THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AT MYTILENE: 
A DIACRHNIC
AND
CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Volume Two
Catalogue

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy
in the
University of London

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by
Susan-Marie Cronkite

Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoitia</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The specific location of these ancient sites is not known.
Asia Minor, Crete and Aegean Islands
Map Two

Black Sea and North East Asia Minor
Map Nine

Southern Italy and Sicily
The following catalogue presents an alphabetic listing of Demeter sanctuaries in mainland Greece, Crete, the Greek islands, the Black Sea, the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, and coastal North Africa, along with a sampling of sites from Sicily and southern Italy. Within these geographical confines, the catalogue is as complete as possible, but it cannot claim to be a full listing of all known Demeter sites. The objective for the creation of this catalogue was to provide a large and relatively comprehensive list of sites for comparanda so that the sanctuary of Mytilene could be examined in relation to 'the big picture'. It is hoped that this register can also be used by others as an heuristic device to facilitate the study of known sanctuaries and any new Demeter sites that are excavated in the future.

*In the catalogue, quotations from Pausanias were taken from P. Levi's translation (Levi, 1971). His reference numbers for specific passages do not always correspond to the Loeb Classical Library volumes; in such cases references to the Loeb edition are supplied in brackets.

**ABDERA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
43

**LOCATION:**
Thrace

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

Ancient Sources
Athenaeus ii 46e.

Modern Works:
TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Abdera itself was founded by settlers from Klazomenae in c. 656-652 B.C. The dates of the three shrines are provided by their archaeological associations with the two phases of the town fortifications and by votive deposits found around the altars.

Wall Phase One was constructed in the seventh century B.C. but it went out of use in the sixth century B.C.

Wall Phase Two was constructed in the fifth century B.C. and destroyed sometime between the second half of fourth century and the end of the third century B.C.

Hearth Altar E1 was founded at the end of sixth century B.C. and abandoned by the end of fourth century B.C.

Hearth Altar E2 was founded in the late fourth to early third century B.C. and went out of use in the Hellenistic period.

Hearth Altar E3 was founded in the late fourth or the early third century B.C. and abandoned in the Hellenistic period.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Athenaeus H 46e: “but when the holy days of the Thesmophoria drew near, the women of the family entreated him (Democritus of Abdera) not to die (by self-starvation) during the festival, since they desired to observe it.”

Three separate hypaethral cult hearths were found outside but adjacent to the fortification walls:

Hearth Altar E1 is located outside phase one of the fortification wall. This altar was founded at approximately the time of the wall’s destruction and continued in use until it was seemingly superseded by Altars E2 and E3. The hearth altar contained...
terracotta figurines which provide the first evidence for a cult of a female deity. The terracottas range in date from the end of sixth century B.C. to the end of the fourth century B.C.

Hearth altar E2 was constructed on a small man-made terrace close to the second phase of the town wall. A monumental stairway led up to the shrine. When the second phase of the wall was destroyed, the shrine continued in use but the stairway went out of use, being utilized instead as another retaining wall for the terrace. Debris from the shrine (ash, burnt animal bones, fragments of figurines, vases and some ten thousand plain, miniature hydriai) was dumped on the stairs.

Hearth Altar E3 is situated beside the second phase of the town wall. It is very poorly preserved except for a large ex-voto deposit which was dumped on top of the neighbouring town wall. The deposit consisted of over two thousand miniature hydriai set in black earth and ash, dating to the late fourth or the early third century B.C.

It is important to note that the area contains evidence of extensive sea damage (sand accumulation, sea shells, water-worn pottery). Because of these frequent inundations, in the sixth century the population of Abdera moved to more protected land. The Demeter hearths, however, were not relocated, remaining in use until the Hellenistic period when the area was then used as a cemetery.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros.

The identity of the deity and the cult ritual carried out at the hearths is based upon the chthonic nature of the altars and the presence of abundant miniature hydriai, terracotta figurines (worshippers, hydrophoroi) and suid bones.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Κουκουλή-Χρυσογλάκη, 1987, plan 1, plates 4, 6 and 7.
Abdera: City Plan

Abdera: Hearth Altars E1 to E3
AEGALEUS, MOUNT (DAPHNI)

MAP NUMBER: 75
LOCATION: Attica
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias i 37, 3 (Loeb i 37, 6).
Modern Works:
TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias i 37, 3: "There is a sanctuary with statues of Demeter and her daughter and of Athena and Apollo. It was built originally just for Apollo."
Several architectural pieces were discovered re-used in the monastery church of Daphni. Three Ionic columns were taken from the Monastery by Lord Elgin (now in the British Museum.). A life-size marble torso of a female statue was also uncovered.
This sanctuary was possibly used as a rest stop by celebrants en route from Athens to Eleusis for the Greater Mysteries.
CULT:
Demeter, Kore, Athena and Apollo.

AEGINA

MAP NUMBER: 95
LOCATION: Aegina
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Herodotus vi 91.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban (?)

Based on the description provided by Herodotus (see below), the sanctuary was probably extraurban; it is unlikely that so many prisoners would have been executed within the town limits.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Sixth to fifth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Herodotus vi 91: “What happened was this: seven hundred prisoners were about to be executed when one of them broke loose. He ran for sanctuary into the doorway of the shrine of Demeter Thesmophoros and held on to the door-handle with both hands. His pursuers tried to drag him away, and, when they failed to detach his grip, cut his hands off. Then they led him away; and those hands stayed there, still clutching the handle.”

The sanctuary seemingly had a peribolos wall or a cult building which had a gateway that was provided with a strong door.

Cult:
Demeter Thesmophoros.

AGIOS SOSTIS: SEE TEGEA

AGRAI

MAP NUMBER:
76

Location:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks ii, 71.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Fourth century B.C. and maybe earlier.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* ii, 71: “But the mysteries at Agra and those of Halimus of Attica have been confined to Athens.”

Plutarch, *Demetrius* 26: “… lesser rites performed in month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boedromion, and the supreme rites (the *epoptica*) were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites…. the lesser rites at Arga were performed for Demetrius;…”

**CULT:**
The Lesser Mysteries of Demeter were held at Agrai. These Mysteries, at least from the fourth century B.C., were a prerequisite for anyone who aspired to initiation into the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis.

**MAP NUMBER:**
131

**LOCATION:**
Lakonia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
IG V1 1390 (SIG 388).
Pausanias iv 17, 1.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Extraurban (?)
The location is suggested by Pausanias’ description (see below). Soldiers could not mount a surprise attack on the women celebrants if the sanctuary was within the confines of a town.
Site Catalogue

Site Description:
Pausanias iv 17, 1: "There is a place in Lakonia called Aigila, where there is a
sanctuary sacred to Demeter. Aristomenes and his men knew that the women were
holding a festival there [Thesmophoria?]: but by some power from the goddess the
women were inspired to defend themselves and most of the Messenians were
wounded, either with knives the women had been using to slaughter victims or with
spits they used for spitting the meat to roast it;..."

The identity and location of the site is uncertain. Pausanias includes the site in Book
IV on Messenia, but Aigila is an ancient name for the island of Antikythera.

IG V² 1390 from Andania records regulations for the local mysteries. It mentions the
position the priestess of Demeter at Aigila should take in the procession.

Cult:

Demeter Thesmophoros (?). The identity is based Pausanias’ description.

Map Number:
92
Location:
Achaia
Select Bibliography:
Pausanias vii 24, 1 (Loeb vii 24, 2-3).

Topography:
Extraurban.

Sanctuary Dates:
Unknown.

Site Description:
Pausanias vii 24, 1: "Aphrodite's sanctuary at Aigion is beside the sea, and beyond it
come Poseidon’s, Demeter's Maiden daughter's, and fourth to Zeus Homagyrius (Zeus
of Assembly)... After Zeus of Assembly comes Panachaian Demeter. The beach where
Aigion has all these sanctuaries gives a generous supply of water; it is delightful to see
and to drink from the spring."
The sanctuaries listed by Pausanias are not known archaeologically because modern Aigion is located over top of the ancient town. The general area of the site is, however, known because the spring on the beach is still running.

CULT:
Panachaian Demeter and Kore

MAP NUMBER:
141

LOCATION:
Sicily

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:

Akragas was founded from Gela in 588 B.C.

There are three known sanctuaries of Demeter in Akragas:

1) Temple of Demeter: Intraurban - A poorly preserved site, located under the Church of San Biagio near the town wall in the east area of the town. It is set on high ground, and away from habitation areas.

2) Rock Sanctuary: An extramural site located below the Temple of Demeter, on the rock face of the cliff.

3) Sanctuary of Chthonic Deities: Akragas' southern limit was formed by a long, natural rock scarp that formed a ridge between the Hypsas and Akragas Rivers. The Sanctuary of Chthonic Deities is located just inside the fortification walls at the west end of the rock scarp. The sanctuary in an area of high religious density, also containing the Temple of Zeus, the Temple of Herakles and the Temple of Hephaistus.
Site Catalogue

Sanctuary Dates:

1) The Temple of Demeter was constructed by Theron, the tyrant of Akragas from 489 to 472 B.C. It formed part of a building campaign undertaken after the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C.

2) Rock Sanctuary: Pottery from the eighth or seventh centuries as well as Geometric and Proto-Corinthian was found in the sanctuary. The site is thought to be a local, pre-colony foundation which was taken over by the Greeks and used as a sanctuary until 406 BC when the Carthaginians sacked the town.

3) The Sanctuary of the Chthonic deities was founded in the seventh or sixth century B.C. and was in use into the Hellenistic period.

Site Description:

Temple of Demeter: This sanctuary contains a temple (cella and a distyle in antis pronaos) and a temenos wall along the southern boundary of the site. The northern boundary is marked by the cliff face. There are no remains of any altars on the eastern end of the temple, but a circular altar and a bothros were found to the north of the temple, between it and the cliff face. The altar (on the east) is composed of six stone blocks arranged around a round hole in the bedrock. Water, either rainwater or water that was used to clean the altar after use, could flow out of the altar by way of a drain hole in the surrounding casing. Burn staining indicates that immolations were carried out on this altar. The western circular structure consists of a deeper hole cut into bedrock and is identified as a bothros where liquid offerings were poured to the chthonic deities.

Rock Sanctuary: The Rock sanctuary consists of two natural caves in the rock below the Temple of Demeter at San Biagio. A narrow path lead down the rock to a long and slender structure which was built along the cliff face, providing a more monumental access to the caves behind. This building had a proto-doric cornice, suggesting an early foundation date of the seventh century B.C. The site was in use before the colony was founded and then it was taken over by the Greeks. The caves themselves were filled with terracotta ex-voto offerings and protomes, possibly Demeter and Kore.

The sanctuary went out of use but later, possibly in the fourth century B.C., it was turned into a Nymphaeum. Piping was laid that channeled water from the poros cliff into the caves. This water was then fed into troughs which were added to the front of the caves.
Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities: The sanctuary of the Chthonic Divinities is a complex site consisting of several cult buildings of various dates and once surrounded by a temenos wall. The main structures of this sanctuary are:

- a pair of altars, one round and one square, possibly used in a combined offering to chthonic (the round bothros-altar) and to Olympic deities (square eschara)
- the northernmost structure which had two phases. A round altar was constructed first and then later it was enclosed within a structure. The altar was kept in use, and so it had to be to be modified to fit within the new walls.
- the so-called Temple of the Dioskouroi, dated to c 480 to 460 B.C.
- three small structures variously identified as treasuries, cult oikoi or temporary accommodations for votaries or Thesmophoria participants (σκοναί).
- two unfinished temples from the sixth century B.C. located to the north of the Temple of the Dioskouroi

CULT:

Temple of Demeter: This site is identified as a sanctuary of Demeter on the basis of the two chthonic altars and the terracotta figurines found within the temenos. The altars also imply that chthonic rites were held in this sanctuary, possibly the Thesmophoria.

Rock Sanctuary: This site is identified as a sanctuary of Demeter on the basis of terracotta figurines and protomes of two goddesses, possibly Demeter and Kore.

Sanctuary of the Chthonic Divinities: The identity, or identities, of the deities worshipped in this sanctuary is unknown. Demeter, however, is thought to have been at least one of the major deities worshipped at this site. She is identified by the chthonic elements of the sanctuary (bothroi, eschara, numerous small offering pits scattered throughout the whole sanctuary) and by terracotta figurines that are virtually identical to figurines offered in other sanctuaries of Demeter in Sicily.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Temple of Demeter: de Waele, 1971, 199.


Akragas: The Sanctuaries of Demeter
Akragas: Temple of Demeter

Akragas: The Rock Sanctuary of Demeter
Akragas: The Sanctuary of Chthonic Deities

**Alesion, Mount**

**Map Number:**
99

**Location:**
Arkadia, between Mantinea and Tegea

**Select Bibliography:**

**Ancient Sources**
Pausanias viii 10, 1.

**Modern Works**
TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 10, 1: "The mountain above the stadium [near Mantinea] is Alesion, which they say is named for the wanderings of Rea; there is a sacred wood of Demeter on the mountain."

CULT:
Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
39

LOCATION:
Egypt

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter
Herodotus ii 60; 172.
Polybius xv 27, 2f; 29, 8f.
Satyrus, On the Demes of Alexandria.
Strabo xvii 1f.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban sanctuaries; Satyrus also mentions a village east of Alexandria called Eleusis located on the Canopic Canal.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The cult of Demeter may have been brought to Alexandria as early as 331 B.C. when the town was founded. It is, however, more likely that her festivals were introduced at a later date either by Ptolemy I Soter (323-283 B.C.) when he moved the capital of
Site Catalogue

Egypt from Memphis to Alexandria or by his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246 B.C.) who carried out great building programmes in the town.

Site Description:

Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great. Arrian records that Alexander personally marked out the main points of the town - the location of the agora, the temples and the town wall. Knowledge of the town's topography, however, depends almost entirely on the account written by Strabo who arrived in Egypt in 24 B.C. and on other literary references:

Polybius xv 27, 2: "For they (Agathocles and his party) took Danaë, who was the latter's mother-in-law, from the temple of Demeter, and dragged her unveiled through the middle of city..."

Polybius xv 29, 8f: "Oenanthe, who was in great distress, betook herself to the Thesmophoreum [sic], that temple being open for an annual sacrifice. She first of all fell on her knees and with many gestures prayed fervently to the goddesses, and afterwards seated herself by the altar and held her peace...."

Satyrus 21: "named after Eleusis in Athens, and every year there was a panegyris there, which comprised a [theatrical?] and musical contest, the spectacle occupying a most attractive locality...and demes from these, and [Soter? Called] the one Canopeus, the other Eleusinios".

Strabo xvii 1, 16: "On the right of the Canopic Gate, as one goes out, one comes to the canal which is connected with the lake and leads to Canopus; and it is by this canal that one sails... though first to Eleusis. Eleusis is a settlement near both Alexandria and Nicopolis, is situated on the Canopic canal itself, and has lodging-places and commanding views for those who wish to engage in revelry, both men and women, and is a beginning, as it were, of the "Canopic" life and the shamelessness there current."

The location of Demeter's intraurban shrines are not known, but street names, including the Street of Arsinoe of Eleusis and the Street of Arsinoe Karpophoros, suggest that eponymous shrines did exist. Polybius (above) indicates that the
sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was also intraurban, possibly located in or near the Inner Palace.

The sanctuary in Eleusis village on the Canopic Canal is not known archaeologically.

CULT:
Demeter was known in at least three guises in Alexandria - Demeter Thesmophoros, Demeter Karpophoros and Demeter Eleusinia. Demeter's popularity may be attributed to the fact that she was often identified with Isis (Herodotus ii 60) or due to the theory presented by Herodotus (ii 172) that the Thesmophorion was originally an Egyptian ritual that was brought to Greece by the daughters of Danaus. The daughters supposedly taught the rites to the Pelasgian women. The festival was then lost during the Dorian conquest except in Arkadia where the people were not driven from their homes.

Satyrus called the sanctuary in Eleusis a 'religious centre' and every year there were games with theatrical and musical events. The annual competitions and the place-name derived from Greece may indicate that a local version of Eleusinian Mysteries was held there.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
A post-synoicist cult calendar lists Demeter sacrifices at Alkeidai and a Damatrition at Eitea in the month of Batromios. The location of both sites is unknown.

CULT:

Demeter
AMYKLAI

MAP NUMBER:
127

LOCATION:
Lakonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias iii 18, 8.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias iii 18, 8: "These are the interesting things at Amyklai.... The more antique tripods are said to be a tenth part of the spoils of the war against Messenia. [8] Under the first tripod stands a statue of Apollo, ...; ... the third is by Kallon of Aigina, and below it stands a statue of the Maid, Demeter's daughter.

CULT:
Kore and probably Demeter; Kore was rarely worshipped on her own. Pausanias does not mention a sanctuary of Kore or Demeter; their worship can only be deduced from the presence of Kore's statue.

ANDANIA:
SEE KARNAOSIAN GROVE (ANCIENT OICHALIA)

ANTHEDON

MAP NUMBER:
58

LOCATION:
Boeotia
Site Catalogue

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

Ancient Sources
- Pausanias ix 22, 5.

Modern Works

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
- Intraurban.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
- Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

Pausanias ix 22, 5: "In Boiotia on the left of the Euripos rises Mount Messapion with the Boiotian city of Anthedon on the coast below it. It took its name from the nymph Anthedon though some say Anthas ruled there, the son of Poseidon by Alkyone daughter of Atlas. Just in the middle of the city of Anthedon is a sanctuary of the Kabeiroi inside a grove. Near by is a sanctuary of Demeter and the Maid with white stone statues."

The town of Anthedon has been located but not excavated.

**CULT:**
- Demeter and Kore

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**ANTIMACHIA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
- 25

**LOCATION:**
- Kos, Dodecanese

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
- SIG³ 1006.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
- Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
- Late fourth to early third century B.C. inscription.
**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

An inscription from Antimachia lists rules for the sale of a priesthood and the duties and perquisites of a priestess of Demeter. No epithet is given for the goddess.

**CULT:**

A cult of Demeter centred at Antimachia. Because no epithet is listed, it is not known if this inscription refers to a separate cult or the cults of Demeter Olympia and Kourotrophos found at the Asklepieion (see below: Kos Asklepieion).

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**APHYTIS**

**MAP NUMBER:**

46

**LOCATION:**

Chalcidice, the peninsula of Kassandra

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**Ancient Sources**

Xenophon *HG* v 3, 19.

**Modern Works**


**TOPOGRAPHY:**

Located to the west of the Sanctuary of Zeus Ammon and the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and Dionysos.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

---

Fourth century B.C. date provided by artifacts.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

The sanctuary is known only from the excavation of a single 3m by 3m trench. Remains consist of a single short wall running north to south, vase fragments and terracotta representations of pomegranates.

Xenophon does not mention a sanctuary of Demeter, but he does describe the neighbouring sanctuary of Dionysus where Aegsipolis of Sparta died of fever in 380 B.C. while on campaign against Olynthus: "And since he (Agesipolis) had previously..."
seen the sanctuary of Dionysos at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clean cool waters."

**CULT:**

?Demeter Thesmophoros. The deity and the cult were tentatively identified on the basis of the terracotta pomegranates found in association with the excavated wall.

### APTERA

**MAP NUMBER:**
- 36

**LOCATION:**
- Crete

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
- AR 1958, 17.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
- Unknown.
  
The topography of the site is not discussed in the article.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
- Roman, early first century B.C., but there were probably earlier Greek phases.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
- This site consists of a small temple with a distyle porch. One of the porch column bases is made of a re-used, late second or early first century B.C., inscription. Many fragments of kernoi were also found in the area.

**CULT:**

Demeter Thesmophoros ? . The cult is identified on the basis of the kernoi fragments.

### ARGOS

**MAP NUMBER:**
- 117

**LOCATION:**
- Argolid
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias i 13, 7; ii 21, 5; ii 22, 2; ii 22, 4 (Loeb i 13, 7-8; ii 21, 4; ii 22, 1; ii 22, 3-4)

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Death of Pyrrhos I of Epirus, 272 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias i 13, 7: "The men broke rank of course, and fighting went on around the temples and the houses and up and down the alleys all over the city. Pyrrhos was alone and was hit in the head. They way he died from the blow of a roof-tile thrown by a woman, though the Argives say it was not a woman, but Demeter in human shape....and they have a sanctuary of Demeter founded by divine oracle where Pyrrhos died: Pyrrhos is buried there."

Pausanias ii 21, 5: "...Pyrrhos's bones are in the sanctuary of Demeter near which he died,... At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you can see the bronze shield of Pyrrhos hung over the door."

Pausanias ii 22, 2: "Opposite the memorial of these two women is a sanctuary of Pelasgian Demeter, named from its founder Pelasgos, whose grave is not far off."

Pausanias ii 22, 4: "They say that what is done at the pit near by was instituted by a local man, Nikostratos. Even to this day they still drop burning lights into the pit to the Maiden daughter of Demeter."

CULT:
Pelasgian Demeter, Kore

MAP NUMBER:
32

LOCATION:
Amorgos, Cyclades.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
LSCG 102

Modern Works
Homolle, T., 1901, "Inscriptions d'Amorgos", BCH 25, 412-56.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban (?).

SANCTUARY DATES:
The inscription dates to the fourth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A marble stele was found at Arkesine with an inscription describing a new rule for the sanctuary of Demeter. The provisions are unclear because the stele is very poorly preserved, but it seems to be a prohibition against women sacrificing within the sanctuary without the priestess present.

Two curse tablets were found during the ploughing of a field near the modern town of Arkesine. The tablets were addressed to Demeter with the epithets 'Lady' and 'Queen'. A curse is set down on the tablets against a man named Epaphroditus who ruined the livelihood of the tablet-dedicator by stealing away his slaves.

These tablets suggest that there was a sanctuary of chthonic Demeter in the immediate area, but curse tablets were not always deposited within sanctuaries; many are found in graves or pools of water and in other areas where a chthonic deity would have easy access to the tablet.

CULT:
Demeter, possibly Thesmophoros or Chthonia.

ARSINOEIA

MAP NUMBER:
53

LOCATION:
Aetolia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
I Susan-Marie Cronkite

Dedication to Demeter and Kore in the storeroom of the Archaeological Museum of Agrinion (no inventory number), published in Antonetti, 274-76.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Extráurban.

The site is located near the ancient town, in modern Tékés.

SANCTUARY DATES:

The dates of the artifacts found in the sanctuary area range from the fourth century B.C. (terracotta figurines) to the second century B.C. (inscription).

SITE DESCRIPTION:

No architecture was uncovered during excavation but the discovery of an antefix with palmettes suggests that a cult structure may have stood in this sanctuary. Votive artifacts include terracotta figurines of hydrophoroi and a dedication to Demeter and Kore from the base of a statue dedicated by a woman named Phalacra.

CULT:

Demeter and Kore. Identification of the cult is based on the inscription and terracotta figurines of hydrophoroi.

MAP NUMBER:

74.

LOCATION:

Attica.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias i 2, 4.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:

Intraurban, near the Dipylon Gate.
**Sanctuary Dates:**
Fourth century and possibly earlier; Pausanias notes that the sanctuary contained statues by Praxiteles whose career is usually dated from 370-330 B.C.

**Site Description:**
Pausanias i 2, 4: "When you are inside the city you come to a building for the arrangement of sacred processions [the Pompeion] (both the annual ones and those that take place at longer intervals). The Temple of Demeter is close to this; its images are Demeter and the Child, and Iacchos holding a torch: an inscription in the wall in Attic lettering says these are by Praxiteles."

The Pompeion is located directly inside of the Dipylon Gate. It consisted of a rectangular court with dining rooms and living areas for the ephebes. These young men guarded the gates and escorted religious processions, including the Procession of the Mystai to Eleusis. Demeter's sanctuary has not been found, but it may have been situated at the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios where a statue base that may have held the statues by Praxiteles was found in 1936.

**Cult:**
Demeter, Kore and Iacchos.

**Site Plan Adapted From:**
Travlos, 1971, 478, plan 602 - the Pompeion and immediate area.
ATHENS, SANCTUARY OF DEMETER CHLÖE

MAP NUMBER:
74

LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias i 22, 3
Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 835

Modern Works


TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.
Pausanias i 22, 3: "When Theseus brought the Athenians together into one city from being little cities of people, he instituted the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho. There is also a sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos, and of Demeter Chlôe."

Scholion on Aristoph. Lysistr. 835: "Χλόης Δήμητρος ιερὸν ἐν Ἀκροπόλις ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Αθηναῖοι θάυμασι μηνὸς θαρυμλώνος, ὡς Φιλόχορὸς φησίν ἐν ͵." 

**Sanctuary Dates:**
According to Pausanias, the cult of Demeter Chlôe was old, instituted by Theseus when he unified the Attic townships into the *polis* of Athens.

**Site Description:**
Travlos (page 2) located the sanctuary of Demeter Chlôe to the west of the acropolis, between the Enneapylon and the Areopagus. G. Dondas, however, discovered artifacts (red-figure vase fragments, terracotta figurines of Aphrodite, Eros and female votaries and a fragmentary pinax with the graffito "ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ") on the west end of the acropolis under the Nike Bastion. Two cuttings on the bastion are usually identified as the Heroôn of Aegeus, but these artifacts caused Dondas to re-examine the cuttings and suggest that they were rather the two shrines mentioned by Pausanias, one on the east dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos and one on the west to Demeter Chlôe and Ge Kourotrophos.

**Cult:**
Demeter Chlôe

**Site Plan Adapted From:**
Travlos, 1971, 2.
ATHENS, ELEUSINION IN THE CITY

MAP NUMBER:
74

LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Aristeides xiii 191.
Pausanias i 14, 3 (Loeb i 14, 3-4).
Thucydides ii 17, 1.
IG II² 1078, 41.

Modern Works
Shear, T. Leslie, 1939, “The campaign of 1938”, Hesperia 8, 201-246.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

IG II² 1078, 41 describes the Eleusinian as being situated "beneath the polis [Acropolis]". The sanctuary is located on south-east side of Agora, on a prominent terrace on the north slope of the acropolis. Thompson and Wycherly state that it was not actually within the Agora; rather it can be considered as an adjunct. The Panathenaic Way borders the western side of the site.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The sanctuary was in use from the mid sixth century B.C. into the Roman period. It was destroyed by the Herulians in A.D. 267.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Aristeides xiii 191: the Athenians "receive in the Eleusinion more people than others in the whole of the city."

Pausanias i 14, 3: "I wanted to go on with this story and describe the contents of the Athenian sanctuary called the Eleusinion, but I was stopped by something I saw in a dream. I must turn to the things it is not irreligious to write for general readers. In front of the shrine where also is the image of Triptolemos,..."

Thucydides ii 17, 1 referring to the citizens of Attica moving to Athens for protection at the outbreak of the Peloponessian War in 431 B.C.: “When they arrived at Athens a few had houses of their own to go to and a few were able to find shelter with friends or relations; but most of them had to settle down in those parts of the town that had not been built over and in the temples and in the shrines of the heroes - except in the
Acropolis, in the temple of Eleusinian Demeter, and some other places that were strictly forbidden.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS:

Phase One, mid sixth century B.C.: the sanctuary was limited to the southern half of the area and enclosed with a peribolos wall of polygonal masonry constructed of acropolis limestone. This wall enclosed an area measuring approximately 40m by 20m. There is no trace of an early cult structure in this area. Finds include terracotta figurines and small votive vessels.

Phase Two, end of fifth century B.C.: the sanctuary was enlarged to the north, entailing the construction of a new terrace. The west and north sides of this terrace required strong retaining walls 6m high. A peribolos was then added around the whole sanctuary and a large temple was constructed in the centre of the newly created open area. The temple consisted of a rectangular cela, with its entrance to south, and an adyton to the north. Pottery found around the foundations dates to 490 B.C. Before this temple was completed, it was enlarged to the east and to the south, with final overall dimensions of 11.00m by 17.70m. Also dating from the second phase is an oblong base measuring 2m by 15m, which probably held records of the properties of Alcibiades and others which were confiscated in punishment for their parading the Mysteries and mutilating the Herms in 415 B.C..

Phase Three, the second half of fourth century B.C.: the old entrance to the sanctuary was replaced with a marble propylon in southwest corner of the sanctuary. Steps may have been added at this time to the exterior of the retaining walls in order to provide a place for spectators to stand and to watch processions.

Phase Four, mid second century A.D.: the sanctuary was enlarged to the south to allow for the construction of a small, possibly Doric, stoa. Foundations of this structure are preserved.

It is not clear if the area to the north of the sanctuary was connected or associated with the sanctuary of Demeter. Deposits of sanctuary material, including kernoi, were found in this area, so it may have been an hypaethral section of the sanctuary. It was built over in Roman times by shops that fronted the Panathenaic Way.
CULT:
Demeter Eleusinia

The Eleusinion was an adjunct of the sanctuary of Eleusis. Initiates of the Greater Mysteries gathered at this sanctuary and then started their trek to Eleusis. Processions left sanctuary and moved through the Agora on the Panathenaic Way to exit the town through the Dipylon Gate.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Travlos, 1971, 200, plan 260.
ATHENS, ENNEAKROUNOS (NINE SPRINGS)
FOUNTAIN

MAP NUMBER:
74

LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias i 14, 1.
Thucydidès ii 16.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

The Enneakrounos has been tentatively identified as the fountain located in the south-east corner of the Agora of Athens. The name may also refer to nine different fountain houses, i.e. a network of water sources found throughout the Agora and town, rather than a single fountain with nine springs feeding it.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The fountain shrine described by Pausanias was built during the reign of Peisistratos in the second half of the sixth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias i 14, 1: "Near here is a water source called Enneacrounos, which was built like this by Peisistratos. There are wells all over the city but only the one water-head. One of the shrines built over the source belongs to Demeter and the Maid...."

