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# Controlling Miasma: The Evidence for Cults of Greek Craftspeople from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period (6th - 2nd c. BCE)

Christine Smith
*Washington University in St. Louis*

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

Department of Art History and Archaeology

Dissertation Examination Committee:
Susan I. Rotroff, Chair
Gwen Bennett
Robert D. Lamberton
Sarantis Symeonoglou
Barbara Tsakirgis
William E. Wallace

# CONTROLLING *MIASMA*:

# THE EVIDENCE FOR CULTS OF GREEK CRAFTSPEOPLE

# FROM THE ARCHAIC TO THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD ($6^{th}$ – $2^{nd}$ c. BCE)

by

Christine Ann Smith

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Controlling *Miasma*: The Cult Practices of Greek Craftspeople

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Christine Ann Smith

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Professor Susan Rotroff, Chairperson

This study addresses a previously neglected aspect of ancient Greek popular religion, the specific practices undertaken by craftspeople to enhance their lives and protect their livelihood. By collecting the archaeological and iconographic evidence of workers' or industrial cult, primarily from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period, I examine beliefs, myths, rituals, and cult figures significant to workers. In chapter one, the gods and goddesses worshipped by craftspeople in civic religion are discussed, in particular Athena Ergane and Hephaistos. Chapter two examines the archaeological remains from workshops for evidence of cult activity, and how this activity differs from civic cult. In chapter three, images of workshops are addressed, particularly those votive objects, plaques, or masks in the background of the action which seem to serve an apotropaic function, an attempt by the workers to protect production processes. Chapter four examines the dedications by craftspeople, which were set up as prayers for future endeavors, or as thank-offerings for past successes. The conclusion discusses the threat of *miasma*, or pollution, which was a dominating concern for the ancient Greeks.

Literary evidence indicates that they believed religious danger was contagious, and thereby always potentially communal, and the consequence of pollution was divine anger. Purification practices were extremely varied, and quite common. Pollution was a particular concern for craftspeople because their jobs brought them into contact with the chthonic deities, demonic spirits who inhabited the underworld and represented for mankind the ultimate form of pollution.

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# Introduction

*For a person who is about to embark on any serious discourse or task, it is proper to begin first with the gods.*

[Demosthenes, *Letters* 1.1; trans. Dougherty 2006]

## *What is industrial cult?*

Industrial activity was dangerous business, in which even highly skilled workers could encounter personal dangers or the unplanned failure of the industrial process. To ensure success in their work, as well as their personal well being, many workers relied on religious measures, such as prayers and apotropaic devices, to avert malign influences; these measures can be collectively referred to as workers' or industrial cult. This study offers a survey of the archaeological and iconographic evidence of industrial or workers' cult primarily from Athens and Attica, although other areas will be addressed, and for the most part dating from the sixth century through the second century BCE. This investigation is specifically limited to craftspeople, a term in which I include every skilled worker whose labors contributed to the manufacture of objects in durable materials, and who depended on the exercise of the craft for a living. Thus while miners, sculptors, and cobblers are included, producers of more ephemeral items, such as bakers or farmers, are generally excluded from consideration.

## *History of Scholarship*

Although it is customary to begin a dissertation with a historiography on the subject under discussion, there have been no previous full-length studies on the cults of craftspeople in ancient Greece. This study is now possible because of several trends in the scholarship of classical Greece: The first of these is an interest in understanding non-elite archaeological sites. There has been a gradual shift in archaeological exploration from civic spaces, such as temples and agoras, to the areas where the majority of the

ancient populace lived and worked. The second trend is an interest in workers and non-elite populations, and their contributions to the poleis. Particularly important in this respect have been the works of Burford (1972), Glotz (1926), and Roebuck (1969).

Another shift has been an increasing interest in everyday religious activities, and not just those attested in literary sources, or of civic religion. This 'shift' has in reality been ongoing for a century, beginning with the works of Nilsson (1902) and J. Harrison (1908), and continuing down until the present day with the studies of Mikalson (1983), Vernant (1983), Burkert (1985), and Van Straten (1995), among others. Until the middle of the twentieth century, however, scholarship largely took the form of studies of individual gods and heroes, especially their mythology. Many works presented a detailed appraisal of such issues as each figure's origins, myth and cult, such as Farnell's five-volume examination of major deities (1896-1909). In contrast, under the influence of French structuralism, the latter part of the century saw a deliberate shift away from research into particular deities and heroes towards an investigation of the entire religious system of which they were part. This shift opened the door for investigation of the day-to-day cult activities of individuals.

Finally, the fourth trend is a new, scholarly interest in those religious activities previously dismissed as magical, or as the mere superstitions of the uneducated. While social anthropologists have been debating whether there is a difference between magic and religion for many years (see for example, the works of Jevons [1896], Frazer [1900], and Widengren [1945], and the summaries of scholarship provided by Stocking [1995] and Pals [2006]), only in the last twenty years has magic become a particular area of interest in classical studies. Scholars involved in this renaissance of magical studies include Faraone and Obbink (1991), Versnel (1991), Graf (1997), Thomassen (1999), Meyer and Mirecki (2001), and Dickie (2001), among many others. One of the major problems with the traditional magic-religion dichotomy is that these two areas were not conceptualized as separate spheres in the Greek world. This is particularly important for

understanding industrial cult activities, as many fall outside the realm of formalized, civic religion, and would be invisible if practices characterized as superstition or magic were ignored.

*Goals, Scope, and Organization of the Study*

Chapter one examines the literary evidence for the gods and goddesses that were significant to workers, namely Hephaistos, Athena, Prometheus, Daidalos, and various daimones, and their cult. There is a discussion of the industrial cult activity at Athens, where many of these deities enjoyed particular devotion, compared to other Greek cities.

Workshop sites also provide important material relevant to this investigation, and are discussed in chapter two. As early as the Bronze Age, there is evidence linking craft, particularly metallurgy, with religious rituals designed to protect production. Of particular interest is the range of deities worshipped by craftspeople, far beyond what would be expected based on our literary evidence regarding deities with craft functions. This chapter also includes a discussion of the "saucer pyre" ritual in Athens, as an example of a chthonic ritual intended to bring about ritual cleansing, particularly of commercial structures.

The iconography of workshop and industrial cult provides the material for chapter three. Images of workshops are abundant; many scenes realistically depict artisans working with various tools, while still others show more mythological scenes with craftspeople working in the presence of the gods. The bulk of the chapter examines scenes with religious objects in the background which seem to serve an apotropaic function, attempts by workers to protect production processes. That this sort of imagery was required to ensure the safety of the workers and their shops is suggested by depictions of demonic figures, a story from a *Life* of Homer, known as the "Kiln Poem," in which demons threaten to destroy a ceramic workshop if not appeased, as well as archaeological finds of curse tablets which target workers.

In chapter four, dedications made by the workers themselves, which constitute another body of evidence of industrial cult, are addressed. There is a wide range represented in the monumentality of these dedications, from small offerings made by individuals, to groups of dedications given by workers' associations, to substantial marble reliefs. Such dedications most likely served as thank offerings for past successes, or prayers for future endeavors.

The conclusion offers a hypothesis for the underlying motivation for industrial cult rituals. Through rituals, sacrifices, offerings, festival participation, and other cult activities, Greek craftspeople attempted to maintain divine favor through the elimination of dangerous sources of *miasma*. The threat of *miasma*, or pollution, was a dominating concern for the ancient Greeks. Literary evidence indicates that they believed religious danger was contagious, and that the consequence of pollution was divine anger. I believe that pollution was a particular concern for craftspeople because many of these jobs—quarrying into the earth for stone, digging for clay, or constructing pits for bronze casting—brought them into contact with chthonic deities, evil spirits who inhabited the underworld, and who represented the ultimate form of pollution. By analyzing the connections between the industrial cult and the avoidance of *miasma*, this study expands our understanding of a neglected area of popular religion, contributes to our understanding of Greek religious practice as a whole, and may illuminate future archaeological investigation of workshop sites.

## Chapter 1: Craft Gods in Literature and Civic Religion

In the context of the ancient Greek world, it is impossible to separate the sacred from the profane. Religion, consisting of both myth and ritual, pervaded every aspect of ancient Greek culture, be it politics, life-cycle events, or industry. This "embeddedness" of Greek religion within Greek society has many consequences.[1] Myth and ritual are not only sources of poetry, but poetry in turn seeks to explain, promote, and influence Greek ritual practices. Similarly, iconography reflects this embeddedness, and analyses of visual narratives, just like literary ones, need to take it into consideration. This pervasive quality of religion meant that craft was very much part of the purview of the gods.

In this chapter, I will address the literary evidence for deities specifically linked with craft, and how their worship was expressed in civic religion. How did communities come together to worship craft deities? Was this worship limited to people who identified themselves as craftspeople? As such, this question forms a part of the persuasive and dynamic discourse of identity in the ancient world, in which it was habitual to define oneself oppositionally—that is, against what one was not.[2] Religion is among the more difficult areas to pin down when discussing identity.[3] Greek and Roman religions represent a spectrum of practices that varied locally, and were also variously shaped throughout history. The use in recent years of the plural "religions" instead of the singular by some scholars is an obvious allusion to the breadth of the spectrum.[4] Jonathan Smith defines religion as the "manifold techniques, both communal and individual, by which men and women …sought to gain access to, or avoidance of,

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[1] See Bremmer 1994, pp. 2-4. Also Price 1999, p. 3.

[2] See Hartog 1988; E. Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; and J. Hall 1997.

[3] See the articles on "Ancient Religion, Self and Other," in Asirvatham et al. 2001, pp. 3-66.

[4] See, for example, Simon Price 1999, in his book *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*.

culturally imagined divine power by culturally patterned means."[5] Let us turn now to the "culturally patterned means" that pertain to the craft deities.

*Hephaistos*

> Sing, clear-voiced Muse, of Hephaistos famed for inventions. With bright-eyed Athena he taught men glorious crafts throughout the world,-- men who before used to dwell in caves in the mountains like wild beasts. But now that they have learned crafts through Hephaistos the famed worker, easily they lived a peaceful life in their own houses the whole year round.
>
> Be gracious, Hephaistos, and grant me success and prosperity!
>
> [*Homeric Hymn to Hephaistos* 20, trans. H. Evelyn-White]

As the above quote relates, Hephaistos was the god of craftspeople, who taught men the arts of civilization.[6] His name is of uncertain etymology, and has no certain attestation in Linear B, although there is the possibility of reading his name from a tablet found at Knossos.[7] Most scholars agree that the Greek cult of the god originated on the island of Lemnos, but this cult's pre-Greek origins are still highly debated; Etruscan, Pelasgian, or Carian connections, or some combination thereof have been proposed.[8] All of Hephaistos' myths are concerned in some way with craft, and similarly in the god's cult, he is identified primarily as a craft deity.

In Homer, Hephaistos is so closely connected with fire that at some point it seems that the god is derived from the element: he controls fire (e.g. *Il.* 9.468) and fights his enemies with it, such as Skamandros (*Il.* 15.244ff.; 20.37; 20.66ff.; and 21.328-382). In a

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[5] Smith 2003, pp. 21-22.

[6] Of the many works which discuss the god Hephaistos, the most important for this investigation are Delcourt 1957; Brommer 1978; and Faraone 1992.

[7] The name *a-pa-i-ti-jo* in Knossos (KN L 588) can be read as Hephaistos; see Chadwick et al. 1971, p. 229. The Dorian and Aeolian form of the name is *(H)aphaistos*.

[8] For the nebulous origins of Hephaistos, see Burkert 1985, pp. 167-168. The debate over the ethnicity of the Lemnian people is discussed below.

formula, his name is metonymically used for fire (*Il.* 2.426). At the same time, Hephaistos is also the divine master-artisan who uses fire and clay to produce both living creatures and amazing weaponry. He fabricates the first woman, Pandora (Hes. *Theog.* 560ff.; Hes. *Op.* 70f.), Achilles' shield (Hom. *Il.* 18.136 and 18.368-19.23), and various miraculous automata. These include self-moving tripods (*Il.* 18.373-379), golden servant maidens (*Il.* 18.417-421), and watchdogs for king Alcinous (*Od.* 7.91-94).[9]

Among his fellow Olympians, Hephaistos occupies a curious place, being both a member of the club, as well as being depicted as an outsider. His attempts to fit in with the other Olympians are frequently met with scorn; for example, he is laughed at when he tries to replace Ganymede as the cupbearer of the gods (*Il.* 1.571-600), and he is married to Aphrodite but cuckolded (*Od.* 8.267-366). Rarely is Hephaistos described as idle, instead he is constantly hard at work in his forge (*Il.* 18.372). Nevertheless, his works evoke wonder; and on several occasions, he takes cunning revenge on those who have crossed him, as he did with his mother Hera (Alc. 349 LP), and his wife Aphrodite along with her lover Ares (*Od.* 8). Ultimately, the Homeric picture is of a cunning blacksmith whose professional skills are highly admired and secretly feared, and who should not be underestimated, a picture remarkably similar to that presented in other cultures about the origins of metallurgy and alchemy.[10]

He alone of all of the Olympian gods is depicted without bodily perfection. His feet are crippled, and in Archaic iconography they are sometimes turned backwards (Figure 1:1).[11] This physical limitation is given several different mythological

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[9] See Faraone 1992, esp. chapter 4.

[10] See Eliade 1971, esp. pp. 79-86; Delcourt 1957; Faraone 1992; and Blakely 2006.

[11] Hephaistos as lame: The question of why Hephaistos limped has been extended into the field of medical diagnosis, with attempts at defining the nature of the deformity that made the crippled Hephaistos the buffoon of the other Olympian gods. While some authors attributed the limp to talipes (club feet), others pointed to certain features suggestive of achondroplasia (a genetic disorder which is a common cause of dwarfism). One author suggests that certain smelting techniques in antiquity may have exposed ancient metal workers to the effects of various toxic metals causing chronic lead poisoning or chronic arsenic

explanations. Some myths indicate that Hephaistos was conceived by the parthenogenesis of his mother Hera, as Gaia had done with some monsters (Hes. *Theog.* 927). Others list Hera and Zeus as his parents (Hom. *Il.* 1.578, 14.338; and Hom. *Od.* 8.312). Where the sources agree is that one of his parents was at least partially responsible for his lameness, and Homer offers both versions. In one, Hera, seeing her crippled offspring, cast him out of Olympus, and he grew up with the sea goddesses Eurynome and Thetis (*Il.* 18.395-405; also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.5). In the second version, Zeus threw him out because he had tried to protect Hera, and he landed on Lemnos where the indigenous Sinties tended him (*Il.* 1.590-594).

Hephaistos' deformity is particularly interesting, as it has parallels with other mythologies in which a craft god, usually of blacksmithing, is described and/or depicted as lame, or otherwise physically handicapped.[12] These descriptions may be an indication of how early peoples dealt with infirmity in their societies, by encouraging people of certain physical attributes into certain occupations. Blacksmithing, while extremely demanding on the upper body, is usually performed in a sitting or squatting position—lower body strength is not necessarily required. Over time, artistic depictions of Hephaistos, primarily from Athens, shift to show not a limping or deformed youth, but a dignified man, with virtually no evidence of physical infirmity (Figure 1:2).[13] This most likely indicates a certain respect towards the god and his abilities, rather than indicating a change in the god's mythology.

Except at Athens, our later sources continue this mythology without fundamentally new concepts. His workshop was located beneath active volcanoes,

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poisoning causing peripheral neuritis with weakness and lameness of one or both extremities (based on comparisons to Egyptian gods); see Aterman 1999, pp. 53-63, for the various theories and bibliography. See also Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou 1997, pp. 144-155, who argues for a diagnosis of congenital bilateral club-foot, based on depictions in vase painting and ancient literature.

[12] Eliade 1971. Of interest is also the brief note of Kennedy 1902, pp. 88-89.

[13] Hermary and Jacquemin 1988, vol. 4.1, pp. 627-654, vol. 4.2, 386-404; and Shapiro 1989.

especially Aetna, and the Cyclopes or Satyrs were assigned to him as his workmen; he was also connected with natural fires, like the one on Lycian Olympus (Sen. *Ep.* 79.3). The claim that he had created mankind, attested only in a late source (Lucian *Hermot.* 20), is most likely an extrapolation from his role in the creation of the first woman, Pandora (Hes. *Op.* 70f.), or perhaps due to syncretism with the god Ptah, to be discussed below.

> Hephaistos, we are told, was the discoverer of every manner of working iron and copper and gold and silver and everything else which requires fire for working, and he also discovered all the other uses to be made of fire and turned them over both to the workers in the crafts and to all other men as well. Consequently the workmen who are skilled in these crafts offer up prayers and sacrifices to this god before all others, and both they and all mankind as well call the fire 'Hephaistos', handing down in this way to eternal remembrance and honor the benefaction which was bestowed in the beginning upon man's social life.
>
> [Diod. Sic. 5.74.2-4, trans. C. Oldfather]

Although Diodorus Siculus relates that craftspeople offered prayers and sacrifices to the god, cult sites of Hephaistos are few and far between. Foremost among these is the island of Lemnos, where he landed after being thrown out of Olympus. Lemnos is located in the northern Aegean Sea about halfway between the Chalcidic peninsulas and the coast of Asia Minor. The chief legends associated with Lemnos are that the god Hephaistos set up his forge here, and that Jason and the Argonauts were welcomed by the island's women, who had murdered their husbands (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.608ff.).[14] The island's history of volcanic activity probably lay behind the myth that it was the foundry of Hephaistos, and the geology of the island includes hot springs, burnt earth, and a significant amount of volcanic rock, which covers one-third of the island (Figure 1:3).

[14] For a discussion of the latter myth, see Burkert 1970.

Recent studies, however, suggest that the island of Lemnos has not experienced any volcanic activity during human history.[15]

The pre-Classical history of Lemnos remains fragmented for scholars. Lemnos had an important Bronze Age culture and appears in Homer's *Iliad* (7.467; 8.230) as a provisioning station for the Achaeans at Troy.[16] The early population of Lemnos, however, was clearly non-Greek.[17] For example, a late sixth-century BCE inscription in the native Lemnian language (*IG* 12.8.1), now partially deciphered, bears affinities to the Etruscan language.[18] The earliest Greek inscription is dated to c. 500, by which time Lemnos had begun to receive Athenian colonists.

One of the island's two towns is called Hephaesteia, located on the northeast of the island (Figure 1:3). Coins from this city have been found in considerable number, and depict Hephaistos, Athena and her owl, or other native religious symbols. Here the god Hephaistos had a major sanctuary. Hephaisteia is currently under investigation by Italian archaeologists, who have thus far uncovered, among other things, a prehistoric sea fortress, an Iron Age necropolis, and a Hellenistic theater, testifying to the long use of the site.[19] The god is also connected with the mysteries of the Kabeiroi, whom he had

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[15] According to Higgins and Higgins 1996, pp. 123-125, the volcanic activity in the area occurred between 20 to 18 million years ago. The burnt ('Lemnian') earth, a ochre rich in iron oxides, was widely exported from antiquity down to the nineteenth century for its reputed medicinal properties; Higgins and Higgins 1996, pp. 124-125. See also Faraone 1992, p. 67, n.6.

[16] Privitera 2005, pp. 227-236.

[17] There is still no current orthodoxy on the question, but it seems that most people are convinced that there is some link between the Lemnos inscription and Etruscan. Some see the Pelasgians as an historical, pre-Indo-European, Mediterranean "substrate" population, whose remnants include the Lemnians and the Etruscans; others believe that there is at least some truth in the "Lydian migration" theory (Herodotus 1.94ff.), that the Etruscans originally inhabited the Aegean coast of Asia Minor and migrated to Italy, and that the Lemnians are therefore "Tyrrhenians", and the "Pelasgians" is just another name for them; see the discussion of Tegelaar 1999, pp. 95-101.

[18] For a discussion of the inscription, see Margani 1954.

[19] Messineo 1997, pp. 241-252. As excavations are still ongoing, there is not a conclusive site report. The excavators publish periodic research reports available via the Amazon Research Subscriber Network on the internet. A Hellenistic pottery has also been published in full by Massa 1992.

fathered according to legend (Hdt. 3.37; Strabo 10.3.20f.), and a pre-Greek sanctuary of the Kabeiroi has been excavated at the nearby ancient port of Chloe.[20] The Homeric Sinties were regarded as pre-Greek Thracians (Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. '*Lemnos*') or Etruscans ('*Tyrsenoi*,' schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.608), and the cult in the Lemnian sanctuary of the Kabeiroi begins before the Greek settlement; thus, non-Greek elements play a role in this cult, which most likely reinforced the marginality of Hephaistos.[21]

Not much is known with certainty regarding the cult of Hephaistos here, probably due in part to the remoteness of the island for much of its history, as well as the fact that the related cult of the Kabeiroi was generally classified as a mystery cult. Although the sanctuary of Hephaistos has not been fully excavated, it is interesting to note that the sanctuary appears to have no temple, despite the fact that it was the god's principal sanctuary in the Greek world. A late source (ca. 215 CE) tells us of an annual purification festival on the island of Lemnos which culminated in the kindling of new fire and its distribution to the craftsmen.[22] This festival, apparently dedicated primarily to Hephaistos, appears to be an intriguing combination of the major myths of Lemnos. In the ritual, the Lemnian women extinguish all hearth fires, and seclude themselves from the male population. For the next nine days, they sacrifice to various secret and chthonic deities. After the purification period, a sacred ship arrives at Lemnos from Delos (originally captained by the seafaring Kabeiroi) carrying new fire, which is then distributed to the craftsmen and households, possibly via a torch race. Only after the fire renewal can the island return to normal life.

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[20] Beschi 1988, p. 555; and Hemberg 1950, pp. 160-170. On the Kabeiric mysteries, see Kerényi 1955, pp. 32-63. Burkert 1985, p. 167, argues that the ritual structure of the Kabiric mysteries may derive from secret societies of blacksmiths, but regrettably does not offer any details or documentation to support this claim.

[21] Delcourt 1957, pp. 46-47, and pp. 171-193. Also with regard to the Hephaistos and Lemnos/Etruria/Pelasgic connection, Hephaistos was very early identified with Roman Volcanus and with Etruscan Sethlans. See Rose 1933, pp. 46-63; Delcourt 1957, pp. 204-227; Brommer 1973; and Coarelli 1983, p. 177; and Capdeville 1995.

[22] Philostr. *Her.* p. 325 (Kayser) = *Opera* II 207 in the Teubner edition. Burkert 1970, pp. 1-16.

Hephaistos is also associated with Aetna, Europe's highest active volcano, lying between Tauromenium and Catana in eastern Sicily (Figure 1:4), as well as the nearby Lipari Islands, which were known as the *Hephaestiades insulae*.[23] The degree to which Mount Aetna was active in antiquity is debated, but unlike the case of Vesuvius, there was never any doubt that Aetna was a volcano. The volcano's activity was enough to lead the native population to shift their settlements considerably west of the mountain.[24] In addition, literary sources indicate that Mount Aetna loomed very large indeed in the cultural imaginations of the Greeks.[25] Although the association of Hephaistos and his underground workshop with volcanic activity is secondary, earlier accounts usually attributed volcanic eruptions to a giant (Typhon or Enceladus) beneath the mountain (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.15ff.). The *Prometheus Bound* places Hephaistos at Aetna, so his association with the volcano is fairly early, though it should be stated that the god's home is said to be the peaks—Typhon is still credited with the volcano's eruptions (Aesch. *PV* 366-367). Pausanias records that Aetna was the furnace of Hephaistos, and that he was assisted here by the Cyclopes (9.25.6).

Aetna's importance in myth continued in Roman times. The mountain is the subject of an anonymous poem, *Aetna*, which is probably late Augustan in date, and ancient tourists, including the emperors Gaius and Hadrian, were known to have climbed the mountain (Strabo 6.2.3; see also *Aetna*, esp. 400-401).[26] Aelian (*NA* 11.3), in the second century CE, reports that there was a temple dedicated to the god Hephaistos

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[23] Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.22 reports that Vulcan was the lord of the Lipari Islands (the Isles of Volcanus). Hephaistos is depicted on their coinage.

[24] Few ancient eruptions are recorded, those of 475, 396, and 122 BCE, being the most notable. Scholars debate these dates and the rate of activity for the volcano, although it seems that eruptions have been fairly reliable, at least once a century, for the past 2500 years; see Romano and Sturiale 1982, pp. 75-97; Stothers and Rampino 1983, pp. 6357-6371; Manni 1981, pp. 79-82; and Chester et al. 1985.

[25] Chester et al. 2000, pp. 179-188.

[26] For a discussion of the poem, see Goodyear 1984, pp. 344-363.

located here; but unfortunately, this claim is not repeated elsewhere in ancient literature, and cannot today be verified, as the site has been an active volcano for the past two millennia.[27] Although it is possible that this temple was destroyed by a volcanic eruption, or some other sort of calamity, I think that it is more likely that it never existed at all—given the time and expense involved in constructing a temple, it seems unlikely that a known unsafe construction site would have chosen for a full-scale temple. A sanctuary, sans temple, would be a more logical choice. Perhaps Roman interest in the site led to the claim of a temple precinct. That being said, the presence of a temple to the god might also indicate why the *Prometheus Bound* places the fire god on the peaks of Aetna, rather than beneath the volcano's surface.

Herodotus (2.3.1; 2.4.2f.; 2.99-101) and Strabo (10.3.21) both claim that there was once a temple dedicated to Hephaistos (where he was worshipped along with the Kabeiroi) at Memphis in Egypt, which was destroyed by Cambyses.[28] The temple complex at Memphis, which is located about fifteen kilometers south of Cairo in the region of Mit Rahina, was one of the principal Egyptian cult sites (Figure 1:5). This temple, however, was dedicated to the Egyptian god Ptah.[29] The reason for the confusion lies in the fact that the Greeks equated Hephaistos with Ptah, even though the gods' concerns were not identical.[30] Ptah was a mummiform god of creation and craftsmen.[31]

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[27] Freeman 1892, p. 34, states that this temple was dedicated to the fire god Hadranus, not Hephaistos, and that it was located near Adrano on the central western edge of the Etna rim.

[28] See Armayor 1980, pp. 51-74, esp. 52-56, where he discusses some of the difficulties with Herodotus' narrative regarding Memphis. Lloyd 2007 in his chapter on Book II of the *Histories* also discusses the Memphis *logos*; pp. 219-239, with commentary following.

[29] See Wilkinson 2000, pp. 83, 92, and esp. 114-115. The enclosure of Ptah was one of the largest temple complexes in Egypt, but little remains within it, besides an embalming house, and a hypostyle hall. Flinders Petrie excavated some of the site between 1908 and 1913, however, the majority of the site remains unexcavated due to the water table, and the proximity of the modern village.

[30] See Delcourt 1957, p. 112; Morenz 1954, pp. 275-290. The Romans would later identify Ptah with their god Vulcan.

[31] See Budge 1969, vol. 1, pp. 78, 99, 218, 500ff. See also Shorter, 1985, pp. 10-11, who cites British Museum Stela no. 498, as a source of one of these myths.

Like Hephaistos, Ptah was a divine artificer, who was credited with numerous technological and artistic inventions, and he was worshipped as the patron of all arts and crafts. The High Priest of the cult at Memphis bore a special title which emphasized this concern of the god, "Greatest of Those who Direct the Craftmen." In contrast to Hephaistos, Ptah was also credited in early Egyptian mythology as the creator of the gods. There are competing versions of this myth, but most involve Ptah fashioning the Egg of the World on a potter's wheel, from which will spring the earth, sky, and the Sun God himself (Figure 1:6).

There is also the so-called Temple of Hephaistos/Vulcan at Agrigento (Greek Akragas) in Sicily, but I find this identification to be rather tenuous (Figure 1:7).[32] The temple in question was built in the Doric order, and measured 43 by 21 meters (Figure 1:8). The only surviving remains are the foundations of the peristyle and cella, a few sections of the crepidoma, and the shafts of two columns. Although the surviving remains date to the second half of the fifth century BCE, probably around 430 BCE, there are traces of an earlier temple of the sixth century BCE, from which there are a few surviving pieces of polychrome terracotta revetments. In general, there is little evidence for any of the attributions of the Agrigento temples, which seem to have been rather fancifully chosen; more specifically, no literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that Hephaistos had a cult at the site.[33] It is interesting to note the lack of monumental

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[32] This temple was excavated early in the twentieth century by Alexander Hardcastle and Pirro Marconi. The primary publication of this structure is Marconi 1933, pp. 114-126, who refers to this structure as Temple G. See also Marconi 1930, pp. 27-28l; and Paul 2002, pp. 34-47.

[33] The city was discussed by Thuc. 6.4.4-5; Polyb. 9.27.1-9; Diod. Sic. 13.81.4-5; and Pind. *Ol.* 2.5-7 and 3. None of these authors mention a temple dedicated to the god Hephaistos on the site. The modern identification stems from an early topographer, Fazello, and is based on a mention in Solinus that the god was worshipped in the city; see Waele 1971, pp. 206-207. Dunbabin 1948, p. 323, n. 4, among other scholars, has noted that the temple identifications at Agrigento are questionable at best; many studies refer to the temples at the site simply by letter designation.

architecture at the known cult sites of the god Hephaistos, save Athens, which will be discussed below.

In iconography, Hephaistos is usually designated as a god of craft, in some way, be it working at the forge with bellows and anvil, or holding his double axe, tongs or hammer (Figure 1:9).[34] Frequently he also wears a *pilos*, a type of cap, which designates him as a craftsman. Brommer points out that his iconography as a working craftsman (in the workshop with *pilos* and tongs) appears only in the early fifth century—in the earlier, sixth-century examples, the god tends to hold a double axe.[35] Nevertheless, even in the scenes of his return to Olympus and the connected celebration with Dionysos, an extremely popular artistic motif in Archaic iconography, Hephaistos is usually identified by his craftsman attributes described above (Figure 1:2).[36] He is also frequently identified in these scenes by his misshapen feet, but by the fifth century, the deformity is rarely illustrated (compare Figure 1:1 with Figure 1:2). The birth of Athena is also a common scene in the iconography of the god, where he helps Zeus give birth to the goddess (Figure 1:10). In such examples, the god is generally identified by his attribute of the double axe. The statue of a standing Hephaistos by Alkamenes with a discrete indication of his limp was famous in antiquity, and most likely can be identified with the cult statue of the god which stood in the Hephaisteion, a topic to which I will return later (Paus. 1.14.6; Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.83; Val. Max. 8.11 ext. 3). Copies of this image remain

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[34] See Hermary and Jacquemin 1988, vol. 4.1, pp. 627-654, vol. 4.2, pp. 386-404. Also Shapiro 1989, supplement, pp. 1-14.

[35] Brommer 1978, chapter 2.

[36] Thomas 1985 argues the renewed interest in the portrayal of this story during the sixth century may be tied to the particular appeal that the scene had for less privileged social groups. Trade and industry were encouraged by Solon, and were especially promoted by Peisistratos. The level of prosperity of artisans was rising, especially potters, and vase-painters may have particularly enjoyed this myth, which proved how indispensable the craftsman was. Thomas notes, "In Athens the interest in its depiction in the early 6th c. BCE may have been incited by the story's relevance to contemporary life. Olympian gods—hereditary, land-owning aristocracy, Hephaistos—artisans, craftsmen, laborers. The story revealed that established power can be challenged. We can understand why painters liked to depict it in the early 6th century."; pp. 70-72. See also Ste. Croix 1981, p. 280.

common in small statuettes, and on coins and lamps into Roman times (Figure 1:11 and Figure 1:12).[37] In short, the god's iconography remains rather static over time, and he appears as a fire and craft deity with essentially no other function.

*Athena Ergane*

> Come out in the street you, all the people of the handicraftsmen, who venerate the daughter of Zeus, Ergane, with sacrificial baskets and beside the heavy anvil, beaten with hammers.
>
> [Sophocles, fr. 760, ed. Nauck]

The goddess Athena was among the most-worshipped deities of the Greek pantheon. Unlike Hephaistos, the goddess has many aspects (war, government, etc.)—craft is only a minor part of her concern and mythology. In *Iliad* 5.733-747, Homer describes how Athena took off the finely-wrought robe 'which she herself had made' and then 'armed herself for war'.[38] This incident encapsulates the paradoxical nature of a goddess who is as skilled in the preparation of clothes as she is fearless in battle and who thus unites in her person the stereotypical excellence of both sexes. At the greater Panathenaea in Athens the goddess was presented with a robe, the work of maidens' hands, which traditionally portrayed that battle of the gods and giants in which she was the outstanding warrior on the side of the gods.

Her love of battle is seen in myth, and also in such cults as that of Athena Nike; she is regularly portrayed fully armed, one leg purposefully advanced, wearing her terror-inducing aegis (Figure 1:13). She frequently acts as protectress of cities, either as an

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[37] Hermary and Jacquemin 1988, vol. 4.1, pp. 627-654, vol. 4.2, pp. 386-404.

[38] See also *Od.* 20.72; *Il.* 14.178-9; and *Il.* 5.59. For the most recent monograph on Athena, see Deacy 2008. Burkert, 1985, pp. 139-143. Because of the complexities of Athena's mythology and cult, most studies of the goddess have concentrated on small aspects of her worship; see the two recent works by Neils (1992 and 1996) for an overview of the bibliography.

armed goddess, or the unarmed Athena Polias, who offers good advice to her people.[39] She is also closely associated with the masculine world in her mythological role as a helper of male heroes, most memorably seen in her presence beside Herakles on several of the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Indeed her intervention in battle often takes the form of 'standing beside' a favorite (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.278-294; and Hom. *Od.* 8.296-302).

Athena's association with Hephaistos in myth begins with her birth from the head of Zeus, with the help of Hephaistos (Figure 1:10). In this representation of the myth, Athena is emerging from the head of Zeus, while Hephaistos, holding his double axe, prepares to flee the scene. Both Athena and Zeus appear prepared to attack Hephaistos. Deacy points out that this depiction may indicate that Hephaistos was actually attempting to wound Zeus, rather than help him relieve his headache.[40] This scene would then align Hephaistos with Prometheus, who in some versions of the myth performs this act, as an enemy of Zeus.[41] In the oldest version of the birth of Athena myth (Hes. *Theog.* 886-890), Zeus became pregnant with Athena after swallowing the goddess Metis; Athena was thus also a kind of reincarnation of *metis*, or cunning intelligence. This quality of *metis* appears obviously in her association with crafts.[42] Hephaistos and Athena also collaborate in the creation of Pandora, as well as in the unusual birth of Erichthonios, to be discussed below.

Athena's patronage of the arts, as well as all types of craftsmanship, is expressed primarily in her cult epithet, Ergane.[43] Ultimately Athena's purview includes all

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[39] See Herington's study (1955) for a discussion of the purview of Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias.

[40] Deacy 2008, pp. 21-22.

[41] Dougherty 2006, pp. 31-34, and 71-72.

[42] Burkert 1985, pp. 139-143; Detienne and Vernant 1978; and Detienne 1971, pp. 165-166, with additional bibliography on the *metis* of Athena.

[43] Harrison 1894, pp. 270-271; Farnell 1896, vol. I, pp. 313-316; and Deacy 2008, pp. 50-54.

household crafts and industry. The goddess presided over metalworking (Isid. *Etym.* 19.20.1-2), and was the special protector of potters, a topic which I address in chapter three. She was also seen as both the inventor and patroness of all types of wool-working and spinning. Athena was the goddess who taught the daughters of Pandareus to be accomplished in the arts (*Od.* 20.78). She was recognized in Athens as the goddess of weaving, as the woven garment was the offering specially made for her at her festival.[44]

For this craft aspect, the Arachne myth should be significant; but, it seems to be a late addition to Greek mythology, as it is recorded only in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.5-54 and 129-145) and Virgil's *Georgics* (4.246). The story, to the best of my knowledge, does not appear in Attic vase-paining, which also suggests, even more so than the silence of the literary sources, a late addition to the mythological repertoire.[45] In this myth, Arachne was the daughter of Idmon of Colophon, who was a famous dyer in Tyrian purple. Arachne herself was a talented weaver in Hypaipa of Lydia, and she was so sure of her skill that she boasted that it exceeded that of Athena, the goddess of weaving. Although the goddess was angered by Arachne's hubris, she, in the guise of an old woman, first cautioned the girl. Arachne's continued boasting led to a weaving contest between the two. Athena wove the scene of her struggle with Poseidon over the naming of Athens; whereas Arachne chose to illustrate the infidelity of the gods. Athena was so angered at Arachne's choice of subjects that she destroyed the girl's work and loom. Arachne was overcome with shame and hanged herself. In Ovid's story, Athena takes pity on the girl, and transforms the hanging rope and Arachne into a spider's web and spider, respectively. In this way, the story suggests that the origin of weaving lay in imitation of spiders, and that the craft was considered to have been perfected in Asia

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[44] On the peplos, see Mansfield 1985.

[45] Szilágyi lists only two entries for the iconography of Arachne; 1984, vol. 2.1, pp. 470-471, vol. 2.2, p. 813.

Minor.[46] It is curious that this story is not attested earlier, tied to the Ergane's epithet, particularly in Asia Minor where she is depicted as a spinning goddess, which will be addressed below.

In addition, Athena presides especially over woodworking through her *metis* throughout mythology.[47] Woodcutters, carpenters, chariot builders, and shipbuilders benefit from her attentive protection. She cherishes in particular the carpenter Tekton, son of Harmon, the Adjuster, who knew how to make masterpieces of all sorts and constructed for Paris the ship which brought Helen to Troy (*Il.* 5.59-60; see also *Il.* 15.412). She assists Danaus, the inventor of the first ship, with her advice and her aid (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 272). When Athena directs the construction of the ship of the Argonauts, she herself goes to Mount Pelion to select the trees, which she fells with a hatchet (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1187-1189). She teaches the carpenter, Argos, the art of measuring lengths of wood with a ruler, and watches over the construction of the Argo (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.724). She is seen planning and polishing the wood of Peleus' lance herself (*Cypria* frag. 5), and her protégé Odysseus, the *polumetis*, is an expert in all these operations when he has to build a ship to leave Calypso's island (*Od.* 5.234-257). Athena Ergane was also responsible for the invention of the plow, yet another practical application of her *metis* (Serv., commentary on Verg. *Aen.* 4.402; and Hes. *Op.* 430ff.).

The worship of Athena Ergane as the patron deity of skillful craftsmanship and art, separate from her worship under other epithets, is well attested in the Greek world.[48] Pausanias mentions the cult of Athena Ergane in several places in his narrative, and in one passage states that the Athenians were the first to give her this title (1.24.3). The

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[46] See Luyster 1965, pp. 142-143; also Holmberg 2003, pp. 1-17, who connects weaving imagery and spider's webs with Hephaistos. Ferrari 2002, pp. 11-34, discusses the iconography of the spinning female.

[47] Detienne 1971, p. 164.

[48] On her cult as Ergane, see Di Vita 1955, pp. 149-154; and Ridgway 1992, pp. 37-40.

succeeding text has been lost, and Farnell suggested that he was going to speak of a temple dedicated to her under this name on the Acropolis.[49] Dörpfeld argued against a temple of Ergane on the Acropolis, however, stating that the inscriptions recording dedications to the goddess may have actually been set up in the temple of Athena Polias.[50] Other cult places discussed by Pausanias include a sanctuary of this goddess at Sparta (3.17.4), an altar at Olympia on which the "descendants of Pheidias" guild sacrificed (5.14.5), a statue at Megalopolis (8.32.4), and a sculptural group of Athena Ergane and Ploutos at Thespiae (9.26.8). In addition, there are several other cults of the goddess, where she seems to have a craft aspect, but is not referred to as Ergane.[51] These include a cult of Athena Organe at Delos as well as at Athens, of Ergatis at Samos, and Kalliergos at Epidauros. Unfortunately, very little is known of these cults beyond their names, making connections to the cult of Athena Ergane difficult.

Although the goddess is credited in myth with the invention and teaching of various crafts, all closely linked to the *metis* attributed to her, pictorial representations of Athena Ergane are rare, and I will address the majority of these in chapter three.[52] There are a few representations of the goddess, holding the tools for spinning, namely the distaff and spindle.[53] Scholars have noted that examples of this type in archaic and classical Greek art appear to center on western Asia Minor, suggesting that the origin of this aspect of the goddess' cult may be found in this region.[54]

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[49] Farnell 1896, vol. I, p. 315.

[50] Dörpfeld 1889, p. 305; and Verrall and Harrison 1894, pp. 414-418. The only evidence of a recognized cult of Ergane at Athens are the lines in the fragment of Sophocles, which I address at the end of this chapter.

[51] Farnell 1898, vol. I, p. 315.

[52] Demargne and Cassimatis 1984, vol. 2.1, pp. 961-964, vol. 2.2, pp. 707-709.

[53] Demargne and Cassimatis 1984, vol. 2.1, esp. pp. 961-964, 1019. On Athena's connection with spinning and weaving, see Graf 1985, p. 211. Forbes 1956, pp. 151-74, discusses spinning as a craft. Dedications of spinning and weaving equipment, such as spindles and loomweights, are common in sanctuaries of Athena, but also of other gods; cf. Simon 1986, pp. 263-70; also Villing 1998, p. 154.

The earliest secure evidence for the spinning Athena type anywhere in the Greek world comes from fifth-century Sicilian terracotta figurines from Scornavacche and Kamarina (Figure 1:14).[55] These representations show the goddess Athena seated and holding tools for spinning. To these can be added representations of a spinning owl found on loomweights from south Italy, which reinforce a connection between the goddess and spinning, via her favored bird (Figure 1:15).[56] Villing states that as many of these Italic cities had close connections with east Greek cities, usually as colonies, and scholars have suspected that the spinning Athena type may originate in the eastern Greek area.[57] Athena is also represented as a spinning goddess on the coins of Ilion dating from the third century (Figure 1:16). In these images, Athena is dressed in an Attic peplos, and carries a spear over her shoulder and a distaff in her hand. It is thought that the images on the coins copied the cult statue of Athena Ilias, as the figure sometimes appears standing on a base, and on Roman Imperial examples, the figure appears in a temple.[58] Apollodoros (3.12.3) also described the Palladion of Troy as holding a spear in one hand, and in the other, a distaff and spindle.

Ionian Erythrai is another city where Athena is connected with spinning.[59] At Erythrai, Athena Polias/Poliouchos was the principal deity, and she was worshipped on the acropolis from the late eighth century onwards.[60] The connection with the spinning type is suggested by Pausanias' description of her cult statue, which he attributed to the

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[54] Villing 1998, 154-159; also Graf 1985, p. 214.

[55] Di Vita 1955; Stucchi 1956; and Villing 1998, p. 154.

[56] See Demargne and Cassimatis 1984, vol. 2.1, p. 962 no. 44, vol. 2.2, p. 708.

[57] Villing 1998, p. 154.

[58] Villing 1998, pp. 150-151.

[59] On Erythrai, see Graf 1985, pp. 147-375.

[60] Engelmann and Merkelbach 1973, pp. 347-364, nos. 207, 208, 210; also Simon 1986, pp. 131-135.

sculptor Endoios (7.5.9). He describes this image as the goddess seated on a throne, and holding a distaff in each hand. The description of the goddess holding two distaffs seems odd; it is possible that Pausanias misidentified a spindle for a second distaff. If Endoios was in fact the sculptor, the statue would date to the second half of the sixth century. Endoios was also closely connected not only with the eastern Greek cities, but with Athens, which may begin to explain the strong ties between Athena and weaving at Athens.[61] Pausanias also states that Endoios was the sculptor of an Athena statue in Athens, which was dedicated by Kallias on the Acropolis (1.26.5). Ridgway connected this statue with a late Archaic marble statue of the goddess (Figure 1:17), based on iconographic parallels with terracotta plaques showing spinning female figures from the Acropolis.[62] Regrettably, the attributes of the marble statue, which might have included spindle and distaff, have been lost. Outside of these examples, however, there are very few representations of the spinning Athena from the Greek mainland.[63] Given the important role of Athena Ergane in Athenian cult (to be discussed later in the text), this is quite surprising.

Although the origin of the type as east Greek can only be tentatively suggested on such a small sample of evidence, it is interesting that the examples from the Ilion coins and Erythrai suggest that the spinning Athena appeared on a cult statue, specifically one in which Athena acted as protectress of the whole city.[64] This is interesting as spinning, particularly as it is a female activity, would not seem to be important to the well-being of

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[61] On Endoios and his works, see Viviers 1992, pp. 55-102, esp. 56-62.

[62] Ridgway 1992, pp. 138-139 (Acropolis Museum 625). For the plaques, see Hutton 1897 p. 309, pl. 7,1. Villing 1998, pp. 154-155.

[63] Other examples include a Roman relief from Philippi with a representation of Athena holding what might be spindle and distaff (see Perdrizet 1903, pp. 263-265), and a possible incised spindle and distaff on an altar of Athena Ergane at Epidauros (*IG* IV.2.20).

[64] Villing 1998, p. 157. Other possible examples of a goddess involved in spinning include an ivory figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, and the cult statue of the Dea Syria of Hierapolis. Note that these two examples are also from Asia Minor; Villing 1998, pp. 157-158.

the city and its inhabitants. That being said, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* uses wool preparation as a metaphor for the protection of the demos (line 574), which hints that a deeper meaning could be found behind the spinning activity. One possible explanation is that spinning served as a metaphor for controlling fate, as the spindle was used by the Moirai, otherwise known the Fates, who spun the destiny of men.[65] Luyster has examined Athena's similarities with the Moirai, and it is possible that these goddesses were closely connected in east Greek cities.[66] While this hypothesis is intriguing, ultimately, there is no way to confirm this.

Although the goddess Athena was worshipped widely in Greece, craft was only one small part of her purview. Her worship as Ergane seems to be restricted within the confines of her greater worship; no temples dedicated to the goddess exclusively as Ergane are attested. The iconography of Ergane is limited initially to the spinning type; it would expand to other forms of craft, notably pottery, in the Classical period, which will be addressed in chapter three.

*Prometheus*

The Titan Prometheus was a divine figure associated with the origin of fire and with Hephaistos; his primary myth is his theft of fire for humankind (Hes. *Theog.* 507-616; Hes. *Op.* 41-105; Aesch. *PV* 248-254).[67] Prometheus, like Athena and Hephaistos, was celebrated for his *metis*, particularly his trickery. The name Prometheus was given the sense 'Forethought' by Hesiod, who also alluded to a contrasting figure Epimetheus,

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[65] Bianchi 1953. For a Hittite text in which a goddess holding a spindle determines a man's fate; see Pritchard 1969, p. 357; and Bossert 1954, pp. 349-359.

[66] Luyster 1965, pp. 138-143. "Athena's mastery of the spindle identifies her as a powerful "spinner" of fate, and this in turn implies her mastery of, and special association with, both birth and death"; Luyster 1965, p. 143. See also Villing 1998, p. 158, who points out that the average viewer would probably not made this connection.

[67] The most recent study of Prometheus was undertaken by Dougherty 2006. See also Delcourt 1957, p. 71, and pp. 155-157.

'Thinking after the event' (*Theog.* 507-514). The importance of Prometheus' myth and cult waxed and waned over time, largely due to his association with other deities. Nevertheless, fire and the technology that enables humankind to harness the power of fire are central to the Titan's story.[68] Through his theft, he acts as culture hero, providing humans with the basis of civilized life. His theft, however, also results in the end of the Golden Age in which humans did not need to work, when Zeus opts to punish them for the gift of fire. Prometheus' story is thus connected in a fundamental way, not only to craft, but to work in general—his story is the story of the human condition.

A number of the early myths about Hephaistos seem to be mixed with, and in some cases, eclipsed by the myth of the rebellion against Zeus by Prometheus, a fire-god closely related to Hephaistos and in some instances functionally interchangeable with him. Thomson proposes that the theft of fire by Prometheus may have been regarded at first as an attempt on the life of the divine being whom later ages called Hephaistos.[69] For example, there are versions of his story in which Prometheus, like Hephaistos, is called a son of Hera (scholia to *Il.* 5.205 and 14.295) and is said to have fallen in love with Athena (scholia to Ap. Rhod. 2.1249; Duris FGH 76 F 47). Both Hephaistos and Prometheus were said to have assisted at the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (Eur. *Ion* 455; Pind. *Ol.* 7.35); Hephaistos created Pandora by mixing earth and water (Hes. *Theog.* 571) and Prometheus was credited with the creation of mankind by the same means (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.1). In addition, both Hephaistos and Prometheus were honored as the bringers of culture and technical advancement to humanity (Aesch. *PV* 436-506; Diod. Sic. 5.74.2). Hephaistos was called the father or grandfather of the Lemnian

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[68] Dougherty 2006, pp. 18-21. Most of Prometheus' iconography revolves around the myth of his theft of fire and his resulting punishment; see DeVries 1993, pp. 517-524; and Gisler 1994, vol. 7.1, pp. 531-553, and vol. 7.2, pp. 420-430.

[69] Thomson 1920, p. 7.

Kabeiroi, and Prometheus was named as one of the Theban Kabeiroi, along with his son Aitnaios (Strabo 10.3.21; Paus. 9.25.6).

Prometheus was rarely worshipped as a stand-alone figure; generally, he was worshipped along with other gods. Lucian (*Prometheus* 14) remarked that there were no temples to Prometheus, despite the fact that his theft of fire enabled the other gods to enjoy sacrifices. At Athens, the shrines and cults of Prometheus and Hephaistos were closely related.[70] Prometheus had an altar in the Academy, shared with Hephaistos, and within a sacred precinct of Athena (Paus. 1.30.2; scholiast to Soph. *OC*).[71] This altar was the starting place for several important religious events in Athens. Located near this altar was a pedestal with a relief representation of Prometheus and Hephaistos, in which Prometheus was portrayed as an old man, while Hephaistos was shown as a youth.[72] Dougherty points out that this altar not only establishes a close relationship between these two fire gods, but also suggests that Prometheus' cult predated that of Hephaistos.[73]

According to Lucian, Prometheus was worshipped as a potter in Athens, and a fellow craftsperson with Athena and Hephaistos (*Prometheus* 14ff.). A torch-race in honor of Prometheus probably formed a part of ritual renewal of fire, and may predate the Hephaistos-Lemnian fire ritual.[74] Pausanias described that torch race as part of the *Prometheia* festival, in which runners ran from the altar in the Academy to the city gates, simultaneously attempting to run the course as quickly as possible, while also keeping

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[70] Dougherty 2006, pp. 46-64; Caldwell 1989, pp. 172-173; Thomson 1920, pp. 22-23.

[71] Gulick 1899, pp. 103-114.

[72] This relief, unfortunately now lost, was described by Apollodoros FGrH 244 F 147. See Gisler 1994, vol. 7.1, no. 118.

[73] Dougherty 2006, p. 51; and Sissa and Detienne 2000, p. 161. See also Menander, Frg. 535 Nock.

[74] Robertson 1985, pp. 231-295, discusses the ritual significance of the torch race, particularly with respect to the Panathenaea. See also Deubner 1932, pp. 211-212; Nilsson 1902, pp. 173-174; and Burkert 1985, pp. 60-64.

their torches lit (1.30.2).[75] Torch races, such as this one, represented a symbolic renewal of the city's fire, a potent symbol of the city's civilized life. Fire was also reverenced in fear of its destructive power, and this may also underscore the importance of Prometheus' cult in Athens, following the burning of the city during the Persian War (Hdt. 9.13).[76] Pausanias briefly mentioned other cult places of Prometheus in his narrative, such as at Sicyon (2.19.8) and possibly at Panopeus, just west of Boeotia in Phocis (10.4.4), but only Athens' cult is described in any detail.

*Daedalus*

Daedalus, whose name means "cunning worker", was a famous architect, inventor, and craftsman, whose skill was closely compared with that of Hephaistos and Athena.[77] In Pliny's *Natural History* (7.198), Daedalus is credited with inventing carpentry. Apollodoros describes Daedalus as a master-builder, and credits him with the invention of sculpture (*Bibl.* 3.15.8). Diodoros referred to the life-like quality of his sculptures (4.76.2-3). Pausanias attributed numerous *xoana* and other statues to the craftsman, stating that "all the works of this artist, although rather uncouth to look at, are nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration" (2.4.5 and 9.40.3-4; trans. Jones). Among these creations were a chair in Athens in the temple of Athena Polias (Paus. 1.27.1), a *xoanon* of Herakles at Corinth (Paus. 2.4.5), another *xoanon* of Herakles at the Herakleion at Thebes, which Daedalus himself dedicated as a thank-offering (Paus. 8.35.2; 9.11.4-5; and 9.39.8), and a *xoanon* of Aphrodite on Delos (Paus. 9.40.3).

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[75] Parke 1977, pp. 171-172.

[76] Dougherty 2006, p. 62.

[77] For the best overview of Daidalos in Greek mythology, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1975. See also Morris 1992, esp. chap. 1; Delcourt 1957, pp. 158-160; and Nyenhuis 1986, vol. 3.1, pp. 313-321, and vol. 3.2, pp. 237-242.

