BURKERT, 1994). The donations could be converted into money to cover economic and organisational expenses of the sanctuary, as well as of the priest's families, while the surplus can return to the city treasury on the Acropolis of Athens (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**; I Eleusis 177). In Eleusis, the announcement for gathering first-fruits of the harvest was made by the hierophant and *dadouchos* during Eleusinian Mysteries in Boedromion (CLINTON, 2008, p. 5-6). The first-fruits, a portion of the harvest specified in decree (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**), is separated by political units (tribes, demos, cleruchies, cities) and are sent to Eleusis around month Thargelion[254] (CLINTON, 2008, p. 6). After receiving *aparche*, Eleusinian priests prepare the *pelanos* and the surplus is sold to subsidise both sacrifices to the deities worshipped in Eleusis and the building of dedications (*anathema*) (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**; I Eleusis 177).

The first-fruits offerings to Eleusis are depicted in a famous passage from The Panegyricus of the Athenian orator, Isocrates (438 B.C. – 338/336 B.C.):

> "Now, first of all, that which was the first necessity of man's nature was provided by our city; for even though the story has taken the form of a myth, yet it deserves to be told again. When Demeter came to our land, 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, — [29] our city was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind

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[254] A spring month of Attic calendar, which corresponds roughly to May on Gregorian calendar. For the Attic Calendar, see Appendix A.

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. The mystic rite we continue even now, each year, to reveal to the initiates; and as for the fruits of the earth, our city has, in a word, instructed the world in their uses, their cultivation, and the benefits derived from them."

(Isoc. 4.28-29)

The Athenian rhetoric is clear in Isocrates' speech, especially when aspects of "Mission of Triptolemos" is translated as a "Mission of Athens".[255] After all, the orator states that the goddess went to Attica in search of her daughter, when she granted the Athenians the fruits of the earth and the first-fruits of Mysteries (Isoc. 4. 28). Isocrates then praises the blessing given to his city for the mission of organising and revealing the Mysteries to the initiated and instructing mankind on the uses, cultivation, and benefits of the fruits of the earth (Isoc. 4, line 29). These two lines indicate how Athenians use their prominence through organisation of the Eleusinian festival to justify the practice of first-fruits offerings. The latter can be understood as a way of honouring Demeter's teachings (agriculture), as well as maintaining stable religious communication with Eleusinian deities with the aim of ensuring success in future harvests. This aspect becomes even clearer in the following passage, in which Isocrates reveals some aspects of this ritual practice:

"This statement, when I have added a few further proofs, no one could venture to discredit.

In the first place, the very ground on which we might disparage the story, namely that it is ancient, would naturally lead us to believe that the events actually came to pass; for because many have told and all have heard the story which describes them, it is reasonable to regard this not, to be sure, as recent, yet withal as worthy of our faith. In the next place, we are not obliged to take refuge in the mere fact that we have received the account and the report from remote times; on the contrary, we are able to adduce even greater proofs than this regarding what took place. **For most of the Hellenic cities, in memory of our ancient services, send us each year the first-fruits of the harvest, and those who**

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[255] The mission of the Athenian hero Triptolemos was the spreading the gift of Demeter (grains) and the knowledge of the agriculture to the rest of humanity. The motif is represented in iconography of black and red figures vases (CLINTON, 1992). Triptolemos is also mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (lines 150-160). See Mylonas (2009, p. 20-22) for general overview; see Raubitschek and Raubitschek (1982, p. 109-208) and Clinton (1992) for iconography of Triptolemos.

neglect to do so have often been admonished by the Pythian priestess to pay us our due portion of their crops and to observe in relation to our city the customs of their fathers. […]" (Isoc. 4.30-31, my bold)

Line 31 indicates that most Hellenic cities sent annual first-fruits offerings from their crops.[256] This is a passage that has generated discussion among scholars. The fact is that Isocrates' statement does not accord with the information from epigraphic sources of the sanctuary. As we shall see more carefully in the following item, an inventory from ca. 329 BC (IG II² 1672, lines 263-300) indicates that only tribes and demes from Attica and few allied cities contributed in that period, which is very different from Isocrates' claim. It is difficult to affirm whether this is a period when the practice of first-fruits offerings is in decline, therefore restricted to Attica (late 4th century BC) or whether Isocrates exaggerated in his speech (CLINTON, 2010, p. 1). The Panegyricus by Isocrates can be dated to ca. 380 BC, which coincides with a prosperous time at Eleusis (Clinton, 1994, p. 161-170). This fact does not allow one to exclude the possibility that the shrine had received donations from other cities. On the other hand, Isocrates' statement may simply be a rhetorical hyperbole to inflate the sanctuary's popularity, which aimed at attracting audience's attention to the Eleusinian matter (CLINTON, 2010, p. 1). The question itself is problematic, as the epigraphic source of the inventories is too fragmentary to concretely assess whether the development of *aparche* practice follows the growth in both popularity and number of initiates at Eleusis. The concrete point, and more importantly for our discussion, is that this practice at least involved the Athenian tribes, demes and cleruchies (CLINTON, 2008, p. 5-6). This aspect can be related to the spatial and social development of the sanctuary of Eleusis itself. As we shall see from the archaeological and epigraphic sources, the First-Fruits decree (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**) indicates instructions for the construction of specific places for the grain storage, guides its ritual use and even the financing of sanctuary's routine sacrifices. It also indicated the surplus should be added to the city's grain reserve. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the first-fruits offerings impacted positively on the organisation of the sanctuary and even its spatial development. Two expansions of the fortified peribolos wall are evidenced in the 5th and

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[256] Original: "αἱ μὲν γὰρ **πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων** ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐκλειπούσαις πολλάκις ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια." (Isoc. 4.31, my bold). According to The Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 260), πλεῖστος could be translated as "most" or "the greatest".

4th centuries BC, respectively. These building interventions could be related to the demand for grain storage, as we shall see below.

Of course, both enlargement of the inner area of the sanctuary and the fortified peribolos wall should also be analysed through the lens of political tensions in the 5th and 4th centuries BC on the western border of Attica (cf. PAGA, 2021, p. 179-187).[257] However, this chapter seeks a different nuance to the development of peribolos walls in the sanctuary of Eleusis. After all, is it possible to relate the expansion of inner court and peribolos walls of the sanctuary between 480 and 360 BC to the annual practice of first-fruits (See **Plate 11**)? How does this practice impact on the social and spatial organisation of the sanctuary?

In seeking to elucidate these issues, this chapter frames the practice of first-fruits offerings from the notion of group formations and its religious communication strategies (RÜPKE, 2015; LICHTERMAN *et al*., 2017).[258] The aim is to understand how actor's involvement in sanctuary organisation is related to a strategic use of first-fruits offerings in order to increase social engagement with the western border area of Attica, where Eleusis is located.

8.2. The Eleusinian case: a survey through epigraphic and archaeological sources

After the question previously raised, I confront information of first-fruits offerings from main material and textual sources with the expansion of peribolos area attested by archaeological reports. Particularities of Eleusinian materiality will serve as a parameter to conduct our discussion on the political and ritual appropriations of sacred spaces. The aim is to indicate both the impact of continuous demand generated by the practice of first-fruits offerings and its implications for strategies of religious communication by different agents with the sanctuary at Eleusis.

8.2.1. Epigraphic evidences of First-fruits (*aparche*): I Eleusis 28a (No. 45)

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[257] This point will be worked on Part IV of this thesis.
[258] This aspect was theoretically developed in chapters from Part I.

There is a diverse corpus of inscriptions from the 5th and the 4th centuries BC that deal directly or indirectly with the practice of first-fruits offerings (*aparche*). Information on this aspect is present from regulatory laws (sacred laws, decrees) to administrative documents (accounts, inventories). For the case of *aparche*, main documents were produced by the Eleusinian deme or by The Council and the People. There is below a list of Eleusinian inscriptions from the 5th and 4th century BC, which either deal exclusively or have short mentions to *aparche* practice:

1) I Eleusis 19 (or IG I³ 6) (**No. 44**): "Law concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries" (Date: ca. 470-460 BC)

2) I Eleusis 28a (or IG I³ 78a) (**No. 45**): "Decree/Syngraphe of First-Fruits" (Date: ca. 435 BC)

3) I Eleusis 45 (or IG I³ 391) (not included in my repertoire): "Four-year account of First Fruits" (Date: ca. 419/8 BC)

4) I Eleusis 52 (or IG I³ 386-387) (not included in my repertoire): "Account-Inventory" (Date: ca. 408/7 BC)

5) I Eleusis 159 (IG II² 1673) (not included in my repertoire): "Account of the *Epistatai* of Eleusis" (Date: ca. 336/5 or 333/332 B.C.)

6) I Eleusis 177 (or IG II² 1672) (not included in my repertoire): "Account of the *Epistatai* at Eleusis and Treasurers of the Two Goddesses"[259] (Date: 329/8 BC)

The First-Fruits Decree (I Eleusis 28a - **No. 45**), which dates roughly from 435 BC[260], is a fundamental source for understanding how the ancestral practice of donating *aparche* is imbricated to the functioning and organisation of the sanctuary of Eleusis. The text was carved on a white marble stele[261] probably installed on the inner area of the

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[259] Titles of the entries here are from Clinton's catalogue (2005a; 2008).
[260] There is no precise date for this inscription. Clinton (2005a, p. 37-40; 2008, p. 54-58) dates it generally to 430s BC. AIO (2023, I Eleusis 28a) stipulates it was published in ca. 435 BC. More information on Cavanaugh (1996, p. 29-36) for previous bibliography and Clinton (2008, p. 54-58) for the most recent.
[261] It is not possible to specify if the material comes from Mount Pentelikon, but the choice for this type of white marble indicates a recurrent tendency for decrees and accounts issued by the citizen Assembly. See also AIUK vol. 4.2. (LAMBERT, 2020, p. 12-13). For further commentaries, see AIO (2023, I Eleusis 28a), CGRN (31), LSCG 5 (SOKOLOWSKI, 1969).

sanctuary in Eleusis.[262] It is a decree approved by the Council and The People, based on the proposal by a committee[263], for the regulation of first-fruits offerings from the annual harvest by demos or allied towns (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 28a, note 1). In this way, the text gives indications for the procedures regarding the announcement for donations of first-fruits (lines 24-26), the storage of the grains in three granaries (lines 5-13), its use for the preparation of sacrificial cake (*pelanos*) (lines 35-37), the sale of surplus grain and use of its money to subsidise sacrifices to the deities[264] and building dedications on stone bases for disposal in the sanctuary (lines 40-44) (CLINTON, 2008, p. 5-6; CLINTON, 2010, p. 2-3).[265] A key passage for our discussion mentions the obligation to follow the ancestral custom of building granaries (*siroi*) in Eleusis for the storage of donations (lines 9-12). The text specifies that these storage rooms should be built on the most appropriate site in accordance with sacred officials and architects (lines 10-12).[266]

The inscription I Eleusis 177 (or IG II² 1672 - not included in my repertoire[267]) can be understood as a mirror of the first-fruits decree (I Eleusis 28a - **No. 45**), but published about a century later. This is a large account of the board of Eleusinian overseers (*epistatai*)[268] from 329/8 B.C. which records administrative and organisational expenditure, indicating much information on building interventions in the sanctuary[269], expenses for materials and registration of the names of builders, sellers, craftsmen and

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[262] Two copies containing this text were produced simultaneously: one copy stayed in Eleusis (this one, IG I³ 78a) and another copy which stayed in Athens, possibly on the Acropolis or City Eleusinion (IG I³ 78b) (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 28a).

[263] The lettering and its approximate dating indicate that it was issued before the foundation of the board of five Eleusinian overseers (*epistatai*) (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 28a, note 1).

[264] The text mentions Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos, Theos and Thea (probably Hades and Persephone), Eubouleus and Athena (lines 37-40). More information on AIO (2023, I Eleusis 28a) and Clinton (2008, p. 5-6).

[265] The inscription instructs that such dedications arising from the *aparche* must include "the Hellenes" in the authorship of the donors (I Eleusis 28a, **No. 45**, lines 40-44).

[266] Lines 10-12: *[...] οἰκοδομεῖσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρεῖς Ἐλευσῖνι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκεῖ τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τοῖ ἀρχιτέκτονι [...]*.

[267] For more information on I Eleusis 177 (IG II² 1672) see Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 177; 2008, p. 176-242). For further discussion see Loomis (1998; 1995, p. 131-134) and Rhodes and Osborne (2003, p. 118-127).

[268] This board was created to supervise the treasury of the Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. The board of five Athenian men was elected by the Boule to take care of financial administration of the sanctuary. Their duty was to register inventories, accounts, and weight sacred treasurers (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 3-4). More information on inscription of foundation of the board (IG I³ 32 – not included in this repertoire). Analysis and bibliography in Cavanaugh (1996) and Clinton (2008, p. 176-241).

[269] The inscription I Eleusis 177 mentions building repairs in Eleusis, in places such as the Sacred House (lines 17-18, 69-77, 148-153, 189, 422-423, 433-434), the headquarters of *epistatai* (*epistasion*) (lines 74, 155, 169, 184), the house of the Kerykes (lines 24-25), the Treasury (lines 207-211, 222-223, 263-265, 271-272), and in City Eleusinion (lines 191-196, 224-225, 227-229). For commentaries of these repairs, see Clinton (2008, p. 179-183).

others.[270] The text devotes a passage exclusively to detailing the *aparche* received that year (I Eleusis 177, lines 392-429). It was inscribed in stoichedon in a blue-gray marble stele and it is one of the most preserved accounts of Eleusinian overseers.[271] As said, the text of this inscription is extensive and contains much information. An exhaustive analysis of I Eleusis 177 cannot be undertaken in this chapter, but I will highlight two important pieces of information for our discussion.

The first is the register of cities and political units which have given first-fruits offerings to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. This information contradicts the passage from Panegyricus of Isocrates (Isoc. 4.31), because only Athenian tribes, demos and cleruchies are recorded among donors of barley and wheat in this account (I Eleusis 177, lines 392-429).[272] Two pieces of information are possible to combine with information we have available: (1) Eleusis received *aparche* from other Hellenic poleis in ca. 480 BC, there is a decline of this practice until the 4th century BC and these became restricted within the political units of Attica around 320 BC;[273] or (2) there is an exaggeration in Isocrates' statement and donations of *aparche* to Demeter and Core in Eleusis were mobilized only by political units of Attica (CLINTON, 2010). Although the first interpretation cannot be dismissed for lack of evidence, the second seems more credible and finds support in the indicative of the tribes and demes who engaged in organisation and administration of the sanctuary of Eleusis in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, as we shall see in chapter 11 and 12. Other relevant information concerns instructions and expenses which were paid from first-fruits offerings, such as sacrifices made to

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[270] Clinton (2008, p. 190-194) prepared a list of craftsmen, vendors and workers which were registered in two accounts of the *Epistatai* of Eleusis: I Eleusis 177 (329/8 B.C.) and I Eleusis 159 (336/5 or 333/2 B.C.). Of the total 160 individuals recorded in both inscriptions, approximately 120 are Athenian citizens, while 40 are non-citizens, which mostly are foreigners (metics) and just a few enslaved people. Non-citizens are approximately 25% of the total. These 160 individuals are people who contributed as suppliers of materials and as a workforce, such as builders, carpenters, sculptors, architects, painters, among others. For details on these inscriptions, see Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 159, I Eleusis 177).

[271] It was found in two fragments next to Zt. Zacharias Church in modern Elefsina (close to the Greater Propyleae, the Roman court of the sanctuary) (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 188).

[272] The inscription mentions: Erechtheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis, Drymos, Amphiararon area, Salamis, Skyros, Myrine, Hephaistia and Imbros (I Eleusis 177, lines 392-429; CLINTON, 2008, p. 228-238). The donation of the Athenian cleruchy of Imbros arrived late, just after a portion of the *aparche* was separated for subsidising sacrifices in Eleusis (lines 426-427).

[273] The information came from Isocrates, whose text is dated 480 BC, coincides with a period of prosperity of the sanctuary of Eleusis, when the peribolos walls was expanded to the northeast and east for the construction of silos and granaries. In addition, Telesterion was enlarged (Iktinos' plan) and other buildings supporting the sanctuary were constructed. On the prosperity of the period, see Clinton (1994).

deities[274], preparing of *pelanos*, repairing of the grain tower[275], salaries for the grain-measurer and for the men who transported donations to the sanctuary, as well as repairs to the sacred houses of priestesses (I Eleusis 177, lines 417-425; CLINTON, 2008, p. 235-236). This information confirms the surplus of *aparche* were sold and its money was used for the continuation of shrine's ordinary activities, in addition to investments and improvements to the infrastructure of the buildings.

The epigraphic source, although fragmentary and with scattered information in face of the sanctuary chronology, indicates robust evidence of the connection of *aparche* practice with the organisation of the sanctuary and the expansion of the fortified peribolos walls at Eleusis. Furthermore, they indicate a diversity of actors involved in the organisation of *aparche* practice, from the announcement for collection of first-fruits offerings of the harvest to the construction of buildings, registration and control of the sanctuary treasuries.

8.2.2. Expansion of the peribolos walls and new storerooms (ca. 480-360 BC)

Archaeological evidence shows two distinct moments of the expansion of the peribolos walls together with building of new storerooms (**Plate 11**; first moment in green, second moment in red).[276] The first moment was planned and built in the period between 480 and 404 B.C. and is related to the building phase of the Classical Telesterion (Classical Phase I), traditionally identified with the building programme of Perikles (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 145).[277] The interventions were carried out in the north-eastern area of the sanctuary, opening space for a courtyard in front of the Telesterion. This new extension of the courtyard was demarcated by peribolos walls between towers I11, I12 and I14

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[274] I Eleusis 177 mentions that the money from the *aparche* was used by the *hieropoioi* for sacrifices of 43 sheeps and goats for 1290 Drachma and 3 bulls for 1200 Drachma (Lines, 417-425) in ca. 329/8 BC. The total amount of *aparche* income was 3.505 Drachma and it was used for other expenses, such as repairing and salaries. For this information, I consulted the table of expenses from the money of the *aparche* prepared by Clinton (2008, p. 236).

[275] "[…] *70 τοῦ πύργου ἐπισκευὴ τῶι σίτωι.* […]" (I Eleusis 177, line 421; number in arabic is mine). Available at Epigraphy.packhum: <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/346637>. Access in 13.02.2023.

[276] There is also an earlier granary (silos) for first-fruits offerings from Late Archaic Period (550 – 510 B.C.). This is a rectangular building (25,45m x 8,75m) to the northwest of the North Gate (see Plate 11, in purple) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 96-97). See also Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 142).

[277] This interpretation was earlier proposed by Mylonas (2009, p. 124-125) and Noack (1927, p. 183-193). Palinkas (2008, p. 113-114) also discusses this storage building and its spatial configuration between three different wall phases.

(**Plate 11**; Fig. 62 and Fig. 63).[278] The extension of this area on the east side allowed the accommodation of new storehouses, especially in the triangular space with entrance at Gate F5 of Archaic Phase ("Peisistratean") (Plate 11, Fig. 64 and 65) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 145). The storage building measured ca. 33 x 13.50m. (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 113). Mylonas (2009, p. 125-127) reports that the triangular area was internally supported by five square pillars (Fig. 64 and Fig. 65, S), some of which are well preserved and others of which only have a preserved foundation (Fig. 65). The first archaeologist to relate this room to a storage building (*siroi / σιροί*) for first-fruits offerings was Ferdinand Noack (1927, p. 189, and fig. 76), whose explanation was accepted and followed by Mylonas and Travlos (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 126). These authors argue that the storage building was considered undeground, whose main access was via the roof and a ladder, although a ground-level entrance existed on the west side of the building's diagonal wall (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 126).[279] Thus, grains from first-fruits offerings could be stored in a suitable and refrigerated place for its preservation.

Fig. 61. Classical extension of peribolos' wall in east of Telesterion, 5th century BC ("Periklean walls") – Tower K20 to Tower I14– Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

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[278] I11 was a square tower for protection of Gate I10, while I12 and I14 were round towers. According to Mylonas (2009, p. 124), these fortification walls and towers were related to other "Periklean" buildings from the 5th century BC. They were formed by a bottom layer of perfectly fitted rectangular Eleusinian blue-grayish stone blocks, which supported a superstructure of poros yellow stone (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 124-125) (See Fig. 65). This expanded court was delimited between Tower I14 was and the 6th century BC Tower H21.

[279] Mylonas follows Noack (1927, p. 189)

Fig. 62. Classical extension of peribolos' wall in east of Telesterion, 5th century BC – Tower I14 to Tower I12 – Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.
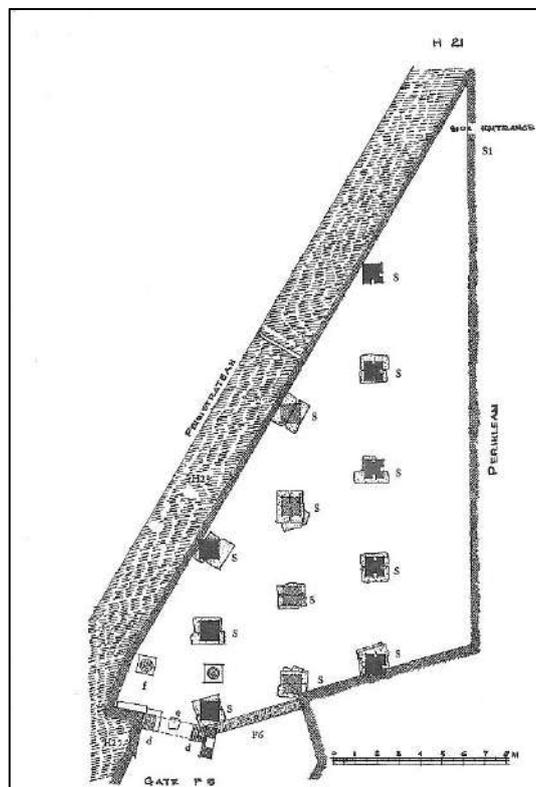
Fig. 63. Plan of Triangular building (Gate F5 and storage building). Source: Mylonas (2009, plate 36).

Fig. 64. Gate F5 and storage building from 5th century BC. Source: Mylonas (2009, plate 35).

The second moment was building interventions dating from the period between 370 and 360 BC[280] in the southern area of the sanctuary, which means an expansion of the inner courtyard area and relocation of the South Gate (Plate 11, in red) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-147; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 135-137). The extent of the peribolos wall to the south of the Telesterion can be identified between Tower I12 to Tower K7, where the fortification connects to Tower K6 and South Pylon (Fig. 66; Fig. 67) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 135).[281] Sometimes the area is related to works by Lycurgus, but it is important to clarify that this link is merely chronological and it is not a direct intervention by the Athenian statesman (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 136). The function of this expanded area near the Telesterion and South Pylon corresponds to the demand for more buildings to support the sanctuary organisation, especially more storerooms for first-fruits offerings (Plate 11, storerooms).

The area close to the wall between the fifth-century Tower I12 and the fourth-century Tower K7 was used to galleries for grain storing, mainly arising from first-fruits

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[280] This date was given by Mylonas (2009, p. 132-133) in 1961 and it is still accepted by the most recent analysis (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146).

[281] It is possible to identify a similar building technique to the peribolos wall to the east of the Telesterion, i.e. a perfectly worked foundation in Eleusinian blue-grayish marble and a superstructure in poros stone (Fig. 66 and 67). Mylonas argues that the imitation of the style of the "Periklean" builders is intentional, although the expansion of this part of peribolos walls is dated to the 4th century BC according to the related archaeological material (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 135-137).

offerings (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 147). It consists of six bays that add up to a 40m x 8.25m longitudinal structure (**Plate 11**, "storerooms" in red).[282] Mylonas argues these storerooms were built to replace the fifth-century storage building to the east of the sanctuary, because part of their area was filled in to accommodate Telesterion's new ornamental façade, the Stoa of Philon (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 150).

Archaeological reports on these interventions of both the inner area of the sanctuary and the expansion of the peribolos walls bring interesting elements to this discussion. Two annexes were built in this period, one of which in 480-404 BC e the other in 370-360 BC. The dating of these two annexes dialogs directly with inscriptions I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**) from 435 BC and I Eleusis 177 from 329/8 BC. Both annexes relate to the extension of new storerooms for first-fruits offerings at different moments of the development of Eleusinian topography. The first intervention belongs to the moment of prosperity of the sanctuary and peak of the practice of *aparche* in the 5th century BC, although this does not necessarily mean the receipt of first-fruits offerings from other poleis of the Greek Mediterranean. This meant the construction of a new storage building and expansion of peribolos walls to the east of the sanctuary in a period of reconfiguration of inner court and rebuilding the Telesterion in Eleusis (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-147). In turn, the second intervention corresponds to the continuation of public works in Eleusis during the 4th century BC, such as the construction of a new façade for the Telesterion (Stoa of Philon) and expansion of the southern area, where new storerooms were built. The spatial reconfiguration of Eleusis between the 5th and 4th centuries BC indicates a direct relationship between *aparche* practice and the expansion of the fortified peribolos walls.

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[282] This south area of the sanctuary was excavated by Skias (1895, p. 165-174), Noack (1927, p. 214-215) and Mylonas (2009, p. 150).

Fig. 65. The South Gate of sanctuary of Eleusis – Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

Fig. 66. The South extension of peribolos's wall, towers K6-K7 – Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2016.

8.3. The monumentality of first-fruits offerings and Monumentalisation of Eleusis

The relationship between the expansion of peribolos walls and the building of rooms for first-fruits storage in Eleusis is evidenced through both archaeological and epigraphic sources. This is not the only factor that led to the expansion of the fortified wall. Both the impact of the invasions in the 5th century BC and the political and military instability of the 4th century BC and the geographical position of Eleusis on the western border of Attica are factors that cannot be discarded from the spatial analysis, a question to which I devote myself in the last part of this thesis. However, archaeologists need to read monumental structures and buildings, such as the Eleusinian peribolos walls, from the complexity of their multiple meanings (KNAPP, 2009, p. 48). Beyond the pragmatic question, the ritual practice of *aparche* offerings is a factor to be interpreted in face of the monumentalisation of Eleusis on two fundamental points.

Firstly, it is necessary to consider the monumentality evidenced in *aparche* practice. As inscriptions made clear, the strategic adoption of this practice involves a series of procedures and norms which engage considerable number of social actors. This could be attested from the announcement to the Athenian cities and political units, such as demes and tribes, for contributing with first-fruits of their harvest, through the construction of granaries for grain storage, the financial subsidy for providing sacrifices, building of dedicatory bases, among others. Perhaps *aparche* practice never was scaled up to the Panhellenic-reaching terms of Isocrates' rhetoric (Isoc. 4.31), but there is mobilisation of a diverse contingent of actors behind its practice over the years. After all, it involved Athenian tribes, demos and cleruchies, which certainly contributed to the strengthening of social cohesion within Attica and the engagement of social actors, from individuals to demes. If monumentality can be understood as "an ongoing, constantly renegotiated relationship between things and person" (OSBORNE, 2014, p. 3), then it is possible to consider the *aparche* practice within its monumental character by negotiating constellations between individuals, collectivities and things. Another key point is in understanding how the practice of first-fruits offerings can be framed as a strategy of religious communication (RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1207). It is a multi-agency practice, after all. Several individuals use the collectivity of their tribe or their deme to offer first-fruits of their crops to Eleusinian deities in order to maintain religious communication and ensure success in ritual and future harvests. On the other hand, individuals who organise

the sanctuary and Eleusinian deme appropriated the prerogative conferred by the Oracle of Delphi (I Eleusis 28a, **No. 45,** line 5; Isoc. 4.31) in order to collect first-fruits offerings from the other Athenian tribes, demes and allied cities for promoting socio-religious engagement with Eleusis. This contributed strategically with the promotion of social cohesion and the strengthening of this extra-urban sanctuary on the border of Attica with the Megarid and rest of the Peloponnese to the south and Boeotia and rest of Balkan Greece to the north.

The monumentality of *aparche* practice in engaging a constellation of networks formed by individuals and collectivities in religious communication is also related to the maintenance of other ritual practices in the daily life of Eleusis, such as the organisation of sacrifices to deities worshipped at the sanctuary.[283] After all, "monuments emerge from monumentality, that is, from the ways through which abstractions and meanings and specific material realities are reunited." (VALERA, 2020, p. 240).

The second point concerns the spatialisation produced through the routinisation of this socio-religious practice. Apart from the practical issue for sheltering first-fruits offerings, the expansion of the peribolos walls can also be interpreted as a strategic exhibition of the emerging heritage of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses. As we saw earlier, the expansion of the peribolos walls for extending storage buildings or storerooms is directly related to both individual and collective investments with the sanctuary and the practice of first-fruits offerings. There is also investment of several individuals behind the expansion of peribolos walls with their initiatives, plans, negotiations, strategies and leadership.

Finally, it is crucial to understand the scope of communication that the expansion of fortified peribolos walls possesses to reach other audiences, because "archictectural complexes communicate and reproduce certain meanings, and help to shape relationships of power and inequality between those who dwell in or use such buildings and those who visit or simply pass by them" (KNAPP, 2009, p. 47; FISHER, 2006, p. 125). This is an elementary point that conjures up the Athenian discourse of power on its frontier, as well as its primacy over the teachings of agriculture and the Eleusinian Mysteries. This interpretative nuance regarding the monumentalisation of Eleusis is fundamental for us to understand how the ritual practice of *aparche*, when routinised in the functional

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[283] The instructions were evidenced in the inscription I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**), as we saw earlier.

calendar of the sanctuary, can establish various networks of actors in diversified degrees of religious involvement and communication.

CHAPTER 9.

TRANSFORMING THE SELF: TELESTERION AND THE RITUAL PRACTICE OF INITIATIONS

> "[…] But, as the years move round and when he is in his prime, the sons of the Eleusinians shall ever wage war and dread strife with one another continually. Lo! I am that Demeter who has share of honor and is the greatest help and cause of joy to the undying gods and mortal men. But now, let all the people build me a great temple and an altar below it and beneath the city and its sheer wall upon a rising hillock above Callichorus. And I myself will teach my rites, that hereafter you may reverently perform them and so win the favour of my heart." (Homeric hymn to Demeter II, 265-274[284])

The following chapter discusses the development of the Telesterion of Eleusis between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. from the appropriation by different agents through the ritual practices of initiations. For this, the argument is elaborated from a combination of the notion on religious communication and "sensorial assemblages" in order to provide an analytical framework to assess the persistence of the architectural typology of the hypostyle hall and the adaptation/adoption of topographic and material features over the centuries.

Furthermore, the chapter draws on material constraints of the Telesterion and its sensorial "affordances" to argue towards the intrinsic relation between its spatial development and the tendency of different actors in seeking repetition of successful religious experiences. As a "highly mediatized environment", the Telesterion of Eleusis was shaped by social interaction in the same way as it helped in "stabilising" religious communication between the participants and their divine addressees.

9.1. Placing *mystai* and *epoptai*: religious communication and spatialisation as a stabilising assemblage

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[284] English Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Homeric Hymns. Cambridge, MA.,Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914.

Many attempts to reconstruct the complete narrative of the initiations into Eleusinian Mysteries have been made by scholars throughout the 20th century[285], since we do not have precise evidence of the programmatic sequence of the secret part of festival.[286] There is a consensus between scholars about aetiological aspects of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, since many passages were interpreted as a prescription to the initiation ritual. This would presuppose that a dramatization of the mystical narrative eventually occurred during event (PATERA, 2010, p. 261-262). Thus, the initiation ritual was performed on two consecutive nights between the 20th and the 21th Boedromion[287] and followed two sequential degrees: 1- *myesis* ("the initiation"), and, the highest, 2- *epopteia* ("the witnessing"). According to Bremmer (2014, p. 10), the wanderings of Demeter in search for her kidnaped daughter was re-enacted by the Eleusinian priests and the respective initiates inside the Telesterion. Besides provisional sacrifices and washing for purification, the initiates would experience a spectrum of sensations inside the enclosed and obscure environment of the temple, which would culminate in the luminous final revelation.[288]

Studies on Ancient Greek Religion developed many other aspects of Eleusinian Mysteries in addition to the relation between myth narratives and progression of rituals (BURKERT, 1983; SOURVINOU-INWOOD, 2003; PARKER, 2005), as we have seen in this part II. On the other hand, archaeological research has revealed a rich complex development of the built space within Eleusinian walls (COSMOPOULOS, 2015; MYLONAS, 2009; LIPPOLIS, 2006; NOACK, 1927). They also attested numerous interventions in the archaeological area of the Telesterion, including expansion of the initiation hall, restorations, architectural innovations, and adjoining buildings. Even the destruction of the sanctuary after Achaemenid invasion is attested amidst the building phases (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-91). In this regard, archaeological studies have brought

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[285] Bremmer, 2014, p. 1 (note 2), Burkert (1986, p. 248–297); Parker (2005, p. 334–368); Mylonas (2009, p. 237–285), Clinton (1993, p. 110-124; p. 118-119).
[286] According to Mylonas (2009, p. 261-278), the mystic liturgy was divided in three different elements: *dromena* (things that which was enacted), *deiknymena* (the sacred objects that were shown), *legomena* (the words that were spoken). The reconstruction of the ritual sequence is speculative though, since most elements are argued through fragmented sources (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 132, note 20).
[287] See Appendix A for equivalent in Gregorian calendar.
[288] Bremmer (2014, p. 8-16) mentions the smell of the extinguished torches, the reverberation of the spoken words and playing of the gong, and so on. Scholars basically reconstructs ritual performances in the Telesterion after textual sources, such as Plutarch, Lactanius and later Christian texts (MYLONAS, 2009; BREMMER, 2014).

material dimension to add to the picture of religious practices, which provided important information for studies on Eleusinian rituals.

However, few studies have presented a relational framework between practitioners and the spatial development of the shrine. Despite the collective experience during the Mysteries along the centuries, the involvement of participants in the ritual was left to a mere passive role in the place-making of Eleusis. The same applies to materiality, in which most studies highlight the meaning of the representations, rather than their relational quality. This is even more problematic on archaeological accounts, since they attach the continuous spatial development of the Telesterion to the straight action of prominent individuals, such as statesmen or famous architects.[289] Indeed, one cannot deny the importance of Perikles or Lycurgus for urban renewal of Athens and its sanctuaries.[290] However, this explanation does not give a satisfactory account on permanencies and innovations attested both in the built environment and in religious practices of sanctuaries in Attica. It does not give a sufficient interpretation on how initiates, priests and priestesses, craftsmen, workers, mere spectators or just passers-by help shape the production of space. What then could explain the continuity of the peculiar architectural typology of the Telesterion of Eleusis, for instance? What roles do different agents, human or material, play in the production of this place?

In effort to analyse the spatial development of the Telesterion, this chapter draws on a Lived Ancient Religion perspective, which considers the involvement, appropriation, expression, strategic and recurrent use of the sanctuary by different agents. Based in the notion of religion as communication (RÜPKE, 2015; RÜPKE, 2020a), it considers religious ritual by the establishment of relations between human agents and their special addresses (deities), in which material objects or environment could be framed as intermediaries within a communicative framework (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 21). As media, their agencies could be better framed and even considered to a wider audience, such as secondary addresses, witnessers and tourists (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 357). This is especially relevant to review our archaeological sources, because religious communication is

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[289] This is particularly clear in the naming of the building interventions of the Telesterion by archaeologists ("Solonian Telesterion", "Peisistratean Telesterion", "Periklean Telesterion", and so on). In most of these cases, associations with such figures are simply by stylistic comparison of architectural elements from Athenian buildings (SHEAR JR, 2016).

[290] For instance, Leslie Shear Jr's recent account (2016) points to a review on interpretation of buildings in Attica from the so-called "Periklean building program".

"inevitably historical contingent and […] individually experienced" (RIEGER, 2020, p.56).

The Telesterion of Eleusis, which is main hall of initiations, can be interpreted as a highly mediatised place in which individuals and groups establish religious communication with their special addresses (especially to the Two Goddesses) through the ritual practice of initiations. Agents involved in the religious communication process may appropriate space, maintaining traditions and even innovating in some respects. Because religious communication is also a "spatio-temporal practice", it "recognizes and accepts the character of spaces as defined by previous, common, or prescribed usage, [as] it also modifies the space through performance, and in doing so, changes the *future* memory of the place" (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 48. his italic).

Additionally, the notion of assemblages (DELANDA, 2019; HAMILAKIS, 2017) is used to grasp the setting up of these social and material intersections in repeatedly and "unstable" communication. These associations are not always conscious or intentional though, since the terms of spatial production are essentially contingent. This premise is important when considering socio-religious practices based on the action of the agents. In a similar way to Rüpke's approach, Hamilakis' notion of "sensorial assemblages" (2013; 2017) offers a way to approach these arrangements between actors and materiality, in which senses are important elements:

> "Sensorial assemblages produce place and locality through evocative, affective, and mnemonic performances and interactions. At the same time, natural or human-made features in these localities, permanent or not, or buildings and architecture, can become part of sensorial assemblages. Such devices produce distinctive sensorial affordances, and often regulate and regiment sensorial experience and interaction. A settlement or a city, a monumental structure, a temple or sanctuary, a 'palatial' building can be a component of a sensorial assemblage where authorities attempt (often unsuccessfully) to establish specific sensorial regimes, and a distinctive, power-laden bio-political and consensual order. These attempts do not go unchallenged by the various participants in these sensorial assemblages." (HAMILAKIS, 2013, p. 127)

Both affective/sensorial, mnemonic/temporal and political aspects of Hamilakis' notion on assemblages (2017) are relevant for our purposes. This chapter integrates the concept of sensorial affordances in the effort to understand how sensorial spectrum of built or natural environments can exert on individuals and even in groups. Affordances, a well-incorporated concept in Archaeology (HODDER, 2012; KNAPPETT, 2005), explores the properties of materials or objects in affording outcomes or "a particular set of actions" by agents (HODDER, 2012). In Hodder's example, "an environmental medium (such as air) affords respiration, permits locomotion, can be filled with illumination. Fire affords warmth and illumination, as well as the cooking of food and the boiling of water, it affords the glazing of clay and the smelting of metals" (HODDER, 2012, p. 49). Thus, affordances' concept is particularly useful to grasp sensorial potentialities of material objects and environments in establishing relations between human actors and things. This resource will allow an analysis of the sensorial affordances of the Eleusinian Telesterion in order to reconstruct its potentiality to affect and induce experiences.

Therefore, assemblages of not fully intentional constellations present an approach that incorporates both sensorial affordances and its importance in the dynamic of religious communication. I argue this assemblage between different agents provide a dynamic spatial production, whose "stabilisation" is in the making by repetition/appropriation processes (such as habitualisation and institutionalisation) of the initiations' ritual.

9.2. Telesterion of Eleusis Revisited

The Telesterion was the main sacred complex structure of the Two Goddesses, Demeter and Kore, in Eleusis. Unlike most Greek temples, the Telesterion held the major function of making place for the initiates, where the most fundamental and secret part of the Mysteries festival occurred during the nights of 20th to 21th Boedromion.[291] Located in a long limestone-and-marl outcrop hill in the western end of the Thriassion Plain[292], the Eleusinian Telesterion has been developed together with building interventions in the

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[291] See Appendix A for Attic calendar.
[292] For details of the geological formation of the site, see Chapter 4.

entire sanctuary along the centuries, which was well evidenced by the archaeological research (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 43-151.[293]

The term *telesterion,* from the verb *teleo* (τελέω)[294]*,* is used by scholars to designate the specific architectural typology of hypostyle hall for initiations, while *anaktoron* refers precisely to the inner sanctum (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 132)*.* In Antiquity, both terms *telesterion* and *anaktoron* were used to refer to the sanctuary, even though Clinton (1992; 2006) has convincingly demonstrated that the term *telesterion* was only used by Plutarch (De prof. virt. 81D–E). Earlier sources generally refer to the entire building as *anaktoron*, which is also a common word for "temple" (CLINTON, 2004, p. 87-88).[295] Despite this terminological inconsistency, a distinction between Telesterion (entire building) and *Anaktoron* (*inner sanctum*) is still relevant for archaeologists in order to differentiate the hypostyle hall from the closed chamber situated inside of it (*inner sanctum*). It is important to have in mind this distinction might not exist for ancient Greeks though.[296] As one of the purposes of this paper is to discuss topography, it is convenient to follow this archaeological convention established by the 20th century excavators and scholars.

The following sections describe the Telesterion of Eleusis through its topographical aspects, such as its construction phases and architectural solutions brought to light by archaeological research. Moreover, it discusses the most recent research on sensory aspects of the building, focusing above all on archaeoacoustic approach and studies on visual aspects (illumination). My argument is that a broader descriptive framework is necessary to reflect on the formation of the web of relationships between different agents as well as the role of this assemblage in producing a dynamic spatiality. In this regard, we argue the material culture described from its physical and sensory potentials (or affordances) allows the advancement of its framing within the logic of religious communication. In the context of ritual, materiality could be directly associated with the prescriptions and habits of the mystic liturgy, which gives it a character of high mediatization for supra-human communication.

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[293] See also Mylonas (2009), Lippolis (2006) and Noack (1927).

[294] The verb has the meaning "to complete something" and it generally relates to "the specific initiation into the mysteries" (POCGD, p. 318, τελέω; LSJ, τελέω).

[295] The complete discussion is developed in Clinton (1992; 2006; 2006).

[296] For comparison, I prepared a chart for spatial terms for Eleusis which could be attested in textual sources (APPENDIX C).

9.2.1. Topographical features

This item deals with the development of the Telesterion between the sixth and fourth centuries BC. Thus, it is divided into two sections. The first discusses the emergence and prevalence of hypostyle hall typology from the sixth century to its topographical adaptations in the fourth century B.C. Then I analyse devices that differentiate the Telesterion from other Greek temples.

The Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion was described as rectangular in shape and fronted on the north-east side, following the orientation of the North Pylon.[297] The form of the temple was evidenced by east and south walls (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 67-70). As archaeological evidence is scarce (Fig. 68; **Plate 12**), there is much speculation regarding furniture and inner features, while the existence of an anaktoron (inner sanctum) is suggested by few wall traces and spot continuity in the following centuries (cf. MYLONAS, 2009, p. 139; SERAFINI, 2019, p. 133).
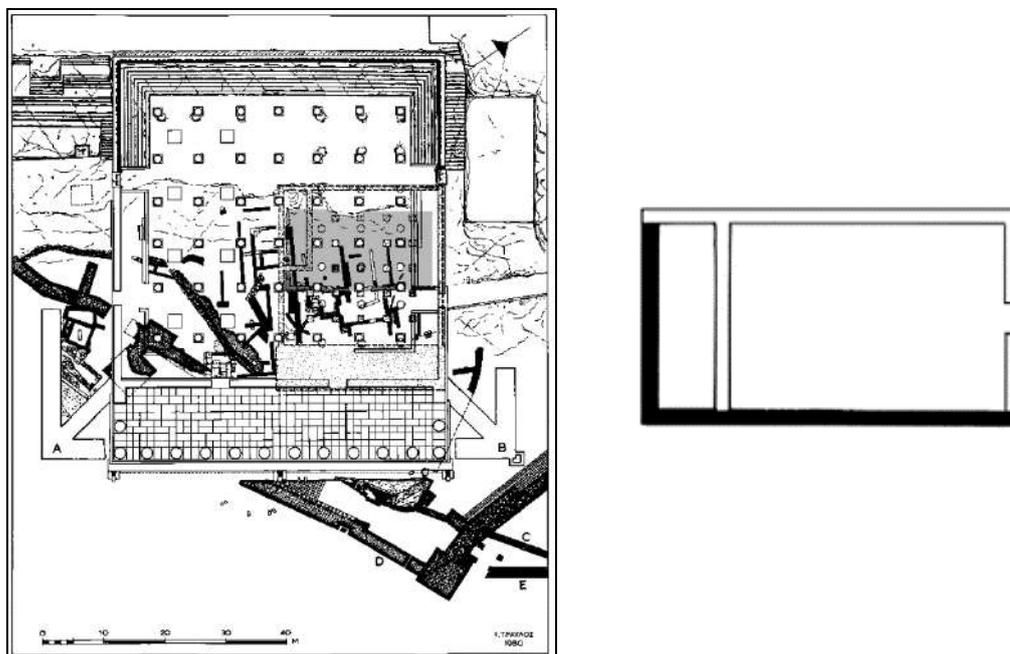
Fig. 67. Plan of the Telesterion – Archaic Phase I. left: Telesterion excavations, Archaic Phase I in gray (Drawing by Travlos, 1980; Modified by the author, 2023) (See Plate 12 for enlarged version); right: plan of Archaic Phase I (Drawing by Travlos, 1955; after COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141).

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[297] A full description of the building phases is described together with other buildings of the sanctuary of Eleusis in Chapter 4.

The hypostyle hall of the Telesterion is evidenced from the last half of the sixth century B.C. It is a large square hall supported by internal colonnades, in the centre of which is located an exclusive room for the *anaktoron*. This unique design associated with the Mystery cult is an innovation of this period (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 78). There is nothing comparable in the Greek-speaking world according to what archaeologists know so far, because similar buildings are all later inspirations (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 136-145). It is possible that the practice of initiations in the way it was organised until then inspired architects and builders to search for a temple model different from the canonical *naos*, which holds deities' statues with a columned façade oriented towards the sacrificial altar. Or perhaps it was a specific instruction by Eleusinian families' priests who organised activities of the sanctuary of Eleusis. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic or textual evidence to definitively confirm this hypothesis. However, it may support other scholars' argument, in which the Telesterion typology was inspired by the *apadana* of Achaemenid palaces at Susa and Pasargadae (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 190-195), already mentioned in Chapter 4. After all, the idea behind this building typology may have come from architects and builders who interacted in networks of building techniques across the Eastern Mediterranean during the 6th and the 5th century BC.[298]

The first version of the Telesterion in hypostyle hall is dated ca. 550-510 BC (Archaic Phase II – "Peisistratean Telesterion"). It is a large square building, whose interior is formed by twenty-two internal columns and the *anaktoron* was in the upper left corner (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141-142) (Fig. 69; **Plate 13**). The first innovation is in the change of the building's orientation to the approximate east-west axis, whose *prostoon* of ten front columns and one column on each side forms the façade towards Athens (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 133-134). Evidence of a few lines of steps near the walls indicates places for initiates to sit (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 79). These features highlight a different typology for the building. It is both a Templar space for relevant ritual practices related to the liturgy of Eleusinian Mysteries and a hall for the accommodation of initiates

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[298] See Miller (2004), Ober (2008), Malacrino (2010) and Klein (2015, p. 1-8). On the other hand, Kaoura (2017) presents an interesting argument about the influence of Cycladic architecture on the design of the Telesterion, drawing parallels with the columned façade with buildings in Sangri (Naxos), temple of Apollo in Karthaia (Keos), sanctuary of Aliki (Thasos) and building A of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Despotiko (Paros). Her argument is also supported by construction techniques and evidence of marble from Paros on the roof of the Archaic Phase II of the Eleusinian Telesterion (KAOURA, 2017, p. 202-205).

in the secret stages of the festival, whose steps for seating make this building roughly resemble the plan of a Bouleuterion (PAGA, 2015, p. 111; KAOURA, 193-194).[299]

The history of Eleusinian topography indicates that the sanctuary did not pass unscathed from Achaemenid invasions in the early 5th century BC. The destruction of Archaic Phase II is dated to ca. 480-479 BC by textual sources, which was confirmed by evidences of fire and collapsing walls (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-91). [300]
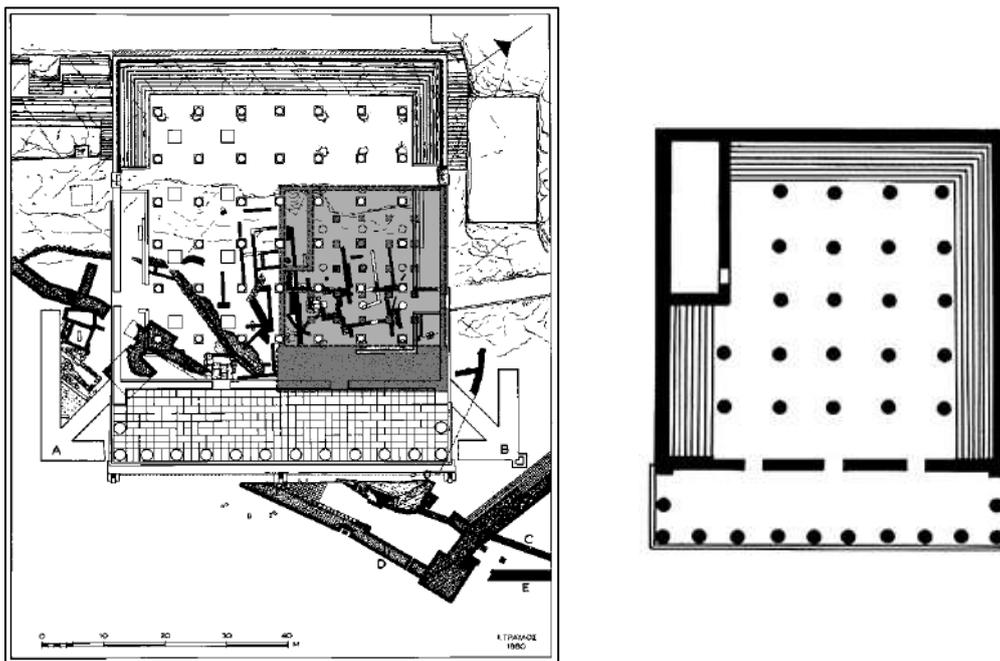
Fig. 68. Plan of the Telesterion – Archaic Phase II. left: Telesterion excavations, Archaic Phase II in gray (Drawing by Travlos, 1980; Modified by the author, 2023) (See Plate 13 for enlarged version); right: plan of Archaic Phase II (Drawing by Travlos, 1955; after COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141).

The reconstruction of the sanctuary of Eleusis took place throughout the 5th century B.C. However, there is a divergence among archaeologists regarding this building phase. On the one hand, the original excavators argue that the Telesterion was rebuilt after adaptation of the hypostyle hall typology in rectangular shape, with preservation of Archaic Phase II's orientation, i.e., with facade and main entrance to the east (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 111-113; TRAVLOS, 1950-1951). The building would have been

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[299] For discussion on Bouleuteria, see also Camp II (2016, p. 342-359).
[300] The destruction of the sanctuary is reported in Herodotus' Histories. In his account of the Achaemenid defeat at Salamis, Herodotus interprets the fall of Persian soldiers in the vicinity of the shrine as a revenge of Demeter for the destruction of Eleusis (Hdt. 9.65.1-2).

accommodated through a quarry work in the Eleusinian acropolis and would have been supported internally by twenty-one columns, in an arrangement of three in horizontal and seven in vertical (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 111-112). George Mylonas (2009) called it the "Kimonian Telesterion" and John Travlos (1988) prepared the first architectural plan of this building phase.[301] More recently, Italian archaeologists have argued that only temporary works were employed there during this period, so that ritual and functional activities of the sanctuary were not paralysed (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 184; SERAFINI, 2019, p. 135). For these authors, few walls and columns' evidences from this period are not sufficient to establish the existence of a building phase between the destruction in 480 BC and Classical Phase I from second half of the 5th century BC (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 135, note 9). According to Lippolis (2006),

> "[...] è probabile, invece, che il monumento sia stato semplicemente ripulito e riadattato, con un intervento limitato alle strutture esistenti e alla ricostruzione dell'Anáktoron centrale, senza ulteriori operazioni edilizie, probabilmente eseguite anche in questo caso solo dopo la decadenza delle condizioni determinate dal giuramento di Platea" (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 184).