Thucydidès ii 16: "Then there is the spring of water which is now called 'The Nine Fountains', since the tyrants had the fountains made, but used to be called Callirhoe or 'Fair Stream' when the water came straight out of the earth. The people in those days used to use this spring for all purposes since it was so close to them, and, from this ancient habit of theirs is derived the custom of using it for ceremonies before marriage and in other religious ceremonies."
The Enneakrounos in the Agora is a small rectangular fountain house with three columns *in antis* along the front which allowed access to the water basin.

**CULT:**

Demeter and Kore

**SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:**

Travlos, 1971, 206.
ATHENS, THESMOPHORION

MAP NUMBER:
74
LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazousae.
Hesych, s.v. ἔορτη Δήμητρος Ἀθήνης.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban
SITE CATALOGUE

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Two sites have been proposed for the Athens Thesmophorion:

Location One: Thompson, 1936: The Thesmophorion may have been located on the Pnyx. The hill rises about 50m above the Agora thereby matching the description in ancient references of 'ascending to the Thesmophorion'. It was also a smooth and rounded open area with room for many people to gather and to set up temporary accommodation. No remains suggest there was a temple on the site, but there is no reason to suspect there was a temple because literary references to the Thesmophorion only refer to a sanctuary and not an actual cult building.

Location Two: Broneer, 1942: The Thesmophorion was another name for the Eleusinion, and not a separate sanctuary at all. Celebration of the Thesmophoria on the Pnyx would have kept men from gathering at the Assembly which Broneer believed was an impossibility. He also considered the age of the remains on the Pnyx not old enough for the age the Thesmophoria must have been.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Location One: The Pnyx
Location Two: See above - Athens Eleusinion.

**ATHENS, S.E. TEMPLE SEE: THORIKOS.**

**AXOS**

**MAP NUMBER:**
37

**LOCATION:**
West central Crete

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Votive offerings date from the fourth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A brief excavation on the site was undertaken in 1908. Votives, identified as coming from a Demeter sanctuary were found during the excavations. These votives included: a bas-relief of a frontal, enthroned Demeter with stephane of corn and holding a torch, and various terracotta figurines (standing draped women, heads of women- veiled and/or with a polos, small number of standing, nude male figurine and figurines of pigs).

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros?

The identity of the deity is based upon the votives, especially the bas-relief and the terracotta figurines of the pigs, common offerings to Demeter Thesmophoros.

BASILIS (MODERN KYPARISSIA)

MAP NUMBER:
100

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Athenaeus xiii 609e-f.
Pausanias viii 29, 5.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Basilis may be located near the modern village of Kyparissia.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias viii 29, 5: "Basilis is something over a mile (ten stades) from the place they call the Depth (Bathos); it was founded by Kypselos who gave his daughter to Kresphontes son of Aristomachos. In my day Basilis and its sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter were in ruins."

Athenaeus xiii 609e-f: "I know also of a contest of feminine beauty that was instituted once...Cypselus instituted it after founding a city in the plain of the Alpheius river; in it he settled some Parrhasians and dedicated a precinct and altar to Demeter of Eleusis, in whose festival he held the beauty contest; and on the first occasion his own wife Herodice won the prize. This contest is held even to the present day, and the women who enter are called Chrysophoroi (Wearers of Gold)."

Excavation has identified the probable site of ancient Basilis, but the sanctuary of Demeter has not been found.

CULT:

Eleusinian Demeter

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BATHOS (MODERN BATHYREYMA)

MAP NUMBER:

101

LOCATION:

Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources

Pausanias viii 29, 1.

Modern Works


TOPOGRAPHY:

The sanctuary may be located near to the Olympias Spring (half a mile north of the acropolis of ancient Basilis / modern Kyparissia) and close to the Alpheios River at a place where the river narrowed and created a deep gorge.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Archaic and Hellenistic terracotta figurines were found during excavation.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 29, 1: "Across Alpheios is the territory of Trapezous and the ruins of the city. On your left as you come down again to the Alpheios from Trapezous not far from the river is the Depth (Bathos), where they celebrate a mystery of the Great goddesses once every two years. There is a spring at this place called Olympias, which ceases to flow in the other year, and near this spring they light a fire."

Excavations near the river recovered terracotta figurines dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods (standing and seated female figures with flat bodies and bird-like faces, standing female votaries with objects, enthroned females with a polos, sows and a bird), a bronze bull and pig, and several hundred miniature vessels and lamps.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore, identified by the excavated artifacts. It is possible that they were the Great Goddesses mentioned by Pausanias.

MAP NUMBER:
140

LOCATION:
Sicily, near mouth of Gela River

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Herodotus vii 153.

Modern Works
AR 1963-64, 45.
AR 1966-67, 42.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.
The sanctuary is situated on a very low hill across the river from the town.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Mid seventh century to 405 B.C. when Gela was destroyed by the Carthaginians. The town was re-built in the fourth century, but the sanctuary was not re-established.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Herodotus vii 153: "Gelon's ancestor, who first settled at Gela, came from the island of Telos, off Triopium, and when the settlement at Gela was made by Antiphemus and Lindians of Rhodes, he took part in the expedition. In course of time his descendants became priests of the Earth Goddesses, an office which they continued to hold ever since Telines came into possession of it."

The cult began soon after the middle of the seventh century. The only trace of architecture is the foundation of a small rectangular oikos called G8 which measured c 5.6m by 4.4m. There were also rich deposits of votive offerings placed in holes in the sandy soil. These early offerings included imported pottery (Corinthian, East Greek, Lakonian or Argive) and local wares, locally made terracotta figurines, bronze implements, loom weights and remains of sacred meals.

After the middle of the sixth century, the sanctuary was refurbished. The sandy hill was covered with a layer of mud brick which sealed in the earlier deposits. Small oikoi (G4, G5 and G7) were constructed; the discovery of terracotta antefixes that do not fit these three structures suggests that there was yet another structure. Pottery from this level include large amounts of local pottery, imported Attic black and red wares, lamps and miniature hydriai. Small finds include large numbers of terracotta figurines (enthroned goddesses, protomes, hydrophoroi and votaries with piglets), loom weights and various iron tools.
The sanctuary was destroyed by fire sometime in the early fifth century, but it was re-built around the middle of the century. Several small oikoi date from this period, including G1 (c 6m by 6m), G2 (c 4m by 11m) and G3 (c 6m by 6m). Artifacts include oinochoai, lamps, loom weights terracotta figurines (kourotophroi and women with piglets) and thousands of examples of locally produced miniature hydriai.

The sanctuary was destroyed in 405 B.C. when the Carthaginians razed Gela. The town itself was re-established by Timoleon in 338 B.C., but the sanctuary was not re-founded. It remained virtually abandoned until Imperial Roman times when a farm was built on the site.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros. The deity and associated cult was identified by a graffito on a fifth century skyphos base which reads "ΙΙΑΡΡΑ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΟ". Large deposits of votive materials found in situ provide interesting glimpses into the rituals held in the sanctuary. Ninety percent of all offerings found in situ were small plain vessels set upside down, either singularly or in groups. One deposit consisted of one hundred fifth-century B.C. cups placed upside down in a rough semi-circle, a terracotta figurine of a women with a piglet and poppy flowers stood near one corner and an upright oinochoe and cup were set within the semi-circle. Another deposit consisted on two hearth stones arranged with a suid mandible and twenty small vessels placed on top. Communal feasting is indicated by large quantities of burnt cooking vessels, domestic-use (kitchen) knives and deposits of burnt animal bone, mostly pig.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Bitalemi/Gela: The Sanctuary of Demeter

**BOURA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
93

**LOCATION:**
Achaia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias vii 25, 5 (Loeb vii 25, 8-9).

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

Boura is located in the mountains west of the river Bouraikos, north of Kalabryta. The site is listed in early Baedekers, but earthquakes have obliterated the site, so that now its exact location is not known.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias vii 25, 5: "...Boura, which lies on a mountain to the right of the coast....
They have a shrine of Demeter, one of Aphrodite and Dionysos, and one of Eileithuia.
The statues are in Pentelic stone by Eukleids of Athens, and Demeter has clothes."

CULT:
Demeter

BUPORTHMUS, MOUNT

MAP NUMBER:
119

LOCATION:
Argolid.
The sanctuary is possibly located on Cape Skyli, a mountain that projects into the sea
on the Bay of Hydra.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias ii 34, 8.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 34, 8: "...and a mountain projecting into the sea from the Peloponnese,
called the Ox-Crossing [Buporthmus], with a sanctuary on it to Demeter and her
daughter and one to Athena Promachorma (Guardian of the Anchorage)."

CULT:
Demeter

BYZANTIUM

MAP NUMBER:
6
LOCATION:
Bosphorus

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Fifth century B.C. (?)

SITE DESCRIPTION:
H.O.C, V.2: “For with him... in the temple of Demeter and Kore which is [near?] the walls... through the... had happened... the wood... but he stood about at night and kept quiet for some time having hidden himself in the wood...”

According to McKechnie and Kern, the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia fragment refers to the siege of Byzantium by Alcibiades in 409 or 408 B.C.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore

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CHAIRONEIA

MAP NUMBER:
71

LOCATION:
Bocotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Lykophron, Alexandra 153.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

Site Description:
Lykophron lists four titles for Demeter, including 'Thouria'. The epithet recalls Apollo Thourios near Mt. Chaironeia. A nymph named Thouro was worshipped along with Apollo in this sanctuary, possibly Demeter?

CULT:
Demeter Thouria

CHIOS / CHORA

MAP NUMBER: 9
LOCATION: Chios

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
SEG XVII, 386b.

Modern Works
AR 1953, 162.

"Archaeology in Greece", 1954, JHS 74, 162.
de Coulanges, Fustel, 1892, "Inscriptions de Chios", BCH 16, 324-5, 3.

TOPOGRAPHY:
The relationship of the remains to the ancient town is not certain.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Sixth to fourth centuries B.C.

Description of sites:

Two ex-voto deposits have been found within the modern town of Chios:

a) Votive deposit found in Chios town, at Rizari, in 1953 during construction work. The deposit consisted of terracotta figurines (enthroned goddesses), hundreds of fragments of ring-kernoi (miniature hydriai attached to the ring base) and
loomweights, one of which had an inscribed dedication to Demeter, reading “NANH ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ”. No architecture was found.

b) A votive deposit from the Zafeirakis factory in Tambakika was found in association with an early, possibly late Archaic or early Classical, building.

c) Inscriptional evidence for the worship of Demeter in conjunction with Herakles: SEG XVII 386b: “ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ”

CULT:
Demeter and Demeter Thesmophoros and Herakles.

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**MAP NUMBER:**
88

**LOCATION:**
Corinthia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

Ancient Sources
Pausanias ii 4, 7 (Loeb ii 4, 6-7).

Modern Works


Bookidis, Nancy and Ronald S. Stroud, forthcoming. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore - Topography and Architecture, (Corinth 18.3).

Site Catalogue


TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban, on the slope of Acrocorinth.

Pausanias ii 4, 7: "Akrocorinth is the crest of the mountain over the city;... On the way up to Akrocorinth there are enclosures of Isis,... and two of Sarapis.... Beyond these, altars have been constructed to the Sun, and there is a sanctuary of Necessity and Violence.... Above it is a shrine of the Mother of the gods, and a stone block and throne. The shrine of the Fates and Demeter and the Maid have no statues on show. The sanctuary of Bounaiain Hera..., is also here."

SANCTUARY DATES:
Artifacts indicate that the site was in use from the eleventh century B.C., but the first indisputable evidence for cult activity dates from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The sanctuary was in use throughout the Greek and Roman periods, with a gap between 146 B.C. and 44 A.D.

Three major phases of building can be isolated within the sanctuary:

1) late sixth century B.C.
2) third quarter of the fifth century B.C., shortly after 450 B.C.
3) end of the fourth century B.C.

The major focus of each building phase was the dining complexes. The small, single room temple or oikos was not constructed until the fourth century BC.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary is located on the slopes of the Acrocorinth, in an area that seems to have contained only cultic centres. A spur road, branching off the main road to the acropolis, afforded access to this area. The main entrance to the sanctuary is off this road through a simple entrance. The Sanctuary itself is arranged on three terraces, the Upper, Middle and Lower. These terraces run east to west across the slope of the acropolis, each supported by a retaining wall. The retaining walls were dual purpose,
terrace supports but also providing secrecy and security, so a large separate *peribolos* wall was not necessary. A monumental, 3m wide, stone staircase, located in the middle of the sanctuary, allowed access to all three terraces. From the beginning, the sanctuary seems to have been divided into two areas based on cultic needs, the lower terrace and the combined area of the middle and upper terraces.

**THE LOWER TERRACE:**
Dining-halls, from their first construction in the sixth century, were limited to the lower terrace. Remains of these structures stretch for 50m on each side of the staircase, indicating that feasting must have played an important role in festivals celebrated in the sanctuary. A typical dining-hall consists of a series of two to seven parallel rooms, all with off-set doors. The individual rooms have benches that lined the walls, accommodating up to seven diners per room. Dining-halls could contain at least one kitchen/service area, a small room with washing/lustral facilities, presumably for ritual ablutions, a small room lined with benches that may have been a waiting area, used either before or after meals and sacrificial pits, some for bloodless offerings and others containing animal remains.

**THE MIDDLE AND UPPER TERRACES:**
The cultic centre of the sanctuary was located on the Middle and Upper terraces. It was in this area that stone lined pits with votive offerings, sacrificial pits with ash and burned pig bones, a theatrical area cut out of the bedrock and a very poorly preserved structure which may have been the sanctuary's main small temple were uncovered. Cuttings in the bedrock were also found that may have been made to receive supports for temporary screening. Screens would have hidden any secret celebrations from the view of anyone in the lower terrace.

**ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS: SUMMARY**

**The Eighth and Seventh century site:**
The sanctuary was indisputably in use as a cultic site in this period. Evidence comes from an *ex-voto* pottery deposit found in a small fissure in the rock on the Upper Terrace. All these vessels are miniatures or small votives. The predominant vessel type in this deposit is the kalathiskos, the chief vase type found in all periods and areas
of the sanctuary. This deposit is the first example of deliberate discarding of votive material found on the site. No architectural remains have been found.

**The Late Sixth century site:**

It is impossible to find undisturbed early strata which suggests that in the sixth century major work was undertaken which badly mixed up earlier materials. The sixth century, therefore, may have been the date when the first extensive terracing began.

By this time, the sanctuary contained:

a) the roadway from Corinth to Acrocorinth and the dual purpose temenos/terrace wall flanking the road along the length of the sanctuary.

b) early dining rooms underlying the later Building S (dining room on the east of the stairway, Grid M-N: 20-26) and probably similar buildings on the terrace below and to the west of the stairs.

c) Use of the upper terrace attested, possibly even the rock-cut theatrical area existed or an earlier version of it.

**The Fifth and Fourth century site:**

Extensive building campaigns were undertaken in both of these centuries, mainly focusing on the structures in the lower sanctuary. The monumental staircase and many of the dining-halls were constructed during these periods.

The fifth century site summary:

a) The monumental stairway was built between the mid fifth and fourth centuries.

b) Building P (Room 13) at top of the stairs to the west, was constructed.

c) Room 6 (north of Room 13 and Building P) was constructed.

d) Dining-hall J was constructed.

e) North East Dining-hall Building (Room 0) was constructed.

f) Dining rooms Grid K-L: 24-28 were constructed. These rooms went out of use in the late fourth century.

g) The theatrical area on the Upper Terrace was constructed or expanded.

The fourth century site:

a) Building A, an independent temple or oikos, was constructed at the head of the stairs in the early fourth century.

b) Building S, a dining hall dating to the third quarter of the fourth century was constructed to replace earlier dining facilities.
c) Building T, a dining hall, was constructed in the second half of the fourth century.

d) Room N or the North west Banquet Hall was constructed.

e) Building L-M:28, a large dining hall, was built to replace K-L:24-28. It was constructed during the second half of the fourth century.

**The Roman Site:**

**SITE SUMMARY:**

a) Temple G 1-2 located on the Upper Terrace was constructed. This temple may have housed the cult statues mentioned by Pausanias.

b) A theatre located on the Upper Terrace was constructed. It is a small structure consisting of rectangular seating cut into the sloping bedrock of the upper terrace.

c) A terrace was constructed below the temple and theatre. It was built to accommodate a stoa, cistern and a well with a propylon giving access to the Upper Terrace.

d) The Classical stairway went out of use.

**CULT:**

Demeter and Kore.

**SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:**


2. Site Plan: Bookidis and Fisher, 1974, fig. 3.
Corinth: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore

**Cyrene, Agora**

**Map Number:**
40

**Location:**
Libya, North Africa

**Select Bibliography:**

**Topography:**
Intraurban.

A small sanctuary located on the north-west edge of the agora. The precise western boundary of the agora has not been established, therefore, it is not known if the
Demeter sanctuary was part of the agora proper, or if it was located beside the civic centre.

**Sanctuary Dates:**

Two phases:

Phase One) Late seventh century to mid sixth century B.C. Pottery finds from the *temenos* area suggest the sanctuary area may have been in use as early as the end of the seventh century, but the preserved architecture dates to c 550 B.C.

Phase Two) End of the sixth century B.C.

**Site Description:**

**Phase One:**

The sanctuary is small and hypaethral consisting of a peribolos wall and two altars. Only the foundations for the peribolos are preserved. They are constructed of small, natural stones set in reddish mud-mortar with large, flat stone slabs set at irregular intervals. The excavators suggest the stone slabs may have been bases for pilasters used to support the wall. Such supports may have been necessary if the wall was made of a poor quality material, perhaps mud brick. The *temenos* enclosed an area of roughly 6 square metres.

Two altars were found within the *temenos*, the West Altar and the East Altar. The West Altar is rectangular measuring 1.60m east to west and 1.20m north to south. It is a simple structure constructed of two preserved courses of irregular, natural stones. A large quantity of charcoal and ash was found around this altar. The East Altar is located in the north-east corner of the *temenos*. It is a more complex chthonic-type altar consisting of two bothroi set at different levels and joined by a 90cm long canal. The higher of the two bothroi is rectangular, resembling a lustral basin, except that it had two chambers of differing sizes. The lower bothros is round with a diameter of 1.10m. The two were joined by the narrow channel that ran from the south-west corner of the rectangular bothros down the slope and to the edge of the circular bothros.

**Phase Two:**

In the second phase of the sanctuary, the *temenos* was enlarged until it surrounded an area of c 13 x 13m. The wall was thickened from c 0.90 - 1.0m in width, but the same
construction technique was used for the foundations, suggesting this temenos was also constructed of poor quality materials. The two earlier altars were retained, and there is no evidence for other structures within the peribolos.

CULT:

Demeter ?Thesmophoros. The sanctuary is identified on the basis of the chthonic altar.

Artifacts suggest that the large extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (see below: Cyrene, the Extramural Sanctuary) was not in use until 600 B.C., almost a generation after the foundation of Cyrene in 630 B.C. Demeter, an agricultural deity, would presumably have been important for a new farming colony, and, so it seems likely that she had a sanctuary dedicated to her from the outset; these intraurban sanctuaries may have been founded in the early years of the colony and then used until the extramural sanctuary was constructed and fully operational.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Bacchielli, 1981, figs. 9, 17, 18, 23.
Cyrene, Extramural

Map Number:
40
**LOCATION:**
Libya, North Africa

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**Ancient Sources**
Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter.*

**Modern Works**


**TOPOGRAPHY:**

Extravurban.

The sanctuary is situated across a large and deep ravine called ‘Wadi Bel Gadir’, roughly 40m south of the town wall. A bridge provided access across the wadi from the town to the sanctuary. The location seems isolated, but it may not really have been; the sanctuary was visible from the town centre (agora) before the fortifications were built, and after the town walls were constructed, a person standing on the walls could see into the sanctuary. When the area was first developed, c 600 BC, it would have been very isolated, but the town grew, reducing that isolation.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

From c 600 B.C. to after AD 262. Dating based on pottery and small finds.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

The Sanctuary is located on the side of the wadi, arranged on three terraces, roughly oriented east to west. Five different levels were arranged into three distinct sanctuary terraces named the Upper, Middle and Lower Sanctuaries. Terrace walls separate these three levels. The Upper Sanctuary located to the south, the highest up the hill and the furthest from the town. The Middle Sanctuary seems to have been the most important area of the complex. The Lower Sanctuary is closest to the wadi and the
town. Preliminary work suggests this may have been the last area of the site to be
developed. A 'dog-leg' junction in the north peribolos wall of the Middle Sanctuary
and a short preserved section of north-to-south oriented peribolos wall suggests the
sanctuary may have been bisected by an internal north - south wall. The locations of
later structures in the Middle Sanctuary suggest this division may have been retained
throughout the life of the sanctuary. It is possible that the larger eastern section of the
Middle Sanctuary was dedicated to Demeter, while the smaller western section was
sacred to Kore.

The Sanctuary may not have a single, central temple, rather it contained a series of
independent 'Sacred Houses'. These structures were small, measuring between 6 x 7m
for the largest Sacred House (S1), to 4 x 6m for the smallest (S5). These oikoi were
single-roomed and roofed. It is, however, possible that since the sanctuary seems to
have been divided into two cultic areas, each side had its own preeminent Sacred
House - S1 in the eastern section and S6 in the western.

No central large cult altars have been discovered in the sanctuary instead numerous
small, portable altars were uncovered (small stone altars measuring up to 90cm in
height and terracotta thymiateria). Twelve large, but still portable, stone altars have
been excavated. These altars have burn staining and may have been used to burn
offerings of animal (pig?) flesh.

**SUMMARY OF ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT:**
Excavation so far has concentrated on the Middle Sanctuary with some minor
exploration of the Upper and Lower areas. The site was badly damaged by
earthquakes in antiquity, (AD. 262 and a later one of uncertain date) resulting in a
deep destruction level across the site. The sanctuary was abandoned after the second
earthquake.

**Phase One: The Sixth Century B.C.**
Development started in this century in what later became the Middle Sanctuary. The
broad peribolos wall with the 'dog-leg', and the wall running north to south were
built.

**Phase Two:**
An Archaic pseudoisodomic temenos wall was constructed. The new wall virtually followed the line of the earlier wall.

**Phase Three:** *The Later Archaic and Classical periods*

The Middle sanctuary was enlarged to the south and three Sacred Houses were constructed (Structures S1, S5 and S6). The Upper Sanctuary was also developed in this phase. Large ashlar buildings were constructed close to the terrace wall that separated the Upper and Middle Sanctuaries (S2, S3, and S4 on excavation plans), but only preliminary excavation has been undertaken on these structures and so their use is not yet known.

**Phase Four:** *The Hellenistic period*

The Middle Sanctuary was further developed with the addition of a Sacred House (S7), two small cult rooms attached to the western *peribolos* wall and a small fountain. Stairs were built during this time to help people walk on bedrock surfaces that were apparently deliberately left exposed. The bedrock was steep and in some places is worn to a slippery surface from the passage of feet. A second set of stairs was constructed to allow access to the Upper Sanctuary from the centre of the Middle Sanctuary's south terrace wall. The first propylon entrance to the Upper Sanctuary may also have been constructed during this phase.

**Phase Five:**

Roman, Early Imperial

**Phase Six:**

From AD 115 to AD 262 (first earthquake).

**Phase Seven:**

Post AD 262.

**CULT:**

Demeter and Kore. Early travellers identified the deities of the sanctuary in the nineteenth century by means of three Roman inscriptions and excavation has since recovered nine other inscriptions that mention either Demeter or Kore. Artifacts (large quantities of feasting wares, thousands of terracotta figurines of pigs, *peplophoroi*, women carrying flowers, torches or pigs and comic masks, jewellery, weapons, tools, bronze *astragaloi*, lamps - miniature and full-size, eighty limestone and marble statues of standing and enthroned women and pigs) and faunal remains
(77% of skeletal remains from the sanctuary are from suids ranging in age from neonatal to two years) suggest that the Thesmophoria was celebrated in this sanctuary.

If the sanctuary was bisected, Demeter and Kore may have been worshipped separately, each in their own half.

Callimachus' Hymn to Demeter may refer to the sanctuary and festivals of Cyrene, but it may also refer to sanctuaries at either Alexandria or Knidos. The hymn describes events at a sanctuary and it may have been written so that it could be used at more than one location.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
White, 1984, figs. 1, 117-118.
Site Catalogue

Cyrene: Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter, Phase Three (Archaic to Classical)
Cyrene: Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter, Phase Four (Hellenistic)

DELOS

MAP NUMBER:
34

LOCATION:
Cyclades

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Athenaeus iii 109e.
ID 290, 85-92; 372a, 104-106; 440a, 36f; 442a, 200f; 444a, 28f, 460t, 66.
IQ XI² 219 a, 44-45.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
The Thesmophorion has not been identified, but two locations have been proposed: a) Ghournia, on the west end of Skardhana Bay and b) near the merchant port on the eastern side of Skardhana Bay.
Sanctuary Dates:
IG XI² 219 a, 44-45 relates the visit by Protos and a companion in the summer of 272 or 271 B.C.

Site Description:
Protos and a companion visited Delos in the summer, visiting five separate structures: the propylon, the Neorion, the fountain of Minoe, the Letoon, the Palaistra on the Lake and the Thesmophorion. The first four in the list have been identified, and so J. Tréheux theorises that a study of the ancient itinerary, taken in conjunction with inscriptive evidence, can provide clues to the general location of the Thesmophorion. Ancient sources describe the sanctuary as a large site with a peribolos wall, numerous internal structures (oikoi) and located beside the ocean on a gentle slope. Tréheux believes that the sanctuary was located on eastern side of Skardhana Bay where the terrain matches this description. Ghournia, on the western end of the bay, is located on a steep slope and although the area has been explored thoroughly no sign of the sanctuary has been found.

A large corpus of financial inscriptions from Delos records expenditures for the Thesmophoria, including the prices of sacrificial pigs.

Cult:
Demeter Thesmophoros

Site Plan Adapted From:
Tréheux, 1987, 499.
MAP NUMBER: 120
LOCATION: Argolid
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias ii 36, 4 (Loeb ii 36, 3).
Modern Works
TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown
Sanctuary Dates:
Unknown.

Site Description:
Pausanias ii 36, 4: "Another place they call the Twins [Didymoi] is two and a half miles on; there is a sanctuary of Apollo and one of Poseidon, also one of Demeter. The statues are upright, made of white stone."

This Demeter sanctuary is not known. The name 'Didymoi' is probably preserved in the modern Didyma, at the foot of the twin peaked Mount Didyma. Ancient remains were found by early travelers, and a dedicatory inscription to Demeter was found in the local church (see: Frazer, 298-99, Levi, 219, n. 210).

Cult:
Demeter

Map Number:
102

Location:
Arkadia

Select Bibliography:
Ancient Sources
IG V² 414.
Pausanias viii 25, 2-3.

Modern Works
Leonardos, B., 1891, AD, 98ff.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Pausanias viii 25, 2-3: "...it [river Ladon] flows down to Thaliades and a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter, [3] which lies inside the frontier of Thelopeusa. There are statues there at least seven feet high of Demeter and her daughter and Dionysos, all in stone.
After passing the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess, the Ladon flows past the city of Thelpousa on its left;"

Site of sanctuary tentatively identified at modern Divritsa, now renamed Dimitra. It was identified on the basis a bronze vessel dedicated to Kore (IG V² 414).

Two other locations have also been suggested as the possible Eleusinian sanctuary - the acropolis of Vachlia and in the Klivoka valley. Both sites are located near Dimitra.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Hellenistic to Roman.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Dimitra

A small temple (16.50m long by 5.50m wide) consisting of a cella and a pronaos was uncovered at Dimitra in rough terrain on a small plateau above the river Ladon. The temple is very poorly constructed of local stone. A large statue base, with preserved dimensions of 80cm wide x 60cm long was also found at the site. This is important for identification purposes because of the three large cult statues listed by Pausanias. Artifacts found on the site include a terracotta figurine head of Athena and a bronze bowl inscribed with word 'KOPAI'. There is no evidence to link Demeter with this sanctuary, but in mainland Greece, Kore was rarely worshipped without her mother.

The other sites identified as this sanctuary of Demeter are:

a) The acropolis of Vachlia. In 1891, Leonaros excavated a small temple with a pronaos and a base for a cult statue. He found terracotta figurines of kourotrophoi in the area.

b) Klivoka valley. A small temple was found on a rocky hill located approximately 50m from the River Ladon.

CULT:
Eleusinian Demeter and Kore. All the above sanctuaries are only tentatively identified as sanctuaries of Demeter. The identifications are based on artifacts and the description provided by Pausanias.
MAP NUMBER: 45

LOCATION:
Southern Macedonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Harrington, Spencer P.M., 1996 (March/April), "Sanctuary of the gods", Archaeology 28-35.
Παντερμαλής, Δ., 1990, "Η ανασκαφή του Δίου", AEMQ 4, 187-188.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

The sanctuary is located 61m south of the town, near the main (south-west) gate.

SANCTUARY DATES:
500 B.C. to 40 A.D.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary has two phases:

1) Two temples of megaron type with antechambers and two associated circular cultshafts located to the south-east of the southern temple. Artifacts from this phase include: pottery, lamps and terracotta figurines (women votaries, an hydrophoros, representations of Kybele and Artemis). The finds date to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. This phase was covered by a late fourth century B.C. destruction level.

