



Cult, Continuity, and Social Memory: Mycenaean Eleusis and the Transition to the Early Iron Age

Author(s): Michael B. Cosmopoulos

Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (July 2014), pp. 401-427

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764/aja.118.3.0401>

Accessed: 21/06/2014 07:22

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Archaeological Institute of America is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Journal of Archaeology*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Cult, Continuity, and Social Memory: Mycenaean Eleusis and the Transition to the Early Iron Age

MICHAEL B. COSMOPOULOS

Abstract

Religious continuity from the Mycenaean to the Geometric period is one of the thorniest issues in Greek archaeology. The problems created by the scantiness of the evidence are compounded by our own methodological pitfalls, especially the ambiguity of the term “continuity.” The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis is a controversial case of a major Greek sanctuary for which a Mycenaean ancestry has been claimed but seriously debated. In this article, the architectural, stratigraphic, and ceramic evidence related to the Mycenaean Megaron B is analyzed on the basis of the unpublished finds and excavation notebooks. The analysis shows that religious rituals took place in Megaron B starting in Late Helladic IIB/IIIA1; that although the settlement of Eleusis shrank after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, it continued to be inhabited; and that the Megaron B complex was still standing and plausibly in use when the cult of Demeter was introduced in the eighth century B.C.E. It is further argued that this complex functioned as a *lieu de mémoire*, a landmark that allowed the inhabitants of Eleusis to preserve the memory of the earlier sanctity of the site, and that it became the defining factor for the choice of location for the later cult of Demeter. Despite this preservation of memory, however, the essence of the

cult underwent significant changes that speak against continuity of function.*

INTRODUCTION

Religious continuity from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age is one of the most controversial issues in Greek archaeology.¹ For the longest part of the 20th century, it was a common tenet that historical Greek religion originated in the Bronze Age,² but in the 1970s through the 1990s a growing number of scholars highlighted the lack of continuity in the archaeological record³ and challenged the methodological basis on which arguments for continuity in religious traditions were founded.⁴

The Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis is one of these controversial cases. The early excavators, Konstantinos Kourouniotes and George Mylonas, proposed that the Mycenaean Megaron B, located under the later Telesteria, was the earliest temple of Demeter, and they suggested therefore that the Eleusinian Mysteries originated in the Late Bronze Age.⁵ Travlos refined

* This article stems from the larger project for the publication of the Bronze Age finds from Eleusis, which was conducted under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens. I would like to express my deepest thanks to the board of the society, especially the secretary general, Vasileios Petrakos, for the financial and moral support that made the Eleusis project possible. Additional financial assistance for the project was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Institute for Aegean Prehistory; the Hellenic Government–Karakas Foundation Professorship in Greek Studies of the University of Missouri–St. Louis, for which I would like to thank Joel Glassman; and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Missouri–St. Louis, for which I would like to thank Susan Brownell. Many thanks are due to the Third Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, especially the *epimelitria* of Eleusis, Kalliope Papangeli, for her continuing help in accessing material in the local museum. I am greatly indebted to Thomas Palaima, John Papadopoulos, Nicholas Papadimitriou, and Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian, as well as the anonymous reviewers of the *AJA*, for valuable

advice and feedback; needless to say, I remain solely responsible for any remaining omissions or errors. Many thanks are also due to Justin Courtney for his help with formatting the bibliography and to Katrina Swartz for her exemplary work copyediting this article. Additional figures can be found under this article's abstract on the *AJA* website (www.ajaonline.org). Figures are my own unless otherwise noted.

¹ For detailed treatments of the issue, see Morgan 1999, 295–98; Whitley 2009, 280–82. In this article, I follow Dickinson (2006, xv) in using the term “Early Iron Age” instead of “Dark Age.”

² Nilsson 1950, 466–83; Burkert 1985, 47–53.

³ Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 2000; Coldstream 2003; cf. Morris 1991, 1997.

⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 53; Morgan 1999, 369–72; contra Dietrich 1986, 2004.

⁵ It is unclear whether the original idea was that of Kourouniotes or Mylonas, but it was in Mylonas' classic (1961) book that it was presented in a coherent manner.

this theory by proposing that Megaron B was in fact the residence of the Eumolpids, one of the leading families of Eleusis, which used Megaron B continuously from the Mycenaean period to the Early Iron Age.⁶ When the residence of this family moved to the Sacred House sometime in the eighth century B.C.E., Megaron B remained in use solely as a cult building. Along similar lines, Mazarakis-Ainian suggests that Megaron B may have been the residence of the leading family of a powerful clan (a *genos*) of the Mycenaean period but that the building was abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age until descendants of that family reinhabited it in the Early Iron Age.⁷

The idea of a Mycenaean origin of the cult of Demeter was articulated systematically by Mylonas, who supported it with literary, historical, and architectural arguments. His literary arguments stemmed from references in the ancient sources to the date of the advent of Demeter at Eleusis (including in the *Parian Chronicle* and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, as well as Apollodoros and Aristotle); according to Mylonas, these sources narrate events that occurred in the Mycenaean period.⁸ The historical arguments concerned mainly the continuity of location; the only plausible explanation for the construction of the later temples to Demeter at that particular spot on the steep east slope of the Eleusinian Hill was that the location was considered sacred because of a preexisting religious building—a building that could only have been Megaron B.⁹ The architectural arguments revolved around the presence of a peribolos wall, the purpose of which was to ensure the privacy of Megaron B, and the small size of the building, which for Mylonas made it an unlikely candidate for a house.¹⁰

For two decades, Mylonas' views were widely accepted.¹¹ Then, in 1981, Darcque published an influential article deconstructing Mylonas' arguments and rejecting the notion of religious continuity between the Mycenaean Megaron B and the Early Iron Age religious rituals at the site. Darcque pointed out that there was no actual proof that the literary references used by

Mylonas referred to events that occurred in the Mycenaean period or that the references in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* to the Temple of Demeter provided a precise topographic description of the Mycenaean site. Furthermore, he refuted the historical argument of continuity of location, citing the apparent gap in the material remains of the site. In Darcque's words, "près de cinq siècles séparent les derniers niveaux de l'âge du Bronze et les plus anciens témoignages de l'âge du Fer sur le site même des Téléstéria."¹² As far as the architectural arguments go, Darcque presented reasons for which the notion of "special" architectural features, especially of a peribolos wall, could not be supported, thus rejecting an important justification for the religious function of the building. Darcque's article convinced most scholars that there was nothing religious about Megaron B and that at Eleusis we have a clear case of discontinuity from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.¹³

In attempting to reconstruct the historical trajectory of Eleusis, it is vital that all available information be considered. This has not occurred until now, because the architecture, stratigraphy, and finds of Megaron B still remain unpublished. The recent detailed study and publication of the Bronze Age finds from Eleusis¹⁴ has led to a reexamination of these issues on the basis of the unpublished excavation records and of previously unknown material located in the storage room of the Archeological Museum of Eleusis. The Bronze Age finds offer valuable new insights into the double problem of the function of Megaron B and the continuity of the material record into the Early Iron Age. In this article, I discuss the issue of the function of Megaron B on the basis of these unpublished finds and excavation records and relate it to the wider issue of Mycenaean religious practices in the Late Bronze Age and the problem of continuity into the historical periods.¹⁵

STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

The building that has become known as "Megaron B" is only partially preserved (figs. 1–3).¹⁶ Of the external

⁶ Travlos 1970, 60; 1983, 329–33.

⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 149–50.

⁸ Mylonas 1961, 14, 33, 40–2. For the issue of the occurrence of the name "Demeter" in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, see *infra* n. 99.

⁹ Mylonas 1961, 43–4.

¹⁰ Mylonas 1961, 42–3.

¹¹ Nilsson 1950, 470; Kardara 1972; Rutkowski 1972, 279–80; 1986, 189–93; Dietrich 1986, 43, 45; 2004, 224–25. They were accepted with some reservation by Desborough 1964; Hägg 1968, 46–7; Vermeule 1972, 287; 1974, 142–43; see also Loucas 1988.

¹² Darcque 1981, 599.

¹³ Cf. Desborough 1964, 114–15; Hope Simpson 1965, 46;

Burkert 1985, 49; Van Gelder 1991, 60; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 347 n. 735. The words of Binder (1998, 132) are indicative of this line of thought: "Not a scrap of evidence for continuity at the Telesterion site for the period between the end of the LH IIIB period and 700 exists, no sherds, no other finds, no signs of life of any kind."

¹⁴ Cosmopoulos (forthcoming).

¹⁵ An overview of the architectural elements and stratigraphic sequence of Megaron B and its adjacent buildings was presented in Cosmopoulos 2003.

¹⁶ Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 20–3; 1931–1932, 2–5; Mylonas 1961, 35–49. The term "megaron" is used here merely for convenience. For the ambiguity surrounding the definition of this term, see Darcque 1990; 2005, 318; Werner 1993, 3–5.

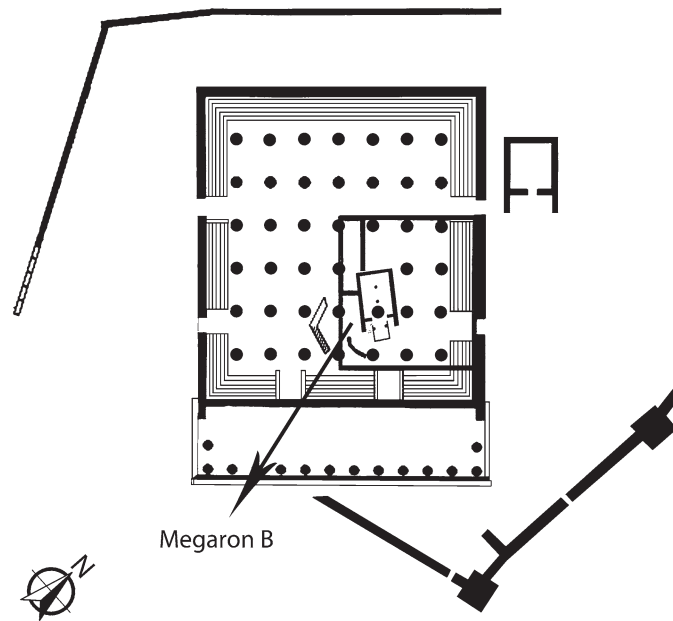


Fig. 1. Plan of the Telesterion, showing the location of Megaron B.

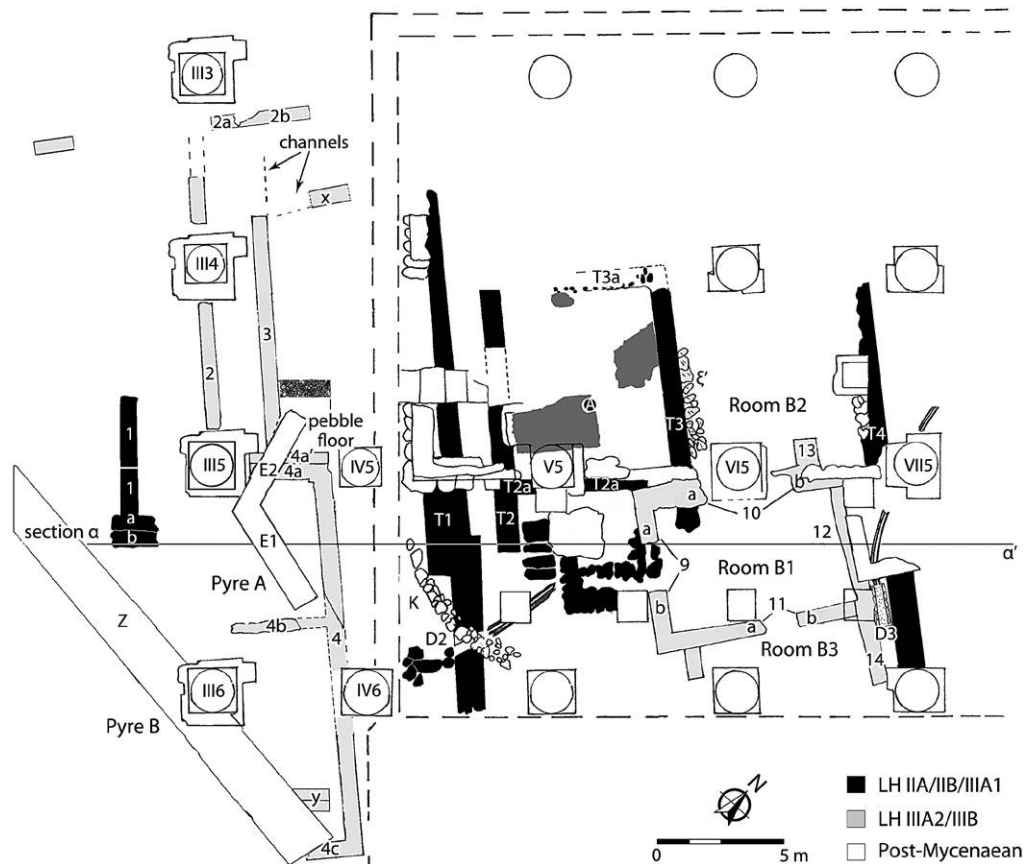


Fig. 2. Plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion, showing the Mycenaean walls (adapted from an unpublished plan by I. Travlos, n.d., subfolder 1, folder 9, Travlos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens; courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens).