Many of his famous inventions center around his mythology on Crete, where he constructed the wooden cow for Queen Pasiphae, which enabled her to mate with Poseidon's bull. The result of this encounter was the Minotaur; and Daedalus was then responsible for creating the Labyrinth at Knossos to house the half-man, half-bull creature (Hom. *Il.* 18.591). Later, he created artificial wings for himself and his son Icarus to escape the island, a frequent theme in later art (Figure 1:18). The Linear B tablets confirm the existence of a Daidaleion at Knossos. Here Daidalos received an offering which was twice as large as that to Dictaean Zeus, and which was exceeded only by the offering given to all of the gods in common, attesting to the importance of his cult in the city, and perhaps Crete in general.[78]

Daedalus was also closely connected with Athens, where he was said to be the grandson of Erechtheus, the legendary founder. His name was linked with a deme in Attica, and with Attic craftsmen, called the Daidalidai. He also had a shrine in Attica, the Daidaleion, which is attested in a stele dated 367-366 BCE from the Athenian Agora.[79]

There was also a Daedala festival at Plataea, in which the neighboring towns also participated (Paus. 9.3.2-8). During this festival, the people of Plataea would place boiled meat in the trees of a special grove, and then watch for crows. When the first crow landed in a tree to eat the meat, the townspeople would cut down that tree, and create an image, a *daedala*, from it. This would occur every year that the Little Daedala festival was held. At the Greater Daedala, which Pausanias indicates was held sporadically, possibly every six years, the people of Plataea would offer numerous sacrifices and the accumulated *daedala* from the Little Daedala on a huge pyre. Outside of the Greek world, Daedalus was also revered by the Etruscans and the Romans.

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[78] KN Fpl, 3. See Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 305-306, no. 200; and Palmer 1963, p. 236, no. 116.

[79] Crosby and Young 1941, p. 18.

*Craft Daimones*

Throughout ancient Greece, the discovery of the arts of metallurgy was often attributed not to major gods, but to primitive and mysterious daimones. The term daimones refers to a vague group of spirits, representing positive and negative powers, and including everything from the deified dead to lesser gods. These daimones are known by five different names, the Daktyloi, Telchines, Kouretes, Korybantes, and Kabeiroi, and are frequently associated with the god Hephaistos, although they retain their own power.[80] Literary testimony to these daimones is only fragmentarily preserved, and is scattered over a broad historical period. These daimones have extensive creative powers, frequently connecting metallurgy with magic.

Although these obscure demons were generally connected with specific areas in the eastern Mediterranean (the Daktyloi with Crete and Phrygia, the Telchines with Rhodes, and the Kabeiroi with Samothrace and Lemnos), they are often said to have migrated from one place to another. They are all named on different occasions as either the same as, or the ancestors of, the Cretan-Phrygian Kouretes and the Phrygian Korybantes, and they share their chief attributes in common—so much so that, as Strabo (10.3.7) says, the Korybantes, Kabeiroi, Daktyloi, Telchines, and Kouretes were regarded by many writers as related, and by others as identical. Although it is possible that this observation is due to Hellenistic syncretism, the cults of these daimones do appear to overlap from their earliest attestation.[81] Pausanias notes that the Kouretes were also confused with other collective divine groups such as the Kabeiroi and the Korybantes (8.37.6).

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[80] The most recent study on these daimones has been undertaken by Sandra Blakely 2006. This study originated in her dissertation; Westover 1998. See also Eliade 1971, pp. 102-104; Delcourt 1957, pp. 166-170; and Gernet and Boulanger 1932, p. 78f.

[81] Blakely 2006, p. 13.

Although very little can be said about these daimones with certainty, they are generally regarded as wizards and sorcerers, and they were the first to discover and work bronze and iron. Many of the daimones were also associated with the god Hephaistos. The Kabeiroi, whose main cult centers were the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace, but who were also worshipped in mainland Greece, Egypt, and Phrygia, were said to be either the sons or grandsons of Hephaistos (Pherec. *FGH* 3 fr. 47; Callim. *Aet.* fr. 115; and Hdt. 3.7); according to the lexicographer Photius, the Kabeiroi were also named Hephaistoi (Phot. *Bibl.* s.v. 'kabeiroi'). The Kabeiroi, despite their lineage, are only connected with metallurgy through their association with Hephaistos, although in their mysteries, they were associated with fire purification. The iconography of these figures is diverse, ranging from beautiful young men to pygmy and dwarfish.[82]

Of the groups, the Kabeiroi are most closely related to Hephaistos by kinship and cult, but the Daktyloi and Telchines resemble the god as much or more in their metallurgical activity. Burkert argues that the ritual structure of the Kabiric mysteries may derive from secret societies of blacksmiths, a fascinating hypothesis which he regrettably does not accompany with documentation.[83] The Telchines were the inventors of the craft of metalwork (Diod. Sic. 5.55 and Strabo 14.2.7), and were associated chiefly with the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, Ceos, and Crete, but traces of their folklore are also found in Boeotia, Sicyon, and elsewhere on the mainland.[84] Their 'magical' skill was thought to work against humankind, for example, in the blighting of crops with their sulphur and foul water (Strabo 14.654), or by the evil eye. They had a reputation as spiteful, jealous creatures, which led Zeus to attempt to destroy them (Ovid, *Met.* 7.365ff.).[85]

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[82] Blakely 2006, pp. 16-20. For the iconography of these daimones in general, see Blakely 2006, chapter two.

[83] Burkert 1985, p. 167.

[84] Pausanias refers to a cult of Athena Telchinia, which may have encompassed this group; 9.19.1.

The Idean Daktyloi consist of three brothers, all of whom reflect metallurgical concepts: Akmon (Anvil), Damnameneus (Hammerer), and Kelmis (Iron).[86] Literary testimonia claim that they were the first metalworkers and miners as well as being magicians and musicians. Believed to be priests of the mother goddess Cybele, they were credited with the discovery of the use of fire and the "art of Hephaistos" (Hes. fr. 282; Soph. *TGF* fr. 335, 337; Krobylos *PCG* fr. 8; Kratinos *PCG* 167 fr. 90; Marmor Parium *IG* XII V 444, 22; Kastor of Rhodes *FGH* 250 fr. 4; Thrasyllus *FGH* 253 fr. 1; Diod. Sic. 5.64; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1129, and Paus. 9.19.5).

The ritual range of these daimones, however, far exceeds a simple connection with craft. The daimones protect cities, mediate between the living and the dead, grant prophecy, and preside over various rituals of magic and mystery cults.[87] In addition, Blakely has argued that there is no evidence that the daimones were particularly worshipped by blacksmiths.[88] Instead, the importance of these figures for the connection of metallurgy, magic, and cult can only be seen in the tension of metallurgy and the political order. Metallurgy was a dangerous, yet economically viable process. As such, it needed to be subject to social and territorial control.

*Hephaistos and Athena: The Athens Case Study*

Both Athena and Hephaistos received special honors in the city of Athens. Athena was, of course, the patron goddess of Athens. When describing Athens, Pausanias (1.26.6) states "[b]oth the city and all the land are alike sacred to Athena, for even those who in the demes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold

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[85] Apparently one could also insult one's peers by calling them 'Telchines.' Callimachus employs the term to denigrate his literary rivals; *Aet.* fr. 1, cf. frs. 75, 64, ed. C. Trypanis.

[86] Blakely 2006, p. 1.

[87] Blakely 2006, pp. 23-24.

[88] Blakely 2006, pp. 227-233.

Athena in honor [trans. Deacy 2008, p. 74]." As patroness, Athena was thought to protect the city and its inhabitants from harm. A fragment of Solon (4.1-4) claims "[o]ur city will never be destroyed by the pronouncement of Zeus, nor by the wish of the blessed immortal gods for such is she, our great-hearted goddess, mightily fathered, who protects us, Pallas Athena, who holds out her hands over us [trans. Deacy 2008, p. 78]."[89] Athena's primary sanctuary was located on the Acropolis, but as Pausanias relates, the entire city and countryside were sacred to her.

As previously discussed, the god Hephaistos, while an important member overall in the Greek pantheon, received less obvious attention. The major exceptions occur at Athens, to be discussed below, and on the island of Lemnos; recent scholarship has suggested that the similarity in cult at these two sites was not coincidental.[90] While Athens probably did not borrow the Hephaistos cult from Lemnos wholesale, certain rituals were undoubtedly influenced by the colonization of the Lemnian island. In Athens, both Hephaistos and Athena were extensively worshipped, closely associated with one another in primitive myths—most obviously through the birth of Erichthonios—and they were celebrated with two annual festivals, the *Hephaistia* and the *Chalkeia*.[91]

At the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the Pythia calls the Athenians "children of Hephaistos (line 13)." This is explained in the myth of Erichthonios, who was the ancestor of the Athenian people. As Apollodoros relates, Hephaistos became attracted to Athena, after being rejected by his wife Aphrodite (3.14.6). He pursued

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[89] See also Diehl 1922; Herington 1963, p. 62, and p. 73. Solon's words are parodied in Ar. *Eq.* 1168-1176.

[90] Lemnos and Athens had close links throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and during much of this time, Lemnos was essentially an Attic colony. Around c. 500 BCE, Lemnos began to receive Athenian colonists led by the younger Miltiades. By 450, the Athenians had established a cleruchy. After a brief period of Spartan rule after 404 BCE, Lemnos again fell within the Athenian orbit, and was used as a naval base of sorts. Despite occasional raids by Philip II of Macedon, and brief periods of rule by early Hellenistic dynasts, Lemnos retained its Athenian affiliation well into the Hellenistic period. See Forsyth Young 1984, pp. 3-14; Parker 1994, pp. 339-346; and Graham 2001, pp. 325-326, for the cleruchy.

[91] Delcourt 1957, pp. 138, 145-146, 193, 197-200.

Athena, but she rejected his advances. Hephaistos then attempted to rape Athena, but she successfully fought him off. During the struggle, however, the god ejaculated on Athena's leg. Disgusted she wiped off the semen with a piece of wool, and threw it on the ground. When the wool and semen came into contact with the ground, Erichthonios was born (Figure 1:19). This myth explains the close connection of Athena and Hephaistos in Athenian cult—they were considered the progenitors of the Athenian people, and explains why they were seated next to one another on the Parthenon frieze (Figure 1:20).[92]

As for cult places in Athens, Hephaistos had altars at the Academy (Paus. 1.30.2) and in the Erechtheum (Paus. 1.26.5); and in all likelihood, had a major temple, the Hephaisteion, on the western side of the Agora, arguably so sited because the area was an important industrial district, primarily of bronze-workers.[93] If one accepts that the Hephaisteion was dedicated to the god Hephaistos, one must confront the rather startling fact that this structure may have been his only temple in the Greek world, as I have already dismissed the temples reported elsewhere. I now turn to a discussion of the Hephaisteion.

The Hephaisteion, a Doric peripteral temple on top of Kolonos Hill above the Athenian Agora, is the best-preserved example of a fifth-century Doric temple (Figure 1:21). The temple was begun sometime after 450 BCE, following the Peace of Kallias (on the Platean Oath, see Plut. *Per.* 17). Besides a few graves of Protogeometric and Geometric date, there were virtually no archaeological remains on Kolonos Hill before the construction of the fifth-century temple. Certainly there was no earlier temple on this site, and if the cult did predate the fifth-century temple, either the worship took place

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[92] Deacy 2008, pp. 53, and 80-82; Robertson 1996, pp. 62-63.

[93] *Athenian Agora* XIV 1972, pp. 140-149.

elsewhere, or the earlier altar and/or shrine was completely eradicated by the later building.[94]

The external colonnade was six by thirteen columns, the regular ratio for its time (Figure 1:22).[95] The cella had a false back porch to match that in front. Inside, a two-tier Doric colonnade was set close to the sides and back, enclosing a long base for the lost cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena. The architectural sculpture consisted of akroteria, pedimental groups, and eighteen carved metopes, depicting the labors of Herakles and Theseus. There were also carved friezes of heroic and mythical combat over each porch of the cella, which is unusual in the Doric style (Figure 1:23).[96] Only some fragments of the pedimental sculpture survive, and the friezes and metopes survive in rather battered condition. Harrison and others have published several reconstructions of the overall architectural decoration.[97] As for the area surrounding the temple, clay pots found sunk into the ground suggest the addition of a landscaping program in the late Hellenistic period.[98]

The statues of Hephaistos and Athena have of course irretrievably vanished; but we have two pieces of evidence of their manufacture and erection. About ten meters southwest of the temple, within the precinct, was found a pit containing unmistakable signs of bronze casting: quantities of sand and many pieces of clay molds for what were probably two large bronze statues, possibly the cult statues of the temple.[99] The style of

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[94] *Athenian Agora* XIV 1972, p. 143; Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 16ff.

[95] On the architecture, see Dinsmoor 1941; Broneer 1945, pp. 246-258; Hill 1949, pp. 190-208; Stevens 1950a, pp. 165-173; Stevens 1950b, pp. 143-164; and Dinsmoor 1968, pp. 159-177.

[96] The eastern frieze depicts Theseus fighting the sons of Pallas, whereas, the western frieze depicts a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs.

[97] For the architectural decoration, and various reconstructions, see Thompson 1962, pp. 339-347; Morgan 1962a, pp. 221-235; Morgan 1962b, pp. 210-219; Morgan 1963, pp. 91-108; Harrison 1977a, pp. 137-178, Harrison 1977b, pp. 265-287; and Harrison 1977c, pp. 411-426.

[98] Plato says that the early Athenians surrounded the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos with an enclosure like the garden of a house (Kritias, 112b). See Thompson 1937, pp. 396-425.

drapery for which some of the moulds were made and of pottery found in the pits points to a date late in the fifth century. An inscription found in several fragments scattered about northern Athens, and dated between 421 and 415 BCE, gives many details about a pair of statues for the Hephaisteion (*I.G.* $I^2$, 370-371).[100] These details include the names of the overseers of the project, and the purchase of the necessary metals. While it is somewhat surprising that so many years passed between the building of the temple and the installation of the cult statues, artists, labor, and funds were heavily committed in Athens during this time on the Acropolis, and there are certainly numerous parallels elsewhere for this situation, e.g. Olympia. It is also possible that the mentioned cult statues replaced a previous pair, which were either damaged, or were simply less impressive.

As for the cult statues and base itself, it is generally assumed that the sculpture on the front of the pedestal represented the birth of Erichthonios. This idea is supported by a statement by St. Augustine that "in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which the two shared at Athens, was a boy wrapped in the coils of a snake" (*De civ. D.* 18.12).[101] The contrast of the myth of Hephaistos' failed rape of Athena, which resulted in Erichthonios, and the calm figures of the statues standing above a frieze of his birth seems rather ironic, but cult statues were always portrayed in a dignified fashion. The cult statues, said to be creations of Alkamenes, were much admired in antiquity, particularly for the dignified

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[99] Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 109-110.

[100] See also Harrison 1977a, pp. 139-146.

[101] Stevens 1950b, p. 152, suggested that the figures formed "a frieze representing some festival of the craftsmen of Athens".

portrayal of Hephaistos' lameness (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.30 and Val. Max. 8.11).[102] Numerous reconstructions of these statues have been attempted (Figure 1:24 and Figure 1:25).[103]

The identification of the temple as the Temple of Hephaistos is now generally accepted, though there is certainly still room for doubt. During the past century a number of attributions for this building have been proposed and overturned.[104] One of the most persistent, although now discarded, was that the building was the Theseum—in fact, the area of Athens where the building is located is still called Thesion. This interpretation most likely stems from the metopes of the structures, which detail the adventures of the hero Theseus. More recently, Harrison proposed that the temple should be attributed to Artemis Eukleia; I discuss this below.[105]

The attribution of the temple to Hephaistos is based on two main pieces of evidence: its location and the reading of Pausanias' visit to the Athenian Agora. The temple is located in the middle of an industrial district, and a great deal of evidence of metalworking has been found in the vicinity.[106] It seems logical that this craft would naturally be carried on under the eye of its tutelary deity, and in fact, Andokides (*De mysteriis* 40) tells us of a bronze foundry situated just below the temple of Hephaistos. Secondly, Pausanias (1.14.6) says that the Temple of Hephaistos was above the

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[102] See Brommer 1978, chap 7, for a discussion of the Alkamenes' statue, and various reconstructions.

[103] See especially Harrison 1977a, pp. 137-178, who gives an overview of the various reconstructions, while advancing her own.

[104] Judeich 1931, p. 365f. Dinsmoor 1941, p. 1, and Wycherley 1959, pp. 153-156, support an attribution to Hephaistos. Dinsmoor also lists previous claimants, including Ares, Herakles Alexikakos, Demeter and Kore, and Zeus Soter; sanctuaries of these gods have been shifted elsewhere in the Agora; 1941, p. 1. Koch 1955 proposed joint occupancy by Herakles and Theseus. Delacourt 1957 appears to doubt the attribution to Hephaistos, although she does not discuss the problem in detail.

[105] Harrison 1977a, p. 139, n. 14.

[106] Mattusch 1977, pp. 340-379; Young 1951b, pp. 135-288; Dinsmoor 1941, p. 1; *Athenian Agora* XIV 1972, pp. 188-190; and Bloy 2001, p. 259.

Kerameikos and the Stoa Basileios; and the site of the existing temple fits his description well enough. Vanderpool has examined Pausanias' sometimes circuitous path through the Agora, and has marked buildings with the text (Figure 1:26a and Figure 1:26b).[107] The difficulty with Pausanias' text is that he first traveled to the Eleusinion (1.14.1), and then vaguely stated that the Temple of Eukleia is still further on (1.14.5). He then retraced his steps all the way to the north-western corner of the Agora to the Temple of Hephaistos and the Royal Stoa (1.14.6). Regrettably he does not mention any useful landmarks between these two points, namely the Eleusinion, and then the Temple of Hephaistos and Royal Stoa. Thus, as the Temple of Eukleia has not been satisfactorily attributed, Harrison has argued that it must be the building usually identified as the Hephaisteion. This interpretation, however, does not identify the Temple of Hephaistos with another structure, of which there are not many available. Ultimately, an identification of the Hephaisteion with the temple on the Kolonos Hill fits better than a Temple of Eukleia, which should be sought, I believe, to the south of the Eleusinion.

Harrison also doubts the attribution to Hephaistos based on the architectural decoration, arguing that Herakles, Theseus, and the Centaurs are not appropriate themes for a temple dedicated to the god Hephaistos.[108] The relation of decorative sculpture to the cult of the temple is a complicated and disputed question, and heroes and barbarians are rather stock figures for architectural adornment. There is no reason to assume that the artists decorating a temple were under constraint to confine themselves to subjects directly connected with the cult, unless of course the overseers of the project requested it.[109] One also suspects that Hephaistos' mythology did not readily lend itself to heroic, active decorative sculpture.

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[107] Vanderpool 1949, p. 136, for the Hephaisteion.

[108] Harrison 1977a, p. 139, n. 14, states that not only are Herakles, Theseus, and the Centaurs more appropriate themes for Apollo and Artemis, but also that the Hephaisteion would have had less Hephaistos iconography than the Parthenon.

A more serious objection, in my opinion, is that this temple would be the only temple dedicated to the god Hephaistos in the Greek world. Another curious fact about the structure, although irrelevant to its attribution, is that the temple seems to lack an altar, although inscriptions from the festivals of the god suggest that one did exist in antiquity. Is it possible that this temple was not so much a temple, but an artistic showpiece? This would be an intriguing hypothesis, but seems unlikely given the time and expense undertaken in the building's construction. If this temple were not in Athens, I would seriously doubt the attribution. However, it is in Athens, a city in which Hephaistos figures prominently, and the cult is shared with Athena. Therefore, perhaps we should think of this temple as an exercise in democratic architecture. Because of the Oath of Plataea, Athens had not built a temple in thirty years. The Hephaisteion was a logical place to begin a rebuilding program. While this temple did not replace a previous shrine, it did serve to draw artisans, sculptors, and marble workers back into the city. Perikles may well have intended the Hephaisteion as a trial run for the Acropolis project.[110] The choice of Hephaistos may also have been influenced by Athens' connection with Lemnos, where Hephaistos was the principle deity. Although the temple is not inside the Agora proper, it nevertheless is the dominant architectural element of the western side of the Agora; and the choice of Hephaistos, or Hephaistos and Athena, would not have been arbitrary (Figure 1:27). The worship of Athena and Hephaistos, not only considered to be the parents of the Athenians, but also two deities intimately connected with the economic life of the city, would be extremely appropriate to the setting. Despite the difficulties with the attribution of the Hephaisteion, Hephaistos, with whom Athena is associated, remains the strongest candidate.

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[109] *Athenian Agora* XIV 1972, p. 148. Wycherley 1959, p. 153; also Wycherley 1982, pp. 189-190, n. 10; Morgan 1963, pp. 93-94. Olsen 1938, pp. 276-287, argues that the reliefs show heroes triumphing over enemies by means of the arts which they owe to Hephaistos and Athena. See also Lapalus 1947, p. 346.

[110] Dinsmoor 1941, p. 127; Morgan 1963, pp. 103-106.

Athena and Hephaistos were also connected in two Attic festivals: the *Chalkeia* and the *Hephaisteia*. The name of the former suggests a feast of the metalworkers since it is derived from the Greek word for copper and bronze (*chalkos*) in the same way as the Greek word for smith (*chalkeus*).[111] Although the origin of the festival is unknown, in the Classical period the festival was associated both with Hephaistos the god of smiths and with Athena.[112]

The *Chalkeia* began on the last day of the month of Pyanepsion, which was probably analogous to our late October or early November. Parke has observed that the majority of the festivals in Pyansepion emphasize the act of sowing in the agricultural year.[113] I find the Chalkeia's placement in this respect interesting and fitting, with regard to suppositions about when craft activities took place—in non-harvesting seasons—in societies where craft had not yet evolved into full-time occupations for a percentage of the population. If Pyansepion was the time of sowing, the end of the month could very well begin the period of craft activity.

Literary and epigraphic evidence for this festival is limited.[114] The literary sources regrettably do not indicate any features of the cult, besides its association with craftspeople. The testimony of Harpokration indicates that even in antiquity it was

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[111] Parker 2005, pp. 464-465; Deubner 1932, pp. 35-36; Bérard 1976, pp. 101-114; Parke 1977, p. 38, and pp. 92-94; Simon 1983, pp. 38-39; and Mansfield 1985, pp. 281-283. See also Harrison 1894, pp. 270-271.

[112] Parke 1977, p. 92, states that the name linguistically suggests an origin reaching back into the Bronze Age. Contrary to the previous philological suggestion, some scholars have assumed a relative late date for the establishment of this festival; see Simon 1983; and Robertson 1985. A later (fifth-century or so) establishment, or perhaps a re-organization, of this festival might better support an attribution of the festival to Hephaistos, but the overall evidence can really go either way.

[113] Parke 1977, p. 93. The *Chalkeia* is unusual among Attic festivals as it was celebrated on the last day of the month; see Pritchett 1959, pp. 153-154.

[114] The main testimonia are gathered together by Parker 2005, p. 464. These include Harpocration, *Xalkeia* (Apollonios of Acharnai, *F.Gr.Hist.* 365 f 3, Phanodemus, 325 f 18 and Menander, *C.A.F.* 3, fr. 509 and 510); Suda, *Xalkeia*, 35 (the peplos); Pollux, 7, 105; Hesych, *Xalkeia*; Eustath. Il. 284, 35.

debated whether the festival was dedicated primarily to Athena (Apollonios' opinion) or Hephaistos (Phanodemos' attribution). Modern scholars have continued this debate, thus far without reaching a consensus.[115] Several inscriptions mention the performances of sacrifices by the prytaneis (*Agora* XV 70.7; *Agora* XV 253.9; *I.G.* II$^2$ 930.3; *I.G.* II$^2$ 990.2). In an inscription from 277/6 BCE, the city council arranged for a public vote on whether a sacrifice made at the *Chalkeia*, and dedicated to Athena, the founding goddess (*Archegetis*), should be paid out of the military treasury budget.[116]

The festival is also mentioned in a fragment of a lost play of Sophocles, in which a chorus of craftspeople is encouraged to bring their sacrificial baskets into the streets in procession, previously mentioned on page 17.[117] Simon connects this literary fragment with a vase fragment by the Pan Painter from the Acropolis showing men carrying *likna*, which she suggests may be a procession of manual laborers at the *Chalkeia* (Figure 1:28).[118] To this image I suggest we add a late fifth-century red-figure chous from the Agora, which may also illustrate the above Sophoclean fragment, in which a smith stands before a smelting furnace while a boy offers a kanoun to him (Figure 1:29).[119] This unusual scene, which shows two figures who are usually simply described as 'grotesque'

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[115] Deubner 1932, p. 35, supports Athena. See Parke 1977, pp. 92-93, and plate 34; Parke does not explicitly state a preference, but the organization of his text supports Athena. The same applies to Simon 1983, p. 38f. Hurwit 1999, p. 42, chooses Hephaistos.

[116] *I.G.* II$^2$ 674, 16. On the basis of this inscription, Parker 2005, p. 464, argues that Athena Ergane was not involved with this cult.

[117] Soph. fr. 760 Nauck = *TrGH* 4 (1977) F844 (Radt). This fragment of an unknown Sophoclean drama was first connected with the Chalkeia procession by Deubner 1932, p. 36. He thought that the *likna* mentioned as ritual implements there could only be *kana*, see p. 36, n. 3. See also Bérard 1976, p. 103, n. 25; Nilsson 1940, pp. 88-89; and Malten 1912, p. 232f.

[118] Simon 1983, p. 38; also Deubner 1932, p. 36. See also Beazley 1963, #553.31; and Bérard 1976, pp. 101-114, who suggests that the *likna* might be offerings themselves from basket-weavers.

[119] See *Agora* XXX, p. 244, no. 716, pl. 76 (Athenian Agora P15210); Beazley Archive 922; Oddy and Swaddling 1985, p. 44; and Van Hoorn 1951, p. 90.

is difficult to interpret, but it is clear that some religious setting, perhaps the offerings for the *Chalkeia* procession, is being suggested by the artist.

There is no evidence for any special features of cult at the *Chalkeia*. There were public sacrifices, as indicated by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that there was also feasting by the participants. The fragment of Sophocles suggests that there was a procession of workers, carrying baskets full of grain to be set up as offerings. The baskets of grain are perhaps a peculiar feature of the festival, one which seemingly would be better connected with Demeter.[120] If one accepts that the *Chalkeia* was a transition festival signifying the end of the agricultural season, and the beginning of the craft season, it is less troubling that smiths should offer grain to the deities. Other worker-related festivals in Athens, including the *Hephaisteia* and the *Prometheia*, involved a foot race, so it seems feasible that this may also have been a feature of the festival.

The *Chalkeia* is known to us primarily for its connection with a larger Athenian ritual, the *Panathenaia*, and specifically the weaving of the peplos. It was during the *Chalkeia* that the priestess of Athena and the Arrephoroi set up the loom on the Acropolis on which the peplos to be presented at the *Panathenaia* was woven (Pausanias Attikistes 10.2, p. 219.24 Erbse).[121] This was roughly nine months before the *Panathenaia*. This date may have been determined by a mixture of considerations, both practical and religious. There must have been the practical need to allow sufficient time for the elaborate garment to be produced—it was quite complicated; the Gigantomachy had to be woven into the fabric.[122] The choice may also have been influenced by the fact that with Pyanepsion the fine-weather period of the year could be expected to end. From that date,

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[120] For this reason, Harrison 1894, p. 270, argued that Athena was originally a harvest goddess, and that the baskets must be a hold-over from an earlier cult.

[121] Mansfield 1985, p. 280 and p. 283; Parke 1977, p. 93; and Simon 1983, p. 39.

[122] Mansfield 1985, p.p. 337-338, n. 91, argues that nine months would not have been needed to weave the peplos; rather, the *Chalkeia* was chosen as a start date because of the connection with Athena Ergane.

indoor activity such as weaving would be particularly appropriate. This, however, seems less likely, since women were doing the weaving, and Athenian women were always engaged in indoor activity. A more likely explanation is that as Athena was considered the goddess of weaving, beginning the weaving of her special garment, during another one of her festivals, was viewed as particularly appropriate and auspicious. The period of nine months' 'gestation' for the garment seems rather suggestive, setting up an interesting juxtaposition of technical production and reproduction for the virgin goddess.

There was a second Attic festival associated with craft, the *Hephaisteia*, for which we do not know the exact date.[123] E. B. Harrison places the date of the festival near the *Chalkeia*; however, Simon suggests that it may have taken place in Mounychion, at the beginning of the summer.[124] It is also not known whether this festival belonged solely to the god Hephaistos, or was also shared with the goddess Athena. The source for this festival is an inscription from the year 421/420 BCE which contains information about a reorganization of the cult, but this is unfortunately only a fragment.[125] The main features of the festival were dithyrambic choruses and a torch-race, along with a procession, the 'lifting of bulls,' and the offering of many cattle at the Hephaisteion, which suggests that the temple did have an altar, despite the fact that it has not been located archaeologically.[126]

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[123] See Parker 2005, pp. 471-472; Deubner 1932, pp. 212-213; Parke 1977, pp. 171-172; and Simon 1983, pp. 53-54.

[124] Harrison 1977c, pp. 415-416; Simon 1983, p. 54, bases her interpretation on a reading of the calendar frieze from the Little Metropolis church in Athens.

[125] *IG* $I^2$ 84; *IG* $I^3$ 82, 28-30; and Sokolowski, *LS* No. 13. For the interpretation, see Deubner 1932, pp. 212-213; Harrison 1977c, pp. 414-416; and Froning 1971, pp. 78-81, 84 and 87. For the debate regarding the protected fund of Athena and Hephaistos, the Athenian Coinage Decree, and Hyperbolos' regulations for the *Hephaisteia*, see Thompson 1977, pp. 249-251; and Mattingly 1974, pp. 280-285.

[126] Sources include *IG* $II^2$ 3201; *SEG* XXV 177.29; Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; *IG* $II^2$ 1138.9-11; and Harpokration '*lampas*' 3.

The above inscription provides the first epigraphic allusion to the curious 'bull-lifting' ritual, which was undertaken by 200 chosen Athenians, although the details are not explained.[127] There are, however, two vases which most likely illustrate the ritual. On the first vase, a black-figure amphora from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE, a group of mature, bearded men have lifted a bull above their heads (Figure 1:30). The second vase, a red-figure kylix from c. 500 BCE, also illustrates bull-lifting, although in this example, the participants are young men, one of whom on the left is preparing the sacrificial knife (Figure 1:31). It is likely that these two paintings show different moments of the same ritual. Van Straten has argued that they are illustrating the bull-lifting ritual from the *Hephaisteia* based on the tondo decoration of the red-figure cup, which shows Hephaistos seated in a winged chair.[128] The images on the exterior illustrate a festival dedicated to the god illustrated on the interior.

There are two vase scenes which may depict the torch race of this festival. On the first vase, a red-figure krater fragment, the central figure is a nude, bearded male, wearing a crown, and holding a torch (Figure 1:32).[129] He stands before an altar. He is flanked on both sides, by Nike, an older man, and two young runners. The central male figure has been identified as Antiochos, the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe Antiochis. The older man could be either Hephaistos or Prometheus. Thus, while it is possible that this image depicts the torch race of the *Hephaisteia*, it is also possible that this image shows the torch race from the *Promethia*. On the second vase, a large volute krater by Polion, a bearded Hephaistos stands before his altar, which runners bearing torches approach (Figure 1:33). Froning has identified this scene as a depiction of the *Hephaisteia*.[130]

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[127] Van Straten 1995, pp. 111-112, figs. 115-116.

[128] Van Straten 1995, p. 112.

[129] See Gisler 1994, no. 124; Harrison 1981, no. 3.

[130] Froning 1971, pp. 78-81, pl. 14.2; and Simon 1983, p. 54, and pl. 15.2

The torch-race would have been particularly meaningful in the cult of Hephaistos, who has obvious connections with fire. The origins of this torch-race feature are unknown, but there are two major possibilities, and both have interesting repercussions for the cult of Hephaistos.[131] The torch race may have been borrowed from the cult of Prometheus, when Hephaistos took over his duties in Athens—a torch-race from the Titan's altar at the Academy to the Agora/Acropolis was said to be a feature of Prometheus' festival, the *Prometheia* (Paus. 1.30.2). Another possibility for the origin of this feature of the festival is a direct borrowing from the famous fire renewal festival of Hephaistos from the island of Lemnos.[132] If the latter is accurate, this might support those arguments for a late (late Archaic/early Classical) establishment for the cult of Hephaistos in Athens, but as Hephaistos was associated with Athena so early in Athenian myth, this seems unlikely.

*Conclusions*

This then is the evidence for the mythology and state-cult of craft divinities. All of the deities surveyed here appear to be much more important in mythology than in cult practice, at least in terms of civic religion. Hephaistos is the premier god of all craft, although his iconography and myth suggests a preference for blacksmithing, and other fire-arts. There is very little evidence for cult places of the god, outside of Lemnos and Athens. The goddess Athena has many functions, but in her specific guise as Ergane, she presided over numerous arts and crafts in mythology. Nevertheless, evidence for exclusive cult places of Athena Ergane, as well as evidence for her iconography, is limited. Prometheus and Daidalos, although worshipped to some degree as craft deities,

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[131] Deubner 1932, pp. 212-213, argues that the torch-race existed long before the above inscription.

[132] Robertson 1996, pp. 63-65, seems to suggest that the festival pre-dates Athens' connection with Lemnos.

were clearly more important in mythology than in cult practice. There is no evidence that the craft daimones, with the exception of the Kabeiroi—whose worship does not appear to be tied to craft—were formally worshipped at all.

Ultimately there is not much evidence of formal, state-sponsored cults of craft divinities, outside of the city of Athens. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the cult activity of craftspeople. Given the limited range of cult deities attested in literature and civic religion, one would expect to find similar limitations in the worship of deities at workshop sites. In the next chapter which focuses on cult activity at workshop sites, however, it will become clear that this does not prove to be the case.

## Chapter 2: Archaeological Evidence for Cult at Workshop Sites

Considered globally, domestic religion is the most widespread form of religious activity; perhaps due to its very ubiquity, it is also the least studied. Being largely non-dramatic in nature, and largely oral in transmission, domestic religion does not present itself to us as marked off as "religious" in any forceful manner. Its artifacts, if any, are small in scale and often composed of common materials. Domestic religion, focused on a small group, is supremely local, and may or may not correspond with the rituals of the larger community. It is concerned with the endurance of the group as a social and biological entity, as a community, as well as with the relations of that community to its wider social and natural environs. While no doubt pressing the matter to an extreme, one thinks of Fustel de Coulanges' insistence that each family, in classical Greek and Roman tradition, constituted a separate "religion."[1] The religious practices of craftspeople at workshop sites follow these precepts of domestic cult, which is not surprising given that many workshops were situated in homes. Although we would expect to find worship solely dedicated to the gods of craft discussed in the previous chapter, the evidence indicates a much greater range of ritual activity. The following discussion offers a sampling of these ritual behaviors according to type of craft.

Unfortunately there is no historic-period Greek equivalent to the Egyptian Deir el Medina, where there was an extensive village of many types of craftspeople working for the Pharaoh, and performing ritual activities to protect themselves and their work.[2] A close association between religious cult and workshop production, however, can be seen in the Bronze Age in the Greek world. Examples of this connection during the Bronze Age include a spatial juxtaposition of religious structures with workshops and finds of

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[1] Fustel de Coulanges 1986, pp. 41, 46-48.

[2] See Borghouts 1994, pp. 119-130; Friedman 1994, pp. 95-117; Gunn 1916, pp. 81-94; and Sadek 1987, pp. 59-84.

cultic objects within workshops, and have been attested from Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, Minoan Crete during the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods, and from mainland Greece during the Mycenaean period.[3] Unfortunately, the association of craft and cult is much less clear during the historic period in the Greek world. Instead, we catch only glimpses of this type of activity at various workshop sites.

*Metallurgy and Pottery Production*

Metallurgy is attested at many sanctuary sites in the Greek world from the Geometric period onwards. For example, a fifth-to-early-fourth century bronze foundry was located close to the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia;[4] at Nemea, a late fifth-century bronze foundry was also situated near the temple;[5] and at Olympia, metal working was attested from the Late Geometric period—the most well-known instance being the workshop of Phedias.[6] Other sanctuary sites which have evidence of metal working inside the sanctuary include Delphi, Delos, the Heraion at Samos, Aegina, Bassae, the Apollo temple at Eretria, and Aetos on Ithaka.[7] It is unknown, however, why this close connection between metallurgy and sacred space occurred. Was this simply a matter of convenience, to cast statuary and other metal products on site? Was this an effort of control by sanctuary officials over a precious and expensive commodity? Was the working of metal considered to be under the protection of the divinity, as during the Bronze Age? How close was the connection between craft and cult? If there is a close connection, why is this not more apparent in the archaeological record? Although

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[3] See Hägg 1992, pp. 29-32; Lupack 1999, pp. 25-34; and Knapp 1986. For a useful discussion of the criteria for identifying workshops in a Bronze Age culture, see Tournavitou 1988, pp. 447-467.

[4] Rostoker and Gebhard 1980, pp. 347-363.

[5] Miller 1977, pp. 1-26, esp. 19f.

[6] *Olympische Forschungen* V, pp. 42-46; Heilmeyer, Zimmer, and Schneider 1987, pp. 239-299.

[7] Risberg 1992, p. 33, with relevant citations. See also Westover 1999, pp. 86-90.

practical considerations were surely taken into account, I would suggest that craftspeople did consider their work to be under the care of the divinities. The reason why we do not find much evidence for workers' cult at these sanctuary sites is that much of the religious paraphernalia of the workers was personal to them, and portable. When the workers transitioned to a new site, they would take their portable altars, amulets, etc. with them.

Clear evidence for cult activity associated with gold-working is found at Sardis, situated in modern-day Turkey, about sixty-five miles inland from Izmir and the Aegean coast (Figure 2:1).[8] In antiquity, the city was the capital of the kings of Lydia, which from about 650-550 BCE, was one of the most powerful kingdoms in the ancient world. The excavations undertaken by Princeton University (1910-1914) and Harvard and Cornell Universities (since 1958) have uncovered much of the ancient city, including extensive gold-working installations.[9] Within the precincts of a gold refinery dating to the sixth century, known as Pactolus North, was a sacred precinct and altar to the goddess Cybele (Figure 2:2).[10] The altar which dominated the open area was decorated with sculpted lions, which were familiars of the goddess (Figure 2:3). The excavators have suggested that this altar commemorates and gives thanks to the goddess for the technological breakthroughs in refinery techniques for which Sardis was so famous in antiquity.[11] As discussed in chapter one, the Idean Daktyloi, who practiced metallurgy, were believed to be priests of the mother goddess Cybele, making worship of this goddess in a gold refinery particularly appropriate.

Other interesting finds at Sardis for craft-related cult were discovered in the industrial area called the House of Bronzes or Lydian Market (Figure 2:4). This area is

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[8] Pedley 1968, pp. 3-4, 100-113; and Hanfmann 1983, pp. 26-52.

[9] On the gold refining industry, see Ramage and Craddock 2000.

[10] The dating of this industrial area is based upon finds of imported Ionian wares; Ramage and Craddock 2000, p. 95.

[11] Ramage, Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, p. 37.

thought to be primarily a potters' quarter, although other industries were also represented.[12] In the remains of a workshop (Building D) dated to the early sixth century were found an ithyphallic terracotta figurine (Figure 2:5a and b) and a demon-like terracotta head (Figure 2:6).[13] Greenewalt has discussed the ithyphallic figure in some detail, and has dated the figure on stylistic comparison and on the archaeological context to the second half of the sixth century.[14] The figure is rather large, made of terracotta, and is colorfully painted. Clearly intended to represent a male, the figure has a beard, mustache, long hair, and an erect phallus. It is dressed in a jacket, which is possibly hooded, a shirt, trousers, and shoes. The overall costume appears non-Greek, and Greenewalt has suggested that the figure depicts a Lydian dressed in Iranian clothing.[15] As the figure was hollow, and could potentially hold liquids, it has been suggested that this image was a pitcher, and that the phallus served as a spout.[16] The overall imagery seems comical—the combination of formal costume with an erect phallus has lead to the suggestion that this was perhaps an amusing "gadget" vase.[17] The small demon-like terracotta head has unfortunately not yet received similar treatment. The purpose of these two images in their findspots is unknown. Were they products of the workshops for sale, or laughable images to amuse their creators? On the basis of the evidence we can only speculate. I would, however, like to suggest another interpretation. These images are reminiscent of apotropaic workshop imagery, which is addressed in chapter three, in

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[12] Ramage, Goldstein, and Mierse 1983, p. 73.

[13] On the demon-like head, see Hanfmann 1962, p. 10. The recovery of the ithyphallic figure is discussed in Hanfmann 1964, pp. 8-11.

[14] Greenewalt 1971, pp. 29-46. This figure is inventoried P63.307:5424 and P63.308:5425. For the dating, see Greenewalt 1971, p. 45.

[15] Greenewalt 1971, pp. 38 and 44.

[16] Greenewalt 1971, p. 36, n. 12 for comparanda.

[17] Greenewalt 1971, p. 37.

which ithyphallic and demonic figures ward off evil from workshops. The workers may have worshipped Cybele as their benefactor, and simultaneously employed apotropaic imagery to keep themselves and their workshops safe.

As discussed in the introduction and the first chapter, although much attention has been devoted to Greek religion, most of the emphasis has been upon civic cult and mythology. Far less attention has been paid to understanding everyday cult, as it was practiced by ancient Greeks privately in their neighborhoods, homes, or workplaces. When contrasted with civic religious practice, very little literary testimony or epigraphic evidence exists to help us understand everyday cult. There is however fragmentary evidence for hero and small neighborhood shrines throughout the Greek world. Examples include the hero shrines of Sparta, known from Pausanias (3.12-16), the hero shrines of Athens, and neighborhood and domestic cults at Delos.[18] The Potters' Quarter of Corinth presents an interesting example in which neighborhood and workplace cult merge together.

From 1928 to 1935, the northwest limit of the city of Corinth was investigated, following the finds of large amounts of pottery and figurines. The excavations uncovered two phases of the city wall and the Potters' Quarter, situated about a mile west of the ancient Agora (Figure 2:7).[19] The site was suitable for the Potters' Quarter, as it was protected inside the city walls, close to clay beds, but at the same time, a significant distance from the city in case of fire resulting from industrial practices. The finds of moulds and wasters justify its being called the 'Potters' Quarter', although it was not the only such quarter, to judge by the kilns discovered elsewhere in Corinth and the lack of

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[18] For Athens, see Wycherley 1978, pp. 143-200; and H. A. Thompson 1978, pp. 96-108. For Delos, see Bruneau 1970.

[19] The results of the excavation were published in three volumes: *Corinth* XV, i; *Corinth* XV, ii; and *Corinth* XV, iii. The preliminary report for the Corinth volumes was Newhall 1931, pp. 1-30. This area was briefly reinvestigated in 1980-1981; see Williams 1981, pp. 412-421.

finds of certain types of pottery, which must have been made elsewhere.[20] The artisans at this site produced both pottery and figurines; these finds were published separately in *Corinth* XV, ii (the terracottas, including lamps) and *Corinth* XV, iii (the pottery).

The numerous structures uncovered at the site present a rather confused plan (Figure 2:8). This is due to the fact the later structures were frequently built directly on top of older buildings, and reused some, but not all, of the material. As these buildings were created by and for craftspeople, and were not intended to be formal architecture, many of the structures were mudbrick, built on stone socles. Some of the structures had tile roofs, or were covered more simply with boards or reeds. All of these factors have contributed to the poor preservation of the site. The structures on the site ranged in date roughly from the second half of the eighth century BCE to about the middle of the fourth century BCE.[21]

Of particular interest here are five stelai shrines discovered within the Potters' Quarter, which date to the fifth and fourth centuries.[22] The date of these shrines is based on the architecture by Williams, and to some extent the deposits, by Stillwell and Benson.[23] It is also perhaps relevant, or at least, interesting, to note that the peak of production of Corinthian pottery was significantly earlier than these shrines, in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, which suggests that at least one other Potters' Quarter was in existence for this period.

The shrines, in general, followed this basic pattern: a small, usually single-roomed structure, which contained at least one stele, a shelf for offerings, and a large

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[20] Young 1952, pp. 118-121. Boardman also states that other potteries must exist; 1985, p. 214.

[21] This date is largely based on the artifact deposits described in *Corinth* XV, iii.

[22] Williams connects the construction of the shrines with the area affected with the rebuilding of the city wall at the end of the third quarter of the fifth century; 1981, p. 412. *Corinth* XV, iii, esp. pp. 186-196, 202-206, 209-215. J. H. Young doubted the interpretation that these structures were shrines based on the publication of *Corinth* XV, i. Instead, he suggested that they were potters' workshops; 1952, p. 120.

[23] *Corinth* XV, i, p. 22f.

deposit of ceramic material, consisting of vases, miniature vases, and/or figurines. Which gods, goddesses, or heroes were worshipped in these shrines is unknown, although in one case, there is evidence to support the worship of Aphrodite.[24] Aphrodite was one of the most important deities to the Corinthians. Figurines of Hephaistos and Athena have also been found, although it is uncertain whether these were products of the workers or offerings.[25] The most important features of these shrines are the stelai themselves, which seem to have been the heart of the cult activity. The stelai of the Potters' Quarter are thin poros slabs, which have at least one rectangular panel recessed on one side, presumably the side which faced the worshippers (Figure 2:9).[26] The crown of the stelai has a rectangular, shallow depression cut into its top surface, which forms a small shelf on the front side. There is no evidence that any of these stelai were topped with a pediment. Morris and Papadopoulos have suggested that this shrine type was Phoenician in origin, based on their similarities to the Canaanite *masseboth*.[27] What is interesting about the *masseboth* comparandum, although it dates from the Bronze and Iron Ages, is that the *masseboth* are associated with industrial installations, for both pottery and metallurgy. This suggests not only that the Corinthian pottery industry may have been staffed by Phoenician metics, but also that the shrines may be specific to workers' cult.

The five stelai shrines are as follows: The Erosa Shrine, named after a dipinto on a pot found in the area, was a single-roomed structure erected over the ruins of an earlier,

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[24] For a description of the small bronze bowl with the dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite, see Newhall 1931, pp. 1-2, fig. 1; also *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 23, 51-52, p. 115.

[25] For the Hephaistos figure, see *Corinth* XV, ii, pp. 138-139. For the Athena figure, see *Corinth* XV, ii, pp. 32-33. Hephaistos and Athena were briefly mentioned by Stillwell in the context of the deities worshipped at the site; see *Corinth* XV, i, p. 52.

[26] *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 63-66, and pp. 72-76. See also Williams 1981, pp. 412-413.

[27] This is part of a larger discussion in which Morris and Papadopoulos argue that the Corinthian pottery industry, both production and distribution, was determined by the Phoenicians; 1998, pp. 251-263. Specifically on the stelai shrines, see pp. 258-262, with references to the comparanda. It should also be noted that Aphrodite was also important to the Phoenicians.

larger building, most likely a house. It contained a small table or bench for offerings, several skyphoi, around thirty miniature vases, and several figurines. Destruction of the house occurred within the third quarter of the fifth century, based on pottery. The second shrine is called the Double Stele Shrine, found in the ruins of the South Long Building, a structure erected in the second half of the seventh century.[28] It contained two stelai, hence the name. This shrine seems to have been active during the end of the fifth and early fourth centuries, based on pottery chronology.

Stele Shrine B, enclosed with large, roughly squared blocks, was active at the end of the fifth century, or within the fourth century.[29] Two stelai stand within the enclosure, and numerous vessels and figurines were contained within the fill, although they were not concentrated in a specific deposit. Williams has reinterpreted an "altar table" found in the shrine as part of the enclosure wall.[30] The fourth shrine, the Circular South Shrine, is dated in the late fifth century, after the hypothesized construction of the fifth-century defense wall.[31] This shrine has been badly disturbed, and its plan is uncertain. Williams has questioned whether the shrine was deliberately made in its unusual circular form.[32] There is only one deposit of votives associated with the architecture. The final shrine of the five is Stele Shrine A, an enclosure set inside of the remains of the South Long Building.[33] It is set inside of the South Long Building, and dated in the first half of the fifth century BCE. A large deposit of ceramic material was found inside the shrine,

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[28] *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 49-50; *Corinth* XV, iii, pp. 214-215..

[29] *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 25-26.

[30] Williams 1981, p. 416.

[31] *Corinth* XV, i, p. 32; *Corinth* XV, iii, pp. 202-204.

[32] Williams 1981, p. 416, n. 22.

[33] *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 22-23; *Corinth* XV, iii, pp. 186-196.

including 120 vases, 215 miniature vases, and 55 figurines. This deposit was contained in an area about a meter square and only 60 cm. deep.[34]

There is also a cult room in the Terracotta Factory at the Potters' Quarter, which includes a stele and an altar.[35] This structure is generally not included with the other stelai shrines because it was not a stand-alone religious structure. Excavators have suggested that two separate cults were housed here, dating to perhaps the early fourth century.[36] The first shrine contained an offering table and a base for a cult statue; the second shrine contained a stele and a small triglyph altar. Finally, a possible stele shrine was discovered at the west end of the South Stoa within the ancient city.[37] It contained the bottom portion of a poros stele, pottery vessels, and numerous terracotta figurines. In its dimensions and contents it is similar to the shrines in the Potters' Quarter, but unlike the other stelai shrines, this shrine was active from the sixth century until the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE. As this shrine was in a public area, it may have taken on a special significance to the inhabitants of the ancient city.

Williams argues that the main purpose of the Corinthian stele shrines was to mark the ruins of a destroyed house, suggesting that when the inhabitants were forced to leave their home, they wanted to continue to worship their household gods on the original site.[38] This particular type of shrine appears to be unique to Corinth, however, which I think argues against his interpretation, although Morris and Papadopoulos do argue that this practice comes from outside Greece, as discussed above. Furthermore, Williams argues that the shrines in the Potters' Quarter were not maintained for an extended period of time, and thus, that the shrines were probably maintained by "surviving members of

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[34] Newhall 1931, p. 2.

[35] *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 40-43; *Corinth* XV, iii, pp. 209-214.

[36] *Corinth* XV, I, pp. 74-79; Williams 1981, pp. 418-420.

[37] Williams 1981, pp. 411-412.

[38] Williams 1981, pp. 418-421.

the family and reverence lasted for only one generation."[39] Again, I disagree; there are entirely too many offerings within the shrines to argue that they represent the dedications from a single family, during a single generation. It is far more likely that the Stelai Shrines at Corinth represent a ritual activity by the craftspeople who lived and worked at this site. This activity was dedicated to the deities and heroes, unfortunately unknown, who kept the workers safe, and their livelihood secure. Because the shrines were used by craftspeople in the ceramic industry, as the site for pottery production shifted to elsewhere in Corinth, these shrines went out of use. The exception of the shrine near the South Stoa was probably first used by craftspeople and shop-keepers, although it gradually became meaningful to a larger audience of worshippers.

*Marble-Quarrying and Carving*

Next, I turn to the evidence for the cult practices of individuals in the marble industry. Quarrying and carving stone were dangerous and difficult professions. The potential for rock collapse and the danger involved in cutting and transporting large pieces of stone undoubtedly led workers in this profession to pray to the gods for their personal safety and success in their craft.

There are five unusual structures in Greece, which are conventionally known as "dragon houses."[40] Three of these structures are located near Styra, and one on the slopes of Mt. Oche above Karystos in southern Euboia, and a fifth is found on Mt. Hymettos in Attica (Figure 2:10). All five are in close proximity to marble quarries, and are presumed to have been constructed by the individuals who worked at those sites. These "dragon

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[39] Williams 1981, p. 418.

[40] The term "dragon house" comes from modern Greek folklore, which states that dragons, who are here supernatural creatures akin to giants, built and inhabited these structures. The myth derives in part from the fact that the houses are made of extremely large and heavy stones, which would have been difficult to move and manipulate. The legends of the "dragons" are retold in Polites 1904, vol. 1, pp. 220-222, and vol. 2, pp. 994-995; and Papamanoles 1954, p. 136; and are adapted in Carpenter and Boyd 1976, pp. 250-257.

houses" are similar in design to structures found on the Halikarnassos Penisula of Karia. Although these structures have been known to scholars since the late eighteenth century, they have not yet been completely excavated.[41] The structures are late Hellenistic to early Roman in date.[42]

While the small dragon houses are fairly humble structures, they are remarkably well preserved. As the buildings tend to be quite similar in dimensions and plan, I will use the Mt. Oche example as representative of the set.[43] The structure at Mt. Oche is located only a few feet below the top of the mountain (Figure 2:11). It is rectangular in shape, measuring 9.85 by 4.95 meters on the inside, and 12.70 by 7.70 meters on the outside, and is built entirely of stone, a local schist, without use of mortar or clamps. The overall quasi-polygonal masonry is surprisingly good, considering the remote location. The roof is corbelled, and is formed by large, flat stones. The process of corbelling left a small space open in the center of the roof; this may have been loosely covered to kept rain water out, but also to allow smoke from inside to escape. The interior of the structure was fitted with a stone floor, although it is now largely disturbed by illicit digging. Entrance is provided by a single door on the south side, 2.10 meters high and 1.23 meters wide (Figure 2:12). A roof slab doubles as a lintel, projecting outwards over the doorway space. In addition, there are two windows, but this feature is not present in all dragon houses. Inside the structure was a small triangular shelf.[44] A few steps outside

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[41] The most recent and complete studies of these structures are Carpenter and Boyd 1977, pp. 179-215; and Carpenter and Boyd 1976, pp. 250-257. In the late eighteenth century, European travelers began to visit and write about the dragon houses of Euboia; see the bibliography in Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 215. The first serious study of the Euboia examples was Wiegand 1896, pp. 11-17. His work was followed by Johnson 1925, pp. 398-412; and Moutsopoulos 1960, pp. 147-163. Several of the Karian structures were published by Radt 1970, pp. 196-197. Ober briefly addressed the Hymettos structure; 1981, pp. 72-73.