2) The whole sanctuary was shifted to the east during this phase. Two temples with altars and auxiliary structures of uncertain purpose were again constructed and a section of peribolos wall survives on the western side of the site. Artifacts from this phase include: miniature vessels, lamps, terracotta figurines (representation of a sacred meal or first fruit offering, female votaries, and women with a polos crown),
ring kernoi with attached miniature hydriae, and coins of Antigonus II Gonatas (284 - 239 B.C.).

**Cult:**

Demeter Thesmophoros (?). The goddess was identified by a dedication to Demeter preserved on a fourth century red figure skyphos fragment.

The lamps, ring kernoi, *hydrophoros* figurine and the two chthonic cult-shafts indicate that this sanctuary may have been a Thesmophorion.

**Site Plans Adapted From:**

MAP NUMBER: 54
LOCATION: Phokis
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias x 33, 6 (Loeb x 33, 12).

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban ?.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias x 33, 6: "The Drymaians have an ancient sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, with an upright statue made of stone: they hold the festival of the Law-giving for her every year."

Drymaia consists of an acropolis and a lower town situated on a plain to the south; the fortifications can be traced around an area of roughly twenty square kilometres. Frazer visited the site and discovered the foundations of a temple in the lower town. He suggested that these may be the remains of the Demeter sanctuary described by Pausanias.

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros

MAP NUMBER:
146

LOCATION:
Argolid

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias ii 34, 6; 34, 12.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote? or extraruban?

SANCTUARY DATES:
Pottery sherds from Palaiokastro, a small site that may have been ancient Eileoi, range in date from the fifth to the early second centuries B.C.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias lists two sites in this area, one located in a mountain pass on the steep road from Troizen to Hermione, the other in the same area, but closer to the sea.

Pausanias ii 34, 6: "Along the mountain road that passes this rock is a shrine of Apollo Platanistius (of the Plane Trees), and a place called the Holes [Eileoi] where there are sanctuaries of Demeter and the Maid: and towards the sea on the Hermionean border is a sanctuary of Demeter Thermasia."

It has been suggested that the site of Palaiokastro, a small fortified settlement on a peak that overlooks a deep valley, was possibly ancient Eileoi (Jameson et al, 519). A small number remains are visible on the surface, including sections of the fortification wall, house foundations and a possible extraurban shrine (a single limestone column found to the south of the walls). The association of the Demeter sanctuary and the town of Eileoi is not known.

CULT:

Demeter Eileoi and Kore and Demeter Thermasia.

ELEUSIS

MAP NUMBER:

79

LOCATION:

Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources

Hymn to Demeter

Pausanias i 38,3; 38, 6.

Modern Works


Topography:

The sanctuary at Eleusis is located in the southwest corner of the Thriasian Plain on the east end of a long, low rocky ridge which runs parallel and close to the sea. This plain is very fertile, surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the south by the sea. The plain is joined to the Attic Plain by a narrow and easily defensible passage between Mount Aigaleos and Mount Parnes. Another narrow passage connects the Thriasian Plain to the Megarian Plain. Roads connecting Athens with the Peloponnesos to the west and south and with Thebes and the rest of central and northern Greece to the north pass by Eleusis. The site is therefore important both from a religious and from a tactical point of view.

The town of Eleusis is located to the west, behind the acropolis on a lower ridge. The town and the sanctuary were encircled by the same wall built in the time of Peisistratos, but a cross wall always separated the sanctuary and the town. The acropolis was also fortified with its own wall.

Demeter's sanctuary was divided into two zones a) the cult area itself and b) an administration, storage and living area for cult personnel.

Sanctuary Dates:

Phases One to Three (EH to LH I): no evidence of cultic use of the area.

Phase Four: During LH II to III a village was constructed on site and possibly the first cult activity started indicated by the possible construction of the Megaron B (Darque, 598 disputes the date of Megaron B/B1-B3). In the LH IIIb period, additional rooms B1, B2 and B3 were added to Megaron B.
Phase Five: Proto-Geometric and Geometric c 1110 to 700 B.C. The site was now definitely used as a cult area indicated by the remains of a sacrificial pyre, terracotta figurines and pottery.

Phase Six: Archaic Period to Peisistratean times c 700 to 550 BC. During this time, the Solonian Terrace and Telesterion were constructed.

Phase Seven: Peisistratean Period c 550 - 510 B.C.

Phase Eight: The Kimonian and Periklean Era c 480 - 404 B.C. A re-building programme was undertaken in 480 B.C. possibly to repair damage caused to the sanctuary by the invading Persians. The Archaic Telesterion was taken down and replaced by a new and larger structure. Building stone, wooden beams and doors from the old structure were retained and re-used in other building projects including a new bridge over the Rheitoi, to repair a hole in the sanctuary temenos wall, and as additional support for one of the interior piers of the Classical granaries.

Phase Nine: The fourth century and the Hellenistic Era c 400 - 146 B.C.

Phase Ten: Roman Era

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias i 38, 6: "The Eleusinians have a shrine of Triptolemos, and one of Artemis of the Entrance and Father Poseidon, and a well called Kallichoros, where the Eleusinian women first danced and came to the goddess. They say the Rarian meadow was the first place ever sown or cropped; hence the tradition of using barley-grains from there, and making sweet-cakes for the sacrifices. Here they show you Triptolemos' threshing-floor and altar. The dream forbids me to write what lies inside the sanctuary wall, and what the uninitiated are not allowed to see they obviously ought not to know about."

Mycenaean Remains:

Late Helladic II and III (1500 - 1110 B.C.): The village of Eleusis was enlarged in these two periods, especially in LH III, and the first possible cult building, known as "Megaron B" was possibly constructed. It is located on the east slope of the citadel, under the later Telesteria, oriented south-east to north-west, with the entrance on the
south-east. A courtyard, measuring approximately 16m east to west by 30m north to south, delineated by a thick peribolos wall may have surrounded and isolated the Megaron from any habitation in the area. Megaron B itself consists of a single long, narrow room with a portico. The portico is in antis and has a central projecting platform with a staircase on each side. Both Megaron B and the peribolos wall were constructed of sun-dried mud brick.

Megaron B is dated on ceramic evidence to the LH II period. Three additional rooms, called B1 to B3, were possibly added in the LH IIIB period. The exact function of Megaron B and B1-3 is problematic. Mylonas (1961) suggests that myth recounts Demeter’s arrival at Eleusis and the start of her cult in the LH II period (fifteenth century) and that Megaron B is the early temple referred to in the Hymn to Demeter. Travlos (1983) suggests that the Megaron may have been a combined dwelling and cult building of Demeter, belonging to a ruling Eleusinian family, possibly the Eumolpids. Mazarakis, Ainian (1987) basically agrees with Travlos, and further suggests that in the middle of the eighth century B.C., the building complex lost its dual function, ceasing to be a habitation, becoming instead solely a centre of Demeter’s worship.

Site plans adapted from: Mylonas, 1961, fig. 11.
Eleusis: Megaron, Phase One

Eleusis: Megaron, Phase Two
Susan-Marie Cronkite

Later Greek Remains:

Only two main cult structures from the sanctuary are briefly discussed below:

The Telesterion is oriented north-west to south-east, with the main entrance on the south-east, the back facing the acropolis hill. It maintained this orientation throughout its history, seemingly located and oriented by the 'anaktoron', the 'holy of holies'. This is a separate closed-off room inside the Telesterion which was kept roughly in the same location during all subsequent building phases. Megaron B is located in this area, and so may have been identified by the later Greeks as the original anaktoron, Demeter's first temple.

The Temple of Plouton or the Ploutonion is located within a natural cave with two rooms is located just inside the gate of the sanctuary. The first structure in the cave was constructed in Peisistratid times. The temple was a small, single-roomed structure, 2.90m by 2.50m, with an open portico in antis. A frontal court may also have been made at this time. Later, a small temple was built over the structure. A fourth-century votive relief identifies the structure and associated deities (the relief represents Plouton and Persephone dining and the crowning of Demeter by Persephone) and the temple is mentioned in a fourth-century inscription (329/8 BC).

CULT:

Pausanias i 38, 3: "....In the battle between Eleusis and Athens, Erechtheus king of Athens and Immarados son of Eumolpos died, and peace was made on these terms: Eleusis should be subject to Athens in everything else, but carry out the mystery independently."

Demeter Eleusinia and Kore Eleusinia and Plouton (Hades)

Eleusis was a panhellenic Demeter sanctuary and the only location where the true Mysteries were celebrated.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Travlos, 1949, fig. 1; Mylonas, 1961 figures 32 and 27.
Eleusis: Town and Sanctuary
Eleusis

Eleusis: Telesterion

ELIS

MAP NUMBER:

96
LOCATION:
Eleia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
- Pausanias (Loeb) vi 23, 2-3.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias vi 23, 2-3: "In the gymnasium is the place called P lethrium. In it the umpires match the competitors according to age and skill; it is for wrestling they match them. There are also in the gymnasium altars of the gods, of Idean Herakles, surnamed Comrade (Parastatos), of Love (Eratos), of the deity called by the Eleans and Athenians alike Love Returned, of Demeter and of her daughter.”

CULT:
Demeter and Kore

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MAP NUMBER:
14

LOCATION:
Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
- Herodotus vi 16.
- IVE 10, 28; 213, 4-5; 1058; 1060, 2; 1067; 1070a; 1071; 1072; 2110, 1 and 9; 1228; 1305, 5; 1595, 3-6; 1600, 63; 3252, 13, 6; 4337, 18.

TOPOGRAPHY:
The town may have had multiple Demeter sanctuaries.
- Intraurban: A marble altar with a dedicatory inscription to Pluton, Demeter and Kore (IVE 1227) was found inside the walls on the south-east slope of Panayirdag suggesting that there may have been a sanctuary in the vicinity.
- Sanctuary Dates:

Unknown.

- Site Description:

Herodotus vi 16: "On the way, they entered the territory of Ephesus. It was after dark, and the women of the place were celebrating the Thesmophoria, and the Ephesians, having had no news of the Chians' predicament, and seeing that a company of armed men had crossed their borders, at once supposed them to be brigands who were after their women. They therefore hurried to the rescue with every available man, and the Chians were killed."

IVE 1210, 9 mentions a ναός of Demeter, but does not provide any other information.

IVE 1595, 3-6: mentions the combined mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos which is situated outside of the town walls:

“πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταὶ καὶ Διονύσου Φλέω μύσται”

- Cult:

Four possible cults of Demeter are identified by inscriptive evidence: Demeter Thesmophoros, Demeter Karpophoros / Karpotokos, the combined mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos, and the triad of Demeter, Kore and Pluton.

- Site Plan Adapted From:

IVE IV, 1228, 135 and Planskizze von Ephesos.
MAP NUMBER:
3

LOCATION:
Lesbos

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Athenaeus iii 111f-112a.
IG XII² 527, 44.

Modern Works
Kern, O., "Eresos", RE IV, 2747.


TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.
Evidence for Demeter worship at Eresos comprises of literary references and representations of Demeter on coinage.

**Sanctuary Dates:**
The coinage is of an early Roman date, but Demeter's cult may have arrived on Lesbos with the first settlers.

**Site Description:**
Athenaeus iii 111f-112a while not actually mentioning the worship of Demeter, gives a good description of grain from this particular Lesbian polis: “First, dear Moschus, I will call to mind the gifts of fair-haired Demeter, and do thou lay it to heart. The best that one may get, ay, the finest in the world, all cleanly sifted from the rich fruit of barley, grows where the crest of glorious Eresus in Lesbos is washed by the waves. It is whiter than snow from the sky. If it be that the gods eat barley-meal, Hermes must go and buy it for them there. In seven-gated Thebes, too, there is good barley, in Thasos, also and in some other towns; but theirs seems like grape-stones compared with the Lesbian.”

IG XII² 527, 44 mentions a women’s festival held in the month of Homoloios (Ομολόιος). Kern suggests that this month may have been named after a Demeter festival, but this epithet was not limited to the goddess so the month name may also have referred to Artemis, Zeus or Apollo.

**Cult:**
Demeter Homoloios?

**Site Plan Adapted From:**
MAP NUMBER:

72

LOCATION:

Euboea

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

AR 1982/83, 18.


Site Catalogue


TOPOGRAPHY:

Three possible Demeter sanctuaries have been excavated at Eretria, all intraurban.

a) Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros (?): a Late Archaic, intramural sanctuary located on a man-made terrace on the eastern side of the south slope of the town's acropolis.

b) Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros (?): an intramural sanctuary of a Hellenistic date, located on the western side of the south slope of the town's acropolis, approximately 80m west of the Archaic sanctuary.

c) The North-east votive deposit: intramural, north-east of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros.

SANCTUARY DATES:

a) Late Archaic / Classical to early third century B.C. The earliest pottery dates from the fifth century, but the architecture may date as early as the late sixth century. The sanctuary went out of use in the early third century B.C., a date when many structures and building projects in the town were abandoned.

b) The sanctuary was founded in the Hellenistic period and used until the town's destruction in 87 B.C. during the Mithridatic Wars. This sanctuary may have been built to take over the function of the first Thesmophorion after the early third century when the first sanctuary went out of use.

c) Pottery and artifacts from the deposit date from the eighth to the sixth century B.C.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE:

a) This sanctuary consists of a peribolos wall surrounding a small, single-roomed cult building (c 7m by 4m) that has a door on its east end. An altar was located to the east of the structure. A large deposit of ash, burnt bone and teeth was found immediately to the west of the altar, extending in a semi-circle 1.40m wide and up to 25cm deep. This deposit was created by cleaning off the altar after sacrifices were burned. A large ex-voto pottery deposit was also discovered in a natural crevice in the bedrock to the north of the altar. This deposit contained dining wares and miniature cups.

The sanctuary grounds were entered from the western end. A smoothed bedrock path lead from the entrance to the front of the cult structure and the altar. The south side of the sanctuary preserves traces of man-made terraces used to enlarge the area of the
sanctuary. The furthest south wall supported a terrace, while the inner south wall was the sanctuary *peribolos* wall. An open, south-facing stoa was located between the two south walls. Traces cut into the bedrock indicate that the south face of the *temenos* wall was used as the back wall of the hall. A wall spur and cuts in the bedrock indicate that a further terrace was located to the south, creating a large gathering, or festival meeting place outside the *temenos*.

b) The Hellenistic sanctuary was built against and partly into the acropolis. A small square *cella* was set against the acropolis, aligned north to south, and an open-air stairway led up to the entrance. The stairway was flanked on each side by a large roofed room or hall. Both halls opened to the south. The area in front of the stairway and side halls was enlarged by man-made terraces. One large polygonal terrace wall support was found to the east of the cult building. The terrace walls may have had the dual purpose of support walls and *temenos* wall. This sanctuary was identified as a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and a possible successor to the possible earlier Thesmophorion, on the basis of numerous terracotta figurines and dedications to Kore.

c) The North-east votive deposit actually consists of a an extensive series of deposits arranged around a circular masonry feature. These deposits consist of numerous fragments of miniature hydriai and a wide variety of “small objects”. The eastern limit of the deposit is defined by a dry-stone curb located 5m from the circular masonry. A disturbed fill makes up the area between the masonry and the curb. This fill is packed with Archaic miniature hydriai, many of which are decorated with figural processions.

**CULT:**

Demeter Thesmophoros(?).

Arthur Muller (168-169) disagrees with the identification of the Archaic sanctuary (site ‘a’ above) claiming that the topography and artifacts do not identify the deity or the cult with any degree of security. See Chapter four, “Eretria Revisited” for a discussion of Muller’s arguments.
SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Auberson and Schefold, 1972, 105, fig. 18a.

Metzger, 1985, plan 1, 34.

Eretria: The Sanctuaries of Demeter
1) Eretria: The Archaic/Classical Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros

2) Eretria: Hellenistic Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros(?)

**ERYTHRAI**

**MAP NUMBER:**
13

**LOCATION:**
Ionia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
IvEK I 69, 4.
IvEK II 201, a31, a38, a56; b5; c12 and c68.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Inscription dates between 300 and 260 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Unknown.

CULT:
The inscriptions indicate that Demeter was worshipped in several guises at this town. 
IvEK I 69 mentions Demeter Thesmophoros and IvEK II 201 lists the prices for various priesthoods, including positions for: Δήμητρις ἐγ Κολωναῖς, Δήμητρις Χλῆ and Κόρη.

MAP NUMBER:
70

LOCATION:
Bocotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Lysimachos, FGrH 383F2 (Schol. Sophokles, OC 91).

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

The location of the ancient town of Eteonos is not known.
Susan-Marie Cronkite

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Lysimachos: Oedipus died at Thebes, but he could not be buried there. His friends took the body to Eteonos, a town in southern Boeotia, where they buried it under the cover of darkness. Unfortunately, the friends were unaware that they had buried the body in a Demeter sanctuary. The inhabitants of Eteonos found out and consulted the oracle to find out what they should do about this sacrilege. The oracle, however, told them not disturb the burial as he was the goddess' suppliant. The sanctuary was then named Oedipodeion.

The sanctuary was presumably extramural and without temenos walls to allow the friends to be thought to have buried Oedipus unknowingly in it.

CULT:
Demeter and the hero Oedipus.

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EUTRESIS

MAP NUMBER:
69

LOCATION:
Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

Eutresis is located on a hill, and is surrounded by massive polygonal walls. The possible Demeter sanctuary is located on south slope of the hill, outside the fortification wall.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Late sixth to third centuries B.C.

Description of the Site:

The Demeter sanctuary of Eutresis is very poorly preserved. Only the three lowest courses of two walls were excavated. These wall sections were identified by the excavator as the lowest courses of terracing. Structures may have stood on the completed terraces, but no evidence of any architecture has survived. Remains consist of: long "upper" wall (Wall I) running in an east-west direction for 18m and short "lower" wall (Wall II) that consists of two short angular sections (3.30m and 4.40m) that may have returned and joined on to Wall I. Terrace fill was packed between these two walls. The fill contained votives from the late sixth to the third centuries B.C., giving a terminus ante quem of the third century B.C. for the terrace walling.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros(?). This sanctuary was originally identified as a sanctuary of Apollo because no Demeter sanctuaries had been found in Boeotia up to 1931. Later, the sanctuary was re-evaluated and identified as a possible Demeter sanctuary based on the terracotta types found in the fill, including hydrophoroi, women carrying pigs and individual pigs.

Demeter Thesmophoros(?). This sanctuary was originally identified as a sanctuary of Apollo because no Demeter sanctuaries had been found in Boeotia up to 1931. Later the sanctuary was re-evaluated and identified as a possible Demeter sanctuary based on the terracotta types found in the fill, including hydrophoroi, women carrying pigs and individual pigs.

MAP NUMBER:
147

Location:
Macedonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
LSAG 479 E.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Inscription dates from 550 to 500 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Horoi from a precinct of Demeter with text "Demeter Hekatompedos, or Demeter of the Hekatompedon"

CULT:
Demeter Hekatompedos

MAP NUMBER:
136

LOCATION:
Italy

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The sanctuary was founded in 600 B.C. and was in use until c. 250 B.C. It underwent four distinct phases during its history: one) 600 to 480 B.C., two) 480 to 400 B.C., three) 400 to 300 B.C. and four) 300 - 250 B.C.

A single dedicatory inscription to Demeter dates between 550 and 530 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Gravisca is the port of the Etruscan town of Tarquinia. In the late eighth or early seventh century B.C., an Eastern Greek colony developed there to facilitate trade with Etruscan Italy. Later, when the colony was well established, the Greeks founded a
sanctuary dedicated to their own deities and interests. The gods of this sanctuary catered mostly to merchants; protection and safe travel were granted to those who dedicated part of their trade goods to the gods. Inscriptional evidence indicates that from the beginning, four Greek deities, Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo and Demeter, along with some Etruscan deities, were worshipped there. A single inscription reading "ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ" from an Attic black gloss cup, provides the only direct evidence for Demeter's worship, but numerous votive offerings, including lamps, terracotta pine cones and iron ploughshares, attest that she was an important deity in the sanctuary.

The first evidence for worship at the sanctuary of Gravisca dates to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. when offerings were placed in natural favissae and a large man-made bothros. Cult structures were first built on the site in c 580 B.C. This sanctuary is a complex, multi-level and multi-deity site, so only phase three of building β, the possible Thesmophorion, is discussed here. In phase three, the sanctuary underwent radical reorganization and five separate cult structures were constructed along a main access road; buildings α and β on the western side and γ, δ and ε on the eastern. Building β was a large, roofed oikos (10.70m by 6.60m) with an associated open but walled court to the west. Inside the building, there is a well and the foundations for a small prothesis altar (preserved dimensions .90m x .95m) which is aligned south to east. The large quantities of ex-voto materials and the dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter and the Etruscan goddess Vei were found within the building and the general area.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros (?). Torelli (438) suggests that the roofed oikos with the internal altar (unique in this sanctuary) was the teletai or megaron in which mysteries were held, while the walled court provided room for dancing other cult activities. Ex-voto material - ploughshares, pine cones and lamps - attests to the agricultural, fertility and chthonic nature of the festivals, thereby suggesting that, if mysteries were held, they were likely those of the Thesmophoria.

It is also possible that Demeter was worshipped at Gravisca alongside, or partially blended with, the Etruscan goddess Vei who had similar agricultural and chthonic spheres of influence.

- 381 -
SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Torelli, 1977, 419.

Altar

Gravisca: The Sanctuary of The Greek Gods

MAP NUMBER:
38

LOCATION:
Crete, near Kamilaroi

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
AR 1957, 16.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The site consists of a small, rectangular building and a horseshoe-shaped enclosure (4.30m wide) which surrounded a large votive repository. The votive pit was 1.5m deep, filled with offerings of terracotta figurines including an enthroned, polos-crowned female (?goddess), male and female worshippers carrying pigs in their arms or carrying chests (kistas?) on their heads, and a few male figures, nude except for a cloak thrown over one shoulder. A second, small deposit of similar figurine types was discovered inside the building.

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros (?)

The deity and cult festival is identified on the basis of the pig and kista-carrying terracotta figurines

MAP NUMBER:
129

LOCATION:
Lakonia.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias iii 21, 7 (Loeb iii 21, 8).

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias iii 21, 7: “In another part of the city are Kamean Apollo, a sanctuary of Ammon and a bronze image of Asclepius, whose temple is roofless, a spring belonging to the god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter and an image of Poseidon Earth-embracer (Γαῖακλήσιον).
CULT: Demeter

MAP NUMBER: 149

Location: Argolid.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Hesperia 38, 340-341.


TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban

SANCTUARY DATES:
Pottery sherds date from the late seventh and mid fourth centuries B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
This sanctuary was originally discovered in 1909 and was again examined during a field survey in 1968, but it has not been excavated. The site consists of a concentration of pottery and other artifacts lying on a hillside terrace, approximately 100m from the walls of Halieis. Finds include: fragments of black gloss fine wares, miniature cups, terracotta figurines of women carrying pigs, votive lamps, a single kernos fragment, pieces of a large marble statue and limestone architectural fragments.

CULT: Demeter.
MAP NUMBER: 19

LOCATION:
Caria, Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:


TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

Newton discovered the possible Demeter sanctuary in the Field of Chiaoux (named after property owner). The field was located north-east of the large terrace of the Mausoleum, approximately half way up the slope of the acropolis. Other structures in the immediate area of the sanctuary included: the temple of Ares, a structure tentatively identified as a gymnasium and further to the west, the theatre.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Fourth century to the Roman period.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Mausolus, the satrap of Caria, moved his capital to Halikarnassos between c 370 to 360 B.C. He completely re-built the town on a highly planned and grand scale and then forced a synoikism of most of the small towns in the area in order to populate his new capital.

Newton excavated the Field of Chiaoux, finding: a 3' 7" wide (1.1m) foundation running north-west to south-east. This foundation consisted of a solid mass of stones with an ashlar casing on its western (outer) face. The base of the foundation was set into clay. A stratum of black earth found above the clay layer was filled with hundreds of terracotta figurines all of which were arranged in organized layers. A large deposit of plain Roman lamps was discovered north of the foundation wall. Newton also discovered several disconnected walls. These walls frequently had terracottas lining
one side of them. "These, like the lamps, seem to have been assorted like articles in a shop, many specimens of the same type occurring together," (Newton, 327). A possible temenos wall was also uncovered. This wall measured 2'3" wide (65cm) and could be followed for 28' (8.5m). A large block of marble was found a few yards to the east. The block was inscribed with a dedication to Demeter and Persephone. Newton suggested the marble block was part of a temple dedicated to Demeter and Kore, and the "vaulted foundations" were substructures of buildings located inside the temenos wall and used for the deposition of ex-voto deposits.

**CULT:**

Demeter and Kore, identified by inscriptive evidence.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

Newton, 1862, plate 48.
MAP NUMBER:
77
LOCATION:
Attica
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Hesychius, s.v. Κολίας.
Pausanias i 31, 1.
Plutarch, Solon viii 4-6.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
(Archonship of Solon, 594 - 593 B.C.)

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias i 31, 1: "Halimous has a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore,..."

Plutarch, Solon viii 4-6: "Solon sailed with Pisistratus to Cape Kolias, where he found all the women of Athens performing the customary sacrifice to Demeter....he ordered the women out of the way and arranged that those of the younger men, whose beards had not yet grown, should disguise themselves in the women's robes and head-dresses and sandals...and should dance and play on the beach until the enemy landed and the ship was within their grasp."

The sanctuary of Demeter at Halimous mentioned by Pausanias is probably the sanctuary at Cape Kolias mentioned by Plutarch where the Athenian women celebrated the Thesmophoria. Ancient Cape Kolias may possibly be identified as modern Ayios Kosmas. A few ancient worked blocks were found in this area but modern construction has destroyed the site. Halimous itself may have been on or near the coast at Glifada.
Susan-Marie Cronkite

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros

HELOROS (ELORO)

MAP NUMBER:
143

LOCATION:
Sicily

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
AR 1976/77, 66.
Dominguez, Adolfo, J., 1989. La Colonizacion Griega en Sicilia (BAR International Series 549 i and ii), 197.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

The sanctuary is located on the beach immediately north of the town.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Eighth to fourth centuries B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary consisted of a temple and various ancillary rooms of which six are well preserved and excavated. Low benches line the walls and terracotta figurines were found in situ on the benches. The figurines (standing females holding a tall torch or a pig) were leant against the walls; many examples were actually fastened on to the benches and walls with a plaster cement. Large numbers of figurines were also found in man-made bothroi and natural favissae.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore. The identity of the sanctuary is based upon the terracotta figurine types.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
**HEMIONE, OLD TOWN**

**MAP NUMBER:**

122

**LOCATION:**

Argolid

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*

Pausanias (Loeb) ii 34, 10.

*Modern Works*

TOPOGRAPHY:

This sanctuary was possibly originally extraurban, but due to the abandonment of the area its topographical relationship with new Hermione changed, becoming almost remote.

It is not known when the site of Old Hermione was abandoned, but it may have been in the second of first centuries B.C. (Jameson et al, 587). This area retained its cultic use, acting almost as an acropolis. In the time of Pausanias, seven shrines were found in the area of the old town.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias ii 34, 10: "There are also circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to Demeter."

CULT:

Demeter ?Thesmophoros

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HERMIONE, NEW TOWN

MAP NUMBER:

121

LOCATION:

Near the old town of Hermione, Argolid

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Pausanias mentions four Demeter sanctuaries in the area of New Hermione:

A) Demeter Thermasia:

Pausanias ii 34, 11 (Loeb ii 34, 6; ii 34, 12).

See: EILEOI for this sanctuary.

B) A second sanctuary of Demeter Thermasia in Hermione:

Pausanias ii 34, 11 (Loeb ii 34, 12).

C) Demeter and Kore on Buporthmus:

Pausanias ii 34, 8.
D) Demeter Chthonia on Mount Pron:

**Ancient Sources**

IG IV 683; 684; 689.

Pausanias ii 35, 3-4 (Loeb ii 35, 4-8).

**Modern Works**


**TOPOGRAPHY:**

A) Demeter Thermasia at Eileoi: Remote or extraurban?

B) The sanctuary of Demeter Thermasia: Pausanias’ description makes it difficult to discern this sanctuary’s relationship to Hermione.

C) Demeter and Kore on the Buporthmus: Extraurban.

D) Demeter Chthonia on Mount Pron: Extraurban. Modern Ermioni occupies most of the area of ancient Hermione and the lower slope of the Pron. Artifactual evidence indicates that Demeter’s sanctuary may have been located around Ayios Taxiarkhis on the Pron.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

IG IV 683 and 684, statue dedications to Demeter Chthonia, date to c 400 B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

Sites A and B) Pausanias ii 34, 11: “There are sanctuaries of Demeter Thermasia, one on the Troizen boundary as I have already said [ii 34, 6], the other in the city itself.”

Site C) Pausanias ii 34, 8: “...and a mountain projecting into the sea from the Peloponnese, called the Ox-Crossing (Βοονόρθος), with a sanctuary on it to Demeter and her daughter and one to Athena Promachorma (Guardian of the Anchorage).”