Building phases of the Classical Period (from the 5th to the 4th BC) can be framed in two moments. The first, which I call Classical Phase I, is generally called "Periklean Telesterion" by comparison with the other buildings constructed in Attica during the 5th century BC (Fig. 70; **Plate 14**). It is a replication of the Archaic Phase II, but in an enlarged version.[302] This means a square hypostyle hall containing twenty internal columns, in an arrangement of four columns in vertical by five columns in horizontal (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 113-117). The building program of Perikles aimed both reconstruction of shrines and buildings which were destroyed during Persian invasion and the revitalisation of Greek culture and values. (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 161-163). To this end, Iktinos, the architect of which was also responsible for the Parthenon and the Temple

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[301] This archaeological plan is in his later *Bildlexicon* (TRAVLOS, 1988).
[302] The Archaic Phase II had 25,3 x 27,1m with a portico (prostoon) of 27,14 x 5,91m in dimension, while the Classical Phase I had 55,55 x 51,20m in total dimension (Serafini, 2019, p. 133-135).

of Apollo in Bassae, was appointed to design Classical Phase I of the Telesterion (Vit. 7.16-17; Sassù, 2016).[303]
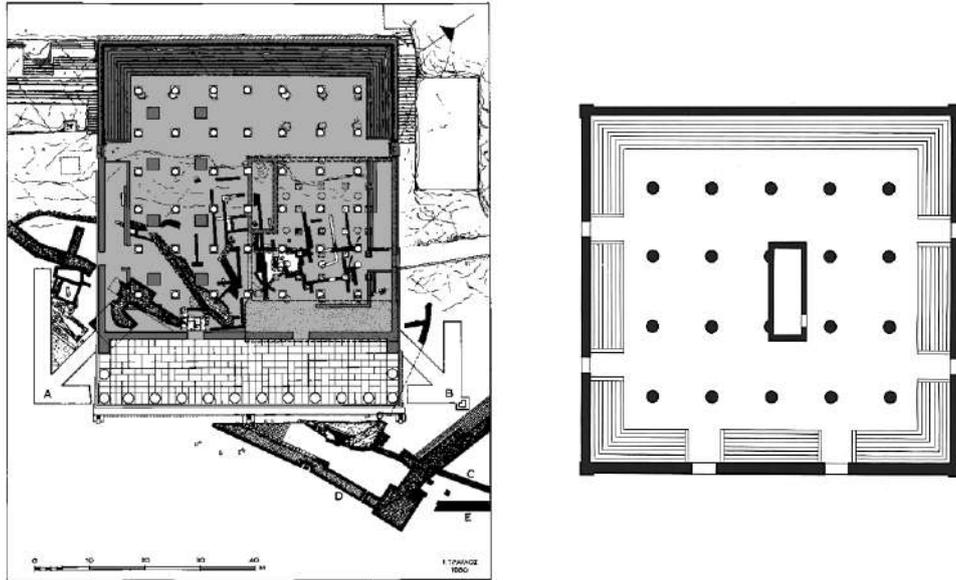
Fig. 69. Plan of the Telesterion – Classical Phase I. left: Telesterion excavations, Classical Phase I in gray (Drawing by Travlos, 1980; Modified by the author, 2023) (See Plate 14 for enlarged version); right: plan of Classical Phase I – "Project of Iktinos" (Drawing by Leslie Shear Jr; Shear Jr, 2016, p. 169, fig. 62; Modified by the author, 2023).

However, the Iktinos Project was discontinued for an unknown reason, or at least not mentioned in the textual sources (Shear Jr, 2016, p. 166-170). Plutarch informs us that his design was readapted by three other architects: Koroibos, Metagenes and Xenokles (Plut. Per. 13.7). Koroibos readapted Iktinos' design, extending the number of internal columns to forty-two (six rows of columns vertically and seven rows horizontally) and began the construction itself (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 175). Metagenes of Xypete took over the construction after Koroibos' death, and was responsible for installing the frieze and upper columns, "while Xenokles of Cholargos roofed over the lantern above the Anaktoron" (Plut. Per. 13.7). The upper columns installed by Metagenes were responsible for supporting the *opaion* above the Anaktoron for the entrance of external natural lighting (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 144). Later in the 4th century BC, Philon built a prostoon with twelve Doric columns and one column on each side, which became known

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[303] The authorship of the Classical Telesterion (Phase I) and the Parthenon is recorded in the texts by Vitruvius (7.16-17) and Strabo (9.1.12). The authorship of the Temple of Apollo in Bassae is reported by Pausanias (8.41.9).

as the "Stoa of Philon" (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 178-183; MYLONAS, 2009, p. 133-135). I give the name "Classical Phase II" to the set of interventions between the re-adaptation by Koroibos and the addition of Stoa of Philon in the 4th century BC (Fig. 71; **Plate 15**).

Three architectural innovations from classical phases of the Telesterion deserve to be highlighted in this chapter. First, the quarry work done on the Eleusinian acropolis was a bold strategy to enable the extension of the building, as well as it allowed the construction of steps for initiates (Fig. 72; Fig. 73). Secondly, the construction of the opaion above the Anaktoron stands out, which seems to suggest an artifice relevant to the conduction of the ritual practices of initiation. Finally, the increase in the number of internal columns suggests an architectural adaptation to the topography. On the other hand, the arrangement was proportional to the size of the building, but it simulated the internal colonnade of the Archaic Phase II. The configuration of internal columns may have produced an effect of light and shade diffusion during ritual practices of nocturnal stage of the initiations. This point will be taken up again in the following item of this chapter.
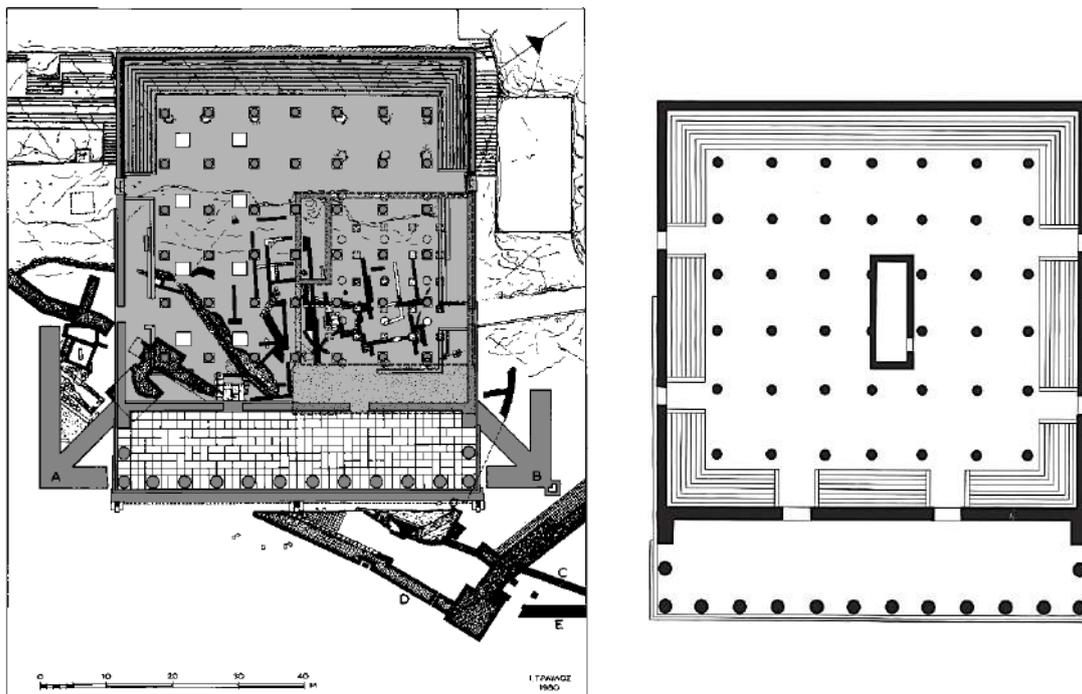

Fig. 70. Plan of the Telesterion – Classical Phase II and III   . left: Telesterion excavations, Classical Phase II in gray (Drawing by Travlos, 1980; Modified by the author, 2023) (See Plate 15 for enlarged version); right: plan of Classical Phase II – "Project of Koroibos" (Drawing by Leslie Shear Jr; Shear Jr, 2016, p. 179, fig. 63; Modified by the author, 2023).

The Athenian treasuries funded the reconstruction of the Telesterion during the context of revitalisation of Attic buildings from the 5th century to the 4th century BC. However, the collective appropriation of the Telesterion during the practice of initiations is possibly largely responsible for the maintenance of the building's previous form. After all, physical characteristics of Classical Phase I and Classical Phase II indicate a permanence of the hypostyle hall typology and architectural innovations were adopted for the enlargement of the previous building.[304] This indicates that actors involved in the appropriation of the building sought to preserve successful rituals' memory by creating opportunities to repeat them. Thus, material devices, such as the *opaion*, the steps in Eleusinian stone and the internal colonnade, were relevant in shaping the multi-sensory character of the Telesterion. Features such as these were adopted not only for a proper spatial arrangement of the Classical Telesterion, but to enhance the capacity for religious communication between participants (initiates, priests, etc.) and deities (Demeter and Kore). After all, such elements have the capacity to activate memories of successful religious communication and "afford" certain sensorial experiences and behaviour by their material constraints and characteristics (cf. HODDER, 2012, p. 48-52). The *opaion* could provide the entrance of light and air from the top of the building, whose natural illumination from above in conjunction with light of torches and the shadow provided by inner columns can diffuse light, creating bright and dark spots (cf. KAOURA, 2017, p. 189-205). These factors may ascribe meaning and relevance to the "divine" addressees, as well as the whole process of religious communication during ritual practices of initiation.

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[304] Serafini (2019) used a different approach to reach a similar argument. The author compared typological and architectural features between the plans of the Telesterion of Eleusis and buildings in Samothrace (Hall of Choral Dancers, Hieron), Lemnos (Cabirion of Chloi), Naxos (Gyroula-Sangri) and the Heraion of Argos (East Building) and highlights elements that were developed through ritual practices (especially procession and initiation). He argues that "il confronto fra i casi di studio raccolti ha permesso di evidenziare le caratteristiche comuni di questa categoria architettonica e funzionale: schemi planimetrici rettangolari o quadrati variabili e adattabili, molteplicità di ingressi per processioni in entrata e in uscita, isolamento accresciuto da prostoa colonnati, presenza di gradinate o banchine per gli iniziati lungo le pareti e ulteriori apprestamenti interni per il culto concentrati sul lato di fondo." (SERAFINI, 2019, p. 151).

Fig. 71. Quarry work for the western steps of the Telesterion - – Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

Fig. 72. Quarry work for southwestern corner steps of the Telesterion - – Archaeological site of Eleusis (Elefsina, Attiki). Source: Author's photographic collection, 2021.

9.2.2. Sensorial affordances

Recent studies have explored the sensorial quality of ancient buildings and structures. Especially relevant is the contribution on the field of archaeoacoustics and studies on physical implications of lighting and darkness in the Eleusinian cult. These studies have presented an interesting perspective to incorporate into this discussion.

Even though subjective aspects of experience are only subject to speculation, as they are conditioned to the human brain (HAMILAKIS, 2013), physical aspects and the materiality related to the environment are measurable in some way. According to Panagiota Avgerinou and Stella Dreni (2014), size and shape of the physical space are the first conditions to be considered when our investigation asks how the sound propagates in there, once they influence directly in the height, quality, and pitch of the sound. These scholars affirm that large buildings such as the Eleusinian Telesterion have four main obstacles for the best propagation of sound: (1) the diminishing of sound waves in long distances; (2) the reverberation created in a large hall by the multi-directional spreading of energy sound; (3) the "loud echo" created due to the roof's height, because "the lower the ceiling the less chance there is for echo to be produced" (2014, p. 145); (4) the non-absorption of sound by internal surfaces (AVGERINOU; DRENI, 2014, p. 145-146). However, Avgerinou and Dreni (2014) also ponder that "[…] the reverberation of an empty hall would sound excessive, while the same structure filled with furniture or people, or both, would seem acoustically excellent" (2014, p. 146). The analogy would be the same if we think of the case of a modern theatre which, with a full audience, has a completely different acoustic dynamic than when it is completely empty. This means building materials (such as marble columns, the rows of limestone seats or wood material of the roof), general furniture (in stone, wood or ceramics), materiality of every kind, and especially the presence of a crowd of initiates and priests(esses) could act upon the retention of sound and, therefore, overcoming the reverberation in the hall (AVGERINOU; DRENI, 2014, p. 146).[305] These variables could influence participants' perception by placing the element of uncertainty to the sound and acoustic experience, which could also influence the experience of the ritual each time. However, these authors

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[305] Avrgerinou and Dreni (2014, p. 146) also explore specificities in promoting or absorbing sound of each kind of material and indicate even other aspects such as humidity, temperature, vibration and ventilation, for example.

also affirm "the physical acoustic view of sound in ancient spaces is only half of the story. The other half is the human brain. According to anthropologists, meaning, relevance and prominence of a particular sense depends on the culture. Attitudes towards sound vary across cultures and time, as well as across personality, cognitive biases and personal experience." (AVGERINOU; DRENI, 2014, p. 151).

Modern interpretation of literary sources also explores some aspects of sound and acoustic experience in the Telesterion during the Eleusinian Mysteries. According to Petridou (2013), it is possible to divide the studies in two main groups based on the interpretation of the Eleusinian mystic dramatization. On one side, scholars like Richardson (1974) defends that Demeter's journey and feelings "were simply narrated to the initiates at some stage during the sacred rites, and that even if there was some sort of re-enactment of the mythical events, it would have been of a more formal and symbolic nature […]" (PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 78). On the other side, scholars like Mylonas (2009), Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) and Burkert (1986), "maintain that the re-enactment of the [Demeter's] divine sufferings was of a mimetic nature, and that both priestly personnel and initiates participated in the ritual" (PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 78). The later interpretation is especially relevant for our investigation, since it allows to rearrange materiality by a relational perspective, not only as a symbolic representation. In this regard, Petridou reconstructs the sonic environment of the secret rites, in opposition to the scholarly established "proverbial silence" (PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 81).[306] Therefore, the secret rite could be interpreted as "an opulent audial setting", when the climax of the mystic dramatization was ritually charged by sonic actions (mournings, rhythmical lamentations, shouting by the hierophant, sounds of musical instruments such as a bronze gong or a cymbal)[307] (PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 78-81).

This sonic aspect is added to the illumination promoted by torches and natural light (through *opaion*) to create a favourable environment for the successful religious communication, which has a special role in emotionally charging the ritual of initiation and to lead it to the climax.[308] In fact, illumination is a fundamental feature for a lived

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[306] Bremmer (2014) demonstrated this perspective was result of a "Platonic reception of the Eleusinian imagery and terminology" in both Second Sophistic and later Christian authors (PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 81).
[307] Based on Cleanthes (Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, 1.538); Clement of Alexandria (Protrepticos, 2.12); Julius Firmicus Maternus (De Errore Profanarum Religionum, 22.1); Apollodorus of Athens (244F 110b). For details, see Petridou (2018).
[308] Kaoura (2017) argues the design of the Telesterion "[…] was intended to produce a mystical atmosphere by obstructing visibility, casting shadows and creating tension" (2017, p. 193).

religion approach to the sanctuary of Eleusis. Both the architectural typology and the appropriation of materiality such as torches and lamps act in shaping the environment, producing sensory stimuli and triggering a "special" atmosphere for the rites. The value of lighting and darkness in the Telesterion has been developed among scholars from two main aspects: 1- the symbolic meaning of light in opposition to the obscure core of the temple, especially when the *anaktoron* was opened during the climax of mystic rites (*deiknymena*) (CLINTON, 2004); 2- the materiality of lighting equipment and its use, function and appropriation for the ritual (PATERA, 2010, p. 261-275; PARISINOU, 2000). According to Patera (2010, p. 261), scholars generally relate the role of light and lighting equipment to the importance of light in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, whose association with the Goddess' bright revelation was contrasted with the dark domain of Hades. In this specific narrative, references to light are often associated with deities' actions as well as they reproduce the progression of Eleusinian Mysteries' plot (PATERA, 2010, p. 267). Although it is not possible to establish a straight association between aetiological nature of *Homeric Hymn* and the reconstruction of the secret initiatory ritual, some topographical and sensory aspects of the Telesterion and its archaeological findings may lead to a reflection on the plausibility of material affordances. Archaeological finds, such as lamps, have led to hypotheses about their use in the context of Telesterion. Found in considerable numbers in excavations of temples dedicated to Demeter, terracotta lamps were also found in the sacred precinct at Eleusis, especially those of single-nozzle type (KOKKOU-VYRIDI, 1999). The great challenge remains in distinguishing between a purely functional or a votive role for these pieces. Some lamps contain clear traces of use and may indicate a function for the internal illumination of the temple or of some statue. However, others show undersides burnt marks, which suggest a ritual use, as they were probably put into the pyres of the Telesterion (PATERA, 2010, p. 266; PATERA, 2008, p. 13-25).

Torches, the most prevailing lighting equipment mentioned both in *Homeric Hymn* and in Eleusinian iconography, have probably a very important role in the development of Mysteries' ritual. Besides that, they were also represented in architectural elements of the temple and in some statue bases (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 167). The role of the *dadouchoi* indicates an auxiliary importance in leading the initiates to the entrance of the Telesterion. Providing assistance to the hierophant and the sacred herald, the *dadouchoi* provided light in the secret part of Mysteries and probably played an even

more important role in the second degree of initiations (*epopteia*) (CLINTON, 1974, p.68). I would add to this argument that the very configuration of the hypostyle hall with its internal colonnade plays a relevant role in both diffusing light and creating spots of darkness (cf. KAOURA, 2017, p. 193).

Although we cannot specify the ritual value of such lighting equipments during the initiation, some sensory aspects are important to mention. Firstly, the supposedly presence of such objects in the hypostyle columned hall would indicate a diffuse illumination at first, but which could progress to more evident and illuminated point by the action of the *dadouchoi* or the hierophant. Secondly, the transgression from a functional to a ritual role of the lamps may have occurred at a certain moment in the history of the sanctuary. Despite the fact that archaeological evidences note a votive use for these lamps, it is not possible to attest the exact moment of deposition during the ritual.

Nevertheless, aspects presented here about the sensorial affordances of sound/acoustic and visual character (lighting) bring relevant elements to our discussion. Above all, we highlight the capacity of the built environment and related materiality to affect the participants, which could lead to emotionally charge the ritual practice and experience. I argue the architectural typology of the Telesterion was also shaped by mutual experience during ritual practices by different agents, which could create material conditions for the repetition of the success and the climax of rituals.

9.2.3. Discussion

Each aspect (topographical/physical and sensorial affordances) presents traces of the agency of materiality and its reach in providing experiences. The limits of our investigation of religious experience from an etic perspective are worth considering, since an important element is conditioned both to the subjectivity of individuals, their sensory perception, cognitive biases and personal assumptions, as it is a construct that varies according to culture and historical period. However, a perspective on our relationship to the world allows to recover the capacity and reaching of materiality in mediating a communication between participants and their divine addresses, which would overcome a Cartesian "mappable" perspective of space. In this aspect, the secret rites of the Mysteries, celebrated in the Telesterion, need to be considered as a "multisensory event"

(PETRIDOU, 2018, p. 77). It could be charged by material triggers of the built environment, which could create a "religious atmosphere" by the action of individuals.[309]

The idea of Ritualisation through an agent-centred perspective induces the reflection on transformation, which individuals promote from their everyday actions into special communicative action (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 32). This repetition process brings specialness for the establishing of transformative (resonant) relationships (cf. ROSA, 2020; TAVES, 2009). As a dynamic assemblage, social and material associations produce space. In this way, I argue that ritualisation turns the Telesterion into a special place, where various material elements such as acoustic isolation and a ritual soundscape, illumination and visual focus, shadows produced by inner columns, lightning through *opaion* or torches, special clothing by the participants (initiates and priests), ritual prescription and temporality, are relevant in the effectivity of religious communication.

Therefore, these sensory affordances of the Telesterion, and their related objects, present the material range in affecting human actors, which indicate the plausible scope of both spatial and material agencies. The next questions are: How does the production of space remain stable through the distributed agency between various actors? How does this communication between human agents and their divine addresses in a highly mediatised place, such as the Telesterion, produces innovation or preserves its typology during ritual practice of initiations?

9.3. Stabilising spatiality: material patterns, habitualisation of ritual and resonant relations

In the previous section we discussed both ranges and limits of the archaeological and historical research in describing the Eleusinian Telesterion. The topographical aspects and sensorial affordances of this environment show the plausibility in establishing relations between individuals and materiality during the secret part of the Mystery ritual. After all, my argument claims that intersections between individuals, as well as between individuals and objects, during the supra-human communication of *myesis* and *epopteia* rituals are fundamental in stabilizing the production of space. The following section

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[309] See also Rüpke (2021; 2020a).

briefly discusses the role of these entanglements (humans and objects) and argues how transformative encounters (resonant relationships) might imply changes and innovation in the production of space through repetition patterns (habitualisation and institutionalisation).

The practice of the initiation rites presupposes normativity for the fulfilment of the mystical liturgy, which favours the formation of groups. Hierophants and sacred heralds (traditionally linked to the Eleusinian families: Eumolpidai and Kerykes), *dadouchoi* (the torch-bearers) and initiates of different degrees (*mystai* and *epoptai*) are agents who self-organizes, establish networks and relates to the material environment. They are also shaped by the practice of initiations and induced by the memory of the place. However, this is not a static process, with well-established roles and a solid institutionalised practice. Religion, here understood from the perspective of the agent in a communication dynamic, is "in the making, establishing, habitualizing and criticizing the relationships implied" (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 40). Even if rituals are practices marked by recognised and symbolically invested repetition, they are subject to the dynamic and situational appropriation of involved agents and performative moments (RIEGER, 2020, p. 56). This dynamic assemblage is also a spatial practice, in which some groups may naturally have a more distinctive role (such as the Eleusinian priests, for instance). Besides that, the relevance of these relationships is not only gathered by human agents, but also through the relationships established between them and materiality. These social and material intersections during ritual practices are especially relevant to the production of space. In this way, initiation practices are disposed to patterns of repetition by following the habitual liturgy and annual celebration of Mysteries, which may put stability into the process of spatialisation. This becomes evident after the destruction of the sanctuary in 480 BC, as important spatial features were reconstructed, improvised in order to keep the Mystery cult running or even innovated to improve religious experience.[310] Moreover, the replication of the architectural typology of the hypostyle hall does not reflect only the choice of some statesmen and builders or the appropriate choice of high priests, but rather the distributed agency within this dynamic assemblage.

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[310] The sanctuary of Eleusis was also destroyed in the 2nd century AD by the Costobocs, a tribe from North Dacia (MYLONAS, 2009). A building program generally attributed to Hadrian, and continued in later 2nd century AD, re-builds the Telesterion in the same design as the Classical Period (PERISSATO, 2018). I argue this event should be interpreted not only in the context of memory appropriation during the Roman presence in Eastern provinces (especially by the Second Sophistic), but also through the current practice of the Eleusinian Mysteries and its assemblage.

In a nutshell, my claim is that the habitualisation of the initiation ritual is responsible for "stabilizing" the spatial production in the case of the Telesterion, since religious communication between human agents and their divine addresses was established through highly mediatized materiality and environment. I argue that this theoretical framework provides an interpretation to explain the persistence of the hypostyle hall typology, an innovative design presented in the late 6th century BC, which was replicated along the centuries even after the complete destruction of the temple in 480 B.C. The web of relationships between different agents which were established through initiation' practices were stabilised through historical contingency, especially in terms of structuring groups formation and repetition of the mystical liturgy. However, this does not imply the non-existence of change or innovation in religious practices or in spatiality itself. The very analysis of the archaeological sources demonstrated that changes of topographical nature were adopted in continuous appropriations, strategies, and uses by the actors during communication process of the ritual practice. Contingency is present in the stabilising the production of space, but the quality of these web of relations indicates how changes and innovations were adopted through appropriations of the sanctuary. I argue that material and sensory affordances offer important elements to this discussion. Firstly, the built environment of the Telesterion, as mediatised place, is embedded with high capacity for non-verbal communication, especially during initiation practices. According to Rosa (2020), transformative encounters (resonant relationships), which presupposes mutual transformation between two sides, cannot be predicted or controlled (*Unverfügbarkeit*) (ROSA, 2020), but I suggest they can be triggered by the action of different agents in repetition processes of routinisation along the centuries. Besides that, space has the potential to retain memory of transformative encounters and stimulates the repetition of meaningful experiences. This could be materialised both in the architectural design and other material aspects, in monumentalised (the temple) or miniaturised forms (votives). After all, the continuous aim for repeating successful religious experiences is a mechanism that helps shape spaces and create spatial devices to improve the quality of religious communication with deities (cf. RÜPKE, 2021).

DISCUSSION

Chapters of Part III. "Reframing Eleusinian topographies" investigated the development of the sanctuary of Eleusis between the sixth and the fourth centuries B.C. with lens to the expressive, ritual and political uses, appropriations and strategies by different agents. To this end, my argument was elaborated from a focus on ritual practices which relate different types of individuals, such as priests/priestesses, officials from Athens and the deme of Eleusis, citizens or non-citizens, participants in the rituals, spectators and other audiences. Furthermore, it considered built environment and material objects as fundamental elements for social interactions and the establishment of religious communication with divine addressees.

In this way, Chapter 6 "Activating pyres and altars: sacrificial places and practices of depositing" discussed the diverse, creative and dynamic forms in which different agents adopted on practices of depositing, from animal sacrifices, burning of material objects such as statuettes and vases to the deposition of plants or libations on the soil. Various altar-like structures and material objects identified by archaeologists were related to present how various agents creatively and resiliently appropriated spaces and objects in order to establish successful religious communication with the Eleusinian deities. In addition, this chapter presented how inscriptions of sacrificial calendars from Eleusis bear evidence on the tendency towards routinisation and repetition of successful religious experiences. Then, Chapter 7 "Becoming initiates: processional landscape and the practice of *pompe*" discussed the ritual practice of procession (*pompe*) as a creative and expressive way of establishing religious communication with Eleusinian deities through a relationship with the landscape between Athens and Eleusis which is individually experienced. Thus, it investigated diversified forms in which participants appropriate material objects and the built/natural space by using special garments and adornments, the transporting of "sacred objects", the expressive use of the body in dances and chants, on rites of purification and libation along the march to Eleusis. In this chapter, I argued the process of leaving the city for the sanctuary at Eleusis on the western border of Attica, which was experienced by participants, channelled the suspension of urban identities and social hierarchy at the expense of the gradual construction of a self-identification as "initiates into the Eleusinian Mysteries".

Chapter 8 "Magnifying the dwelling: Fortified walls and the offering of first-fruits" dealt with the relationship between the ritual practice of first-fruits offerings (*aparche*) and the expansion of fortified peribolos walls in Eleusis as evidenced from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. In this chapter, I argue for a multiagency reading of *aparche* practice, since the offering of first-fruits by political units (demes, tribes, cleruchies and cities allied to Athens) to the sanctuary of Eleusis involves a multitude of agents, from the harvesting of grains in different regions of Attica to the transportation of these offerings to the sanctuary and selling the surplus to finance sacrifices. I argued that this ritual practice can be related to the expansion of fortified peribolos walls between the 5th and the 4th centuries B.C. as the demand for new spaces as silos and granaries grew up. Moreover, the involvement of many agents in *aparche* practice ascribed monumentality to the expansions of the inner area of Eleusis and its peribolos walls, which in turn first-fruits offerings contributed to the strengthening of social cohesion and engagement of different actors of Attica with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the western frontier. Finally, Chapter 9 "Transforming the Self: Telesterion and the ritual practice of initiations" was devoted in describing the development of the Telesterion of Eleusis from the appropriation by various agents during ritual practices of initiations. In it, I argued that processes of routinisation of the practice of initiations conferred stabilisation of production of space, which preserved the hypostyle hall typology as a place equipped with material devices and sensorial stimuli for activating memories of successful religious experiences.

PART IV. ELEUSINIAN ASSEMBLAGES AND NETWORKS

INTRODUCTION

The following section aims to investigate the social organisation in the sanctuary of Eleusis and its development between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. with a focus on formation of networks and social interaction between different agents. In the previous section (Part III) my focus was on ritual practices at Eleusis and in the landscape of West Attica, which required a greater analytical focus on synchronic practices. However, the following section focuses on a diachronic analysis of the social organisation of Eleusis and the transformations of the built environment in the Eleusinian landscape, with discussions directed towards historical contextualisation and the identification of relevant socio-religious practices for the interpretation of religious change and social transformation from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. Thus, the focus of the section is on the formation of Eleusinian assemblages and networks. But after all, what do I mean by "Eleusinian networks and assemblages"?

Based on theoretical foundations explored in Chapter 2, I adopt the term "Eleusinian networks" to refer to different actors that forms networks related to the political, economic and religious organisation and functioning of the sanctuary and deme of Eleusis. To this end, I consider the two families (*genoi*) of Eleusinian priests/priestesses, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, historically involved with the organisation of the sanctuary, as the starting point for formation of Eleusinian networks. These include all individuals and groups involved with the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes: citizens and non-citizens, men and women, everyday workers, residents in Eleusis or not, initiates or not, officials and groups of officials, groups of military personnel stationed on the Attic border, merchants and craftsmen, architects and sculptors, all individuals who have established relationships with the Eleusinian priestly families or the sanctuary of Eleusis both in daily uses of the sanctuary and deme of Eleusis and in major religious and agonistic celebrations. Relations between individuals and material objects are also considered on the basis of appropriations and creative uses of materiality in order to build relations and establish relevance and meaning to addressees (such as deities). The term "assemblages" is used to consider fortuitous and non-intentional relationships which led different agents to establish new networks. This term seeks to qualify my argument for

an analysis of historical contingency, such as wars, conflicts and the resulting political and economic instability.

Thus, chapters of the following section seek to identify social phenomena experienced in three centuries (VI - IV B.C.) and explore them from the perspective of different actors in Eleusis and the western border of Attica. Chapter 10 "Community and the honouring habit" focuses on social transformations in the sixth-century Eleusis and the organisation of the sanctuary in the period before Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.). The following Chapter 11 "Citizenship and the networking behaviour" seeks to explore the impacts of the Cleisthenic Reforms on the social organisation of the sanctuary of Eleusis and socio-religious practices adopted on the border of Attica in the 5th century B.C. Finally, Chapter 12 "Gift-giving and epigraphic strategies" focuses on the social transformations and socio-religious practices of Eleusis in the 4th century B.C.

CHAPTER 10.

COMMUNITY AND THE HONOURING HABIT

The focus of this chapter is the social organisation of the sanctuary of Eleusis during the sixth century B.C, although the analysis of archaeological and textual sources is not restricted to this temporal framework. The main objective is to bring together archaeological sources and the few textual evidences to reconstruct the context of the formation of social networks involving the traditional Eleusinian families: Eumolpidai and Kerykes. Furthermore, transformations of the built environment will be taken into consideration from such networks and their production of space through socio-religious practices in face of the historical contingency of the period before Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.) in Attica.

For this, the formation of this Eleusinian community will be analysed from their appropriation of honouring practices towards divinities. Considered as a spatial and temporal practice, this honouring habit manifests itself in several strategies of religious communication that can be attested in archaeological and epigraphic sources. In the following, such information will be used as a support for a review of the sanctuary of Eleusis and the western border of Attica in the 6th century B.C.

10.1. Eleusinian networks and the honouring habit as a strategy of religious communication

The formation of the Eleusinian networks could be analysed after the traditional priestly families of Eleusis: Eumolpidai and Kerykes. After all, the relationship of the two clans (*genoi*) with the organization of the sanctuary in Eleusis is verified in the historical source (textual, epigraphic, archaeological) from the Archaic Period to the late Roman Period (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 16-17).

The Eumolpidai, descendants of the *basileus* Eumolpus[311], occupied from generation to generation the role of hierophant, which was the most important priest of Eleusis. The Kerykes, descendants of Keryx, whose kinship goes back to King Kekrops, traditionally occupied the role of *dadouchoi* (torch-bearers) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 229-230). The ancestry credentials conferred by these clans date back to an earlier occupation of the region, possibly from the Bronze Age (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 10-11).[312] Moreover, they are related to the Eleusinian narrative formation of the myth of Demeter and Kore.[313] This religious discourse legitimises the exclusivity of the sanctuary's organisation by such Eleusinian families (FOLEY, 1994, p. 169-175).[314] As supposed descendants of those who received Demeter on her wanderings and ceded the palace to her Mysteries, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes retained the primacy of conducting the Mysteries and transmitting the teachings of the Two Goddesses through religious communication (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 115-125).[315] In addition, the Eleusinian clans regulated ritual practices, conducted their processes and stipulated the frequency of each ritual. From everyday practices to the organisation of great festivals such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, Eleusinian Thesmophoria, and others (SIMON, 1983, p. 17-38). In other words, they dictated the rhythm of the honours to Demeter and Kore and made these practices a habit. The Eumolpidai and Kerykes were an important part of the social networks of Eleusis, but not the only members.

There is also the establishment of relationships with individuals in various aspects of the organisation of the sanctuary and its minor shrines, from its ordinary functioning

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[311] Eumolpus is mentioned in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 473-476).

[312] There are scholars who point out that the particularities of Eleusinian Mysteries are traces of continuity of the cult celebrated in the Mycenaean Period (SIMON, 1983, p. 29). The very fact that Eleusinian priesthoods are formed mostly of men is an exception to what is observed in other cults of Demeter, such as the traditional Thesmophoria. More information on Darcque (1981), Cosmopoulos (2015) and Van den Eijnde (2019).

[313] In this sense, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is a key source as it is agreed among scholars that the text has an earlier date than the 6th century B.C. Debate on Foley (1994), Faulkner (2011) and Mylonas (1942). See also Van den Eijnde (2019, p. 108).

[314] This is complemented by an argument put forward by Van den Eijnde (2019, p. 99-114) and Cosmopoulos (2014a, p. 401-427) who attest to the continuity (a *lieu de mémoire*) between buildings of Eleusis from the Bronze Age and the structures built in the Archaic Period.

[315] Lippolis (2006) describes Eumolpids and Kerykes as priestly "castes": "[...] una vera e propria casta sacerdotale, regolata da un sistema complesso in cui si notano la diversa importanza del ruolo e le competenze esclusive, un gruppo sociale di colocazione aristocratica che nel corso del tempo manifesta ricchezza economica e cerca impegno e ruolo politico. In questo modo si matiene fino al IV sec. d.C. un modo arcaico di gestire il sacro, nell'affidamento stabile e privilegiato di un culto fondamentale nella storia della communità a un numero di famiglie ristretto, che detengono la trasmissione della conoscenza religiosa attraverso le generazioni, affidandosi solo a criteri di discendenza e alla transmissione orale. [...]" (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 115)

to the preparation and execution of religious great festivals and athletic competitions. As we shall see in the following item, both epigraphic and topographic sources allow us to deduce that Eleusinian families established relationships in varying degrees with individuals from various social strata since the 6th century BC. Although their participation is not fully evidenced in the sources, the agency of these individuals permeates the building of the archaic walls, the installation of dedications, the making of stone statues and ceramic objects which were placed within built spaces of Eleusis (see Part III of this thesis). There is also a relationship established with other Attic *genoi* such as the Peisistratidai at the time of fortification of the peribolos walls towards the instability on the western border of Attica (CLINTON, 1994, p. 162). Such contingency may have propitiated the establishment of relationships with military and patrol-leaders for the defence of the region and, in parallel, with builders, architects and craftsmen for the building in the sanctuary, such as the archaic Telesterion (Archaic Phase II) (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 77-105; LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 163-180). Moreover, it is important to mention that the inclusive character of the cult of initiations to all those who mastered the Greek language also allowed the establishment of relationships with a diverse number of actors, such as foreigners, merchants, enslaved people (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 184).[316] After all, the sanctuary of Eleusis is a coastal settlement in the frontier between Athens and Megara, where a lot of many encounters between different actors may have occurred.

The autonomy of the Eleusinian clans with regard to the organisation of the sanctuary is a verifiable aspect in the historical source even after the creation of the Eleusinian deme following Cleisthenic Reforms in 508 B.C., especially with regard to the organisation of ritual practices and the conduct of the liturgy of the Mysteries (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 16-17).[317] The fundamental difference seems to be in the administrative and financial management of treasures of the sanctuary and the deme, whose institutional positions turned to be elected by the Council (*Boule*) and the People

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[316] In this sense, Agelidis affirms that "[…] According to the rules concerning the festival [Eleusinian Mysteries], every adult was allowed to participate except people who did not understand Greek properly and those who had committed murder. The reason for the latter restriction is obvious: The immense impurity of these men was contradictory to the requirements of any religious action" (AGELIDIS, 2019, p. 184). See also Parker (1983). So, different individuals from citizens, non-citizens, enslaved people, men and women, were apt to be initiates.

[317] In the Classical Period (5th – 4th B.C.), in which we have more sources available, the logistical organisation of the Eleusinian Mysteries was led by the "Archon Basileus, assisted by a *paredros* and four *epimeletai*, of whom one belonged to the *genos* of Eumolpidai and another one to the Kerykes, the other two being Athenians. The religious part of the Mysteries was the responsibility of the priests, the most of whom had to belong to one of the two major *gene*, the Eumolpids and the Kerykes." (Cosmopoulos, 2015, p. 16). See also Mylonas (2009, p. 229-237).

in the citizen Assembly (*Ekklesia*) in the 5th century B.C. (WHITEHEAD, 1986, p. 127-128). However, evidence to measure the degree of autonomy of Eleusinian families in the previous century B.C. is still few and fragmentary.[318]

Some theories seek to elucidate the role of aristocratic families in the period before the reorganisation of Attica in the 5th century B.C. The classical sources describe the region as divided between three major aristocratic families who dispute power among themselves: the Alkmaionidai, led by Megakles, controlled the coastal areas; the family led by Lykourgos, who had control over the plains; the Peisistratidai, led by Peisistratus, who controlled the hills (Hdt. 1.59; Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 13.4). There were also the priestly houses that controlled the Attic cults, such as the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, responsible for Eleusis, and the Eteoboutadai, responsible for the Temple of Athena Polias (CAMP II, 1994, p. 7-9).[319] Recently, the most accepted theory seeks to describe Attic genos as dynamic community-based family groupings that interact and negotiate access to the phratries while, in some cases, it secured hereditary privilege in the supplying of individuals for priestly posts, as is the case with Eleusinian priesthoods (LAMBERT, 1999a, p. 484-485).[320]

The fundamental point of this chapter is in understanding that the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes needed to maintain their prominence over the honouring habit with deities worshipped at Eleusis, both for strategic survival on the western border of Attica and for maintenance of their posts as those in charge of the sanctuary and Mystery festival.[321] According to Humphreys (2018), Eleusis had the ambition

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[318] For example, the description of Greece by Pausanias, which is a 2nd century AD textual source, affirms the mythical war between Athens and Eleusis was ceased after they arrived at following terms: "the Eleusinians were to have independent control of the mysteries, but in all things else were to be subject to the Athenians." (Paus. 1.38.3-6). However, it is likely that this configuration reflected the relationship between the sanctuary and Athens as it was in the historical period, or at least in Pausanias' times.

[319] For this Pre-Cleisthenic context of Attica, works from Humphreys (2018), Lambert (1999a) and Whitehead (1986, p. 5-16) are strongly recommended.

[320] This is a major discussion in which Lambert (1999b) seeks to unify the community-based *genos* proposal, put forward earlier by Roussel (1976) and Bourriot (1976), in which aristocratic families negotiate the admittance to the phratries and institutional posts, with the privileged-based *genos* proposal, in which some families have control over access to phratries and the supplying of priests. See Lambert (1999b).

[321] This argument can be complemented by Van den Eijnde's interpretation (2019) of the historical relationship between Eleusis and Athens in Archaic Period, as he frames them as "proto-poleis" (VAN DEN EINJDE, 2019, p. 110-112). This author argues that relations between these two Attic communities went through a process of peer polity interaction (cf. RENFREW AND CHERRY, 1986), which indicates competition and tension for the mutual development and consolidation of the cults of Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens and Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. See Van den Eijnde (2019, p. 99-114).

> "to be a power centre of a different kind: not the capital of a territorial state, but a magnet for periodic visitors to its festival, developing an organization for ensuring peace for pilgrims than an army" (HUMPHREYS, 2018, p. 637)

This is evident in the strategies adopted by the Eleusinian clans in order to maintain good relationships between the two neighbouring poleis, Megara and Athens, since the beginning of the Archaic Period (HUMPHREYS, 2018, p. 637-638). Support for this argument is verified by comparing names of Eleusinian heroes, which were cited in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* with names of the heroes to be honoured through sacrifices from the late fourth-century inscription SEG 52.48A (= IG II² 1357).[322] The *Homeric Hymn*, dated roughly to the late seventh century BC, lists the following leaders and heroes: Triptolemos, Dioklos, Polyxeinos, Eumolpos, Dolichos and Keleus (lines 153-155). In turn, the sacrifice prescription of the calendar SEG 52.48a, dated ca. 403/2 B.C., indicates the following heroes to be honoured: Eumolpos, Melichos, Archegetes, Polyxenos, Threptos, Dioklos and Keleus (SEG 5248a, lines 65-75).[323] According to Humphreys (2018), the context of inscriptions indicates that "Archegetes is a name for Triptolemos and Threptos as a reference to Demophon, the son of King Keleus nursed by Demeter" (HUMPHREYS, 2018, p. 636).

Furthermore, it is possible to identify that Dioklos, who was quoted in both sources, was a Megarian heroe (RICHARDSON, 1974, p. 196), while Melichos of SEG 5248A is a reference to an epithet of Zeus also widely worshipped in Megara (HUMPHREYS, 2018, p. 637). This may be interpreted as an artifice of religious communication adopted by the Eleusinian families in order to maintain good relationship on the western border of Attica in order to justify their protagonism in the organisation of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The offering of sacrifices to Zeus Meilichios and Dioklos can be interpreted as a strategy adopted by these priests with the aim of both attracting the pilgrimage of individuals from the neighbouring polis and a signalling for establishment of good relationship through religious communication.

To complement this argument, this chapter analyses textual and material characteristics of inscriptions which were both installed at Eleusis and at City Eleusinion,

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[322] This argument was presented by Humphreys (2018).
[323] See AIO (2023, SEG 52.48A) and CGRN (2023, 45A).

as well as morphological and physical aspects of the sanctuary's topography in the sixth century B.C. My aim is to show through these sources that intense negotiations occurred between the organisers of the Eleusinian sanctuary and ruling aristocratic families of Athens.

10.2. The Eleusinian context: archaeological and epigraphic sources

This section is dedicated to gather sources related to the topography and the epigraphy of Eleusis, which belongs to the historical stratum of the Late Archaic Period (the sixth century B.C.). The aim is to elaborate a picture of the religious communication strategies which were adopted towards the historical contingency, with their innovations, adaptations and appropriations of material culture and the built environment.

10.2.1. Topography

The sixth century B.C. is a period of intense building transformations in the sanctuary of Eleusis, which can be divided into two major moments: 1) buildings made between 594 and 550 B.C., also known as "Solonian Period"; 2) buildings that are contemporary to Athenian tyrannies between 550-510 B.C., also known as "Peisistratean Period".[324] The most recent bibliography interprets the existence of a clear Eleusinian alignment to Athens during this period until it was finally consolidated as a deme after the Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 142).

The first building moment, between approximately 594 and 550 B.C., was related to the constructions resulting from the extension of the terrace and extension of the Peribolos Wall E5 (Z1 – Z7) (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 139). This enlargement of the sacred perimeter allowed the sheltering of the Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion (a.k.a.

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[324] As mentioned earlier, these personalist denominations are given by archaeologists who excavated Eleusis between the end of the 19th and the end of the 20th century for the purposes of chronological-stratigraphic schematisation at first, but which reduces social experience to the figure of prominent political leaders (Noack, 1927; Mylonas, 2009; Cosmopoulos, 2015). Even though I tend to avoid these terms on my chapters, I present them to help the reader in recognizing the historical context.

"Solonian Telesterion"), next to which were the sacrificial pyres B and Γ. Flanking the Archaic peribolos wall, the Altar Z13 and Well W were located. The main entrance to the sanctuary was possibly located in the southern part of the peribolos wall, while the Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion had a north-facing orientation.

The period between 550 and 510 B.C. is understood as the time of the second major building intervention in the sanctuary of Eleusis, fundamentally influenced by tyrannical governments of the Peisistratidai in Athens (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 77-105). This was a time when Eleusinian priesthoods, responsible for the organisation of the sanctuary, sought to attract attention to Eleusis by seeking a specialisation of sacred spaces, with innovative architectural designs and substantive changes in the orientation of some buildings. The Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion was built, featuring an eclectic architectural typology (hypostyle hall), in Doric style and with exquisite architectural details in Pentelic marble and Paros marble (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 78-83; LIPPOLIS, 2006, 172-180). The orientation of this main temple was changed with respect to the original orientation of Archaic Phase I, moving the façade towards Athens (to the east). Allied to these works for Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion, the peribolos walls were fortified and extended, with seven watchtowers and seven gates. Similar architectural designs were applied to the building of the Temple of Plouton in the grotto just next to the Telesterion, as well as the monumentalisation of the well reported in the *Homeric Hymn*: The Kallichoron Well (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 163-172). Similar building interventions were evidenced in the City Eleusinion, small sanctuary administered parallel to Eleusis by the Eumolpidai and Kerykes. There it is possible to attest the building of the peribolos walls and wells, as well as the building of the Temple of Triptolemos with architectural features which dialogue with the Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion (MILES, 1998, p. 24-59; PALINKAS, 2008, p. 49-89).

In short, there is a change in the main axis of the sanctuary of Eleusis during this period. The main entrance of the sanctuary is moved from the southern area to the northeastern area, with readjustment of the procession route (Hiera Hodos) (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 76-77). In addition, there is the change in the orientation of the Telesterion façade from north-south (towards the mountains on the north) to approximately west-east (towards Athens). The architectural and spatial interventions coincide with monumentalisations of other sanctuaries in Athens and Attica, such as the Temple of Athena Polias. These buildings are not only contemporary to each other, but many of them

have similar architectural features and style (PAGA, 2016, p. 181-190). This information favours the interpretation that the sanctuary of Eleusis, as well as the networks that sustained it, formed from Eleusinian families to associated people, chose or was led to the influence of Athens during the period (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 142). This enabled Eleusinian festivals to join the Athenian circuit of festivals and entered the Attic calendar (LIPPOLIS *et al.*, 2007, p. 183). After all, there is a clear shift between Telesterion's Archaic Phase I to Archaic Phase II, with a new configuration of the initiation hall, plus integration with the procession road (*Hiera Hodos*). This process was taken strategically on the part of the priestly families since the influence of Athens allowed the growth of the engagement of individuals throughout Attica with the sanctuary at Eleusis. Both the geographic position of Eleusis on Attic frontier with Megara and the establishment of new relationships between the Eleusinian priestly families and other aristocratic families of Attica favoured the alignment of Eleusis with tyrants of Athens, which can be evidenced by the features of the development of the sanctuary in the late 6th century B.C., such as the fortification of the peribolos wall, the change in the orientation of the Telesterion and rearrangement of the Sacred Way.

This topographical context needs to be analysed in comparison to building interventions executed in Athens and other parts of Attica, as they are part of the same policy of urbanisation and monumentalisation of sanctuaries. In Athens, the institution of the Panathenaic festival in 566 B.C. is closely related to new designs of the Temple of Athena Polias, the Temple of Athena Parthenos (the first Parthenon) and the Hekatompedon, since these delimit the route of the Panathenaic procession (*pompé*) (LIPPOLIS *et al.*, 2007, p. 185; GRECO, 2010, p. 126-132). The building of the Temple of Artemis Brauronia in the south-west area of the Acropolis is probably a replication of works carried out in the main temple at Brauron (LIPPOLIS *et al.,* 2007, p. 185). After all, the Temple of Artemis at Brauron in eastern Attica underwent similar monumental architectural reconfiguration, although little evidence about the Brauronia festival has remained (PAGA, 2016, p. 185). Archaeological evidence allows us to see coherence with the wider plan of integration of festivals throughout Attica into the Athenian sequential calendar at the period of Peisistratean tyrannies.

The spatial reconfiguration of Eleusis between 550 and 510 B.C. is related to the context of monumentalisation of sanctuaries and urban revitalisation during the time of tyrannies at Athens (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 141-142). The Eumolpidai and the

Kerykes, organizers of the sanctuary at Eleusis, strategically repositioned themselves in their relationship with other aristocratic families, especially the Peisistratidai, both to defend their position as guardians of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and to attract investments from tyrants of Athens and their allies. This allowed an integration of the extra-urban regions towards alignment with Athens through negotiation between aristocratic families, a process of transformation that acquires new contours after the institution of the Cleisthenic reforms in 508 B.C.

10.2.2. Epigraphic strategies

The history of the first inscriptions at Eleusis (and at Attica in general) is intertwined with the formation and interaction of networks around the organization of sanctuaries and the city. After all, the act of inscribing in stone and positioning this inscribed object in space became one of the strategies of religious communication adopted by the Eleusinian priesthoods and their social networks from the sixth century B.C. onwards.

The earliest stone inscriptions evidenced at Eleusis were sacred laws and dedications.[325] In general, inscriptions from the sixth century B.C. were found in a precarious state of preservation[326] and in much smaller numbers than we see in later centuries. However, they bring important information to this discussion, as they allow an approximation to the contexts of the early adoption of epigraphic practice as an effective strategy of communication. Firstly, most of these inscriptions were carved in *boustrophedon*, style which is typical of the 6th century B.C. This means that sentences have an alternation between lines written from left to right (→) followed by lines written from right to left (←) (WOODHEAD, 1981, p. 26). Secondly, the find data of some of these inscriptions indicate that the inscribed objects were installed in the vicinity of the Archaic Telesterion, as their fragments were found either in the vicinity of the building or in the foundations of its later phases (CLINTON, 2008, p. 29-43). This suggests that

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[325] A pattern that is also observed on the Acropolis of Athens. See Meyer (2013, p. 463-466), Pébarthe (2005, p. 172-173) and Hurwit (1999). Furthermore, grave-monument epitaphs are evident in the Kerameikos and on the Attic countryside (MEYER, 2013, p. 463).

[326] Many of these inscriptions are fragmented to the point of not allowing an epigraphic reconstruction of the text.

these inscriptions were installed within the temenos of the Eleusis sanctuary and the City Eleusinion.[327]

The select group of dedications installed at Eleusis includes ten inscriptions produced between ca. 575 and 500 B.C.[328] Although they are very fragmentary pieces, these dedications were issued on various types of supports, from bases and pillars to votive discs. Unfortunately, their information is too fragmentary to reconstruct the biographical context of such inscriptions with an appropriate degree of accuracy. Nonetheless, there is an element which is common to all these inscriptions, as most of them are related to competitions and games of the festivals celebrated in Eleusis, such as Eleusinia. For example, the dedicator of the inscription I Eleusis 1 (= IG I³ 988)[329], dated between 575 and 550 B.C.[330], is a winner of an athletic competition (jumping with weight halters) probably "from contests in the Eleusinia" (CLINTON, 2008, p. 29). I Eleusis 3 (**No. 1**) presents Alkiphron's dedication to Demeter and Kore for his victory in the race held at the Eleusinian hippodrome (lines 1-5).[331] Another example is a dedication on a white marble votive discus made by an athlete called Aisimides, which was probably a prize for his victory at Eleusinia festival (I Eleusis 6, **No. 2.;** CLINTON, 2008, p. 31). Although not so common, the presence of foreigners can also be evidenced through dedications installed at the sanctuary of Eleusis, as is the case of I Eleusis 10 (**No. 3**). This is a dedication from a certain Aristodamos of Metapontum (Magna Graecia) on an Eleusinian marble pillar-monument from ca. 500 B.C. (I Eleusis 10, **No. 3**, lines 1-2, non-*stoichedon*) (Clinton, 2008, p. 31).

Among the sacred laws, I Eleusis 7 (IG I³ 231 – not included in my repertoire[332]) is the oldest inscription relating to Eleusinian Mysteries ever inscribed in stone and placed in the sanctuary (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 7). This copy was found at the City Eleusinion in

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[327] The sacred law I Eleusis 7, possibly inscribed on an altar-like monument, was found within the temenos of the City Eleusinion. However, the character of the normative text also suggests the existence of a copy of this text in Eleusis (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 13-14; CLINTON, 2008, p. 31).

[328] The sixth century dedications from Eleusis: I Eleusis 1 (= IG I³ 988), I Eleusis 2 (= IG I³ 990), I Eleusis 3 (= IG I³ 991 – **No. 1**), I Eleusis 4 (= IG I³ 992), I Eleusis 5 (= IG I³ 992), I Eleusis 6 (= IG I³ 989, **No. 2**), I Eleusis 10 (= IG I³ 1006 – **No. 3**), I Eleusis 11 (= IG I³ 996), I Eleusis 12 (= IG I³ 993) and I Eleusis 14 (= IG I³ 995, **No. 4**).

[329] This inscription was not included in my repertoire because both text and archaeological support are very fragmented. See Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 1)

[330] This dating is approximated by Clinton (2005a, p. 9).

[331] The suggestion that the word *dromos* (line 3) refers to the hippodrome at Eleusis was first made by Mansfield and cited in Clinton (2008, p. 30). Archaeologists speculate that this hippodrome was located ca. 100 metres south to the sanctuary at Eleusis (PAPANGELI; CHLEPA, 2011, p. 24).

[332] It was not included in my repertoire as its text and archaeological support are severely fragmented. See Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 7).