[42] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, pp. 209-211.

[43] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, pp. 180-184; Johnson 1925, pp. 398ff.

[44] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 184.

the door was found a small, semicircular foundation, interpreted as possibly an altar, a statue base, or a repository for offerings.[45]

The purpose of these structures has always been debated. Early travelers regarded the dragon houses as temples, but as more and more Greek temples became known, this view became less and less tenable. Johnson stated that it was improbable that the structures had a religious purpose, as the best analogies that he had found, at Alizeitin, were chambers in a house.[46] In his conclusion, Johnson suggested that the structure on Mt. Oche served as home to the watchman for a signal-fire, and that the other structures at Styra may have been shelters or store houses for workmen in the quarries near to them. Pointing out that the dragon houses above the village of Styra were currently used as sheep shelters, he also indicated that they could have served this purpose when they were originally constructed. Ober suggests that the dragon house on Mt. Hymettos was a temporary shelter for the few workmen necessary to open the test cutting for the quarry, and that perhaps this makeshift shelter would have been disassembled and larger quarters built for the workmen if the quarry had ever been put into production.[47] He suggests that two inscriptions located nearby were temporary claims of ownership, although he freely admits that this notion is only conjecture. Radt, however, has suggested that many, if not all, of the Karian structures were shrines, possibly dedicated to underworld deities.[48] I prefer the interpretation of these structures as shrines.[49] The remote location of these structures and the quality of workmanship argues against a house or temporary shelter function. As the structures are difficult to access, it is unlikely that they were used by

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[45] Ulrichs 1863, p. 256; and Welcker 1850, p. 384.

[46] Johnson 1925, p. 412.

[47] Ober 1981, p. 72.

[48] Radt 1970, pp. 39-55, esp. 43-44.

[49] Carpenter and Boyd also share this conclusion; 1977, p. 206.

shepherds. Carpenter and Boyd also state that while the structures are in the vicinity of quarries, they are too distant to be useful as storerooms for workmen's tools.[50]

In addition to the above argument, the dragon houses contain a number of cult features. The Mt. Oche structure has the small, semicircular foundation, described earlier, which is a possible altar. Moutsopoulos, during his examination of this structure, also found ash and bone both inside and immediately outside the structure. On the south side of the Styra South Dragon House are two low rock basins. These basins would not have made good mortars or watering troughs for animals, since they are rather shallow and irregularly shaped. They might be well suited, however, for purification purposes, such as the washing of hands and feet before entering the complex.[51] Many of these structures have remains of small shelves inside, possibly intended for offerings. The Dragon House on Mount Hymettos has several of these small shelves, as well as a possible altar.[52] This is a roughly cubical block, measuring roughly 45 by 45 by 30 cm. (Figure 2:13). On its upper surface a circular area of a diameter of 32 cm. has been hollowed out to a depth of 4 cm. The block bears no traces of burning, so it may have been used for offerings. In addition, the dragon house on Mt. Oche may have had a foundation deposit, a common ritual activity for protecting structures.[53]

If these structures are in fact shrines, regrettably no indication of the god worshipped there remains. One suggestion has been Hera Teleia, as she is known to be worshipped on mountaintops in Euboia.[54] Another possible attribution is to Apollo. There was a sanctuary of Apollo Marmarinos at Marmarion in Euboia (Strab. 10.1.6; 446;

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[50] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 206.

[51] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 186.

[52] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 192.

[53] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 210; Hunt, in her dissertation on foundation deposits, refers to this deposit as an "uncertain example"; 2006, p. 104.

[54] Carpenter and Boyd 1977, p. 207.

Eustathius 281), and an inscribed statue base from Delos, to be discussed in chapter four, indicates that Apollo sometimes received dedications from workers in the marble industry. Radt's suggestion that the Karian structures may have been dedicated to underworld deities is also possible given that activities such as marble quarrying brought workers into direct contact with this type of divinity. I discuss this in greater detail in the conclusion. Without epigraphic evidence, however, this possibility remains conjecture.

Another possibility for worker's cult on mountains can be seen at the Vari Cave in Attica.[55] In the early fifth century, the Vari Cave was the site of a cult dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs (Figure 2:14).[56] This may possibly be the cave where Plato's parents brought Plato as an infant to be blessed by Pan, the Nymphs, and Apollo Nomios (Olympiodorus *In Alcib.* 2.24-29). The interior of the cave, which is divided into two main rooms, was changed considerably by the worshippers, including the cutting of stairs, and the carving of inscriptions and sculptures. There are also several carved shelves to hold votive offerings, and numerous votives were discovered in fragmentary condition. One of the sculpted reliefs in the cave was carved and signed by Archedamos the Theran, who seems to have served as some sort of priest or overseer of the cult.[57] In this relief, a man is depicted wearing a short chiton and holding a sharp pick and a chisel-pick, tools for stone cutting (Figure 2:15). The relief, which is a little over life-size at 1.81 meters, has been interpreted as a self-portrait of Archedamos himself.[58] Archedamos describes his work to improve the cave in several inscriptions, and describes

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[55] See Weller 1903, pp. 263-288; Vanderpool 1967, pp. 309-311; Travlos 1988, pp. 447-448; Parker 1996, pp. 164-165; and Larson 2001, pp. 14-16, and 242-245.

[56] On cults of the Nymphs in general, see Farnell 1909, pp. 458-461; Edwards 1985; and more recently, Larson 2001.

[57] For the Archedamos inscriptions, see *IG* I$^3$ 977-80; Connor 1988, pp. 178, and 184-185; and Purvis 1998, pp. 70-89. According to Weller, there was also a dedicatory inscription to Apollo Hersus, which has since been lost; 1903, p. 271.

[58] Weller 1903, pp. 271-273; Larson 2001, p. 14.

himself as a nympholept, one possessed by the Nymphs. Although Archedamos was clearly a metic, his profession is not known. The self-portrait however is tantalizing, as it depicts Archedamos as a craftsperson. Is this a representation of Archedamos and his profession, or a reflection of Archedamos' efforts solely in the cave? Regardless, it is noteworthy that Archedamos has chosen to present himself to the Nymphs as a craftsperson, while also being their priest.

*Saucer Pyres: An Athenian Industrial Cult Ritual?*

In the earliest years of work in the Athenian Agora and the Kerameikos, excavators discovered numerous deposits of a previously unknown type. These deposits consisted of a shallow pit, with ash, charcoal, and evidence of burning on site, occasionally some bone fragments, and multiple vessels of a limited range of specific shapes.[59] Most of the pots were miniatures, but larger vessels and lamps were also included. These so-called "ritual pyres," known only from archaeological excavations, seem to represent some aspect of the religious life of the inhabitants of ancient Athens.

A typical pyre was made in a small shallow pit dug for the purpose (Figure 2:16). These pits could vary widely in shape; however, they tended to measure 0.60 to 0.80 meters across, and 0.15 to 0.25 meters deep. The floors and sides of the pits were semi-baked, which indicated that the pyres had actually been burned in the pits. On top of the floor usually rested a layer of ash and charcoal; sometimes, pieces of wood could be discerned. Scattered throughout the deposit of burned matter were small bits of calcined

[59] These deposits were first mentioned in the excavation report of 1947; see Thompson 1948, pp. 149-196. They were thoroughly discussed by Young 1951b, pp. 67-134. A full publication of these pyres is forthcoming by S. I. Rotroff. I thank Prof. Rotroff for sharing an unpublished paper on the pyres with me, and allowing me to include a map documenting many of the Agora area pyres.

bone, usually too small to be identifiable. Those which can be identified belong primarily to sheep-goats.[60]

Resting on top of the bones and charcoal in the pyres were numerous clay vessels (Figure 2:17).[61] These pots were found with burn marks and were frequently broken into fragments, suggesting that they had been thrown into the pyre before the fire had gone out. Although the heat from a fire could cause a clay vessel to crack, the amount of breakage strongly suggests that the pots were tossed in the pyre with some degree of force. Often the smaller pots were incomplete when reassembled. This supports the theory that the pots were thrown into the pyre; some pieces, no doubt, fell outside the edges of the pyre, and were swept away after the ritual, and thus became lost to excavators. In some cases there was evidence that a new floor had been laid to cover the pyres and to resurface the area after the ritual had taken place. A more complete discussion of the pottery types discovered will follow below.

Altogether, roughly sixty of these pyre deposits have been found *in situ* around the Agora, and in addition, elsewhere in Athens, characteristic groups of pottery have emerged, with traces of burning on the pots themselves (many of the deposits are marked on Figure 2:18).[62] These latter groups may be interpreted as the remains of pyres which were somehow disturbed in later periods. Although our knowledge of the chronological span of this practice is not complete, the total number of the pyres and their dates would seem to indicate that the practice was fairly common in the fourth and the first half of the third centuries. A few pyres dating from the fifth century suggest that the practice may

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[60] The analysis of the bones discovered in these pyres has not yet been completely published; thus, the range of animal species listed in the secondary literature may not in fact be represented in the deposits. This study is being undertaken by Lynn Snyder; see Rotroff and Snyder 2004, and Snyder 2003.

[61] For a discussion of the vases from the pyres, see *Athenian Agora* XII, pp. 198-199; and *Athenian Agora* XXIX, pp. 212-217.

[62] Camp (1999, p. 278) gives the number of pyres known to 1999, although quite a few have been discovered since this report. Some of the examples from outside the immediate Agora area are published in *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 6-7, 29, and 50.

have gone back to the latter half of the fifth century.[63] In addition, the recent Greek excavations for the Metropolitan Railway have uncovered two pyres which far post-date all those previously unearthed, one from the middle of the second century, and another from the first quarter of the first century.[64] Still, it seems clear that this practice flourished primarily in the fourth and third centuries. As of yet, there have been no satisfactory explanations for the sudden appearance of this custom, or its disappearance, for that matter.

Although these pyres have been discovered in the commercial and residential areas of Athens, they have not been found in any of the public spaces. The majority of the excavated pyres lay within the area south of the Agora, and to the north and west of the Areopagus, in the so-called Industrial District. Pyres have also been found in the commercial district north of the Agora, as far east as near the base of the Acropolis on the Panathenaic way, and on the Kolonos Agoraios, one to the north, the other to the south of the Hephaisteion.[65] The range of findspots for these pyres indicates that the whole district occupied by workshops and residences outside of the official Agora had been the scene of this practice, which suggests a strong correlation between this ritual and the industrial process. House C, for example, contained multiple pyres, as well as abundant industrial debris. Multiple pyres were also uncovered in the industrial Building Delta, north of the Agora, as well as the Classical Commercial building.[66] In addition, at least two pyres have been unearthed in the residential area southeast of the Acropolis and

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[63] Young 1951b, p. 110, for example, cites a pyre group from House D, Room 2 near the Areopagus.

[64] Pyre 2, near the Acropolis station, may bear witness to the survival of this practice in times later than previously thought, although a date in the first century does seem surprising late; see Parlama and Stampolidis 2001.

[65] The remains found on the Panathenaic Way belonged to a pyre that had been disturbed. Their original location, therefore, remains unknown; see Young 1951b, p. 110.

[66] Milbank 2002; and Camp 2003, pp. 247-249.

northwest of the Olympeion.[67] Excavations in Trachones indicate that this practice also took place in southern Attica.[68] While the current evidence implies that this practice was limited to Attica, it is unknown at this time whether this is, or is not, the case.

Despite the fact that these pyres seem to have been fairly commonplace for over a century, not a single ancient writer mentions them. This fact has left the field open for these intriguing deposits to be variously interpreted. These interpretations have, in turn, affected the nomenclature of these deposits. Thus, in the secondary literature, they are referred to as "pyre burials," "ceremonial pyres," "ritual pyres," "infant cremations," "pyres," and numerous other variants. I now turn to the major theories which have been offered to explain these deposits, and will discuss the pros and cons of these interpretations.[69]

The pyres were particularly numerous in the so-called Industrial District southwest of the Agora, which Rodney Young excavated in the late 1930s and the 1940s. In 1951, he published the contents of fourteen such deposits in an article entitled "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," in which he interpreted them as the cremation graves of infants and named the deposits "pyre burials." Young came to this conclusion for three major reasons. First, he thought that the small and fragmentary bones within the pyres belonged to humans. Secondly, he believed that the small pyres of the fourth and third centuries differed very little from funerary pyres which dated from the Archaic and previous periods.[70] He cited as evidence the dimensions of the pits, the semi-baked condition of the earth under and beside them, and the heavy deposit of burned matter at

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[67] Parlama and Stampolidis 2001, p. 93.

[68] These excavations were carried out by M. I. Yeroulanos on his property at Trachones, which is on the ancient road which led south from Athens between Hymettos and the sea; see *Athenian Agora* XII, p. 45, n. 125.

[69] See Rotroff for a summary of the recent discussion and interpretations of ritual pyres; *Athenian Agora* XXIX, pp. 212-217.

[70] See Young 1951b, p. 111.

the bottom, as being extremely comparable to earlier pyres. He also stated that the absence of identifiable human bones was as characteristic of the pyres of archaic times, which he had excavated in the archaic cemetery near the Areopagus, as it was of the later pyres from the fourth and third centuries. In particular, the small soft bones of infants would be even more likely to be completely consumed by fire, leaving little tangible proof that the cremation of infants was practiced. The third reason Young cited for his hypothesis was the existence of a somewhat comparable practice in Olynthus during the fourth century. Although in Athens, children were usually buried in large coarse pots, at Olynthus in the fourth century it seems to have been the practice to cremate the bodies of children; infants, however, were apparently buried.[71] Given that even infants were buried at Olynthus, this practice does not offer strong support for Young's thesis.

For Young's purposes, the significance of these pyres being infant burials was two-fold.[72] First, these deposits lay within the area enclosed by the city wall. According to a remark in the correspondence of Cicero, from early times the Athenians had been prevented by religious usage from allowing burials to be made within the city.[73] Young concluded that burial and cremation in the city were unrestricted up to the end of the sixth century, and that thereafter the burial of adults ceased, probably because of the religious ban; infants, however, must have been exempt from this ban. Secondly, Young determined that the pyres must establish the dates by which various houses and buildings had been abandoned, since it would seem beyond the realm of possibility that such pyres could have been burned within the houses while they were still standing roofed. Young hesitantly connected what he saw as the mass abandonment of houses in the area of the Areopagus with a depopulation and semi-abandonment of houses in the area of the Pynx

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[71] *Olynthus* XI, p. 145 f.

[72] Young 1951b, p. 113.

[73] Cicero, *ad Fam.* 4.12.3.

mentioned in ancient sources for the latter part of the fourth century. These inferences have numerous resonances, particularly for dating, some of which will be touched on later.

Young's conclusion has long been viewed with skepticism. In 1972, Homer Thompson, although he had previously supported Young's thesis, claimed that both the shallowness of the deposits and the absence of markers argued against their identification as burials.[74] A decade later, Ursula Knigge and Wilfried Kovacsovics rejected Young's interpretation of similar deposits in the Kerameikos, because infant cremation was otherwise virtually unknown.[75] More recently, the bones from similar deposits have been analyzed, resulting in the understanding that they do not belong to humans.[76] Despite the fact that Young's assertions were challenged soon after publication, as discussed above, and now have been soundly refuted, the infant cremation hypothesis for these ritual pyres still prevails in numerous general handbooks as possible evidence for infant cremation in Hellenistic Athens.[77]

Although Young's interpretation of these pyres as infant cremations has been refuted, there are undeniably funerary aspects about these deposits which must be discussed. This is most clearly seen in the types of offerings included, many of which were also offered at the graveside (Figure 2:19).[78] The first of these types to be considered are alabastra. These were commonly offered at graves, probably because they

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[74] *Athenian Agora* XIV, p. 16. Wycherley offers the infant cremation hypothesis in a later text; 1978, p. 253. I am unsure whether this implies that he disagreed with Thompson, or whether he was simply being thorough.

[75] Knigge and Kovacsovics 1981, p. 388.

[76] Snyder 2003.

[77] See Garland 1985, pp. 78-82, 161; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 99; and Wycherley 1978, p. 253.

[78] This discussion of the funerary nature of the pottery types follows Young 1951b, pp. 111-133, and *Athenian Agora* XXIX, pp. 212-217.

contained substances—most likely perfumed oil—necessary for funerary rituals. While not all pyres include alabastra, the ones which were excavated by Young clearly had only a symbolic purpose, as they were solid except for a slight hollowing at the mouth. Since they could not have had a practical use, they must have been made specifically for some ritual purpose. Likewise, a similarly used vessel, the fusiform unguentarium, featured prominently in Athenian graves of the Hellenistic period, and was found in at least one pyre.[79] Another pottery type which seems to have been constructed for funerary purposes is the shallow plate with ribbon handles, which is sometimes decorated with glazed bands. Such plates are found in nearly all pyres, and also in graves, but are never found in deposits of household debris. The inference, therefore, is that these banded plates were made exclusively for funerary or ritual use.

Other types of pots commonly found in the pyre groups at the Agora but conspicuously lacking in the deposits of ordinary household wares of the fourth and third centuries are small lidded pyxides, and miniature cooking pots and casseroles (*chytrai* and *lopades*). These small pots are so frequently found in the pyre groups that they would seem to have been indispensable; and their absence from other deposits suggests that like the banded plates they were specially made for funerary or ritual use.[80] While the unglazed miniature cooking pots are faithful miniatures of ordinary household ware, their size and fabric rendered them useless for practical use.

In addition to the alabastra, plates, pyxides, and cooking pots made for funerary and ritual use, there are other types which seem to have been necessary for these purposes, though they are found in household debris as well. Very common in the pyres are ordinary saucers with plain or furrowed rim common throughout the fourth and third

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[79] Jordan and Rotroff 1999, p. 152; Pyre P 6:6, which contains unguentaria P 28980-28982, is discussed by Shear 1973, p. 141, n. 50.

[80] Indeed, Young believed that their miniature size made them particularly appropriate for offerings in the graves of children; 1951b, p. 112.

centuries. Also found in many non-household deposits were roughly-made miniature saucers. These are particularly interesting because many pyres contain at least five of them.

The pyre groups also usually contained a few larger vessels, including cups, skyphoi, or kantharoi. Occasionally, a lamp was also present. These larger pots and lamps are particularly important for archaeologists to be able to date the pyres, as the smaller vases are more difficult to date given their shapes and fabrics. It is important though to keep in mind that the larger pots may have been in use for some time before being offered in a pyre, although pottery types used every day probably did not have a long life span. It must be noted, however, that most of these vessels show little to no use wear.

Thus, in the pyres we find drinking vessels, miniature versions of tablewares and cookwares, vases for oil and perfume, and lamps. It is not certain if the presence of vases in pyres had only a symbolic purpose or if they were used for making libations or for deposits of fixed offerings. The absence of literary sources makes it particularly difficult to interpret the custom. It is possible given the number of vessels included for eating and drinking that some form of ritual dining was involved; however, since many of the shapes were purely symbolic, this cannot be ascertained.[81] The presence of lamps in some of the pyres may imply that this ceremony, whatever it was, took place at least partially at night.

Further complicating our understanding of these deposits is the fact that extremely similar deposits have been found beside graves in the Kerameikos, where their funerary character can hardly be in doubt.[82] Likewise, in the cemetery at Trachones, similar deposits were discovered just below the surface, either above or to one side of a grave,

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[81] This interpretation was first given in *Athenian Agora* XIV, p. 16.

[82] See *Kerameikos* XIV, pyres 4, 12, 17, 18, 21, 25, 28, 35-7, 54, 57, 60, 79, 126, and 159.

but never as part of an actual burial.[83] Also within the Kerameikos area, archaeologists have unearthed pyres which were connected with buildings, specifically buildings Y and Z, the latter of which may have been a brothel.[84] How are we to understand these deposits, which can appear in disparate contexts within the same geographical area?

The remaining interpretations to be examined involve the Greek concepts of purity and pollution, religious categories that were not applied in precisely the same way as our own, interpretations which will be turned to again in the conclusion of this thesis. Although at one level purity and physical cleanliness seem to be closely identified, it is clear that in the Classical period, if not already in Homer, there was a great diversity of rituals which corresponded to an enormous variety of forms of pollution.[85] The anthropologist Mary Douglas' famous definition of pollution as 'matter out of place' seems appropriate for the Greeks, as pollution consisted in the establishment of a link between entities which should be kept separate and distinct.[86] As pollution, or *miasma*, was dangerous for the living, the avoidance of it seems to have been a great concern for the average Greek.[87] Situations in which pollution was possible included childbirth, sexual intercourse, illness, and death.[88]

Since the pyres have strong funerary elements, and it is known that death was seen as a form of pollution, it is possible that these deposits served to purify a house or workshop after someone had died. Another suggestion is that the pyres represent an

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[83] In many of these, there is no evidence of burning on the spot; see *Athenian Agora* XII, p. 45, n. 125.

[84] See Knigge 1993, p. 134; Knigge and Kovacsovics 1981, p. 388; Knigge and Freytag 1987, p. 488; and recently, *Kerameikos* XVII.

[85] Zaidman and Pantel 1992, p. 9.

[86] Douglas 1966, p. 51.

[87] See Parker 1983 and 1996; and Mikalson 1983.

[88] Burkert 1985, pp. 77-80.

attempt to propitiate the recent dead with a symbolic feast. This interpretation, however, leaves us with many unanswered questions. Although there was a belief in ancient Greece that the dead could linger at their graves, there does not seem to be a general fear of the dead. Indeed, the general impression in Greek literature is that the dead are defenseless, and must, in fact, be protected by the living. The exceptions to this rule were murderers and their victims, two classes of the dead capable of causing significant harm. Since it does not seem possible that all of the pyres could have been connected with murders, why do the dead need to be propitiated if they cannot cause harm? If these pyres have something to do with propitiating the dead, why do they appear in so many commercial settings? And why do they appear multiple times in a single building? It seems clear that the explanation of appeasement of the dead is too simple given the complexity of this practice.

A related explanation, yet one with stronger evidence to support it, involves the chthonic divinities. These powers of death, which were described by Aeschylus as "*chthonioi daimones hagnoi*," the sacred daemonic powers of the earth, represented for mankind the ultimate form of pollution.[89] It was believed that they primarily brought evil, and that they had to be turned away by an appropriate sacrifice designed to get rid of them. The chthonic deities are known to have been worshipped in Athens, as elsewhere, and included aspects of Hades, Persephone, Hermes, Zeus, and many others.[90]

There are a number of reasons to suggest that these pyres may have been chthonic in nature. The first is the pyre itself, which, like offerings to the chthonic powers, consisted of a pit in the ground in which animals were sacrificed. As previously discussed, the pottery had strong sepulchral implications, and would have been fitting choices to deal with the powers of death. The presence of lamps may indicate that these

[89] Aeschylus, *Persians*, 628.

[90] For information on the chthonic deities, see Garland 1985, pp. 6-8, 153; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 217; and Burkert 1985, pp. 88, 199-203.

rituals took place at night, as did offerings to the chthonic deities. We also know that chthonic rituals took place in a setting which had some identification with the dead or the underworld. While all of the findspots for the pyres cannot be connected with cemeteries, or such places, many pyres have been located in the Kerameikos or near the Areopagus, where a cemetery was located during the Archaic period. In addition to the above, a lead curse-tablet was discovered in a chytridion, a characteristic pyre vessel, in a private fourth-century house on the lower slopes of the Areopagus.[91] The practice of placing curse-tablets in areas associated with the dead was not an indication that the dead themselves possessed awful powers, but rather that they were useful deliverers to chthonic deities.[92] If a pyre could provide the required contact with the dead, it could imply that there was a chthonic element to these deposits, perhaps specifically directed to those underworld deities who could have warded off evil from houses and workshops if appeased.

The final interpretation to be considered is that the ritual pyres may have been a kind of sacrificial foundation deposit.[93] If this is the case, they may have been related to the construction, renovation, or re-use of a structure by new owners. In a number of instances of pyres found *in situ*, the deposits have been located directly under the original floor of a structure. This could imply that they are connected with a ritual relating to the construction of the building, a practice which might be related to the modern Greek ritual of sacrificing a cock before beginning construction.[94] In other cases, however, the pyre was dug through an existing floor, which might indicate a sacrifice due to the remodeling of a structure.[95] While this is an intriguing hypothesis, it is simply impossible to

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[91] This deposit is discussed by Jordan and Rotroff 1999, pp. 147-154.

[92] Garland 1985, pp. 6-8.

[93] On foundation deposits as purification rituals or as rituals of propitiation, see Hunt 2006, pp. 190-194, and 196-197.

[94] Shear 1973, p. 151, n. 58.

determine exactly what relation many of the pyres bear to the history of the house, especially with those excavated early in the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, some structures contain multiple pyres, a fact which argues against the foundation deposit hypothesis.

While there have been intriguing interpretations of these ritual pyres over the years, their precise purpose and significance remains unknown. Are they truly limited to Attica, or has this ritual activity not yet been recognized in other areas? If limited to Attica, is their sudden appearance connected to any single historical event, such as the Athenian plague of 430-426? The pyres do seem to appear right around the time of this event, as the chronological span of this ritual is roughly from 425-200 BCE. Is there a relationship between the types of bones found, and the purpose of the pyre? Do the pottery types indicate ritual dining? Are the inclusion and exclusion of certain pottery types, such as lamps or alabastra, significant? Is there a strong connection between the chthonic deities and the protection of structures? Simply too many questions remain unanswered. Although the pyres seem to have an association with death and the concept of *miasma*, it is possible that not all of the excavated pyres served the same function, which simultaneously makes them more difficult to interpret, and all the more intriguing for the study of Athenian religion. Nevertheless, as the majority of these pyres have been found in houses with evidence of industry or commercial structures, as previously discussed, the best hypothesis on the basis of the current evidence argues that they have some relation to industrial cult.

In this chapter, we have examined some of the evidence for cult-related activity at workshop sites. As we have seen, a much greater range of divinities seems to be involved in these rituals then the scan of the evidence of civic cult suggested. How were

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[95] Shear 1984, pp. 45-47.

the deities worshipped at these sites chosen? Were they seen as appropriate for a particular craft activity over others, or should a more personal family cult association be assumed? Unfortunately, the current evidence does not provide a definitive answer to these questions. I would suggest, however, that the deities chosen were in general appropriate both for craft and for personal cult belief, as these two aspects cannot be easily divided for the ancient craftsperson. At Sardis, cult at a gold working installation was devoted to Cybele, who was connected with metallurgical concerns. In Corinth at the Potters' Quarter, worship may have been directed towards Aphrodite, Hephaistos, and Athena. Aphrodite may have been chosen because of her special importance to the city of Corinth, and to metic craftsmen from Phoenicia. The relevance of Athena and Hephaistos for craft was addressed in chapter one. The dragon houses may have been directed towards chthonic deities and Apollo, the latter who apparently received particular devotion from members of the marble industry. At Sardis in the Lydian market and House of Bronzes area, a general commercial district, and in Athens, particularly in the commercial areas surrounding the Athenian Agora, we find evidence for rituals designed to avert evil from workshops. In this next chapter, we will further examine the evidence for apotropaia in workshops.

## Chapter 3: The Iconography of Worker's Cult

Having addressed the literary and archaeological evidence for worker's cult, I will now turn to the evidence offered by iconography. Although potters and vase painters were certainly well-placed to observe and depict industrial activity, during the Archaic and Classical periods, the iconography of fine-ware decoration tends to reflect interests particularly appropriate to leisured individuals, such as gymnasium and symposium scenes.[1] Nevertheless, images of workshops are abundant, despite the fact that they represent only a minute fraction of the total painted-vase corpus.[2] Of these, many scenes realistically depict artisans working with various tools. For example, on two black-figure vases, a pair of blacksmiths hammer at the forge (Figure 3:1), and cobblers cut leather for a young boy's shoes (Figure 3:2); on two later red-figure vases, potters and vase-painters work in their shop (Figure 3:3), and a craftsman forges a helmet (Figure 3:4).[3] These scenes have been studied extensively, particularly for their value in explaining ancient technological processes and working practices, although they are not easy to interpret, as will undoubtedly soon become apparent.[4]

In addition to these realistic workshop scenes, there are also more mythological scenes in which the gods themselves act as the actual craftspeople. Of all the gods, Hephaistos is most frequently depicted working as a craftsman; scenes in which he is making the armor of Achilles for the goddess Thetis are particularly common (Figure

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[1] Webster 1972; Arafat and Morgan 1989, p. 312; and Boardman 1974, p. 212.

[2] The standard work cataloguing these vases is Ziomecki 1975. Pixley re-examines this corpus in her forthcoming dissertation. See also Burford 1972.

[3] See also Himmelmann 1994, chapters 1 and 2; Philipp 1990, pp. 79-110; and Richter 1924, with regard to potters and painters.

[4] Depictions of various stages of pottery production show basic similarities, and have enabled scholars to determine the use of up-draught kilns, and how batch firings were organized, for example. See Noble 1965; and Cuomo di Caprio 1984, pp. 72-82. The use of workshop iconography as evidence for bronze-working technology in antiquity will be addressed when the Foundry Cup is discussed.

3:5). Athena also occasionally appears in the role of craftsperson, such as on a red-figure chous where Athena creates a sculpture of a horse (Figure 3:6). The emphasis on gods as craftsmen and manufacturers in Early Classical art and myth is but a specialized aspect of a new interest in artists at work.[5] The fact that Athena and Hephaistos are the only gods depicted in this type of image, in which the god is craftsperson, is additional evidence that these gods were specifically perceived as divine patrons. These images celebrate the origins of craft, and in part integrate the divine personalities into the artists' workshops.

Full integration occurs only in the third type of workshop image, in which craftspeople actually work in the presence of the gods. When a god is depicted, Athena is particularly common, no doubt reflecting her function as Ergane, as is clear from her inclusion on a red-figure hydria by the Leningrad Painter (Figure 3:7). This hydria, dating to about 460 BCE, and now in the Torno collection in Milan, is the most representative scene extant of Attic vase-painters at work, and as such, has often been described and illustrated.[6] Four painters are shown: a man, two youths, and a woman, all working on their vases separately. Although the poses of the workers seem realistic enough, the scene reveals itself as an idealized representation of a vase-painter's workshop by the sudden appearance of the gods. Athena and two Nikai approach to place laurel crowns on the heads of three male vase painters, apparently as a reward for the excellence of their work. Note that the female worker is specifically not crowned.[7]

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[5] Morris 1992, p. 360.

[6] The best description of this vase appears in Beazley 1946, pp. 11-13, 97-99. See also Beazley 1963, p. 571, no. 73. This vase has also been used as evidence for the 'pottery mimicking metalware' dispute. Green 1961, pp. 73-75, advanced the theory that the four vase decorators shown on the hydria by the Leningrad Painter are working on metal vases rather than pottery as had been previously assumed. In Green's opinion, the vessels depicted bear a greater similarity to metal rather than to ceramic forms, and the central painter in particular holds his kantharos in a position which would put excessive strain upon a vase which was only leather hard. This is an intriguing suggestion but I prefer the identification of these workers as vase painters, who are adding finishing touches to their wares. Regardless, either craft occupation works with my analysis.

[7] This vase has also been used in arguments whether women were employed in workshops; see Papadopoulos 1997, p. 453; and Arafat and Morgan 1989, p. 317.

Other idealized aspects of the workshop include the fancy draped clothing adorning the human figures, which is surely not typical of daily work garments, and the furniture is also of superior quality, compared to what one would expect in a workshop. In short, although some realistic and practical details of the work of vase painting are observed, the entire studio has been rendered in an idealized manner benefiting the visit of Athena Ergane. The figures of Victory are particularly interesting, as their appearance on vases is generally limited to scenes of war, athletic and musical contests, or wedding scenes. Here, they may allude to a desire to achieve successful production and sales, while the crowns indicate the bestowal of divine approval.

Clearly, these divine figures would not have been assisting in any Athenian workshop, and yet their depiction is not out of place, as Athena Ergane was patroness of crafts and craftspeople, and as such, she oversees production on several other vases. On one vase, Athena watches two potters, a man and a boy, throwing a vase on a wheel (Figure 3:8). In another example, Athena appears in a the middle of a workshop scene, where she assists sales by drawing the attention of a customer to a sculpted horse, to which a craftsman adds the finishing touches (Figure 3:9). Athena also oversees production in a workshop on a fragment from an Attic red-figure cup found on the Athenian Acropolis. The setting is difficult to interpret due to the fragmentary state of the example, but a metal worker and a potter are readily identifiable (Figure 3:10).

A similar attempt at securing, or boasting of, divine approval by depiction, but here without the appearance of Athena, is evident on a fourth-century Apulian vase showing a statue of Herakles being painted in the encaustic technique (Figure 3:11).[8] It is the earliest and fullest representation of a statue painter. The statue of Herakles, which is adorned typically with club and lion skin, stands in the center on a rectangular base. On

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[8] Mayo and Hamma 1982, pp. 96-99.

either side of the statue stand the painter and his assistant, a young boy. To the far right of the statue is a second Herakles—this one in the flesh. He has all of the same attributes as the statue, and he curiously evaluates the progress on his cult image. Two other divine figures also oversee the proceedings from above, Zeus holding a scepter, at the left, and Nike, at right. As with the examples of Athena above, the presence of Herakles, Zeus, and Nike indicate divine approval for the work of the craftsperson.

These scenes underscore the Greek idea, known from literary sources, that certain divinities, especially Athena and Hephaistos, took an interest in craft activities, which was discussed in chapter one. The main interest of the Apulian krater is that it introduces other gods taking an interest in the work of craftspeople, as well as the idea that a god/goddess might take a particular and narcissistic interest in statues of himself/herself. While not directly relating to cult, it does throw light on the attitude of the craftsman: he may have believed that the god whom he was depicting took an interest in his work.

Of these workshop scenes on painted vases, a select few provide interesting clues regarding industrial cult. The lexicographer Pollux (7.108) tells us that craftsmen placed some sort of image near their kilns, and that its purpose was apotropaic:[9]

> It was customary for bronze workers to hang (or plaster up) before the furnaces certain laughable images [*geloia*], which were called *baskania* for the aversion of ill will—*baskania* as Aristophanes says as well [frag. 592 (Hall)]: "If anyone in need should purchase a *baskanion* for the kiln of a bronze worker..."
>
> [trans. R. Lamberton]

These *geloia* were probably ugly faces, or phallic images, which would act as charms to protect the furnace or kiln. This literary source is confirmed in several visual sources in workshop scenes in which votive objects, plaques, or masks in the background of the

[9] Poll., *Onom.*, I. Bekkeri. ed. (1846) 300. Faraone 1992, p. 55. See also Page 1941, p. 241, for another allusion to the practice in a papyrus fragment of the fourth-century B.C. comic writer Timocles, which suggests that these figurines were naked and hung on a peg. Faraone comments that the participle *prospepattaleumenon* used in the papyrus fragment usually means "nailed fast" as in Menander's description of Prometheus (frag. 535.1-2 [Kock]).

action seem to serve an apotropaic function, an attempt by workers to protect production processes.

Among the Greek vases decorated with pictures of artists and artisans at work, pride of place has long been held by the Foundry Cup (Figure 3:12).[10] This vase, a red-figure cup, now in Berlin, was painted around 490-480 BCE by an unknown artist who is now known as the Foundry Painter after this piece. The three scenes on the cup, i.e. the tondo on the interior of the cup and the two pictures on the exterior, all have to do with bronze-working. The importance of these scenes as documents in reconstructing the rather complicated art of casting bronze sculpture has long been recognized by scholars, yet there is obviously an inherent danger in treating this vase as a photograph of an ancient foundry.[11]

The tondo shows Thetis receiving the armor of Achilles from Hephaistos (Figure 1:9). The scenes on the outside, although interrupted by the handles, are continuous and constitute a single picture in which are illustrated various activities in a bronze-caster's workshop. Male figures on one side are engaged in assembling a bronze statue, surrounded by various implements hanging on the wall. On the other side of the cup, another statue is nearing completion. A single furnace serves the establishment, around which several male figures work.

What is most important for our inquiry, however, is that hanging immediately next to the furnace on the wall are three different types of images: animal horns, protomes, and small plaques (Figure 3:12 and Figure 3:13). The function and reasons for the choice of imagery have been much debated. First, let us look at the scene in greater detail. A male and female protome, and four plaques are suspended along with animal

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[10] Although illustrated in most of the Beazley catalogues, the basic publication is still Furtwängler and Reichhold 1910, pp. 81-86. See also Cloché 1931; Thompson 1964, pp. 323-328; and Neer 2002, pp. 77-84.

[11] Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, I, pp. 10-13, 22, 169, 252; Oddy and Swaddling 1985, pp. 43-57; and Mattusch 1980, pp. 435-444.

horns next to the furnace of a foundry. While the horns could serve a solely practical purpose as a suspension device for the plaques and protomes (although this cannot be verified in the image), their appearance next to the kiln is suggestive of a religious function. A fuller representation of the sacrificed animal in the form of a boukranion (horns + skull) is well attested on altars and propylaia, as 'furniture' of ritual and protective devices. They could also allude to past sacrifices made by the craftsmen to protect their work, although it seems unlikely that craftsmen could have afforded the sacrifice of an ox, the horns of which these most closely resemble.[12] The inclusion of horns, however, may be broadly symbolic of sacrifice, to serve as a remembrance, and may not allude to a particular animal. There are also two protomes—one male and one female—which are most likely an allusion to Hephaistos and Athena, and serving as votives to the god and goddess of craft. Such a dedication to the patrons of smiths and potters would be made in hopes of ensuring the gods' protection.[13]

The hanging plaques are usually interpreted as terracotta painted plaques, either black- or red-figure.[14] The top left plaque depicts a standing draped male leaning on a staff. On the top right, a running figure carries a torch or hammer. The bottom left plaque depicts a male goat, and the bottom right example shows a seated armed female figure.[15] Plaques are common types of dedication, and for that reason alone their

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[12] Hauser, in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1910, III, p. 85, claims that they are goat horns, but I think that the size of the horns argues against this interpretation. Susan Rotroff, personal communication, also doubts that these horns belong to oxen, because of the apparent ridges.

[13] Simon 1969, pp. 223-225, collects the literary evidence for the custom of hanging by kilns clay protomes or figurines of the god Hephaistos as overseer of fire and crafts. See also Mattusch 1980, p. 436, n. 13.

[14] Boardman 1954, p. 188, n. 50, preferred red-figure. Benndorf interpreted the plaques as bronze reliefs; 1868-1883, p. 10.

[15] I agree mostly with Karoglou's reading; 2005, p. 45. Boardman sees a standing woman holding a torch, a running figure holding a hammer, a goat, and a seated woman; 1954, p. 188. Kendrick Pritchett prefers two human figures, a centaur and a deer; 1953, p. 251. Korres identifies a male torch-bearer, a male figure with hammer, a goat and a seated female figure; 1971, pp. 239-240.

presence would suggest a religious function.[16] Two of the plaques on the Foundry Cup, however, may have imagery suggestive of industrial cult. The plaque on the top right depicts a figure holding either a torch or a hammer. If he is holding a hammer, echoing the actual implement hanging immediately below, this image is clearly specific to the craft of the workshop. If the figure is running with a torch, however, this image could also be suggestive of the cults of metalworkers. Torch races, as I discussed in chapter one, were a common feature both of the festivals of Hephaistos and Prometheus. The bottom right plaque which depicts a seated female figure is probably a representation of Athena, whose connection to workshops as a guardian figure has already been established. Although some scholars have interpreted these items as merely workshop models and sketches, their content and presence by the kiln suggests a more religious function.[17] The manner in which the images are clustered together and displayed is suggestive of a shrine, similar to that which can be seen on a red-figure pelike in which a workman, possibly a sculptor, installs a herm at a sanctuary, which includes an altar with a plaque and animal horns hanging about it (Figure 3:14). The grouping and placement of the images on the Foundry Cup suggests that the images are votive offerings to propitiate whatever daimon watches over the tricky business of bronze-casting. The protomes and plaques act as *geloia* (caricatures) or *baskania* (charms) dedicated to avert misfortune, a custom previously mentioned, or to ensure protection.[18]

Thus the Foundry Cup indicates the principal steps in the making of bronze statues: the melting of the metal, the assembling of the parts, and the finishing of the bronze. It includes the entire cast of craftspeople, from the workmen to the proprietors, and indicates much of the characteristic equipment of the bronze worker. Most

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[16] Attic and Corinthian plaques have been studied in detail; see Karoglou 2005; Salapata 2002; Boardman 1954; and Rouse 1902 for discussion and relevant bibliography.

[17] Hauser, in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1910, III, pp. 85-86; and Blümner 1912, IV, p. 331.

[18] Zimmer 1982, p. 16 and Boardman 1954, p. 188 also subscribe to this theory, although Boardman does say that the character of the dedications is "not strictly apotropaic."

importantly, for our purposes, is that through the inclusion of the plaques hanging above the forge, the Foundry Cup reminds the viewer of the anxiety that has always attended the most critical phase in the making of a bronze statue.

The plaques on the Foundry Cup which could have served as apotropaia are problematized by actual plaques which have apotropaic imagery, but served as gifts to a divinity. An Archaic pinake from the Penteskouphia series presents one such example. In this scene, a small ithyphallic satyr stands on the praefurnium of a kiln, presumably positioned to ward off the evils that could ruin pottery during firing (Figure 3:15).[19] On top of the kiln roof sits an owl, most likely an allusion to Athena, in her guise as overseer of pottery production. That the owl can stand in for the goddess herself is suggested by a sacrificial scene on a black-figure amphora dated to about 550 BCE in which a man leads an animal to an altar. Seated atop this altar is an enormous owl with its head facing toward the viewer (Figure 3:16). Douglas has interpreted this owl as a stand-in for the goddess herself, who is watching over the place or act of sacrifice.[20] Faraone has also suggested that the owl may be an apotropaic figure in its own right, without regards to its connection with the goddess.[21]

Thus, in the Penteskouphia image, we have two apotropaic figures guarding the scene. A satyr, rather than a mask or plaque, as on the Foundry Cup, averts danger as it approaches, and a protective figure (the owl, or Athena) guards the process taking place in the kiln. To the right of the kiln is a man, regrettably with most of his body missing, who seems to be stoking the kiln fire. It is no coincidence that the majority of the

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[19] I discuss this series as a whole in chapter four, with the relevant bibliography. For this particular example, see Pernice 1898, p. 76; Boardman 1954, p. 188; and Cuomo di Caprio 1984, pp. 72-82.

[20] Douglas 1912, pp. 174-175.

[21] Faraone 1992 mentions a Near Eastern tradition of owls being apotropaic; pp. 55 and 67, n. 13. Luyster 1965, p. 151, citing Ausonius *Mosella* 308ff., states that a small owl statue stood on a pillar on the Acropolis as an apotropaic device. See also Pollard 1977, p. 133; and Thompson 1895, pp. 45-46, for information about owls in classical antiquity.

Penteskouphia plaques which show pottery scenes depict firing—the very moment in which potters most needed the favor of the gods.

Undoubtedly serving the same purpose as the owl and satyr on the Penteskouphia plaque mentioned above is a mask hung on a kiln in a scene of a potter's workshop on a black-figure hydria assigned to the Leagros Group, c. 520-510 BCE (Figure 3:17). This scene shows the production of a variety of shapes, and the division of tasks between individuals under the overall supervision of a workshop master.[22] At the far left two figures work on a vase, while to their right two figures work together throwing a vase on the wheel. To their right, a male figure, holding another vase, walks in the direction of a furnace. A column, situated at the center of the scene, indicates that the work is taking place indoors. Next, a draped man, most likely the workshop proprietor, supervises another worker, carrying something (another vase? firewood?) over his head to the kiln. A final figure, at the far right of the scene, is stoking the firing chamber of the kiln, the top of which is decorated with a satyr's head and branches to ward off the evil that might befall pottery during firing. In some ways, this scene is even stronger evidence for apotropaia in workshops than that presented by the Foundry Cup; the fact that the mask is literally attached to the top of the kiln strongly argues against an interpretation of some sort of workshop model or sketch.

That the presence of a satyr's head on top of a kiln was not merely the artist's fancy, but was another example of apotropaia against the dangers of fire, is indicated by the existence of small terracotta braziers (portable hearths) which have also been found decorated with masks of various types (Figure 3:18).[23] The function of these braziers,

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[22] Noble 1965, pp. 52-53 and 72; and Eisman and Turnbull 1978, pp. 398-399.

[23] For the apotropaic purpose of these faces (which date primarily in the 2nd century BCE), see Conze 1890, pp. 137-138; Harrison 1922, pp. 188-191, figs. 27-31; and Martens 1971, pp. 137-138. See *Athenian Agora* XXXIII, pp. 203ff, for a discussion of their types and iconography. Furtwängler 1891 dismisses Conze's vague designation of them as "hephaistischen Dämonen," arguing that they are all

which do not occur in Athens before the second century BCE, has been debated. Contrary to the usual interpretation of these braziers as devices for everyday cooking in domestic settings, or as heaters, Mustafa Şahin has recently argued that decorated braziers functioned as portable altars and as the focus of religious meals.[24] While this suggestion is supported at some sites, most of the Agora braziers were found in domestic dumps, where a former religious context can be neither supported nor excluded. Various motifs were used to decorate the supports of the braziers, but bearded heads were the preferred subject, presumably because their long beards could function as props. The majority of these fall into three categories: a male wearing a *pilos*; a wreathed male, probably a satyr; and a male with long hair rising straight up from the forehead, most likely also a satyr. The identity of these figures has been much discussed.[25] It has generally been thought that the *pilos* figure represents either Hephaistos or some other fire-daimon; the association with fire of either figure would be appropriate for the brazier.

While the braziers themselves have nothing to do with craft, my interest is in their use of potentially apotropaic imagery, given their association with fire. The inherent danger in activities which required harnessing the power of fire led the Greeks to place masks and other types of "ugly faces" to guard the entrance. Interestingly, the three main images on braziers (two varieties of satyr and a man wearing a *pilos*) are similar to those seen on a vase by the Harrow Painter, to be discussed in more detail later in the text (Figure 3:22). If satyrs can be Hephaistos' helpers at the forge, this may partially explain their relevance as protectors near hearths. While the connection of satyrs with Hephaistos on braziers and elsewhere suggests that they were apotropaic with relation specifically to fire, other evidence also indicates that they may simply have been

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Cyclopes, even those with "bacchic" elements—that is, those of the satyr or silen type; pp. 110-124. For the Cyclops as a household chimney demon, see Callim. fr. 199.

[24] See Didelot 2000, p. 137, n. 3; Şahin 2003, pp. 103-113; and *Athenian Agora* XXXIII, p. 204.

[25] See Conze 1890, pp. 137-138; Furtwängler 1891; Mayence 1905, pp. 397-402; Le Roy 1961, pp. 480-481; Şahin 2003, pp. 98-106; and *Athenian Agora* XXXIII.

generally apotropaic. The placement of satyrs and other "ugly faces" on shields, known from literary evidence, and especially vase painting (Figures 3:19a and 3:19b) is most likely a related phenomenon.[26] These apotropaic devices could function in several ways: by frightening the enemy, by appealing to the protection of a god, or by some magic power inherent in the symbol itself.

Human-scale satyrs also appear as craftsmen in mythological workshop scenes, where they perform various roles as workers (Figures 3:20a and 3:20b). They also appear in workshops in less serious settings, such as on a red-figure pelike in the manner of the Washing Painter, where two satyrs play on a pottery wheel (Figure 3:21). On a red-figure column krater by the Harrow Painter, one satyr holds up the bellows, gesturing with them towards another satyr, who stands before the furnace at the right, holding a hammer (Figure 3:22).[27] The god Hephaistos sits between them, hammering metal against the base of the furnace. Interestingly enough, the shaft of the furnace itself is decorated with a satyr, not unlike the Penteskouphia example and the masks mentioned above.

Herms also appear in workshop scenes; here, they function as another device to ward off evil. Herms were marble or bronze four-cornered pillars surmounted by a portrait bust, usually of a male.[28] The pillar was usually left uncarved, with the exception of the genitals, in the case of male herms. As representations of the god Hermes, they

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[26] Chase determined that there were nine classes of shield devices, two of which—devices intended to inspire fear in the enemy and devices chosen with reference to the cult of a god—could be viewed as apotropaic; 1979, pp. 22, 28-29, 49-51, 58-59, and 65. Chase includes eighteen examples of Silenoi on shields. Chase's work builds on Helbig's study, which distinguished three classes of devices: apotropaia, war emblems, or ethnic/personal ornaments; 1884, p. 403. See also the images in Vermeule 1965, pp. 361-397. For literary references, see Homer, *Iliad*, II, 34-37; *Schol. on Ach.* 1095; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 126.

[27] Oddy and Swaddling 1985, p. 44, fig. 2; and Gempeler 1969, pp. 16-21.

[28] On the general subject of herms, see Lullies 1951, especially pp. 26-32.

were viewed as protective figures, and were common at crossroads, sanctuary gates, and at private house and shop entrances.

Let us first turn to a skyphos by the Theseus Painter, dated about 500 BCE (Figure 3:23).[29] This vase is badly broken, and its scenes remain difficult to interpret. In the center of one side is a man standing in or behind a large conical object. He looks to the right toward another man, clad in a himation draped over his left shoulder, who faces to the right but looks back. He is standing before a bearded herm. He holds his hands in an ambiguous gesture; with his right hand, he almost seems to stroke the god's beard. At the left of the center man, another figure seems to be working on the conical object. Underneath both handles are youths working on (decorating?) amphorae. The other side of the vase appears to display a very similar scene, although it is not as well preserved.

As D. M. Robinson noted when he first published this vase, "[i]t has been impossible to find any exact parallels to the scene, or any in which constructions like those in the center appear."[30] Robinson suggested and discounted that the men on the vase might be constructing a wine vat, tank, granary, or a tomb, which given the scenes beneath the handles is undoubtedly correct. He then advanced the interpretation that the large conical object in the center of the scene represented the construction of a kiln.[31] More recently, however, scholars have suggested that it is more likely for this object to be either a mass of clay, or a vat for clay preparation in a pottery establishment.[32] This vase is also significant because it has an image of a herm, and is therefore one of the earliest herm depictions.[33] There were many herms in the Kerameikos in Athens and

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[29] See Eisman and Turnbull 1978, pp. 394-399.

[30] *CVA* USA 7, Robinson Collection, Fasc. 3, p. 11.

[31] *CVA* USA 7, Robinson Collection, Fasc. 3, pp. 11-12.

[32] Eisman and Turnbull 1978, pp. 395-397.

[33] For herms on vases, see Zanker 1965, pp. 91-103. For the earliest sculpture, see *Athenian Agora* XI, pp. 129-134.

they are often represented in scenes of sacrifice or prayers to avert misfortune from some undertaking. Although it has been suggested that the herm might be a product of the shop,[34] this interpretation is unlikely if the scene depicts a pottery workshop. It is more likely that the herm on this vase is being invoked to cause the potter's trade to prosper, and to protect the workshop against malicious spirits.

One rather peculiar aspect about the depiction of the herm on the Theseus Painter skyphos is the lack of an erect phallus. With a few exceptions, Greek literature is rather reticent about this exhibitionist state of an Olympian god, but anthropological studies of religion suggest that the phallus should be explained as apotropaic, besides having an obvious fertility function, as the phallus pokes out the danger posed by the evil eye.[35] It should also be stated that the use of phallic imagery is frequently a form of sexual humor, along the lines of the *geloia* discussed above. With the herm form, however, the gaze of the god also works to avert evil, as it has to be confronted when approached; and thus, we can maintain that the herm on the Theseus Painter skyphos is apotropaic, despite its deficiencies. Ultimately, masks, herms, and other forms of apotropaia function according to the intention of those who approach them. They act *for* those who worship them, as protective devices, but act *against*, that is to say, avert those, either human or divine, who approach with malicious intent, thus the power of the gaze of the apotropaic device.

In addition, several marble relief herms and graffiti depicting herms have been found in the Athenian Agora; these are not carved on buildings, but instead are carved on loose pieces of marble, or on fragments of worked stone.[36] One example, S 894, was found in a cistern near the Hephaisteion, together with several pieces of unfinished

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[34] Eisman and Turnbull 1978, p. 398, offer this suggestion as a possibility, but do not strongly endorse it. They suggest that the herm may be used as a shorthand to suggest the presence of a kiln; p. 399.

[35] Hdt. 2.51 claims that the herm was a Greek custom borrowed from the Pelasgians. See also Callim. fr. 199. On anthropological studies, see especially Johns 1982, pp. 10, 52, and 62-72. For apotropaism in vase painting, in general, see Hildburgh 1946, pp. 154-178.

[36] See *Athenian Agora* XI, p. 141, 176, pl. 61. See also *Athenian Agora* V, p. 39, G 165, pl. 52.

sculpture, and probably came from a sculptor's workshop (Figure 3:24). While it is possible that some of these are trial pieces, it is equally likely that these herms may have been made in the workshop as a talisman or charm to watch over production.

