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Evidence for ancestor worship in Minoan Crete: new finds from Mochlos*

Jeffrey S. Soles

One of the many great discoveries that Peter Warren has made in his career as a Minoan archaeologist, and perhaps the most intriguing, is the human skull belonging to a young adult male aged 20–30, which he reports in Room 89 of the Myrtos settlement.¹ Found alone with no other skeletal remains near a tripartite structure formed by a hearth with a low bench on each side, it lay in a room adjacent to the room where the Myrtos goddess once stood. These two rooms were the main rooms in the Myrtos shrine complex and offerings were located in both. Those in the room with the Goddess were more numerous and this part of the shrine was provided with a treasury where fine vases were stored and a preparation room where wine was thought to have been prepared. The Goddess, which stood on an altar, was presumably the recipient of these offerings. The skull was associated with a smaller amount of pottery, including a Vasiliki jug, a baking plate, a deep spouted bowl and jars that may have been ‘used for pouring or placing offerings’ while another group of pottery in the northeast corner of the room may have been used ‘for storing or replenishing them’.² Warren concludes that the skull played ‘some function in the rites’ held in the room and suggests two possibilities, ancestor worship or human sacrifice, without further elaboration. If the skull were a recipient of the offerings in the room, however, it would presumably be an object of veneration like the statue of the Goddess and therefore evidence of ancestor worship; if on the other hand it was an offering itself, perhaps to the Goddess in the adjacent room, it might be the remains of a human sacrifice. In the first case, the figurine and the skull would each be the focus of its own shrine although one might be more important than the other; in the second only the Goddess would be important.

Twenty years after Warren’s publication another skull was found at Mochlos in very similar circumstances.³ Like the Myrtos skull the Mochlos skull was found in a shrine that was the site’s main ceremonial centre (FIG. 32.1). It belonged to a young adult female, but like the Myrtos skull it stood alone with no other skeletal remains. Probably because it was much older and also damaged by fire, the Myrtos skull was not so well preserved; the Mochlos skull was more complete, but both were missing the mandible, a good indication that both skulls were removed from their respective

skeletons after the decomposition of the flesh. Like the Myrtos skull the Mochlos skull was accompanied by a jug which lay by its side. Dating to the LM IB period, the Mochlos shrine was a much larger and more complex structure than the EM II shrine at Myrtos, but like that shrine it was divided into two unequal parts. It was a large rectangular building with two projecting wings, one on the southwest and the other on the southeast, with an indented terrace between. The southwest wing was constructed out of ordinary rubble and contained a basement room in its SW corner, a spacious room with a bench on the floor above and several small storerooms. The southeast wing was constructed out of ashlar and was much larger, accommodating a Minoan Hall and columnar rooms on the ground floor, and two pillar crypts on a basement level, the same level as the basement room in the southwest wing. The skull was located in the basement room in the SW corner of the building, while a female figurine was located in the southeast wing. The figurine had fallen from one of the columnar rooms into the pillar crypt below at the time of the building’s destruction together with part of a clay boat.⁴ Although poorly preserved, it was also identified as a figurine of the Goddess because of its preternaturally large eyes and its association with a boat. Like the Myrtos skull and figurine, the Mochlos skull and figurine were both accompanied by offerings. A piriform rhyton and large decorated strainers fell with the figurine into the pillar crypt which was located beneath the columnar room, and the pillar crypt itself might be described as a

* A version of this paper was delivered in May 2008 at the Minoan Seminar held in Athens at the Greek Archaeological Society. I would like to thank the many members of the audience who were present then for the lively discussion that followed. I have tried to address some of their criticisms in the version of the paper that appears here.

1 Warren 1972, 83, fig. 28; Sunderland and Cartwright 1972, 342. [Ed. note for location, see Driessen, this volume FIG. 11.1. For the Goddess, see FRONTISPIECE.]

