



Coming Back to the polis trochœoides. Dealing with the Topography of Archaic Athens

Vincenzo Capozzoli

► To cite this version:

Vincenzo Capozzoli. Coming Back to the polis trochœoides. Dealing with the Topography of Archaic Athens. Vincenzo Capozzoli; Constanze Graml; Annarita Doronizio. Rethinking Athens before the Persian Wars, International Workshop at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, (Munich, 23rd-24th February 2017), Utzverlag, pp.167-187, 2019, 978-3-8316-4813-9. hal-03921041

HAL Id: hal-03921041

<https://hal.science/hal-03921041>

Submitted on 24 Jan 2023

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial 4.0 International License



Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio,
Vincenzo Capozzoli (eds.)

**Rethinking Athens Before
the Persian Wars**

Proceedings of the International
Workshop at the Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität München
(Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)

utzverlag

Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio,
Vincenzo Capozzoli (eds.)

Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars

Proceedings of the International Workshop at the
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
(Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)



Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt

herausgegeben von

Prof. Dr. Martin Zimmermann

Prof. Dr. Jens-Uwe Krause

Prof. Dr. Karen Radner

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Band 17

This book was printed thanks to the financial support of the Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli »L'Orientale« and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.

Umschlagabbildung: E. Dodwell, Views in Greece I (London 1821) Plate 474
»Temple of Jupiter Olympios and River Ilissos«
[<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dodwell1821/0059>].



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische
Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Das Werk ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Sämtliche, auch
auszugsweise Verwertungen bleiben vorbehalten.

Each author was responsible for securing the reproduction
rights of the images for the individual articles.

Typesetting and layout: Vincenzo Capozzoli,
Tommasina Matrone, Annika Busching

The English text was revised by Henry Heitmann-Gordon.

Copyright © utzverlag GmbH · 2019

ISBN 978-3-8316-4813-9

Printed in EU
utzverlag GmbH, München
089-277791-00 · www.utzverlag.de

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	9
Rolf Michael Schneider	
<i>Introduction</i>	11
Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio, Vincenzo Capozzoli	
DEALING WITH DEATH	
<i>Some Thoughts on the Pre-Classical Athenian Society</i>	25
Anna Maria D'Onofrio	
<i>The Submycenaean and Protogeometric Cemetery on 2, Odos Irodotou Attikou, Athens, Greece. Remarks on the Spatial Distribution of the Athenian Cemeteries and Burial Customs on the Transition from Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age</i>	41
Marilena Kontopanagou	
<i>From Amphorae to Cauldrons: Urns at Athens in the Early Iron Age and in the Orientalizing Period</i>	51
Simona Dalsoglio	
<i>Ladies Returned. On Cypriot-Inspired Shapes in the Early Iron Age Pottery of Attica</i>	65
Jennifer Wilde	
<i>A Fresh Look at the Kerameikos Necropolis: Social Complexity and Funerary Variability in the 7th Century B.C.</i>	89
Annarita Doronzio	
<i>The Excavations at Phaleron Cemetery 2012-2017: An Introduction</i>	103
Stella Chryssoulaki	

SHAPING SPACES

- Memoryscapes in Early Iron Age Athens: the ‘Sacred House’ at the Site of the Academy* 115

Alexandra Alexadridou & Maria Chountasi

- Thucydides 2.15 on Primitive Athens: A New Interpretation* 131

Myrto Litsa

- Constructing Monumentality at the Athenian Acropolis in the Early 6th Century B.C.* 149

Elisavet P. Sioumpara

- Coming Back to the polis trochoeides. Dealing with the Topography of Archaic Athens* 167

Vincenzo Capozzoli

- Between Tradition and Innovation. The Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis Reconsidered* 189

Ioulia Kaoura

ESTABLISHING COMMUNITIES

- The Making of the Greek City: An Athenian Case Study* 207

Alain Duplouy

- Diakrioi and/or Hyperakrioi? A View of Archaic stasis in Athens: Between Aristocratic Conflict, the Intervention of the demos and the Use of the Sacred* 217

Miriam Valdés Guía

- Being a Heliast During the 6th Century B.C.? Remarks on the Existence of the People’s Court in Archaic Athens* 225

Alexandra Bartzoka

<i>The Greek agora in the Context of Sites of Political Assembly in the Ancient Near East</i>	239
Claudia Horst	
<i>The College of Treasurers of Athena on the Acropolis During the Archaic Period</i>	251
Valentina Mussa	
<i>Archaic Athens and Tyranny. The Origins of the Athenian Public Finance</i>	265
Marcello Valente	
<i>Worshipping Women, Worshipping War: (How) Did the Persian Wars Change the Cultic Veneration of Artemis in Athens?</i>	277
Constanze Graml	
<i>A Question of Object. Class Semantics in Athenian Vase Painting (530–430 B.C.)</i>	297
Wolfgang Filser	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	313
INDEX PERSONARUM	357
INDEX LOCORUM	361

Coming Back to the *polis trochœides*. Dealing with the Topography of Pre-Classical Athens*

VINCENZO CAPOZZOLI

Deconstructing Pre-Classical Athens, Putting Aside Classical Athens

A detailed examination of each individual component of such a complex organism as the city is crucial for an innovative approach to the topography of pre-Classical Athens: if the temptation to seek its unity, find its limits and define its form at all costs – i. e. the sense of it – is resisted, then deconstructing the information and de-composing the city is a possible way of rethinking pre-Classical Athens¹. Stressing the historical and ideological interpretation in a way, it seems to me that the first who chose such an approach for pre-Classical Athens, was no other than Themistokles himself in the aftermath of the battle of Salamis. The reconstruction of houses, walls, and sanctuaries destroyed during the Persian siege – as Herodotus sadly reminds us² – offers an extraordinary opportunity to the Athenian strategos: the conception of a new urban plan for a new Athens, which would remain substantially unchanged until Justinian. Themistokles'

intention is incontrovertible in his new perception of space and spaces. Indeed, the new walls are not rebuilt *sic et simpliciter* over the pre-existing walls, as opposed to what was to be the case hereafter and until the end of the Hellenistic Age. Undoubtedly, the Persian destruction constituted a unique, extraordinary occasion – in the literal sense – to accomplish something not easily feasible during ‘normal times’. A mighty wall is erected, greater than the previous one, dividing initially united spaces into distinct neighbourhoods. And, what is more, there is no hesitation to reuse the *semata* of the Athenian ancestors themselves for the foundations of the new fortifications³: Thucydides’ autopsy attests it and archaeology confirms it in numerous archaeological soundings of the Classical walls. We can observe that the presence of reused funerary material characterizes all contexts in which the excavations have allowed the existence of a Themistokleian building phase to be verified. The old road-system is respected (at least partially), but the construction of new and numerous city gates on every side of the city implies a profound urbanistic

* I am very grateful to my friends Nikolaos Arvanitis and Alain Duplouy for many stimulating discussions on Athenian archaeology and history.

1 A few years ago, F. de Polignac, rightly pointed out that the history of the Greek Archaic world is built in the first place around the examination of the “dynamiques plutôt que des formes” (Polignac 2006, 223).

2 Hdt. 9, 13, 9–11.

3 Something similar happened again in the second half of the 4th century B.C. with the reconstruction and strengthening of the Athenian wall circuit. Indeed, in his speech against Ctesiphon, Aeschines blames Demosthenes for having ravaged a significant number of burials, during the excavation of the moat and the realization of palisades around the walls: Aeschin. 3, 236.

(with a renewed *inside-outside* dialectic), topographical, architectural (not only in a military sense) and ritual review. New limits and a new form (finally also known to us moderns), new senses, new ideologies⁴: with the later erection of the Long Walls, Athens will set up the project of a *polis* without a territory, an island on the continent. The next enemy – the Lacedaemonians – will not be faced in the plains of Marathon and Plataea but awaited within the city walls (together with the so-called Long Walls and the walls of Piraeus)⁵.

These are just some of the features of the above-mentioned Themistokleian “deconstructing/reconstructing”. Bearing in mind our meagre knowledge of pre-Classical Athenian topography, we may state that the new Athens overlaps the old one rather than being its direct evolution⁶. Indeed, the passage of the Persians through Ath-

4 Emblematic is the reconstruction of the Acropolis’ northern wall with the column drums of the first Parthenon: maybe a first extraordinary operation of political propaganda (Di Cesare 2004).

5 Cf. Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975, 8; Weir 1995, 251. See also the Perikles’ speech to the Athenians on the eve of the Peloponnesian War: Thuk. 1, 143, 3–5; 2, 13–14.

6 From this point of view, I do not agree with the Dimitriadou’s view: “The urban tissue made up of the above demoi was destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC, but this event was not taken as an opportunity to remodel it on the basis of a better planned layout. After the Persian Wars and on account of the rapid development of the new agora, habitation turned to the northeast and the north, where it was to spread beyond the Eridanos, about as far as the old Submycenaean cemeteries. In one sense, the Persian invasion could be considered as having cut short the settlement development of the Archaic city. In another sense, perhaps it speeded up its development in area. The city was rebuilt very quickly in the same as well as in new areas of habitation, wherever the circuit

ens represents a horizontal cut, a broad negative stratigraphic unit – which we are called to record and evaluate – thus making somewhat farfetched any comparison between the two Athens⁷. Yet, if we are to discuss pre-Classical Athens, one gets the impression that there is no other solution than “chasing down informations” in the Athens of the Classical period. Emblematic in this regard the view of E. M. Dimitriadou in the introduction of her recent study on the topography of pre-Classical Athens. Almost echoing L. Costaki thirteen years earlier in her work on the Athenian road-system⁸, Dimitriadou states: “Through the overall assessment of the continuous interaction between the areas of burial and of settlement, we try to detect the limits of habitation in each period, as this becomes clear from the development of the Submycenaean cemeteries in Geometric times, the Archaic settlement remains, and the successive changes in the uses of space down until the Persian destruction”⁹. Nonetheless, this quest for boundaries – which indeed seems to place bonds on any full understanding of the Athenian complexity at this time – is biased by Dimitriadou’s own explicit stance: “The

wall “extended in every direction” (Thucydides 1. 93. 2) permitted”: Dimitriadou 2019, 225.

7 As an example, it is emblematic that in most of the known roads (many of which certainly should have existed already during the Geometric period), stratigraphic analysis does not allow one to trace back beyond the early 5th century B.C.

8 Costaki 2006 (introduction): “This is a comprehensive study of the road system of Athens within the circuit of the Classical city wall, from the Geometric through the Roman periods, based both on the excavated remains and the literary sources”.

9 Dimitriadou 2019, 1.

geographical boundaries within which the present study moves coincide with those of the walled *asty* and of an area of small compass outside these. This peripheral zone was imposed by the material itself, so as to include the early cemeteries that were founded close to the Submycenaean nuclei of habitation and to basic, very ancient thoroughfares linking Athens with the outskirts, but at a distance from the Acropolis and the Mycenaean settlement”¹⁰. But how would one look for the borders of the inhabited area by starting from limits that coincide with the *asty* of the Classical period? And again, why use a buffer zone defined by the localization of Submycenaean evidence just around the Classical city (and what about the other possible Submycenaean evidence beyond this buffer zone)? Thereby, Dimitriadou’s research goals end up to a teleological assumption, imposed *at sic* at the beginning of the volume rather than being demonstrated.

The assertiveness of all those who tried to retrace the “*forma urbis*” based on one of the many reconstructions (purely hypothetical!) of the pre-Themistokleian walls, raises even greater issues. The existence of such a wall is certain beyond any doubt, but using it to discuss urban planning and topography of pre-Classical Athens, has serious repercussions in terms of historical interpretation. In this regard, and among many examples, I would remind us of what I. Morris wrote about the well-known Archaic necropolis on the north-west slope of the Areopagus¹¹: “[...] it was clearly a very unusual burial ground, and is not evidence for a general continuation of

areas for the disposal of the dead within the civic space. The break in intra-mural burial after 700 B.C. is a most significative development¹². According to Morris, this new funerary pattern, in action at the end of the 8th century B.C., directly relates to the erection of the first Athenian walls, since after their construction *intra-muros* burials would have been forbidden. But one might ask: why would have Athens felt the need for a defensive wall at this particular moment? Who would have ordered the construction of such a collective work? Where would this circuit pass through? In the end, although attractive, Morris’ reconstruction raises more questions than it solves. Moreover, reading between the lines it emerges how Morris was influenced by the reconstruction proposed H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufé, which identified 700 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for the pre-Themistokleian walls¹³. Lauter and Lauter-Bufé made two main arguments for dating the walls to the end of the 8th century B.C.: if the first, the high ceramic production of this period, seems anything but decisive, the second, the presence of a fortification in the settlement of Lathoureza hypothetically dated back to 700 B.C., is downright the consequence of an embarrassing archaeological misunderstanding. Indeed, as explained by A. Mazarakis Ainian, who had access to until then unpublished data/diaries¹⁴, the Lathoureza’s excellently conserved ‘defensive wall’ was actually built in the 20th century by the Greek excavators with the materials brought to light during the dig. Of course, it is not impossible that

12 Morris 1987, 68.

13 Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975.

14 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 235 f.

the walls of Athens were erected at the end of the 8th century B.C., but it cannot yet be proved on archaeological basis, and it doesn't authorize such historical reconstructions as the ones of Morris. Moreover, at least in Athens, the wearily common connection drawn between the 'erection of the walls' and the 'interruption of burials in the newly fortified area' seems to be very problematic. Reading the funerary record is indeed an extremely complex affair for the Archaic age: the child graves of the *agora* are always mentioned, but their presence raises no debate¹⁵, and the same applies to two 6th century B.C. incinerations near the Areopagus¹⁶. Yet these burials found themselves in the very heart of Athens. Moreover, how to solve the enigma of the above-mentioned necropolis of the Areopagus? Necropolis *intra-muros* or *extra-muros*, without forgetting that we do not know the course of the wall? Multi-family necropolis or necropolis of Peisistratos' clan?

This brief review shows how the pre-Themistokleian walls, one of the two great phantoms of the pre-Classical Athenian archaeology – the other being the so-called *archaia agora* on the east slopes of the Acropolis – are often used and abused for several historical and topographical reconstructions that sometimes contradict each other and are very weak from a methodological point of view. I therefore suspect – as I had already observed elsewhere¹⁷ – that behind these arguments there is a certain overestimation of the true significance of the walls

for the ancient Greek *polis*, especially for the period in question. Despite what R. Frederiksen tried to demonstrate¹⁸, it appears clear that before the Classical Age, the walls, although important – it seems superfluous to even assert it – do not categorically make nor define the city itself, in the sense that other variables are in action too. And there is certainly no need to bring into play the exceptional case of Sparta or to continue to bother Nikias¹⁹, to realize that Athens did not need to erect walls in order 'to feel' like a *polis*. The division of space between the living and the dead could, but does not necessarily have to be related to the construction of a wall circuit, even less when little or nothing is known about it. The walls are one feature of a *polis* but the *polis* itself is much more than that²⁰. Moreover, it is good to remember once and for all that with the exceptions of the pre-Themis-

18 Frederiksen 2011.

19 Cf. the discussion in Capozzoli 2012, 83 with previous bibliography.

20 I would like to draw attention to some very clear observations made by de Polignac: "La dispersion ou le regroupement, la régularité ou non de l'habitat ne sont donc pas de critères déterminants de l'urbanisation; ceux-ci sont à rechercher plutôt dans le degré d'intégration et de spécialisation fonctionnelles de différents types d'aménagement qui peuvent être analysés soit selon une logique « locale » (même dans un habitat groupé) ou selon une logique « globale » (même dans un habitat éclaté), soit encore en mêlant les deux ; ce qui suppose une étude comparative approfondie qui dépasse le simple constat, en lui-même insuffisant, de l'apparition d'une place publique, d'un lieu de culte ou d'une nouvelle nécropole [...]. A côté des relations qui sont susceptibles d'unir différents quartiers et habitants respectifs autour du « centre », il faut constamment introduire la question de l'insertion des composantes urbaines dans le territoire environnant [...]." (de Polignac 2006, 218 f.).

15 Doronizio 2018, 201.

16 Morris 1987, 67 f. with bibliography; Dimitriadou 2019, 179.

17 Capozzoli 2012, especially 89–93.

tokleian walls of Athens and those of the second Telesterion of Eleusis²¹, there are no other fortifications in Attica before the 5th century B.C.

For these reasons, I'm convinced that, in order to understand what and how the civic center of Athens was prior to 479 B.C. and to verify its possible relationship to the so-called *polis trochœides* in Herodotus, the pre-Themistokleian walls issue appears anything but decisive. Which is why in the following part of my paper I will focus on other aspects²². I will exploit, in particular, the new data made available in recent and fundamental works on Athenian topography – primarily those of Costaki, Ficuciello and Dimitriadou respectively on the road-system and the funerary documentation²³ – reassessed by the results of my own study on the Themistokleian walls²⁴. In the last part of my contribution I will return to the issue of *polis trochœides*, trying to provide an alternative reading to those previously proposed.

A Walk Through Graves and Streets of Pre-Classical Athens

Reevaluation of the funerary data is a mandatory step for the study of pre-Classical Athens, where – as is commonly

21 The chronology of this intervention is uncertain and ranges between the middle of the 6th century B.C. (cfr. Ziro 1991, 9–18) and the time of Kleisthenes (Hayashi 1992, 19–29).

22 Since this is an ongoing study, the results presented here are meant to be a basis for future reflection rather than definitive conclusions.

23 Costaki 2006; SATAA 4; Dimitriadou 2019.

24 This is part of my dissertation “*Studi sulle mura di Atene dall’età arcaica al sacco di Silla*” defended in 2008 at the Scuola Superiore di Studi Storici in San Marino (supervisor T. Hölscher) and currently under review for the final publication.

known – the particularly scarce evidence relating to the worlds of the living and gods, at least until the middle of the 6th century B.C., is more than a good reason for headaches. In this paper, therefore, I will proceed from this kind of documentation. Thanks to the above-mentioned study by Dimitriadou, there is no longer a need to reconsider the whole data set, so I decided to focus my attention on some key contexts, which seem crucial to my line of reasoning. When doing so, I identified primary and secondary data: primary data come directly from known burial contexts, while secondary data refer to reused funerary monuments in the Themistokleian non-funerary contexts.

Primary Data: Necropolis and Graves of the Archaic Athens

I begin my analysis with the plan of Dimitriadou related to the Archaic Age²⁵, based on which I was able to draw up my own distribution map of the funerary remains of the same period (fig. 1). It becomes very clear that most of the necropoleis are located in the north/north-west and in the south/south-east areas, at a considerable distance from the Acropolis and the *agora* of the Kerameikos. To the north-west and to the north, lie the necropoleis of Kerameikos, Platia Eleftherias and Platia Kotzia; to the south one finds the late Archaic necropolis of Odos Propileon and, most of all, a series of small funerary areas to the south-east, that probably belonged to an extensive single necropolis that stretched along the road connecting Athens to

25 Dimitriadou 2019, fig. 4:19, 4:20. See also the online digital plans: <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/254>>; <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/255>>; <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/256>> (09.12.2019).

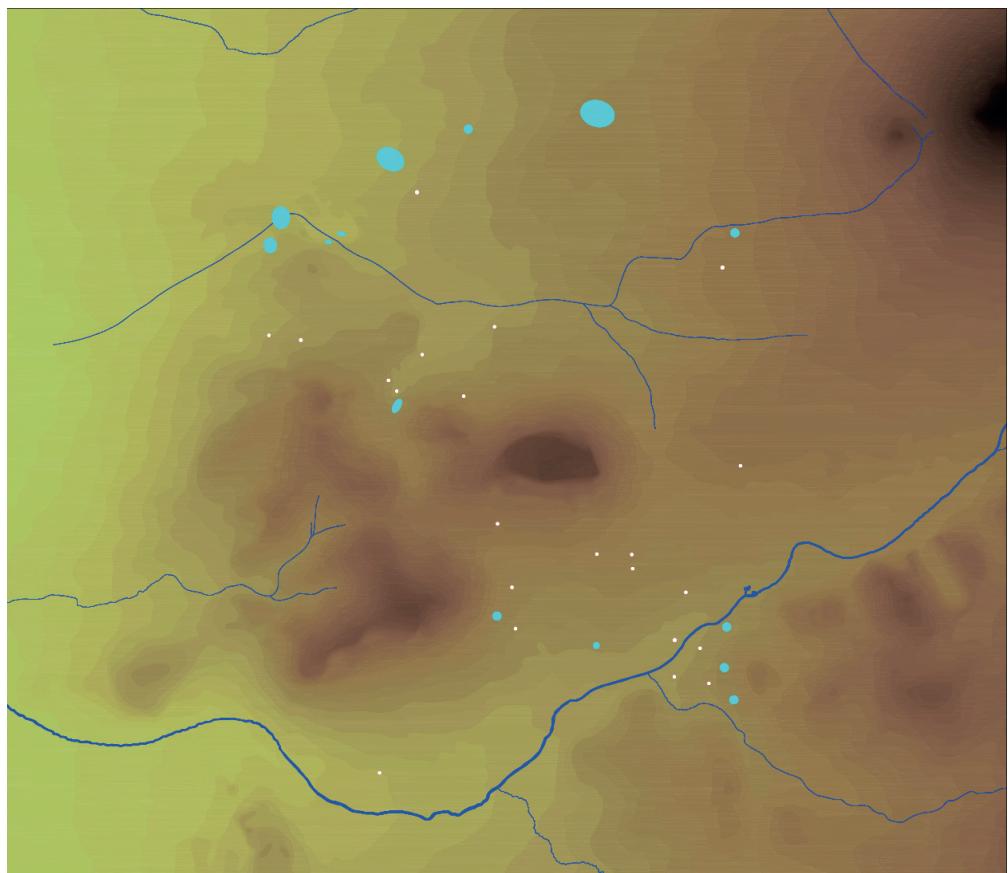


Fig. 1. The funerary evidence of the Athenian civic center during the Archaic period: necropolis or grave groups in cyan, while the white dots indicate single burials (elaboration by the author).

Phaleron. In many cases, the Archaic necropoleis occupy burial areas that already existed in Geometric times (at the latest) and remained in use throughout the Classical period²⁶. We must therefore take into account two key-points right away:

- a temporal one, set by the uninterrupted use of many funerary areas from the Submycenaean period (though with several quantitative and qualitative variations);

- a spatial one, set by the topographical continuity of those funerary areas.

Undoubtedly, we should perceive this twofold space-time continuity in a broad sense, but we cannot lose sight of the existence of a much more articulated reality. As is well known, there are in fact many other necropoleis, as well as isolated graves, in particular in the area of the agora, the Areopagus and south of the Acropolis. Unlike the great secular burial grounds mentioned above, these contexts are limited to the Archaic period and end by the year 500 B.C., the period to which the most recent burials of the necropolis

26 As becomes apparent by comparison with Dimitriadou's plans of the Submycenaean and Geometric periods: <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/248>> (09.10.2019).

of the Areopagus have been dated by Young. In fact, along with the graves from the central part of the *agora* interrupting at the end of the 8th century B.C.²⁷, we should remember the presence of several burials ‘belonging’ to a topographical and chronological discontinuity. If their relationship with the pre-Classical walls is unclear, it is certain that after the erection of the Themistokleian walls they became *intra-muros*. Besides the famous cemetery of the Areopagus – to which I will shortly return – I would like to point out:

- two graves located ca. 15 m north-west of the Areopagus necropolis (and separated from the latter): one inhumation (grave 49) dating back to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. and one cremation burial (grave 50) dated to the early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C.²⁸ It should be noted that grave 49 to the north-west of the Areopagus was associated with three trenches – discovered empty during the excavations –, perhaps to be interpreted as the remains of burials from a completely lost Archaic funerary area;
- four graves found adjacent the new Acropolis Museum: the burials are unpublished and according to Dimitriadou they should be dated to the Archaic period²⁹. One is located to the north-east, the other three to the south of the Weiler Building;
- one grave discovered at the intersection of Odos Dionissiou Areopagitou with Odos Propileon, and dating back to the second quarter of the 6th cen-

tury B.C.³⁰. Assuming its relation with another tomb found further south at the intersection of Odos Kavallotti 24 with Odos Propileon (late 6th century B.C.)³¹, it could prove the existence of an (at the latest) Archaic street linking the spot of the later Odeion of Herodes Atticus with the necropolis of Odos Erechtheiou, where yet another Archaic grave should have existed³².

Along with these seven burials, we have to take note of child graves. Supplementing Dimitriadou’s catalogue³³ with the online inventory of the Research Project “EMA”³⁴ returns twelve child graves for the period between the end of the 8th century B.C. and the beginning of the 5th century B.C. Commonly, there is a tendency to include the *intra-muros* child graves among the “normal” exceptions of the funerary evidence³⁵. Personally, I believe that in cities like Athens the reasons for

30 Dimitriadou 2019, 433–434

31 Dimitriadou 2019, 452–453.

32 The excavation only brought to light several Archaic pedestals (Stavropoulos 1965, 86 f. (22–23. Ερεχθίου 25 καὶ Ερεχθίου 21/23) but it is certain they belonged to destroyed graves (by the Persians?).

33 Dimitriadou 2019, 276; 280, fig. 6. Dimitriadou 2012, Region I, no. 14. Dimitriadou 2019, 207 f.: “On the basis of this evidence, and until assemblages M 18:6 and N 20:8 have been studied in detail and published, their identification as child graves should perhaps not be taken for granted.”

34 <<http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/ema/>> (09.12.2019).

35 Cf. for instance, Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 70: “It is true that burials in central parts of the city – for example in the *agora* – appear to end by about 500, but there are intra-mural burials of the Classical period – mostly of children, and children are a well-known exception to funerary legislation”. For a first analysis of the Greek evidence during the Iron Age see Mazarakis Ainian 2010, especially 72–77.

27 Agora 8, 113. Doronzo 2012, 28; Doronzo 2018, 201.

28: Young 1951, 108 f. Cf. also Dimitriadou 2019, 178 f.

29 Dimitriadou 2019, 470.

this exception – which already R. S. Young pointed out and tried to justify³⁶ – still need a satisfactory explanation. However, restricting the analysis to the area of the *agora* and the *Areopagus*, a strong reduction becomes visible when compared to the Protogeometric and Geometric evidence (22 and 47 burials respectively are documented in the EMA catalogue). This trend becomes further evident in the following periods: complete absence for the entire Classical period and only two cases for the Hellenistic (last quarter of the 4th century B.C. and first half of the 2nd century B.C.), we can then state that both adult and child burials endured throughout the Archaic period³⁷, disappearing entirely or rather mainly after the construction of Themistokleian Athens.

I shall now analyze the above-mentioned necropolis on the north-west slopes of the *Areopagus*³⁸, a ‘true’ necropolis compared to the previously examined graves. Excavated by Young in the mid-20th century,

36 Young 1951, 133: “More difficult of explanation is the fact that cremation of infants within the city continued to be permitted into Hellenistic times. [...] There seems, on the other hand, no likelihood that the bodies of dead infants could have been cremated in the town without the whole neighborhood knowing of it. We must conclude, therefore, that the religious ban on burial within the city either did not include a sanction against the burial of children as opposed to adults, or that it did not include a sanction against cremation as opposed to burial.”

37 Cf. Dimitriadou 2019, 207, who, with regard to three late 7th century B.C. child burials of the *Tholos* cemetery, states: “The fact that after an interruption in its operation, three child burials (*enchytrismoi*) were made in the late seventh century BC indicates that the cemetery still kept its old identity.”

38 Most recently discussed in Dimitriadou 2019, 273–277.

two main phases were identified: the first one, dating back to the late Geometric period, is represented by four graves; the second one, after an apparent gap of a century³⁹, is represented by eighteen graves dating to the 6th century B.C.⁴⁰. The necropolis is protected by a *peribolos* which, perhaps after being damaged during the Persian occupation, was rebuilt during the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. Moreover, there is no self-evident rationale behind the orientation of the single burials and the necropolis was definitively abandoned around 500 B.C., as Young states⁴¹. This discovery, together with its peculiar location – i. e. the proximity to the south-eastern corner of the *agora* – and the great number of burials (51 in total, 29 of which are undated), has caused much ink to be spilled indeed. On this issue, there are four main positions:

- Young considered it a necropolis within the pre-Themistokleian walls, therefore an exception to the Athenian funerary pattern that did not admit *intra muros* burials⁴²;
- F. E. Winter preferred to consider the necropolis outside the pre-Themistokleian walls: he thought they ran some 25 to 30 m uphill from the *Areopagus* cemetery, making it an *extra-muros* burial plot⁴³;

39 Compare Doronzo 2018, 201 for residual ceramic of the 7th century from the area of the necropolis and also SATAA 1, 1, 244–247.

40 Outside the *peribolos* wall, the American archaeologist also found the already mentioned graves 49, 50 and in addition the grave 51: a cremation belonging to a child and dating between the 7th and the 6th century B.C.): Young 1951, 109 f. On the grave 51, cf. also Dimitriadou 2019, 179.

41 Young 1951, 77. 132.

42 Young 1951, 133.

43 Winter 1982, 203.

- Morris, accepting Young's *intra-muros* hypothesis, proposed to identify it as the necropolis of Peisistratos' family⁴⁴.
- E. Greco pre-dates – though without the corroboration of any apparent evidence – the interruption of the necropolis to 520–515 B.C., and links this “updated” chronological record to the construction of the first Athenian city walls by the tyrant Hippias. Placed within the new city walls, according to this interpretation, the necropolis went out of use because of people respecting the ban on the burials *infra urbem*⁴⁵.

However fascinating, Greco's statement should be rejected for at least two reasons. First of all, it does not follow the chronology of the necropolis' latest graves as proposed by Young (500 B.C.)⁴⁶. Secondly, it seems to clash with Thucydides' statement, who, concerning the wall of Themistokles erected not long after, remembers that it was greater than the previous on each side. Thus, assuming Greco's hypothesis were true⁴⁷, we should believe that in the time span of just 35–40 years the Athenians felt the need to reconsider and enlarge the

entire wall circuit⁴⁸. This would be rather more understandable – at least in my opinion – if we admit for the walls a higher chronology than the Peisistratid one. The Young – Morris hypothesis does not seem convincing neither. Firstly, because it takes for granted that the defensive wall incorporated this cemetery: this is not supported by hard evidence (in this regard, Winter's hypothesis does indeed seem not to be entirely impossible⁴⁹). On the other hand, the association of the burial plot with Peisistratos' family presupposes a lot of guessing, since it is just one out of many other exegetical possibilities and it is not corroborated by solid archaeological, anthropological, or indeed literary data. But above all, how would the complete lack of regularity in the graves' placement be explained⁵⁰? In addition, what about the six burials of the 8th century B.C. and the pottery of the 7th found in the whole area of the necropolis (probably belonging to destroyed burials)? Moreover, if it really is the Peisistratids' cemetery, why would the 5th century B.C. Athenians have felt the need to leave it intact and even to rebuild part of the damaged (probably by the Persians) *peribolos*? Whatever the

44 Morris 1987, 68.

45 Greco 2008a, 8–10; Greco 2008b, 14; SATAA 1, 1, 28.

46 We should resume the study of the grave goods in order to possibly raise the dating of fifteen years as Greco proposed. But, as far as I know, this has not yet been done and we are therefore forced until then to accept Young's chronology.

47 Actually, a Peisistratid chronology was first proposed by E. Curtius: Curtius 1862, 110. A completely different position was expressed some years later by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. For him, indeed, the pre-Classical wall was destroyed (he speaks of “Entfestigung”) at the time of the Peisistratids: von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881, 97–106.

48 The same view is found in Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975, 9.

49 Winter's hypothesis, never much taken into account by modern scholarship, does not seem to me completely unreasonable. In this regard, I would like to recall that the fortification walls built in 1778 during the Ottoman occupation (Ali Chaseki), ran on the Areopagus Hill to the east of the necropolis, as we can admire in a beautiful plan of Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel (<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8494927j>> [09.12.2019]).

50 It is not impossible that it was a multi-family cemetery, in which each family used a different alignment.

explanation might be, the debate on the necropolis of the Areopagus is indeed far from over. We are faced with a monumental temporal marker, a true “*lieu de mémoire*⁵¹”, which does not begin with Peisistratos but much earlier. Established at the end of the Geometric period, it represents the only Archaic necropolis consciously incorporated into the city of the Classic Age, and what is more, it was not simply spared by the Athenian *pietas* but even repaired. These few but grounded pieces of archaeological evidence should be the starting point for a solid discussion of this pre-Classical context. An archaeological *indictum* out of the ordinary, that points more than all the others to the above-mentioned discontinuity.

The Secondary Data: the Reuse of the Pre-Classical Grave Monuments in the Themistokleian Walls

I now turn briefly to the analysis of the mobile data in secondary use, in other words to funerary elements reused as building material in fortifications of the Classical period. Yet another testimony to discontinuity, perhaps the most emblematic, these amazed even Thucydides himself⁵²: after Salamis, every Athenian, including women and children, contributed to the reconstruction of the new walls with massive re-use of every kind of material at their disposal, including the remains of destroyed buildings along with funerary steles and statues, which is the material most relevant to us. An extensive survey of what we know of the Classical city walls (those of Themistokles in particular) fully confirms the validity of Thucydides’ testi-

mony. In addition, it also points to the fact that the Athenians were quite indiscriminate regarding the types of material they employed. As far as the Classical period is concerned, I mapped 269 fragments attributed to more than 100 funerary monuments and some material coming from the unfinished temple of the Olympian Zeus⁵³. Of course, it is not possible to discern between the materials coming from the Persian destruction and those consciously dismantled by the Athenians themselves. In this regard, Greco rightly argued that the demolition of (most) burials was a natural consequence of the city walls widening: following his interpretation, many Archaic graves would have become intra-mural and as such unacceptable⁵⁴. I will come back to this issue. Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that it cannot be excluded that the Persians destroyed at least some of the funerary monuments⁵⁵. Indeed, as the recent deeds of ISIS at Nimrud, Mosul, Palmyra etc. have shown, the fury of the enemy against the “*lieux de mémoire*” may be extremely violent and highly symbolic. Themistokles’ *pietas* is a further possible element, which should not be underestimated. In addition to the possible partial reconstruction of the *peribolos* of the Areopagus necropolis, I would like to recall here the grave 114 from Kerameikos: a Protogeometric grave, incorporated and perfectly respected during the construction of one of the

53 They are unpublished data coming from my already mentioned dissertation.

54 Greco 2001, 36.

55 On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that some graves were opened and damaged after the departure of the Athenians to Salamis.

51 Assmann 1997, especially 33 f. 38 f. 56–63.

52 Thuk. 1, 93, 2.

two Themistokleian towers of the Dipylon Gate⁵⁶.