Now that we have established that various forms of apotropaia were employed to protect craftspeople, we should address why this sort of imagery was required. From what sort of dangers did craftspeople think they needed protection? What precisely was being averted by these apotropaia? The answer to these questions is suggested by depictions on several vases in which demonic figures wreck workshops and torture their employees, as well as an epigram from a *Life* of Homer, known as the "Kiln Poem," in which demons threaten to destroy a ceramic workshop if not appeased.

Let us first turn to the "Kiln Poem." This short hexametrical poem is the thirteenth Homeric *Epigram*, which is preserved in the Pseudo-Herodotean *Life* of Homer and in the *Suda*.[37] In the *Life* of Homer, this poem was composed on the island of Samos, after a group of potters offered to trade the bard some of their pots in exchange for a song.[38] Modern scholars, however, argue that the poem was probably composed in Athens sometime in the fifth century BCE.[39]

The poem is as follows:

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[37] For a recent discussion of this poem, see Faraone 2001, pp. 435-449; Ogden 2002, p. 216.

[38] Pollux, 10.85, citing verse 3, reports that some thought Hesiod was the author. For the most recent editions and discussions besides Faraone, see Milne, in Noble 1965, pp. 102-113; Markwald 1988, pp. 219-244; and Gager 1992, pp. 153-154.

[39] Most commentators on the poem, including those listed above, place the composition of the poem in fifth-century BCE Athens, instead of Samos, based on a few linguistic features, including the use of non-Ionic language, the Attic prosody in lines 4 and 10, and the use of the Attic term *kanastra* in line 3. The late Hellenistic or Roman-era compiler of the *Life* probably situated the poem in Samos because of the tradition that *Vasa Samia* (known today as Eastern Sigillata B) were produced there, although there is no evidence of major pottery production on the island during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; see Hayes 1997, p. 41f.; Greene 1992, pp. 17 and 29; and Johns 1971.

εἰ μὲν δώσετε μισθὸν ἀοιδῆς, ὦ κεραμῆες,
δεῦρ' ἄγ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ ὑπέρσχεθε χεῖρα καμίνου,
εὖ δὲ περανθεῖεν κότυλοι καὶ πάντα κάναστρα
φρυχθῆναί τε καλῶς καὶ τιμῆς ὦνον ἀρέσθαι,

πολλὰ μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ πωλεύμενα, πολλὰ δ' ἀγυιαῖς,
πολλὰ δὲ κερδῆναι, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ ὥς σφιν ἀεῖσαι.
ἢν δ' ἐπ' ἀναιδείην τρεφθέντες ψεύδε' ἄρησθε,
συγκαλέω δἤπειτα καμίνων δηλητῆρας,
Σύντριβ' ὁμῶς Σμάραγόν τε καὶ Ἄσβετον ἠδὲ Σαβάκτην
Ὠμόδαμόν θ', ὃς τῇδε τέχνῃ κακὰ πολλὰ πορίζει·
†πεῖθε πυραίθουσαν καὶ δώματα· σὺν δὲ κάμινος
πᾶσα κυκηθείη, κεραμέων μέγα κωκυσάντων.
ὡς γνάθος ἱππείη βρύκει, βρύκοι δὲ κάμινος
πάντ' ἔντοσθ' αὐτῆς κεραμήια λεπτὰ ποοῦσα.
[δεῦρο καὶ Ἠελίου θύγατερ, πολυφάρμακε Κίρκη,
ἄγρια φάρμακα βάλλε, κάκου δ' αὐτούς τε καὶ ἔργα·
δεῦρο δὲ καὶ Χείρων ἀγέτω πολέας Κενταύρους,
οἵ θ' Ἡρακλῆος χεῖρας φύγον οἵ τ' ἀπόλοντο.
τύπτοιεν τάδε ἔργα κακῶς, πίπτοι δὲ κάμινος.
αὐτοὶ δ' οἰμώζοντες ὁρῴατο ἔργα πονηρά.
γηθήσω δ' ὁρόων αὐτῶν κακοδαίμονα τέχνην.]
ὅς δέ χ' ὑπερκύψῃ, περὶ τούτου πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον
φλεχθείη, ὡς πάντες ἐπίστωντ' αἴσιμα ῥέζειν.

If you will pay me for my song, o potters,
then come, Athena, and lay thy hand above the kiln!
May the kotyloi and all the kanastra turn a good black,
may they be well fired and fetch the price asked,
many being sold in the marketplace and many on the roads,
and bring in much money, and may my song be pleasing.
But if you (potters) turn shameless and deceitful
then do I summon the ravagers of kilns,
both Syntrips ("Smasher") and Smargos ("Crasher") and
Asbetos ("Unquenchable") too, and Sabaktes ("Shake-to-Pieces")
and Omodamos ("Conqueror of the Unbaked"), who makes
much trouble for this craft.

Destroy the stoking tunnel and chambers,
and may the whole kiln
be thrown into confusion, while the potters loudly wail.

As grinds the horse's jaw, so may the kiln grind
to powder all the pots within it.
[Come, too, daughter of the Sun, Circe of many spells,
cast cruel spells, do evil to them and their handiwork.
Here too let Chiron lead many centaurs,
both those that escaped the hands of Herakles and those that perished.
May they hit these pots hard, and may the kiln collapse.
And may the potters wail as they see the mischief.
But I shall rejoice at the sight of their luckless craft.]
And if anyone bends over to look into the spy-hole, may his whole face
be scorched, so that all may learn to deal justly.
[trans. Faraone, Milne, and Scaliger, from Faraone 2001]

My interest here is in the demons invoked to destroy pottery, but before addressing that, it may be helpful to address a few of the textual problems presented by the poem. Scholars suggest that this poem calls to mind the genre of Greek "begging songs," particularly by the use of conditional blessings alongside threats.[40] There are, however, two serious problems with the text of the poem. The first occurs in lines 15-21, which Wilamowitz and later editors bracketed as a later interpolation, on the grounds that the allusions to Circe and Chiron seem like a learned Hellenistic or Roman literary production.[41] In addition, the allusion to a second group of avengers (i.e. Circe and Chiron), is unnecessary following the list of demons in lines 7-14, which I discuss below.

The second textual problem occurs at the beginning of line 11, where the *Suda* and the *Vita* offer two very different versions of the text. In line 7, the poet gives a conditional curse, in which he threatens to invoke five demons against the potters' craft if the potters renege on their promise. Line 11, however, begins an actual curse, which is

[40] Milne, in Noble 1965, pp. 102-103, who cites as a parallel the Rhodian "Swallow Song" (Athenaeus, 8.360 b-d). The very next song quoted in the Pseudo-Homeric *Life*, the so-called *Eiresione* (=*Epigram* 14), has some similar features. Wills 1970, pp. 112-118, gives a good discussion of the Greek begging song. The combination of conditional blessing and curse is also common in oaths, e.g., Demosthenes, 54.40-41: "If I swear truly, may blessing be mine...but if I swear a false oath, may I perish utterly."

[41] See Faraone 2001, p. 437; and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1916.

not addressed to the potters, as the lines before, but instead seems to be addressed to the demons themselves.

Christopher Faraone argues that lines 11-21 are a later interpolation, leaving us with an original that would read:

> If you will pay me for my song, o potters,
> then come, Athena, and lay thy hand above the kiln!
> May the kotyloi and all the kanastra turn a good black,
> may they be well fired and fetch the price asked,
> many being sold in the marketplace and many on the roads,
> and bring in much money, and may my song be pleasing.
>
> But if you (potters) turn shameless and deceitful
> then do I summon the ravagers of kilns,
> both Syntrips ("Smasher") and Smargos ("Crasher") and
> Asbetos ("Unquenchable") too, and Sabaktes ("Shake-to-Pieces")
> and Omodamos ("Conqueror of the Unbaked"), who makes
> much trouble for this craft.
> And if anyone bends over to look into the spy-hole, may his whole face
> be scorched, so that all may learn to deal justly.

This shortened version of the poem consists of a conditional blessing and a conditional curse, which seems a logical conclusion. The remaining lines of the poem, lines 11-21, are instead at least three different curses which have been cobbled together, most likely from different literary sources.[42]

The conditional blessing is a prayer addressed to the goddess Athena, in her guise of Ergane. Athena is not being addressed as a craftsperson herself, insomuch as she is being called upon to oversee the pottery production through her *metis*. Detienne has pointed out that when one spoke of Athena's intelligence and technical skill, it was customary to praise her hand; and in the poem, Athena is asked to stretch her hand over the kiln.[43] This also recalls the fragment of Solon (4.1-4), discussed in chapter one, which states that Athena protects Athens by holding out her hands over the city.

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[42] Faraone 2001, pp. 438, and 442-443. On curse literature, in general, see Watson 1991.

[43] Detienne 1971, pp. 172-173, n. 61; see also *Anth. Pal.* 5.70.3; 5.94.1.

The second part of the poem includes the conditional curse, which concerns the five demons, each with his separate function expressed in his name. Syntrips (Smasher), obviously, breaks the pots; Sabaktes (he who scatters or shakes violently) causes a whole stack of them to tumble down when the lowest one is broken. Smaragos (Crasher) has been interpreted as the demon who makes pots burst in the kiln, and Asbetos (Unquenchable, Unquenched) as the one who raises the heat too high in the kiln. Omodamos is a bit more troubling to translate, but probably refers to the demon who causes both distortion in vases as well as in the fabric of the kiln itself, as in "subduer of unfired clay."[44] It is also possible that Omodamos refers to the demon that causes clay to crack as it dries out to its leather-hard state. According to Detienne, the entirety of the poem is constructed upon a dual struggle: "on the concrete level, between pottery baked to perfection and broken pots; [and] on the religious level, between Athena and the kiln demons."[45]

There are several vases whose scenes may in fact illustrate these demons. A black-glazed sherd found in the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia has a fascinating graffito representing a herm—who interestingly wears a hat type specific to craftsmen—together with two grotesque figures, who do not correspond to any regular mythological type (Figure 3:25).[46] The findspot of this sherd, a sculptor's workshop, suggests that these goblin-esque figures should be interpreted as the demons who target the work of craftspeople, hopefully being repelled by the figure of the herm, intended to protect the work of the shop.

The association of pottery-making and havoc which is expressed in the Kiln Poem may also be rendered on a late fifth-century BCE Boiotian black-figured skyphos (Figure

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[44] Milne, in Noble 1965, pp. 103-105.

[45] Detienne 1971, p. 173.

[46] See the discussion in *Olympische Forschungen* V, pp. 212ff.; also *Athenian Agora* XI, p. 141.

3:26). Five figures—two seated, two standing, and one hanging—are shown in a potter's workshop, dispersed around a potter's wheel, a table, and stacks of skyphoi. Several scholars have examined this scene as an example of brutality in the workplace,[47] which it undoubtedly is, but must this scene necessarily be an example of overseers beating the slaves employed by the shop? Is it not possible that this scene shows the evils that could befall workers who failed to appease the spirits who presided over craft? Or could the figures even represent the five demons who destroy pottery, as Papadopoulos suggests?[48] The general appearance of the figures, particularly in the light of related representations, such as the Olympia sherd and the variety of apotropaic devices commonly found in scenes of workshops, might argue that the figures are not human, but demons causing havoc in a workshop. The fact that there are five figures on the skyphos may be mere coincidence, but the number matches the five ravagers of kilns individually named in the "Kiln Poem."

Now let us turn to several Hellenistic moldmade relief bowls, in which small creatures, labeled *kinaidoi*, wreak havoc in workshops. There are three such bowls in existence with quasi-realistic scenes which take place in workshops. They most likely belong to a sub-type, known as the "Homeric" bowls, which differ from the overall corpus by the compositions of their relief decoration which illustrates episodes from literature, usually epic or dramatic.[49] Inscriptions are often added to clarify the situation; they may even be quotations from the work illustrated. Their center of production and

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[47] See Burford 1972, p. 91; and Jordan 2000, pp. 91-103, with additional bibliography. Jordan's discussion of this vase is specifically related to his interpretation of a fourth-century lead tablet bearing a personal letter from a young apprentice who was being mistreated in the workshop in which he was employed. Blümner, in particular, adduced this based on examples from Roman comedy, which provides several examples of slaves being whipped while tied up and suspended; 1912, p. 156. See also Aristophanes, *Frogs* 618-822.

[48] Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 193-195.

[49] Sinn 1979, pp. 197-201. See also the early discussion by Courby 1922, p. 281f.

date have been a subject of scholarly debate, but current research suggests that the type were of Macedonian and Thessalian origin, and date mainly to the second century BCE.[50]

The first of our examples, which is extant in two bowls made in the same mould, one in the National Museum at Athens and the other in the Louvre in Paris, shows a scene in a flour mill (Figure 3:27).[51] A column at the center of the scene indicates that the scene is indoors. Work is in full swing: two millers (balancing each other on the ends of the frieze) are grinding grain in hand-mills; in the center a more elaborate mill is operated by a man, and possibly a donkey.[52] Between this mill and the hand-mill on the right, a miller is sieving flour or grain. The millers are designated as such by an inscription, μυλωθροί. The peaceful atmosphere of the mill is disturbed by the entrance of five strangers, labeled κίναιδοι. According to the Liddell-Scott, the term *kinaidos* usually refers to catamite, or one practicing "unnatural vice."[53] All of the *kinaidoi* wear pointed caps and loin-cloths, as they run about performing mischief. The *kinaidos* figure on the far left holds something (a bag of flour?) in his left hand, and has a club over his right shoulder, which he prepares to bring down on the mill worker at the far left, who raises his arm in alarm, or to ward off the blow. Another *kinaidos* attempts to drag off a mill worker, who resists by grabbing onto the column in the center of the scene. A third *kinaidos* looks upwards, while having his arms wrapped around the central column; his purpose is unclear—is he trying to bring the roof down on the workers? He is identified specifically by inscription, τιμωρός, meaning avenger, executioner, or penalty-exactor.

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[50] See also Rotroff 1986, pp. 472-475.

[51] The Louvre bowl was reportedly found in Thebes. See Rostovtzeff 1937, pp. 86-96; and Rostovtzeff 1967.

[52] There is some debate over this—most scholars state that the man and donkey are operating a rotary mill, but Moritz claims otherwise (and probably is a more reliable source regarding mill operation). Moritz states that this is a type of non-rotary mill, and the donkey is not involved in the mill's operation; 1958, pp. 12-17.

[53] See Pl., *Grg*, 494e; Herod. 2.74; *PSI* 5.483.I (3rd century BCE); Arcesil.ap.Plu. 2.126a; and Sch.Ar.*Ach*. 849.

At his feet is another *kinaidos*, sitting crouched with his erect phallus exposed, while he molests the donkey standing before the more elaborate mill. The final *kinaidos* is striding away from the central scene, with club raised prepared to strike the one unclothed workman. The noise and confusion in the mill has attracted the attention of the owner, who is identified as such by an inscription, μυλωνάρχης; he rushes in, dressed in full civic dress, while most of his millers are dressed in typical workman fashion—naked body and loin-cloth. A similar scene appears on a third bowl, which unfortunately is poorly published.[54]

To what degree we can discuss these scenes as realistic depictions of workshops and the dangers which could befall them is debatable. The overall scene is without doubt not realistic. The presence of the *kinaidoi* and the burlesque character of the action have been sufficient evidence for many scholars to assume that the scenes are illustrations of a play, specifically a comedy.[55] However, since the participants in the scene on the bowl wear no masks, it is probably more appropriate to think of the bowls, if they are illustrations, as illustrations of a mime, which were often comedic illustrations of daily life. We know that mimes were a popular entertainment form during the Hellenistic period, and that the *kinaidoi* played an important part in the mimes.[56] Many terracottas also portrayed the leading characters of various mimes. It is, therefore, very probable that these bowls illustrate a well-known scene of a famous mime.

That being said, the destructive habits of the *kinaidoi* remind us of other depictions of havoc in workshops, and the figures of the *kinaidoi* themselves bear a strong resemblance to the figures that we find guarding terracotta braziers. The *kinaidoi*

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[54] Rostovtzeff briefly mentions this bowl; 1937, pp. 86-96.

[55] Moritz 1958, pp. 15-16.

[56] Webster 1964, pp. 127, 153, 170-171, and 271; Weitzmann 1959, pp. 87-88, and 114; and Hausmann 1959. For the *mimus* and its pictorialization in general, see Nicoll 1931; also Körte 1929, pp. 276-350.

also recall the other phallic figures we have seen presiding over workshops, although the *kinaidoi* are the opposite of apotropaic. And although this depiction takes place in a mill, rather than in a potter's workshop, it is intriguing that again we see five creatures destroying a workshop, just as in the "Kiln Poem."

As a final note regarding the dangers which could befall craftspeople, I would like to briefly mention a series of twenty-five *katadesmoi* (or *defixiones*), or curse tablets, that explicitly target craftspeople, profits, or workshops.[57] *Katadesmoi*, written out on lead and usually buried in the ground, provided a means of binding or restraining one's enemies. A fifth-century example from Camarina in Sicily reads: "These people are registered for a downturn in profits."[58] A third-century Attic curse targets two net-weavers and their workshops,[59] while a third-century Sicilian tablet reads: "I bind the workshops of these men...so that they may not be productive but be idle and without luck."[60] These tablets imply that the chthonic deities could be called upon to inhibit the success and profit of others, and therefore could under certain circumstances be controlled, not just averted.

In this chapter I have examined the iconography for workers' cult. Images produced by craftspeople indicate a notion that the gods were interested in their work, and could potentially be called upon for protection. Craftspeople were particularly well placed to observe the varieties of apotropaic devices in workshops, and were also all-too-aware of the reasons why such devices might be required. Votive plaques, masks, horns, satyrs, herms, and other devices were used as charms to prevent misfortune, and to protect the inhabitants of the workshop. In addition to everyday dangers, the evidence

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[57] Faraone 1991, p. 11. See also Gager 1992, pp. 151-174; and Ogden 2002, chapter 10, nos. 168-184.

[58] Jordan 1985, no. 88.

[59] Jordan 1985, no. 52.

[60] Jordan 1985, no. 20.

provided by the "Kiln Poem" and the Boeotian skyphos indicates that craftspeople also needed to be wary of the mischief caused by daimones, and other chthonic deities. Not only was it possible to anger these daimones unintentionally, craftspeople also needed to be concerned with the possibility that these figures might be called upon them by their rivals. In the next chapter, I turn to dedicatory practices which were designed to encourage the good will of the gods, as opposed to practices intended to avert the anger of the deities.

Chapter 4: Workers' Dedications

In this chapter, I will discuss some of the evidence for the dedicatory practices of workers. Dedications and votive practices in general have long been a topic of scholarly interest.[1] The ancient Greek term for a dedication, *anathema*, literally meant something 'set up' as an offering. More generally, votive offerings could include all of the objects dedicated to a deity and stored in a sanctuary. In a discussion of dedicatory practices, Burkert stated that "in a way, sanctuaries are primarily public spaces designed for the display and preservation of *anathemata*."[2]

Offerings to the gods, either in the form of sacrifice (*thusia*) or dedications, were one of the primary means of the ancient Greeks to establish a close relationship with the gods. Another means of acquiring this relationship was through prayer.[3] Dedications are, however, a "special type of sacrifice," as they are not performed according to rules of state cult, but instead are an expression of individual belief, in response to personalized needs.[4] Forming a relationship with the gods necessitated participation in a religious system of exchange. Socrates in Plato's *Euthyphro* (14c) describes this exchange:

> S: What do you say the holy, or holiness, is? Do you not say that it is a kind of science of sacrificing and praying?
> E: Yes.
> S: And sacrificing is making gifts to the gods and praying is asking from them?
> E: Exactly, Socrates.
> S: Then holiness, according to this definition, would be a science of giving and asking. [trans. W R. M. Lamb; 1914 Loeb edition]

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[1] Rouse's treatment (1902) of votive offerings is the standard work on the subject, although it is understandably not up-to-date with more recent work. Van Straten 1981, pp. 65-151, provides an overview of dedicatory activities. Votive practices have also been viewed in the broader sociological context of giving; see, for example, Mauss 1950; Burkert 1987; and Bergman 1987.

[2] Burkert 1987, p. 43.

[3] Van Straten 1981, pp. 66 and 70; Karoglou 2005, pp. 2-3; see also Fairbanks 1910, pp. 92-97. On sacrifice, see also Burkert 1985, p. 55, and Jameson 1988.

[4] Van Baaren 1964, p. 8.

Later in the text, Socrates summarizes the conclusions of the dialogue up to that point by asking Euthyphro whether or not "holiness is an art of barter between gods and men" (14e).

Dedications played an important role in this barter for the individual and his or her personal needs. Votive offerings were made in thanksgiving for favors already received from the gods, or in advance as a means of persuading the gods to grant health, profit, and happiness. By giving a gift to the gods, an individual hopes to establish a personal relationship with the divine. This gift also creates some form of a social debt that requires repayment, similarly to hospitality laws. Dedications were also highly individual, as there were no set rules regulating what was appropriate for this practice. Offerings could include not only durable objects of any type or size, but also perishable items, such as foodstuffs. The only rule, per se, was that once an item was dedicated, it was forever the property of the divinity. Although many dedications to the gods carried inscriptions, these inscriptions are formulaic, and usually only include the deity's name, or the name of the dedicator. It is thus very difficult to reconstruct the precise reason why a person offered a dedication. The most common occasions for dedications were most likely initiation, important changes in family life, contests, work, disasters, illness, and well-being.[5]

Although there is a broad consensus that dedications in Greek sanctuaries reflect not only the religious ideas of the donors, but also their gender and social position, this is a complicated issue.[6] This should be considered when examining the dedications of workers, who are assumed to be of low income and social status. It is generally assumed that prestigious votive offerings were made by wealthy individuals (usually male) as a permanent reminder of their high social status. In contrast, more modest offerings, either

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[5] Van Straten 1981, p. 81; Fairbanks 1910, pp. 94-97.

[6] This consensus is critiqued by Karoglou; 2005, pp. 140-145.

in terms of size or cost of their material, are perceived as the gifts of non-privileged individuals. While these assumptions may occasionally prove true, dedications in ancient Greek sanctuaries were given for public display. In some cases, a poor individual might give a gift to the gods representing a far greater percentage of his or her income than that offered by a wealthy donor.[7] This offering might be given in hopes of earning a sort of social capital which would allow for the recouping of the initial financial outlay. It is likely that competition played a role in this type of ritual behavior. Nevertheless, it was not the only factor considered when offering a votive. Ultimately the most important aspect of the dedication was that it be received with favor by the intended deity.

A comprehensive study of dedications set up by craftspeople is much needed since it can provide valuable information about ancient Greek religious and social practices. Unfortunately, votives which include the dedicator's occupation are rare. Instead, scholars can only reconstruct that the dedicator was some type of worker/*banausoi* by the use of the terms *aparche*, meaning first-fruit of some type of labor, and *dekate*, meaning one-tenth or a tithe of the profits, in the inscription body.[8] Any attempt, however, to try to tease out the dedications of one type of worker from another, or even to distinguish dedications to a particular divinity based on iconography, without aid of precise inscriptions, faces numerous difficulties. Recent studies on ancient Greek votive practice suggest that offerings rarely reflect the cult of the deity to whom they are offered. Harris, for example, argues that the evidence from the treasuries of Athena on the Acropolis shows that the offerings, with few exceptions, are not focused on any particular aspect of her divine persona.[9] It should also be stressed that we cannot assume that every item discovered at a sanctuary was a votive offering. For example, in

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[7] Keesling 1995, p. 395.

[8] Keesling 2003, pp. 4-10; Burkert 1979, pp. 52-54.

[9] Harris 1995, p. 240.

the case of pottery it is difficult to distinguish vases set up as dedications from pottery used for social purposes, even in a ritual context.[10] And finally, many dedications were of ephemeral materials, and thus leave no trace on the archaeological record. That being said, I now turn to a discussion of some of the surviving evidence for the dedications of workers.

*Dedications by cobblers*

The dedication of the Cobbler Dionysios is a tall stele, topped by a sculpted relief carved into a cavetto capital (Figures 4:1 and 4:2).[11] It was found in the Agora excavations in 1972, in Roman fill in one of the rooms associated with the Library of Panainos, south of the Stoa of Attalos. The stele stands 1.63 meters high, 0.295 (bottom) to 0.31 (top) meters wide, and 0.195 (bottom) to 0.258 (top) meters thick. The material of the dedication is Hymettian marble, and the stele bears two inscriptions. It is in a surprisingly good state of preservation. Based on the style of the sculpture and letter forms of the inscription, it has been assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century BCE.

The relief shows a scene of a cobbler's workshop: four seated adult male figures at work on shoes (Figure 4:3). Various ages are depicted among the men; the man on the far left is depicted as a mature, bearded figure, while the man immediately to his left (viewer's right) appears to be a young man. The fifth figure is a child, who sits in the left foreground, and appears to be cutting leather. On the right side of the scene in the foreground is a table with shoes sitting on top. There is also a beam running across the top of the room, with pegs for holding shoes and various implements.

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[10] For the various uses of vases in sanctuaries, see Kristensen 2001, pp. 65-66, table 4.

[11] The most complete publication of this dedication (Agora inventory number I 7396) is Camp 2004, pp. 129-137. The stele is also referred in Camp 1973, p. 209; Camp 1986, p. 147; and Camp 1990, p. 212, fig. 134.

John Camp relates this sculpture in its scale and execution to numerous small-scale reliefs of daily activities and rituals found on funerary lekythoi, as well as the figures shown on Attic decree reliefs.[12] It is, however, extremely unusual to find a genre scene in sculpture with such an elaborate composition. The relief depicts a busy shop with multiple figures, which recalls Xenophon's description of a shoemaker's shop, which describes a workshop with multiple cobblers, each engaged in a different step in the production of shoes (*Cyropaedia* 8.2.5). The scene is all the more remarkable in that the scene was actually the smaller of the two reliefs included in the dedication, according to Camp.[13] The larger relief is now lost.

There are two inscriptions on this monument. The first is located immediately beneath the relief, and reads:

> Dionysios the son of [...]on, the cobbler, and the children dedicated this to the hero Kallistephanos.
>
> [trans. Camp 2004]

The hero Kallistephanos named, interestingly enough, is otherwise unknown. The closest attested is a "wreath-bearing hero."[14] It is, however, possible that Kallistephanos is not a hero at all, but is an adjective describing the hero. Kallistephanos as an adjective is used to describe Demeter and Hera, and is also used to describe the wild olive, which was used to make the crowns for victors in the Olympic Games. The second inscription which follows on the stele also mentions Kallistephanos:

> Having seen a divine vision in his sleep, Dionysios adorns the hero and the children of Kallistephanos; do you give in return for these things wealth and happy health.

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[12] Camp 2004, p. 131. See Schmaltz 1970 (for the grave lekythoi). Lawton (1995) and Meyer (1989) discuss the decree reliefs.

[13] This type of relief set on a tall base can be seen in votive depictions from the Asklepieion and from the Amphiareion at Oropos. For an example, see the Telemachos stele from the Asklepieion at Athens; see Beschi 1967/1968, pp. 381-436, and 511-517.

[14] Bekker, *Anth.* 311.18, Harpokration, and the Suda lexicon.

[trans. Camp 2004]

Camp tentatively suggests the possibility, based on the gap in the first inscription where the patronymic was located, that this dedicator may have been the son of Simon, a well-known cobbler, whose shop was frequented by Socrates and his students.[15]

Related in terms of iconography and possibly the occupation of the dedicator is a second relief. This votive was most likely offered by a cobbler named Silon, although the evidence is circumstantial (Figure 4:4). This dedication is a large votive stele found in 1904, not *in situ*, roughly to the south of the Theater of Dionysos in Athens.[16] This stele stands 2.39 meters high, measuring 0.22-0.31 meter wide at the top, by 0.16 meter in depth. The body of the stele is decorated with a winding snake in relief. A sandal, carved separately, is affixed to the stele at the top. On the sandal is carved a standing, bearded male figure who faces right and has his right hand raised (Figure 4:5). In the space between the two reliefs is the inscribed dedication, which reads "Silon dedicated me."

A passage in Pollux (7.87) may shed light on this relief:

> The blaute is a type of sandal, and there is a hero on a blaute in Athens, for a certain cobbler dedicated a stone relief of a blaute.
>
> [trans. Camp 2004]

The association of this passage with Silon's dedication seems plausible, as Silon's relief can be taken to show a hero, quite literally, on a sandal, and which would also suggest that Silon was a cobbler.[17] Even without the Pollux passage, however, it is difficult to

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[15] Simon's workshop is described by Diogenes Laertius (2.13.122). It is generally assumed that this shop has been discovered near the Tholos, just west of the Agora boundary stone, based on archaeological finds of a cup with his name inscribed on it, and detritus appropriate to shoe-making. For Simon's house, see H. A. Thompson 1954, pp. 54-55; and D. B. Thompson 1960, pp. 234-240.

[16] This stele is now in the National Museum of Athens (EM 2565). On the find of the dedication, see Elderkin 1941, p. 387.

[17] Camp 2004, p. 137, n. 7. Elderkin previously made this association, although Elderkin suggests a connection with Aigeus and a chthonic cult of Aphrodite; 1941, pp. 381-387.

imagine someone not associated with the footwear industry choosing this particular imagery for a votive offering.[18]

It is unfortunate that we do not know more about the dedicatees of these two reliefs. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that these two large-scale dedications were offered by cobblers—as it has generally been assumed that artisans were of low-income status, and therefore, unable to make such dedications. In the case of the Dionysios dedication, the first inscription does mention multiple dedicators, so it is possible that this dedication was a collective effort monetarily, as there is no mention of the ages of Dionysios' children. In addition, both of these dedications were addressed to heroes, not to Olympian deities. What does this say about the dedicatory practices of cobblers? While a sample body of two dedications does not lend itself to the formulation of firm conclusions, it is interesting to note that the only two dedications by cobblers which have been discovered are large-scale marble reliefs dedicated to heroes, not attested as being associated with the cult of craftsmen from the literary evidence.

*Penteskouphia Plaques*

The site of Penteskouphia is located 2.5 kilometers southwest of ancient Corinth (Figure 4:6). In 1879, as a result of illicit digging activities, a large number of painted plaques (*pinakes*) were discovered from one of two small ravines on the west slope of Penteskouphia Hill (Figure 4:7).[19] At this time, nearly 1600 fragments were unearthed, and the best preserved of them made their way to the Louvre in Paris and the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (including Figure 3:15, Figure 4:8, and Figure 4:9).[20] The site has still

[18] Camp 2004 also points out that the name Silon could also fit the patronymic given in the first inscription of the Kallistephanos relief; pp. 134-136.

[19] The location of this site was marked in 1937 on a sketch map drawn by G. Davidson, R. L. Scranton and S. Weinberg; see *Corinth Field Notebook* 156, pp. 57-58. The site is not easily located today—Jennifer Palinkas, Nick Hudson, and I walked the area in December 2003, without finding any remaining sherd scatter. See Wiseman 1978, pp. 82-83, n. 17, fig. 105 for a discussion of the area, and nearby landmarks.

not been systematically investigated, although during 1905, the American School of Classical Studies did conduct a small excavation of the area. At this time, another 350 fragments were recovered, and these were sent to the Corinth Museum, where they remain today.[21] Von Raits, now Geagan, was the first to study the Penteskouphia plaques as an assemblage, including the plaques from the Corinth Museum, although her focus was on mythological imagery in the painted scenes.[22] A definitive publication of the entire corpus is still lacking, although two are in preparation.[23]

The Penteskouphia plaques are made of local Corinthian clay. They are rectangular in shape, but vary in size. Very few were found intact. The largest of the assemblage measures 30 centimeters in height, by 20 centimeters in width, and 0.5 centimeter in thickness. Most of the plaques are poorly preserved—not only are the plaques very fragmented, but many have also lost much of their painted decoration.[24] Those which retain their decoration are painted in the black-figure technique. Some bear decoration on both sides of the plaque, although the painted scenes are not always

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[20] Furtwängler catalogued the plaques in Berlin, describing 614 fragments. These fragments have the prefix 'F' in their inventory numbers; Furtwängler 1885, vol. I, pp. 47-105, nos. 347-955; and vol. II, pp. 999-1000, nos. 3920-3924. The best preserved of these were published in Müller and Wieseler, vol. I, pls. 7-8, and 23-24; and vol. II, pls. 29-30, and 39-40. See also Pernice 1897. Some of these fragments were loaned (permanently) to Göttingen University; see *CVA* Göttingen 2, 2001, pp. 43-47, figs. 6-14, pls. 20-21. The plaques in Paris at the Louvre were first discussed by Rayet in 1880.

[21] Some additional fragments have been unearthed since that excavation; these fragments are also in the Corinth Museum. During the three-day 1905 excavation, fragments of Protocorinthian and early Corinthian vases, and one or two Archaic terracotta figurines were also recovered. No associated architecture was found; Washburn 1906, p. 20.

[22] See Von Raits 1964; and Geagan 1970. More recently, see Schachter 1992, p. 251, with bibliography; and Karoglou 2005, pp. 178-185.

[23] Karoglou 2005 reports that A. Greiveldinger (Université de Montpellier) was working on the Penteskouphia assemblage in her dissertation entitled: "Les pinakes anathematikoi: étude des plaques de terra cuite peintes consacrées en Corinthie archaique." Eleni Hasaki also has a study of these plaques in preparation: "The Penteskouphia Plaques from Ancient Corinth and their Imagery of Potters at Work." In addition, numerous papers have addressed these plaques at the Archaeological Institute of America's Annual Meetings, particularly over the last ten years.

[24] Furtwängler 1885, p. 48.

oriented on the same axis. In date, the Penteskouphia assemblage ranges from middle of the seventh century down to end of the sixth century BCE.[25]

These plaques were intended as dedicatory offerings in a sanctuary.[26] Their relevance to workers' cult is suggested by the iconography on certain examples, an unusually high percentage of kiln depictions, which suggest that this sanctuary was patronized by potters.[27] In general, genre scenes are well-represented on the Penteskouphia plaques, including scenes of farming, hunting, or scenes decorated with single animals.[28] As previously mentioned, many plaques illustrate the work of potters; the scenes depicting the production process are the most frequently discussed among the entire assemblage (Figure 4:8 and Figure 4:9).[29] These scenes cover the entire process, from the mining of clay, to the forming of vessels, decoration, firing, and ultimately shipping. On the pottery plaques, however, scenes of firing are the most prevalent, perhaps because this was the most dangerous part of the process. Although the pottery scenes provide valuable information about the organization of workshops, at least one indicates clear evidence of industrial cult; this plaque was discussed in chapter three (Figure 3:15). The scene on the plaque with the ithyphallic pottery-daimon standing on a kiln illustrates an apotropaic device, but I would argue that plaque itself has an apotropaic function, no doubt enhanced by the depictions it bears. By dedicating the plaque, the potter either hoped to appease the daimon, or alternatively, hoped that the figure would act as a talisman to avert other malign influences. In addition to genre scenes, many of

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[25] Zimmer 1982, p. 26; Payne 1931, pp. 97-113. Schachter 1992, p. 251, states that the plaques themselves all date from the Archaic period.

[26] On plaques as dedications, see Rouse 1902; Boardman 1954; Salapata 2002; and Karoglou 2005, among others.

[27] Pottery scenes decorate 10.2 percent of the assemblage; Karoglou 2005, p. 140, n. 2.

[28] In addition to the above citations, see Payne 1931, p. 117.

[29] Richter 1924, pp. 76-78; Payne 1931, p. 117; Zimmer 1982, pp. 26-32; Cuomo di Caprio 1984; Hatzidimitriou 1997, pp. 60-71; Hasaki 2002, pp. 31-47, and pp. 434-452; and Appendix III; and Karoglou 2005, pp. 182-183.

the plaques show mythological subjects. A significant number depict the god Poseidon, either alone or in the presence of other gods, suggesting that the plaques represent the debris from one of his sanctuaries.[30]

Many of the Penteskouphia plaques have painted inscriptions; unfortunately for my interests, it was more common to write the name of the god, rather than the name of the dedicator, or the reason for the dedication.[31] There are, however, two preserved dedicatory inscriptions from potters and/or painters. On the first example, the painter of the plaque was also the dedicator. This plaque, which shows a two-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses, probably belonging to Poseidon and Amphitrite, has an inscription which reads: *Μιλονίδας ἔγραψε κἀνέθεκε.*[32] On another example, a potter or painter offers a plaque as his own work: *ἀνὲθηκε Ποτ(ε)ι[δά(f)ωνι f]άνα(κ)τι αὐτοπόκια.*[33] The inscriptions suggest that at least some of the Penteskouphia plaques were dedicated by potters and painters, hoping to secure divine good will in their endeavors.

As there is no literary testimony regarding the sanctuary at Penteskouphia, the patron deity cannot be known with certainty. Most scholars, however, attribute the dedications to a shrine of Poseidon, or perhaps Poseidon and Amphitrite. This is based on the frequent presence of Poseidon in the mythological scenes on the plaques, as well as his name in dedicatory inscriptions. Whether other gods or goddesses, such as Athena, were worshipped there is unknown, although her presence is certainly suggested by the

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[30] He appears on nearly half of the plaques catalogued by Furtwängler; see also Hasaki 2002, p. 33, n. 8. Other mythological subjects include Athena, the Gigantomachy, Herakles, Pegasus, and the Minotaur; see Geagan 1970; and Karoglou 2005, pp. 179-182. Geagan suggests the possibility that the plaques refer to the cult of Poseidon Hippios at the Isthmus, known from Himerius, *Or.* 47.82-83; 1970, p. 35.

[31] On the inscriptions, see Amyx 1988, pp. 603-608. For a plaque (F 846) signed by Timonidas, a Corinthian painter, see Lorber 1979, p. 38, no. 41, fig. 28, pl. 10.

[32] This plaque was joined by Geagan 1970, p. 34, fig. 2, from Louvre, MNC 212 and F 511; Karoglou 2005, p. 183. For the inscription, see *IG* IV, 244; and Lorber 1979, p. 74, no. 114, pl. 33.

[33] This plaque is a join of F 524 and F 694; see Karoglou 2005, pp. 183-184, n. 58.

mythological scenes on the plaques, including the image of the owl perched on a kiln (Figure 3:15). Since no architectural remains were located in the area, this sanctuary was probably a sacred grove, which would explain why some of the plaques bear suspension holes, and why some were decorated on both sides.[34] While at first glance, the choice of Poseidon as a beneficiary of worship from potters seems curious, Poseidon was a god who presided over trade, particularly maritime trade, which would have been of considerable importance to Corinthian potters during the life of the sanctuary.[35] On a related note, while nearly forty plaque fragments were discovered during the excavation of the Potters' Quarter in Corinth (discussed in chapter two), none had scenes of pottery or manufacturing.[36] Although at Penteskouphia the painted scenes of firing on the plaques indicate some anxiety about this process, the focus of the cult seems to have been directed towards the protection of trade and distribution. A similar situation may be present at Kafizin on Cyprus.

*The Inscribed Vessels at Kafizin*

The site of Kafizin lies about seven kilometers southeast of Nicosia in Cyprus, near the summit of a hill which contains several natural caverns brought about through the process of erosion (Figure 4:10 and Figure 4:11). One of these caverns was made into a grotto dedicated to the religious worship of the Nymph, or Nymphs (Figure 4:12). Very few archaeological traces of the site remain beyond numerous pottery sherds, many

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[34] Schachter 1992, p. 251. Boardman 1954, p. 193, n. 111, however, argues that the suspension holes in some of the double-sided plaques were simply a practical means of securing a successful firing inside the kiln. He bases this conjecture on the observation that their edges are often glazed or painted, implying that they could not have been set on their edges for firing, and also that there is no trace on their surface of clay supports which would enable them to lay flat inside the kiln. I prefer the hypothesis that these plaques were suspended in the open air in the sanctuary.

[35] Schachter 1992, pp. 15-16, and p. 55.

[36] See Newhall 1931, pp. 20-22, figs. 20-22; *Corinth* XV:iii, pp. 239-245, nos. 1320-1357, pls. 55-56, 112-114, 122.

of which bear inscriptions.[37] It is based on these inscriptions that the use of the site has been dated to a seven-year period, between 225 and 218 BCE.[38]

What is particularly interesting about this site is that the grotto was essentially a private cult place for a company of linen workers. Not only was the grotto created by this company for this cult, but they also provided the offerings to the deity, and celebrated their own religious festival, complete with games.[39] The company of workers was apparently owned by Zenon and Androklos, who organized their workers with the help of an overseer, Onesagoras, son of Philounios.[40] The nature of the work was not craft per se, as the company collected and prepared the raw linseed and flax product; they were not themselves weavers.

The vast majority of the dedications were ceramic—plain ware vessels, along with some utensils and fine ware vessels, without glazed decoration (an example can be seen in Figure 4:13). Of these, 268 bear inscriptions which denote Onesagoras as the dedicator, as a representative of the company as a whole. Usually, these offerings were dedicated as a tithe. Thus, Onesagoras states explicitly that a dedication was given "by grace of the company of Androklos." Another is dedicated "from Zenon's company of flax and linseed", and still others "from the tithe of the year."[41] On occasion, the potter of the vessel, who presumably was only a contract employee of the company at best, is the dedicant.[42]

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[37] Mitford 1980, p. 4. Many of these inscriptions are inscribed in the old Cypriot syllabary, while others are in an Arcado-Cypriot Greek dialect, and still others are in standard Hellenistic Greek; see Mitford 1950, pp. 97-106; Mitford 1980, pp. 264-265; and Brown and Catling 1986, p. 66.

[38] Mitford 1980, p. 251. Because this site was used for such a short period, Kafizin is unique in providing a nearly complete series of pots and utensils, which are both closely dated to one another, and were of local manufacture; see Mitford 1980, p. 266.

[39] Mitford 1980, p. 256.

[40] Mitford 1980, p. 256.

[41] Mitford 1980, p. 259.

[42] Mitford 1980, pp. 259-260.

The fact that these offerings were being dedicated to the Nymph is also interesting. The cult of the Nymph is not well attested on Cyprus.[43] In addition, cults of the Nymphs tended to be cultivated by people 'possessed' by the Nymph, as was seen in the case of Archedamos of Thera at Vari in Attica. Was Onesagoras taken by the Nymph? In contrast to the inscriptions found at Vari, many of the inscriptions of Onesagoras are business-like, not passionate, and hint at a more "calculated devotion."[44] Thus, the company and Onesagoras relied on their patroness (the Nymph) for their success, and in turn for her help, she was compensated in inscribed pots. What connection the Nymph has with linen preparation is uncertain, although in the *Odyssey* (13.107-108), the nymphs were described as weavers. Mitford also suggests that the grotto itself may have served as a type of company shop-window, displaying the company's goods, and acting as a sort of advertisement,[45] although the lack of dedicators beyond the company and its employees argues against this interpretation. It is difficult to imagine that a remote grotto would have had that sort of 'foot traffic.' Kafizin presents a surprisingly uniform corpus of offerings, particularly given that this was not a civic cult, and was patronized by individuals. Nevertheless, these individuals generally chose to dedicate as a group, giving back an excess of proceeds as a tithe. These dedications maintained a system of exchange with their divine patroness, aiming to ensure future success in trade.

*The Acropolis Dedications*

One of the largest, varied, and most studied assemblages of votive offerings comes from the Athenian Acropolis, where over 400 dedicatory inscriptions have been

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[43] Mitford states that there is no other sanctuary dedicated to the Nymph on Cyprus (1950, p. 104), but I am uncertain whether more recent archaeological work has necessitated a revision to this statement.

[44] Mitford 1980, p. 260.

[45] Mitford 1980, p. 260.

found.[46] Raubitschek, when discussing the wide range of dedicators on the Acropolis, determined that 38 had been set up by craftspeople, which is ultimately 28% of the corpus of surviving marble bases.[47] The offerings dedicated by workers are all dated later that 525 BCE, and cluster around 510 BCE, which led Raubitschek to suggest that Athenian craftspeople may have acquired increased wealth and social standing due to the advent of democracy.[48] These dedications consist of both large-scale and more modest votive offerings.

Of the large-scale dedications, the vast majority consists today solely of the bases or pillars which originally held the true votive. Nevertheless, these bases and pillars provide valuable information as they include the votive inscription, recording the act of dedication. Typically, a dedicatory inscription only included the name of the dedicator, or the deity to which the gift was being given. Of particular interest among the Acropolis dedications are at least thirteen inscriptions which also commemorate the occupation of the dedicator. Thus, we know that Smikros the tanner dedicated a kore statue.[49] Simon the fuller dedicated a marble kore statue,[50] whereas Polykles the fuller dedicated a bronze vase.[51] Polyxenos, the son of Mneson the fuller, dedicated a marble perirrhanterion (water basin).[52] Another marble perirrhanterion was dedicated by Smikythe the

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[46] The classic study of the Acropolis dedications is Raubitschek 1949. See also Hutton 1897, pp. 306-318; and more recently Keesling 2003, on the statues.

[47] Raubitschek 1949, pp. 464-467. Over the years, a number of Raubitschek's proposed banausoi dedications, particularly those attributed to potters, have been dismissed; see Webster 1972, p. 5; Keesling 2003, pp. 71-74. See also Karoglou 2005, p. 346, table 7.

[48] Raubitschek 1949, p. 465. The status of artisans in antiquity, in particular, potters, has been vigorously debated; see Thomas 1985, pp. 114-115; Pipili 2000, p. 153, n. 2; Gill and Vickers 1990, pp. 6-8; and Webster 1972, pp. 298-299.

[49] Raubitschek 1949, no. 58.

[50] Raubitschek 1949, no. 49.

[51] *IG* I$^3$ 554.

[52] Raubitschek 1949, no. 342.

washerwoman.[53] Phrygia the breadseller dedicated an inscribed bronze shield, which may have originally been attached to an Athena statuette.[54] A marble statue of a horse was dedicated by a carpenter, whose name has been lost.[55] The well-known late Archaic Potter Relief (Figure 4:14) depicts the dedicator himself seated on a chair, and holding two drinking cups. These cups are most likely meant to be representations of his own products. The vessels that this dedicator holds resemble late Archaic black-glaze Acrocups, which may be based on metal prototypes.[56] Because this relief also had metal, probably bronze, acroteria, it is possible that this relief actually represents a maker of metal vessels, and not a potter, as has been traditionally proposed.

Recently, there has been a scholarly debate over an additional five of these dedications which describe their dedicators as *kerameus*, and date to the late Archaic period.[57] The difficulty represented by these inscriptions is that the term *kerameus* could be used to describe the profession of potter, or it could be the demotic of the deme, Kerameis, of the dedicator. The inscriptions under debate, which follow below, are the dedications of Mnesiades and Andokides (a bronze statue), Peikon (a small seated figure), Euphronios (unknown dedication), Nearchos (a large kore), and one unknown individual offering a bronze sculpture.

1. Μ]νεσιαδεω κεραμευω με και Ανδοκιδεω ανεψεκεν [58]
2. Πεικον ευξσαμενοω κεραμευω δεκατεν ανεψεκεν ταψεναιαι [59]

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[53] Raubitschek 1949, no. 380.

[54] *IG* I$^3$ 546. Keesling 2003, p. 69.

[55] Raubitschek 1949, no. 196.

[56] Gill and Vickers 1990, p. 7; Keesling 2003, p. 73.

[57] This debate is addressed by Wagner 2000, pp. 383-387.

[58] *IG* I$^3$ 620; Raubitschek 1949, no. 178.

[59] *IG* I$^3$ 633; Raubitschek 1949, no. 44.

3. *A* [Ε]υθρονιοω [ανεψε]ν [––] κεραμευω [ταψεναι]αι δε[κατεν] [––]ερ–– [60]
   *B* – Λ ορξαμε τ–– ––ε καλοω–– –α–εκαν–αν [h]υγιεια[ν––]ν–

4. *I* Νεαρξοω ανεψεκεν κεραμευω εργον απαρξεν ταψ[εναιαι] [61]
   *II* Αντενορ επ[οιεσεν h]ο Ευμαροω τ[ο αγαλμα]

5. -- hυιοω κεραμε]υω τοδε εποι[ε] [62]

According to Vickers, the word *kerameus* designates deme, not trade. To support his assertion, he lists two inscriptions of Protonikos, who is described as *kerameus* in one (*IG* I$^3$ 465123-4), but as *ek Kerameion* in another (*IG* I$^3$ 278.1). Vickers also argues against potters being able to afford expensive votive offerings,[63] although the dedications of the cobblers, and the other Acropolis worker dedications, discussed above, throw doubt on this particular objection. Wagner, however, argues that the two inscriptions of Protonikos remain the only known occurrences in which the deme name is the correct interpretation of the *kerameus*.[64] In addition, she points out that none of the other workers' dedications on the Acropolis employ the demotic in the votive inscription.[65] Most scholars seem to accept the first four inscriptions as belonging to potters' dedications. In particular Mnesiades and Andokides, Euphronios, and Nearchos are potters known during the time of the dedications from their *epoiesen* signatures on vases. The dedication by Nearchos is generally assumed to be AcrM 681, also known as the Antenor kore, as the dedication and inscription were found together (Figure 4:15). [66]

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[60] *IG* I$^3$ 824; Raubitschek 1949, no. 225.

[61] *IG* I$^3$ 628; Raubitschek 1949, no. 197.

[62] *IG* I$^3$ 663.

[63] Vickers 1985, pp. 124-125.

[64] Wagner 2000, p. 384.

[65] Wagner 2000, p. 386.

[66] For Nearchos, see Beazley 1944, p. 21; and Robertson 1975, p. 162. For the potter dedication, see Johnston 1987, pp. 135-136.

Also of interest is the joint dedication by Mnesiades and Andokides. Williams suggests that it may have been set up to ensure the good will of the goddess when the pottery workshop changed ownership or underwent a merger.[67] It is also possible that these two potters dedicated together in order to make a more impressive dedicatory showing. The Euphronios inscription also mentions that it was set up as a *dekaten*, a tithe, to the goddess Hygieia. Was Euphronios praying for his own health, or that of his pots?[68]

In addition to the above large-scale dedications, we also have a small series of more modest dedications of potters and painters preserved from the Acropolis.[69] It is likely that these examples are more representative of the dedications of craftspeople, in that a craftsperson would dedicate an inscribed example of his or her own wares. The motivation for these dedications is frequently described as tithes or first-fruits. For example, a potter dedicated an Athenian black-figure plate with the two Boreads by Lydos.[70] An Athenian plaque with a picture of potters was dedicated.[71] Another possible dedication by a potter to Athena is seen on a fragmentary red-figure krater (Figure 4:16).[72] Although there is no dedicatory inscription preserved describing the dedicator, the subject matter of the upper scene, a potter's workshop, suggests that this may be an example of an *aparchen*. Kallis dedicated an Athenian red-figure plaque to Athena Hygieia.[73] Epiktetos made, painted, and dedicated an Athenian plate. An Athenian

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[67] Williams 1995, p. 147, a suggestion that Wagner (2000, p. 383) appears to accept.

[68] Keesling 2003, p. 72.

[69] Webster 1972, 4-5.

[70] *ABV* 112/54.

[71] *PP* 7; *ABV* 353.

[72] Van Straten 1995, p. 26.

[73] *ARV*$^2$ 1556. Webster 1972, p. 4, suggests that this dedication was not a prayer or thank offering for his own health, but rather for the health of his pots, perhaps similar to the Euphronios dedication.

black-figure hydria by the Painter of Acropolis 601 was dedicated by either the painter himself or the potter as a first-fruit dedication.[74] A kantharos decorated with a Gigantomachy was dedicated to Athena by its maker.[75] Skythes, probably the vase-painter of the votive, dedicated a black-figure plaque.[76] Smikros, possibly the vase painter, dedicated a cup.[77] Oreibelos made and dedicated a volute-krater to Athena, decorated with a man holding myrtle boughs before the goddess.[78] Myson was the potter and painter of a column-krater, which he dedicated. Both sides of the vase show worshippers of Athena.[79] Sosimos was possibly the dedicator of a first-fruit offering of a cup with oil and sprigs of olive. Interestingly Sosimos also dedicated a phiale at Eleusis as a first-fruit to the goddess Demeter.[80] The Acropolis dedications offer a large corpus of votives dedicated by workers, presumably dedicated to the goddess Athena. This conclusion can only be made tentatively as other gods and goddesses were worshipped in the sanctuary. While it is tempting to ascribe the majority of these dedications to Athena Ergane, there is little evidence that these dedications were actually being offered to this aspect of her divine persona.

*Other Dedications*

There are several more dedications which I would like to mention briefly. The first is a dedication on Delos, by the sculptor Euthykartides to Delian Apollo (Figure

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[74] *ABV* 80; Beazley 1927, p. 224.

[75] Graef and Langlotz 1909-1925, I, 2134.

[76] Graef and Langlotz 1909-1925, I, 2556; *ABV* 352.

[77] Graef and Langlotz 1909-1925, II, 238; Bloesch 1940, p. 124, no. 3.

[78] Graef and Langlotz 1909-1925, II, 762; *ARV*$^2$ 499 (Deepdene Painter).

[79] Graef and Langlotz 1909-1925, II, 806; *ARV*$^2$ 237.

[80] *ABV* 350.