2 Warren 1972, 83.

3 Soles and Davaras 1996, 194, pl. 54c.

4 Soles and Davaras 1994, 408–09, fig. 10.

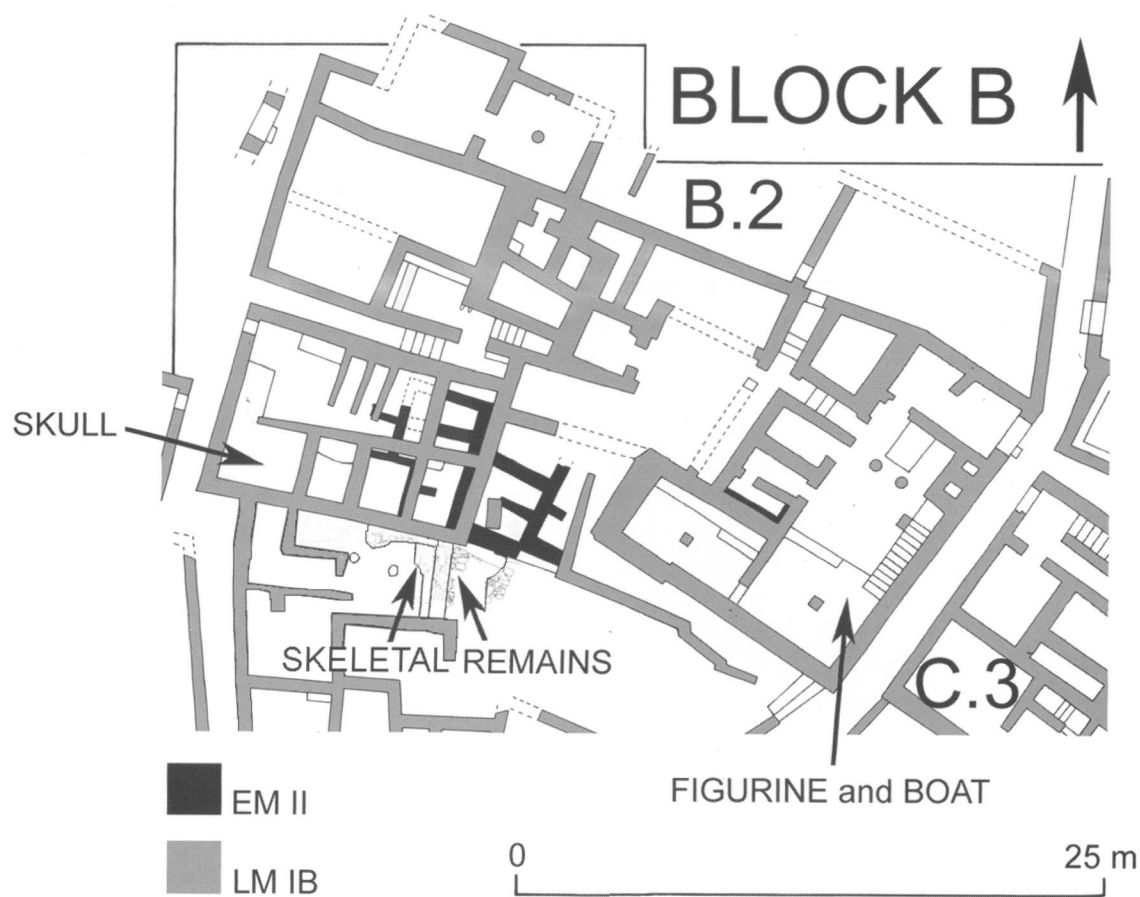


Fig. 32.1. Plan of Ceremonial Building Building B.2 with 'Theatral Area' at southwest.

treasury since many pithoi stood here along with a complete ox-hide ingot that was displayed with an inverted conical cup resting on top of it. On the floor above the room where the skull lay, liquids were being stored in a large stirrup jar, probably to be poured into six large bronze basins that were also found here. A small magazine was also located here with three small pithoi buried beneath the floor and a foundation deposit buried beneath them consisting of a tin ingot and a bronze trident. The skull and the figurine appear to have been the focal points in these two parts of the building: the figurine is thought to have been displayed as part of a small three-dimensional tableau that was featured in the columnar room at one end of the Minoan Hall, the skull was illuminated in its basement room by a window that lay at street level along the western side of the building and could probably be seen by passers-by who stopped in the street to look inside.