Of course, these are just some plausible guesses at a much more complex concatenation of events. Nevertheless, a correct approach to the Athenian funerary documentation of the late Archaic age (at least) cannot simply disregard the heuristic value of these secondary data. In fact, we should not forget that these *semata* were at the same time *mnemata*, i.e. “lieux de mémoire” or “Gedächtnisorte”. Erasing or even moving them must have had a significant impact on the Athenians, which still preserved the memory of those monuments. Conclusively, I wonder whether this displacement/obliteration in turn had specific consequences on both the road system and the organization of funerary rituals and dedicated spaces.

The Pre-Classical Road System: Some Insights

This review of primary and secondary funerary data leads us to the second point of my investigation: the pre-Classical Athenian road-system. Unfortunately, in a similar manner to the funerary contexts, our knowledge of pre-Classical roads in Athens is not great; indeed, we possess very few remains of streets (or extensively published streets) for this period. As I already pointed out at the beginning of this paper, I believe that the lack of evidence should be read in the light of two historical facts that represent a real watershed between Archaic and Classical Athens: 1) the invasion of Athens in 480 B.C. by Mardonios, who, according to Herodotus, destroyed whatever was standing; 2) the following reconstruction of Athens first by

Themistokles and then by Kimon. In spite of these operations of vertical obliteration (in the wall stratigraphy) and horizontal leveling, for the time being we benefit from recent and wide studies carried out by Costaki and Ficuciello: their different methodological approaches notwithstanding, both scholars examined (almost at the same time) the documentation available on the Athenian road-system from the Geometric period to Late Antiquity⁵⁷. Here I will focus only on some elements of the pre-Classical documentation, which is not an easy task as it often relies on *argumenta e silentio* or even on hypothetical reconstructions that are not verifiable without stratigraphic soundings. Nonetheless, given all the necessary precautions and by combining all the reliable and reconstructed data, a very interesting picture of the Athenian pre-Classical road system is the result (fig. 2). I would like to point out three key features⁵⁸:

1. the almost complete absence of roads in the north and north-east (according to the studies of Costaki and Ficuciello), with the exception of a short section in the area of the Acharnian Gates, dating to the end of the 6th century B.C.⁵⁹. Nearly all roads are grouped around the Acropolis and, on its west side, by the *agora* of the Kerameikos, the Pnyx hill, as well as in the area between the future

57 Costaki 2006 and SATAA 4. See also Korres 2009 and Costaki 2009.

58 The elaboration of the map at fig. 2 is based on Costaki 2006 and SATAA 4 (with all bibliographical references). For the 7th century B.C. layer of the *Hiera Odos* see Doronizio 2018, 124, fig. 107.

59 Obviously, this absence may also be due to the great (and partially violent) reconstruction of the city in the second half of the 19th century: Bastea 2000.

56 Willemsen 1963, 148–153.

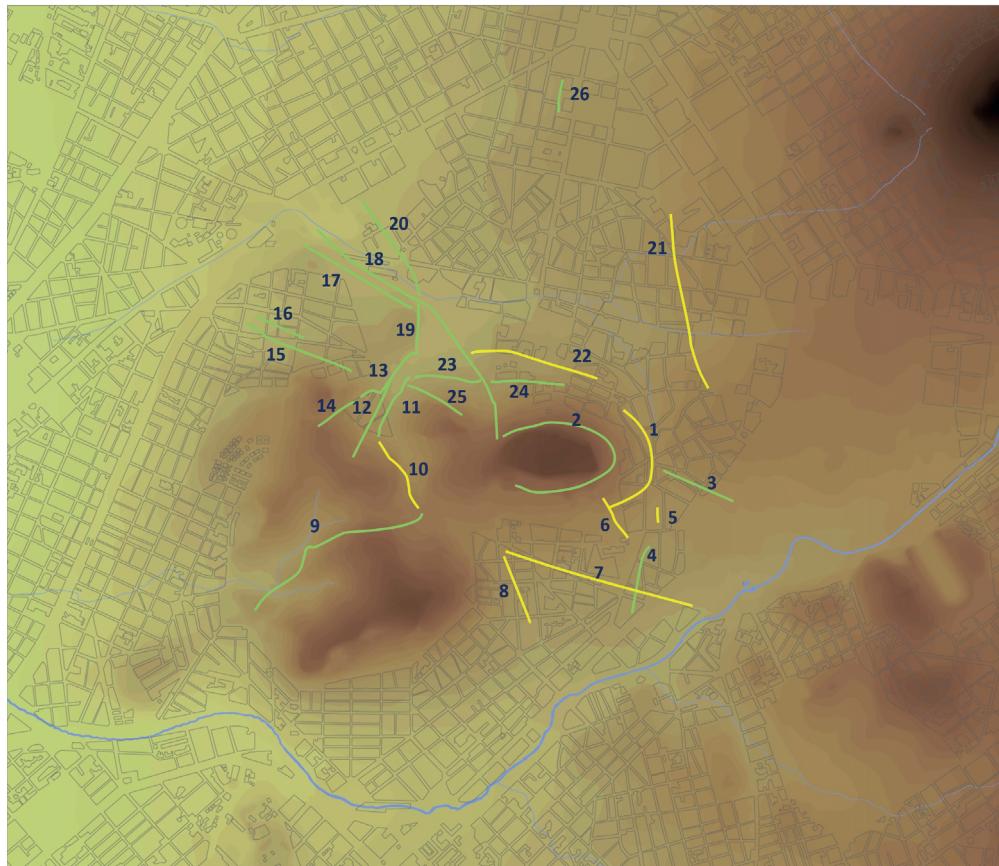


Fig. 2. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: in green, the streets attested from the Archaic period (at the latest); in yellow those hypothetically reconstructed (elaboration of the author).

1. Odos Tripodon
2. Peripatos
3. Street leading to the Olympieion (current Odos Lysikratous)
4. Street leading to the Phaleron (current Odos Makrygianni)
5. Possible northern trench of the street no. 4 (current Odos Vyrinos)
6. Street to the east of the Theatre of Dionysos
7. Street leading to the Sounion (current Odos Chazichristou and Rovertou Galli)
8. Street leading from the Acropolis to the necropolis of Odos Erechtheiou
9. Odos dia Koiles
10. Stenopos Kollytos
11. Areopagus street
12. Street leading from the agora to the Pnyx
13. Street of the Marble Workers
14. Street leading from the agora to the Nymph Hill (current Odos Otryneon)
15. Pireaus Street (current Odos Iraklidon)
16. Parallel street to the Pireaus Street (current Odos Poulopoulo and Vasilis)
17. Hiera Odos
18. Dromos of the agora
19. West Road agora
20. Street leading to the Kolonos Hippios
21. North-south street not otherwise known
22. Street linking the agora of the Kerameikos with the Roman agora
23. South street of the agora
24. Street of Peisistratos' aqueduct (current Odos Mitrou)
25. Street linking the south-western corner of the agora with the northern side of the Areopagus
26. Street leading to Acharnae

- Piraic Gate and the so-called Hippades Gates (also known previously as “Eriai Gates”);
2. the presence of an alignment following a north-west/south-east direction both to the west and the east of the Acropolis (fig. 3a);
 3. the presence of a number of roads with a clearly circular pattern (fig. 3b). Besides the Peripatos (no. 2), I would call attention to the case of Odos Tripodon (no. 1), and the system consisting of the roads no. 10 (Stenopos Kollytos), no. 11 (Areopagus street), no. 23 (south street of the *agora* dating from the 7th century B.C. onwards) and 24 (the current Odos Mitroou, the street of Peisistratos’ aqueduct), which according to Manolis Korres represents the continuation of Odos Tripodon. Finally, also the roads no. 13 (the street of the Marble Workers) and no. 22 (which links the *agora* of the Kerameikos with the Roman *agora*) are worth noting: its stratigraphy does not allow us to go beyond the 5th century B.C. but it is quite certain for topographical reasons that this street already existed during the Archaic period.

These alignments, perfectly integrated into the Classical city, shed some light on the spatial organisation of Athens during pre-Classical times, exposing, *inter alia*, a very close relationship with the funerary topography. Undoubtedly, the streets define the texture of the urban fabric, along which both sacred and private processions and itineraries are gradually organized (e. g. carrying the deceased to the great necropolis mentioned above). The large rectilinear axes, as they will directly influence the location of the Themistokleian gateways, mark a sacred topography on the ground. Emblematic on this matter

is the case of the two gates of the Kerameikos: they frame two roads that are practically adjacent, which makes sense only if we take into account the general ritual and sacred context to which they belong. In my opinion, this apparent anomaly is explained by the pre-Classical urban layout, that ended up crystallizing and has been respected uninterruptedly throughout the Antiquity. The same applies, of course, to the circular roads, which, in spite of their relatively late chronology, seem to belong to the most ancient phases of the Athenian civic centre, developed concentrically from the *Pelargikon* of the Acropolis indeed.

A First Overview

Continuity and discontinuity in exploiting funerary areas represent two different yet complementary elements, essential for rethinking pre-Classical Athens. The former clearly informs us that if we really want to rush and seek the limits of the pre-Themistokleian *asty* we do not need to look for walls nor to compare the Themistokleian walls with their (unknown) precursors: after all, the locations preferred by the Athenians for their funerals remained substantially unchanged before and after Themistokles. Then again, if there were no walls or if the pre-Classical walls had a shorter perimeter – as Thucydides explicitly attests – what caused the last burials of the *agora* to date at the end of the 8th century B.C.? And what prevented the other necropolis from being implanted in an area close to the *agora* (except, of course, the isolated burials and the necropolis of the Areopagus)? Could it be that the pre-Classical *asty* was a much more extensive concept than ours (even heuristically limited), and consequently independent of

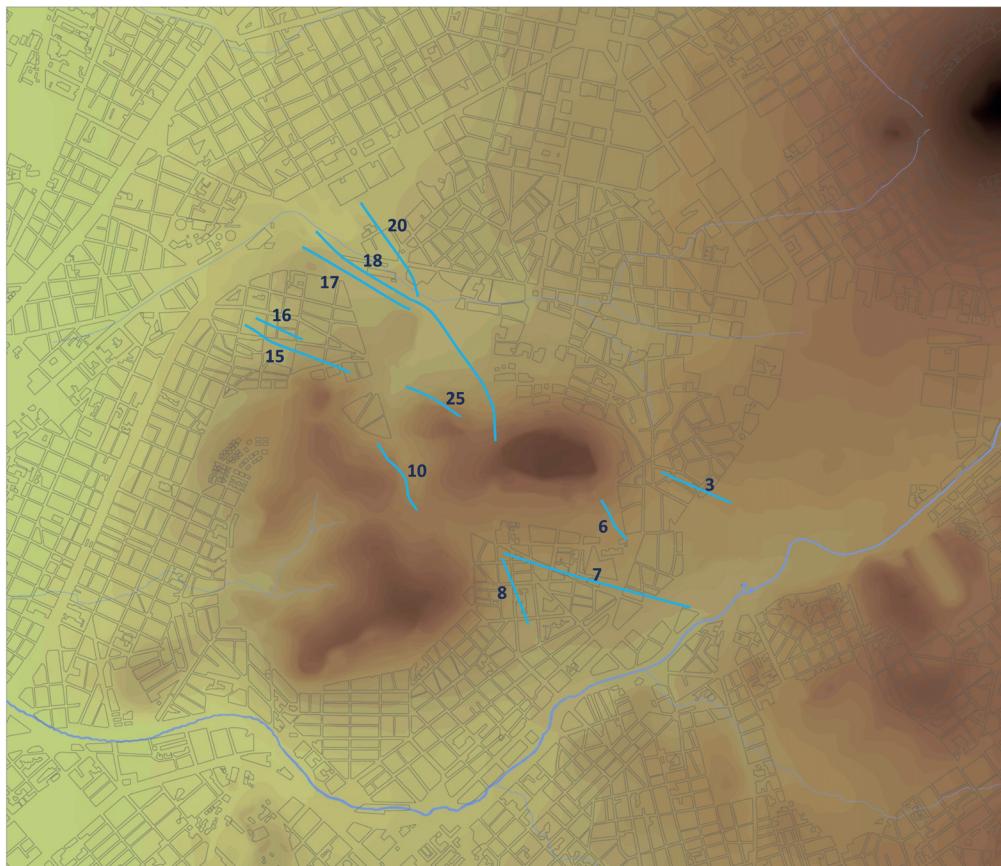


Fig. 3a. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: the north-west/south-east orientated axes (elaboration of the author).

the presence of a wall circuit? Can we or at least should we even assume the existence of some kind of “pomerium” even in the Greek world?⁶⁰ For the time being, the answer to these questions is still pending, but I believe that at a workshop that wants to rethink pre-Classical Athens, one must also consider and reflect in such terms.

Obviously, the perception itself of the necropolis as “*lieu de mémoire*” and “*lieu*

de passage” should have played a major role in the choice of open spaces for the great Athenian burial-grounds, preferred to those much more confined ones in the city center⁶¹. My short examination shows

61 Cfr. de Polignac 2006, 218: “C'est en tout cas à partir de la fin de l'époque géométrique et au long de l'époque archaïque que se met en place une « géographie funéraire » d'Athènes où les différentes nécropoles rayonnant autour de la cité expriment chacune, par la composition de la population qu'ils accueillent (en particulier la proportion variable de très jeunes enfants), par les types d'aménagements, de rites et d'offrandes, l'un ou l'autre aspect de l'idéologie civique (valeur guerrière, valeurs de l'*oikos*, capacités reproductives) : une forme de spécialisation qui

60 Although in a very particular context, it should not be forgotten that Peisistratos' stratagem of disarming the Athenians (546 B.C.) might be read perhaps in the perspective of a sort of “pomerium” which might characterize the Acropolis: see the debate on this in Doronzo 2011, 61–68.

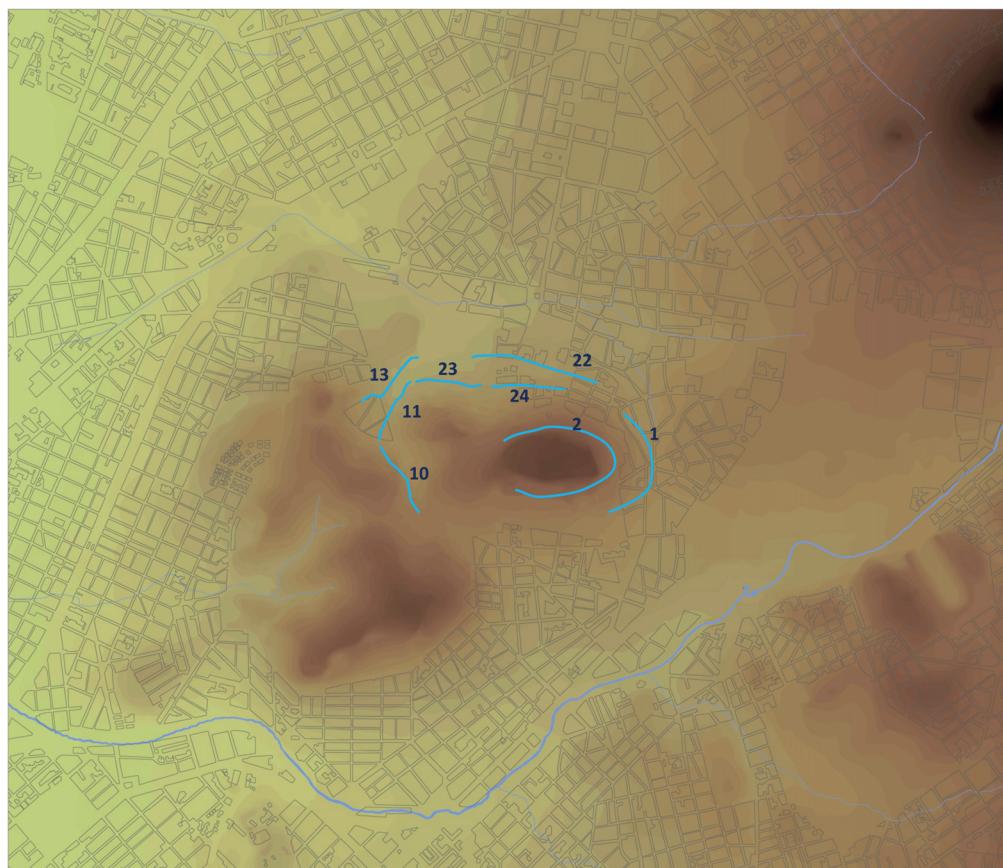


Fig. 3b. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: roads with a circular pattern (elaboration of the author).

that, with the exception of the necropolis of the Areopagus, the other burials around the *agora* and the Acropolis were mostly isolated tombs, almost “hidden” in the urban landscape⁶². Rather than exceptions

implique une rupture par rapport à une simple logique de proximité.”

62 We should definitively reject the existence of another Archaic necropolis reported several years ago by G. Schmalz in a contribution on the Prytaneion (Schmalz 2006, 52, fig. 22). One of his plans reports the precise location of four 6th century burials, which would seem to be aligned with the axis of Odos Lisikratous. Indeed Schmalz’s reconstruction is simply a misunderstanding of the archaeological report of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (G’ Archaiologiki Peripheriai 1963b, 37,

to the rule, it seems to me that these data demonstrate how the definition of the funerary topography was a far from linear process. It appears, indeed, as the result of numerous historical, political, social and military events that left several traces on the ground⁶³. Although partial and often

no. 17; Ἀνασκαφὴ ὁδοῦ Αθανασίου Διάκου – Αναπαύσεως): here the archaeological report only contains a vague reference to a coin hoard and some vases founded there, but no explicit mention of the graves. We read instead of trenches, which in the case of Schmalz ended up (erroneously) as graves. See also Doronzo 2012, 23, n. 106.

63 Of course, it cannot be excluded that the isolated tombs are the only trace left of a real

ambivalent, these “traces” carry high heuristic value: an expression of a vibrant community expressing itself according to resilient behaviors that had important repercussions also for the urban layout of the *polis* of Athens⁶⁴.

Such reflections lead to the issue of pre-Classical Athenian funerary legislation. The question was raised unequivocally when the necropolis of the Areopagus was first discovered. Young, as I have already said, saw it as an *intra urbem* necropolis, meaning *intra muros* (a synonym that does not seem so obvious nor even sure for pre-Classical Athens) and as such, it would constitute an exception to the religious ban preventing any burial within the city, as mentioned in a letter of Sulpicius Rufus to Cicero⁶⁵. This religious ban – according to Young – came into effect in Athens in the second half of the 6th century B.C., during the erection of the first walls of Athens, under Peisistratos or his sons⁶⁶. As we have seen, after Young, Greco returned to Cicero’s testimony, trying to date this ban at the time of the Peisistratids and to relate it directly to the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls.

Can we really speak of a “religious ban”, implying the existence of some kind of funerary law, or should we simply think of a practice, a funerary custom? It appears quite astonishing, in fact, that Cicero never mentions this prohibition in book 2

necropolis that almost completely disappeared due to post-depositional processes.

64 Cf. Duplouy 2019.

65 Cic. Fam. 4, 12, 3: “Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicenter, neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant.”

66 Young 1951, 133.

of his *De Legibus* where he discusses Athenian funeral legislation in great detail and familiarity (see *infra*). Moreover, on the basis of the examination conducted so far, I do not think it is necessary to put it in direct relation – however it is interpreted – to the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls; if so, we could also date back the erection of these walls already to the end of the 8th century B.C., as was explicitly proposed by Morris⁶⁷. In fact, I believe that when Sulpicius Rufus declares “neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant”, he is simply stating that this privilege was never granted to anyone in the past. Therefore, it is useless to date “antea” since in the context of the letter it is synonymous with “never”. Of course, that a funerary legislation existed at Athens is well known, and Cicero himself provides some fundamental information on the matter in the just-mentioned second book of *De Legibus*. Here we can read about the so-called “post aliquanto” legislation, an expression that comes from a passage in which Cicero recalls the measures taken some time after Solon (hence the name “post aliquanto”) in order to regulate the size and style of grave monuments⁶⁸. The expression “post aliquanto” is vague and ambiguous making it difficult to date the Athenian way of dealing with this issue, and in fact the solutions proposed by modern scholars have been very different and variously place it in relationship with Peisistratos, Kleisthenes or even Themis-

67 See *supra*.

68 Cic. Leg. 2, 26: “sed post aliquanto, propter has amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramico uidemus, lege sanctum est ne quis sepulcrum faceret operiosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo”.

tokles⁶⁹. Combining written sources and archaeological data, J. Engels proposes the period between Kleisthenes and Themistokles, admitting a preference for Themistokles and the years around 480 B.C.⁷⁰. In my opinion, this chronology could be further polished by putting the introduction of the decree in relation to the erection of the new walls, when, indeed, Themistokles himself reused numerous funerary monuments in the foundations of the fortification. Was the Themistokleian operation the inaugural act of the new funerary legislation?⁷¹ Maybe. However, it is clear that the dismantling of funerary monuments and their secondary use as simple building material must have deeply transformed the layout of some secular burial grounds in Athens – a fact that we must take into account when evaluating the funerary data of pre-Classical Athens. On the other hand, can we imagine that a similar dynamic – destruction and partial modification of the necropolis topography – also occurred during the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls? With this question, which necessarily remains open, I finally turn to the last section of the paper.

69 Discussion in Engels 1998, 98–106.

70 Engels 1998, 104–106.

71 Since a *Ringstraße* surrounded the Themistokleian walls (on the topic of the “Ringstraßen” surrounding the Classical walls, see most recently SATAA 4, 200 f.), can we not conceive that such a belt might also have run around the older walls? Themistokles could have destroyed it, with the consequence of having to “throw outside”, in the foundations of his new walls, the *mnenmata* that marked the belt around the first walls.

A *polis* Like a Wheel

At Athens, already before Themistokles, there were walls surrounding the city⁷². The skepticism raised over a century ago by W. Dörpfeld and A. von Gerkan⁷³, further exacerbated by J. Papadopoulos⁷⁴, has no foundation, although it certainly enriched the debate from a methodological point of view, as we will soon see. Contrary to some modern scholars, for the Athenians of any period there was no doubt about it: after all, the mention of a circuit wall in Athens prior the Themistokleian one constantly returns in both Greek – with the only exception of Isokrates⁷⁵ – and Latin literature. Quoting exclusively the two extremes, we move from Herodotus – the first who explicitly recalls the destruction of such walls by the Persian Mardonios – to Aelius Aristides. The latter, in the 2nd century A.D. – i. e. seven centuries after the first mention – remembers how even the Athenian guides maintained perfect memory of a pre-Classical wall shorter than the Themistokleian one⁷⁶. In Aelius Aristides, the concept expressed by Thucydides of a Themistokleian “*meizon*” *peribolos* returns, and the orator is aware to the point where in another oration, the *Panathenaic*, he states that after the

72 For a detailed examination see Capozzoli 2004 and Capozzoli 2012, especially 93–101.

73 Dörpfeld 1929; von Gerkan 1924, 23–28.

74 Papadopoulos 2008 with previous bibliography.

75 Isoc. Or. 12, 50.

76 Aristid. 46, 276 Dindorf: “ἀπελθόντων γάρ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν ἤγειν εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνω καὶ συνάκιςε κατὰ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ μείζω γε τὸν περιβόλον, ὡς φασιν οἱ ἔξηγηται, ἐξῆγαγε πανταχῇ, τειχίσαι τε δεῖσαν μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων εὑρεν ὅπως δυνήσονται”. For the translation of this oration see Behr 1986, 151–279.

erection of the Themistokleian walls, the city had come to occupy areas before “ἀσικήται”⁷⁷. Therefore, the presence of a pre-Classical fortification in Athens was a well-known fact; so much so that it was even included in the last great homage to the city, the oration composed during the Greater Panathenaea of 155 A.D.⁷⁸

The true dilemma of the pre-Classical walls is not their archaeological invisibility, which, *per se*, does not constitute a valid basis on which to deny their existence – how would we then deal with the so-called *archaic agora* to east of the Acropolis or even with the great number of pre-Classical monuments known only from written sources, but which no one doubts? – but rather the lack of information about their course and their chronology. The only certain information is the *terminus ante quem*, 514 B.C., suggested by the mention in Thucydides of a *pyle*, a gate, near which Hipparchos (Hippias' brother) was killed by Harmodios and Aristogeiton⁷⁹. From this

77 Aristid. 13, 241 f. Dindorf: “τοῦτο δὲ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνῆψε, κρείττον ἀπάσσεις Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως, τὰ μὲν οἶκοι, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ: αὐτὴ τε παρῆλθε τοὺς ἀρχαίους ὄρους πανταχῇ κατ’ ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὴν τοῦ κύκλου προσθήκην ποιούμενη: ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖ συνελόντι, μόνη μὲν δι’ ἀρετὴν ἀσικήτος ἐγένετο, μόνη δὲ ἀρετῆς ὥκισθη τε αὐθὶς καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀσικήτων ἐπέλαβεν ἄμα τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καλλίων τε καὶ μείζων γενούμενη”. For the translation and the commentary of this oration see Oliver 1968; Behr 1986, 5–7.

78 On the dating of this oration to 155 A.D. see Behr 1986, 428 (with previous bibliography). The explicit mention of uninhabited spaces is also explicitly attested in the 4th century B.C. by Xenophon (*Vect.* 2, 6), who seems to imply as well the new strategy of the Themistokleian *peribolos*, designed to incorporate a larger portion of the territory than the one actually inhabited.

79 Thuk. 6, 57, 1–4.

passage we understand that such a gateway had to be near the so-called *Leokoreion*; and here another documentary rift opens, since, contrary to what we were supposed to believe for many years, there is no trace of this monument. The traditional proposal of identifying it with the so-called cross-roads sanctuary, located in the north-west corner of the *agora*, should be definitively abandoned, primarily for chronological reasons⁸⁰.

Our knowledge of the pre-Themistokleian walls stops here and we must point out the following:

- a *rigore*, every date prior to 514 B.C. is theoretically possible and we are absolutely not compelled to fix it during the 6th century B.C., as almost all scholars have suggested doing⁸¹. A few years back, I personally suggested a time-span between the Kylonian Affair and 514 B.C.⁸², by relating the first to Kylon's high chronology, which perhaps should be reconsidered and in any case is anything but certain⁸³. However, I now believe that even this time-span is not completely exhaustive and that an even higher proposition than the second half of the 7th century B.C. is at least theoretically acceptable.
- The walls opened into at least one known gate to be sought in an unknown area between the north-west corner of the *agora* and the sector immediately north of the *Kolonos*

80 See for example the new identification proposals put forward by Santoro 2014 and Monaco 2017.

81 See discussion in Capozzoli 2004, 19–21.

82 Capozzoli 2012, 94 f.

83 See discussion in the introduction of this volume.

Agoraios⁸⁴ or maybe even in the area immediately east of the present day Kerameikos.

Beyond this clue, any planimetric reconstruction of these walls is doomed to be suspended in the realm of pure speculation. Certainly, we cannot ignore some recently proposed reconstructive hypotheses. I refer in particular to M. Korres' proposition, which has the merit of emphasizing the question of the state-owned spaces. According to Korres, the course of the pre-Themistokleian wall could have occupied several areas of the city, then expropriated in the Classical period and left unbuilt and available for public use. Notably, one of these areas was the one later transformed into the Odos Tripodon: but before becoming a street, it would have been occupied by the pre-Classical wall⁸⁵. Indeed, this hypothesis raises some doubts, as already pointed out by Greco⁸⁶. However, Korres' argumentation has its own logic, and could be applied, for instance, to the north, assuming that the wall lay outside of the Eridanos, and ran in the area where later the Aqueduct of Kimon was constructed, probably by exploiting the space left after the removal of the pre-Classical walls.

Wherever it may have been placed in space and time, it is clear that from Kylon to Mardonios, passing through Peisistratos and Kleomenes I of Sparta, this wall does not seem to have had any real defensive effect. The detractors of the walls often use this as an argument: yet a quick exam-

ination of the existing Greek fortifications – also outside mainland Greece – would highlight that, before the 5th century B.C., battles are fought outside the walls⁸⁷.

This short review briefly shows that the archaeology of pre-Classical Athens is something much more complex than the search for a wall circuit, invisible indeed archaeologically and – let's say – also historically⁸⁸. As fascinating as the different theories and various (sometimes extravagant) reconstructions of these walls may seem, I am today – contrary to what I used to state – persuaded that the issue of these pre-Themistokleian walls is not exactly helping the topographic and urbanistic problems of pre-Classical Athens. We risk making up images of the city ourselves, and then trying to build a historical narrative based on our modern conceptions. This is the argument I have been trying to highlight in the previous pages in relation to the exegetical problem of the necropolis of the Areopagus, which has been used as a chronological (Greco) or topographic (Winter) reference, but without any convincing and final solution. Moreover, we would also risk reading the ancient sources inadequately, charging them with quite anachronistic imperatives. Among the ancient testimonies, there is one in particular that has been used, or rather abused, in the modern recon-

84 This is the hypothesis – in some ways very attractive – of Valdés Guía 2004a, 285–308.

85 See Korres 2009, 77.

86 Greco 2001, 30; Greco 2008a, along with SATAA 4, 73.

87 Cfr. Garlan 1974, 20–22; Garlan 1989, 103–106.

88 From this point of view – but not with his conclusions on the absence of a pre-Classical fortification – I completely agree with Dörpfeld's view, according to which Athens was until the 5th century B.C. an “offene Stadt”: Dörpfeld 1929, 8 f.

structions of pre-Classical Athens⁸⁹. I am referring to the well-known passage from Herodotus where the Pythia, on the eve of Salamis, advises Themistokles to leave Athens⁹⁰:

“ὅ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπάν φεῦγ’ ἔσχατα
γαῖς
δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα
κάρηνα.”

Accordingly, the oracle defines Athens with the very strong metaphor as “*polis trochoeides*”, an expression that I too suggested to interpret as an indirect proof of the existence of a pre-Classical wall that would have given a “circular” shape to the urban center of Athens⁹¹. As far as I know, the term “*trochoeides*” is attested for the first time in Theognis regarding the shape of Delos’ lake⁹², and it appears for a second time in Herodotus, in reference to the same lake at that time called “*trochoeides*”⁹³, but characterized by an oval and non-circular shape indeed. Thus, this term had to be well known to a Greek of the 6th and 5th century B.C., and, above all, it did not necessarily have to evoke a perfectly circular form.

Whatever the case, one should remember that “*trochoeides*” does not simply mean circular, but “wheel-shaped”⁹⁴.

89 Cf. already Dörpfeld 1929, 10: “die radförmige Gestalt der Stadt in vorpersischer Zeit wird von niemandem bezweifelt”.

90 Hdt. 7, 140, 2.

91 Capozzoli 2004, 6 f.

92 Thgn. 1, 5.

93 Hdt. 2, 170, 7.

94 Cfr. Caliò 2012, 49: “Per il resto le notizie sulla forma urbana di Atene si limitano al testo di Erodoto che riporta i versi dell’oracolo delico prima della battaglia di Salamina, in cui Atene è chiamata *polis trochoeides*, città a forma di ruota. Quale sia il senso dell’oracolo non è ancora accertato, ma

That the wheel is (or could be) circular is then another matter. Athens is not a circular *polis*, meaning “*polis*” as a synonym of “urban center”, but Athens is a wheel-shaped *polis*, meaning “*polis*” as “the combination of the urban center and its *chora*”. It is quite obvious, in fact, that the Pythia exhorts the Athenians to evacuate not only the area of the *agora* and the Acropolis but the whole of Athens (and undoubtedly Attica too)! Unlike to us moderns, using “wheel” to indicate one’s own city must have been something rather normal for the Athenians of the 5th century B.C. Of course, we should not underestimate that the oracle’s style could make use of characteristic expressions, apt to identify places with well-known features. Maybe, it is no coincidence that the first Athenian coin series, the so-called *Wappenmünzen*, presents, among others, several pieces – dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. – that bear the motif of the wheel⁹⁵.

But why the wheel itself? The answer might be anything but simple. However, I believe that the term “*trochoeides*” is more understandable if we read it in combination with a Pindaric dithyramb quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Pindar’s fragment 75 SM). The quote opens with:

Δεῦτ’ ἐν χορόν, Ὄλύμπιοι,
ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἴ̄ τ’ ἀστεος ὁμφαλὸν θύσεντ’
ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς Αθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ’ εὐκλέ̄ αγοράν.

il riferimento è chiaramente concettuale e forse può giocare su un equivoco, quello della forma fisica, che tuttavia per la città di VI secolo non è riconoscibile, e quello della struttura sociale e politica, della centralità della polis all’interno di un regime di isonomia.”

95 Cf. Davis 2015. See also van der Vin 2000.

The fragment is very rich in topographical insights⁹⁶ – among them the mention of an *agora* – but here I limit myself to putting the emphasis on the fact that in Athens there was a “τ' ἄστεος ὄμφαλὸν”, i. e. a “navel” of the urban center. Despite certain doubts, it is very likely that Pindar might be referring to the altar of the Twelve Gods, which in 522/1 B.C. became the central point of the city from which distances from the city were measured⁹⁷. From this point of view, the altar may be seen as a “navel”, a “point zéro⁹⁸”, from which a series of roads would allow the measurements indeed. Without stressing too much the interpretation of the Pindaric text, it seems to me that the image of the “omphalos” and the image of the wheel overlap. The wheel, as mentioned, refers to the *polis* as a whole, while the “omphalos” is just a part of this wheel, the central point located in the urban center, from which its spokes branch off. In short, I think that behind the term “trochoeides” we should see not a trivial reference to the pre-Themistokleian walls nor even to the shape of pre-Classical Athens, but rather the perception of the *polis* as a whole.

In conclusion, I do not think we will grasp the shape and chronology of the pre-Themistokleian walls any time soon, nor we will be able to determine the family (if ever there was only one in the first place) of the Areopagus cemetery. Nevertheless, the discussion is never useless when it allows us to reflect – as I have tried to do – on the relationships established at multiple levels by the formation

and the urban and architectural evolution of the pre-Classical city. Relationships between the space of the living, the space of the dead and the space of the gods. Relationships between streets, graves and gates (and fortifications of course). Relationships between men and their city because, as Nikias said after the Athenian expedition in Sicily⁹⁹: “Men make the city and not walls or ships without men in them”. It is perhaps from this angle that we should intend the “trochoeides” Athens in the Delphic oracle: an organism based on a system of close relationships just like the spokes of a wheel¹⁰⁰.