Site D) Pausanias ii 35, 3: “The most interesting thing of all is the sanctuary of Demeter on the Pron. The Hermionians say that Klymenos son of Phoroneus founded it with his sister Chthonia. But the Argives say that when Demeter came to the
Argolid, Athera and Mysios showed the goddess hospitality, but Kolontas neither entertained her at home nor showed her any other honour. This behaviour was against his daughter Chthonia’s wishes. The legend is that Kolontas was burnt to death in his house because of it, and Demeter brought Chthonia to Hermione where she built this sanctuary. The goddess herself is called Chthonia as well, and in summer-time every year they hold a festival called Chthonia. This is how they hold it: the priests of the gods and the annual magistrates lead the procession, and both the men and women follow on. By tradition even the children honour the goddess in the procession, dressed in white with wreaths on their heads. The wreaths are woven from the flower they call *kosmosandalon*, which I think from its size and colour is a hyacinth; it is inscribed with the syllable of lament. At the rear of the procession they lead along a perfect heifer, tied up with cords and still untamed and prancing. They drove her to the temple, untied her, and let her run loose into the sanctuary. Until then some of them were holding the doors open, but when they saw the cow in the temple, they slammed the doors shut. There are four old women left inside who slaughter the cow. Whoever could hit it slit the cow’s throat with a sickle. Then the doors were opened and the men whose job is was drove in a second cow, and then a third, and after that a fourth. The old women slaughter them all in the same way, and another amazing thing about this sacrifice is that whichever side the first cow falls on, all the others have to fall the same way.

The Hermioneans offer sacrifice as I have said. In front of the temple are a few portraits of women who were priestesses of Demeter, and there are thrones inside, where the old women wait for the cows to be driven in one after the other, and there are relatively late statues of Athena and Demeter. But I have not seen the one they most worship, and nor has any other man, Hermionean or foreigner; no one knows what it looks like except for the old women."

Pausanias (ii 35, 7) relates that the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia on the Pron was located near two other temples, one of Klymenos and one of Ares and that all three sanctuaries were enclosed by individual stone walls. Artifacts from the area of Ayios Taxiarkhis on the Pron include worked blocks and inscriptions to Demeter. Two of the inscriptions are inscribed statue bases *IG IV* 683 and 684, each with dowel marks for a four-footed animal (*IG IV* 683 is signed by Kresilas, the sculptor of Perikles).
Site Catalogue

These bases probably did not support equestrian statues, but rather bronze cows which referred to the main festival held for Demeter Chthonia and described by Pausanias (Jameson, 1953, 151-154).

CULT:
Pausanias provides evidence for the worship of Demeter and Kore, Demeter Chthonia, and Demeter Thermasia. Demeter Chthonia was an important deity, her image frequently appearing on their polis coinage.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Jameson et al, 1994, figure E.1, 582.

Hermione

HYSIAI
SEE: PLATAIA
**MAP NUMBER:**
18

**LOCATION:**
Caria, Asia Minor

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Intraurban.

Iasos is located on a peninsula on the coast of Caria. The Demeter sanctuary is situated on the southernmost tip of this peninsula on a terrace on the south side the hill that slopes down to the sea.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
End of the sixth century to the fourth century B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
The Archaic ground plan of the sanctuary is confused by later construction, but the early sanctuary may have contained a small temple. This structure measured 7.8m by 11m consisting of a *cella* and a small *pronaos in antis* on the east side. The *pronaos* itself contained a rectangular *eschara* to the right of the door, divided into two parts and bordered by cut stone blocks. It contained ash and Archaic terracotta figurines (*hydrophoroi*, two women under one veil, flower plaques and pigs) and cultic vessels (miniature hydriai). Shortly before 410 B.C., the sanctuary was rebuilt on a larger scale. An area of c 20m² to 22m² was surrounded by a *peribolos* wall. The interior may have been arranged into an open central courtyard with new central single-
chamber eschara and a stoa along the west side. An entrance was added to the north side of the sanctuary at the end of the fourth century B.C.

CULT:
Demeter (?)Thesmophoros. The cult is identified on the basis of the chthonic nature of the buildings taken in conjunction with the figurine types and cult vessels.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Johannowski, 1985, 56.
ISTHMIA

MAP NUMBER:
86

LOCATION:
Isthmus of Corinth

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
IG IV, 203.
Servius on Aeneid i, 430.

Modern Works
AR 1959-60, 8.
AR 1987-88, 22.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Demeter and her daughter were worshipped in two shrines within the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia:

a) Votive offerings from the Rachi, south-east of the sanctuary of Poseidon, suggest the existence of a hilltop shrine dedicated to Demeter and Kore.

b) IG IV, 203 lists five sanctuaries located in the 'Sacred Glen' (Τερακότα): sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, Dionysos, Eueteria (Good Seasons), Artemis and a sanctuary of Kore. Two votive offerings, both with inscriptions to Demeter, have allowed the identification of the approximate area of the Sacred Glen, 300m south-west of the sanctuary of Poseidon.

SANCTUARY DATES:
1) Rachi: Offerings indicate this shrine was founded in the Late Archaic or Early Classical period, and then fell into disuse by the fourth century B.C. when a settlement was built in the area. Figurines (and moulds) found in the later houses, however, suggest either that Demeter's worship may have continued as a domestic cult or that a small coroplastic workshop developed in the area which offered these dedications for sale.

2) Sacred Glen: IG IV, 203 which mentions Τερακότα by name dates to the second century A.D., but two dedicatory inscriptions found in the Sacred Glen area, one on a blue marble statue base and a second on a krateroid skyphos date to the fourth century B.C., probably in the third quarter of that century. This evidence suggests that the Sacred Glen replaced the Rachi shrine by the fourth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
1) Rachi: Four deposits of sixth- and fifth-century B.C. miniature Corinthian vessels were found in rock-cut holes on the top of the hill. The miniature vessels include: hydriai, kalathoi (women's work basket), krateriskoi, oinochoai and cups. No architectural remains are preserved because the surface of the hill has been badly damaged by quarrying and the construction of a later Hellenistic settlement. It is
possible, however, that the holes in which the votives were discovered held posts that either delineated the temenos wall or were part of a small cult structure. A deep well which contained fifth century B.C. pottery may have supplied water for the sanctuary.

2) Sacred Glen: The Sacred Glen has not been securely identified, but the dedications to Demeter possibly mark the sanctuary area. Upon excavation, however, no evidence for religious activity was found; instead artifacts suggest a commercial or residential area.

CULT:
The cult celebrated on the Rachi and later in the Sacred Glen area is not known, but Servius' commentary on the Aeneid mentions secret rites held at the Isthmus, possibly the Thesmophoria. Artifactual and epigraphical evidence suggest that the Sacred Glen site replaced the Rachi sanctuary in about the fourth century B.C. Large numbers of figurines and other possible votive objects (loom weights and household objects) from later periods were uncovered in the Rachi area suggesting the possibility that the Thesmophoria continued to be celebrated there, while more public festivals of Demeter's cult were moved to the Sacred Glen.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Isthmia: Sacred Glen
Isthmia: Rachi Demeter Sanctuary

KAINEPOLIS

MAP NUMBER:
130

LOCATION:
Lakonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias iii 25, 9

Modern Works

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Roman artifacts found at each site.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias iii 25, 9: "There is a megaron of Demeter there and a shrine of Aphrodite...."

In 1898, two sites in the modern village of Kyparissa were identified as the possible locations of the sanctuary of Demeter. One is on a hill in the fields north of the church of Koimesis tes Panagies. The second is on yet another hill near the church of the Saviour. Both sites yielded terracotta figurines.

**CULT:**
Demeter

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**KALLIPOLIS**

**MAP NUMBER:**
52

**LOCATION:**
Eastern Aetolia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Extraurban.

The sanctuary is located several metres from the south-east gate. To date, all cult structures have been found outside of the fortifications.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
An inscription that mentions Demeter and Kore (Delphi Museum inventory number 11869; Antonetti, 293) dates to the third or second century B.C. while some of the surviving architecture in the sanctuary may date to the Roman period.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary contains a simple cult building with no columns, measuring 4.80m by 4.90m. An opisthodimos which is located at a higher level, is thought to be a Roman addition.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore. Identification of the sanctuary is based upon two marble statues found within the temple, one of Demeter and one of Kore. Demeter is portrayed as enthroned while Kore stood beside her. The inscription which alone mentions the goddesses by name, was, unfortunately, found in a house located inside the town walls and not near the sanctuary.

Antonetti, 1990, 385-6 (plates 28-29) provides a photograph of the sanctuary and the marble cult statue of Kore.

KALYVIA SOKHAS (MOUNT TAYGETOS)

MAP NUMBER:
128

LOCATION:
Lakonia, at the foot of Mount Taygetos near Sparta

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
IG V i 229; 519; 567; 579; 581-584; 592; 595; 596; 604-608; 617; 623; 631; 1511.
Pausanias iii 20, 5.

Modern Works
Tod, Marcus N., 1905, "Notes and inscriptions from S.W. Messenia", JHS 25, 32-55.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Pausanias iii 20, 5: [Text corrupt] "... from the crest of Taygetos... is a sanctuary of Demeter of Eleusis."

The site is located above modern Kalyvia Sokhas, at the base of Mt. Taygetos, about one and a half hours from Sparta. The sanctuary is on the slope of the mountain, outside and above the village (1910) in a rugged area of gorges that has abundant water and is prone to flooding.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Cult-related artifacts range in date from the late Geometric period to the second or third century A.D. (inscribed base with dedication to Demeter and Kore from Agesippia), but there are no closed contexts due to the nature of the site. It is doubtful that any architecture dates earlier than the Hellenistic period.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

This is an unexpectedly large and possibly even monumental sanctuary. It is likely that it was important in the region, serving the needs of much of Lakonia.

Erosion channels allowed the site to be discovered by Von Prott in the early 1900s and then two large floods destroyed almost all of the sanctuary in 1947. A 10m wide and 3m deep channel was gouged out of the south end of the village, exposing two rows of blocks and washing out an extensive deposit of miniature clay vessels. By the time the flood had abated, marble blocks and other artifacts were washed as far as 1000m down stream. No proper site plan is available but a sketch plan of the area indicates the location of the inscribed foundation and other finds.

Excavations undertaken in 1949, concentrated on the area where the row of inscribed marble blocks had been left in situ by the flood. Seven blocks of local marble were excavated. The first four blocks formed an almost straight line running roughly north-east to south-west, while the next five blocks also formed a straight line, but running at roughly a twenty degree angle from the first line. These blocks had no cuttings, were worn smooth on the upper surfaces and carried inscriptions, and so are
interpreted as the remains of a curb, and not foundations or part of a wall. The two
inscriptions, each of which was located on the risers and centred on one 'arm' of
blocks read:

KYMBÆIATAIAMATPI and KYMBÆIATAIKOPAI.

No evidence for the purpose of this curb has survived, but Cook (1950, 265) surmises
it may be the remains of a small, monumental structure dedicated by a woman who
had concluded her time in office. These inscriptions date to the third century B.C.

The curb was set on to earth that contained a dense packing of miniature hydriai
above virgin soil. Other artifacts, including tile fragments, carved bone and bronze
jewellery, terracotta figurines, and lead tablets, were found in gravel around and
above the curb. Architectural pieces found in the river bed suggest that the sanctuary
contained some large buildings and a theatrical area. These pieces include a large Doric
block, smoothed on front and back that may have been the end of an altar, the drum
of a Doric column with 16 flutes, with a diameter of 37cm at top and 38.5cm at the
bottom and five solid marble seats. Four of the preserved seats are plain with rough
bases and backs showing that they were embedded in the ground. The fifth seat has
the same dimensions as the other four, but was probably a seat of honour; this seat
has legs carved in flat relief, a smoothed and shaped back and the seat-back is tilted
backwards, perhaps for increased comfort.

Other large cult-related objects from the site and riverbed included: fragments of a
marble table top with the inscription Δώξις on the edge, two fluted table legs
with lion-paw feet and a complete marble pedestal that may have been used to support
a shallow basin, fragments of both bronze and marble sculptural pieces and a bronze
door or chest-lid decorated with the names of its dedicators and a series of wreaths.

SANCTUARY SIZE:

The southernmost extent of the sanctuary is fixed by the mouth of the ravine. Stibbe
(81-83) suggests that the sanctuary originally covered the whole area of the modern
village and that a temple or Telesterion was located in the south-west corner of the
site.
CULT:

Demeter Eleusinia

During the first excavations in 1910, stamped roof tiles were found. These tiles preserved parts of the word 'ΔΑΜΑΤΡΟΣ'. A fragment of white marble with rules for procedure at a festival in honour of Demeter and Kore, for the Θεοναρμώτρια, 'the mistress of the banquet, an official only known in connection with the festival of these deities, was also discovered. The inscription is, however, too badly mutilated to allow satisfactory restoration. Further dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter and Kore were found in the local church of Hagia Sophia. These inscriptions identify the site as a sanctuary of Demeter, presumably that of Demeter Eleusinia mentioned by Pausanias.

Kore may have been a visitor at this sanctuary; Pausanias records that the image of Kore was borne from Helos to the Eleusinion: Pausanias III.20.7 "On certain days they bring a cult-statue of the Maid to the Eleusinion from Helos."

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Cook, 1950, 262.
KALYVIA SOKHAS (Mount Taygetos): The Sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia

**KARNASIAN GROVE (ANDANIA)**

**MAP NUMBER:**
132

**LOCATION:**
Messenia, near the town of Andania on the Stenyklerian Plain.

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
- *IG V1* 1390: regulations of the local mysteries
- *LSCG* 65, 103-106: provisions for protecting water flowing into the sanctuary
Site Catalogue

Pausanias iv 1, 5; 26, 6-8; 33, 4-5.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Remote?

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
IG V' 1390: c 93 B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

Pausanias iv 1, 5: "... Kaukon brought the mysteries of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis."

Pausanias iv 33, 4-5: "... this is now the Karnasian grove, and is particularly full of cypresses. There are statues of the gods, Karneian Apollo, the Pure One (Hagne), and Hermes carrying a ram. The Pure One is a title of Demeter's daughter, the Maid; water comes up from the spring right beside her statue. [5] As for the story of the Great Goddesses, whose mystery is also celebrated in Karnesion, let me not speak of it: I judge them for their awful holiness to be second only to the Eleusinians."

IG V' 1390: This long inscription details the rules which regulated the celebration of the local mysteries. Apollo, Kore, and Hermes are all mentioned in the inscription. It states (lines 32ff and 69ff) a boar should be sacrificed to Karneian Apollo, a ram to Hermes, and a sheep to Hagne [Kore], and a pregnant sow should be offered to Demeter. The inscription also makes provision to construct two treasuries. Once a year, at the time of the mysteries, these treasuries were to be opened and money taken out.

The remains of Andania and the associated grove have not securely identified. Traditionally, the site is identified with Desylla near Sandani (renamed Andania) in the upper Messenian plain, but based on evidence of inscription IG V' 1390, it has also been identified as Polichne.

**Cult:**

Demeter and Kore, the Great Goddesses
**KELEAI**

**MAP NUMBER:**
90

**LOCATION:**
Corinthia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias ii 14, 1-3

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Remote

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias ii 14, 1-3: "Keleai is around 5 stades from the city Phlius; they celebrate the mystery there to Demeter, not every year, but every fourth year. The hierophant is not appointed for life but they choose differently for each mystery, and if he wants he can take a wife. This is in a different tradition from Eleusis, but the mystery itself is an imitation of the Eleusinian mystery. The Phliasians admit themselves that they imitate the celebration at Eleusis."

**CULT:**
Local version of Demeter Eleusinia

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**KLEITOR**

**MAP NUMBER:**
103

**LOCATION:**
Arkadia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias viii 21, 3.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Intraurban?

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias viii 21, 3: "The city of Kleitor was named after Azan's son. It stands on level ground surrounded by smallish mountains. Its most distinguished sanctuaries are of Demeter and Asklepios, and a third of Eileithuia...."

The site of Kleitor is known, but not the Demeter sanctuary. See AR 1985/86, 28-29.

CULT:

Demeter.

MAP NUMBER:

20

LOCATION:

Caria, Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

"Archaeology in Asia Minor", 1968, AIA 72, 136-139.
TOPOGRAPHY:

Intraurban.

The site is located in an isolated area in the easternmost part of the town, within the fortification walls. It stands on an artificial terrace that abuts a natural, sheer limestone cliff that rises to a height of 15m to 21m.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Two major building phases: Greek and Roman.

Greek Period: the east, south and the south-half of the west polygonal terrace walls and the entrance ramp or shallow stairs.

Roman Date: all structures within the precinct.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE:

The teemenos is located in the easternmost part of the town, near the east fortification wall. It occupies a man-made terrace which measures c 74m east to west and 40m north to south. The platform is supported by huge polygonal masonry walls on the south, west and east sides, while the north side abuts the sheer cliff face. Three niches are carved into the cliff face. The niche on the right measures circa 4' 4" (1.32m) high and 2' (61cm) wide and 2" (5cm) deep and has a dedication to Demeter at its base. The niche on the left was lined with a bright blue painted plaster. These niches probably held statues.

The entrance was a 28m long sloping ramp, or shallow stair, located in the south half of the west terrace wall. Two Roman walls that line the entrance ramp may have supported a small colonnade that ran the length of the ramp. The foundations for a small structure (temple?) are located on the centre of the west side of the sanctuary.

- 410 -
Site Catalogue

Five structures excavated by Sir Charles Newton from 1856 to 1859 did not survive to be re-examined by Prof. Love.

1) A "group of small cells or compartments" located along the eastern boundary of the sanctuary. These compartments were constructed of limestone rubble with some re-used squared stones. Several of the compartments were lined with plaster and contained broken roof tiles. These compartments contained artifacts (votive offerings?), for example, a small Parian marble statue of Persephone (volume I, plate LVII, with find location recorded on plan LIII. 1), a "number of lamps of black glazed ware", and in two of the compartments were terracotta figurines of *hydrophoroi*.

2) Two small features which Newton called "curious conical mounds". These mounds were 3'3" (1m) high and 3'6" (1.05m) in diameter, composed of earth faced with cement (mortar?) and resting on rough, rubble foundations. Ash was found in their 'vicinities'. Newton did not record the exact locations of these features, stating only that one mass was located 8'6" (2.60m) to the west of the complex of small rooms and the second mass was located at the western end of the *temenos*.

3) A chamber located roughly in the centre of the *temenos*. The chamber was elliptical, measuring 9' (2.75m) by 6' 3" (1.90m), but it may have originally been round. It was constructed of dry limestone blocks. A mass of rubble filled the structure, possibly the remains of the roof. The chamber was filled with artifact-rich soil. The lowest stratum in the chamber contained numerous small Roman, green glass bottles intermixed with animal bones. This structure may have been a repository for votive offerings where the bottles and other objects were placed in and around the walls, possibly once sitting on shelves.

4) A building similar to the series of cells. This structure was constructed in the same fashion, of limestone rubble without mortar, and also contained deposits of lamps, terracotta figurines and sculptural fragments.

5) The fifth structure, located north of the entrance near the west *temenos* wall, may have been uncovered by both Newton and Love. Newton reports finding rough foundations and architectural pieces from a small Doric structure, possibly a heroon, while Love reports the foundations of what may have been a small temple. The identification is problematic, however, because Newton's and Love's site plans (Newton volume I, plate LIII, Love *AIA*, 1972, p.400) do not coincide.
There is one final structure that may be associated with the cult of Demeter in Knidos, which is not located within the temenos. Prof. Love uncovered a small series of parallel seats that resembled the viewing areas in the Demeter sanctuaries at Pergamon and Acrocorinth and at the sanctuary of Despoina (Persephone) at Lycosoura. An altar and a fresh-water spring were uncovered on the terrace directly below this row of seats. A corner block decorated with a frieze of dancing girls was also recovered. The altar must have been the central focus of this viewing area. Professor Love suggests this area may have been used in ritual celebration of the rites of Adonis, Aphrodite or Demeter. The location of the small viewing complex (at the far west end of the town near the round temple of Aphrodite) and the artifacts (small, marble statues of children holding doves and a young hermaphrodite with a dove) suggest, however, that the area was probably associated with the Aphrodite temple and cult and not with Demeter.

CULT:

Demeter and Kore

Newton suggests that the Demeter sanctuary may have been private, belonging to a single wealthy family. This conclusion was based primarily on what Newton considered to be the small size of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not, however, abnormally small when compared to other sanctuaries, and it is likely that this shrine was the principal Demeter sanctuary of the town of Knidos.

Callimachus' Hymn to Demeter may, or may not, refer to Knidos. The hymn describes events at a sanctuary of Demeter; the day of fasting is over and now the procession of the Sacred Basket (Kalathos) is underway. The identity of the hymn's location is based on the tale of the downfall of Erysichthon, the son of Triopas. Triopas was worshipped as a hero in Knidos. This poem, however, may also refer to Cyrene, Callimachus' home town, or to Alexandria where he worked.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

1. Town plan: Bean, 1971, 149.

Knidos: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore

MAP NUMBER:
35

LOCATION:
Crete
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban
The sanctuary is located on the Gypsadhes Hill.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Late eighth century B.C. and Classical into the Early Roman period (first century A.D.).

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE:
This sanctuary is very poorly preserved because the remains are located close to the surface causing the site to become a quarry. Many walls were located only by their robbing trenches and the actual dimensions of the sanctuary are not known. The sanctuary was re-buried in 1960 and no further work has been undertaken on the site.

Geometric Period: Two short sections of a west-facing terrace wall, dating from c 700 B.C., are the only architectural remains from this period of the sanctuary. It is not known if the sanctuary contained any other structures.

Classical Period: A building programme was undertaken in the sanctuary in the fifth century B.C. At this time, a peribolos wall and a small temple, possibly Doric in antis and measuring c 10m east to west by 5.50m north to south were constructed. The peribolos wall and the small temple both contained re-used, well-shaped limestone Minoan building stones.

The deposition of ex-voto materials also began in the Classical period, starting after the temple was completed. Numerous deposits were found to the north and west of the temple area, suggesting the material was thrown off the edge of the terrace. Deposition of ex-voto material in this fashion continued from the late fifth century until the end of the third century B.C.

Fourth Century: Evidence for the continuation of cult activity in the sanctuary comes from a large deposit of ex-voto material, know as the "Big Pit". This deposit contained a series of pits dug from the fourth century B.C. down to the second century A.D. in order to bury ex-voto material. This deposit was very rich in terracotta figurines and miniature vessels.
Hellenistic Period: A terrace wall was constructed along the west side of the temple. This wall replaced the northern section of the Archaic wall which, until this time, had still been in use. The wall foundations were set into an ex-voto deposit dating to the third century B.C.

CULT:
Demeter. The deity is identified by faunal remains (90% of the identifiable bones were from suids), terracotta figurines (female votaries, women carrying cylindrical baskets, hydrophoroi, pigs), pottery (lamps, miniature hydriai), personal belongings (loom weights, tools, pins, needles) and jewellery; especially important were three rings with flat bezels with dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Coldstream, 1973, fig. 1.
KOPAI

MAP NUMBER: 68

LOCATION:
Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias ix 24, 2 ( Loeb ix 24, 1-2).

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban?

SACRISTY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ix 24, 2: "The town of Kopai is right on the shore of the lake [Kopais]; Homer mentions it in his list. There are sanctuaries here of Demeter and Dionysos and Sarapis. The Boiotians say Athens and Eleusis once had other towns by the lake, but a winter flood swept them away."

CULT:
Demeter

KORONEIA

MAP NUMBER: 67

LOCATION:
Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
IG VII.2876; 3213.
Site Catalogue

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The site is only known from inscriptions.

IG VII.2876: records repair by a former priestess of a prothyron and the dedication of an amphithiourion for Demeter Thesmophoros. This inscription indicates that the sanctuary either had a temple or two monumental gateways in the enclosure wall.

IG VII.3213: Schachter (155) interprets the inscription to mean "the Demeter from Krisa who sojourns amongst us". It seems to be a dedication to a goddess whose cult was established in Koroneia or Orchomenos either by a Krisian or in deference to a Krisian. It is not known if Demeter was worshipped at Krisa.

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros and Demeter Krisaia Epidamos

KOS ASKLEPIEION

MAP NUMBER:
23

LOCATION:
Kos, Dodecanese

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
LSCG 154.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Early third century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Lex sacra from the sanctuary of Asklepios listing the ritual purifications for the two public cults Demeter Olympia and Demeter Kourotrrophos.
KOS, ASTYPALEAE

MAP NUMBER:
24
LOCATION:
Kos, Dodecanese
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Classical

SITE DESCRIPTION:
An unpublished inscription suggests there may have been a sanctuary of Demeter on the highest ground in the town of Astypalaea.

KOS MEROPIS

MAP NUMBER:
22
LOCATION:
Kos, Dodecanese
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
TOPOGRAPHY:
This sanctuary was a pre-synoecism Demeter site. The shrine was originally a rural fountain, providing water for the small and scattered settlements in the area that later became Kos Meropis. When the new town was founded in 366 B.C., the sanctuary was located outside of the fortification walls.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The area was a cult site during the Mycenaean period, and the later Greek temple was built over the top of, and on the same alignment as a Mycenaean structure. The religious nature of the Mycenaean structure is suggested by finds of psi figurines.

Stratigraphic levels containing bronze pins and burnt animal bones indicate that the area was used for religious purposes as early as the Geometric period. The deity to whom the fountain was dedicated is not known, but it is possible that it was already sacred to Demeter. Herzog’s excavations clearly indicate that Demeter’s cult was well established here by the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. The sanctuary remained in constant use, through the foundation of Kos Meropis in 366 B.C., surviving through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman era.

Description of site:
The sanctuary consists of a small fountain shrine sacred to Demeter and Kore. The remains include a rectangular poros stone basin measuring 5.54m by 3.60m. A foundation for a 50cm square base was found in the centre of the basin which possibly once supported a cult statue or a column (a marble Doric capital, with only the front carefully carved, was found within the fountain basin). A stairway allowed access to the basin. The basin was surrounded by an asymmetrically placed rectangular building which was only preserved to its foundation level. Large roof tiles were found around the foundations, suggesting the structure was roofed. The walls were probably constructed of mud brick.

A long and narrow temple, 24m long by 6m wide, with the base for a cult statue in situ was excavated in the area of the fountain. The temple is oriented east to west, and sits on a Bronze Age structure that has the same alignment. Both the statue base and the floor of the temple were refurbished three times: in its first phase the statue base was semicircular, but it was changed to a rectangle with a higher base level in the two
following reconstructions. In the second phase the floor of the temple was raised above the height of the original semicircular base, but a 'moat' was left around the base so that it remained visible. The fact that the semicircular base was left uncovered suggests that it was considered to be very sacred. Ch. Kantzia suggests the semicircular shape may have been the result of following the outlines of a very early, preceding ash altar or sacrificial pit.

CULT:

The sanctuary and fountain shrine were dedicated to Demeter and Kore. They were identified by fragments of a dedicatory inscription found within the stone basin and on the basis of artifacts.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Site Catalogue

KRENEA

MAP NUMBER:
51
LOCATION:
Kephallenia, near Argostoli
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.
The site is located on the northern hill of the town's double-hilled acropolis, near the Church of Agias Triados.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Sixth century B.C. until the Hellenistic period, with later Roman remains.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE:
This site is very poorly preserved. A small Classical Doric temple, an altar and a later Roman altar may have formed part of a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Terracotta figurines were found in the area. The sanctuary was seemingly associated with a nearby abundant spring.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore. Identification is established by the discovery of a stepped-base with a dedication to the two goddesses. It was found on the hill close to the architectural remains.

KYLLENE, MOUNT

MAP NUMBER:
104
LOCATION:
Arkadia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 15, 4.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 15, 4: "Those who entertained the goddess in the Phenean story were Trisaules and Damithales, who built a temple to Demeter Thesmia below Mount Kyllene and established a mystery there which is still celebrated today. The temple of Demeter Thesmia is roughly two miles away from the city."

CULT:
Demeter Thesmia.

KYPARISSI

MAP NUMBER:
28

LOCATION:
Kos island

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.
Site located on the slopes of Mt. Dikaios

SANCTUARY DATES:
Inscriptions on seven statues bases found in the sanctuary date from about the second half of the fourth century to the beginning of the third century B.C., but the sanctuary was founded before this date.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

A rustic sanctuary with a small temple and an altar with a small surrounding *peribolos* wall. The temple consisted of a single room measuring 5.90m by 5.35m, built without foundations but set on a square bed of chalk. The altar was constructed of stone blocks. Terracotta figurines were found around the temple, including a single *hydrophoros*, female votaries and possible representations of Demeter and Kore.

Seven large marble statues were found within the cult structure. Three statues depict Demeter, three depict Kore and one depicts Hades. Dedicatory inscriptions indicate that the statues were not cult statues, but offerings from wealthy votaries.

CULT:

Demeter, Kore and Hades, based upon the dedicatory inscriptions on the seven statue bases.

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**LAKIADIA / HIERA SYKE**

Map Number:

78

Location:

Attica, on the route of the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Athenaeus iii 74d
- Pausanias i 37, 1-2
- Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii 20, 3.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Unknown, but Lakiadia was probably a rest stop for the processions of mystai who were on route to Eleusis.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias i 37, 1-2: "There is also an altar of Zephyros and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter; Athene and Poseidon are honoured with them. [2] In this place they
say Phytalos took Demeter into his house, and the goddess gave him the fig-tree as a reward. What I say is confirmed by the inscription on the grave of Phytalos:

Here, Phytalos, king and hero, received terrible Demeter, revelation of the first fruit of autumn: humanity named it the sacred fig. The honours of the race of Phytalos will never grow old."