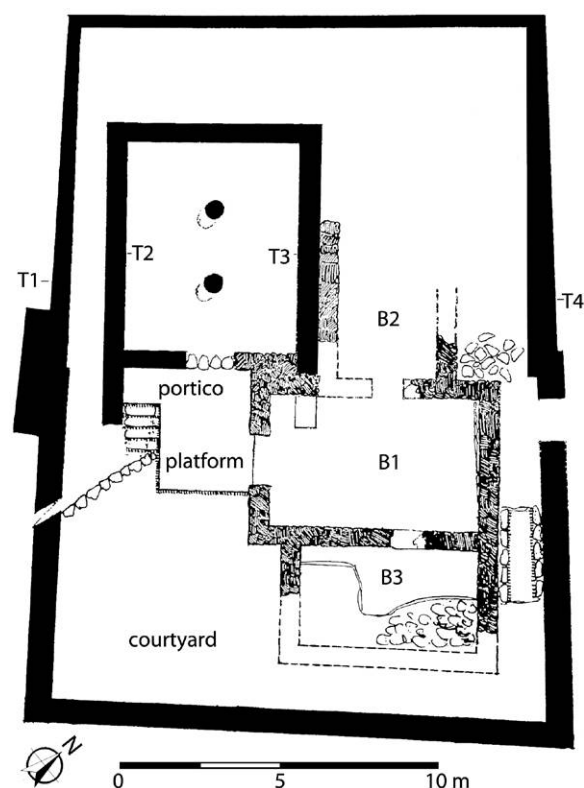


Fig. 3. Plan of the Megaron B complex ("B1–3" are room numbers; "T1–4" are wall numbers) (after an unpublished plan by I. Travlos, n.d., subfolder 1, folder 9, Travlos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens; courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens).

walls of the building, only two survive, Walls T2 and T3, which run roughly west–east. Wall T2 is 0.63–0.68 m thick and is preserved to a total length of 10.40 m and a height of 1.16 m.¹⁷ Its foundation is made of three courses of large stones placed in clay mortar and forms an indentation at the level of the floor (fig. 4). Its east end forms an anta (fig. 5) 0.95 m thick (ca. 0.30 m thicker than the wall); the sherds found wedged between the stones of Wall T2 (online fig. 1 [locus 1] on the *AJA* website)¹⁸ are LH IIB/IIIA1 and include conical-piriform jars (Furumark Shape [FS] 15/24), alabastra (FS 81/83/84), Ephyraean goblets (FS 254), and monochrome goblets (FS 270). The sherds found next to Wall T2 and close to the steps (see online fig. 1 [locus 2]) belong to goblets (FS 254/256), kylikes

(FS 267), and a jar or jug. The south (external) face of the anta is rather crudely made, with stones protruding from the line of the wall, and was probably covered with a thick layer of plaster. The north (internal) face is smoother, made of smaller and more regular stones placed in horizontal courses; presumably it also would have been covered with a thick layer of plaster. The east end of the anta (see fig. 5) is carefully made of large, flat stones placed in horizontal courses; it is supported by a large block of black Eleusinian stone (ht. 1 m, wdth. 0.83 m, thickness 0.55 m), the face of which has been artificially smoothed. The block is almost rectangular, but one of its corners has been chiseled away, giving it an irregular polygonal outline. Its lower part, founded on a layer of flat stones, sinks deeper than the foundation of the wall behind it in order to provide extra support against the drop of the bedrock. Next to Wall T2, at a depth of 1.50 m from the top surface of the curved Wall K (see discussion of this wall below), a small fresco fragment was found (fig. 6, left). It preserves part of the profile of the face of a female figure looking toward the right.¹⁹

In the narrow (0.20–0.25 m) space between the anta and the base of the adjacent Kimonian column was found a partially preserved flight of steps (fig. 7). Each of the two lower steps (α , β) is made of a rectangular block of Eleusinian stone placed on a flat stone that served as its base. Step α measures 0.72 x 0.35 x 0.20 m; Step β , 0.72 x 0.40 x 0.25 m.²⁰ The third step from the bottom does not survive, but the flat stone that served as its base (marked as " γ " on fig. 7) is preserved on top of Step β ; it measures 0.75 x 0.55 x 0.15 m.²¹ A fourth step would have filled the gap marked as " δ " on figure 7, although it is possible that δ was the exit of the drain that starts from under the floor of the building.²² A flat stone (marked as " ϵ " on fig. 7), measuring 1.00 x 0.76 x 0.20 m, aligned with the floor of the vestibule (see below), and supported by a layer of small stones without mortar, served as the landing and the cover of the drain.²³ Only two sherds have been found between the steps (see online fig. 1 [locus 3]): a jar (FS 15) and a goblet (FS 254/255), both of which date to LH IIB/IIIA1.

Wall T3 is 0.65 m thick, preserved to a height of 0.70, and built on top of a thick (0.50 m) deposit; its two surviving parts have a total length of 9.70 m.²⁴ For most of the length of this wall, both faces are made

¹⁷Threpsiades 1931, 45–51; 1932, 10–11, 24.

¹⁸See www.ajaonline.org.

¹⁹Threpsiades 1931, 21–2. It is unclear whether the other piece shown in the same photograph (see fig. 6, right)—which because of its curvature does not appear to belong to a fresco—may have been part of a plaster offering table.

²⁰Threpsiades 1931, 45.

²¹Mylonas 1932a, 14.

²²Mylonas 1932a, 13–14.

²³Darcque 2005, 109.

²⁴Threpsiades 1931, 35; Mylonas 1932a, 23–5.

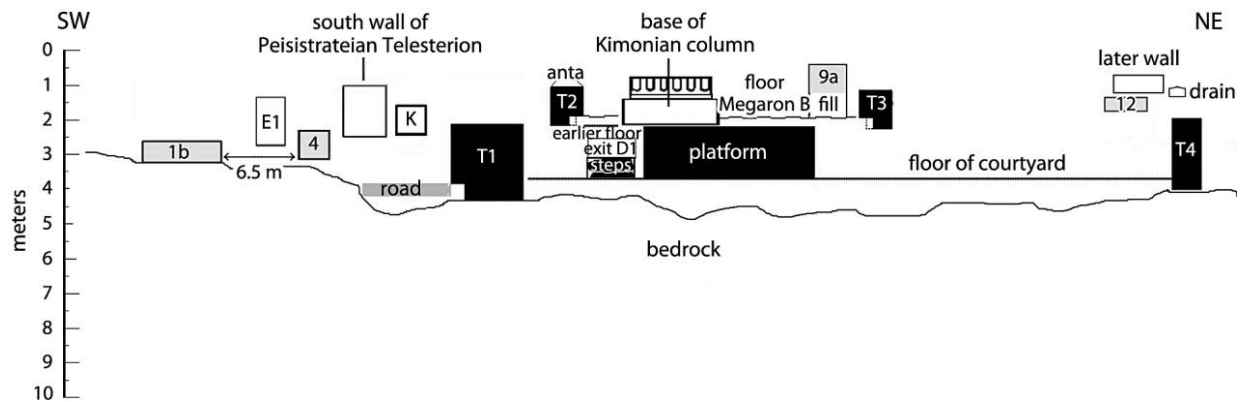


Fig. 4. Schematic section $\alpha-\alpha'$ at the Telesterion. Shading indicates different phases; all letters and numbers refer to walls.

with large stones set in a clay mortar, and the core between them is filled with smaller stones. On the south-east end, the construction is different and consists of flat, oblong stones spanning the entire width of the wall. Smaller stones, sherds, and wood (carbonized remains of which were found) were wedged in the spaces between and under the stones to strengthen the construction. This wall also ends in an anta constructed similarly to the anta of Wall T2, although the ending block (ht. 0.70 m, max. wdth. 0.94 m, thickness 0.50 m) has a rounded irregular section (fig. 8). This block rests on a fill 0.43 m thick. Most of the sherds found between and around the stones of Wall T3 (see online fig. 1 [locus 4]) date to LH IIB; among them are a conical-piriform jar (FS 15/24), a conical jar (FS 30/31), and three goblets (FS 254) (including an Ephyrean one). Mixed with these sherds were a Middle Helladic matte-painted angular cup with everted rim, a small LH IIA Marine Style closed vase (possibly stirrup jar FS 169), and a Sub-Mycenaean closed vessel (possibly lekythos FS 124).

A staircase originally existed between the anta of Wall T3 and the west section of Wall B1a, in symmetry with the staircase next to Wall T2, but it was dismantled when Room B1 was built; the slabs used for the steps of this staircase were incorporated into the west part of Wall 9a (see fig. 2). Three of these slabs have been found built into Wall 9a.²⁵

Walls T2 and T3 are connected by a partly preserved cross wall (Wall T2a) (see figs. 2, 9) that divides the building into two parts, a vestibule and a main room.²⁶ The vestibule is 2 m deep (see below) and accessed by two flights of steps (north and south). Its floor, made

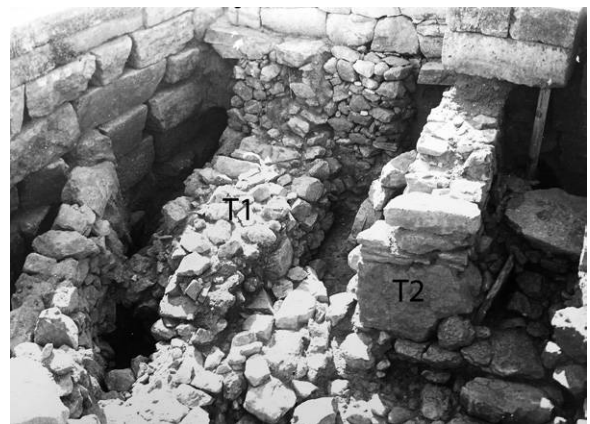


Fig. 5. View of the anta of Walls T1 and T2 from the east (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, no A/A number).



Fig. 6. Fragments from Megaron B: *left*, fresco; *right*, possible plaster offering table (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, no A/A number).

²⁵ Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 276.

²⁶ Mylonas 1932a, 12–13, 21–4.



Fig. 7. The steps (α–ε) in front of Megaron B from the south-east; the base of the Kimonian column is visible in the upper right corner (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, no A/A number).

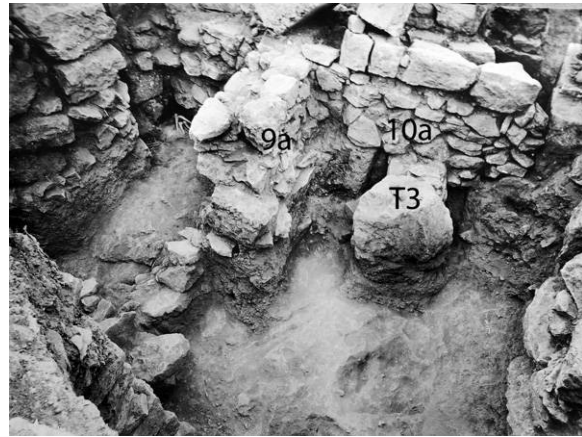


Fig. 8. Anta of Wall T3 and anta of Wall 9a, view from the east (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, no A/A number).

of pebbles and lime, is 5–8 cm thick, and its level is marked by the landing of the south flight of steps, which is approximately 1.20–1.25 m higher than the level of the court in front of the platform. Access from the vestibule to the main room was provided by a door, the opening for which is 1.30 m wide; a step would have been required, as the floor of the main room is 0.30 m higher than that of the vestibule.

The back wall of the room (see figs. 2, 9 [Wall T3a]) has not been preserved, but there is sufficient evidence to confirm its location. A course of three oblong stones placed perpendicularly to the wall forms a straight line starting from the northwest corner of Wall T3 (the corner formed by Walls T3 and T3a is visible under the foundation of the Roman Telesterion)²⁷ and is aligned with a row of small irregular stones that stretches to the southeast, in a line parallel to Wall T2x. The practice of placing large oblong stones perpendicular to the direction of the wall is common in Megaron B (cf. the similar construction of Wall T3 itself). Furthermore, the outline of a patch of floor that survives at that spot is defined to the north by Wall T3 and to the west by the three oblong stones, leaving no doubt that the floor ended there.

Patches of the floor of the main room have been preserved in two more spots (see figs. 9, 10):²⁸ (1) between Wall T2 and the base of column A, at a depth of 1.50 m from the surface; and (2) near the western end of Wall T3, at a depth of 1.46 m. The floor is made of a layer of packed earth, pebbles, and lime, and it slopes

gently from west to east; its thickness ranges from 4 cm in the central part to 8 cm near the entrance. The bulk of the pottery found on the floor (see online fig. 1 [locus 5]) belongs to LH IIA/IIB goblets (FS 263/270) as well as closed vessels, possibly jars; there are also three LH IIA cups (semiglobular [FS 211] and bell shaped [FS 221]), a LH IIIA1/IIIA2 stirrup jar (FS 171), a LH IIIA1/IIIA2 kylix (FS 257), and a LH IIIC (early/middle) monochrome deep bowl (FS 284). The pottery found under the floor (see online fig. 1 [locus 6]) is a mixed bag of Middle Helladic (MH) II–III (a matte-painted spouted bowl, a rounded gray Minyan bowl, an angular gray Minyan bowl with molded rim of the so-called Pteleos type, and a rounded gray Minyan cup), LH IIA (two piriform jars [possibly FS 27 and FS 20/21] and a semiglobular cup [FS 211]), LH IIB/LH IIIA1 (a small piriform jar [FS 28], a ring-handled cup [FS 237], a monochrome goblet [FS 254], a large jar [FS 22], several goblets [FS 254/255/270], an undecorated kylix [possibly FS 267], and a conical bowl [FS 204]), and three Early Geometric sherds (not shown).

At a distance of approximately 2.50 m to the north of Wall T2a was found the base of a column (marked as “A” on figs. 2, 9, 10), which would have supported the roof.²⁹ A second column was restored about 2 m to the northwest of the first one.³⁰ Under the floor of Megaron B was found the beginning of a drain (D1) that exits between the anta of Wall T2 and the platform.

Between the two flights of steps in front of the vestibule there is a raised platform, the top surface of

²⁷ Mylonas 1932a, 25–6.

²⁸ Threpsiades 1931, 51.

²⁹ Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 2.

³⁰ Mylonas 1961, 35; cf. Darcque 2005, 119.

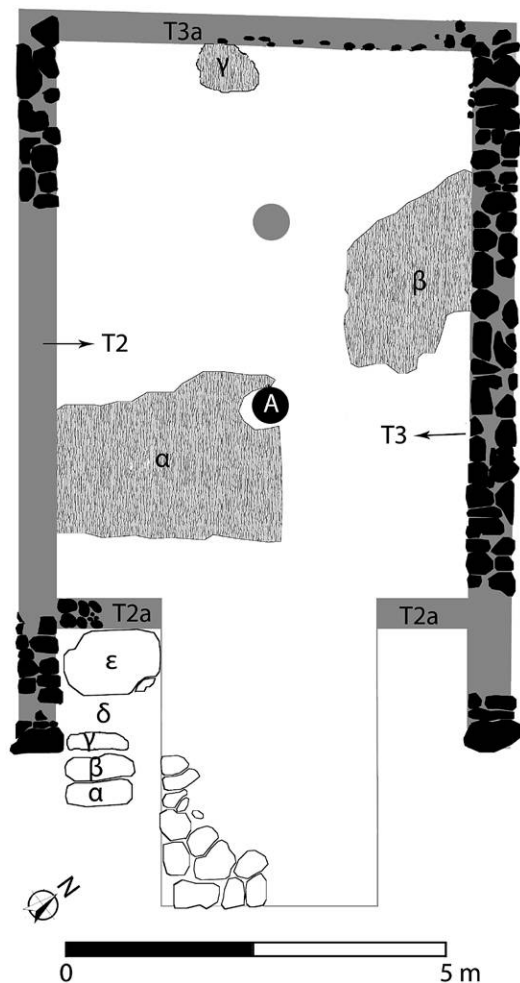


Fig. 9. Plan of Megaron B, showing the preserved parts of the floor (the shaded areas “α,” “β,” and “γ”) (“T2–3a” are wall numbers; “A” is the column base; “α–ε” in front of the megaron are steps). Note that this particular pencil drawing by Travlos does not show all the stones of Walls 6 and 6a, which appear in his other drawings (S. Clarke; modified from a pencil drawing by I. Travlos, n.d., subfolder 1, folder 8, Travlos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens; courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens).

which rises 1.10 m above the surface of the first step and approximately 1.30–1.40 m from the floor of the courtyard (see figs. 2, 4).³¹ It is a Π-shaped structure formed by three walls: the south wall is 0.65 m thick and 2.50 m long; the north wall is 0.60 m thick and 2.46 m long; and the east wall, perpendicular to the slope of the hill, is 1.60 m thick and 2.80 m long. All three walls are made of medium-sized stones forming

irregular courses; on all three the external faces of the platform are smoothed and covered with plaster. The interior space formed by these walls was filled with soil and stones. Of the finds from the platform, three groups have been located in the museum. The finds from the south wall of the platform (online fig. 2 [locus 1]) include mostly LH IIB/IIIA1 sherds: an alabastron (FS 83), a carinated conical cup (FS 230), a conical cup (FS 204), a goblet (FS 254/255), a kylix (FS 256/258), several large open vases (large bowl or krater), closed vases (jars or amphoras), a piriform jar (probably FS 23/31), an undecorated goblet (FS 254/255), and an undecorated jar or amphora. In the same locus excavators found a LH IIIA1–IIIA2 undecorated kylix (FS 266/267) and an undecorated open vessel (perhaps a shallow cup/bowl). The finds from the external north side of the platform (see online fig. 2 [locus 2]) include a LH IIA/IIB squat jug (FS 87), a LH IIA shallow cup (FS 218), a LH IIIA1–IIIA2 goblet (FS 255/256), and a LH IIB/IIIA1 goblet (FS 263). The sherds wedged between the stones of the walls (see online fig. 2 [locus 3]) include a LH IIA semiglobular cup (FS 211), a LH IIA/IIB Type III Vapheio cup (FS 224), and several LH IIIA1/IIIA2 sherds, including a closed vessel (either a piriform jar [FS 44] or a jug [FS 120]), three goblets (FS 255), a kylix (FS 257), a mug (FS 225/226), and two shallow cups (FS 210/220).