96 See now the very interesting discussion in Neer – Kurke 2014.

97 Thuk. 6, 54, 6.

98 Chatzivasilou 2011.

99 Thuk. 7, 77, 7.

100 In order to ensure innovative thinking about pre-Classic Athens, it is necessary to further develop the work on the Athenian urban demes inaugurated already at the end of the 19th century by B. Haussoullier (Haussoullier 1884), and masterfully resumed by R. Osborne (Osborne 1985; most recently in Osborne 2007) and D. Whitehead (Whitehead 1986). It will be necessary to understand how the organism of Athens worked beyond its physical limits (present or reconstructed), whose relationship with the concept of *polis* is far from clear. But to this matter, I will return in a forthcoming study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SERIES/COMPENDIA/SHORT TITLE ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford 1956).

Agora 3

R. E. Wycherley, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, The Athenian Agora 3 (Princeton 1957).

Agora 8

E. T. H. Brann, Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery. Mid 8th to Late 7th Century B.C., The Athenian Agora 8 (Princeton 1962).

Agora 13

S.A. Immerwahr, The Neolithic and Bronze Ages, The Athenian Agora 13 (Princeton 1971).

Agora 14

H. A. Thompson – R. E. Wycherley, The Agora of Athens. The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center, The Athenian Agora 14 (Princeton 1972).

Agora 24

A. Frantz, Late Antiquity, A.D. 267–700, The Athenian Agora 24 (Princeton 1988).

Agora 27

R. F. Townsend, The East Side of the Agora. The Remains Beneath the Stoa of Attalos, The Athenian Agora 27 (Princeton 1995).

Agora 28

A. L. Boegehold (ed.), The Lawcourts at Athens. Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia, The Athenian Agora 28 (Princeton 1995).

Agora 31

M. M. Miles, The City Eleusinion, The Athenian Agora 31 (Princeton 1998).

Agora 36

J. K. Papadopoulos – E. L. Smithson (eds.), The Early Iron Age. The Cemeteries, The Athenian Agora 36 (Princeton 2017).

ARV²

J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters² (Oxford 1963).

Beazley, Para.

J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena. Additions to ‘Attic Black-figure Vase-painters’ and ‘Attic Red-figure Vase-painters’² (Oxford 1971).

Kerameikos 1

W. Kraiker – E. Breitinger – K. Kübler, Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts, Kerameikos 1 (Berlin 1939).

Kerameikos 4

K. Kübler, Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts, Kerameikos 4 (Berlin 1943).

Kerameikos 5, 1

K. Kübler, Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, Kerameikos 5, 1 (Berlin 1954).

Kerameikos 6, 1

K. Kübler, Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts, Kerameikos 6, 1 (Berlin 1959).

Kerameikos 10

W. Hoepfner, Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten, Kerameikos 10 (Berlin 1976).

Kerameikos 12

W. Koenigs – U. Knigge – A. Mallwitz, Rundbauten am Kerameikos. Kerameikos 12 (Berlin 1980).

Kerameikos 17

U. Knigge, Der Bau Z, Kerameikos 17 (Munich 2005).

Kerameikos 18

F. Ruppenstein, Die submykenische Nekropole. Neufunde und Neubewertung, Kerameikos 18 (Munich 2007).

Lefkandi 1

M. R. Popham – P. G. Themelis – L. H. Sackett, Lefkandi I. The Iron Age. The Settlement. The Cemeteries, BSA Suppl. 11 (London 1979–80).

Lefkandi 3

M. R. Popham – I. S. Lemos, Lefkandi III. The Toumba cemetery. The excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992–4, BSA Suppl. 29 (Athens 1996).

SATAA 1, 1

E. Greco, Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. I. Acropoli, Aeropago, Tra Acropoli e Prince, SATAA 1, 1 (Athens 2010).

SATAA 1, 2

E. Greco, Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. II. Colline sud-occidentali – Valle dell’Ilissso, SATAA 1, 2 (Athens 2011).

SATAA 1, 3

E. Greco, Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. III. Quartieri a nord e a nord-est dell’Acropoli e Agora del Ceramico, SATAA 1, 3 (Athens 2014).

SATAA 1, 4

E. Greco, Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. IV. Ceramico, Dipylon e Accademia, SATAA 1, 4 (Athens 2014).

SATAA 1, 5

E. Greco – S. Foresta – E. Gagliano – S. Priviter a– O. Voza (eds.), Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dall’origine al III secolo d.C. V. Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Athenarum ad ἄστυ pertinens adiecto indice tomorum I–IV – Atlante, SATAA 1, 5 (Athens 2015).

- SATAA 4
L. Ficuciello, *Le strade di Atene*, SATAA 4 (Athens 2008).
- SATAA 7
S. Privitera, *Principi, Pelasgi e Pescatori. L'Attica nella Tarda Età del Bronzo*, SATAA 7 (Athens 2013).
- INDIVIDUAL WORKS CITED**
- Adamthwaite 2001
M. R. Adamthwaite, Late Hittite Emar. The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town, *AncNearEastSt Suppl.* 8 (Louvain 2001).
- Agelarakis 2005
A. Agelarakis, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna. A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna* (Rethymnon 2005).
- Agelarakis 2016
A. Agelarakis, *A Dignified Passage through the Gates of Hades. The Burial Custom of Cremation and the Warrior Order of Ancient Eleutherna*, *Access Archaeology* (Oxford 2016).
- Agelarakis 2017
A. P. Agelarakis, *Parian Polyandrea: The Late Geometric Funerary Legacy of Cremated Soldiers' Bones on Socio-Political Affairs and Military Organizational Preparedness in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2017).
- Agelarakis – Zaphiropoulou 2017
A. Agelarakis – F. Zaphiropoulou, *Parian Polyandrea and the Military Legacy of Archilochus' Forebears*, in: D. Mulliez – Z. Bonias – M. Sgourou (eds.), *Θάσος. Μητρόπολη και αποκίες. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς συμποσίου στη μνήμη Μαρίνας Σγουρού*, Θάσος, 21–22 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006 = c Thasos, 21–22 septembre 2006, *Recherches Franco-Hellénique* 5 (Paris 2017) 47–64.
- Alexandri 1967
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 22 B'1, 1967, 37–130.
- Alexandri 1968a
O. Alexandri, *Νυκτερινή ανασκαφή σκάμματος κατά μήκος της οδού Κριεζή*, *AAA* 1, 1968, 20–30.
- Alexandri 1968b
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 23 B'1, 1968, 33–109.
- Alexandri 1969
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 24 B'1, 1969, 25–88.
- Alexandri 1970
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 25 B'1, 1970, 40–91.
- Alexandri 1972
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 27 B'1, 1972, 22–84.
- Alexandri 1973–74
O. Alexandri, Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αττικής, *ADelt* 29 B'1, 1973–74, 82–181.
- Alexandri 1975
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αθήνων, *ADelt* 30 B'1, 1975, 15–48.
- Alexandri 1976
O. Alexandri, Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Αττικής, *ADelt* 31 B'1, 1976, 24–61.
- Alexandri 1977
O. Alexandri, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν καὶ Προϊστορικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων, *ADelt* 32 B'1, 1977, 18–20.
- Alexandridou 2011
A. Alexandridou, *The Early Black-Figured Pottery of Attika in Context (c. 630–570 BCE)*, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 17 (Leiden 2011).
- Alexandridou 2015a
A. Alexandridou, *Domestic Ware, Ritual Utensils or Funerary Vases? Functions of the Late Geometric Pottery from the 'Sacred House' of the Academy in Athens*, in: V. Vlachou (ed.), *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society. Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece. Proceedings of the International Symposium*, Brussels, 14–16 November 2013, *Études d'archéologie* 8 (Brussels 2015) 141–154.
- Alexandridou 2015b
A. Alexandridou, *Θάνατος. Review of Publications on Mortuary Practices in Greece (10th – 4th c. BC)*, *AntCl* 84, 2015, 237–258.
- Alexandridou 2016
A. Alexandridou, *Funerary Variability in Late Eighth-Century B.C.E. Attica (Late Geometric II)*, *AJA* 120, 3, 2016, 333–360.
- Alexandridou 2017a
A. Alexandridou, *Sacred or Profane? Interpreting Late Geometric Edifices in Proximity to Burials in Attica*, in: A. Tsingarida – I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Constructing Social Identities in Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece*, *Études d'archéologie* 12 (Brussels 2017) 43–72.
- Alexandridou 2017b
A. Alexandridou, *Some Insights into the Early Attic Society (10th–7th centuries BC)*, in: A. I. Mazarakis-Ainian – A. Alexandridou – X. Charalambidou (eds.), *Regional Stories Towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World. Acts of an International Symposium in Honour of Professor Jan Bouzek*, Volos, 18–21 June 2015 (Volos 2017) 155–176.
- Alexandridou 2018
A. Alexandridou, *Ritual (?) Feasting in Early Iron Age Athens: The Evidence from the Site of the Academy*, in: F. van den Eijnde – J. H. Blok – R. Strootman (eds.), *Feasting and Polis Institutions*, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 414 (Leiden 2018) 28–59.
- Alexandridou (forthcoming)
A. Alexandridou, *The Early Iron Age Pottery*, in: A. Alexandridou – A. Mazarakis Ainian – M. Chountasi (eds.), *The Academy of Plato Before Plato. A Contribution to Early Iron Age Attica* (Athens; forthcoming).

- Alexandridou – Kaklamani 2018
A. Alexandridou – O. Kaklamani, Θάνατος II. Review of Publications on Mortuary Practices in Greece (10th – 4th c. BC), *AntCl* 87, 2018, 225–266.
- Almeida 2003
J. A. Almeida, Justice as an Aspect of the Polis Idea in Solon's Political Poems. A Reading of the Fragments in Light of the Researches of New Classical Archaeology, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 243 (Leiden 2003).
- Altenmüller 2005
H. Altenmüller, Trade and Markets, in: D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (published online 2005) <doi: 10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001> (22.07.2019).
- Aly 2005
M. I. Aly, The Scenes of the Local Market in Pharaonic Egypt (An Analytic Study), in: Kh. A. Daoud – Sh. Bedier – S. Abd el-Fatah (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, *ASAE Suppl.* 34 (Cairo 2005) 79–100.
- Amandry 1940–41
P. Amandry, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1940 et 1941, *BCH* 64–65, 1940–41, 231–287.
- Amann 2000
P. Amann, Die Etruskerin. Geschlechterverhältnis und Stellung der Frau im frühen Etrurien (9.–5. Jh. v. Chr.), *Archäologische Forschungen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 5 = *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 289 (Vienna 2000).
- Amann 2007
P. Ammann, Adelige Frauen im orientalisierenden Mittelitalien des 7. und frühen 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – Soziopolitische Struktur, sozialer Status und Geschlecht, in: E. Hartmann – U. Hartmann – K. Pietzner (eds.), *Geschlechterdefinitionen und Geschlechtergrenzen in der Antike. Akten der Tagung*, Berlin, 17.–20.2.2005) (Stuttgart 2007) 117–132.
- Ames 2007
K. Ames, The Archaeology of Rank, in: R. Bentley – H. Maschner – C. Chippindale (eds.), *Handbook of Archaeological Theories* (Lanham 2007) 487–513.
- Ampolo 1996
C. Ampolo, Il sistema della polis. Elementi costitutivi e origini della città greca, in: S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società*. 2, 1 Una storia greca. Formazione (Turin 1996) 297–342.
- Anderson 1896–97
J. G. C. Anderson, Inscriptions from Kynosarges, *BSA* 3, 1896–97, 112–120.
- Anderson 2000
G. Anderson, Alkmeonid "Homelands", Political Exile, and the Unification of Attica, *Historia* 49, 4, 2000, 387–412.
- Anderson 2004
G. Anderson, The Athenian Experiment. Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508–490 B.C. (Ann Arbor 2004).
- Andreades 1928 = 1961
A. Andreades, *Systima Hellinikis Dimosias Oikonomias apo ton Heroikon mechri ton Hellino-Makedonikon Chronon* (Athens 1928) = *Storia delle finanze greche dai tempi eroici fino all'inizio dell'età greco-macedonica* (Padua 1961).
- Andreiomou 1966
A. Andreiomou, Γ΄ Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Αρχαιοτήτων, *ADelt* 21 B'1, 1966, 72–91.
- Andreiomou 1986
A. Andreiomou, Vases protogéométriques et sub-protogéométriques I–II de l'atelier de Chalcis, *BCH* 110, 1986, 89–120.
- Andrewes 1982
A. Andrewes, The Tyranny of Peisistratus, in: J. Boardman – I. E. S. Edwards (eds.), *The Prehistory of the Balkans and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.*, *CAH* 3, 1 (Cambridge 1982) 392–416.
- Andronopoulos – Koukis 1976
B. Andronopoulos – G. Koukis, *Γεωλογική – γεωτεχνική μελέτη της περιοχής Ακροπόλεως Αθηνών. Γεώτεχνικαι Ερευνών* 1 (Athens 1976).
- Anti 1947
C. Anti, *Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle, Monografie di archeologia* 1 (Padua 1947).
- Antonacci 1994
C. M. Antonacci, Placing the Past. The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece, in: S. E. Alcock – R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 79–104.
- Antonacci 1995
C. M. Antonacci, An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece, *Greek Studies. Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Lanham 1995).
- Antonacci 2016a
C. M. Antonacci, Iron Age Reciprocity, *JMedA* 29, 1, 2016, 104–111.
- Antonacci 2016b
C. M. Antonacci, Achieving Ancestorhood in Ancient Greece, in: E. Hill – J. B. Hageman – P. A. McAnany (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancestors. Death, Memory, and Veneration* (Gainesville 2016) 102–123.
- Antoniou 1990
A. Antoniou, Βραυρών. Συμβολή στην ιστορία του ιερού της Βραυρώνιας Αρτέμιδος (Athens 1990).
- Aristophron 1933a
P. Aristophron, Ἐκθεσις περί των εκτελούμενων ανασκαφών προς ανέύρεσιν της αρχαίας Ακαδημίας, *Prakt* 8, 1933, 70 f.
- Aristophron 1933b
P. Aristophron, Αἱ ανασκαφαὶ κατά την Ακαδημίαν του Πλάτωνος, *Prakt* 8, 1933, 243–246.
- Arnheim 1980
R. Arnheim, Die Dynamik der architektonischen Form. Gestützt auf die 1975 an der Cooper Union in New York gehaltenen „Mary Duke Biddle Lectures“ (Köln 1980).

- Arslan – Eren 2012
N. Arslan – K. Eren, *L'agora d'Assos: le plan, la construction et les différentes phases de son utilisation*, in: L. Cavalier – R. Descat – J. des Courtils (eds.), *Basiliques et agoras de Grèce et d'Asie Mineure, Mémoires 27* (Bordeaux 2012) 273–286.
- Assmann 1997
J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen?* (München 1997).
- Austin – Vidal-Naquet 1972
M. Austin – P. Vidal-Naquet, *Économie et sociétés en Grèce Ancienne* (Paris 1972).
- Avezzù 1991a
E. Avezzù, *Antropologia e lessico della parentela*, in: E. Avezzù – O. Longo (eds.), *Koinon aimia. Antropologia e lessico della parentela greca, Studi e commenti 9* (Bari 1991) 25–40.
- Avezzù 1991b
E. Avezzù, *Rappresentazioni della parentela nell'Iliade*, in: E. Avezzù – O. Longo (eds.), *Koinon aimia. Antropologia e lessico della parentela greca, Studi e commenti 9* (Bari 1991) 41–61.
- Baccarin 1990
A. Baccarin, *Olivicoltura in Attica fra VII e V secolo a.C. Trasformazione e crisi*, DialA 8, 1990, 29–33.
- Bachelard 1993
G. Bachelard, *The Oneiric House*, in: J. Ockman (ed.), *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York 1993) 110–113 (originally published as chapter IV “La maison natale et la maison onirique” in: G. Bachelard, *La terre et les rêveries du repos* [Paris 1948] 106–112).
- Baitinger 2011
H. Baitinger, *Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 94 (Mainz 2011).
- Baitinger – Völling 2007
H. Baitinger – T. Völling, *Werkzeug und Gerät aus Olympia*, OF 32 (Berlin 2007).
- Baker 2009
H. D. Baker, *A Waste of Space? Unbuilt Land in the Babylonian Cities of the First Millennium BC*, Iraq 71, 2009, 89–98.
- Balamoshev 2011
C. Balamoshev, *Αποτυμπανισμός: Just death by exposing the plank*, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 41, 2011, 15–33.
- Balanos 1956
N. Balanos, *Η νέα αναστήλωσις του ναού της Αθηνᾶς Νίκης* (1935–1939), *AEPheM* 1937, 1956, Γ', 776–804.
- Bankel 1993
H. Bankel, *Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina*, DAA 19 (Berlin 1993).
- Banou 2013
E. Banou 2013, *Οι ανασκαφές της Γ' ΕΠΙΚΑ κατά την τελευταία πενταετία*, in: M. Donga-Toli – S. Oikonomou (eds.), *Αρχαιολογικές συμβολές. B: Αττική – A' και Γ' Εφορείες Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens 2013) 281–303.
- Barletta 1990
B. A. Barletta, *An 'Ionic Sea' Style in Archaic Doric Architecture*, AJA 94, 1990, 45–72.
- Barletta 2000
B. A. Barletta, *Paros and the Monumental Art of Late Archaic Western Greece*, in: D. U. Schilardi – D. Katsonopoulou – S. Katsarou – C. Brenner (eds.), *Παρία Λίθος. Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια της Πάρου. Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλαδών, Παροικιά, Πάρος, 2–5 Οκτωβρίου 1997 = Paria Lithos : Parian quarries, marble and workshops of sculpture. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paros, 2–5 October 1997, Archaiologikes kai Istorikes Meletes 1* (Athens 2000) 485–495.
- Bartoloni 1989
G. Bartoloni, *Marriage, Sale and Gift. A proposito di alcuni corredi femminili dalle necropoli popolonesi della prima età del ferro*, in: A. Rallo (ed.), *Le donne in Etruria*, StA 52 (Rome 1989) 35–54.
- Bartzoka 2018
A. Bartzoka, *Le tribunal de l'Héliée. Justice et Politique dans l'Athènes du VIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Brussels 2018).
- Bastea 2000
E. Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge 2000).
- Bearzot – Lodo 2015
C. Bearzot – L. Lodo, *Le rôle du tribunal populaire dans l'utopie constitutionnelle oligarchique. De Solon aux Trente Tyrans*, Politica Antica 5, 2015, 99–139.
- Beazley 1944
J. D. Beazley, *Groups of early Attic Black-Figure*, Hesperia 13, 1, 1944, 38–57.
- Beck 2009
H. Beck, *Ephebie – Ritual – Geschichte. Polisfest und historische Erinnerung im klassischen Griechenland*, in: H. Beck – H.-U. Wiemer (eds.), *Feiern und Erinnern. Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste*, Studien zur alten Geschichte 12 (Berlin 2009) 55–82.
- Bedini 2006
A. Bedini, *Laurentina Acqua Acetosa*, in: M. A. Tomei (ed.), *Roma. Memorie dal sottosuolo. Ritrovamenti archeologici 1980 / 2006* (Rome 2006) 465–479.
- Behr 1986
C. A. Behr, P. Aelius Aristides. *The Complete Works I. Orations I–XVI* (Leiden 1986).
- Belletier 2003
M.-P. Belletier, *La „politique de la mort“ : observation sur les tombes attiques aux époques géométrique et archaïque*, in: C. Orfanos – J. C. Carrière (eds.), *Symposium – banquet et représentations en Grèce et à Rome. Colloque international, Toulouse, mars 2002*, Pallas 61 (Toulouse 2003) 71–82.

- Beloch 1912
K. J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte I (Strassburg 1912).
- Benson 1973
J. L. Benson, The Necropolis of Kaloriziki. Excavated by J. F. Daniel and G. H. McFadden for the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, SIMA 36 (Göteborg 1973).
- Bentz – Mann 2001
M. Bentz – Chr. Mann, Zur Heroisierung von Athleten, in: R. von den Hoff – S. Schmidt (eds.), Konstruktionen der Wirklichkeit. Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts. Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium vom 27. September bis 1. Oktober 1999 in Schloß Reisenburg bei Günzburg (Stuttgart 2001) 225–240.
- Benvenuti 2014
A. Benvenuti, Πριν από «αιδ’ εισ’ Αθήναι Θησέως ἡ πριν πόλις», AEPheM 153, 2014, 197–234.
- Berger – Luckmann 1967
P. L. Berger – Th. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (London 1967).
- Bernabé 2007
A. Bernabé (ed.), Poetae Epici Graeci. Pars II. Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta, Fasc. 3. Musaeus. Linus. Epimenides. Papyrus Derveni (Munich 2007).
- Bernhardt 2003
R. Bernhardt, Luxuskritik und Aufwandsbeschränkungen in der griechischen Welt, Historia 168 (Stuttgart 2003).
- Berve 1967
H. Berve, Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen (Munich 1967).
- Bettalli 2013
M. Bettalli, Mercenari. Il mestiere delle armi nel mondo greco antico. Età arcaica e classica, Saggi 71 (Rome 2013).
- Beulé 1853
D. E. Beulé, L'Acropole d'Athènes 1 (Paris 1853).
- Bicknell 1972
P. J. Bicknell, Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy, Historia Einzelschriften 19 (Wiesbaden 1972).
- Bignasca 2000
A. Bignasca, I kernoī circolari in Oriente e in Occidente: strumenti de culto e immagini cosmiche, Orbis biblicus et orientalis Series Archaeologica 19 (Göttingen 2000).
- Billigmeier – Dusing 1981
J. C. Billigmeier – A. S. Dusing, The Origin and Function of the Naukraroi at Athens: An Etymological and Historical Explanation, TransactAmPhilAss 111, 1981, 11–16.
- Bing 1976–77
J. D. Bing, Lykopodes: A Contribution to Athenian Military History from Peisistratos to Kleisthenes, CJU 72, 1976–77, 308–316.
- Bintliff 2006
J. Bintliff, Solon's Reforms: an Archaeological Perspective, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological
- Approaches, Mnemosyne Suppl. 272 (Leiden 2006) 321–333.
- Bintliff – Pearce 2011
J. Bintliff – M. Pearce, The Death of Archaeological Theory? (Oxford 2011).
- Biris 1971
K. I. Biris, Αἱ τοπωνυμίαι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν περιχώρων τῶν Αθηνῶν, Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολόγικου Δελτίου 17 (Athens 1971).
- Blaineau 2015
A. Blaineau, Le cheval de guerre en Grèce ancienne, Collection "Histoire" (Rennes, France). Série "Histoire ancienne" (Rennes 2015).
- Blandin 2007
B. Blandin, Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Érétrie : espace des vivants, demeures des morts, Eretria 17 (Gollion 2007).
- Blok – Lardinois 2006
J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches, Mnemosyne Suppl. 272 (Leiden 2006).
- Blösel 2004
W. Blösel, Themistokles bei Herodot : Spiegel Athens im fünften Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte und historiographischen Konstruktion des griechischen Freiheitskampfes 480 v. Chr., Historia Einzelschriften 183 (Stuttgart 2004).
- Böckh 1886
A. Böckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener (Berlin 1886; or. ed. 1817).
- Boehlau 1887
J. Boehlau, Frühattische Vasen, Jdl 2, 1887, 33–66.
- Boersma 1970
J. S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C., Scripta archaeologica Groningana 4 (Groningen 1970).
- Boersma 2000
J. S. Boersma, Peisistratos' Building Activity Reconsidered, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), Peisistratos and the Tyranny, Publications of the Netherlands Institute at Athens 3 (Amsterdam 2000) 49–56.
- Bohen 1997
B. Bohen, Aspects of Athenian Grave Cult in the Age of Homer, in: S. H. Langdon (ed.), New Light on a Dark Age. Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece (Columbia 1997) 44–55.
- Bohen 2017
B. Bohen, Kratos & Krater: Reconstructing an Athenian Protohistory, Archaeopress Archaeology (Oxford 2017).
- Bonfante 1989
L. Bonfante, Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art, AJA 93, 1989, 543–570.
- Bonner – Smith 1930
R. J. Bonner – G. Smith, The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle I (Chicago 1930).

- Bordes 1982
J. Bordes, *Politeia dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à Aristote*, Collection d'études anciennes (Paris 1982).
- Bougia 2005a
P. Bougia, Συμβολή των οδών Λεμπέση 5-7 και Πορίνου, *ADelt* 60 B'1, 2005, 79–81.
- Bougia 2005b
P. Bougia, Οδός Ερεχθίου 41, *ADelt* 60 B'1, 2005, 85 f.
- Bouras 2010
Ch. Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 10^{ος}-12^{ος} αι., Μουσείο Μπενάκη 6 (Athens 2010).
- Bouras – Korres 1983
Ch. Bouras – M. Korres, *Μελέτη αποκαταστάσεων του Παρθενώνος* 1 (Athens 1983).
- Bourdieu 1977
P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16 (Cambridge 1977).
- Bourdieu 1990
P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford 1990).
- Bournias 2017
L. K. Bournias, 'ΔΑΚΡΥΟΕΝ ΠΟΛΥΠΙΕΝΘΕΣ'... Το ταφικό μνημείο του Αναξίλα στον Κεραμεικό, in: M. K. Σέργης (ed.), *Η ΝΑΖΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΣΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ Ε' ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΥ ΕΤΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ* Απεράθου Νάξου, 31 Αυγούστου – 2 Σεπτεμβρίου 2013 (Αθήνα 2017) 105–116.
- Bourriot 1976
F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du Genos. Étude d'histoire sociale athénienne, périodes archaïque et classique* (Lille 1976).
- Bramanti 2013
B. Bramanti, *The Use of DNA Analysis in the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 99–122.
- Brann 1959
E. Brann, *Seventh Century Sherds from the Olympieion Area*, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 251 f.
- Braund 1980
D. C. Braund, Artemis Eukleia and Euripides' Hippolytus, *JHS* 100, 1980, 184 f.
- Bräuning 1995
A. Bräuning, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung und Ausstattung des Kriegers im Grabbrauch Griechenlands zwischen dem 10. und 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Internationale Archäologie 15 (Espelkamp 1995).
- Bravo 1996
B. Bravo, *Una società legata alla terra*, in: S. Settim (ed.), I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società. 2, 1 Una storia greca. Formazione (Turin 1996) 527–560.
- Brillante 1991
C. Brillante, Tantalo e Peope nell'Olimpica I di Pindaro, *QuadUrbini* 38, 2, 1991, 15–24.
- Bron 1996
C. Bron, *The Sword Dance for Artemis*, *GettyMusJ* 24, 1996, 69–83.
- Broneer 1933
O. Broneer, *Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens 1931–1932*, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, 330–417.
- Broneer 1949
O. Broneer, *Plato's Description of Early Athens and the Origin of Metageitnia*, in: American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ed.), *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 (Princeton 1949) 47–59.
- Brouskari 1980
M. Brouskari, *A Dark Age Cemetery in Erechtheion Street*, *BSA* 75, 1980, 13–31.
- Brouskari 2002
M. Brouskari, *Οι ανασκαφές νοτίως της Ακροπόλεως. Τα Γλυπτά*, *AEphem* 141, 2002, 1–204.
- Brueckner 1893
A. Brueckner, *Ein athenischer Grabfund der geometrischen Periode*, *AM* 18, 1893, 414 f.
- Brueckner – Pernice 1893
A. Brueckner – E. Pernice, *Ein attischer Friedhof*, *AM* 18, 1893, 73–191.
- Brulé 1987
P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque Classique. Mythes, cultes et société*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 363, Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne (Series) 76 (Paris 1987).
- Brulé 1998
P. Brulé, *Le langage des épichées dans le polythéisme hellénique. L'exemple de quelques divinités féminines. Quelques pistes de recherche*, *Kernos* 11, 1998, 13–34.
- Brunke et al. 2016
H. Brunke – E. Bukowiecki – E. Cancik-Kirschbaum – R. Eichmann – M. van Ess – A. Gass – M. Gussone – S. Hagenheuer – S. Hansen – W. Kogge – J. May – H. Parzinger – O. Pedersén – D. Sack – F. Schopper – U. Wulf-Rheidt – H. Ziemssen, *Thinking Big. Research in Monumental Constructions in Antiquity*, in: Gerd Graßhoff – Michael Meyer (eds.), *Space and Knowledge*, *eTopoi Journal for Ancient Studies*, Special Volume 6, 2016, 250–305.
- Brysbaert et al. 2018
A. Brysbaert – V. Klinkenberg – Y. Boswinkel – D. Turner – R. Timonen – H. Stoger – E. P. Sioumpara (eds.), "SETinSTONE? A Retrospective Impact Assessment of Human and Environmental Resource Usage in Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Monumental Architecture, Greece", *TMA* 2018, 2018, 21–29.
- Bubelis 2016
W. S. Bubelis, *Hallowed Stewards: Solon and the Sacred Treasures of Ancient Athens*, *Societas* (Ann Arbor 2016).
- Budin 2016
S. Budin, *Artemis, Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World* (London 2016).

- Bultrighini 2013
I. Bultrighini, “Παραλία καὶ Μεσόγειος”: ‘Coastalness’ and ‘Inlandness’ in the Ancient Greek World.” CHS Research Bulletin 1.2, 2013 (<http://www.chs-fellows.org/2013/10/17/coastalness-and-inlandness/>).
- Burckhardt 1996
L. A. Burckhardt, Bürger und Soldaten. Aspekte der politischen und militärischen Rolle athenischer Bürger im Kriegswesen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Historia Einzelschriften 101 (Stuttgart 1996).
- Burkard 1977
G. Burkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 34 (Wiesbaden 1977).
- Burkert 1991
W. Burkert, Oriental Symposia: Contrasts and Parallels, in: W. J. Slater (ed.), Dining in a Classical Context (Ann Arbor 1991) 7–24.
- Burkert 2010
W. Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche, Religionen der Menschheit 15 (Stuttgart 2010²).
- Burmeister 2000
S. Burmeister, Archaeology and Migration. Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration, Current Anthropology 41, 4, 2000, 539–567.
- Burow 1989
J. Burow, Der Antimenesmaler, Kerameus 7 (Mainz 1989).
- Burton 1998
J. Burton, Women’s Commensality in the Ancient Greek World, GaR 45, 1998, 143–165.
- Busolt 1895
G. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte II (Gotha 1895).
- Butz 2000
P. A. Butz, Early Publications of Bronze Inscriptions from the Akropolis, in: C. C. Mattusch (ed.), From the Parts to the Whole I. Acta of the 12th International Bronze Congress, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 28 – June 1, 1996, JRA Suppl. 39 (Portsmouth 2000) 150–156.
- Butz 2010
P. A. Butz, The Art of the Hekatomedon Inscription and the Birth of the stoikhedon Style, Monumenta Graeca et Romana 16 (Leiden 2010).
- Cadoux 1948
T. J. Cadoux, The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides, JHS 68, 1948, 70–123.
- Caire 2016
E. Caire, Penser l’oligarchie à Athènes aux Ve et IV^e siècles. Aspects d’une idéologie, Collection d’études anciennes. Série grecque 151 (Paris 2016).
- Caliò 2012
L. M. Caliò, Asty. Studi sulla città greca (Roma 2012).
- Camp 1992
J. McK. Camp II, The Athenian Agora. Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens, New Aspects of Antiquity (London 1992).
- Camp 1994
J. McK. Camp II, Before Democracy: Alcmeonidai and Peisistratidai, in: W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia – T. L. Shear (eds.), The Archaeology of Athens and Attica Under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years Since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Athens, December 4–6, 1992, Oxbow monograph 37 (Oxford 1994) 7–12.
- Camp 2001
J. McK. Camp II, The Archaeology of Athens (New Haven 2001).
- Camp 2003
J. McK. Camp II, Excavations in the Athenian Agora (1998–2001), Hesperia 72, 2003, 241–280.
- Camp 2009
J. McK. Camp II, The Archaeology of the Agora. A Summary, in: J. McK. Camp II – Cr. A. Mauzy (eds.), The Athenian Agora. New Perspectives on an Ancient Site (Mainz am Rhein 2009) 11–38.
- Canevaro 2013
M. Canevaro, Thieves, Parent Abusers, Deserters...and Homicides? Rhetoric, Law and Forgery (Dem. 24.105), Historia 62, 2013, 25–47.
- Canevaro 2015
M. Canevaro, Making and Changing Laws in Ancient Athens in: E. M. Harris – M. Canevaro (eds.), Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law (published online 2015) 1–49 <doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199599257.013.4> (23.07.2019).
- Capozzoli 2004
V. Capozzoli, Le mura arcaiche di Atene: un riesame della questione, Siris 5, 2004, 5–22.
- Capozzoli 2012
V. Capozzoli, Zum Verhältnis von πόλις und τείχη auf dem griechischen Festland: das Beispiel Athen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, in: C. Rödel-Braune – C. Waschke (eds.), Orte des Geschehens. Interaktionsräume als konstitutive Elemente der antiken Stadt (Lit 2012) 78–108.
- Caroli 2013
M. Caroli, Gli scribi del tiranno, i librai del demos, ASAtene 89, 2013, 9–24.
- Casey 1987
E. Casey, Remembering. A Phenomenological Study (Bloomington 1987).
- Castrén 1994
P. Castrén – E. Sironen – J. Burman – A. Karivieri – G. af Hällström, Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 276–529, Papers and monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 1 (Helsinki 1994).
- Catling 1995
H. W. Catling, Heroes Returned? Subminoan Burials from Crete, in: J. B. Carter – S. J. Morris (eds.), The Ages of Homer. A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule (Austin 1995) 123–136.
- Cavanagh 1991
W. G. Cavanagh, Surveys, Cities and Synoecism, in: J. Rich – A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), City and Country in the

- Ancient World, Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 2 (London 1991) 97–118.
- Cavanaugh 1980
M. B. Cavanaugh, Eleusis and Athens. Documents in Finance, Religion and Politics in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C. (Ithaca 1980).
- Cavanaugh 1996
M. B. Cavanaugh, Eleusis and Athens. Documents in Finance, Religion, and Politics in the Fifth Century B.C., American Classical Studies 35 (Atlanta 1996).
- Cerchiai 1995
L. Cerchiai, I Campani, Biblioteca di archeologia 23 (Milan 1995).
- Chambers 1984
M. H. Chambers, The Formation of the Tyranny of Peisistratus, in: J. Harmatta (ed.), Proceedings of the VIIth Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies (Budapest 1984) 69–75.
- Chaniotis 1991
A. Chaniotis, Gedenktage der Griechen. Ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbewußtsein griechischer Poleis, in: J. Assmann (ed.), Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt, Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen 1 (Gütersloh 1991) 123–145.
- Chapman 2013
R. Chapman, Death, Burial, and Social Representation, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 47–57.
- Charitonides 1958
S. Charitonides, Ανασκαφή κλασσικών τάφων παρά την Πλατεία Συντάγματος, *AEphem* 97, 1958, 1–152.
- Charitonides 1973
S. Charitonides, Ευρήματα Πρωτογεωμετρικής και Γεωμετρικής εποχής της ανασκαφής νοτίως της Ακροπόλεως, *ADelt* 28 A', 1973, 1–63.
- Charpin 1991
D. Charpin, 112) Rebitum “centre”, Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires 1991, 4, 1991, 84.
- Chatzivasiliiou 2011
D. Chatzivasiliiou, Structuration de l'espace en Attique archaïque : exemples d'urbanisation – problèmes de méthode, *Cahiers « Mondes anciens »* 2, 2011 <doi: 10.4000/mondесanciens.463>
- Chatzivasiliiou 2013
D. Chatzivasiliiou, Dispositifs rituels et urbanisation en Grèce archaïque. Le cas d'Athènes et de l'Attique (Diss. EPHE Paris – ULB Brussels, Paris 2013).
- Chekimoglou 2014
E. Chekimoglou, Υδάτινη Ιστοριογραφία. Χρονικό της διαχείρισης του νερού στην Αττική (Athens 2014).
- Childs 1978
W. A. Childs (ed.), Athens comes of Age. From Solon to Salamis. Papers of a Symposium, Princeton (Princeton 1978).
- Christesen 2002
P. Christesen, On the meaning of γυμνάζω, *Nikephoros* 15, 2002, 7–37.
- Clark 1982
T. J. Clark, Image of the People. Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic 1848–1851 (Princeton 1982).
- Clerc et al. 1976
G. Clerc – V. Karageorghis – E. Lagarce – J. Leclant, Fouilles de Kition II. Objets Égyptiens et Égyptisants (Nicosia 1976).
- Clinton 1994
K. Clinton, The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens, in: W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia – T. L. Shear (eds.), The Archaeology of Athens and Attica Under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Athens, December 4–6, 1992, Oxbow monograph 37 (Oxford 1994) 161–172.
- Clinton 2005
K. Clinton, Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library 236 (Athens 2005).
- Clinton 2016
K. Clinton, The Eleusinian Anaktoron of Demeter and Kore, *Journal of Ancient History* 4, 2016, 40–56.
- Cogan 2001
M. Cogan, I Kings. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary. The Anchor Bible 10 (New York 2001).
- Coldstream 1977
J. N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece (London 1977).
- Coldstream 1984
J. N. Coldstream, A Protogeometric Nature Goddess from Knossos, *BICS* 31, 1984, 93–104.
- Coldstream 2003
J. N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece 900–700 BC (London 2003)
- Coldstream 2008
J. N. Coldstream, Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology? (Bristol 2008).
- Cole 2004
S. G. Cole, Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space. The Ancient Greek Experience, The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature (Berkeley 2004).
- Cooper 1996
F. A. Cooper, The Temple of Apollo Bassitas I. The Architecture (Princeton 1996).
- Corner 2012
S. Corner, Did ‘Respectable’ Women Attend Symposia?, *GAR* 59, 2012, 34–45.
- Corsaro 2010
M. Corsaro, Il nomos di Agirrio e la tassazione diretta del grano nel mondo greco, in: A. Magnetto – C. Carusi – D. Erdas (eds.), Nuove ricerche sulla legge granaria ateniese del 374/3 a.C. (Pisa 2010) 99–128.

