

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE 2017–2018

Attic sanctuaries

Chryssanthi Papadopoulou | The British School at Athens | assistant.director@bsa.ac.uk

Over the course of the last 15 years numerous sanctuaries have been excavated in Attica. Some of these cult places provide us with additional information on important Athenian state cults, such as the cult of Athena Pallenis, while others offer new information about deme or rural cults. Eleven sanctuaries are presented in this article, along with the quarry that provided the building material for the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. These range from extensive sanctuaries with numerous buildings, to humble open-air shrines with no permanent structures other than a peribolos wall. They mostly date to the Archaic and Classical periods, although some appear to have operated from the Geometric period. Only two of the sanctuaries are Roman. Finds from these cult places attest to the dedication of offerings and/or communal feasting. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the deities worshipped at all of the sanctuaries presented.

Major Attic sanctuaries

Central Attica and Athens

Continuing excavation at the Sanctuary of Athena Pallenis in modern **Gerakas** sheds light on the layout and history of this important Attic cult place (**ID2250, ID6066**; *ADelt* 60 [2005] *Chr.* 127–34, 137–40). The earliest excavated remains date to the Archaic period and include a large temple with a southeast-northwest orientation, buildings whose function is not yet identified and, possibly, a propylon (**Fig. 83**). The Archaic temple was similar in terms of orientation and size to its Classical counterpart. So far, only the eastern part of its foundations has been revealed. These were constructed with large, unworked boulders and supported a building of considerable proportions. Small finds from the area immediately east of the foundations include fragments from Geometric and Archaic terracotta figurines representing humans and animals, loomweights, spindle whorls, a bronze fibula, a miniature vessel, an iron ring and numerous Geometric, Archaic and Classical pottery sherds. Dozens of figurines of the bird-face type were found in a deposit pit, east of the Archaic temple (*ADelt* 60 [2005] *Chr.* 127–34).

The remains of an Archaic building (Building 1) were also found east of the Archaic temple. This building, of uncertain use, was constructed with rubble and its orientation is the same as the temple's. It was revealed to a length of 19.5m and consisted of at least two rooms. Numerous human and animal terracotta figurines as well as large quantities of Classical pottery sherds were found immediately to its north (*ADelt* 60 [2005] *Chr.* 127–34). A cluster of Archaic buildings with the same southeast-northwest orientation was excavated southeast of Building 1, in the area of the Classical propylon (**Fig. 84**; **ID6066**). The first, partly excavated, building (Building 2) had two rooms and was constructed with rubble. A destruction layer was excavated in both rooms, and contained Archaic pottery sherds and bird-face figurines. Another building (Building 3) lay 1.55m to the east of Building 2. It measures 9.5m × 5.1m, was most likely entered from the south and was constructed with rubble. It contained numerous bird-face figurines and Corinthian pottery sherds; a destruction layer was excavated along the eastern area of its interior. Building 4 was excavated south of Building 3 and east of Building 2. It measures 4.3m × 3.6m and was built with rubble. Since these Archaic buildings lie in the area of the Classical propylon, it is possible that one of them served a similar function. Parts of Archaic walls were excavated north of this cluster of buildings and indicate the presence of yet more Archaic structures. In the area of these walls, an extensive burnt layer was found, which contained numerous Corinthian pottery sherds. Additionally, four pyres were found here, one of which contained a large number of Archaic pottery sherds and a few animal bones (**ID6066**).

Access to the sanctuary was afforded by a road running southeast-northwest, which passes immediately south of Buildings 2 and 4. The road is 4.2m wide, has visible wheel-ruts and is contemporary with the Archaic buildings. It was resurfaced during the period of the construction of the Classical propylon.