Immediately to the northeast of Megaron B lies a suite of three rooms (Rooms B1–3, generally known as Extension B1/B2/B3 [see fig. 2]) oriented roughly



Fig. 10. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A), view from the north (modified from Kourouniotes 1931–1932, fig. 1).

³¹Threpsiades 1931, 25; Mylonas 1932a, 19–20.

north-south.³² Room B1 is preserved almost in its entirety and measures 7.00 x 4.40 m. Its south wall (marked "9" on fig. 2) is divided into two sections (9a and 9b) by a doorway, which is 1.60 m wide and leads onto the platform. Wall 9a rests directly on a fill 0.70 m thick. It is constructed with large, flat stones, between which smaller ones are wedged. It is 0.60–0.65 m wide and preserved to a length of 1.46 m and a height of 1.30 m. Its west end bonds with Wall 10a, but its top course bonds with Wall T2a by means of smaller stones placed as wedges between the two walls, suggesting that Wall T2a was still in use when Wall 9a was built.³³ The east end of Wall 9a is not preserved, but it must have ended in an anta similar to that of Wall 9b. Wall 9b, built on a thick (0.70 m) fill, abuts Wall 11a (fig. 11). Its construction is similar to that of Wall 9a, except for the lower course, which is wider (0.78 m) than the upper ones (0.65 m) to provide extra stability because of the drop of the bedrock. It is 1.45 m long and is preserved to a height of 0.80 m. The west end terminates in an anta constructed of seven courses of fairly large and flat stones: the stones of the second and fourth courses from the top are placed in a direction perpendicular to the direction of the wall, whereas in the other courses the stones are parallel to the axis of the wall.

The west wall of Room B1 is Wall 10 (see fig. 2), which is preserved to a height of 0.60 m. The middle part of this wall was destroyed by the construction of the foundation of Column VI5. The south segment of this wall, Wall 10a, sits partly on top of Wall T3 of Megaron B (fig. 12) and partly on a 1.10 m thick artificial fill in the space between Wall T3 and Wall 9a. Wall 10a extends toward the north to a length of 1.90 m. It is possible that a doorway leading to Room B2 in the west existed at that point, but the overall arrangement remains uncertain. The north segment of Wall 10, Wall 10b, is preserved to a length of 1.50 m and is abutted by Wall 12. Its construction is similar to that of Wall 10a.

The north wall (marked "12" on fig. 2) is 4.40 m long and 0.60–0.65 m thick and is preserved to a height of 1.25 m; at its east end it abuts Wall 11b (visible under the Peisistrateian Column δ5). It is built on an artificial fill 0.40–0.60 m thick and is constructed with large stones placed in eight irregular horizontal courses. The pottery found in the interior of Room B1, adjacent to Wall 12 and at a depth of 1.30 m from the surface of the ground, includes a good collection of LH IIIA2/IIIB1 vases (online fig. 3): a piriform jar (FS 23/34), a small jug (FS 114), a shallow cup (possibly FS 220)



Fig. 11. The interior corner of Walls 9b and 11a, view from the east. The floor of Room B1 is marked with an arrow (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1246).

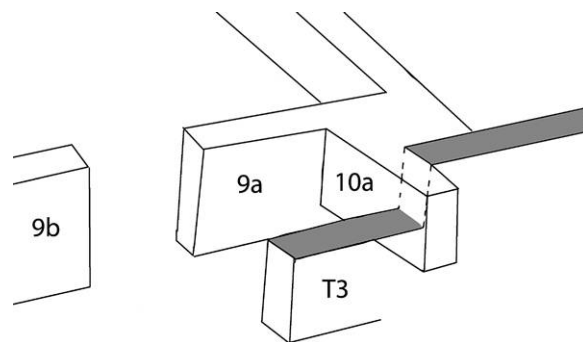


Fig. 12. Drawing of the southwest corner of Room B1 from the interior of the room (modified from a pencil drawing by I. Travlos, n.d., subfolder 2, folder 8, Travlos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens; courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens).

or kylix, a bowl (possibly the stemmed FS 304/305), a deep or stemmed bowl (FS 284 or FS 304/305), a deep bowl (FS 284), an undecorated kylix (FS 260/266), and an undecorated piriform jar (FS 39).

³²Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 21–3; Threpsiades 1931, 31–5; Mylonas 1932a, 29–38; 1932b, 1–8; 1961, 37–8; Mylonas and

Kourouniotes 1933, 276–77.

³³Mylonas 1932a, 31.

The east wall (marked “11” on fig. 2) abuts Wall 12.³⁴ It is divided into two parts by a doorway that opens up to Room B3. The south part (Wall 11a) is 3.30 m long, and the north part (Wall 11b) is 2.30 m long; the opening for the doorway is 1.20 m wide. A threshold made of a large Eleusinian stone (wdth. 0.95 m, thickness 0.17 m) appears in the opening for the doorway and protrudes into Room B3.³⁵ Both segments of Wall 11 are preserved to a height of 1.40–1.65 m and are 0.60 m wide.³⁶ They are made of at least 10 courses of large and medium-sized irregular stones, with small stones wedged in the empty spaces between the larger ones; the bottom course is made of flat stones forming a socle that protrudes from the line of the wall for added stability.

A patch of floor was found adjacent to the west face of Wall 11a, at a depth of 1.37 m from the surface (marked with the arrow on fig. 11). It is 0.05 m thick and 0.30 m wide and made of hard packed earth and pebbles.³⁷ It had been severely burned and contained ashes and carbonized remains. Immediately under this floor there was a 0.08 m thick layer of pebbles; 0.05 m above it were found two handles of the Geometric period, one in the form of a bird (possibly a dove) and the other in the form of a griffin.³⁸ Access to the interior of Room B1 was provided from the platform to the south (fig. 13). The level of the vestibule was 0.62 m lower than the floor of Room B3, and at least two steps would have been required to provide easy access up to it.

When Wall 9a was built, the staircase that originally flanked the platform on the north side (in symmetry with the south staircase between Wall T2 and the south side of the platform) was dismantled, and the slabs from its steps were incorporated into the wall. Three of these slabs survive, incorporated into Wall 9a.³⁹

Rooms B2 and B3 are only partially preserved. Room B2, of which only a stub of Wall 13 survives, was excavated by Demetrios Philios. Room B3 was excavated by Kourouniotes and Mylonas, but a large part of it lies under the floor of the Peisistrateian prostoon and could be excavated only by means of tunnels. Its east side is formed by Wall 11, which is abutted on the south by Wall 15 and on the north by Wall 14. Only its width, which is 5.75 m, could be established with certainty: it spanned the space between Walls 14 and 15. The room was accessed from Room B1 through a 1.05 m wide doorway (fig. 14). Part of its floor was preserved. Made of packed earth and small pebbles,

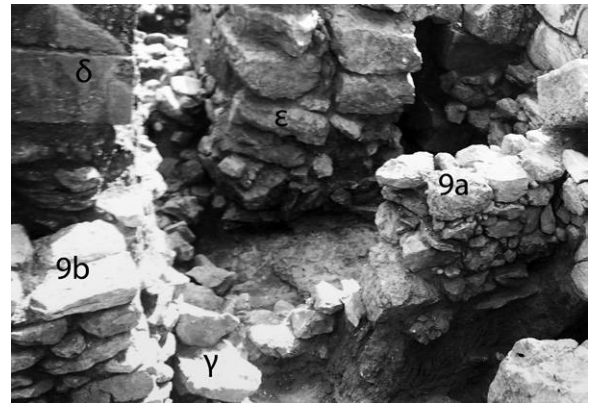


Fig. 13. The entrance of Room B1 as seen from the interior of the room (north), including Walls 9a and 9b, stones from the foundation of the platform (γ), the base of the Peisistrateian Column δ5 (δ), and the Kimonian Column κ6 (ε) (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1267).



Fig. 14. Doorway to Room B3 from Room B1, seen from the east, showing the threshold (α), the foundation of Wall 11 (β), and the underlying Middle Helladic floor (γ). Notice the tunnel above the threshold, which was used by the excavators to access Room B3 (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1281).

the floor was covered by a 0.07 m thick layer of burned soil mixed with ashes and remains of carbonized wood, which in turn was covered by a 0.10 m thick layer containing burned mudbricks. A second layer of burned mudbricks was found under the top one; the pottery from the deposit between the two layers of mudbricks has not been located in the Archeological Museum of

³⁴ Mylonas 1932a, 66.

³⁵ Mylonas 1932a, 51.

³⁶ Mylonas 1932a, 33–4; 1932b, 5–8.

³⁷ Mylonas 1932a, 35; 1932b, 5–6.

³⁸ Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 277; Mylonas 1961, 38. Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, 148 n. 1028) points out that these two handles may in fact be Late Geometric or Proto-Attic.

³⁹ Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 276.

Eleusis, but Mylonas' notes mention sherds decorated with stipple and floral patterns, as well as a large fragment of a Vapheio cup and numerous plain sherds.⁴⁰

Concerning the chronology of the Extension B1/B2/B3, it appears that although it was built after Megaron B, the two units were used concurrently. This is based on the following observations:

1. As mentioned above, all but the top courses of Wall 9a abut Wall 10a, whereas the top course of Wall T2a has been modified with small stones used as wedges to make it bond with Wall 9a.⁴¹
2. There is a carefully constructed doorway leading from Room B1 to the vestibule and the platform.
3. When Room B1 and its doorway to the vestibule were constructed, the doorway from the vestibule to the main room of Megaron B was preserved and remained in use.
4. In various loci of the Megaron B complex, LH IIIA2/IIIB1 pottery has been found, along with LH IIIB2/IIIC (early), LH IIIC (middle/late), and Sub-Mycenaean sherds. This pottery suggests that the Megaron B complex was used concurrently with the Extension B1/B2/B3.

Walls T1 and T4

To the north and south of Megaron B, there are two long parallel walls. Wall T1 (see figs. 2–4) lies 1.15 m to the south of Wall T2.⁴² It runs roughly west–east and is preserved to a length of 19 m and a height of 1.50–1.70 m; its thickness ranges from 0.60 m (west end) to 0.84 m (east end). Because of the slope of the ground, the east part of this wall is founded on the bedrock, but the west part sits on an artificial fill. The wall is built with six to eight courses of medium-sized stones placed in clay, with the spaces in-between filled with smaller stones and clay; the south side of the wall was the external one, as it forms an even facade. The three lowest courses (which constitute the foundation) are 0.17–0.20 m narrower than the socle, forming an indentation at the level of the paved road; this road is built against the smooth south facade of the wall (see fig. 4).⁴³ The bottom course is constructed with large, flat stones averaging 0.50 x 0.23 m. The pottery found under the foundation and wedged between the stones of Wall T1 (online fig. 4 [loci 1 and 3]) includes LH IIA sherds (a red-slipped spouted bowl or krater, a piriform jar [FS 20/21], a small piriform jar [FS 27], and

a straight-sided alabastron [FS 91]), LH IIB sherds (a Vapheio cup [FS 224], a goblet [FS 261], a carinated conical cup [FS 230], and an Ephyraean goblet [FS 254]), and a LH IIIB1/IIIB2 miniature bowl or cup (FS 126). The pottery from the fill adjacent to the wall (see online fig. 4 [locus 2]) consists of two goblets (FS 255), a ring-handled cup, and three kylikes (FS 264 and FS 267), all LH IIB/IIIA1. The fill above Wall T1 yielded a MH II/III matte-painted rounded bowl with everted rim, a LH IIB/IIIA1 goblet, two LH IIIA1/IIIA2 jugs (one beaked jug [FS 144] and one possible stirrup jug [FS 150]), one LH IIIA1 piriform jar (possibly FS 22), and a LH IIIB1/IIIB2 (early) deep bowl (FS 284) (see online fig. 4 [locus 5]).

At a distance of 5.35 m from its east end and for a length of 4.30 m, Wall T1 almost triples in width, to 1.80 m (fig. 15). The thickened part would originally have been rectangular, as one of its original blocks (wdth. 0.40 m)⁴⁴ seems to have been pushed inward. The external side of the thickened part lies on a thin (7 cm) deposit that sits on the bedrock. The foundation is made of five large Eleusinian stones, the largest of which measures 0.75 x 0.70 m. These stones, each placed with its wider side toward the external face of the wall, were meant to provide additional support. Although the thickened part of Wall T1 was taken by Mylonas to be a small “tower,” it may have also had a practical use.⁴⁵ At that spot, the bedrock falls sharply: at the west end of this “tower” the bedrock is found at a depth of 3.10 m, but at the east end the bedrock is at a depth of 4.05 m, a difference of 1 m over a length of 4 m—a drop that would have made extra support necessary.

Wall T1 continues toward the west, but its width diminishes from 0.80–0.85 m to 0.65–0.70 m. Neither the extension of this wall toward the east nor the point where it would have turned toward the north has been detected. Kourouniotes and Mylonas suggested that the wall may have turned under the foundation of the Peisistrateian stoa to extend toward the north, where it would then have met with Wall T4, thus forming an enclosure wall around the Megaron B complex, a theory to which I return below.

A layer of flat stones, found at a depth of 1.50 m from the top surface of the wall and extending over the area between Walls T1 and T2, served as the floor of a courtyard. Parts of the same floor have been found in

⁴⁰ Mylonas 1932b, 6: “Τὸ χαρακτηριστικότερον [ὄστρακον] τῆς ΥΕ εἶναι ἐν μὲ ἐπιφάνειαν μιμουμένην ὠὶν στρουθοκαμήλου.” The stipple decoration would suggest a LH IIIA1 date.