- Cosmopoulos 2016
M. B. Cosmopoulos, Lieux de mémoire mycéniens et la naissance des sanctuaires grecs, RA 62, 2016, 251–278.
- Costaki 2006
L. Costaki, The intra muros Road System of Ancient Athens (Diss. University of Toronto 2006).
- Costaki 2009
L. Costaki, Το οδικό δίκτυο των Αθηνών, in: M. Korres (ed.), ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ οδοί: Αρχαίοι δρόμοι της ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ (Athens 2009) 96–111.
- Coulié 2013
A. Coulié, La céramique grecque aux époques géométrique et orientalisante (Xle – VIe siècle av. J.-C.), Manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques. Céramique grecque 1 (Paris 2013).
- Coulton 1976
J. J. Coulton, The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1976).
- Craven 1789
E. Craven, A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople in a Series of Letters (Dublin 1789).
- Creekmore – Fisher 2014
A. T. Creekmore III – K. D. Fisher, Making Ancient Cities. Space and Place in Early Urban Societies (Cambridge 2014).
- Crielaard 1995
J. P. Crielaard, Cult and Death in Early 7th-Century Euboea: the Aristocracy and the Polis, in: S. Marchegay (ed.), Nécropoles et pouvoir idéologies, pratiques et interprétations. Actes du Colloque Théories de la Nécropole Antique, Lyon 21–25 janvier 1995 (Paris 1995) 43–58.
- Crielaard 1998
J. P. Crielaard, Surfing on the Mediterranean Web. Cypriot Long-Distance Communications During the Eleventh and Tenth Centuries B.C., in: V. Karageorghis – N. Stampolidis (eds.), Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus – Dodecanes – Crete 16th – 6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Rethymnon – Crete, in May 1997 (Athens 1998) 187–204.
- Crielaard 1999
J. P. Crielaard, Production, Circulation and Consumption of Early Iron Age Greek Pottery (Eleventh to Seventh Centuries BC), in: J. P. Crielaard – V. Stissi – G. J. van Wijngaarden (eds.), The Complex Past of Pottery. Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (Sixteenth to Early Fifth Centuries BC). Proceedings of the ARCHON International Conference, Amsterdam, 8–9 November 1996 (Amsterdam 1999) 49–81.
- Crielaard 2002
J. P. Crielaard, Past or Present? Epic Poetry, Aristocratic Self-Representation and the Concept of Time in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC, in: F. Montanari (ed.), Omero tremila anni dopo, Storia e letteratura 210 (Rome 2002) 239–295.
- Crielaard 2006
J. P. Crielaard, Basileis at Sea: Elites and External Contacts in the Euboean Gulf Region from the End of the Bronze Age to the Beginning of the Iron Age, in: I. S. Lemos – S. Deger-Jalkotzy (eds.), Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3 (Edinburgh 2006) 271–297.
- Crielaard 2007
J. P. Crielaard, Eretria's West Cemetery Revisited: Burial Plots, Social Structure and Settlement Organization During the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age. Acts of an International Round Table, Volos, June 18–20 2004 (Volos 2007) 169–194.
- Crielaard 2011
J. P. Crielaard, The ‘wanax to basileus Model’ Reconsidered. Authority and Ideology after the Collapse of the Mycenaean Palaces, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), The “Dark Ages” Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, Volos, 14–17 June 2007 (Volos 2011) 83–111.
- Crielaard 2016
J. P. Crielaard, Living Heroes: Metal Urn Cremations in Early Iron Age Greece, Cyprus and Italy, in: F. Gallo (ed.), Omero: quaestiones disputata. Ambrosiana Graecolatina 5 (Milan 2016) 43–78.
- Crowther 1982
N. B. Crowther, Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics, Eranos 80, 1982, 163–168.
- Csapo 2011
E. Csapo, The Men Who Built the Theatres: Theatropolai, Theatronai and Arkitektones, in: P. Wilson (ed.), The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies (Oxford 2011) 87–121.
- Curtius 1862
E. Curtius, Attische Studien I. Pnyx und Stadtmauer (Göttingen 1862).
- Curtius – Kaupert 1881
E. Curtius – J. A. Kaupert, Karten von Attika II (Berlin 1881).
- d'Agostino – D'Onofrio 1993
B. d'Agostino – A. M. D'Onofrio, Review of Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State, by I. Morris, Gnomon 65, 1993, 41–51.
- Dalsoglio 2014
S. Dalsoglio, The Relative Sequence of the Earlier Kerameikos Burials (ca. 1100–900 B.C.): A Methodological Approach, Newsletter di Archeologia (CISA) 5, 2014, 39–57 <<http://www.unior.it/ateneo/11491/I/volume-5-anno-2014.html>> (23.07.2019).
- Dalsoglio 2018
S. Dalsoglio, L'analisi spaziale degli oggetti nelle sepolture per la ricostruzione del rituale funerario: il caso delle cremazioni protogeometriche del Kerameikos di Atene, in: V. Nizzo (ed.), Antropologia e archeologia a confronto: archeologia e antropologia della morte 2. Corpi, relazioni e azioni: il paesaggio dei riti, Atti dell'Incontro internazionale di studi Roma, 20–22 maggio 2015 (Rome 2018) 677–686.
- Dalsoglio (forthcoming)
S. Dalsoglio, The Amphorae of the Kerameikos

- Cemetery at Athens from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric Period (forthcoming).
- Dalsoglio – D’Onofrio 2016
S. Dalsoglio – A. M. D’Onofrio, *Associazioni di vasi e pratiche conviviali nelle sepolture ateniesi della prima età del Ferro*, in: G. M. Di Nocera – A. Guidi – A. Zifferero (eds.), *ArcheoTipico: l’archeologia come strumento per la ricostruzione del paesaggio e dell’alimentazione antica*, Atti del convegno, 16 ottobre 2015, Viterbo, *Rivista di Storia dell’Agricoltura* 56/1 (Florence 2016) 209–226.
- Daux 1960
G. Daux, *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1959*, BCH 84, 1960, 631–637.
- Daux 1962
G. Daux, *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1961*, BCH 86, 1962, 641–644.
- Davies 1971
J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families: 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971).
- Davies 1977–78
J. K. Davies, *Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives*, CJ 73, 1977–78, 105–121.
- Davies 1981
J. K. Davies, *Wealth and Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981).
- Davis 2015
G. Davis, *Athenian Electrum Coinage Reconsidered: Types, Standard, Value, and Dating*, NumChron 175, 2015, 1–9.
- Day – Chambers 1962
J. Day – M. Chambers, *Aristotle’s History of Athenian Democracy*, University of California Publications in History 73 (Berkeley 1962).
- de Ste. Croix 2004a
G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays* (Oxford 2004).
- de Ste. Croix 2004b
G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Solonian Census Classes and the Qualification for Cavalry and Hoplite Service*, in: G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays* (Oxford 2004) 5–72.
- Deger-Jalkotzy 1994
S. Deger-Jalkotzy, *The Post-Palatial Period in Greece: An Aegean Prelude to the 11th Century B.C. in Cyprus*, in: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century, Proceedings of the International Symposium*, Nicosia 30–31 October, 1993 (Nicosia 1994) 11–29.
- Dekoulakou 1991
I. Dekoulakou, Salamina. Periochi Tsámi, ADelt 46 B'1, 1991, 71.
- Demetriou 1989
A. Demetriou, *Cypro-Aegean Relations in the Early Iron Age*, SIMA 83 (Gothenburg 1989).
- Demoulin 1979
H. Demoulin, *Epimenide de Crète* (New York 1979).
- Desborough 1952
V. R. d’A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology 2 (Oxford 1952).
- Desborough 1972
V. R. d’A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972).
- Detienne 1973
M. Detienne, *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque, Textes à l’appui* (Paris 1973).
- Detienne 2005
M. Detienne, *Les Grecs et nous* (Paris 2005).
- Detienne – Vernant 1989
M. Detienne – J.-P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks* (Chicago 1989).
- Develin 1986
R. Develin, *Prytany Systems and Eponyms for Financial Boards in Athens*, Klio 68, 1986, 67–83.
- Di Cesare 2004
R. Di Cesare, *La storia murata. Note sul significato del riutilizzo di materiali architettonici nel muro di cinta dell’acropoli di Atene*, NumAntCl 33, 2004, 99–134.
- Di Cesare 2005
R. Di Cesare, *Il significato delle Korai e altre note sulla scultura votiva dell’Acropoli di Atene*, ASAAtene 81, 2005, 649–664.
- Diakonoff 1973
I. M. Diakonoff, *Structure of Society and State in Early Dynastic Sumer, Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East* 1, 3 (Los Angeles 1973).
- Dickenson 2015
P. Dickenson, *Pausanias and the “Archaic Agora” at Athens*, Hesperia 84, 2015, 723–770.
- Dickinson 1983
O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *Cist Graves and Chamber Tombs*, BSA 78, 1983, 55–67.
- Dickinson 2006
O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age. Continuity and Change Between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC* (London 2006).
- Dilke 1950
O. A. W. Dilke, *Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas*, BSA 45, 1950, 20–62.
- Dimakopoulou 1964
K. Dimakopoulou, *Προϊστορική κεραμεική νοτίων της Ακρόπολεως*, ADelt 19, 1964, A', 62–72.
- Dimitriadou 2012
E. M. Dimitriadou, *Πρώιμη Αθήνα (110–480 π.χ.): παρατηρήσεις στην οικιστική εξέλιξη και στα νεκροταφεία* (Diss. University of Athens 2012).
- Dimitriadou 2017
E. M. Dimitriadou, *The Development of Early Athens from ca. 1125 B.C. to the End of the 8th Century B.C.* in: J. K. Papadopoulos – E. L. Smithson (eds.), *The Early Iron Age. The Cemeteries, The Athenian Agora* 36 (Princeton 2017) 985–989.

- Dimitriadou 2019
E. M. Dimitriadou, Early Athens. Settlements and Cemeteries in the Submycenaean, Geometric and Archaic Periods, *Monumenta Archaeologica* 42 (Los Angeles 2019).
- Dinsmoor 1947
W. B. Dinsmoor, The Hekatomedon on the Athenian Acropolis, *AJA* 51, 1947, 109–151.
- Dinsmoor 1950
W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece. An Account of Its Historic Development ³(London 1950).
- Dirschedl 2013
U. Dirschedl, Die griechischen Säulenbasen, *AF* 28 (Wiesbaden 2013).
- Donlan 1985
W. Donlan, The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece, *CIPhil* 80, 1985, 293–308.
- D'Onofrio 1993
A. M. D'Onofrio, Le trasformazioni del costume funerario ateniese nella necropoli pre-soloniana del Kerameikos, *AIONArch* 15, 1993, 143–171.
- D'Onofrio 1997
A. M. D'Onofrio, The 7th Century B.C. in Attica. The Basis for Political Organization, *ActaHyp* 7, 1997, 63–88.
- D'Onofrio 1998
A. M. D'Onofrio, Oikoi, généalogies et monuments. Réflexions sur le système de dédicaces dans l'Attique archaïque, in: P. Schmitt Pantel – F. de Polignac (eds.), Entre public et privé en Grèce ancienne: lieux, objets, pratiques, Actes du colloque international, Paris, 15–17 mars 1995, *Ktema* 23 (Strasbourg 1998) 103–123.
- D'Onofrio 2008
A. M. D'Onofrio, Gli Ateniesi dell'Asty: l'abitato della prima età del ferro attraverso il record archeologico, in: G. Bartoloni – M. G. Benedettini (eds.), Sepolti tra i vivi. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 26–29 Aprile 2006 = Buried Among the Living, Scienze dell'Antichità 14 (Rome 2008) 437–460.
- D'Onofrio 2011
A. M. D'Onofrio, Athenian Burials with Weapons: The Athenian Warrior Graves Revisited, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), The “Dark Ages” Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, Volos, 14–17 June 2007 (Volos 2011) 645–673.
- D'Onofrio 2017a
A. M. D'Onofrio, Athenian Burial Practices and Cultural Change: the Rundbau Early Plot in the Kerameikos Cemetery Revisited, in: X. Charalambidou – C. Morgan (eds.), Interpreting the Seventh Century B.C.: Tradition, Innovation and Meaning, Proceedings of the International Conference, Athens, 9th–11th December 2011 (Oxford 2017) 260–280.
- D'Onofrio 2017b
A. M. D'Onofrio, Working Tools, Toilet Implements and Personal Adornments in Weapon Burials at Early Iron Age Athens and Lefkandi, *SMEA* n.s. 3, 2017, 27–52.
- D'Onofrio 2017c
A. M. D'Onofrio, L'Altare dei Dodici Dei e le acque violate dell'Eridano, in: L. Cicala – B. Ferrara (eds.), «Kithon Lydios». Studi di storia e archeologia con Giovanna Greco, *Quaderni del Centro Studi Magna Grecia* 22 (Naples 2017) 127–144.
- D'Onofrio (forthcoming)
A. M. D'Onofrio, Diversities and Inequality: the Male Burials in Early Iron Age Athens, in: O. Cerasuolo (ed.), The Archaeology of Inequality: Tracing the Archeological Record, 7th IEEMA Visiting Scholar Conference, Buffalo NY, 5 and 6 April 2014 (forthcoming).
- Dontas 1961–62a
G. Dontas, Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου Αγγελοπούλου, *ADelt* 17 A', 1961–62, 83–95.
- Dontas 1961–62b
G. Dontas, Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου Ζαχαράτου, *ADelt* 17 A', 1961–62, 101–103.
- Dontas 1983
G. S. Dontas, The True Aglaurion, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, 48–63.
- Dorandi 2013
T. Dorandi, Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge 2013).
- Doronizio 2011
A. Doronizio, L'Archaia Agorà di Apollodoro e Melanzio. Considerazioni su un problema topografico dell'Atene di età arcaica, *NumAntCI* 40, 2011, 15–85.
- Doronizio 2012
A. Doronizio, Per una ricostruzione della topografia di Atene in età arcaica. Riflessioni in margine a Tucidide II 15 e Pausania I 3–20, *NumAntCI* 41, 2012, 11–43.
- Doronizio 2018
A. Doronizio, Athen im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Räume und Funde der frühen Polis, *Urban Spaces* 6 (Berlin 2018).
- Dörpfeld 1885
W. Dörpfeld, Der alte Athenatempel auf der Akropolis zu Athen, *AM* 10, 1885, 275–277.
- Dörpfeld 1886
W. Dörpfeld, Der alte Athenatempel auf der Akropolis, *AM* 11, 1886, 337–351.
- Dörpfeld 1892
W. Dörpfeld, Die Ausgrabungen an der Enneakrunos, *AM* 17, 1892, 439–445.
- Dörpfeld 1894a
W. Dörpfeld, Η Εννεάκρουνος και η Καλλιρρόη, *AEphem* 1894, 1–10, 133 f.
- Dörpfeld 1894b
W. Dörpfeld, Die Ausgrabungen an der Enneakrunos II, *AM* 19, 1894, 143–151.
- Dörpfeld 1929
W. Dörpfeld, Die ältesten Stadtmauern Athens, in: *Festschrift. Walther Judeich zum 70. Geburtstag* (Weimar 1929) 1–12.
- Dörpfeld – Reisch 1896
W. Dörpfeld – E. Reisch, Das griechische Theater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater (Athens 1896).

- Dothan 1982
 T. K. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven 1982).
- Drerup 1969
 H. Drerup, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*, ArchHom 2 (Göttingen 1969).
- Droop 1905–06
 J. P. Droop, *Dipylon Vases from the Kynosarges Site*, BSA 12, 1905–06, 80–92.
- Du Loir 1654
 S. Du Loir, *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir. Ensemble de ce qui se passa à la mort du feu Sultan Mourat – les cérémonies de ses funéraires et celles de l'avènement à l'empire de Sultan Hibraim son frère, avec la relation du siège de Babylone en 1639, etc.* (Paris 1654).
- Dunbabin 1936–37
 T. J. Dunbabin, "Εχθρη πταλαίη", ABSA 37, 1936–37, 83–91.
- Dunbabin 1944
 T. J. Dunbabin, *Archaeology in Greece 1939–1945*, AJA 64, 1944, 78–96.
- Duplouy 2003
 A. Duplouy, *Les Eupatrides d'Athènes, « nobles défenseurs de leur patrie »*, CahGlotz 14, 2003, 7–22.
- Duplouy 2005
 A. Duplouy, *Pouvoir ou prestige? Apports et limites de l'histoire politique à la définition des élites grecques*, RBelgPhilHist 83, 1, 2005, 5–23.
- Duplouy 2006
 A. Duplouy, *Le prestige des élites. Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les Xe et Ve siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 2006).
- Duplouy 2011
 A. Duplouy, *Deux échelons de citoyenneté? En quête de la citoyenneté archaïque*, in: V. Azoulay – P. Ismard (eds.), *Clisthène et Lycurgue d'Athènes. Autour du politique dans la cité classique* (Paris 2011) 89–106.
- Duplouy 2012
 A. Duplouy, *Culti e cultura nella Grecia di età geometrica (1000–750)*, in: M. Lombardo (ed.), *Alle origini della Magna Grecia. Mobilità, migrazioni, fondazioni. Atti del convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto, 1–4 ottobre 2010 (Tarento 2012) 101–132.
- Duplouy 2013
 A. Duplouy, *Les Mille de Colophon. 'Totalité symbolique' d'une cité d'Ionie (Vle-IIle s. av. J.-C.)*, Historia 62, 2013, 146–166.
- Duplouy 2014
 A. Duplouy, *Les prétendues classes censitaires soloniennes. À propos de la citoyenneté athénienne archaïque*, AnnHistScSoc 69, 2014, 411–439.
- Duplouy 2015
 A. Duplouy, *Genealogical and Dynastic Behaviour in Archaic and Classical Greece: Two Gentilician Strategies*, in: N. R. E. Fisher – H. van Wees (eds.), *Aristocracy in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman Elites* (Swansea 2015) 59–84.
- Duplouy 2016
 A. Duplouy, *Ploutos e cittadinanza nella Grecia Arcaica*, in: M. Santucci – S. Sanchirico – F. Pignataro (eds.), *Ploutos & polis. Aspetti del rapporto tra economia e politica nel mondo antico. Atti dell'Incontro internazionale di studi*, Roma, 20–22 maggio 2013 (Rome 2016) 59–82.
- Duplouy 2018a
 A. Duplouy, *Pathways to Archaic Citizenship*, in: A. Duplouy – R. Brock (eds.), *Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece* (Oxford 2018) 1–49.
- Duplouy 2018b
 A. Duplouy, *Citizenship as Performance*, in: A. Duplouy – R. Brock (eds.), *Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece* (Oxford 2018) 249–274.
- Duplouy 2018c
 A. Duplouy, *Élites, cités et citoyens dans la Grèce archaïque. Apports récents et mise au point historiographique*, in: C. Moatti – Chr. Müller (eds.), *Statuts personnels et espaces sociaux. Questions grecques et romaines*, Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès 25 (Paris 2018) 17–42.
- Duplouy 2019
 A. Duplouy, *Construire la cité. Essai de sociologie historique sur les origines de la cité grecque* (Paris 2019).
- Durand 1986
 J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne. Essai d'Anthropologie religieuse, Images à l'appui 1* (Paris 1986).
- Durand 1991
 J.-M. Durand, 31) *Agade rebítum, Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1991.1, 24–25.
- Durand – Lissarrague 1980
 J.-L. Durand – F. Lissarrague, *Un lieu d'images? L'espace du louterion*, Héphaïstos 2, 1980, 89–106.
- Eder 1988
 W. Eder, *Political Self-Confidence and Resistance. The Role of Demos and Plebs after the Expulsion of the Tyrants in Athens and the Kings in Rome*, in: T. Yuge – M. Doi (eds.), *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity* (Tokyo 1988) 465–475.
- Edgar 1897
 C. E. Edgar, *Two Stelae from Kynosarges*, AJA 17, 1897, 174 f.
- Eiteljorg 1995
 H. Eiteljorg, *The Entrance to the Athenian Acropolis before Mnemosicles*, Monographs fo the Archaeological Institute of America n. s. 1 (Dubuque 1995).
- Ekengren 2013
 F. Ekengren, *Contextualizing Grave Goods*, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 173–192.
- Ekroth 2003
 G. Ekroth, *Inventing Iphigeneia? On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron*, Kernos 16, 2003, 50–118.

- Ekroth 2009
 G. Ekroth, Thighs or Tails? The Osteological Evidence as a Source for Greek Ritual Norms, in: P. Brûlé (ed.), *La norme en matière religieuse dans la Grèce ancienne. Actes du Xle colloque du CIERGA*, Rennes, septembre 2007, *Kernos Suppl.* 21 (Liège 2009) 125–151.
- Eleftheratou 1996–97
 S. Eleftheratou, Δύο τελετουργικές πυρές στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάνη, *ADelt* 51–52 A', 1996–97, 99–118.
- Eleftheratou 1997
 S. Eleftheratou, Ανασκαφές Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου Αθηνών (ΜΣΑ), *ADelt* 52 B'1, 1997, 34–36.
- Eleftheratou 2000a
 S. Eleftheratou, Σταθμός «Ακρόπολη» του Μετρό, *ADelt* 55 B'1, 2000, 42–44.
- Eleftheratou 2000b
 S. Eleftheratou, Το ανατολικό λουτρό στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάνη, *ADelt* 55 A', 2000, 285–328.
- Eleftheratou 2001–04
 S. Eleftheratou, Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου Μακρυγιάνη για την ανέγερση του Νέου Μουσείου Ακροπόλεως, *ADelt* 56–59 B'1, 2001–2004, 147–152.
- Eleftheratou 2005
 S. Eleftheratou, Οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάνη. Ανασκαφή στο χώρο ανέγερσης του Νέου Μουσείου Ακρόπολης, *ADelt* 60 B'1, 2005, 41–45.
- Eleftheratou et al. 2009
 S. Eleftheratou – D. Pantermalis – K. Vlassopoulos, *Μουσείο Ακρόπολης: σύντομος οδηγός* (Athens 2009).
- Eleftheratou – Saraga 1999
 S. Eleftheratou – N. Saraga 1999, Οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάνη (ανασκαφή για την ανέγερση του Νέου Μουσείου Ακροπόλεως), *ADelt* 54 B'1, 1999, 45–56.
- Eliopoulos 2001–04a
 Th. Eliopoulos, Οδός Διαμαντοπούλου 10 (οικόπεδο Ντινόπουλου), *ADelt* 56–59 B'1, 2001–04, 208–214.
- Eliopoulos 2001–04b
 Th. Eliopoulos, Συμβολή των οδών Καλλισπέρη 19 και Παρθενώνος, *ADelt* 56–59 B'1, 2001–04, 214.
- Eliopoulos 2001–04c
 Th. Eliopoulos, Οδός Ηρακλειδών 40 (Θησείο) (οικόπεδο Χ. Νικολούστοπουλου), *ADelt* 56–59 B'1, 2001–04, 214–216.
- Eliopoulos 2010
 Th. Eliopoulos, Athens: News from the Kynosarges Site, in: B. Wesenberg – H. Frielinghaus – J. Stroszeck (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zu griechischen Städten und Heiligtümern. Festschrift für Burkhardt Wesenberg zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur Archäologie Griechenlands 1 (Möhnesee 2010) 85–91.
- Ellinger 1984
 P. Ellinger, Les ruses de guerre d'Artémis, in: L. Breglia Pulci Doria – P. Ellinger – F. Frontisi-Ducroux – E. Lepore – C. Montepaone – J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident, 2, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 9 (Naples 1984) 51–67.
- Ellinger 2008
 P. Ellinger, Artémis, l'histoire et les historiens, *Europe revue littéraire mensuelle* 945, 2008, 122–146.
- Ellinger 2009
 P. Ellinger, Artémis, déesse de tous les dangers (Paris 2009).
- Engels 1998
 J. Engels, *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia. Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der griechisch-römischen Welt mit einigen Ausblicken auf Einschränkungen des funeralen und sepulkralen Luxus im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 1998).
- Eriksson 2013
 G. Eriksson, Stable Isotope Analysis of Humans, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 123–146.
- Étienne 2004
 R. Étienne, Athènes, espaces urbains et histoire : des origines à la fin du III^e siècle ap. J.-C., *Carré histoire* 60 (Paris 2004).
- Étienne 2017
 R. Étienne, Introduction: Can One Speak of the Seventh Century BC?, in: X. Charalambidou – C. Morgan (eds.), *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC. Tradition and Innovation* (Oxford 2017) 9–14.
- Faraguna 2000
 M. Faraguna, A proposito degli archivi nel mondo greco. *Terra e registrazioni fondiarie*, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 65–115.
- Faraguna 2012
 M. Faraguna, Hektemoroi, isomoiria, seisachtheia. *Ricerche recenti sulle riforme economiche di Solone*, *Dike* 15, 2012, 171–193.
- Faraone 2003
 C. A. Faraone, Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis: Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice, in: D. B. Dodd – C. A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* (London 2003) 43–68.
- Farmakidou 2009
 E. Farmakidou, How Far Can Pots Go? Conceptualizing Pottery Production and Exchanges in Geometric Rhodes, in: V. Karageorghis – O. Kouka (eds.), *Cyprus and the East Aegean. Intercultural Contacts from 3000 to 500 BC. An International Archaeological Symposium, Samos, October 17th–18th 2008* (Nicosia 2009) 103–113.
- Federico 2002
 E. Federico, La catarsis di Epimenide ad Atene, in: E. Federico – A. Visconti (eds.), *Epimenide Cretese*, *Quaderni del Dipartimento di discipline storiche* 2 (Naples 2002) 77–128.
- Feller 2011
 N. Feller, Zur Belichtung griechischer Saalbauten, in: P. I. Schneider – U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Licht-Konzepte in der vormodernen Architektur. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 26. Februar – 1. März 2009*, *DiskAB* 10 (Regensburg 2011) 78–91.

- Ferguson 1932
W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasures of Athena* (Harvard 1932).
- Figueira 1984
T. J. Figueira, The Ten Archontes of 579/8 at Athens, *Hesperia* 53, 1984, 447–473.
- Figueira 1985
T. J. Figueira, Herodotus on the Early Hostilities between Aegina and Athens, *AJPh* 106, 1, 1985, 49–74.
- Figueira 2011
T. J. Figueira, The Athenian Naukraroi and the Archaic Naval Warfare, *Cadmo* 21, 2011, 183–210.
- Filser 2017
W. Filser, Die Elite Athens auf der attischen Luxuskeramik, *Image & Context* 16 (Berlin 2017)
- Fisher 2015
M. Fisher, How to Look at a Non-Peripteral Temple, in: M. M. Miles (ed.), *Autopsy in Athens. Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica* (Oxford 2015) 154–162.
- Fisher 2018
N. Fisher, Athletics and Citizenship, in: A. Duplouy – R. Brock (eds.), *Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece* (Oxford 2018) 189–225.
- Fisher – van Wees 2015
N. Fisher – H. van Wees, The Trouble with ‘Aristocracy’, in: N. R. E. Fisher – H. van Wees (eds.), *Aristocracy in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman Elites* (Swansea 2015) 1–58.
- Fitzenreiter 2007
M. Fitzenreiter, Das Heilige und die Ware. Überlegungen zum Nexus von Religion und Ökonomie, in: M. Fitzenreiter – S. Kirchner – O. Kriseleit (eds.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie, Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie* 7 (London 2007) 1–24.
- Flaig 2010
E. Flaig, Olympia und andere Spiele – „immer der Beste sein“, in: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp – K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.), *Die Griechische Welt. Erinnerungsorte der Antike* (Munich 2010) 353–369.
- Flament 2007
Ch. Flament, Que nous reste-t-il de Solon? Essai de déconstruction de l’image du père de la patrioij politeia, *EtCl* 75, 2007, 289–318.
- Flament 2017
Ch. Flament, Étude sur la chronologie des archontats de Damasias à Athènes et de la première guerre sacrée à Delphes, *BCH* 141.1, 2017, 117–139.
- Fless 2002
F. Fless, Rotfigurige Keramik als Handelsware. Erwerb und Gebrauch attischer Vasen im mediterranen und pontischen Raum während des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., *Internationale Archäologie* 71 (Rahden/Westf. 2002).
- Flourentzos 1997
P. Flourentzos, The Early Geometric Tomb No. 132 from Palaepaphos, *RDAC* 1997, 1997, 205–218.
- Foley 1994
H. P. Foley (ed.), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.
- Translation, Commentary, and Interpretive Essays (Princeton 1994).
- Foraboschi 1986
D. Foraboschi, Monetazione arcaica e costituzione di Atene, *AnnlSttlNum* 36, 1986, 67–82.
- Formigli 1999
E. Formigli (ed.), *I Grandi Bronzi Antichi. Le fonderie e le tecniche di lavorazione dall’età arcaica al Rinascimento. Atti dei seminari di studi ed esperimenti*, Murlo, 24–30 luglio 1993 e 1–7 luglio 1995 (Siena 1999).
- Forsdyke 2006
S. Forsdyke, Land, Labor and Economy in Solonian Athens: Breaking the Impasse between Archaeology and History, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 272 (Leiden 2006) 334–350.
- Foxhall 1995
L. Foxhall, Bronze to Iron: Agricultural Systems and Political Structures in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece, *BSA* 90, 1995, 239–250.
- Foxhall 1997
L. Foxhall, A View From the Top: Evaluating the Solonian Property Classes, in: L. Mitchell – P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London 1997) 113–136.
- Foxhall 2007
L. Foxhall, Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece. Seeking the Ancient Economy (Oxford 2007).
- Foxhall 2013
L. Foxhall, Studying Gender in Classical Antiquity, Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge 2013).
- Franchi – Proietti 2015
E. Franchi – G. Proietti, Guerra e memoria. Paradigmi antichi e moderni, tra polemologia e Memory Studies, in: E. Franchi – G. Proietti (eds.), *Guerra e memoria nel mondo antico* (Trento 2015) 127–151.
- Franssen 2011
J. Franssen, Votiv und Repräsentation. Statuarische Weihungen archaischer Zeit aus Samos und Attika, *Archäologie und Geschichte* 13 (Heidelberg 2011).
- Franz 2002
J. P. Franz, Krieger, Bauern, Bürger. Untersuchungen zu den Hopliten der archaischen und klassischen Zeit, *Europäische Hochschulschriften* 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 925 (Frankfurt am Main 2002).
- Frederiksen 2011
R. Frederiksen, Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900–480 BC (Oxford 2011).
- French 1959
A. French, The party of Peisistratos, *GaR* 6, 1959, 46–57.
- Frielinghaus 2017
H. Frielinghaus, Die Schlacht von 480 v. Chr. und ihre Folgen. Mit der Seeschlacht verbundene Kultstätten und Kulthandlungen auf Salamis, in: H. Frielinghaus – J. Stroszeck (eds.), *Kulte und Heiligtümer in Griechenland – Neue Funde und Forschungen. Beiträge zur Archäologie Griechenlands* 4 (Möhnesee 2017) 53–70.