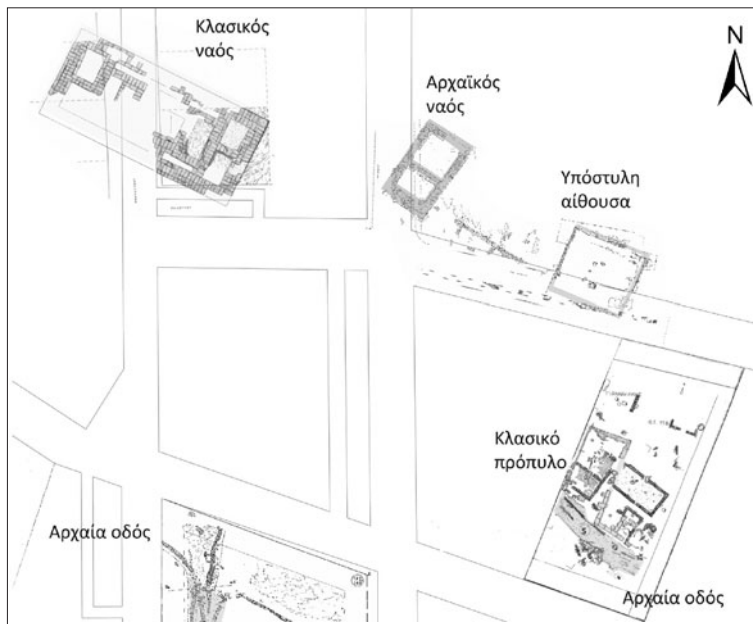
According to Athenaeus (6.234d–35d), the sanctuary of Athena Pallenis was run by archons, who were appointed by the archon basileus, and *parasites* who were elected from the demes under the supervision of the archon basileus. The *parasites* named by Athenaeus come from four different, neighbouring demes. This shows that the sanctuary of Athena Pallenis was an important cult centre run by a league. Robert Schlaifer (1943: 46–47) rightly suggests that, because it was run by a league, this sanctuary must date back at least to the seventh century BC. He argues that, originally, this league would have been constituted of separate, yet nearby, communities. Later on, this league was placed under the supervision of the archon basileus, i.e. under state supervision. Finally, after the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, these communities were converted into separate deme entities, which, nevertheless, continued jointly to run this sanctuary.

The presence of Geometric figurines supports Schlaifer's opinion, since it shows that the Athena Pallenis cult predated the seventh century BC. By the Archaic period it was already important enough to have been placed under the supervision of the archon basileus. This explains the extent of the Archaic remains and the size of the Archaic temple; this would have been one of the largest sanctuaries in Attica in the Archaic period. Athenaeus (235d) also names buildings in the precinct of the sanctuary, specifically a temple, the *parasition* and a sacred house. He also writes that the *parasites* would banquet in the sanctuary, but without specifying the exact location (Athenaeus 235b). Such a banquet could have taken place in the *parasition* or in another building designated for communal feasting. In any case, the number of Archaic buildings in the sanctuary supports Athenaeus' testimony. Additionally, some animal bones have been excavated in one of the pits north of the cluster of Archaic buildings. This supports further the hypothesis that communal feasting took place in the sanctuary. Also, a burnt layer was found around this pit, which indicates that sacrificial animals would have been prepared for consumption there. The pottery from the sanctuary includes skyphoi, plates, lekanides and kantharoi (ID6066). These date from the Archaic to the Classical period and numerous such sherds were recovered from the area of the pits. It appears that banquets were held in the Sanctuary of Athena Pallenis throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, and it is possible that the Archaic walls found near the area of the pits could have belonged to the building in which the *parasites* dined.

T. Leslie Shear (2016: 270) suggests that the Sanctuary of Athena Pallenis could have been destroyed by the Persians. The destruction layers reported in some of the Archaic buildings render this a possibility. In addition, dozens of figurines of the bird-face type were found in a deposit pit, east of the Archaic temple. This could be a case of ritual disposal of votive offerings following the destruction of the sanctuary, a common practice in Attic sanctuaries damaged by the Persians. Further excavation would be useful to determine the extent of the destruction layer and the number of such pits, if this is indeed what this pit was. In any case, the sanctuary was clearly damaged in Classical times, since late fifth-century buildings were constructed on top of the remains of the Archaic ones and a new temple was dedicated to Athena.

The foundations of the Classical Temple of Athena Pallenis were excavated west of those of its Archaic predecessor and were made of poros blocks (Korres 1998). Their size, date and construction technique allowed Manolis Korres (1998) to identify the Temple of Athena Pallenis as the Doric peripteral, hexastyle temple transported to the Athenian Agora and dedicated to Ares in the Augustan period. This temple dates to the third quarter of the fifth century BC and has been published in detail by both Korres (1998) and, more recently, Shear (2016: 250–62). In addition to a new temple, which had the same orientation as its Archaic predecessor, more buildings were constructed in the sanctuary in the late fifth century BC (Fig. 83).