⁴¹ Mylonas 1932a, 22.

⁴² Threpsiades 1931, 13–22, 44–5; Mylonas 1932a, 1–2, 6–7.

⁴³ Mylonas 1932a, 2.

⁴⁴ Marked as “v” on fig. 15.

⁴⁵ Mylonas 1932a, 6.

front of the platform and also in front of the south face of Wall T4, suggesting that the courtyard was bordered by Walls T1 in the south and Wall T4 in the north.⁴⁶

Wall T4 (see figs. 2–4) runs parallel to Wall T1 at a distance of 16 m to the east.⁴⁷ Two sections are preserved. The eastern section, preserved to a length of 4.40 m, is 0.80–0.90 m thick and constructed with six courses of medium-sized stones placed in clay, with the spaces in between filled with smaller stones and clay. As is the case with Wall T1, its lowest course is made with large stones that support the upper ones. The western section is preserved to a length of 8 m. Its width is 0.80 m, although toward the west it has been heavily damaged by later construction. Its construction is similar to that of the eastern section. The pottery found around the foundations of Wall T4 includes LH IIA shallow and bell-shaped cups (FS 218 and FS 221, respectively), LH IIB ring-handled cups (FS 237), several goblets (FS 254/255, FS 263, FS 270), and a kylix (FS 267 [see online fig. 4, locus 6]).

A built drain was found in the space between the eastern section of Wall T4 and Wall B1b. Its interior is 0.35 m wide and 0.30 m deep; its north and south walls are formed by two rows of medium-sized stones (wdth. 0.40 m), one by Wall T4 and one by Wall B1b. The north wall of the drain, by Wall T4, is lined with upright slabs; its floor is made with a layer of small pebbles; and its ceiling is formed by a large horizontal slab measuring 0.64 m long x 0.24 m wide x 0.09 m thick. A second drain, slightly narrower than the first (wdth. 0.26–0.28 m, depth 0.36 m), was found at a higher level. These two drains have different directions: the deeper one exits into the paved floor of the courtyard,⁴⁸ whereas the higher drain starts from the higher point to the north of Wall T4 and exits on top of the deeper drain.

Between the two sections of Wall T4, there is a gap of about 4.5 m. The west part of the gap was caused by the partial destruction of Wall T4 by Column VII5 and the later walls that sit on top of Walls B1b and B1d. The central part of this gap, however, preserves a flight of three steps, each 0.15–0.19 m thick x 0.32 m wide and made of flat stones. The steps lead to an opening in Wall T4, which served as the entrance to the courtyard that opened up toward Megaron B and Wall T1.⁴⁹ A paved road (fig. 16) that starts from the northeast ends right in this entrance.⁵⁰ The sherds associated with this road (although it is unclear whether they were found on the road or between its stones)

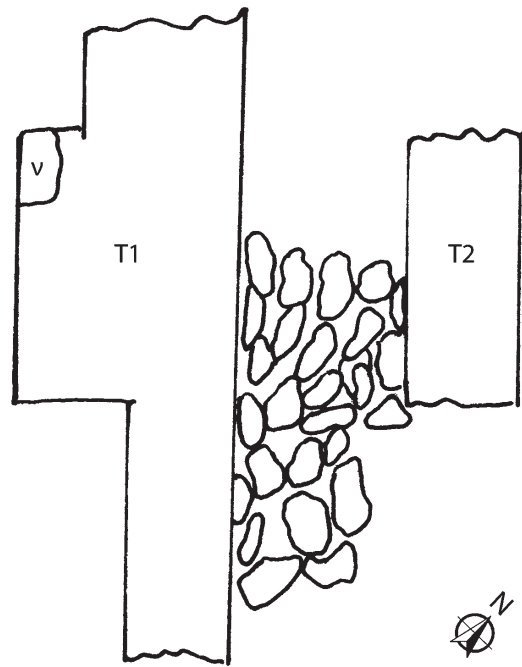


Fig. 15. Sketch of the “tower” of Wall T1 (“v” marks the location of one of the original blocks) and the paved courtyard between it and Wall T2 (not to scale) (Mylonas 1932a, 6).



Fig. 16. View of the paved road from the south; the preserved parts of the paved floor of the road are visible inside the tunnels (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archives, A/A 1285).

⁴⁶Threpsiades 1931, 51; cf. fig. 3 herein.

⁴⁷Mylonas 1932a, 66.

⁴⁸Mylonas 1932a, 4, 17, 38.

⁴⁹Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 23; Mylonas 1932a, 51.

⁵⁰Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 23.

comprise one Vapheio cup (FS 224), three goblets (FS 254/270), and two plain jars, all LH IIB/IIIA1.

The Drain

In front of the steps, the exit of Drain D1, and the south wall of the platform (see fig. 4), there is a channel that runs toward the south (fig. 17).⁵¹ The east side of the channel is defined by a row (wdth. 0.32 m, ht. 0.50 m) of small and medium-sized stones. This channel would have collected the water from Drain D1, as well as the water from the interior of Megaron B and the platform. The channel flows into a built drain, Drain D2, which continues under Wall T1 and exits on the south side of the same wall. It is preserved to a length of 0.84 m and goes under Wall T2 at a distance of 1.90 m from the east end of the wall.⁵² The sides of this drain are carefully made with three courses of stones, reaching a height of 0.43 m at the east end and 0.52 m at the west (fig. 18, left). The width of the drain on the south side of Wall T2 is 0.46 m at the base and 0.38 m at the top. The top of the drain is covered with two large slabs (wdth. 0.30–0.40 m, thickness 0.15–0.20 m, lgth. 0.75–0.80 m); their long axis aligns with the slope, and the space in between (ca. 0.15 m) is filled with small stones (see fig. 18, right). The floor of the drain is formed partly by the bedrock, which has been smoothed with a slight incline toward the south to facilitate the flow of the water, and partly by a layer of small stones in the south end of the drain, where the bedrock drops abruptly. The exit under Wall T2 is well preserved and is made of two parallel courses of small stones that form a smooth face. In front of the south face of Wall T2 and on the east side of the exit of the drain there is a row of seven large and medium-sized stones, which would have directed the waters away from the foundation of the wall.

Inside the lower part of the drain was found a group of LH IIB/IIIA1 sherds (online fig. 5) mixed with ashes and animal bones and sealed by a layer of stones. The bones, belonging to nonmeaty parts of at least three pigs, are all burned—in fact, they are calcined straight through to the medullary cavity, which suggests that they had been left for several hours in a fire burning at high temperatures. As detailed elsewhere,⁵³ there is strong evidence to suggest that these bones are the remnants of burned animal sacrifices and not remnants of meals disposed in the fire. The spatial proximity of the bones and associated pottery to Megaron B is unquestionable, and it is also fairly clear that this material was carried by the waters that flowed



Fig. 17. The channel in front of Megaron B, the entrance to Drain D2, and Middle Helladic Grave E.I.7, view from the northeast (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1270).

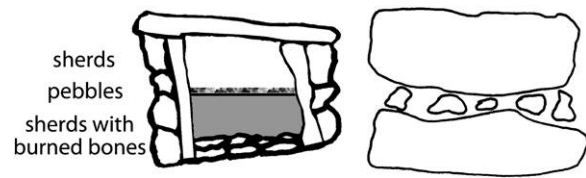


Fig. 18. Section (*left*) and top view (*right*) of Drain D2 (not to scale) (after Mylonas 1932a, 3).

inside the drain from a higher point, which could only have been the top of the channel that feeds into the drain. As there is no evidence for a hearth in the interior of Megaron B, the only place in the entire Megaron B complex where these bones could have been burned is the platform. It seems, therefore, that after the ritual the bones were washed off the platform and into the drain. The pottery associated with these bones includes open vases, kylikes, and goblets; although it cannot be excluded that these were remains of feasting, the sample is not sufficient to support this claim.

The Curved Geometric Wall K

A curved wall of the Geometric period, Wall K, was built on top of Wall T1 approximately 2 m to the east of the tower (see figs. 2, 4, 19).⁵⁴ It is preserved to a

⁵¹ Mylonas 1932a, 17–19.

⁵² Threpsiades 1931, 15–16; 1932, 2–4.

⁵³ Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.

⁵⁴ Threpsiades 1931, 13–14.

length of 5.50 m and has a width of 0.60–0.70 m.⁵⁵ It is built partly on Wall T1 and partly on a Mycenaean fill; only its south face is dressed, which indicates that it was used as an exterior wall with its external face on the south side.⁵⁶ Its top course is approximately 0.40 m lower than the top courses of Walls T2 and T3 and 0.70 m lower than the floor in the interior of Room B1 and the top courses of Walls 9 and 11 of the Extension B1/B2/B3. This suggests that both Megaron B and the extension were standing and visible when Wall K was constructed, especially since parts of the walls of the extension preserved some of their mudbrick upper structure,⁵⁷ rising even higher than the stone foundations of Walls T2 and T3.⁵⁸ It seems, therefore, that Wall K and the Megaron B complex were used concurrently and that Wall K's planning and construction took into account the Megaron B complex. The precise date of the construction of Wall K must await final publication of the Geometric material, but the excavators dated it to the eighth century.⁵⁹

As far as the function of this wall is concerned, Mylonas' view was that it was part of a Geometric temple to Demeter,⁶⁰ but Travlos, followed by Mazarakis-Ainian, considered it a retaining wall, arguing that because only one face was dressed the wall could not have been part of a temple.⁶¹ I think it is more likely that Wall K was meant to replace the Mycenaean peribolos: it is built right on top of Wall T1, and the part that was destroyed would have gone around the Megaron B complex, separating the complex from its surrounding buildings.

BRONZE AGE REMAINS TO THE SOUTH OF THE PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION

The area immediately to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion was excavated by Philios and Kourouniotes.⁶² The surviving architectural remains (see fig. 2) were severely damaged by the construction of the Geometric retaining wall (E1) with the stepped entrance (E2)⁶³ and the retaining wall (Z)



Fig. 19. View of Walls K and T1, from the southeast (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1037).

of the archaic terrace.⁶⁴ Only those architectural remains relevant to this study are, therefore, included in this discussion.

Wall 1 runs in a northwest–southeast direction.⁶⁵ It is 5.30 m long, 0.55–0.60 m wide, and preserved to a height of 0.80–0.85 m. It is founded partially on the bedrock and partially on a Middle Helladic deposit and is constructed of small stones placed in clay mortar. Its southwest end abuts the double wall (Wall 1a/1b), which is 1.30 m wide and preserved to a length of 1.80 m.⁶⁶ This double wall is constructed of large stones placed in clay mortar and runs southwest–northeast; as it is abutted by Wall 1, it seems to be earlier, although when Wall 1 was built Wall 1a/1b was used as a retaining wall for the building to which Wall 1 belonged. The sherds from the deposit under Wall 1a/1b are mostly LH IIA/IIB (online fig. 6).⁶⁷

Wall 2 is roughly parallel to Wall 1 and lies at a distance of 2.65 m to the north.⁶⁸ Parts of it were destroyed

⁵⁵ Width estimated by Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, 148) on the basis of the published plans.

⁵⁶ Travlos 1970, 67.

⁵⁷ Travlos 1983, 330.

⁵⁸ As concluded by Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, 148 n. 1029) on the basis of the photograph in Mylonas 1961, fig. 13 (fig. 19 herein).

⁵⁹ Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 285. For the confusion regarding the date of this wall, see Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 148 n. 1024. For the possibility of a ninth-century date, see Travlos 1970, 67.

⁶⁰ Mylonas 1961, 58.

⁶¹ Travlos 1970, 65–8; 1983, 330; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 148.

⁶² Philios 1884, 75–6, pl. Δ.Π, Π'; Threpsiades 1931, 25–7,

29, 30, 43, 57–8; Mylonas 1932a, 56–67.

⁶³ Mylonas 1961, fig. 4 (E1, E2).

⁶⁴ Mylonas 1961, fig. 4 (Z6, Z7).

⁶⁵ Threpsiades 1931, 85; Mylonas 1932a, 61.

⁶⁶ Threpsiades 1931, 87; Mylonas 1932a, 61. Preserved height unrecorded.

⁶⁷ It is unclear whether these sherds were found wedged between the stones of Wall 1a/1b or in the deposit in front of the wall. The label attached to the bag containing these sherds reads: “Εκ τῶν τοίχων 16 [here Wall 1a] καὶ 17 [here Wall 1b].”

⁶⁸ Threpsiades 1931, 71, 87; Mylonas 1932a, 60; Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 32–3.

by the construction of the foundations of Columns III4 and III5. It is made of both large and small stones placed in clay mortar, is 0.60–0.65 m wide, and is preserved to a height of 0.55–0.89 m.⁶⁹ It is founded on the bedrock, except for a few spots where it sits on a thin layer of soil covering the bedrock. It continues to the northwest under the base of Column III4, but it is unclear whether it connected to Wall 2a/2b. Although the finds associated with this wall have not been located in the museum, in Threpsiades' field notebook they are dated to LH III.⁷⁰

Wall 3 is parallel to Wall 2 and lies at a distance of 1.70 m to the northwest.⁷¹ It is preserved to a height of 0.86 m. It has a length of 8.75 m and an average thickness of 0.55 m.⁷² It is founded on a thick (0.60–0.65 m) fill that covers the bedrock and is constructed of irregular stones placed in clay mortar. It is possible that this wall connected with Wall x—a short fragment of a wall that runs northeast–southwest—to form the interior of a room opening up to the northeast; a cut (“*λάξευμα*”) dug in the bedrock appears to continue the line of Wall x toward Wall 3.⁷³ At a distance of approximately 3 m to the northwest of the interior corner formed by Walls 3 and 4a/4a', part of a floor made of large pebbles was preserved: this floor, of which a patch 2 x 1 m survives, belonged to a road leading uphill, toward the northwest.⁷⁴ The pottery found under Wall 3 (online fig. 7) includes one LH IIIA1 handleless jar (FS 77) and a good number of LH IIIA2/IIIB1 sherds: a closed vessel (piriform jar or jug with cutaway neck), one stemmed bowl (FS 304), five kylikes (FS 257/258B/264/267), and one undecorated jar.

Wall 2a/2b, 0.60–0.69 m wide, runs northeast–southwest and is founded on the bedrock; it is preserved to a length of 4.10 m and a height of 0.22–0.65 m. It is divided into two parts by a break approximately 1.5 m from its southwest end. The north part (marked as “2b” on fig. 2) is made of larger stones and is slightly narrower than the south part (2a), which is made of small stones and is slightly wider. This break is lined up with a channel dug into the bedrock; the channel continues Wall 3 but does not reach all the way to Wall 2a/2b.⁷⁵

Wall 4 runs northwest–southeast and is constructed with large stones placed in clay mortar.⁷⁶ It has an average width of 0.65 m and is preserved to a height of 1.35–1.50 m. This is a very long wall (ca. 17 m), part

of which was destroyed by the construction of the base of Column IV6. Its northwest and southeast ends join with Walls 4a/a' and 4c, respectively, which run toward the southwest. Wall 4a/4a' is a double wall with a combined width of 1.08–1.15 m;⁷⁷ it is preserved to a height of 1.20 m and constructed with medium-sized stones placed in clay mortar. It is abutted by Wall 3 and, given its direction (perpendicular to the slope) and the steepness of the slope at that point, it appears that it served as support for Wall 3.⁷⁸ Wall 4b,⁷⁹ parallel to Walls 4a and 4c, may have defined two smaller rooms opening up to the southwest. It is founded at the same depth as Wall 4, is 0.50 m wide, and is preserved to a length of 2.20 m; it is built of medium-sized stones placed in clay mortar. The pottery found between Walls 4a and 4b (online fig. 8) consists of a rounded alabastron (FS 85), two monochrome kylikes, and an undecorated amphora (possibly FS 69), all of which can be dated from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB1/IIIB2.