- Frost 1984
 F. J. Frost, The Athenian Military Before Cleisthenes, *Historia* 33, 1984, 283–294.
- Frost 2005
 F. Frost, Peisistratos, the Cults and the Unification of Attica, in: F. Frost, Politics and the Athenians: Essays on Athenian history and historiography (Toronto 2005) 129
- G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea 1963a
 G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea, Ἀνασκαφὴ ὁδοῦ Αἰόλου, ADelt 18 B'1, 1963, 33–36.
- G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea 1963b
 G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea, Ἀνασκαφὴ ὁδοῦ Αθανασίου Διάκου – Αναπαύσεως, ADelt 18 B'1, 1963, 37 f.
- G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea 1963c
 G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea, Ἀνασκαφὴ ὁδοῦ Γαριβάλδη, ADelt 18 B'1, 1963, 41
- G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea 1964
 G' Archaiologiki Peripheriea, Ἀνασκαφὴ καὶ τυχαία ευρήματα εντός της περιμέτρικης ζώνης της πολεώς τῶν Ἀθενῶν, ADelt 19 B'1, 1964, 47–56.
- Gabrielsen 1985
 V. Gabrielsen, The Naukrariai and the Athenian Navy, *Classica et medievalia. Revue denoise de philology et d'histoire* 36, 1985, 21–51.
- Gabrielsen 1994
 V. Gabrielsen, Financing the Athenian Fleet. Public Taxation and Social Relations (Baltimore 1994).
- Gallant 1991
 T. W. Gallant, Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece. Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy (Cambridge 1991).
- Gallego 2008
 J. Gallego, Control social, participación popular y patronazgo en la Atenas clásica, *Circe* 12, 2008, 187–206.
- Gallis 1979
 C. J. Gallis, Cremation Burials from the Early Neolithic in Thessaly, in: B. Helly (ed.), *La Thessalie. Actes de la Table-ronde*, 21–24 juillet 1975, Lyon, Collections de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen 6. Série archéologique 5 (Lyon 1979) 65–79.
- Gallo 2000
 L. Gallo, Le imposte dirette nelle poleis greche: un istituto tirannico?, *MinEpigrP* 3, 2000, 17–36.
- Gansell 2012
 A. R. Gansell, Women in Ancient Mesopotamia, in: S. L. James – S. Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (Malden 2012) 1–23.
- Garlan 1974
 Y. Garlan, Recherches de poliorcéétique grecque (Paris 1974).
- Garlan 1989
 Y. Garlan, Guerre et économie en Grèce ancienne (Paris 1989).
- Garland 1992
 R. Garland, Introducing New Gods. The Politics of Athenian Religion (London 1992).
- Garnsey 2003
 P. Garnsey, El campesinado: subsistencia y supervivencia, in: J. Gallego (ed.), *El mundo rural en la Grecia antigua* (Madrid 2003) 71–102
- Gauss – Ruppenstein 1998
 W. Gauss – F. Ruppenstein, Die Athener Akropolis in der frühen Eisenzeit, *AM* 113, 1998, 1–60.
- Gauss – Ruppenstein 2001
 W. Gauss – F. Ruppenstein, Mykenische Funde von der Plata Eleftherias (Koumoundourou) in Athen, *AA* 2001, 2001, 159–168.
- Gebauer 2002
 J. Gebauer, Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen, *Eikon* 7 (Münster 2002).
- Gehrke 1994
 H.-J. Gehrke, La storia politica ateniese arcaica a l'athenaion politeia, in: G. Maddoli (ed.), *L'Athenaion Politeia di Aristotele 1891–1991. Per un bilancio di cento anni di studi, Studi di storia e di storiografia* (Naples 1994) 191–215.
- Gehrke 2006
 H.-J. Gehrke, The figure of Solon in the Athenaion Politeia, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 272 (Leiden 2006) 276–289.
- Georgaka 2014
 V. Georgaka, Χειροποίητα ειδώλια αρχαϊκών χρόνων από την Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών και το ιερό της Νύμφης στη νότια κλιτύ της Ακροπόλεως, in: A. Giannikouri – L. Kypraiou – K. Birtachia – I. Zervoudaki (Eds.), *Κοροπλαστική και μικροτεχνία στον αιγαιακό χώρο από τους γεωμετρικούς χρόνους έως και τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο: διεθνές συνέδριο στη μνήμη της Ηούς Ζερβουδάκη, Ρόδος, 26–29 Νοεμβρίου 2009* (Athens 2014) 69–80.
- George 2003
 A. R. George, The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts 1 (Oxford 2003).
- Gera 1975
 G. Gera, L'imposizione progressiva nell'antica Atene (Rome 1975).
- Gernet 1924
 L. Gernet, Sur l'execution capital, *REG* 37, 1924, 261–293.
- Gernet 1938
 L. Gernet, Les dix archontes de 581, *RPh* 64, 1938, 216–227.
- Giangiulio 2000
 M. Giangiulio, Alla ricerca della polis, in: M. Vetta (ed.), *La civiltà dei Greci. Forme, luoghi, contesti*, Università. Lettere classiche 256 (Rome 2000) 59–104.

- Giangiulio 2016
M. Giangiulio, Aristocrazie in discussione: verso un nuovo modello per la società greca arcaica?, *Incidenza dell'antico* 14, 2, 2016, 305–316.
- Giraud 1994
D. Giraud, Μελέτη αποκαταστάσεως του Ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης. Nike τόμος 1α-β Αρχιτεκτονική μελέτη αποκαταστάσεως / Study for the Restoration of the Temple of Athena Nike = Volume 1a-b
Architectural Study for the Restoration of the Building (Athens 1994).
- Giraud 2002
D. Giraud, Νέες παραπτηρίσεις στην οικοδομική σύνθεση της ζωφόρου του ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης και του αρχαϊκού πάροινου ναΐσκου, in: F. Mallouchou (ed.), 5η Διεθνής Συνάντηση για την Αποκατάσταση των μνημείων Ακροπόλεως, Πρακτικά 4–6 Οκτωβρίου 2002 (Athens 2002) 335–352.
- Giuliani 1999
A. Giuliani, Il sacrilegio ciloniano: tradizione e cronologia, *Aevum* 73, 1999, 21–42.
- Giuliani 2003
L. Giuliani, Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst (Munich 2003).
- Glowacki 1998
K. T. Glowacki, The Acropolis of Athens Before 566 B.C., in: K. J. Hartswick (ed.), ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, Philadelphia University Museum monograph 100 (Philadelphia 1998) 79–88.
- Godelier 1999
M. Godelier, Chefferies et États, une approche anthropologique, in: P. Ruby (ed.), Les Princes de la Protohistoire et l'émergence de l'État. Actes de la table ronde internationale, Naples, 27–29 octobre 1994, Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 17 = Collection de l'École française de Rome 252 (Rome 1999) 19–30.
- Gofas 1969
D. Gofas, Les carpologues de Thasos, *BCH* 93, 1969, 337–370.
- Golden 1998
M. Golden, Sport and Society in Ancient Greece, Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge 1998).
- Goldhill – Osborne 1999
S. Goldhill – R. Osborne, Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy (Cambridge 1999).
- Goossens – Thielemans 1996
E. Goossens – S. Thielemans, The Popularity of Painting Sport Scenes on Attic Black and Red Figure Vases. A CVA-Based Research, *BaBesch* 71, 1996, 59–94.
- Gorbunova 1983
K. Gorbunova, Černofigurnye attičeskie vazy v Ermitaže / Die schwarzfigurigen attischen Vasen der Ermitage. Katalog (Leningrad 1983).
- Gordon Childe 1950
V. Gordon Childe, The Urban Revolution, *Town Planning Review* 2, 1950, 3–17.
- Gottesman 2014
A. Gottesman, Politics and the Street in Democratic Athens (Cambridge 2014).
- Göttling 1830
K. Göttling, Αριστοτέλους οιχονομικος. Ανώνυμον οιχονομικα. Φιλοδήμος Περι κακιών και των αντικειμένων αρετών θ (Jena 1830).
- Goulet 1999
R. Goulet, Diogène Laërce. Vies et doctrines des philosophes illustres. Introduction, traduction et notes du livre I, in: M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (ed.), Diogène Laërce. Vies et doctrines des philosophes illustres (Paris 1999) 45–158.
- Gouschin 1999
V. Gouschin, Pisistratus' Leadership in A. P. 13.4 and the Establishment of the Tyranny of 561/560 B.C., *CIQ* 49, 1, 1999, 14–23.
- Graf 1984
F. Graf, Women, War, and Warlike Divinities, *ZPE* 55, 1984, 245–254.
- Greco 2001
E. Greco, *Triopodes*. Appunti sullo sviluppo urbano di Atene, *AION* n.s. 8, 2001, 25–38.
- Greco 2008a
E. Greco, Traffico urbano e percorsi cerimoniali nella città a forma di ruota, in: D. Mertens (ed.), Stadtverkehr in der antiken Welt. Internationales Kolloquium zur 175-Jahrfeier des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom, 21.–23. April 2004, Palilia 18 (Wiesbaden 2008) 3–12.
- Greco 2008b
E. Greco, La formazione dello spazio urbano ateniese tra Ippia e Temistocle. Una nota, in: A. Stazio – S. Ceccoli (eds.), Atene e la Magna Grecia dall'età arcaica all'Ellenismo. Atti del quarantasettesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia I, Taranto 27–30 settembre 2007 (Tarent 2008) 13–17.
- Greco 2009
E. Greco, Su alcuni studi di topografia ateniese alla SAIA: vecchie ipotesi e nuove prospettive, *SAIA* 87, s. III, 9, 2009, 217–233.
- Greco – Torelli 1983
E. Greco – M. Torelli, Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo greco (Roma 1983).
- Gregory 2007
J. Gregory, Donkeys and the Equine Hierarchy in Archaic Greek Literature, *CJ* 3, 2007, 193–212.
- Griffith 2006a
M. Griffith, Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination 1, *CiPhil* 101, 2006, 185–246.
- Griffith 2006b
M. Griffith, Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the ancient Greek Imagination 2, *CiPhil* 101, 2006, 307–358.
- Gruben 1972
G. Gruben, Kykladische Architektur, *MÜjb* 23, 1972, 7–36.

- Gruben 1982
 G. Gruben, Der Burgtempel A von Paros. Naxos – Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht, AA 1982, 1982, 197–229.
- Gruben 1991
 G. Gruben, Anfänge des Monumentalbaus auf Naxos, in: A. Hoffmann – E.-L. Schwandner – W. Hoepfner – G. Brands (eds.), Bautechnik der Antike. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 15.–17. Februar 1990, DiskAB 5 (Mainz 1991) 63–71.
- Gruben 1991–92
 G. Gruben, Die Entwicklung der Marmorarchitektur auf Naxos und das neuentdeckte Dionysos-Heiligtum in Iria, NüBlA 8, 1991–1992, 41–51.
- Gruben 1993
 G. Gruben, Die Inselionische Ordnung, in: J. Des Courtis – J.-C. Moretti (eds.), Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle av. J.-C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23–25 mai 1991, Varia anatolica 3 (Istanbul 1993) 97–109.
- Gruben 1997
 G. Gruben, Naxos und Delos. Studien zur archaischen Architektur der Kykladen, Jdl 112, 1997, 261–416.
- Gruben 2001
 G. Gruben, Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer⁵ (Munich 2001).
- Gruben 2007
 G. Gruben, Klassische Bauforschung (Munich 2007).
- Guarisco 2016
 D. Guarisco, Acting the She-Bear: Animal Symbolism and Ritual in Ancient Athens, in: P. Johnston – A. Mastrocicinque – S. Papaioannou (eds.), Animals in Greek and Roman Religion and Myth. Proceedings of the Symposium Grumentinum, Grumento Nova (Potenza), 5–7 June 2013 (Newcastle upon Tyne 2016) 419–430.
- Guggisberg 1996
 M. Guggisberg, Frühgriechische Tierkeramik. Zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Tiergefäße und der hohlen Tierfiguren der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit (ca. 1600–700 v. Chr.) (Mainz 1996).
- Guggisberg 2008
 M. A. Guggisberg, Gräber von Bürgern und Heroen. „Homerische“ Bestattungen im klassischen Athen, in: C. Kümmel – B. Schweizer – U. Veit (eds.), Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung. Totenritual und Grabkult in frühen Gesellschaften. Archäologische Quellen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive, Tübinger Archäologische Taschenbücher 6 (Münster 2008), 287–317.
- Gutgesell 1989
 M. Gutgesell, Arbeiter und Pharaonen. Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Ägypten (Hildesheim 1989).
- Habicht 1961
 C. Habicht, Falsche Urkunden zur Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter der Perserkriege, Hermes 89, 1961, 1–35.
- Hadzisteliou-Price 1978
 T. Hadzisteliou-Price, Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities, Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society 8 (Leiden 1978).
- Haensch 2003
 R. Haensch, Amtslokal und Staatlichkeit in den griechischen Poleis, Hermes 131, 2003, 172–195.
- Ham 1987
 R. Ham, Theatres. Planning Guidance for Design and Adaptation² (London 1987).
- Hamilton 1989
 R. Hamilton, Alkman and the Athenian arkeia, Hesperia 58, 1989, 449–472.
- Hammond 1992
 N. G. L. Hammond, Plataea's Relations with Thebes, Sparta and Athens, JHS 112, 1992, 143–150.
- Handberg – Gadoulou 2017
 S. Handberg – A. Gadoulou (eds.) Material koinai in the Greek Early Iron Age and Archaic Period. Acts of an International Conference at the Danish Institute at Athens, 30 January – 1 February 2015, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 22 (Aarhus 2017).
- Hansen 1989a
 M. H. Hansen, The Athenian Ecclesia. A Collection of Articles 1983–1989, Opuscula Graecolatina 26 (Copenhagen 1989).
- Hansen 1989b
 M. H. Hansen, Solonian Democracy in Fourth-Century Athens, ClMediaev 40, 1989, 71–99.
- Hansen 1996
 S. Hansen, Weihegaben zwischen System und Lebenswelt, in: H.-J. Gehrke – A. Möller (eds.), Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt. Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewusstsein. Symposium vom 30. Juni bis 2. Juli 1995, Freiburg, Script Oralia 90 (Tübingen 1996) 257–276.
- Harmanşah 2013
 Ö. Harmanşah, Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East (Cambridge 2013).
- Harris 1995
 D. Harris, The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1995).
- Harris 2006
 E. M. Harris, Solon and the Spirit of the Laws in Archaic and Classical Greece, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches, Mnemosyne Suppl. 272 (Leiden 2006) 290–318.
- Harris-Cline 1999
 D. Harris-Cline, Archaic Athens and the Topography of the Kylon Affair, BSA 94, 1999, 309–320.
- Haussoullier 1884
 B. Haussoullier, La vie municipale en Attique: essai sur l'organisation des dèmes au quatrième siècle, BEFAR Série Athènes 38, 1884.
- Hayashi 1992
 T. Hayashi, Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr. Religionshistorische und

- typologische Untersuchungen, Beiträge zur Archäologie 20 (Würzburg 1992).
- Heberdey 1919
R. Heberdey, Altattische Poroskulptur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der archaischen griechischen Kunst (Wien 1919).
- Hedrick 1999
W. Hedrick, Democracy and the Athenian Epigraphical Habit, *Hesperia* 68, 1999, 387–439.
- Heile 1990
I. Heile, Licht und Dach beim griechischen Tempel, in: W.-D. Heilmeyer – W. Hoepfner (eds.), *Licht und Architektur, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin* (Tübingen 1990) 27–34.
- Helbig 1898
W. Helbig, *Les vases du Dipylon et les Naucratis*, *MemAclnscr* 36, 1898, 387–421.
- Hellmann 1992
M.-C. Hellmann, Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque d'après les inscriptions de Delos, *BEFAR* 278 (Athens 1992).
- Helm 1984
R. Helm, Eusebius Werke 7. Die Chronik des Hieronymus, *Hieronymi Chronicum*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 43³(Berlin 1984).
- Hennemeyer 2012
A. Hennemeyer, Der Zeus-Tempel von Olympia, in: W.-D. Heilmeyer – N. Kaltsas – H.-J. Gehrke – G. E. Hatzi – S. Bocher (eds.), *Mythos Olympia. Kult und Spiele. Exhibition catalogue Berlin* (Munich 2012) 121–125.
- Hignett 1952
C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1952).
- Hirsch 2008
M. Hirsch, The Generation of Postmemory, *Poetics Today* 29, 1, 2008, 103–128.
- Hitzl 2003
K. Hitzl, Pausanias und das Problem der Alten Agora von Athen, in: D. Damaskos – A. Karapanou (eds.), *Επιτύμβιον* Gerhard Neumann, *MusBenaki Suppl.* 2 (Athens 2003) 101–112.
- Hodge 1960
A.T. Hodge, *The Woodwork of Greek Roofs* (Cambridge 1960).
- Hölkeskamp 1999
K.-J. Hölkeskamp, Schiedsrichter, Gesetzgebend und Gesetzgebung im archaischen Griechenland, *Historia Einzelschriften* 131 (Stuttgart 1999).
- Hölkeskamp 2002
K.-J. Hölkeskamp, "Ptolis" and "agore". Homer and the Archaeology of the City-State, in: F. Montanari – P. Ascheri (eds.), *Omero tremila anni dopo*, *Storia e letteratura* 210 (Rome 2002) 297–342.
- Holladay 1977
A. J. Holladay, The Followers of Peisistratus, *GaR* 24, 1977, 40–56.
- Hollinshead 2015
M. B. Hollinshead, *Shaping Ceremony. Monumental Steps and Greek Architecture*, *Wisconsin Studies in Classics* (Madison 2015).
- Hölscher 1999
T. Hölscher, Öffentliche Räume in frühen griechischen Städten, *Schriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7² (Heidelberg 1999).
- Hölscher 2019
T. Hölscher, *Krieg und Kunst im antiken Griechenland und Rom*, *Münchener Vorlesungen zu Antiken Welten* 4 (Berlin 2019).
- Holtzmann 2003
B. Holtzmann, *L'acropole d'Athènes. Monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athèna Polias*, *Antiqua* 7 (Paris 2003).
- Hopper 1961
R. J. Hopper, Plain, Shore, and Hill in Early Athens, *BSA* 56, 1961, 189–219.
- Hornblower 1991
S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides I* (Oxford 1991).
- Hosoi 2007
N. Hosoi, Des femmes au louterion : à la croisée d'une esthétique masculine et féminine au traverse des objets, *Images re-vues* 4, 2007, 1–24.
- Houby-Nielsen 1992
S. Houby-Nielsen, Interaction Between Chieftains and Citizens? 7th Century B.C. Burial Customs in Athens, *ActaHyp* 4, 1992, 343–374.
- Houby-Nielsen 1995
S. Houby-Nielsen, Burial Language in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos, *ProcDanInstAth* 1 (Athens 1995) 129–192.
- Houby-Nielsen 1996a
S. Houby-Nielsen, Women and the Formation of the Athenian City-State. The Evidence of Burial Customs, *Métis* 11, 1996, 233–260.
- Houby-Nielsen 1996b
S. Houby-Nielsen, The Archaeology of Ideology in the Kerameikos, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis. Proceedings of the Third Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, Athens, 16–18 October 1992 (Stockholm 1996) 41–54.
- Houby-Nielsen 2000
S. Houby-Nielsen, Child Burial in Ancient Athens, in: J. S. Derevenski (ed.), *Children and Material Culture* (London 2000) 151–166.
- Houby-Nielsen 2009
S. Houby-Nielsen, Attica: A View from the Sea, in: K. Raflaub – H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient History (Chichester 2009) 189–211.
- How – Wells 2002
W. How – J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus II. Books V–IX* (Oxford 2002)

- Humphreys 1980
S. C. Humphreys, Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?, *JHS* 100, 1980, 96–126.
- Hurwit 1999
J. M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge 1999).
- Husserl 1991
E. Husserl, *On the Phenomenology of the Consciousness of Internal Time* (1893–1917) (Dordrecht 1991).
- Iakovides 1962
S. E. Iakovides, *Η Μυκηναϊκή Ακρόπολις των Αθηνών* (Athens 1962).
- Iakovides 1969–70
S. E. Iakovides, *Περατή: το νεκροταφείον, Α, Β, Γ, Η Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 67 (Athen 1969–70).
- Iakovides 1980
S. E. Iakovides, Excavations of the Necropolis at Perati, Occasional paper / Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles 8 (Los Angeles 1980).
- Iakovides 1983
S. E. Iakovides, Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 4 (Leiden 1983).
- Iakovides 2006
S. E. Iakovides, *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens, Η Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 240 (Athens 2006).
- Ike – Otaki 1998
K. Ike – T. Otaki, Natural Lighting Method of the Parthenon. An Experimental Study for Transparency of Pentelic Marble Tile, *Journal of Architectural Planning and Environmental Engineering* 504, 1998, 235–243.
- Ingold 2000
T. Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London 2000).
- Ingvarsson – Backstrom 2019
A. Ingvarsson – Y. Backstrom, Bioarchaeological Field Analysis of Human Remains from the Mass Graves at Phaleron, Greece, *Opuscula* 12, 2019, 7–158.
- Ismard 2010
P. Ismard, *La cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations. Vle-ler siècle av. J.-C., Histoire ancienne et médiévale* 105 (Paris 2010).
- Ismard 2018
P. Ismard, Associations and Citizenship in Attica from Solon to Cleisthenes, in: A. Duplouy – R. Brock (eds.), *Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece* (Oxford 2018) 145–159.
- Izenour 1992
G. C. Izenour, *Roofed Theaters of Classical Antiquity* (New Haven 1992).
- Jackson 1993
A. Jackson, War and Raids for Booty in the World of Odysseus, in: J. Rich – G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Greek World*, *Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society* 4 (London 1993) 64–76.
- Jacoby 1949
F. Jacoby, *Atthis. The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford 1949).
- Jameson et al. 1993
N. H. Jameson – D. R. Jordan – R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous, Greek, Roman and Byzantine monographs* 11 (Durham 1993).
- Jeffery 1990
L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 1990).
- Ji 2012
C. Ji, The Early Iron Age II Temple at Hirbet Atarus and Its Architecture and Selected Cultic Objects, in: J. Kamlah – H. Michelau (eds.), *Temple Building and Temple Cult. Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*. Proceedings of a Conference of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology, Tübingen (28–30 May 2010), *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 41 (Wiesbaden 2012) 203–222.
- Jordan 1970
B. Jordan, Herodotos 5.71.2 and the Naukraroi of Athens, *CalifStCIAnt* 3, 1970, 153–175.
- Jordan 1979
B. Jordan, *Servants of the Gods: A Study in the Religion, History and Literature of Fifth-Century Athens, Hypomnemata* 55 (Göttingen 1979).
- Judeich 1931
W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, HAW 3. Abt., 2. T., 2. Bd.² (Munich 1931).
- Jung 2006
M. Jung, *Marathon und Plataiai. Zwei Perserschlachten als „lieux de mémoire“ im antiken Griechenland, Hypomnemata* 164 (Göttingen 2006).
- Jüthner 1965
J. Jüthner, Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen I. Geschichte der Leibesübungen, *SBWien* 249, 1 (Wien 1965).
- Kagan – Viggiano 2013
K. Kagan – G. F. Viggiano (eds.), *Men of Bronze. Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2013).
- Kahil 1963
L. Kahil, Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron, *AntK* 1, 1963, 5–29.
- Kahil 1965
L. Kahil, Autour de l'Artémis attique. “Où donc n'a pas dansé Artémis?” (Esope, Proverbe 9), *AntK* 8, 1965, 20–33.
- Kahil 1977
L. Kahil, L'Artémis de Brauron. Rites et mystère, *AntK* 20, 1977, 86–98.
- Kahil 1981
L. Kahil, Le cratérisque d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole, *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 253–263.

- Kahil 1983
 L. Kahil, Mythological Repertoire of Brauron, in: W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison 1983) 231–244.
- Kalaitzoglou 2010
 G. Kalaitzoglou, Adelsgräber des 9. Jhs. v. Chr. in Athen und Attika, in: H. Lohmann – T. Mattern (eds.), *Attika: Archäologie einer „zentralen“ Kulturlandschaft. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18.–20. Mai 2007 in Marburg* (Wiesbaden 2010) 47–72.
- Kallet-Marx 1989
 L. Kallet-Marx, Did Tribute Fund the Parthenon?, *CIAnt* 8, 1989, 252–266.
- Kallet-Marx 1998
 L. Kallet-Marx, Accounting for Culture in the Fifth-Century Athens, in: D. Boeckeler – K. A. Raeflaub (eds.), *Democracy, Empire and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 2 (Cambridge 1998) 43–58.
- Kalligas 1995
 P. Kalligas, Ανασκαφές στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, *Ανθέμιον* 1, 1995, 5–11.
- Kalligas 2000
 P. Kalligas, Σταθμός Ακρόπολις, in: L. Parlama – N. C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Η πόλη κάτω από την πόλη. Ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου των Αθηνών* (Athens 2000) 29–117.
- Kalogeropoulos 2013
 K. Kalogeropoulos, Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ταυροπόλου στις Αλές Αραφηνίδες (Λούτσα), Πραγματείαι τες Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 71 (Athens 2013).
- Kalpaxis 1976
 A. E. Kalpaxis, *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Athens 1976).
- Kaltsas 2002
 N. E. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens* (Los Angeles 2002).
- Kanellopoulos 2003
 C. Kanellopoulos, The Classical and Hellenistic Building Phases of the Acropolis of Ancient Karthaia, Kea, *AM* 118, 2003, 211–238.
- Kant 1998
 I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*. Translated and edited by P. Guyer and A. W. Wood, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge 1998).
- Kaoura 2019
 I. Kaoura, Das Odeion des Perikles in Athen als Kopie des persischen Königszeltes? Eine Aktualisierung und Re-Evaluation des archäologischen Befundes, in: H. Kilper (ed.), *Migration und Baukultur. Transformation des Bauens durch individuelle und kollektive Einwanderung. Kulturelle und technische Werte historischer Bauten* 3 (Berlin, Boston 2019) 63–76.
- Karageorghis 1967
 V. Karageorghis, An Early XIth Century B.C. Tomb from Palaepaphos, *RDAC* 1967, 1967, 1–24.
- Karageorghis 1975
 V. Karageorghis, *Alaas. A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus* (Nicosia 1975).
- Karageorghis 2002
 V. Karageorghis, *Cipro. Crocevia del Mediterraneo orientale, 1600–500 a.C., Centri e monumenti dell’antichità* (Milan 2002).
- Karageorghis 2005
 J. Karageorghis, *Kypris. The Aphrodite of Cyprus. Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence* (Nicosia 2005).
- Karageorghis – Iacovou 1990
 V. Karageorghis – M. Iacovou, *Amathus Tomb 521. A Cypro-Geometric I Group*, *RDAC* 1990, 1990, 76–100.
- Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978
 Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, Γ' Έφορεία Προϊστορικῶν καὶ Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων, *ADelt* 33 B'1, 1978, 10–42.
- Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979
 Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, Γ' Έφορεία Προϊστορικῶν καὶ Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων, *ADelt* 34 B'1, 1979, 11–62.
- Karali 2006
 L. Karali, Πανεπιστημιακή ανασκαφή Μακρυγιάννη. Τα ανθρωπολογικά ευρήματα, in: K. Prombonas – P. Valavanis (eds.), *Ευεργεσίη: Τόμος χαριτίριος στον Πλαναγιώτη I. Κοντό* (Athens 2006) 545–551.
- Karali – Tsaliki 2011
 L. Karali – A. Tsaliki, Les suppliciés de Paléon Phaliron. Un cas d'exécution per Apotympanismos dans l'Athènes Classique, in: Ph. Charlier (ed.), *Proceedings of the 3e Colloque de Pathographie*, Bourges, 3–5 Avril 2009, Collection Pathographie 6 (Paris 2011) 559–565.
- Karidis 2014
 D. N. Karidis, *Athens from 1456 to 1920. The Town under Ottoman Rule and the 19th-Century Capital City* (Oxford 2014).
- Karivieri 1994
 A. Karivieri, The House of Proclus at the Southern Slope of the Acropolis. A Contribution, in: P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 276–529*, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 1 (Helsinki 1994) 115–139.
- Karkani – Charami 2007
 A. Karkani – Ch. Charami, Κουκάκι. Οδός Βεΐκου 83, *ADelt* 62 B'1, 2007, 105 f.
- Karo 1931
 G. Karo, Archäologische Funde vom Sommer 1930 bis Juni 1931. Griechenland und Dodekanes, *AA* 1931, 211–307.
- Kastriotis 1922
 P. Kastriotis, Ακαδήμεια, *AEphem* 61, 1922, 89–100.
- Kavadias – Kawerau 1907
 P. Kavadias – G. Kawerau, Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890 (Athens 1907).
- Kearns 1989
 E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, Institute of Classical Studies Suppl. 57 (London 1989).

- Keesling 2003
C. M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge 2003).
- Kemp 2012
B. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Amarna and Its People* (Cairo 2012).
- Kenzler 1999
U. Kenzler, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 38, Archäologie* 72 (Frankfurt am Main 1999).
- Keramopoulos 1923
A. Keramopoulos, *O Αποτυμπανισμός. Συμβολή αρχαιολογική εις την ιστορίαν του Ποινικού Δικαίου και την Λαογραφία, Η Βεβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 22 (Athens 1923).
- Kilian 1983
K. Kilian, *Weihungen aus Eisen und Eisenverarbeitung im Heiligtum zu Philia (Thessalien)*, in: Robin Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium, Athens, 1–5 June 1981* (Stockholm 1983) 131–146.
- Kissas 2008
K. Kissas, *Archaische Architektur der Athener Akropolis. Dachziegel – Metopen – Geisa – Akroterbasen, AF 24* (Wiesbaden 2008).
- Kistler 1998
E. Kistler, *Die „Opferrinne-Zeremonie“. Bankettideologie am Grab, Orientalisierung und Formierung einer Adelsgesellschaft in Athen* (Stuttgart 1998).
- Kistler 2006
E. Kistler, Ehefrauen im Megaron, aber keine im Andron! Ranghohe Frauen beim Bankett im vor- und früharchaischen Griechenland, in: H. Habich-Schwarzbauer – T. Späth (eds.), *Gender Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften: Räume und Geschlechter in der Antike*, Iphis 3 (Trier 2006) 15–36.
- Kistler – Ulf 2005
E. Kistler – C. Ulf, Athenische „Big Men“ – ein „Chief“ in Lefkandi? Zum Verhältnis von historischen und archäologischen Aussagen vor dem Hintergrund der Bedeutung anthropologischer Modelle, in: B. Brandt – V. Gassner – S. Ladstätter (eds.), *Synergia: Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzingier II* (Vienna 2005) 271–277.
- Klein 1997
N. Klein, *Excavation of the Greek Temples at Mycenae by the British School at Athens, BSA* 92, 1997, 247–332.
- Klein 2015
N. Klein, *The Architecture of the Athenian Acropolis before Pericles. The Life and Death of the Small Limestone Buildings*, in: J. McK. Camp II – K. F. Daly – L. A. Ricardi (eds.), *Cities Called Athens: Studies Honoring John McK. Camp II* (Lanham 2015) 137–163.
- Klein – Glowacki 2009
N. L. Klein – K. T. Glowacki, *From Kavousi Vronda to Dreros: Architecture and Display in Cretan Cult Buildings*, in: A. L. D’Agata – A. van de Moortel (eds.), *Archaeologies of Cult. Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete*
- in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell, *Hesperia Suppl.* 42 (Princeton 2009) 153–167.
- Knapp – Demesticha 2017
A. B. Knapp – S. Demesticha, *Mediterranean Connections. Maritime Transport Containers and Seaborne Trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages* (New York 2017).
- Knigge 1990
U. Knigge, *O Κεραμεικός της Αθήνας. Ιστορία, μνημεία, ανασκαφές* (Athens 1990).
- Kohl 1997
P. L. Kohl, *Relativism, Objectivity and the Politics of the Past, Archaeological Dialogues* 4.2, 1997, 164–198.
- Kokkorou-Alewrás 1995
G. Kokkorou-Alewrás, *Die archaische naxische Bildhauerei, AntPl* 24 (Munich 1995).
- Kolb 1981
F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung, AF 9* (Berlin 1981).
- Kolonas et al. 2017
L. Kolonas – K. Sarri – C. Margariti – I. Vanden Berche – I. Skals – M.-L. Nosch, *Heirs from the Loom? Funerary Textiles from Stamna (Aitolia, Greece). A Preliminary Analysis*, in: M. Fotiadis – R. Laffineur – Y. Lолос – A. G. Vlachopoulos, *Eσπέρος / Hesperos. The Aegean Seen from the West. Proceedings of the 16th International Aegean Conference, Ioannina, 18–21 May 2016* (Leuven 2017) 533–544.
- Konstantinou 2018
A. Konstantinou, *Female Mobility and Gendered Space in Ancient Greek Myth*, *Bloomsbury Classical Studies Monographs* (London 2018).
- Kontopanagou (forthcoming)
M. Kontopanagou, *To Ανατολικό νεκροταφείο των Αθηνών επί της οδού Ηρώδου Αττικού κατά τους Υπομικηναϊκούς και Πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνους*, in: E. Kountouri – A. Gadolou, *Σωστικές ανασκαφές της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας. I. Νεκροταφεία. Διαχείριση-Χωροταξική Οργάνωση-Έθιμα Ταφής-Τελετουργικές Δραστηριότητες. Έκδοση του Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων* (forthcoming).
- Korres 1994
M. Korres, *The Architecture of the Parthenon*, in: P. Tournikiotis (ed.), *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times* (Athens 1994) 56–97.
- Korres 1996a
M. Korres, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der attisch-ionischen Architektur*, in: E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin vom 16. bis 18. Juni 1994*, DiskAB 6 (Mainz 1996) 90–113.
- Korres 1996b
M. Korres, *Τοπογραφικά ζητήματα της Ακροπόλεως*, in: E. Grammatikopoulou (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία της πόλης των Αθηνών* (Athens 1996) 57–106.