The largest of these is an almost square building measuring ca. 10m × 12m (ADelt 60 [2005] Chr. 137–40; 54 [1999] Chr. 105–07). The northern and western walls of the building were partly rock-cut and partly built with rubble and worked poros blocks. They were coated with yellowish mortar, preserved in traces along the northern and western walls. The southern wall has not been fully excavated, because it lies underneath a modern road. A square base roughly in the middle of the building attests to the existence of a column or pillar that supported the roof. Numerous roof tiles were excavated from the interior of the building along with a few sherds belonging to drinking vessels. In addition, an extensive destruction layer is reported. The building dates to the late fifth century BC, as attested by four drachmai excavated from its interior dating to 425 BC, whilst the drinking vessels date to the fourth century BC. Consequently, this



83. Gerakas: plan of the Sanctuary of Athena Pallenis. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.

building could not have been destroyed earlier than the fourth century BC or later than Roman times, since a Roman wall built with rubble and roof tiles was excavated in its interior. Originally this building was identified as a bouleuterion or an odeion (*ADelt* 54 [1999] *Chr.* 105). Apart from its shape, however, there is little else to support either identification and its function remains uncertain.

Another Classical building, which served as the sanctuary's propylon, was excavated southeast of the previously mentioned one on top of the cluster of Archaic buildings (**Fig. 84; ID6066**). Like all Classical buildings, this too was built with poros blocks. Its western part had a north-south orientation, measured $8\text{m} \times 16\text{m}$ and was entered from the south, where the ancient road led. This part of the propylon was divided in two by a poros wall running along its longitudinal axis. The remains of roof tiles attest to the western room being roofed and the eastern unroofed. Numerous Classical pottery sherds were found in the roofed room. Additionally, marble fragments from the same room point to the building having had a marble entablature. The eastern part of the propylon consisted of at least one room measuring $2.8\text{m} \times 3.3\text{m}$. It is not reported whether this room was roofed. The complete architectural plan of this building will remain unclear unless adjacent areas are excavated. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that this was an expensive, monumental propylon.

The Classical remains from the Sanctuary of Athena Pallenis, which include a large temple, a sizeable square building and a monumental propylon, attest to the importance of this Attic cult in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. After all, the construction of the new temple for Athena Pallenis was included in the Periclean building programme (Shear 2016: 269–70). Moreover, we know from inscriptions (*IG* I³ 52A and 383) that the Treasury of Athena Pallenis was amongst those moved to the Acropolis in 434 BC and that it had enough funds to loan money for the Athenian war effort. It is evident that the cult of Athena Pallenis was a particularly prominent one in Attica. From the excavated remains and the ancient sources we can safely say that this sanctuary operated from the Geometric period and was most likely run by a league of communities. Already in the Archaic period it had



84. Gerakas: remains of the Classical propylon and the cluster of Archaic buildings. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.

become prominent enough to be placed under state supervision. Thus an important local cult was converted into a state cult. State control continued in the Classical period when the sanctuary's restoration was state funded and its treasury state managed. Finally, the size of this sanctuary, the large number of buildings and votive offerings, some of which were imported, and the presence of ash and animal bones all indicate that from the Archaic period this sanctuary was well visited and hosted a large festival.

Another possibly major Attic sanctuary is that of Apollo Paian, excavated in the **Kerameikos** by Jutta Stroszeck (**ID5116**). An oracle well dating no earlier than AD 177 has been investigated. An omphalos served as the lid of this well, and would have been lifted each time the well was used for ritual purposes. Prior to the discovery of this sanctuary it was not known that hydromancy was performed in Athens. Stroszeck is currently completing a detailed publication of this fascinating site.

Eastern Attica

A poros quarry excavated at **Artemida** offers us additional information about the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia (**ID6070**, **ID4901**). The quarry is part of the large Porias poros quarry, which was the primary source of building material for the Sanctuary of Artemis (*ADelt* 60 [2005] *Chr.* 164–65). The recently excavated part is extensive and deep, and preserves evidence of the extraction technique. Block courses were first loosened by the insertion of wooden wedges and then manually extracted with the use of tools. Marks for the placement of wedges as well as tool marks are visible. The latter match those found on the poros blocks in the Sanctuary of Artemis. The poros stone is soft and yellowish in colour. The quarry site is dated to the middle of the sixth century BC and appears to have been in operation until the late fifth century BC. These dates match the construction phases of the sanctuary in Brauron. In the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, as well as in Late Roman and Early Christian times, parts of the quarry were built over. A fragment belonging to an inscription from the Sanctuary of Artemis that mentions garments offered by women to the goddess was found in one of these later buildings. The inscription had been used as building material in a wall of a small building.