CULT:
Demeter

LEBADEIA

MAP NUMBER:
145

LOCATION:
Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

*Ancient Sources*
Lykophron, *Alexander* 153 and Scholion
Pausanias (Loeb) ix 39, 2-4.

*Modern Works*

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ix 39, 3: "They say that here Hercyna, when playing with the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, held a goose which against her will she let loose. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone; the Maid entered and took the bird as it lay under the stone. The water flowed, they say, from the place where the Maid took up the stone, and hence the river received the name of Hercyna.... By the side of the river
is ... also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa, and a Zeus Rain-god (Ὑένος) in the open."

The sanctuary of Demeter was located within the Trophoncion, an oracular cult of a local hero and a nymph named Herkyna. Demeter is connected to the cult because she was supposedly once Trophonios' nurse, while Kore was a playmate of Trophonios' daughter, Herkyna.

**CULT:**
Demeter Europa and Kore.

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**LEPREON**

**MAP NUMBER:**
97

**LOCATION:**
Eleia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*
Pausanias v 5, 6

*Modern Works*

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Intraurban
The temple of Demeter is located in the south-east corner of the ancient town.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Second quarter of the fourth century B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias v 5, 6: "...but in my time they had no distinguished monument or sanctuary of any god except Demeter: and even that was made of mud-brick and had no statue."

The remains of a small temple (11.98m x 21.69m) were found on the acropolis of Strovitsi. The identity of this structure has not be securely ascertained, but it is tentatively identified as the temple of Demeter described by Pausanias. The temple is Doric and peristyle with six by eleven columns. It contained a *cella* and a *pronaos* on the eastern end.
with two columns in antis. Many stone architectural pieces were found including: ninety column drums, ten Doric capitals, fragments of nine architrave blocks and fourteen fragments of triglyph frieze. Importantly, there were no remains of the cella walls. The stones may have been used to build a small church in the nearby village or the walls may have been constructed of mud-brick as mentioned by Pausanias.

**CULT:**

Demeter (?). The sanctuary is tentatively identified as the sanctuary of Demeter based on Pausanias' description.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

Knell, 1979, 58.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 36, 7: "Go back to the straight road and cross the Erasinos, and you come to the river called the Winter stream, near which is a stone-walled enclosure. They say that when Pluto carried off Demeter's daughter the Maid, this is where he went down into that underground kingdom people believe he possesses. Lerna as I said before is by the sea: here they celebrate the mystery for Lernian Demeter."

CULT:
Demeter Lernaia, a local mystery of the goddess.

LYKOSURA

MAP NUMBER:
105

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 37-38.

Modern Works
Meyer, RE XIII (1926) 2417-32.

Excavation Reports:
Kavvadas, B. in: AD 1889; 1890.
Leonardos, B. in: Praktika 1895; 1896; 1898; 1903; 1906; 1907.
**TOPOGRAPHY:**
The sanctuary is 7.11 an (40 stades) west of Megalopolis, located in an area of hills bordering the plain of Megalopolis. The area was probably wooded and well watered. The site itself is located on a hill with a double summit. These summits are joined by a ridge, today known as Terzi. One of the summits has the remains of the town of Lykosura, while the sanctuary is located on the slope of Terzi ridge near the second summit. The sanctuary sits about 10m below the top of the ridge on a small, natural terrace. Terrace and sanctuary are oriented east to west, paralleling the ridge. The sanctuary would have been in full view of the town.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
The cult of Despoina may have been very old, but the date when the sanctuary was founded is not known. There is also a problem with the dating of the main cult structures in the sanctuary; the temple is dated to two possible periods, either to the fourth century B.C. or to the second century, between 190 to 180 B.C. when Lykosura may have won her independence from Megalopolis and so refurbished the sanctuary. Support for the later date is provided by the cult statues made by Damophon whose florit may be set reasonably securely between 210 and 190 B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias: viii 37-38: "[1] The Sanctuary of the Mistress is half a mile from Akakesion. First of all there is a shrine of Guiding Artemis and a bronze statue holding torches (I reckon them to be six feet long), and then the entrance to the consecrated enclosure of the Mistress. As you approach the temple, there is a colonnade on the right with white stone reliefs on its wall: first the Fates with Zeus Master of Fates (Zeús ἔπικλησιν Μορφαγέτης), then Herakles taking Apollo's tripod... [2] In the Mistress' (Despoina's) colonnade in between these reliefs there is a little inscribed tablet to tell you about the mystery. Then in the third position there are Nymphs and Pans, and in the fourth Polybios son of Lykortas... In front of the temple is an altar to Demeter and another to the Mistress, and beyond that again the Great Mother has one. [3] The actual statues of the goddesses, the Mistress and Demeter and the throne they sit on, and the stool under their feet are all carved out on one block of stone. None of the drapery, and nothing worked on the throne is joined on with clamps or cement, it is all one block... Each of the statues is the size of the statue of the Mother of Athens, [4] and these also are by Damophon."
Site Catalogue

Demeter carries a torch in her right hand and has her left hand on the Mistress. The Mistress has a staff and hold the basket on her knees with her right hand. Beside the throne Artemis is standing by Demeter wearing a deer-skin and carrying a quiver on her shoulder, holding a light in one hand and two serpents in the other. There is a hunting-dog next to Artemis. [5] By the statue of the Mistress stands Anytos as an armed man. The people round the sanctuary say the Mistress was brought up by Anytos, who was one of the Titans as they are called...I know but choose to pass over the story of the Koureteres, who are represented below the statues, and that of the Korybantes, who are carved on the base and are a quite different family from the Koureteres. [7] The Arkadians bring fruit of every kind of cultivated tree into this sanctuary except pomegranates.

On your right as you come out of the temple there is a mirror fitted to the wall; when you look into this mirror you see yourself very dimly or not at all, but you have a clear view of the statues of the goddesses and their throne. [8] Beside the Mistress's temple a little way up on the right is the Megaron Hall (as they call it) where the Arkadians perform the mystery and where they sacrifice generous and abundant offerings to the Mistress. Everyone sacrifices whatever he has, only not by cutting the throats of the victims like at other sacrifices, but by each person chopping off whatever limb it may be. [9] The Mistress is the god the Arkadians worship most: they say she is the daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Her public cult title is Mistress, just as Zeus's daughter is the Maid, whose private name is Persephone, as Homer and Pamphos before him have written, but I am frightened of writing down the Mistress's name for the uninitiated. [10] Above the Hall grows the Mistress's sacred wood, surrounded with a stone barrier; among the trees inside it there are true olive and wild olive growing from the same root, and this is not due to clever cultivation. Above this grove there are altars of Poseidon Hippios, being the Mistress's father, and of some other gods; the last one has an inscription saying it belongs to all the gods in common.

When the site was excavated, it matched the description given by Pausanias. The entrance to the temenos is on the east end, presumably nearby was the temple of Artemis described by Pausanias. A peribolos wall surrounded the sanctuary on the north, east and west sides. Leonardos (Praktika 1906, 121) claims the west end of the peribolos wall was a later expansion. The south side of the sanctuary, however, was delineated by the upward slope of the Terzi ridge. A Doric stoa located along the north sanctuary boundary ran from the
entrance to just beside the temple, almost the full length of the sanctuary. This stoa is a single-aisled structure with a Doric colonnade, facing south, and measuring 65.50m long and 7.20m wide. This structure was later rebuilt further north, using the temenos wall as its north, or back wall. A small (4m square) room was built at the west end of the stoa. The purpose of this room is unknown, but it may have been used for ritual purposes or for storage of cult paraphernalia.

A temple is located near the west end, and to the south, of the stoa, approximately two-thirds the way down the sanctuary. The temple is a prostyle hexastyle, with a three-stepped stylobate, oriented almost exactly east - west, with the front facing east. Dimensions: length 21.35m, width 12.31m. The majority of the superstructure was constructed of lightly fired, or sun-dried mud brick, but small portions of the temple were in a white, coarse marble from Doliana near Tegea: the unfluted columns, the temple framework, gable and antae. The temple had a pronaos and a naos. Almost half of the naos was filled by a large base for the cult statue. Pausanias describes the statue and pieces of this same statue were found during excavation. The base itself is rectangular, filling the width of the naos, and it has an additional rectangular tongue projecting forward where the main cult figures were situated. The floor in front of the base is decorated with a mosaic, but it was originally paved with limestone. The pronaos was filled with dedicatory objects and inscriptions.

The foundations of three altars were found in a line oriented east to west in front of the temple. Pausanias identified the altars as belonging to Demeter, Despoina, and the Great Mother. Based on Pausanias, it is assumed that the altar closest to the temple was dedicated to Demeter, the second to Despoina, while the third, and furthest away from the temple, was dedicated to the Great Mother.

A door is located on the south side of the temple, immediately in front of the cult base. This door leads outside to a possible theatrical area, built on the natural slope of a hill. This structure consists of ten stone rows, progressively narrowing as they climb up the slope, until at the tenth row, the structure is only as wide as the temple. This feature has been variously identified as a staircase, a support wall for the steep slope, a theatrical area and the 'Megaron' mentioned by Pausanias.
Lykosura town:

Very little is known about the town as almost no archaeological work has been done on the site to date. Pausanias supplies some “information” stating that the town was founded by Lykaon (viii 2, 1), had few inhabitants and was the oldest town in the world, the town from which all other town founders learned to build cities (viii 38, 1). Pausanias also states that when Megalopolis was founded (371/70 BC), all the cities of the area were ordered to join the synoikism, but Lykosura refused and they could not be forced into abandoning their town because the citizens took refuge in the sanctuary of Despoina (viii 27, 6). Still visible on the site are the fortification walls dating from the fifth or fourth century BC.

CULT:

Despoina.

Tiles found inside the temple with the inscription ‘Δέσποινας’ (of the Mistress) inscribed on them, and numerous votives with inscriptions found inside the pronaos identified the sanctuary.

The cult of Despoina is separate from the cult of Demeter and Kore in general, and especially the mystery cult. According to Dickins, Despoina is closer to Oriental Kybele or Magna Mater; Kore-Persephone is a foreign and different conception, brought from Eleusis and acclimatized at a late period in Arcadia. Pausanias retains a notice of the introduction of the Eleusinian cult (Pausanias viii 31, 7) for he mentions the statues of Kallignotos, Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polos, stating "These men are said to have introduced the mysteries of the Great Goddesses into Megalopolis, and the ceremonies are an imitation of those at Eleusis." This cult is an Arkadian variant of the familiar chthonic Demeter and Kore cult, perhaps older, or else retaining some very old elements. There is controversy as to the date of the cult statue by Damophon. One of the arguments for a later second century B.C. date for the cult statue is the presence of the 'normal' Demeter and Kore. The presence of the two goddesses suggests that the statue was made after the Eleusinian Mysteries were introduced into Megalopolis and accepted throughout the area; an earlier date for the statue may have resulted in a totally different artistic conception of Despoina. The drapery with embroidery patterns sculpted in relief, however, retain the Arkadian flavour of the cult.
A problem with the site is the lack of evidence of cult activity before the fourth century B.C., but the characteristics of the cult suggest the site has a potentially long cultic history.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**
Leonardos, 1896, plan 1.

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**LYKOSURA:** The Sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina

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**MANTINEA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
106

**LOCATION:**
Arkadia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*
IG V² 265; 266.
Pausanias viii 9,2.

*Modern Works*

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Inscriptions date to the first century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 9, 2: "There is also a sanctuary of Demeter and the Maid, where they keep a fire burning and take great care never to let it out."

The sanctuary site is not known, but two inscriptions provide information for a festival called the 'Koragia' - The bringing of the Maid (from the lower world, Hesychius s.v. κοραγεῖν). The festival consisted of processions and sacrifices, a new robe was presented to Persephone and a temporary hut or shelter was erected so that rites could be performed in secret. There were also ceremonies at the opening of the temple on the thirtieth day of the month. Ceremonies were chiefly in the hands of priestesses called 'Koragoi'. These priestesses had a meeting place called the 'Koragion'.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore

MAP NUMBER:
73

LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
IG II² 1358, B 43f. The sacred calendar of the Attic Tetrapolis (Tricorythus, Oinoe, Probalinthus and Marathon). Column B details the Marathonian calendar.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Inscription date c 400 to 350 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Demeter Chlœe received an annual sacrifice of a pregnant sow.
CULT:
Demeter Chlœ

Megalopolis (Agora)

Map number:
107

Location:
Arkadia

Select bibliography:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 30ff, esp. viii 31, 1-8.

Modern Works

Topography:
Intraurban.

According to Pausanias, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was located within the agora. Megalopolis was bisected by the River Helisson and their agora was located on the north side of the river. The Demeter sanctuary was located in the south-west corner of the agora, close to the river bank.

The sanctuary precinct contained a variety of shrines and statues, a hall for the performance of the mysteries and a sacred grove, and so it was presumably too large to fit within the confines of the agora, probably extending some distance to the west. The sanctuary has not been found, probably washed away by the changing path of the river, but its location has been reasonably securely identified on the strength of Pausanias' description and artifacts (worked blocks and an inscribed tile that may read 'to the great goddesses').

Sanctuary dates:
Foundation of Mégalopolis 371/70 B.C.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 31, 1-8: "The other end of the colonnade towards the west has a sacred enclosure of the Great Goddesses. The Great Goddesses are Demeter and the Maid as I have explained already in my description of Messenia, though the Arkadians call the Maid the Savior. There are relief carvings of Artemis worked on one side of the entrance and Asklepios and Health on the other. [2] As for the Great Goddesses, Demeter is completely in stone, but the Saviour has her drapery in wood; each of them is about fifteen feet high... He has also carved smallish statues of young girls in front of them, in ankle-length tunics, one of them carrying a basket full of flowers on her head; they are said to be Damophon's daughters, though some believe them to be Athena and Artemis picking flowers with Persephone. There is also a Herakles beside Demeter about eighteen inches high....There is a table in front of him, with two Seasons worked on it and Pan with reed-pipe and Apollo playing the lute. There is an inscription saying these are among the first of the gods. [4] The table also has a representation of Nymphs, Neda carrying the infant Zeus and another Arkadian nymph Anthrakis holding a torch, and Hagno with a water-jug in one hand and a drinking cup in the other; Anchirhoe and Myrtoessa are carrying water-jugs and in fact water is pouring down from them. Inside the enclosure is a shrine of Zeus of Friendship, with the statue of Polykleitos of Argis, rather like a Dionysos as he is wearing buskins and has a cup in one hand and a pine-wand in the other, only with an eagle perching on it, which is not consonant with the legends about Dionysos. [5] Behind the shrine is a grove of trees of no great size surrounded by a stone barrier. No human being is allowed inside here, but there are statues of Demeter and the Maid in front of it about three feet high." Also inside the enclosure of the Great Goddesses is a sanctuary of Aphrodite. In front of the entrance there are ancient wooden idols of Hera and Apollo and the Muses, which they say were brought from Trapezous, and [6] the statues in the temple are by Damophon: a Hermes in wood and a wooden image of Aphrodite, with stone hands and face and feet. I thought their title for the goddess, the Contriver, was absolutely right; Aphrodite and her activities are the source of many, many devices and every kind of fresh resource of human language. [7] There are also portrait statues standing in this building, of Kallignotos, Mentas, Sosigenes and Polos, who are supposed to have first established the mystery of the Great goddesses in the city, and the imitations of the Eleusinian ceremonies. There are
also these square-shaped statues of other gods inside the enclosure: Hermes the Leader, Apollo, Athena, Poseidon the Saviour Sun, and Herakles. There is a huge building where they celebrate the mystery of the goddesses. [8] On the right of the temple of the Great goddesses, there is another sanctuary of the Maid; the statue is in stone and about eight feet high, and the whole of its pedestal is festooned in ribbons. Women are always allowed into this sanctuary, but men go in only once in the year.

**CULT:**

Demeter and Kore. The goddesses were the Eleusinian deities and not the enigmatic goddess found at Lykosura.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

Megalopolis, Marsh Gates

MAP NUMBER: 107

LOCATION: Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pausanias viii 36, 5 (Loeb viii 36, 6).

TOPOGRAPHY: Extraurban

SANCTUARY DATES: Megalopolis was founded in 371/70 B.C.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias viii 36, 5: "What they call the Marsh gates of [Megalopolis] lead to Mainalos along the river Helisson; ... Beyond this [Oikles' tomb] is the temple and sacred grove of Demeter in the Marsh, as they call her ("Δήμητρος κολυμένης ἐν ἔλει"). You are half a mile or so from the city; only women are allowed in."

CULT:

Demeter in the Marsh. The prohibition against men may indicate that the Thesmophoria was held in this sanctuary.

MAP NUMBER:

84

LOCATION:

Megarid

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Pausanias i 39, 4; 40, 5; 42, 7; i 43, 2 (Loeb i 39, 5; 40, 6; 42, 1 and 6)

TOPOGRAPHY:

Megara had three intraurban Demeter sites. Two of the sanctuaries were located on the town's citadels.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Pausanias reveals that the popular belief in Megara was that Demeter's cult was as old as the town itself.

Pausanias i 39, 4: "...; but they say the city was named under Kar, who was king here; it was then they received the mystery of Demeter and then the city was named Megara."

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Site One:

Pausanias i 40, 5: "Beyond the precinct of Zeus (the precinct was situated in the saddle between the two citadels, near the north-west foot of the eastern hill) as you go up to the acropolis, which was named after Kar and is still called Karia, you come
to a shrine of Night-feasting Dionysos a sanctuary of Aphrodite Epistrophian, an oracle of Night (Νυκτός), and a shrine of Zeus of Dust (Konios) without a roof... Here is Demeter's great hall (megaron): they said Kar built it when he was king."

Site Two:

Pausanias (Loeb) i 42, 1 and 6: "The Megarians have another citadel which is named after Alkathous... There is also a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros."

Site Three:

Pausanias i 43, 2: "There is a rock near the Prytaneion which they call the Calling rock (Ἀνακληρίδα τὴν πέτραν ονομαζομεν...), because when she was wandering in search of the daughter, Demeter, as you can believe if you wish, called to her from here. Even today the Megarian women still re-enact the story."

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Numerical Key:

1. Sanctuary of Artemis
2. Olympieum
3. Temple of Nocturnal Dionysos
4. Sanctuary of Epistephonian Aphrodite
5. Shrine of the Oracle of the Night
6. Temple of Dusty Zeus
7. Statues of Asklepios and Hygeia
8. Megaron of Demeter
9. Council House (Aesymnaton)
10. Temple of Athena

11. Sanctuary of Athena Nike
12. Sanctuary of Ajacian Athena
13. Temple of Apollo
14. Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros
15. Sanctuary of Artemis
16. Prytanum
17. Sanctuary of Dionysos
18. Temple of Aphrodite
19. Sanctuary of Fortune
20. Town Wall

MESEMBRIA

MAP NUMBER:
42

LOCATION:
Thrake

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

AR 1980-81, 34 (see: Alexandroupolis).


**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Intraurban.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Fourth century B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Sections of the town of Mesembria have been excavated revealing parts of the town wall, Classical and Hellenistic housing, street system and against the inside of the town wall a "sanctuary of Cybele" consisting of three rooms. Terracotta figurines, red-figure pottery and metal votive plaques were found within the sanctuary. The plaques were made from gold, silver or silver plate and portray various scenes including: processions, votaries bringing offerings to a seated female deity, individual men carrying offerings and representations of faces, showing either the whole face (eyes, nose and mouth) or only the eyes.

**CULT:**
Demeter.

The sanctuary was originally identified as that of Kybele, but a re-evaluation of the artifacts and the discovery of a base a short distance to the west of the structure with the inscription "ΑΡΧΗΝΑΣΣΑ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ" has caused the site to be identified as a sanctuary of Demeter.

**MESOPOTAMOS / ANCIENT NEKYOMANTEION OF EPHYRA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
50

**LOCATION:**
Akarnania

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
AR 1958, 11.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Mid sixth to late fifth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A minor reference in AR records the discovery of an ex-voto deposit found within the modern village Mesopotamos (ancient Ephyra) with terracotta figurines dating to the mid sixth to late fifth century B.C. The figurines represent a goddess wearing a polos crown, possibly Demeter or Persephone. Some large terracotta heads among these appear to be imports from the Peleponnese.

No associated architecture was discovered.

CULT:
These offerings may come from a sanctuary of Demeter, another female deity or may be related to the Sanctuary of the Dead.

MAP NUMBER:
133

LOCATION:
Messenia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias iv 31, 9.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

The sanctuary of Demeter may have been located to the west of the Asklepieion, near the south border of the agora.

SANCTUARY DATES:
End of the Hellenistic period.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias iv 31, 9: "The Messenians also have a sanctuary consecrated to Demeter...."

Excavations undertaken by P. Themelis in 1993 revealed a structure immediately to
the west of the Asklepieion. It consisted of a square structure with an entrance from
the north and had a courtyard surrounded with a wooden colonnade. This building
was constructed over an earlier sanctuary which was in use from the seventh to the
first centuries B.C. when it was destroyed by a fire. Artifacts suggest that the earlier
sanctuary was a Heroon, while the later structure may have been dedicated to
Demeter.

CULT:

Demeter

MAP NUMBER:

2

LOCATION:

Lesbos

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources

IG XII, Supplement, 691.
Scholion Hesiod, Theogony 914.

Modern Works

Bosch, C., 1931, "Kleinasiatiscben Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit", AA 1931,
427 ff.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Site location unknown, possibly extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:

A single terracotta head dates from the late Hellenistic period, around the second half
of the second century B.C.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Physical evidence for Demeter cult at Methymna is scarce, but Roman period coinage and inscriptions attest that the goddess and her daughter were venerated in the town. A Roman Imperial inscription (IG XII, Supplement, 691) suggests that the cult was probably carried into the Roman period from the earlier Greek. This inscription refers to agricultural deities, perhaps Demeter, Kore, Pan and Nymphs, calling them "Καρποφόροι", an epithet of Demeter found in Tegea (Pausanias viii 53,7).

A female terracotta figurine head, surmounted with a crown, was found within the walls of ancient Methymna (Buchholz, 219, catalogue 70, plate no. B9, 28 f and g). It is identified as Demeter or Hera, and is possibly a copy of a cult statue. Buchholz, however, states that the figurine should be treated with caution because its “find place was not traditional” and it may, in fact, be a modern forgery. Buchholz theorises that there was a rural sanctuary of Demeter, and possibly other agricultural deities, located outside the town walls.

CULT:
Demeter Karpophoros (?)

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Koldewey, 1890, plan of Methymna.
Site Catalogue

MAP NUMBER:
17

LOCATION:
Ionia, Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban

The Demeter sanctuary is located within the town walls, in the northernmost area of the town (modern Humeitepe), on an isolated and hilly spit of land that projected into the sea.
SANCTUARY DATES:
The temple and structure known as Building A dates to the later third century B.C. Terracotta figurines found within the temenos, however, date to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Pottery found on the slopes of the hill around the sanctuary suggest that the cult may be even older.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary was surrounded by a temenos wall of which two corners, the north-east and south-east, are preserved. The temenos wall may have joined the town wall, using it to form the west boundary of the sanctuary. Preserved remains inside the peribolos include a temple with associated altar, a small building known as Building A close to the temple, and a large hole dug into the bedrock.

The temple was situated in the centre of the sanctuary area. It is Ionic, measuring 22.30m long by 11.50m wide, and consisting of a cela and a small tetrastyle prostyle porch. The main altar was located to the east of the temple.

Building A is located at the south-west corner of the temple. It is a small structure, consisting of a cela and a porch, but oriented north to south. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener suggests it may have been either a treasury or a building for food storage. Building A was constructed after the temple; spoiled marble building stones from the temple were used in the walls of the small structure.

The area to the south of the temple and Building A is poorly preserved, but a hole cut into the bedrock may once have been within the boundary of the sanctuary. This hole is located 45m to the south of the south-east corner of the temple. The hole measures 5.5m long and 3.1m wide, but it was divided into two halves, one larger than the other. Small niches were carved in the walls and an 80cm deep pit was carved out of the bedrock in the south-east corner. The use of this is pit unknown because it was cleared out and used in the Mediaeval period as a dwelling by a religious hermit.

Artifactual material from the sanctuary includes: over two hundred miniature hydriai, kernoi fragments and terracotta figurines including women carrying piglets, hydrophoroi and female votaries.
CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros?. The cult is identified by artifacts and by an inscription which was found re-used in a wall near the area of the sanctuary. This inscription records a dedication by a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:
MILETOS: The Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros (?)

MAP NUMBER:
139

LOCATION:
Sicily

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
White, Donald, 1964/65, “Demeter’s Sicilian cult as a political instrument”, GRBS 5/6, 261-279.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Two intraurban sanctuaries are known from Morgantina:
1) The Southern Sanctuary of Demeter is located approximately 100m to the southwest of the theatre and close to the interior face of the town wall.

2) The Northern Sanctuary of Demeter is located on a hill approximately 300m north west of the agora, just inside of the northern town wall.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Greeks came to area late in second quarter of sixth century.

The first settlement was on a small conical hill called known as the Cittadella, but in the fourth century the town moved to adjacent plateau of Serra Orlando. The two sanctuaries of Deineter and Persephone were incorporated in the town plan, indicating that they were constructed when the town moved.

The North Sanctuary is more closely dated to the Timoleontic era (340-330), but both sanctuaries were razed and permanently abandoned in 211 B.C. when Morgantina was defeated by the Romans.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Southern Demeter Sanctuary:

This sanctuary covered a rectangular area of 14m x 25m. It was divided into north and south halves, each situated at a different level with no apparent means of access, though they may have been joined by a ramp.

The ground plan and artifacts found in each half indicates that they probably had differing functions. These differences caused the excavators to call the north (upper) level a sacral area or shrine and the south (lower) area the "priest(ess) house".

The Shrine consists of four areas: an open court, a square room with a preserved altar base, an adytum with a lustral area and a room set at a lower level that contained two large terracotta busts of females wearing a high polos (Persephone?).

The so-called House area was built around a small clay-paved court. It is possible that the north end of the courtyard was roofed, forming a small pastas. Three of the rooms seems to have been used for storage; the largest contained the remains of two large pithoi that may have been used to store grain or other dry goods while two smaller rooms contained the remains of wine amphorae. One room, however, contained a
large pithos set into a sloping, stuccoed floor, indicating that cult festivals (ritual bathing?) may also have been held in this area.

Many terracotta figurines were found in both halves of this sanctuary. Types included: standing female with a polos, torch and carrying a piglet, comic actors, grotesques pomegranates and pigs.

Northern Demeter Sanctuary:

The north sanctuary is arranged around a small central courtyard. To the north courtyard is a square roofed room (Room 7) that contains a large columnar altar dating to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The altar is made of rubble, covered with a fine mud and lime mortar and decorated with paint - the base is painted red, while the column is yellow.

A wall screens off a large courtyard from the first court. This second court (Room 9) also contained another columnar altar, dating to the third century B.C., but it may have had an earlier phase. A row of rooms on the south and west sides of the sanctuary complex (Rooms 1, 2, 3, 6, 10) preserved evidence of small-scale or domestic activities: oil press, wine press, a wheel for grinding grain and smashed storage pithoi.

Votive materials were mostly found around the two columnar altars. Artifacts included terracotta numerous terracotta figurines (females with a polos, theatrical masks, animals, fruits, dancers, Persephone, three-quarter life-size clay busts of women wearing a polos (Kore/Persephone?) and a veiled votary carrying a dove), vases, coins and a silver diadem with attached leaves.

Further to the west and directly across a street is the North Sanctuary Annex. It is a complex, but poorly preserved building which contained a round altar and a long, stuccoed bench possibly used for offerings. This cult structure may not have been related to the North sanctuary.

CULT:

Kore/Persephone and Demeter.
In Sicily, Demeter was generally less important than her daughter in many sanctuaries, and this seems to have been true at Morgantina. The types of terracotta offerings indicate that Kore/Persephone received a large proportion of the votives; the most popular figurine types allude to the marriage of Persephone and Hades (a goddess wearing a polos and marriage veil, carrying a torch and a piglet). The polos, torch and piglet are common symbols of Demeter in mainland and eastern Greece, but in Sicily they more frequently symbolise Persephone in her chthonic role as the Queen of the Underworld.

The Northern Sanctuary of Demeter contained both a roofed and an hypaethral columnar altar. Sjöquist suggested that the two altar types indicate that one was chthonic in nature and used for the worship of Persephone, while the other was Olympian in character and used for the worship of Demeter.

Bell suggests that the plurality of Demeter and Kore/Persephone sanctuaries at Morgantina may indicate that they were 'neighbourhood sanctuaries', each serving a different and specific area of the town.

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Town Areas I, II and IV: Bell, 1981, plan 2.

Northern Sanctuary and Annex: Bell, 1981, 253, figure d.

Southern Sanctuary: White, 1964/65, 274.
Morgantina: Areas I, II and IV

Morgantina: North Sanctuary and Annex
North Sanctuary: (upper right in the plan)

Cultic areas: Rooms 5, 7 and 8. Utilitarian areas: Rooms 1, 2, 3 and 6.

North Sanctuary Annex: (lower left in the plan)

This structure is very poorly preserved and so the function of individual rooms is unknown. Room 5, however, contains a round altar and a long bench (for offerings?) suggesting that it may have been the cultic centre of this complex.