The pottery from the interior corner of Walls 4 and 4c (online fig. 9) includes one LH IIB/IIIA1 squat jug (FS 87) or alabastron (FS 84) and several LH IIIA1/IIIA2 sherds, including a piriform jar (FS 22), a fragment of an open vase, possibly a cup, three monochrome kylikes (FS 255/256), and an Acropolis Burnished Ware goblet (FS 270). Similarly, the pottery found in several deposits to the southwest of Wall 4 ranges in date from LH IIIA1/IIIA2 to LH IIIB2 (early), with one or two earlier (LH IIB) pieces (online fig. 10).

The head of an animal figurine was found near the south corner of Wall 4a/4a'.⁸⁰ Two groups of human figurines were found on either side of Wall 4, to the east of Wall 4b: the first group was found in a Late Helladic deposit that had been disturbed by the construction of the south wall of the Peisistrateian Telessterion, approximately 1 m to the south of the exit of the drain, and consisted of five Late Helladic figurines, two broken and three intact.⁸¹ The second group was found on the south side of Wall 4, where “numerous Mycenaean figurines” were reported.⁸² These figurines have not been located in the museum.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MEGARON B COMPLEX

As mentioned in the introduction, opinions about the function of the Megaron B complex are divided.

⁶⁹ Mylonas 1932a, 60.

⁷⁰ Threpsiades 1931, 72.

⁷¹ Threpsiades 1931, 48–58 (Wall 8); Mylonas 1932a, 58–9.

⁷² Mylonas 1932a, 60.

⁷³ Threpsiades 1931, 42, 55, fig. 11.

⁷⁴ Threpsiades 1931, 55; Mylonas 1932a, 58.

⁷⁵ Mylonas 1932a, 60–1.

⁷⁶ Threpsiades 1931, 42, 43, 59, 61, 93, 97; Mylonas 1932a,

56–8.

⁷⁷ Threpsiades 1931, 42; Mylonas 1932a, 58.

⁷⁸ Mylonas 1932a, 58.

⁷⁹ Threpsiades 1931, 77–8.

⁸⁰ Threpsiades 1931, 58.

⁸¹ Threpsiades 1931, 29.

⁸² Threpsiades 1931, 39: “*πλεῖστα εἰδώλια Μυκηναϊκά.*”

The excavators, Mylonas and Kourouniotes, thought that it was a temple; Darcque does not see in it any religious function; Travlos and Mazarakis-Ainian believe that it served as the residence of a ruling family of Eleusis but that it was also used for religious purposes.⁸³ Leaving aside the issue of the chronology of events mentioned in the *Parian Chronicle*, which cannot be taken at face value, or the topography of Eleusis described in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which is problematic,⁸⁴ the weight of the evidence for the function of the complex falls on its architectural features. One of Mylonas' and Kourouniotes' main arguments was that Megaron B possessed two special architectural features that set it apart from standard residential Mycenaean architecture: a platform that supported an altar, and an enclosure wall that ensured the privacy of the rituals that took place inside the complex. Darcque, however, refutes the excavators' interpretation of the archaeological record and rejects the presence of these two special architectural features and, by extension, of the religious function of Megaron B. Darcque's views have had wide acceptance and, as a result, Eleusis and Megaron B are not usually included in discussions of Mycenaean cult buildings.⁸⁵

New data, produced by the recently completed analysis of the finds from Megaron B and of the unpublished excavation records, pertain to this issue and are discussed below.

The Platform

The first issue is the function of the platform in front of Megaron B. Mylonas' explanation was that this structure served a ritual purpose, functioning either as the basis of an altar or as an altar itself.⁸⁶ Darcque, in contrast, considers the platform simply a retaining structure.⁸⁷ To address this issue, one must examine the form and size of this platform: if it had been used as a retaining structure, we would expect it to be similar in form to other retaining structures that were used at the site during the period; if it served a ritual function, we would expect it to display particular architectural features that would fulfill this ritual purpose. All the Mycenaean retaining walls and structures

at Eleusis are straight, long walls with widths ranging from 0.65 to 0.90 m. The only unusual structures are Wall 1a, which is attached to Wall 1b to form a double wall about 1.30 m wide, and the "tower" of Wall T1, which has a width of 1.80 m and may have also been used to support Wall T1 against the drop of the bedrock—it has an irregular rectangular shape and juts out of Wall T1. By contrast, the platform in front of Megaron B has a symmetrical Π -shape, and its floor would have formed a flat surface of about 6.50–7.00 m², rising approximately 1.30–1.40 m above the floor of the courtyard. It does not span the entire width of the east side of Megaron B, but with a width of 2.80 m, it is nearly half of the width of Megaron B (5.90 m), leaving space for two symmetrical flights of steps, one on the north side and one on the south. Both the symmetry and the regularity of the plan of this structure required considerable investment in planning and labor and thus suggest that this structure was more than a simple retaining wall; a retaining wall would have taken the form of a single or double wall extending the full length of Wall T2a of Megaron B—or at least the longest part of it, if it was necessary to leave space for a flight of steps on one of the sides. In the absence of a practical reason for the Π -shaped form of the platform, one must explain its shape in terms of the need for a flat, rectangular surface in front of the megaron, a surface that was necessitated by a special function.

What could that function have been? The assemblage of burned pig bones in Drain D2 is clearly a significant find, and we have established above that (1) it is likely that these bones represent the remains of burned animal sacrifice, and (2) they originated on the platform.⁸⁸ Bergquist, in her critical analysis of the evidence for burned animal sacrifice in the Bronze Age, provides a definition of an architectural structure that would be suitable for burned animal sacrifices: "an appropriate, detached, built or otherwise shaped, solid structure of limited, upper surface and moderately raised for the display and operation of a ritual burning of (a part of) an animal offering."⁸⁹ The platform in front of Megaron B is in fact a solid structure attached to the megaron; it has a surface area of

⁸³Supra nn. 5–10, 12.

⁸⁴For the problems with the chronology of the *Parian Chronicle*, see Hazzard 2000, 165–67; Burgess 2012, 17. The bibliography on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is extensive, but comprehensive treatments are found in Richardson 1979; Foley 1993; see also Richardson 2011.

⁸⁵E.g., Whittaker 1997, 14–16; Bendall 2007; Lupack 2008.

⁸⁶Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, 285; Mylonas 1961, 47.

⁸⁷Darcque 1981, 600; 2005, 298–99. There seems to be some confusion in Darcque (1981, 600) about which wall

the excavators suggest was used as a retaining wall ("avant de suggérer qu'elle puisse être un autel, les fouilleurs l'avaient interprétée, de façon plus plausible, comme un ouvrage de soutènement pour le sol de la pièce principale"). Mylonas and Kourouniotes (1933, 275), whom Darcque cites, do not refer to the platform, but to the cross wall, Wall T2a, which indeed served as a retaining wall.

⁸⁸See Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo (2014) for a detailed discussion on the subject.

⁸⁹Bergquist 1988, 32.

about 6.50 to 7.00 m², and its floor is elevated about 1.30–1.40 m above the paved courtyard that opens up in front of it, allowing for the actions taking place on its floor to be easily viewed by the people standing in the courtyard. The form and dimensions of the platform therefore match the criteria for an altar used for burned animal sacrifices.

The Peribolos

The second issue is whether Walls T1 and T4 formed part of an enclosure wall, a peribolos surrounding the Megaron B complex and separating it from its surrounding buildings. A discrepancy between two architectural plans of the complex, both published in 1933, has been used by Darcque as the main argument for associating Wall T1 not with Wall T4 but with Walls 3 and x outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion—and thus eliminating the possibility that these walls formed a peribolos.⁹⁰ The first of these two plans (fig. 20, left) was included in the report that appeared in the 1930–1931 issue of *ArchDelt* (which was not published until 1933),⁹¹ where Walls 3 and x are shown as belonging to the same period and architectural complex as Wall T1; the repercussion of this would be that Wall T1 could not have functioned as the south wall of the peribolos. The second plan (see fig. 20, right) appeared in the *AJA*, also in 1933.⁹² In this plan, Walls 3 and x were disassociated from Wall T1, which in turn was associated with Wall T4 and became the south wall of the peribolos.

A close look at the unpublished excavation records explains the discrepancy between these two plans. According to these records, Walls 3, x, and T1 were first excavated in 1930 by Threpsiades. As those walls began to be uncovered, Threpsiades' preliminary assessment was that they might belong to the same room. This assessment is reflected in the plan accompanying the report that appeared in the *ArchDelt* of 1930–1931. Then, following the 1932 excavation season, which was supervised by Mylonas, it became clear that the association of Walls 3 and x with Wall T1 could not be supported because the pottery from Wall 3 was later than

the pottery associated with Wall T1. This led Mylonas to reverse the earlier chronological sequence, as he explicitly writes in his notebook;⁹³ Mylonas' chronology of Walls 3 and T1 has also been confirmed by the recent study of the pottery associated with them.⁹⁴ So, whereas the first plan (the one published in the *ArchDelt* of 1930–1931) reflects Threpsiades' preliminary assessment of the sequence of these walls, the plan published in the *AJA* in 1933 reflects the more complete understanding of the chronological relation of these walls on the basis of a more thorough evaluation of the results of the 1932 season. Although both the *ArchDelt* and the *AJA* articles were published in 1933, it is important to remember that the *AJA* report was prepared and submitted after the *ArchDelt* report. The later interpretation (presented in the *AJA* article) is based on the results of the latest analysis and therefore reflects the actual relationship of these walls.⁹⁵

If we add to this the facts that the space between Walls 3 and T1 was occupied by a paved road (discussed above in the section "Walls T1 and T4")—which means that the two walls could not have defined the interior of a building—and that the ends of the paved floor of the courtyard in front of Megaron B are clearly defined by Walls T1 in the south and T4 in the north, it becomes clear that Walls T1 and T4 belong to the same structure enclosing the Megaron B complex and its courtyard.⁹⁶ The gate of Wall T4 provided access to the complex.

To recap, besides the fact that Walls T1 and T4 have the same orientation, foundation depth, and manner of construction (including the use of large stones for the lowest course in both walls, a feature not found in adjacent walls), they clearly mark the north (T4) and south (T1) ends of the paved courtyard. On the other side of these two walls, there were two paved roads; the one on the outside of Wall T1 ran east–west, while the one on the outside of Wall T4 ran north–south and led to a gate that provided access to the courtyard from the north. The pottery found under the foundation and wedged between the stones of

⁹⁰ Darcque 1981, 601.

⁹¹ Kourouniotes 1930–1931, fig. 1.

⁹² Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, pl. 34.

⁹³ Mylonas 1932a, 60 (referring to the original grouping of Wall 3 with Wall 2 instead of Wall T1): "Φαίνεται όμως ἐκ των ὀστράκων ὅτι [Wall 3] εἶναι μεταγενέστερος καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν θὰ ἀντιστραφῇ τὸ ἀρχικόν μου σχέδιον προτεραιότητος."

⁹⁴ The pottery from the foundation of Wall T1 is LH IIB/IIIA1 (Cosmopoulos [forthcoming]) (east stratigraphic unit 6, loci 1 and 3); the pottery from the foundation of Wall 3 is LH IIIA2/IIIB1 (Cosmopoulos [forthcoming]) (east strati-

graphic unit 10, locus 1).

⁹⁵ This is not the only revision that Mylonas made to the later plan: as the study of the pottery progressed, the chronology of other walls not related to Megaron B was also fine-tuned: e.g., the walls marked as "π1" and "π2" on fig. 20 herein were originally thought to be Late Mycenaean and are marked as such on the *ArchDelt* plan, but they were subsequently dated to the Sub-Geometric period and so marked on the *AJA* plan.

⁹⁶ As the back wall of the peribolos has not been found, Kardara (1972) suggested that it may have actually have been formed by the bedrock; cf. Loucas 1988.

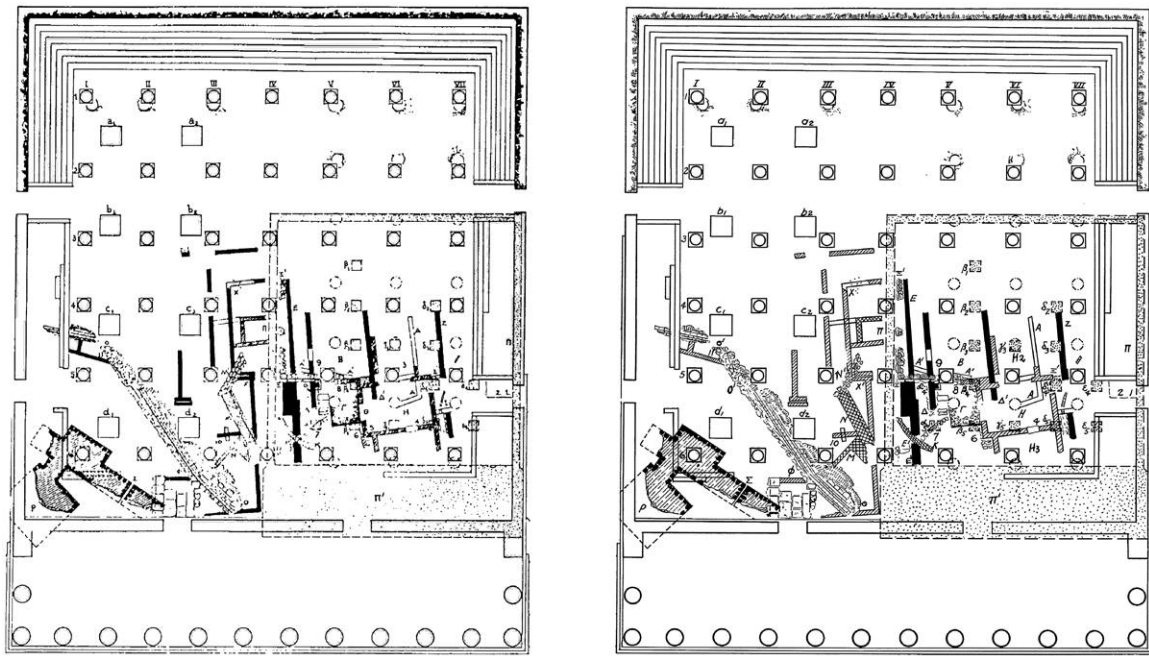


Fig. 20. Plans of the Telesterion: (*left*, Kourouniotes 1930–1931, fig. 1; *right*, Mylonas and Kourouniotes 1933, pl. 34).

both walls is predominantly LH IIB/IIIA1, suggesting that the walls are contemporaneous. Accordingly, the evidence suggests that the LH IIB/IIIA1 Walls T1 and T4 belong to the same architectural complex, an enclosure wall surrounding a paved courtyard. Wall 3 is later than Wall T1 and must be grouped with the other walls outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion, which are LH IIIA2/IIIB1.