Athens (Agora I-2470)[333], which suggests the existence of another copy - not found by archaeologists - at the sanctuary at Eleusis. Four fragments form the inscribed object, whose shape suggests that it was a small altar, possibly installed in the inner area of the City Eleusinion. The text is also fragmented, but the passages reconstructed by epigraphists suggest that it was inscribed in *boustrophedon* style (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 13-14). It indicates provisions for sacrifices for festivals involving Eleusis and the City Eleusinion, possibly regulated by the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes (AIO Online, I Eleusis 7, Note 1; CLINTON, 2008, p. 31). The characters suggest an approximate date between 510 and 490 B.C. (CLINTON, 2008, p. 31). In the same context as this inscription, IG I³ 232 was found in the vicinity of the City Eleusinion and shows similarities in text format (*boustrophedon*), content (sacred law for providing sacrifices), material support (inscribed altar) and dating (510-470 B.C.) (AIUK, 2023, 4.1, no. 1; AIO, 2023, IG I³ 232).[334] Both inscriptions from the City Eleusinion seem to indicate a trend in epigraphic practices from the turn of the 6th to the 5th century BC, especially in the period preceding the reforms of Cleisthenes (or at least their impact). Such inscriptions can be analysed in comparison with I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**), already mentioned in Chapter 6 (6.1.). Better preserved, the text of I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**) already indicates the presence of the probouleumatic formula with sentences in *stoichedon*, whose format would become typical of the decrees of the 5th century B.C., but still on the support of an altar-like monument.[335] All three inscriptions have approximate dates and it is therefore not possible to precisely establish a sequential chronological ordering between them. However, physical and textual information allows to support the hypothesis that I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**) is later than I Eleusis 7 and IG I³ 232. In I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43)**, the evidence of the issuing institution is clear, as the presence of proboulematic formula indicates that the text passed through the collective decision-making bodies of the Council (*Boule*) and citizen Assembly (*Ekklesia*). Furthermore, epigraphists agree that I Eleusis 7 and IG I³ 232 were possibly issued by the Eleusinian priesthoods (Eumolpidai and Kerykes) for the regulation of ordinary sacrifices (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 7; CGRN, 2023, 7; CLINTON, 2008, p. 32-37).

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[333] For more information, see Miles (1998) and AIO (2023, I Eleusis 7).

[334] This inscription was reconstructed from 27 marble fragments corresponding to an altar-like monument. More information on AIUK (2023, 4.1.) and CGRN (2023, 7).

[335] This altar-like monument indicates a base for supporting altars, statues, or a monument with both. The typical decree issued by the fifth-century Council and the Assembly were generally inscribed on a *stelai* (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 4-5). More information on Clinton (2008, p. 32-37).

There is a spatial effect produced by the double act of inscribing on stone and exposing the inscribed object in space. The built environment is qualified from the addition of objects with inscriptions, as a certain area becomes relevant from the point of view of religious communication and ritual practices.[336] This process, which of course is not static and determined, is a continuous process of social and material interaction, that is, constituted from religious communication of individuals and groups with their divine addressees. Generally, the installation of inscribed objects takes into consideration physical factors of the terrain, the possible relationships with buildings or areas of passage and encounters, so the message could be in evidence for reaching the desired audience. Moreover, the target audience is an element that evidently varies according to both religious communication strategies of groups and circumstances of the historical period. In Eleusis, the most relevant sites for placing inscriptions were inside the *temenos* for sacred laws or dedications, as they were also gifts to Demeter and Kore. Places with high visibility and a great number of people moving around are also possible sites for placing an inscribed object for a statue, a relief or other kind of object.

10.3. The western border of Attica: social organization of Eleusis in the sixth century B.C.

Both the settlement and the sanctuary of Eleusis were located on the west to the Plain of Thriassion, marking the western border of Attica with the territory of Megara (Goette, 2001, p. 270-282). Any analysis of the social organisation of Eleusis and its unfoldings (such as Eleusinian festivals) must consider the social, political and economic aspects of this geographical position. For our analysis, the intrinsic relation between the formation/expansion of social networks and the production of space is a fundamental part of the historical process (RÜPKE, 2020c, p. 48).

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[336] This meaning and relevance is ascribed by different actors to space and material objects in communication process with divine addressees.

I started my argument from the perspective of the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, because the relationship of these priesthoods with the occupation of the Eleusinian hill is historical and goes back to a more distant past. The autonomy of these individuals regarding the organisation of the sanctuary is verified in historical sources, as they themselves acted strategically to maintain their powers over the management of the sanctuary, involving the narrative of the Eleusinian myth (The Rape of Persephone) as evidenced in Homeric Hymn to Demeter, as I presented earlier. The Eleusinian clans strategically positioned themselves in a network behaviour in order to maintain legitimacy as "intermediaries" of religious communication between various social actors and Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. This process can be attested historically, as we have seen in the archaeological and epigraphic sources. After all, the sacred area (*temenos*) of the sanctuary of Eleusis was delimited by the fortified peribolos wall and the building of the Temple (Archaic Phase I) between 594 and 550 B.C. Along with these interventions, a series of dedications were installed in the sacred area in order to honour the Two Goddesses for the victory by winner athletes during the agonistic festival of Eleusis (Eleusinia). After all, glory conferred on these individuals after victory is shared publicly to the honour of Demeter and Kore. The establishment of this type of communication was mediated by Eleusinian clans who occupy relevant priestly positions in Eleusis.

Although Solonian reforms did not have a direct impact on the social organisation of Eleusis, their developments were relevant for the establishment of new relations between social actors and the creation of new spaces for interaction.[337] Thus, the dispute between aristocratic families for power led to the rise of Peisistratus and his descendants (Hippias and Hipparch) between 561/560 and 510 B.C., at which time Athens was run tyrannically (LIPPOLIS *et al.*, 2007, p. 183). According to Lippolis et al.,

> "La tirannide dei Pisistratidi ebbe termine solo nel 510 con la definitiva cacciata di Ippia, ma i sessant'anni che interessano il periodo sono profondamente segnati dalla loro travagliata storia e

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[337] In this sense, the reforms of Draco (7th B.C.) and Solon (594 B.C.) may have initiated the installation of stone inscriptions in living spaces near buildings, temples, and shrines (MEYER, 2013, p. 464). See Meyer (2013) and Lippolis et al. (2007).

dagli accordi e contrasti con le grandi famiglie ateniesi, prima fra

tutte quella degli Alcmeonidi" (LIPPOLIS *et al.*, 2007, p. 183)

New plans and priorities led to the reconfiguration of networks in Attica, bringing the Eleusinian clans and related actors to a more evident position with Athens. A fundamental point is that Eleusis was in a delicate geographical position, having suffered after wars undertaken by Peisistratus with Megara in 565 B.C. This episode may have led to a more evident positioning of the Eleusinian clans and their social networks in favour of Athens (cf. Arist., Ath. Pol., 14.1; Hdt. 1.59). After all, the Eleusinian networks sought not only protection on the Attica border, but also the attraction of investments for the strengthening of their relationships for keeping running their activities. On the other hand, the Peisistratidai were to act in their interests in controlling the sanctuary of Eleusis situated on the border with Megara. In this sense, a series of public works and building interventions were executed throughout Attica, as their chronologies coincide with the Peisistratus' plan to integrate extra-urban areas with the *asty* (PAGA, 2016, p. 178-193). In Eleusis, the sacred space was reconfigured through important building interventions, such as the enlargement of the *temenos*, the building of the new Telesterion (Archaic Phase II in hypostyle hall typology), new auxiliary buildings, the fortification of the peribolos wall and the installation of watchtowers (COMOSPOULOS, 2015, p. 141-142).[338] In addition, a major intervention in the orientation of the buildings and the change on the route of the Sacred Way sought to align the interests of the networks in Eleusis with the polis' appropriation of festivals.[339]

In general, the sixth century B.C. can be interpreted as a period with ongoing developments in Attica. This historical contingency was compounded by external conflicts with the Achaemenid Empire, which brought not only devastating consequences to Eleusis and the entire western border of Attica, but also enabled the radicalisation of social transformations, culminating in the increased power and influence of demes. This process was institutionalised after the Cleisthenic Reforms in 508 B.C., as it was result of

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[338] A similar plan of building interventions was observed in the City Eleusinion in Athens (MILES, 1998; PALINKAS, 2008).

[339] On the other hand, spatial forms and architectural typologies seem to be much more the result of the appropriation of the various actors who attend, participate in and organise the rituals, as we indicated in Part III.

strategies, plans and investments conducted by the re-organisation of social networks in Attica in face of the challenges at the social, political and economic level.

CHAPTER 11.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE NETWORKING BEHAVIOUR

The following chapter deals with the impact of Cleisthenic Reforms on the social organisation of Attica and their reverberation in the sanctuary of Eleusis between 508 and the end of the 5th century B.C. The main objective is to bring together the archaeological and epigraphic sources to demonstrate the degree of development of Eleusinian networks, the integration of individuals from Attica into the socio-religious practices of Eleusis and the innovations adopted by different actors in the spatial development of the sanctuary.

To this end, the chapter will start from a discussion of the impact of the Cleisthenic Reforms on the social (re)-organisation of Attica and its inflationary effect on Eleusinian networks, including new actors on the scene. It will demonstrate how these reforms enabled new relationships and identifications with space in the Athenian *khora*, propitiating a greater engagement of individuals with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. This effect propitiated the adoption of various strategies of religious communication and led to an increase in demotic power on the western border of Attica. Furthermore, the chapter discusses innovations adopted at Eleusis as a strategy and repositioning of social networks involved with the sanctuary and the Eleusinian deme towards instability after the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War.

11.1. Cleisthenic reforms and the inflation of Eleusinian networks

The social reorganisation of Attica after the Cleisthenic Reforms in 508 B.C. was based on a tripartite system (*phyle-tryttis-demos)*.[340] Thus, the population of Attica, previously divided into only 4 tribes, was redistributed into 139 demes (local communities), grouped

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[340] Cleisthenes, as son of Megakles of the Alkmaionidai, gained popular support for the deposition of the tyrant Hippias, son of Peisistratus, and implementation of the political reform that reorganised the social structure of Attica. More information on Camp II (1994, p. 7-12).

into 30 trittyes[341], which formed 10 *phylai* (tribes named after ten Athenian heroes) (JAMESON, 2014, p. 252).[342]

In short, this reorganisation meant "that the old ties of the aristocracy were weakened and replaced with new types of networks and spheres of interaction." (PAGA, 2021, p. 1). In addition to the new division of Attic population, the Council (*Boule*) and Citizen Assembly (*Ekklesia*) became the main political decision-making institutions of the polis, including a wider number of citizens in instances of power:

> "Next he (Cleisthenes) made the Council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, fifty from each Tribe, whereas under the old system there had been a hundred. This was the reason why he did not arrange them in twelve tribes, in order that he might not have to use the existing division of the Thirds (for the four Tribes contained twelve Thirds), with the result that the multitude would not have been mixed up."[343]
>
> (Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 21.3)

The only components of Athenian society that retained their privileges and were able to organise themselves according to ancient custom were the clans, brotherhoods and priesthoods belonging to various demes, such as the Eumolpidai and Kerykes of Eleusis (cf. Aris. Ath. Pol. 21.6). It is important to mention this was not a simple determination decided by one person or a group of individuals, but an indication of negotiations and strategies that these clans established through their relationship with these actors for the defence of their prerogatives over the control and organisation of the sanctuary at Eleusis. After all, the Eleusinian priesthoods also stipulated strategies in the sense of extending their networks of interaction by attracting to the sanctuary a larger number of social actors in the various aspects of sanctuary life. It is important to mention that the region of Eleusis on the western border of Attica was in an unstable situation in the transition period from

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[341] "Thirds" after three types of regions: city, inland, coast. More information on Humphreys (2018, p. 766-70).

[342] Aristotle describes the tripartite model of Athenian democracy after the Cleisthenic Reforms in his *Athenaion Politeia* (21.1-4).

[343] Original: "ἔπειτα τὴν βουλὴν πεντακοσίους ἀντὶ τετρακοσίων κατέστησεν, πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς. τότε δ᾽ ἦσαν ἑκατόν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς συνέταξεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ συμβαίνῃ μερίζειν πρὸς τὰς προϋπαρχούσας τριττῦς. ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ δ# φυλῶν δώδεκα τριττύες, ὥστ᾽ οὐ συνέπιπτεν ἂν ἀναμίσγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος."

tyrannical to democratic regimes at the end of the sixth century B.C. Between 511 and 506 B.C., Spartans undertook successive attempts to invade Attica with the aim of putting Isagoras to power as tyrant (Hrdt. 5.63-72). In this endeavour, Spartans led by Cleomenes even briefly occupied Eleusis in 506 BC but abandoned the site before the clash with the Athenian army (Hrdt. 5.74-76) (CLINTON, 1994, p. 162).[344] The episode brings indications that the Eleusinian networks, starring the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, were at least in negotiation with the emerging social actors during this political transition.

Another point is the evident division between organisation of the sanctuary and organisation of the deme of Eleusis (CLINTON, 2008, p. 3). If, on the one hand, the Eleusinian families retained their prerogatives and privileges over the organisation of the sanctuary, retaining the automatic hereditary succession of the priestly members to prescriptions and regulations on ritual practices, on the other hand, the deme of Eleusis was reorganised and new positions were occupied by individuals from other demes of Attica, such as the *epimeletes* and *epistatai* (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 15; MIKALSON, 2016, p. 296-300). This meant that matters concerning the deme of Eleusis and even the administration of the treasures of the sanctuary were delegated to individuals elected by the Council and the Citizen Assembly (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 298).[345]

The Cleisthenic Reforms produced two effects that deserve to be highlighted in this chapter. First, the reform in the structure of the demes and the extension of citizenship to residents in the various parts of Attica produced a spatial connotation for the identity construction of citizens. According to Aristotle,

> […] And he (Cleisthenes) made all the inhabitants in each of the demes fellow-demesmen of one another in order that they might not call attention to the newly enfranchised citizens by addressing people by their fathers' names, but designate people officially by their demes; owing to which Athenians in private life also use the names of their demes as surnames.[346]

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[344] Herodotus brings the information which circulated among Athenians that Cleomenes even plundered the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis (Hrdt. 6.75-3). The information seems unlikely, since the sanctuary was already fortified and garrisoned in the period and there is no evidence of this raid in the stratigraphy (CLINTON, 1994, p. 162).

[345] See also inscriptions IG I³ 32, I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**) and IG I³386-387.

[346] Original: "[…] *καὶ δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν δήμων, ἵνα μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν δήμων ἀναγορεύωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν δήμων.*"

(Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 21.4, my brackets)

This altered the relationship of individuals to the very space they lived in Attica substantially, which came to be evidenced even in the inclusion of place of origin in the personal identification present in texts such as fifth-century B.C. dedications. (PAGA, 2021, p. 5-6; MEYER, 2013, p. 466-469). Demes came to be appropriated by individuals in the formation of new networks of interaction, making the various villages of Attica as nodes of such webs (PAGA, 2021, p. 5-6). In this sense, Paga (2021) exemplifies that

> "[…] at the end of the sixth century, personal identification began to transition from the patronymic to the demotic, or both were used in conjunction: one was no longer simply Demodokos, son of Anaxagoras, but was now Demodokos, son of Anaxagoras, of the deme Plotheia. The appearance of the demotic in dedicatory inscriptions in place of or in addition to the patronymic during the Late Archaic Period underscores the transformation of social identity entailed in the reforms by creating an immediate link between citizen and topographic location in place of an association between citizen and family."

(PAGA, 2021, p. 5)

Thus, spatial reference became a relevant factor in the form of social construction of individuality and collective identity. The self-identification with space as an element of the constitution propitiated not only the formation of new networks, but it favoured the effective growth of the demotic power in detriment of the old aristocracies (WHITEHEAD, 1986, p. 16-38). Moreover, the substantial impact of these reforms occurred concomitantly with the resistance to the invasions of Attica by the Achaemenid army, which may have contributed to the acceleration and strengthening of these networks (PAGA, 2021, p. 6-7). If on the one hand, historical contingency in face of internal problems and external threats provided a moment of crisis and vulnerability in Attica at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., on the other hand, the change in the political regime and the implementation of reforms may have facilitated effective resistance (PAGA, 2021, p. 6).

In this sense, I agree with Jessica Paga (2021) in her argument that the reforms provided a new individual conception on space. Beyond the spatial identification by individuals, it contributed to the construction of new spatial relations and practices. This is a key element for the interpretation of both building interventions and programmes and innovations which were incorporated into the socio-religious practices of Attica during the fifth century B.C., especially in Eleusis.

The appropriation of spaces (built or natural) by individuals acquired a special connotation, as new institutions and new spatial practices produced new buildings, roads and relationships with the divine addressees (RÜPKE, 2020c, p. 48). The emergence of new social actors and the creation of new relationships propitiated the need for larger spaces for congregation and displacement, as well as the more significant inclusion of participants both in ritual practices and in the initiations to the Mysteries, for example. With more agents in interaction, more material spaces and objects were appropriated in everyday life, which recursively acted upon and led individuals and collectivities in interaction, which created meaning with the material world (RÜPKE, 2020b, p. 1209-1214). Thus, a series of innovations, strategies, negotiations and disputes were put into action and were at the heart of the social, religious and economic transformations of the sanctuary of Eleusis during the 5th century B.C.

11.2. Eleusinian innovations from the fifth century B.C.

In this section I gather the main innovations adopted at Eleusis during the fifth century B.C. While some of these innovations were exclusively adopted in Eleusis, others were incorporated into other sanctuaries throughout Attica as well. The fifth century B.C. is a period of cultural effervescence in Attica, when literary (philosophy, history, tragedies, comedies, etc.) and artistic (the peak of red-figure pottery) works were made. It was also the period when the radical democracy of Athens reached its peak with the emergence of Athenian hegemony in the Delian League in 450-454 B.C. (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 5).[347] So, information from archaeological, textual and epigraphic sources is here described in

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[347] Date of the transfer of the Delian league treasure from its original post in Delos to the Acropolis in Athens. More information on Lambert (2019, p. 4-5) and Shear Jr (2016).

order to reconstruct this historical context and understand innovations incorporated into the sanctuary of Eleusis.

11.2.1. Spatial transformation

The sanctuary of Eleusis was destroyed during the invasion of Attica by the Achaemenid Empire in ca. 480-479 B.C.[348] (Hrdt. 8.50-53; 9.65.1-2), as already mentioned in Part III. Herodotus affirms that

> "[…] the barbarians had reached Attica and were destroying all of it by fire. The army with Xerxes had made its way through Boeotia and burnt the city of the Thespians, who had abandoned it and gone to the Peloponnese, and Plataea likewise. Now the army had come to Athens and was devastating everything there. […]"
>
> (Herodotus, 8.50.1)

Because of this attack, the Telesterion of Eleusis (Archaic Phase II - "Peisistratean") was completely destroyed by fire, although it is likely that the sacred objects (*hiera*) were rescued before destruction and transferred to a safer place until the expulsion of the invaders (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-90). The destruction by fire was of such a level that the building had to be completely rebuilt, with only a few blocks of the wall being reusable. The period of the Achaemenid invasion coincides with the moment of implementation of the Cleisthenic Reforms in Attica, which besides allowing the entrance of new actors and the creation of social networks that involved the demes, also increased the recruitment of citizens for the defence of the territory (PAGA, 2021, p. 6).

The Delian League's military success after the Battle of Salamina in 480 B.C. was a major factor in the consolidation of Athenian maritime hegemony in the following

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[348] Mylonas affirms that "it could have happened either in 480 B.C., when Xerxes conquered Attika, wasted the whole of the land, and sacked the Acropolis, or in 479 B.C., when the cavalry of Mardonios turned towards Megara and wasted the lands between it and Athens." (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 90).

decades, which led Attica to prosperity (CLINTON, 1994). With the accumulation of tributes and resources, an extensive programme of public construction could be implemented with the aim of rebuilding temples, civic buildings and sanctuaries both in *ásty* and throughout Attica (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 13-14).[349]

In this sense, Perikles' constructive program was implemented in Attica between 454 and 404 B.C. (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 5; SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 13-14).[350] In Eleusis, the effective reconstruction of the sanctuary of Eleusis became possible.[351] Thus, a new project for the Telesterion (Iktinos' Project - Classical Phase I) was built, in addition to the enlargement of the inner area of the sanctuary, expansion of the fortified peribolos wall and the creation of new areas for functional buildings (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 113-117; LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 205-227).

The expansion at the Telesterion's area (Classical Phase I) indicates the need for a larger initiation hall, following the logic of the growth of demotic power after Cleisthenic Reforms. After all, the previous Telesterion (Archaic Phase II) would be spatially insufficient to accommodate the emergence of new citizens, the formation of new networks and the interest of more individuals in initiations. Moreover, the Mysteries of Eleusis were incorporated into the Attic calendar, as the Eleusinian networks were successful in accommodating the festival of Demeter and Kore into Athenian identity discourse. After all, participation in the festival, the journey during the pompé on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, and the completion of initiation at the Telesterion were stages gradually appropriated as part of Athenian civic identity.[352] According to Paga,

> "[...] It is, therefore, possible that participation in the Mysteries, although open to all Athenians throughout the Archaic Period, became more feasible, desirable, and encouraged among the broader population living within Attic territory in the decades

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[349] For analysis of the epigraphic production of the imperial phase of Athens and its hegemony over the Delian League, see Meyer (2013, p. 471-473)

[350] See also Étienne (2004, p. 70-72).

[351] Shear Jr (2016, p. 21-26) compares the implementation of the Periklean program in both Acropolis of Athens and Eleusis.

[352] At the religious discourse level, this process is related to the incorporation of the figure of Triptolemus in the construction of the Eleusinian myth, as present in the Homeric Hymn, and its many resignifications throughout the historical period. For the iconography of Triptolemous in the Eleusinian cycle, see Clinton (1992).

following the Kleisthenic reforms. For the Athenian populace residing outside of the astu and at points far distant from Eleusis, the changes in 508/7 may thus have resulted in increased attendance at and participation in this exclusive cult. It is even possible that initiation into the Mysteries was, or became, a prerequisite for serving in the Boule."

(PAGA, 2021, p. 186)

The hypothesis that all *bouleutai* were initiated into the Mysteries is supported by the evidence that meetings of The Council were held in the City Eleusinion every year after the end of the Eleusinian Mysteries (PAGA, 2021, p. 186, note 28).[353] The possibility that initiations have become a requirement for the access to the Council can configure as an effective strategy of social engagement for both sides. Both on the side of the Eleusinian networks by integrating members of larger polis instances into the ritual practices of the Mysteries and on the side of the candidates to the Council themselves by enlarging their social networks and integrating with Eleusinian festivals.

Another point of my argument relates to the expansion of the fortified peribolos wall at Eleusis. As we argued in Chapter 8, this was related to the opening of new galleries in the *temenos* for sheltering of donations of first-fruits (*aparche*). This argument brings an agent-based nuance to the matter and helps explain the need for more internal spaces. However, the reason for reproducing the fortified character of the Eleusinian peribolos wall, with its gates accompanied by watchtowers, is related more to the adaptation of the Eleusinian networks to the historical contingency of the 5th century B.C. (PAGA, 2021, p. 179-187). After all, they proved essential after the destruction of the Telesterion in 480 B.C., which led to the expansion of the fortified wall circuit between 480 and 404 B.C. (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 145).

This building activity at Eleusis is contemporary to the reconstructions and built interventions on the Acropolis of Athens, such as the new Parthenon and the Propylaea for instance, in addition to the building of Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous and Temple of Athena at Pallene (ÉTIENNE, 2004, p. 70-71). This

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[353] More information on Clinton (1993, p. 119). Miles (1998) further states that the increase in the number of members of the Council (Boule) after the Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.) required the expansion of the meeting space on the day after the Eleusinians Mysteries by up to 25% of the size of the previous Solonian Boule (MILES, 1998, p. 33). This fact can be related to building interventions in the internal space of the City Eleusinion at the end of the 6th century B.C. (MILES, 1998, p. 25-33). See also Rhodes (1972).

set of buildings in Attica throughout the 5th century B.C. sought to rebuild sites destroyed after the end of the Persian Wars. However, this context is also related to the emergence of new actors with the gradual increase of demotic power.[354]

However, I reinforce that such building interventions and enlargement of the sacred space of Eleusis should be interpreted not from the actions of an individual and his building program, but through the agency which is distributed through networks formed by diverse social actors driven by historical contingency. Individuals appropriate built and natural spaces and objects as a strategy to establish religious communication with the Eleusinian deities during ritual practices. But beyond religious rituals, different actors appropriate spaces in everyday uses as well.

11.2.2. *Aparche*

As already discussed in Chapter 8, *aparche* of first-fruits was a practice that directly and indirectly involved a great number of actors in all its stages, from the harvesting of the grain to the use of a portion for making sacrificial cakes and from the sale of the surplus to fund preliminary sacrifices to erecting dedications in honour of Eleusinian. The point I reinforce here is that *aparche* practice underwent substantial changes and gained a monumental connotation by the end of the 5th century B.C., a fact which is exemplified by the regulative inscription of first-fruits I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**) of ca. 435 B.C. (See Chapter 8).

Firstly, the text by Isocrates (380 B.C.) carries the information that most Greek cities made donations of first-fruits from their harvests to the sanctuary of Eleusis (Isoc. 4 31), although we must consider that this is perhaps a rhetorical exaggeration by the Athenian orator. However, as I argued in Chapter 8, the analysis of the accounts of the late fourth century B.C. allowed us to see a broad involvement of social actors in *aparche* practice. In this sense, it is important to add that *aparche* practice provided a tactical tool for Eleusinian priests to extend their networks, reaching out to a range of social actors (individuals, tribes, demes, cleruchies) and directing important resources to the sanctuary for the conduct of ritual practices.

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[354] See also Shear Jr (2016), Coulson *et al.* (1994) and Étienne (2004, p. 70-80).

11.2.3. *Epistatai*

The creation of the board of *epistatai* is not exactly an Eleusinian innovation, but a position previously introduced in Athens for the management of the treasury of Athena on the Acropolis. However, the creation of a board of *epistatai* exclusively for Eleusis is a relevant innovation for the organisation and administration of the sanctuary and its treasuries (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 1-17). The foundation of this board may also reflect interest of citizens who appropriated collective institutions such as the Council and the citizen Assembly with aim of controlling the gifts deposited at sanctuary of Eleusis.

It was introduced in Eleusis in ca. 449 or 448 B.C. on the model of Athenian *epistatai* (MERITT; WADE-GERY, 1963, p. 111-112).[355] The board was formed by five Athenian citizens, elected by the Council (*Boule*), to hold the office of overseers (*epistatai*) of Eleusinian treasuries. In general terms, the function of this committee was to supervise the treasury of the Eleusinian sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis and the City Eleusinion in Athens, recording documents (inventories and accounts) and controlling the use of the treasuries (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 3-4).[356]

Therefore, the creation of the board of *epistatai* is related to the financial administration and the recording of the movements of the resources of the sanctuary and deme of Eleusis, although the religious administration (from ritual practices to the organization of festivals) remained under auspices of the priesthoods Eumolpidai and Kerykes (CLINTON, 2008, p. 3; CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 1-17). A four-year account of the *epistatai*, which was inscribed in I Eleusis 45 (= IG I³ 391 – not included in my repertoire) from 408-407 B.C., attests "the involvement of the *epistatai* with the money derived from the sale of the first-fruits of Demeter and Kore (*τό ἀργύριον ἀπὸ το σίτο τες ἀπαρχες*)" (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 4; cf. IG I³ 391, Lines 19-20). However, this seems to be either an exception or a change from the quadriennium 408/7 B.C. onwards, because the decree regulating the practice of first-fruits, I Eleusis 28a (Line 9 - **No. 45**) of 435

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[355] Marginesu (2012, p. 44) argues the creation of board of epistatai of the Acropolis was a demand for overseeing public building activity in the 5th century B.C. as a result of the number of new public buildings in the *asty*. More information on Marginesu (2012).

[356] The inscription which attests the foundation of the board of Eleusinian *epistatai* is IG I³ 32 (= SEG X, 24 = I Eleusis 30 - not included in this repertoire). The most relevant documents of Eleusinian epistatai are: I Eleusis 19 (**No. 44**), I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**), I Eleusis 45 (= IG I³ 391) and I Eleusis 52 (= IG I³ 386-387).

B.C., indicates that those responsible for everything related to the *aparche* practice were the *hieropoioi*[357], especially with respect to the sale of surplus grain and the use of the surplus money for activities specified in the decree (lines 34-40), as we saw in Chapter 8.[358]

The creation of such a position coincides with a trend in administrative and financial records which were typical of the radical democracy of the 5th century B.C., since transparency in the use of resources became a relevant fact for the interest of citizens (HEDRICK JR, 1999). The relevant point is that these officers were elected was by the Council, which turned this position into a relevant artifice for the appropriation of actors in order to enlarge their networks within the administration of the sanctuary and the deme of Eleusis. This fact may have contributed with an approach of other individuals coming from Attica in the construction of relationships with the Eleusinian clans.

11.2.4. Epigraphic strategies: evidences of demotic power and social engagement

A significant change in the field of epigraphic strategies can be evidenced in Attica between Cleisthenic Reforms in 508 B.C. and the end of the 5th century B.C., reverberating even in Eleusis (HEDRICK JR, 1999, p. 395-408). It is therefore possible to divide the epigraphic production of the period into three types: 1) Laws, decrees, syngraphés; 2) accounts; inventories; 3) dedications.

The first type concerns sacred laws, regulations for sacrifices and other ritual practices and *syngraphes* (contracts). These are usually inscriptions made on a series of stone supports (pentelic white or Eleusinian blue-grayish marble), with predominant use of the stele's format after 450s B.C. (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 296-297). A recurrence is that such steles with sacred decrees or laws are usually inscribed in two copies, one being arranged in the sanctuary of Eleusis and the other arranged in the City Eleusinion in Athens. These are the cases of I Eleusis 13 (**No. 43**), a law inscribed on a white marble pillar dating from ca. 470-460 B.C., which copy from the City Eleusinion has survived,

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[357] The *hieropoioi* were officials responsible for overseeing temples and sacred practices. They performed sacrifices at the Eleusinia (IG I² 5) and administered resources of the *aparché* (I Eleusis 28a – **No. 45**) (CLINTON, 1974, p. 11, note 8).

[358] Another detail is that documents from the late 5th century B.C. indicate *epistatai* began to produce quadriennial accounts. The foundation decree of the *epistatai* of Eleusis (IG I³ 32) of 449/8 B.C. indicated annual meetings for controlling the treasures of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis (Cavanaugh, 1996, p. 6).

and I Eleusis 28a (**No. 45**), which is the decree on the practice of first-fruits, inscribed on a white marble stele dated ca. 440-435 B.C., which copy from Eleusis is best preserved (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 16-37). Much of these inscriptions, particularly the decrees of the second half of the 5th century B.C., went through the collective procedure of discussion, drafting and voting by the Council and the Citizen Assembly before being inscribed in the style *stoichedon*.

The second type of inscriptions were accounts and inventories. These are records on material and expenses for buildings and maintenance, people employed in works, description of donations, among others. These inscriptions were also elaborated in the collective sphere of instances of the Eleusinian deme and the sanctuary, ratified by the Council (*Boule*) (CAVANAUGH, 1996, xvii-xxii). It became more frequent from 450s B.C. with the creation of the board of Eleusinian overseers (*epistatai*). These members assumed "operations, possessions and the finances of the sanctuary at this time" and the inventoried funds of these inscriptions were housed in the sanctuary of Eleusis, City Eleusinion and the Acropolis of Athens (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 211).[359] Another relevant detail is that all accounts and inventories were inscribed on material support of steles in white marble, which highlights the official character of the inscriptions issued by the Council and the Assembly.

The third type of inscriptions were dedications, records of dedications by individuals or collectives to the Eleusinian deities, Demeter and Kore. They are a group of inscriptions that were made through their own initiative or that of a group (such as the priests themselves) for the record of a benefactor and his benefaction to the deities. In Eleusis, they were made on statue bases or monument-bases from various types of stone, in local stone (Eleusinian blue-grayish stone) or white marble (probably from Mount Pentelikon) and dedicatory formulas (CLINTON, 2005a; CLINTON, 2008). For instance, the inscription I Eleusis 53 (**No. 5**), dated of ca. 410 – 402 B.C., is a base for a column in white marble with a dedication by a sponsor of theatrical plays (*choregos*) named Gnathis, son of Timokedes, of Timagoras (I Eleusis 53, **No. 5**, lines 1-2). The play that this individual sponsored, which was directed by Aristophanes and Sophokles, was victorious in the competition for comedies (I Eleusis 53, **No. 5**, lines 1-5). The glory of this victory

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[359] See Cavanaugh (1996) for more information on accounts of epistatai, especially on inscriptions IG I³ 386-387 (not included in my repertoire).

was then dedicated to Demeter and Kore by placing this dedication in the entrance of the sanctuary.[360]

There is evidence of a gradual increase in dedications throughout the 5th century B.C., reaching a peak of production in the 4th century B.C. Furthermore, a gradual formalisation of inscriptions into specific formats with particular formula occurred throughout the 5th century B.C. For example, decrees started to be inscribed in white marble in the format of steles, in *stoichedon* style and with probouleumatic formulas, while dedications started to be inscribed in marble (white or local marble) in monument-bases (for statues or other objects), with dedicatory formulas.

Two observations can be made from the point of view of epigraphic strategies. Firstly, the "epigraphic habit", which was punctual and restricted to exceptional dedications in the sixth century B.C., gradually becomes an instrument of appropriation by individuals (cf. MEYER, 2013; HEDRICK JR, 1999).[361] They invest themselves with the collectivity of demes or major instances of the polis, like the Council (*Boule*) and the citizen Assembly (*Ekklesia*), to communicate collective decisions, inventories of public expenditure, dedications made by citizens or groups, and started to share their honourable achievements with deites. This appropriation of the epigraphic language benefits not only from the information contained in the text and addressed to literate citizens, but above all from the material character of the inscribed object. After all, it is a materialized information, collectively legitimate and official, which was displayed in an attractive and socially relevant place.

Secondly, the fifth-century epigraphic habit reveals relevant information of the growth of demotic power in opposition to the ancient aristocracies of the sixth century B.C. This process of appropriation on epigraphic production by the actors operating the institutions of the demes and the polis can be evidenced by an integral analysis of the fifth-century B.C. inscriptions.[362] This was evidenced in the growth in the number of

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[360] See also AIO (2023, I Eleusis 53) and Agelidis (2009, p. 90).
[361] For studies on epigraphic habit in entire Attica, see Meyer (2013) and Hedrick Jr (1999).
[362] Integral analysis of the inscription to which I refer concerns an investigation that considers the inscription as a whole and not only by its text. Equally relevant are the archaeological descriptions of its material support, the process of elaboration of the information which was reported in the inscription, the manufacturing process of the object and the text, and its installation in the appropriate and relevant area for visual communication.

official decrees, laws and accounts in view of the demand for publicising information from temples, sanctuaries and institutions of the demes and the polis.

11.3. The western border of Attica: social (re)-organization of Eleusis in the fifth century B.C.

The Cleisthenic Reforms changed the social organization of Attica profoundly throughout the fifth century B.C. This social transformation was reverberated even in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Attica's western border. Eleusis, which became a significant deme because of its frontier location and population size, assumed position in the tribe Hippothontis (*phyle VIII*), which had right to eleven seats in the Council (*Boule*) (PAGA, 2021, p. 179).[363] This institutional configuration occurred after a long process of negotiation between social actors in the construction of Athenian democracy, in opposition to the tyrannies deposed in 510 B.C.

My argument in this chapter is that the socio-religious transformations arising from this process are a key point for interpreting the spatial production of Eleusis during the 5th century B.C. Such transformations result from the re-organization of social networks in Attica after the Cleisthenic Reforms, such as the incorporation of new individuals into the group of citizens and their appropriations of collective institutions and offices, such as the Council and the citizen Assembly for instance. With new social actors on the scene, new plans, interests, strategies, and investments were put into practice from the social interaction and establishment of new networks (cf. RIEGER, 2020, p. 51-94; RÜPKE, 2020c, p. 49-51).

As this was a historical process, the re-organisation of Attica through the establishment of new networks was a spatial practice circumscribed to historical

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[363] The bouleutic quotas of demes were calculated by Trail (1975, p. 67-70) after information from fourth-century epigraphic sources. For comparison, some demes had the following bouleutic quotas: Acharnai (22), Aphidna (16), Lamptrai (14), Paiania (12), Kydathenaion (12?), Lower Paiania (11), **Eleusis** (11), Alopeke (10), Euonymon (10), Anaphlystos (10), Coastal Lamptrai (9), Marathon (9), Piraeus (9?), Phrearrhoi (9), Phaleron (9), Kephale (9), Aixone (8?), Rhamnous (8), Melite (7), Phlya (7?), Erchia (7?), Xypete (7), Thria (7), Kephissia (6), Pallene (6), Kerameis (6), Sphettos (5), Thorikos (5), Hagnous (5), Probalinthos (5), Sounion (4), Cholargos (4), Dekeleia (4), Oinoe (4), Kollytos (3), Poros (3), Phyle (2), Kolonos (2) (Trail, 1975, p. 66-67). The complete list and study on demes, trittys and tribes on Trail (1975), Whitehead (1986), and, more recently, on Humphreys (2018). Discussion on Paga (2021, p. 179, note 9 and 10). These quotas were calculated to establish predictions about the size of the population, but Paga (2021, p. 179, note 9) points out that one must be cautious with this data as it does not consider the mobility of the Athenian population.

contingency. Thus, historical contingency with unexpected and not entirely intentional events led emerging actors to establish creative strategies in the face of the challenges experienced on the western frontier of Attica during the 5th century B.C. After all, in addition to internal social tensions, Attica suffered from the impact of the invasion and destruction perpetrated by the armies of the Achaemenid Empire (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-90). It would even be possible to deduce that these unintentional relationships may have helped accelerate the democratic process in Attica, with the emergence of new actors and the rise of social networks in the early fifth century B.C., a hypothesis already floated by other scholars (PAGA, 2021, p. 6).

Eleusis, located on the western border of Attica, experienced the consequences of this historical process. Even though the peribolos walls were fortified at the end of the 6th century B.C., the sanctuary was destroyed after the Persian incursions into Attica (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 88-91). After the Athenian victory, the inner spaces of the sanctuary were adapted for the continuation of ritual practices and Mystery cult (LIPPOLIS, 2006, p. 184; SERAFINI, 2019, p. 135). If the Cleisthenic Reforms enabled accreditation of citizenship to new social actors, it also enabled their entry into the political decision-making instances. In turn, the sanctuary of Eleusis also came to be appropriated by more participants interested in initiations. As a consequence, Eleusinian Mysteries gradually became part of Athenian identity, as an increasing number of initiates took part in the festivals and appropriated space on ritual practices. The need for enlarged area of the initiation chamber became necessary, with the maintenance of the hypostyle hall typology (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 161-195), as we had seen in Chapter 9. In addition, innovations were incorporated into the ritual practices and daily life of the sanctuary through the continued appropriation of a larger number of social actors.[364] The practice of *aparche* in this period also brought cohesion to tribes, demes and cleruchies. It contributed to the strengthening of individuals' social engagement with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The practice of donating first-fruits was then regulated in ca. 435 B.C. (CAVANAUGH, 1996, p. 29-99). Subsequently, the board of *epistatai* were founded in

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[364] Another innovation adopted by Eleusinian networks in the 5th century B.C. was the use of ceramic vessels known as *kernoi* and *plemochoe*, fundamental for ritual practices such as the *pompe* during the procession between Athens and Eleusis and for libations of the final stage of the Mysteries (*Plemochoe*). As the Eleusinian networks increased, more strategies for religious communication with divine addressees were adopted by various agents. For more information on Eleusinian vases, see Mitsopoulou (2011), on Eleusinian plastic vases, see Stroszeck (2014b).

449/8 B.C. for administration and perhaps control of the treasures of Demeter and Kore both in Eleusis and City Eleusinion in Athens. All these practices also had as a consequence a change in the epigraphic habit, as inscriptions started to be carved and installed in public places, revealing a strong indication that spaces were appropriated by several agents.

CHAPTER 12.

GIFT-GIVING AND EPIGRAPHIC STRATEGIES

The focus of the following chapter is the social organisation of Attica in the fourth century B.C., particularly from the impacts which were felt at the sanctuary of Eleusis on the western Attic frontier. The aim is to understand the phenomena of gift-giving and culture of honouring as perceived in Eleusis along the 4th century BC through an analysis of inscriptions on stone. So, it explores textual and material aspects from dedications on stone and honorific decrees from Eleusis in order to discuss multiple-agencies they contain, their audiences and purposes, and their role in religious communication.

Finally, the main transformations of the built environment and epigraphic strategies are analysed with the historical context of Attica in the 4th century B.C., indicating the building readaptations of the sanctuary between and 370 and 307 B.C. Moreover, it relates the spatial production with new strategies of religious communication which were adopted in a moment of accentuation of the role of the individual.

12.1. Gift-giving as a socio-religious practice and the transformations on epigraphic strategies along the fourth century B.C.

There is an intense social transformation in Athens during the 4th century BC, whose reverberations resound through all the demes of Attica. Facing the decadence of the Athenian empire as well as the consequent economic scarcity as a result from wars for hegemony, demes in Attica began to accept gifts from the elite (GYGAX, 2013, p. 49). More than that, they began to encourage the practice of gift-giving, which was previously seen as a threat to democracy itself. This phenomenon was directly reflected in the increasing dedications by wealthy individuals and honorific decrees by the Assembly in honour of benefactors, which was something completely unprecedented for the epigraphic history of Athens (LAMBERT, 2019; HEDRICK JR, 1999). In fact, the vertiginous growth of inscriptions throughout Attica, most of which are dedications and honorific decrees, is understood as the result of a transformation in the "epigraphic habit"

during the fourth century BC (LAMBERT, 2019; MAEHLE, 2018; MEYER, 2013; HEDRICK JR, 1999).[365] Many interpretations were made to comprehend this excessive growth of inscriptions after the end of 5th century BC. It was once explained by the manifestation of the Athenian democratic ideology (HEDRICK JR, 1999), which demanded a higher number of inscriptions regarding public matters; or as transformation on the Athenian culture of honouring, which was extended from honouring Gods and Goddesses to citizens individually and as groups as a result of a context of intense social transformation (MEYER, 2013). This change in the epigraphic habit was not exclusive of the urban centre (*asty*) in Athens though, but it was also manifested in the demes throughout Attica, especially in the sanctuaries.

The sanctuary of the Two Goddesses in Eleusis, architecturally revitalised after successive building programmes (SHEAR JR, 2016; MYLONAS, 2009), started to host an increasing number of statue bases, containing dedications and slots for votives, as well as grounding stelae and other honorary monuments with inscribed decrees (See Chapter 4).[366] In fact, it is possible to attest the same degree of the transformation on epigraphic habit in Eleusis, especially by high number of dedications. In this chapter, I propose to interpret the exacerbated increase in dedications and honorific decrees in Eleusis as new plans, strategies and investments adopted by individuals for the enhancement of religious communication and construction of social self-image and propaganda through the practice of gift-giving. Furthermore, I interpret the repositioning of the organizers of the sanctuary with their networks in elaborating plans to attract individual investments to face the historical contingency arising from the decay of the Athenian Empire and instability on the border of Attica.

In an effort to interpret these changes in epigraphic strategies, this contribution seeks to describe individuals, social groups and divinities attested by inscriptions on stone, principally from dedications and honorific decrees. Moreover, the task is to not simply describe the textual information and material characteristics from inscriptions, but to reach their meanings as active objects located in space. In this way, distinctions will be made between the different types of dedications and decrees as well as their multiple agencies, presenting not only a description of actors in interaction but also the form of

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[365] The term "epigraphic habit" was first coined by Ramsay McMullen (1982) and it means simply the practice of erecting inscriptions (HEDRICK JR, 1999, p. 389).
[366] Meanwhile, the cult of Demeter and Kore, especially the Eleusinian Mysteries, become even more popular in the period, which attracted several individuals from Attica and elsewhere (MYLONAS, 2009).

addressing to each other and their secondary audiences. Starting from a notion of religion as communication (RÜPKE, 2015; RÜPKE, 2020a), inscriptions are framed in the sense of "communication intermediaries" (mediatization) between different agents, in which religious agency could be also attested. Individuals, groups, divinities and even the media itself (inscriptions) are considered in this paper as active components of a dynamic assemblage. As "media", inscriptions may be interpreted in in their active material presence, because they "act as further stimuli, and enlarge any dyadic perspective of human-divine communication implied in classical communication theory, thus making it accessible to secondary addresses, audiences, witnesses, connoisseurs, and tourists" (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 357). In this sense, inscribed dedications and honorific decrees are both objects and subjects in a chain of interaction when they got displayed in public space.[367] According to Rüpke (2020a), "within a communicative framework, material object might also serve as triggers of attention and meta-communicative markers, producing special attention with a wide range of tools and acoustic, visual, olfactory or emotional markers." (2020a, p. 31). Moreover, these material objects were displayed in a gift-giving/honour rewarding dynamic, which has a relational operation very typical from unsymmetrical contexts where reciprocity between agents is expected (MAUSS, 2002; GYGAX, 2013). We argue this aspect gives a recursive characteristic to the epigraphic strategies and practices.

Therefore, the general aim of the chapter is to offer a way to qualify the gift-giving and honour rewarding of the 4th century BC as socio-religious practices, extending these phenomena through a lived religion perspective along with their diverse and habitual situations, appropriations and social implications (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 348; RAJA; RÜPKE, 2015). In this way, the argument presented by Meyer (2013), in which the epigraphic habit of 4th century is directly related to the transformation of the ancient Athenian custom of honouring, will be used to investigate how socio-religious dynamics were established in the Eleusinian case. In the following sections the argument will be developed from information of dedications and honorific decrees found in the archaeological sites of Eleusis and City Eleusinion (Athens).

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[367] This "emplacing" approach of inscriptions is an ongoing development in the archaeological studies of inscriptions, to which I make this contribution. More information on Mylonopoulos (2019), Chaniotis (2012), Meyer (2013).

12.2. Describing individuals and collectives from dedications on stone

12.2.1. Addressing to the Eleusinian deities

The majority of the dedications on stone placed in the vicinity of the Eleusinian sanctuary were evidently addressed to Demeter and Kore. The Two Goddesses and other minor deities from Eleusinian cycle were worshiped not only during the Eleusinian Mysteries, but also in other festivals along the Attic calendar.[368] In order to understand such phenomenon, information from dedications of the 4th century BC which addresses to Eleusinian deities is organised, with the characteristics of the text, subtexts and the archaeological supports reveal important aspects to frame the socio-religious practice of gift-giving.

The first category of inscriptions is the dedications (*anathema*). Usually on the support of statue bases or monument-like bases, these were installed in the most visible areas of the sanctuary, close to entrances and places of people concentration. In sanctuaries like Eleusis, such objects with dedications had a specific function of religious communication (RÜPKE, 2015). Besides a strategy to make the dedicator socially prestigious, dedications were gifts to deities that were on display for all kinds of audiences (LAMBERT, 2019, p. 7-8). Furthermore, the spatial arrangement and visual display, whether through text or non-verbal (statue, sculpture or iconographic object) communication, acted as an "intermediary" in religious communication (RÜPKE, 2015, p. 357). It reached secondary audiences and witnessers, as it functioned as an "invitation", triggering other individuals to engage with the sanctuary and thus compete for the spaces of social display (RÜPKE, 2020a, p. 31).

In Eleusinian case, a common feature of these inscriptions is the social origin of the dedicators. Most of them are wealthy citizens, whether demesmen, statesmen, religious officials, famous artists, and others. This corresponds directly to the quality of the gifts they provide, since the expression of these gifts are materialized in fine dedicatory bases made of white, Hymettian marble or Eleusinian limestone. Another feature is the revealing relationships between the dedicators and the traditional Eleusinian families (Kerykes and Eumolpidai) or the involvement of the firsts with religious duties

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[368] Such as the Thesmophoria (CLINTON, 1997), Haloa, Dionysia, Eleusinia and others (CLINTON, 2008, p. 5-25). See also Appendix A.

or official posts. However, more than attesting the social position of these actors in the Eleusinian (or Attic) social networks, a perspective on "emplaced inscriptions" wonders what these objects communicate, who are their interlocutors and how they interact with the surrounding environment. In other words, who was the audience of these inscriptions' material carriers? In which dominions did they act upon and/or is transformed by? And finally, how can we interpret these "located" inscriptions within a lived space?

These questions lead to exploration of dedications from the Eleusinian shrines in an effort to identify the actors and addressees involved, as well as characteristics of the archaeological support, grasping attention to what they can reveal in terms of purpose, audience and effects in the social environment. In this sense, an inscription dated from 375 B.C. (I Eleusis 57 – **No. 7**) reveals Kekropia, daughter of the *dadouch* and leading member of the Kerykes, Kallias Ipponikou, and wife of Autokleus of Hagnous[369] (CLINTON, 2008, p. 83-84). Her dedication to the Two Goddesses was carved in a fine statue base made of pentelic marble by Cephisodotus I (I Eleusis 57, **No. 7**. line 5: *Κηφισό[δοτος ἐποίσεν]*) and it was displayed at the surroundings of the Eleusinian sanctuary.[370] It is not clear which statue this base used to carry, but its spatial arrangement may also indicate a votive function. This inscription may demonstrate not only an individual well situated within the Eleusine networks, but an intention to become better known socially from communication with the Two Goddesses. If the text and support of this piece demonstrates a strong relationship between a person and one of the Eleusinian priesthoods, a particularly difference is demonstrated by the case of Euktemonides of Eleusis. The inscription I Eleusis 61 (**No. 9**), dated from 357/6 BC (archonship of Agathokles), is a white marble stele which reveals a dedication by Euktemonides son of Amphi[…] of Eleusis to the Two Goddesses. According to Raubitschek, the choice for displaying a stele in the sanctuary as well as the use of the formula "[…] having been crowned by the People and the Council and the prytany of Hippothontis […]" (I Eleusis

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[369] The inscription does not clearly reveal the provenance of her husband though. Davies (1970, 4386) argues that he was Autokleus son of Strombichides of Euonymon, a general and statesman, on the other hand, Clinton (2008, p. 83-84) has convincedly argued through prosopography studies that Kekropia's husband is actually Autokleus of Hagnous.

[370] Cephisodotus I was father of the famous Praxiteles. He was also responsible for making another dedicatory base in white marble by Diophantos of Eleusis (I Eleusis 58 – **No. 8** = IG II2 4608 + 4934; Lenormant, 1862, p. 232-233). The family of Praxiteles appears in several Attic inscriptions and statues, which indicates the existence of a well-established network of sculptors and craftsmen collaborating with the epigraphic behaviour in Attica (cf. HOCHSCHEID, 2015).

61, **No. 9**, lines 3-5[371]) may infer that he was a religious officer (probably an *hieropoioi*), which was "selected for religious duties as an adviser to [the tribe of] Hippothontis" (RAUBITSCHEK, 1949, p. 380; p. 426-432). This is one of the first dedications by a religious officer and indicates a marking point to the development of Athenian honorific practices (LAMBERT, 2018, p. 4). Since the Athenian Assembly only started to provide inscribed honorific decrees from 340 BC onwards (Lambert, 2018, p. 1), this particular inscription reveals both a formula that will only reappear later in honorific decrees and the use of a stele in white marble as a support, which indicates a different status for the object itself.

Another example of inscribed dedication by a wealthy citizen fully integrated in the Eleusinian social networks is the case by Xenokles of Sphettos (I Eleusis 97 and 98 – **No. 27, No. 28**). His dedications to Demeter and Kore were carved in two fine statue bases made of white marble by the sculptor Aristopeithes of Phyle. The text is well preserved and it is edited as follows:

Δήμητρι καὶ [Κόρ]ει
Ξενοκλῆς Ξείνιδος [Σφήττ]ιος
ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιμ[ελητ]ὴς
Μυστηρίων γεν[όμεν]ο[ς].
Ἀριστοπ[ε]ίθη[ς Ἀριστων?]ύμ[ο]υ Φυ[λάσιος ἐπόησεν].[372]

The dating of these pieces corresponds to the period Xenokles of Sphettos was the manager of the Mysteries (*epimeletes*)[373] in ca. 321-317 BC. According to Lenormant (1862, p. 4-5), each of the two dedicatory bases supported statues of the Two Goddesses: one carried a statue of Demeter and other, of Kore, respectively. These pieces

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[371] The original "[[Εὐκ]τημονίδης Ἀμφι[χάρος?] Ἐλευσ[ίνιος ἀ]νέθηκεν τοῖ[ν Θ]εοῖν] στεφ[ανωθεὶ]ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δή[μο]υ καὶ τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ] τῶν πρυτ[άνε]ων τῶν τῆς Ἱ[πποθωντί]δος […]". Reconstituted by the epigraphist Kevin Clinton (2005a, p. 74, I Eleusis 61).