The South Sanctuary of Demeter

Shrine:

A. Open courtyard
B. Room with square altar base  
C. *Adyton* north of square room with lustral area  
D. Room at a lower level

House

1) A small courtyard.  
2 and 3) Small rooms used for storing wine.  
4) This small room has a sloping, stuccoed floor with a large embedded pithos and was possibly used for ritual ablutions.  
5) This is the largest room of the complex. It may have been used for storing dry goods.

**MYKALE**

**MAP NUMBER:**  
15  

**LOCATION:**  
Ionia.

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**  
Herodotus ix 94; ix 99.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**  
The sanctuary is located on a promontory opposite the island of Samos.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**  
Unknown; but Herodotus records that it was supposedly founded by the expedition that founded Miletos.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**  
Herodotus ix 94: "Accordingly they [Persians] sailed to Mycale on the mainland, where they could have the protection of their own troops which, at Xerxes' orders, had been detached from the main army to guard Ionia...Their plan was to beach their vessels under the protection of these troops, and to construct a defensive rampart round them, within which they could themselves take refuge, should occasion arise. With this purpose in mind they set sail, and after passing the temple of the Eumenides at Gaeson and Scolopoeis in Mycale, where there is a temple sacred to Demeter of Eleusis; the temple was built by Philistus, the son of Pasicles, when he accompanied
Neileus, the son of Crodrus, on the expedition for the founding of Miletus. Here they beached the ships..."

Herodotus ix 99: "It was another odd coincidence that both battles should have been fought near a precinct of Demeter of Eleusis - for, as I have already mentioned, the fighting at Plataea was in the immediate neighbourhood of Demeter's temple; and the same thing was to happen at Mycale."

**CULT:**

Demeter Eleusinia

**MYKALESSOS**

**MAP NUMBER:**

59

**LOCATION:**

Boeotia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*

Pausanias ix 19, 4-5; 27, 8 (Loeb ix 19, 5-6; 27, 8).

*Modern Works*


**TOPOGRAPHY:**

Mykalessos itself was in ruins (Pausanias ix 19, 4), but the sanctuary was still in use, located somewhere beyond the old town and near the sea.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

Pausanias ix 19, 4-5: "By the sea at Mykalessos is a sanctuary of Mykalessian Demeter; they say that this is shut every night and opened by Herakles, and that Herakles is of one of the Idaian Daktyloi. Another miracle they show you here is that
they put natural fruits of autumn at the feet of the statue, and they stay ripe all year.

[5] Where the Euripos cuts off Euboia from Boeotia, the sanctuary of Mykalessian Demeter will be on your right...."

This description indicates that the sanctuary had either a peribolos wall or an actual cult building with doors that could be closed and locked. The sanctuary also contained a cult statue.

**CULT:**

Demeter Mykalessia.

Schachter (158) notes that since Pausanias' informants were probably local farmers out to impress the visitor, the information about the cult had no validity and this purely local cult should not be compared with similar pairings of Herakles Idaios and Demeter at Elis and Megalopolis.

**MAP NUMBER:**

29

**LOCATION:**

Cyclades

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

SIG$^3$ 1024, 11-15.

SIG 373.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**

Unknown

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

Inscription dates to the third century B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

SIG 373: Two sows, one of which was pregnant, was sacrificed to Demeter Chlōe on the twelfth day of the month Poseidon.

SIG$^3$ 1024, 11-16: grain payment to a cook for slaughtering and cooking two pigs to Demeter Chlōe (c 200 B.C.).
CULT:
Demeter Chlœe

MYSIA

MAP NUMBER:
124
LOCATION:
Argolid
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias ii 18, 3.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown, but the presence of wooden cult statues could suggest that the cult was old.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 18, 3: "... a little further on the left is Mysia, and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, named after a man called Mysios, who the Argives say was another host of Demeter. It has no roof, but inside is another shrine of terracotta, with wooden idols of Kore and Pluto and Demeter."
CULT:
Mysian Demeter.

MYTILENE, THESMOPHORION

MAP NUMBER:
1
LOCATION:
Lesbos
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Williams, Caroline, 1984, Phoenix 38, 31-76.
Williams, Caroline and Hector, 1985, Classical Views 29 - n.s. 4, 225-233.
.................................................., 1986, Classical Views 30 - n.s. 5, 141-154.
Susan-Marie Cronkite

................................................., 1987, Classical Views 31- n.s. 6, 247-262.
................................................., 1988, Classical Views 32 - n.s. 7, 135-149.
................................................., 1989, Classical Views 33 - n.s. 8, 167-181.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Intramural, on the height of Mytilene's Acropolis.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Archaic?, Classical and Hellenistic phases and evidence for Roman use of the sanctuary.

Description of Site:

See Chapters Two and Six for a detailed site description and analysis.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros, Demeter Chlēe ?.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:


Site Plan: Richard C. Anderson.
Site Catalogue

Mytilene
Mytilene, The Sanctuary of Demeter

MAP NUMBER: 1

LOCATION:
Lesbos

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intramural
A second possible sanctuary of Demeter is located in the Epano Skala or North Harbour area of modern Mytilene.

**Sanctuary Dates:**
Hellenistic

**Description of Site:**
Terracotta figurines, including a large enthroned Demeter with her name on the front of a low base, were found in a well during excavations in the Epano Skala. These figurines suggest that there may have been a Demeter sanctuary in the vicinity. Nothing is known about this second possible sanctuary and so its relationship to the acropolis sanctuary is unclear. It cannot be determined if these two sites co-existed or were successive or if perhaps they held different festivals.

**Cult:**
Demeter (?)

**Site Plan:**
See above: Mytilene, Map one, town plan.

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**Naxos (Ancient Grotta)**

**Map Number:**
33

**Location:**
Naxos island, Cyclades

**Select Bibliography:**
"Chronique", 1960, BCH 84, 812.

**Topography:**
Intraurban (?)

**Sanctuary Dates:**
Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Four boundary stelai, each with the inscription "08ο θθον", terracotta figurines and many plain vases were found in an ancient well within the territory of Grotta. The Thesmophorion may have been in this area.

CULT:

Demeter ?Thesmophoros

MAP NUMBER:

150

LOCATION:

Troad

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:


TOPOGRAPHY:

Intraurban.

The votive deposit, and presumably the sanctuary, was found on a high area in the east end of the town.

SANCTUARY DATES:

Neandria was founded in the seventh century B.C. but it was only inhabited until the fourth century. At that time, Antigonus I moved the population to the newly founded town of Alexandria Troas.

The artifacts from a disturbed ex-voto deposit date from the sixth century (miniature hydriae from c 530 to 500 B.C.) to the fourth centuries B.C. (terracotta figurines from the second half of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century).

SITE DESCRIPTION:

The Site:

The site consists of a single, deposit of votive material that was found in the extreme east end of Neandria, in a disturbed and looted area directly against the inner face of
the fortification wall. The only approach to the area is from the west, directly from the town, as the north and east sides of the area are lined by large rocks and the south side is bordered by the fortification wall (which has a preserved height of over 2m). Scattered remains of a wall and a staircase have been excavated to the west, but there is no evidence that this architecture was associated with the deposit.

The Deposit:

Pottery accounted for the majority of the artifacts in the deposit. Three-quarters of the materials consisted of locally-manufactured miniature hydriai, but there were also numerous fragments of other cult-related vessels (ring kernoi and unguentaria) and possible feasting wares (bowls, plates, olpai and skyphoi). Other finds from the deposit include a small number of terracotta figurines - hydrophoroi, peplophoroi legs (which may be fragments of worshippers), and a small, solitary pig. Burned animal bones (species not identified), charcoal and ash were also found in the area. It is possible that these bones were sacrificial remains.

CULT:
Demeter. The identification of the deity is based upon artifactual evidence.

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**NENETA**

**MAP NUMBER:**
10

**LOCATION:**
Chios.

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Inscriptional evidence for the worship of Demeter at Neneta in south-east Chios.
CULT:

Demeter, mentioned in conjunction with Artemis.

MAP NUMBER:
108

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 8, 1.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias viii 8, 1: "Beyond the ruins of Nestane is a sacred sanctuary of Demeter to whom the Mantineans hold a festival every year."

The site was provisionally identified in 1860 when the preserved remains of a large east-to-west oriented structure were uncovered. The site was located on a road that existed in 1860, but the structure disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.

CULT:

Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
85

NISAIA (PORT OF MEGARA)
LOCATION:
Megarid

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias i 44, 4 (Loeb i 44, 3).

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

Site Description:
Pausanias i 44, 4: "...if you go down to the port, which in our day is still called Nisais, you find a sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros (Μαλόφορος) one of the explanations of this title is that the first breeders of sheep and goats in this country named her Beast-carrying Demeter. One may suppose the roof of the temple has fallen in from old age."

CULT:
Demeter Malophoros, identified by Pausanias as a cult of 'Beast- or Goat-carrying Demeter'. This identification is unusual because the epithet usually refers to Demeter the Apple-bearer or Fruitful (See below: Selinus). Pausanias possibly made this connection because of the story of the first breeders in the area, or he, himself, may have fabricated the story to explain the odd epithet.

NYMPHAEUM

MAP NUMBER:
5

LOCATION:
Black Sea

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:


TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban
Sanctuary of Demeter found in the lower town terrace near the ancient harbour.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The sanctuary was probably founded in the sixth century during the early years of the colony, and then destroyed in the fourth century B.C. Later, the town wall was constructed across the area.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary underwent numerous reconstructions throughout its history. Preserved remains include: a small sixth century quadrangular room with a stone foundation and a mud brick superstructure. Preserved sections of an altar, foundations and peribolos wall date from a later period. Terracotta figurines of hydrophoroi, peplophoroi and female dancers were found within the sanctuary.

CULT:
Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
4
LOCATION:
Black Sea

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Herodotus iv 53.

Modern Works


TOPOGRAPHY:
The topography of the sanctuary is unknown. There may have been two sanctuaries within or near Olbia: a) intraurban - Belin de Ballu suggests that the sanctuary may have been located in an area of the upper town which was set aside for cult purposes and b) extraurban - Herodotus iv 53 mentions a sanctuary of Demeter on the Hippoleos headland on the east bank of the Hypanis facing Olbia.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Olbia is the oldest Greek colony on the north coast of the Black Sea. A trading post was located in the area by the middle of the seventh century on a small island off the coast, but archaeological evidence dates the foundation of the actual colony to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C. A votive graffito to Demeter from Olbia dates to the fifth century B.C., but it is thought that Demeter's cult was active long before this date, possibly brought with the original colonisers from Miletos.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
- Unknown-

CULT:
Demeter, Persephone and Iacchos. Demeter was a popular deity in Olbia, indicated by her representations on coinage, and from terracotta figurines and votive graffitis. The fifth century B.C. votive graffito is interesting because it lists the Eleusinian triad indicating that influences from Athens had already reached the Black Sea area.

MAP NUMBER: 98

LOCATION: Eleia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias v 17, 3; vi 21, 1.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Pausanias v 17, 3: "In Hera's temple... Demeter and Kore are enthroned opposite each other, ....Those (statues) I have listed are ivory and gold..."
Pausanias vi 21, 1-2: "The other side of the race-course is not a mound of earth but a small mountain. At the edge of the mountain is a sanctuary of Demeter Chamyne; some believe this is an ancient name because this is where the earth gaping open for Hades' chariot and closed its mouth on him, but others say there was a Pisaian called Chamynos who opposed Omphalien's son Pantaleon the dictator and planned a revolt against Elis, and Pantaleon killed him and built Demeter's temple out of his possessions. [2] Herodes Atticus has dedicated statues of Demeter and Kore in Pentelic stone in place of the ancient ones."

SANCTUARY DATES:
The altar of Demeter Chamyne was found in a layer that contained Roman pottery and coins from the time of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), but Demeter was present in the sanctuary before the Roman era.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pieces of the altar of Demeter Chamyne were found in situ on the north side of the stadium, opposite the stand for the tribunal of the judges.

CULT:
Demeter Chamyne

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Olympia: Stadium with The Altar of Demeter Chamyne

Reconstruction of The Altar of Demeter Chamyne

ONKION

MAP NUMBER:
109

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 25, 4.

Modern Works

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Extraurban (?) or Remote (?)

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

Pausanias viii 25, 4ff: "After Thelpousa the Ladon flows down to the sanctuary of Demeter at Onkion. The Thelpousans call the goddess a Fury (Ἐπνός), and Antimachos confirms this name in his poem on the Argive expedition against Thebes; the verse is:

> at the throne of Demeter the Fury.

According to the legend Onkios is Apollo's son, who ruled around the place called Onkion in the Thelpousan country, and the goddess got her title of Fury because [5] when Demeter was wandering in search of her child, they say Poseidon followed her lusting to have sex with her, so she changed herself into a mare and grazed among the mares belonging to Onkios; but Poseidon saw how she tricked him and coupled with Demeter in the form of a stallion. [6] At that moment Demeter was very angry about what had happened though later on she got over her wrath and they say she fancied a wash in the Ladon: and this is how the goddess got her titles, the Fury (Δημήτηρ Ἐπνός) because of her wrath, as the Arkadian expression for giving way to anger is to be furious, and Washing Demeter (Λοιςία) because she washed in the Ladon. The statues in the temple are made of wood, but the faces and hands and feet are Parian stone. [7] The statue of the Fury has the basket in her left hand, and a torch in her right which I reckoned was nine feet long. Demeter Lousia appeared to be about six feet high.... They say Demeter bore Poseidon a daughter whose name may not by holy law be repeated to the uninitiated, and also a stallion called Areion,...

**CULT:**

Demeter the Fury (Ἐπνός) and Washing Demeter (Λοιςία). Demeter Lousia was possibly named after the important cult centre of Artemis at Λοϊςία which is not far from Thelpousa.
MAP NUMBER: 47

Location: Thessaly

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
The sanctuary was located on the eastern flank of the acropolis of Demetrias, just inside of the fortifications.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Pagasai was founded in the seventh century to be a port town for Pherai, but in 293 B.C. it was absorbed into the neighbouring town of Demetrias.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Numerous and varied artifacts were found on a flat area inside of the ancient fortifications, including fragments of architecture (poros blocks, roof-tiles, and a single piece of triglyph of dark marble), broken statue bases with inscriptions (small base inscribed with "ΚΟΦΗ" and a large base with "ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ"), pieces of marble statues (toes, fingers, drapery and a bearded male head), vase fragments (skyphoi, amphorai) and terracotta figurines (crouching temple boys, female votaries).

CULT:
Demeter, Kore and possibly Hades. Demeter and her daughter were identified by inscriptional evidence. The worship of Ploutos is implied by the marble head of the bearded male.

MAP NUMBER: 110
**LOCATION:**
Arkadia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias viii 44, 5.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias viii 44, 5: "At Pallantion is a temple with stone statues of Pallas and Euander, a sanctuary of Demeter and the Maid, and not far away from that a portrait of Polybios."

Pallantion was identified and excavated by the Italian school in the 1940's, but the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was not discovered at that time.

**CULT:**
Demeter and Kore

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**PAROS**

**MAP NUMBER:**
30

**LOCATION:**
Cyclades

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Herodotus vi 134.
*Hymn to Demeter* 491.
Pausanias x 28, 1 (Loeb x 28, 3).

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Extraurban

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown, but Demeter was worshipped at Paros by the seventh century B.C. when the *Hymn to Demeter* was written.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Herodotus vi 134: "... Miltiades....made his way to the hill in front of the town [Paros], where the shrine of Demeter the Lawgiver stood. Unable to open the door in the fence which surrounded the precinct, he jumped over and made straight for the shrine. Precisely what he intended to do there, I really don't know - perhaps to meddle with some of the things which it is sacrilege to touch - but, whatever it was, when he reached the doors of the shrine, he was seized with a sudden fit of trembling, ran back the way he had come, and, in jumping down from the top of the fence, fell and twisted his thigh....."

Hymn to Demeter 491: "And now, queen of the land of sweet Eleusis and sea-girt Paros..."

Pausanias x 28, 1: "Tellis seems to be a boy in his first maturity and Kleobia an unmarried girl, with a box on her knees like the ones in the paintings of Demeter.....But they say Kleobia first introduced the secret rites (6pyta) of Demeter to Thasos from Paros."

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros

MAP NUMBER:
111

LOCATION:
Arkadia, along the main road from Tegea to Argos, near the base of Mount Parthenion.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources:
Pausanias viii 54, 5.

Modern Works
Bérard, V., 1890, "Statue archaïque de Tégée", BCH 14, 382-4.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote

SANCTUARY DATES:
Archaic

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 54, 5: "Along the main road there are a lot of oak-trees; there is a shrine of Demeter in the sacred oak-wood called Demeter of the Korytheans, and nearby another sanctuary of Mystic Dionysos."

The sanctuary was an isolated site set in a grove of oak trees. Bérard found and excavated two small sanctuaries in the environs of the village of Khani, near to the church of Agia Trias. Each site contained the foundation of a small and simple rectangular structure, one measured 3.50m by 4m while the other was slightly larger, measuring 5m by 6m. An archaic kore came to light inside the larger building and so Bérard identified it as the sanctuary of Demeter and the other, smaller sanctuary as that of Mystic Dionysos.

CULT:
Demeter of the Korytheans. The identification of the sanctuary is tentative, based upon Pausanias and the find of the archaic kore.

MAP NUMBER:
91

LOCATION:
Achaia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias vii 21, 4-5 (Loeb vii 21, 11).

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias vii 21, 4-5: "They also have a sacred grove beside the sea...which is a delightful place for idling in the summer. In this wood there are some shrines: one to Apollo and one to Aphrodite, with the statues made of stone. Demeter's sanctuary gives on to the wood; she and her daughter are standing up, but the statue of Earth is sitting down. [5] There is a spring in front of Demeter's sanctuary with a dry stone wall on the temple side...."

The Spring is located at the Church of St. Andrew beside the cathedral of Patrai. The Church probably overlies the sanctuary.

CULT:
Demeter, Kore and Gaia

MAP NUMBER:
44

LOCATION:
Central Macedonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
AR 1989-90, 58.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:

SITE DESCRIPTION:
This town became important between 413 to 399 B.C. when King Archelaus moved the capital of Macedonia to Pella. It was the centre of Macedonia under the rule of Philip and it was the birthplace of his son, Alexander the Great. The town grew steadily until it was the largest town in Macedonia, probably reaching its fluorite under the reign of Antigonus Gonatas (274-239 B.C.).
The sanctuary of Demeter consists of a circular structure which was probably hypaethral (to date, only the centre of the shrine has been excavated). The interior is composed of a thick clay floor into which twenty circular offering pits were dug. These pits contained animal bones and some bronze coins. An altar was found at the centre, associated with a large number of terracotta figurines (animals, female and male worshippers, and human body parts). These offerings were in situ, sitting both on and around the altar.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore, accompanied by Artemis and maybe other deities. The deities are identified on the basis of artifact types.

MAP NUMBER:
94
LOCATION:
Achaia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias vii 27, 4 (Loeb vii 27, 9).
TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias vii 27, 4: "About seven and a half miles (sixty stades) away from Pellene is the Myasion, a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter (Δήμητρος Μυσίως): they say it was established by an Argive, and the Argive legend is that Mysios entertained Demeter in his home. There is a sacred grove at the Myasion where all kinds of trees are growing and spring-water rises abundantly; they celebrate a seven-day festival of Demeter there. On the third day of the festival the men withdraw from the sanctuary, and the women are left alone to perform their rites during the night; not only the men are sent out but even the male dogs. When the men come to the sanctuary the next day, men and women in turn laugh and jeer at each other."
CULT:
Myasion Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
8

LOCATION:
Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Conze, A., 1913, Stadt und Landschaft (Altertumer von Pergamon 1.2). Berlin: De Gruyter.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Originally the sanctuary was extraurban, but it was included inside the town fortifications in the second century B.C.

The citadel of Pergamon is a steep-sided hill which rises suddenly to 333m above sea level. Pergamon is built on series of artificial terraces joined by a long, looping road. The Demeter sanctuary is located in the middle area of the citadel, on its own man-made platform. This platform was originally quite isolated, but the town gradually grew and incorporated the area. Despite Pergamon's growth, the area remained isolated due to the steep, rough terrain on which the sanctuary was constructed.

The citadel was walled numerous times - in the Archaic period, in the Classical period, during the reign of Philetaerus and again during the reign of Eumenes II in the second
century B.C. Investigations on the site are ongoing, but at present, it seems that the Demeter sanctuary was not included within the circuit until the second century.

**Sanctuary Dates:**

- **Phase One:** fifth or fourth century B.C.
- **Phase Two ‘A’** and Two ‘B’: fourth century B.C.
- **Phase Three:** between 283-263 B.C., during rule of Philetaerus,
- **Phase Four:** c 220 to 186 B.C., under the auspices of Apollonis, wife of Attalos I
- **Phase Five ‘A’** and Five ‘B’: Roman building periods. Five ‘A’ dates to the first century B.C. / first century A.D., while Five ‘B’ dates to the second and third centuries A.D.

**Site Description:**

**Phase One:** The ground in the area was leveled and use was made of a natural andesite ridge that runs through it. A few remains of foundation walls found under the later Philetaerian temple suggest there may have been some sort of cult structures located in the early sanctuary, but architectural details and the extent of this phase are not known due to later building on the site.

**Phase Two ‘A’:** The first rectangular terrace was constructed. It was 57m long and 21m wide, and oriented east-west. The north side of the terrace was dug into the hillside and the south placed on rubble fill. The sanctuary itself consisted of: precinct walls on all four sides, a main entrance on the east side and possibly a stoa running the full length of the north side of the terrace. A small temple of some type may have stood in this sanctuary. No remains have been found, but it was probably located on the same site as the sacred area of Phase 1. Foundations of four altars were discovered within the precinct. These altars were located in the centre of the terrace in approximately the same positions as altars of later building Phases three, four and five. Altar A was the largest. It was rectangular and oriented north-south. The altars in positions B and C were side by side, rectangular, oriented north-south and to the east of position A. Altar D was square and by itself to the east of B and C. An additional altar, Altar E, was found outside the walls, in an area that probably acted as a forecourt. Altar E was large and rectangular with a north-south orientation.

**Phase Two ‘B’:** The sanctuary was enlarged during this time. It was extended to the south, east and west and was combined with a general lowering in the height of the
terrace. On the south side a heavy support wall was built on the outside (south) of the phase 2a wall.

**Phase Three:** A building campaign was undertaken by Philetaerus (283-263 B.C.) in this period. The terrace was again enlarged, this time on the north, east and west to allow for more cult room and to add extra support walls on the north and south. A new support wall was placed on the south side, 2.5m inside the support wall of phase 2b. The alignment of the whole terrace was also altered by 2 degrees to the north-east. Three new buildings were constructed during this phase - the Seating Area, the Lower North Stoa and the Temple of Demeter.

The Seating Area, situated on the north side of the temenos, was constructed in order to cope with an expansion in the numbers of people attending the sanctuary. It consists of nine or ten rows of seats, 43m long, with three staircases providing access. The seats use the slope of the hill as a foundation.

The Lower North Stoa abuts directly on to the Seating Area. This stoa consists of two aisles with a front colonnade and seven rooms at the rear. The stoa is 41.5m long but only 7m wide in order to match the width of the Seating Area. The nineteen frontal columns had no bases and fragments of Doric regulae were found, therefore, the stoa is thought to have been in the Doric style. It is also possible, however, that the building was constructed in the Aeolic style as it had a smooth architrave, with no triglyphs or metopes.

The Demeter Temple was placed towards the west end of the sanctuary, roughly in the area thought to have been occupied by an earlier cult building. This temple was small, Ionic, distyle in antis with a naos and pronaos. The temple was surrounded on all sides by a three-step stylobate. The temple, including the stylobate, measured 14.10m east to west and 7.95m north to south. The temple was constructed of andesite, but pieces of a marble frieze with bucrania, garlands, and offering bowls were found nearby. It is possible this marble frieze was placed above the architrave. The andesite architrave carried a dedicatory inscription. Only fragments of this inscription were found, but an identical inscription was found on Altar A. The inscription reads "Philetaerus and Eumenes, to Demeter, for their Mother Boas".
The Demeter temple was changed in the Roman period when a marble forehall in the Corinthian style was added (phase five ‘A’).

Altar A was also rebuilt and enlarged during this phase. The andesite altar was placed on two stairs with those on the west side made larger to provide a platform for officiating cult personnel. Volute horns decorated the altar. One volute was located at each corner. The dedicatory inscription mentioned above was found on the east face of this altar.

Phase Four: This phase was undertaken under the auspices of Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I and the mother of Eumenes II. The exact dates of this phase cannot be ascertained because Apollonis outlived her husband, Attalos, and lived well into the reign of her son. The Forecourt, Propylon, Upper North Stoa, West Stoa, South Stoa and the south terrace wall were all constructed during this time.

The Forecourt had existed through the earlier phases of construction but it was only in phase four that it was first completely developed. The Forecourt was constructed on two levels, the upper and the lower, the two levels joined by a staircase. This staircase consisted of five stairs running from the east temenos wall to the edge of a fountain. The fountain itself was located beside the east boundary wall of the forecourt. A small offering area was also located in the Lower Forecourt. This area consisted of a square with a bothros 50cm deep.

The Upper Forecourt contained the propylon entrance to the sanctuary. There was also a cistern located just south of the propylon step. This cistern was cut into the bedrock. It was an irregular ellipse c 2.35m deep, and 1.30m to 1.50m in diameter. The cistern may have been used for ritual ablutions.

On the north side of the upper forecourt there was a series of rooms identified as the oikoi mentioned in Queen Apollonis' dedicatory inscription which is situated on the Propylon. These rooms are all at different heights as they are built up the natural slope of the hill. Internal staircases join the rooms. The purpose of these rooms is not known, but it was presumably cultic in nature. The most northerly and the most southerly of these rooms allowed access to the seating area. An ash altar was located just outside the southernmost room. This altar was 2.45m by 2.85m and had a bothros underneath it. The altar was later incorporated into a room during the Roman period.
The Propylon was a medium sized gate, measuring 8.28m long and 5.04m wide. Its eastern facade faced the forecourt, while the western facade faced in towards the inner sanctuary. The east facade was prostyle with two columns. The west facade had two antae, but no columns. Ten stairs, 3.10m wide, led down from the east facade into the sanctuary. There was a dedicatory inscription on the east architrave which stated that Queen Apoflonis gave the stoas and oikoi as a present to Demeter and Kore.

The Upper North Stoa was constructed behind and above the Seating Area and Lower North Stoa. It extended the full length of the back of the sanctuary (86m) and was 5.5m wide. This stoa was dug into the north slope and had two walls on its north side, the outer and higher was the temenos wall itself, while the lower was the rear wall of the stoa. The structure was surmounted by a shed roof.

The West Stoa was situated along the whole length of the west end of the sanctuary. It used Philetaerus' old temenos wall (phase three) to divide its front, columned aisle from the five rooms behind. This stoa was 22m long and 4.70m wide. The stoa abutted the Lower North Stoa and the South Stoa, but all three buildings were separate entities.

The South Stoa was located along the south boundary of the Demeter temenos, partly on the level of the sanctuary, and partly on a lower level caused by the drop of the terrace edge. This stoa was constructed in the typical Pergamene style, using a lower gallery to bring the main floor level with the inner sanctuary. The north, or inner side of the stoa was only one story high, while the outer, or south face had two floors. The south side of the terrace was enlarged greatly to take this new structure. This building was constructed of andesite, though the Romans later rebuilt much of the structure in marble.

The Stoa is 92m long and 11m wide. The upper floor may have had two colonnades, one facing north looking into the sanctuary, the other facing south overlooking the view. The single-aisled lower floor was long, dark and not sub-divided. Four doors afforded access to this lower gallery. This floor was only lit by light coming from small windows located high in the outer, or south wall. The architectural design suggests this lower gallery may have been used for chthonic cult purposes.
The large andesite and tufa south terrace wall was built in conjunction with the new South Stoa. The heavy support wall consisted of 16 north-south braces with east-west wall sections. It runs the full length of the terrace and has a preserved height of 13m.

**Phases Five A and Five B:** Phase Five building was carried by the Romans after approximately one hundred years with no construction in the sanctuary. This phase is divided into two sub-phases: Five A, from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. and Five B, during the second and third centuries A.D.

The most conspicuous addition during phase Five A was the Nymphaion built in the forecourt out of used Hellenistic building stone. This was probably located over an earlier (phase four) fountain. The Nymphaion consisted of an exedra with two flanking niches and a water basin standing in front.

A renewal of interest in cult activities resulted in building phase five B. The most conspicuous addition to the sanctuary at this time was a marble forehall attached to the Demeter temple. This hall carried a donation inscription ascribing its construction to the largess of Claudius Silianus Aesimus. The forehall consisted of a prostyle porch with four Corinthian columns. A reconstruction of the south stoa with marble columns and decorated gable may also belong to this phase.

**CULT:**

Demeter Thesmophoros? Inscriptional evidence provides evidence for the worship of Demeter within this sanctuary, but the actual festival(s) celebrated are not known. The chthonic elements of the sanctuary (hearth altar, dark lower floor of the south stoa) and terracotta figurines (*hydrophoroi* and double-handed worshippers) suggest that the Thesmophoria may have been held in this sanctuary.

**SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:**


Sanctuary, top plan: Bohtz, 1981, plan 43.

Sanctuary, cross-section: Bohtz, 1981, plan 56.
PHAI'DRIAS

MAP NUMBER:
112

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias viii 35, 2.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote, situated in a mountain pass.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 35, 2: "About fifteen stades distant from Phaedrias is an Hermaeum called 'by the Mistress'; it too forms a boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis. There are small images of the Mistress (Δεσποίνης) and Demeter; likewise of Hermes and Heracles."