One other similarity between the two rooms with the skulls at the Myrtos and Mochlos shrines that may be significant is the location of external cooking and eating spaces found outside both. Warren reports an open yard, located to the south of Room 89 which extended along the settlement's façade to the east. A paved area, Area 85, was located here 'which descends

in two rough steps', a rock ledge 'which would have formed a good bench against the south wall of Room 80', and 'considerable traces of burning just south of this rock ledge, beside the paved area' which may have served as 'an outside cooking place'.⁵ A bridge-spouted Vasiliki ware bowl was associated with the area. Although architecturally more complex, an area located just to the southeast of the room with the skull, which extended along the south façade of the southwest wing of the Mochlos building, was used for a similar purpose (FIG. 32.2). A cooking fire had been lit here beneath three superimposed benches and the remains of sheep/goat, pig and other fauna and flora lay in and around the deposit with cooking dishes and cooking pots. Clearly people were feasting in the outside spaces adjacent to both rooms with the respective skulls at Myrtos and Mochlos. While studying the faunal remains from the Mochlos feast in 2008, David Reese made the amazing discovery that two human skeletons were present at the feast, one located on one of the benches in the area where living members of the

5 Warren 1972, 78–9.



Fig. 32.2. View of 'Theatral Area' outside Building B.2 (from east).

community sat themselves, and the other just below the benches not far from the cooking fire. Although the remains of both skeletons were very fragmentary, neither showed signs of butchery nor of having been cooked, and they have been identified therefore as skeletal participants in the feast rather than remains of the feast, i.e. they were brought out to share in the feast with the living participants in whose midst they sat.

Mochlos was occupied continuously from EM II to LM IB and its ceremonial building lay on top of extensive Prepalatial remains. These lay directly beneath the LM IB floors in the southwest wing and directly beneath the surface of the indented terrace in the centre of the building, and somewhat deeper beneath the eastern part of the building (FIG. 32.1). Those on the southwest and centre of the building were almost certainly exposed and eroding out of the soil when the building was constructed, so that the builders would have seen them and known that these earlier remains were there. They provided the setting or landscape of the building and may have determined the decision to build a ceremonial building on this particular spot, which was ancestral ground. In any case they appear to have determined its shape, as the landscape of any building often does, in particular the indented façade of the building which was indented to

keep from building on the Prepalatial remains that lay here. Instead the area was left open and a ramp was constructed along the south and west façades of the southeast wing leading up to this terrace, and a free-standing rectangular structure, which has been identified as an altar, was placed on the terrace above the Prepalatial remains. The ceremonial functions of the building also determined its design, in particular the symmetrical layout of the building with two projecting wings, the more elaborate part designed to hold the figurine of the Goddess, and the smaller part designed to hold the skull. It was largely because of these early remains beneath the later building, the altar on the terrace between the two wings, and the location of the pillar crypts that were sunk deep into these remains in the east wing of the building that the author of this paper observed in an earlier paper that the builders of this building designed it 'in such a way as to honour their dead predecessors and provide a cosmological link between the living and the dead'.⁶

The Myrtos and Mochlos skulls would seem to be isolated examples of a similar phenomenon, one that

⁶ Soles 2001, 235.

involved a profound reverence for the dead alongside the worship of a female deity. The question this paper would like to examine is whether it is possible to place the skulls in a broader context that might reveal more about this reverence and in particular whether it constitutes a form of ancestor worship of the sort that was also practised in contemporary Egypt and later in Rome, i.e. a belief that the ancestors live on after death, that they continue to take an interest in the living, that they have the power to intervene in daily affairs, and that their descendants may invoke them with offerings to win their favour and intercession. Such a belief does not preclude a belief in a supreme deity; it supplements that belief in a system where God and the ancestors coexist for the betterment of man. In the absence of written documents of the sort that exist in Egypt and Rome,⁷ does the archaeological record alone provide enough information to identify ancestor worship or does it offer other possibilities of the sort that James Whitley has described?⁸ 750 years passed between the deposit of the two skulls at Myrtos and Mochlos, illustrating the antiquity of Minoan beliefs and ritual practices, but there is also ample evidence from the intervening period to illustrate the continuity of these beliefs. Most of it comes from funerary contexts where it is not always possible to distinguish between simple funeral ceremonies and real veneration of ancestors, but it nevertheless includes common indicators of ancestor worshipping societies, whether in ancient civilisations like Egypt and Rome, the traditional cultures of West Africa and the Southwest Pacific, or modern Japan and China.