[372] Edited by Kevin Clinton (2005a, p. 102. I Eleusis 97).

[373] According to Aristotle (Ath. Pol., 57.1), the *epimeletes* of the Mysteries "[…] was elected by show of hands by the People, two from the whole body of citizens, one from the Eumolpidae and one from the Kerykes.". His role as manager of the Mysteries, also translated as "superintendent", was to co-operate along with the *basileus* for all organization matter related to the Eleusinian sanctuary and its festivals, such as conducting the procession and the sacrifices (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 318).

"[…] stood on either side of what was then the main entrance of the sanctuary, which later became what we now call the Lesser propylaea (outer propylaea, where the Greater Propylaea now stand, apparently did not yet exist), and above eye-level, as the rough upper surface seems to indicate." (CLINTON, 2008, p. 107).

Besides his official duties, Xenokles makes himself known as a great benefactor to the sanctuary, which symbolic example was the financing of a bridge over the Kephissos River in Eleusis.[374] From the recurrence of inscriptions of Xenokles of Sphettos, as we will see below, it is possible to affirm that the intention of this wealthy citizen is indeed to build its social prestige, as a religious communication strategy that also reaches other audiences.

These statue bases indicate interesting questions for our discussion. Firstly, they were in the outer courtyard used for the reception of the processional practitioners. Second, archaeological research states they carry statues of the Two Goddesses. The choice of material in white marble as well its spatial disposition may indicate a deliberately attempt to resemble the Temple of Demeter itself (Telesterion), as a "gift" for the Two Goddesses which magnifies the temple itself.[375] Putting forward the argument of Meyer (2013), these statue bases were not only dedications to the Goddesses, but they were part of the sanctuary as a "visual extension" to the temple. They belong to the Goddesses. Thus, it is possible consider that although the inscription can only reach the literate elite, the material support can reach a wider audience through its visual connection with the temple.

Another case indicates how placing material with inscriptions in the sanctuary suggests not only gifts to the deities, but an act of sharing with them the honours of fine achievements. This is the case of inscription I Eleusis 59 (**No. 38**) made by the general Timotheos Kononos. Even though it was never found by archaeologists, Plutarch gives a

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[374] This information is attested by an honorific decree issued by the Eleusinian deme and soldiers garrisoned there in 321/0 or 318/7 (I Eleusis 95, **No. 38**). See also Lambert (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 98, note 2).

[375] The Temple of Demeter (Telesterion) was entirely constructed in pentelic white marble. During the 4th century BC, it received a new façade (Stoa of Philon) after reforms conducted by architects Iktinos and Koroibos (late 5th century BC). See Mylonas (2009) and Cosmopoulos (2015).

fine description of the piece and its content: "To the fame and honour of Isocrates, this statue's sacred to the Goddesses: The gift of Timotheus." (Vit. Dec., 838D[376]). Dated to ca. 360 BC, the inscription honours Isocrates the orator at the same time as it was displayed in Eleusis as a gift to the Two Goddesses, which indicates Timotheos choose this place "as the setting for the honour may have been the orator's good sense (*ξύνεσις*) in eulogizing the gifts of Demeter, grain and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Isocr., Paneg. 28-29)" (CLINTON, 2008, p. 85). Moreover, Plutarch (Vit. Dec., 838d) attests the inscribed base supported a bronze statue of Isocrates located just before the entry of the Eleusinian porch[377]. According to Meyer (2013),

> "inscriptions that report or commemorate such delightful human actions are therefore not only objects given to the gods that become gods' property; they are gifts that contribute to the gods' timai [honour]." (MEYER, 2013, p. 462).

A similar aspect can be attested by another dedication which addresses to the Eleusinian Goddesses, as it was placed in the vicinity of their sanctuary (I Eleusis 64 **No. 10**). It was a dedicatory plaque in honour of an individual named "[...]los Promachos Eleusinios", dated from middle 4th BC, which shows the status of the honorand as a victor of the *Synoris* (a chariot race) from the Eleusinia and Great Panathenaic festival.[378] The placing of a dedicatory plaque in a sanctuary has a twofold meaning: it both works as a beautiful materialization of the achievement, which is shared between the individual and the Goddesses, and a message to the deities that they were also responsible for such a honoured accomplishment (MEYER, 2013, p. 462-463). In this way, both mentioned inscriptions have this purpose of communicating the rewards reserved for those who act accordingly, which addresses to a wider audience, the one who experiences festivals and their competitions. It is also a strategy by the dedicator in order to be successful both in

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[376] Original: "[…] Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν ξύνεσίν τε προτιμῶν Ἰσοκράτους εἰκὼ τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς: […]" (Plutarch, Vit. Dec., 838d).

[377] Original excerpt: "[...] ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι εἰκὼν χαλκῆ ἔμπροσθεν **τοῦ προστῴου**" (Plutarch, Vit. Dec., 838d).

[378] Original: "[...]λος Προμάχο Ἐλευσί[νιος] [ἀνέθη]κεν **νικήσας** συνωρ[ίδι Ἐλευ][σίνι]α, Παναθήναια τὰ μ[εγάλα]." (I Eleusis 64, **No. 10**, lines 1-3). The first name of the individual could not be identified by the fragmented inscription. See also Clinton (2008, p. 86), Kyle (1987, p. 187-188) and Tracy and Habicht (1991, p. 200-2001).

religious communication with divine adressees and in gaining spaces of greater social visibility.

Demeter and Kore were not the only addressees of fourth-century dedications in Eleusis. A significant number of dedicatory inscriptions was also addressed to Dionysus, which indicates the existence of his cult or even a sanctuary/theatre dedicated to this God in Eleusis. Even though a temple or *temenos* was never found by the archaeological research yet, these dedications show the importance this deity has to the Eleusinian community. For example, a statue base made of Eleusinian gray limestone from ca. 340 BC (I Eleusis 79 -   **No. 15**) reveals names of wealthy individuals who probably contributed financially in some way to this specific sanctuary, such as building works or for its general functioning (I Eleusis 79, **No. 15**, lines 1-4; AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 79).[379] Comparative research on inscriptions and prosopography indicated these individuals were also well-established in the Eleusinian social networks, chairing civic offices or being related to individuals who had important positions along with the Eleusinian deme (CLINTON, 2008, p. 91).[380] For instance, a late fourth century inscription (I Eleusis 103 – **No. 103**) reveals Demonike of Pitheus, daughter of Aischraios, as a dedicator to Dionysus. Her honours were set on a blue-gray marble (Hymettian) dedicatory base found inside the Eleusinian *temenos*, which indicates "it was not inappropriate to set up an occasional dedication to Dionysus within the sanctuary" (CLINTON, 2008, p. 109).[381] Demonike of Pitheus is not mentioned in any other inscription or textual source, but Meritt and Traill suggests that Aischraios, her father, could be the *bouleutes* of ca. 360-340 (MERITT; TRAILL, 1974, 20.22). Unlike inscriptions which addresses to Demeter and Kore, dedications to Dionysus were made in Eleusinian limestone or Hymettian marble. The same goes to an inscription addressed to Eubouleus (I Eleusis 88 – **No. 88**).[382]

Although we agree with Mylonopoulos (2019) when he states that sanctuaries in Ancient Greece were places with likely excess of visual stimulus and, therefore,

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[379] They were Moirokles son of Euthydemos, Antitheos son of Kallikles; Timokedes son of Timasios; and Antiphanes son of Euxenides.

[380] For detailed commentaries on this inscription, see also Clinton (2005a, p. 86).

[381] However, it is worth mentioning that Clinton states there is also the possibility that this piece was removed from its original place by 19th century archaeologists (2008, p. 109).

[382] This dedication carries the names of Vlikideis son of Apollodoros of Kerameis, whose father was syntriearch in ca. 365 BC; and Diofantos of Myrrhinius, whose son is mentioned in a decree of the phratry Dyaleis as a phratriarch in 300/299 BC (IG II² 1241.7) (Clinton, 2008, p. 102). Their dedication was carved in light blue-grayish marble statue base placed next to the Agelastros Petra, in the main entrance of the sanctuary of Two Goddesses (I Eleusis 88, **No. 88**).

"surrounded by countless visual and textual messages" (MYLONOPOULOS, 2019, p. 232), the argument being developed here tries to show how placing some inscriptions tend to gain better visibility and capture the attention of visitors. This could be qualified by the material support which carries the inscription. For example, a base with statues made of high-quality marble and craftsmanship or a dedicatory base with votive slots fits this objective by interacting not only in the socio-political ambit, but also by being inserted in the ritual context of socio-religious practices. Besides that, dedications addressed to the Two Goddesses as "gifts" are embodiments of good relationships and well-being with the deities which are, at the same time, "visual extensions" of the main temple and a stimulus to gift-giving and honour practices.

12.2.2. Multiplying addressees, sharing the honour: collectives in dedications on stone

The following section is dedicated to describe individuals and civic collectives honoured by dedicatory bases placed in Eleusinian shrines. There are some kind of multiple-addresses for these pieces, which means they were disposed in the sanctuary as dedications to the Two Goddesses, even though their mention is absent from textual evidence. At the same time, they honoured specific individuals or collectives. This kind of dedication reflects a dynamic feature of the honorary practice in Attica. Here I present inscriptions from ephebic dedications and military dedications of garrisoned soldiers. Unfortunately, it is not possible to stress the specificity of each kind of inscription in this chapter. Instead, I focus on the meanings of its emplacement and the possibly audience of their material supports, grasping their material agency within the sanctuary's context.

The first group of dedications was the ones collectively made by ephebes during their official service in the Eleusinian sanctuary. These pieces were dedicatory statements by ephebes from the Attic tribes of Hippothontis (I Eleusis 84 and 89; **No. 19** and **No. 22**), of Kekropis (I Eleusis 86 – **No. 20**) and of Oineis (I Eleusis 82 - **No. 17**), which were displayed in the sacred space during the period between ca. 335 and 320 BC. According to Lambert (AIO, 2023, IG II³ 4 329), these inscriptions were part of documents from the ephebate, which refers to the two-years' service for young male citizens in operation during the period of Classical democracy (between 334/3 and 322/1 BC). Besides that,

ephebes also performed important functions for the Mysteries, such as preparation for rituals and provisions for the great procession of the 20th Boedromion (CLINTON, 2019, p.166).[383] For the purpose of this chapter, my analysis is concentrated in a dedication from ephebes of Kekropis (I Eleusis 86 – **No. 20**).

The inscription I Eleusis 86 (**No. 20**) was a dedication base made of Hymettian marble, which was disposed in the main entrance of the sanctuary probably in the year of 332/1 BC, according to the textual statement of the archonship of Nikokrates (CLINTON, 2008, p. 97). The piece presents 52 preserved ephebes' names, besides 13 names of ephebic instructors (*didaskaloi*) (I Eleusis 86, **No. 20**, lines 1-69). According to Clinton (2008), "ephebes of Kekropis chose to make their dedication at Eleusis presumably because they performed some service there, for which, as the right side of the base indicates, they were honored by the deme" (CLINTON, 2008, p. 96). They were probably honoured by the deme (and by Rhamnous, which also appears in the side b of the inscription) for their good behaviour during the garrison service in the Eleusinian fort. This element indicates an explanation for disposing dedications and honorific inscriptions at the sanctuary, because these monuments act both as an acknowledgement for those who have behaved well and a message to the community about the kind of behaviour which is expected. This aspect is also observed in the ephebic dedication from Hippothontis (I Eleusis 84 - **No. 19**), especially by praising their discipline and care during their ephebic duties (Line 5: [- - - ἐπε]μελοῦντο καὶ ἐκόσ[μο]υν καὶ [- - -]) and acknowledging their censor (*sophronites*) for his excellence and zealous (Line 9: [- - -] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας [- - -]). This special kind of inscriptions suggests specific interlocutors. Both ephebes in general and young citizens were a special audience for these materials as well as officials from other tribes, especially those which have a close relationship with Eleusis (such as the case of mentioned above). The recursive idea of the gift-giving and honouring practice is also extended to assure good behaviour from collectives in their offices and duties regarding Eleusinian matters. Moreover, it was desirable for ephebes to enter the gift-giving logical through religious communication in order to become well-integrated citizens into Athenian society.

The second group of inscribed bases is military dedications from deme garrisons in honour of their commanders in Eleusis. For instance, a Hymettian marble base from

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[383] Further information is provided by Aristotle (Ath. Pol. 42.4).

ca. 338/7 BC (I Eleusis 81 – **No. 16**) shows a dedication by soldiers (στρατιώτης) honouring the general Deinokrates Kleombrotou Acharneus[384] and their patrol-leaders (περιπόλαρχος). According to Clinton (2008, p. 91-92), these soldiers were probably mercenaries who participated at the garrison under command of the patrol-leaders on borders of Attica. A similar occurrence is attested by another light blue marble base (I Eleusis 92 - **No. 25**) dated to ca. 325 BC, which is a dedication from soldiers in garrison to the general Thrasyboulos Thrasonos Erchieus.[385] There is another dedication made by a general in honour of his superior, a demarch (I Eleusis 102 – **No. 39**), which demonstrates this honouring practice was that not only exclusively from low level soldiers. However, it is worth mention that a common detail of these military dedications is the offering of crowns as a form of honouring as well as the presence of a slot in its top for votive offerings.[386] These cases are evidences of how the practice of gift-giving has important implications for various dimensions of social life, invested with liturgies and materiality. The most obvious assumption about the interlocutors of these pieces concerns the military officers themselves. In this case, the recurring socio-religious practice in the lived space of the shrine extends the intention of engaging soldiers and military officers to the defence of the deme and the sanctuary, which is a recurring demand given the degree of instability in the 4th century B.C.

Therefore, it is important to attest the secondary addresses and audiences for these inscriptions. Since they seem to encourage officials for their religious duties in safeguarding the sanctuary and Eleusinian deme. These marble bases are relevant both in maintaining the social cohesion through religious communication and as "gifts" for Eleusinian deities. The most appropriate acts and behaviours are celebrated and promoted with honours shared with deities in their sacred habitat.

12.3. Individual, collective and material agencies in honorific decrees on stone

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[384] The name of the commander is fragmented (Line 4: Δειν[…]), but a homologous inscription from Rhamnous "informs us that Deinokrates son of Kleombrotos of Acharnae was general there in 338/7 BC (Petrakos, Rhamnous II 93) and, another, very similar to the present one, that the peripolarch honored was Telesippos son of Straton of Kephisia" (CLINTON, 2008, p. 91) This information helped to identify the honoured actor of I Eleusis 81 (**No. 16**) as well as to attest a dating for it (338/7 BC).

[385] According to Athenian Onomasticon, Thrasyboulos of Erchia was one of the Athenian generals whose surrender was demanded by Alexander the Great after the sack of Thebes in 335 BC (Athenian Onomasticon, s. v. Thrasyboulos of Erchia). See also AIO (2023, I Eleusis 92).

[386] This is particularly clear in I Eleusis 92 (**No. 25**) and 102 (**No. 39**) (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 98; p. 106; AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 92 and 102).

"You have heard the decrees, gentlemen of the jury. Perhaps some of the men named are no longer alive. But their deeds survive, since they were done once for all. It is fitting, therefore, to allow these inscriptions to hold good for all time, that as long as any of the men are alive, they may suffer no wrong at your hands, and when they die, those inscriptions may be a memorial of our city's character, and may stand as proofs to all who wish to do us service, declaring how many benefactors our city has benefited in return." (Demosthenes, Against Leptines, 64)

In his speech, Demosthenes reveals an interesting perspective on meaning of honorific decrees. At the same time these inscriptions guarantee the survival of the memory of city's benefactors, they invite others to behave accordingly and to engage this social practice. But what are decrees anyway? How did they get to be displayed in public places, such as a sanctuary for example?

As a result of decisions (*psephismata*), decrees are products of collective decision-making institutions of the Council and the Citizen Assembly, as we saw in Chapter 5. Decrees were issued in increasing numbers after the transfer of the Delian League treasury to Athens in 454 B.C. From 340 B.C. onwards, the Council and the citizen Assembly began to issue decrees of honorific nature, the "honorific decrees". It publicly recognized individuals who acted to the benefit of demes, sanctuaries, and polis institutions (Lambert, 2019, p. 4-5). The spatial arrangement of such honorific decrees was configured as a strategy to enhance social prestige, as it became a display of honors shared with the deities in sanctuaries, such as the case of Eleusis.

Since they were more elaborated than dedications, honorific decrees often carry specific phraseology for honouring individuals (Lambert, 2019, p. 5). It also indicates the kind of benefaction which was given by honoured individual. Therefore, this section focuses on three inscribed steles: I Eleusis 87 (**No. 36**), 93 (**No. 37**) and 95 (**No. 38**).

Both decrees I Eleusis 87 (**No. 36**) and I Eleusis 95 (**No. 38**) were inscribed to grant honour to Xenokles of Sphettos, a leading figure of the Athens and manager of the Mysteries (*epimeletes*) in the late 4th century BC. The first one, a pentelic marble stele erected in the City Eleusinion at Athens in the period between 332 and 324 BC, was an honorary statement by the Eleusinian genos of Kerykes (I Eleusis 87, **No. 36**). The text

praises Xenokles of Sphettos for good behaviour, indicating he even contributed financially for the sacrifices of the genos of the Kerykes on behalf of Athenian people (I Eleusis 87, **No. 36,** Lines 8-14)[387]. The inscription also indicates Xenokles' access to the Kerykes, which may "predate considerably his tenure as *epimelete* of the Mysteries" (Clinton, 2008, p. 102; AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 87, note 3). Besides that, his office as manager of the Mysteries was confirmed in another honorific decree issued by the deme of Eleusis and Athenians on guard duty in 321-0 BC (I Eleusis 95, **No. 38**). This white marble stele was discovered in the archaeological site of Eleusis by Demetrios Philios (1887, 56, Pinax 1), which means it was probably disposed inside the Eleusinian *temenos*. The text praises Xenokles for conducting his offices piously and putting effort to guarantee both the safeguard for the sacred objects as well as organizing the gathering of people who arrived at Eleusis for initiations into the Mysteries (I Eleusis 95, **No. 38**, lines 13-19)[388]. He is also praised for the construction of a bridge over the Kephissos River (lines 19-25), a celebrated benefit due to its safe connection between Athens and Eleusis during the processions (AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 95, note 8). The fact this decree was written and voted in the citizen Assembly confers a collective legitimacy for the practice of honouring, which makes it both an instrument to engage the elites with matters regarding demes and their sanctuaries as it fosters the social practice of gift-giving. In Eleusis, this exchange between gift-giving as a benefit and honouring acts as acknowledgement provides a practice which also has meanings in the religious realm. After all, the benefaction was also addressed to the Goddesses and, therefore, displayed in a strategic place of the sanctuary for visibility of the visitors. For this reason, this phenomenon could be interpreted as a way of communication between different actors, which includes also deities, individuals, groups and materiality.

A stele displayed in a public space such as the Eleusinian sanctuary demonstrates how individuals should behave towards the Goddesses and deities of the Eleusinian pantheon and, especially, how they should address them. Besides that, honorific decrees were also made in white marble. It is both official and dialogues with other relevant

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[387] "[…] [σταθεὶς δ' ἐ]πὶ τῆι διοι[κήσει τῆς π]όλεως καλῶ[ς καὶ εὐσεβ]ῶς ἐμέρισε[ν εἰς τὸ τὰ ἱ]ερὰ θῦσαι [τ][ὸ γένος τὸ Κ]ηρύκων ὑπ[έ][ρ τε τοῦ δήμ]ου τοῦ Ἀθην[αίων" (I Eleusis 87, **No. 36**). Epigraphic edition by Clinton (2005a, p. 95-96).

[388] "[…] χειρ[ο]τονηθεὶ[ς εὐσ]εβῶς καὶ […6…] καὶ φιλοτίμως τὰ ἐν τ[αῖς ἀρχα]ῖς ἔπραξεν· [κ]αὶ ὅ[πω]ς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀσ-φαλῶς καὶ καλῶ[ς π]ορε[ύ]ητα[ι] καὶ ἡ πανήγυρι[ς τῶν] ε[ἰσα]φι[κ]νο[υ] μένων Ἑλλήν[ων Ἐλ]ευσ[ῖ]νάδε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, […]" (I Eleusis 95, **No. 38**). Epigraphic reconstitution by Clinton (2005a, p. 100-101).

buildings of the sanctuary. As a visual extension of the Temple of Demeter itself, these decrees were gifts issued to praise an individual for his good behaviour towards the Eleusinian matters. In this case, the likely interlocutors for these pieces were the members of the literate elite themselves, who frequented the sanctuary both on a daily basis and during the festivities. As mentioned before, Xenokles of Sphettos used this strategical artifice to improve his political influence and his self-image towards the Eleusinian society.

In I Eleusis 93 (**No. 37**), another white marble stele from late 4th century BC shows an inscription issued by the genos of the Eumolpids in honour of Neoptolemos Antikleous of Mellite. The same formula observed in the previous is attested in this inscription: honours and the offer of a myrtle crown. Besides that, Neoptolemos is praised for his well management of the Eleusinian rites and, especially, for his adornment of the sanctuary of Plouton located inside the *temenos* of the Eleusinian sanctuary (I Eleusis 93, **No. 37**, Lines 4-9)[389]. The acknowledgement of Neoptolemos as a benefactor of the sanctuary by the hands of the Eumolpids, as well as what I Eleusis 87 (**No. 36**) presented in the case of Xenokles, demonstrates how the Eleusinian *genoi* started to use this resource to engage the Athenian elite for Eleusinian matters. There is no evidence that Neoptolemos of Mellite was a member of the Eumolpids, but we find in other epigraphic sources that he was benefactor of other sanctuaries in Attica (CLINTON, 2008, p. 104).[390] Even if there is no explicit evidence of deliberate action to ascend politically from Eleusinian families, the case indicates an increasingly common practice among elites. The Athenian elite attending the annual cults scattered throughout Attica is the likely audience for these inscriptions, which intensifies the tendency to strengthen the gift-giving system. At the same time, these stelae, as emplaced inscriptions, are memorials to good deeds towards the deities, whose material and sculptural form launch a visual connection with the temple itself. This aspect reaches an even larger and diversified audience.

At the individual level, honorific decrees issued in the 4th century BC presents how gift-giving was used both as a resource for engaging the elite into the Eleusinian social networks and an instrument for wealthy individuals to become politically relevant

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[389] "[…] τῶν ἱερῶν ἐ[πι]μ[ελεῖται καὶ τ]ὸ **τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερ[ὸν καλῶς ἐκ]όσμησεν**, ἐπαινέσαι α[ὐτὸν κ]αὶ στεφανῶσαι μυρρίνης [στεφά]νωι εὐσ[ε]βείας ἕνεκα καὶ φ[ιλ]οτιμίας· […]" (I Eleusis 93, **No. 37**, Lines 4-9. Our bold). Reconstituted by Clinton (2005a, p. 99)

[390] Clinton summarizes his benefactions in Attica: "[...] gilding an altar of Apollo in the Agora, caring the cult of Artemis Aristoboule in Melite, serving as hieropoios of the Pythais to Delphi […], dedicating a relief in the cave of Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis […]." (2008, p. 104).

in Athenian society.[391] This was exemplified by the case of Xenokles (I Eleusis 87, **No. 36**; and I Eleusis 95, **No. 38**), which good behaviour attended the expectations from the Kerykes and guaranteed his tenure as a manager of the Mysteries. At the collective level, honorific decrees show both the effort from Eleusinian priesthoods to attract the Athenian elite to religious communication with Eleusinian deities and traces of democratic legitimization by being subject on normal procedures for issuing decrees in the citizen Assembly. As social-religious practices, gift-giving and honorary rewarding are phenomena to be interpreted along with social transformation of the urban environment in Attica during the 4th century BC.

Athens had suffered the great impact of economic scarcity after the collapse of her empire and, particularly, after the Social War (357-355 BC), which led to an "increasing of attempts to attract voluntary gifts from wealthy citizens by offering rewards such as crowns, public praise, and honorific inscriptions" (GYGAX, 2013, p. 49). Moreover, such practices produce distinctions between citizens who were considered benefactors and those who were not, because "although the symbolic capital attached to such honors could help the recipient obtain political support, the demos' relationship to citizens who received honors for gifts was different from that with contributors who had not been honored." (GYGAX, 2013, p. 49). This was a resource adopted to ensure social cohesion and viability of the deme unit by

> "[…] assigning liturgies and other expenses to those fit to bear them reminded the wealthy of their local obligations; appointing demarchs (and others) by a lot extended the burdens – and the pleasures – of administration to those who might not otherwise have experienced them." (WHITEHEAD, 1986, p. 251).

The honour rewarding phenomenon allowed demes to retain some power but, at the same time, has led to the consolidation of a power dynamic that has elevated the elite to achieve more than just honour (GYGAX, 2013, p. 50). The institutionalisation of the gift-giving and honouring rewarding, whose operation reassembles the ancient Athenian

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[391] This is observed in all sanctuaries of Attica, but only ELeusis has this amount of dedications and honorific decrees in the 4th century B.C.

custom of honouring (MEYER, 2013), is a key to the interpretation of the fourth-century "epigraphic habit" and social and political instability of the period.

12.4. The western border of Attica: social organization of Eleusis in the fourth century B.C.

The fourth century B.C. begins with total political crisis and social instability in Attica after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. and the occurrence of successive civil wars. Even after the restoration of democratic regime in 403 B.C., the region would never recover the social and economic status of the period of the Athenian Empire (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 130). With economic scarcity in Attica, new strategies and plans were adopted by individuals and networks with the aim of attracting investments of wealthier individuals of society. This process encouraged a type of relationship that was hardly acceptable in fifth-century radical democracy times: those based on the gift-giving system (GYGAX, 2013, p. 49).

The Eleusinian networks were formed by the Eleusinian priesthoods (Eumolpidai and Kerykes), individuals who held institutional positions on deme of Eleusis, members of the Council, general citizens, artisans, garrisoned soldiers, workers, merchants, among others. They were different agents who participated in the festivals and the daily activities of the sanctuary and the deme, who appropriated the spaces and built relationships. With the social instability on the border of Attica, other forms, plans and strategies were outlined to attract the investments of other individuals from demes of Attica. This is the historical context for the interpretation of the vertiginous epigraphic growth observed in the region, especially in Eleusis (the so-called "epigraphic habit of the 4th century B.C." – MEYER, 2013; HEDRICK JR, 1999, among others).

In this period, few building interventions were employed in Eleusis due to the historical contingency (CLINTON, 2009, p. 59-61). The southern area of the sanctuary was enlarged from the expansion of the peribolos wall and the South Gate was moved further south between 370 and 360 B.C. (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-17).[392] In addition, the building of the Telesterion is continued after the Koroibos Project until the

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[392] More information on Chapter 4 and Chapter 8.

first half of the fourth century B.C. and a columned facade, known as the "Stoa of Philon", is built after 360 B.C. (Classical Phase II - See Chapter 9) (SHEAR JR, 2016, p. 175). The Temple of Plouton and other buildings were also reconstructed in this period (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146-147).

On the other hand, the history of epigraphic production at Eleusis in the fourth century B.C. demonstrates a scenario of widespread engagement of Attica's wealthy elite with the sanctuary (cf. MEYER, 2013, p. 462). As we have seen in this chapter, the large number of inscriptions issued and installed in the sanctuary of Eleusis reflected the strategies perpetrated by the Eleusinian networks in order to attract investments to Eleusis. In turn, actors sought to increase their social prestige by sharing the honour with the Eleusinian deities, because their names were honoured in "gifts" installed in the sanctuary. This context was related above all to wealthy citizens, whether they were already inserted in the religious or political instances of Eleusis, other demes or the polis itself. Besides these, the sharing of honour by members of the ephebate and garrisoned soldiers was evidenced, whose religious communication unfolded among many other audiences.

From 340 B.C. onwards, a new category of decrees begins to be issued in Attica: honorific decrees. The practice of offering and encouraging honours was institutionalised and responds to the need of attracting investments of individuals for maintenance of daily ritual practices, the general functioning of sanctuaries and buildings' repairs (LAMBERT, 2018, p. 2-3). In the process of making these inscriptions, several other social actors are mobilised: sculptors, transporters, priests, all citizens who voted for the Citizen Assembly, and others. Therefore, there is a rearrangement in Eleusinian networks and new strategies of religious communication are incorporated into socio-religious practices for the resilience of everyday life on the Attica's frontier.

DISCUSSION

Chapters of Part IV "Eleusinian assemblages and networks" investigated the social organisation and development of sanctuary of Eleusis from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. by focusing on the formation of social networks and assemblages. In making my argument, the analysis focused on the networks established at Eleusis and the western border of Attica, taking as its starting point the traditional priestly families (Eumolpidai and Kerykes) to map the relationship established with other individuals who were involved in some way with Eleusis and the Eleusinian festivals. Thus, my argument sought to highlight the traditional families of Eleusis as autonomous groups from a relational point of view, whose interests were focused on maintaining religious control and legitimacy over of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. Other different agents were also described in order to compose a frame of the social dynamics in the western border of Attica. In this way, it was possible to contextualise both social developments and religious change in the face of historical contingencies from the sixth century to the fourth century B.C.

Chapter 10 "Community and the honouring habit" discussed the role of Eleusinian priesthoods in organising the sanctuary in Eleusis in the 6th century B.C. by establishing a network with diverse individuals, especially with other aristocratic families of Attica. Thus, the negotiations between the priesthoods and the Peisistratidai were discussed. On the one hand, the interests of the tyrants for control of the sanctuary on the west border of Attica aimed the integration of extra-urban sanctuaries with the *asty*. On the other hand, the protection of Eleusis was also intended by Eleusinian priesthoods in addition to recognition of their autonomy in the religious organisation of Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries. Such negotiations, strategies, plans and interests were evidenced both through the building activity at Eleusis and from the emerging epigraphic practice at the end of 6th century B.C.

The following Chapter 11 "Citizenship and the networking behaviour" focused on the impact of Cleisthenic Reforms on the social organisation of Eleusis during the 5th century B.C. Thus, the chapter highlighted the inflation effect on Eleusinian networks after the emergence of new actors and new institutions of collective decision-making, which was evidenced both on the built development of the sanctuary and on substantial changes of epigraphic practices. Furthermore, the adoption of innovations by Eleusinian

networks was attested in daily appropriations of the sanctuary at Eleusis, such as the spatial reconfiguration after the destruction of 480 B.C., the agency of different agents in *aparche* practice (first-fruits offerings) and the control of the treasures of Demeter and Kore after the foundation of the board of *epistatai*. The adoption of new epigraphic strategies was also discussed as a reflect of changes reflect the emergence of demotic power and the social engagement of citizens with sanctuary on the western Attic frontier.

Lastly, Chapter 12 "Gift-giving and epigraphic strategies" discussed the social organisation of Eleusis after social, economic and political changes of the 4th century B.C. Thus, the chapter described both the practice of gift-giving, which was encouraged by demes' officials after the impact of the Athenian Empire's decadence, and the practice of honouring which was strategically adopted by both Eleusinian priestly families and wealthy citizens. The argument also sought to frame the impressive increase of honorific inscriptions in the fourth-century Attica, with a focus on Eleusinian case. Finally, the chapter argued for the adaptation of Eleusinian networks towards historical contingencies of the fourth century B.C. by encouraging gift-giving practice as the socially accepted way of addressing deities of the Eleusinian pantheon.

CONCLUSIONS

Distinct arrangements between humans and objects do produce different spaces. The question of the Introduction of this doctoral thesis can be answered as long as the counterpart of the argument is considered. After all, lived spaces also shape interactions between different agents. This was the central argument, which permeated my doctoral thesis and was developed through my research on sources of the sanctuary of Eleusis. After all, it incorporated archaeological sources such as topography and epigraphy, which reflect places and materiality that was used, modified, appreciated, interpreted, accepted and rejected by different individuals along the centuries. These sources also reflected the capacity of these spaces and material objects in affording on human agents. The aim of this research was to recover traces of these uses and affordances to frame the development of the sanctuary and ritual practices at Eleusis.

So, chapters in Part I "Theoretical Models to the study of Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries" aimed to theoretically construct a relational and material-evidenced approach to Eleusis and its festivals, starting on a critique of the structuralist paradigm of Civic Religion. Thus, Chapter 1 "A Critical Review" critically discussed the Polis Religion model in Sourvinou-Inwood's conception (1990; 2000) and listed some of its interpretive shortcomings in grasping the religious experience at Eleusis: (1) Polis Religion produces a mirage of inner cohesion incapable of attesting to the diversity of religious experiences at Eleusis and its festivals; (2) Eleusis as the "central cult polis" which always functioned under the authority of Athens is a reductionist interpretation; (3) The interpretation that all priesthoods are officials operating under the authority of the polis produces a blurred and static view of the situation, unable to detect tensions between different actors; (4) Athens and Eleusis have always been connected symbolically as something given, not as socially constructed.[393] The chapter then presented the Lived Ancient Religion approach as a suitable analytical framework for framing religious experience in Eleusis, both from Eleusinian Mysteries and other festivals. As an agent-based approach, Lived Ancient Religion places the individual at the centre of historical analysis, as it can be evidenced in everyday practices, expressions, appropriations. In addition, the approach seeks to

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[393] On the basis of criticisms previously presented by Kindt (2012), Eidinow (2011) and Rüpke (2011).

investigate the formation of networks based on agents. This framework and its operationalisation were outlined in Chapter 2 "A Proposal". The structural model of networks and assemblages were adopted to allow for distinct notions of agency and relationships. If networks describe intentional and non-fortuitous relationships between different actors, established through plans, strategies and investments, on the other hand, assemblages describe not-fully intentional and fortuitous relations between different actors, which indicates historical contingency in leading agents to establish new networks. Furthermore, the structural model was operationalised through the notion of religion as communication (RÜPKE, 2015). The relational scheme, however, is triangular: individuals establish communication with their "divine" addressees through their relation to the material world (the environment and material objects). Human agents ascribe meaning and relevance to addressees and intermediaries (RÜPKE, 2020a). As "historically contingent and individually experienced", religious communication is established by different agents through ritual practices (RIEGER, 2020). Thus, the chapter discussed key concepts fundamental to our approach: religious communication, ritualisation, agency, appropriation and social space. This analytical framework allowed to overcome shortcomings and blindspots of Polis Religion in focusing on complexity and diversity of religious experiences and social organisation of Eleusis and its festivals. These aspects have been elaborated in parts III and IV of this doctoral thesis.

In Part III "Reframing Eleusinian Topographies", I discussed the development of the built environment of Eleusis by different agents from ritual practices, whether at festivals or in the daily life of the sanctuary. Thus, each chapter was devoted to a ritual practice: practices of depositing (Chapter 6), practice of procession (Chapter 7), practice of first-fruits offerings (Chapter 8) and practice of initiations (Chapter 9). Thereby, Chapter 6 "Activating pyres and altars: sacrificial places and practices of depositing" demonstrated creative ways of addressing Eleusinian deities through practices of depositing, indicating the formalisation of sacrificial spaces in the entrance area of sanctuary of Eleusis and the adoption of other forms of depositing in the area of the *temenos*. Chapter 7 "Becoming initiates: processional landscape and the practice of *pompe*" presented the space of procession between Athens and Eleusis and the *pompe* practice with lens to individual appropriations which were expressively manifested in garments, gestures, dances, music, performances and the transport of sacred objects. The chapter has shown that the process of "becoming an initiate" should be interpreted as a

religious communication operation made through the individual experience of procession. In Chapter 8 "Magnifying the dwelling: fortified walls and the offering of first-fruits", the practice of *aparche* was analysed together with the monumentalisation of fortified peribolos walls. Epigraphic sources have demonstrated that many different agents were implicit in the entire process of offering first-fruits to Demeter and Kore by political units of Attica. The expansion of peribolos wall circuit in the context of practices of *aparche* increased the monumentality of the sanctuary, which in turn fostered social engagement and cohesion of political units of Attica with the sanctuary at Eleusis. Finally, Chapter 9 "Transforming the Self: Telesterion and the ritual practice of initiations" demonstrated the development of the Telesterion as shaped through religious experiences by different agents. At the same time, architectural design and material features of the Telesterion were relevant in triggering repetition towards successful religious communication.

In Part IV "Eleusinian assemblages and networks", a diachronic analysis of the development of the sanctuary of Eleusis and its festivals was presented from the formation and adaptation of Eleusinian networks in the face of the challenges experienced between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. Chapters in this part discussed plans, strategies and negotiations between various agents with special attention to historical processes and development of socio-religious practices in each century. Thus, it was possible to highlight tensions and negotiations in relationships between Eleusinian priesthoods and officials in Athens or between Eleusinian families and other aristocratic families (Chapter 10). Furthermore, tensions on the western border of Attica were evidenced throughout the historical period, such as challenges posed to the Eleusinian networks in the face of the Achaemenid invasion during the 5th century B.C. (Chapter 11) and the reflection of the inner tension during the 4th century B.C. (Chapter 12). Another fundamental point is the emergence of new actors and the consequent inflationary effect on Eleusinian networks after Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.), which led to the adoption of new strategies and long-term investments by various agents. This was evidenced through the development of epigraphic practice between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., especially with the increase in the official issuing of dedications and decrees. Attempts of controlling the treasury of Demeter and Kore was also evidenced after the foundation of the board of *epistatai*, which was reflected in the increase of inventories and accounts during the 4th century B.C.

The development of the sanctuary of Eleusis and substantive changes in ritual practices are best framed through the analysis of uses by different actors along with the

agency of space. After all, this approach also revealed the complexity of religious change and the social organisation at Eleusis and overall Attica. The historical analysis revealed that such places and practices were not organised without tensions, negotiations and innovations.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary aims to provide the reader with support for Ancient Greek terms[394] relating to ancient architecture, rituals, the offices and institutions of Athens, the subdivisions of the polis, objects, inscriptions and epigraphic practices. Dictionaries and glossaries of the following works were used as general sources for my glossary: Clinton (2008), Der kleine Pauly (1979), Duarte (2010; 2015), Florenzano (2015), The Online Liddel-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon (LSJ), Mikalson (2016), Mylonas (2009), The Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002), Tsochos (2002).

The following conventions were adopted:

anglicised term (if any), transliterated term from Ancient Greek without stress accents in singular and plural (term in Ancient Greek in singular and plural[395]): definitions, meaning**.**

Apadana (Ancient Persian cuneiform: 𒀀𒉺𒁕𒀀𒈾, apadāna): a large hypostyle hall; a large hall with inner columns. The "hypostyle hall" typology was typical of Persian palaces from the 6th century B.C., such as in Persepolis.

Aparche (ἀπαρχή): first-fruit offerings (tithes) to gods/goddesses; a ritual practice in honour to Demeter and Kore which consists of donation of grains from first-fruits of the harvests made by tribes, demes, cleruchies or poleis, generally from barley or wheat. See Chapter 8.

Anaktoron, anaktora (ἀνακτόρον; pl. ἀνακτόρα): the "inner sanctum" of Telesterion of Eleusis; an enclosed chamber which only the hierophant had access to it.[396] However, Clinton (1992) has shown through epigraphic and textual research that the ancient Greeks often adopted "*anaktoron*" to refer to the whole building (synonymous of Telesterion).[397]

Anathema (ἀνάθημα): a dedication; "a consecrated gift" (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 23).

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[394] Just few terms in other ancient languages were used in this glossary, such as Latin and Ancient Persian.
[395] Plurals are informed only when mentioned in the text.
[396] This is the meaning widely adopted by archaeologists, in which I also adopt in this monograph.
[397] More information on Clinton (1992, p. 126-132; 2017, p. 330-331, no. 32).

Asty (ἄστυ): "urban" area of the city, where most of residences and civic buildings were located.

Boule (βουλή): the Council of Athens. The Boulé with 400 members was created by Solonian Reforms in the 6ᵗʰ century B.C. After Cleisthenic Reforms in 508 B.C., the council had 500 members. "50 [members] selected by lot each year from each of the 10 tribes, meeting daily in Athens" (Mikalson, 2016, p. 303). A member of the Boule was called bouleutes (βουλευτής). In plural, bouleutai (βουλευταί).

Bouleuterion (βουλευτήριον): building for reunions of the Council (Boule).

Boustrophedon (βουστροφηδόν): epigraphic writing style typical of 6ᵗʰ century B.C. stone inscriptions. It has the characteristic of having lines with alternating writing order, that is, an alternation between lines written from left to right (→) and lines written from right to left (←). The name boustrophedon means "turning like oxen in ploughing" (LSJ, boustrofhdo/n) and describes the alternating lines as it also resembles "[…] as runners do when running the double race" (Paus. 5.17.6)[398]. See epigraphic strategies on Chapter 10 and Chapter 11.

Cella (Latin: *cella*): the Latin name for the main room of a temple, where the cult statue of the deity was placed; the corresponding term in Greek is *naos*.

Choregos, choregoi (χορηγός; pl. χορηγοί): a specific benefactor for the funding of choral plays (tragedy or comedy); a chorus leader (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 349); a "wealthy individual selected by the archon each year to finance a choral production […] at heortai of Dionysus" (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 304).

Cleruchy (anglicized), klēroukhia (κληρουχία): an Athenian settlement located outside Attica; "allotment of land to citizens in a foreign country" (MORWOOD; TAYLOR, 2002, p. 186).

Dadouchos, dadouchoi (δαδοῦχος; pl. δαδαῦχοι): the torch-bearer of the Eleusinian Mysteries. who is next to the Hierophant. *Dadouchoi* were always from the priestly family of Kerykes.

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[398] Original: "[...] ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ." (Paus. 5.17.6)

Deme (anglicized), demos, demoi (*δῆμος;* pl. *δῆμοι*): a political and geographical unit in Attica. The Athenian citizenship was divided in and represented by 139 demes spread throughout Attica.

Deiknymena (*δεικνύμενα*): a stage of the secret part of Eleusinian Mysteries, when "things were shown", which was possibly the sacred objects (*hiera*).

Dromena (*δρώμενα*): a stage of the secret part of Eleusinian Mysteries, when "things were enacted". According to Mylonas (2009, p. 318), "[…] the sacred pageant representing the myth of Demeter and Persephone formed part of the *dromena*".

Ekklesia (*ἐκκλησίᾱ*): the citizen Assembly of Athens.

Ephebe (anglicized), ephebos, epheboi (*ἔφηβος;* pl. *ἔφηβοι*): an "adolescent"; young male citizen undergoing military training.

Epistates, epistatai (*ἐπιστατες;* pl. *ἐπιστάται*): a board of overseers of the treasure of a sanctuary (such as Eleusis) elected by the Council (Boule), whose purpose is to take care of financial matters and record accounts and inventories.

Epimeletes (*ἐπιμελητής*): a superintendent who was "appointed to take care and supervise the conduct of the procession and of the sacrifices." (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 318).

Epopteia (*ἐποπτεία*): the second and highest degree of initiation into Eleusinian Mysteries. The *epoptes* (*ἐπόπτης;* pl. *ἐπόπται*) was the initiate who held the second degree of initiation.

Eumolpidai (*Εὐμολπίδαι*): a priestly family of Eleusis, descendants of Eumolpos.

Exegetes, exegetai (*ἐξηγητής,* pl. *ἐξηγηται*): an official responsible for interpreting sacred laws (*exegesis*) (also for Eleusinian Mysteries) (LSJ, *ἐξηγητής*).

Genos, genoi (*γένος;* pl. *γένη*): an expanded family; family group which claims "descent in the male line from one ancestor, often a hero or royalty, usually fictitious." (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 305).

Hiera (*ἱερά*): the "sacred objects" of Eleusinian Mysteries, which was transported by priestesses during the procession of Mysteries. Mylonas (2009, p. 318) argues its revelation completed initiation during secret stages.

Hiera Hodos (*ἱερὰ ὀδός*): literally "The Sacred Way"; it was the road between Athens and Eleusis where both procession of Eleusinian Mysteries were practiced and a part of the sacred travel to the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythia at Delphi occurred. The sacred path crosses Athens Basin towards Mount Poikilon and Mount Aigaleon, whose access to the Thriassion Plain is via a crossing between both mountains, where lied some roadside sanctuaries. It was also used in ordinary non-religious travels. Also known as "the road to Eleusis" (*he hodos he Eleusinade / ἡ ὀδὸς ἡ Ἐλευσινάδε*) as evidenced by a *horos* (IG I³ 1096) found at the Archaeological site of Kerameikos (See Chapter 2).

Hierokeryx (*ἱεροκήρυκες*): "the sacred herald" of Eleusis.

Hieropoios, hieropoioi (*ἱεροποιός*; pl. *ἱεροποιόι*): Athenian officials responsible for overseeing religious ceremonies and practices, such as sacrifices.

Hierophant (*ἱεροφάντης*): the high priest from Eleusis and conductor of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Hierophants were always from the priestly family of Eumolpidai.

Iakchos (*Ἴακχος*): Eleusinian deity who represents the procession ("pompe") of Eleusinian Mysteries, he portrays "the enthusiasm and shouting of the pompe" (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 318). In iconography of 5th and 4th century vases, Iakchos is depicted as a leader of the procession between Athens and Eleusis.

Kernos (*κέρνος*): vessel which were typical of Eleusinian religious practices.

Kerykes (*Κήρυκες*): a priestly family of Eleusis, descendants of Keryx.

Khora (*χώρᾱ*): hinterland; the "countryside" of the territory, where farms, extra-urban sanctuaries were located.

Kiste *(κίστη*): a cylindrical basket "in which were kept the Hiera of the Eleusinian cult." (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 319).

Legomena (*λεγόμενα*): a stage of the secret part of Eleusinian Mysteries, when "things were spoken". According to Mylonas (2009, p. 319), "explanations and ritualistic formulae that were spoken in the course of initiation.".

Mystagogos (*μυσταγωγός*): a person who sponsored and guided an initiate into stages of initiation. According to Mylonas (2009, p. 319), "The person who introduced the initiate and even performed some of the rites of preparation and initiation if he belonged to the sacerdotal families of the Eumolpids and the Kerykes".

Mystes, mystai (*μύστης*; pl. *μύσται*): initiates into Eleusinian Mysteries; those who held the first degree of initiation.

Naos (*ναός*): temple; place where the statue of the deity was located.

Nomos, nomoi (*νόμος; pl. νόμοι*): a law; or laws such as "[…] those under the democracy made by majority vote of the Ekklesia [citizen Assembly], those after 403 established by a large board of nomothetai selected by a lot from the juror roles" (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 305).

Opaion (*ὀπαῖον*): like a 'skylight', it was "a structure projecting above the roof of a building to admit light and air" (MYLONAS, 2009, p. 319). The evidences of an *opaion* on the roof of the Telesterion may be related to ritual practices performed within this building (See Chapter 9).

Pelanos (*πέλανος*): a sacrificial cake made of barley and wheat, which was offered to Demeter and Kore as preliminary rites. *Pelanos* was made of grains from first-fruit offerings (*aparche*). See Chapter 8.

Peribolos (*περίβολος*): walls that surrounded a sacred area (*temenos*) of a sanctuary. They were usually simple walls, but in the case of Eleusis the peribolos wall has been fortified since the 6th century B.C.

Plemochon, plemochoai (*πλημοχόη; pl. πλημοχόαι*): a vessel generally of ceramic which was used for pouring libations to the dead or Eleusinian deities. The last stage of the Mysteries was called also "Plemochoai", which was marked by the practice of libations and the use of such vessels. It was also an iconographic motif very present in the figurations of Eleusinian scenes.

Pompe (*πομπή*): a procession; religious escort of a statue or sacred objects. In Eleusinian Mysteries, it refers to the procession between Athens and Eleusis in the beginning of the festival. On etymology of the word, see Tsochos (2002).

Probouleuma, probouleumata (*προβούλεμα; pl. προβούλεματα*): drafts of deliberations; voting proposals that every citizen should discuss and vote during meetings at the citizen Assembly (Ekklesia) (MIKALSON, 2016, p. 304).

Pronaos (*πρόνᾱος*): "a room with a portico which leads to the *cella*" of a Greek temple (DUARTE, 2015, p. 254).

Prorrhesis (πρόρρησις): the proclamation of the start of the festival made by priests to initiates and participants.

Prostoon (προστῶον): columned portico in front of a temple or other building.

Psephisma, psephismata (ψηφίσμα; pl. ψηφίσματα): a decree, which was "proposed by the Boule and accepted by the Ekklesia [citizen Assembly] by majority vote." (MIKALSON, 2015, p. 306)

Pylon (πυλών): a gateway which was usually monumentalized and accompanied by fortified walls. This is the case of the Dipylon of Athens, the main entrance to the city, and the North Pylon, the main northern entrance to the sanctuary of Eleusis between the Late Archaic Period and Classical Period.

Stoichedon (στοιχηδόν): epigraphic writing style typical of Classical Period (V – IV B.C.). Stoichedon was adopted as the official style of decrees by the Council and the citizen Assembly after Cleisthenic Reforms (508 B.C.). Decrees in stoichedon were usually inscribed on white marble stele. It is a style whose lines have equal numbers of letters as a grid, without space between words and no punctuation. See epigraphic strategies on Chapter 10 and Chapter 11.

Spondophoros, spondophoroi (σπονδοφόρος; pl. σπονδοφοροί): an official emissary who proposes a truce or a treaty (*spondai*) for Eleusinian Mysteries[399], Olympic Games, or other agonistic festivals (LSJ, *σπονδαί*).

Telesterion (τελεστήριον): the main temple to Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, which held a "hypostyle hall" typology for ritual practice of initiations.

Telete (τελετή): the secret celebration of the Mysteries.

Temenos (τέμενος): a sacred area of a sanctuary, which was generally surrounded by peribolos walls, where temples, altars and other structures of ritual importance and use were situated.

Theoria, theoriai (θεωρίā; pl. θεωρίαι): an expedition of priestly emissaries (*theoroi*) to foreign cities, sanctuaries, festivals.

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[399] For spondophoroi of Eleusis, see Aeschines (2.133): "[...] when your heralds carried the proclamation of the sacred truce of the Mysteries […]" (Aeschin. 2.133). Original: "[…] καὶ τοῖς σπονδοφόροις τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο."