CULT:
Demeter and Despoina.

MAP NUMBER:
82

LOCATION:
Attica, harbour of Athens

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
IG II1 1177.
IG II2 1059.
Pausanias i 1, 4; x 35, 2.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Sanctuary destroyed by the Persian sack in 480 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias i 1, 4: "The Athenians have another harbour at Mounychia... and one at Phaleron, as I said, with Demeter's sanctuary beside it."
Pausanias x 35, 2: "The Greeks who resisted that barbarous invasion [of the Persians under Xerxes] decided not to re-erect the sanctuaries that were burnt down, but to leave them for ever as remembrances of hatred. This is why the shrines at Haliartos, and in Athens Hera shrine on the Phaleron road, and Demeter's at Phaleron, have stayed half-burnt to this day."
The Sanctuary was in full use when Xerxes attacked and sacked town of Athens. According to Pausanias, it was not re-built, but the shrine was "half-burnt", and so it may still have been used as it was, or with some minimum amount of reconstruction.

This site is identified with the Thesmophorion which is mentioned in IG II² 1059. This inscription implies that the sanctuary was located outside the walls of Piraeus. Reasons for identifying site as the Thesmophorion are that the festival of the Skira seems to have been celebrated at this Thesmophorion (inferred from inscriptions) and that Pausanias mentions a temple of Skiradian Athena in close connection. It was a popular sanctuary, so much so that in fourth century the Thesmophorion became so overcrowded that the deme ordered that sacrifices and other activities were not to be performed in it unless conducted in the presence of the priestess.

**CULT:**

Demeter Thesmophoros

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

PHARSALA

MAP NUMBER:
48

LOCATION:
Thessaly

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban, possibly on the slopes of the acropolis.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The dates of the artifacts are not provided in the brief report.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A deposit of terracotta figurines and pottery was found at Ayios Nikolaos, on the north foot of the acropolis of the ancient town of Pharsala (modern Prophetes Elias).
This deposit and a second one found earlier, which included protomes of a goddess
(Demeter?), may indicate that there was a sanctuary to Demeter close by, possibly on the slope of the acropolis.

**Cult:**

Demeter. Deity identity based on terracotta figurines, especially the protomes.

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**Pheneos**

**Map Number:**

113

**Location:**

Arkadia

**Select Bibliography:**

*Ancient Sources*

Pausanias viii 15, 1-4.

*Modern Works*


**Topography:**

Unknown.

Very little of Pheneos is preserved except for some remains of the town walls and the sanctuary of Asklepios.

**Sanctuary Dates:**

Unknown.

**Site Description:**

Pausanias viii 15; 1-4: "The Pheneans have a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter, and hold a mystery of the goddess, claiming the Eleusinian rites are also established here: Naos grandson of Eumolpos came among them by command of the Delphic oracle. By the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess is a construction called the Rock (Πέτρωμα) consisting of two enormous stones fitted together. [2] Once a year when they hold what they call the greater mystery they open these stones, and take certain writing from them which has to do with the mystery, read it out to the initiated and then put it away the same night. I do know that most Pheneans swear by the Rock"
(Πέτρωμα) about the most important things. [3] It has a circular top with the mask of Kidarian (Κιδαρίας) Demeter inside it which the priest puts on at the greater mystery, and for some reason he beats the underworld gods with rods. There is a Phenean story that before Naos Demeter came there in her wanderings, and the Pheneans who took her into their houses and gave her gifts of hospitality received lentils and so on from the goddess, but she gave none of them the bean. [4] There is a sacred legend about the bean and why they believe it to be impure. Those who entertained the goddess in the Phenean story were Trisaules and Damithales, who built a temple of Demeter Thesmiah below Mount Kyllene and established a mystery there which is still celebrated today. The temple of Demeter Thesmiah is roughly two miles (fifteen stades) from the city."

CULT:
Demeter Eleusinia. A local version of the Greater Mysteries were held at the sanctuary. Kidarian Demeter.

MAP NUMBER: 114
LOCATION: Arkadia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias viii 42.

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.
The sanctuary is on Mount Elaion, four miles from Phigalia.

**Sanctuary Dates:**
Unknown

**Site Description:**

Pausanias viii 42: "Elaion the other mountain is about four miles from Phigalia; there is a cave of Demeter there with the title Black (Μελαόντις). The Phigalians believe the same as they say at Thelpousa about the coupling of Poseidon and Demeter, though the Phigalians say Demeter gave birth not to a horse but the goddess the Arkadians call the Mistress (Δέσποινα). [2] They say she was furious with Poseidon and grieved at the rape of Persephone, put on black, and went into this cave and stayed there for along time. All the earth produces was perishing and the human race was even worse devastated by famine, but none of the gods knew where Demeter was hiding. [3] At that time Pan came into Arkadia to hunt, now over one mountain and now over another, and at Mount Elaion he sighted Demeter, saw how she looked and how she was dressed. So Zeus found out from Pan and sent the Fates to Demeter; she obeyed them and put away her anger, and forgot her grief. The Phigalians say because of all this they considered the cave sacred to Demeter, and dedicated a wooded statue there. [4] The statue was like this: she was sitting on a rock, and looked like a woman except for head; she had a horse's head and mane, with serpents and other beasts sprouting out of her head; she wore a tunic down to her feet, she had a dolphin on one hand and a dove on the other. To anyone of intelligence with a good memory it is obvious why they made the wooden image in this shape (the horse belongs to Poseidon, the serpents are chthonic, the dolphin belongs to Poseidon and the dove to Persephone). They say she was named Black Demeter because the goddess also dressed in black. [5] It is not recorded who made the statue or how it came to be burnt; when the old one was gone the Phigalians did not give the goddess another statue, and neglected most of the observances of festival and sacrifice, until the earth was struck barren, and the Python priestess answered their petition with this prophecy:

[6] Arkadian, Azanian acorn eaters, people of Phigalia, O, people of stallion-mated Deo's hidden cave, you came for a cure of painful famine, in exile twice, living wild twice,
no one but you: and Deo took you home,
made you sheaf-carriers and oatcake-eaters,
makes you live wild now, because stopped
your fathers' worship, her ancient honours.
You shall consume yourselves, be child-eaters
if your whole people will not soothe her spleen,
and dress the deep cave in divine honours.

[7] When the Phigalians heard the oracle that was brought to them, they honoured
Demeter more than they ever had before, and the persuaded Onatas son of Mikon of
Aigina, whatever they had to pay him, to make them a statue of Demeter. The bronze
Pergamene Apollo, one of the most astounding of all works of art for its size and
fineness, is by the same Onatas. So now he found a copy or painting of the ancient
wooden idol, and found out most, or they say, by a vision in his sleep, and made the
Phigalians a statue in bronze just two generations after the Persian expedition against
Greece.... [11] This Demeter was my principal reason for coming to Phigalia.
According to the traditional local observance I slaughtered nothing to the goddess;
the sacred law for her sacrifice dictates that private individuals and once a year the
whole Phigalian community should take the fruit of cultivated trees, particularly the
grape, and the honeycomb, and greasy unspun wool, and lay them on the altar
constructed in front of the cave, with oil poured over them. [12] The ceremony is
performed by a priestess with the youngest of the sacrificial ministers and they call
them, who are three of the citizens. There is a sacred grove of oaks around the cave,
where cold water springs out of the ground."

The exact location of the cave is not known, however, it is tentatively identified with a
cave-chapel of the Virgin in an area known as the Gully of the Virgin in the Neda
Gorge. Local tales relate that the Virgin Mary was shocked by the incestuous love
between a brother and sister so she hid herself in this cave. This is an obvious re-
telling of the ancient myth and suggests that Demeter's cult was celebrated in the
same cave.

**Cult:**

Black Demeter (Μελανίς)
MAP NUMBER: 89

LOCATION:
Corinthia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias ii 13, 3 (Loeb ii 13, 4-5).

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The ex-voto deposit dates from the seventh to fifth centuries B.C., but Demeter's sanctuary was in use when Pausanias visited the site in the second century A.D.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 13, 3: "On the acropolis there is also another enclosure consecrated to Demeter, with a shrine in it and a statue of Demeter and her daughter .... On the way down from the akropolis on the right is a shrine of Asklepios with a statue that has no beard yet. Under this shrine a theatre has been built and not far away from that is a sanctuary of Demeter with ancient seated statues."

Blegen conducted a series of test trenches on the east end of the acropolis of Phlius in 1924. At that time, a large deposit of terracotta figurines and miniature vessels came to light. Blegen suggested that this material came from the Demeter sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias. These artifacts were, however, re-examined between 1970 to 1972 and this identification has been questioned. The deposit contained over seven hundred figurines, 68% of which are horse and riders, while only 19% are female figures (the majority are standing types wearing a low polos) while the remainder are nude males, animals, perhaps dogs, and a sphinx. The figurines, along with the miniature vessels (the majority of which are miniature cups) suggest to Biers that they
were ex-voto material from the sanctuary of Hebe, also mentioned by Pausanias or from a sanctuary of a male deity, perhaps a hero.

**CULT:**

Demeter

**PLATAIA**

**MAP NUMBER:**

63

**LOCATION:**

Boeotia.
The sanctuary is located on the border with Attica, near the town of Hysiai.

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**Ancient Sources**

Herodotus ix 57, 2; 62, 2: 65, 2; 69, 1; 101, 1.
Pausanias ix. 4. 2 (Loeb ix 4, 3).

IG 7.1670: records a dedication to Demeter, but the epithet has not survived.

IG 7.1671: part of inscription, in verse, from the dedication of a cult image to Demeter, included among dedicators may be Teisamenos the seer.

**Modern Works**


**TOPOGRAPHY:**

Remote (?)

**SANCTUARY DATES:**

It is known from Herodotus (see below) that the sanctuary was in existence during the Battle of Plataia (479 B.C.), but it is not known how long before the battle the sanctuary was in use. The sanctuary may have gone out of use as the town itself waned.
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias ix 4, 2: "There is a sanctuary at Plataia of Eleusinian Demeter, and a memorial of Leitos:"

Pausanias ix 2, 2: "On Mount Kithairon which is Plataian ground, if you turn off a little way from the straight road the ruins of Hysaia and Erythrai are on your right. They were once Boeotian cities, and even now in the ruins of Hysaia is a half-finished temple of Apollo and a holy well."

Herodotus ix 62, 1: "First there was a struggle at the barricade of shields; then, the barricade down, there was a bitter and protracted fight, hand to hand close by the temple of Demeter, for the Persians would lay hold of the Spartan spears and break them;"

Herodotus ix 65, 2: "It is a wonder to me how it should have happened that, though the battle was fought close to the holy precinct of Demeter, not a single Persian soldier was found dead upon the sacred soil, or ever appears to have set foot upon it, while round about the temple, on unconsecrated ground, the greatest number were killed. My own view is - if one may have views at all about these mysteries - that the Goddess herself would not let them in, because they burnt her sanctuary at Eleusis."

Herodotus ix 68: "During the panic rout of the enemy, while the victors were still pursuing the fugitives with great slaughter, news of the battle and of Pausanias' success reached the Greeks who were stationed near the temple of Hera and had taken no part in the fighting. The moment they heard the turn events had taken, they rushed forward in a mob, the Corinthians and their division by the upper routes across the foothills of Cithaeron, straight for the temple of Demeter, the Megarians, Phliasians and others by the level route through the plain."

Herodotus ix 99: "It was another odd coincidence that both battles should have been fought near a precinct of Demeter Eleusinia - for, as I have already mentioned, the fighting at Plataia was in the immediate neighbourhood of Demeter's temple; and the same thing was to happen at Mycale."

The sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia may have come to light in 1964 (it has since been destroyed by farming). The site is located on the Pantanassa Ridge, east of Krickouki.
Site Catalogue

(modern Plataia), closer to Hysiai than to ancient Plataia, near to the Hysiaia-Plataia road. Evidence for this locale is two-fold: two bases with dedications to Demeter (IG 7, 1670 and 1671) were discovered on Pantanassa ridge in the 1870's and then in 1964 farmers ploughed up stylobate blocks and decorated, late sixth or early fifth century B.C. roof tiles from a small temple. These ruins, however, may also be the temple of Apollo that Pausanias mentions in his description of the ruins of Hysiaia (ix 2, 2). Another possible location for the Demeter sanctuary is on one of the low hills to the north of Kriekouki (modern Plataia).

CULT:

Demeter Eleusinia and Kore.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Pritchett, 1979, “Plataia” AJP 100, 146.
POIESSA

MAP NUMBER: 134
LOCATION: Keos, Cyclades.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY: IG XII^3^ 569 and XII supplement, 114.
TOPOGRAPHY: Unknown.
SANCTUARY DATES: Unknown.
SITE DESCRIPTION: The inscription discusses the protection of water flowing into the sanctuary of Demeter.
CULT: Demeter. No epithet is mentioned in the inscription.

POLICORO (HERAKLEA)

MAP NUMBER: 135
LOCATION: Lucania, Italy.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Hesychius ἐν Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ

Modern Works
AA 83 (1968), 770-794.
TOPOGRAPHY: Extraurban.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Heraklea was colonised from Tarentum and Therii in 433/32 B.C., but the cult area was already in use when the colony was founded. The earliest artifacts, found near a spring, date from the seventh and sixth centuries but the earliest preserved architecture dates to the fourth century. An altar and associated artifacts indicate that the site was still in use during the Roman period.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary consists of a series of small rectangular rooms (preserved dimensions of Room A: c 4m x 6m, Room B: c 5m x 10m) dating to the fourth and third centuries B.C., a spring within an enclosing wall, man-made bothroi and numerous votive deposits.

Artifacts include coins from Sybaris, Kroton, Metapontum, Tarentum, Kaulonia, Terina and Poseidonia, terracotta figurines (goddess with polos, females holding a cross-style torch - a type known from Tarentum), miniature vessels (hydriai, fusiform unguentaria, one-handled cups), bronze offerings (bronze dedicatory plaques, cut-outs of pigs) and pottery.

CULT:
Demeter Pampano, Kore and Agathe Tyche. The sanctuary and deities are identified by graffiti on vases and from inscriptions on the bronze plaques which mention the deities by name.

A clay funnel which was presumably used for directing liquid offerings into the earth and the representations of torches indicate that at least some of the festivals celebrated in this sanctuary were nocturnal and chthonic in nature.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
AA. 1968, 773.
MOUNT PONTINOS

MAP NUMBER:
125

LOCATION:
Argolid

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias ii 37, 1 (Loeb ii 37, 1-2).

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.

Mount Pontinos is a limestone hill located in the south-west corner of the plain of Argos.
Site Catalogue

Sanctuary Dates:
Unknown.

Site Description:
Pausanias ii 37, 1: "Inside this wood there are statues of Demeter Prosymne, or Dionysos, and a small seated statue of Demeter: these are made of stone...."

Cult:
Demeter Prosymne

POTNIAI

Map Number:
61

Location:
Boeotia

Select Bibliography:

Ancient Sources
Pausanias ix 8, 1.

Modern Works

Topography:
Extrarurban / Remote

Pausanias ix 8, 1: "Across the Asopus, about 10 stades [one and one-quarter miles] distant from the city [Thebes], are the ruins of Potniai, in which is a grove of Demeter and the Maid. The images at the river that flows past Potniai...they name the goddesses. At an appointed time they perform their accustomed ritual, one part of which is to let loose young pigs into what are called 'the halls' [megara]. At the same time next year these pigs appear, they say, in Dodona. This story others can believe if they wish."
SANCTUARY DATES:

'Potniai' means the 'goddesses' and the fact that the town was called this suggests the cult was there was an old one of some importance. The place name is known from the fifth century B.C. and the cult must have been at least that old. There is even a possibility that this sanctuary may actually have existed during the Mycenaean period. The Linear B tablet Thebes, Of 36 lists an allotment of wool destined for "po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de / Potnias woikon-de" translated as "to the house (temple) of Potnaia". Chadwick suggests that this 'House of Potnia' may well have been the town of Potniai known in later Greek times.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

A site was excavated in 1917 in southern Thebes which has been identified as both the sanctuary of Amphiparaos (Pausanias ix 8, 3) and as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Pausanias ix 8, 1). The remains consisted of a room 2.60m long, and, in a different area of the site, a rectangular bothros filled with fifth century B.C. pottery. Artifacts from the excavations included a bronze phiale, terracotta figurines of enthroned females, standing boys, a male head with a beard and animals including, pigs, cows and birds. Pottery included Archaic, black figure and red figure vases with a very small admixture of Mycenaean and Geometric sherds.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros? and Kore

MAP NUMBER:

16

LOCATION:

Ionia.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Site Catalogue

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

Priene is located on the sloping ground at the south foot of a steeply rising acropolis. The Sanctuary of Demeter was situated on a small, isolated plateau on the slope of the acropolis, above the town, and outside the town's orthogonal street grid. It is situated 129m above sea level with a very good view over the town and surrounding plains.

This site was not the original location of Priene. Silt deposition from the Maeander pushed the coastline farther to the west possibly making it necessary for the town to change location. The move took place in the mid fourth century B.C., and probably at Mausolus' instigation. New Priene is a small town, newly constructed presumably with Demeter's sanctuary situated in what were considered optimum conditions.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Sanctuary constructed when town moved to this location c 350 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The Demeter sanctuary is located on a terrace which lies east to west across the slope of the acropolis. It is a walled precinct which measures approximately 45m by 17.75m (sections of the walls are preserved up to 5m high) with the main gate on the east end. The entrance led immediately into a (roofed?) passage between two possible rooms. The left room may have provided modest living quarters for residing priest/ess, while the right room had marble slabs at the entrance which possibly held water for ritual ablutions. A small postern gate was situated behind the temple at the west end of sanctuary.

Two early third century B.C. statues of priestesses were found near the entrance to the sanctuary. One base held a bronze statue of Timonassa, the other a marble statue of Nikeso, which still exists (head, right arm and left hand missing). Nikeso may have stood in the hydrophoros pose.

A cult building is located in the west end of the courtyard, close to the temenos wall. The temple is acanonical in plan, being roughly L-shaped with a rectangular pronaos. The pronaos is Doric, distyle in antis and contains three benches. Three cult rooms
are located behind the pronaos. The cella, the largest room, is oriented north to south and it is entered from the forehall by a large off-centred opening which once had a wooden door. The cella was lined by benches on the west, the south and the east walls. These benches are made of rubble but faced with marble slabs and measure c. 1m wide and 1.23m high. They were probably used for displaying votive offerings. Three holes preserved in north-west corner possibly held statues. Two marble offering tables were also found within the cella.

Two other rooms are located north of the cella. One room was only accessible from the porch while the other was accessible from the cella. The purpose of these small rooms is unknown.

A deep man-made, roofed bothros is located south of the temple. It was directly accessible from the pronaos and is almost square, measuring 2.85m by 2.95m. A small enclosing wall that hid it from view was added at an unknown date.

A rubble and mortar Roman altar is located near the main entrance.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros? and Kore. The cult festival is tentatively identified by the chthonic elements of the site (bothros and acanonical temple plan) and from votive offerings (terracotta figurines of Iambe/Baubo, hydrophoroi and pigs).

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:


Priene

Priene: The Sanctuary of Demeter (? )Thesmophoros and Kore

MAP NUMBER:

57

LOCATION:

Phthiotis, between Domokos and Pharsala, at Neon Monasterion.
TOPOGRAPHY:

The site is situated within the modern town; its relationship to the ancient town is not known.

SANCTUARY DATES:

A small bronze animal statue (stag?) indicates that the sanctuary may have been in use from the early Archaic period. Architectural remains, however, date from the late sixth or early fifth century and the fourth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

The site is located on a small hill within the modern town of Neon Monasterion. Remains include a fourth century B.C. structure (stoa?) which measures approximately 30m by 6m and is divided into rooms. There is evidence for earlier structures beneath.

Artifacts from the sanctuary include: pottery (lekythoi, skyphoi, fragments of kernoi, miniature hydria and amphorai), terracotta figurines (women wearing a polos, female worshippers with a stephane, kourotrphoi, hydraphoroi, worshippers carrying pigs, protomes of Demeter and Kore and animals), metal objects (animals and jewellery) and fragments of marble sculpture (fingers and piglets).

CULT:

Demeter. The deity is identified by inscriptiveal evidence.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Proerni: Excavation Plan of The Sanctuary of Demeter

**PROSPALTA (MODERN KALYVIA)**

**MAP NUMBER:**
80

**LOCATION:**
Attica, north of Mount Panion

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias i 31, 1.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias i 31, 1: "The Prospaltians have a sanctuary of Demeter and the Maid,..."
CULT:
Demeter and Kore

MAP NUMBER: 148
LOCATION: Corinthia, on the road between Sikyon and Phlius.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias ii 11, 3.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote.
SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown
SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 11, 3: "If you leave Sikyon by the straight road to Phlius and turn off to the left for a mile and a quarter, you come to a grove called Pyraia, with a sanctuary inside it to Protective Demeter (Προστασίας) and the Maid. Here the men hold a feast on their own, but they have turned over the Bride-chamber to the women to feast in: in the Bride-chamber there are statues of Dionysos and Demeter and the Maid, with only the faces visible."

CULT:
Demeter Προστασίας

MAP NUMBER: 49
LOCATION: Thessaly
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Homer, Il. ii, 696.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown

SANCTUARY DATES:
Pyrasus is the first sanctuary of Demeter to be mentioned in the preserved ancient sources, making it one of the oldest known sanctuaries of the goddess (See also: Potniai).

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Homer, II, ii, 696: “And they that held Phylace and flowery Pyrasus, the sanctuary of Demeter...”

CULT:
Demeter

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RHAMNOUS

MAP NUMBER:
83

LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.
The site is located to the north-west of the sanctuary of Nemesis.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Artifacts date from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The sanctuary consists of a open trapezoidal court (15.19m N-S, 13.15m E-W) surrounded by a peribolos wall and four small rooms located in the south corner. The court was open and empty except for three squared-stones placed in the centre, possibly foundations for the altar. Room I is the oldest of the four rooms and it may actually have been a small, earlier sanctuary which later was incorporated into the larger re-construction; the temenos walls abut the north-east and north-west sides of
this room. Rooms II to IV were added after the peribolos wall was constructed. Unlike the other three rooms, Room IV was roofed (numerous fragments of Lakonian-type roof tiles were found within).

Artifacts from the sanctuary include small quantities of pottery (fragments of: lekanai, hydriae, skyphoi, black figure vessels, trefoil lip oinochoai and basins) and fragments of a small number of terracotta figurines, all female peplophoroi.

CULT:

Demeter (?). Identification of the deity is based on artifactual evidence, but the lack of large numbers of female terracotta figurines, jewellery, loomweights, etc. and the small amounts of pottery, especially votive miniatures, suggest that this was not a Demeter sanctuary.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

MAP NUMBER: 21

LOCATION:
Dodecanese

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
AR 1978-79, 42.
AR 1981-82, 59f.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

An ex-voto deposit was found on a town plot on the corner of Kazouli and Amerikis Streets near the harbour.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Fifth to fourth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A votive deposit consisting of miniature hydriai, lamps, terracottas (including kourotrophoi, hydrophoroi and women holding pigs) a lead tablet and a bronze object with a dedicatory inscription to Demeter was found in association with a series of rectangular structures and faunal remains in a building plot in the modern town. Rescue excavation to the south-west of the deposit area indicates that the sanctuary was large, possibly covering 100m². The site may have included an area of open ground that was bordered by the ancient street R1a; the sanctuary was aligned east to west, opposite to the town grid which ran north to south, and this open ground likewise was aligned east to west. Further evidence for the extent of the sanctuary is provided by a deposit of over one hundred terracottas which was uncovered in the grounds of a neighbouring prison during World War II.

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros. The sanctuary was identified by inscriptive evidence.
SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:


Gäbrici, E., 1927, "Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", MonAnt. 32, 1f.


TOPOGRAPHY:

Extraurban.

Selinus was constructed on a low rise by the sea. A fortified acropolis and residential areas were located between the Cotone and the Modione (ancient Selinus) Rivers. The sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros itself is extramural, located to the west of the town, across the Modione River at Gaggera.

SANCTUARY DATES:

There is evidence for cult activity on the site from the end of the seventh century B.C. until 409 B.C. when the town was taken by Hannibal. After 409, use of the sanctuary reduced drastically.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

The sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros consists of a large outer temenos wall measuring approximately 110m by 80m. Within this outer temenos is the sanctuary of Demeter, the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios and the sanctuary of Hekate Triformis each with its own precinct walls.

The precinct of Demeter is entered by a propylon (fifth century). A megaron temple with a small pronao, a cela and a short adyton, replaced an earlier structure in c 580 B.C. A low altar measuring 16m by 3m is situated in front of the megaron. It is constructed of ashlar masonry and filled with ashes, possibly taken from an altar that was associated with the earlier cult structure. A raised stone water-channel brought water from a spring and fed it into a small cistern in front of the temple, near the north end of the altar.

Masses of ex-voto deposits were found throughout the sanctuary area, including twelve thousand terracotta figurines ranging in date from the seventh to the fifth century - the majority representing a female figure carrying a pomegranate or apple, bronze statuettes, and iron tools, silver jewellery, ivory, bone and faience objects, numerous defixiones, and an archaic bas-relief of Pluto abducting Kore.
CULT:

Demeter Malophoros (apple-bearer, or fruitful). Identification of the sanctuary is based upon inscriptional evidence and thousands of terracotta figurines representing a goddess holding a pomegranate. Malophoros seems to be modeled on Demeter, a goddess who was controlled and guarded the fecundity of fruit and who was still the mother of Persephone. In this sanctuary Demeter is worshipped along with Persephone, Zeus Meilichios and Hekate.

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:

Gabrici, 1927, 16.
LOCATION:
Chios.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

_Ancient Sources_
SEG XVII, 396.

_Modern Works_

TOPOGRAPHY:
Sidherounta is located a few miles south of Volissos. The location of the sanctuary is unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Inscriptional evidence for the worship of Demeter at Volissos.

"Δήμητρος
Βοωτανής"

CULT:
Demeter Boiotae
SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias ii 11, 2: "As you go down towards the plain there is a sanctuary of Demeter; they say Plemnaios founded it in thanksgiving to the goddess for rearing his son."

CULT:

Demeter

**SKOLOS**

MAP NUMBER:

66

LOCATION:

Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources

Athenaeus iii 109a; x 416b.

Pausanias ix 4, 3 (Loeb ix 4, 4).

Modern Works


TOPOGRAPHY:

Intraurban

SANCTUARY DATES:

Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Pausanias ix 4, 4: "On the way from Plataia to Thebes is the river Oeroe;...Before you cross the Asopos turn downstream along the river bank; five miles downstream are the ruins of Skolos: the incomplete temple of Demeter and Kore and their half-finished statues are among the ruins."

CULT:

Demeter Megalartos and Megalomazos. Demeter's epithets are listed in Athenaeus iii. 109a: "...in the Boiotian town of Skolos there are images enshrined of Megalartos and Megalomazos (Μεγαλάρτου and Μεγαλομάζου)".
SMYRNA

**MAP NUMBER:**
12

**LOCATION:**
Ionia, Asia Minor

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
IvS II.i, 655.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Extraurban. The sanctuary is described as “in front of the city”.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
The sanctuary is only known from inscriptional evidence:

*IvS* II.i, 655: “σύνοδος τῶν μουστῶν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς πρὸ πόλεως Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος.

**CULT:**
Demeter Thesmophoros but Demeter is also called the ‘Great Goddess’, so she may have absorbed some characteristics from Kybele.

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**SOUVALA (POLYDROSOS)**

**MAP NUMBER:**
56

**LOCATION:**
Phokis

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*
Herodotus viii 33.
Pausanias x 3, 2.

*Modern Works*
“Chronique”, *BCH* 52, 1928, p. 484.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Artifacts dating from the fifth to second centuries B.C. were found within the sanctuary grounds.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
A sanctuary plan is included in the publications, but structures are not identified or explained so that the architectural remains are difficult to interpret. According to Karousos, the sanctuary contained a peribolos wall with a small propylon and a small peristylar structure. Artifacts from the sanctuary include: terracotta figurines (hydrophoroi, pigs, birds, women, children, comic masks, a female deity, two examples of Pan carrying double reed pipes, a nude child holding goose and numerous generic female worshippers), bronze items (cut-outs in the shape of humans, two phialai mesomphaloi, rings and buckles) and coins. Especially important was a bronze vessel with the inscription ΔΑΜΑΣΠΙ ΕΝ ΕΠΟΧΗ.]

CULT:
Demeter of Erochos. Erochos is a Phokian town mentioned both by Herodotus (viii 33) and Pausanias (x 3, 2).

SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:
Souvala: The Sanctuary of Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
126

LOCATION:
Lakonia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Pausanias iii 14, 4 (Loeb iii 14, 4-5).

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias iii 14, 4: "The Lakonians claim they were taught to worship Demeter Chthonia by Orpheus, but in my opinion it was through the sanctuary at Hermione that the tradition of Demeter as a chthonian goddess spread to Lakonia."

CULT:
Demeter Chthonia
**STIRIS**

**MAP NUMBER:**
55

**LOCATION:**
Phokis

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**
Pausanias x 35, 5 (Loeb x 35, 10).

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Unknown.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
Pausanias x 35, 5: "At Stiris is a sanctuary of Demeter of Stiris; the sanctuary is unbaked brick, and the statue is Pentelic stone, the goddess is holding torches. Beside her is another ancient statue tied up in ribbons, the kind that belongs to the cult of Demeter."