These conclusions have a direct impact on the issue of the function of Megaron B, as they confirm that Megaron B possessed special architectural features (peribolos, platform) that set it apart from Mycenaean residential architecture. Despite the apparent lack of what would constitute unequivocal signs of a sanctuary (cultic statues, figurines, metal offerings, and the like—although as we saw above numerous figurines are reported from the area around the building), the combined evidence of the special architectural features and burned animal sacrifices strongly suggests that religious rituals were performed in the Megaron

B complex (see the section “The Megaron B Complex in Context” below). Whether the burned animal sacrifices that formed part of these rituals had a funerary or chthonic or any other connections cannot be answered. Nor can we establish which deity might have been worshiped there: although it might be tempting to draw a parallel between the Late Helladic burned animal sacrifices of pigs and the sacrifices of pigs in the historical cult of Demeter (after all, Demeter had a “special fondness for sacrificial pig”⁹⁷), in reality there is no evidence to support such a connection—especially as the practice of sacrificing pigs to Demeter appears considerably later⁹⁸ and as Demeter is not included in the deities of the Mycenaean pantheon.⁹⁹

Concerning the length of time over which these rituals were held, it appears that they were introduced in LH IIB/IIIA1; given the duration of use of the special architectural features of the complex and the chronology of the pottery, these rituals may have continued until LH IIIC (early), when the level of human activity

⁹⁷ Clinton 2005, 167; cf. Parker 1983, 283; Burkert 1985, 242.

⁹⁸ Hägg 1998, 50.

⁹⁹ For the issue of proposed references to Demeter in Linear B tablets, see the discussion in Palaima 2006, 65–6. It is possible that in the Mycenaean period Demeter’s role was ful-

filled by the *potnia siton* mentioned in the Linear B tablet from the Citadel House and perhaps depicted in the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae (Palaima 2008, 349–50). For the palatial interest in pigs as documented in the Linear B sources, see Rougemont 2006.

decreased sharply. This conclusion is based on the architectural and ceramic continuity observed during these periods: once a building has acquired a religious use it does not become “desanctified” without a visible change in the arrangement and use of its spaces. Such a change is not attested before LH IIIC (early).

THE MEGARON B COMPLEX IN CONTEXT

It is generally accepted that Mycenaean religious architecture grew out of local domestic architecture.¹⁰⁰ It is plausible that the Megaron B complex represents an early stage in this development, in which it was used as both a residence and a cult place for a powerful family. A simple rectangular building in LH IIA, this building complex was expanded with the addition of the platform and peribolos in LH IIB/IIIA1 and of the Extension B1/B2/B3 in LH IIIA2/IIIB1. The growing complexity of the architectural arrangement of Megaron B could reflect the growing complexity of the cult, which was perhaps initially unstructured and informal, becoming more formalized with the passage of time.¹⁰¹ Such a development fits well Wright’s model of the development of Mycenaean religion, in which an early (LH I/II) stage with unstructured and nonformalized rituals using underdeveloped and nonstandardized symbolism was succeeded by a later (LH III) stage with more formalized and monumentalized ritual practice.¹⁰² The enlargement of the architectural space of Megaron B and the increasing complexity of its premises could very well have been an expression of the same trend. The architectural form of the Megaron B complex is not paralleled in Mycenaean religious architecture, but this is not an argument against its religious use. On the one hand, the lack of a standardized architectural form in Mycenaean religious architecture is well established, as religious architecture seems to have been dictated by local factors, and individual buildings were used as ad hoc answers to the needs of local cults.¹⁰³ On the other

hand, the early date of Megaron B places it in a period in which the “sanctuary” may not have emerged as a distinct concept and in which ritual action was still intertwined with domestic religious activity.

When seen within the wider context of Early Mycenaean sociopolitical developments, Megaron B appears to have fulfilled another function also. Dickinson has suggested that in the Early Mycenaean period Eleusis may have been one of the principalities/chiefdoms of Attica.¹⁰⁴ In this case, one would expect to find at Eleusis a mansion (such as the ones at the Menelaion or Athens) and possibly also a monumental tomb (such as a tholos tomb). Unless an as yet undiscovered or by now destroyed LH IIB/IIIA1 building complex existed on the hilltop,¹⁰⁵ Megaron B is the best candidate for such a mansion, which could have been used as the residence of the family of the local ruler/chief, the sort that Travlos and Mazarakis-Ainian have suggested and that Mountjoy has posited for Athens.¹⁰⁶

This possibility is enhanced by the presence of an impressive grave (E.III.7) (fig. 21) immediately to the east of Megaron B.¹⁰⁷ This complex cist grave was built in MH III/LH I, but in LH IIA/IIB it underwent repairs that included the construction of a stone encasement (marked as “α,” “β,” and “γ” on fig. 21); it appears that it ceased to be used by LH IIIA2. With a floor surface of 8 m² and thick walls (0.40–0.45 m) made of schist slabs, this is one of the largest known graves of this type in Greece.¹⁰⁸ The contemporaneity of this grave with Megaron B, their locational proximity (ca. 25 m from each other), and the lack of other large-scale buildings or graves on that part of the slope suggest that Megaron B and Grave E.III.7 were both expressions of conspicuous consumption by the same elite group and that the grave may have served as the status-marking burial for that group—perhaps like the tholos tombs that were erected close to the seats of Early Mycenaean

¹⁰⁰ Rutkowski 1986; Whittaker 1997, 136. Petrakis (2009) contrasts the diversity in the forms of Late Helladic cult buildings with the remarkable uniformity of the LH III Peloponnesian “megara.”

¹⁰¹ Hägg (1981, 36) considers Megaron B as an expression of “official” cult because of its formal architectural features, especially the peribolos wall. For the general question of “popular” vs. “official” Mycenaean cult, see Hägg 1981, 1995; Kilian 1992; Sheldermine 1997, 577.

¹⁰² Wright 1994, 42.

¹⁰³ The only standardization is seen in the palatial centers of the Peloponnese, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos (Petrakis 2009).

¹⁰⁴ Dickinson 1977, 96.

¹⁰⁵ On the hilltop, two fragmentary walls date to LH IIB/IIIA1 (hilltop stratigraphic unit 2, Walls ε and ζ), but it is not

possible to establish a plan (Cosmopoulos [forthcoming]).

¹⁰⁶ Travlos 1970, 60; 1983, 329–33; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 149–50; Mountjoy 1999, 485.

¹⁰⁷ Philios 1889, 187–94.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Grave Bπ1 of the West Cemetery, with a floor surface of 14.4 m² (6.00 x 2.40 m) (Mylonas 1975, A:17), and the large grave at Portes in Elis, with a floor surface of 12.8 m² (8.00 x 1.60 m) (Moschos 2000, 15, fig. 8). See also the extensive table with sizes of complex built cist graves in the tomb inventory assembled by Papadimitriou (2001, 246–53). Although Grave E.III.7 belongs to Mylonas’ Type B, it is even larger (almost double the floor surface) than the larger Type Γ graves from the West Cemetery, which Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 48) calculate at 4.1 m². For the newly discovered complex built cist grave at Mitrou, see Tsokas et al. 2012, 423–25, fig. 5b.

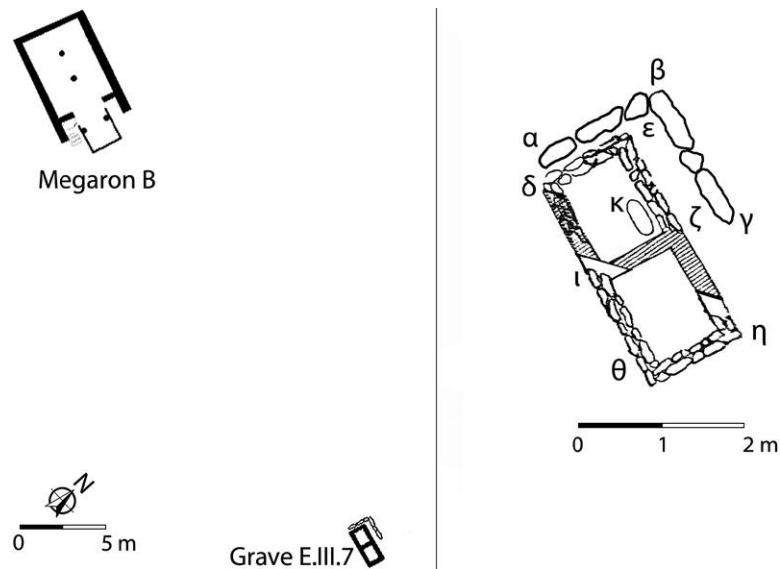


Fig. 21. Grave E.III.7: *left*, location in relation to Megaron B; *right*, plan (“α–κ” indicate the walls of the grave) (after Philios 1889, 188).

rulers in Messenia. The history of this elite group can be traced back to the end of the Middle Helladic period, when Building A, a large apsidal predecessor to Megaron B, was erected (fig. 22).¹⁰⁹ That this grave remained in use for such a long time, even when the West Cemetery had come into extensive use and the practice of burials in the settlement area had faded away, may be explained as the result of competition between this group, which preserved and maintained the ancestral grave in the settlement area, and new and emerging groups buried in the West Cemetery. The rituals that took place on its premises may have served as a mechanism by which the occupying group consolidated its authority through the establishment of a “controlled center of worship” with formalized religious activities.¹¹⁰

THE TRANSITION TO THE EARLY IRON AGE

It is a common tenet that the archaeological record at Eleusis reflects a gap in occupation of at least 200 years, between the end of the 13th and the end of the 11th century B.C.E.¹¹¹ The unpublished pottery from the excavations paints a different picture, however. LH IIIC and Sub-Mycenaean sherds and a complete Sub-Mycenaean vase (figs. 23, 24) found mixed in with the Bronze Age pottery indicate continuous human presence at the site during the transition to the Early Iron

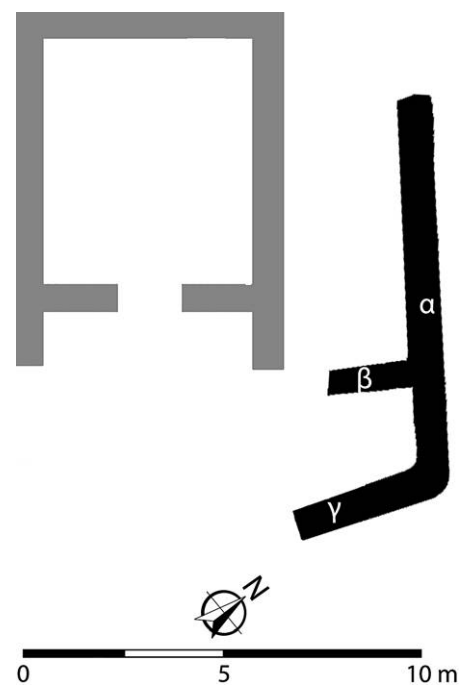


Fig. 22. Plan of the walls of the Middle Helladic Building A under the Peisistrateian Telesterion (“α–γ” indicate the walls of Building A). The walls of Megaron B are shown in gray for reference (adapted from an unpublished plan by I. Travlos, n.d., subfolder 2, folder 8, Travlos Archives, Archaeological Society at Athens; courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens).

¹⁰⁹ Cosmopoulos (forthcoming) (east stratigraphic unit 3). Building A has at least two rooms, which are separated by a cross wall (β). Given the preserved length of the long wall (α),

the overall length of the building would have exceeded 10 m.

¹¹⁰ Wright 2008, 249.

¹¹¹ Desborough 1964, 115; Darcque 1981; Binder 1998.

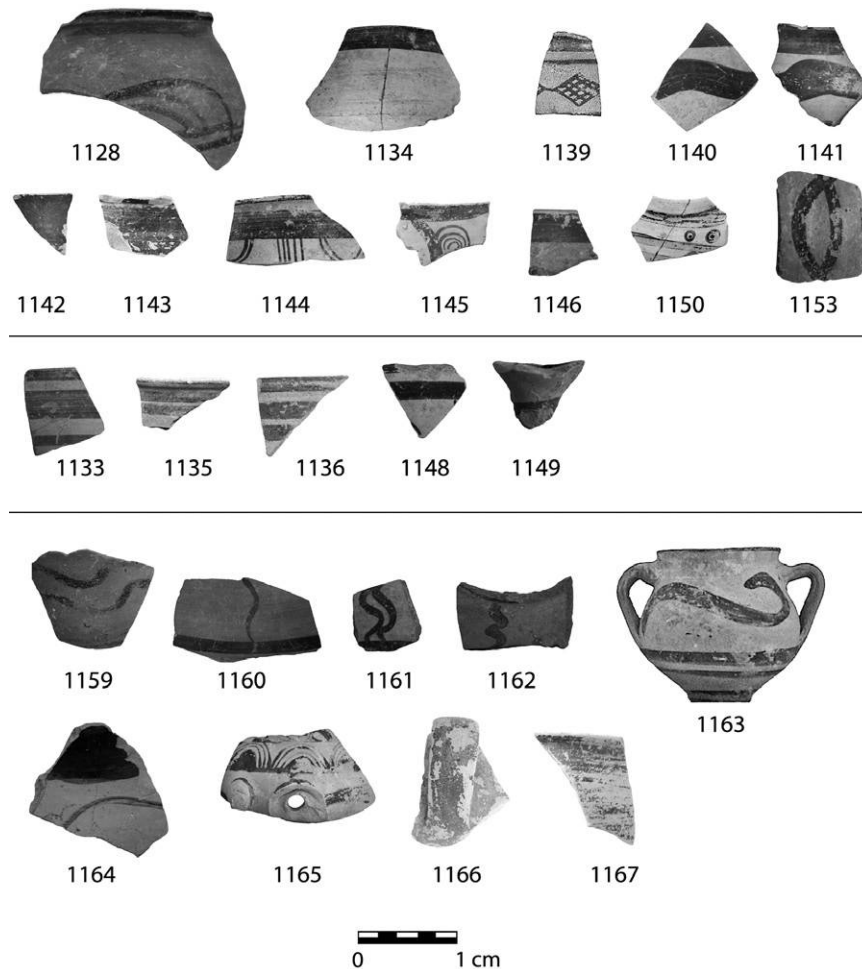


Fig. 23. LH IIIC and Sub-Mycenaean pottery from Eleusis: *top*, LH IIIC (early) (with some LH IIIB2/IIIC [early]); *middle*, LH IIIC (middle to late); *bottom*, Sub-Mycenaean.