PLATES

I. GEOREFERENCED MAPS
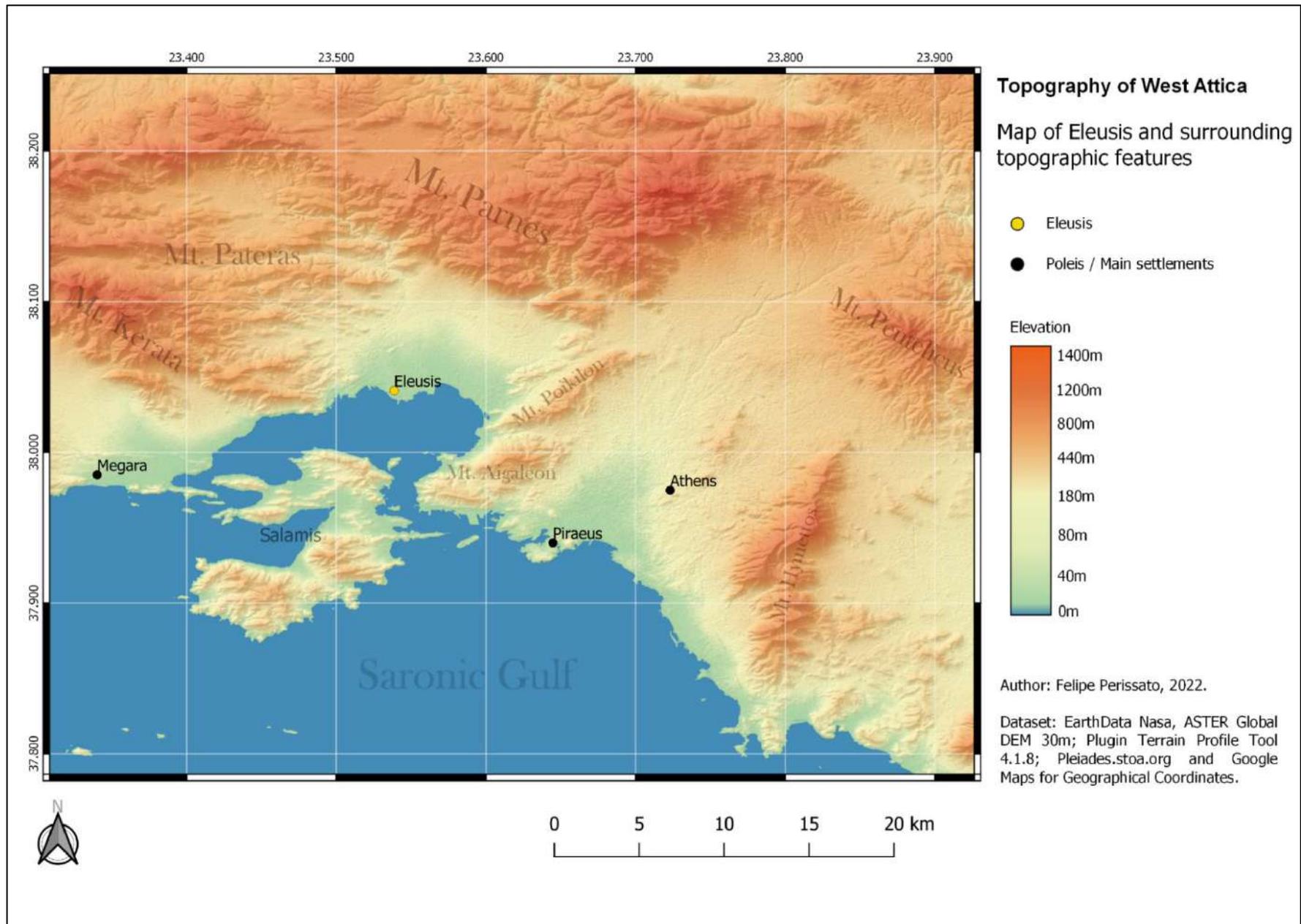
Plate 1. Topography of West Attica. Map of Eleusis and surrounding topographical features.
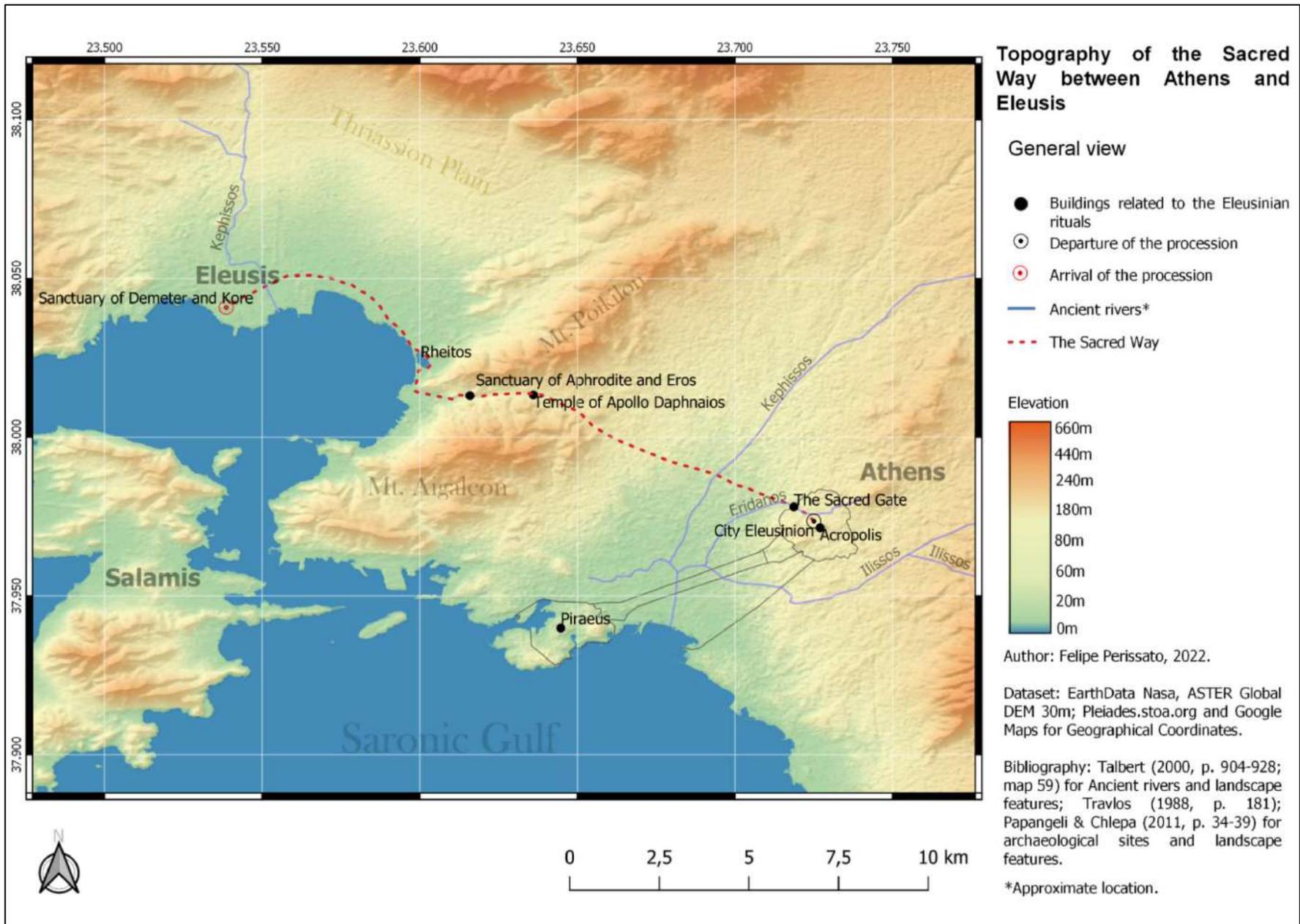
Plate 2. Topography of the Sacred Way.
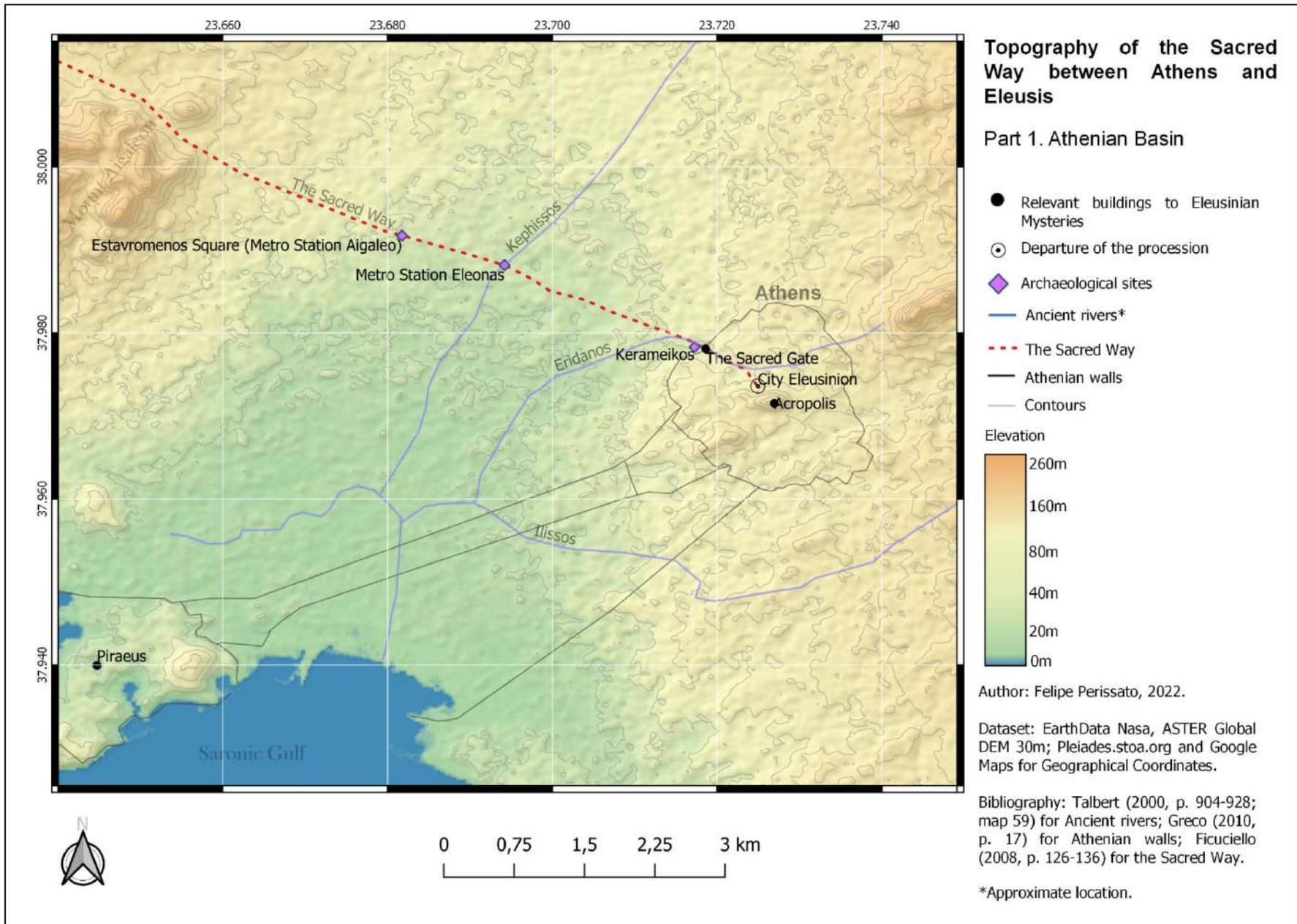
Plate 3. Topography of the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis. Part 1. Athens Basin
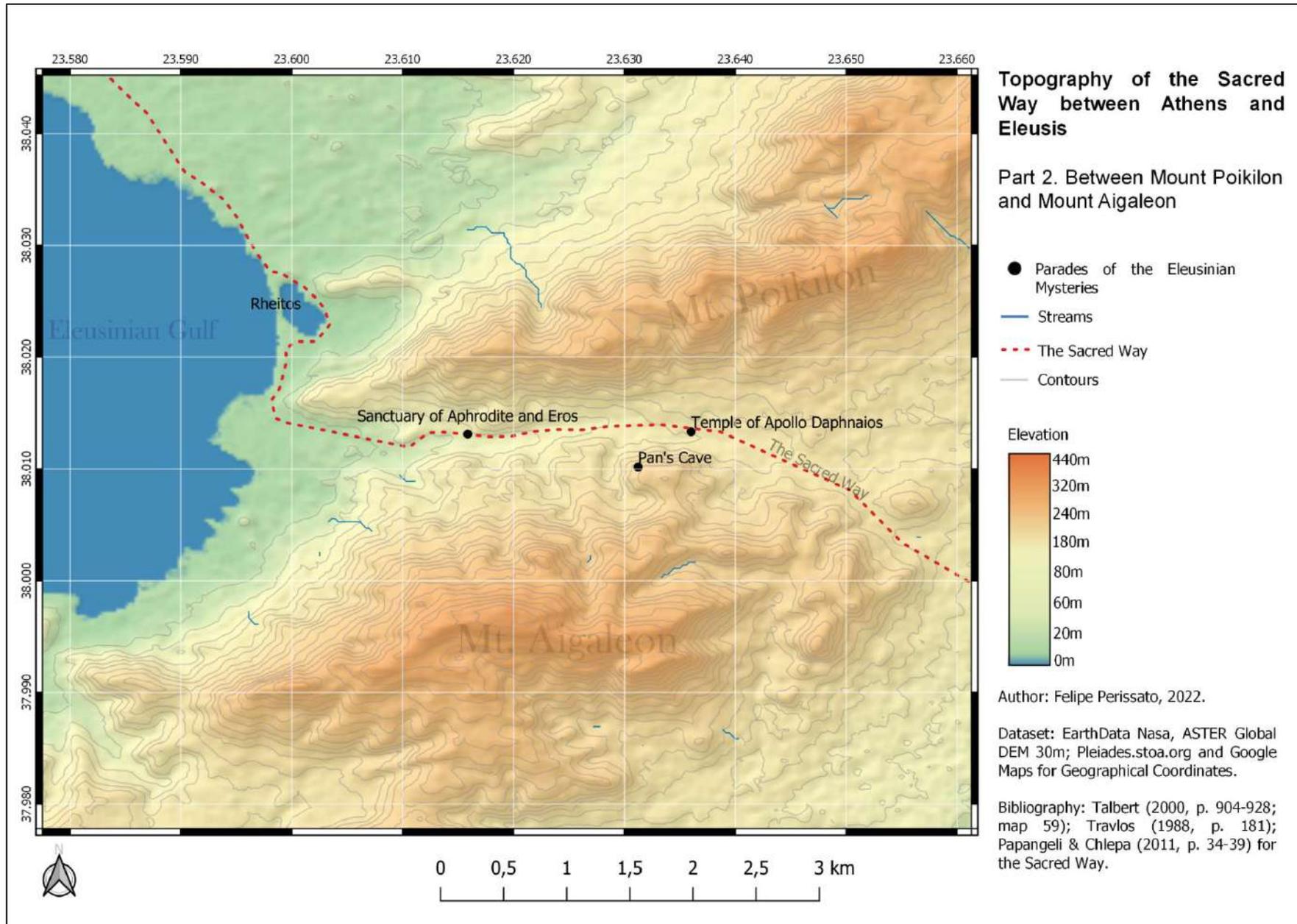
Plate 4. Topography of the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis. Part 2. Between Mount Poikilon and Mount Aigaleon.
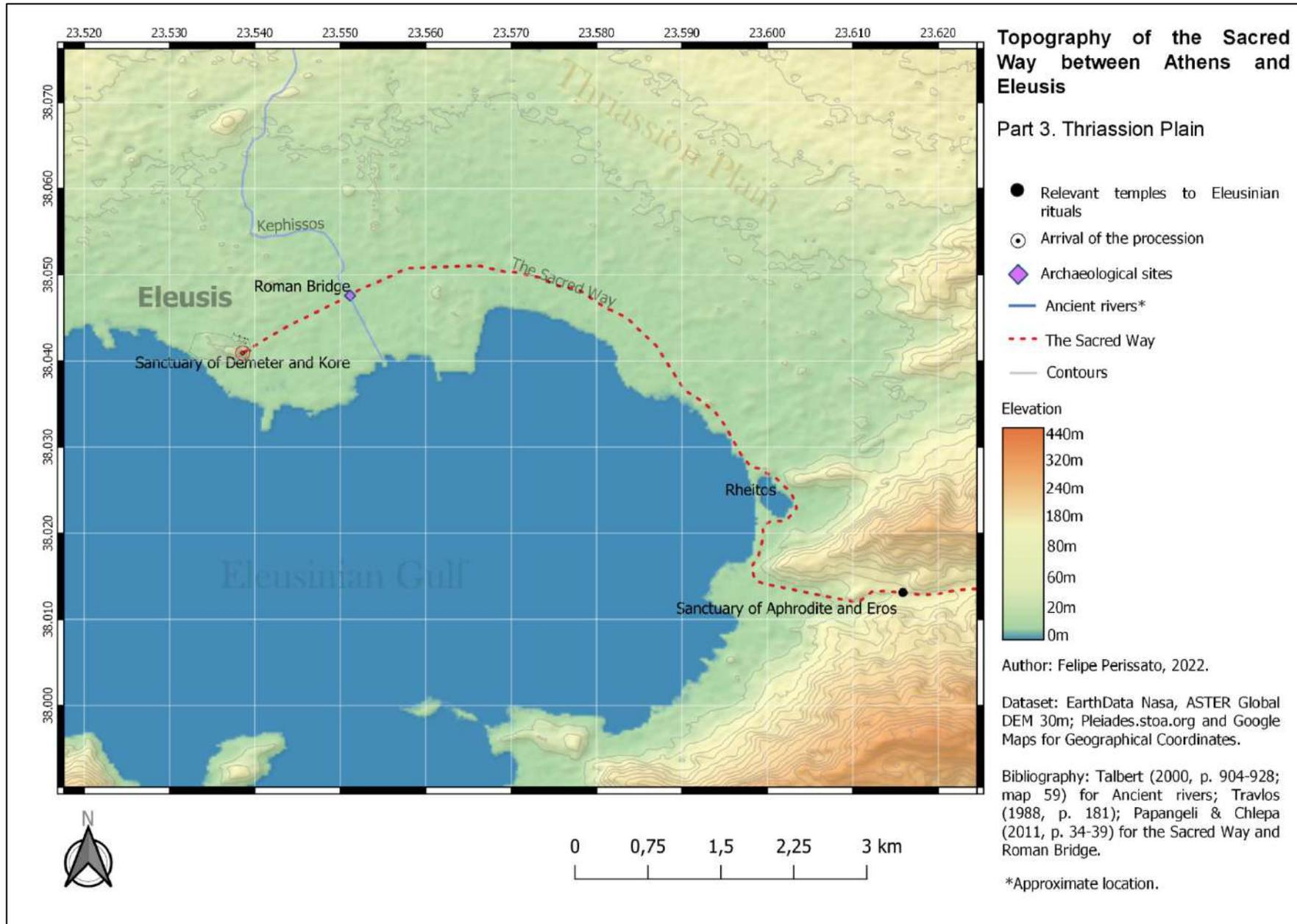
Plate 5. Topography of the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis. Part 3. Thriassion Plain.
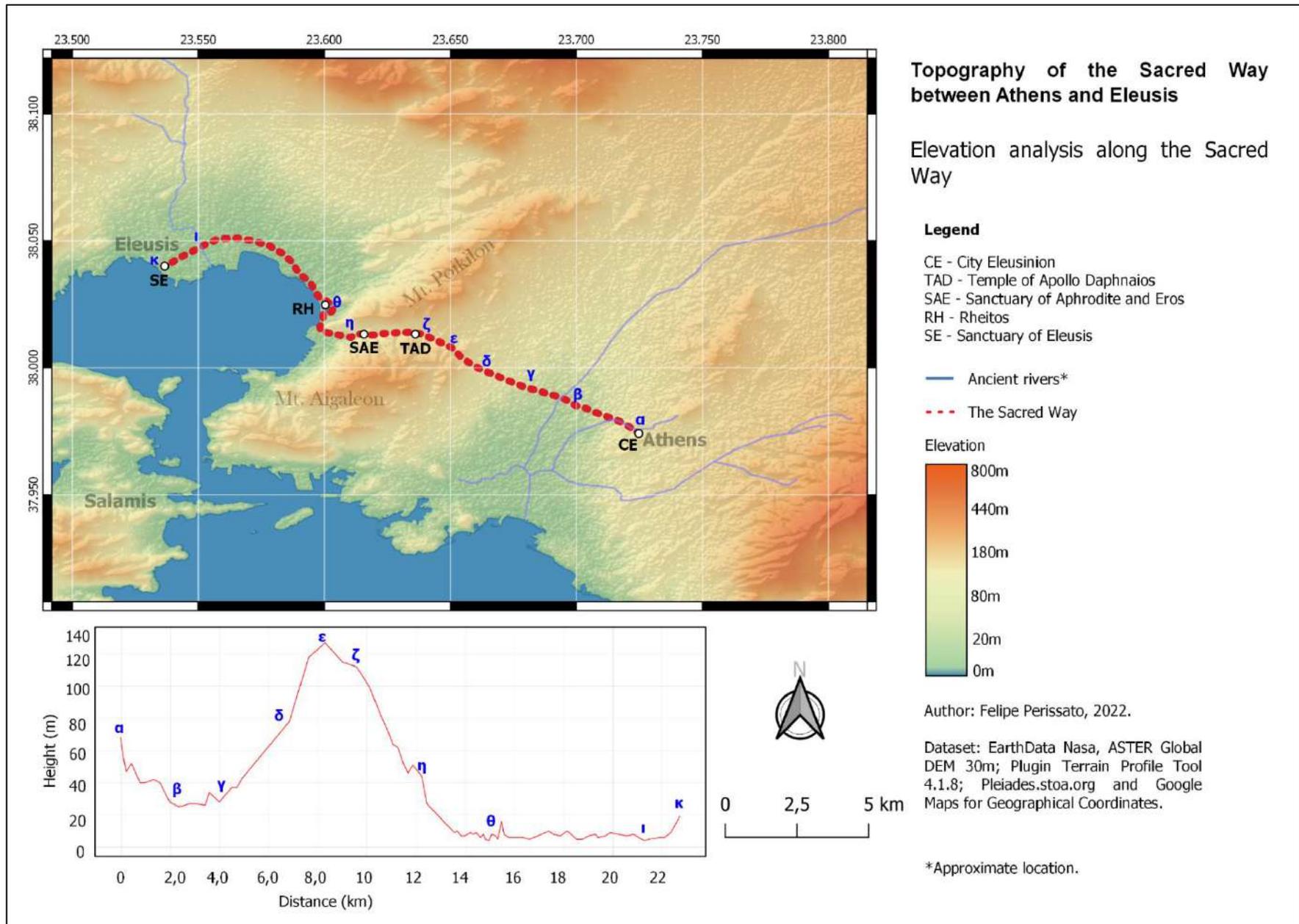
Plate 6. Topography of the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis. Elevation analysis along the Sacred Way.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLANS
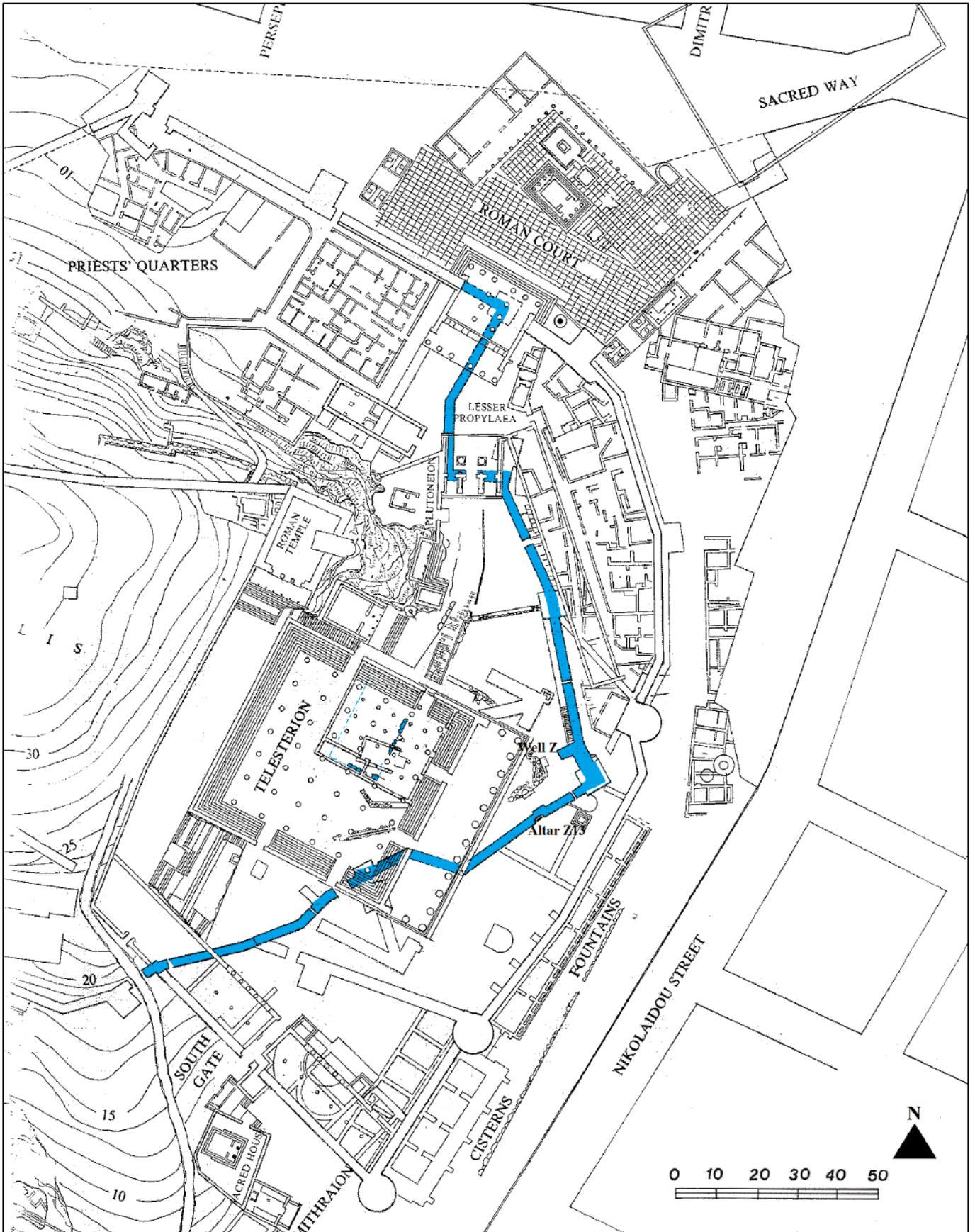
Plate 7. Archaic Phase I of the sanctuary of Eleusis. After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13). Drawing by Travlos (1988). Modified by the author.
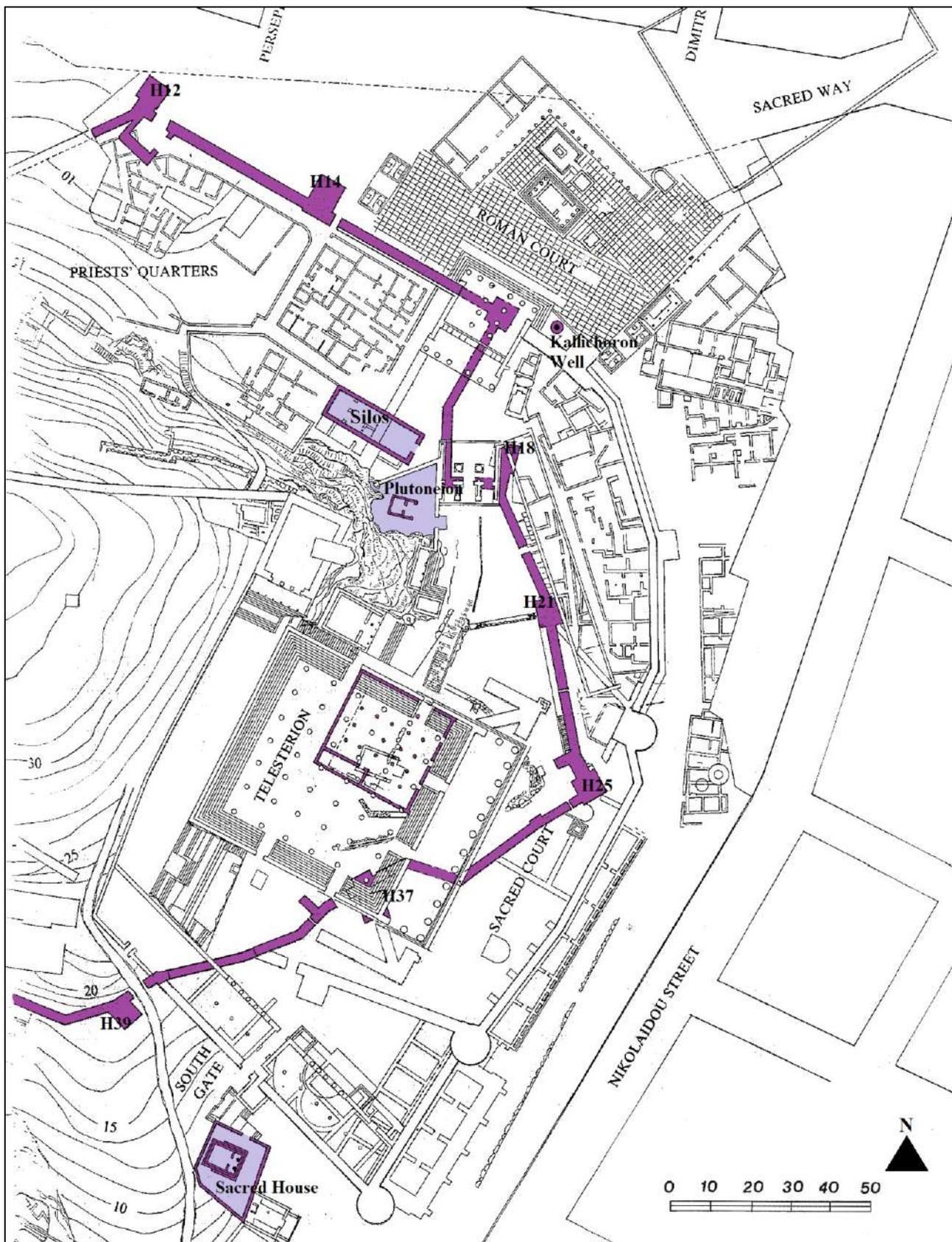
Plate 8. Archaic Phase II of the Sanctuary of Eleusis. After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13). Drawing by Travlos (1988). Modified by the author.
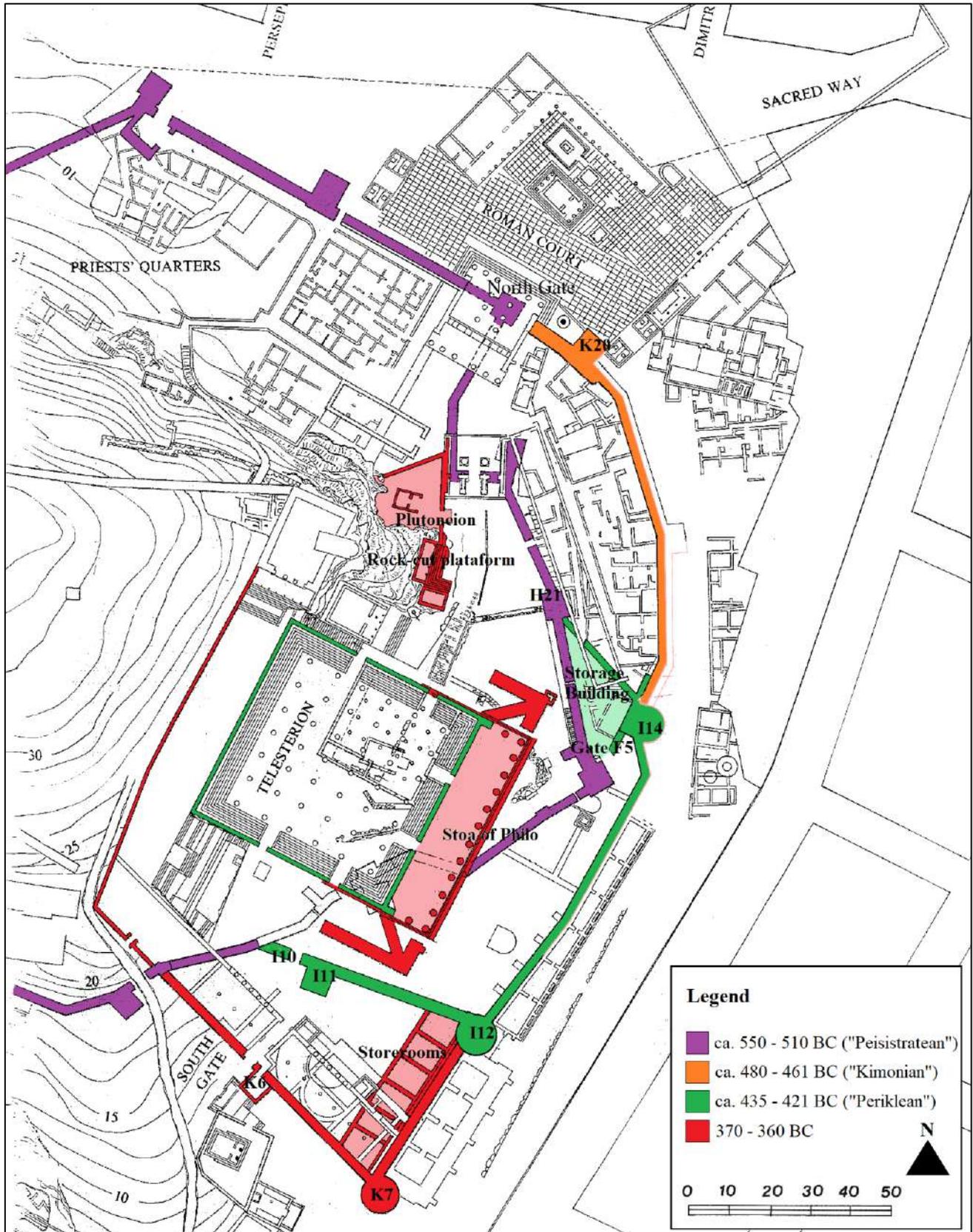
Plate 9. Classical Phases of the Sanctuary of Eleusis (I in Orange, II in green, III in red). Archaic Phase II in purple for comparison. After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13). Drawing by Travlos (1988). Modified by the author.
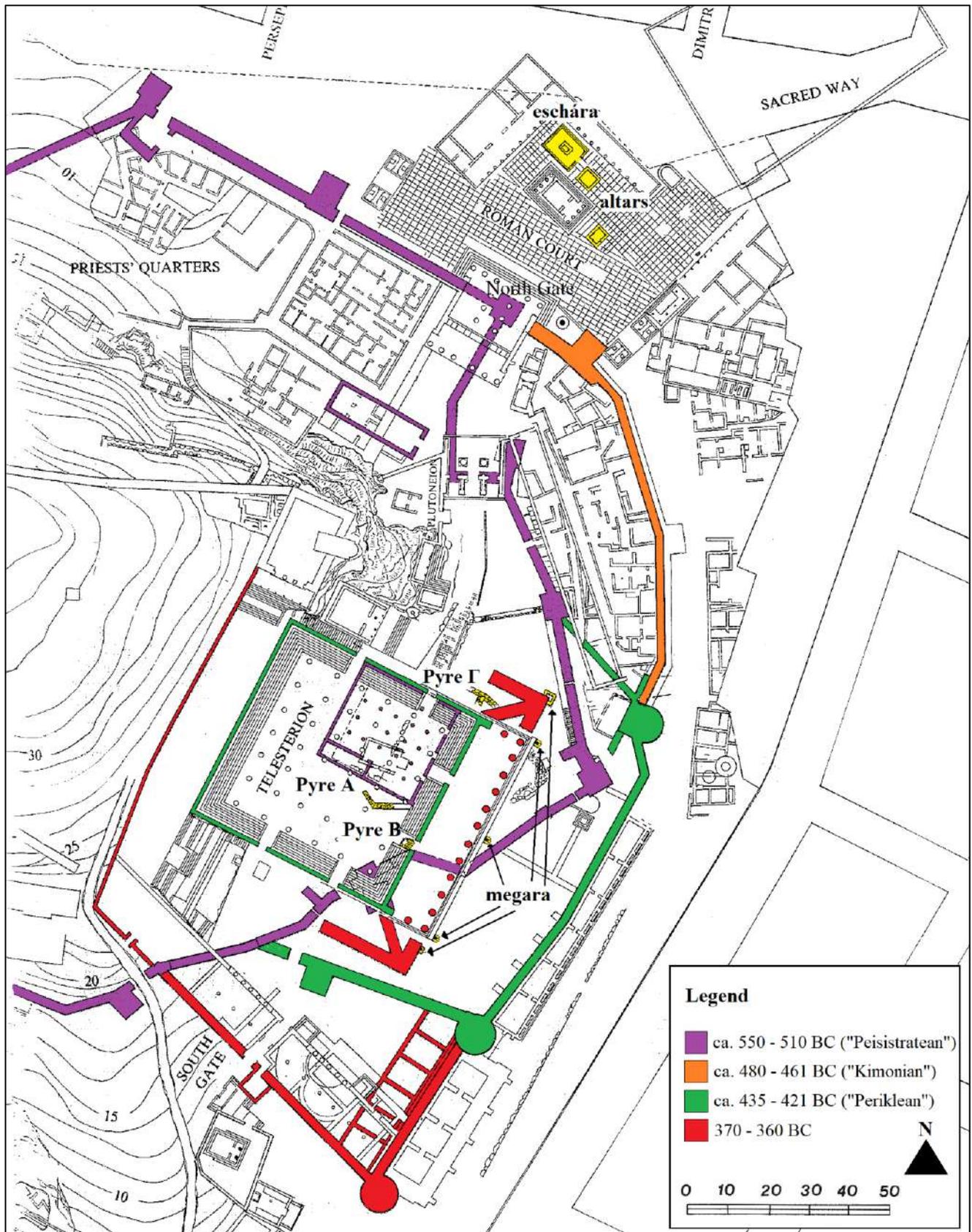
Plate 10. Diachronic comparison between built phases from Late Archaic Period to Late Classical Period and sacrificial places in yellow. Support of Chapter 6. After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13). Drawing by Travlos (1988). Modified by the author.
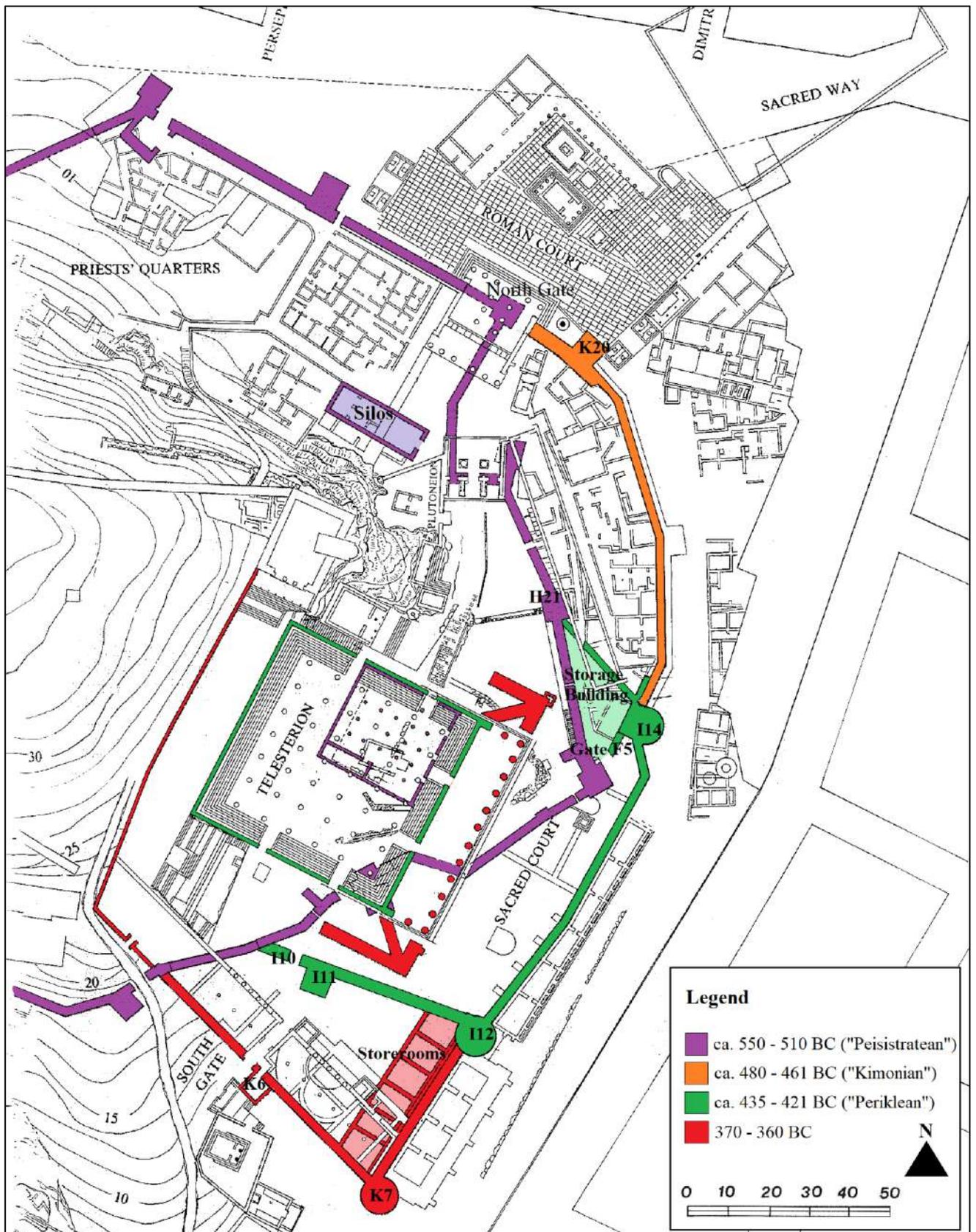
Plate 11. Diachronic comparison between built phases from Late Archaic Period to Late Classical Period and silos/storerooms. Support for Chapter 8. After Preka-Alexandri (2003, p. 24-25, fig. 13). Drawing by Travlos (1988). Modified by the author.
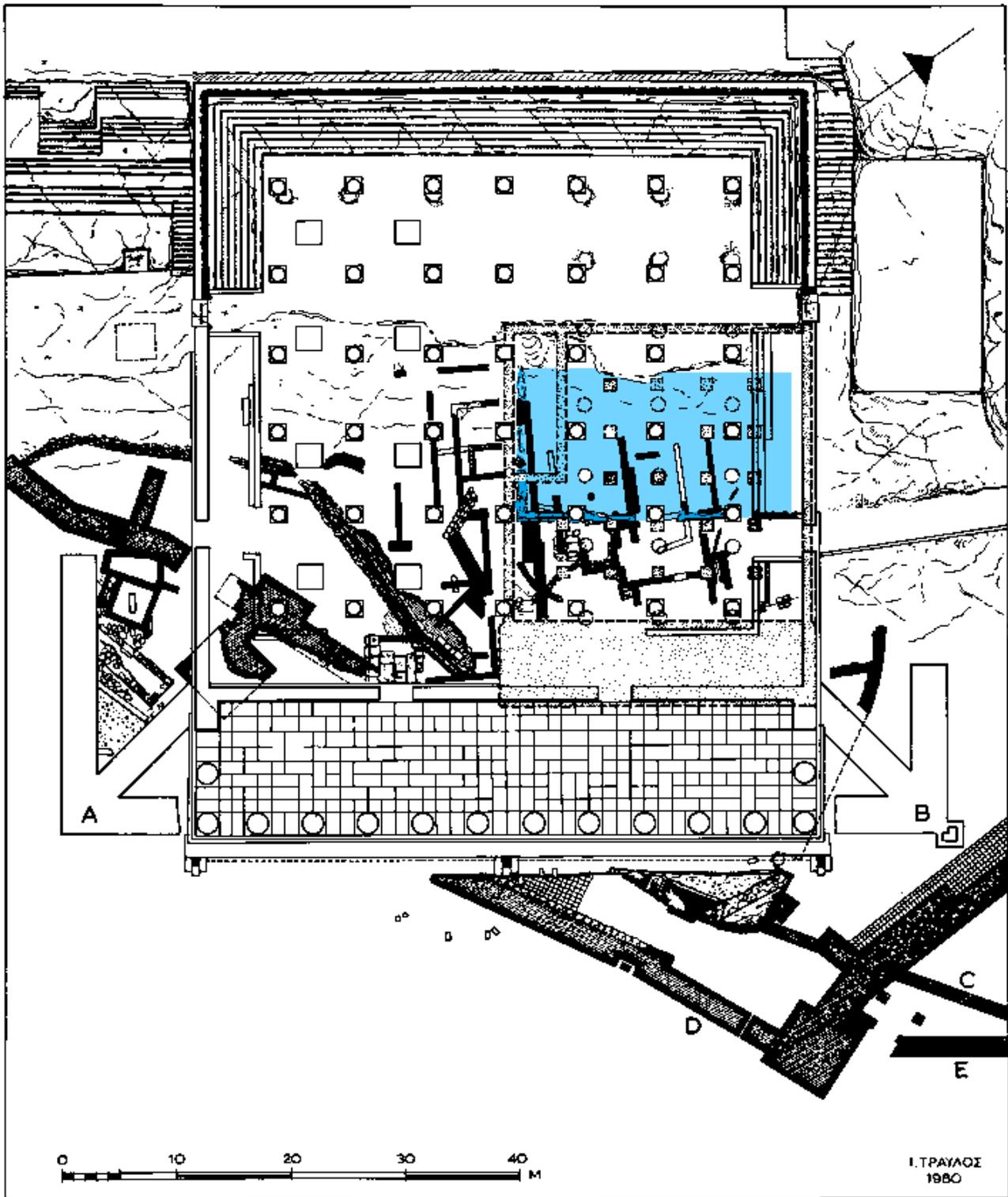
Plate 12. Archaic Phase I of the Telesterion of Eleusis. After Shear Jr (2016, p. 167, fig. 61). Drawing by Travlos (1980). Modified by the author.
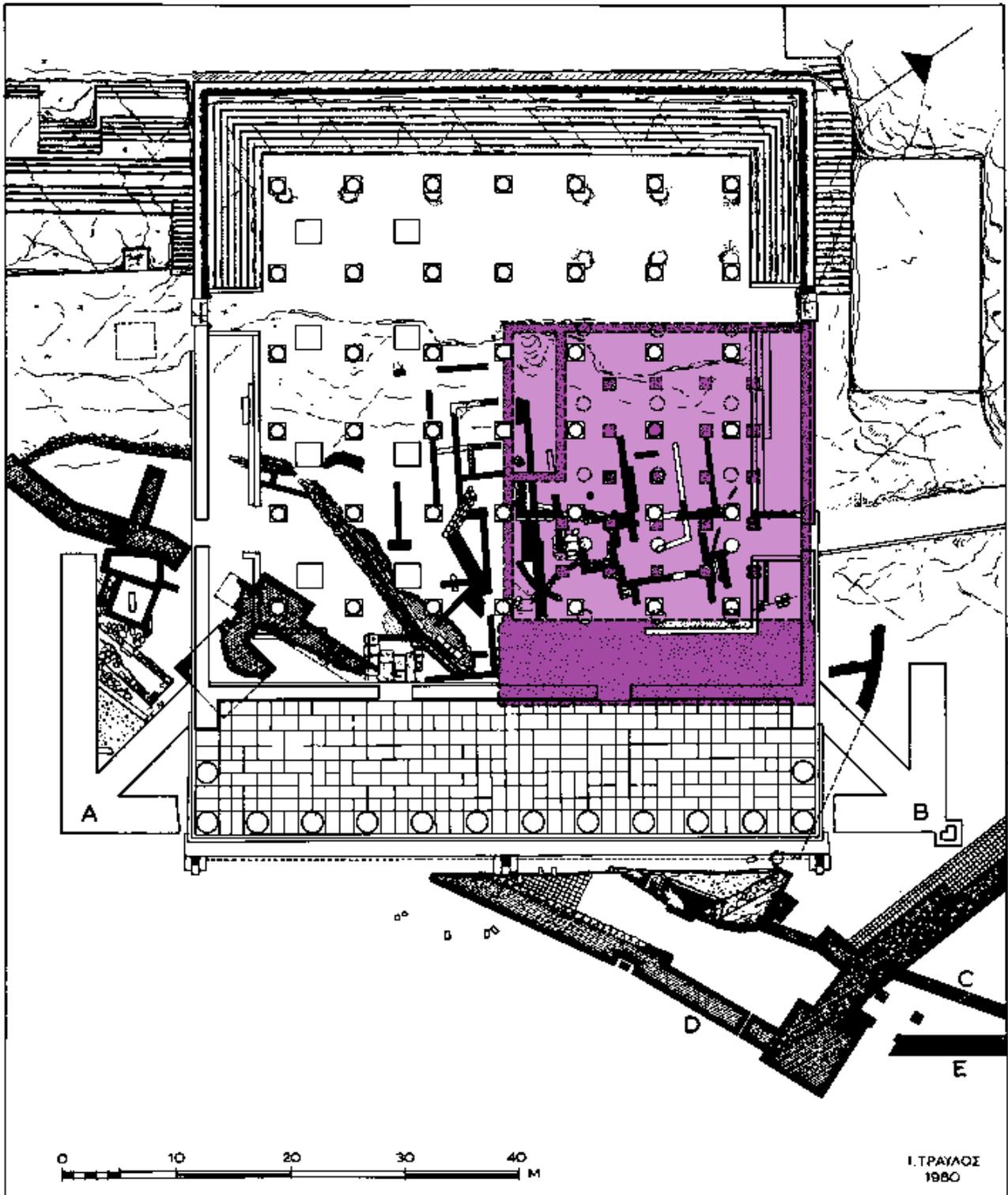
Plate 13. Archaic Phase II of the Telesterion of Eleusis. After Shear Jr (2016, p. 167, fig. 61). Drawing by Travlos (1980). Modified by the author.
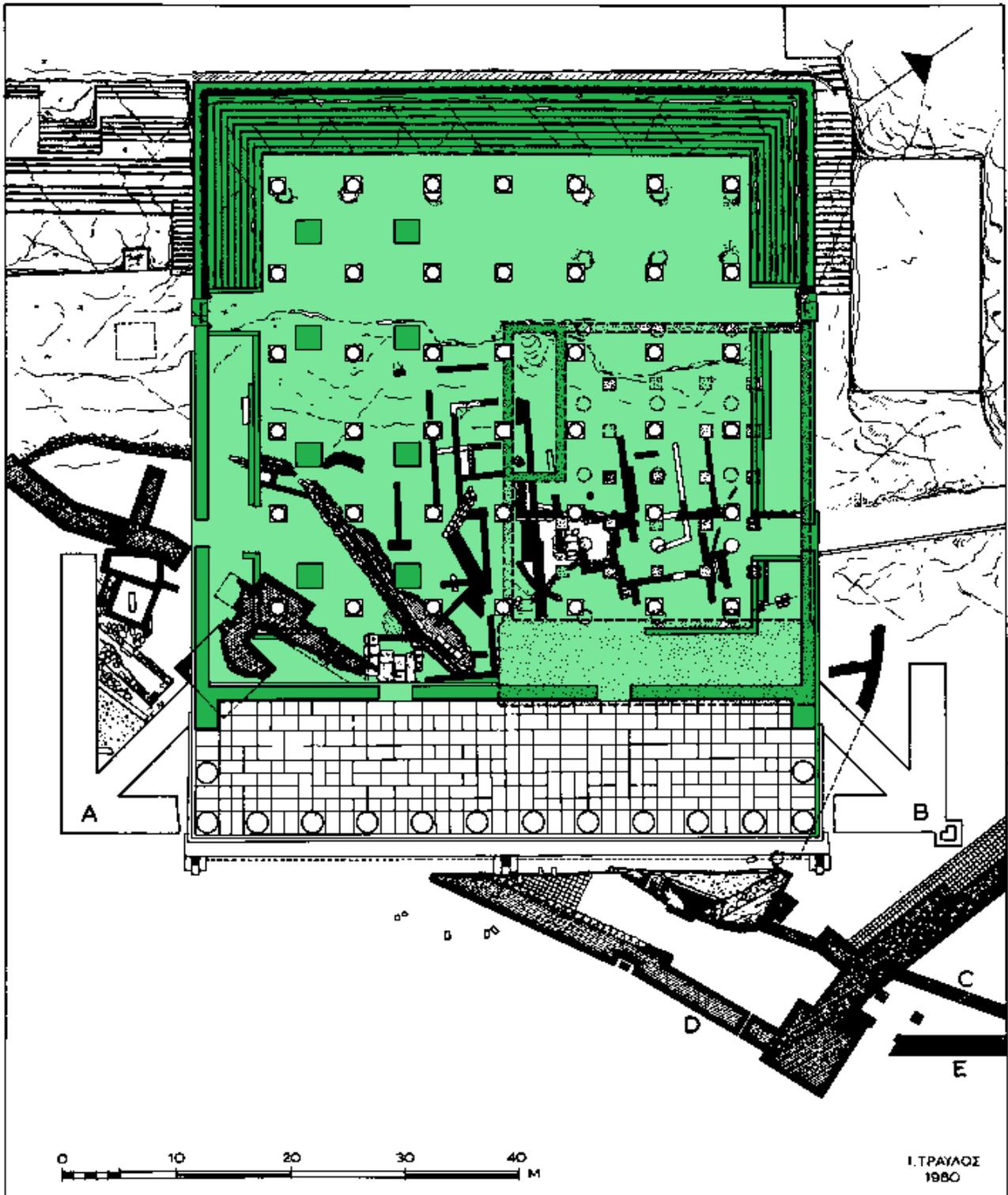
Plate 14. Classical Phase I of the Telesterion of Eleusis. The so-called "Iktinos' Project". After Shear Jr (2016, p. 167, fig. 61). Drawing by Travlos (1980). Modified by the author.
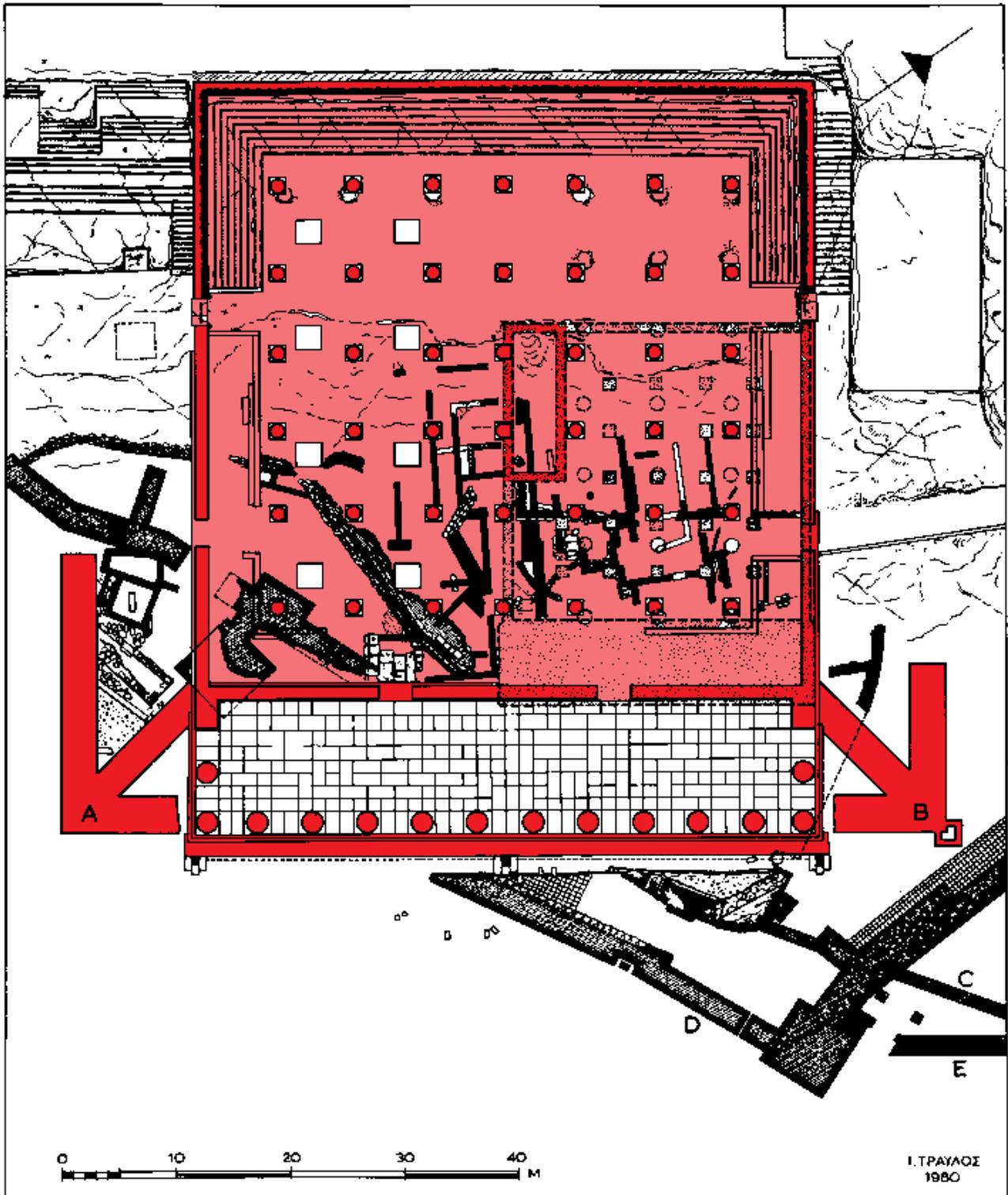
Plate 15. Classical Phases II and III of the Telesterion of Eleusis. The so-called "Koroibos Project" and Stoa of Philo. After Shear Jr (2016, p. 167, fig. 61). Drawing by Travlos (1980). Modified by the author.