4:17). All that remains of this dedication is the statue base, which is a triangular marble base carved on two corners with heads of a Gorgon and on the third corner with the head of a ram. The inscription on the base reads: "Euthykartides the Naxian made and dedicated me."[81] The base would have originally supported a kouros. This dedication is remarkable for two reasons. The first reason is the early date, the seventh century BCE, which makes this one of the earliest known dedications by a craftsperson. This dedication is also notable because of the extreme effort which went into its erection on Delos. The marble is Naxian, and thus the sculptor presumably quarried, carved, and transported the dedication miles across the Aegean Sea to offer it to Apollo. It is also interesting to note that there is a much later votive inscription on Delos, of Hellenistic date, dedicated to *Apollon marmarios*.[82] Strabo also mentions a shrine of Apollo Marmorarios near the quarries of Karystos on Euboia (10.1.6), where there was also a "dragon house." The evidence is geographically and temporally scattered, but it is possible that the cult of Apollo was patronized by sculptors and marble masons.

In the Ilissos area in Athens, there was a shrine of Acheloos, Pan and the Nymphs. Nearby, in the Stadium, was found a marble votive relief dated to the mid-fourth century BCE, dedicated to the "Nymphs and other gods" by a group of washer men and washer women (Figure 4:18).[83] The upper register shows a grotto with masks of the river Acheloos, along with Hermes leading the Nymphs and Pan.[84] The lower scene shows a male figure, possibly a hero, standing before two goddesses. In the middle of the two scenes is an inscription which names the male and female dedicators who consecrated the relief. Here again we have another example of a votive offering by a group of workers. Regrettably there is no evidence whether or not these individuals belonged to some sort

[81] *ID* 1. See Burford 1972, p. 1, and pl. 1.1.

[82] *ID* 2473. See Burford 1972, pp. 168-169.

[83] Travlos 1971, p. 289; Burford 1972, pp. 160 and 171; and Löhr 2000, pp. 98-100, no. 116.

[84] On the general iconography of votive reliefs to Acheloos, see Larson 2001, pp. 98-100.

of association, as in the case of Kafizin, or whether they simply pooled their resources to produce a more impressive dedication. It is also interesting to note that once again, as at Kafizin, there is a dedication to the Nymph by individuals associated with the clothing industry.

As this overview of workers' dedications has shown, there is evidence for a wide variety of votives offered to numerous different deities in thanksgiving or in hopes of future success. Small votive plaques decorated with painted workshop scenes, such as those found at Penteskouphia, were probably a less expensive offering available to artisans to give to the gods. There is also evidence that some craftspeople formed cult associations to dedicate offerings, possibly to pool their resources for a more impressive showing, as was seen at Kafizin, and possibly with the votive of the clothes washers from the Stadium in Athens. In addition, not all individual workers' dedications were modest; the substantial marble reliefs of the cobblers and those from the Athenian Acropolis attest to this fact. Clearly dedications, be they first-fruits, tithes, or more generally gifts, were an important element in the cult practices of workers. Suprisingly, however, given the strong bias in the literary sources and in the iconography of craft deities, there is no clear uniformity in kinds of dedications by particular types of workers. While some craftspeople dedicated examples of their own work to the gods, those who set up the large-scale dedications of potters from the Athenian Acropolis notably did not. There is also no clear correlation between types of workers and the deity who was worshipped, with the possible exceptions of dedications of marble workers to Apollo, dedications of individuals in the clothing industry to the Nymph, and possibly the dedications of some potters to Athena. There are in fact no dedications solely to Hephaistos the craft god attested. If the majority of dedicatory inscriptions mentioned Hephaistos or Athena Ergane, then we could be fairly sure that most craftsmen subscribed to that cult. It seems, however, that craftspeople and workers, in general, were by no means so specialized in

their religious beliefs, and tended either to patronize cults which were already popular in the area, or chose to worship based on more personal beliefs, outside of the realms of their occupations.

## Conclusion: The Fear of Miasma and the Cults of Craftspeople

To conclude, I offer the following hypothesis for the underlying motivation for industrial cult rituals: Through rituals, sacrifices, offerings, festival participation, and other cult activities, Greek craftspeople attempted to maintain divine favor through the elimination of dangerous sources of *miasma*. The threat of *miasma*, or pollution, was a dominating concern for the ancient Greeks.

### *What is miasma?*

*Miasma* is generally defined as ritual pollution in the Greek world.[1] Pollution, a "particularly weighted form of generic uncleanness," is brought about either as the result of a behavior, or the failure to carry out a prescribed behavior.[2] By this, I mean that pollution can result from committing a social transgression, such as theft or murder, but also can result from a cultic offense, such as impiety, or not performing proper rituals. In this sense, pollution is akin to "sin", although this term should be used carefully, as it is laden with Judeo-Christian meanings, which do not necessarily apply to the ancient world. In the Greek world, pollution can also result from contact with an undesirable or "dirty" physical state or material, such as blood, disease, or sexual emissions. Contact with the dead was always seen as polluting. Even proper adherence to funerary rites, including wakes, funerals, and burial, resulted in pollution to the home of the deceased and the attendant mourners. Thus, in some cases, pollution could result from socially-recommended behavior. In other words, for the average Greek, encounters with pollution

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[1] The principal study of *miasma* in the Greek world is by Parker 1996. See also Zaidman and Pantel 1992, pp. 9-11; Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 73-76; Dodds 1951, pp. 35-37; and Garland 1994, pp. 37-40. Garland describes *miasma* as a contagious and potentially deadly virus; 1994, p. 37. On pollution in ancient Mediterranean religions, see Attridge 2004, pp. 71-83.

[2] Attridge 2004, p. 72.

were inevitable; therefore, certain remedies had to be available either to control or to counter these polluting elements.

The concept of pollution is not separable from that of the sacred, including the gods. Because pollution threatens the sacred, this state offends the gods. The consequences of the gods' anger over pollution could be dire and was to be avoided at all costs. Examples of these consequences could include sickness, death, agricultural or industrial failure, defeat in war, as well as undesirable natural phenomena, such as storms and earthquakes. Understanding pollution was necessary for humanity's continued well-being. Various means, including divination and prophecy, were used to discover which god was offended and what specifically was the cause of offense. One example of this type of activity can be seen on the lead tablets from the sanctuary of Dodona, the oracle of Zeus. One reads, "Is it because of the impurity of a mortal that the god is causing the storm?"[3]

Once it was determined that the gods were angry, measures, such as the giving of sacrifices or gifts, would be undertaken to appease the wrath of the gods, accompanied by efforts to remove the source of the pollution. These measures might be undertaken by religious experts or by ordinary citizens. In addition to ablutions by humans, various "cultic detergents," including blood and water, were used to purify the affected area or its parts.[4] Sometimes complex ritual practices were performed to remove pollution. Other methods of removing pollution might involve removing items, or even people, as in the *pharmakos* ritual, from the community; collectively, these methods are called rites of disposal or scapegoat rituals.[5] Other cases, such as the pollution caused by childbirth or menstruation, might involve the seclusion of the affected persons. In still other cases,

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[3] *SEG* 19, 1963, p. 149, no. 427.

[4] Wright 2004, p. 496. See also Pedley 2005, p. 98.

[5] Attridge 2004, p. 76. On the *pharmakos* ritual, see Burkert 1985, pp. 82-84. Dodds 1951 p. 195, and p. 205, n. 98, discusses the pharmakos 'trial' described by Dem. *Against Aristogeiton*, 25.79.

pollution might necessitate the addition of a purificatory element to the community, such as the introduction of a cult, or the transfer of a hero's bones. Greek religion was a pollution-based religion, a notion which ultimately covers attitudes which we would ascribe to morality. For example, Greek religion ascribes severe pollution to homicide.[6] Wright points out that this notion of murder being a polluting factor acts as a "mechanism of social control," whereby immoral behavior is discouraged by its definition as being negative and offensive to the gods.[7]

Literary evidence indicates that the Greeks believed religious danger was contagious, and that the consequence of pollution was divine anger. At the start of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the community is besieged by various evils, including disease and agricultural failure. The cause of all these evils turns out to be the presence in the city of a single polluted individual, Oedipus, who has unknowingly murdered his father and married his mother. Numerous myths and pseudo-historical narratives relate the dangers and sufferings that can befall individuals and cities in the throes of pollution.[8] Another example is provided in the *Tetralogies*, where Antiphon presents a set of model speeches of the late fifth century BCE, which were designed to show how to argue both sides of a case in murder trials (3.1.3, 2.8, 3.7, and 4.10). In these speeches the jury is encouraged to consider the danger of pollution from both sides. Should the jury acquit a guilty individual, the resulting pollution will threaten not only the jury, but the entire city. Pollution, however, will also result if the jury should condemn an innocent person. Literary evidence also indicates that *miasma* beliefs operated as explanations for misfortune. Herodotus (6.91) ascribes the expulsion of the Aeginetans from their home island in 431 BCE to a pollution, which had been incurred half a century earlier. In

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[6] Mikalson 1983, pp. 50-52.

[7] Wright 2004, p. 497. See also Parker 2004, p. 507; and Douglas 1996, p. 3.

[8] For additional examples, see the discussion of Ronen 1999, pp. 275-279; and Parker 1996, pp. 235-280.

another example, the narrative of Thucydides (3.104) suggests that the Athenians purified the island of Delos in 426 BCE in response to the plague of Athens of 430-427 BCE, apparently ascribing the tragedy to the gods' offense over the defilement of sacred space.

*The Chthonic Deities and their Realm*

Pollution was a particular concern for craftspeople because many of their jobs—quarrying into the earth for stone, digging for clay, or constructing pits for bronze casting—brought them into contact with chthonic deities, spirits who inhabited the underworld. These spirits were dangerous when angered, and represented the ultimate form of pollution. The chthonic powers go by many names in Greek religion, and operate in a diffuse and (usually) faceless manner in the lives of men.[9] These dark powers could be underworld spirits, such as the *daimones*, or could also be aspects of otherwise Olympian deities, e.g. Zeus Chthonios. The power of these spirits, however, seems to stem from some sort of sacrilegious disruption, which in turn allows them to affect, usually to wreak havoc on, various human and cosmic relations.[10]

Mary Douglas' classic definition of pollution is "matter out of place."[11] To apply this to the craftspeople and the chthonic deities, *miasma* resulted when a link was established between two realms (craft and the underworld), which should have been kept separate and distinct. Industrial cult activities, therefore, are an effort to control this unstable environment, with the hopes either of appeasing the underworld deities, or gathering the favor of other gods to offset the danger incurred.

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[9] Gernet 1917, pp. 316-317; and Vernant 1988, pp. 131-133; Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 118-120; and Burkert 1985, pp. 199-203. Moulinier 1952, pp. 260-270, offers a narrow interpretation of pollution as being solely a matter of concrete beings.

[10] For a *lex sacra* from Selinous dealing with rites of purification and the treatment of dangerous deities, see Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993.

[11] Douglas 1996, p. 51.

In addition, it is possible that the Greeks also associated *miasma* with what we designate by the word "pollution" in the environmental sense.[12] Industrial activity is extremely dirt-producing, resulting in smoke, debris, and poisonous residues.[13] For examples, kilns are frequently located in or near cemeteries in the Greek world. This can be simultaneously attributed to a desire to keep a dangerous process outside the city, as well as a desire to keep all the "polluted things" together, to keep them from infecting the rest of the city and its inhabitants. In a related phenomenon, curse tablets are frequently buried in cemeteries, indicating that cemeteries were thought to be the gateways to the realms of the chthonic powers. *Miasma* could result from contact with polluting behaviors or substances, or from the anger of the deities. Avoiding or controlling *miasma*, then, was the motivation and function of industrial cult.

*Attempts by Craftspeople to Control Miasma*

If craftspeople did believe that their work brought them into contact with the chthonic deities, how might we expect to see these pollution beliefs regarding potential danger serve as guides to action? I argue that the cult activities of craftspeople described in this thesis were used as "rites of affliction," ritual acts designed to mitigate the influence of spirits causing misfortune.[14] Rituals of affliction attempt to correct "matter out of place," through exorcism, protection, and/or purification. They demonstrate the efforts of humankind to alleviate suffering and ensure well-being, while delicately negotiating human and divine interactions. In chapter one, I examined the evidence for

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[12] See Rohde 1962, pp. 158-162; Vernant 1988, pp. 121-141, esp. pp. 127-129; and Moulinier 1952, p. 296. This sense of *miasma*, literally as "bad air" has been documented by Valencius for a much later period, namely, in early American settlements; 2002, pp. 114-117. "Bad airs" were a defining characteristic of an environment seen as simultaneously hostile, and possessed of great power.

[13] For information on the environmental impacts of industrial activity, see Hughes 1994, pp. 112-129.

[14] See Bell 1997, pp. 115-120.

state cult of craft divinities. Activities, such as sacrifices to Hephaistos and Athena Ergane and craft-related festivals, aimed not only to protect craftspeople, but also the city and its inhabitants. Torch-races and other fire-renewal rituals cleansed the city of pollution, either from transgressions or hazardous contact with chthonic forces, while simultaneously appealing to the craft divinities for future protection. In chapter two, I discussed the evidence for industrial cult at workshop sites. The evidence here is extremely diverse, testifying to the highly-individual character of the devotions of craftspeople. In the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, actual shrines were located in the industrial region, in hopes of encouraging divine protection. I suggest that the saucer pyre ritual in Athens was another such protection ritual—although here burnt pyres were intended to appease the chthonic deities. Chapter three addressed the iconography of the cults of craftspeople. Images of gods visiting workshops express a hope for divine favor, whereas various types of apotropaic imagery work to protect the physical space and its inhabitants from the chthonic deities, in the absence of certainty regarding divine favor. In chapter four, I presented examples of actual dedications to the gods from craftspeople. These dedications operated in the sphere of more formal, civic religion, and were a method by which craftspeople offered thanks to the gods for past successes and physical safety, or prayed for protection in the future from polluting and other dangerous influences.

Ultimately, industrial cult activities were about the desire to exert some measure of control over the uncontrollable. The actions of the ancient Greeks lead us to suspect that they believed that the gods were at work among humanity, and as these gods were capable of affecting the human realm both positively and negatively, these gods had to be appeased by humans. Avoiding *miasma* and controlling it, when it could not be avoided, were part of everyday religious activities for craftspeople to protect both their physical persons, as well as their economic well-being. As industrial cult was a sub-literary

activity, we can only examine the diverse physical traces of these cult activities to reconstruct what must have been an elaborate religious belief system.

How long these attitudes towards pollution were in place in the ancient world remains to be seen. It is clear that beginning in the Classical Period, these ideas about pollution were starting to be criticized, at least among the intelligentsia. Certain Greek philosophers ridiculed purification rites—for example, Heraclitus decreed the foolishness of "trying to wipe off mud with mud" (frag. B 5). Later, Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus described those obsessed with such practices as superstitious (*deisidaimon*), literally being excessively afraid of the divine world and its powers (*Characters* 16). Around this time, some individuals also questioned whether the gods needed sacrifices and other types of propitiation from human worshippers. Within the writings of some philosophers, such as Plato, it is apparent that while some pollution/purification ideas are being rejected, others are still in play. Plato criticized popular purifier 'professionals' as charlatans, yet retained vestiges of traditional notions of pollution, as in the *Laws* (9.831-873), which indicates degrees of pollution deriving from bloodshed. More importantly, his depiction of Socrates' last hours is replete with language of purification (*Phaedo* 66b-67b; 80d-81d). It is probable that, regardless of academic criticisms, notions of *miasma* continued to play an important role in the life of the average ancient person. Whether these criticisms took hold of the common imagination at the end of the Hellenistic period, or whether notions of *miasma* continued into the Roman world, must be the subject of another study.

Abbreviations used in the text:

*ABV* =J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1956.

*ARV* = J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edit., Oxford, 1963.

*CVA* = *Corpus vasorum antiquorum.*

*ID* = *Inscriptions de Délos.*

*IG* =*Inscriptiones graecae*, 1873-.

*LIMC* = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich, 1981-.

*PP* =J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edit., Oxford, 1971.

*SEG* = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, 1923-.

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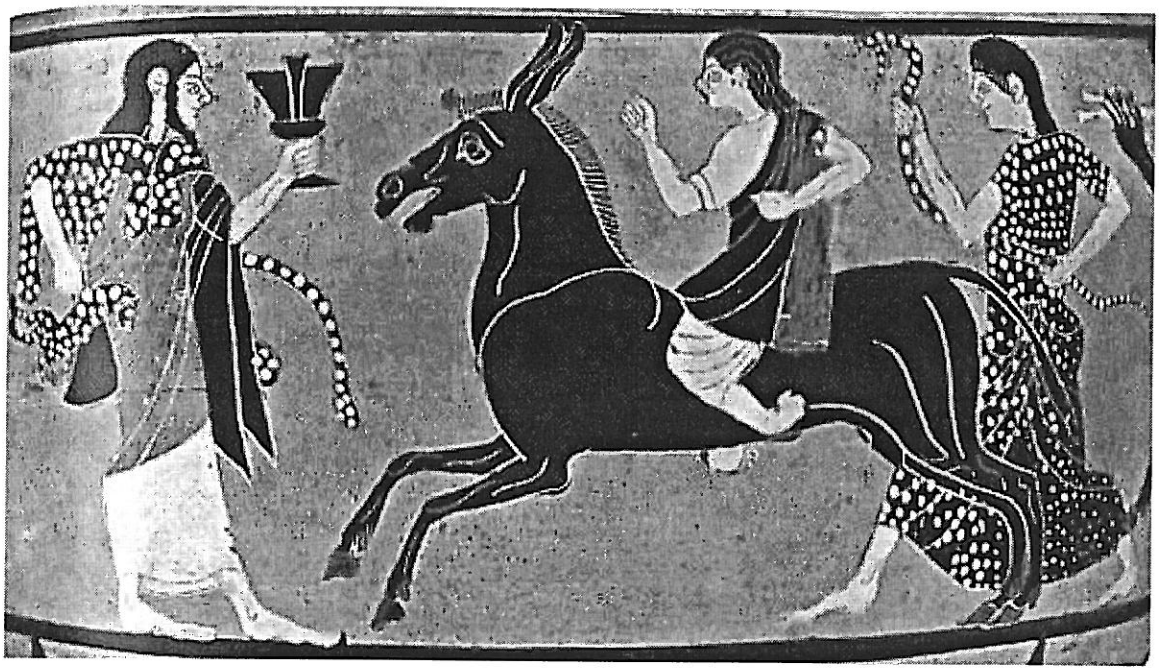
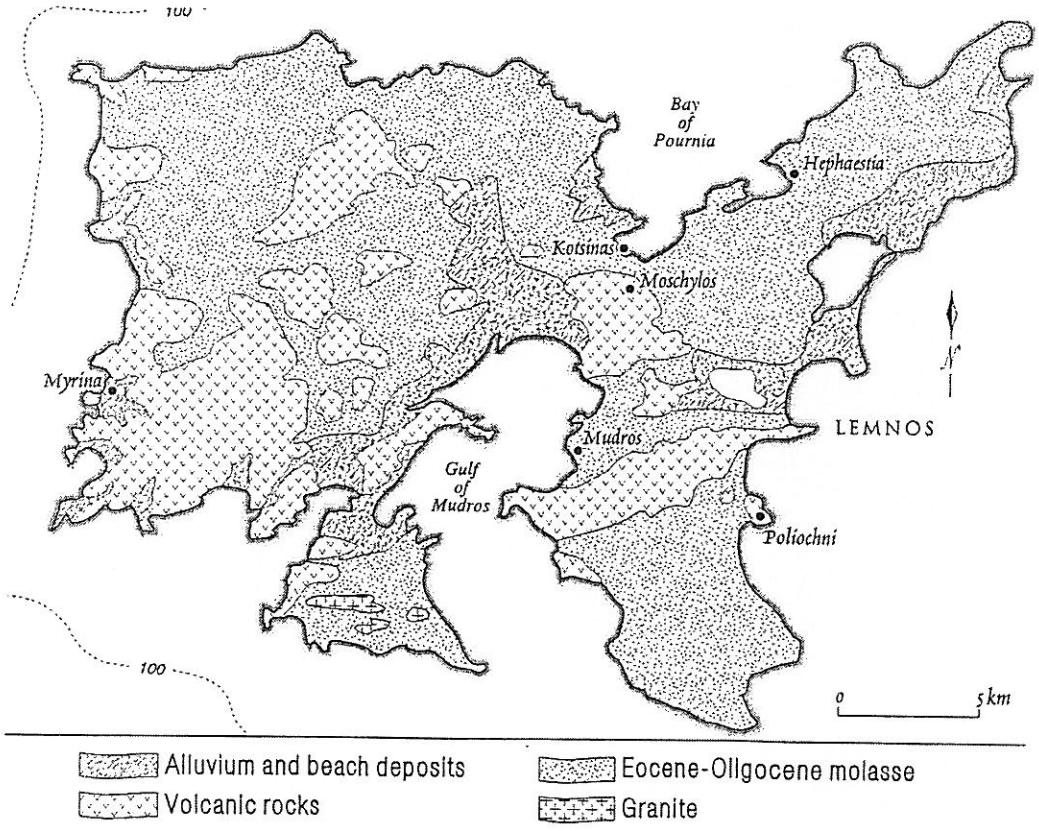


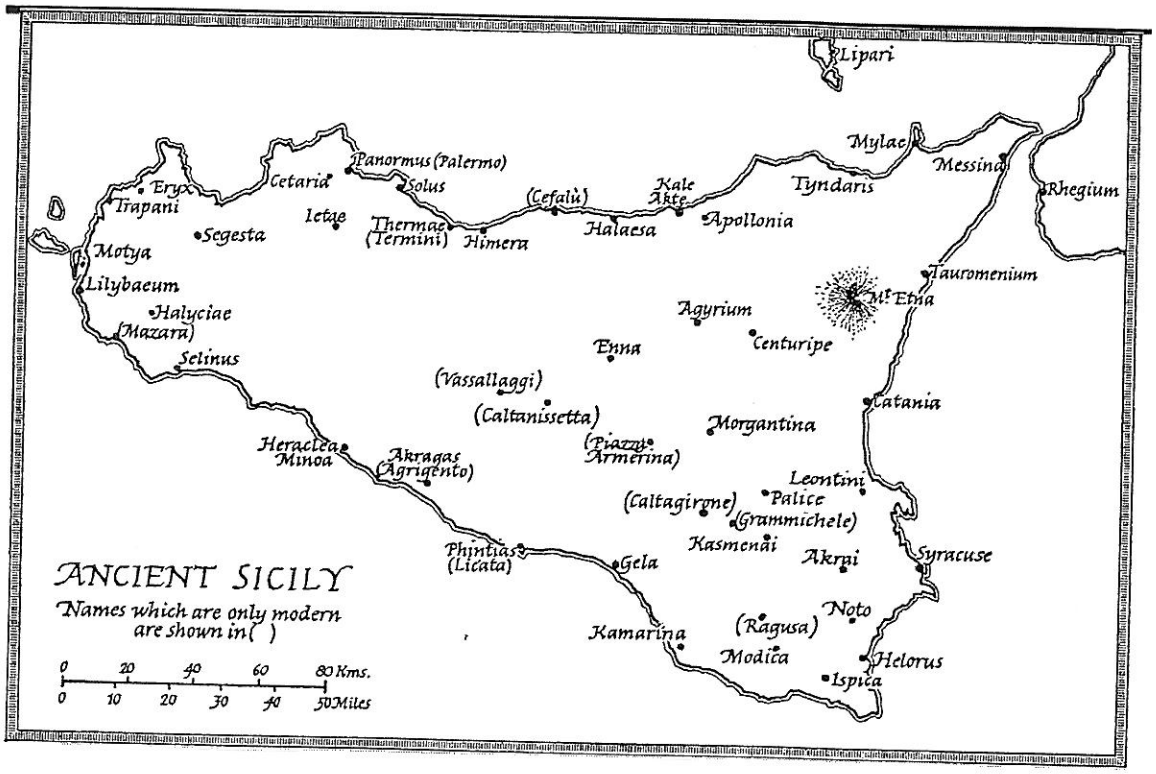
Scene from a vase paining depicting the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus

Scene from a vase painting depicting the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus




Geological Map of Lemnos

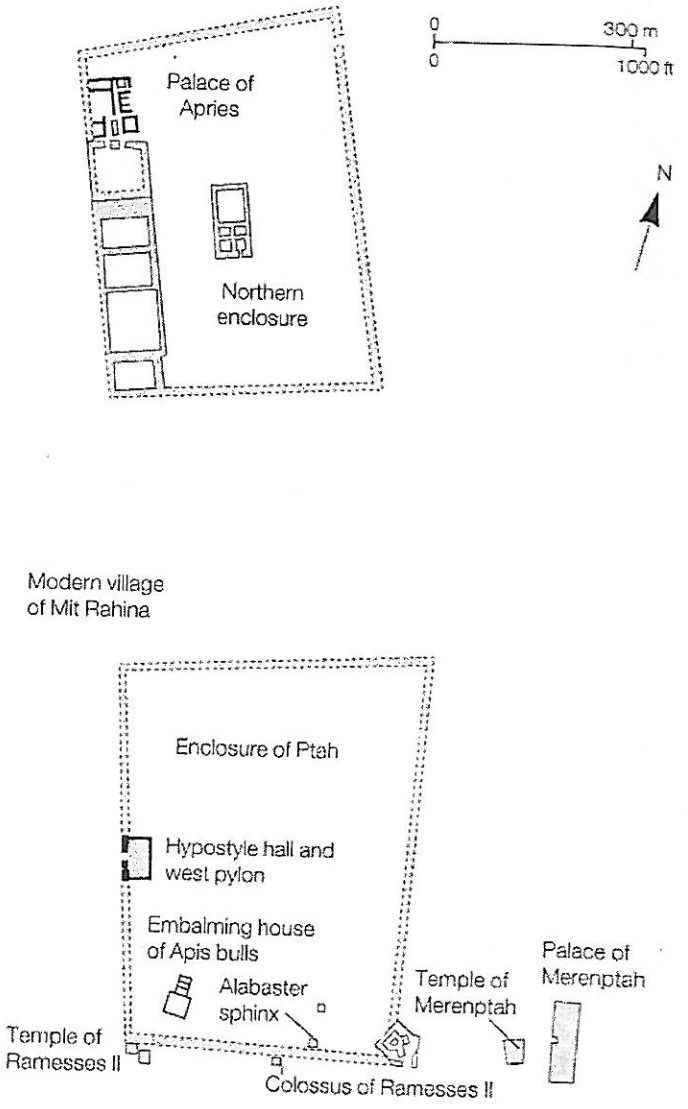
Hephaisteia is located in the north-east of the island.



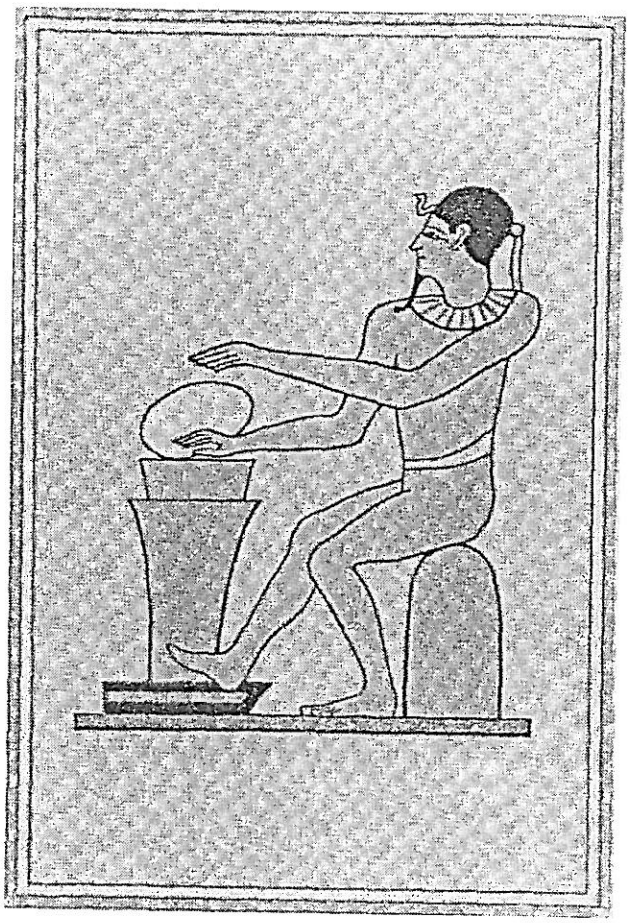

Map of Sicily

Mount Aetna is located in the eastern part of the island;
the Lipari Islands are north of Sicily.

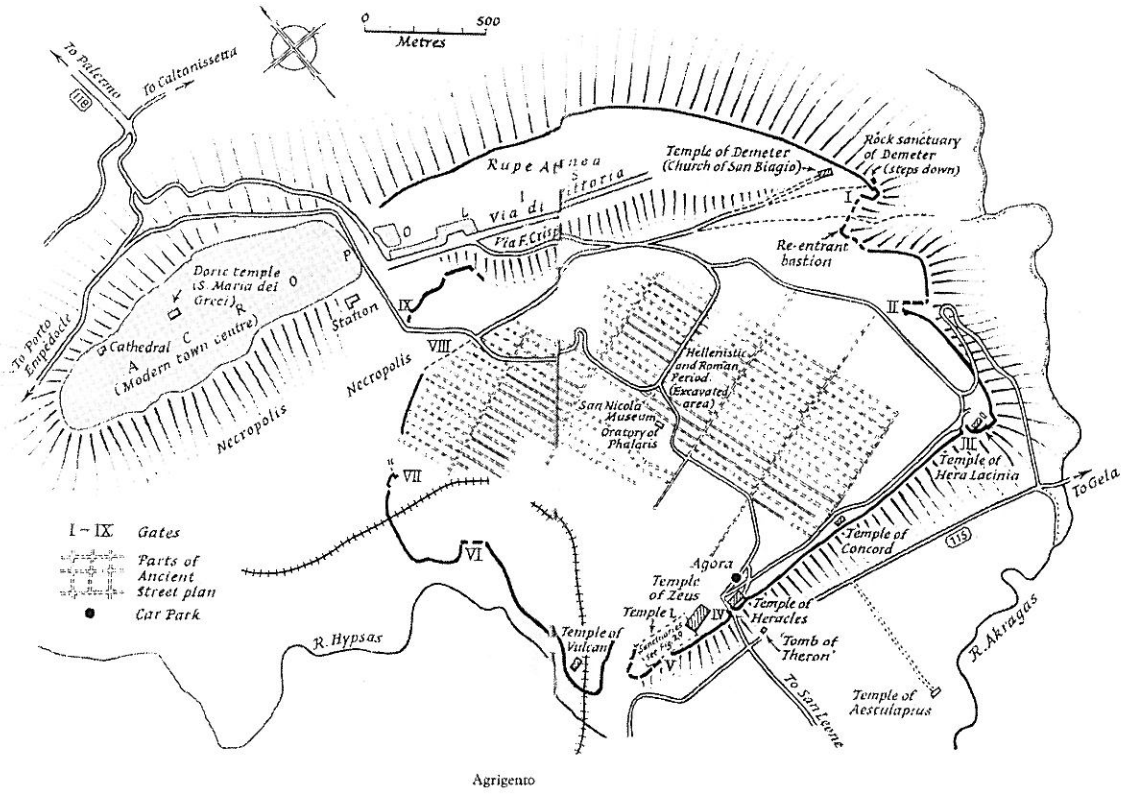
1:5




Ptah Sanctuary at Memphis

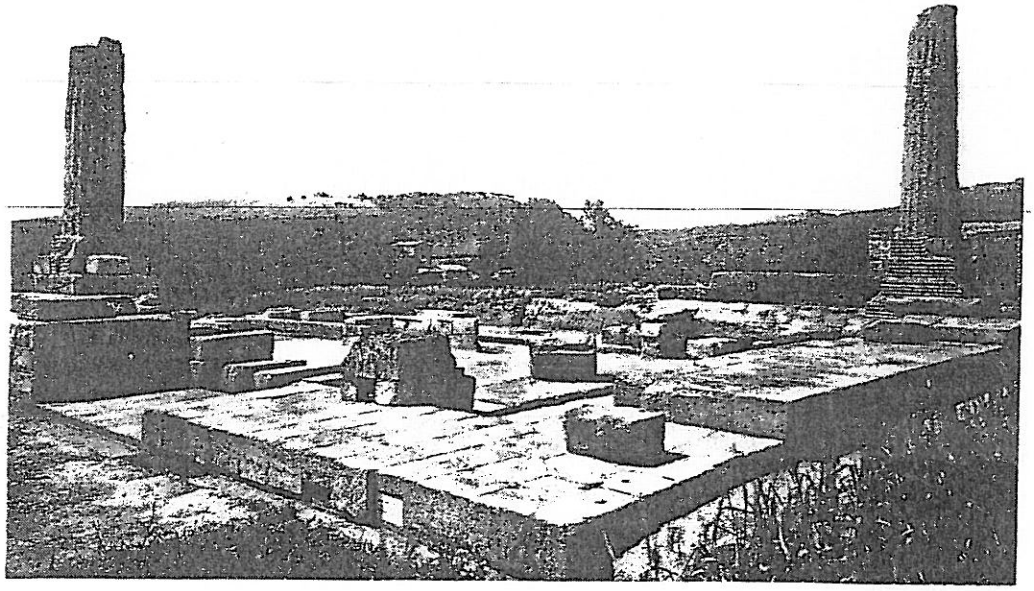


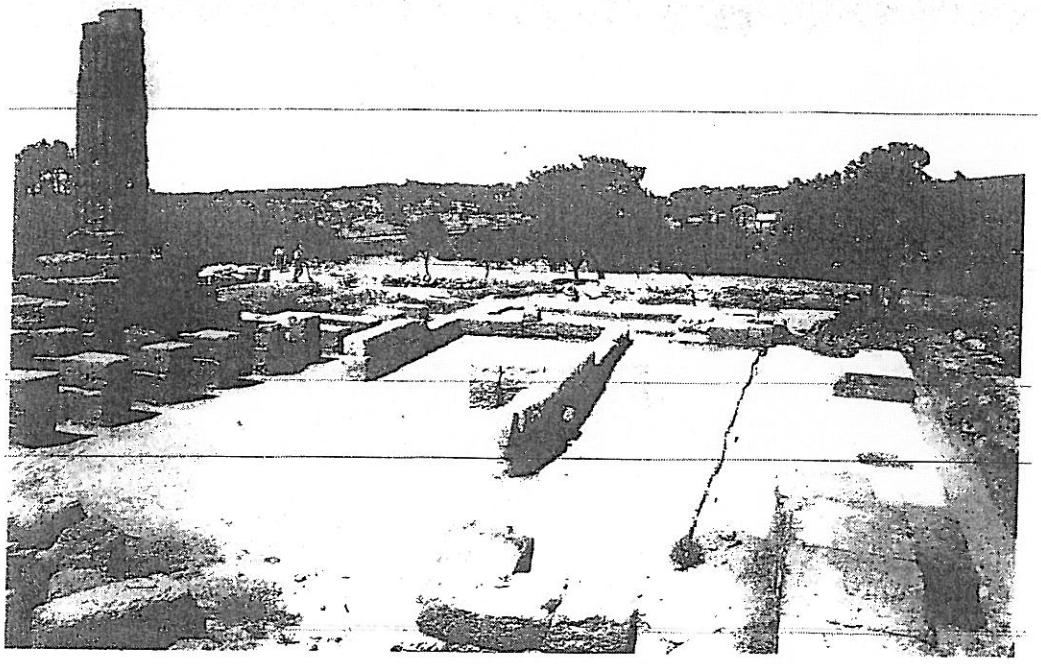
Ptah Making the Egg of the World on a Potter's Wheel




Agrigento

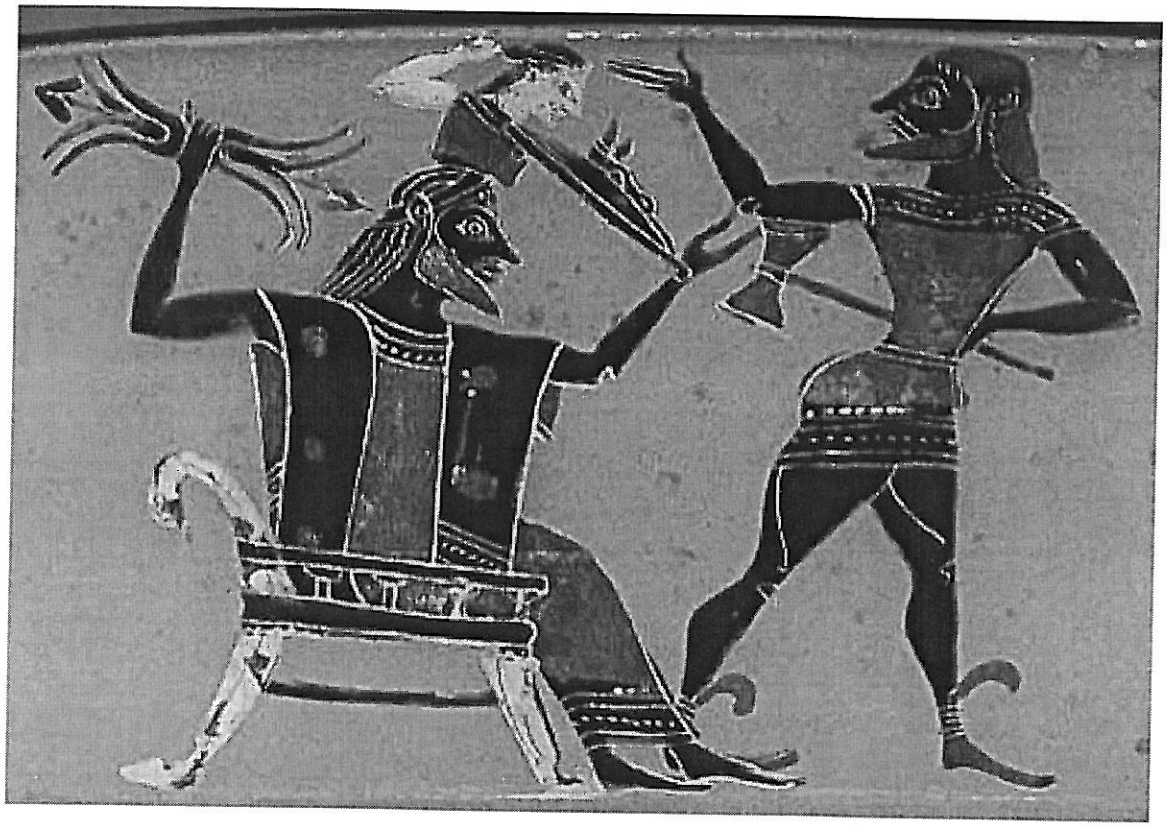
Map of Agrigento



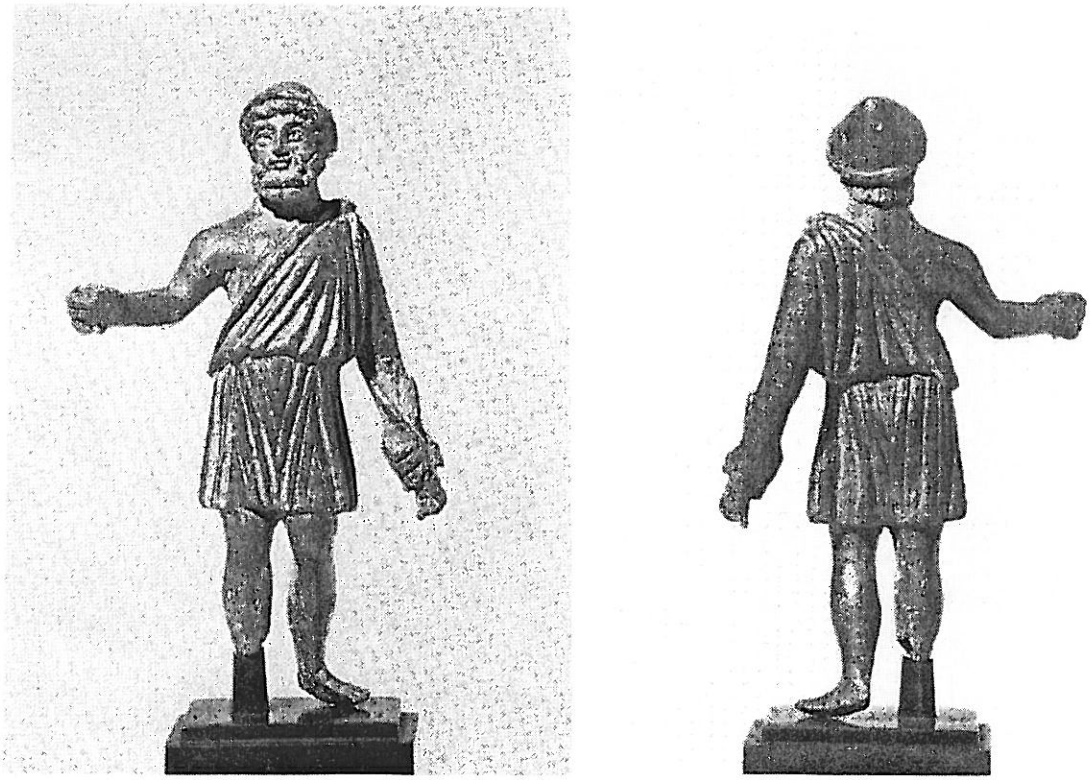


Temple of "Hephaistos" at Agrigento

Hephaistos as Craftsman, Making the Arms of Achilles
Tondo of the Foundry Cup
[See also Figures 3:12 and 3:13]



Hephaistos aids Zeus in the Birth of Athena



Statuette of Hephaistos, possibly modeled on the cult statue from the Hephaisteion

Depiction of Hephaistos on a lamp, possibly modeled after the cult statue at the Hephaisteion

Athena Armed for Battle

The Goddess Athena Holding a Spinning Tool from Scornavacche

Owl with Spinning Attributes

*Figs.* 1a, b. Bronze coins of Ilion, around 300 or early third century (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

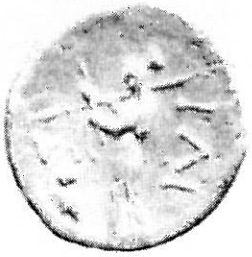
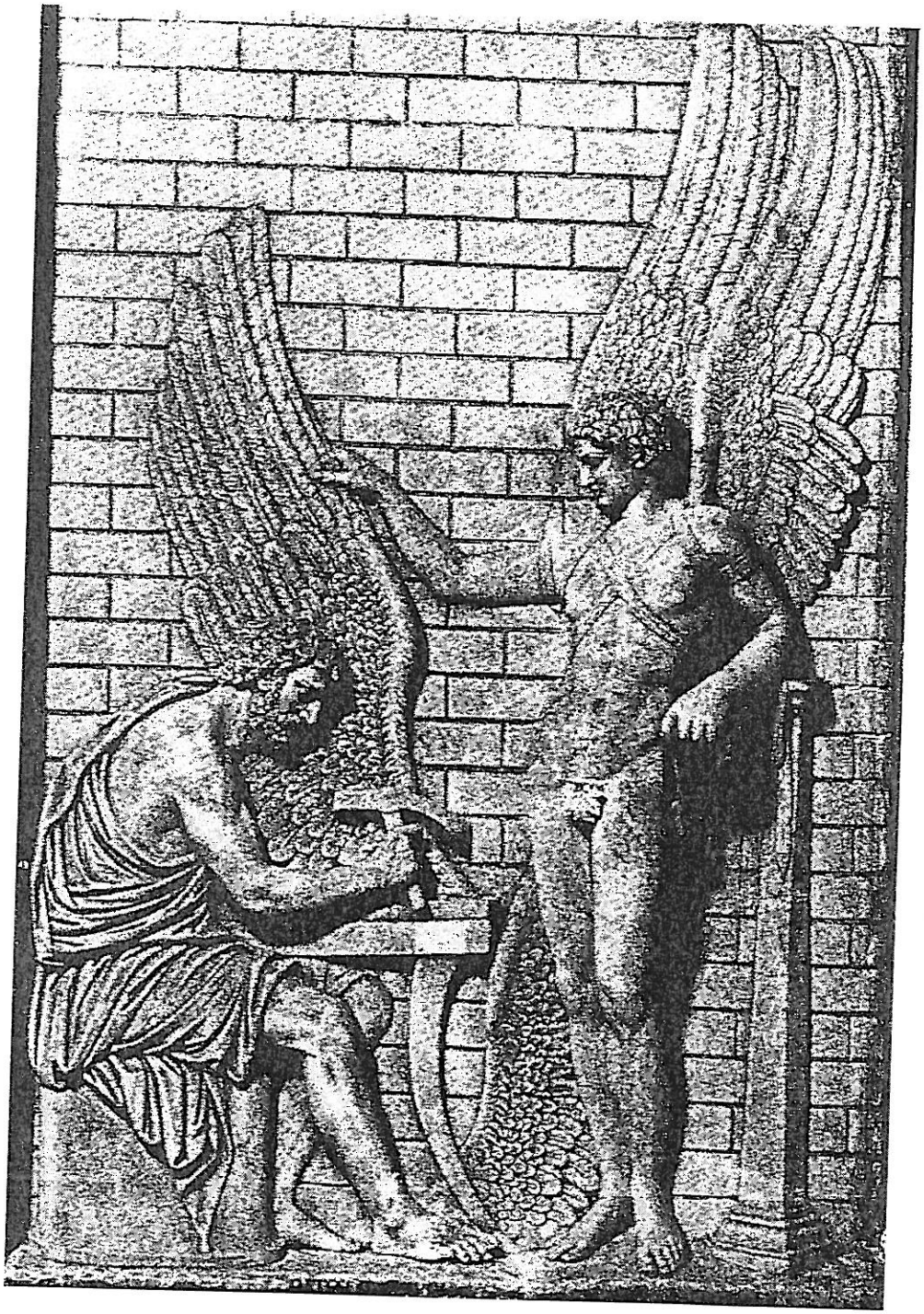


*Fig.* 2. Hemidrachm of Ilion, last quarter third century (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

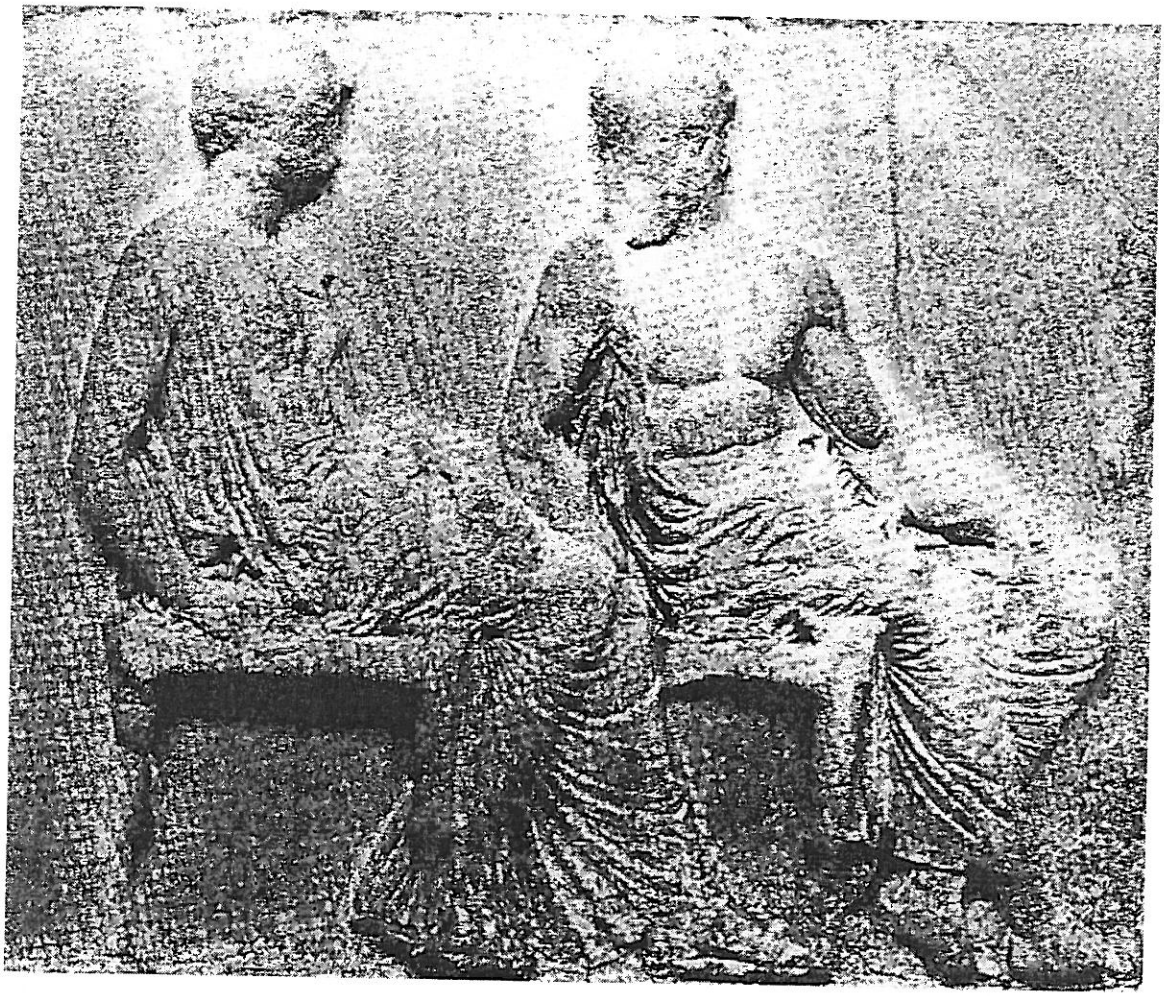
Coins of Ilion

Late Archaic Marble Statue from the Acropolis

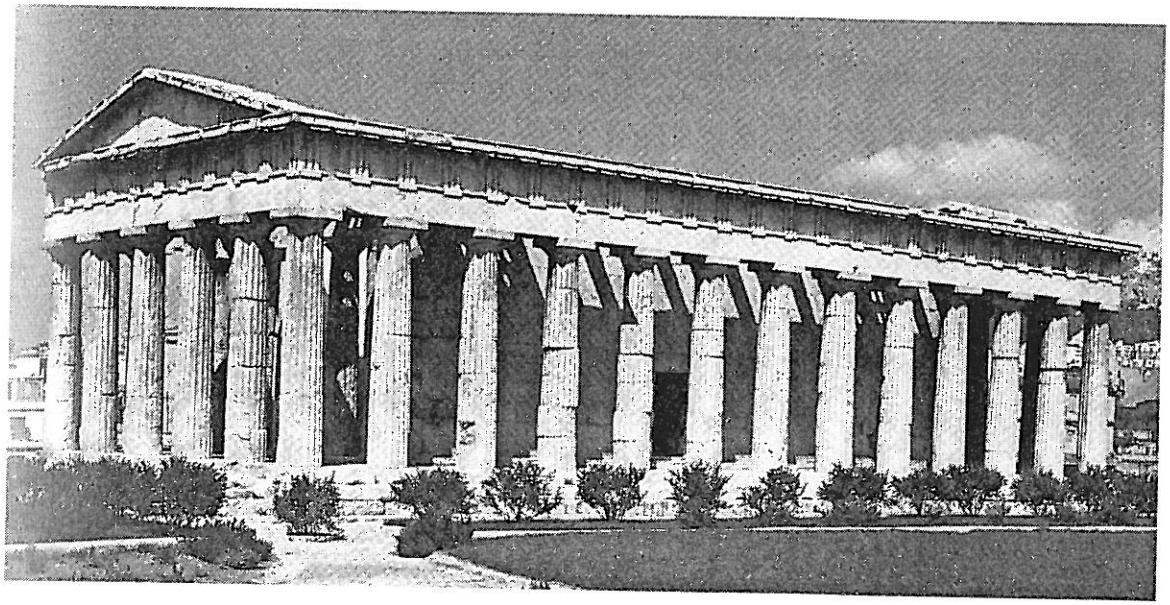


Marble Relief of Daidalos and Ikaros

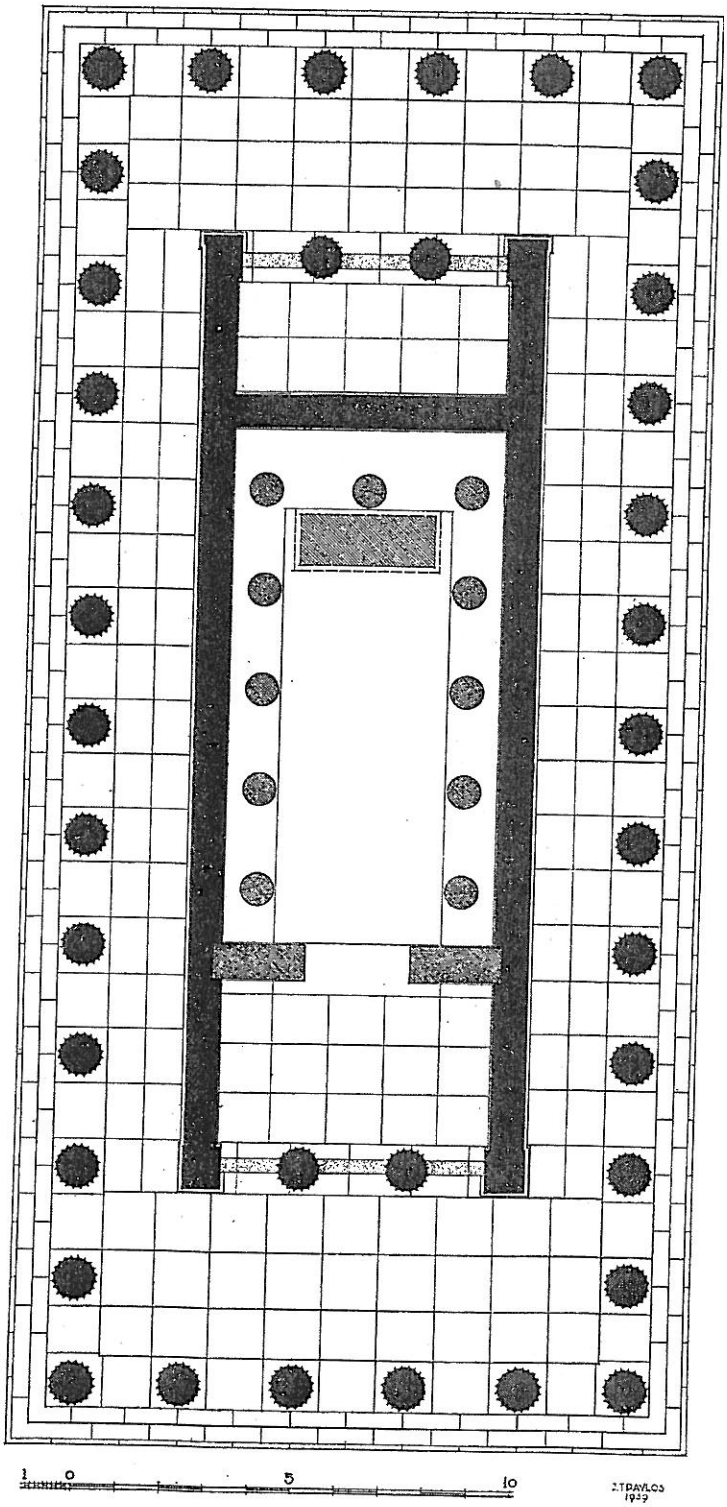
Birth of Erichthonios
Gaia hands the child up to his mother Athena, while Hephaistos observes