The retention of skulls and long bones is one such indicator. As Mary Helms and others have pointed out, it is a 'means of material representation' that is required to make ancestors 'manifest, make them "real," and to assist the transformation of the inert dead into viable ancestral beings'.⁹ Some of the best examples are found in West Africa among the people of the Cameroons, for example, where ancestral spirits are embodied in the skulls of the deceased ancestors which are held in the possession of the eldest male of each lineage,¹⁰ or among the people of New Ireland who give the ancestral skulls new flesh with plaster and paint, and eyes to suggest their supernatural force, and then place them on display structures during funerary ceremonies.¹¹ Skull collection in Crete is largely confined to tombs, although the examples from Myrtos and Mochlos suggest that skulls might be curated and displayed in other contexts as well. So for example 'the skull of a young child' was reported from the area of the Central Shrine in the Palace at Zakros.¹² Little is known about it, however, and its exact context awaits further publication. Most known examples come from tombs where collective burials, some belonging to communities at large, some to smaller family groups, were made for many centuries. As Joanne Murphy puts it in her discussion of the Mesara tombs: 'The presence

of the ancestors was represented in the tombs through the retention of the skulls and long bones over the period of a millennium'.¹³ The skulls are often sheltered in some way, in a sarcophagus, a pit or a rock niche, indicating some concern to protect them from harm. There is some evidence from Archanes that they were also meant to be displayed. In several Prepalatial and Protopalatial tombs the excavators, Iannis and Efi Sakellarakis, report remains of plaster with the skulls. None remained *in situ*, although at least one piece was found inside a skull, but since the walls and floors of the tombs were not plastered and the quantities were small, they believe that the plaster may have been applied to the skulls.¹⁴ In Tomb 19 Christofili Maggidis reports that the skulls of the most important individuals were set on display on a large stone which he describes as an altar.¹⁵ Of course skull collection alone is insufficient evidence for ancestor worship. There are many monastic and religious orders like the Cápuchin monks that have collected skulls as *momenti mori*. Many religions also collect skulls as relics, memorials of holy men who are not however ancestors, and of course there are also warriors like the Kelabit in Borneo who collect skulls as trophies and hang them in places of honour inside their houses. What makes one suspect that the Minoan retention of skulls is not any of these is that the skulls are located in family tombs and are often accompanied by offerings. One of the best examples is the deposit of EM II skulls from Tomb III at Gournia, which were exposed in the ruined tomb building when a new MM I tomb, Tomb 1, was constructed just below it, and were consequently collected and re-deposited in a pit in the MM tomb with some very impressive MM stone vases.¹⁶ Such offerings are not conclusive evidence of ancestor worship however, since they could illustrate only reverence for the dead.

There is another type of offering that might be more indicative, and that is the offering usually made in a conical cup placed alongside the skull at the time it is detached and removed from the rest of the skeleton. It is often pointed out that the dead do not become ancestors simply by dying; ancestorhood is a process that occurs in stages over a period of time after death. There is always an interlude between dying and

7 Meskell 2001; Toynbee 1971.

8 Whitley 2002.

9 Helms 1998, 50; Fortes 1976, 7.

10 Jeffreys 1946; Ndingwan 1981.

11 Lurang 1999; Gunn 1999.

12 Platon 1971, 120.

13 Murphy 1998, 35.

14 I. and E. Sakellarakis 1997, 250–2.

15 Maggidis 1998, 95.

16 Soles 1992, 8–9, 31.

becoming an ancestor. In Japan it can take a very long time as Herman Ooms points out in his diagram of the double domestic life cycle of a Japanese individual.¹⁷ The cycle revolves around the *ie*, which is the Japanese family, living and dead; life and death are marked with certain rites of passage which culminate in marriage and procreation in the one and in ancestorhood in the other. 'Full ancestorhood is conferred by the worshippers in stages over a stretch of years and by cumulative rituals that simulate the ideal life cycle of the living. It is as if the dead are nurtured into full ancestorhood by stages that mirror the normal maturation process of the living, through childhood to reproductive adulthood and finally to a second symbolic death when they are deified among the communal dead'.¹⁸ In a society that collects skulls like the Minoans becoming an ancestor would require at least the amount of time between death, decomposition of the corpse (which may take as little as three to four weeks in Crete) and disarticulation when the skull is removed from the skeleton and bones of lesser importance are discarded. If an offering in a conical cup or any other medium were to occur at this point in Minoan Crete, it would constitute a ritual act of the sort that accompanies a decisive point in becoming an ancestor when the deceased has finally been released from its earthly existence to join the spirit community. Meyer Fortes describes it best as a 'mortuary or funeral ritual by which the deceased is expunged from the world of the living in his human embodiment and eventually reincorporated among them in his ancestral and spiritual capacity'.¹⁹