An interesting find in this quarry is a late fifth-century BC building with two isodomic walls containing numerous pottery sherds (**Figs 85, 86**). The building is identified as either the space where the quarrymen rested or as a small sanctuary. Shrines in quarries were common in Antiquity and there are ample examples of dedicatory reliefs, mostly of Heracles, and small temple buildings (Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2009: 171–72; 2013: 115–16). It is highly likely that Artemis would have been amongst the deities worshipped in this quarry temple, since this was the site that provided the building material for her sanctuary.

Recent excavation in the Egyptian sanctuary at **Brexiza**, Marathon, has produced new finds (**ID1752**, **ID5381**, **ID6491**). The site, which is open to the public, was first excavated in 1968 and its excavation recommenced in recent years. The sanctuary was built by Herodes Atticus within his Marathon estate in the second century AD. It is surrounded by a large, almost square peribolos which was entered via four Egyptian gates. The central part of the sanctuary, which is elevated, was entered by another four gates, each with a room on either side. One of these rooms was the focus of recent investigations. Its walls were constructed with rubble and mortar, and their interior faces coated with red and off-white plaster. Finds from the room include dozens of second-century AD lamps, one of which bears the inscription ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ, a ridge tile with the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ, Laconian roof tiles and Roman pottery sherds. In addition, two more buildings were excavated in the vicinity of the sanctuary. The first lies to its southwest; it consisted of several rooms and contained a cistern. Marble architectural fragments were found to its west. The second building is adjacent to the southeastern side of the peribolos wall of the sanctuary and contained the handle of a bronze vessel with the head of Horus.

Northern Attica

An important Attic sanctuary we will learn more about in the near future is that of Dionysus at **Eleutherai**. According to Pausanias (1.38.8), the Temple of Dionysus at Eleutherai housed the wooden statue of the god that was carried to Athens and set in the Theatre of Dionysus on the occasion of the Great Dionysia. This temple was first identified and published by Efstathios Stikas (1939: 47–48). It measures 16.5m ×



85. Artemida, Spata: plan of the quarry and temple.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.



86. Artemida, Spata: the quarry temple. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.

8.7m and dates in the fourth century BC. Stikas (1939: 48) notes that this could be the Temple of Dionysus, provided that an Archaic predecessor is found in the area. François De Polignac (2010–2014: 481) also notes that, in order for Pausanias' story to hold merit, an Archaic temple needs to be found. In 2015, the ESAG, as part of its extensive survey and mapping project of the Mazi plain, cleaned the foundations of the fourth-century temple (ID5384). Pottery and architectural tiles were discovered which indicate that the temple had several phases of construction. The dates of these phases have not yet been presented. Nevertheless, if one of them is Archaic, then Stikas' tentative identification will be proven insightful.

Deme sanctuaries

A small mid-fifth-century BC temenos has been excavated at **Koropi**, central Attica (ID6090; *ADelt* 55 [2000] *Chr.* 130–31). It consisted of a carefully built peribolos with a large entrance to which a road led. Within the peribolos, a *theke* made from schist slabs was found containing a female seated terracotta figurine, two male terracotta figurines, five lekythoi, one miniature pyxis and one skyphos. An amphora sherd from the precinct of the temenos reads ΗΔΥΛΟΣ ΜΑΝΕ[ΘΕΚΕΝ], confirming that votives were dedicated there. The excavators rightly identify the temenos as a cenotaph, which received cult. Their interpretation is supported by the fact that the figurines and vessels had been placed in a *theke* where one would expect to find a cinerary *kalpis* and burial offerings. Thus the cult in this temenos would have certainly been related to the dead or to local heroes and a heroine. The carefully built peribolos, the road

that led to the temenos and the large entrance indicate that this cult place was regularly visited. A Late Classical workshop was excavated south of the cenotaph and a house would have stood immediately next to it. The existence of the house is attested by a marble boundary stone that was found adjacent to the peribolos wall and reads:

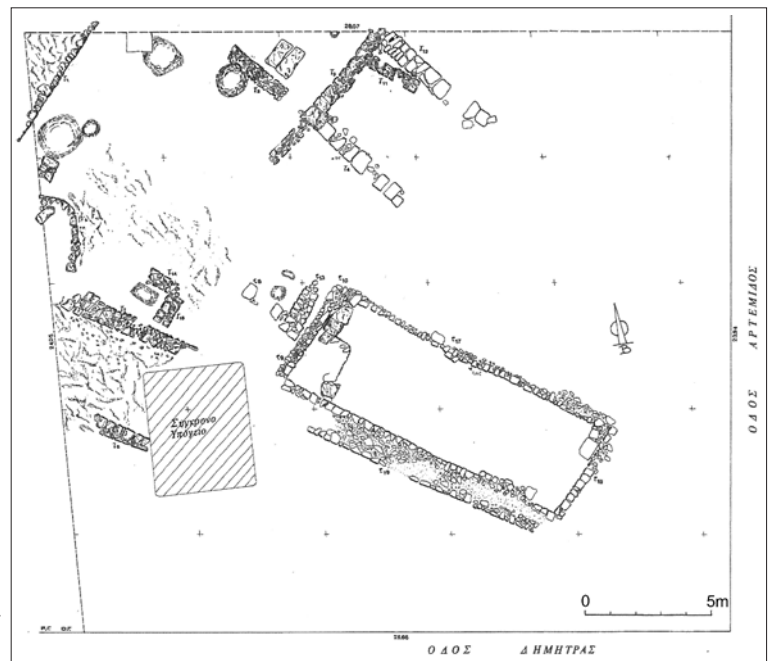
ΟΡΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΠΕΠ
ΡΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ
ΙΛΥΣΕΙΞΕΝΟ
ΤΙΜΩΙΙΚΑΡΙΕΙ
ΠΡΟΙΚΟΣΜΝΗ
ΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

This cenotaph highlights further the fact that the living and dead were often in proximity to each other in Classical Athens (Papadopoulou 2017).

A large, rectangular Archaic complex was excavated at **Agios Ioannis Rentis** in western Attica (**ID5279**). It measures 19.65m × 13.4m, has a north-south orientation and consists of an open courtyard surrounded by stoas and rooms (**Fig. 87**). It is constructed with worked and unworked stones and pebbles. The northern part of the complex comprises three rooms, all of which were accessible from the courtyard. Two of these rooms had built benches. The southern and western sides of the complex had stoas with rooms on either side of them. The western stoa had two small benches situated at the ends of its back wall. A pyre was found in the middle of the courtyard. The complex was entered from the east and had a peribolos wall running along its eastern and southern sides. The peribolos wall is Late Geometric in date and appears to have had a large entrance on its eastern side. Amongst the small finds excavated from the complex is the handle of an Archaic kantharos with the inscription *ΤΟ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ*. This has led the excavator to identify the complex either as a sanctuary for Dionysus or a complex where a Dionysiac festival took place. This complex lies alongside the road that ran outside the North Long Wall and led from the Athenian *asty* to the Piraeus. Nevertheless, it predates both the Long Walls and the road.



87. *Agios Ioannis Rentis: aerial photograph of the site. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 26th EPCA.*