Athena and Hephaistos on the Parthenon Frieze

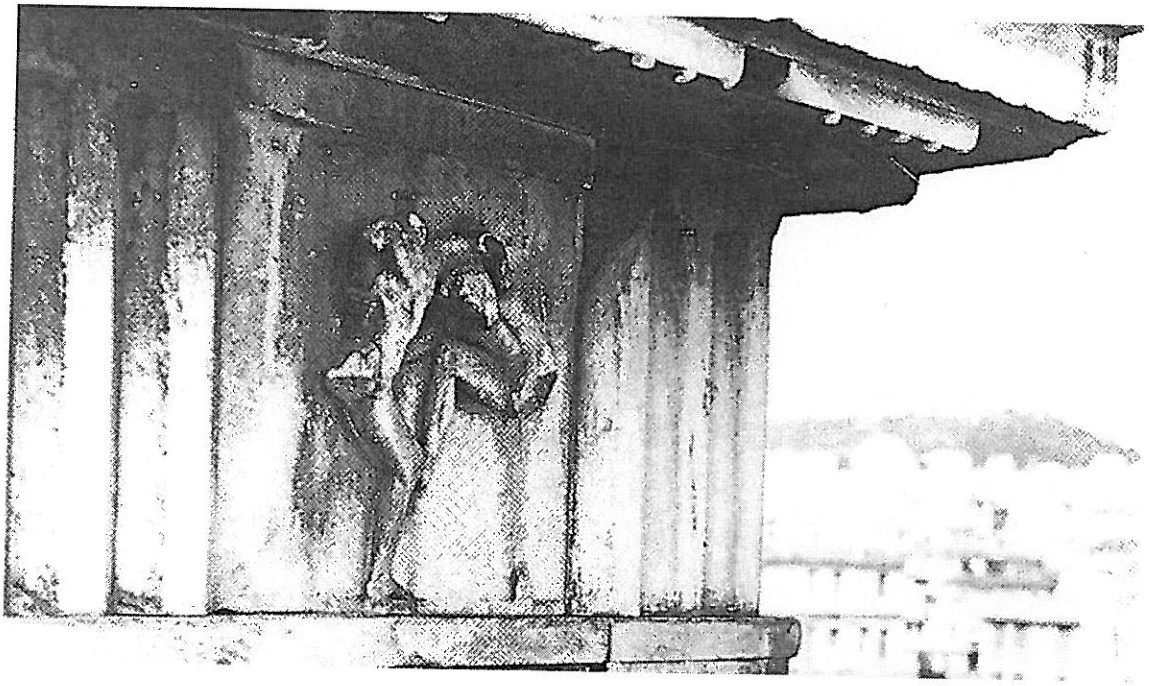


The Hephaisteion in Athens
View from the Southwest

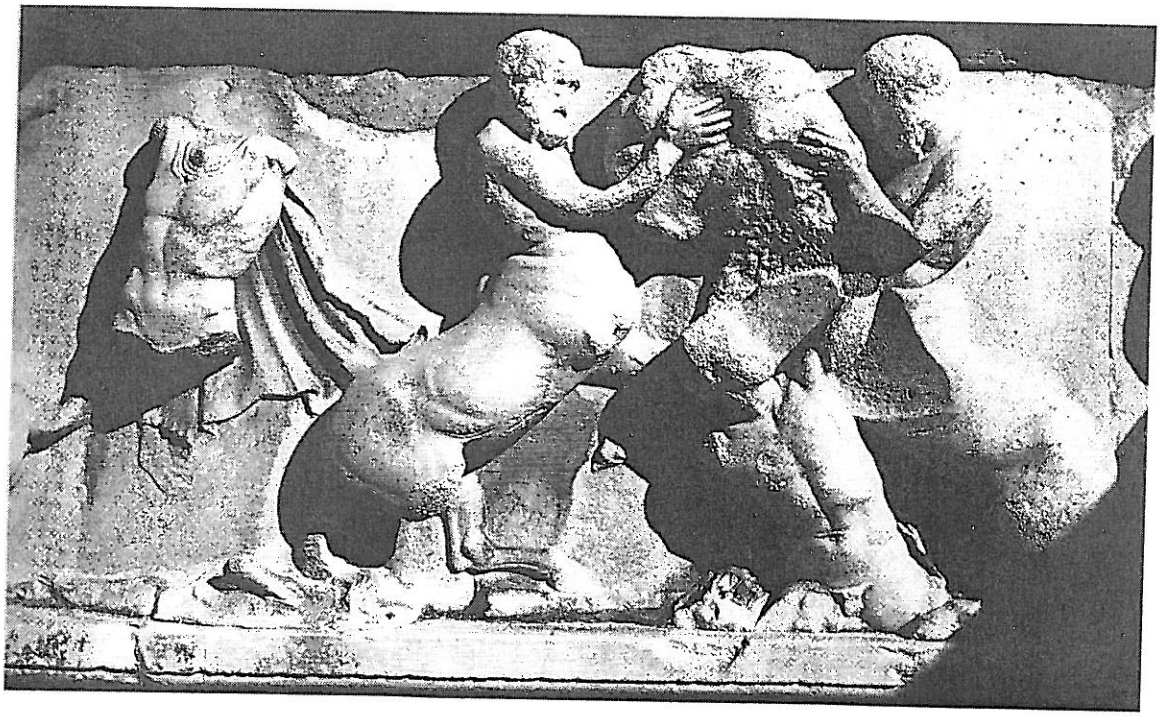



Plan of the Hephaisteion

1:23
a and b



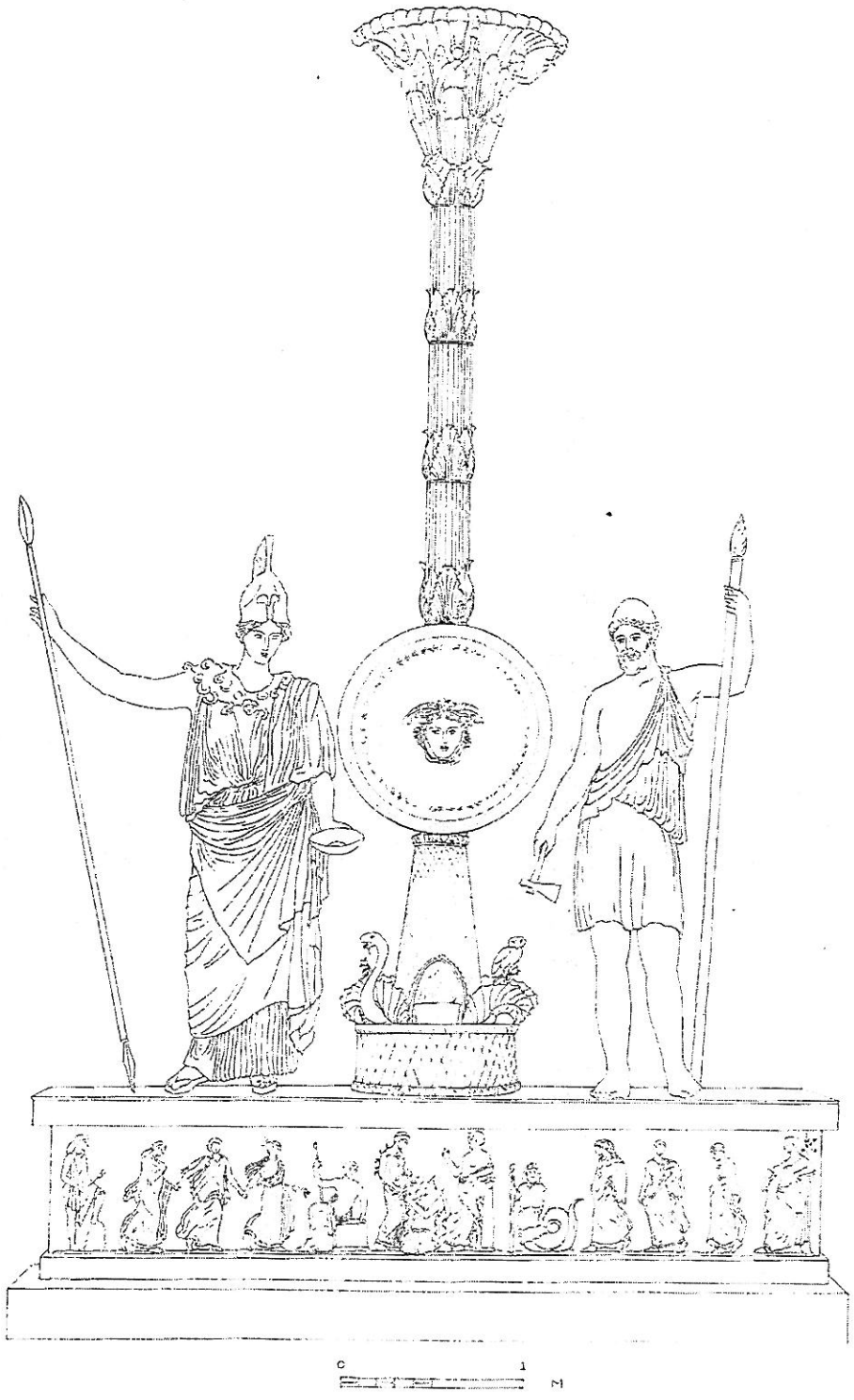
Metope from the Hephaisteion (Theseus battles the Minotaur)



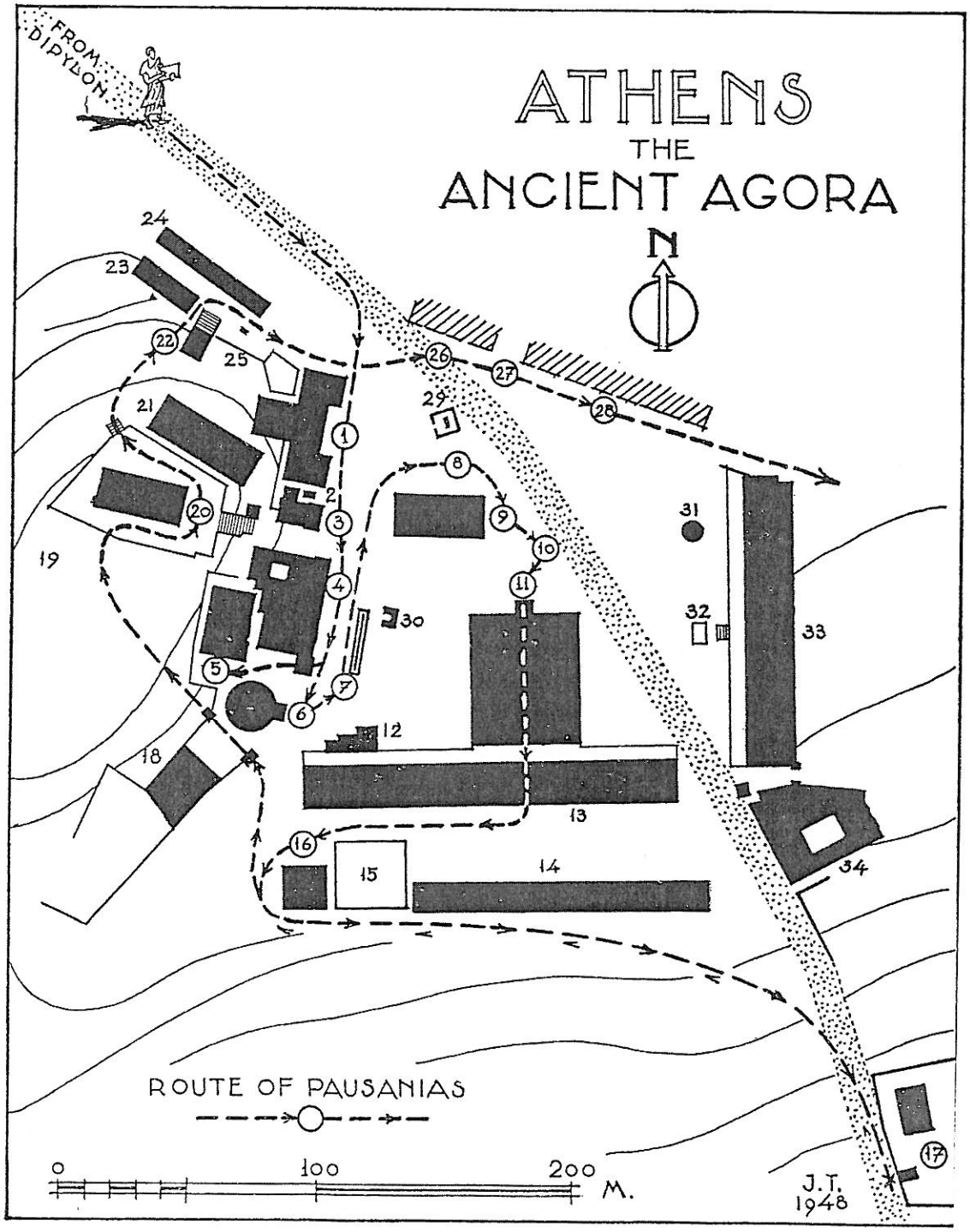
Centauromachy Frieze from the Hephaisteion

Reconstruction of the Cult Statues of the Hephaisteion

1:25



Reconstruction of the Cult Statues and Base from the Hephaisteion

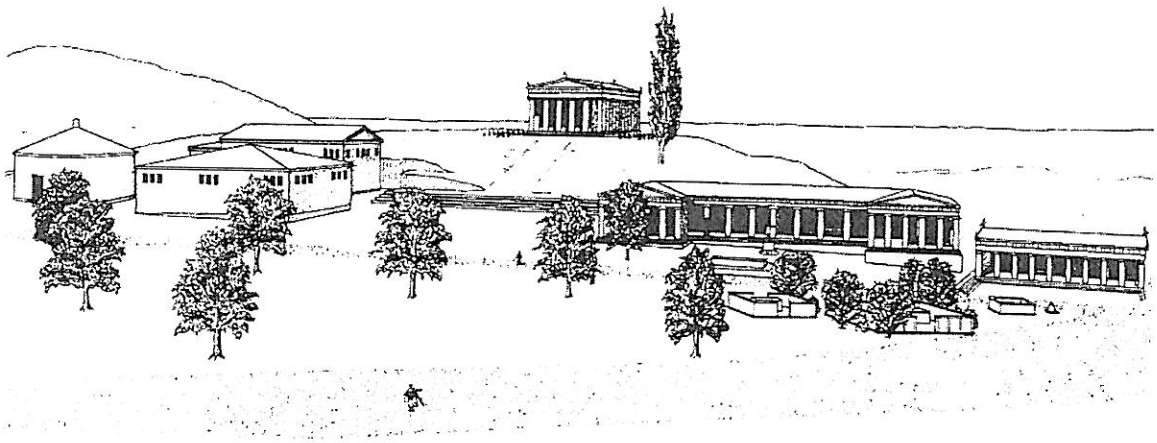



Route of Pausanias through the Athenian Agora

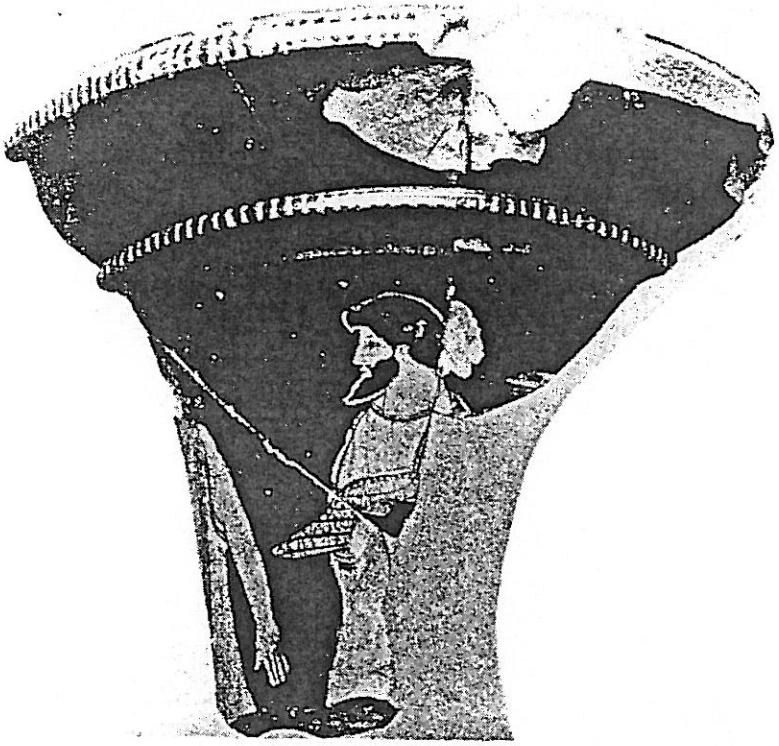
# THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

## Key to Plan

1. Stoa of Zeus.
2. Temple of Zeus and Athena.
3. Temple of Apollo Patroös.
4. Metroön.
5. Bouleuterion.
6. Tholos.
7. Statues of Eponymous Heroes.
8. Statue of Demosthenes (approximate position).
9. Temple of Ares.
10. Statues of Tyrannicides (approximate position).
11. Odeion.
12. Civic Offices.
13. Middle Stoa.
14. South Stoa.
15. Unexcavated area.
16. Enneakrounos.
17. Eleusinion.
18. Building of the Greek period.
19. Eurysakeion (approximate position).
20. Temple of Hephaistos.
21. Building of the Hellenistic period.
22. Temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.
23. Building of the early Roman period.
24. Stoa of the early Roman period.
25. Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces.
26. Hermes Agoraios (approximate position).
27. Gate.
28. Stoa Poikile (approximate position).
29. Altar of the Twelve Gods.
30. Altar.
31. Circular Monument.
32. Bema.
33. Stoa of Attalos.
34. Library of Pantainos.

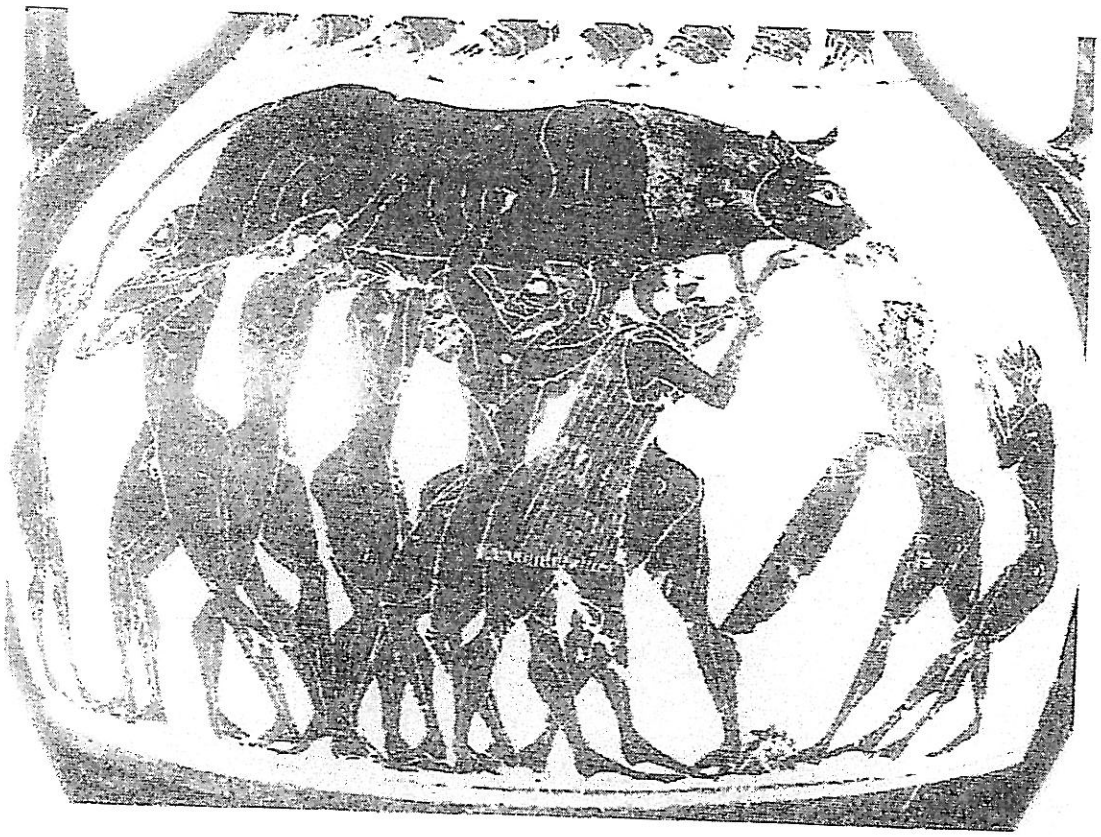


Hephaisteion as dominant architectural feature on the western side of the Agora, c. 400

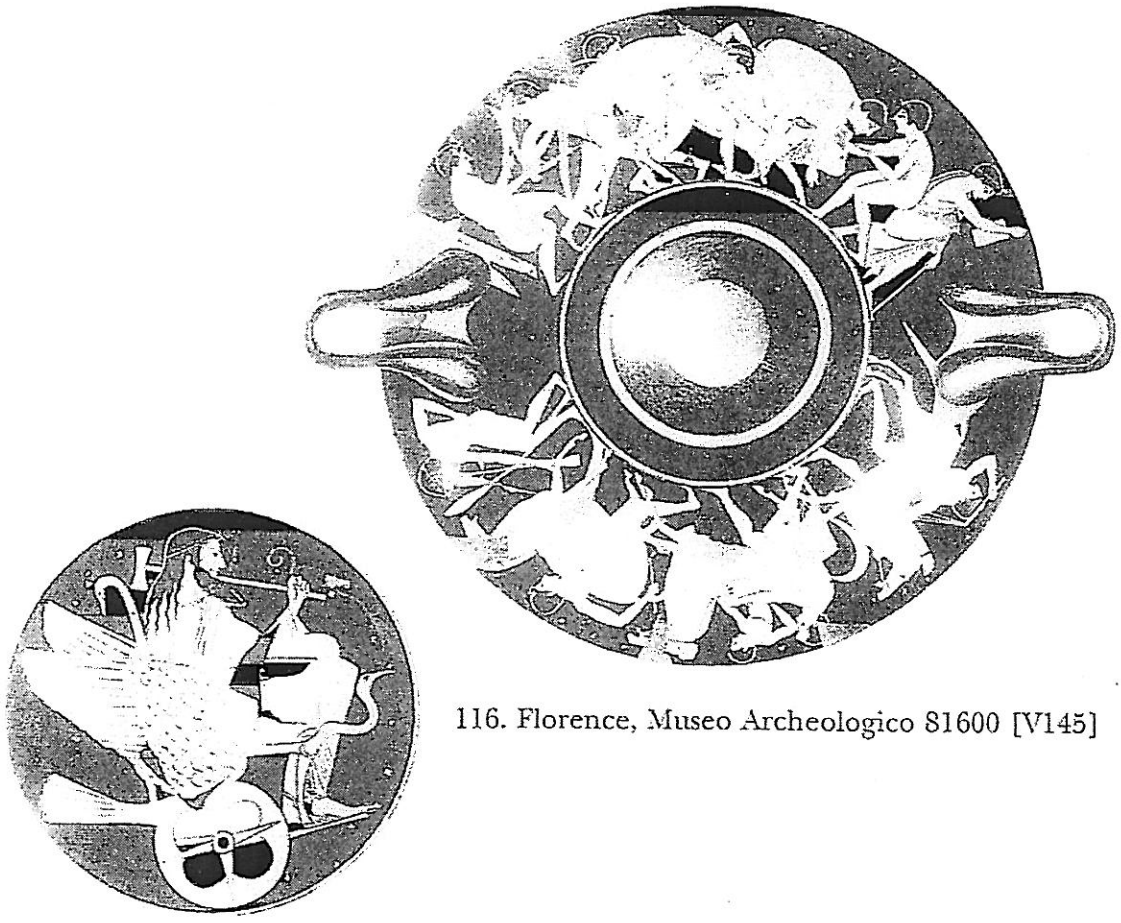


Vase Depiction of the *Chalkeia*

Possible Vase Depiction of the *Chalkeia*

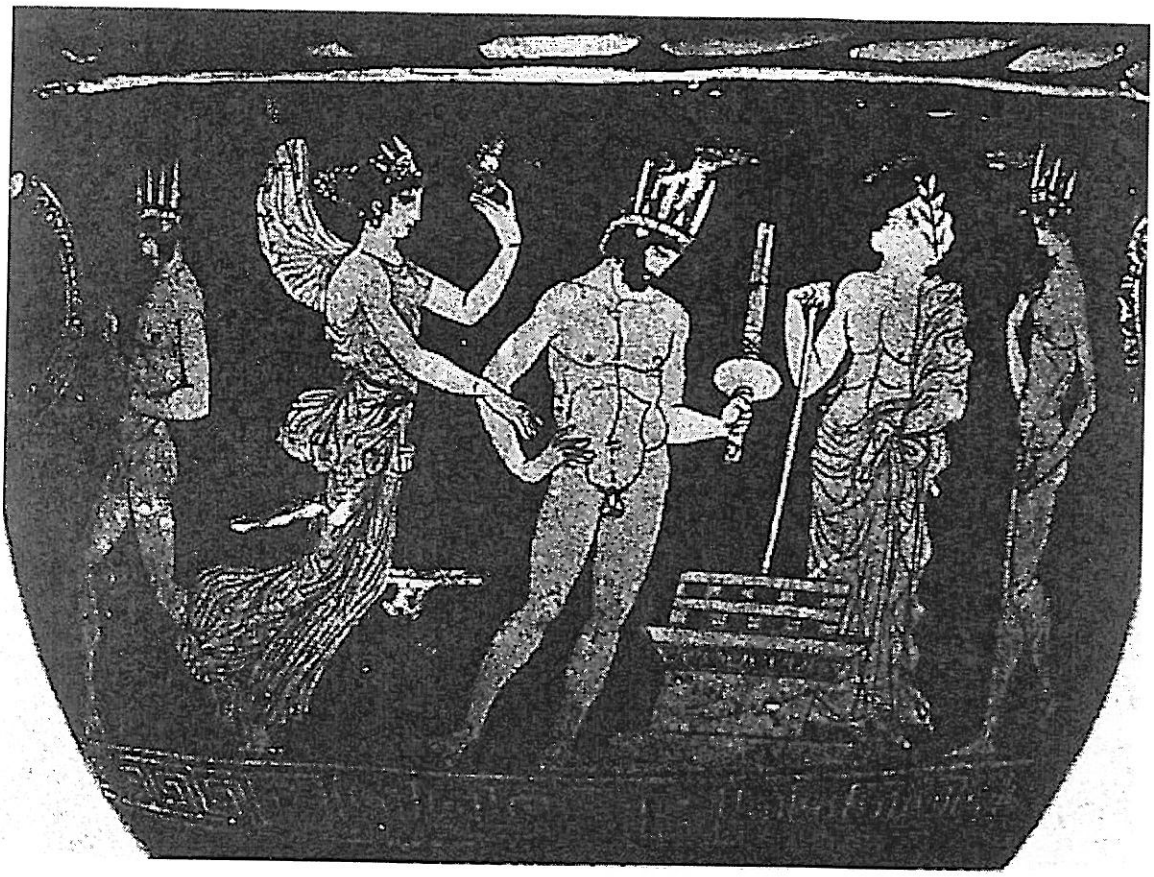


Black–Figure Amphora depicting the Lifting of the Bull



116. Florence, Museo Archeologico 81600 [V145]

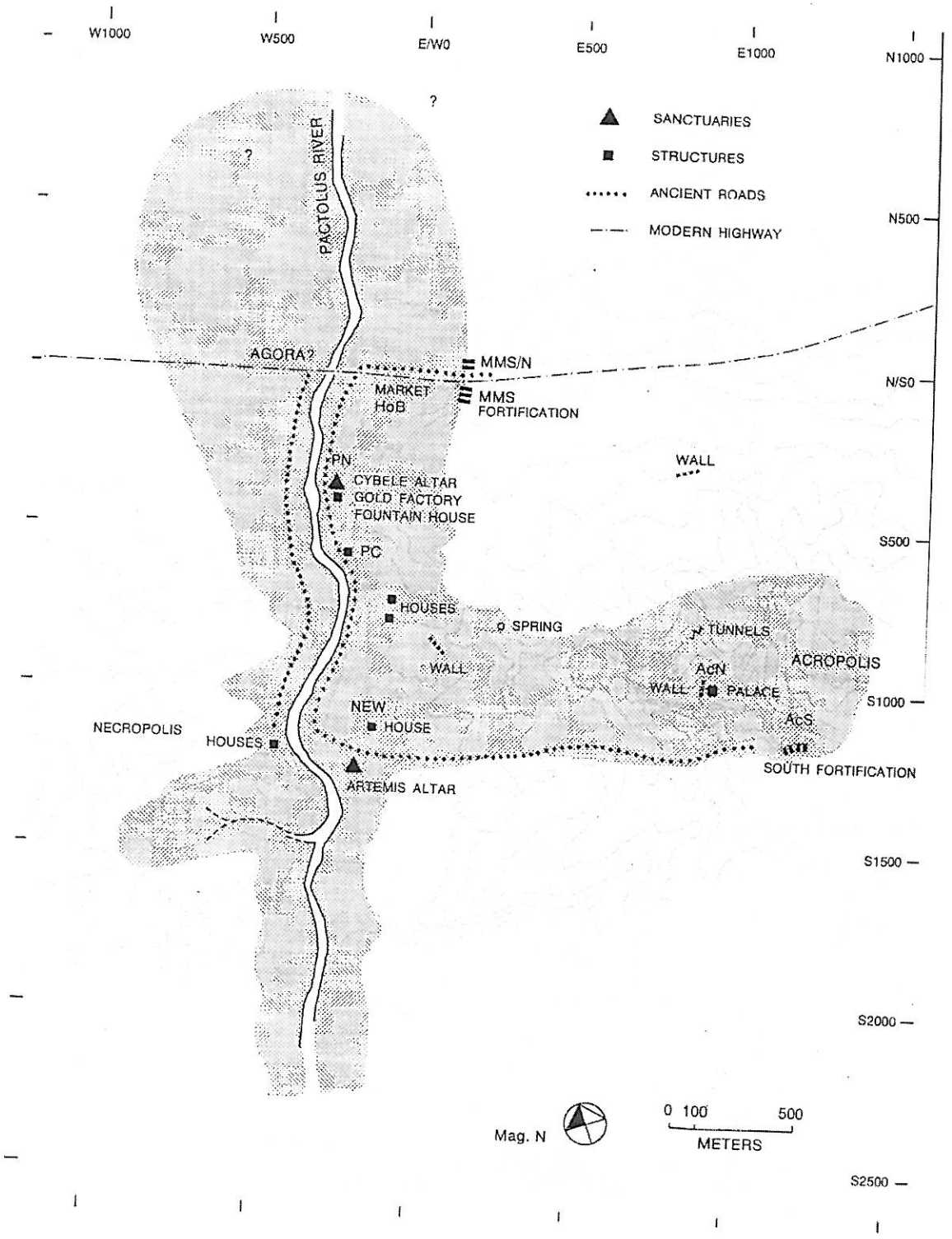
Red-Figure Kylix depicting the Lifting of the Bull,
and the god Hephaistos in a winged chair



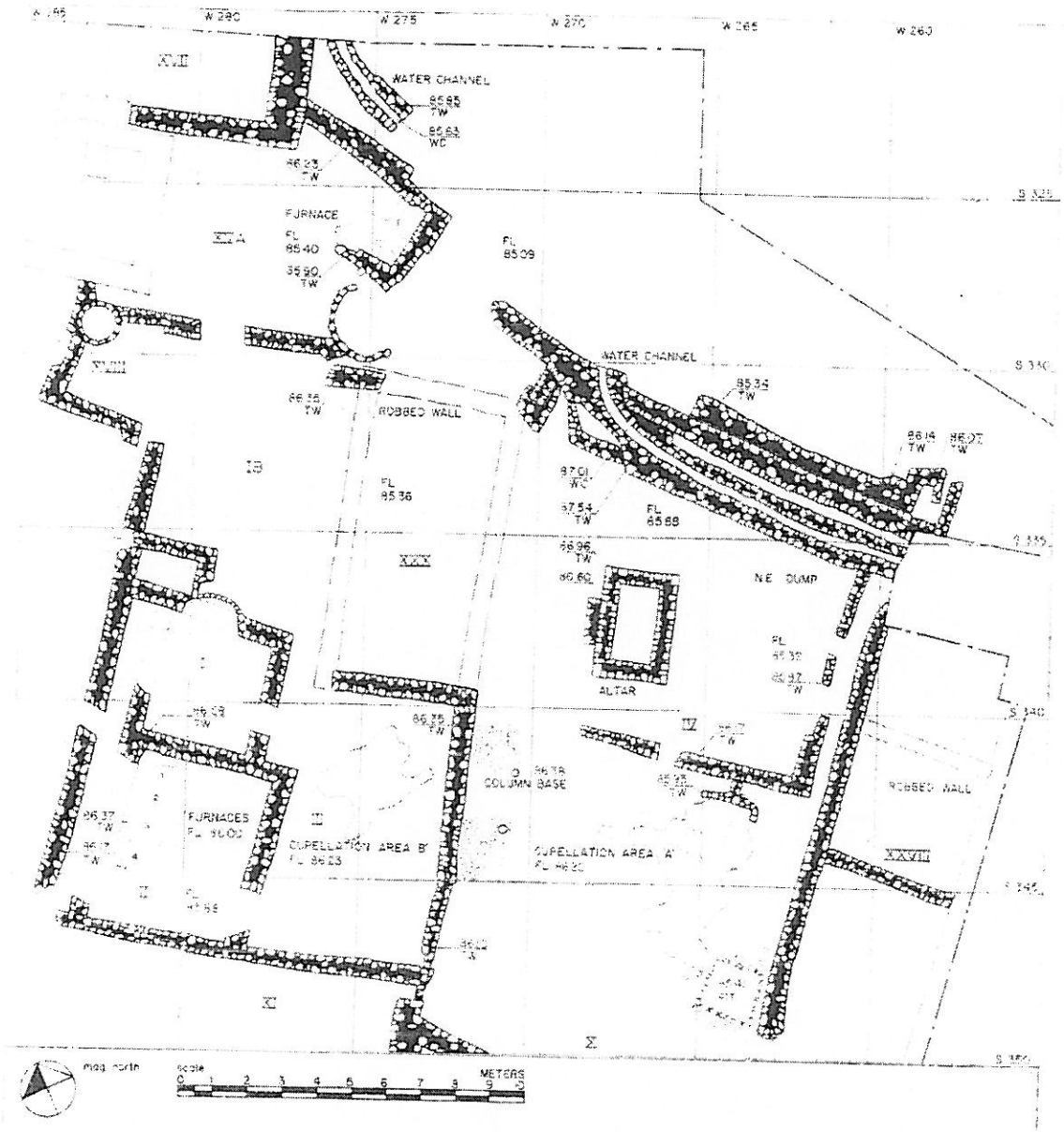
Possible Vase Depiction of the *Hephaisteia*