- Korres 1997**
M. Korres, Die Athena-Tempel auf der Akropolis, in: W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis. Internationales Symposium vom 7. bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin*, Schriften des Seminars für Klassische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin (Berlin 1997) 218–243.
- Korres 2000a**
M. Korres, Κλασική Αθηναϊκή Αρχιτεκτονική, in: M. Korres – C. Bouras (eds.), *Αθήναι. Από την κλασική εποχή έως σήμερα (5ος αι. π.Χ. – 2000 μ.Χ.)* (Athens 2000) 2–45.
- Korres 2000b**
M. Korres, Υπόγεια λατομεία της Πάρου, in: D. U. Schilardi – D. Katsonopoulou – S. Katsarou – C. Brenner (eds.), *Παρία Λίθος. Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια της Πάρου. Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλαδών, Παροικιά, Πάρος 2–5 Οκτωβρίου 1997 = Paria Lithos : Parian Quarries, Marble and Workshops of Sculpture. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades*, Paros, 2–5 October 1997 (Athens 2000) 61–82.
- Korres 2002**
M. Korres, On the North Acropolis Wall, in: M. Stamatopoulou – M. Yeroulanou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, BARIntSer 1031, Studies in Classical Archaeology 1 (Oxford 2002) 179–186.
- Korres 2009**
M. Korres, Οδικό δίκτυο γύρω από την Ακρόπολη, in: M. Korres (ed.), *Αττικής οδοί: Αρχαίοι δρόμοι της Αττικής* (Athens 2009) 74–95.
- Korres 2015**
M. Korres, Τα τείχη της Ακρόπολης. Παρούσα κατάσταση και αντιμετώπιση αυτής, in: C. Bouras – V. Eleutheriou (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Meeting for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments*, Athens, 4th–5th October 2013 (Athens 2015) 177–211.
- Kotera-Feyer 1993**
E. Kotera-Feyer, Die Strigilis, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Archäologie 43 (Frankfurt am Main 1993).
- Kourayos et al. 2012**
Y. Kourayos – K. Daifa – A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni, The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades. Excavations 2001–2012, AA 2012, 2012, 93–174.
- Kourouniotis 1911**
K. Kourouniotis, Εξ Αττικής. Α' Ανασκαφή Παλαιού Φαλήρου, AEphem 50, 1911, 246–251.
- Kourouniotis 1931–32**
K. Kourouniotis, Ανασκαφή Ελευσίνος κατά το 1931, ADelt 14, Parart., 1931–32, 1–30.
- Kourouniotis 1933–35**
K. Kourouniotis, Ανασκαφή Ελευσίνος 1934, ADelt 15, Parart., 1933–35, 1–48.
- Kourouniotis 1935**
K. Kourouniotis, Das eleusinische Heiligtum von den Anfängen bis zur vorperikleischen Zeit, Archiv für Religionswissenschaften 32, 1935, 52–78.
- Kourouniotis – Travlos 1933–35**
K. Kourouniotis – J. Travlos, Τελεστήριον και Ναός Δήμητρος, ADelt 15, 1933–35, 54–114.
- Kouveli 2010**
A. Kouveli, Υστερορωμαϊκή και παλαιοιχριστιανική κεραμική από το Φρέαρ 114 της "Οἰκίας Α'" του οικοπέδου Μακρυγιάννη στην Αθήνα, in: D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – N. Kousoulakou (eds.), *Κεραμική της Υστερής Αρχαιότητας από τον ελλαδικό χώρο (3ος–7ος αι. μ.Χ.): Επιστημονική συνάντηση, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–16 Νοεμβρίου 2006* (Thessaloniki 2010) 610–632.
- Kristiansen 1999**
K. Kristiansen, The Emergence of Warrior Aristocracies in Later European Prehistory and Their Long-Term History, in: J. Carman – A. Harding (eds.), *Ancient Warfare: Archaeological Perspectives* (Stroud 2004) 175–189.
- Kübler – Gebauer 1940**
K. Kübler – K. Gebauer, Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos, AA 1940, 1940, 308–362.
- Kuhn 1985**
G. Kuhn, Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalles, Jdl 100, 1985, 169–317.
- Kuhrt 2014**
A. Kuhrt, 'Even a Dog in Babylon is Free', in: T. Cornell – O. Murray (ed.), *The Legacy of Arnaldo Momigliano*, Warburg Institute Colloquia 25 (London 2014) 77–87.
- Kurke 1992**
L. Kurke, The Politics of ἀβροσύνη in Archaic Greece, CInt 11, 1992, 91–120.
- Kurtz – Boardman 1971**
D. C. Kurtz – J. Boardman, Greek Burial customs, Aspects of Greek and Roman life (London 1971).
- Kyriakou 2001–04**
Th. Kyriakou, Συνολική ανάδειξη Αρχαιολογικού Χώρου Ολυμπιείου, ADelt 56–59 B'1, 2001–04, 278–282.
- Kyrkou 1997**
M. Kyrkou, Η Πρωτοαττική πρόκληση. Νέες κεραμικές μαρτυρίες, in: J. Oakley – W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds.), Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings, Athens, 1.–4.12.1994, Oxbow monograph 67 (Oxford 1997) 423–434.
- Kyrkou 2003**
M. Kyrkou, Κοροπλαστικές αποκλίσεις στον αρχαϊκό Κεραμεικό, in: D. Damaskos – A. Karapanou (eds.), *Επιτύμβιον* Gerhard Neumann, MusBenaki Suppl. 2 (Athens 2003) 31–55.
- Lambrinoudakis 1991**
V. Lambrinoudakis, The Sanctuary of Iria on Naxos and the Birth of Monumental Greek Architecture, in: D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art 32. Symposium Papers 16* (Washington 1991) 173–188.
- Lambrinoudakis 1992**
V. Lambrinoudakis, Έξι χρόνια ανασκαφικής έρευνας στα 'Υρια της Νάξου, AEphem 131, 1992, 201–216.

- Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002
 V. Lambrinoudakis – G. Gruben – A. Ohnesorg – M. Korres – T. Bilis – M. Magnisali – E. Simantoni-Bournia, Naxos – Das Heiligtum von Gyroula bei Sangri. Eine neugefundene, drei Jahrtausende alte Kultstätte der Demeter, *AntW* 33, 2002, 387–405.
- Lang 1967
 M. Lang, Kylonian Conspiracy, *CIPhil* 62, 1967, 243–249.
- Langdon 1976
 M. K. Langton, A sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos, *Hesperia Suppl.* 16 (Princeton 1976).
- Langdon 2001
 S. Langdon, Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece, *AJA*, 105, 4, 2001, 579–606.
- Langdon 2003
 S. Langdon, Views of Wealth, A Wealth of Views: Grave Goods in Iron Age Attica, Women and Property, conference organized by D. Lyons and R. Westbrook, <<https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/displayPdf/380>> (05.08.2019).
- Langdon 2005
 S. Langdon, Views of Wealth, A Wealth of Views: Grave Goods in Iron Age Attica, in: D. Lyons – R. Westbrook (eds.), Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies. Conference August 2003 (Cambridge 2005) 1–27.
- Langdon 2008
 S. Langdon, Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 B.C.E. (Cambridge 2008).
- Langlotz 1962
 E. Langlotz, Beobachtungen an einem Kopf in Kyrene, *AM* 77, 1962, 111–120.
- Lardinois 2006
 A. P. M. H. Lardinois, Have we Solon's verses?, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 272 (Leiden 2006) 15–35.
- Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1971
 H. Lauter-Bufé – H. Lauter, Wohnhäuser und Stadtviertel des klassischen Athens, *AM* 86, 1971, 109–124.
- Lavelle 1992a
 B. M. Lavelle, Herodotus, Skythian Archers, and the Doryphoroi of the Peisistratids, *Klio* 74, 1992, 78–97.
- Lavelle 1992b
 B. M. Lavelle, The Pisistratids and the Mines of Thrace, *GrRomByzSt* 33, 1992, 5–23.
- Lavelle 2005
 B. M. Lavelle, Fame, Money and Power. The Rise of Peisistratos and “Democratic” Tyranny at Athens (Ann Arbor 2005).
- Lawrence 1996
 A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture ⁵(New Haven 1996).
- Lazzarini 1976
 M. L. Lazzarini, Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica, *MemLinc* 19, 2 (Rome 1976).
- Leão – Rhodes 2015
 D. F. Leão – P. J. Rhodes, The Laws of Solon, Library of Classical Studies 7 (London 2015).
- Lefebvre 1991
 H. Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford 1991).
- Léger 2017
 M. Léger, Artemis and Her Cult, Archaeopress Archaeology (Oxford 2017).
- Lemerle 1939
 P. Lemerle, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce pendant l'année 1939, *BCH* 63, 1939, 285–324.
- Lemos 2002
 I. S. Lemos, The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford 2002).
- Lemos 2006
 I. S. Lemos, Athens and Lefkandi. A Tale of Two Sites, in: I. S. Lemos – S. Deger-Jalkotzy (eds.), Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3 (Edinburgh 2006) 505–530.
- Lemos 2014
 I. S. Lemos, Communities in Transformation: An Archaeological Survey from the 12th to the 9th Century BC, *Pharos* 20, 1, 2014, 163–194.
- Lemos – Mitchell 2011
 I. S. Lemos – D. Mitchell, Elite Burials in Early Iron Age Aegean: Some Preliminary Observations Considering Spatial Organization of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), The “Dark Ages” Revisited. Acts on an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, Volos, 14–17 June 2007 (Volos 2011) 635–644.
- Lempidaki 2013
 E. Lempidaki, Η λατρεία της Αθηνάς Νίκης στην Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών. Από την Αθηνά την Νίκη στη Νίκη Απτέρο, in: E. P. Sioumpara – K. Psaroudakis (eds.), ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ. 24 μελέτες για τον Δάσκαλο Πέτρο Θέμελη από τους μαθητές και τους συνεργάτες του (Athens 2013) 367–393.
- Lévêque 1978
 P. Lévêque, Formes de contradictions et voies de développement à Athènes de Solon à Clisthènes, *Historia* 27, 1978, 522–549.
- Levi 1930–31
 D. Levi, Abitazioni preistoriche sulle pendici meridionali dell' Acropoli, *ASAtene* 13–14 [N.S.], 1930–31, 411–498.
- Levi 1931
 D. Levi, Arkades. Una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica, *ASAtene* 10–12, 1927–29 (Bergamo 1931).
- Levi 1961–62
 D. Levi, Enneakrounos, *ASAtene* 39 (n.s. 23–24), 1961–62, 149–171.
- Lévy 1978
 E. Lévy, Notes sur la chronologie athénienne au IV siècle. I. Cylon, *Historia* 27, 1978, 513–521.

- Lévy 2004
 E. Lévy, Dèmos chez Hérodote, *Ktema* 29, 2004, 81–92.
- Lewis 1963
 D. Lewis, Cleisthenes and Attica, *Historia* 12, 1963, 22–40.
- Liagouras 1967
 A. Liagouras, Ροβέρτου Γκάλλι 9, *ADelt* 22 B'1, 1967, 112.
- Liagouras 1973–74a
 A. Liagouras, Αθανασίου Διάκου 34, *ADelt* 29 B'1, 1973–74, 36.
- Liagouras 1973–74b
 A. Liagouras, Θεοφίλοπούλου 11, *ADelt* 29 B'1, 1973–74, 38–40.
- Liddel 2003
 P. Liddel, The Places of Publication of Athenian State Decrees from the 5th Century BC to the 3rd Century AD, *ZPE* 143, 2003, 79–93.
- Lill 2007
 A. Lill, The Social Meaning of Greek Symposium, in: T. R. Kämmerer (eds.), *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient. Tartuer Symposien 1998–2004*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 374 (Berlin 2007) 171–186.
- Linders 1975
 T. Linders, The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and Their Functions, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 62 (Meisenheim am Glan 1975).
- Lippolis 2006
 E. Lippolis, *Mysteria. Archeologia e culto del santuario di Demetra a Eleusi*, Sintesi (Milan 2006).
- Lippolis et al. 2007
 E. Lippolis – M. Livadiotti – G. Rocco, Architettura greca. Storia e monumenti del mondo della polis dalle origini al V secolo, Sintesi (Milan 2007).
- Lipsius 1905
 J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren I* (Leipzig 1905).
- Lissarrague 1990
 F. Lissarrague, L'autre guerrier : archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique, *Images à l'appui* 3 (Paris 1990).
- Litsa 2017
 M. Litsa, Το ‘πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμένον’ τυμία των Αθηνών: συμβολή στη μελέτη της τοπογραφίας της ΝΑ του Ολυμπίου και παρά τον Ιλισό περιοχής (Diss. National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 2017).
- Littman 1990
 R. J. Littman, Kinship and Politics in Athens 600–400 B.C., *Studia classica* 2 (New York 1990).
- Livieratou (forthcoming)
 A. Livieratou, The Kokkinogenis' plot, in: A. Alexandridou – A. Mazarakis Ainian – M. Chountasi (eds.), *The Academy before Plato. A Contribution to the Study of Early Iron Age Attica* (Athens Archaeological Society; forthcoming).
- Lloyd-Jones 1983
 H. Lloyd-Jones, Artemis and Iphigeneia, *JHS* 103, 1983, 87–102.
- Lohmann – Mattern 2010
 H. Lohmann – T. Mattern (eds.), *Attika: Archäologie einer „zentralen“ Kulturlandschaft. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18.–20. Mai 2007 in Marburg* (Wiesbaden 2010).
- Longo 1991
 O. Longo, I figli e i padri. Forme di riproduzione e controllo sociale in Grecia antica, in: E. Avezzù – O. Longo (eds.), *Koinon aimai. Antropologia e lessico della parentela greca*, *Studi e commenti* 9 (Bari 1991) 77–140.
- Longo 2010
 F. Longo, L'ἀγορή di Omero. Rappresentazione poetica e documentazione archeologica, in: M. D'Acunto – R. Palmisciano (eds.), *Lo scudo di Achille nell'Iliade. Esperienze ermeneutiche a confronto*. Atti della giornata di studi, Napoli, 12 Maggio 2008, *AIONFil* 31, 2009 (Pisa 2010) 199–224.
- Lucchese 2012
 C. Lucchese, Navi e Naukraroi sui vasi attici di VIII e VII secolo a.C., in: A. Calderone (ed.), *Cultura e religione delle acque. Atti del convegno interdisciplinare “Qui fresca l’acqua mormora...”* (S. Quasimodo, Sapph. fr. 2, 5), Messina, 29–30 marzo 2011 (Rome 2012) 73–87.
- Luigi 1964
 B. B. Luigi, Poliochni. Città preistorica nell'isola di Lemnos, *MSAtene* 1 (Rome 1964).
- Lundgreen 2009
 B. Lundgreen, Boys at Brauron, in: T. Fischer-Hansen – B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast. Revised Versions of Papers presented at a Conference, Copenhagen, March 2005*, *ActaHyp* 12 (Copenhagen 2009) 117–126.
- Lygouri 1984
 E. Lygouri, Μακρυγιάννη. Χώρος Παλιού Στρατιωτικού Νοσοκομείου, *ADelt* 39 B, 1984, 8–10.
- Lygouri-Tolia 1990
 E. Lygouri-Tolia, Οδός Προπυλαίων 34, *ADelt* 45 B'1, 1990, 29–33.
- MacDowell 1963
 D. MacDowell, Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of Orators, *Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester* 15 (Manchester 1963).
- MacDowell 1978
 D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens, Aspects of Greek and Roman life* (London 1978).
- Mackay 2010
 E. A. Mackay, Tradition and Originality. A Study of Exekias, *BARIntSer* 2092 (Oxford 2010).
- Malkin 1989
 I. Malkin, Delphoi and the Founding of Social Order in Archaic Greece, *Métis* 4, 1989, 129–153.
- Malkin 1998
 I. Malkin, The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity, *Joan Palecky Imprint in Classical Literature* (Berkeley 1988).

- Manakidou 2008
F. Manakidou, Like Father Like Son: Some Remarks on Homer and Ferdowsi, *International Journal of Iranshahr* 22–23, 2008, 53–60.
- Mann 2007
Chr. Mann, *Die Demagogen und das Volk. Zur politischen Kommunikation im Athen des 5. Jhs*, Klio Beih. 13 (Berlin 2007).
- Mantoulidis 2009
E. Mantoulidis, Επιλογικό λεξικό της αρχαίας ελληνικής (Thessaloniki 2009).
- Maran 2006
J. Maran, Coming to Terms with the Past: Ideology and Power in Late Helladic IIIC, in: S. Deger-Jalkotzy – I. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh 2006) 123–50.
- Maran 2011
J. Maran, Contested Pasts-The Society of the 12th c. B.C.E. and the Memory of the Mycenaean Palatial Period, in: W. Gaus – M. Lindblom – A. Smith – J. C. Wright (eds.), *Our Cups are Full. Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Papers presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday (Oxford 2011) 169–178.
- Maran 2012
J. Maran, Ceremonial Feasting Equipment, Social Space and Interculturality in Post-Palatial Tiryns, in: J. Maran – P. Stockhammer (eds.), *Materiality and Social Practice. Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters* (Oxford 2012) 121–136.
- Marchetti 2017
P. Marchetti, Les Prytanées d’Athènes, Archimède. Archéologie et histoire ancienne 4, 2017, 94–109.
- Marchiandi 2012
D. Marchiandi, Le consuetudini funerarie dell’élite ateniese: i lebeti bronzei di Myrina (Lemnos), in: E. Culasso Gastaldi – D. Marchiandi (eds.), *Gli Ateniesi fuori dall’Attica: modi di intervento e di controllo del territorio*, Torino, 8–9 Aprile 2010, ASAtene 88, s. 3, 10 (Rome 2012) 221–236.
- Margueron 2014
J.-C. Margueron, Mari. Capital of Northern Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium. The Archaeology of Tell Hariri on the Euphrates (Oxford 2014).
- Mark 1993
I. S. Mark, The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens. Architectural Stages and Chronology, *Hesperia Suppl.* 26 (Princeton 1993).
- Marsman 2003
H. J. Marsman, Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East, *Oudtestamentische studiën* 49 (Leiden 2003).
- Martin 1956
R. Martin, L’urbanisme dans la Grèce antique (Paris 1956).
- Matthaiou 1989
A. P. Matthaiou, Ψήφισμα Κυδαντινών και Ιωνιδών, *Horos* 7, 1989, 7–16.
- Matthaiou 1990
A. P. Matthaiou, Ήρακλέως. Κωλακρέται, *Horos* 8–9, 1990, 53–58.
- Matthaiou 2011
A. Matthaiou 2011 Το Πύθιον παρά τον Ιλισόν, in: A. Deliborrias et.al. (eds.), *Ἐπανίος Luigi Beschi, Μουσείο Μπενάκη 7* (Athens 2011) 259–271.
- Matthäus 1998
H. Matthäus, Cyprus and Crete in the Early First Millennium B.C. A Synopsis with Special Reference to New Finds from the Idaean Cave of Zeus, in: V. Karageorghis – N. Stampolides (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus – Dodecanes – Crete 16th – 6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, May 1997* (Athens 1998) 127–159.
- Matthäus 1999–2000
H. Matthäus, *Das griechische Symposion und der Orient*, NüBIA 16, 1999–2000, 41–64.
- Mattingly 2002
H. B. Mattingly, The Athenian Decree for Chalcis (IG I³ 40), CIQ 52, 2002, 377–379.
- May 2014
N. N. May, Gates and their Functions in Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel, in: N. N. May – U. Steinert (eds.), *The Fabric of Cities. Aspects of Urbanism, Urban Topography and Society in Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, Culture and history of the Ancient Near East* 68 (Leiden 2014) 77–121.
- May – Steinert 2014
N. N. May – U. Steinert, Introduction. Urban Topography as a Reflection of Society?, in: N. N. May – U. Steinert (eds.), *The Fabric of Cities. Aspects of Urbanism, Urban Topography and Society in Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, Culture and history of the Ancient Near East* 68 (Leiden 2014) 1–42.
- Mazar 2010
A. Mazar, The Temples and Cult of the Philistines, in: E. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, Philadelphia University Museum monograph 108 = Philadelphia Museum symposium series 11 (Philadelphia 2000) 213–232.
- Mazarakis Ainian 1985
A. Mazarakis Ainian, Contribution à l’étude de l’architecture religieuse grecque dans les âges obscurs, *AntCl* 54, 1985, 5–48.
- Mazarakis Ainian 1997
A. Mazarakis Ainian, From Rulers’ Dwellings to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.), *SIMA* 121 (Jonsered 1997).
- Mazarakis Ainian 2002
A. Mazarakis Ainian, Recent Excavations at Oropos, Northern Attica, in: M. Yeroulanou – M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, Oxford, Somerville College (23–27 March 2001), *Studies in Classical Archaeology* 1 = BARIntSer 1031 (Oxford 2002) 149–178.
- Mazarakis Ainian 2009
A. Mazarakis Ainian, Buried Among the Living in Early Iron Age Greece: Some Thoughts, in: G. Bartoloni – M.

- G. Benedettini (eds.), Sepolti tra i vivi. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato, Roma, 26–29 Aprile 2006 = Buried among the living, ScAnt 14, 1, 2007–08 (Rome 2009) 365–398.
- Mazarakis Ainian 2010
A. Mazarakis Ainian, Tombes d'enfants à l'intérieur d'habitats au début de l'Age du Fer dans le Monde Grec, in: A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets – Y. Morizot (eds.), L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité I, Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques: Le signalément des tombes d'enfants, Table ronde, Athènes, Ecole française d'Athènes, 29–30 mai 2008 (Paris 2010) 67–95.
- Mazarakis Ainian 2017a
A. Mazarakis Ainian, The ARISTEIA project: "The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece", in: A. Mazarakis Ainian – A.-F. Alexandridou – X. Charalambidou (eds.), Regional Stories. Towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World. Acts of an International Symposium in honour of Professor Jan Bouzek, Volos, 18–21 June 2015 (Volos 2017) 17–34.
- Mazarakis Ainian 2017b
A. Mazarakis Ainian, Κώμη et πόλις : reflexion sur la formation de la cité dans la Grèce ancienne, Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 2017, 1, 2017, 21–50.
- Mazarakis Ainian (forthcoming)
A. Mazarakis Ainian, The Architecture, in: A. Alexandridou – A. Mazarakis Ainian – M. Chountasi (eds.), The Academy of Plato before Plato. A Contribution to Early Iron Age Attica (Athens; forthcoming).
- Mazarakis Ainian – Alexandridou 2011
A. Mazarakis Ainian – A. Alexandridou, The "Sacred House" of the Academy Revisited, in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, Volos, 14–17 June 2007 (Volos 2011) 165–189.
- Mazarakis Ainian – Livieratou 2010
A. Mazarakis Ainian – A. Livieratou, The Academy of Plato in the Early Iron Age, in: H. Lohmann – T. Mattern (eds.), Attika: Archäologie einer „zentralen“ Kulturlandschaft. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18.–20. Mai 2007 in Marburg (Wiesbaden 2010) 87–100.
- McDonnel 1991
M. McDonnel, The Introduction of Athletic Nudity. Thucydides, Plato, and the Vases, JHS 111, 1991, 182–193.
- McGovern 2003
P. E. McGovern, Ancient Wine. The Search for the Origins of Viniculture (Princeton 2003).
- McGowan 1997
E. P. McGowan, The Origins of the Athenian Ionic Capital, Hesperia 66, 1997, 209–233.
- Meiggs – Lewis 1969
R. Meiggs – D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford 1969).
- Mejer 2009
J. Mejer, Artemis in Athens, in: T. Fischer-Hansen – B. Poulsen (eds.), From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of
- Man and Beast. Revised Versions of Papers presented at a Conference, Copenhagen, March 2005, ActaHyp 12 (Copenhagen 2009) 61–77.
- Meliades 1955
I. Meliades 1955, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νοτίως Ἀκροπόλεως, Prakt, 1955, 36–52.
- Meritt 1982
L. S. Meritt, Some Ionic Architectural Fragments from the Athenian Agora, in: H. A. Thompson (ed.), Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography. Presented to Homer A. Thompson, Hesperia Suppl. 20 (Princeton 1982) 82–92.
- Meritt 1993
L. S. Meritt, The Athenian Ionic Capital, in: R. T. Scott – A. R. Scott (eds.), Eius Virtutis Studiosi. Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown, Studies in the History of Art 43. Symposium Papers 22 (Washington 1993) 314–325.
- Mersch 1996
A. Mersch, Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950 bis 400 v. Chr., Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 38, Archäologie 58² (Frankfurt am Main 1996).
- Meyer 2017
M. Meyer, Athena, Göttin von Athen. Kult und Mythos auf der Akropolis bis in klassische Zeit, Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 16 (Wien 2017).
- Michaud 1970
J.-P. Michaud, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1968 et 1969, BCH 94, 2, 1970, 883–1164.
- Michaud 1971
J.-P. Michaud, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1970, BCH 95, 2, 1971, 803–1067.
- Michaud 1972
J.-P. Michaud, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1971, BCH 96, 2, 1972, 593–816.
- Migéotte 2003
L. Migéotte, La taxation directe en Grèce ancienne, in: G. Thür – F. J. Fernández Nieto (eds.), Symposium 1999. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Pazo de Mariñán, La Coruña, 6.–9. September 1999) = Comunicaciones sobre historia de derecho griego y helenístico (Pazo de Mariñán, La Coruña, 6–9 septiembre de 1999), Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechischen und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 14 (Köln 2003) 297–313.
- Mikalson 2003
J. D. Mikalson, Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars (Chapel Hill 2003).
- Meliades 1955
J. Meliades, Ἀνασκαφαὶ νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Prakt 1955, 1955, 36–52.
- Meliades 1956
J. Meliades, Ἀνασκαφαὶ νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Prakt 1956, 1956, 262–265.

- Miliades 1957
J. Miliades, Άνασκαφαι νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Prakt 1957, 1957, 23–26.
- Miliades 1959
J. Miliades, Άνασκαφαι νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Prakt 1959, 1959, 5–7.
- Miller 1953
M. Miller, Greek Kinship Terminology, JHS 73, 1953, 46–52.
- Miller 1995
S. G. Miller, Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens, in: M. H. Hansen – K. A. Raaflaub (eds.), Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2 = Historia 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 133–156.
- Miller 1997
M. C. Miller, Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity (Cambridge 1997).
- Millet 1989
P. Millet, Patronage and Its Avoidance in Classical Athens, in: A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), Patronage in Ancient Society, Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 1 (London 1989) 15–47.
- Mitsos 1947
M. Mitsos, Inscriptions from Athens, Hesperia 16, 1947, 262–264.
- Mitsos 1948–49
M. Mitsos, Παναθηναϊκός αμφορεύς ελληνιστικής εποχής εκ του εν Αθήναις Ολυμπιέου, AEphem 1948–49, 5–9.
- Moggi 1971
M. Moggi, In merito alla datazione dei “tirannicidi” di Antenor, AnnPisa 1, 1, s. 3, 1971, 17–63.
- Molloj 2010
B. Molloj, Swords and Swordsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age, AJA 114, 2010, 403–428.
- Momrak 2005
K. Momrak, Homer. Democracy and the Ancient Near East, in: D. Haug – E. Welo (eds.), Haptāchahaptātiš. Festschrift for Fridrik Thordarson on the Occasion of his 77th Birthday, Institutt for sammenliknende kulturforskning. Serie B 116 (Oslo 2005) 177–190.
- Monaco 2017
M. C. Monaco, Il cd. Crossroads Enclosure dell’Agora un santuario delle Cecropidi, RIA 41, 2017, 27–60.
- Moretti 1957
L. Moretti, Olympionikai, I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici, MemLinc 8, 2 (Rome 1957) 53–198.
- Moretti 2000
J.-C. Moretti, Le théâtre du sanctuaire de Dionysos Éleuthéreus à Athènes au Ve s. av. J.-C., REG 113, 2000, 275–298.
- Morris 1987
I. Morris, Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State, New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge 1987).
- Morris 1989
I. Morris, Attitudes Toward Death in Archaic Greece, CInt 8, 2, 1989, 296–320.
- Morris 2007
I. Morris, Early Iron Age Greece, in: W. Scheidel – I. Morris – R. Saller (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World (Cambridge 2007) 211–241.
- Morris 2009
I. Morris, The Eighth-Century Revolution, in: K. Raaflaub – H. van Wees (eds.), A Companion to Archaic Greece, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient history (Chichester 2009) 64–80.
- Morris 2015
D. Morris, Spatiality, Temporality and Architecture as a Place of Memory, in: P. M. Locke – R. McCann (eds.), Merleau-Ponty: Space, Place, Architecture (Athens, Ohio 2015) 109–126.
- Morris – Papadopoulos 2004
S. P. Morris – J. K. Papadopoulos, Of Granaries and Games: Egyptian Stowaways in an Athenian Chest, in: A. P. Chapin (ed.), Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr, Hesperia Suppl. 33 (Princeton 2004) 225–242.
- Mossé 1964
C. Mossé, Classes sociales et régionalisme à Athènes au début du VIe Siècle, AntCl 33, 1964, 401–407.
- Mossé 1969
C. Mossé, La tyrannie dans la Grèce antique (Paris 1969).
- Mossé 1978
Cl. Mossé, La thème de la Patrios Politeia dans la pensée grecque du IVe siècle, Eirene 16, 1979, 81–89.
- Mossé 1979
Cl. Mossé, Comment s’élabore un mythe politique. Solon, père fondateur de la démocratie athénienne, AnnEconSocCiv 34, 1979, 425–437.
- Mossé 1994
C. Mossé, Peut-on parler de patronage dans l’Athènes archaïque et classique?, in: J. Annequin – M. Garrido-Hory (eds.), Religion et anthropologie de l’esclavage et des formes de dépendance. Actes du XXème colloque du GIREA, BEsançon, 4–6 novembre 1993 (Paris 1994) 29–36.
- Mountjoy 1995
P.A. Mountjoy, Mycenaean Athens, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 127 (Jonsered 1995).
- Mountjoy 1999
P. A. Mountjoy, Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery I (Rahden/Westf. 1999).
- Mpiris 1966
K.E. Mpiris, ΑΙ Αθῆναιάπότοῦ 19ου εις τὸν 20ὸν αἰώνα (Athens 1966).
- Müller 2004
M. Müller, Der Turiner Streipapyrus (pTurin 1880), in: B. Jankowski – G. Wilhelm (eds.), Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments N.F. 1 (Gütersloh 2004) 165–184.

- Murray 1983
 O. Murray, The Symposium as Social Organization, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century. Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June 1981* (Athens 1983) 195–199.
- Murray 1990
 O. Murray, Cities of Reason, in: O. Murray – S. R. F. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) 1–25.
- Murray 1993
 O. Murray, Early Greece ²(London 1993).
- Mylonas 1961
 G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton 1961).
- Mylonas Shear 1999
 I. Mylonas Shear, The Western Approach to the Athenian Akropolis, *JHS* 119, 1999, 86–127.
- Neer – Kurke 2014
 R. T. Neer – L. Kurke, Pindar Fr. 75 SM and the Politics of Athenian Space, *GrRomByzSt* 54, 2014, 527–579.
- Neils 2007
 J. Neils, Replicating Tradition: The First Celebrations of the Greater Panathenaia, in: O. Palagia – A. Choremis-Spetsieri (eds.), *The Panathenaic Games. Proceedings of an International Conference, Athens, May 11–12 2004* (Oxford 2007) 41–51.
- Nielsen 2006
 I. Nielsen, Vorbilder für Räumlichkeiten der religiösen Vereine hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, in: I. Nielsen (eds.), *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft. Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraumes als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften. Akten eines Symposiums des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Hamburg, 12.–14. Oktober 2005, Hephaistos 24* (Augsburg 2006) 31–46.
- Nielsen 2009
 I. Nielsen, The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Can Architecture and Iconography Help to Locate the Settings of the Rituals?, in: T. Fischer-Hansen – B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast. Revised Versions of Papers presented at a Conference, Copenhagen, March 2005, ActaHyp 12* (Copenhagen 2009) 83–116.
- Nielsen 2014
 I. Nielsen, Housing the Chosen. The Architectural Context of Mystery Groups and Religious Associations in the Ancient World, *Contextualizing the Sacred 2* (Turnhout 2014).
- Niemeier 1996
 W.-D. Niemeier, Nascita e sviluppo del mondo miceneo, in: S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società. 2, 1 Una storia greca. Formazione* (Turin 1996) 77–102.
- Nikopoulou 1970
 Y. Nikopoulou, Νεκροταφεῖον παρὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάληρον ὡδόν, *AAA* 3, 1970, 171–179.
- Nixon – Price 1990
 L. Nixon – S. Price, The Size and Resources of Greek Cities, in: O. Murray – Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) 137–170.
- Noack 1927
 F. Noack, Eleusis. Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes (Berlin 1927).
- Nora 1990
 P. Nora, Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis, *Kleine Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek* 16 (Berlin 1990).
- Nora 1993
 P. Nora, La notion de « lieu de mémoire » est-elle exportable?, in: P. d. Boer – W. Frijhoff (eds.), *Lieux de mémoire et identités nationales, La France et les Pays-Bas 1* (Amsterdam 1993) 3–10.
- Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010
 M. Noussia-Fantuzzi, Solon the Athenian. The Poetic Fragments, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 326 (Leiden 2010).
- Novák 1999
 M. Novák, Herrschaftsform und Stadtbaukunst. Programmatik im mesopotamischen Residenzstadtbau von Agade bis Surra man ra'ā, *Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (Saarbrücken 1999).
- Ober 1989
 J. Ober, Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens. Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People (Princeton 1989).
- Ober 1998
 J. Ober, Revolution Matters: Democracy as Demotic Action (A Response to K. A. Raflaub), in: I. Morris – K.A. Raflaub – D. Castriota (eds.), *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges, Colloquia and Conference Papers 2* (Dubuque 1998) 67–85.
- Ober 2006
 J. Ober, Solon and the Horoi: Facts on the Ground in Archaic Athens, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 272 (Leiden 2006) 441–456.
- Ober – Hedrick 1993
 J. Ober – C. W. Hedrick (eds.), *The Birth of Democracy. Exhibition catalogue Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C. 1993).
- Ohnesorg 1991
 A. Ohnesorg, Herstellung und Bemalung von Marmordächern des 6. Jhs. v. Chr., in: A. Hoffmann – E.-L. Schwandner – W. Hoepfner – G. Brands (eds.), *Bautechnik der Antike. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 15.–17. Februar 1990*, *DiskAB* 5 (Mainz 1991) 172–177.
- Ohnesorg 1993
 A. Ohnesorg, Inselionische Marmordächer, Architektur auf Naxos und Paros 2 (Berlin 1993).
- Ohnesorg 2011a
 A. Ohnesorg, Der naxische Lichtdom. Das Phänomen lichtdurchlässiger inselionischer Marmordächer, in: P. I. Schneider – U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Licht-Konzepte in der vormodernen Architektur. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 26. Februar – 1. März 2009*, *DiskAB* 10 (Regensburg 2011) 92–100.