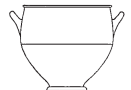
Age.¹¹² The number of finds is small, about 50 sherds and one vase; most of the material is of unknown provenance, although at least two fragments were found on the floor of Megaron B, and others were found to the southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion and the Sacred House.¹¹³ The LH IIIC (early) material includes one-handled cups (FS 215/216) and deep bowls (FS 284) with thick wavy bands and monochrome interiors; it is not possible to isolate LH IIIC (early 1) from LH

IIIC (early 2) pieces, except for two pieces (1128 and 1141), which can be dated to LH IIIC (early 2). The LH IIIC (middle) phase is represented by a carinated cup (FS 240), a deep bowl (FS 284) with a thick wavy band on the outside and a monochrome interior, a conical kylix (FS 275), possibly a one-handled bowl (FS 242), and a collar-necked jar (FS 64). Of these, the krater seems to date to Rutter's phase 4b. The LH IIIC (late) phase is represented by a cup (FS 216), a jug

¹¹² A discussion of the debate about the meanings of the term "Sub-Mycenaean" is outside the scope of this article. Here I use it for convenience to describe a group of pottery that belongs either to an Attic style contemporary with the last phases of LH IIIC (late) in the Argolid (Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 2000) or to a distinct chronological phase following LH IIIC (late) (Mountjoy 1999, 56). For the possibility

that the Sub-Mycenaean style was used as burial pottery, see Rutter 1978; Papadopoulos 1993, 176–81. See more on the issue in Whitley 1991, 81–2; Morgan 1999, 254–56; Dickinson 2006, 14; Papadopoulos et al. 2011.

¹¹³ I am grateful to John Papadopoulos for his help in identifying the Sub-Mycenaean pieces in the Archaeological Museum at Eleusis.

 FS 64		 FM 27:35	
 FS 70		linear	 figure eight
 FS 215		linear	monochrome
 FS 275		 FM 46:59?	linear
 FS 282		linear	monochrome
 FS 284		 FM 73:5	linear
			monochrome

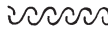
 FS 60		wavy lines	 FM 43	 FM 48
 FS 115		wavy lines		
 FS 124, FS 177		 FM 53:12		
 FS 217		monochrome		
 FS 286?		monochrome	linear	

Fig. 24. Shape/motif combinations of LH IIIC (*left*) and Sub-Mycenaean (*right*) pottery found at Eleusis.

(FS 115), an amphora (FS 69 and FS 70), and a ring-based krater (FS 282), all with linear decoration. The combination of shapes and motifs is shown in figure 24. The Sub-Mycenaean pottery includes mostly shoulders from closed vessels, along with one complete vase. Four pieces are of known provenance: 1159, found in the southeast corner of Megaron B, possibly belongs to an amphoriskos, as does 1163, found by Philios in the southwest stoa, presumably in a grave.¹¹⁴ Overall, the material belongs to closed vessels, most likely jugs (FS 115), lekythoi (FS 124), or stirrup jars (FS 177), and finds good parallels to vases from the Kerameikos.¹¹⁵ Find 1160 can be assigned to Ruppenstein's stage II (stirrup jars of Groups 3 and 4, lekythoi of Group 2),¹¹⁶ and (if from a jug) 1161 could be dated to Ruppenstein's stage III.¹¹⁷ Find 1165 is decorated with two superimposed rows of isolated semicircles (Furumark

Motif [FM] 43:24), a motif characteristic of the transition from the Sub-Mycenaean to the Protogeometric period.¹¹⁸ One complete amphoriskos (FS 60; 1163) and four fragments are decorated with a scroll/quirk (FM 48) on the upper body and horizontal bands on the lower belly in brown paint; of these, the complete amphoriskos (1163) finds parallels in the western part of central Greece.¹¹⁹ Other sherds belong to deep semiglobular cups (FS 217) and deep bowls (FS 286). Parallels with the Kerameikos material may suggest that these pieces represent a good part of the Sub-Mycenaean period: 1164 could be dated to Ruppenstein's stage I, 1160 to stage II, and 1161 to stage III; 1165 and 1166 could be transitional forms dating to the Protogeometric period. This evidence, coupled with the Granary Style sherds found by Mylonas in front of the Stoa of Philo¹²⁰ and the Protogeometric

¹¹⁴ Sherd numbers given here correspond to catalogue numbers in Cosmopoulos (forthcoming).

¹¹⁵ Kraiker and Kübler 1939, pls. 6, 10; Ruppenstein 2007, fig. 5.

¹¹⁶ Ruppenstein 2007, 196, pl. 39.

¹¹⁷ Ruppenstein 2007, 103–5 (Group 2).

¹¹⁸ Cf. the stirrup jar from Kerameikos, Grave PG 22 (Kübler

1943, pl. 4, cat. no. 922).

¹¹⁹ F. Ruppenstein, pers. comm. 2013. Cf. the pieces from Elea in Deger-Jalkotzy 2009, 113, fig. 12; 115, fig. 14. Cf. also the handmade amphoriskos from Kerameikos (Ruppenstein 2007, fig. 5, pl. 21 [Gr. 120/2]).

¹²⁰ Mylonas 1936, 426.

sherds found in the fill under the Geometric terrace wall (Wall E1) (fig. 25),¹²¹ indicate that the Megaron B complex was used in the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E.

The architectural evidence supports the conclusions derived from the ceramic evidence. As we saw above, both Megaron B and the Extension B1/B2/B3 were standing when the curved Geometric Wall K was erected, and in fact the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric sherds found in and around Megaron B suggest that the complex was still in use at this time. Although the level of human activity apparently shrank during the LH IIIC, Sub-Mycenaean, and Protogeometric periods, it never ceased completely.¹²²

CONTINUITY AND CULTURAL MEMORY

As mentioned in the introduction, the issue of religious continuity from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age is a thorny one. Not only is the archaeological evidence scanty, but its analysis is prone to two methodological pitfalls: first, the prehistoric function of historical sanctuaries tends to be colored by their later religious use;¹²³ second, the term “religious continuity” is often used without further qualification, which may cause confusion between religious beliefs and their material expression.¹²⁴ Because religious systems are multidimensional, their analysis requires a “subtler notion of continuity,”¹²⁵ which would distinguish their components and allow independent analysis of their elements in each period under discussion instead of retrojection from later periods.

For Eleusis, the obvious starting point is a period-by-period review of the physical setting and material evidence for religious rituals. As we saw above, in LH IIB/IIIA1 and possibly through LH IIIB, rituals involving the burning of non-meat-bearing parts of pigs (along with feasting?) are likely to have taken place on an elevated structure, the platform, which was located in a formalized space decorated with frescoes and separated from the rest of the settlement by an enclosure wall. The numerous fragments of figurines found dispersed in the area may suggest votive offerings, but large figures that could have been used as cultic images have not been found. The next period



Fig. 25. The Geometric terrace wall (E1), from the south (courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens, Photo Archive, A/A 1182).

for which we have evidence for rituals is the middle of the eighth century B.C.E., when Pyre A in front of the Geometric terrace wall (Wall E1) came into use (see fig. 2).¹²⁶ This pyre, along with the later Pyres B and Γ, contained numerous votive offerings, such as closed vases (oinochoai, aryballoi, alabastra, and lamps), clay plaques, human and animal figurines, and a few pieces of gold jewelry. The traces of fire on the exterior of Wall E1 suggest that the objects were burned at that spot and were not disposed of from an altar on top of the Geometric terrace.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the total absence of animal bones from the pyres indicates that these were not the remains of animal sacrifices.¹²⁸ According to Kokkou-Vyridi, who has published the pyres, the rituals indicated by these finds appear to have been *enagismoi* related to chthonic cult.¹²⁹

The comparison of the Mycenaean evidence with the Geometric indicates important differences in the physical setting (Late Helladic altar vs. Geometric pyres) of the rituals, as well as in the rituals themselves (burned animal sacrifices vs. *enagismoi*). In turn, these differences suggest that the rituals served different religious needs¹³⁰ and that the “essence” of the cult underwent a significant transformation between the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Despite the conti-

¹²¹ Mylonas 1961, 56. The Protogeometric and Geometric finds are under study for publication by Kalliope Papangeli, curator of the Archaeological Museum at Eleusis.

¹²² Given the extent of destruction of the Bronze Age deposits by later construction (including the grave in which 1163 originated), one must consider the possibility that the underrepresentation of the LH IIIC and Sub-Mycenaean material is to a certain extent due to preservation bias.

¹²³ Morgan 1999, 296.

¹²⁴ Morgan 1999, 370.

¹²⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 56.

¹²⁶ Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 39–44; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 148–49.

¹²⁷ Mylonas 1961, 57. Cf. the discussion in Patera 2008, 14 n. 6.

¹²⁸ Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 156–57.

¹²⁹ Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 181.

¹³⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 56.

nuity in the habitation of the site, there is no evidence to suggest continuity in religious rituals and beliefs and, therefore, continuity in function.

At the same time, and in spite of these differences, the Mycenaean and Geometric rituals share one important common element: physical location. Pyres A, B, and Γ are located in the same part of the east slope as the earlier Megaron B complex and the later temples of Demeter/Telesteria. Mylonas already emphasized that this particular part of the slope was not suitable for construction because of its steepness and the hardness of the bedrock, which necessitated considerable and, from the practical point of view, unnecessary investment in labor and expense.¹³¹ This is not an aspect of the cult that can be easily brushed aside: because the selection of that particular spot for the later Telesteria was made despite the unsuitability of the topography, it requires a cultural explanation.

Considerable sociological and anthropological work in the past century has highlighted the important role that social, especially cultural, memory plays in forming the cultural and religious identity of a group.¹³² It provides “an expression of collective experience: [it] identifies a group, giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future.”¹³³ In nonliterate groups, such as those of the Greek Early Iron Age, cultural memory is preserved orally and through tangible symbols, such as old or ancient objects (*aide-mémoire*) or sites/buildings (*lieux de mémoire*).¹³⁴ *Lieux de mémoire*, in particular, are preserved in periods of rupture and upheaval as a result of a group’s “will to remember.”¹³⁵ At Eleusis throughout the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E., the Megaron B complex remained visible and plausibly in use, at a time when people continued to inhabit the site. The landscape that those people inhabited was not an unstoried landscape devoid of landmarks but a landscape with clear and visible remains of their past. That in the eighth century B.C.E. the inhabitants of Eleusis enclosed or supported the complex with the curved Wall K sug-

gests a deliberate effort to preserve it, which in turn indicates a fixed relationship between the Mycenaean past and the Early Iron Age present and a “will to remember” on the part of the inhabitants. Within this framework, the Megaron B complex functioned as a *lieu de mémoire* that, combined with the local oral traditions, preserved the memory of a previously sacred site.¹³⁶ The choice, then, of that particular location for the eighth-century cult was the result of a deliberate process of preserving the cultural memory of earlier religious activity.

The existence of a religious *lieu de mémoire* in the Megaron B complex is not an isolated occurrence. At Eleusis itself, the graves of sector A of the West Cemetery were enclosed in the eighth century by a peribolos wall.¹³⁷ Beyond Eleusis, there is a conscious association of religious sites with their Mycenaean precursors, an association that takes the form of “the continued or revived use of an ancient site.”¹³⁸ Maran has aptly demonstrated how cultural memory operated at Tiryns through “the appropriation of moveable and immovable symbols of past greatness and their integration in institutionalized social communication evoking the meaning of the symbols and visualizing the relation to past persons and events.”¹³⁹ Indeed, besides sanctuaries such as Kalapodi,¹⁴⁰ where religious rituals continued to be performed without a break from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, several religious places are founded on top of preexisting and often still-visible Mycenaean sites.¹⁴¹ Cultural memory allows sanctification of a site and legitimization of a cult through the antiquity of its location. Within this framework, the persistence of location for rituals at Eleusis can be explained in terms of a process of cultural memory that, although not universal in Early Iron Age Greece, can be shown to operate on the local and regional levels.

Indirect evidence for the preservation of cultural memory at Eleusis is also provided by another phenomenon. The well-known inscribed stirrup jar (EL Z 1) includes the sign *wa-*, an abbreviation of *wa-na-ka-te-ro*.¹⁴²

¹³¹ Mylonas 1961, 44.

¹³² Alcock 2002, 1 n. 1.

¹³³ Fentress and Wickham 1992, 25. For the different types of social memory, see Climo and Cattell 2002, 4; Assmann 2007, 48–66.

¹³⁴ Assman 2006, 8.

¹³⁵ Nora 1989, 19.

¹³⁶ Cultural memory may or may not preserve accurately older historical realities; what is important is that memories become real to the remembering agents (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 25–6; Assmann 2011, 323). In the case of the Megaron B complex, the possibility that during the transitional centuries it maintained only a secular function (Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 149) does not invalidate the preservation of the

memory of its religious function.

¹³⁷ Mylonas 1975, B:153–54; Antonaccio 1994, 100; 1995, 114–16; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 153.

¹³⁸ Dickinson 2006, 225.

¹³⁹ Maran 2011, 175.

¹⁴⁰ Felsch 1996, 2007.

¹⁴¹ Dickinson 2006, 224. Olympia: Eder 2001; Kyrieleis 2006, 61. Isthmia: Morgan 1999. Thermos: Papapostolou 2011. Delphi: Müller 1992, esp. 487. Ithaca: Morgan 2011, 114. Onchestos: Palaima 2009. See the relevant discussions in Desborough 1964, 115, 244; Rupp 1983, 101; Le Roy 1984, 165–66.

¹⁴² Petrakis (forthcoming).

Semantic issues aside,¹⁴³ that such a specialized term was known at Eleusis during the Mycenaean period and was subsequently adopted in the centuries that followed to designate the holy part of the Telesterion indicates continuity in specialized vocabulary, another expression of cultural memory.¹⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the changes in meaning that some Mycenaean terms underwent in the Early Iron Age,¹⁴⁵ a set of religious terms survived unaltered into the historical period.¹⁴⁶ In the end, however, continuity in specialized vocabulary exists independently of whether the initial meaning of a term changes or remains unaltered with the passage of time.

The idea of continuity of nontangible traditions was suggested by Dietrich but drew substantial criticism for its methodological vagueness.¹⁴⁷ And yet the evidence suggests that a “continuity of tradition” did in fact occur but was limited to the sphere of cultural memory of a previously sanctified site. In this respect, the criticisms raised in the past against continuity of tradition are irrelevant: this is not an issue of continuity in religious beliefs or rituals but of presence or absence of a vague memory of a cult, even if that earlier cult had atrophied or been temporarily eclipsed.¹⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

The stratigraphic and architectural analyses of the Megaron B complex at Eleusis and its finds allow four important conclusions:

1. From LH IIB/IIIA1 through LH IIB, the Megaron B complex was used for religious rituals involving burned animal sacrifices.
2. There is no gap in the material record between the end of the Palatial period and the Early Iron Age: although it was significantly scaled down compared with earlier periods, in the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E. the area of the Megaron B complex continued to be inhabited.
3. The marked differences between Mycenaean and Geometric rituals suggest important changes in the essence of the cult.
4. The Megaron B complex functioned as a *lieu de mémoire*, which preserved the memory of the earlier cult and determined the choice of location for the rituals held there from the Geometric period onward.