Vase Depiction of the *Hephaisteia*

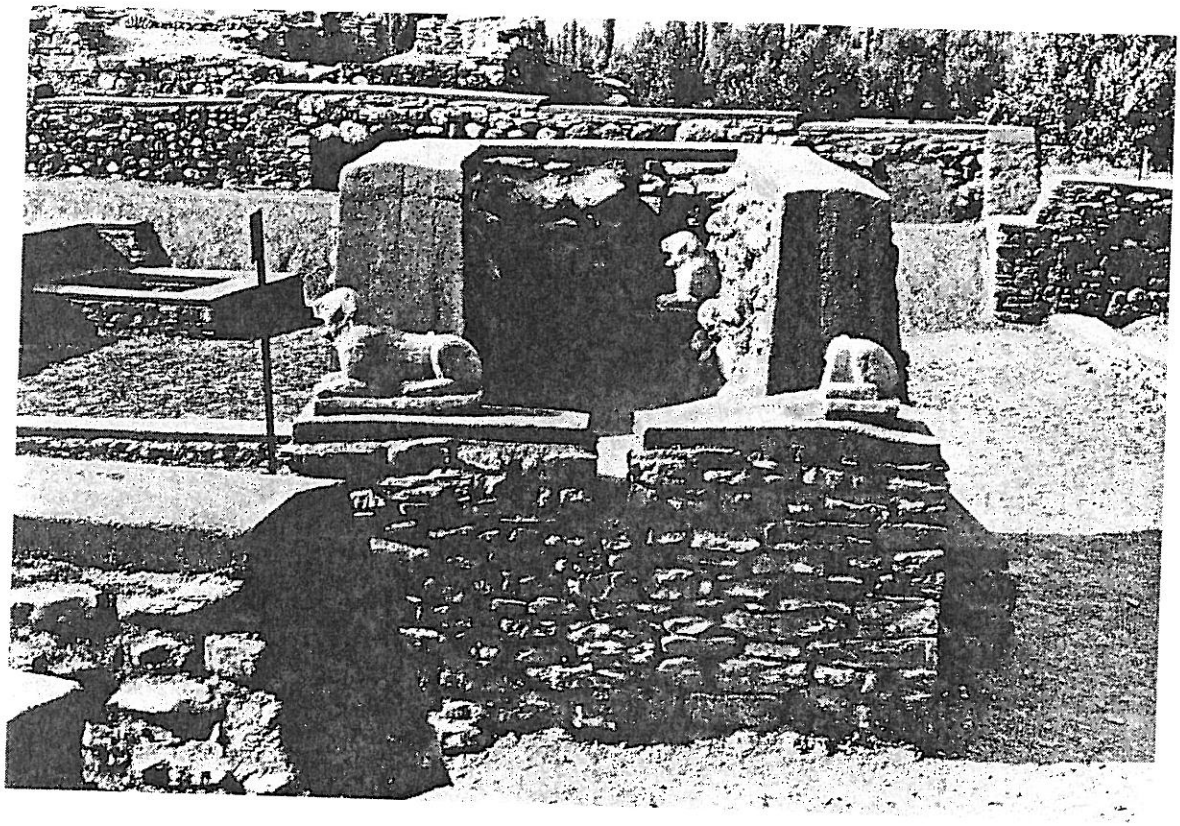
2:1



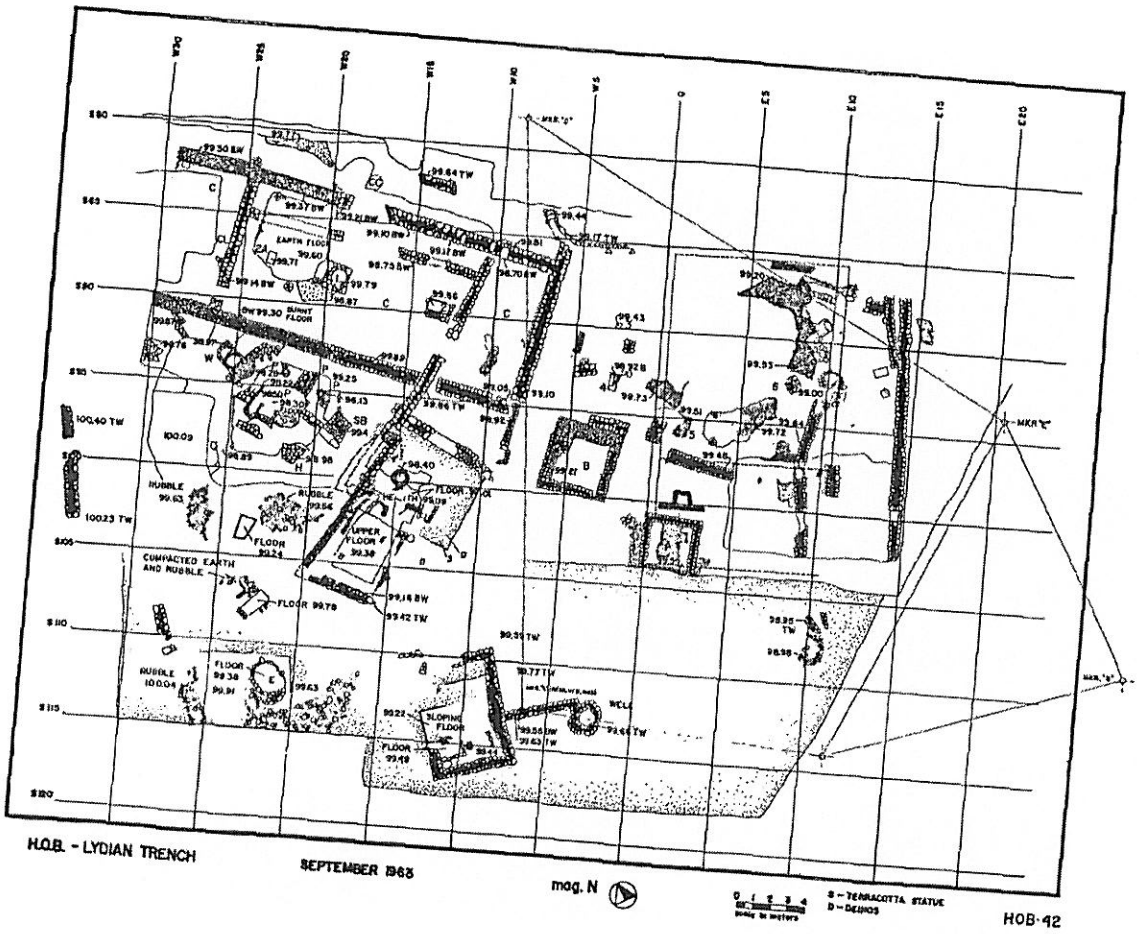

Sardis: The Lydian City




Sardis, Pactolus North, Goldworking Area

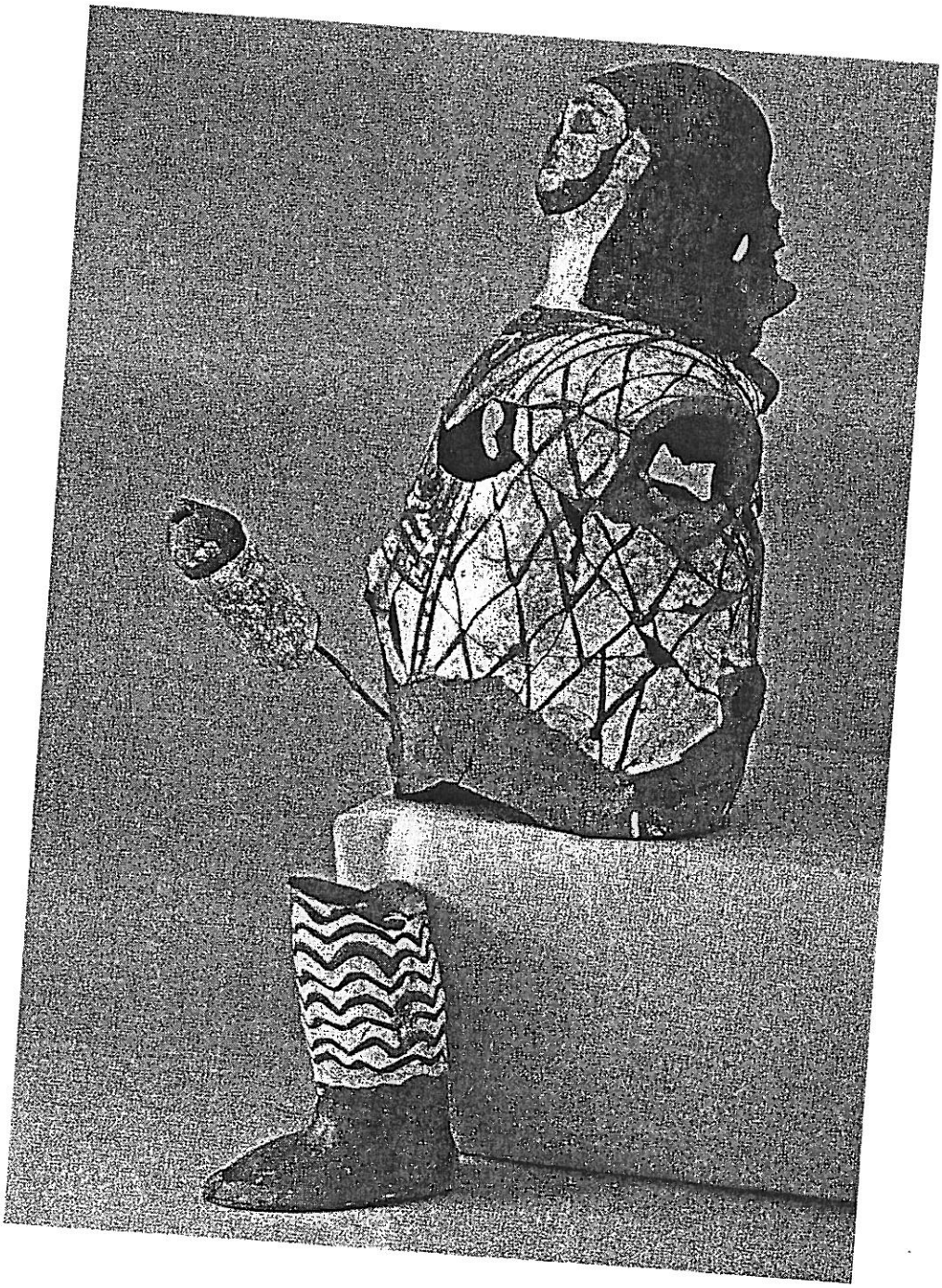


Sardis, the Altar of Cybele from the Gold Refinery



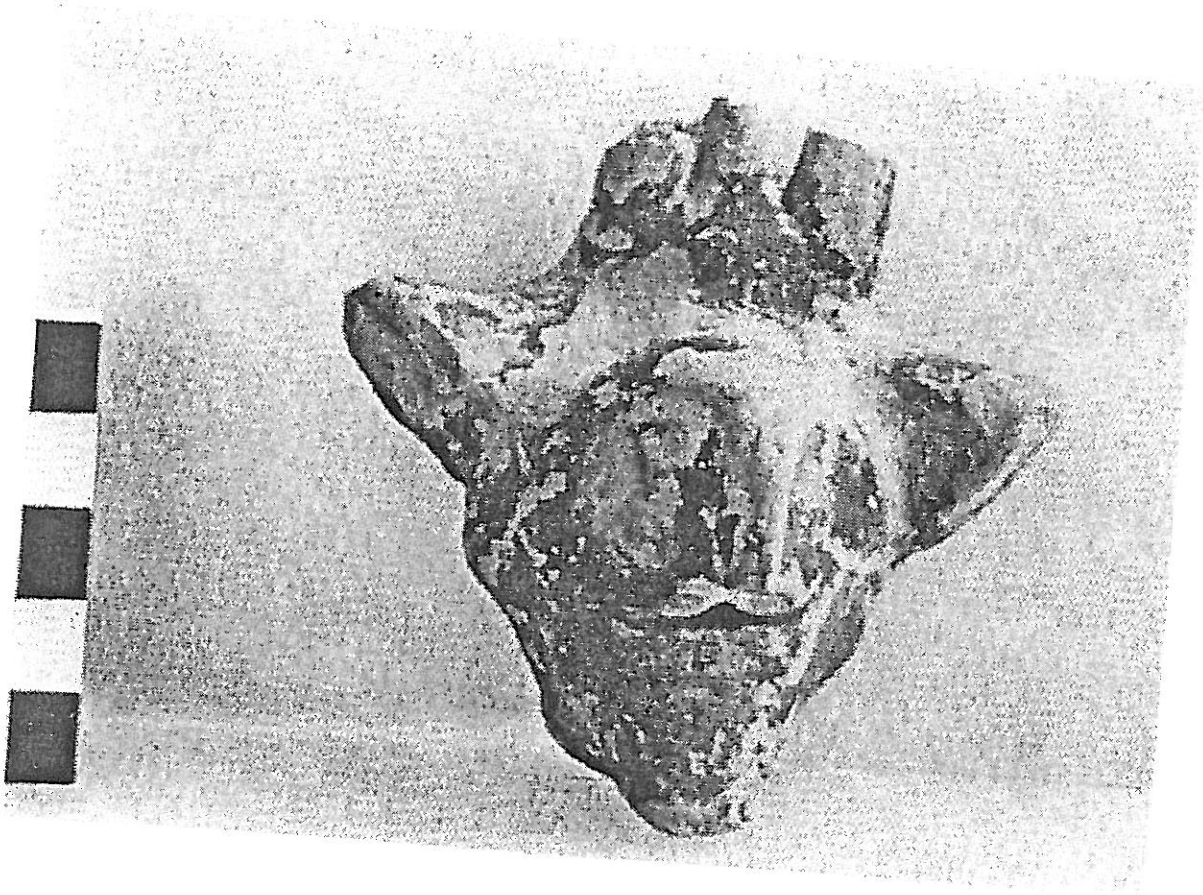

Sardis, House of Bronzes industrial area

Ithyphallic Terracotta Figurine, before reconstruction

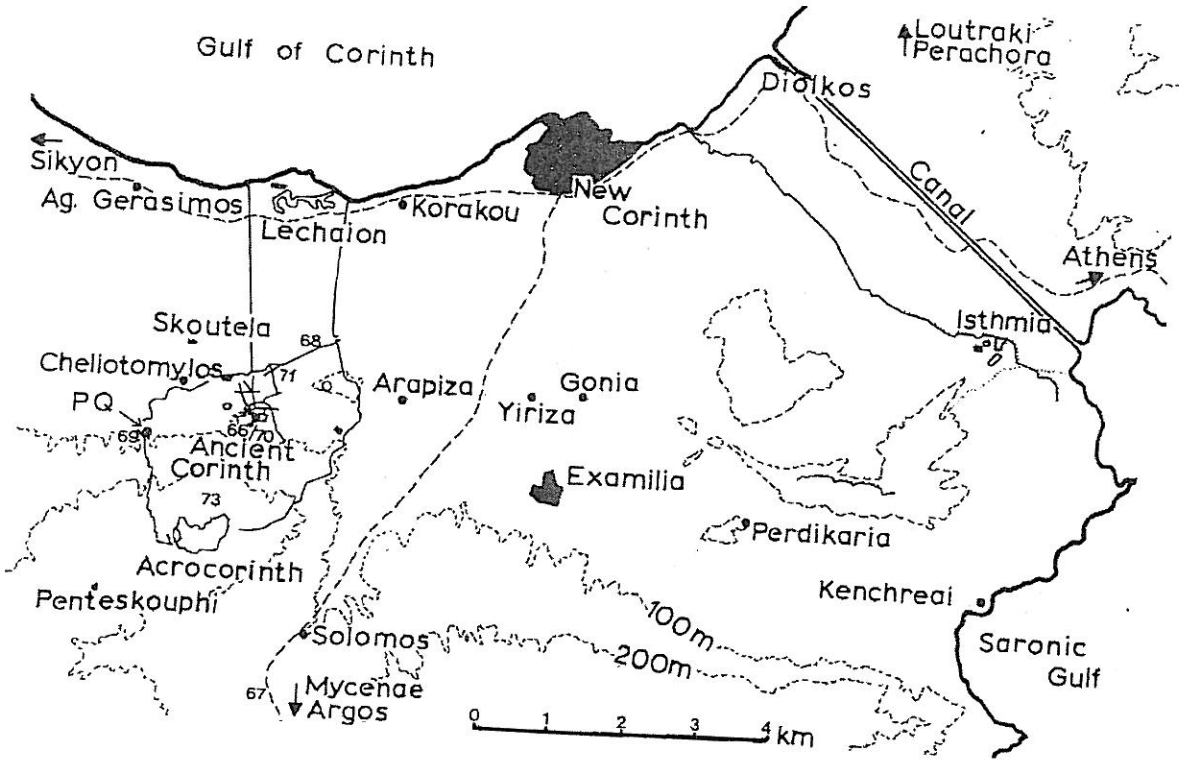


Ithyphallic Figurine, After Reconstruction

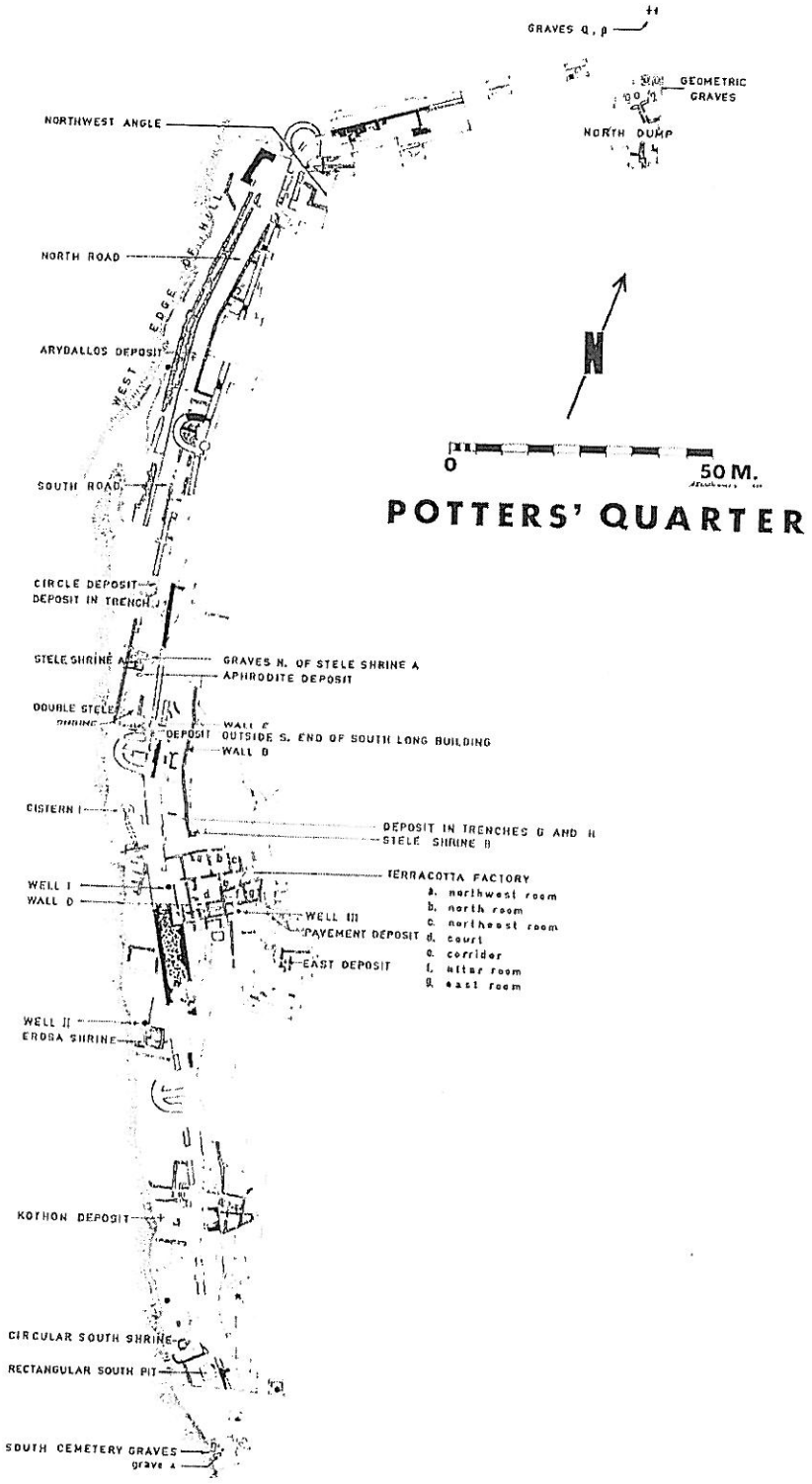
2:6



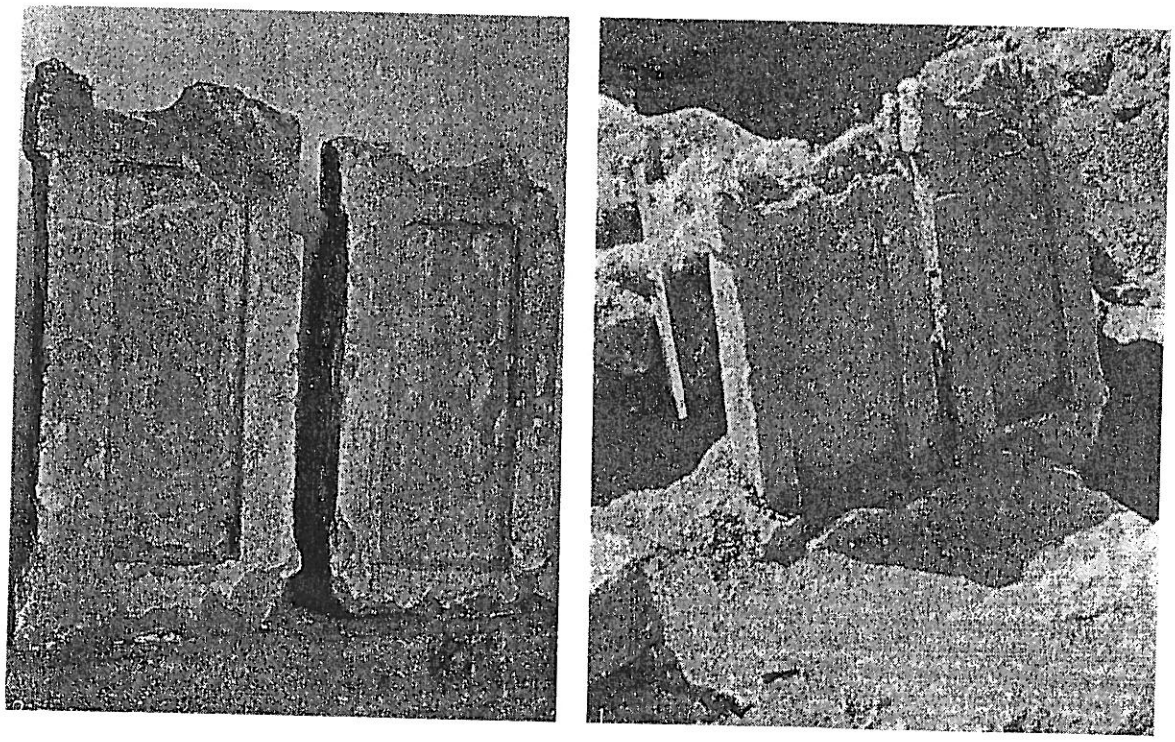
Terracotta Head with Horse's Ears



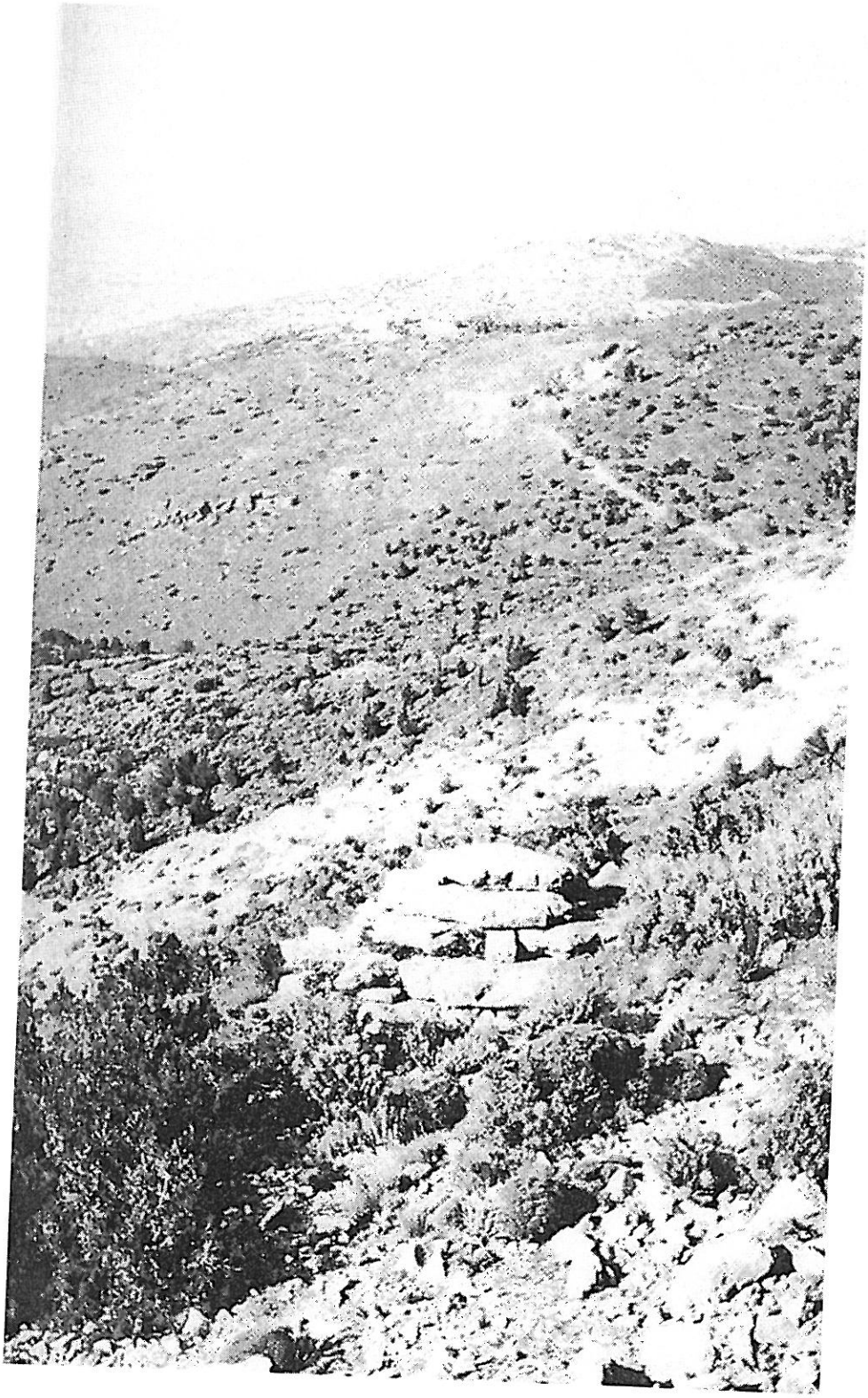

Map of Corinth
The Potters' Quarter (PQ) lies to the west of the ancient city



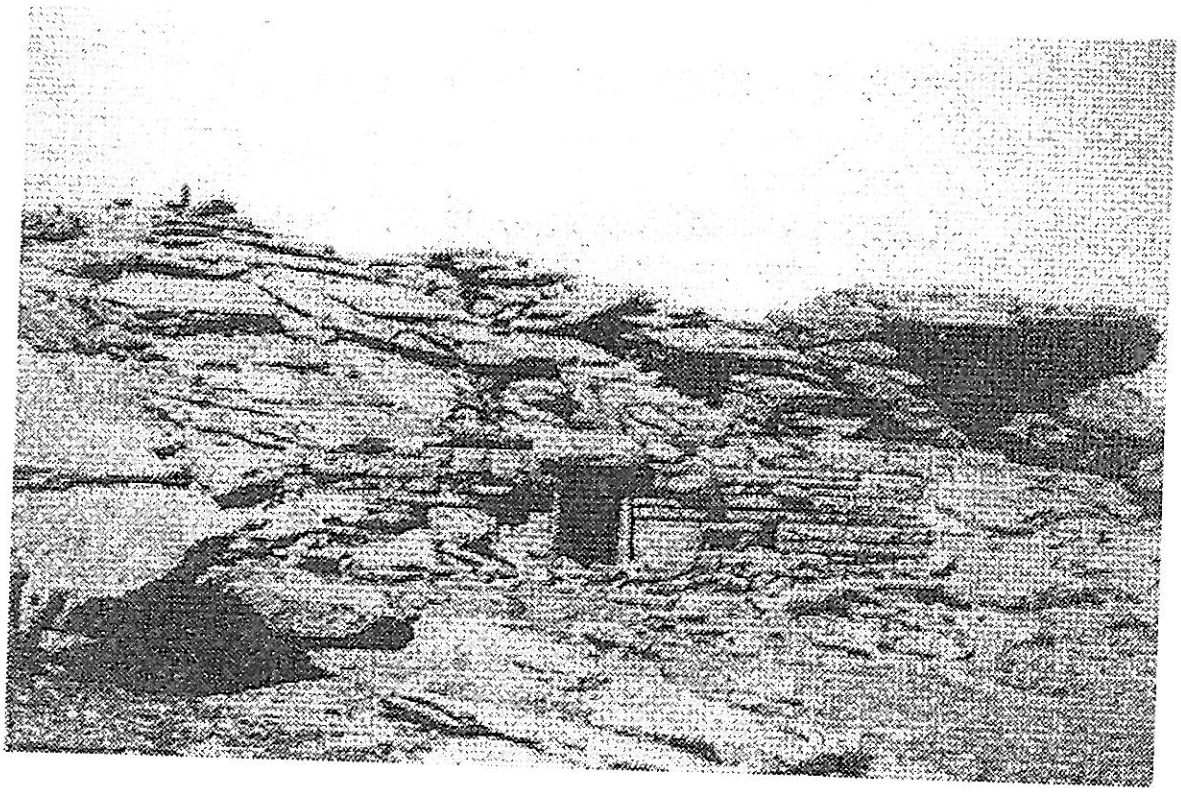

Plan of the Potters' Quarter



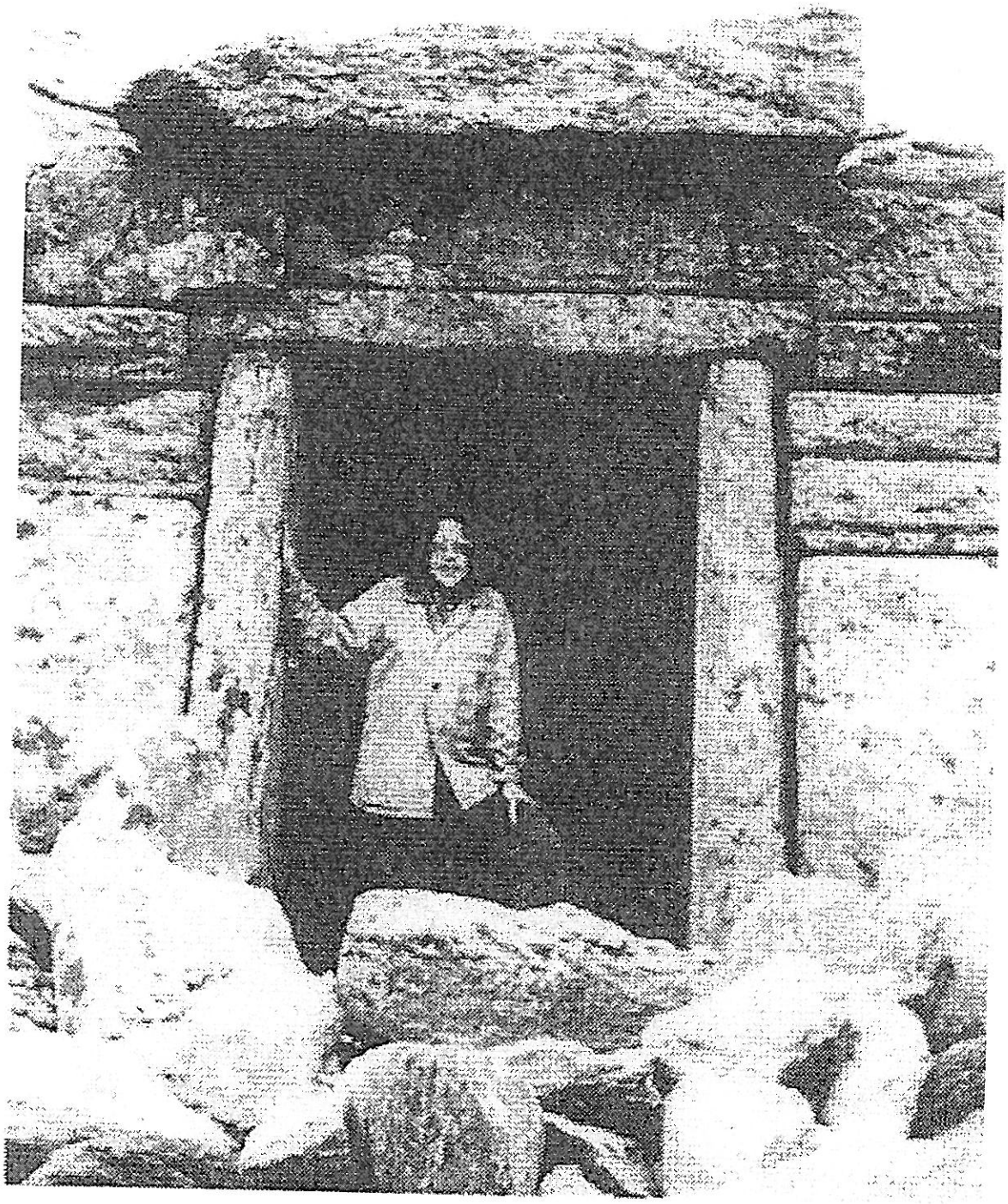
Stelai from Stelai Shrine A in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter



The Dragon-House on Mt. Hymettos



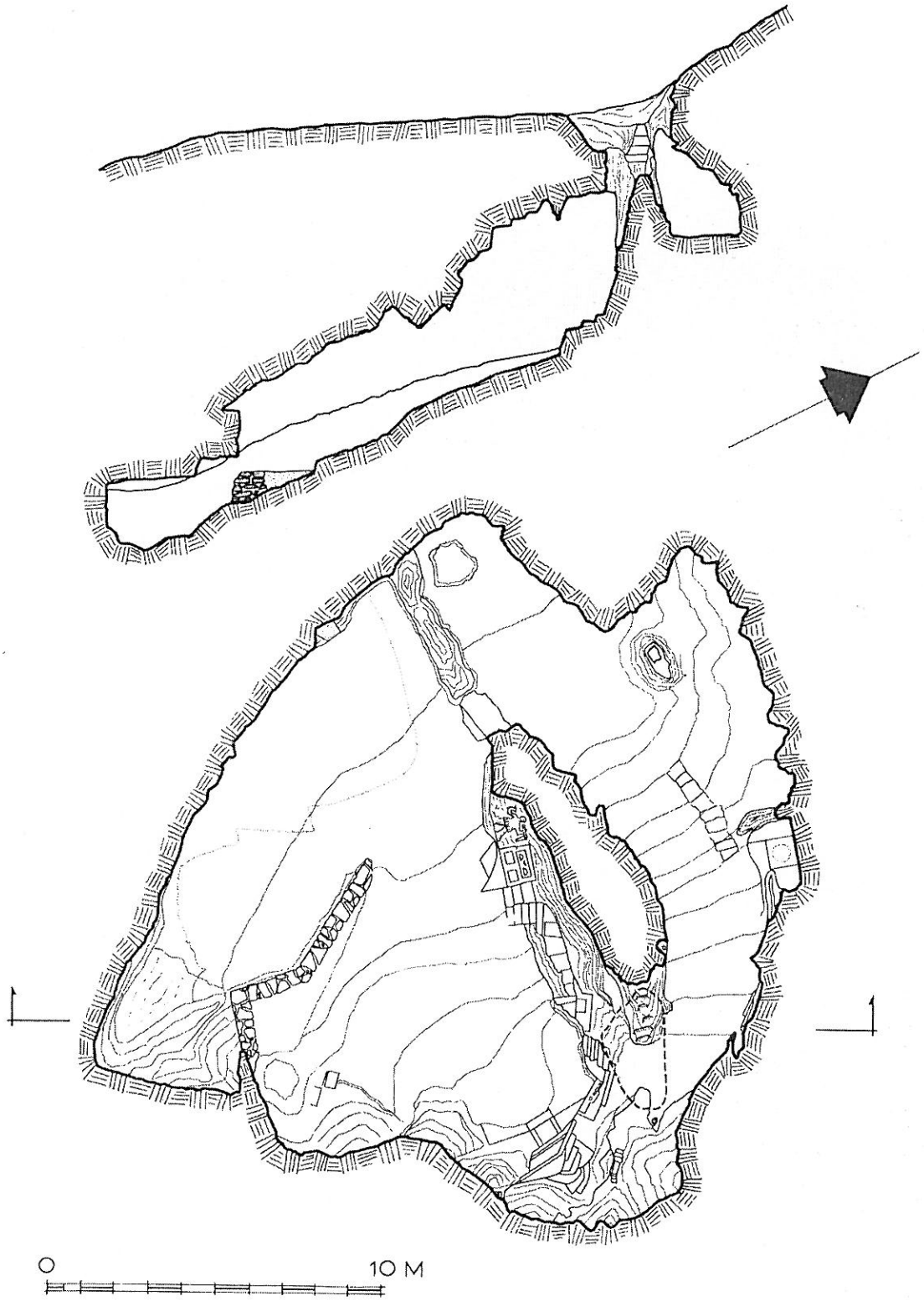
The Dragon House on Mt. Oche in Euboia



The Doorway of the Dragon House at Mt. Oche

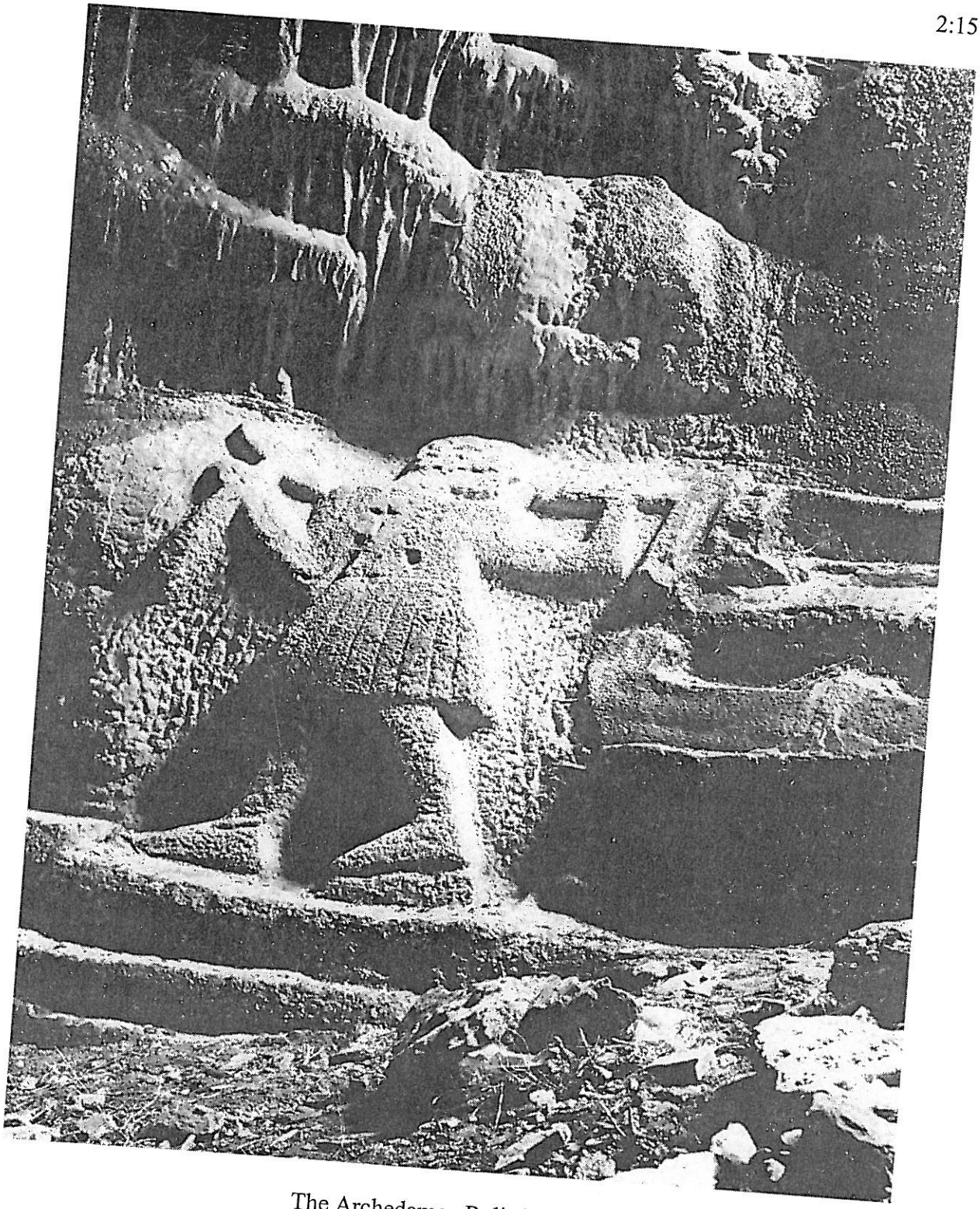
Possible Altar from the Dragon House on Mt. Hymettos

2:14



Plan of the Vari Cave in Attica

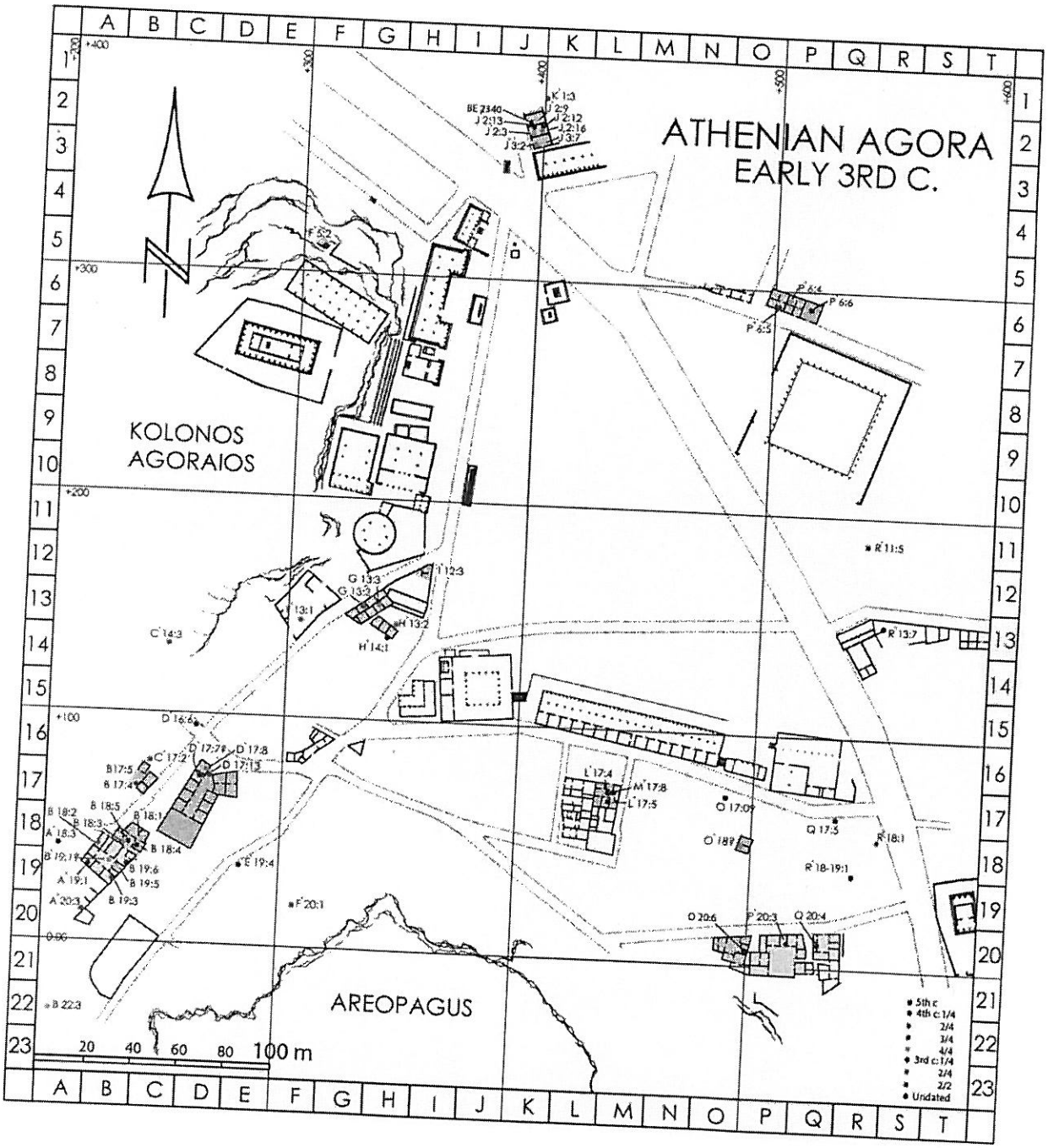
2:15



The Archedamos Relief at Vari

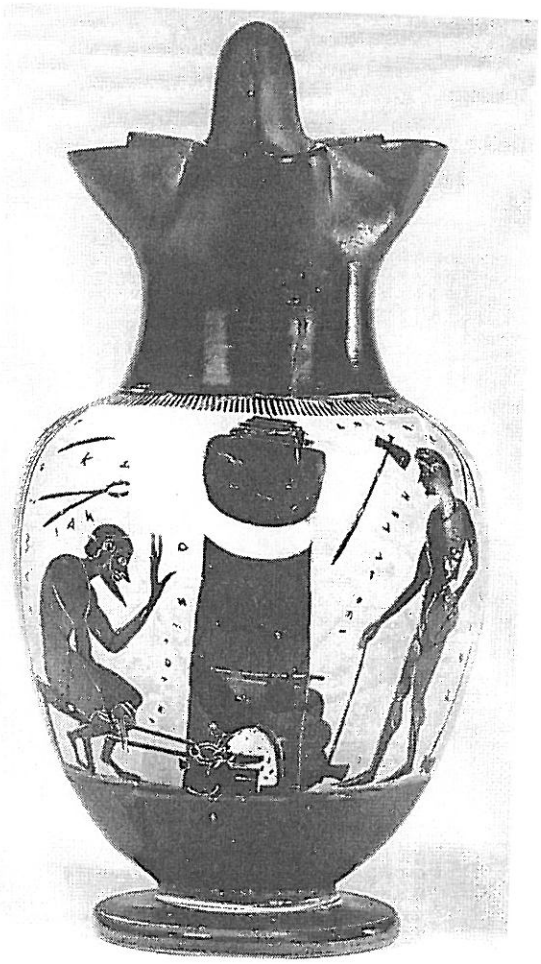
Pyre 2 from the Railway Excavations in Athens

A Ritual Pyre *in situ* with Characteristic Vessels




Map of the Pyres found during the Athenian Agora Excavations


A Collection of Pyre Vessels



Athenian Black-Figure Oinochoe
London, British Museum, B507, 1846.6-29.45.
Attributed to the Keyside Class
Found in Vulci, Etruria.
c. 500

Description: A bearded man, seated on a stool, holds tongs at an anvil, placed before a furnace, which is at the center. To the right, another blacksmith stands, this one a youth, holding a hammer. Hammers and tongs are suspended. An inscription reads: CHOMYS KA[L]OS DOKEI.

Publications: Beazley, *ABV*, 426.9, 670; Burford (1972) fig. 29; Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (1978) fig. 51; and Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst* (1994) 26.

Athenian Black-Figure Neck Amphora
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8035.
Unattributed.
Found in Orvieto, Italy.
c. 515-500.

Description: In this scene, two shoemakers are cutting shoes for a woman, who stands on the table. A draped man, with a staff, stands off to the right. On the other side, two blacksmiths work with tongs and hammer at an anvil, while two seated draped men observe from the right.

Publications: *Antike Welt* 24 (1993) 4, 341; Moon, *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (1983) 227; Zimmer, *Antike Werkstattbilder* (1982) 12; Ziomecki, *Les representations d'artisans* (1975) figs. 20-34; and Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (2001) 235.

Athenian Red-Figure Bell Krater
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V526, G287, 526.
Attributed to Komaris Painter and to the Circle of Polygnotos.
Provenance Unknown.
c. 430

Description: The interior of a potters' workshop is depicted, based on the column at the center of the scene. On the left, a young man, seated on a stool, paints a bell krater. Another youth at the center carries a bell krater, while looking back at the painter. A third youth, on the right of the scene, looks towards the other two, while holding a skyphos aloft. On the other side, three draped youths converse.

Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$, 1064.3; Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst* (1994) 38; *BCH* 121 (1997) 567; and *JHS* 114 (1994) pl. 6C.

Athenian Red-Figure Cup
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V518 and G267.
Attributed to the Antiphon Painter
Found in Orvieto, Italy.
c. 480

Description: A youth, seated on a stool, crafts a helmet. A furnace is behind him to the left. Various tools hang overhead.

Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$, 336.22, 1646; Furtwangler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, 81; Bol and Kreikenbom, eds., *Polyklet* (1990) 515; and Burford (1972) fig. 31.

Athenian Red-Figure Amphora
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Description: Hephaistos, wearing a pilos, prepares the armor of Achilles, while the goddess Thetis observes.

Cult Connection: Hephaistos working at a craft.

Publications: Burford (1972) fig. V.

Athenian Red-Figure Chous
Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2415.
Attributed to Group of Berlin 2415; Recalls Deepdene Painter.
Found in Capua, Italy.
c. 470-460

Decoration: Athena models a horse, possibly from clay. The horse stands on a platform. A saw, chisel, and drill are suspended behind the goddess.

Cult Connection: Athena acts as craftsperson.

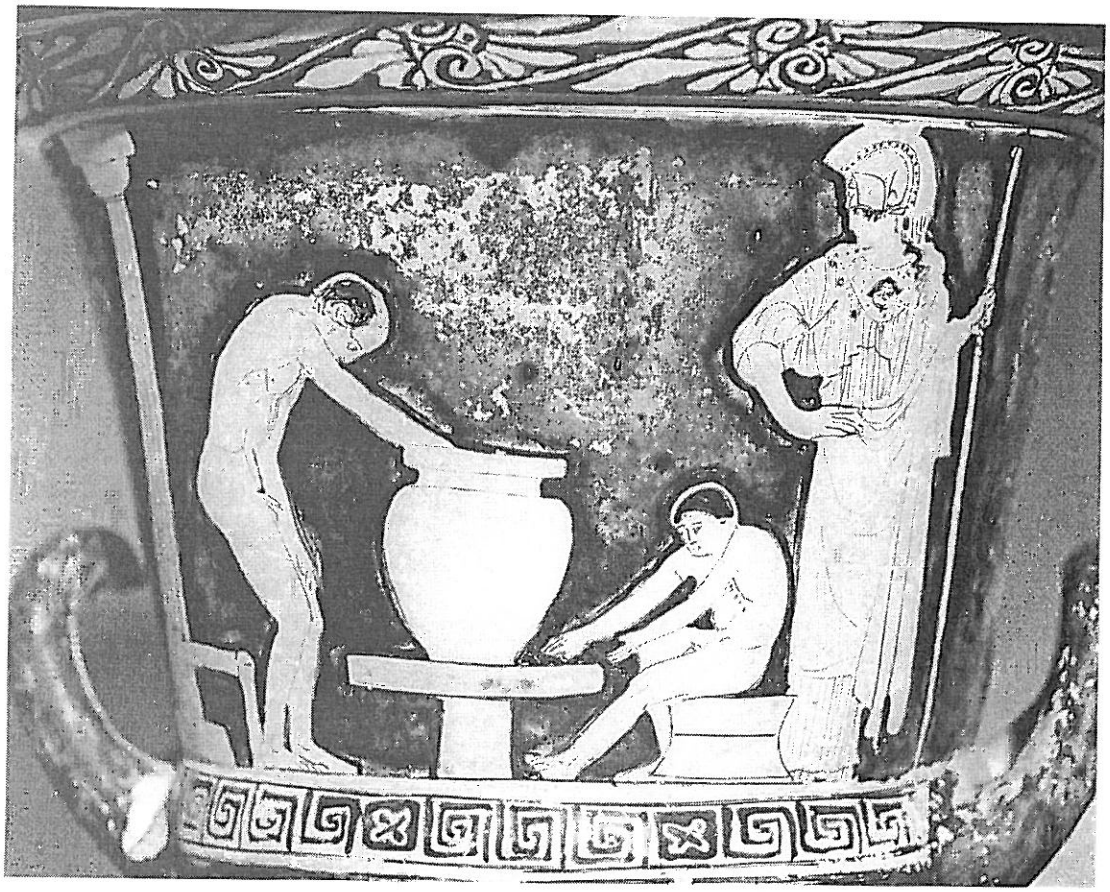
Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$ (1963) 776.1, 1669; de Cesare, *Le statue in immagine* (1997) 181; Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (1998) 17; Bol and Kreikenbom, *Polyklet* (1990) 517; and Burford (1972) fig. 38.

Athenian Red-Figure Hydria
Milan, Torno, C278.
Attributed to Leningrad Painter.
Found in Ruvo, Italy.
c. 475-450

Decoration: Artisans (most likely potters) working in their shop with a kantharos, calyx krater, skyphoi, and volute kraters. Athena and Nikai wreath male workers. Female worker with volute krater is not crowned.

Cult Connection: The goddesses visit a workshop.

Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$ (1963) 571.73; Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst* (1994) 12; *OxJA* 8 (1989) 318; Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction*; and Boardman, *History of Greek Vases* (2001) 147.

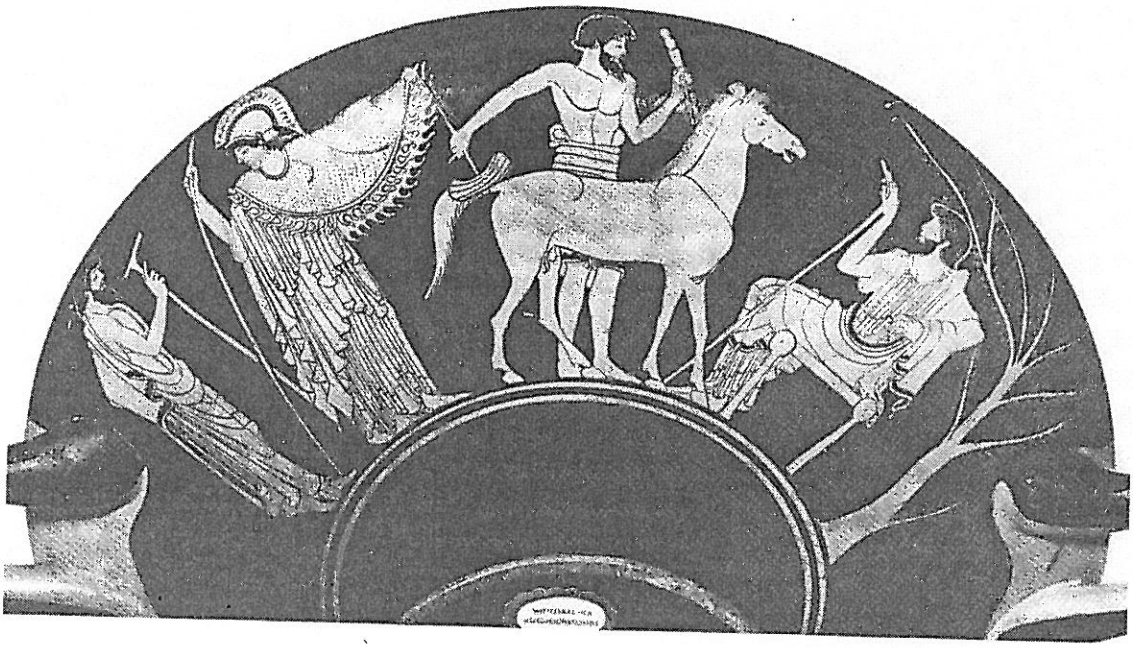


Athenian Red-Figure Calyx Krater
Caltagirone Museum 961.
Unattributed.
Found in Caltagirone, Sicily.
c. 450-400

Decoration: Two potters making a vessel on a wheel while the goddess Athena supervises.

Cult Connection: The goddess visits a workshop.

Publications: Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (1946) pl. 5; Platomene and Ragona, *Caltagirone* (1995) 22; Himmelmann, *Realistische Themen in griechischen Kunst* (1994) 36; Neils, *Goddess and Polis* (1992) 21; Ziomecki, *Les representations d'artisans* (1975) 52; and *BCH* 121 (1997) 569.



Athenian Red-Figure Cup
Munich, Antikensammlungen, J400 & 2650.
Attributed to the Foundry Painter.
Found in Vulci, Etruria.
c. 480

Description: At the viewer's left, Athena directs the attention of a bearded male (possibly a potential buyer) to the work of a craftsman. The sculptor at center is carving a horse, while a second bearded man, seated by a tree, observes. On the other side of the vase, five draped men and youths, two of which are seated, converse; it has been suggested that this is a courting scene. The tondo scene portrays two draped men, one seated, conversing.

Cult Connection: Athena in a workshop.

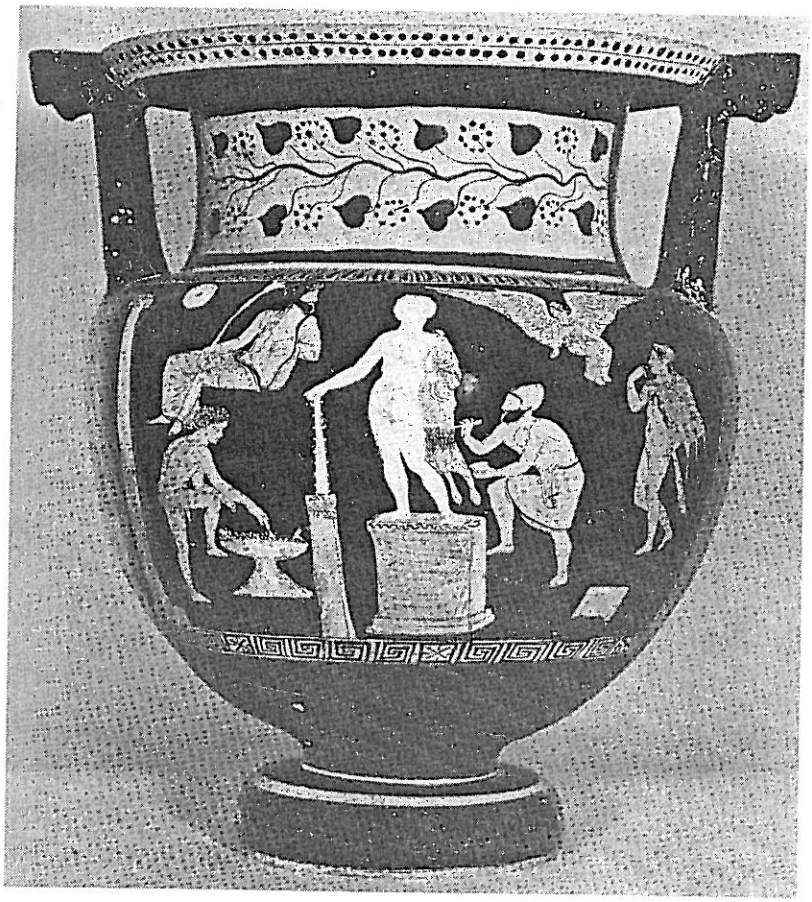
Bibliography: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$, 401.2; Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (1991) fig. 84; and de Cesare, *Le statue in immagine* (1997) 181.

Athenian Red-Figure Cup (Fragments)
Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection, 2.166.
Attributed to the Euergides Painter.
Found on the Acropolis, Athens.
c. 510-500

Decoration: At left, a painter shapes a kylix on a potter's wheel. Athena is seated at center, wearing her aegis and holding a helmet. At right, a metal worker crouches over his work. On a connecting fragment, there are youths or men with a horse.

Cult Connection: Athena in a workshop.

Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$, 92.64; Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (1998) 16; Cohen, *Not the Classical Ideal* (2000) 159; and Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992) fig. 60.



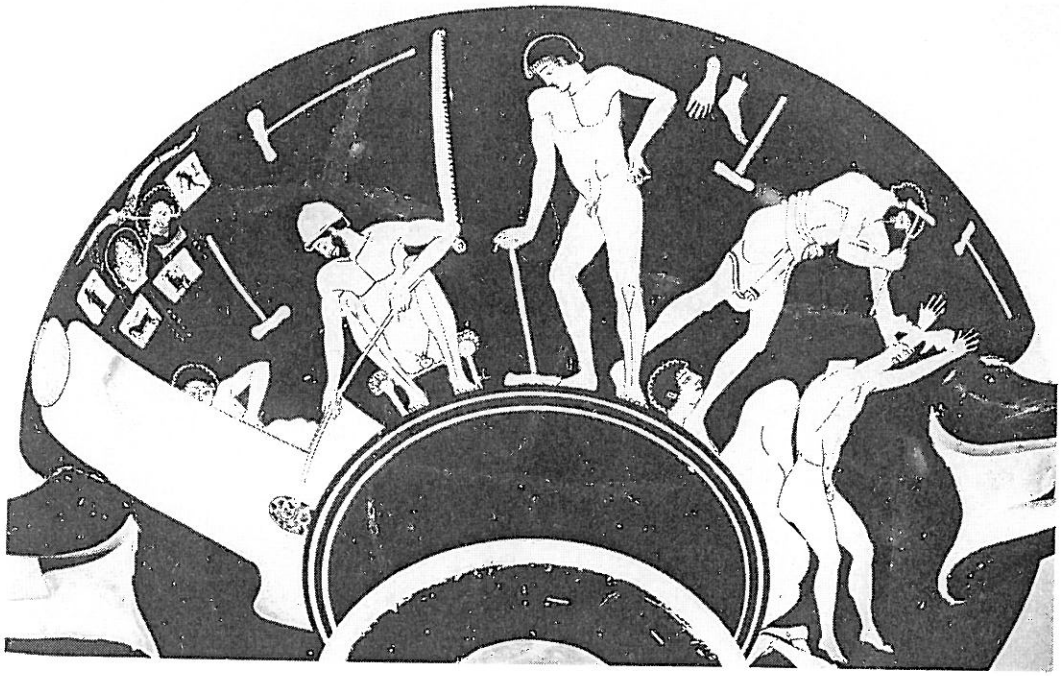
Apulian Krater

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1950 (50.11.4).
Attributed to the Boston Group.
Fourth Century

Description: A statue painter decorates a statue of Herakles in the encaustic technique. The statue of Herakles is adorned with club and lion skin, and stands in the center of the scene on a rectangular base. On either side of the statue are the painter and his assistant, a young boy. To the far right of the statue is the god Herakles, who watches the craftsman work. Zeus and Nike also observe from either side.

Cult Connection: Herakles watches over the creation of his statue.

Publications: Mayo and Hamma, *The Art of South Italy* (1982) 96-99; and Arafat and Morgan (1989) 318.

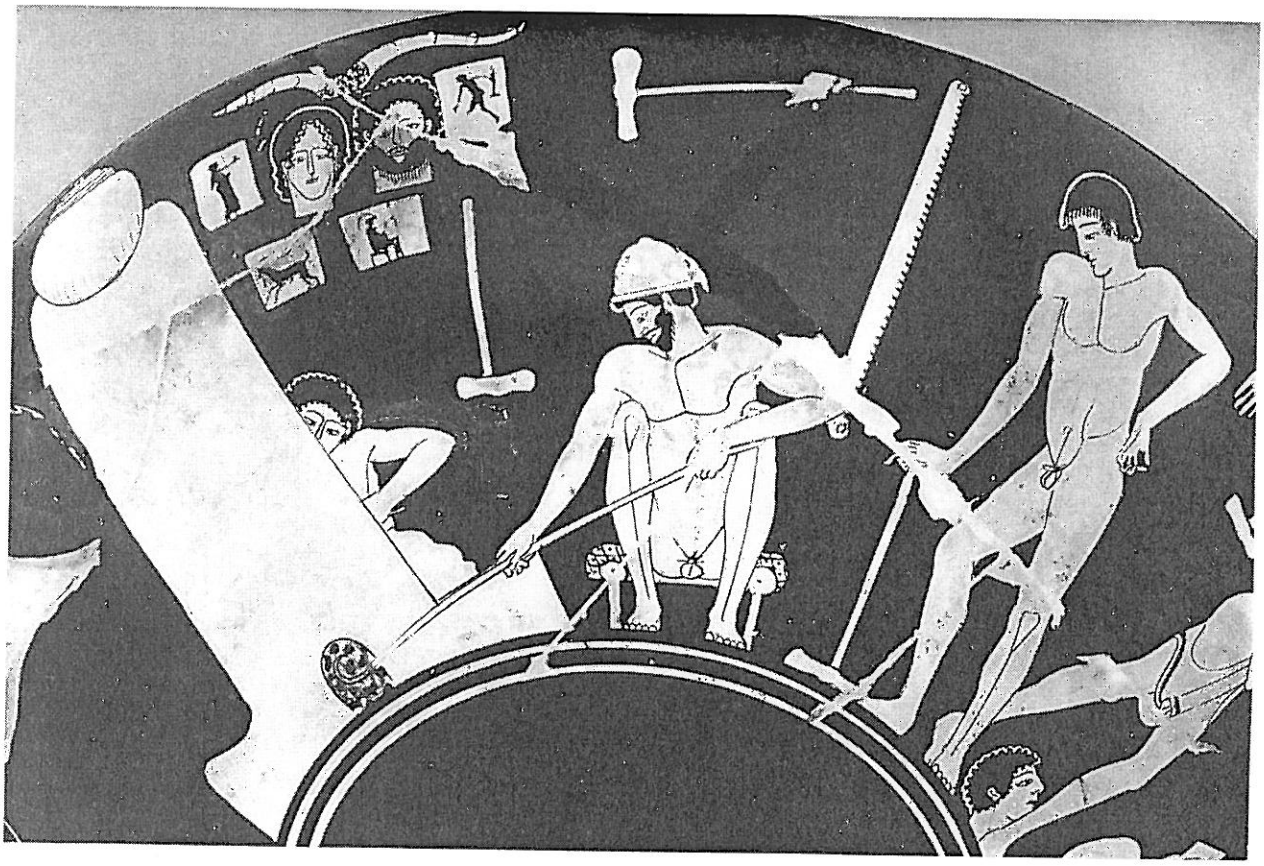


Athenian Red-Figure Cup
Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2294.
Name vase of the Foundry Painter.
Found in Vulci, Etruria.
c. 490

Description: To the left of the scene, a man seated on a stool stokes a furnace, from behind which another male figure looks out at the viewer. Above the furnace hang plaques, two masks, and animal horns. At the center, a youth holding a hammer watches the man at the furnace. To his right, a man hammers at the body of the statue, whose disconnected head lies on the floor. On the other side, two draped men, possibly the proprietors of the shop look at a mostly finished statue at center, possibly of the god Ares, which two artisans finish. In the tondo scene, Hephaistos, wearing a helmet and seated holding a hammer, gives the shield of Achilles to the goddess Thetis.

Cult Connection: Plaques hanging over a furnace.

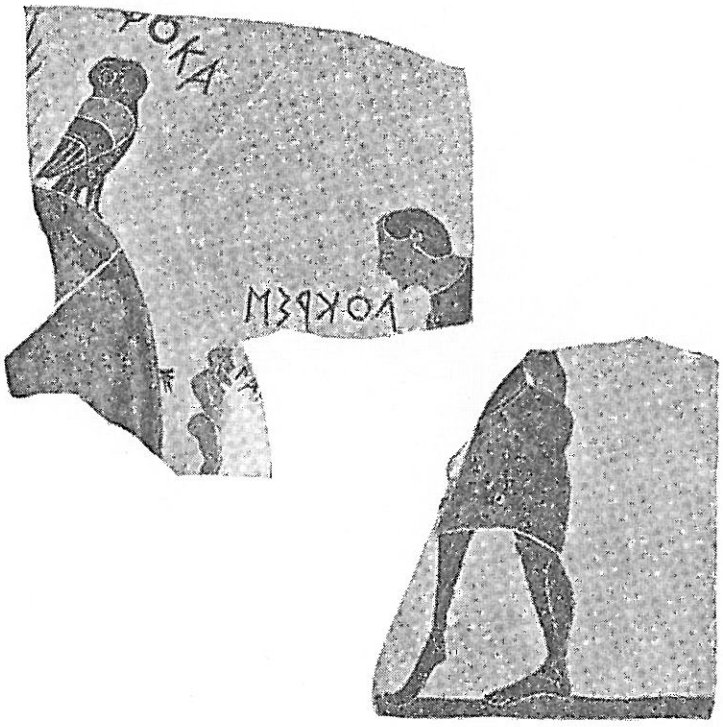
Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$, 1572, 400.1, 1651, 1706; Oakley, ed., *Athenian Potters and Painters* (1997) 207; Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting* (1977) 135; Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (1992) 108; Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal* (2000) 155-156; and Zimmer, *Griechische Bronzewerkstatten* (1990) pl. 11; Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting* (2002) 77-84; H. A. Thompson, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (1964) 323-328; and Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992) 301.