- Ohnesorg 2011b
A. Ohnesorg, Erhaltene und rekonstruierte Marmordachstühle des 6. Jhs. in Inselionien. Ihre mögliche Vorbild-Funktion für Holzdachwerke, in: A. v. Kienlin (ed.), Holztragwerke der Antike. Internationale Konferenz, München, 30. März – 1. April 2007, *Byzas* 11 (Istanbul 2011) 93–108.
- Ohnesorg 2017
A. Ohnesorg, Island-Ionic and Island-Doric Architecture on the Cyclades. An Overview, in: A. Mazarakis-Ainian (eds.), *Les sanctuaires archaïques des Cyclades*, Archéologie & Culture (Rennes 2017) 55–72.
- Oliver 1950
J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950).
- Oliver 1968
J. H. Oliver, *The Civilizing Power. A Study of the Panathenaic Discourse of Aelius Aristides Against the Background of Literature and Cultural Conflict*, with Text, Translation, and Commentary, *TransactAmPhilosSoc* n. s. 58, 1 (Philadelphia 1968).
- Olmos 1993
R. Olmos, *Catálogo de los vasos griegos del Museo nacional de Bellas Artes de La Habana* (Madrid 1993).
- Omont 1898
H. Omont, *Athènes au XVIIe siècle. Dessins des sculptures du Parthénon, attribués à J. Carrey, et conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, accompagnés de vues et plans d'Athènes et de l'Acropole* (Paris 1898).
- Orlando 1994
A. K. Orlando, *Τα υλικά δομής των αρχαίων Ελλήνων και οι τρόποι εφαρμογής αυτών κατά τους συγγραφείς, τας επιγραφάς και τα μνημεία, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 37² (Athens 1994).
- Orlando – Travlos 1986
A. K. Orlando – J. Travlos, *Λεξικόν αρχαίων ελληνικών αρχιτεκτονικών όρων*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 94 (Athens 1986).
- Orphanou 1993
V. Orphanou 1993, *Οδός Τριών Ιεραρχών* 196, ADelt 48 B'1, 1993, 38.
- Osborne 1985
R. Osborne, *Demos: the Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985).
- Osborne 1989
R. Osborne, A Crisis in Archaeological History? The Seventh Century B.C. in Attica, *BSA* 84, 1989, 297–322.
- Osborne 1996
R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC*, Routledge History of the Ancient World (London 1996).
- Osborne 2007
R. Osborne, Did Democracy Transform Athenian Space?, *BSA* 15, 2007, 195–199.
- Osborne 2009
R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC*, Routledge History of the Ancient World² (London 2009).
- Osborne 2014a
R. Osborne, Intoxication and Sociality. The Symposium in the Ancient Greek World, in: A. McShane – P. Withington (eds.), *Cultures of Intoxication. Past and Present Suppl.* 9 (Oxford 2014) 34–60.
- Osborne 2014b
J. F. Osborne, Monuments and Monumentality, in: J. F. Osborne (ed.), *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology*, Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology distinguished monograph series, IEAMA proceedings 3 (Albany 2014) 1–19.
- Osborne 2017
J. F. Osborne, Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17, 2017, 163–187.
- Osborne – Rhodes 2003
R. Osborne – P. J. Rhodes (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 404–323 BC (Oxford 2003).
- Osborne – Rhodes 2017
R. Osborne – P. J. Rhodes (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 478–404 BC (Oxford 2017).
- Østby 1980
E. Østby, The Athenaion of Karthaia, *OpAth* 13, 1980, 189–223.
- Ostwald 1986
M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society, and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Berkeley 1986).
- Ostwald 1995
M. Ostwald, Public Expense: Whose Obligation? Athens 600–454 B. C., *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 139, 1995, 368–379.
- Otto 2006
A. Otto, Alltag und Gesellschaft zur Spätbronzezeit. Eine Fallstudie aus Tall Bazi (Syrien), *Subarta* 19 (Turnhout 2006).
- Otto 2012
A. Otto, Archaeological Evidence for Collective Governance along the Upper Syrian Euphrates during the Late and Middle Bronze Age, in: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008 (Winona Lake 2012) 87–99.
- Owens 2010
R. Owens, Solon of Athens. Poet, Philosopher, Soldier, Statesman (Brington 2010).
- Paga 2010
J. Paga, Deme Theatres in Attica and the Tritty System, *Hesperia* 79, 2010, 351–384.
- Paga 2012
J. Paga, Architectural Agency and the Construction of Athenian Democracy (Diss. Princeton University 2012).
- Paga 2012–13
J. Paga, The Claw-Tooth Chisel and the Hekatompedon Problem. Issues of Tool and Technique in Archaic Athens, *AM* 127–128, 2012–2013, 169–203.

- Paga 2015a
 J. Paga, The Monumental Definition of Attica in the Early Democratic Period, in: M. M. Miles (ed.), *Autopsy in Athens. Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica* (Oxford 2015) 108–125.
- Paga 2015b
 J. Paga, The Southeast Fountain House in the Athenian Agora. A Reappraisal of Its Date and Historical Context, *Hesperia* 84, 2015, 355–387.
- Pala 2012
 E. Pala, *Acropoli di Atene: un microcosmo della produzione e distribuzione della ceramica attica*, Suppl. ArchCl N.S. 5, 8 (Rome 2012).
- Palagia – Sioumpara 2019
 O. Palagia – E. P. Sioumpara (eds.), *From Hippias to Kallias. Greek Art from 527 to 449 B.C.* (Athens 2019).
- Palaiokrassa 1983
 L. Palaiokrassa, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας* (Diss. University of Athens 1983).
- Palaiokrassa 1989a
 L. Palaiokrassa, *Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia*, AM 1989, 1–40.
- Palaiokrassa 1989b
 L. Palaiokrassa, *Η Ανασκαφή Μακρυγιάννη – Ανασκαφική περίοδος 1986*, *Archaiontasia* 4, 1989, 141–148.
- Palaiokrassa 1991
 L. Palaiokrassa, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας* 115 (Athens 1991).
- Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2006
 L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa, *Ταφές στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη*, in: K. Prombonas – P. Válavanis (eds.), *Ευεργεσίτη: Τόμος χαριστήριος στον Παναγιώτη Ι. Κοντό* (Athens 2006) 607–628.
- Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2008
 L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa, *Ιερά της Αττικής*, in: A. Vlachopoulos (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία. Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα* (Athens 2008) 174–199.
- Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa – Vivliodetis 2015
 L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa – E. Vivliodetis, *The Sanctuaries of Artemis Mounichia and Zeus Parnessios. Their Relation to the Religious and Social Life in the Athenian City-State until the end of the 7th Century B.C.*, in: V. Vlachou (ed.), *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society. Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Brussels, 14–16 November 2013*, *Études d' archeologie* 8 (Brussels 2015) 155–180.
- Pallasmaa 2005
 J. Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester 2005).
- Pantelidou 1975
 M. Pantelidou, *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ Ἀθῆναι, διατριβή επὶ διδακτορίᾳ* (Diss. Athens 1975).
- Papachatzis 1974
 N. D. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ἐλλάδος περιήγησις. Αττικά* (Athens 1974).
- Papadopoulos 2003
 J. K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus. The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora*. With a contribution by M. R. Schilling, *Hesperia Suppl.* 31 (Princeton 2003).
- Papadopoulos 2007
 J. K. Papadopoulos, *The Art of Antiquity: Piet de Jong and the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 2007).
- Papadopoulos 2008
 J. K. Papadopoulos, *The Archaic Wall of Athens: Reality or Myth?*, *Opuscula I*, 2008, 31–46.
- Papadopoulos 2014
 J. K. Papadopoulos, *Greece in the Early Iron Age: Mobility, Commodities, Polities, and Literacy*, in: A. B. Knapp – P. van Dommelen (eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean* (Cambridge 2014) 178–195. <doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139028387.014>> (25.07.2019).
- Papadopoulos 2018
 J. Papadopoulos, *Greek Postehistories, World Archaeology* 50.5, 2018, 690–705.
- Papadopoulos – Smithson 2002
 J. K. Papadopoulos – E. Smithson, *The Cultural Biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora. Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of Metics*, *Hesperia* 71, 2002, 149–199.
- Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1964
 Ch. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, *Ἀρχαϊκή γραπτή κεραμεική ἐκ τοῦ οἰκοπέδου Ἀγγελοπούλου*, *ADelt* 19 A', 1964, 42–61.
- Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1972
 Ch. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, *Ανασκαφή “Νοτίως Ακροπόλεως”*. *Μελανόμορφη κεραμεική*, *ADelt* 27 A', 1972, 185–302.
- Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997
 Ch. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, *Ιερό της Νύμφης. Μελανόμορφες λουτροφόροι, Δημοσιεύματα του ΑΔ 60* (Athens 1997).
- Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1952–53
 A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, *Ακαδημεικά. Πολέμων* 5, 1952–53, 74–80.
- Papalexandrou 2005
 N. Papalexandrou, *The Visual Poetics of Power: Warriors, Youths, and Tripods in Early Greece*, *Greek Studies* (Lanham 2005).
- Papanikolaou 1998a
 A. Papanikolaou, *Η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στην Ν. κλιτύ της ακροπόλεως της Καρθαίας κατά τον 6ο και 5ο αι. π.Χ.*, in: L. G. Mendoni – A. Mazarakis-Ainian (eds.), *Kea – Kythnos. History and Archaeology. Proceedings of an International Symposium, Kea – Kythnos 22–25 June 1994*, *Meletemata* 27 (Athens 1998) 555–582.
- Papanikolaou 1998b
 A. Papanikolaou, *Η στέγη του ναού της Αθηνάς στην Καρθαία*, in: L. G. Mendoni – A. Mazarakis-Ainian (eds.), *Kea – Kythnos. History and Archaeology. Proceedings of an International Symposium, Kea – Kythnos 22–25 June 1994*, *Meletemata* 27 (Athens 1998) 583–608.

- Papapostolou 1968
I. Papapostolou, Μικρά ανασκαφικά έρευναι πέριξ της Ακροπόλεως, AAA 1, 1968, 18–20.
- Papaspyridi – Karouzou 1948–49
S. Papaspyridi – Karouzou, Τεχνολογικός καθαρισμός τού ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου παναθηναϊκοῦ ἀμφορέως, AEphem 1948–49, 10–32.
- Papastamati-von Moock 2015
C. E. Papastamati-von Moock, The Wooden Theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens: Old Issues, New Research, in: R. Frederiksen – E. Gebhard – A. Sokolicek (eds.), The Architecture of the Ancient Greek Theatre. Acts of an International Conference, Athens, 27–30 January 2012, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 17 (Aarhus 2015) 39–81.
- Papazarkadas 2009
N. Papazarkadas, Epigraphy and the Athenian Empire: Reshuffling the Chronological Cards, in: J. Ma – N. Papazarkadas – R. Parker (eds.), Interpreting the Athenian Empire (London 2009) 67–88.
- Papazarkadas 2011
N. Papazarkadas, Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford 2011).
- Paraskevaidis 1961
M. Paraskevaidis, Κατεστράφη η “Ιερά Οικία” Θυσιών μεταβληθείσα εις ἀμόρφων λασπώδη μάζαν, Καθημερινή, 16/11/1961.
- Paraskevaidis 1963
M. Paraskevaidis, Αναζητούνται δια των νέων ανασκαφών τα κτίσματα της σχολής του Πλάτωνος, Καθημερινή, 13/01/1963.
- Pariente 1992
A. Pariente, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991, BCH 116, 1992, 833–954.
- Parker 1983
R. Parker, Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion (Oxford 1983).
- Parker 1996
R. Parker, Athenian Religion. A History (Oxford 1996).
- Parker 2003
G. Parker, Narrating Monumentality: The Piazza Navona Obelisk, JMedA 16, 2003, 193–215.
- Parker 2005a
R. Parker, Artémis Ilithye et autres : le problème du nom divin utilisé comme épícлise, in: N. Belayche – P. Brûlé – G. Freyburger – Y. Lehmann – L. Pernot – F. Prost (eds.), Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épícлises dans l'antiquité, Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses 5 (Turnhout 2005) 219–226.
- Parker 2005b
R. Parker, Polytheism and Society in Athens (Oxford 2005).
- Parker 2011
R. Parker, On Greek Religion, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 60 (Ithaca 2011).
- Parlama 1971
L. Parlama, Θαλαμοειδής τάφος εις Αγραπιδοχώρι Ηλείας, AEphem 1971, 52–60.
- Parlama 1990–91
L. Parlama, Ο Μητροπολιτικός Σιδηρόδρομος και οι αρχαιότητες των Αθηνών, Horos 8–9, 1990–91, 231–245.
- Parlama – Stämpelides 2000
L. Parlama – N. C. Stämpelides (eds.), Η πόλη κάτω από την πόλη. Ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου των Αθηνών (Athens 2000).
- Partida 2000
E. C. Partida, The Treasures at Delphi. An Architectural Study, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 160 (Jonsered 2000).
- Paschalides 2012
C. Paschalides, Reflections of Eternal Beauty. The Unpublished Context of a Wealthy Female Burial from Koukaki, Athens and the Occurrence of Mirrors in Mycenaean Tombs, Aegaeum 33, 2012, 547–557.
- Patterson 1998
C. B. Patterson, The Family in Greek History (Cambridge 1998).
- Pelekidis 1916
S. Pelekidis, Ανασκαφή Παλαιού Φαλήρου, ADelt 2 B'1, 1916, 13–64.
- Pelekidis 1962
C. Pelekidis, Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants 13 (Paris 1962).
- Peltenburg 2002
E. Peltenburg, East Mediterranean Faience. Changing Patterns of Production and Exchange at the End of the 2nd millennium BC, in: E. Braun-Holzinger – H. Matthäus (eds.), Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion. Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereiches 295 „Kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte“ der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 11.–12. Dezember 1998 (Möhnesee 2002) 75–107.
- Penrose 1887
F. C. Penrose, Excavations in Greece, 1886–1887, JHS 8, 1887, 269–277.
- Penrose 1888
F. C. Penrose, An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture, or, The Results of a Survey Conducted chiefly with Reference to the Optical Refinements exhibited in the Construction of the Ancient Buildings at Athens (London 1888).
- Penrose 1888a
F. C. Penrose The Temple of Jupiter Olympius, Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects N.S. 4, 1888, 1–14.
- Pernin 2007
I. Pernin, L'impôt foncière existait-il en Grèce ancienne?, in: J. Andreau – V. Chankowski (eds.), Vocabulaire

- et expressions de l'économie dans le monde antique (Bordeaux 2007) 369–383.
- Pernot 2005
L. Pernot, *Le lieu du nom (τόπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνοματος)* dans la rhétorique religieuse des Grecs, in: N. Belayche – P. Brulé – G. Freyburger – Y. Lehmann – L. Pernot – F. Prost (eds.), *Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épicières dans l'antiquité, Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses* 5 (Turnhout 2005) 29–39.
- Petrovic 2010
I. Petrovic, Transforming Artemis: From the Goddess of the Outdoors to City Goddess, in: J. Bremmer – A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations*, Edinburgh Leventis studies 5 (Edinburgh 2010) 209–227.
- Pharmakovsky – Smith 1895–96
B. Pharmakovsky – C. Smith, Archaeology in Greece, 1895–6, BSA 2, 1895–96, 47–62.
- Philios 1882
D. Philios, Έκθεσις περὶ τῶν εν Ελευσίνι ανασκαφών, Prakt 37, 1882, 84–103.
- Philippaki 1966
V. Philippaki, Γ' Εφορεία Κλασσικῶν Αρχαιοτήτων, ADelt 21 B'1, 1966, 55–71.
- Philipsson – Kirsten 1952
A. Philipsson – E. Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften. Eine Landeskunde I, 3: Attika und Megaris* (Frankfurt am Main 1952).
- Pierce Blegen 1932
E. Pierce Blegen, Archaeological News: News Items from Athens, AJA 36, 1932, 60–64.
- Pieridou 1966
A. Pieridou, A Tomb-Group from Lapithos "Ayia Anastasia", RDAC 1966, 1966, 1–12.
- Pieridou 1971
A. Pieridou, Kyriaka Teletourgika Aggeia, RDAC 1971, 1971, 18–26.
- Pierrot 2015
A. Pierrot, Who Were the Eupatrids in Archaic Athens?, in: N. R. E. Fisher – H. van Wees (eds.), *Aristocracy in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman Elites* (Swansea 2015) 147–168.
- Pitzalis 2011
F. Pitzalis, La volontà meno apparente: donne e società nell'Italia centrale tirrenica tra VIII e VII secolo a.C., StA 181 (Rome 2011).
- Pizzocaro 1993
M. Pizzocaro, Fenice e il bambino mai nato, Vichiana 35, 4/1, 1993, 3–12.
- Plácido 1985
D. Plácido, Esclavos metecos, in: N. Marín Díaz (ed.), *In memoriam Agustín Díaz Toledo* (Granada 1985) 297–303.
- Plácido 2008
D. Plácido, Las relaciones clientelares en la evolución de la democracia ateniense, Circe 12, 2008, 225–242.
- Platon 1965
N. Platon, Εργασίαι διαμορφώσεως και τακτοποίησεως του αρχαιολογικού χώρου Ακροπόλεως. Κατά την Νοτίαν κλιτύν Ακροπόλεως, ADelt 20 B'1, 1965, 22–34.
- Podlecki 1988
A. Podlecki, Plutarch and Athens, Illinois Classical Studies, 13.1988, 231–243.
- Poliakoff 1987
M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World. Competition, Violence, and Culture, Sport and History series* (New Haven 1987).
- Polignac 1984
F. de Polignac, La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espace et société. VIIIe–VIIe siècles avant J.-C., *Textes à l'appui. Histoire classique* (Paris 1984).
- Polignac 1995
F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago 1995).
- Polignac 2005
F. de Polignac, Usages de l'écriture dans les sanctuaires du haut archaïsme, in: V. Dasen – M. Piérart (eds.), *Ιδία και Δημοσία. Les cadres "privés" et "publics" de la religion grecque antique*. Actes du IX colloque du Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique (CIERGA), Fribourg, 8–10 septembre 2003, Kernos Suppl. 15 (Liège 2005) 13–25.
- Polignac 2006
F. de Polignac, Analyse de l'espace et urbanisations en Grèce archaïque : Quelques pistes de recherche récentes, REA 108, 2006, 203–223.
- Polignac 2009
F. de Polignac, Sanctuaries and Festivals, in: K. Raflaub – H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient History (Chichester 2009) 427–443.
- Polignac – Scheid 2010
F. de Polignac – J. Scheid, Qu'est-ce qu'un „paysage religieux“? Représentations cultuelles de l'espace dans les sociétés anciennes, RHistRel 2010, 2010, 427–434.
- Polinskaya 2003
I. Polinskaya, Liminality as Metaphor: Initiation and the Frontiers of Ancient Athens, in: D. B. Dodd – C. A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* (London 2003) 85–106.
- Poulou 2013
T. Poulou, Οι γεωμετρικοί τάφοι του λόφου Μουσών (Φιλοπάππου), in: M. Doga-Toli – M. Oikonomou (eds.), *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές Β', ΑΤΤΙΚΗ – Α' και Γ' Εφορείες Προϊστορικών & Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων* (Athens 2013) 231–246.
- Poursat 1968
Poursat, Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique, BCH 92, 1968, 550–615.
- Prandi 2012
L. Prandi, Autonomia e identità nei rapporti di Platea con Atene, Tebe e Sparta, in: S. Cataldi – E. Bianco – G. Cuniberti (eds.), *Salvare le poleis, costruire la concordia*,

- progettare la pace, *Fonti e studi di storia antica* 16 (Alexandria 2012) 181–191.
- Prien 2005
R. Prien, Archäologie und Migration. Vergleichende Studien zur archäologischen Nachweisbarkeit von Wanderungsbewegungen, UPA 120 (Bonn 2005).
- Pugliese Carratelli 1990
G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Tra Cadmo e Orfeo. Contributi alla storia civile e religiosa dei Greci d'Occidente*, Collezione di testi e di studi. Storiografia (Bologna 1990).
- Quiller 1981
B. Quiller, *The Dynamics of the Homeric Society*, SymbOslo 56, 1981, 109–155.
- Raaflaub 2006
K. A. Raaflaub, Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to Do with Solon's Timocracy?, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 272 (Leiden 2006) 390–428.
- Rackham 1944
H. Rackham, Aristotle. *Politics*, Loeb Classical Library (London 1944).
- Raubitschek 1949
A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge 1949).
- Rebay-Salisbury 2010
K. Rebay-Salisbury, Cremations. Fragmented Bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages, in: M. L. Stig Sorensen – K. Rebay-Salisbury – J. Hughes (eds.), *Body Parts and Bodies Whole: Changing Relations and Meanings* (Oxford 2010) 64–71.
- Reinmuth 1971
O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 14 (Leiden 1971).
- Rendeli 2005
M. Rendeli, Cinerari ed eroi ateniesi, in: B. Adembri (ed.), *ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ. Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani* (Florence 2005) 103–114.
- Rhodes 1972
P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972).
- Rhodes 1981
P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981).
- Rhodes 2006
P. J. Rhodes, The Reforms and Laws of Solon. An Optimistic View, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 272 (Leiden 2006) 248–260.
- Rhodes 2008
P. J. Rhodes, After the Three-Bar Sigma Controversy: the History of Athenian Imperialism Reassessed, CIQ 58, 2008, 501–506.
- Rhodes – Dobbins 1979
R. F. Rhodes – J. J. Dobbins, The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, 325–341.
- Riess 2018
W. Riess (ed.), *Colloquia Attica. Neuere Forschungen zur Archaik, zum athenischen Recht und zur Magie* (Stuttgart 2018).
- Roberts 2013
C. Roberts, The Bioarchaeology of Health and Well-Being: Its Contribution to Understanding the Past, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 79–122.
- Robertson 1993
N. Robertson, Athens' Festival of the New Wine, HarvStCPhil 95, 1993, 197–250.
- Robertson 1998
N. Robertson, The City Center of Archaic Athens, *Hesperia* 67, 1998, 283–302.
- Rocco 2016
G. Rocco, The Role of Cycladic Workshops in Late Archaic Architectural Change, in: K. Zampas – V. Lambrinoudakis – E. Simantoni-Bournia – A. Ohnesorg (eds.), *Αχιτέκτων. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Μανόλη Κορρέ* (Athens 2016) 507–515.
- Rodeck 1896–97
P. Rodeck, The Ionic Capital of the Gymnasium of Kynosarges, BSA 3, 1896–97, 89–105.
- Rosivach 2002
V. J. Rosivach, The Requirements for the Solonic Classes in Aristotle, AP 7.4, Hermes 130, 2002, 36–47.
- Rosivach 2008
V. J. Rosivach, Why Seize the Acropolis?, Historia 57, 2008, 125–133.
- Roussel 1976
D. Roussel, *Tribu et Cité. Études sur les groupes sociaux dans les cités grecques aux époques archaïque et classique*, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 23 (Paris 1976).
- Rubensohn 1955
O. Rubensohn, Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes, Jdl 70, 1955, 1–49.
- Ruppenstein 1999
F. Ruppenstein, Geschlechtsspezifische Beigabenkombinationen in der submykenischen Kerameikos-Nekropole, AM 114, 1999, 13–28.
- Ruppenstein 2013
F. Ruppenstein, Cremation Burials in Greece from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age: Continuity or Change?, in: M. Lochner – F. Ruppenstein (eds.), *Brandbestattungen von der mittleren Donau bis zur Ägäis zwischen 1300 und 750 v. Chr. Akten des internationalen*, Wien, 11.–12. Februar 2010 / *Cremation Burials in the Region between the Middle Danube and the Aegean, 1300–750 B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium*, Vienna, February 11th–12th, 2010 (Wien 2013) 185–196.
- Ruschenbusch 1958
E. Ruschenbusch, *Patrios Politeia. Theseus, Drakon, Solon und Kleisthenes in Publizistik und Geschichtsschreibung des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Historia 7, 1958, 398–424.

- Ruschenbusch – Bringmann 2010
 E. Ruschenbusch – K. Bringmann, Solon. Das Gesetzeswerk – Fragmente; Übersetzung und Kommentar, Historia Einzelschriften 215 (Stuttgart 2010).
- Ruzé 1997
 F. Ruzé, Délibération et pouvoir dans la cité grecque de Nestor à Socrate, Histoire ancienne et médiévale 43 (Paris 1997).
- Sahlins 2011
 M. Sahlins, What Kinship Is, The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 17, 1, 2011, 2–19.
- Said 2003
 E. W. Said, Orientalism, Penguin Classics (London 2003).
- Sakka 2009a
 N. Sakka, Οδός Τσάμη Καρατάσου 6, ADelt 64 B'1, 2009, 81f.
- Sakka 2009b
 N. Sakka, Λεωφόρος Συγγρού 31, ADelt 64 B'1, 2009, 82–84.
- Salmon 1997
 J. Salmon, Lopping off the Heads? Tyrants, Politics and the Polis, in: L. G. Mitchell – P. J. Rhodes (eds.), The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece (London 1997) 60–73.
- Salviat 1986
 F. Salviat, Le vin de Thasos. Amphores, vin et sources écrites, in: J.-Y. Empereur – Y. Garlan (eds.), Recherches sur les amphores grecques. Actes du colloque international, Athènes, 10–12 septembre 1984), BCH Suppl 13 (Paris 1986) 145–196.
- Samons 2000
 L. J. Samons, Empire of the Owl. Athenian Imperial Finance, Historia Einzelschriften 142 (Stuttgart 2000).
- Santi 2010
 F. Santi, I frontoni arcaici dell' Acropoli di Atenem, ArchCl Suppl. 4, N.S. 1 (Rome 2010).
- Santoro 2015
 G. Santoro, Ricontestualizzare il sacro: il caso del “recinto dell’incrocio” nell’angolo nord-occidentale dell’Agorà di Atene, in: L. M. Caliò – E. Lippolis – V. Parisi (eds.), Gli Ateniesi e il loro modello di città. Seminari di Storia e Archeologia greca I, Rome 25–26 giugno 2012, Thiasos Monografie 5 (Rome 2015) 65–76.
- Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2002
 E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Skyros in the Early Iron Age, in: M. Stamatopoulou – M. Yeroulanou (eds.), Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece, BARIntSer 1031 (Oxford 2002) 117–148.
- Sassu 2014
 R. Sassu, Hierarchemata. Il ruolo del santuario nell'economia della polis, Studi umanistici. Serie Antichistica, Studi e ricerche 20 (Rome 2014).
- Sassu 2015
 R. Sassu, La ricchezza di Atene. L'Acropoli et le risorse della polis, in: M. Caliò – E. Lippolis – V. Parisi (eds.), Gli ateniesi e il loro modello di città. Seminari di storia e archeologia greca I. Rome, 25–26 giugno 2012, Thiasos monografie 5 (Rome 2015) 107–118.
- Sayed 2007
 Z. Sayed, Ökonomie der altägyptischen Feste, in: M. Fitzenreiter – S. Kirchner – O. Kriseleit (eds.), Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie, Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie 7 (London 2007) 301–305.
- Schachermeyr 1962
 F. Schachermeyr, Forschungsbericht über die Ausgrabungen und Neufunde zur ägäischen Frühzeit 1957–1960, AA 1962, 1962, 105–382.
- Scheid 2015
 J. Scheid, Natur und Religion. Zu einigen Missverständnissen, in: K. Sporn – S. Ladstätter – M. Kerschner (eds.), Natur – Kult – Raum. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums, Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, 20.–22. Jänner 2012, Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 51 (Wien 2015) 303–312.
- Schmalz 2006
 C. R. Schmalz, The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered?, Hesperia 75, 2006, 33–81.
- Schmitt 2009
 T. Schmitt, Kein König im Palast. Heterodoxe Überlegungen zur politischen und sozialen Ordnung in der mykenischen Zeit, HZ 288, 2009, 281–346.
- Schneider 1907
 P. Schneider, Das zweite Buch der Pseudo-Aristotelischen Ökonomika (Diss. Julius-Maximilians-University Würzburg 1907).
- Schneider 2010
 R. M. Schneider, Korai und Kouroi – neue Menschenbilder aus Marmor im Mittelmeerraum, in: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp – K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.), Die Griechische Welt. Erinnerungsorte der Antike (Munich 2010) 221–243.
- Scholl 2006
 A. Scholl, ANAΩHMATA TΩΝ APXAIΩΝ : Die Akropolisvotive aus dem 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und die Staatswerdung Athens, JDI 121, 2006, 1–173.
- Schubert 2008
 C. Schubert, Die Naukraren. Zur Entwicklung der attischen Finanzadministration, Historia 57, 2008, 38–64.
- Schuller 1974
 W. Schuller, Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund (Berlin 1974).
- Schuller 1985
 M. Schuller, Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit, Jdl 100, 1985, 319–398.
- Schwandner 1985
 E.-L. Schwandner, Archaische Spolien aus Tiryns. Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/83, AA 1985, 1985, 269–284.
- Schwandner 1991
 E.-L. Schwandner, Der Schnitt im Stein. Beobachtungen

- zum Gebrauch der Steinsäge in der Antike, in: A. Hoffmann – E.-L. Schwandner – W. Hoepfner – G. Brands (eds.), *Bautechnik der Antike. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 15.–17. Februar 1990*, DiskAB 5 (Mainz 1991) 216–223.
- Sealey 1960**
R. I. Sealey, *Regionalism in Archaic Athens*, *Historia* 9, 1960, 155–180.
- Sealey 1961**
R. I. Sealey, *Eupatridai*, *Historia* 10, 1961, 512–514.
- Seiffert 2007**
M. Seiffert, *Kleine Bärinnen in Brauron? Ein Kult und seine Interpretation*, in: F. Andraschko – B. Kraus – B. Meller (eds.), *Archäologie zwischen Befund und Rekonstruktion. Ansprache und Anschaulichkeit*. *Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Renate Rolle zum 65. Geburtstag (Hamburg 2007)* 55–71.
- Selle 2008**
H. Selle, *Theognis und die Theognidea*, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 95 (Berlin 2008).
- Servais 1980**
J. Servais, *Aliki I. Les deux sanctuaires*, *Études Thasiennes* 9 (Paris 1980).
- Shapiro 1989**
H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz 1989).
- Shear 1978**
T. L. Shear Jr., *Tyrants and Buildings in Archaic Athens*, in: W. A. Childs (ed.), *Athens comes of Age. From Solon to Salamis. Papers of a Symposium*, Princeton (Princeton 1978) 1–19.
- Shear 1982**
T. L. Shear Jr., *The Demolished Temple at Eleusis*, in: H. A. Thompson (ed.), *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography. Presented to Homer A. Thompson*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 20 (Princeton 1982) 128–140.
- Shear 1994**
T. L. Shear Jr., *Ισονόμους τ' Αθήνας ἐποιησάτην: The Agora and the Democracy*, in: W. D. E. Coulson – O. Palagia – T. L. Shear (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference celebrating 2500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece*, Athens, December 4–6, 1992, *Oxbow Monograph* 37 (Oxford 1994) 225–248.
- Shear 1995**
T. L. Shear Jr., *Bouleuterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens*, in: M. H. Hansen – K. A. Raafaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2 = Historia* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 157–190.
- Shear 2016**
T. L. Shear Jr., *Trophies of Victory. Public Building in Periklean Athens* (Princeton 2016).
- Shepherd 2013**
G. Shepherd, *Ancient Identities. Age, Gender, and Ethnicity in Ancient Greek Burials*, in: S. Tarlow – L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology (Oxford 2013) 543–557.
- Sickinger 1999**
J. P. Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill 1999).
- Siewert 1977**
P. Siewert, *The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens*, *JHS* 97, 1977, 102–111.
- Simantoni-Bournia et al. 2009**
E. Simantoni-Bournia – L. G. Mendoni – T. M. Panagou, *Καρθαία. …έλαχύνωτον στέρνον χθονός...* (Athens 2009).
- Simmel 1896–1897**
G. Simmel, *Comment les formes sociales se maintiennent*, *Année sociologique* 1, 1896–1897, 71–109.
- Singor 2000**
H. W. Singor, *The Military Side of the Peisistratean Tyranny*, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Peisistratos and the Tyranny*, Publications of the Netherlands Institute at Athens 3 (Amsterdam 2000) 107–129.
- Singor 2009**
H. W. Singor, *War and International Relations*, in: K. Raafaub – H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient History* (Chichester 2009) 585–603.
- Sioumpara 2008**
E. P. Sioumpara, *Inventorying the Scattered Members of Acropolis. The Acropolis Restorations News* 2, 2008, 19–21.
- Sioumpara 2013**
E. P. Sioumpara, *Νέο χορηγικό μνημείο από την οδό Τριπόδων στην Αθήνα*, in: E. P. Sioumpara – K. Psaroudakis (eds.), *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ. 24 μελέτες για τον Δάσκαλο Πέτρο Θέμελη από τους μαθητές και τους συνεργάτες του* (Athens 2013) 261–279.
- Sioumpara 2015**
E. P. Sioumpara, *Η νέα αναπαράσταση του «Εκατομπέδου» Ναού με βάση τα διάσπαρτα πώρινα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη της Ακρόπολης*, in: C. Bouras – V. Eleutheriou, *6η Διεθνής Συνάντηση για την Αποκατάσταση των Μνημείων Ακροπόλεως, Αθήνα, 4–5 Οκτωβρίου 2013. Πρακτικά = 6th International Meeting for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments, Athens, 4–5 October 2013. Proceedings* (Athens 2015) 249–269.
- Sioumpara 2017**
E. P. Sioumpara, *Zahneisen. Werkspuren und ihre Bedeutung für die Topographie der archaischen Akropolis von Athen*, in: U. Wulf-Rheidt – D. Kurapkat (eds.), *Werkspuren. Materialverarbeitung und handwerkliches Wissen im antiken Bauwesen. Internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 13.–16. Mai 2015*, DiskAB 12 (Regensburg 2017) 41–62.
- Sioumpara 2018a**
E. P. Sioumpara, *Το Έργο των Διασπάρτων Αρχιτεκτονικών Μελών*, in: C. Bouras – V. Eleutheriou (eds.), *Επεμβάσεις στα μνημεία της Ακρόπολης 2000–2012. Τα ολοκληρωμένα προγράμματα 3* (Athens 2018) 751–775.