There is a lot of evidence in Minoan Crete for the placing of cups by skulls including those from Gournes, Gournia Tomb II and Palaikastro.²⁰ At Archanes, where the evidence is best documented, the excavators have reported a good example in Tomb 7 where a skull was removed from its skeleton. One conical cup was placed by the mandible which remained in place, and another was placed by the removed skull 'upside down on it'. The excavators note that 'this is a case of a libation being made with a cup probably after the body had decomposed'.²¹ In Tomb 19 Maggidis has also called attention to the 'secondary burial of ... retained skulls accompanied by liquid and food offerings' and 'libations with two identical twin ritual vases'.²² Yiannis Papadatos reports numerous examples of cups placed alongside skulls in Tomb Γ, at least one inverted, but is a little more cautious in his conclusions: 'It is not certain whether all these cups were used exclusively during the secondary treatment of the skull, or in other stages of the burial process.'²³ Many may not have been *in situ*, but only one example is needed to demonstrate a ritual accompanying the secondary burial.

Fortes points out that the rituals which involve becoming an ancestor do not take place in a vacuum. They have a physical setting, and it is of the greatest significance that the re-incorporation of the dead is

'made tangible in precise material terms'. The dead are figuratively re-embodied, sometimes temporarily, sometimes permanently, in what Fortes calls 'material vehicles of their presence'.²⁴ They are material because they are solid material structures and they are vehicles because they serve as an interface between the two worlds of the living and the dead, a point where the two come together to meet. These material vehicles are especially interesting to archaeologists since they can be studied like any artefact and categorised. They come in all shapes and sizes and are found in both domestic and cemetery contexts. Some are quite simple. The threshold of a house can serve the purpose in many parts of West Africa. D. K. Fiawoo reports in his study of Ewe ancestor worship that when a man receives a piece of good fortune, he exclaims simply: 'Here is good fortune from Great Grandfather', and pours a libation of maize flour and water at the threshold of his house.²⁵ Usually the vehicle is more formal, however, and in many cases it takes the shape of an image or an altar or both. In New Kingdom Egypt small ancestor busts, stelae and offering basins were located in ordinary houses at Deir el Medina and used as places of offering to invoke the household ancestors, the *akh n Re* (able spirits of Re) who served as intermediaries between mortals and gods and interceded on behalf of the living.²⁶ The *lararium* of a Roman house is another good example, like that in the atrium of the House of the Vettii. Ovid makes it clear that the Lares are the deified spirits of the family's dead ancestors, the guardians of their land, and instructs, 'Give incense to the household gods (*dis generis*) and offer food that the Lares in their girt-up robes, may feed at the platter presented to them as a pledge of the homage that they love' (*Fasti* 2, 631). The Lares are usually represented like those in the House of the Vettii as young men, standing or dancing, wearing a short tunic. Tibullus tells us that in early days their images were carved in wood and stood in wooden shrines and that grapes, corn, honeycombs, cakes, flowers and pigs, as well as wine and incense, were offered to them. (I, 10, 15–25). C. Takeda describes a similar shrine inside Japanese households, the Butsudan, which is essentially an altar dedicated to the ancestors.²⁷ It is usually located alongside another altar,