**CULT:**
Demeter of Stiris

**STYMPHALOS**

**MAP NUMBER:**
151

**LOCATION:**
Arkadia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown

**SANCTUARY DATES:**
Inscription date: fifth century B.C.

**SITE DESCRIPTION:**
The only evidence for the cult of Demeter at Stymphalos is a dedication reading:
"Δήματρος Στυνφάλωι"

CULT:
Demeter

MAP NUMBER:
138

LOCATION:
Sicily

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

**Ancient Sources**
Athenaeus xiv 647a.
Diodorus Siculus xi 26, 7; v 4, 7.
Plat. Epist. vii 349d.
Plutarch, Dion lvi 3-4.

**Modern Works**
AR 1976-7, 64-66.
Kokalos 22-23 (1976/77), 551-3; 26-7 (1980/81), 680-5.
White, D., 1964/65, "Demeter's Sicilian cult as a political instrument", GRBS 5/6, 261-79.

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban.

The earliest sanctuary of Demeter in Syracuse was located on Ortygia, but a new sanctuary was later constructed on the acropolis.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Demeter had an early sanctuary on Ortygia with votive material dating from the eighth century B.C., but a new sanctuary was constructed on the mainland in the fifth century. This new sanctuary seems to have gone out of use in the fourth century, possible sacked by Himilco in 396 B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Athenaeus xiv 647a: "...in Syracuse, on the Day of Consummation at the Thesmophoria, cakes of sesame and honey were moulded in the shape of female
pudenda, and called throughout the whole of Sicily mylloi and carried about in honour of the goddesses."

Diódoros Siculus v 4, 7: "...but in the case of Demeter they preferred that time for the sacrifice when the sowing of the corn is first begun, and for a period of ten days they hold a festive gathering which bears the name of this goddess and is most magnificent by reason of the brilliance of their preparation for it, while in the observance of it they imitate the ancient manner of life."

Plutarch, Dio Ivi 3-4: "The one who gives this pledge goes down into the temenos of the Thesmophorion, where, after certain sacred rites have been performed, he puts on the purple vestment of the goddess, takes a blazing torch in his hand, and recites the oath...."

Evidence for both sanctuaries of Demeter have been found in modern Syracuse. On Ortygia in the Piazza Archimede, numerous female terracotta figurines dating from the eighth century were found, along with a large clay metope (or pinax) from the sixth century (see: BdA 1973, 3). In the Piazza Vittoria, west of a fifth century monumental fountain is a large sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. This site contained the preserved remains of a temple stereobate, the foundations of an altar and various other structures. An enormous quantity of ex-voto material was also uncovered. This material consisted mostly of fifth and fourth century terracotta figurines of women with a polos, all neatly stacked for storage or easy burial. The sanctuary was the location of the city Thesmophoria and was described by Plato (Epist. vii 349d) as a "garden on the acropolis."

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros. In Syracuse, the Thesmophoria lasted ten days, rather than three as at Athens.

Demeter had an unusually large political rôle in Syracuse. In 491 Gelon, the new tyrant of Syracuse, enforced a large scale synoecism at Syracuse, moving half of the inhabitants of Gela and the whole population of Camarina to Syracuse. Gelon used two methods to unite his new population - the struggle against Carthage and the strengthening of the cult of Demeter. This goddess very important at Gela and she was already worshipped at both Syracuse and Camarina. Gelon also took advantage
of the fact that he was the hereditary chief priest of Demeter's cult in Gela, so had an inherent sanctity which gave him more power. After a successful war with Carthage, the twin temples of Demeter and Kore on the acropolis were financed from the spoils (Diodorus xi.26.7).

Gelon also founded the cult of Demeter in Syracuse's dependencies Aetna, Himera and Acrae (not included in this catalogue).

**Aetna:**


**Himera:**


**Acrae:**


Demeter's influence gradually spread throughout Sicily until she was generally believed to be a pan-sicliot guardian.

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**MAP NUMBER:**

62

**LOCATION:**

Boeotia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*

Herodotos v 57-61.

*Modern Works*

Susan-Marie Cronkite


TOPOGRAPHY:
The sanctuary was originally extraurban, but it was moved into the town.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The sanctuary is known only from an inscription that dates from the early second century B.C., but side B retains a copy of an earlier inscription, possibly from the first half of the third century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Herodotos v 61: “The Gephyraei [Herodotos states this family was originally Phoenician of the Kadmeian line, who had come from Tanagra] remained in the country, but were later forced by the Boeotians to withdraw to Athens, where they have certain temples set apart for their own special use, which the other Athenians are forbidden to enter; one of them is the temple of Demeter Achaia, in which secret rites are performed.”

REG 12, 53-115:
Side A: This side of the inscription discusses moving an old sanctuary of Demeter and Kore from its original position outside the town to a new site within the town walls. The site was chosen on the advice of the oracle at Delphi. The inscription also discusses how the move will be financed.

Side B: This side of the inscription lists donations, mostly clothing, given by women to the sanctuary.

CULT:
Demeter and Kore

TEGEA (AGIOS SOSTIS)

MAP NUMBER:
116

LOCATION:
Arkadia

- 522 -
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

*Ancient Sources*

Pausanias viii 53, 7.

*Modern Works*


TOPOGRAPHY:

Extraurban.

Pausanias viii 53, 7: "There is also at Tegea a shrine of Demeter and Kore, whom they call the Karpophoroi (Καρποφόροι), close to one of Paphian Aphrodite...."

SANCTUARY DATES:

Seventh to fourth century B.C. artifacts were brought to light in two summary excavations.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

The sanctuary is located at Ayios Sostis, but its exact location is lost in the fields.

In 1860, a 20m x 12m trench was opened in an area that was known to be rich in artifacts and 1750 objects were retrieved. Finds included Archaic bronze offerings (two bronze statues of standing males each carrying a torch or sceptre in one hand and a poppy or torch in the other, small vessels, a small mask and a small weight in the shape of a pomegranate), small quantities of pottery and lamps, and plain terracotta figurines, probably of local production (standing and enthroned women, *hydrophoroi*, and women carrying pigs or wreaths). Later excavations (1910) revealed traces of walls, possibly the *peribolos* wall, and a semi-circular *bothros* filled with offerings (pottery, lamps, terracotta figurines and bronze objects). Architectural fragments (triglyph and geison), akroteria and roof tiles attest to the presence of cult structures, possibly a temple.
Susan-Marie Cronkite

CULT:
Demeter and Kore Karpophoroi. The sanctuary location is identified on the basis of artifacts, pottery fragments with graffito listing Kore and Asklepius, and terracotta figurines of *hydrophoroi* and women with pigs. The cult epithet is supplied by Pausanias' description. The presence of lamps, *hydrophoroi* and figurines of women with pigs suggests that the Thesmophoria may also have been celebrated in this sanctuary.

THALIADES
SEE: DIMITRA

THASOS

MAP NUMBER:
144

LOCATION:
Thasos

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
There is evidence for two, probably separate, Sanctuaries of Demeter on Thasos:

i) Sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter:

*Ancient Sources*
IG XII 8, 363.

*Modern Works*

ii) Thesmophorion:

*Ancient Sources*
Diodorus xiii 72.
Pausanias x 28, 1.
Site Catalogue


Modern Works

Topography:
i) Intraurban ?. The cult site of Demeter Eleusinia has not been discovered, but an inscription mentioning the cult was found re-used in a well in the agora.

ii) Extraurban. The POxy fragment describes the Thesmophorion on a small hill, outside the town walls in an isolated area where horses were pastured. Two sites have been identified as the possible location of the Thesmophorion, Archouda hill and Cape Evraiocastro.

Sanctuary Dates:
Ionian Greek settlers from the island of Paros came to Thasos c 680 B.C., founding a town of the same name, on the north coast of the island. Thasos polis controlled the island and territories on the coast of Thrace. According to Pausanias x 28, 1, the cult of Demeter was brought to the island by the first colonists.

Archaeological evidence:
1) Demeter Eleusinia: The inscriptive evidence dates to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

2) Thesmophorion: terracotta figurines found in the sanctuary area on Cape Evraiocastro date from the second half of the sixth century B.C. through to the second century B.C.

Site Description:
Pausanias x 28, 1: “Tellis seems to be a boy in his first maturity and Kleobia an unmarried girl, with a box on her knees like the ones in the paintings of Demeter.... they say Kleobia first introduced the secret rites of Demeter to Thasos from Paros."
Demeter Eleusinia:

The presence of this cult is attested by inscription IG XII 8, 363 found in the agora of Thasos town. The actual cult site has not been discovered.

Demeter Thesmophoros:

The two possible sites of the Thesmophorion:

a) The hill of Archouda: A temenos on the hill of Archouda has been identified as a possible site of the Thesmophorion based on topographical comparisons with the description given in the Oxyrhynchos papyrus. The Archouda site, located outside the town walls to the south of the town of Thasos, was excavated in 1912 by Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard. The remains were originally identified by the excavators as an Archaic heroon, but later as a possible site of Demeter's Thesmophorion.

b) Cape Evraiocastro: Evraiocastro is located just outside the town fortifications, on a cape that projects into the sea. Inscriptions indicate the sanctuary of the family gods (patrooi), possibly combined with the Thesmophorion, was located in this area. Very little of the sanctuary is preserved due the construction of an early Christian church.

Sanctuary Remains: Cape Evraiocastro

The first phase of the sanctuary dates to the end of the sixth century B.C. when the top of the cape was leveled and a large terrace constructed. Sections of a 2m wide terrace support wall remain in situ. The presence of sixth century roof tiles and acroteria indicate that a roofed structure was located on this terrace.

The sanctuary may have been divided into areas that were sacred to individual deities. Divisions may have been marked simply by inscriptions and/or by small, partially enclosed areas. One such area is preserved to the north of the church, below the level of the central, large terrace.

Enclosure Phase One: The enclosure is located on its own small terrace, constructed at the same time as the large upper terrace, at the end of sixth century B.C. The south, east and west sides were cut from the hillside while the north side was built up to form a level platform. Walls enclosed the south and east sides, the north or sea side was seemingly left open and the west side contained a ramp that provided access to
this small terrace and to the large terrace above. Two benches were constructed within the enclosure.

**Enclosure Phase Two**: The second phase is marked by a leveling-layer of soil placed over the previous level, and the construction of two benches on top of the benches from phase one. The access ramp went out of use at this time, but joining pottery fragments found on this terrace and on the large terrace indicate the two terraces were part of a single sanctuary. Pottery dates the second phase to 390 to 370 B.C.

The only other structure preserved on Evraiocastro is the foundations of a modest portico situated on a small rock-cut terrace north-east of the later church. The stoa consisted of three plain walls on the south, west and east and an open row of columns on the north, facing the sea. A marble-covered bench, 37cm to 40cm wide, lined each of the three walls. These benches were constructed at the same time as the walls. Finds from within the benches date of structure to the end of fourth century B.C. There were no earlier finds in the area indicating the portico was the first structure built in this section of the large terrace.

There are no architectural remains of a Thesmophorion in this sanctuary, however, artifactual evidence suggests that the Thesmophoria was celebrated here; a boundary stone with the engraved name of 'Kore' and numerous votive objects. The presence of Kore in a sanctuary implies the presence of Demeter. The boundary stone only has the name of Kore, but it may represent an area or an altar dedicated to Kore in a communal sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The votive material includes terracotta figurines of pigs, of women carrying young pigs, and of women carrying a cylindrical basket, probably the kista. Votive pottery includes miniature hydriae and ring kernoi with attached miniature hydriae. The votive material was found almost exclusively on the large upper terrace suggesting it may have been the location of the Thesmophorion.

**CULT:**
Demeter Eleusinia and Demeter Thesmophoros

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**
Rolley, 1965, fig. 38.
THEBES, KABEIRIAN DEMETER

MAP NUMBER: 60
LOCATION: Boeotia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Ancient Sources
Pausanias ix 25, 5-6.
Site Catalogue

Modern Works

TOPOGRAPHY:
Remote

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ix 25, 5-6: "Three miles or so (twenty-five stades) from here is a grove of Kabeirian Demeter and Kore; only the initiated can enter it. The sanctuary of the Kabeiroi is nearly a mile from this grove. As for who they are, and what mystery is celebrated for them and for the Mother, the curious will have to forgive me if I keep silent. But nothing prevents me telling the whole world how the Thebans believe that the mysteries began. They say there was once a city on this spot and a people called the Kabeiroi, and Demeter got to know one of them, who was called Premetheus, and his son Aitnaios. She entrusted them with a certain thing, though it seems impious to reveal what it was or what happened to it, but anyway the mystery is Demeter's gift to the Kabeiroi. In the invasion of the Successors and the fall of Thebes, the Kabeiroi were turned out by the Argives; for some time even the mystery lapsed. Later they say that Pelarge the daughter of Potnicus and her husband Isthmiades established the secret celebration first of all here, and then transferred them to Alexiarous."

The sanctuary of the Kabeiroi has been excavated, but the sanctuary of Demeter Kabeiria has not been found.

CULT:
Demeter Kabeiroi and Kore. The Kabeiroi are obscure divinities from Phrygia who were worshipped extensively in Samothrace, Imbros, Lemnos and Thebes. On Samothrace, the Kabeiroi were worshipped in the mysteries in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, but it is not clear if the Kabeiroi were the Great Gods themselves or their attendants.
THEBES, DEMETER ON THE KADMEIA

MAP NUMBER: 60
LOCATION:
Boeotia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
IG VII 2468.

Diodorus Siculus xvii 10, 2-4.
Euripides, Phoinissai 683-689.
Pausanias ix 6, 5-6; 16, 3 (Loeb ix 6, 5-6; 16, 5).
Xenophon Hell. v 2, 29.

Modern Works

Two sites have been tentatively identified as the Thesmophorion:


TOPOGRAPHY:

Intraurban.

Pausanias ix 16, 3: "They say the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was once the house of Kadmos and his descendants; the statue of Demeter is visible down to the breast. There are bronze shields dedicated here which they say came from the Spartan officers who died at Leuktra."
Xen. Hell. v 2, 29: "Accordingly, while the senate (Boule) was in session in the portico in the market-place (agora), for the reason that the women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria on the Cadmea, and while, inasmuch as it was summer and midday, the streets were entirely deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horseback to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing Phoebidas there with the troops (Lacedaemonian) under his command, giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to let no one into the Acropolis..."

SANCTUARY DATES:

Location One: Remains in the area date from the Early Helladic period through the Byzantine period. Classical remains on this location, dating to a building programme that started after 446 B.C., have been identified as a likely candidate for the sanctuary of Demeter on the Kadmeia. The Thebans may have believed that the earlier remains on the site belonged to the house of Kadmos.

Location Two: a large votive deposit with objects dating from the Archaic period through the Roman period with an admixture of Mycenaean terracotta figurine fragments.

SITE DESCRIPTION:

Location One: Near the corner of Antigone and Pindar Streets: the foundations of a large rectangular structure, measuring c 13m north to south by 10m east to west, have been uncovered.

Location Two: At a site in Kebes Street, a votive deposit of vases and figurines (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, also some Mycenaean) has been found. Figurine types include standing draped women and animals.

CULT:

Demeter Thesmophoros

SITE PLANS ADAPTED FROM:

Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 1975, 62, fig. 17.
Plan of Site One:

ADelt 21 (1966 [1968]) B'1, 178.
Thebes: The Sanctuary of Demeter on the Kadmeia, (Location One)

**Thermopylae (Ancient Anthela)**

**Map Number:**
137

**Location:**
Lokris

**Select Bibliography:**

*Ancient Sources*
Herodotus vii. 200

*Modern Works*
"Chronique", 1934, BCH 58, 255.
"Chronique", 1935, BCH 59, 279.

**Topography:**
Extraurban

**Sanctuary Dates:**
Fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

**Site Description:**
Herodotus vii 200: "From the Phoenix to Thermopylae is about two miles, and between them lies the village of Anthela, which the Asopus passes just before it
reaches the sea. Round Anthela the ground is more open; there is a temple there dedicated to Demeter of the Amphictyons, as well as seats for the deputies of the Amphictyonic league, and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.”

Excavations west of local hot springs may have uncovered the site of Classical Anthela where the Pylaian or Delphic Amphictyonic council met each autumn in the sanctuary of Demeter Amphyctionis. Architectural remains include a trapezoidal *peribolos* which measures north (long) side 66.30m, south (long) side 65.30m, east (short) side 6.20m, west (short) side 7.65m. The *peribolos* is identified as a large stoa and stadium.

Philip of Macedon, who took over control of the Amphictyonic League in 339 B.C., had a new coinage minted in 336/5 B.C. This new money portrayed the profile of Demeter wearing a veil and wreath of grain on the obverse and seated Apollo on the reverse. It no longer bore the Delphian name but rather had inscribed ‘AMφIKTIONΩN’.

**CULT:**
Demeter Amphyctionis

---

**MAP NUMBER:**
64

**LOCATION:**
Boeotia

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

*Ancient Sources*
IG VII, 1867.

*Modern Works*

**TOPOGRAPHY:**
Unknown.
Sanctuary Dates:
All evidence for this cult dates from the Roman period, but presumably Demeter was worshipped here earlier in the Greek period.

Site Description:
There is inscriptional evidence for a temple of Demeter Eleusinia (ADelt 3, 353, n. 4 and Schachter, 169) and for Demeter Achaia. IG 7, 1867 records that Demeter Achaia was worshipped in the town and was attended by a priestess who served for life.

Cult:
Demeter Achaia, Demeter Eleusinia and Kore

MAP NUMBER:
65
LOCATION:
Boeotia
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Unknown
Sanctuary Dates:
Unknown.
Site Description:
The cult is known from a single inscription.
Cult:
Demeter Achaia. This inscription may have some association with Demeter Achaia at Thespiai.
LOCATION:
Attica

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ancient Sources
IG II/III² 2600.
Pomponius Mela ii, 46.

Modern Works
Society of Dilettanti, 1817, Unedited Antiquities of Attica, Chapter 9, 57-59, pls. 1-3.

TOPOGRAPHY:
The temenos of Demeter was located in the plain below the theatre at Thorikos.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Construction work on the structure was interrupted in the fifth century by the Péloponnesian War and then left unfinished when the town was abandoned, probably by the end of the fourth century B.C.

The temple is described as a ruin by Pomponius Mela in first century A.D. and Pausanias does not even mention it.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The structure at Thorikos which is identified as the temple of Demeter consists of a peristyle of seven by fourteen Doric columns, seemingly no interior walls and with two entrances, one on each long side of the building. When this structure was excavated, it was discovered that an entire row of columns from the short north-east end was missing and that the structure was actually unfinished - the column fluting had only been started and the building was never roofed.
It has long been believed that the missing elements of the Thorikos temple were salvaged by the Romans and used to construct the façade of the South-East Temple in the Athenian Agora. Fragments of a fifth century B.C. colossal female statue were also found within this temple was identified as Demeter because of its similarity to the Capitoline Demeter. It may originally have stood in the temple at Thorikos and then was moved to Athens at the same time as the architectural pieces.

Dinsmoor Jr. rejects both the theory that the Thorikos structure was a temple (abnormal ground plan with two side entrances, no cella walls and it was never finished so it would never have housed a colossal statue) and that the missing elements were used to construct the South-East Temple in Athens. He believes rather that the function of the strange building in Thorikos has not yet been identified and that the missing elements were used to construct the South-West Temple in the Agora of Athens.

**CULT:**

Demeter, Demeter Chlœ, (?Demeter) Kourotophos and Kore.

Inscription IG II/III² 2600 mentions a temenos of Demeter and Kore at Thorikos, but no epithet is supplied. A sacred calendar, however, lists the sacrifice of an ewe to Demeter Chlœ in the month Elaphebolion (March / April), and in the same month in Mounychia, the sacrifice of a piglet to Kourotophos and an ewe to Demeter.

The building in Thorikos was identified as the temple of Demeter because ancient sources mention the temenos of Demeter below the theatre. H. Thompson believed that the inscription referred to an actual structure and thus identified the only temple-like structure found in the area below the theatre as this temple.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

Dinsmoor Jr., 1982, 416.
MAP NUMBER:
41
LOCATION:
Libya
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:


TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

Votive deposits were found on the beach, probably outside the walls of the Classical and Hellenistic town.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Late seventh century B.C. through to the Early Hellenistic period.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Rich deposits of pottery (feasting wares) and cult artifacts (miniature kotylai and hydriai, phialai mesomphaloi and lamps), probably ex-voto, were buried near to the sea, suggesting a sanctuary lay in the near vicinity.
Some traces of architecture were found during the excavations, but none of the remains seem to have been part of the sanctuary itself. The excavators thought it was probable that the actual sanctuary was located slightly inland from the main area of the deposits, and that the sanctuary was destroyed by later building activity.

**CULT:**
Graffiti on vessels from the votive deposits name Demeter and Kore.

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**
Boardman and Hayes, 1966, 4.
TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias ii 32, 7: "Outside the city wall [of Troizen] there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon Phytalmios.... Overlooking Poseidons shrine is Demeter Thesmophoros, established as they say by Althepos [Poseidon's son].

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros

MAP NUMBER:
7

LOCATION:
Troad, Asia Minor

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TOPOGRAPHY:
Extraurban.

Two sanctuaries are situated outside the fortification wall of Troy, on the south-west side of the citadel, map co-ordinates: Squares A-B 7-9. The sanctuaries are located on the citadel slope, but each is situated on a small, individual terrace. Orientation of the sanctuaries is N/E to S/W.

SANCTUARY DATES:
Archaic period, first half of seventh century (Troy VIII), through the Hellenistic period (Troy IX) and Imperial times into the first century B.C.
**SITE DESCRIPTION:**

The site consists of two neighbouring precincts on the side of the citadel hill. D.B. Thompson identifies the Upper Sanctuary as belonging to Kybele and the Lower Sanctuary as belonging to Demeter. Both sanctuaries are discussed here because they are closely related.

**Upper Sanctuary:**

**Troy VIII: Early or Pre-Hellenistic Phases:**

The sanctuary consisted of a walled, hypaethral precinct enclosing Altar A. Altar A was oriented north-east to south-west, and resembling the letter 'J' in plan, apsidal at SW end and 5.50m long. The Altar was constructed of a low stone enclosing wall while the centre of the altar was filled with earth, ashes and contained burned bone and potsherds. The precinct's enclosing wall was curving in shape, almost following the shape of Altar A. Three phases of enclosing wall indicate a slow, but steady growth in sanctuary size. The final pre-Hellenistic phase is represented by Walls 4, 9 and 10. The sanctuary entrance may have been in the western corner where the Hellenistic entrance was later located.

There was also a steady rise in ground level within the precinct, from earliest phase of Altar A through to the final pre-Hellenistic enlargement of the sanctuary with construction of Walls 4, 9 and 10. The ground level rose above the height of Altar A. In order to keep contact with this first altar, a stone-lined pit, 1.50m square, was constructed over north-east end of altar. In this way, the worshippers were able to keep contact with the original ancient altar even after it was completely buried by the rising ground level of sanctuary. In final pre-Hellenistic phase, late Troy VIII, the pit alone served as the sanctuary's altar. Beside the pit and contemporaneous with it was a rough stone table, possibly used for sacrifices.

Faunal remains: *capra, ovis, sus, cervus (drama)* and large tooth from *felis pardalis* or *felis tigris* - all bones burnt.

**Troy IX:**

Sometime after the mid fourth century, possibly under the auspices of Alexander the Great, the sanctuary was refurbished: A new temenos wall, exactly square, 14.30m
per side, with corners on cardinal points of the compass, was constructed. A small
gate in west corner of precinct afforded access to the sanctuary. A new Altar was
constructed. It was a rectangular stepped podium erected above the stone-lined pit
that afforded access to the original Altar A. A well to provide water was also added in
this period.

**Late Troy IX, Near the end of the Hellenistic period:**

The sanctuary again underwent changes. The north-east wall was made into a heavy
retaining wall in order to deal with increasing the weight of soil as the ground level in
the sanctuary was raised. The altar was also remodeled with the superstructure
replaced in marble. A second well, set into a platform in the south corner of the
sanctuary was also added at this time.

**Roman period:**

Complete reconstruction of the sanctuary that may date to the end of first century
B.C. The rebuilding may have been initiated by Julius Caesar and finished by
Augustus. During this period: the ground level was raised again, the north-west
precinct wall went out of use and a new altar was built over the top of it. The marble
superstructure of the previous altar was moved to this altar platform A large stand of
seats, 38.76m long, was constructed to the northwest of the sanctuary, overlooking
an area that was left undeveloped and presumably used for theatrical display of some
type. No precinct walls were found, but it is evident that sections of the Hellenistic
walls were retained in use.

**Lower Sanctuary:**

This sanctuary is not well preserved, and it cannot be traced beyond the Hellenistic
period.

**Troy VIII:**

The Lower Sanctuary is a separate, and smaller precinct, located to the south-west of
the Upper Sanctuary. It is not known if there was a surrounding *temenos* wall in Troy
VIII. The sanctuary's altar was located 1m from the south-west boundary wall of the
Upper Sanctuary.
Troy IX:

Sometime after the mid fourth century, the Lower Sanctuary, like the Upper Sanctuary, was also refurbished. A trapezoidal *temenos* wall was constructed that abutted the Upper Sanctuary on north-east side and an entrance into the Lower Sanctuary was constructed on the south-west side. The Troy VIII phase altar continued in use and a new altar was constructed beside it to the south. This new altar measured 3m by 1.07m and was aligned north-south. The main deposit of votive objects was found around this altar.

Cult:

Demeter and probably Kore were worshipped in the Lower Sanctuary. Kybele was possibly worshipped in the Upper Sanctuary. D. Thompson believes that judging from the terracotta figurines "the most popular divinity of the Hellenistic period at Ilion was Kybele. [The terracottas] variety and excellence imply a vigorous and prosperous cult, whose devotees remained faithful for many centuries." (57-58)

Site plan adapted from:

Blegen, Carl W. et al, 1958, part ii, plates (listed in order) 320, 374, 371 and 363.
Troy: The Sanctuaries of Kybele and Demeter, Hellenistic Period
XOBOURGO, TENOS

MAP NUMBER:
31

LOCATION:
Tenos, Cyclades.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:
“Archaeology in Greece”, 1953, JHS 73, 125.
"Archaeology in Greece", 1954, JHS 74, 164-165.
"Chronique", 1950, BCH 74, 310-311.
Fagertström, Kare, 1988, "Greek Iron Age architecture, developments through changing times", Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 81, 83-84.

TOPOGRAPHY:

Extraurban.

The complex identified as the sanctuary of Demeter is located on Xobourgo hill, directly outside of the fortification wall of the associated town.

SANCTUARY DATES:
The complex was founded near the end of the eighth century B.C. and it was refurbished in the fifth century B.C.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
The complex consists of six parallel rectangular rooms (two of the rooms have only been partially excavated) constructed of a stone socle and a mudbrick superstructure. Two, or possibly three, of the rooms (Rooms III, IV and V) contained a smaller, inner room in the south corner. Room IV contains the best preserved example: here the inner room is divided into two, with a cobble-paved cella and prodomos. The remaining section of Room IV is L-shaped and contained a square eschara and a clay cooking grill set against its far (eastern) wall. Room V is known as the Gallery of Pithoi, named after three large pithoi, decorated in relief work, which were found in situ along the walls. A further thirteen support-holes were set into the floor of this chamber indicating that a large number of other pithoi also sat in this room. Artifacts from the complex comprised of: lamps, fragments of amphorai and relief pithoi, a perirahntrierion foot and a small number of terracotta figurines including the protome of a goddess.

CULT:
Demeter Thesmophoros(?). The building complex was originally identified as a Thesmophorion because of its topography and by the presence of the small interior
rooms (possible cult rooms), the *eschara* and the *protome*. This identification, however, is disputed; P. Themelis argues that this structure, and buildings in the same area, were actually funerary. He bases his argument primarily on a grave found close by to the north (inside the fortification wall) which was marked by a relief pithos of the same type as those found in the Gallery of the Pithoi. Kare Fagertsröm, however, postulates that this complex was a farm house or villa with storerooms (the Gallery of Pithoi), a north-south facing cobbled *andron* with an off-set door providing room for dining couches (the cult room) and kitchen facilities (the L-shaped room with *eschara* and grill). The identity of this complex may still be in contention, but its classification as a *Thesmophorion* can be ruled out. The site lacks elements expected at an extraurban Demeter sanctuary (altar, *peribolos* wall), there are too many graves the in the general area and the artifacts are not typical of a Demeter sanctuary (small number of terracotta figurines, lack of offerings from the lives of women, a lack of pottery especially feasting wares, no references to *suids* in the offerings and the Potnia Theron iconography on the relief-pithoi is not typical of Demeter’s worship).

**SITE PLAN ADAPTED FROM:**

Κοντολέως, 1953, 266, plan 1.
MAP NUMBER:
115

LOCATION:
Arkadia

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

**Ancient Sources**
Pausanias viii 35, 6-7.

**Modern Works**

TOPOGRAPHY:
Intraurban (?) or Remote (?)

SANCTUARY DATES:
Unknown.

SITE DESCRIPTION:
Pausanias viii 35.6-7: "Zoitia lies about two miles from Trikoloni, not on the direct route, but on the left.... uninhabited in my time, though there is still a shrine of Demeter left at Zoitia, and of Artemis.

CULT:
Demeter
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