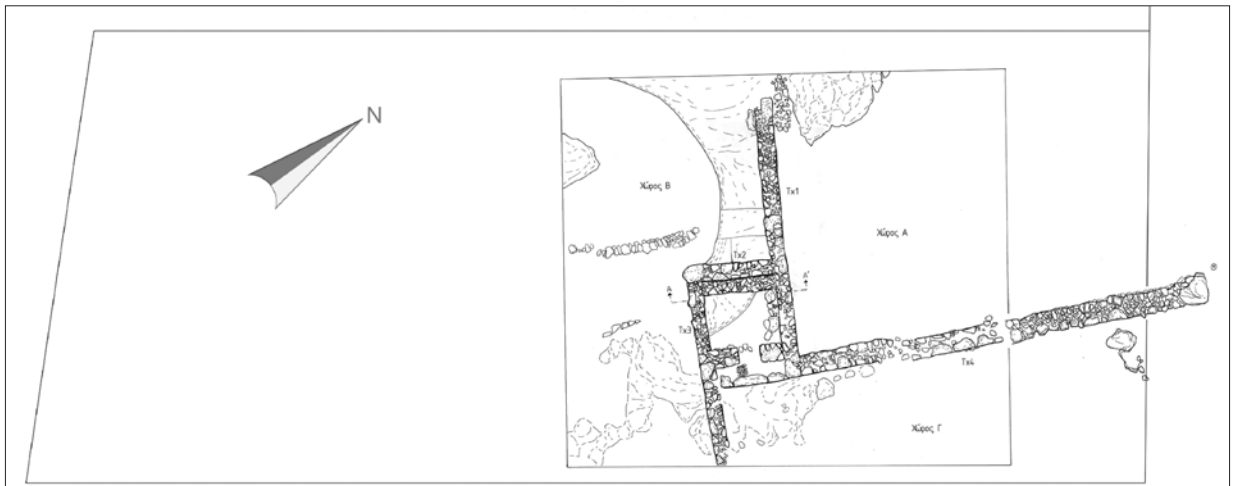


88. Vari: plan of the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 26th EPCA.

The layout of this complex does not necessarily justify its identification as a sanctuary. Also, no figurines or votive offerings are reported. This could be a local agora, where the nearby community could gather for religious activities. Feasting and festivities could have been accommodated here since there was a pyre and benches for the participants to sit. Apart from the aforementioned kantharos handle, the finds from the complex have not been presented. It is therefore difficult to say what functions the rooms would have served. In any case, the presence of stoas shows that this place was frequented. In addition, the Late Geometric peribolos wall reveals that this site had a long history. Perhaps there was a Geometric sanctuary here, and an agora/local gathering space was built on top of it that also served religious functions in the Archaic period.

A central Classical deme sanctuary has been excavated in the ancient deme of Anagyrous, modern Vari, southwestern Attica (ID5292). The complex included two single-room buildings with an almost east-west orientation, a courtyard and two statue bases (Fig. 88). A cistern was excavated in the northern building and contained three fourth-century black-glazed kantharoi, three plates, three lopades, one lekane, one amphora, numerous pottery sherds, animal bones, shells and stone tools. The two statue bases were found west of this building and one of them preserves the mark of a foot. It is thus safe to say that a bronze statue would have stood on it. The southern building, which is much larger than the northern one, is a basement building that was accessed via two staircases found at its northwestern and southeastern corners; it had a floor made of pebbles and schist. An extensive destruction layer was excavated in its interior that contained roof-tile fragments and pottery sherds. Additional finds from this building include a fragment from an animal figurine, sherds from plain ware and black-glazed table ware, lamps, a bronze coin, a nail and stone tools. The pottery dates to the fifth and fourth centuries BC. A semicircular structure and a deposit pit were excavated west of the basement building. The pit contained numerous pottery sherds and roof-tile fragments, while the semicircular structure is tentatively identified as a circular altar. In my opinion, this identification is correct. An ancient road, identified as one of the main roads in the deme of Anagyrous, ran immediately to the south of the basement building.

M. Kassimi-Soutou perceptively observes that the basement building points to a mystery cult (ID5292). The size of this building and the presence of statue bases and additional structures indicate that this was an important deme sanctuary. She therefore identifies it as the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Anagyrous that Pausanias (1.31.1) mentions.



89. Kifissia: plan of the rural sanctuary. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.

Another important deme sanctuary about which we have learnt more in recent years is the Asclepieion in the **Piraeus (ID2442; Papadopoulou 2015: 61)**. Excavations of the Classical fortification along the southern edge of the hill of Kastelli have revealed a rectangular structure measuring 17m × 3.7m, 13 bases of dedicatory stelae, fragments of votive offerings to Asclepios, representations of human body parts and a headless fourth-century BC statue of a young girl holding a goose. These show that this important sanctuary in Piraeus was larger than previously thought and extended further to the south.

Rural sanctuaries

A small, rural sanctuary has been excavated at **Kifissia**, a northern suburb of Athens (**ID6024**). It consisted of a rectangular building measuring 1.8m × 1.4m and strong retaining walls that supported three terraces around it (**Figs 89, 90**). The building had an entrance to the east with a carefully constructed three-stepped threshold. Its walls were built with polygonal masonry and a built bench ran along the interior of its western wall. Lids from beehives, coarse-ware sherds, a black-glazed kantharos and few undecorated sherds were found in its interior, while more beehive fragments and coarse-ware sherds were excavated from the terraces. Sherds from black-glazed kantharoi and skyphoi were found at the southeastern corner of one of the terraces. The sanctuary is dated in the fourth century BC. Unfortunately, there is no evidence regarding to whom it was dedicated.