17 Ooms 1976, 73.

18 Fortes 1976, 7–8.

19 Fortes 1976, 7.

20 Soles 1992, 245–9.

21 I. and E. Sakellarakis 1997, 208, 255.

22 Maggidis 1998, 94–5.

23 Papadatos 2005, 60.

24 Fortes 1976, 7.

25 Fiawoo 1976, 275.

26 Friedman 1994, 111–17.

27 Takeda 1976, 123–24.

the Kamidana, which is dedicated to a deity who is not an ancestor. The Butsudan varies in size and splendour, but is invariably filled with wooden tablets, *ihai*, with the names of the dead members of the family written on them. Families gather before breakfast to burn incense, pray, and offer the freshly cooked rice to the ancestors that they themselves are about to eat, and in the evening they gather before them again to light lamps and burn incense. Examples abound in West Africa, including the lineage stool found among the Akan-speaking people, which serves as a physical manifestation of the spiritual link between the living, the dead and the yet-to-be-born members of the family.²⁸

All these shrines are domestic shrines, located in the house, and the household shrines identified inside Minoan houses, as well as the kernoi found outside their thresholds in the streets, are just as likely to have been used for offerings to the ancestors as to a Minoan deity. This seems particularly likely when two different altars are found inside the same house as in Japan. Fallen into the basement from the upper ground floor of House C.3 at Mochlos, the House of the Metal Merchant, are two altars that could have accommodated offerings to two different entities: a kernos fallen from the room above Room 1.2, and a stepped libation table fallen from the room above the adjacent room 1.3.²⁹ Geraldine Gesell has inventoried many similar examples in her book on *Town, Palace and House Cult*.³⁰

Other altars of course are located in cemeteries and the tomb itself may serve as a 'material vehicle' connecting the living and dead, whether in ancient civilisations like Egypt and Rome or modern societies like Japan and China. In Egypt the tomb was the 'basic context in which living and dead individuals maintained contact' and so it was here that letters were left from individuals to their dead relatives soliciting favours, advice and magical interventions.³¹ Offerings were made here on a regular basis and family visits were made during festivals, and the deceased lived on in his tomb wherever else he may also have gone. The streets outside Pompeii and Herculaneum are lined with family tombs, some with altars, and some even constructed in the form of altars. As Trimalchio makes clear ordering his tomb in the *Satyricon*, the dead live here: 'It's quite wrong for a man to have an elegant house in life and not to give thought to our longer place of residence' (*Satyricon* 71, 12–20). This is the standard Roman belief; the picture of the afterworld found in Virgil, the river Styx, Limbo, Hades, the Elysium Fields, is a poetic picture that appears only in poetry.³² The average Roman believed as Trimalchio believed, and in Rome also the tomb alone could serve as the material vehicle that connected the living and dead. So Roman tombs are often surrounded with benches and gardens, *kipotaphia* like the one Trimalchio requests, and dining facilities. The living are expected to mingle with the dead and to dine with them; as one scholar puts it there was a sense of conviviality among the living and the

dead,³³ and the dead continued to speak to the living through the inscriptional plaques placed on the tombs.

A large number of tomb altars have also been documented in Minoan cemeteries,³⁴ and while some may have been dedicated to a deity, others, especially those located inside tombs like the ones at Chrysolakkos and Archanes Tomb 19, could have been used for offerings to the deceased. Stone kernoi are also associated with so many tombs, found both inside and outside,³⁵ that they seem to have had a special funerary association and may have been used specifically for offerings to the dead even when they do not appear in cemetery contexts.

Ancestors are commonly addressed by prayer. Whether a prayer for help, for thanks or an apology for some wrongdoing, the prayer is always accompanied by sacrifice and libation. Feeding the ancestors is the most important part of the ritual. In Egypt this occurred in small family celebrations in which the deceased took part and in official festivals like the 'Beautiful Festival of the Wadi' when the boat of Amun travelled from Karnak to the necropolis of Western Thebes and a procession of Thebans followed carrying images of deceased relatives.³⁶ In Rome it also occurred in small private ceremonies held in May during the *Lemuria* and during the annual official commemoration held in February, the *Parentalia* or *dies Parentales*,³⁷ both among the poor as in the Isola Sacra necropolis outside Portus Augusti at Ostia, or among the rich in *kipotaphia* where the dead might be fed with libations of wine and milk through lead pipes that led down to an underground receptacle beneath the tomb, while the living enjoyed the party above.³⁸ In either case the food is commonly shared by the worshippers, so the ritual takes the form of a sacrament or communion. Giving food, as Fortes points out, whether cooked or raw, is:

the most distinctive act of caring for others, keeping them alive, so to speak, and so binding them to oneself. Food dependence is from the moment of birth the vital bond that unites child to parent. To share a meal is an expression of friendship and trust, but above all it presupposes the copresence of all those who share it. It is at the moment of the sacrificial offering that the presence of the ancestors is most immediately felt.³⁹