APPENDIX A: ATTIC CALENDAR AND THE MAIN RELIGIOUS AND AGONISTIC FESTIVALS OF ATTICA

SEASONS	ATTIC MONTHS	EQUIVALENT IN GREGORIAN MONTHS	FESTIVALS (LOCALITY)	WORSHIPPED DEITIES
Summer (Θέρος)	Hekatombaion (Ἑκατομβαιών)	July / August	Aphrodisia (Athens)	Aphrodite
			Panathenaia (Athens)	Athena
	Metageitnion (Μεταγειτνιών)	August / September	**Eleusinia (Eleusis)**	Demeter
	Boedromion (Βοηδρομιών)	September / October	Charisteria (?)	Artemis, Ares
			Boedromia (Athens?)	Apollo, Artemis
			Epidauria/Asklepieia (Athens)	Asclepius
			Eleusinian Mysteries (Eleusis)	Demeter and Kore
Autumn (Φθινόπωρον)	Pyanepsion (Πυανεψιών)	October / November	Oschophoria (Phaleron/Athens?)	Dionysus, Athena
			Proerosia (Eleusis/other demes)	Demeter
			Pyanopsia (Athens)	Apollo
			Stenia (Athens?)	Demeter
			Thesmophoria (Athens / Eleusis / other demes)	Demeter and Kore
			Chalkeia (?)	Athena
	Maimakterion (Μαιμακτηριών)	November / December	Pompaia (Athenian *khora*)	Zeus
	Poseideon (Ποσειδεών)	December / January	Rural Dionysia (Eleutherae; Athenian *khora*)	Dionysus
			Haloa (Eleusis)	Demeter, Kore, Dionysus, Poseidon

Winter (*Χεῖμα*)	Gamelion (*Γαμηλιών*)	January / February	Lenaia (Athens)	Dionysus
			Theogamia (Attica in general)	Zeus, Hera
	Anthesterion (*Ἀνθεστηριών*)	February / March	Anthesteria (Athens)	Dionysus
			Diasia (Agrai)	Zeus
			Lesser Mysteries (Agrai / Eleusis)	Demeter and Kore
	Elaphebolion (*Ἐλαφηβολιών*)	March / April	City Dionysia (Eleutherae)	Dionysus
Spring (*Ἔαρ*)	Mounuchion (*Μουνυχιών*)	April / May	Hiketeria (Delphinion)	Artemis
			Mounychia (Piraeus)	Artemis
			Olympieia (Athens)	Zeus
	Thargelion (*Θαργηλιών*)	May / June	Thargelia (Athens)	Apollo, Artemis, Demeter
			Plyntheria (Athens)	Athena
	Skirophorion (*Σκιροφοριών*)	June / July	**Skira (Athens / Eleusis)**	Demeter, Athena, Poseidon
			Arrephoria (Athens / Erchia?)	Athena and Pandrosus
			Dipolieia (Athens)	Zeus

Sources: Simon (1983), Parker (2005, appendix I + table 3) and Clinton (2008, p. 5-25)

Notes: This is a non-exhaustive list of Attic festivals. Only Eleusinian festivals (in bold) and other major festivals of Attica were included. The annual women's festival for Aphrodite (**Adonia**) could not be classified in this list because textual and epigraphic sources does not give a precise date and it was celebrated in private houses. More information on Dillon (2002) and Parker (2005, appendix I). **Brauronia**, which was a very important festival for Artemis at Brauron, has also no precise date attested by textual sources; therefore, it was not included as well. More information on Blundell and Williamson (1998) and Parker (2005).

APPENDIX B - BUILDINGS AND BUILT INTERVENTIONS IN ELEUSINIAN SANCTUARIES FROM THE SIXTH TO THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

PERIOD	BUILDING	DATING[1]	DESCRIPTION	BIBLIOGRAPHY[2]
Late Archaic Period (590 – 510)	Increase of the terrace and extension of the Wall E5 (Z1 - Z7)	6th century	A new extension of a pre-existing E5 (Z1) wall, about 25 meters further in a southeast direction, where it meets a curve in a west direction and continues southwest beyond the Eleusinian acropolis (Z7).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139); Mylonas (2009, p. 56); Lippolis (2006); Noack (1927).
	Sacrificial pyre B (replacing pyre A)	6th century	Installed in front of the Z7 wall, this pyre took the place of an older pyre (Pyre A), which was covered by the construction of a terrace. It is also located next to a wall gap. Mylonas and Kourouniotes (1933) interpreted it as the likely entrance to a newly built terrace. (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 139)	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139); Mylonas (2009. p.56-57); Palinkas (2008, p. 55); Kourouniotes, Mylonas, (1933, p. 280); Noack (1927, p. 16-23);
	Sacrificial pyre Γ	6th century	Built in the northern part of the Z1 Wall.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139); Lippolis (2006); Noack, (1927).
	"Solonian Telesterion" (embracing the *Anaktoron*)	ca. 594/3	Rectangular in shape, this first phase of the Telesterion had approximately 24 m (north-south) and 14 m (east-west) in dimension.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139; Mylonas (2009, p. 67-70); Lippolis (2006); Noack, (1927, p. 16-23); Travlos, (1950-1951, p. 10-11).
	Altar Z13	6th	The Altar Z12, located east of the Telesterion, appears to belong to the same arrangement as	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139); Mylonas (2009, p. 70-72);

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[1] All dates in this chart are before Christ (B.C.).

[2] The survey of information was made from the excavation reports and studies on the topography of Eleusis. This appendix B was used as basis for Chapter 2.

			the stepped podium discovered by Kourouniotes (1933-1935, p. 34-41). Mylonas interprets it as a support for the dances in honor to Demeter to be seen from outside the precinct (1961, p. 72-73).	Lippolis (2006); Noack, (1927).
	Well W	6th	Located in a specific niche of the retaining wall to accommodate it. This first well, in addition to offering water, is also associated with ritual activities, according to Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 139).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 139); Mylonas (2009, p. 65); Lippolis (2006); Noack, (1927).
	Expansion of the Telesterion	ca. 570 - destroyed in 480[3]	Square shaped, Telesterion from the Peisistratean Period includes a portico (27.15 m x 4.55 m) and three entrances on the east side. It is "adorned with a Doric entablature of Parian marble, whose fragments of the triglyphs, metopes, cornice and sema, including the head of a pig, have been found. The temple measures 25.30m X 27.10m, supported by 22 Ionic columns, four rows with 5 columns in the central and northern parts of the hall; a row of two columns at the south façade. The roof is supported by the northern wall of Anaktoron." (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p 141-142)	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 141-142); Mylonas (2009, p. 78-88); Lippolis (2006); Noack (1927).
	Peribolos Wall	561 - 528.	Containing about seven towers (H12, H14, H18, H21, H25, H37 and H39) and seven gates (south pylis; south gate; north gate, below the Lesser Propyla of the 1st century	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 141-142); Mylonas (2009, p. 91-96); Lippolis (2006); Noack (1927).

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[3] For more information on the destruction of Eleusis, see Chapter 2 and Chapter 9.

			BC; the Great Gate and three more doors). An effort is being made to preserve the oldest features of the sanctuary, including an altar associated with the stepped podium area, according to Cosmopoulos (p. 141-142)	
	Kallichoron Well	561 - 528	About 40 m northeast of the north gate, there is the Kallichoron Well. Built above the Well W, it was identified by Demetrios Philios in 1882 (p. 33-34).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142); Ziro (1990); Mylonas (2009, p. 97-99); Lippolis (2006); Clinton (1992, p. 27-28); Mylonas (2009, p. 72-73); Philios (1892, p. 33-34)
	Temple of Plouton	561 - 528	Small temple with cella measuring 2.90 m X 2.50 m with a shallow porch, built inside of the grotto of Eleusinian acropolis, behind the North Gate.	Agelidis (2017, p. 147-167), Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142); Mylonas (2009, p. 99-100); Daux (1958, p. 800-802); Noack (1927, p. 79); Philios (1886, p. 29-31).
	Trapezoidal shape terrace / Sacred house	561 - 528	Construction of trapezoidal area with its peribolos outside the *temenos*. This is the place where the archaeologists found the statue known as the "Running Maiden".	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142); Mylonas (2009, p. 101-103); Kourouniotes and Travlos (1937, p. 50-51).
	Sylos	561 - 528	This rectangular building to the northwest of the North Gate is probably a sylos used to house grain offerings (*απαρχή*).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142); Mylonas (2009, p. 96-97).
	Archaic Peribolos wall (**City Eleusinion**)	ca. 575-550	Located next to the Panathenaic Way in Athens, a peribolos wall to a sanctuary indicates early dates from 6th century BC. Margaret Miles (1998) argues it was constructed during the Peisistratus Period.	Miles (1998, p. 24-28); Palinkas (2008, p. 49-65); Mylonas (2009, p. 61).
	Closure of Wells	ca. 575-550	Wells outside of the sanctuary were closed in	Miles (1998, p. 32-33);

			order to the work of widening the Panathenaic Way (PALINKAS, 2008, p. 51)	Palinkas (2008, p. 51-52);
Early Classical Period (508-460)	Temple of Triptolemos (**City Eleusinion**)	508-460	A tetrastyle amphiprostyle Doric style temple was constructed inside the peribolos wall. The votives indicate it was dedicated to Triptolemos, the Athenian hero responsible for agricultural mission of the Eleusinian Mysteries.	Miles (1998, p. 35-59); Palinkas (2008, p. 85-89); Miles (2012, p. 114-151).
	Adaptation of Telesterion	ca. 479 until 461	Mylonas argues a Telesterion with a rectangular plan and with benches (7 lines), symmetrical to the Anaktoron, were built in the period. It was expanded by 17.5 m on the west side through excavation of the acropolis stone (Dimensions 50 m X 27 m). Reconstruction was discontinued as a result of Kimon's ostracism in 461.[4] This plan cannot be fully reported by archaeological evidences (See Chapter 2). Lippolis argues Telesterion was adapted in the period (2006, p. 184)	Mylonas (2009, p. 107-113); Noack (1927, p. 93–106); Palinkas (2008, p. 105–107); Clinton (2009, p. 53); Dinsmoor (1950, p. 195, n. 4); Shear (1982, p. 129–133, p. 135, n. 28); Lippolis (2006, p. 184); Serafini (2019, p. 135, note 39)
	New peribolos	between 479 and 471	Location between the Tower H25 to the area of North Gate.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142-143); Mylonas (2009, p. 99–100); Philios (1886, p. 29–31); Noack (1927, p. 79).
	Dwellings	between 479 and 471	Dimension area of ca. 110 m lenght X 30 m width, where houses were built. Probably to host initiates or those involved with the sanctuary. Palinkas (2008, p. 94-97) suggests	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 143); Mylonas (2009, p. 108-109); Palinkas (2008, p. 94-97).

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[4] For contextualization, see Chapter 2.

			that the area was not merely auxiliary, but was part of a processional route to the interior of the sanctuary.	
	Gates F5 and F8; minor gate F7	between 479 and 471	Access to the new areas was made through two main gates: gates F5 and F8. An additional smaller gate is made between the towers H18 and H21 to give access to the enclosed area "of the Kimonian extension", according to Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 144).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 142-144); Philios (1882–1883, p. 92); Noack (1927, p. 32–39); Kourouniotes (1933–1935, p. 33–40); Travlos (1949, p. 142); Mylonas (2009, p. 109–110); Ziro, (1991, p. 49–55).
	Expansion of the platform between the Telesterion and the Peisistratean peribolos	between 479 and 471	According to Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 144), portions of this area are filled with soil, thus expanding the area of the platform itself.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 144); Kourouniotes (1931–1932, p. 18–22); Kourouniotes (1935, p. 73–75); Mylonas (2009, p. 107–108).
Classical Period (460 – 370)	New project for Telesterion	435 - 370	Iktinos` project was discontinued; It was adapted then by three architects (Koroibos, Metagenes and Xenokles). The Anaktoron was in the center of the structure.	Mylonas (2009, p. 113-123); Shear Jr (2016, p. 161-163); Sassù (2016); Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 144); Serafini (2009, p. 135)
	Expanded court around the new Telesterion	480 - 404	This expanded court added an area of ca. 40m length.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 145); Mylonas (2009, p. 124); Kourouniotes (1935, p. 33-37)
	Reform on South Gate, pylon (I10)	480 - 404	A reform was employed in South Gate (I10).	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 145); Mylonas (2009, p. 124-125)
	Reform on North Gate (area of the Minor Propylaea -	480 – 404	Few renovations were made on North Gate.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 145); Palinkas (2008, p. 113-114) Mylonas (2009, p. 124-125);

	H18)			Noack (1927, p. 183-188); Ziro (1991, p. 57-85)
	Storage building (probably to first offerings) - I14	480 - 404	Storage building was accessed by Gate F5 and has a triangular shape. See Chapter 8.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 145); Mylonas (2009, p. 125-127); Noack (1927, p. 189, fig. 76)
	Long monument base (**City Eleusinion**)	460 - 404	A long monument base was built to the east side of Temple of Triptolemos.	Miles (1998, p. 63); Palinkas (2008, p. 111-112).
Late Classical Period (396 – 307)	New expansion of the peribolos wall	370-360	South area, from Tower I12 to Tower K7 and from Tower I11 to Tower K6.	Mylonas (2009, p. 130-143); Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 146); Scranton (1941, p. 123-128); Noack (1927, p. 202-214)
	Expansion of the southern area	370-360	This expansion allowed the building of new storerooms for tithes.	Mylonas (2009, p. 130-143); Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 146);
	New south gate	370-360	New south gate was built beside square Tower K6.	Mylonas (2009, p. 150-151); Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 146);
	Repairs in the north gate (addition of a new tower)	370-360	Repairs were made in the North Gate and additional tower was built.	Cosmopoulos (2015, p. 146); Mylonas (2009, p. 149); Ziro (1991, p. 87-103); Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 177)
	Stoa of Philo	360 - 307	Building of a platform on the east side of the Telesterion, which supported Stoa of Philo later. Stoa of Philo was a columnade with twelve columns in doric style.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 146); Mylonas (2009, p. 133-135)
	Stepped platform on the west side of the Sacred Way (next tp	370 - 360	"Rectangular terrace measuring 9.50 (north-south) x 3.15 (east-west) […]" (COSMOPOULOS, 2015, p. 146)	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 146); Mylonas (2009, p. 141-143)

	Plutoneion)			
	Treasury	370 - 307	The structure identified as a Treasury is minor sized terrace with six steps next to the Ploutoneion.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 146); Mylonas (2009, p. 144); Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 177)
	Reform in the Ploutoneion	370 - 307	Reform of peribolos wall in front of the opening of the Eleusinian grotto e new reforms in Ploutoneion.	Cosmopoulos (2015. p. 146); Agelidis (2017, p. 147-167)
	City Eleusinion reforms (**Athens**)	370 - 320	Repairs and reforms were employed in the entrance of City Eleusinion.	Palinkas (2008, p. 132-135) Miles (1998, p. 59-70)

APPENDIX C - TEXTUAL REFERENCES ON PLACES AND RITUAL PRACTICES OF ELEUSIS AND THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

AUTHORSHIP, TEXT	GENRE	PERIOD	EXCERPT	TERMS	SACRED SPACES DESIGNATION	RITUALS	PLACES
Homeric Hymn to Demeter (**268-274**)	Mythical	7th – early 6th (?)	**268-274.** εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος, ἥτε μέγιστον ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖς τ᾽ ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται. ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι **νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν** ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος **Καλλιχόρου** καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ. **ὄργια** δ᾽ αὐτὴ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι, ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἱλάσκοισθε.	- **ναός** - **βωμός** - **Καλλίχορον** - **ὄργια**	**270.** Great temple; Altar **272.** Kallichoron (sacred well)	**273.** Orgia (Mysteries rites)	Eleusis (sanctuary) Kallichoron (sacred well)
Homeric Hymn to Demeter	Mythical	7th – early	**315-320.** ἵκετο δὲ πτολίεθρον	- **Ἐλευσίς** - **ναός**	**218.** Eleusis **219.** Temple of	-	Eleusis (temple)

(315-324)		6th (?)	Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης, εὗρεν **δ' ἐν νηῷ Δημήτερα** κυανόπεπλον καί μιν φωνήσασ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· [...]		Demeter		
Homeric Hymn to Demeter **(355-356)**	Mythical	7th – early 6th (?)	**355-356. [...]** ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε θυώδεος ἔνδοθι **νηοῦ** ἧσται Ἐλευσῖνος **κραναὸν πτολίεθρον** ἔχουσα.	- **ναός** - **κραναὸν πτολίεθρον**	**355.** Temple **356.** rocky citadel of Eleusis	-	Eleusis (temple) Eleusis (sanctuary)
Herodotus, History **(8.65)**	History	440-430	**8.65.2.** [...] τῶν **ἱρῶν** τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι [...] **8.65.4** τὴν δὲ **ὁρτὴν** ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ,καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων **μυεῖται** [...] **8.65.5** [...] τῇ	- **ἱερός** - **ὁρτή** (jônico para ἑορτή) - **μυέω**	**8.65.2.** Sacred rites; **8.65.4-5.** Banquet (celebration)	**8.65.4.** Initiation	Thriassion plain; Elêusis (general)

			ὀρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι.				
Herodotus, History (**9.65**)	History	440-430	**9.65.2.** [...] τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι **ἀνάκτορον**.	- **ἀνάκτορον**	**9.65.2.** Sacred and inviolable place	-	Chamber of the Telesterion (*anaktoron*)
Aristophanes, Os Archanians (**735-749**)	Theater (comedy)	425	**746-747.** ὅπως δὲ γρυλλιξεῖτε καὶ κοΐξετε χἠσεῖτε φωνὰν **χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν**.	- **χοιρίον μυστηρικῶν**	-	**747.** Pig sacrifices	-
Sophocles, Antigone(**1098-1153**)	Theater (tragedy)	441	**1118-1120. [...]** μέδεις δὲ **παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, [...]**	- **κόλπος**	**1119-1120.** "The protected plain of Demeter Eleusina, common to all."	-	Thriassion plain (?)
Euripides, The Suppliants (**1-43**)	Theater (tragedy)	423	**1-2.** Δήμητερ ἑστιοῦχ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνος χθονὸς τῆσδ᾽, οἵ τε **ναοὺς** ἔχετε πρόσπολοι θεᾶς, [...] **28-31.** [...] τυγχάνω δ᾽ ὑπὲρ χθονὸς ἀρότου **προθύουσ᾽**, ἐκ δόμων ἐλθοῦσ᾽ ἐμῶν πρὸς τόνδε σηκόν, ἔνθα πρῶτα φαίνεται	- **ναοὺς** - **προθύω** - **ἐσχάρα**	**1-2.** temple **33-34.** sacred altar to the Two Goddesses (*eschára*)	**28.** Sacrifice	Eleusis (temple); Sacred altar of sacrifice (eschara)

			φρίξας ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆσδε κάρπιμος στάχυς. **33-34.** [...] μένω πρὸς **ἁγναῖς ἐσχάραις** δυοῖν θεαῖν Κόρης τε καὶ Δήμητρος, [...]				
Lysias, Against Andocides (**6.4-5**)	Speech	440	**6.4-5.** φέρε γάρ, ἐὰν νυνὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἀθῷος ἀπαλλαγῇ δι᾽ 1 ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ ἔλθῃ κληρωσόμενος τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων καὶ λάχῃ βασιλεύς, ἄλλο τι ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ **θυσίας θύσει** καὶ **εὐχὰς εὔξεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια**, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνθάδε **Ἐλευσινίῳ**, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ **Ἐλευσῖνι ἱερῷ**, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπιμελήσεται	- **θυσία** - **εὐχή** - **Ἐλευσινίῳ** - **Ἐλευσῖνι ἱερῷ**	**6.4-5.** Places of celebration of the Mysteries **6.4-5.** "sacred matters"	**6.4-5.** Make sacrifices; Offer orations	Eleusinion (Athens); Eleusis (sanctuary)

			μυστηρίοις, ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς ἀδικῇ μηδὲ ἀσεβῇ **τὰ ἱερά**; [...]				
Andocides, On the Mysteries (**11**)	Speech	400	**11.** [...] μέλλετε· Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν **τὰ μυστήρια** ποιοῦντα **ἐν οἰκίᾳ** μεθ' ἑτέρων,	- **τὰ μυστήρια**	**11.** celebration of Mysteries in a "private house"	-	Sacred place (?)
Aristophanes, The Frogs (**340-418**)	Theater (comedy)	405	**340-342. (**Χορός) †ἔγειρε φλογέας λαμπάδας ἐν χερσὶ γὰρ ἥκει τινάσσων†, Ἴακχ' ὦ Ἴακχε, **νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ.** [...]	- **τελετῆς**	-	**342.** Initiation	-
Aristophanes, The Frogs (**370-371**)	Theater (comedy)	405	**370-371.** [...] ἐξίστασθαι **μύσταισι χοροῖς:** ὑμεῖς δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπὴν καὶ παννυχίδας τὰς ἡμετέρας αἳ τῇδε πρέπουσιν **ἑορτῇ.**	- **μύστης** - **ἑορτῇ**	**371.** Banquet (celebration)	**370.** Chant of the initiates	-

Aristophanes, The Frogs (**386-387**)	Theater (comedy)	405	**386-387.** (Χορός) Δήμητερ **ἀγνῶν ὀργίων** ἄνασσα συμπαραστάτει,	**- ὄργια**	-	**386.** Orgia (mysteries)	-
Xenophon, Hellenica (**1.4.14**)	History	411-362	**1.4.14.** [...] ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς **τὰ μυστήρια**,	**- τὰ μυστήρια**	**1.4.14.** Mysteries of Eleusis	**1.4.14.** Mysteries (celebration in general)	Athens (?)
Xenophon, Helenica (**1.4.20**)	History	411-362	**1.4.20-21.** [,,,] ὡς οἷός τε ὢν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν **τὰ μυστήρια** τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν **[...]**	**- τὰ μυστήρια**	**1.4.40.** Mysteries of Eleusis	-	Sacred Way (between Athens and Eleusis)
Isocrates, The Panegyricus (**28-30**)	Speech	380	**28-29** [...] γεγόνασι, καὶ τὴν **τελετήν**, ἧς οἱ μετασχόντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν,	**- τελετή** **- πόλις** **- μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων** **- απαρχή**	**29.** City (Athens, responsible for the advent of agriculture and the Mysteries)	**29.** Initiation (mysthical rite) **31.** "First Fruits" donations	Athens ("our polis")

			οὕτως **ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν** οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὧν ἔλαβεν ἅπασι μετέδωκεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καθ᾽ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δείκνυμεν, [...] **31. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων** ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας **ἀπαρχὰς** τοῦ σίτου καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι,				
Isocrates, The Panegyricus (**157**)	Speech	380	157. "[...] **Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες** ἐν **τῇ τελετῇ τῶν**	- **τῇ τελετῇ τῶν** μυστηρίων - ἱερός	**157.** Sacred ceremonies	**157.** Initiation into Mysteries	Eleusis (sanctuary)

			μυστηρίων διὰ τὸ τούτων μῖσος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἴργεσθαι **τῶν ἱερῶν**, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις,"				
Aeschines, On the Embassy(**133, 138**)	Speech	343	**133.** [...] ὑμῖν παραδώσειν τὰ φυλακτήρια, καὶ τοῖς **σπονδοφόροις** τοῖς τὰς **μυστηριώτιδας** σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο. [...] **138**. [...] **τὰς σπονδὰς** δὲ οἷς ἐμέλλομεν βοηθεῖν **τὰς μυστηριώτιδας** οὐκ ἐδέχοντο [...]	- **μυστηριώτιδας** - **σπονδοφόρος** - **σπονδή** - **μυστηριῶτις**	**133.** Mysteries (genitive) **138.** Mysteries	**133. 138.** Sacred truce for the celebration of the Mysteries.	-
Aeschines, On the Embassy (**134**)	Speech	343	**134.** [...] καὶ οἱ **τὰ μυστήρια** ἐπαγγέλλοντες	- **τὰ μυστήρια** - **σπονδή** - **πρέσβυς**	**134.** Mysteries of Eleusis	**134.** Sacred truce and the	-

			note μόνους τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφαινον note Φωκέας οὐ δεδεγμένους τὰς **σπονδάς**, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεῦρο ἐληλυθότας **πρέσβεις** δεδεκότας. [...]			ambassadors[5]	
Pseudo-Scylax, Periplus (**57**)	Geography	4th	**57.** [Ἀττική.] Μετὰ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς εἰσὶν **Ἀθηναίων πόλεις.** Καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς **Ἐλευσίς**, οὗ **ἱερὸν Δήμητρός** ἐστι, καὶ τεῖχος.	- **Ἀθηναίων πόλεις** - **Ἐλευσίς** - **ἱερὸν Δήμητρός**	**57.** Sanctuary of Demeter	-	Athens (belonging cities) Eleusis (polis) Eleusis (sanctuary)
Dinarcus, Against Demosthenis (**23**)	Speech	4th	**23.** Θεμίστιον δὲ τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον, διότι τὴν Ῥοδίαν κιθαρίστριαν ὕβρισεν **Ἐλευσινίοις**, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, [...]	- **Ἐλευσινίοις**	**23.** Celebration of Eleusis	-	-

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[5] For meaning of *spondorophoi,* see Glossary.

Pseudo-Aristotle, On Wonderful Things (**27.131**)	Philosophy?	4th	**131.** Φασὶν οἰκοδομούντων Ἀθηναίων τὸ **τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι** περιεχομένην στήλην πέτραις εὑρεθῆναι χαλκῆν, ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο "**Δηϊόπης τόδε σῆμα**", ἣν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Μουσαίου εἶναι γυναῖκα, τινὲς δὲ **Τριπτολέμου μητέρα γενέσθα**ι.	- ἱερὸν - σῆμᾰ	**131.** Sanctuary of Demeter in Eleusis **131.** Deiope's Tomb	-	Eleusis (sanctuary)

Sources: TOPOSTEXT (2023), PERSEUS DIGITAL LIBRARY (2023), PERSEUS UNDER PHILOLOGIC (2023).

Notes: The sections in Hesiod (Fragments, CW.F77), Theophrast (Characters, 3), Aristophanes (Pluto, 1006), Aeschines (Against Ctesifon 130) were not included because they are brief passages and with little information about the aspects of interest for our purposes (spatialities, designation of sacred spaces and rituals).

APPENDIX D – EPIGRAPHIC REPERTOIRE

INDEX

I. Dedications

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">1. Racepost stele with dedication by Alkiphron (I Eleusis 3 = IG I³ 991)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Description</td><td colspan="2">This is a stele in poros stone, which carries marks for a race course (possibly from the hippodrome of Eleusis) (CLINTON, 2008, p. 30). The text has a dedication made by an individual called Alkiphron.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type</td><td colspan="2">Dedication</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dating</td><td colspan="2">ca.middle of 6th century B.C.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Archaeological information</td><td>Location</td><td>Sanctuary of Eleusis</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type</td><td>Stele</td></tr>
<tr><td>Material</td><td>Poros stone</td></tr>
<tr><td>Conservation state</td><td>A: "Parts of lines 1-2 remain. […]"
B: "Parts of lines 2-4. Broken on top and bottom; the left and right sides and the back are preserved; the left side has rectangular cuttings that probably belong to a later reworking; the right side has a cutting that looks like a prythole" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 11-12)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inventory Number / Dimensions</td><td>A: H: 0,15m; W: 0,31 m; Th: 0,16m; Inv. No. E 15 (= Skias' No. 92)
B: H: 0,35m; W: 0,31 m; Th: 0,33m; Inv. No. E 189 (= Skias' No. 45)
Repository: Archaeological Museum of Eleusis</td></tr>
<tr><td>Text information</td><td>Editions</td><td>I Eleusis 3 (Clinton, 2005a); SEG XV 50 (WZ Halle 4, 1965-55); IG I 817 (Hiller); IG I³ 991</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reconstituted text</td><td colspan="2">
δέμοι Ἀθεναίον ἄ[ρχον]   ←
a
στέλας καδέθεκεν / Ἀκίφρον   →
καὶ τόνδε δρόμον ποίεσεν   →
b
ἐραστὸν / Δέμετρός τε χάριν   →
[καὶ filiae τ]ανυπέπλο   →
5

(Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 3)

Translation
To the People of Athens, the archon Akiphron erected the pillar and made this excellent racecourse as thanks to Demeter [and her daughter] with long robe.
</td></tr>
<tr><td>Image</td><td colspan="2" align="center">Fragment A:

Fragment B:</td></tr>
</table>

	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456376)
Bibliography	Clinton (2005, p. 11-12) Clinton (2008, p. 30) Rubensohn (1892, p. 47) Inscriptiones Graecae (INSCRIPTIONES GRAECAE, 2023, IG I³ 991) - with translation to German by Klaus Hallof)

2. Marble discus with dedication by Aisimides (I Eleusis 6 = IG I³ 989)		
Description	This is fragment of a discus in white marble with a dedication by an individual called Aisimides. The individual was probably a victor of the agonistic festival of Eleusinia. The discus was dedicated by him to the Two Goddesses (Demeter and Kore) and probably deposited as a votive (CLINTON, 2008, p. 31).	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 520-500 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis
	Type	Votive discus
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	The surface is "heavily encrusted" (Clinton, 2005a, p. 13)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 5 (=Skias' No. 76) Diam. Ca. 0,28m; Th. 0,059; LH. 0.07m
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 6 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 989; Skias (Ephem., 1984, p.. 192-193, no. 4); IG I² 806 (Hiller); SEG XII 59 (Jeffrey, 1949); SEG X 336 (Crönert, 1925) Repository: Archaeological Museum of Eleusis
Reconstituted text	Αἰσι[μίδες μ' ἀνέθε]κεν. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 6)	**Translation** Aisimides dedicates this
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456565)	
Bibliography	Clinton (2005, p. 13, I Eleusis 6) Clinton (2008, p. 31) Raubitschek (1939, p. 155)	

	3. Pilar base with dedication by Aristodamos of Metapontum (I Eleusis 10 = IG I³ 1006)			
Description	This is a pilar base for unknown object with a dedication by an individual called Aristodamos of Metapontum. This dedication is evidence to the presence of foreigners in the sanctuary of Eleusis. It also relates to the well-documented worship of Demeter in Metapontum, Magna Graecia. See Clinton (2008, p. 31, I Eleusis 10).			
Type	Dedication			
Dating	ca. 500 B.C.			
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis		
	Type	Pilar base for unknown object (probably a statue or votive niche)		
	Material	Eleusinian stone		
	Conservation state	"[…] Broken on the bottom, rough-picked on all surfaces" (CLINTON, 2005a, I Eleusis 10).		
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 185 (= Skias' No. 28) H. 0,515m; W. 0,27m; Th. 0,21m; LH. 0,023-0,043 (iota).		
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 10 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 1006; IG I² 814 (Hiller)		
Reconstituted text	Ἀριστόδα[μος - - - *nomen patris?* - - - -] Μεταποντ[ῖνος - - - - - - - - - - ἀνέθεκεν]. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 10)		**Translation**	Aristodamos, son of […] of Metapontum dedicates this.
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456302)			
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 15, I Eleusis 10) Clinton (2005b, plate 3) Clinton (2008, p. 31) Nausitoo (2023, Metaponto) Raubitschek (1949, 238)			

	4. Column in white marble with dedication (I Eleusis 14 = IG I³ 995)		
Description	This is a white marble column with a dedication by an unknown individual. The fragmented text indicates the name of sculptor was also informed.		
Type	Dedication		
Dating	ca. 500-480 B.C.		
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – entrance	
	Type	Column	
	Material	White marble	
	Conservation state	"Broken on the top and bottom. It originally had sixteen flutes of which twelve can still be counted." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 18)	
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 186 (=Skias' No. 27) H. 0,73m; Diam. 0,25m; LH. 0,023m-0,030m.	
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 14 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 995 (Lewis); IG I² 804 (Hiller);	
Reconstituted text	[- - - - - - - - - - -]ίνιος [- - - - - - - - - -]μ' ἀνέθεκεν : τει Δέμετρι κ[αὶ τει Κόρει] [- - - - - - - - - -]ἐποίεσεν. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 14)	**Translation**	[…]inios dedicate this: to Demeter and Kore […] made this.
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456299)		
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 18, I Eleusis 14) Clinton (2005b, plate 4) Clinton (2008, p. 37) Philios (1894, p. 189-190, no. 7)		

5. Base for a column with choregic dedication (I Eleusis 53 = IG I³ 970)		
Description	This is a white marble base for column with dedication by *choregoi*. The victorious plays were directed by Aristophanes and Sophokles.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 410 – 402 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - entrance
	Type	Base for a column
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	The piece has two fragments.
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 254 + 946 (= Skias' No. 37) H. 0,31m; W. 0,66m; Th. 0,60m; LH. 0,015m (lines 1-2, 4), 0,01m (lines 3, 5) Repository: the courtyard in front of Archaeological Museum of Eleusis
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 53 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 970; IG II² 3090 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	[Γ]νάθις Τιμοκ[ήδ]ο[ς, Ἀ]ναξανδρίδης Τιμα[γ]όρο 1 χορηγõντες κωμωιδοῖς ἐνίκων. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐ[δ]ίδασκεν. ἑτέρα νίκη τραγωιδοῖς. Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκεν. 5 (SGI, 2023, IG II² 3090)	**Translation** Gnathis son of Timokedes and Anaxandrides son of Timagoras, serving as sponsors, were victors in comedy: Aristophanes directed; another victory in tragedy: Sophokles directed. (Translation by Stephen Lambert and Feyo Schuddeboom, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 53)
Image	Fragment A: Fragment B: Source: Cornell University Library (2023)	

	(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:455810; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456537)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 53) Agelidis (2009, p. 90) Clinton (2005a, p. 70-71) Clinton (2005b, plate 25) Clinton (2008, p. 82-83)	Csapo; Wilson (2020, p. 93-95) Tracy (2016, p. 152)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">6. **Rectangular Pillar with a dedication by the victor in Greater Eleusinia**
(I Eleusis 54 = IG II² 3124)</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Description**</td><td colspan="2">This a rectangular pillar in white marble with a dedication by Kydeides Kydistratou Peiraieus, victor in the agonistic festival of Eleusis (Eleusinia).</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Type**</td><td colspan="2">Dedication</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Dating**</td><td colspan="2">ca. 400-350 B.C.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">**Archaeological information**</td><td>**Location**</td><td>Sanctuary of Eleusis</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Type**</td><td>Rectangular Pillar</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Material**</td><td>White Marble</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Conservation state**</td><td>It is preserved on all sides, except for the top and bottom (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 71).</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Inventory Number / Dimensions**</td><td>Inv. No. E 579 (= Skias' No. 72)
H. 0,50m; W. 0,19m; Th. 0,15m; LH: 0,017m; Stoich. 0,0195 m (hor.) x 0,0228 m (vert.)</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Text information**</td><td>**Editions**</td><td>I Eleusis 54 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 3124 (Kirchner); IG II³ 4 579</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Reconstituted text**</td><td>[Κ]υδείδης   1
Κυδιστράτο
Πειραιεὺς Ἐ-
λευσίνια τὰ
μεγάλα πάλη-   5
ν νικήσας ἀν-
έθηκε.

(SGI, 2023, IG II² 3124)</td><td>**Translation**   Kydeides
son of Kydistratos
of Piraeus
having been victorious at
the Great
Eleusinia
in the wrestling
dedicated (this).

(Translation by David Weidgenannt, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 54)</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Image**</td><td colspan="2">
<div align="center">Source: Clinton (2005b, plate 25)</div></td></tr>
<tr><td>**Bibliography**</td><td colspan="2">AIO (2023, I Eleusis 54)
Clinton (2005, p. 71, I Eleusis 54)
Clinton (2005, plate 25)
Clinton (2008, p. 83)
Kyle (1987, p. 206)</td></tr>
</table>

7. Statue base in pentelic marble with a dedication of Kekropia (I Eleusis 57 = IG II² 4552)		
Description	This is a statue base in pentelic marble dedicated by Kekropia daughter of Kal[lias]. It was sculpted and inscribed by Cephisodotus I, son of the famous Praxiteles.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 375 BC	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Pentelic marble
	Conservation state	This statue base "is well preserved on all sides, except for the right and back sides" (Clinton, 2005a, p.72).
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 409 (= Skias' No. 19). H: 0.34m; W: 0.42 m; Th. 0.21m.; LH. 0.017 m. (Lines 1-4): 0,015 m. (0,011-0,020m,) (Line 5).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 57 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4552 (Kirchner); SEG XIII 62 (Marcadé); IG II² 4552 (Kirchner)

Reconstituted text	τοῖν Θεοῖν ἀν[έθηκεν] Κεκροπία Καλ[λίο θυγάτηρ] τ δ 'Ι π π [ο μ ί κ ο] Α ύ τ ο κ λ [έ ο ς γ υ ν ή]. *vacat* 0115 m. Κηφισό[δοτος ἐποίσεν] (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 57)	**Translation**	Kekropia, daughter of Kallias, wife of Hipponiko Autokleous, dedicated this to the Two Goddesses Kephisodotos made it

Image	
	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456569).
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 73, I Eleusis 57) Clinton (2005b, plate 25) Clinton (2008, p. 83-84) Clinton (1974, p. 49-50, daduch no. 2)

	8. Statue base in white marble with dedication by Diophantos of Eleusis (I Eleusis 58 = IG II² 4608 + 4934)		
Description	This is a statue base in white (pentelic) marble with a dedication of Diophantos Chairephanous Eleusinios to Demeter and Kore. It was made by the sculptor Cephisodotus I, son of Praxiteles.		
Type	Dedication		
Dating	ca. 375 B.C.		
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - found in the porch of Stoa of Philon (in front of the Telesterion)	
	Type	Statue base	
	Material	White marble	
	Conservation state	Two fragments. A. "Large fragment of a statue base of white marble, preserved on the left, top, and bottom […]. A remnant of a lifting boss appears on the left side. Otherwise the preserved faces are smooth." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 73). B. description by François Lenomant (1862) and (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 73).	
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 989 (= Skias' No. 772). H. 0.35m; W. 0.45m.; Th. 1.25m.; LH. 0.019 m. (lines 1-2), 0.014 m. (line 3).	
Text information	**Editions**	A + B: I Eleusis 58 (Clinton, 2005a) A: IG II² 1552 (Kirchner); IG II² 4608 (Marcadé) B: Lenormant (1862, p. 232-233, no 38); IG II² 4934 (Kirchner).	
Reconstituted text	τοῖν Θεοῖν Διόφαν[τος] Χαιρεφάνο[ς] Ἐλευσ[ίνιος] *vacat* 0.09m Κηφισόδοτος ἐποίσε. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 58)	**Translation**	Diophantos Chairephanos Eleusinios dedicated this to the Two Goddesses Kephisodotos made it.
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456529)		
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 73, I Eleusis 58) Clinton (2005b, plate 26) Clinton (2008, p. 84-85)		

9. Stele in white marble with a dedication by Euktemonides of Eleusis (I Eleusis 61 = IG II² 2844 + IG II² 2839)	

Description	This is a white marble stele with a dedication by Euktemonides of Eleusis.	
Type	Dedication (officials)	
Dating	367/6 BC	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	A. (IG II² 2844) Well preserved on "the left side and perhaps on the back (with traces of modern cement) above the inscribed surface is a frame. it extends on the left side and is overlaid by a relief of which only traces remain" (Clinton, 2005a, p. 74). B. (IG II² 2839) it "is preserved on its right side, with a small piece of molding" (Clinton, 2005a, p. 74).
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. Nos. E 118 (fragment a) (= Skias No. 26B) e 1129 (fragment b) (=Skias No. 314). H: 0,28m; W: 0,46m (in line 1). Th. 010 m. (0.12m através da moldagem); LH. 0.008-0.010 m; Stoich. 0.0169 m. (hor.) X 0.017m (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	A. IG II² 2844 (Kirchner); B. Kirchner IG II² 2839 (Kirchner); A+B: Clinton (2005, I Eleusis 61)

Reconstituted text	[Εὐκ]τημονίδης Ἀμφι[χάρος?] Ἐλευσ- [ίνιος ἀ]νέθηκεν τοῖ[ν Θ]εοῖν στεφ- [ανωθεὶ]ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δή[μο]υ καὶ τῆς βο- [υλῆς καὶ] τῶν πρυτ[άνε]ων τῶν τῆς Ἱ- [πποθωντί]δος ἐπ' Ἀγ[αθ]οκλέος ἄ[ρχ]- [οντος]. vacat (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 61)	**Translation**	Euktemonides son of Amphi- of Eleusis dedicated this to the Two Goddesses, having been crowned by the People and the Council and the prytany of Hippothontis in the archonship of Agathokles (357/6). (Translation by Stephen Lambert and David Weidgenannt, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 61)

Image	

Source: Cornell University Library (2023)
(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456298)

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 61) Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 61) Clinton (2005b, plate 26) Clinton (2008, p. 74-75)

10. Dedicatory plaque by the victor of the Synoris (I Eleusis 64 = IG II² 3126)			
Description	This is a plaque in white marble with a dedication by "[...]los Promachos Eleusinios", who was victorious at the Synoris (chariot race) in Eleusinia and the Great Panathenaia.		
Type	Dedication		
Dating	ca. 400 – 350 B.C.		
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general	
	Type	Dedicatory plaque	
	Material	White marble	
	Conservation state	"Plaque of white marble of which only the top (smooth-picked) and back are original." Clinton (2005a, p. 76)	
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 747 (= Skias' No. 100) H. 0.10m; W. 0.51m; Th. 0.07m; LH. 0.019-0.023m.	
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 64 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 3126 (Kirchner)	
Reconstituted text	[. . . . .]λος Προμάχο Ἐλευσί[νιος] [ἀνέθη]κεν νικήσας συνωρ[ίδι Ἐλευ]- [σίνι]α, Παναθήναια τὰ μ[εγάλα]. *vacat* (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 64)	**Translation**	-los son of Promachos of Eleusis dedicated (this) having been victorious with a pair of horses at the [Eleusinia?], at the Great Panathenaia. (Translation by David Weidgenannt, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 64)
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456436)		
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 64) Clinton (2005a, I Eleusis 64) Clinton (2005b, plate 26) Clinton (2008, p. 86)		

11. Statue base with a dedication (I Eleusis 65)		
Description	This is a statue base in white marble with fragmentary dedication.	
Type	Statue Base	
Dating	ca. 350 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	"Now located on the eastern side of the processional path near the entrance to the Telesterion" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 77)
	Type	Statue base
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Block of white marble preserved on all sides; it has a cutting on top and anathyrosis on its left and right sides." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 77)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 979 (= Skias' No. 815). H. 0.305m; H. 0.305 m; W. 0.573m; Th. 0.82m. LH. 0.020-0.031m.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 65 (Clinton, 2005a)

Reconstituted text	[- - - - - - - - - -]μάχου Δωρό[θεος - - - - - -] [- demoticum - -]ς Ἐλ[ευσίνιος] (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 65)	**Translation**	[…]marchos Doro[theos……..] ["demotic"]s El[eusinios]

Image	
	  Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456483)

Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 77. I Eleusis 65) Clinton (2005b, plate 27) Clinton (2008, p. 86)

12. Base in white marble with a dedication by a *choregos* (I Eleusis 66 = IG II² 3100)		
Description	This is a base for unknown object (probably a statue) dedicated by a *choregos* of comedy play.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	Ca. 350 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Base for unknown object
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	It is "preserved on all sides except the back and right; the top and bottom surfaces are smooth. There is a cutting on top towards the left front corner, probably for a leg of a tripod." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 77)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 174 (= Skias' No. 257). H. 0.14m; W. 0.49m; Th. 0.37m; LH 0.015m. (0.013-0.016 m).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 66 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 3100 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. Ἀθηνόδωρος Γο[- - - - - - - - -] χορηγῶν κωμωιδ[οῖς ἐνίκα] (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 66)	**Translation** Athenodoros son of Go- [was victorious] as sponsor in comedy. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 66)
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456667)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 66) Clinton (2005a, p. 77, I Eleusis 66) Clinton (2005b, plate 27) Clinton (2008, p. 86)	

13. Statue base made by Cephisodotos (I Eleusis 75 = IG II² 4304)		
Description	This is white marble statue base made by the sculptor Cephisodotos.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 350-300 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Statue base
	Material	White Marble ("Pentelic")
	Conservation state	"Fragment of a base of white marble, broken on all sides but the top, which is smooth-picked; at the back edge a lip of stone rises vertically to aheight of ca. 0.02m. above the smooth top surface." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 83-84)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 570 (= Skias' No. 18) H. 0.38m; W. 0.28m; Th. 0.53m; LH. 0.015m Repository: Epigraphic Museum in Athens
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 75 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4304 (Kirchner);

Reconstituted text	*vacat* Κηφισόδοτος [ἐποίησεν]. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 75)	**Translation**	*vacat* Kephisodotos [made it].