90. Kifissia: the rural sanctuary. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 2nd EPCA.

A different type of rural sanctuary, dating to the Geometric and Archaic periods, has been found at **Tavros**, central Athens (**ID6107**). This was an open-air cult place consisting of a peribolos wall, an *eschara* and deposit pits with votive offerings (**Fig. 91**). The peribolos wall was built with rubble and large pebbles, and numerous deposit and pyre pits were found within the area that it delimited. The largest of these pits was 1.6m in diameter and 3.4m deep (**Fig. 92**). It contained numerous pottery sherds, a large number of broken figurines, bronze artefacts, animal bones and shells. An *eschara* was found next to it and more pottery sherds were found underneath it. All the other, smaller deposit and pyre pits also contained pottery sherds and figurine fragments. Some of these pits had been carefully sealed with stones, while others



91. Tavros: a deposit of offerings. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 26th EPCA.



92. Tavros: the largest deposit pit. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: 26th EPCA.

appear to have remained unsealed. The finds date to the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Many of the figurines are of the bird-face type and others represent animals. The deposit and pyre pits point to the cult of a chthonic deity related to fertility. As the excavator, Maria Petritaki, points out, such a cult would have been appropriate for a rural sanctuary located amidst fields (ID6107). She also notes that the participants in this cult would have most likely been local farmers. The finds from the sanctuary show clearly that communal feasting, most likely following a sacrifice, took place repeatedly in the precinct of this open-air sanctuary.

Conclusions

A wealth of new evidence on Athenian cults has been made available in recent years. The importance of the cult of Athena Pallenis since the Archaic period has been demonstrated after the excavation of numerous Archaic buildings and a large Archaic temple at her sanctuary in Gerakas. Additionally, we now have evidence that hydromancy was performed in the centre of Athens in Roman times. The provenance of the building material for the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia has been established more firmly. We now know that the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods included more, possibly auxiliary, buildings than previously thought. The proposed identification of the Sanctuary of Dionysus in Eleutherai may soon be proven or successfully refuted.

In addition, we have a detailed layout of a sanctuary dedicated to the dead, the cenotaph at Koropi, and an example of a quarry temple in Attica. Another small agora has been revealed and provides us with evidence regarding the religious activities that took place in its precinct; these most likely included the cooking and consumption of sacrificial animals. The Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Anagyrous has been excavated and identified. The extent of the Asclepieion in the Piraeus has been pushed further south and more votive offerings have been found. A small rural sanctuary surrounded by terraces – most likely cultivated – has been found in Kifissia. Finally, we have acquired detailed information on a local, chthonic, fertility cult that included communal feasting and the ritual deposit of the utensils used for the meal, as well as the animal bones and the votive offerings brought by the participants.

Bibliography

- de Polignac, F. (2010–2014) ‘Un paysage religieux entre rite et représentation: Éleuthères dans l’Antiope d’Euripide’, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 227, 481–95
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G., Chatziconstantinou, A., Efstathopoulos, A., Zavvou, E., Themis, N., Kopanias, K. and Roupaki, E. (2009) ‘Ancient quarries in Laconia’, in W.G. Cavanagh, C. Gallou and M. Georgiadis (eds), *Sparta and Laconia: From Prehistory to Pre-modern* (London) 169–79
- Kokkorou-Alevras, G., Roupaki, E. and Efstathopoulos, A. (2013) ‘Αρχαίο λατομείο μαρμάρου στον Απόλλωνα της Νάξου’, in I.K. Probonas and S.E. Psarras (eds), *Πρακτικά του Δ’ Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου με θέμα: ‘Η Νάξος δια μέσου των αιώνων’* (Athens) 109–26

- Korres, M. (1998) ‘Από τον Σταυρό στην αρχαία αγορά’, *Horos* 10–12, 83–104
- Papadopoulou, C. (2015) ‘New discoveries in the Piraeus’, *AR* 61, 56–64
- (2017) ‘The living and their dead in Classical Athens: new evidence from Acharnai, Halai Aixoidai and Phaleron’, *AR* 63, 151–66
- Schlaifer, R. (1943) ‘The cult of Athena Pallenis’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 54, 35–67
- Shear, T.L. Jr (2016) *Trophies of Victory: Public Building in Periklean Athens* (Princeton)
- Stikas, E.G. 1939. ‘Ανασκαφή Ελευθερών’, *Prakt*, 44–52