28 Fiawoo 1976, 275–80.

29 Soles and Davaras 1994, 404, pl. 95d; 1996, 196, fig. 11.

30 Gesell 1985.

31 Meskell 2001, 30–1.

32 Toynbee 1971, 36–7.

33 Dunbabin 2003, 125–9.

34 Soles 1992, 236–42.

35 Soles 1992, 221–3.

36 Meskell 2001, 36; Bleeker 1967, 137.

37 Toynbee 1971, 61–4.

38 Toynbee 1971, 50–4.

39 Fortes 1976, 10–11.

Nowhere is this more dramatically evident than in the *malagan* of Melanesia. These wooden poles are real cosmic shafts in the sense that they are filled with the moving ancestors; the ancestors are represented inside the shafts, some moving up and some down, and when the *malagan* are put on display and food is offered to them in periodic festivals, with dancing and music, as well as mutual feasting, small boys often appear behind the shafts and move their arms and heads to animate the *malagan* and illustrate the presence of the ancestors.⁴⁰

There is a good deal of evidence for Minoan feeding the dead in the vases left behind in tombs, which indicate food and drink consumption, and sometimes actual food remains in the tombs, all of which Yiannis Hamilakis has called attention to.⁴¹ Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro argues that two LM I models from the Kamilari tholos depict these offerings, one showing the preparation of food for the dead, and the other, which takes place in a portico before a building with horns of consecration, the actual presentation of food.⁴² Alongside these food offerings there is also good evidence for drinking and feasting at tombs by the living members of the community.⁴³ Luca Girella has commented on the 'spacious interiors' of MM III rock-cut chamber tombs at Poros and Mavro Spelio which accommodated 'funeral meals for the immediate families of the deceased' and on the discovery of MM III and LM I cooking pots inside the Kamilari tholos tomb and outside on its external courtyard.⁴⁴ Food remains lay everywhere outside the tombs at Archanes,⁴⁵ and the Prepalatial cemetery at Mochlos is covered with fragmentary EM cooking dishes. Philip Betancourt has recently reported the remains of feasting outside the Ayios Charalambos ossuary and describes them as the remains of 'a commemorative feast in honour of the settlement's ancestors, a group celebration of the continuity of the community through time'.⁴⁶ The evidence from the tholos tombs of the Mesara suggests that dancing and music were an important part of the feasting as they are in West Africa and Melanesia.⁴⁷

Skull retention, secondary burial with associated ritual, household and tomb altars, feasting with the dead in private and communally — these are the five common indicators of an ancestor worshipping society that can be identified in the archaeological record. No one alone provides sufficient evidence for identifying such a society, but as a group they are reasonably conclusive, and since there is evidence for each one of them in the Minoan record, it seems more than likely that Minoan society may be identified as an ancestor-worshipping society. The shrines at Myrtos and Mochlos with their respective skulls should be interpreted in this light, with the skulls in both cases representing a conglomerate being or a spiritual whole, like the Japanese ancestors, and the feasting that took place outside both a communal meal that was shared with the ancestors. As Fortes points out, the 'food

offerings dramatize the dependence of the ancestors on the continual care of the descendants'; but also 'symbolize the coercive power and authority attributed to the ancestors by the descendants'.⁴⁸ But the ancestors are always secondary in importance. Egyptian texts make it clear that they act mainly as intercessors for the living because they are closer to the gods and so can win favour or pardon for their descendants,⁴⁹ but god is all powerful and so receives the greater share of offerings and the better halves of the Myrtos and Mochlos shrines.

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40 Lurang 1999; Gunn 1999.

41 Hamilakis 1998, 119–29; see also I. and E. Sakellarakis 1997, 253–58.

42 Lefèvre-Novaro 2001.

43 Branigan 1970, 99–102.

44 Girella 2008, 174–5.

45 I. and E. Sakellarakis 1997, 257–8, 261–3.

46 Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 164.

47 Branigan 1993.

48 Fortes 1976, 11.

49 Meskell 2001, 31.

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