Athenian Red-Figure Cup
Detail of 3:12.

Athenian Red-Figure Chous
MFA Boston 13.100

Description: A workman installs a herm inside a sanctuary, which contains an altar, with a plaque and a set of animal horns hanging above it.



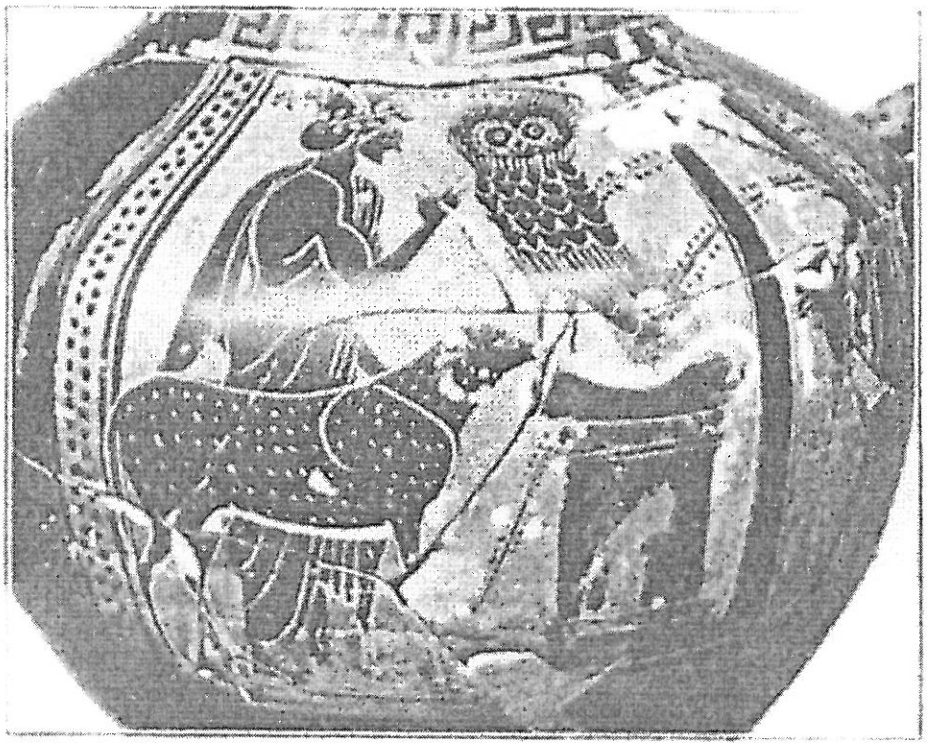
Penteskouphia Plaque

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F683, F757, F822, F829.
Unattributed.
Found in Penteskouphia, Corinth.
Archaic, probably sixth century.

Description: A youth stokes a kiln, on top of which an owl stands. An ithyphallic satyr stands on top of the praefurnium.

Cult Connection: Apotropaia guard a kiln.

Publications: Cuomo di Caprio (1984); Noble (1966) 72ff.; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) 117ff.; Cook, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 64-67; Eisman and Turnbull (1978); *Festschrift fur Benndorf* 75f.; Von Raits (1962); and Geagan (1970).

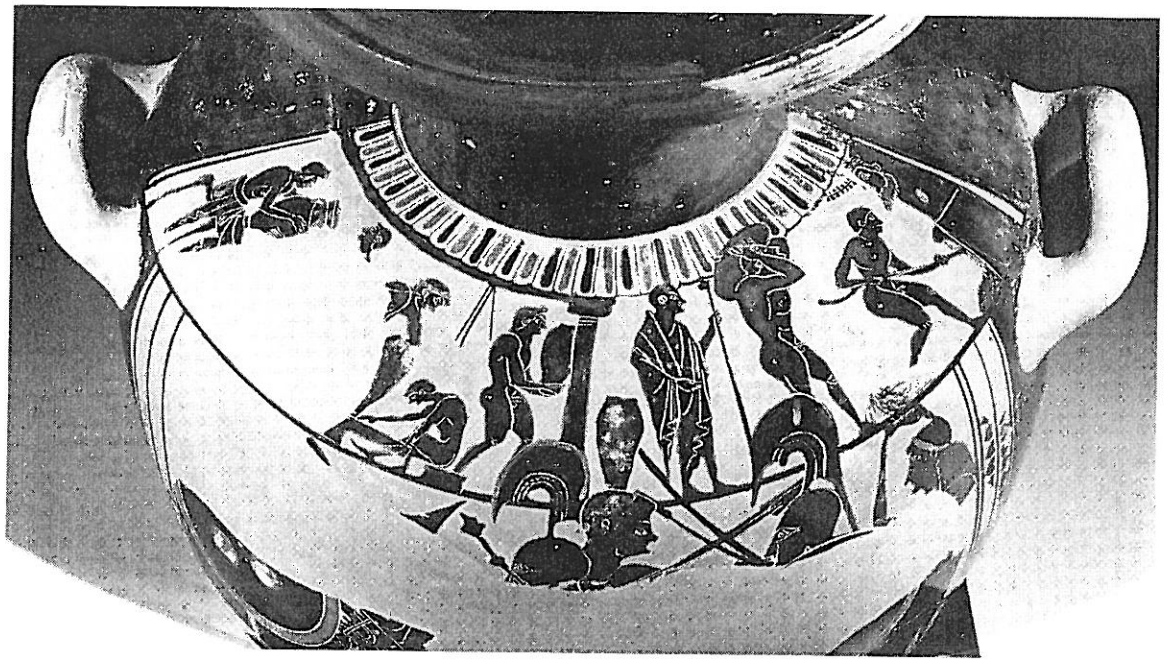


Black-Figure Amphora
Archaeological Seminar, Uppsala.
c. 550

Decoration: A draped male and animal, possibly intended for sacrifice, approach an altar. On top of the altar stands a large owl.

Cult connection: Owl representing the goddess Athena.

Publication: Douglas 1912, fig. 1.

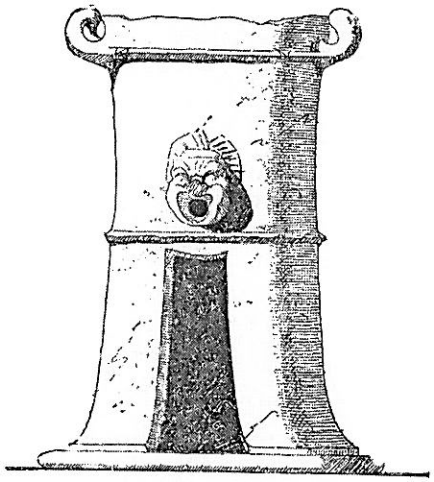


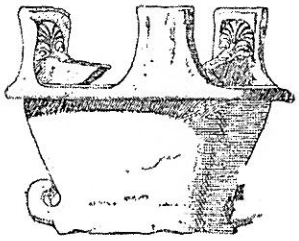
Athenian Black-Figure Hydria
Munich, Antikensammlungen, J731 and 1717.
Attributed to the Leagros Group.
Found in Vulci, Etruria.
c. 520-510

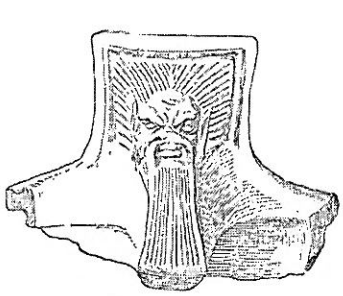
Decoration: Body scene has Aineias carrying Anchises (old man), and warriors. Scene on shoulder has potters working in a workshop under the supervision of the proprietor(?): one is seated on block turning wheel, some are carrying vessels, one is making a vessel, and one works at a kiln decorated with a mask.

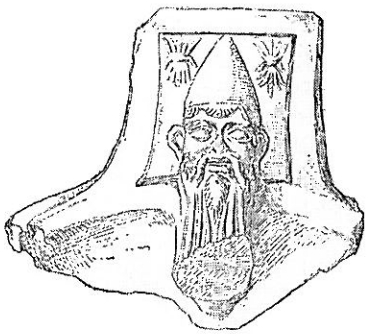
Cult Connection: Mask of satyr protects the workshop production.

Publications: Beazley, *ABV*, 362.36; *OxJA* 8 (1989) 317; Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction*, 15; and Boardman *History of Greek Vases* (2001) 142.









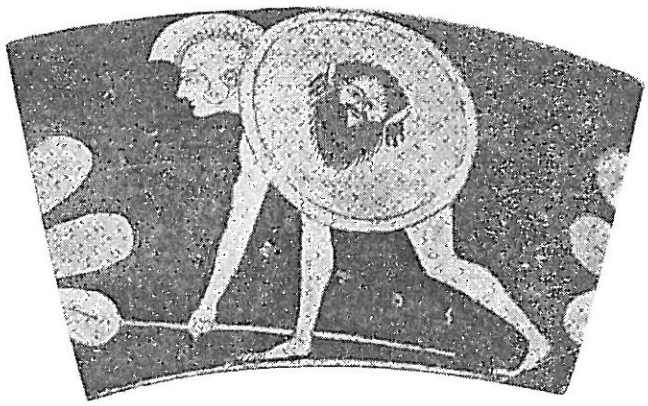
Terracotta Braziers
Athens, National Museum.

Description: Small masks of satyrs and other figures. The one with the *pilos* is a mystery—possibly Hephaistos or another fire daimon.

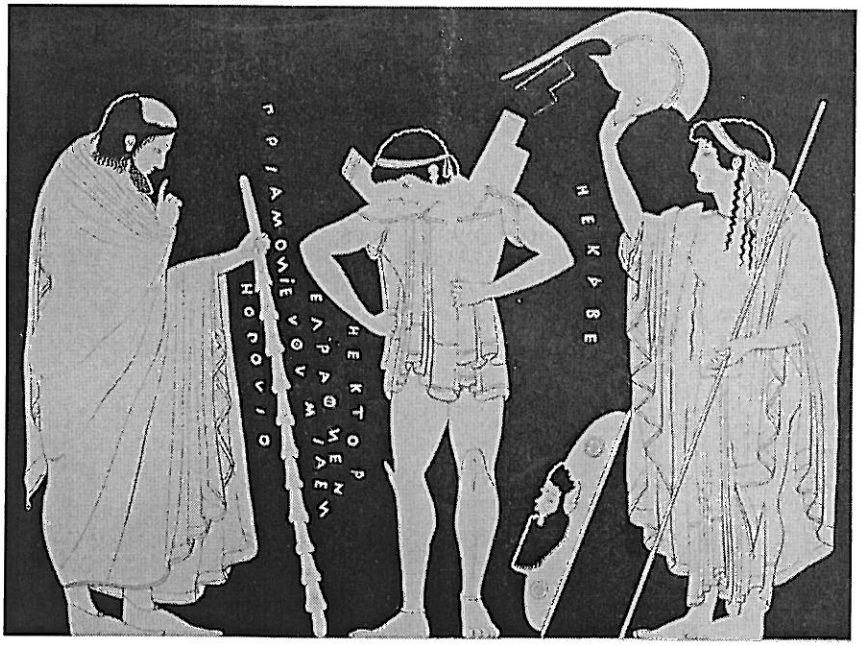
Cult Connection: Apotropaic masks guard against dangers of fire.

Publications: J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena* (1902); Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* (1992).

3:19
a and b



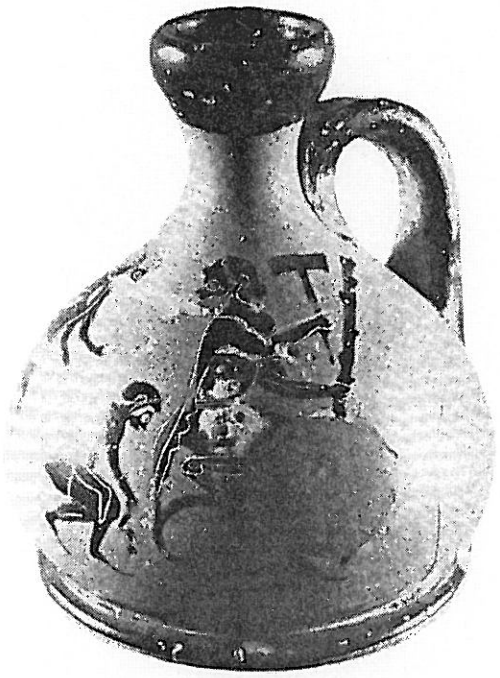
Red-Figure Vase Fragment



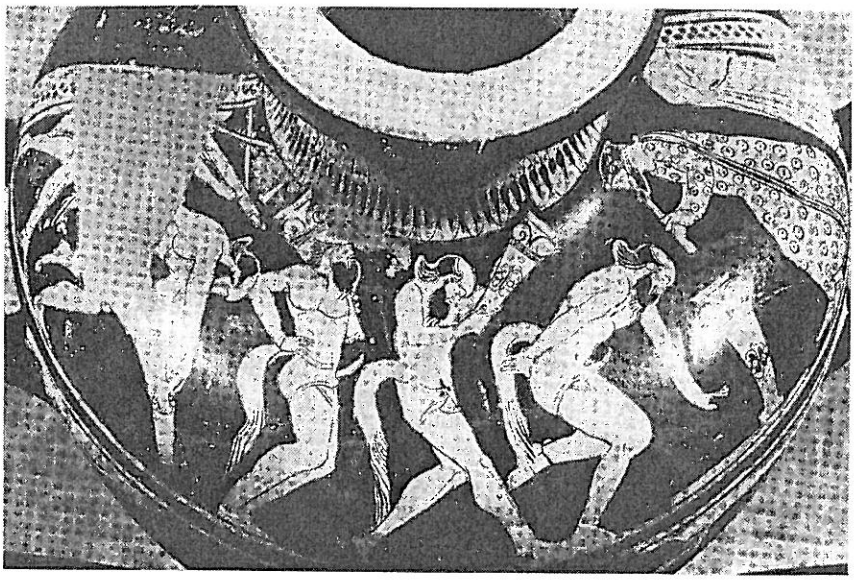

Red-Figure Vase Fragment

Cult Connection: Satyrs on shields function as an apotropaic device.

3:20
a and b



Black-Figure Jug



Red-Figure Amphora

Cult Connection: Satyrs in workshop settings.

Athenian Red-Figure Pelike
London, British Museum E387
Attributed to the Manner of the Washing Painter
Found in Nola, Italy
c. 450-420

Decoration: Two satyrs using a pottery wheel as a merry-go-round. The other side shows a draped youth.

Publications: Beazley, *ARV*$^2$ 1134.10; Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, 2$^{nd}$ edition, 333.

Athenian Red-Figure Column Krater
Caltanisetta, Museo Civico 352517 and S810. Elsewhere listed as 20371.
Attributed to the Harrow Painter.
Found in Sabucina, Sicily.
c. 500-450

Decoration: The god Hephaistos, wearing a pilos, is seated on a low stool with a hammer in one hand and tongs in the other. He is framed on both sides by satyrs who attend him in his workshop. The satyr on the viewer's left holds what has been described as either a wineskin or bellows. The other satyr holds a hammer, and stands between the god and a forge. The furnace is decorated with a picture of a satyr.

Cult Connection: Drawing of satyr guards furnace.

Publications: Beazley, *Paralipomena* (1971) 254.39; Lewis, *Hephaistos* 16/17 (1998/99) 76; Oddy and Swaddling (1985).

Athenian Black-Figure Skyphos
Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1960.321.
Attributed to the Theseus Painter.
Found in Veredemmia.
c. 500

Decoration: Artisans and potters, one working at an amphora, some gathering clay(?), other at herms.

Cult Connection: Men gesture towards herms in a workshop.

Publications: Beazley, *ABV* 520.26; Scheibler, *Griechische Topferkunst* (1995) 111; *Antike Kunst* 43 (2000) pl. 6.3-4; Boardman, *History of Greek Vases* (2001) 142; and Eisman and Turnbull, *AJA* 82 (1978).

Athenian Graffiti Herm
Athenian Agora S 894
Pentelic Marble Fragment
Found in a cistern north of the Hephaisteion (D 4:1).
1st half of the 1st century CE

Decoration: A herm inscribed on a fragment of revetment with a rounded edge.

Cult Connection: Herm graffiti from a sculptor's workshop.

Publications: *Athenian Agora* XI, p. 141, 174, pl. 61; *Athenian Agora* V, p. 39, G 165, pl. 52.

Elean Black-Glazed Sherd
Olympia Museum.
Unattributed.
Found at the workshop of Pheidias, Olympia
Possibly Archaic

Description: Graffito of a herm wearing a craftsman's hat. It is flanked by two grotesque figures of unknown mythological type.

Cult Connection: Herm surrounded by grotesque figures; found in workshop.

Publications: Burford (1972), fig. 32; Harrison (1902); and Schiering, *Olympia*.

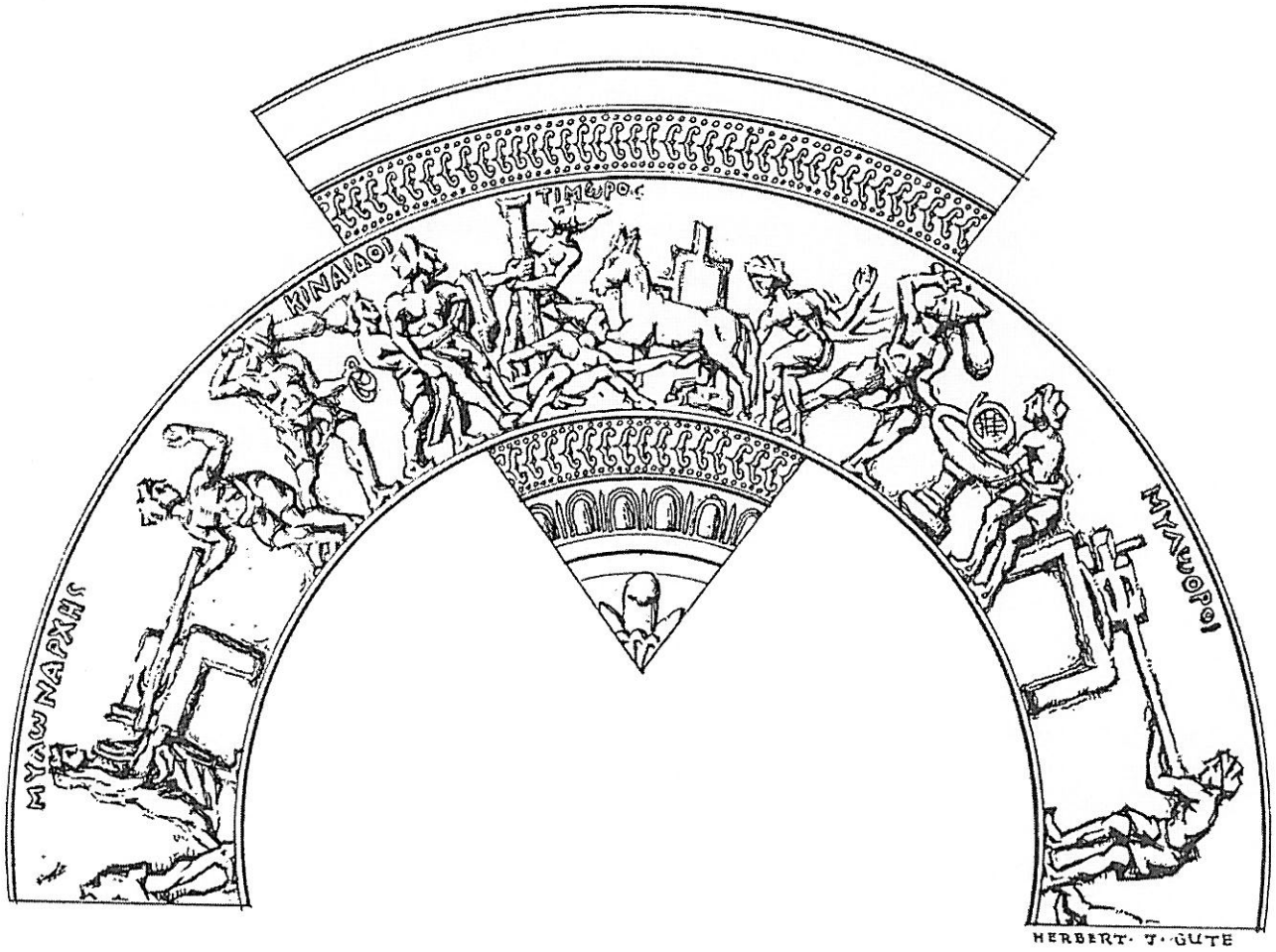



Boiotian Black-Figure Skyphos
Athens, National Museum inv. 442.
Unattributed.
Found in Abai in Lokris.
Late fifth century

Description: Five figures—two seated, two standing, and one hanging—are shown in a potter's workshop, dispersed around a potter's wheel, a table, and stacks of skyphoi, in various acts of damaging pottery.

Cult Connection: Demonic figures cause havoc in a workshop.

Publications: Burford (1972) 91; Scheibler (1995) 120; Halm-Tisserant (1998) 44-45; and Jordan, *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 91-103.



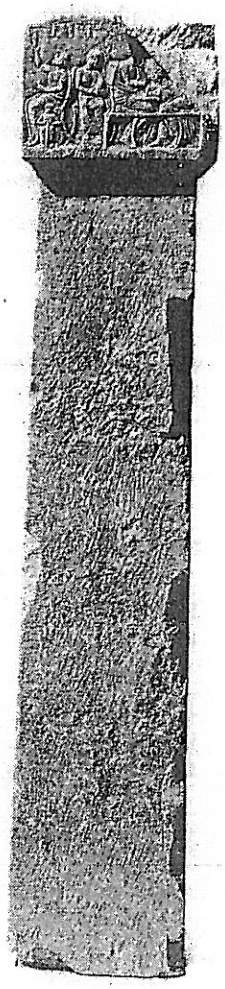

Megarian Bowl

Paris, Louvre, C.A. 936.
Unattributed.
Found in Thebes.
Second century.

Description: The scene is of a flour mill; two millers (on either side of the frieze) are grinding grain in hand-mills. In the center of the scene a more elaborate mill is operated by a man and a donkey. To their right is a man sieving flour or grain. Work is disrupted by five strangers, labeled *kinaidoi*, wearing pointed caps and loin-cloths, who commence to steal flour, beat the employees, and harass the donkey. An overseer is visible at the left.

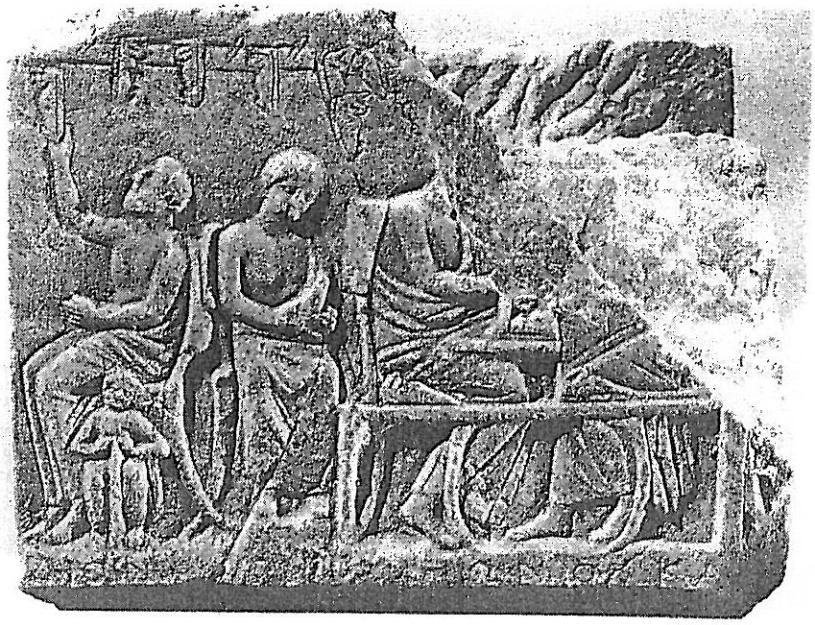
Cult Connection: Demonic figures create havoc in a workshop.

Publications: Rostovtzeff (1937) 87-90; Rostovtzeff, *SEH* (1941) 176; and Sinn (1979) 119.

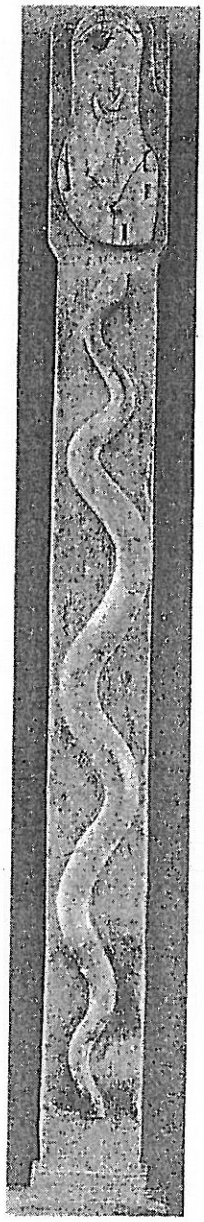


Dedication of the Cobbler Dionysios

Dedication of the Cobbler Dionysios, detail of upper part of stele

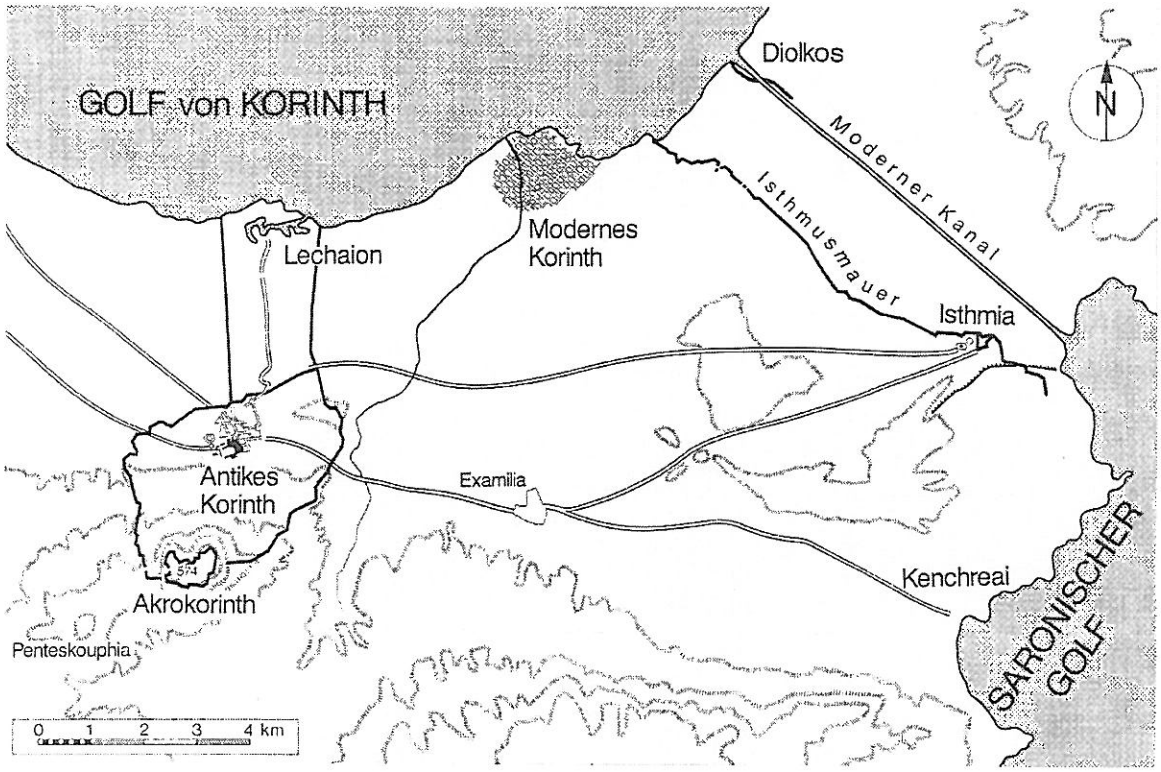


Dedication of the Cobbler Dionysios, detail of cobbler's workshop

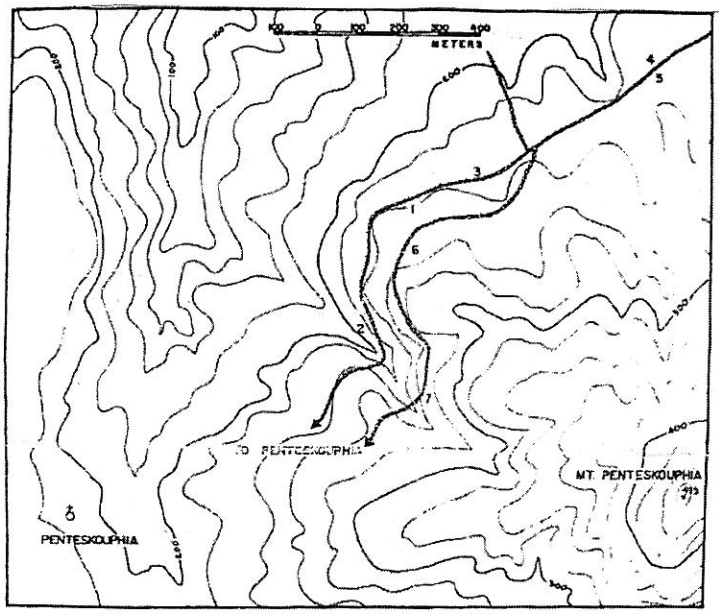


The Dedication of Silon

The Dedication of Silon, detail of the upper part of the stele

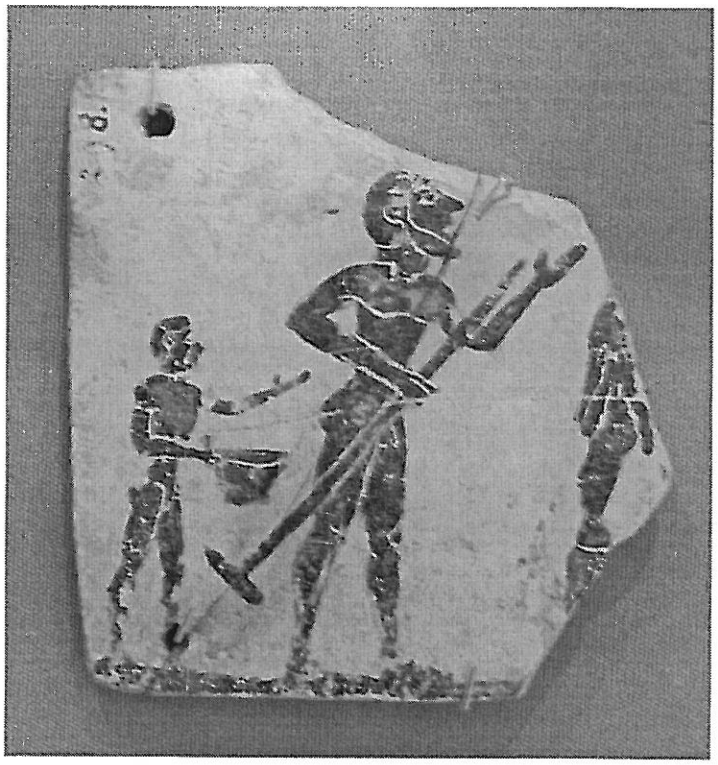



Map of the Corinthia, showing the location of ancient Corinth and Penteskouphia

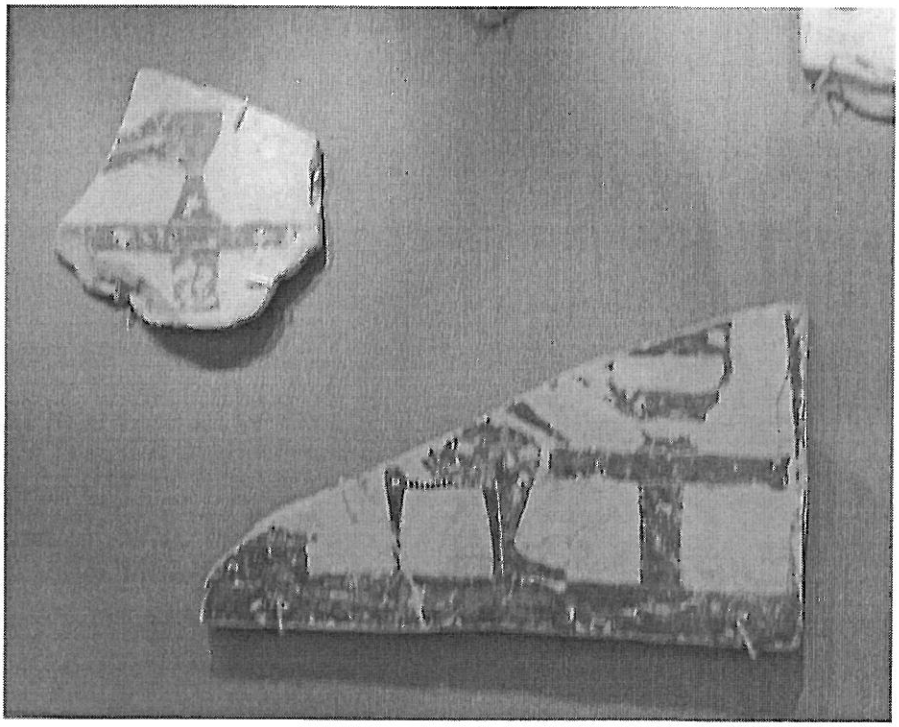



1. A few Penteskoúphia plaques were reportedly found here.
2. Main find-spot of the Penteskoúphia plaques.
3. Aqueduct.
4-5 Knolls where there are limestone building blocks and pottery sherds.
6. Two sink holes, perhaps indicating line of aqueduct.
7. Excavated manhole.

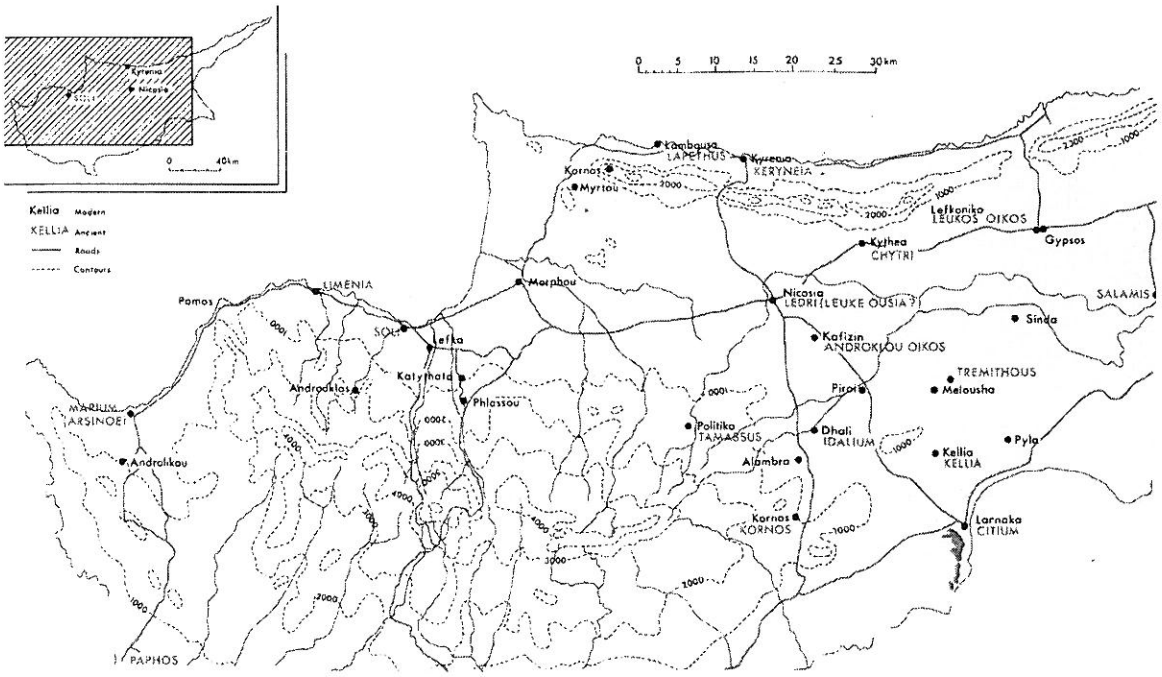
Map showing the findspots for the Penteskouphia plaques



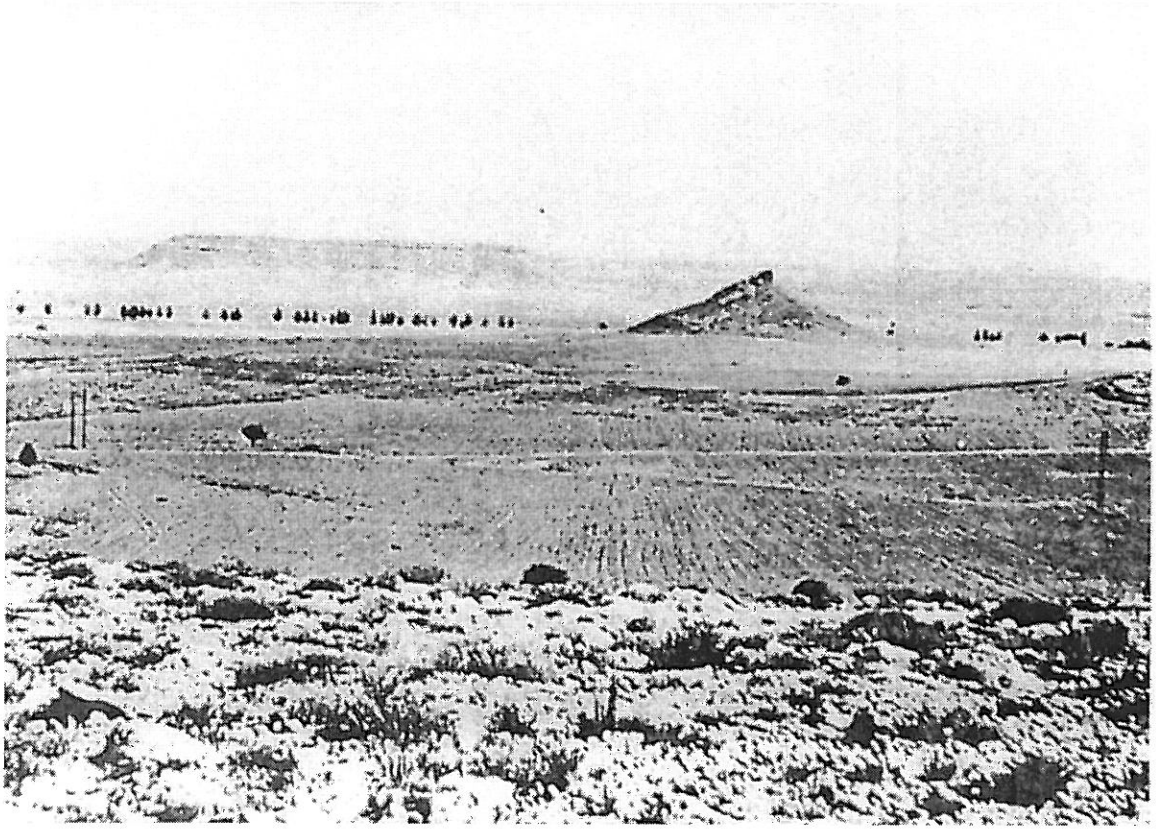
Some of the Penteskouphia Plaques on display at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin



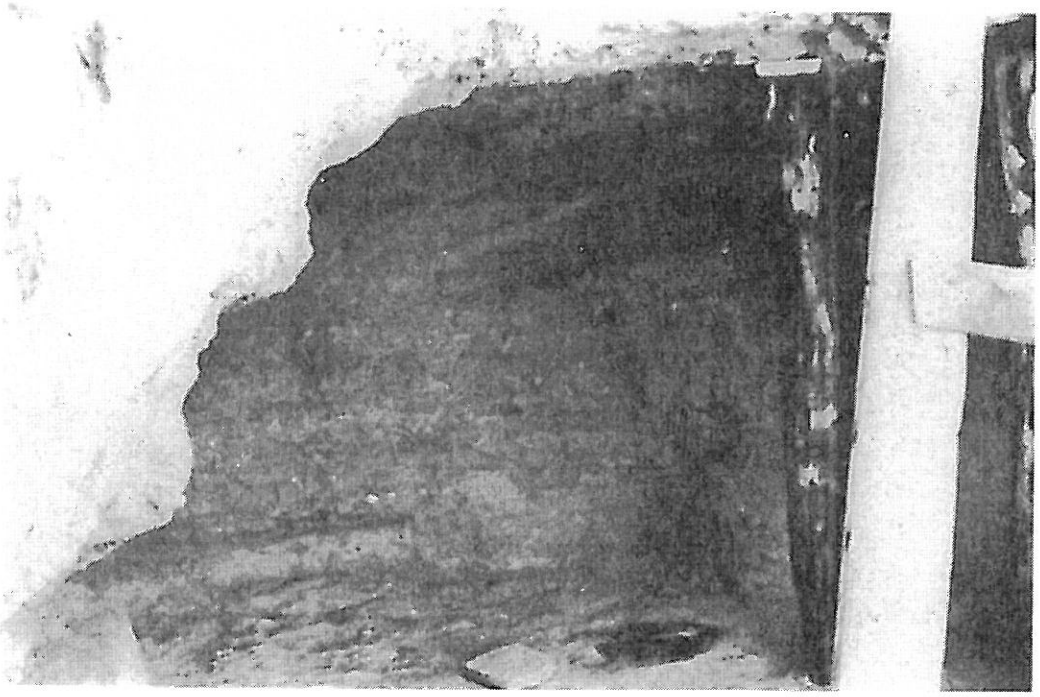
Some of the Penteskouphia Plaques on display at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin




Map of central Cyprus, showing the location of Kafizin

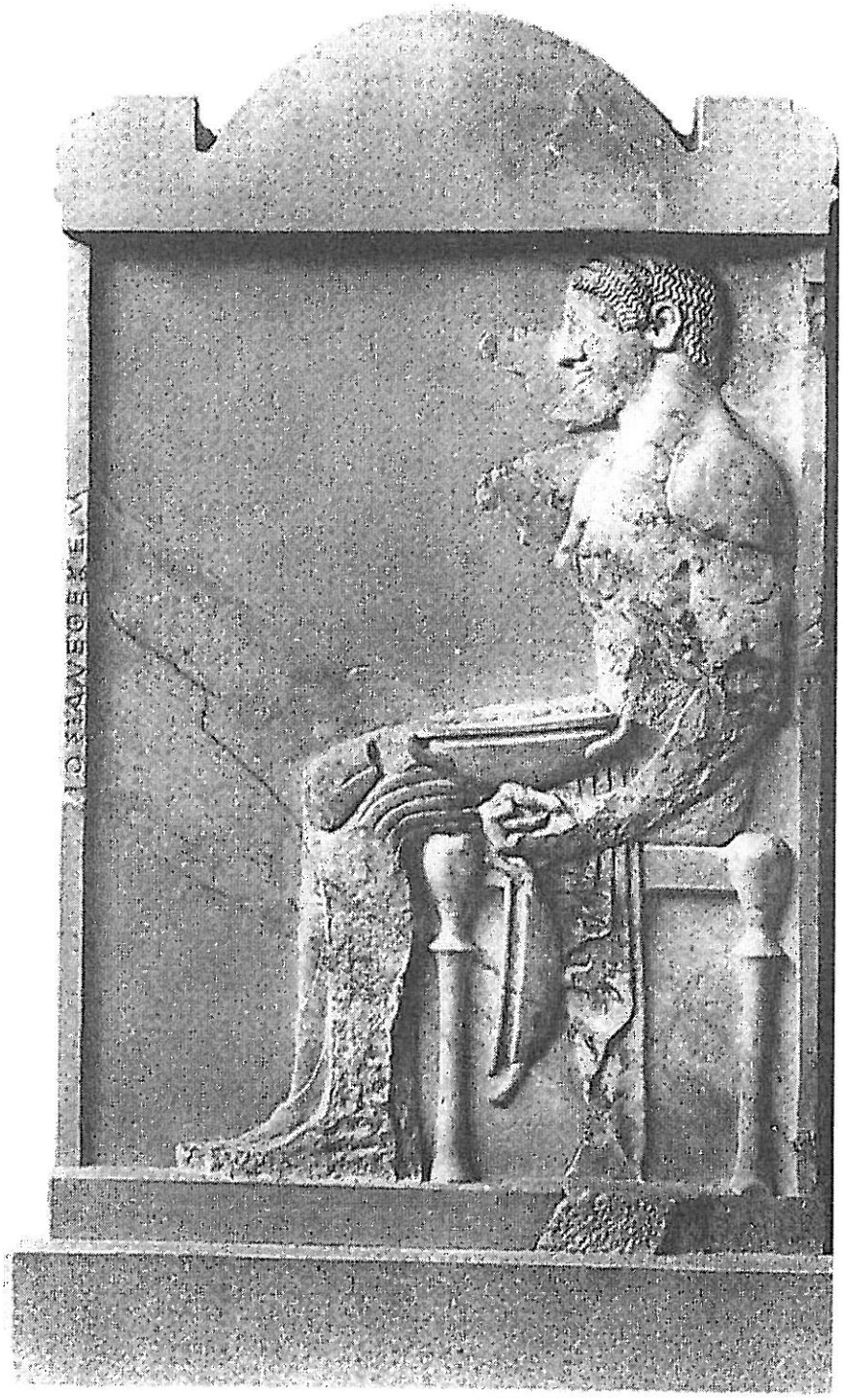


Hill of the Nymph at Kafizin



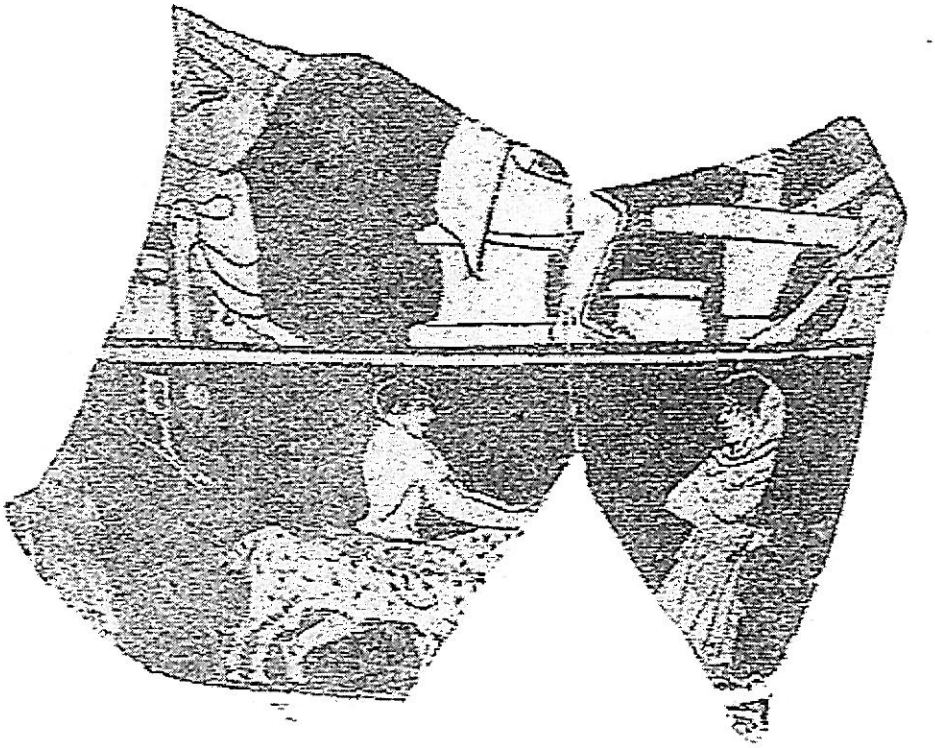
Nymph's Grotto at Kafizin

Inscribed Shallow Lekane from Kafizin

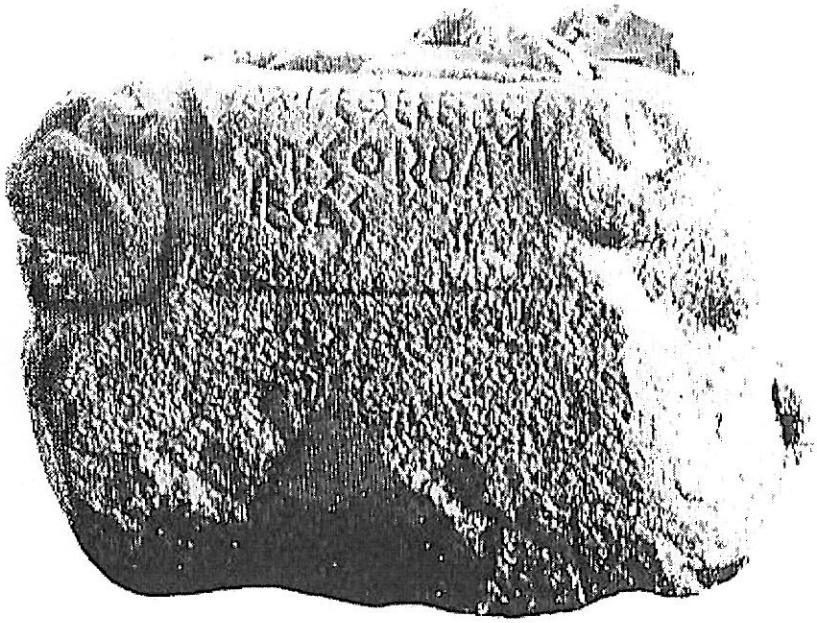


The Potter Relief

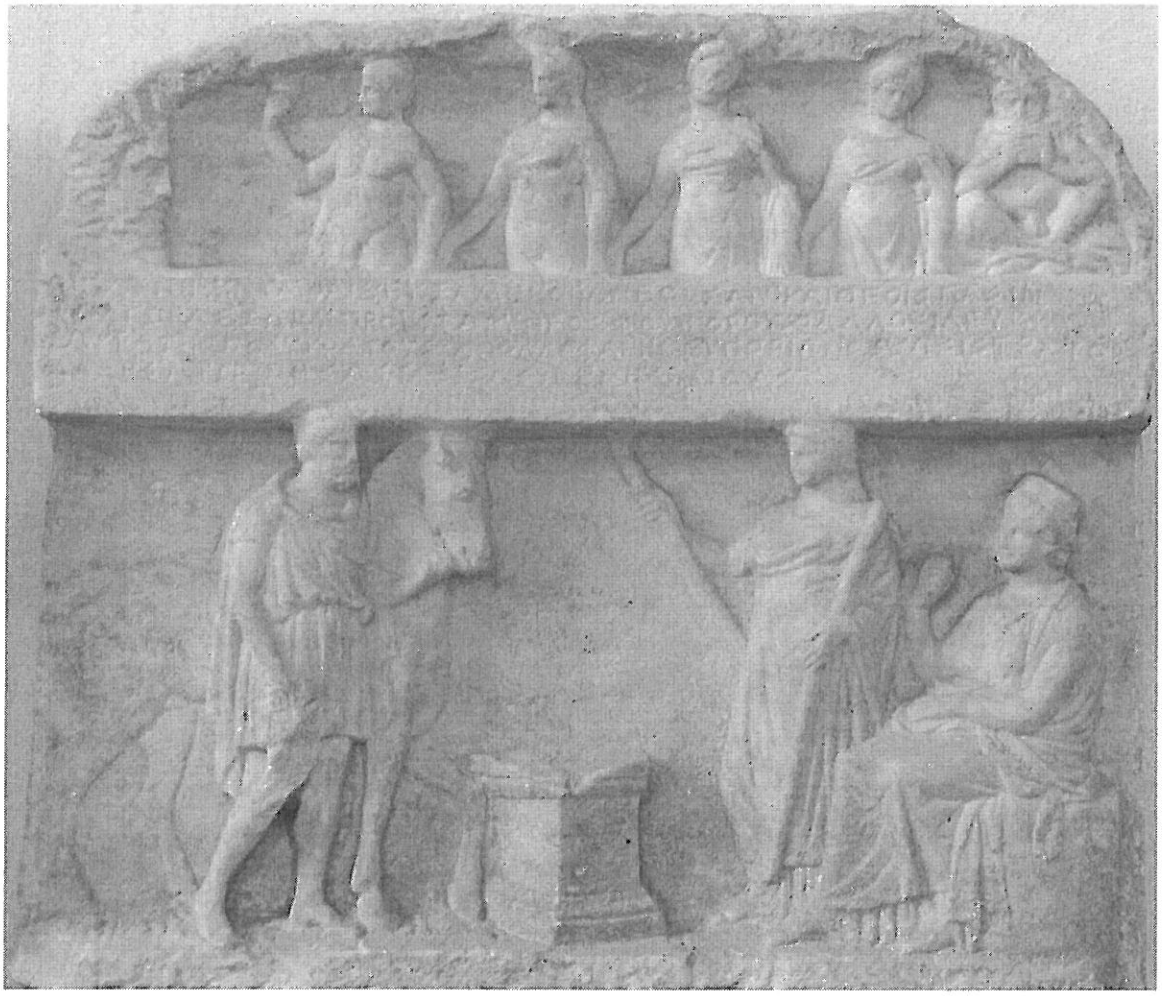
The Antenor Kore



Possible Aparche from a Potter



Statue base for the Dedication of Euthykartides the Sculptor



Votive Relief of the Male and Female Washers