Translation	
	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456241)
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 83-84, I Eleusis 75) Clinton (2005b, plate 32) Clinton (2008, p. 90)

14. Base in white marble with dedication (I Eleusis 77 = IG II² 1702)		
Description	This is a white marble base for unknown object (probably for statue). The names in the inscription are possibly from *Epistatai* of Eleusis.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 350-340 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general
	Type	Base for unknown object
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Preserved on all sides but the top. A dowel can be seen on the bottom; the sides, which have anathyrosis, and back are smooth-picked. A guide line was chiseled at a later date a few centimeters (apparently) below the top all around the stone, by someone intending to cut off the top. Other blocks originally completed this monument to the left and right and in back." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 84)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 180 (= Skias' no. 40). H. 0.31m; W. 0.61m; Th. 0.62; LH. 0.020 m (line 3), 0.016 m (lines 4-13).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 77 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1702 (Kirchner); SEG XXXIX 176

Reconstituted text		Translation	

[— — — —]‖[….9…..]Λ#⁷[..]‖[— — —]
[στεφανω]‖[θ]έντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ήμου — — —]
[— — — —]‖τες
 	
| Σώτης ⋮ Λαμπτρε[ύς]
 	
| Σκάφων ⋮ Φιλαί ᵛᵛ[δης]
 	
| Ἐλπίνης ⋮ Προβα[λίσιος]
 	
| Ἀγνόθεος ⋮ Κήττ[ιος]
 	
| Φιλόθηρος ⋮ Ἀγ[νο][ύσιος]
 	
| Λυσίστρατος ⋮ Φυλά[σιος]
 	
| Λυσίστρατος ⋮ Μελ[ιτεύς]
 	
| [Χα]ροπῖνος ⋮ Δεκε[λεεύς]
 	
           vacat
 	
(SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 77)
		. . .having been crowned by the People . . .. .
		Sotes of LamptraiI
		  Skaphon of Philaidai
		Elpines of Probalinthos
		Hagnotheos of Kettos
		Philotheros of Hagnous
		Lysistratos of Phyle
		  Lysistratos of Melite
		Charopinos of Dekeleia.
		uninscribed space
		
		(Translation by David Weidgenannt, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 77)	

Image	
	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023)

	(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456666)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 77) Clinton (2005a, p. 84-85, I Eleusis 77) Clinton (2005b, plate 32) Clinton (2008, p. 90)

	15. Statue base with dedication to Dionysus (I Eleusis 79 = IG II² 2845)	
Description	This is a statue base in Eleusinian gray limestone with a dedication to Dionysus made by four wealthy individuals. It was probably a base for a statue of Dionysus (not found) (CLINTON, 2008, p. 90-91).	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 350-300 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Not from the sanctuary of Demeter - but it belongs to the Eleusinian deme
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Eleusinian gray limestone
	Conservation state	"Preserved on all sides. Ah oval cutting is preserved on top (2.5 cm. deep) for the plinth of a marble statue. Palaios reperted a dowel hole on the bottom for attachment to another block below it." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 86)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 1139. H. 0.27m; W. 0.53m; Th. 0515m; LH. 0.012-0.016m
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 79 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2845 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	Μοιροκλῆς Ε[ὐ]θ[υδ]ήμον Ἀντίθεος Καλλ[ι]κλέους Τιμοκήδης Τιμασίου Ἀντιφάνης Εὐξενίδου vacat 0.05m [ἀνέ]θεσαν τῶι Διονύσωι [στεφα]νωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν vacat (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 79; Based on Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, 1929)	**Translation** Moirokles son of Euthydemos Antitheos son of Kallikles Timokedes son of Timasios Antiphanes son of Euxenides *Uninscribed space* dedicated (this) to Dionysos, having been crowned by the demesmen. (Translation by Julian Schneider, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 79)
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456627)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 79) Clinton (2005a, p. 86, I Eleusis 79) Clinton (2005b, plate 33) Clinton (2008, p. 90-91)	

16. Fragmented base with dedication made by soldiers in honour of their general and patrol-leaders (I Eleusis 81 = IG II² 2973)		
Description	This is a "Hymettian" base (probably for a statue) with dedication made by soldiers in honour of the general Dein[okrates Kleombrotou Acharneus] and the *Peripolarchoi* (patrol-commanders) (AIO, I Eleusis 81).	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 338-7 BC	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general
	Type	Base for unknown object (probably a statue)
	Material	Blue-gray marble ("Hymettian")
	Conservation state	"Fragment of base of blue-gray marble (probably close to the original upper left corner), broken on all sides but the bottom. Found by Koehler '*in ruderibus fani*.'" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 88)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 257 (= Skias' No. 323). H. 0.095; W. 0.24; Th. 0.16m; LH. 0.017 (line 2), 0.014 (line 3)m ca. 0.010m (line 3).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 81 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2973 (Kirchner); IG II 1219 (Koehler)

Reconstituted text	[οἱ] στ[ρ]ατ[ι]ῶται σ[τεφανώσαντες τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ] τούς περιπολάρχ[ους ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύ]- [ν]ης ἀνέθεσαν [ἀντιστεφανωθέντες ἐπὶ - - - - - - - - - - -] [ἄρχουντο]ς Δειν[οκράτην Κλεομβρότου Ἀχαρνέα] [καὶ -] [καὶ -] - (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 81)	**Translation**	The soldiers [having crowned the general and] the patrol-leaders [for their excellence and justice] dedicated (this) . . .. . . Dein[okrates?] . . .. . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert and Chris de Lisle, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 81)

Image	
	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456254)

Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 88, I Eleusis 81) Clinton (2005b, plate 33) Clinton (2008, p. 91-92)

	17. Fragmented base with names of ephebes of Oineis (I Eleusis 82 = IG II² 2408)	
Description	This is a fragmented base for unknown object with what seems to be a dedication by ephebes of Oineis. Only the names are preserved from the text.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 335 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Base for unknown object (probably a statue)
	Material	Blue-gray marble ("Hymettian")
	Conservation state	"Fragment of a base (?) of blue-gray marble, broken on all sides but the left and right." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 88)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 112 (= Skias' No. 110). H. 0.19m; W. 0.30m; Th. 0.12m; LH. 0.005-0.008m.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 82 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2408 (Kirchner); SEG XLV 159
Reconstituted text	- Μενεκλ[- - - ca.9 - - - - - Ἱπποτ]ομά[δης] Νικόστρατο[ς Π]υθοδώ[ρ]ου Ἀχαρνεύς Αὐτοκλῆς Αὐτίου Ἀχαρνεύς Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀντιγένους Φυλάσιος Ἄρχιππος Ἀρχεστράτου Λακιάδης [Θ]εόπομπος Ἀθηνοδώρου Ἀχαρνεύς [´ Α]τρόμητος Αἰσχίνου Κοθωκίδης Καλλίμαχος Καλλιμάχου Ἀχαρνεύς Χαρίδημος Σατύρου Λακιάδης Ἡγέστρατος Ἡγητορίδου Ἀχαρ[νεύς] Ἀχαρνῆς *vacat* [*vacat*] Πυθόδωρος Πο[- - - - - ca.16---- --] - (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 82)	**Translation** --- Menekl[--- ca. 9 --- Ippot]omades] Nikostratos, son of Pythodoros, from Acharnes Autokleus, son of Autious, from Acharnes Aristophon, son of Antigenos, from Phyle Archippos, son of Archestratos, from Lakiades Theopompos, son of Athenodoros, from Acharnes Atrometos, son of Aeschines, from Kothokides Kallimachos, son of Kallimachos, from Acharnes Charisdemos, son of Satiros, from Lakiades Higestratos, son of Higetoridos, from Acharnes Acharnes *vacat* Pythodoros Po[….] ….
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456216)	

Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 88-89, I Eleusis 82) Clinton (2005b, plate 33) Clinton (2008, p. 92-93) Tracy (1995, p. 100, 103 = SEG XLV 159)

18. Marble relief with dedication by Lysimachides to Theos and Thea (I Eleusis 83 = IG II² 4683)		
Description	This is a marble relief in white marble with a dedication by Lysimachides to Theos and Thea (probably Hades and Persephone). The relief presents two dining tables. On the left table is Kore on the right side carrying a torch on left hand and she lays a crown with her right hand on Demeter, who is in a special seat and holds a scepter. On Demeter's side is a winebearer and a crater. On the right table is Theos raising a rhyton with his left hand on the right side and Thea holding a wreath or ribbon (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 89).	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 335-320 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Inside the Eleusinian sanctuary - small building *in antis* within the Plutoneion
	Type	Marble relief enclosed in aedicular frame
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Preserved on all sides; a rough spot ca. 0.13m wide in the center of the bottom surface probably indicates where a tenon was cut off, with which the relief was inserted in a pillar." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 89)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. *Glypta* 1519. H. 0.37m; W. 0.71; Th. 0.058m; LH. 0.007m (line 1), 0.014m (0.013-0.020m) (line 2).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 83 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4683 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	supra feminam: supra hominem barbatum: θεᾶι θεῶι infra anaglyphum: Λυσιμαχίδης ἀνέθηεκε (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 83)	**Translation**	*Female figure* To Thea *Bearded man figure* To Theos Lysimachides dedicates this
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456716)	
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 89-90, I Eleusis 83) Clinton (2005b, plate 33) Clinton (2008, p. 93) See also Clinton (1992, p. 18, note 21; p. 51, p. 114-115)	

19. Base in white marble with dedication by ephebes of Hippothontis and decree of Eleusinians (I Eleusis 84 = IG II² 1189)		
Description	This is a white marble base for unknown object (possibly a statue) with dedication by ephebes of Hippothontis and a decree of the Eleusinians in their honour.	
Type	Dedication / decree	
Dating	333/2 - 334/3 B.C.	
Archaeological information	Location	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Base for unknown object
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Fragment of a base of white marble, broken on all sides but the top, which is smooth-picked." (CLINTON, 2005a, P. 90)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 120 (Skias' No. 84). H. 0.16m; W. 0.23m; Th. 0.15m; LH. 0.009-0.010m (lines 1-3), 0.005-0.006m (lines 4-13; Stoich. (lines 4-13), 0.0094m. (hor.) x 0.0092m (vert.).
Text information	Editions	I Eleusis 84 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1189 (Kirchner); SEG XLV 121; SEG XXXIV 106

Reconstituted text		Translation	
[οἱ ἔφηβοι] [τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος φυ]λῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλ[έους ἄρχοντος] [στεφανωθέντες ὑ]πὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ [δήμου τοῦ Ἐλε]- [υσινίων ἀνέθηκα]ν. ……. εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ τῆς Ἱππο[θωντίδος ἔφηβοι καλῶς τῆς φυλ]- [ακῆς Ἐλευσῖνος ἐπε]μελοῦντο καὶ ἐκόσμ[ο]υν καὶ [πάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι προσ]- [τάττουσι ταχθέντες] Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ [τῶι σωφρονιστῆι πειθαρχοῦ]- [σιν, ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δ]ημόταις ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον φιλο]- [τιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων· ἐπ[αινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρονισ]- [τὴν αὐτῶν — — —] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ στεφα]- [νῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφά]νωι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν αὐτὸν τῶι ἀγ[ῶνι — — — — — — — — —] [……15……. τ]ῶν [Δ]ιονυσίων καὶ καλείτω αὐ[τὸν ὁ δήμαρχος καθάπερ καὶ] [τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ὁ δῆμ]ος ἔδωκεν τὴν προεδρία[ν — — — — — — — — —] …….17…….,ιτο …7…οισουσι— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — (SGI, 2023, IG II² 1189)		[The ephebes] of the tribe [Hippothontis] in the archonship of Ktesikles (334/3) [and their commander] . . . . . . having been crowned by the Council and the [People or deme Eleusis] . . . [dedicated (this) to Demeter and Kore]. . . . proposed: since [the ephebes] of Hippothontis . . . took care of . . . and were disciplined and took care of . . . [while stationed at?] Eleusis and [the commander declares] . . . . . . the demesmen shall resolve to praise them and crown . . . for their – towards the deme of Eleusis, and to praise [also their commander] . . . for his excellence and care . . . and crown him with a – crown, and to announce it at the competition . . . of the Dionysia, and the demarch shall invite him . . . [just as the others to whom the deme?] has awarded priority seating . . . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 84)	
Image			

Source: Cornell University Library (2023)
(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456368)

Bibliography	Clinton (2005, p. 90-91, I Eleusis 84) Clinton (2005b, plate 36) Clinton (2008, p. 93-94) Tracy (1995, p. 114-115 = SEG XLV 121)

20. Marble base with a dedication by ephebes of Kekropis (I Eleusis 86)		
Description	This is a base in Hymettian marble for possibly a herm with a dedication by the ephebes of Kekropis.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	332/1 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - entrance
	Type	Base for unknown object (possibly a herm)
	Material	Blue-gray marble ("Hymettian")
	Conservation state	"Base of blue-gray marble, preserved on all sides (smooth, except for the bottom, which is rough-picked) with a rectangular cavity on top that measures 0.355m by 0.275m in section and 0.07m deep." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 94)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 1103. H. 0.29m; W. 0.663m; Th. 0.54m; LH. 0.005-0.008m (lines 1-11). 0.005m (lines 13ff.); Stoich. 0.0122m (hor.) x 0.0122m (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 86 (Clinton, 2005a) = SEG XLI 107

| **Reconstituted text** | A
[o]ἱ ἔφ[ηβ]οι ο[ἱ τῆς Κεκ]ρ[ο]π[ίδος οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρ]χον[τος καὶ ὁ σ]–
    ωφρονιστὴς αὐτῶν Περικ[λῆς] Περικλεί[δου] Πιθεὺς ἀνέθεσα[ν στεφ]–
    ανώσαντες χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰ–
    ς ἑαυτούς· στρατηγὸν τοῦ Πειραιῶς Κόνωνα Τιμοθέου Ἀναφλύστιο<ν>
5 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιον καὶ τὸν σω–
    φρονιστὴν Περικλέα Περικλείδου Πιθέα καὶ τὸν ταξίαρχον Σύνβ–
    ουλον Εὐβούλου ΦλυέαVII καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς Θράσιππον Φρυναίου Ἀθ–
    μονέα, Εὔβουλον Εὐβούλου Φλυέα , Ἐπικράτην Ἀρχεδήμου Πι[θ]έα , Ἀτα–
    ρβίωνα Τυννίου Αἰξωνέα , Στέφανον Αἰσιμίδου Ἁλαιέα | **Translation** | Face A (front)
The ephebes of Kekropis in the archonship of [Nikokrates] (333/2) and their commander Perikles son of Perikleides of Pithos dedicated (this) having crowned with a gold crown for their excellence and care towards themselves: the general of the Piraeus Konon son of Timotheos of Anaphlystos
5 and the (general) of the countryside Sophilos son of Aristoteles of Phyle and their commander Perikles son of Perikleides of Pithos and their squadron commander Synboulos son of Euboulos of Phlya and their captains Thrasippos son of Phrynaios of Athmonon, Euboulos son of Euboulos of Phlya, Epikrates son of Archedemos of Pithos, Atarbion son of Tynnios of Aixone, Stephanos son of Aisimides of Halai, Aristomachos son of Demochares of Melite, Simon son of Theokles of Athmonon and their instructors Chairestratos of Pallene, Agathanor of Syracuse.

col. 1
Of Pithos
Epikrates son of Archedemos
Archias son of Thrasyllos |

, Ἀριστ[όμ]αχον
10 Δημοχάρους Μελιτέα, Σίμωνα Θεοκλέους Ἀθμονέα καὶ
τοὺς διδασκ–
     άλους Χαιρέστρατον ΠαλληνέαX, Ἀγαθάνορα
Συρακόσιον. vacat

col.I vacat
    [Π]ιθῆς
    Ἐπικράτης Ἀρχεδήμου
    Ἀρχίας Θρασύλλου
15 Ἀπολλοφῶν Ἀπολλοφάνους
    Εὐφράνωρ Εὐθυδίκου
    [Ἀ]ρχῖνος Παντακλέους
    [. .]αρχος Βιόττου
    [Ἀθμ]ονῆς
20 [Θράς]ιππος Φρυναίου
    [Σίμ]ων Θεοκλέους
    [. .5. . .]τρατος Μνησιμάχου
    – – –c.9– – – Λυκίσκου
    – – – – –c.16– – – – –Y

col.II vacat
25 Αἰξωνῆς
    Ἀταρβίων Τυννίου
    Καλλίας Δεινοκράτους
    Πολυκράτης Φανίου
    Δημήτριος Εὐκλέους
30 Κλεόστρατος Κλεφάντου
    Δίφιλος Ναυσιχάρου[ς]
    Φιλήρατος Παν<α>ρίστου
    Ξυπεταιόνες
    Τιμόστρατος Μένωνος
35 Ἡγίας Ἀγαπαίου
    Χ[ι]ωνίδης Ἐριώτου

15 Apollophon son of Apollophanes
Euphranor son of Euthydikos
Archinos son of Pantakles
-archos son of Biottos Of Athmonon
20 Thrasippos son of Phrynaios
Simon son of Theokles
-tratos son of Mnesimachos
– son of Lykiskos
. . .
col. 2
25 Of Aixone
Atarbion son of Tynnios
Kallias son of Deinokrates
Polykrates son of Phanias
Demetrios son of Eukles
30 Kleostratos son of Kle(o)phantos
Diphilos son of Nausichares
Phileratos son of Panaristos

Of Xypete
Timostratos son of Menon
35 Hegias son of Agapaios
Chionides son of Eriotos
. . .

col. 3
Menekles son of Menon

Of Trinemeia
40 Thougenes son of Philokles

Of Phlya
Synboulos son of Euboulos
Euboulos son of Euboulos

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– – – – – – – – – – –	Phaidrias son of Rhodon
	45 Philodemos son of Nikomachos
col.III vacat	Pheidostratos son of Ameinokles
Μενεκλῆς Μένωνος	Timonides son of Athenokles
Τρινεμῆς	Archedikos son of Archedikos
40 Θουγένης Φιλοκλέου	
Φλυῆς	Of Melite
Σύνβουλος Εὐβούλου	50 Aristomachos son of Demochares
Εὔβουλος Εὐβούλου	Euthydomos son of Epikrates
Φαι[δρίας] Ῥόδωνος	. . .
45 Φιλό[δ]ημος Νικομάχου	. . .
Φειδόστρατος Ἀμεινοκλέους	
Τιμωνίδης Ἀθηνοκλέους	col. 4
Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχεδίκου	Of Halai
Μελιτῆς	55 Stephanos son of Aisimides
50 Ἀριστόμα[χ]ος Δημοχάρους	Sokrates son of Sthenokrates
Εὐθύδομος Ἐπικράτους	Stesarchos son of Nikomachos
– – –c.7– –ΝΕ– – – – –	Hedylos son of Dryon
– – – – – – –?– – – – – –	Bryon son of Dryon
	60 Aresias son of Atarbides
col.IV Ἁλαιεῆς	Sosikrates son of Sosippos
55 Στέφανος Αἰσιμίδου	Epigonos son of Diodoros
Σωκράτης Σθενοκράτους	Euboulos son of Philokles
Στήσαρχος Νικομάχου	Epikrates son of Semiades
Ἡδύλος Δρύωνος	65 N-os son of Hierophon
Βρύων Δρύωνος	Kalliades son of Kallias
60 Ἀρεσ[ί]ας Ἀταρβίδου	Philostratos son of Nikoboulos
Σωσικράτης Σωσίππου	Sokrates son of Eukrates
Ἐπίγονος Διοδώρου	Euthemon son of Eukles
Εὔβου[λο]ς Φιλοκλέους	70 Lysis son of Tim-
Ἐπικράτης Σημιάδου	Kallistratos son of –
65 Ν[.]αι[. . .]ος Ἱεροφῶντος	. . .
Καλλιάδης Καλλίου	
Φιλόστρατος Νικοβούλου	Face B (right)

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Σωκράτης Εὐκράτους Εὐθήμων Εὐκλέους 70 Λῦσις Τιμ––––– Καλλ[ίσ]τρ[ατος –––] –––––––––––– B ὁ δῆμος ἡ βουλή ἡ φυλή Ἐλε[υσίν]ιοι Ῥαμνούσιοι (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 86)	col. 1 The People col. 2 The Council col. 3 The Tribe col. 1 75 The Eleusinians col. 2 The Rhamnousians. (Translation by Sjoukje M. Kamphorst, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 86)
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023)

	(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456718)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 86) Clinton (2005a, p. 94-95) Clinton (2005b, plate 40) Clinton (2008, p. 94-102)

21. Statue base in marble for Eubouleus (I Eleusis 88 = IG II² 5615)		
Description	This is a statue base in light blue-grayish marble for the Eleusinian deity, Eubouleus.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 330-320 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – Agelastros Petra
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Light blue-grayish marble
	Conservation state	"Square base of light blue, grayish marble, preserved on all sides (smooth, except for the back, which is rough-picked). There is an oval cutting on top (0.06m deep, 0.38m wide, 0.26m thick) to hold the plinth of a marble statue less than life-sized. The inscribed surface is now flanking off." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 96)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 943 (= Skias' No. 29). H. 0.37m; W. 0.505m (on top), 0.475m (below molding); Th. 0.50m (on top); 0.465m (below molding); LH. 0.013m. Repository: courtyard of the Archaeological Museum of Eleusis.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 88 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4615 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	Εὐβουλεῖ Βλυκιδεὺς ᾽Απολλοδώρου ἐκ Κεραμέων Διόφαντος Διοπείθους Μυρρινούσιος ἀνέθηκαν (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 88)	**Translation** To Eubouleus Blykideis, son of Apollodoros, from Kerameis Diophantos, son of Diopeithes, from Myrrhinoutta dedicate this
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456577)	
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 96-97, I Eleusis 88) Clinton (2005b, plate 40) Clinton (2008, p. 102)	

22. Statue base in "Hymettian" marble with possibly ephebian dedication (I Eleusis 89)		
Description	This is a statue base in "Hymettian" marble with a dedication by ephebes (possibly) of Hippothontis.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 330-320 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Blue-gray marble ("Hymettian")
	Conservation state	"Fragment of a base of bluish gray marble, broken on all sides but the bottom, which preserves part of a cutting (0.065m deep) for a dowel." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 97)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 1127. H. 0.125m; W. 0.175m; Th. 0.19m; LH. 0.016m (line 1), 0.009m (0.008-0.010m) (lines 2-6).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 89 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II³ 4 340; SEG XXIV 224

| **Reconstituted text** | -
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -ἀνέθε]σαν Δή[μητρι καὶ Κόρηι]
[- - - - - - - - - vacat ἐκ Κο]ίλης vacat [-]
[- - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - -]ς Νεοκλείδου [-]
[- - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - -] μνύμονος vac. [-]
[- - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - -] Θεολλίδου [-]
[- - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - -] Μυρωνίδο[υ   -]

(SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 89) | **Translation** | . . . The (pl.) . . . dedicated (this) to Demeter and Kore

col. 1
[Deme name] . . . . . .

5 . . . . . .

col. 2
Koile
. . . son of Neokleides
. . . son of -mnemon
. . . son of Theollides
. . . son of Myronides

col. 3
. . . .

(Translation by Sjoukje M. Kamphorst, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 89) |
| **Image** |
Source: Cornell University Library (2023)
(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:455715) | | |

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 89) Clinton (2005a, p. 97, I Eleusis 89) Clinton (2005b, plate 40) Clinton (2008, p. 103)

23. **Statue base in marble with dedication to Demeter and Kore (I Eleusis 90 = IG II² 2795)**		
Description	This is a statue base for a Kore in light blue marble with a dedication by Athenian People to Demeter and Kore.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 330-310 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general
	Type	Statue base for a Kore
	Material	Light blue marble
	Conservation state	"Base of light blue marble, preserved on all sides but the left and perhaps the bottom. In front at the bottom there is an unfinished band of stone (ca. 0.11m high). On top there is an oval cutting into which the plinth of a marble statue of a kore has been set; the long axis of the oval lies at an angle of ca. 45 degrees to the front of the base, pointing towards the right front corner." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 97)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 963 (= Glyptá 5140). H. 0.36m; W. 0.93m; Th. 0.56m; LH. 0.032m. Repository: Archaeological Museum of Eleusis
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 90 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2795 (Kirchner).
Reconstituted text	[Ἀ]θη[ν]αίων ὁ δῆμος τοῖν Θε[οῖν] (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 90)	**Translation** "The Athenian People to the two goddesses." (Translated by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 90)
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456240)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 90) Clinton (2005a, p. 97-98) Clinton (2005b, plate 41) Clinton (2008, p.103) Fullerton (1986, p. 207-217) Mylonas (2009, p. 202)	

24. Statue base in marble with dedication to Demeter and Kore (I Eleusis 91)		
Description	Statue base in light blue marble with a dedication to Demeter and Kore by Athenian People to Demeter and Kore.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 330-310	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Light blue marble
	Conservation state	"Base of light blue marble preserved on all sides but the back. In front at the bottom there is an unfinished band of stone (ca. 0.2 m. high). On top there is an oval cutting (ca. 0.03 m deep) for a plinth of a marble statue; the long axis of the cutting lies at an angle of ca. 45 degrees to the front of the base, pointing towards its left front corner." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 98)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 945 H. 0.435m; W. 0.97m; Th. 0.22m; LH. 0.032m.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 91 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2795 (Kirchner)

Reconstituted text	[Ἀ]θηναίων ὁ δῆμος τ[οῖν Θεοῖν] (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 91)	**Translation**	The Athenian People to the two goddesses. (Translated by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 91)

Translation	
	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://library.artstor.org/public/4jEkdDAtJzQ0QEY6fjZ3RH5FNnYifVRx)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 91) Clinton (2005a, p. 98) Clinton (2005b, plate 42) Clinton (2008, p. 103) Fullerton (1986, p. 207-217)

25. Statue base with dedication by soldiers in honor of their general (I Eleusis 92 = IG II² 2969)		
Description	This is a statue base in light blue marble with a dedication by soldiers in honor of their general Thrasyboulos Thrasonos Erchieus.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	ca. 325 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Light blue marble
	Conservation state	"Base of light blue marble, preserved on all sides; on top there is a rectangular cutting (H. 0.03m; W. 0.21m; Th. 0.185m), which held the dedication." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 98) Repository: Archaeological Museum of Eleusis
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 941 (= Skias' No. 86). H. 0.21m. W. 0.41m; Th. 0.32; LH. 0.008m.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 92 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2969 (Kirchner); IG II³ 4 279

Reconstituted text	[οἱ στρατιῶται στεφανώσαντες τὸν> στρατηγὸν ἀντιστεφανωθέντες ἀνέθεσαν]. {in corona:} στρατηγὸς Θρασύβουλος Θράσωνος Ἐρχιεύς. (SGI, 2023, IG II² 2969)	**Translation**	The soldiers, having crowned the general and having been crowned in return, dedicated (this). *In olive crown* General Thrasyboulos son of Thrason of Erchia (crowned them). (Translation by Chris de Lisle, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 92)

Image	Source: Cornwell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456720)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 92) Clinton (2005a, p. 98, I Eleusis 92) Clinton (2005b, plate 42) Clinton (2008, p. 104)

	26. **Round base with a dedication by a general in charge of the Athenian hinterland (I Eleusis 94 = IG II² 2847)**			
Description	This is a round base for unknown object (possibly a statue or other object) in white marble with a dedication by the general Charias Euthykratou [Kydathenaieus], in charge of the countryside (*khora*).			
Type	Dedication			
Dating	ca. 325-300 B.C.			
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – general		
	Type	Round base for unknown object		
	Material	White marble		
	Conservation state	"Round base of white marble, cut horizontally through the center into two parts; the top and bottom are smooth-picked; roughly one-fourth of the original base remains." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 99)		
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. Nos. E 216 + 493 (= Skias' No. 111). H. 0.29m; Circumference (as preserved) 0.45m; LH 0.013-0.017m; 0.007m (within wreath).		
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 94 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2847 (Kirchner)		
Reconstituted text	*in corona:* [ἡ βουλ]ὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆμο]ς [— — — — — —] Χαρίας Εὐθυκράτου [Κυδαθηναιεὺς στρατηγήσας] ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέθηκε[ν]. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 94)	**Translation**	col. 1 *In olive crown* The Council The People (crowned him) col. 2 Charias son of Euthykrates [of Kydathenaion], dedicated (this), having been general for the countryside. (Translation by Chris de Lisle, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 94)	
Translation	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456664)			
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 94) Clinton (2005a, p. 99-100) Clinton (2005b, plate 42) Clinton (2008, p. 105)			

27. Statue base with dedication by Xenokles of Sphettos (I Eleusis 97 = IG II² 2841)		
Description	This is a statue base in white marble with dedication by Xenokles of Sphettos.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	321/0 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - entrance
	Type	Statue base
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Three fragments of a block of white marble; the top (rough-picked) and bottom (smooth-picked) are preserved; the right and left sides are nearly preserved. *Anathyrosis* is barely discernible on the left side; a T-clamp is also visible on the left side ca. 0.21m from the face." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 102)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 532 (=Skias Nos. 15-16) H. 0.19m; W. 1.305m; Th. 0.37m; LH. 0.03m (lines 1-4), 0.012-0.018m (line 5).
Text information	**Editions**	a+b, Lenormant (1862, p. 4-5, no. 2) a + b + c: I Eleusis 97 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 2841 (Kirchner)

Reconstituted text	Δήμητρι καὶ [Κόρ]ει Ξενοκλῆς Ξείνιδος [Σφήττ]ιος ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιμ[ελητ]ὴς Μυστηρίων γεν[όμεν]ο[ς]. Ἀριστοπ[ε]ίθη[ς Ἀριστων?]ύμ[ο]υ Φυ[λάσιος ἐπόησεν]. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 97)	**Translation**	To Demeter and Kore Xenokles son of Xeinis of Sphettos dedicated (this), having been manager of the Mysteries. Aristopeithes son of -nymos of Phyle made it. (Translated by David Weidgennant, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 97)

Image	Piece from above is I Eleusis 97; Piece from below is I Eleusis 98. Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456662)

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 97) Clinton (2005a, p. 102-103) Clinton (2005b, plate 43) Clinton (2008, p. 107)

28. Statue base with dedication by Xenokles of Sphettos (I Eleusis 98 = IG II³ 4 212)		
Description	This is a statue base in white marble with dedication by Xenokles of Sphettos.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	321/0 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - entrance
	Type	Statue base
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Two fragments of a block of white marble; the top (rough-picked), bottom, and two sides are preserved. The sides have *anathyrosis*, and on the right there is a cutting for a T-clamp at a distance of 0.23m back from the front edge. Found in the same place as the preceding document (I Eleusis 97)." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 103)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 531 (= Skias' No. 14). H. 0.19m; W. 1.35m; Th. 0.37m; LH. 0.03m (lines 1-4); 0.012-0.018m (line 5).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 98 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II³ 4 212; IG II² 2840 (Kirchner); Lenormant (1862, p. 1-4, no. 1)
Reconstituted text	Δήμητρι [κα]ὶ Κόρει Ξενοκλῆς Ξεί[ν]ιδος Σφήττιος ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιμελητὴς Μυστηρί[ω]ν γενόμενος. Ἀριστοπεί[θ]ης [Ἀριστω?]νύμου Φυλάσιος ἐπόησεν. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 98)	**Translation** To Demeter and Kore Xenokles son of Xeinis of Sphettos dedicated (this), having been manager of the Mysteries. Aristopeithes son of -nymos of Phyle made it. (Translation by Stephen Lambert and David Weidgennant, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 98)
Image	Piece from above is I Eleusis 97; Piece from below is I Eleusis 98. Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456721)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 98) Clinton (2005a, p. 103) Clinton (2005b, plate 43) Clinton (2008, p. 107)	

	29. Statue base with dedication by a general in honour of demarch Euthydemos (I Eleusis 102)		
Description	Statue base in bluish-gray marble with dedication by a general in honour of the demarch Euthydemos.		
Type	Dedication		
Dating	ca. 300 B.C.		
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – entrance	
	Type	Statue base	
	Material	Bluish-gray marble	
	Conservation state	"Small base of bluish-gray marble, preserved on all sides but the right; the back is rough-picked. In the center of the top there is a large rectangular cutting ca. 0.05m deep which probably held a pillar." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 106)	
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 1049 H. 0.29m; W, 0.41m; Th. 0.42m; LH. 0.006-0.011m. Repository: Archaeological Site of Eleusis – between Greater Propylaea and Kallichoron Well.	
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 102 (Clinton, 2005a)	
Reconstituted text	στρατηγὸ[ς — — — — — — c.28 — — — — — — —] τὸν δήμαρχον Εὐθύδ[ημον Μοιροκλέους ἀνέθηκεν]. {corona} (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 102)	**Translation**	The general . . . [dedicated] (this statue of) the demarch, Euthydemos [son of Moirokles]. *{Crown}* (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 102)
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456355)		
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 102) Clinton (2005a, p. 106-107) Clinton (2005b, plate 46) Clinton (2008, p. 109)		

30. Statue base with dedication by Demonike to Dionysus (I Eleusis 103 = IG II² 4604)		
Description	This is a statue base in "Hymettian" marble with dedication by Demonike, daughter of Aischraios of Pithos, to Dionysus.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	Late 4th century B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - general
	Type	Statue base
	Material	Blue-gray marble ("Hymettian")
	Conservation state	"Base of blue-gray marble, with parts of all sides preserved; a rectangular cutting on top (H. 0.08m; W. 0.36m; Th. 0.3m) held the dedication." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 107)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 987 (= Skias' No. 770) H. 0.38m; W. 0.46m; Th. 0.55m; LH. 0.03m. Repository: Archaeological Site of Eleusis
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 103 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4604 (Kirchner); IG II 1567 (Koehler)
Reconstituted text	Δημονίκη Αἰσχραίου Πιθέως θυγάτηρ Διονύσωι ἀνέθηκεν. (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 103)	**Translation** Demonike daughter of Aischraios of Pithos dedicated (this) to Dionysos. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 103)
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456520)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 103) Clinton (2005a, p. 107, I Eleusis 103) Clinton (2005b, plate 46) Clinton (2008, p. 109-110) Rubensohn (1892, p. 200, no. 12)	

31. Small relief plaque with cure dedication by Eukrates (I Eleusis 105 = IG II² 4639)		
Description	This is a small relief plaque which was deposited probably as a votive. It carries a "cure dedication" by an individual called Eukrates. The plaque has a rectangular format with the inscription below and above a relief with two eyes and a nose with evidences of painting. Above of it, there is a molding in almost triangular form (tongue pattern) with traces of red painting. In front of this is a head of Demeter.	
Type	Dedication	
Dating	4th century B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis - Area of Tower I12 (See Plate 9)
	Type	Small relief plaque
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	Almost complete preserved (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 107).
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. *Glypta* 5256. H. 0.192m; W. 0.17m; Th. 0.18m; LH. 0.010m. (0.009-0.010m) Repository: The National Archaeological Museum of Athens
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 105 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 4639 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	Δήμητρι Εὐκράτης (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 105)	**Translation** To Demeter Eukrates
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456727)	
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 107-108, I Eleusis 105) Clinton (2005b, plate 47) Clinton (2008, p. 110) Clinton (1992, p. 90, fig. 78) Foucart (1914, p. 70) Mylonas (2009, p. 150)	

II. Honorific Decrees

32. Fragment of a stele with a honorific decree from the deme of Eleusis (I Eleusis 68)		
Description	This is a stele in white marble with a honorific decree from the deme of Eleusis.	
Type	Decree	
Dating	mid-4th century B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – within the temenos
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble ("Pentelic")
	Conservation state	"Preserved on the right and left (smooth) sides and in back (rough-picked)" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 38)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 892 H. 0,39m; W. 0,308m; Th. 0,10m; LH. 0.007m (0.005 – 0.008m); Stoich. 0.0120m (hor.) x 0.0143 (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 68 (Clinton, 2005a)

| **Reconstituted text** | [— — — — — — — — — — — —]
[.......15........ δ]ή[μαρχ?…]
[τῶν Διονυσίων Ἐλ]ευσ[ῖνι τοῖς]
[τραγωιδοῖς ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆ]-
[μος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων .....10.....]
[....8.... ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ] φ-
[ιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο]ν τ-
[ὸν Ἐλευσινίων καὶ] ε[ἶνα]ι α[ὐτ]ῶ-
[ι προεδρίαν καὶ ἀτ]έλειαν ἐ[ν] τ-
[ῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἐλευσι]νίων αὐτῶ-
[ι καὶ ἐγγόνοις· ἀναγρ]άψαι δὲ τ-
[όδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν] στή[λ]ηι λιθί-
[νηι τὸν δήμαρχον] καὶ σ[τ]ῆσαι ε-
[ἰς τὸ ἱερὸν] τ[ῆς Δ]ήμητρος ꭇꭇꭇꭇ

{corona}

(SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 68) | **Translation** | . . . [the demarch?] . . .[at the Dionysia] in Eleusis [at the][tragedies that the deme][Eleusis crowns] . . .
 . . . [for his excellence and]
[love of honour towards the deme]
[Eleusis, and] he shall have
[a seat of honour and] freedom from taxation in
[the deme] Eleusis for himself [and his descendants]; and
[the demarch] shall inscribe
this decree on a stone stele and stand it at
the sanctuary of Demeter.
{Crown}

(Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 68) |
| **Image** | Source: Cornell University Library (2023)
(https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:455966) | |

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 68) Clinton (2005a, p. 78, I Eleusis 68) Clinton (2005b, plate 28) Clinton (2008, p. 87)

33. Pedimental stele with decree honouring two Thebans, issued by Eleusis (deme) (I Eleusis 70 = IG II² 1186)		
Description	This is a white marble stele with decrees issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of Damasias and Phryniskos of Thebes.	
Type	Honorific decree	
Dating	mid-4th century B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – next to the Kallichoron Well
	Type	Pedimental Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Upper part of a pedimental stele of white marble, broken on the bottom" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 79)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 176 (= Skias' No. 12) H. 0,67m; W. 0,42m (below molding); Th. 0.10m; LH. 0.006-0.007m; Stoich. 0.0137m (hor.) x 0.0132m (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 70 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1186 (Kirchner); SEG XXXIV 105
Reconstituted text	[θ]εο[ί] [Κα]λ[λί]μαχος Καλλικράτους εἶπεν· ἐπε- [ιδ]ὴ Δαμασίας Διονυσίου Θηβαῖος οἰκ- [ήσ]ας Ἐλευσῖνι κόσμιός τε ὢ[ν] διατετ[έ]- [λ]εκε καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔχει πρὸς πάντ- [α]ς τοὺς ἐν τοῖ δήμοι οἰκοῦντας καὶ α[ὐ]- [τ]ὸς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτõ, καὶ Διονύσ[ια] ποιούντων Ἐλευσινίων ἐσπούδασε[ν κ]- αὶ ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κ[αὶ τ]- ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσιν[ίω]- ν, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα γένηται τὰ Διονύσ- ια, καὶ παρασκευάσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ <τ>έλε- σι χοροὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν παίδων, τὸν δὲ ἀν- δρῶν ἐπέδωκεν τεῖ Δήμητρι [κ]αὶ τεῖ Κό- ρει καὶ τοῖ Διονύσωι, δεδόχθαι Ἐλευσ- ινίοις, ἐπαινέσαι Δαμασίαν Διονυσί- ο Θηβαῖον σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐσε- βείας τῆς πρὸς τὼ θεὼ καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Χ δραχμῶν· ἀνειπάτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μετὰ Γνᾶθιν δήμα- ρχος Διονυσίων τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι τοῖς τρ- αγοιδοῖς, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων στ-	**Translation** Gods. Kallimachos son of Kallikrates proposed: since Damasias son of Dionysios of Thebes, having taken up residence in Eleusis, continues to conduct himself in an orderly and generous manner towards all those living in the deme, both himself and his pupils, and when the Eleusinians conducted the Dionysia he was enthusiastic and honour-loving towards the gods and the Athenian People and the Eleusinians, so that the Dionysia should be as fine as possible, and having provided at his own expense two choruses, one of boys, the other of men, he donated them to Demeter and Kore and Dionysos, the Eleusinians shall decide, to praise Damasias son of Dionysios of Thebes for his moderation and piety towards the two goddesses and crown him with a gold crown of 1000 drachmas; and the demarch following Gnathis shall announce it at the Dionysia at Eleusis in the tragedies, that the deme of Eleusis crowns Damasias son of Dionysios of Thebes for his moderation and piety towards the two goddesses; and he shall have a seat of honour and freedom from all taxes over which the Eleusinians have control, both for himself and his descendants, and permission to seek any other benefit he wishes from the demesmen of Eleusis; and the demarch in office shall take care of whatever he requires; and to choose immediately someone to arrange that this decree be inscribed and stood in the Dionysion; and the demarch shall give 10 drachmas for the inscribing; and to give Damasias for a sacrifice 100 drachmas from common funds.

	εφανοῖ Δαμασίαν Διονυσίου Θηβαῖον σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς πρὸς τὼ θεώ· ἔστω δὲ αὐτῶι προεδρία κα- ὶ ἀτέλεια ὧν εἰσιν κύριοι Ἐλευσίν[ι]ο- ι καὶ αὐτῶι <καὶ> ἐγγόνοις καὶ ἐάν τ[ι] ἄλλο β- ούληται ἀγαθὸν εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δή- μου τοῦ Ἐλευσινίων, καὶ ἐπιμελέσθω α- ὐτοῦ ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ ἀεὶ δημαρχῶν ὅτου ἂ- ν δέηται· ἑλέσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα ὅστι- ς ἐπιμελήσεται, ὅπως ἂν ἀναγραφεῖ τό- δε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ σταθεῖ ἐν τῶι Διονυ- [σ]ίωι, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι Δ δρ- [α]χμὰς τὸν δήμαρχον· δοῦναι δὲ εἰς θυσ- [ί]αν Δαμασίαι Η δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινõ. [Κ]αλλίμ[α]χος Καλλικράτους εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐπε- [ι]δὴ Φρυνίσκος Θηβαῖο[ς] οἰκή[σας Ἐλευ]- [σῖν]ι κό[σμιος κτλ. — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 70)		Kallimachos son of Kallikrates proposed: since Phryniskos of Thebes, having taken up residence in Eleusis. . . orderly . . . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 70)
Image		

	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456431)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 70) Clinton (2005a, p. 79-80, I Eleusis 70) Clinton (2005b, plate 29) Clinton (2008, p.87-89)

34. Fragmented stele with decree honouring a hierophant, issued by Eleusis (deme) (I Eleusis 72 = IG II² 1188)		
Description	This is a decree in white marble issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of the hierophant, Hierokleides Teisamenou Paianieus.	
Type	Decree	
Dating	ca. 340 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – theatre?
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Several fragments of a stele of white marble." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 81)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 69 (= Skias' No. 260) H. 0.83m; W. 0.34m; Th. 0.08; LH. 0.006m; Stoich. 0.0135m (hor.) x 0.0133 m (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 72 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1188 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	*{corona}* θ[εοί] Ε̣ὐθ[…6…]θωνος Ἐλευσίνιος v εἶπ[ε]ν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱεροφάντης Ἱερ- οκλ[είδης Τει]σαμενοῦ Παιανιε- ὺς ἀ[νὴρ ἀ]γ[αθ]ός [ἐ]στ[ιν] περὶ τὸν δ- [ῆ]μο[ν τ]ὸν Ἐλευ[σιν]ίων ϙα[ὶ] λέγων [κ]αὶ [ποι]ῶν ὅτι [δύ]ναται ἀγαθὸν δ- [ι]ατελεῖ καὶ [νῦν] ϙα[ὶ] ἐν τῶι ἔμπρ- ο[σ]θ[εν] χρόνῳ[ι, δεδ]ό[χ]θαι Ἐλευσι- [ν]ίοι[ς κύ]ρια [εἶ]αι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσ- [μα]τα ὅ[σ]α ἐψηφ[ίσα]το ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλ- [ευσι]νίων τῶι [ἱε]ροφάντηι· ὅπ[ω]ς [ἂν εἰδῶσ]ιν καὶ ο̣ἱ ἄλλοι ὅτι [ὁ δ]ῆ- [μος ὁ Ἐλε]υσ[ι]νίων ἐπίστα[ται χ]ά- [ριτας ἀπ]οδιδόναι τοῖς εὖ π[ο]ιο- [ῦσιν αὐτὸ]ν ἐπαιν[έσ]αι [τ]ὸν ἱερο- [φάντην Ἱεροκλ]εί[δ]ην [Τ]ε[ισ]αμεν- [οῦ Παιανιέα καὶ στ]εφαν[ῶσ]αι αὐ- [τὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι] ἀπὸ ☐ ν δρ[α]- [χμῶν ν εὐσεβείας ἕνε]ϙα τῆς περ- [ὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ φιλοτιμί]ας τῆς ε[ἰ]- [ς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσιν]ίων· ἀν[ε]- [ιπεῖν τὸν δήμαρχον τ]οῖ[ς] Διογ[υ]-	**Translation** *Crown* Gods. Euthias son of Gnathon (?) of Eleusis proposed: since the hierophant Hierokleides son of Teisamenos of Paiania is a good man to the deme of Eleusis, continuously both saying and doing what good he can, both now and in former times, the Eleusinians shall decide, that the decrees which the deme Eleusis has voted for the hierophant be valid; so that others may also know that the demesmen of Eleusis know how15 to give thanks to those who benefit it, to praise the hierophant, Hierokleides son of Teisamenos of Paiania, and crown him with a gold crown of 500 drachmas for his [piety?] concerning the [rites?] and his love of honour towards the deme of Eleusis; and the demarch shall announce at the Dionysiain the tragedies that the deme Eleusis crowns the hierophant for his [piety?] concerning the [rites?] and love of honour towards the deme Eleusis; and he and his descendants shall be free of taxes . . . of the demesmen; the demarch shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it[in the theatre?] of Eleusis. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 72)

	[σίοις v ἐν τοῖς τρα]γωι[δ]οῖς ὅτι [ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλευσιν]ίων [σ]τε[φ]ανοῖ [τὸν ἱεροφάντην εὐσεβεία]ς ἕνε- [κα τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ] καὶ φιλοτιμ- [ίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο]ν τὸν Ἐλε[υσ]- [ινίων· εἶναι αὐτῶι κα]ὶ ἐκγόνοις ἀτέ- [λειαν καὶ …c.7…. τῶ]ν δημοτῶν· vac. [ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τ]όδε τὸν δήμα- [ρχον ἐν στήληι λιθί]νηι καὶ στῆσα[ι] [εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὸ Ἐλευ]σινίων. *vacat* (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 72)	

Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456654)

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 72) Clinton (2005a, p. 81-82, I Eleusis 72) Clinton (2005b, plate 31) Clinton (2008, p. 89) Clinton (1974, p. 28-29)

35. Relief and stele with a decree honouring of a patrol-leader, issued by Eleusis (deme) (I Eleusis 80 = IG II² 1193)		
Description	This is white marble relief and stele with a decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of patrol-leader (*peripolarch)* called Smikythion of Kephale. Above the inscription, the relief depicts: on the left, Kore carrying a torch and holding Demeter's hand, who is seated in a round throne; on the right, a male figure approaching (probably the honoured, Smikythion).	
Type	Decree	
Dating	ca. 340-335 BC	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – one fragment found in next to Telesterion, other found in north of Greater Propylaea (Roman Period)
	Type	Stele with relief
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Two main fragments, sides preserved, the back is roughly picked" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 86).
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 967 (= Skias' no. 3) = *Glypta* 5115 H. 0.98m; W. 0.34m (near bottom); 0.305 (at top, viz 0.77 m. above the bottom measurement); Th. 0.08m; LH. 0.005m; Stoich. 0.0116m (hor.) X 0.0104m (vert.).
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 80 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1193 (Kirchner); SIG³ 356 (Dittenberger)
Reconstituted text	*below relief.1* Τιμοκήδης Γνάθιδος εἶπεν· ἐπε[ιδ]- ὴ Σμικυθίων ὁ περιπόλαρχος ἀ[ν]ὴ[ρ] ἀγαθός ἐστι περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλ- ευσινίων καὶ αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἔταξ- εν Ἐλευσῖνάδε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτ- ας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔπραττεν π- ρός τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν δῆ- [μ]ον ὅπως φυλακὴ ἱκανὴ ἔλθοι Ἐλευ- [σῖ]νάδε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ἐδεῖτο [εἰς φ]υλακὴν Ἐλευσῖνος, ἐψηφίσθα- [ι Ἐλευσι]νίοις ἐ[παιν]έ[σαι Σμι]κυθ- [ίωνα Ο…7…. Κεφαλ]ῆθ[εν καὶ στε]- [φανῶσαι χρυσ]ῶι στεφάνωι· ἀ[νειπε]- ῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον τὸν μετὰ Ἴσ- αρχον δημαρ[χο]ῦντα Διονυσίοις ἐ- ν τοῖς τραγωιδοῖς ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλ- [ευ]σι[νί]ων στεφανοῖ Σμικυθίωνα Ο- […7…. Κε]φα[λῆ]θεν τῶιδε τῶ[ι] στε- [φάνωι] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύ- [νης] τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσιν- [ίων· ε]ῖναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν, [καὶ] καλεῖν τὸν δήμαρχον αὐτὸν τὸ-	**Translation**	*Relief* Timokedes son of Gnathis proposed: since Smikythion the patrol-commander is a goodman towards the demesmen of Eleusis, and both stationed himself and the soldiers with him at Eleusis, and took action with the generals and the deme or the People to ensure that sufficient guards came to Eleusis and other things that were needed for the guarding of Eleusis, the Eleusinians shall decide to praise Smikythion son of O- of Kephale and crown him with a gold crown; and the demarch in office after Isarchos shall announce at the Dionysia in the tragedies that the deme of Eleusis crowns Smikythion son of O- of Kephale with this crown for his excellence and justice towards the demesmen of Eleusis; and he shall have a seat of honour, and the demarch in office shall invite him like the others who are given a seat of honour; and so that everyone may know that the demesmen of Eleusis give thanks to those who do it good, the demarch Isarchos shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it wherever seems to be best. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 80)

	[ν ἀεὶ] δημαρχοῦντα καθ\<ά\>περ καὶ το- [ὺς ἄλλ]ου[ς] οἷς δέδοται ἡ προεδρία· [ὅπως δ'] ἂ[ν] καὶ εἰδῶσιν πάντες ὅτι ὁ [δ]ῆμος ὁ Ἐλε[υ]σιν[ί]ων ἀποδίδωσι χά- [ρ]ιτας το[ῖ]ς [εὖ] ποιοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἀνα- [γ]ράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν δήμ- [αρχ]ον Ἴσαρχον ἐν στήλει [λ]ιθίνει [καὶ [σ]τῆσαι ὅπου ἂν δο[κ]εῖ ἐν καλλί- [στ]ωι εἶναι. (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 80)	

Image	
	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) / Artstor (https://library.artstor.org/public/SS33625_33625_1041106)

| Bibliography | AIO (2023, I Eleusis 80)
Clinton (2005a, p. 86-87, I Eleusis 80)
Clinton (2005b, plate 34)
Clinton (2008, p. 91) |

	36. Stelle with palmette ornament with a decree issued by the Kerykes in honour of Xenokles of Sphettos (I Eleusis 87)	
Description	This is a stele in white marble with a palmette relief ornament on the top. On the stele, it is inscribed a decree issued by the *genos* of the Kerykes in honour of Xenokles of Sphettos.	
Type	Honorific Decree	
Dating	ca. 330 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	The Athenian Agora – probably from City Eleusinion
	Type	Stele with palmette ornament on the top
	Material	Pentelic Marble
	Conservation state	Two fragments with "[…] right side preserved and with mouldings and a palmette ornament above the inscribed surface, […]" (Meritt, 1960, p. 2, no. 3)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. Agora I 6804 + 4439 LH. 0,008-0,009m; Stoich. 0,0177m x 0,0178.
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 87 (Clinton, 2005a); SEG XIX 119 [= Meritt (1960, p. 2-5, no. 3)]; Woodhead (1997, no. 77); Miles (1998, p. 194-195, no. 27)

Reconstituted text		**Translation**	
1 [.....10.....]ς εἶπεν· δε- [δόχθαι Κήρυ]ξιν· ἐπειδ- [ὴ Ξενοκλῆς Ξ]είνιδος Σ- [φήττιος ἀνή]ρ ἐσ[τ]ιν ἀ[γ]- 5 [αθὸς περὶ τὸ] γέν[ος] τ[ὸ Κ]- [ηρύκων ποιῶ]ν [ἀεὶ ὅ]τ[ι ἂ]- [ν δύνηται ἀ]γαθόν, κ<α>τ[α]- [σταθεὶς δ' ἐ]πὶ τῆι διοι- [κήσει τῆς π]όλεως καλῶ- 10 [ς καὶ εὐσεβ]ῶς ἐμέρισε- [ν εἰς τὸ τὰ ἱ]ερὰ θῦσαι [τ]- [ὸ γένος τὸ Κ]ηρύκων ὑπ[έ]- [ρ τε τοῦ δήμ]ου τοῦ Ἀθην- [αίων καὶ ὑπ]ὲρ τοῦ γέν[ο]- 15 [ς τοῦ Κηρύκ]ων· ἐπαινέ[σ]- [αι αὐτὸν κα]ὶ στεφανῶσ- [αι χρυσῶι στ]εφάνωι ἀπ- [ὸ χιλίων δ]ραχμῶν καὶ ε- [ἶναι πρόσο]δον αὐτῶι π-		... s proposed: the Kerykes shall decide: since Xenokles son of Xeinis of Sphettos is a good man towards the genos of the Kerykes, always doing what good he can, and having been appointed in charge of the financial administration of the city, distributed well and piously (money) for the sacrifices of the genos of the Kerykes on behalf of the Athenian People and the genos of the Kerykes; to praise him and crown him with a gold crown of 1000 drachmas; and he [shall have access to the genos] of the Kerykes	

20 [ρὸς τὸ γένος τ]ὸ Κηρύκ[ω]- [ν — — — — — —]Λ[.…] [— — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 87)		. . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert and Nicolai Futás, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 87)
Image	 Source: Meritt (1960, p. 2, plate 1, no. 3)	
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 87) Clinton (2005a, p. 95-96, I Eleusis 87) Clinton (2008, p. 102) Meritt (1960, p. 2-5, plate 1, no. 3) Miles (1998, p. 194-195, no. 27) Woodhead (1960, no. 77)	

37. Fragmented stele with a decree issued by the Eumolpidai in honour of Neoptolemos of Melite (I Eleusis 93 = IG II² 1231)		
Description	This a white marble stele with a decree issued by the *genos* of the Eumolpidai in honour of Neoptolemos of Melite.	
Type	Honorific decree	
Dating	ca. 325 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	Two joined fragments, "broken away on top and bottom; a trace of molding above the text is preserved on the left side of the stone" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 99)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 202 (=Skias' No. 87) H. 0,225m; W. 0,35m; Th. 0,11m; LH. 0,006-0,009m; Stoich. 0,0135m (hor.) x 0,0138 (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 93 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1231 (Kirchner); SEG XLI 81 (Wilhelm); SEG XXX 98 (Foucart).
Reconstituted text	1 θ[εοί] Ἱροφάν[ης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νεοπτό]- λεμος Ἀ[ντικλέους Μελιτεὺς κα]- λῶς καὶ φι[λοτίμως καὶ εὐσεβῶ]ς τ- 5 ῶν ἱερῶν ἐ[πι]μ[ελεῖται καὶ τ]ὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερ[ὸν καλῶς ἐκ]όσμη- σεν, ἐπαινέσαι α[ὐτὸν κ]αὶ στεφα- νῶσαι μυρρίνης [στεφά]νωι εὐσ[ε]- βείας ἕνεκα καὶ φ[ιλ]οτιμίας· νέ- 10 μειν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ μ[ε]ρίδα ἐγ [μ]υσ- τηρίων τῶν μεγάλ[ω]ν καὶ τῶν πρὸ- ς Ἄγραν ὅσημπερ [Ε]ὐμολπιδῶν ἑκ- άστωι, ἐπειδὴ σπουδαῖός ἐστι π- ερὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κα[ὶ τ]ὸ γένος τὸ Εὐμο- 15 [λπιδ]ῶν· ἀναγ[ράψα]ι δὲ τὸ ψήφ[ισμ]- [α ἐν στ]ήλη[ι λιθίνηι — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 93)	**Translation** Gods. Hirophanes proposed: since [Neopto]lemos son of A[ntikles of Melite] manages the rites well and with love of honour and piously and adorned beautifully the sanctuary of Plouton, to praise him and crown him with a myrtle crown for his piety and love of honour, and to allot him a portion from the Greater Mysteries and those in Agrai as large as that for each of the Eumolpidai, since he is devoted to the sanctuary and the genos of the Eumolpidai; and to inscribe the decree on a stone stele . . . . . . (Translation by Nicolai Futás, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 93)

Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456616)
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 99, I Eleusis 93) Clinton (2005b, plate 42) Clinton (2008, p. 104-105)

	38. Stele with a decree honouring of Xenokles of Sphettos, issued by Eleusis (deme) (I Eleusis 95 = IG II² 1191)	
Description	This is a stele in white marble with a decree issued by the deme of Eleusis and Athenian garrisoned soldiers in honour of Xenokles of Sphettos.	
Type	Honorific decree	
Dating	321-320 B.C.	
Archaeological information	Location	Sanctuary of Eleusis – found in the area between Tower H21 and Tower H18 (See Plate 8)
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"´[...] broken on all sides but the left and right (above the inscription the lower part of the molding is preserved)" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 100)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 237 (=Skias' No. 51) H.: 0,43m; W.: 0,35m; Th. 0,09m; LH. 0,006-0,008m; Stoich.: 0,0137m (hor.) x 0,0139 (vert.)
Text information	Editions	Clinton (2005, I Eleusis 95); IG II² 1191 (Kirchner);

Reconstituted text				**Translation**	
	[δημα]ρ[χ]οῦντος Ὀνήτορος vvvv	1			When Onetor was demarch,
	[ἄρχ]οντος δὲ Ἀρχίππ[ο] vv[vvvv]				in the archonship of Archippos [321/0 or 318/7],
	[ἔδ]οξεν Ἐλευσ[ινί]ων [τῶι δήμωι]				the deme of Eleusis
	[κα]ὶ Ἀθηναίο[ι]ς [τοῖς ἐν τῆι φυλ]-				and the Athenians on guard duty decided:
	[α]κῆ[ι]· τύχη[ι ἀγα]θ[ῆι· Μοι]ρ[οκλῆς]	5			for good fortune, [Moi]r[okles]
	[Ε]ὐθ[υ]δήμ[ου Ἐλευ]σ[ί]ν[ιος εἶπεν]·				son of Euthydemos of Eleusis proposed:
	[ἐπει]δὴ ὁ [νό]μ[ος κ]ελεύει πρ[οσγ]-				since the law requires that it be
	[ρ]άφειν ἐν [τῶι ψ]ηφίσ[ματι τὸν λ]-				specified in the decree
	[α]μ[β]άνοντα δ[ω]ρεὰν ὅ[τι] ε[ὐεργέ]-				what benefit the recipient of a grant has done to
	[τ]ηκεν τὴν πό[λι]ν, Ξενοκλῆ[ς δὲ π]-	10			the city, and Xenokles,
	ερ[ί] τε τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖν θεοῖν [καὶ]				having been elected manager both of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses
	μυστηρ[ίων ἐ]πιμελητὴς χειρ[ο]-				and of the Mysteries,
	τονηθεὶ[ς εὐσ]εβῶς καὶ [...6...]				conducted his offices piously and
	καὶ φιλοτίμως τὰ ἐν τ[αῖς ἀρχα]-				-and with love of honour;
	ῖς ἔπραξεν· [κ]αὶ ὅ[πω]ς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀσ-	15			and in order that the sacred objects
	φαλῶς καὶ καλῶ[ς π]ορε[ύ]ηται[ι] κα-				shall be conveyed safely and finely
	ὶ ἡ πανήγυρι[ς τῶν] ε[ἰσα]φι[κ]νο[υ]-				as well as the gathering of
	μένων Ἑλλήν[ων Ἐλ]ευσ[ῖ]νάδε κα-				Greeks coming to Eleusis and
	ὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, [καὶ] οἱ τὸ προάστ-				to the sanctuary for the festival, and that those
	ιον οἰκοῦντε[ς καὶ] οἱ γεω[ρ]γοὶ	20			living on the outskirts of the town and the farmers

	σώιζωνται, γέ[φυρα]ν [λ]ιθίνην κ- ατασκευάζει [παρ' ἑαυ]το[ῦ] χρήμ- ατα ⟦ννν⟧ ἀναλί[σκων], καὶ δ[η]μόσι- α διαχειρίσας χρ[ή]ματα πρότε- ρόν τε καὶ νῦν ἐπ[ὶ] δικαιοσύνε- ι στεφανοῦται [κα]ὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς λε- ιτουργίαις ἐξ [.....11...... δ]- [ῆ]μος [— — — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 95)	20
	shall be relieved, he is building a stone bridge, spending his own money on it, and having managed public funds both previously and now is crowned for his justice, and in his liturgies . . . People or deme . . . . . . (Translation by Nicolai Futás, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 95)	

Image	
	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456435)

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 95) Clinton (2005a, p. 100-101, I Eleusis 95) Clinton (2005b, plate 43) Clinton (2008, p.105-106)

39. Fragmented stele with a decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of an individual (I Eleusis 96 = IG II² 1192)		
Description	This is a fragmented stele in white marble with decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of an individual from Phyle.	
Type	Honorific decree	
Dating	321-320 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – entrance
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Fragment of a stele […], preserved only on its (smooth-picked) right side." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 101)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 1130 (= Skias' No. 369) H. 0,21m; W. 0,18m; Th. 0,07m; LH.: 0,006m; Stoich. 0,0110 m (hor.) x 0,0110 m (vert.)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 96 (Clinton, 2005a, I Eleusis 96); IG II² 1192 (Kirchner)
Reconstituted text	1 [….9….. Ὀνήτ]ωρ Αἴσω[νος εἶπ]- [ε· ἐπειδὴ …. Φ]υλάσιος ἀνὴ[ρ ἀγ]- [αθός ἐστιν πε]ρὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἐ]- [λευσινίων κα]ὶ ποεῖ ὅτι δύνατα- 5 [ι ἀγαθόν, ἐπαι]νέσαι αὐτ[ὸ]ν καὶ σ- [τεφανῶσαι χρ]υσῶι στε[φά]νωι ἀπ- [ὸ πεντακοσίω]ν δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς [ἕνεκα καὶ φι]λοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τ- [ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλ]ευσινίων· εἶναι 10 [δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ π]ροεδρίαν ἐν τῶ[ι θ]- [εάτρωι ὅταν τὰ Δι]ονύσια ποε[ῖ ὁ] [δῆμος ὁ Ἐλευσινίω]ν· ἀναγρ[άψαι] [τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στή]λη[ι λιθί]- [νηι καὶ στῆσαι — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 96)	**Translation** [The demarch?] Onetor son of Aison proposed: since – of Phyle is a good man towards the deme of Eleusis and does whatever good he can, to praise and crown him with a gold crown of five hundred drachmas for his excellence and love of honour towards the demesmen of Eleusis; and he shall have a seat of honour in the theatre whenever the deme of Eleusis celebrates the Dionysia; and to inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it . . . . . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 96)

Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456141)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 96) Clinton (2005a, p. 101-102) Clinton (2005b, plate 42) Clinton (2008, p. 106-107) Csapo; Wilson (2020, p. 110-111)

40. Pedimental stele with a decree honouring general Derkylos of Hagnous, issued by Eleusis (deme) (I Eleusis 99 = IG II² 1187)				
Description	This is a white marble pedimental stele with decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of the general Derkylos Autokleous Hagnousios. Above the inscription, a relief depicts: a male figure on the left (probably Derkylos of Hagnous), who approaches a seated Demeter. Kore is carrying torches on the right side of the relief.			
Type	Honorific decree			
Dating	319/8 B.C.			
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis		
	Type	Pedimental stele (with a relief above)		
	Material	White marble		
	Conservation state	"Preserved apparently on all sides (the bottom was not accessible); the back is rough-picked." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 103)		
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 968 (= Skias' No. 2) H. 1,19m; W, 0,366m (line 1), 0,403m (bottom of the stele); Th. 0,095m; LH. 0,006-0,009m; Stoich. 0,0143m (hor.) x 0,0143 (vert.)		
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 99 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1187 (Kirchner); SEG 22.118		
Reconstituted text	Φίλιππος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Δερκύλ- ος ὁ στρατηγὸς φιλοτιμεῖται π- ερ\<ὶ\> τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων τ- ά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ παῖδες π- αιδεύωνται οἱ ἐν τῶι δήμωι, δεδ- όχθαι Ἐλευσινίοις ἐπαινέσαι Δερκ\<ύλ\>ον Αὐτοκλέους Ἁγνούσ- ιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στε- φάνωι ἀπὸ 500 δραχμῶν καὶ ἀνειπε- ῖν τὸν στέφανον Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῶ- ι θεάτρωι τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι ὅτι στεφανῶι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλευσι\<ν\>- {ιν}ίων Δερκύλον Αὐτοκλέους Ἁγ- νούσιον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ φιλο- τιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλ- ευσινίων· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι ἀτέλε- ιαν καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἐλευσινίων καὶ καλείτω αὐ- τὸν ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ ἀεὶ δημαρχῶν ε- ἰς τὴν προεδρίαν· νέμειν δὲ αὐτ- ῶι καὶ μερίδα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καθά-	1 5 10 15 20	**Translation**	*Relief* Philippos proposed: since Derkylos the general displays love of honour towards the deme of Eleusis, among other things so that the boys of the deme may be educated, the Eleusinians shall decide to praise Derkylos son of Autokles of Hagnous and crown him with a gold crown of 500 drachmas; and to announce the crown at Eleusis in the theatre at the competition in tragedies, that the deme Eleusis crowns Derkylos son of Autokles of Hagnous for his excellence and love of honour towards the deme of Eleusis; and he shall have freedom from taxes and a seat of honour in the deme Eleusis; and the demarch in office shall invite him to his seat of honour; and the

περ Ἐλευσινίοις τὸν δήμαρχον τὸν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντα. ἀναγράψα- ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι λ- ιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι παρὰ τὰ προπ- ύλαια τῆς Δήμητρ[ρ]ος καὶ τῆς Κό- ρης, ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγρ- αφῆς τοὺς πατέρας τῶν παίδων μ- ετὰ τοῦ δημάρχου. (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 99)	25	demarch in office shall also allocate him a portion of the sacrifices, like the demesmen; and to inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it by the gateway of Demeter and Kore; and the fathers of the boys shall take care of the inscribing with the demarch. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 99)
Image	Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456306)	
Bibliography	Clinton (2005a, p. 103-104, I Eleusis 99) Clinton (2005b, plate 44) Clinton (2008, p. 107-108)	

41. Pedimental stele with a decree issued by the Kerykes in honour of Euthydemos (I Eleusis 100 = IG II² 1230)	
Description	This is a pedimental stele in white marble, which carries a decree issued by the Kerykes in honour of Euthydemos, deputy (*paredros*) of the *archon-basileus* (Athenian official for religious matters).
Type	Honorific decree
Dating	Last quarter of the 4th B.C.

Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – entrance
	Type	Pedimental stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"[…] preserved on all sides, but the back and bottom." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 105)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 133 (= Skias' no. 58) H.: 0,20m; W.: 0,38m; Th. 0,0075m; LH.: 0,004-0,005m; Stoich. 0,0108m (hor.) x 0,0105 m (vert.)

Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 100 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1230 (Kirchner); SIG³ 1049 (Dittenberger)

Reconstituted text	θεοί 1 Ἐπιγένης Εὐεργέτου ἐκ Κοίλης εἶπεν· [ἐ]πειδὴ Εὐθύδημος ὁ πάρεδρος τοῦ βασ- [ιλ]έως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως μετὰ τοῦ β- [ασ]ιλέως κα[ὶ] τοῦ γέν[ο]υς τοῦ Κηρύκων ἐ- 5 [πε]μελήθη τ[ῶ]ν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ φ[ι]- [λ]οτιμού[μεν]ος διατελεῖ πρὸς τὸ γέν[ο]- [ς τ]ὸ Κηρύ[κων] καί ἐστιν εὔνους ἅπασ[ιν] [ἀε]ὶ καὶ λαβὼν κ[— — — — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 100)	**Translation**	Gods. Epigenes son of Euergetes of Koile proposed: since Euthydemos the deputy of the king managed the Mysteries well and with love of honour with the king and the genos Kerykes, and continues to show love of honour towards the genos Kerykes and is always well disposed in everything and having taken . . . . . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 100)
Image			

Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456250)

Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 100) Clinton (2005a, p.105, I Eleusis 100) Clinton (2005b, plate 45) Clinton (2008, p. 108) Tracy (1995, 139)

42. Fragmented stele with a decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of Euthydemos of Eleusis (I Eleusis 101 = IG II² 1274 + 1194 + Threpsiadis, 1939, p. 177-180)				
Description	This is fragmented stele in white marble with a decree issued by the deme of Eleusis in honour of Euthydemos Moirokleous Eleusinios, deputy (*paredros*) of the *archon-basileus* (Athenian official for religious matters).			
Type	Honorific decree			
Dating	Last quarter of the 4th century B.C.			
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – entrance		
	Type	Stele		
	Material	White marble		
	Conservation state	Three fragments – "[…] broken on top and bottom; parts of the original right and left sides are preserved as well as the rough-picked back" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 105)		
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. Nos. E 461 (a) + 673 (c) (= Skias' nos. 370 + 50) + 484 (b) [fragmente b is missing] H.: 0,50m; W.: 0,402; Th.: 0,102m; LH.: 0,007-0,008m; Stoich.: 0,0141m (hor.) x 0,0155m (vert.)		
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 101 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1274 (Kirchner); Threpsiades (1939, p. 177-180)		
Reconstituted text	Θεόβουλος [Θεοβούλ]ου εἶπεν· τύχηι ἀγαθῆι τοῦ [δήμου το]ῦ Ἐλευσινίων κ-αὶ Ἀθηναίω[ν· δεδόχθ]αι Ἐλευσινίοι-ς· ἐπει[δὴ Εὐθύδημος] διατελεῖ εὔνο-υς [ὢν] τῶ[ι] δήμ[ω]ι [τῶι Ἐ]λευσινίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἰδ[ίαι] καὶ κοινῆι καὶ [λ]αχὼν δήμαρχος κ[αλ]ῶς καὶ δικαίως δεδημάρχηκεν καὶ [τ]ὴν θυσίαν τῶι Δ-ιονύσωι ὑπὲρ ὑγιε[ί]ας καὶ σωτηρία-ς τῶν δημοτῶν παρ' αὑτοῦ ἔθυσεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς δημότας πεφιλοτίμηται κ-[α]ὶ τὴν πρόσοδον πλείω πεποίηκεν κ-αὶ τἄλλα τὰ τῶν δημο[τ]ῶν κα[λ]ῶ[ς καὶ κ]-ατὰ τοὺς νόμους διε[χείρεσεν, ὑπάρ]-χειν μὲν Εὐθυδήμωι, [δοθείσης καὶ τ]-[ο]ῖς προγόνοις αὐτο[ῦ ταύτης τῆς δω]-ρεᾶς, προεδρίαν αὐτ[ῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοι]-ς, κα[ὶ] καλείτω αὐτὸν [ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ ἀε]-ὶ δημαρχῶν εἰς τὴν π[ροεδρίαν ἢ ὀφε]-ιλέτω ⱽ Η ⱽ δραχμὰς [ἱερὰς τῶι Διον]-	1 5 10 15 20	**Translation**	Theoboulos son of [Theoboulos?] proposed: for the good fortune of the demesmen of Eleusis and the Athenian People, the Eleusinians shall decide: since Euthydemos continues to be well-disposed towards the deme of Eleusis and the Athenian People, both individually and collectively, and having been allotted as demarch, exercised the office of demarch finely and justly and carried out the sacrifice to Dionysos for the health and preservation of the demesmen from his own resources and has displayed love of honour and increased the revenue and handled the other affairs of the demesmen finely and according to the laws, Euthydemos shall enjoy, himself and his descendants, a seat of honour, seeing that this grant was made also to his ancestors, and the demarch in office shall invite him to take up his seat of honour, or himself owe 100 drachmas sacred to Dionysos;

	ύσωι· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ [Εὐθύδημον Μοιρ]- οκλέους Ἐλευσίνιο[ν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα] καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰ[ς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐ]- λευσινίων καὶ στεφ[ανῶσαι αὐτὸν θ]- [αλ]λοῦ στεφάνωι [.......15........] 25 [— — — — — — — — — — — —] (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 101)		and to praise [Euthydemos] son of Moirokles of Eleusis for his [excellence] and good-will towards the demesmen of Eleusis and crown him with a foliage crown . . . . . . (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 101)
Image	Fragment A Fragment C Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456659 ; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456726)		
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 101) Clinton (2005a, p. 105-106, I Eleusis 101) Clinton (2005b, plate 45) Clinton (2008, p. 109) Csapo; Wilson (2020, p. 107-109) Tracy (1995, 139a)		

III. Sacred laws, regulations and sacrificial calendars

43. Base for unknown object with a decree concerning sacrifices at Eleusis (I Eleusis 13 = IG I³ 5)		
Description	This is a base for unknown object with a decree issued by the Council and citizen Assembly for regulating sacrifices at Eleusis. There is one central rectangular cutting and two side circular cuttings on the top of the base (See image below). Clinton (2005a, p. 16) argues this base carried columns for supporting statues of Demeter Kore (cf. AIO, I Eleusis 13, note 1).	
Type	Decree – regulation of rituals	
Dating	ca. 500-470 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – probably in the area next to the rock-cut platform (See Plate 9)
	Type	Base for unknown object
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	Three fragments (a + b + c). "The top has three large cuttings in it, a rectangular one in the center (0,16 x 0,16m; depth ca. 0,04m), which consists of a channel surrounding a rectangular area (0,125 x 0,115m), and a circular cutting on either side (diam. 0,31m; depth ca. 0,07m)" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 16-18)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 553 (= Skias' Nos. 9-10, 313) H.: 0,234m; W.: 1,55m; Th.: 0,482m; LH.: 0,022m (0,018 – 0,023m)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 13 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 5 (Lewis); SEG XXIX 1 (Clinton); IG I² 5 (LSCG 4)
Reconstituted text	[ἔδοχσε]ν [⋮ τε͂ι βολε͂ι] ⋮ καὶ [τ]ο͂ι δέμοι ⋮ hότε Παραιβάτες [⋮ ἐγραμμάτευε] *vacat* 1 [προτέ]λεια ⋮ θ[ύε]ν ⋮ τὸς hιεροποιὸς ⋮ Ἐλευσινίον ⋮ καὶ [τἄλλα ⋮ ἐς τὲν ἑορτὲ]ν [τὲν Ἐλ]ευσῖν[ι ⋮ Γ]ε͂ι ⋮ hερμε͂ι Ἐναγονίοι ⋮ Χάρισιν ⋮ αἶγα ⋮ [πρὸ το͂ν Ἐλευσινί]ον [Ποσειδ]ο͂νι ⋮ [κριὸ]ν ⋮ Ἀρτέμιδι ⋮ αἶγα ⋮ Τελεσιδρόμοι ⋮ Τριπ[τολέμοι κριόν] [Πλούτο]νι ⋮ Δ[ολί]χοι ⋮ θεοῖν ⋮ τρίτтοαν ⋮ βόαρχον ⋮ ἐν τε͂ι ἑορ[τε͂ι *vacat*] 5 *vacat* 0.085 (SGI, 2023, IG I³ 5)	**Translation**	The Council and the People decided, when Paraibates [was secretary]: the religious officials shall make the [preliminary] sacrifices of the Eleusinia (?) and . . .. . . Eleusi-. . . for Hermes Enagonios and the Graces a goat … [for Poseidon a ram], for Artemis a goat, for Telesidromos and Triptolemos . . . [for Plouton], for D[oli]chos (?), for the Two Goddesses three victims led by a bull at the festival. (Translation by Stephen Lambert, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 13)

Image	Fragments a + b + c Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456661 ; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:640796 ; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:640810)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 13) AIO 1284 CGRN (2023, 8) Clinton (2005a, p. 16-18, I Eleusis 13) Clinton (2005b, plate 3) Clinton (2008, p. 32-37) LSCG 4

44. Fragmented pillar with a law concerning regulations of Eleusinian Mysteries (I Eleusis 19 = IG I³ 6)		
Description	This is a fragmented pillar in white marble, in which is inscribed a law for regulations of Eleusinian Mysteries and the sanctuary at Eleusis.	
Type	Sacred law	
Dating	ca. 470-460 B.C.	
Archaeological information	**Location**	City Eleusinion (but found next to Hephasteion in Athenian Agora)
	Type	Pillar
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"[…] broken on top, with all vertical faces preserved except one narrow one […]; the bottom is also broken (See IG I³ 6)." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 19; also, for more details)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	H.: 0,89m; W. 0,34m (i.e. Face a or c, originally ca. 0,408m); Th.: 0,20m; LH.: 0,014m (except C.47-50: 0,012m); Stoich. A: 0,0173 (hor.) x 0,0178m (vert.); C: 0,0174m (hor.) x 0,0178m (vert.). Repository: British Museum (Elgin marbles)
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 19 (Clinton, 2005a); AIUK 4.2, no. 1 (Lambert, 2020); IG I³ 6 (Jameson; Lewis); IG I² 6 (Hiller); SIG³ 42

Reconstituted text	face A.BM 309.1— — — — — — — — — — — — —	**Translation**	Face A
	[……15…….] δραχμεῖσ-		. .
	[ι ……14……]τες τὸς ιο		. . . drachmas. . .
	[……14……]μενος δεμο		. . .
	5 [……14……] τὸν πόλεο[ν]		. . . of the cities
	[…..12….. δ]οκεῖ ⫶ ἀνατιθ-		. . . decides, dedicate
	[…..13……]α ⫶ ἐάν τι[ς] τὸν		. . . if anyone of the
	[……15…….]ον ἒ̄ hΟΣΑΛ		. . . either whoever (?)
	[……15…….]ο ἒ̄ εν[.]ορ[.]		. . . or . . .
	10 [……15…….]νας hίνα [.]		. . . in order that (?)
	[……14……]αντο[..]ιν σ		*6 lines traces*
	[….11….. το͂]ν πόλε[ον] ταυ-		but if not, each
	[τ…..12…..] χρε[…7…]		*6 lines traces*
	[…..12…..]μεμβολ[..5..]		. . . and . . .
	15 […..13……]εχθεο[…]χε		. . . and not newer or younger (?)
	[…..12…..]ν δε[..]ν[…]λο		let him use the sanctuary; but if
	[….11….. ἐ]ὰν δὲ μέ, [h]εκασ-		. . . let him not use it; and if
	[τ…..12…..]ο[..6…]σε[.]		. . . these things (are to apply) in the same way; and if
	[…..13……]α[..6…]ιν[.]		. . . most according to his (?) power;
	20 [……14……]ιμ[..]ιας πε		. . . and shall carry out the exaction; but
	[……15…….]ετα[.]τεν[.]		if he does not turn in the debtor, let him not

[.......17........]ια[..]ο[.]
[.....13......]Λ[…]πο[….]
[….9….]σειαν[.]Λ[.]λαμ[…]
25   […8….]ολει κα[ὶ] μ[ὲ] νεοτε[ρ]-
[… χρέσθ]ο τοῖ [ʰιε]ροῖ· [ἐ]ὰν δὲ
[…8….]ι μὲ χ[ρέσ]θο· ἐὰν δὲ ἰ-
[..6… κ]ατὰ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα· ἐὰν
[…. πλε]ῖστον κατὰ τὲν δύνα-
30   [μιν ….]· πρᾶχσαι δ ἔκπραχ<σι>[ν]·
[ἐὰν δὲ μὲ] ἐγδοῖ τὸν ὀφλόντα, μ-
[ὲ χρέσθο] τοῖ ʰιεροῖ : ἐὰν ἀμφι-
[σβετοῖσι] μὲ κλεθὲναι ἐμ πό[λε]-
[ι …7…]εν ἐλθοῖσαν ἀδικ[..]
35   […8….] ʰύστερον ʰε [β]ο[λ]ὲ α
[….9….]ι : τὸν Ἀθεναῖον μὲ
[ἐκ γ]ὲς [πο τ]ούτον τὸν πόλεον μ-
[ε]δὲ ʰαμο[ς β]ιᾶσθαι ἐὰν μὲ [δί]κ-
[ε]ν ὀφλόν[τα] ἐπιχορίαν ὲ̀ ἐς πο-
40   [λ]εμίος λ[εφ]θέντα· ʰέτις δ ἂν τ-
[ο͂]μ πόλεον μὲ ἐθέλει, δ[ί]κας δι-
[δ]όναι καὶ δέχεσθαι Ἀθεναί[ο]-
[ι]σιν ἀπὸ χσυ<μ>βολο͂ν.
                vacat 0.10
face B.frg. da.1   [….9….]ια
[…8….]ντο
[…8….]τοσ
    lacuna
4   [….10…. τ]-
5   [ὰ] μὲν ʰακόσι[α]
[ʰ]απλεῖ, τὰ δὲ [ʰ]
[ε]κόσια διπλ[ε͂]-
[ι· σ]πονδὰς εἶν-
[αι] τοῖσι μύστ-
10   [εσιν] καὶ το[ῖς]
	use the sanctuary; if they dispute (?)
	that they have been summoned on the Acropolis (?)
	. . . having come (*fem. sing.*) . . . injustice (?)
	. . . later the Council
	. . . of the Athenians not
	. . . of these cities
	. . . unless he has lost a case
	in a local court or
	been captured among the enemy; and any city
	that is not willing shall give
	and receive court cases with the Athenians
	according to the existing conventions.
	Face B
	Traces
	for involuntary acts,
	a simple penalty, for
	voluntary acts a double penalty;
	and there shall be a truce
	for the initiates
	and for the
	epoptai, and
	for the companions or servants
	and
	property of the foreigners and for all
	Athenians;
	and the time
	of the truce
	is to begin
	in the month
	Metageitnion, from
	the full moon, and
	to continue through
	Boedromion and
	Pyanopsion

[ἐπ]όπτεισιν [κ]-
[αὶ τ]οῖς ἀκολ[ο]-
[ύθ]οισιν καὶ [χ]-
[ρέ]μασιν τὸν [ὸ]-
15   [θ]νείον καὶ [Ἀθ]-
[ε]ν[α]ῖοισιν [h]ά-
πασιν· ἄρχε[ν] δ-
ὲ τὸν χρόνο[ν] τ-
ὸν σπονδὸν [τ]ο͂
20   Μεταγειτνιο͂-
νος μενὸς ἀπ[ὸ]
διχομενίας [κ]-
αὶ τὸν Βοεδρ[ο]-
μιο͂να καὶ το͂[Π]-
25   υανοφσιο͂νος
μέχρι δεκάτε-
ς hισταμένο· τ-
ὰς δὲ σπονδὰς
εἶναι ἐν τεῖσ-
30   ι πόλεσιν hό[σ]-
αι χρο͂νται το͂-
ι hιερο͂ι καὶ Ἀ-
θεναίοισιν ἐ-
κεῖ ἐν τεῖσιν
35   αὐτε͂σι πόλεσ-
ιν· τοῖσι δὲ ὀλ-
είζοσι μυστε-
ρίοισιν τὰς [σ]-
πονδὰς εἶνα[ι]
40   το͂ Γαμελιο͂νο-
ς μενὸς ἀπὸ δ[ι]-
[χ]ομενίας κα[ὶ]
τὸν Ἀνθεστε[ρ]-
[ι]ο͂να καὶ το͂ Ἐλ-

until the
tenth;
and the truce
is to apply in the
cities that
use the
sanctuary and to
the Athenians
there in the
same cities;
and for the
Lesser
Mysteries the
truce is to be
in the month Gamelion
from the
full moon and
through Anthesterion
and in
Elaphebolion
until the
tenth.

Face C
Traces . . . an obol from
each [initiate]; and the
-shall take half an obol
[each] from each initiate;
and the priestess of Demeter
shall take at the Lesser
Mysteries from each initiate
an obol, and at the Greater
Mysteries an obol from
each initiate; [all the?] obols

<div style="display:flex">
<div>

45 αφεβολιο͂νος
μέχρι δεκάτε-
ς hισταμένο.
    vacat
face C.frg. d.1 […]θαι[.......17........]
[.]αθεμι[.......17........]
γαι τ[........19.........]
[.]σ̣τ[.........20.........]
lacuna
frg. abc,f.5 [.....12.....] ὀβολ[…7…]
[.....12.....]ο : hιερ[οποιὸς]
[δὲ λαμβάνεν hε]μιοβέ[λιον κα]-
[θ ἐμ]έραν [παρὰ τ]ο͂ μύστο [hε]κά[σ]-
[το]· τὲν hιέρ[εα]ν τὲν Δέμετρος
10 [λ]αμ[β]άνεν μυ[στ]ερίοις τ[ο]ῖς ὀ-
[λ]έζοσιν παρὰ [το͂ μ]ύστο h[εκ]άσ-
[τ]ο ὀβολόν καὶ [τοῖς μ]είζ[οσιν]
[μ]υστερίοις ὀ[βολὸν παρὰ το͂ μ]-
[ύσ]το hεκάστο· σ[ύμπαντας ὀβο]-
15 λὸς τοῖν θεο[ῖ]ν [εἶναι πλὲν] hε-
χσακοσίον κα[ὶ χιλίον δρ]αχμ-
ο͂ν· ἀπὸ δὲ το͂ν hε[χσακοσίο]ν κα-
ὶ χιλίον δραχμ[ο͂ν τὲν hι]έρεα-
ν τἀναλόματα [δο͂ναι καθ]άπερ
20 τέος ἀνέλοτο ⁝ Ε̣[ὐ]μ̣[ολπίδ]ας κα-
ὶ Κέρ[υ]κ̣ας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] το͂ μ-
ύστ[ο h]εκάστο πέν[τε ὀβολὸς τ]-
ο͂ν [ἀρρ]ένον, θελείο[ν δὲ τρεῖς]·
[ἀτελε͂ μ]ύστεμ μὲ ἐν[εῖναι μυε͂]-
25 [ν μεδέ]ν̣α πλὲν το͂ ἀφ [ἑστίας μυ]-
[ομέν]ο ⁝ Κερύκας δὲ μυ[ε͂ν ..5..]
[..] μύστας hέκαστον [καὶ Εὐμο]-
[λπίδ]ας [κ]ατὰ τα[ὐ]τά· ἐ[…7…]
[.] πλείος εὐθύνεσθα[ι χιλιάσ]-

</div>
<div>

shall belong to the two Goddesses except
for one thousand six hundred drachmas; and from
the one thousand six hundred drachmas
the priestess shall
pay the expenses just
as they have been paid until now;
and the Eumolpidai and
the Kerykes
are to take from
each initiate five obols
from the men, three obols from the women;
an initiate who has not paid shall not embark on
initiation, except for the hearth-initiate;
and the Kerykes shall initiate the initiates -,
each one, and the Eumolpidai
in the same way; [but if?]
. . . more, they shall be fined [a hundred?]
drachmas at their scrutiny; and those of the
Kerykes and Eumolpidai who have reached adulthood may initiate;
and the Athenians may –
the sacred money . . .
whatever they wish, just like
the money of Athena
on the Acropolis; and the
hieropoioi shall look after the money [of the Two Goddesses?]
on the Acropolis . . .
. . . in the . . .
of the orphans . . .
the orphan children and the
initiates each . . .
the initiates who are [initiated?] at Eleusis
in the courtyard within the
sanctuary, and those who are [initiated?]
in the city in the Eleusinion.

</div>
</div>

30 [ι] δρα[χ]με͂σι· μυε͂ν δὲ ḥ[οὶ ἂν ḥεβ]- ο͂σι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδο͂ν]· το͂ δὲ ḥιερο͂ ἀργυρί[ο …7…] [.]ΕΣ[….]ιναι Ἀθεν[αίοισι ..] [.]σθαι ḥέος ἂν βόλο[νται καθά]- 35 περ το͂ τε͂ς Ἀθεναία[ς ἀργυρίο] το͂ ἐμ πόλει· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γυρίον τὸ]- ς ḥιεροποιὸς #⁷[.]το[…7… ἐ]- [μ] πόλει ταμιεύεσθ[αι ..6…] [.]δ[….]χεν ἐν το͂ #⁷[…8….] 40 [.]β[….]εν τον [ὀ]ρφ[ανον ..5..] [.] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς] [μ]ύστας ḥεκαστομ #⁷ […8….] [τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υσῖνι …] [.]ενος ἐν τε͂ αὐλε͂ [ἐντὸς το͂ ḥ]- 45 [ι]ερο͂, τὸς δὲ ἐν ἄστει […7…] [.] ἐν το͂ Ἐλευσινίοι. [vac.] [τ]ὸν ἐπὶ το͂ βομο͂ ἰερέα καὶ τ[ὸν φαιδυντὲν] το\<ῖ\>ν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἰερέα τὸ[ν ….c.12….] [λ]ανβάνεν ἔκαστον τότο[ν …c.10… παρὰ] 50 [το͂] μύστ[ο ἑ]κάστο Ι — — — — — face D.frg. c.7 — — — — — — ρα[….9….] ρο[….9….] 10 υο[….9….] ν[….10….] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — 15 — — — — — — frg. b.16 ον[….9….] ς μυ[…8….] τρε[…8….] τον[…8….]		Added a little later: The altar-priest and the [-] of the two Goddesses and the priest who . . . are to take, each of these [an obol from?] each initiate, [sacred to the two Goddesses?] Face D *Traces* (Translation by Stephen Lambert and Robin Osborne, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 19; AIUK 4.2., no. 1)

	20 τοϱ[…8….] ϱν[….9….] — — — — — — — (SGI, 2023, IG I³ 6)
Image	Fragments a + b + C Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456681; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456683; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456682)
Bibliography	AIUK 4.2., no. 1 (Lambert, 2020) AIO (2023, I Eleusis 19) Clinton (2005a, p. 21-32, I Eleusis 19) Clinton (2005b, plates 5-6) Clinton (2008, p. 38-43) Osborne and Rhodes (2017)

	45. Stele with a decree on the first-fruits practice at Eleusis (I Eleusis 28a = IG I³ 78a)		

Description	This is a stele in white marble, in which is inscribed a decree for regulation of first-fruits practice in the sanctuary of Eleusis.
Type	Decree
Dating	ca. 440-435 B.C.

Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Preserved on all sides except perhaps the bottom (the set-line is visible), it was later reused as a threshold block, the inscribed surface face down." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 37)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	EM 10050 H.: 1.33m; W.: 0,050m; Th. 0,098m; LH.: 0,007-0,010m (except for line 1); Stoich. 0,0094 m (hor.) x 0,0133 m (vert.). Repository: Epigraphic Museum, Athens

Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 28a (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 78 (Lewis); LSCG 5 (Sokolowski, 1969); IG I² 76 (Hiller); SIG³ 83 (Dittenberger/Kirchner)

Reconstituted text	[Τιμο]τέλ[ε]ς Ἀχαρνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε. 1 [ἔδοχσ]εν τεῖ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Τιμοτέ- [λες ἐ]γραμμάτευε, Κυκνέας ἐπεστάτε· τάδε οἱ χσυγγραφες χσυνέ- [γρ]αφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν Θεοῖν τὸ καρπὸ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲ- ν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφὸν Ἀθεναίος ἀπὸ τὸν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον [κ]- 5 ριθὸν μὲ ἔλαττον ἒ hεκτέα, πυρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τὸν hεκατὸν μεδίμνον μ- ὲ ἔλαττον hεμιέκτεον· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιεῖ ἒ τοσο[ῦ]το- ν ἒ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. ἐγλέγεν δὲ τὸς δεμ- άρχος κατὰ τὸς δέμος καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε. οἰκοδομεσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρὲς Ἐλευσῖν- 10 ι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια hόπο ἂν δοκεῖ τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς καὶ τοῖ ἀρχιτ- έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ε͂ναι ἀπὸ τὸ ἀργυρίο τὸ τοῖν Θεοῖν· τὸν δὲ κα- ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν hὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τὸν δεμάρ[χ]ον, ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χσυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά. τὰς δὲ πόλες ἐγλ[ο]- γέας hελέσθαι τὸ καρπὸ, καθότι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτε͂σι ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸ- 15 [ς] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγλεχθε͂ι, ἀποπεμφσάντον Ἀθέναζε· τὸς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς hιεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσι- νόθεν Ἐλευσῖνάδε· ἐ[ὰ]ν δὲ μὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἑμερο͂ν [v]ννν ἐπειδὰν ἐπαγγελε͂ι, παραδιδόντον τὸν ἐκ τε͂ς πόλεος hόθεν ἂν ε͂- [ι] ὁ καρπός, εὐθυνόσθον hοι hιεροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν ν δραχμε͂σι [h]- 20 έ[κα]στος· καὶ παρὰ τὸν δεμάρχον κατὰ ταὐτὰ παραδέχεσθαι. [κ]έρυ-	**Translation**	Timoteles of Acharnai was secretary. The Council and the People decided. Kekropis was the prytany; Timoteles was secretary; Kykneas was chairman. The draftsmen drafted the following: the Athenians shall give first-fruits of the harvest to the two Goddesses according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi, at a rate of not less than a sixth of a medimnos per hundred medimnoi of barley and not less than half a sixth per hundred medimnoi of wheat; and if someone produces a greater harvest than this, or a smaller, he shall give first-fruits at the same ratio; and the demarchs shall collect the first-fruits by demes and hand them over to the sacred officials from Eleusis at Eleusis; and they shall build three granaries at Eleusis, according to ancestral custom, wherever seems to the sacred officials and the architect to be suitable, from the money of the two Goddesses; and they shall deposit there the crops that they receive from the demarchs; and the allies too shall contribute first-fruits in the same way; and the cities shall choose collectors of the crops in whatever way it seems to them that the crops will be best collected; and when they have been collected they shall send them to Athens; and those who bring them shall hand them over to the sacred officials from Eleusis at Eleusis;

[κα]ς δὲ *h*ελομένε *h*ε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀγγέλλοντας ν[υ]
τ[ἀδ’] *h*εφσεφισμένα τοῖ δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἔναι *h*ος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ λ-
οιπὸν *h*όταν δοκεῖ αὐτεῖ· κελευέτο δὲ καὶ *h*ο *h*ιεροφάντες καὶ [ὁ]
δαιδοῦχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς *h*έλλενας τõ καρπõ κατὰ   25
τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφõν· ἀναγράφσαντες δὲ ἐμ
πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τõ καρπõ τõ τε παρὰ τõν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]-
[ε̃]μον *h*έκαστον καὶ τõ παρὰ τõν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν *h*εκάστε[ν]
[κ]αταθέντον ἔν τε τõι Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν τõι βολευ[τ]ε-
ρίοι· ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τε̃σι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν τε̃[σι *h*ε]-   30
[λ]λενικε̃σιν ἀπάσεσι, *h*όποι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτεῖ δυνατὸν ἔναι, λέγον-
τας μὲν κατὰ *h*ὰ Ἀθεναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[ν]ο[ι]-
[ς] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονται,
κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφõν. παραδέχεσθαι δ-
ὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτον τõν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς *h*ιεροποιὸς [κα]-   35
τ[ὰ] ταὐτά. θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τõ πελανõ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι ἐχσ[*h*ε]-
[γõ]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν Θεοῖν *h*εκατ[έρ]-
[αι ἀ]πὸ τõν κριθõν καὶ τõν πυρõν καὶ τõι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τõι Θε-
õι καὶ τε̃ι Θεᾶι καὶ τõι Εὐβόλοι *h*ιερεῖον *h*εκάστοι τέλεον καὶ
τε̃ι Ἀθεναίαι βõν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ-   40
οδομένος τὸς *h*ιεροποιὸς μετὰ τε̃ς βολε̃ς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν-
αι τοῖν Θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος *h*άττ’ ἂν τõι δέμοι τõι Ἀθεναίον δοκε̃-
ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, *h*ότι ἀπὸ τõ καρπõ τε̃ς ἀπαρχε̃-
ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ *h*ελλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον· τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ποιõσι
πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπίαν, *h*οίτινες ἂν   45
μὲ ἀδικõσι Ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ Θεό. [ν]
Λάμπον εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χσυγγραφαὶ τε̃ς ἀπαρχε̃ς τõ
[κ]αρπõ τοῖν Θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ χσυγγραφὰς καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγ-
ραφσάτο *h*ο γραμματεὺς *h*ο τε̃ς βολε̃ς ἐν στέλαιν δυοῖν λιθίναι-
ν καὶ καταθέτο τὲν μὲν Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τõι *h*ιερõι τὲν δὲ *h*ετέραν ἐ-   50
μ πόλει· *h*οι δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὸ στέλα· *h*οι δὲ κολα[κρ]-
έται δόντον τὸ ἀργύριον. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τε̃ς ἀπαρχε̃ς τõ καρπõ τ-
οῖν Θεοῖν ἀναγράφσαι ἐς τὸ στέλα, με̃να δὲ ⋮⋮⋮ ἐμβάλλεν *h*εκατονβ-
αιõνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα. τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα *h*ορίσαι τὰ *h*ιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[õ]-
ι Πελαργικõι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐν*h*ιδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τõι Πελα-   55

and if they do not accept them within five days from when they have been announced, although the men from the city from which the crops come are handing them over, the sacred officials shall be fined 1,000 drachmas each; and they shall accept them from the demarchs according to the same conditions; and the Council shall choose heralds and send them to the cities announcing what has been voted by the People, as soon as possible for now, and in future whenever the Council decides; and the hierophant and the dadouch shall encourage the Greeks at the Mysteries to give first-fruits of the harvest according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi; and when they have written up on a board the amount of the crops received from the demarchs, deme by deme, and from the cities, city by city, they shall place it in the Eleusinion at Eleusis and in the Council chamber; and the Council shall announce to all the other Greek cities, wherever it decides this to be possible, telling them the arrangements under which the Athenians and the allies give first-fruits, and not commanding them but encouraging them, if they wish, to give first-fruits according to ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi; and the sacred officials shall accept crops from these cities in the same way if any city brings them; and they shall sacrifice from the cake as the Eumolpidai expound, and a triple sacrifice led by a bovine with gilded horns to each of the two goddesses from the barley and the wheat, and to Triptolemos and to the god and the goddess and to Euboulos, a full-grown victim to each, and to Athena a bovine with gilded horns; and the sacred officials with the Council shall sell the rest of the barley and wheat and dedicate dedications to the two Goddesses, doing whatever the Athenian People decides, and shall write on the dedications that these dedications were made from the first-fruits of the harvest, and that the Greeks were offering first-fruits; and to those who do this may much good come, and good and plentiful harvests, as long as they do no wrong to the Athenians or to the city of

ργικο͂ ἄνευ τε͂ς βολε͂ς καὶ το͂ δέμο, μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ το͂ [Π]-ελαργικο͂, μεδὲ γε͂ν ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος· ἐὰν δέ τις παραβαίνει ν τι:::ούτον τι, ἀποτινέτο πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ἐσαγγελλέτο δὲ h-ο βασιλεὺς ἐς τὲν βολέν· περὶ δὲ το͂ ἐλαίο ἀπαρχε͂ς χσυγγράφ-σας Λάμπον ἐπιδειχσάτο τε͂ι βολε͂ι ἐπὶ τε͂ς ἐνάτες πρυτανείας· hε δὲ βολὲ ἐς τὸν δε͂μον ἐχσενενκέτο ἐπάναγκες. (SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 28a)	60	the Athenians or to the two Goddesses. Lampon proposed: in other respects in accordance with the draft about the first-fruits of the harvest for the two Goddesses; but the secretary of the Council shall inscribe the draft and this decree on two stone stelai, and shall place one at Eleusis in the sanctuary, and the other on the Acropolis; and the official sellers shall put the two stelai out to tender; and the kolakretai shall give the money; and they shall inscribe these things about the first-fruits of the harvest for the two Goddesses on the two stelai; and the new archon shall insert amonth Hekatombaion; and the king shall define the boundaries of the sanctuaries in the Pelargikon, and for the future no altar shall be set up in the Pelargikon without permission of the Council and People, nor shall anyone cut stones from the Pelargikon, nor take away earth or stones; and if anyone contravenes any of these things, he shall pay 500 drachmas; and the king shall report it to the Council; and on the matter of the first-fruits of oil, Lampon shall make a draft and show it to the Council in the ninth prytany; and the Council shall be obliged to bring it before the People. (Translation by Stephen Lambert and Robin Osborne, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 28a)

Image	Sources: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456689; https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456687)
Bibliography	AIO (2023, I Eleusis 28a) Clinton (2005a, p. 37-40, I Eleusis 28a – See also I Eleusis 28b for City Eleusinion copy) Clinton (2005b, plates 9-11) Clinton (2008, p. 45-53) CGRN (2023, 31) LSCG 5 (Sokolowski, 1969) Osborne and Rhodes (2017, 141)

	46. Relief and stele with a decree for building a bridge over Rheitos (I Eleusis 41 = IG I³ 79)			
Description	This is stele in white marble with a decree for building a bridge over Rheitos in order to provide a safe crossing to transport of sacred objects (*hiera*) by priestesses during Eleusinian Mysteries. There is a relief above the stele, in which is possible to identify from left to right: Demeter, probably Kore carrying torches, Eumolpo and Athena (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 54).			
Type	Decree			
Dating	422/1 B.C.			
Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis – next to Archaic silos and North Gate		
	Type	Stele with a relief		
	Material	White marble		
	Conservation state	"[…] preserved on all sides but the bottom; the left and right sides are smooth; the back is apparently rough-picked" (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 54)		
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	Inv. No. E 958 H.: 0,92m; W.: 0,57m (including molding), 0,529m (line 2); Th. ca. 0,13m; LH.: 0,019m (0,017-0,022m); Stoich.: 0,0202 m (hor.) x 0,0206 m (vert.)		
Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 41 (Clinton, 2005a); IG I³ 79 (Lewis); IG I² 81 (Hiller)		
Reconstituted text	[Π]ρέπις Εὐφέρο ἐγραμμάτευε. ἔδοχσεν τεῖ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Αἰγεὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Πρέπις ἐγρα- [μ]μάτευε, Πατροκλε͂ς ἐπεστάτε, Θε- αῖος εἶπε· τὸν Ρετὸν τὸμ παρὰ το͂ ἄ- στεος γεφυρο͂σαι λίθοις χρομέ[ν]- ος Ἐλευσινόθεν το͂γ καθειρεμέν- ον ἐκ το͂ νεὸ το͂ ἀρχαίο, ho̱ς ἔλιπον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναλίσκοντες, hος ἄ- ν τὰ hιερὰ φέροσιν hαι hιέρεαι ἀ- σφαλέστατα. πλάτος δὲ ποιόντον πεντέποδα, hίνα μὲ hάμαχσαι διε- λαύνονται ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰο͂σιν εῖ βα- δίζεν ἐπὶ τὰ hιερά. λίθοις δὲ κατ- [ακ]αλύφσαι τὰς διαρροὰς το͂ Ρρε[τ]- [ο͂] καθότι ἂν χσυγγρ<ά>φσει Δεμομέλ- [ες ὁ ἀρχιτέκτον]. ἐὰν [δ]ὲ μὲ ο͂σιν ε[.] [— — — — — — — — — — — — —]	1 5 10 15	**Translation**	When [P]repis, son of Eupheros, was secretary The Council and the People decided, when Tribe Aigeis was presiding, Prepis was secretary, Patrokles was *epistates,* Theaios said that a bridge over Rheitos shall be built next to the city, using removed stones from the old temple at Eleusis, those left for building the fortification wall, in such a way that priestesses can transport the sacred objects (*hiera*) safely. the width should be five-foot, so that no wagon can pass, but it will allow the crossing of pedestrians for rituals. And cover the canals of Rhei[t]os with stones according to the plan [of the architect] Demomel[es]. ...

	(SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 41)
Image	 Source: Cornell University Library (2023) (https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:456636)
Bibliography	Arnauoutoglou (2003, p.145-146, no. 100, with a translation to portuguese) Clinton (2005a, p. 54-55, I Eleusis 41) Clinton (2005b, plate 17) Clinton (2008, p. 62-63)

47. Fragmented stele with a sacrificial calendar from Eleusis (I Eleusis 175 = IG II² 1363)	
Description	This is fragmented stele in white marble, in which is inscribed a sacred law with sacrificial calendar from Eleusis.
Type	Sacred law
Dating	ca. 330 B.C.

Archaeological information	**Location**	Sanctuary of Eleusis
	Type	Stele
	Material	White marble
	Conservation state	"Two fragments […], broken on all sides but the left." (CLINTON, 2005a, p. 182)
	Inventory Number / Dimensions	**A:** Inv. No. E 89a (= Skias' No. 364) H.: 0,20m; W.: 0,245m; Th.: 0,077m. **B:** Inv. No. E 89b (= Skias' No. 365) H. 0,085m; W. 0,260m; Th.: 0,080m

Text information	**Editions**	I Eleusis 175 (Clinton, 2005a); IG II² 1363 (Kirchner); SEG XXIII 80 (Dow and Healey); LSCG 7 (Sokolowski, 1969) = SEG XXV 168; CGRN 94

Reconstituted text			**Translation**	

[— — — — — —]
  [Πυανοψιῶνος]
[— — — — — —]
  [τετράδι ἱσταμένου]
  [— — — — — — —]
  [— — — — — — —]
[— ? —] .[..]οιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνιον·
      πένπτει ἱσταμένου
      ἱεροφάντηι καὶ κήρυκι
  ε[ἰ]ς ἄριστον τὴν ἑορτὴν
      προαγορεύουσιν τῶν
1dr. 3ob.   Προηροσίων·
      ἑβδόμηι ἱσταμένου
20dr.   Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίωι αἶξ
 καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς, προγόνιον
  καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτου,
  τράπεζαν κοσμῆσαι
  τῶι θεῶι, ἱερεώσυνα ἱερεῖ
		1
		
		5
		
		10
				col. 1
				 . . .
				[Pyanopsion]
				 . . .
				[On the fourth?]
				 . . .
				[- dr.] . . . to the Eleusinion
				On the fifth for the hierophant and the herald
				for lunch, when they announce the festival
				1 dr. 3 ob. of the Proerosia.
				On the seventh
				20 dr. for Apollo Pythios, a goat
				and the things for the rites, a suckling lamb?
				and accompaniments
				to adorn a table
				for the god; priestly dues for the priest
				one line erased
				for the hierophant and the
				priestesses from Eleusis

⟦— — — c.16 — — —⟧	
ἱεροφάντηι καὶ τα[ῖ]ς	15
ἱερείαις ταῖς ἐξ Ἐλ[ε]υσῖνο[ς]	
ἐν τεῖ παννυχίδι	
παρέχειν σπονδ[ὰς καὶ]	
ψαιστὰ κα[..]ΤΥ[— — — — — — —]	
⟦?⟧ ⟦— — — rasura? — — — — —⟧	20
[— — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — —]	
πρὸς τὸ μέγαρον [— — ? — —]	
10dr. εἰς τὰ ἀπόμετρα τῆι ἱερείαι	
τῆι τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερέαι	
ε[ἰς ἑ]στίας {ας} τοῖν Θεσμο-	25
[— ? —] [φόροιν {²⁶Θεσμοφόροιν}²⁶ …]Ι κανοῦν	
[ ] [.....c.11......]ς ν ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ε[— —]	
[— — — — ? — — — —]	
col. II [— — — — — —]	
lacuna	
[Σκιροφοριῶνος]	28
[— — — — — — —]	
[— — — — — — —]	30
[δωδεκάτει]	
[— — — — — — —]	
Ι[— — — — — — —]	
20dr. Χ[— — — — — — —]	
ἱερ[— — — — — —]	35
τελ[— — — — — —]	
Ποσ[ειδῶνι — — —]	
πελα[νὸς — — — —]	
ΙΙΙΕΩΙ[— — — — —]	
Η[— — — — — — —]	40
20dr. [— — — — — — — —]	
[— — — — — — —]	

at the all-night revel
to provide libations and
barley cakes . . .
one line erased?
. . .
to the underground pit. . . ?;
10 dr. for the perquisites for the priestess;
for the priestess of Plouton
to the hearths (?) in honour of the two
[- dr.] Thesmophorian goddesses . . . a basket
[- dr.] . . . wood for the altar and . . .

col. 2
 [Skirophorion?]
. . .
 . . .
[On the twelfth?]
. . .
. . .
20 dr. . . .
 . . .
 . . .
for Poseidon . . .
a cake . . .
 . . .
. . .
20 dr. . . .
 . . .

(Translation by Stephen Lambert and Feyo Schuddeboom, AIO, 2023, I Eleusis 175)

	(SGI, 2023, I Eleusis 175)
Image	Fragment A Fragment B

| **Bibliography** | AIO (2023, I Eleusis 175)
CGRN (2023, 94)
Clinton (2005a, p. 182-183, I Eleusis 175)
Clinton (2005b, plate 78)
Clinton (2008, p.170-175)
LSCG 7 (Sokolowski, 1969) |