All in all, the transmutation of religious beliefs in the Early Iron Age was the result not of a gap in the use of the site but of the changing sociopolitical and cultural conditions in the period that followed the demise of the Mycenaean palaces. To paraphrase Snodgrass, Eleusis was moribund but not dead,¹⁴⁹ and the Early Iron Age settlement was not a new installation but a scaled-down descendant of its Mycenaean predecessor.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY,
AND LANGUAGES
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI—ST. LOUIS
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63121
COSMOPOULOS@UMSL.EDU

Works Cited

- Alcock, S. 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 1994. “Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece.” In *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, edited by S. Alcock and R. Osborne, 79–104. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press.
- . 1995. *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Assmann, A. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Assmann, J. 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 2007. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Bendall, L.M. 2007. *Economics of Religion in the Mycenaean World: Resources Dedicated to Religion in the Mycenaean Palace Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Bergquist, B. 1988. “The Archaeology of Sacrifice: Minoan-Mycenaean Versus Greek.” In *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June 1986*, edited by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, 21–34. *ActaAth* 38. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Binder, J. 1998. “The Early History of the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Eleusis.” In *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence: Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22–24 October 1993*, edited by R. Hägg, 131–39. *ActaAth* 15. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.

¹⁴³ Rubensohn (1955, 47–8) argued that the sign stands for the noun “ἀνάκτορον,” but Petrakis (forthcoming), in his discussion of EL Z 1, offers convincing arguments that it means the adjective “ἀνακτορικός.”

¹⁴⁴ As suggested by Dietrich 1986, 49.

¹⁴⁵ E.g., “basileus” (Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 56).

¹⁴⁶ Palaima 2009, 530.

¹⁴⁷ Dietrich 1986, 2004. See the criticisms expressed by Sourvinou-Inwood (1989) in her review of Dietrich’s (1986) book; see also Dickinson 2006, 212.

¹⁴⁸ Palaima 2009, 528.

¹⁴⁹ Snodgrass 2000, 29.

- Burgess, R.W. 2012. "Another Look at the Newly-Discovered 'Leipzig World Chronicle.'" *ArchPF* 58(1):16–25.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cavanagh, W., and C. Mee. 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Pre-historic Greece*. SIMA 125. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Climo, J.J., and M.G. Cattell, eds. 2002. *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press.
- Clinton, K. 2005. "Pigs in Greek Rituals." In *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian: Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25–27 April 1997*, edited by R. Hägg and B. Alroth, 167–79. *ActaAth* 18. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Coldstream, J.N. 2003. *Geometric Greece: 900–700 BC*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2003. "Mycenaean Religion at Eleusis: The Architecture and Stratigraphy of Megaron B." In *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Greek Secret Cults*, edited by M.B. Cosmopoulos, 1–24. London and New York: Routledge.
- . Forthcoming. *The Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis: The Bronze Age*. Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Cosmopoulos, M.B., and D. Ruscillo. 2014. "Burnt Animal Sacrifice in Mycenaean Eleusis." *OJA* 33(3):257–73.
- Darcque, P. 1981. "Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Telestérion." *BCH* 105:593–605.
- . 1990. "Pour l'abandon du terme 'mégaron.'" In *L'habitat égéen préhistorique: Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes, 23–25 juin 1987*, edited by P. Darcque and R. Treuil, 21–31. *BCH Suppl.* 19. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- . 2005. *L'habitat mycénien: Formes et fonctions de l'espace bâti en Grèce continentale à la fin du IIe millénaire avant J.-C.* Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- Deger-Jalkotzy, S. 2009. "From LH IIIC Late to the Early Iron Age: The Submycenaean Period at Elateia." In *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms III: LH III C Late and the Transition to the Early Iron Age. Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and A. Baechele, 77–116. *DenkschrWien* 384. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Desborough, V.R.D. 1964. *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors: An Archaeological Survey, ca. 1200–c. 1000 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1977. *The Origins of the Mycenaean Civilization*. SIMA 49. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- . 2004. *The Origins of Greek Religion*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- . 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change Between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Dietrich, B.C. 1986. *Tradition in Greek Religion*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.
- . 2004. *The Origins of Greek Religion*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Eder, B. 2001. "Continuity of Bronze Age Cult at Olympia? The Evidence of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Pottery." In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference at Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000*, edited by R. Hägg and R. Laffineur, 201–9. *Aegaeum* 22. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.
- Felsch, R.C.S. 1996. *Kalapodi: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*. Vol. 1, *Die spätmykenische bis frühprotogeometrische Keramik*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- . 2007. *Kalapodi: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*. Vol. 2, *Zur Stratigraphie des Heiligtums*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Fentress, J., and C. Wickham. 1992. *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Foley, H.P. 1993. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter: Translation, Commentary, and Interpretative Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hägg, R. 1968. "Mykenische Kultstätten im archaischen Material." *OpAth* 8:39–60.
- . 1981. "Official and Popular Cults in Mycenaean Greece." In *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 12–13 May 1980*, edited by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, 35–9. *ActaAth* 28. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- . 1995. "State and Religion in Mycenaean Greece." In *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994*, edited by R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier, 387–91. *Aegaeum* 12. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.
- . 1998. "Osteology and Greek Sacrificial Practice." In *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence: Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22–24 October 1993*, edited by R. Hägg, 49–56. *ActaAth* 15. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Hazzard, R.A. 2000. *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda*. *Phoenix Suppl.* 37. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hope Simpson, R. 1965. *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites*. *BICS* 16. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- Kardara, C. 1972. "A Prehistoric Survival in Certain Greek Telesteria." *AAA* 5:119–26.
- Kilian, K. 1992. "Mykenische Heiligtümer der Peloponnes." In *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, edited by T. Hölscher, H. Mielsch, and H. Froning, 10–25. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kokkou-Vyridi, K. 1999. *Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ἐλευσίνας*. Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 185. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Kourouniotes, K. 1930–1931. "Αἱ τελευταῖαι ανασκαφαὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνας: Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν τῷ Τελεστηρίῳ." *ArchDelt* 13, Παράρτημα:17–30.
- . 1931–1932. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἐλευσίνας κατὰ τὸ 1933." *ArchDelt* 14, Παράρτημα:1–48.
- . 1933–1935. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἐλευσίνας 1934." *ArchDelt* 15, Παράρτημα:1–53.
- Kraiker, W., and J. Kübler. 1939. *Die Nekropolen des 12. Bis 10. Jahrhunderts*. *Kerameikos* 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kübler, K. 1943. *Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. *Kerameikos* 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kyrieleis, H. 2006. *Anfänge und Frühzeit des Heiligtums von Olympia: Die Ausgrabungen am Pelopion 1987–1996*.

- OlForsch* 31. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Le Roy, C. 1984. "Mémoire et tradition: Réflexions sur la continuité." In *Aux origines de l'hellénisme: La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, 163–72. Histoire ancienne et médiévale 15. Paris: Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Loucas, I. 1988. "The Megaron at Lykosoura and Some Prehistoric Telesteria." *JPR* 2:25–33.
- Lupack, S.M. 2008. *The Role of the Religious Sector in the Economy of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece*. BAR-IS 1858. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Maran, J. 2011. "Contested Pasts—The Society of the 12th c. B.C.E. Argolid and the Memory of the Mycenaean Palatial Period." In *Our Cups Are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by W. Gauss, M. Lindbloom, R.A.K. Smith, and J.C. Wright, 169–78. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mazarakis-Ainian, A. 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 BC)*. SIMA 121. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Morgan, C. 1999. *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*. Isthmia 8. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- . 2011. "The Elite of Aetos: Religion and Power in Early Iron Age Ithaca." In *The "Dark Ages" Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson*. University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainian, 113–25. Volos, Greece: University of Thessaly Press.
- Morris, I. 1991. "The Early Polis as City and State." In *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill, 25–57. London: Routledge.
- . 1997. "Homer and the Iron Age." In *A New Companion to Homer*, edited by I. Morris and B. Powell, 535–59. Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 2. Leiden: Brill.
- Moschos, I. 2000. "Prehistoric Tumuli at Portes in Achaea: First Preliminary Report." *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 3:9–49.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1999. *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.
- Müller, S. 1992. "Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne." *BCH* 116:445–96.
- Mylonas, G.E. 1932a. "Τὰ ὑπὸ τὸ Τελεστήριον." Unpublished field notebook. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- . 1932b. "Σημειώσεις ἡμερολογίου." Unpublished field notebook. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- . 1936. "Eleusiniaka." *AJA* 40(4):415–31.
- . 1961. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1975. *Τὸ Δυτικὸν Νεκροταφεῖον τῆς Ἐλευσίνος*. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 81. 3 vols. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Mylonas, G.E., and K. Kourouniotes. 1933. "Excavations at Eleusis, 1932 Preliminary Report." *AJA* 37(2):271–86.
- Nilsson, M. 1950. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*. Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 9. New York: Biblio and Tannen.
- Nora, P. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* 26:7–24.
- Palaima, T.G. 2006. "Wanaks and Related Power Terms in Mycenaean and Later Greek." In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. Lemos, 53–71. Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- . 2008. "Mycenaean Religion." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by C.W. Shelmerdine, 342–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2009. "Continuity from Mycenaean Period in a Historical Boeotian Cult of Poseidon (and Erinys)." In *Δώρον: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη*, edited by D. Danielidou, 527–36. Σειρά Μονογραφιών 6. Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Κέντρο Ερεύνης της Αρχαιότητας.
- Papadimitriou, N. 2001. *Built Chamber Tombs of Middle and Late Bronze Age Date in Mainland Greece and the Islands*. BAR-IS 925. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papadopoulos, J.K. 1993. "To Kill a Cemetery: The Athenian Kerameikos and the Early Iron Age in the Aegean." *JMA* 6(2):175–206.
- Papadopoulos, J.K., B.N. Damiata, and J.M. Marston. 2011. "Once More with Feeling: Jeremy Rutter's Plea for the Abandonment of the Term Submycenaean Revisited." In *Our Cups Are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by W. Gauss, M. Lindbloom, R.A.K. Smith, and J.C. Wright, 187–202. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papapostolou, I. 2011. "The New Excavations Under the Early Archaic Temple of Thermos: Megaron A, Megaron B and the Ash Altar." In *The "Dark Ages" Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson*. University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007, edited by A. Mazarakis-Ainian, 127–45. Volos, Greece: University of Thessaly Press.
- Parker, R. 1983. *Miasma, Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patera, I. 2008. "Vestiges sacrificiels et vestiges d'offrandes dans les purai d'Eleusis." In *Le sacrifice antique: Vestiges, procédures et stratégies*, edited by V. Mehl and P. Brulé, 13–25. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Petrakis, V. 2009. "An Aspect of the 'Mycenaean Koine'? The Uniformity of the Peloponnesian Late Helladic III Palatial Megara in Its Heterogeneous Context." In *The Aegean and Its Cultures: Proceedings of the First Oxford-Athens Graduate Student Workshop Organized by the Greek Society and the University of Oxford Taylor Institution*, 22–23 April 2005, edited by G. Deligiannakis and Y. Galanakis, 13–25. BAR-IS 1975. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- . Forthcoming. "Appendix I: The Inscribed Stirrup Jar from Eleusis." In *The Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis: The Bronze Age*, edited by M.B. Cosmopoulos. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Philios, D. 1884. "Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνασκαφῶν." *Prakt* 36:64–87.
- . 1889. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἀρχαίων τάφων ἐν Ἐλευσίνι." *ArchEph* 28:171–94.
- Richardson, N.J. 1979. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2011. "The Homeric Hymn to Demeter: Some Central Questions Revisited." In *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, edited by A. Faulkner, 44–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rougémont, F. 2006. "Les porcs dans le monde mycénien: Données archéologiques et épigraphiques." In *De la domestication au tabou: Le cas des suidés au Proche Orient ancien*.

- Colloque international de Nanterre, du 1 au 3 décembre 2005*, edited by C. Michel and B. Lion, 115–29. Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès 1. Paris: De Boccard.
- Rubensohn, O. 1955. "Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes." *Jdl* 70:1–49.
- Rupp, D.W. 1983. "Reflections on the Development of Altars in the Eighth Century B.C." In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June 1981*, edited by R. Hägg, 101–7. *ActaAth* 30. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Ruppenstein, F. 2007. *Die Submykenische Nekropole: Neufunde und Neubewertung*. Kerameikos 18. Munich: Hirmer.
- Rutkowski, B. 1972. *Cult Places in the Aegean World*. Bibliotheca antiqua 10. Wrocław, Poland: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- . 1986. *Cult Places of the Aegean*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rutter, J.B. 1978. "A Plea for the Abandonment of the Term 'Submycenaean.'" *TUAS* 3:58–65.
- Shelmerdine, C. 1997. "Review of Aegean Prehistory VI: The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland." *AJA* 101 (3):537–85.
- Snodgrass, A.M. 2000. *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1989. Review of *Continuity and Change in Greek Religion*, by B.C. Dietrich. *CR* 39:51–8.
- Threpsiades, I. 1931. "Ανασκαφή Τελεστηρίου." Unpublished field notebook. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- . 1932. "Ανασκαφή Τελεστηρίου." Unpublished field notebook. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens.
- Travlos, I. 1970. "Die Anfänge des Heiligtums von Eleusis." In *Tempel und Stätten der Götter Griechenlands*, edited by E. Melas, 55–70. Cologne: DuMont Schauberg.
- . 1983. "Η Αθήνα και η Ελευσίνα στον 8ο και 7ο π.Χ. αιώνα." *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 61:323–38.
- Tsokas, G.N., A. Van de Moortel, P.I. Tsoulos, A. Stampolidis, G. Vangemzeis, and E. Zahou. 2012. "Geophysical Survey as an Aid to Excavation at Mitrou: A Preliminary Report." *Hesperia* 81:384–432.
- Van Gelder, K. 1991. "The Iron-Age Hiatus in Attica and the Synoikismos of Theseus." *MeditArch* 4:55–64.
- Vermeule, E. 1972. *Greece in the Bronze Age*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- . 1974. *Götterkult*. *Archaeologia Homerica* 3(5). Göttingen: Archaeologica Homerica.
- Werner, K. 1993. *The Megaron During the Aegean and Anatolian Bronze Age: A Study of Occurrence, Shape, Architectural Adaptation and Function*. *SIMA* 108. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Whitley, J. 1991. *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100–700 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2009. "The Chimera of Continuity: What Would 'Continuity of Cult' Actually Demonstrate?" In *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell*, edited by A.L. D'Agata and A. Van de Moortel, 279–88. *Hesperia* Suppl. 42. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Whittaker, H. 1997. *Mycenaean Cult Buildings: A Study of Their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 1. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens.
- . 2008. "Burnt Animal Sacrifice in Mycenaean Cult: A Review of the Evidence." *OpAth* 31–32:183–90.
- Wright, J.C. 1994. "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion." In *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, edited by S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne, 37–78. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press.
- . 2008. "Early Mycenaean Greece." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by C.W. Shelmerdine, 230–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.