- Sioumpara 2018b
 E. P. Sioumpara, Η νέα αποκατάσταση τριγλύφου του αρχαϊκού Παρθενώνα και η συμβολή της σε νέα πορίσματα για την αρχαϊκή ναοδομία, in: M. Korres – V. Eleutheriou (eds.), *Πρακτικά Διημερίδας Ειδικά θέματα έρευνας και εφαρμογών στα αναστηλωτικά έργα της Ακρόπολης την περίοδο 2010–2015* (Athens 2018) 381–400.
- Sioumpara 2018c
 E. P. Sioumpara, SETinSTONE at the Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens. Documentation with 3D Integrated Methodologies, in: A. Brysbaert – V. Klinkenberg – A. Gutierrez Garcia-Moreno – I. Vkatou (eds.), *Constructing Monuments, Perceiving Monumentality and the Economics of Building. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Built Environment* (Leiden 2018) 141–167.
- Sioumpara 2019
 E. P. Sioumpara, Managing the Debris. Spoliation of Architecture and Dedications on the Acropolis after the Persian Destruction, in: O. Palagia – E. P. Sioumpara (eds.), *From Hippias to Kallias. Greek Art from 527 to 449 B.C.* (Athens 2019) 30–51.
- Sioumpara – Salavoura 2013
 E. P. Sioumpara – E. Salavoura, The Reuse of Values: from Gathering to Systematizing and to the Project of the Membra Disiecta of the Acropolis, *The Acropolis Restorations News* 13, 2013, 18–21.
- Sioumpara – Sotiropoulou (forthcoming)
 E. P. Sioumpara – S. Sotiropoulou, The Polychromy of the Archaic Parthenon, in: *Proceedings of the 8th international round table on Polychromy in ancient Sculpture and Architecture*, Paris, November, 15–16, 2016 (*Techne* 48) (Paris; forthcoming).
- Skias 1897
 A. Skias, Ανασκαφά παρά τον Ιλισόν, *Prakt* 52, 1897, 73–85.
- Skias 1902
 A. Skias, Τύμβος προϊστορικός ύπό τὴν Ἀκρόπολην, *AEphem* 1902, 1902, 123–130.
- Smith 1884
 C. Smith, Pyxis. Herakles and Geryon, *JHS* 5, 1884, 176–184.
- Smith 1895–96
 C. Smith, Report of Managing Committee for Session 1895–6, *BSA* 2, 1895–1896, 3–27.
- Smith 1896
 C. Smith, Archaeology in Greece, 1895–6, *JHS* 16, 1896, 347–356.
- Smith 1896–97
 C. Smith, Report of the Director for the Session 1896–7, *BSA* 3, 1896–97, 228–234.
- Smith 2009
 M. E. Smith, V. Gordon Childe and the Urban Revolution: A Historical Perspective on a Revolution in Urban Studies, *Town Planning Review* 80, 2009, 3–29.
- Smithson 1961
 E. L. Smithson, The Protogeometric Cemetery at Nea Ionia 1949, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, 147–178.
- Smithson 1968
 E. L. Smithson, The Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady, ca. 850 B.C., *Hesperia* 37, 1968, 77–116.
- Snodgrass 1980
 A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experiment* (London 1980).
- Snodgrass 1996
 A. Snodgrass, I caratteri dell’età oscura nell’area egea, in: S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società*. 2, 1 Una storia greca. Formazione (Turin 1996) 191–226.
- Snodgrass 2000
 A. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Century BC* (Edinburgh 2000).
- Snodgrass 2016
 Snodgrass, Putting Death in Its Place. The Idea of the Cemetery, in: C. Renfrew – M. J. Boyd – I. Morley (eds.), *Death Rituals, Social Order and the Archaeology of Immortality in the Ancient World. “Death shall have no Dominion”* (New York 2016) 187–199.
- Soar 2010
 K. Soar, Circular Dance Performance in the Prehistoric Aegean, in: A. Michaels (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual* (Wiesbaden 2010) 137–153.
- Society of Dilettanti 1817
 Society of Dilettanti (eds.), *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica. Comprising the Architectural Remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus*, RIBA are book collection Section 4, *Ancient civilization* 7 (London 1817).
- Sotiriades 1939
 G. Sotiriades, Ανασκαφή Μαραθώνος, *Prakt* 1939, 1939, 27–39.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1988
 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Studies in Girls’ Transitions. Aspects of the arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography (Athens 1988).
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1993
 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space. Fragments of a Discourse, in: N. Marinatos – R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London 1993) 1–17.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1997
 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Reconstructing Change. Ideology and the Eleusinian Mysteries, in: M. Golden – P. Toohey (eds.), *Inventing Ancient Culture. Historicism, Periodization, and the Ancient World* (London 1997) 132–164.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 2011
 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Athenian Myths and Festivals. Aglauros, Erechtheus, Plynteria, Panathenaia, Dionysia (Oxford 2011).
- Spahn 1999
 P. Spahn, Die Steuer der Peisistratiden. „Idion“, „koinon“ oder „hieron“?, *Ktema* 23.1998, 1999, 197–206.
- Spathari – Chatzioti 1983
 E. Spathari – M. Chatzioti, Ανασκάφικες έργασίες: 7. Λεωφόρος Βασ. Σοφίας και Ηρώδου του Αττικού 2, *ADelt* 38 B'1, 1983, 23–25.

- Spence 1993
I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Athens. A Social and Military History with Particular Reference to Athens* (Oxford 1993).
- Spieß 1992
A. B. Spieß, *Der Kriegerabschied auf attischen Vasen der archaischen Zeit*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften* 38, Archäologie 39 (Frankfurt am Main 1992).
- Stahl – Walter 2009
M. Stahl – U. Walter, *Athens*, in: K. Raflaub – H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient History (Chichester 2009) 138–161.
- Stahl 2003
M. Stahl, *Gesellschaft und Staat bei den Griechen. Archaische Zeit*, UTB Geschichte (Paderborn 2003).
- Stamatakos 1949
I. Stamatakos, *Λεξικόν αρχαίας ελληνικής γλώσσης* (Athens 1949).
- Stampolidis 2004
N. Chr. Stampolidis, *Eleutherna. Polis – Acropolis – Necropolis* (Athens 2004).
- Stampolidis – Giannopoulou 2012
N. Stampolidis – M. Giannopoulou (eds.), *Princesses of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History. Exhibition catalogue* Athens (Athens 2012).
- Stanton 1990
G. R. Stanton, *Athenian Politics c. 800–500 BC: A Sourcebook* (London 1990).
- Stavropoulos 1955
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή παρά την Ακαδημείαν του Πλάτωνος*, Prakt 110, 1955, 53–61.
- Stavropoulos 1956a
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 111, 1956, 45–54.
- Stavropoulos 1956b
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Αθήναι. β) Ακαδημία Πλάτωνος*, Ergon 3, 1956, 10–13.
- Stavropoulos 1958a
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή Αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 113, 1958, 8 f.
- Stavropoulos 1958b
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Αθήναι. β) Ακαδημία Πλάτωνος*, Ergon 5, 1958, 5–15.
- Stavropoulos 1959
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 114, 1959, 8–11.
- Stavropoulos 1960a
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 115, 1960, 318–323.
- Stavropoulos 1960b
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Αθήναι. β) Ακαδημία Πλάτωνος*, Ergon 7, 1960, 5–10.
- Stavropoulos 1960c
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Σύντομος έκθεσις των κατά* την ανασκαφήν της Ακαδημείας μεταπολεμικών εργασιών, ADelt 16 B'1, 1960, 33–35.
- Stavropoulos 1961
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή Αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 116, 1961, 5–13.
- Stavropoulos 1961–62
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή Ακαδημείας*, ADelt 17 B'1, 1961–62, 20–22.
- Stavropoulos 1962a
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή Αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 117, 1962, 5–11.
- Stavropoulos 1962b
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Αθήναι. β) Ακαδημία Πλάτωνος*, Ergon 9, 1962, 5.
- Stavropoulos 1963
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ανασκαφή Αρχαίας Ακαδημείας*, Prakt 118, 1963, 5–28.
- Stavropoulos 1965
Ph. Stavropoulos, *Β' Ανασκάφικαι έργασίαι καὶ τυχαία εύρήματα*, ADelt 20 B'1, 1965, 44–109.
- Stavropoulou 1980
M. Stavropoulou, *Άνασκάφικες έργασίες*, ADelt 35 B'1, 1980, 24–31.
- Steinert 2011
U. Steinert, *Akkadian Terms for Streets and the Topography of Mesopotamian Cities*, AoF 38, 2, 2011, 309–347.
- Steinhauer 2009
G. Steinhauer 2009, *Οδικό δίκτυο της Αττικής*, in: M. Korres (ed.), *Αττικής Οδοί. Αρχαίοι Δρόμοι της Αττικής* (Athens 2009) 34–73.
- Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989
E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft. Studien zum griechischen Adel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart 1989).
- Stein-Hölkeskamp 1997
E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Adel und Volk bei Theognis*, in: W. Eder – K.-J. Hölkenskamp (eds.), *Volk und Verfassung im vorhellenistischen Griechenland. Beiträge auf dem Symposium zu Ehren von Karl-Wilhelm Welwei*, Bochum, 1.–2. März 1996 (Stuttgart 1997) 21–35.
- Stein-Hölkeskamp 2015
E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Das archaische Griechenland. Die Stadt und das Meer*, C.H. Beck Geschichte der Antike 6151 (Munich 2015).
- Stein-Hölkeskamp – Hölkenskamp 2010
E. Stein-Hölkeskamp – K.-J. Hölkenskamp (eds.), *Die Griechische Welt. Erinnerungsorte der Antike* (Munich 2010).
- Stewart 1997
A. Stewart, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1997).
- Stillwell 1952
R. Stillwell, *The Theatre, Corinth 2* (Cambridge 1952).

- Stoupa 1998
Ch. Stoupa, Οδός Μάρκου Μπότσαρη 35, ADelt 53 B'1, 1998, 73–75.
- Stratouli et al. 2010
G. Stratouli – S. Triantaphyllou – T. Bekiaris – N. Katsikarides, *The Manipulation of Death. A Burial Area at the Neolithic Settlement of Avgi, NW Greece*, *Documenta Praehistorica* 37, 2010, 95–104.
- Strauss 1993
S. Strauss, *Fathers & Sons in Athens. Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1993).
- Strömberg 1993
A. Strömberg, *Male or Female? A Methodological Study of Grave Gifts as Sex-Indicators in Iron Age Burials from Athens*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature* 123 (Jonsered 1993).
- Strömberg 1998
A. Strömberg, *Sex-Indicating Grave Gifts in the Athenian Iron Age. An Investigation and Its Results*, in: L. L. Lovén – A. Strömberg (eds.), *Aspects of Women in Antiquity. Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women's Lives in Antiquity*, Göteborg, 12–15 June 1997 (Jonsered 1998) 11–28.
- Stroud 1963
R. S. Stroud, *A Fragment of an Inscribed Bronze Stele from Athens*, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 138–143.
- Stroud 1978
R. S. Stroud, *State Documents in Archaic Athens*, in: W. A. Childs (ed.), *Athens comes of Age. From Solon to Salamis. Papers of a Symposium* (Princeton 1978) 20–42.
- Stroud 1979
R. S. Stroud, *The axons and kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon*, University of California publications. Classical Studies 19 (Berkeley 1979).
- Stroud 1993
R. S. Stroud, *The Sanctuary of Aiakos in the Athenian Agora*, *AJA* 97, 1993, 308 f.
- Stroud 1998
R. S. Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 29 (Princeton 1998).
- Stuart – Revett 1762–1816
J. Stuart – N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett* (London 1762–1816).
- Sturgeon 2006
M. C. Sturgeon, *Archaic Athens and the Cyclades*, in: O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (New York 2006) 32–75.
- Styrenius 1962
C.-G. Styrenius, *The Vases from the Submycenaean Cemetery on Salamis*, *OpAth* 4, 1962, 103–123.
- Styrenius 1967
C.-G. Styrenius, *Submycenaean Studies. Examination of Finds from Mainland Greece with a Chapter on Attic*
- Protogeometric Graves, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen* 7 (Lund 1967).
- Sulosky Weaver 2018
C. L. Sullosky Weaver, Book Review of *Parian Polyandria. The Late Geometric Funerary Legacy of Cremated Soldiers' Bones on Socio-Political Affairs and Military Organizational Preparedness in Ancient Greece*, *AJA* 122, 4, 2018 <<https://www.ajaonline.org/book-review/3735>> (27.07.2019).
- Sviatoslav 2018
D. Sviatoslav, *The Birth of the Athenian Community: From Solon to Cleisthenes* (New York 2018).
- Tandy 1997
D. W. Tandy, *Warriors into Traders. The Power of the Market in Early Greece*, Classics and Contemporary Thought 5 (Berkeley 1997).
- Tanoulas 1997
T. Tanoulas, *Τα Προπύλαια της Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 165 (Athens 1997).
- Taxiarchi 2009
P. Taxiarchi 2009, *Οδός Μεσογείων. Ανίχνευση της πορείας της στο σύγχρονο πολεοδομικό ιστό*: in: M. Korres (ed.), *Αττικής Οδοί. Αρχαίοι Δρόμοι της Αττικής* (Athens 2009) 172–181.
- Taxiarchi 2009b
P. Taxiarchi, *Φαληρική Οδός*, in: M. Korres (ed.), *Αττικής Οδοί. Αρχαίοι Δρόμοι της Αττικής* (Athens 2009) 212–219.
- Themeles 1974
P. G. Themeles, *Brauron. Führer durch das Heiligtum und das Museum* (Athen 1974).
- Theocharis 1951
D. Theocharis, *Ανασκαφή εν Παλαιά Κοκκινά Πειραιώς*, Prakt 1951, 1951, 93–127.
- Theophanides 1927–28
V. D. Theophanides, *Νέα προσκτίματα Έθνικοῦ Αρχαιολογικοῦ Μοθεσίου*, ADelt 11, Parart., 1927–28, 1–13.
- Thomas 1989
R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989).
- Thomas 1994
R. Thomas, *Law and the Lawgiver in the Athenian Democracy*, in: R. Osborne – S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis* (Oxford 1994) 119–133.
- Thompson 1937
H. A. Thompson, *Buildings on the West Side of the Agora*, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 1–226.
- Thompson 1953
H. A. Thompson, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora* 1952, *Hesperia* 22, 1953, 29–35.
- Thompson 1954
H. A. Thompson, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, 31–67.

- Thompson 1956
H. A. Thompson, Activities in the Athenian Agora 1955, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, 46–68.
- Thompson 1966
H. A. Thompson, Activity in the Athenian Agora 1960–1965, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 37–54.
- Thompson 1988
H. A. Thompson, Building for a more Democratic Society. The Athenian Agora after Ephialtes, in: Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα, 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983, 4 (Athens 1988) 198–204.
- Threpsiades 1950
J. Threpsiades, Ανασκαφάι νοτίως της Ακροπόλεως, *Prakt* 1950, 1950, 64–80.
- Threpsiades – Travlos 1961–62
J. Threpsiades – J. Travlos, Ανασκαφάι νοτίως τοῦ Όλυμπιείου, *ADelt* 17 B'1, 1961–62, 9–14.
- Threpsiades – Vanderpool 1964
J. Threpsiades – E. Vanderpool, Themistokles' Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule, *ADelt* 19 B'1, 1964, 26–36.
- Todd 2007
S. C. Todd, *A Commentary on Lysias, Speeches 1–11* (Oxford 2007).
- Toffolo et al. 2013
M. B. Toffolo – A. Fantalkin – I. S. Lemos – R. C. Felsch – W.-D. Niemeier – G. D. R. Sanders – I. Finkelstein – E. Boaretto, Towards an Absolute Chronology for the Aegean Iron Age: New Radiocarbon Dates from Lefkandi, Kalapodi and Corinth, *PLoS ONE* 8, 12, 2013 <doi: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0083117>> (27.07.2019).
- Tölle-Kastenbein 1986
R. Tölle -Kastenbein, Kallirrhoe und Enneakrunos, *Jdl* 101, 1986, 55–73.
- Tölle-Kastenbein 1993
R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Das Hekatompedon auf der Athener Akropolis, *Jdl* 108, 1993, 43–75.
- Tölle-Kastenbein 1994
R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Das Olympieion in Athen, Arbeiten zur Archäologie (Köln 1994).
- Touchais 1979
G. Touchais, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1978, *BCH* 103, 1979, 527–615.
- Touloupa 1969
E. Touloupa, Une gorgone en bronze de l'acropole, *BCH* 93, 1969, 862–884.
- Tracy 2016
S. V. Tracy, Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century B.C. The Rise of the Professional Letter Cutter (Berlin 2016).
- Trampedach (forthcoming)
K. Trampedach, Stelen vor dem Parthenon. Die Entstehung des besonderen Inschriftenkulturs Athens, in: U. Gotter – E. P. Sioumpara – W. Schuller (eds.), Identität in Stein. Die Athener Akropolis und die Stadt (Konstanz; forthcoming).
- Travlos 1950–51
J. Travlos, To Ανάκτορον της Ελευσίνος, *AEphem* 89/90, 1950–51, 1–16.
- Travlos 1960
J. Travlos, Ή πολεοδομική ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπὸ τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 19ου αἰώνος (Athens 1960).
- Travlos 1971
J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen 1971).
- Travlos 1972
J. Travlos, *Athènes au fil du temps. Atlas historique d'urbanisme et d'architecture* (Paris 1972).
- Travlos 1980
J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* ?(New York 1980).
- Travlos 1983
J. Travlos, H Αθήνα και η Ελευσίνα στον 8^ο και 7^ο αι. π.Χ., *ASAtene* 61 N.S. 45, 1983, 323–337.
- Travlos 1988
J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988).
- Trianti 1998
I. Trianti, La statue 629 de l'Acropole et la tête MA 2718 du Musée du Louvre, *MonPliot* 76, 1998, 1–33.
- Tsirigoti-Drakotou 1999
I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou, 3. Φρέαρ Εξαερισμού οδών Ερμού-Αρίωνος της Γραμμής 3 του Μ.Σ.Α., *ADelt* 54 B'1, 1999, 72.
- Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000
I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou, Φρέαρ Ερμού- Αρίωνος, in: L. Parlama – N. C. Stampolides (eds.), Η πόλη κάτω από την πόλη. Ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου των Αθηνών (Athens 2000) 260–262.
- Tsouklidou 1985
D. Tsouklidou, 1. Οδός Ερεχθίου 24–26, *ADelt* 40 B'1, 1985, 13 f.
- Tsouklidou-Penna 1981
D. Tsouklidou-Penna, Άνασκαφικές έργασίες: 8. Οδός Δημητρακοπούλου 116 και Αγλαύρου, *ADelt* 36 B'1, 1981, 19–23.
- Tsouklidou-Penna 1982
D. Tsouklidou-Penna, Άνασκαφικές έργασίες: 4. Οδός Καβαλλόττι 18, *ADelt* 37 B'1, 1982, 21 f.
- Tsouklidou-Penna 1983
D. Tsouklidou-Penna, Άνασκαφικές έργασίες: 5. Οδός Ερυσίχθονος 27, *ADelt* 38 B'1, 1983, 19.
- Turner 1820
W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant* (London 1820).
- Tzanetou 2007
A. Tzanetou, Ritual and Gender. Critical Perspectives, in: M. Parca – A. Tzanetou (eds.), *Finding Persephone. Women's Rituals in the Ancient Mediterranean, Studies in Ancient Folklore and Popular Culture* (Bloomington 2007) 3–26.

- Ulf 2009
 C. Ulf, The Development of Greek ethnos and Their Ethnicity. An Anthropological Perspective, in: P. Funke – N. Luraghi (eds.), *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League. Textual and Philosophical Issues*, Hellenic Studies 32 (Washington 2009) 215–249.
- Ulf 2010
 C. Ulf, Von Knossos nach Mykene – Die memoria der Mauern, in: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp – K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.), *Die Griechische Welt. Erinnerungsorte der Antike* (Munich 2010) 18–38.
- Ulrichs 1863
 N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* (Berlin 1863).
- Undset 1890
 I. Undset, Archäologische Aufsätze über südeuropäische Fundstücke III. Die ältesten Schwertformen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 22, 1890, 1–29.
- Ure 1925
 P. N. Ure, *Diakrioi and Hyperakrioi*, CIR 39, 1925, 155 f.
- Valavanis 2008
 P. Valavanis, Αθήνα, in: A. Vlachopoulos (ed.), *Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα, Αρχαιολογία* 2 (Athens 2008) 128–149.
- Valdés Guía 1999
 M. Valdés Guía, La Sisactia de Solón y el juramento de los heliastas, *Antigüedad, religiones y sociedades* 2, 1999, 35–48.
- Valdés Guía 2001
 M. Valdés Guía, Espacio político, espacio religioso de Atenas en el s. VI. Los cultos de Zeus, Apolo y Deméter y el Consejo-Heliea de Solón, *DialHistAnc* 27, 1, 2001, 81–108.
- Valdés Guía 2002a
 M. Valdés Guía, Areópago y prítanos ton naukraron. Crisis política a finales del s. VII a.C. (de Cílon a Solón), *DialHistAnc* 28, 2002, 65–101.
- Valdés Guía 2002b
 M. Valdés Guía, El culto a Zeus y a las Semnai en Atenas arcaica. Exégesis eupátrida y purificación de Epiménides, *Ostraka* 11, 1, 2002, 223–242.
- Valdés Guía 2002c
 M. Valdés Guía, La Exégesis en Atenas arcaica y clásica, *MedAnt* 5, 1, 2002, 185–245.
- Valdés Guía 2002d
 M. Valdés Guía, Política y religión en Atenas arcaica. La reorganización de la polis en época de Solón. Una revisión de la documentación arquelógica, literaria y religiosa, *BARIntSer* 1018 (Oxford 2002).
- Valdés Guía 2004a
 M. Valdés Guía, “δεῦρ’ ἵτε πάντες λέσσ” (Plut., Thes. 25.1): convocatoria del demos y Leocorion en época de Solón, *Ostraka* 13, 2004, 285–308.
- Valdés Guía 2004b
 M. Valdés Guía, La inauguración del ágora del Cerámico. Una perspectiva histórica, *ASAtene* 82, s. 3, 4.1, 2004, 11–30.
- Valdés Guía 2006
 M. Valdés Guía, La tierra “esclava” del Ática en el s. VII a.C. Campesinos endeudados y hectémoros, *Gerión* 24, 1, 2006, 143–161.
- Valdés Guía 2007
 M. Valdés Guía, Rev. to G. Anderson, *The Athenian Experiment. Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508–490 B.C.* (Ann Arbor 2003), *Gerión* 25, 2, 2007, 165–170.
- Valdés Guía 2008
 M. Valdés Guía, El nacimiento de la autoctonía ateniense. Cultos, mitos cívicos y sociedad de la Atenas del s. VI a.C., ‘Ilú. Anejos (Madrid 2008).
- Valdés Guía 2010
 M. Valdés Guía, El demos ático en el s. VI. Entre la actuación y la conciencia política y el clientelismo, in: C. Fornis Vaquero – J. Gállego – P. M. López Barja de Quiroga (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social. Homenaje a Domingo Plácido* (Zaragoza 2010) 57–75.
- Valdés Guía 2012
 M. Valdés Guía, La formación de Atenas. Gestación, nacimiento y desarrollo de una polis (1200/1100–600 a.C.) (Zaragoza 2012).
- Valdés Guía 2013
 M. Valdés Guía, La guerra de Atenas con Egina y el culto de Damia y Auxesia, *Antigüedad, religiones y sociedades* 11, 2013, 145–161.
- Valdés Guía 2019a
 M. Valdés Guía, War in Archaic Athens. Polis, Elites and Military Power, *Historia* 68, 2019, 126–149.
- Valdés Guía 2019b
 M. Valdés Guía, The Social and Cultural Background of Hoplite Development in Archaic Athens: Peasants, Debts, Zeugitai and Hoplethes, *Historia* 68, 2019, 388–412.
- Valente 2011
 M. Valente, Aristotele, Economici. Introduzione, testo rivisto, traduzione e commento, *Fonti e studi di storia antica* 13 (Alessandria 2011).
- Valente 2014
 M. Valente, I prodromi della guerra di Corinto nelle testimonianze delle Elleniche di Ossirinco e delle Elleniche di Senofonte, *Fonti e studi di storia antica* 17 (Alessandria 2014).
- Valenza Mele 1982
 N. Valenza Mele, Da Micene ad Omero: dalla phiale al lebete, *AIONArch* 4, 1982, 97–133.
- Van de Mieroop 1996
 M. Van de Mieroop, The Government of an Ancient Mesopotamian City. What We Know and Why We Know So Little, in: K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East, Papers of the Second Colloquium*

- on the Ancient Near East – the City and its Life, Mitaka, March 22–24 1996 (Tokyo 1996) 139–161.
- Van de Mieroop 2011**
M. Van de Mieroop, A History of Ancient Egypt, Blackwell History of the Ancient World (Chichester 2011).
- van den Eijnde 2010**
F. van den Eijnde, Cult and Society in Early Athens. Archaeological and Anthropological Approaches to State Formation and Group Participation in Attica. 1000–600 BCE (Diss. University of Utrecht 2010).
- van der Vin 2000**
J. P. A. van der Vin, Coins in Athens at the Time of Peisistratos, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), Peisistratos and the Tyranny: A Reappraisal of the Evidence (Amsterdam 2000) 147–53.
- van Dommelen 2014**
P. van Dommelen, Moving On: Archaeological Perspectives on Mobility and Migration, *WorldA* 46, 4, 2014, 477–483.
- van Groningen 1933**
B. A. van Groningen, Aristote. Le second livre de l'Économique (Leyde 1933).
- van Wees 2006**
H. van Wees, Mass and Elite in Solon's Athens: The Property Classes Revisited, in: J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 272 (Leiden 2006) 351–389.
- van Wees 2009**
H. van Wees, The Economy, in: K. Raaphaub – H. van Wees (eds.), A Companion to Archaic Greece, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Ancient History (Chichester 2009) 444–467.
- van Wees 2013**
H. van Wees, Ships and Silver, Taxes and Tribute. A Fiscal History of Archaic Athens (London 2013).
- van Wees 2018**
H. van Wees, Citizens and Soldiers in Archaic Athens, in: A. Duplouy – R. Brock (eds.), Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece (Oxford 2018) 103–143.
- Vanderpool 1960**
E. Vanderpool, News Letter from Greece, *AJA* 64, 1960, 265–271.
- Vanderpool 1962**
E. Vanderpool, News Letter from Greece, *AJA* 66, 1962, 389–391.
- Vanderpool 1974**
E. Vanderpool, The Date of the Pre-Persian City-Wall of Athens, in: D. W. Bradeen – M. F. McGregor (eds.), ΦΟΡΟΣ. Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt (Locust Valley 1974) 156–160.
- Vélassaropoulos 1980**
J. Vélassaropoulos, Les nauclères grecs. Recherches sur les institutions maritimes en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénisé, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 9 (Genève 1980).
- Venieri 2010**
G. Venieri, Νέα στοιχεία για την κατοίκηση στη νότια πλευρά της Ακρόπολης των Αθηνών κατά τη μεσοελλαδική περίοδο: ευρήματα από την ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, in: A. Philippa-Touchais – G. Touchais – S. Voutsaki (eds.), Mesohelladika. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Actes du colloque international, Athènes, 8–12 Mars 2006, *BCH Suppl.* 52 (Paris 2010) 187–198.
- Verčík 2017**
M. Verčík, Frühe Eisentechnologie in der Ägäis. Case Study Ionien, *Studia Hercynia* 21, 2017, 25–44.
- Vermeule – Travlos 1966**
E. Vermeule – J. Travlos, Mycenaean Tomb beneath the Middle Stoa, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 55–78.
- Vidal-Naquet 1986**
P. Vidal-Naquet, The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World (Baltimore 1986).
- Vierneisel-Schlörb 1966**
B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, Eridanos-Nekropole I. Gräber und Opferstellen hS 1–204, *AM* 81, 1966, 4–111.
- Vikela 2008**
E. Vikela, The Worship of Artemis in Attica. Cult Places, Rites, Iconographie, in: N. Kaltsas – A. Shapiro (eds.), Worshiping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens, Exhibition catalogue Athens (New York 2008) 79–87.
- Villard 1997**
L. Villard, Le vin et les femmes. Un texte méconnu de la Collection Hippocratique, *REG* 110, 1997, 362–380.
- Vizyinou 2011**
O. E. Vizyinou, Ταφικά έθιμα στην Αττική και την Εύβοια, 1200–700 π.Χ.: τα κτερίσματα ως τεκμήριο διάκρισης του φύλου και της ηλικίας των νεκρών (Diss. University of Ioannina 2011).
- Vlassopoulos 2000**
C. Vlassopoulos, Παρατηρήσεις στη Μαρμάρινη Κεράμωση του Αρχαίου Ναού στην Ακρόπολη, in: D. U. Schilardi – D. Katsonopoulos – S. Katsarou – C. Brenner (eds.), Παρία Λίθος. Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια της Πάρου. Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλαδών, Παροικιά, Πάρος 2–5 Οκτωβρίου 1997 (Athens 2000) 341–345.
- Vlizos 2008**
St. Vlizos 2008, Γλυπτά από την περιοχή νοτίως του Ολυμπίειου, in St. Vlizos (ed.), Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή: πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες, *MusBenaki* 4 (Athens 2008) 411–423.
- Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000**
N. Vogeikoff-Brogan, Late Hellenistic Pottery in Athens. A New Deposit and Further Thoughts on the Association

- of Pottery and Societal Change, *Hesperia* 69, 2000, 293–333.
- von Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1975a
B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, Neue Frühattische Funde aus dem Kerameikos, *AM* 90, 1975, 49–81.
- von Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1975b
B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *Kerameikos*. Tätigkeitsbericht 1973–74, *AA* 1975, 1975, 465–468.
- von Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1995
B. von Freytag Gen. Löringhoff, Untersuchungen in Turm N, *AA* 1995, 1995, 639–649.
- von Gerkan 1924
A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (Berlin 1924).
- von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed.), *Philologische Untersuchungen I. Aus Kydathen* (Berlin 1881).
- Wade-Gery 1931
H. T. Wade-Gery, *Eupatridai, Archons and Areopagus*, *CIQ* 25, 1931, 1–11.
- Waiman-Barak – Gilboa 2016
P. Waiman-Barak – A. Gilboa, *Maritime Transport Containers: the View from Phoenician Tell Keisan (Israel) in the Early Iron Age*, in: S. Demesticha – A. B. Knapp (eds.), *Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze and Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature* 183 (Uppsala 2016) 169–193.
- Wallace 2007
R. W. Wallace, *Revolutions and a New Order in Solonian Athens and Archaic Greece*, in: K. A. Raaflaub – J. Ober – R. W. Wallace (eds.), *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*, The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature (Berkeley 2007) 49–82.
- Wallat 1997
U. Wallat, *Ornamentik auf Marmorsimmen des griechischen Mutterlandes*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 38, *Archäologie* 65 (Frankfurt am Main 1997).
- Wallinga 2000
H.T. Wallinga, *The Athenian Naukraroi*, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Peisistratos and the Tyranny: A Reappraisal of the Evidence*, Publications of the Netherlands Institute at Athens 3 (Amsterdam 2000) 131–153.
- Walter 1940
O. Walter, *Archaeologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1939 bis Frühjahr 1940*, *AA* 55, 1940, 121–307.
- Walter 1942
O. Walter, *Archaeologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1940 bis Herbst 1941*, *AA* 57, 1942, 99–200.
- Warin 2016
I. Warin, *Les offrandes d'armes dans les sanctuaires de divinités féminines en Grèce*, in: M. Egg – A. Naso – R. Rollinger – (eds.), *Waffen für die Götter. Waffenweiheungen in Archäologie und Geschichte. Akten der internationalen Tagung, Innsbruck, 6.–8. März 2013* (Innsbruck 2016) 87–100.
- Weber 1946
M. Weber, Class, Status, Party, in: H. H. Gerth – C. W. Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology* (New York 1946) 180–195 (originally published as chapter VIII “§ 6. Machtverteilung innerhalb der Gemeinschaft: Klassen, Stände, Parteien” in: M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* [Tübingen 1922] 631–641).
- Webster 1972
T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London 1972).
- Wecowski 2010–2012
M. Wecowski, When Did the Symposium Rise? Some Archaeological Considerations Regarding the Emergence of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet, *Archaion* 16, 1–3, 2010–2012, 19–47.
- Wecowski 2014
M. Wecowski, The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet (Oxford 2014).
- Weir 1995
R. G. A. Weir, The Lost Archaic Wall Around Athens, *Phoenix* 49, 1995, 247–258.
- Wells 1983
B. Wells, Asine II, 4, 2. Results of the Excavations east of the Acropolis, 1970–1974. 4. The Protogeometric Settlement. 2. An Analysis of the Settlement, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*, 24, 4.2 (Stockholm 1983).
- Werlings 2010
M.-J. Werlings, Le dème avant la démocratie. Mots, concepts, réalités historiques (Nanterre 2010).
- Werner 1998
P. Werner, Tall Münbāqa. Bronzezeit in Syrien, *Veröffentlichungen des Hamburger Museums für Archäologie und die Geschichte Harburgs* (Helms-Museum) 80 (Neumünster 1998).
- Wertheimer et al. 2017
J. Wertheimer – I. Holz – F. Rogge (eds.), *Maidan, Tahir, Taksim. Die Sprache der Plätze. Protest Aufbruch, Repression* (Wiesbaden 2017).
- Whitehead 1977
D. Whitehead, The Ideology of the Athenian Metic, *Cambridge Philological Society Suppl.* 4 (Cambridge 1977).
- Whitehead 1986
Whitehead, David, The Demes of Attica, 508/7–ca. 250 B.C. A Political and Social Study (Princeton 1986).
- Whitley 1991a
J. Whitley, Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece, *BSA* 86, 1991, 341–365.
- Whitley 1991b
J. Whitley, Style and Society in Dark Age Greece. The

- Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100–700 BC, *New Studies in Archaeology* (Cambridge 1991).
- Whitley 1994a
J. Whitley, Protoattic Pottery: A Contextual Approach, in: I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies, New Directions in Archaeology* (Cambridge 1994) 51–70.
- Whitley 1994b
J. Whitley, The Monuments That Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica, *AJA* 98, 1994, 213–230.
- Whitley 1996
J. Whitley, Gender and Hierarchy in Early Athens. The Strange Case of the Disappearance of the Rich Female Grave, *Métis* 11, 1996, 209–232.
- Whitley 2002
J. Whitley, Objects with Attitude: Biographical Facts and Fallacies in the Study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Warrior Graves, *CambrAJ* 12, 2002, 217–232.
- Whitley 2013
J. Whitley, Homer's Entangled Objects: Narrative, Agency and Personhood. In and Out of Iron Age Texts, *CambrAJ* 23, 2013, 395–416.
- Whitley 2015
J. Whitley, Agency, Personhood and the Belly-Handled Amphora: Exchange and Society in the Ninth-Century Aegean, in: V. Vlachou (ed.), *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society. Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Brussels, 14–16 November 2013*, *Études d'archéologie* 8 (Brussels 2015) 107–126.
- Wickert-Micknat 1982
G. Wickert-Micknat, *Die Frau, ArchHom 3 Kapitel R* (Göttingen 1982).
- Wide 1910
S. Wide, Gräberfunde aus Salamis, *AM* 35, 1910, 17–36.
- Wiegand 1904
T. Wiegand (ed.), *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* (Leipzig 1904).
- Willemse 1963
F. Willemse, Archaische Grabmalbasen aus der Stadtmauer, *AM* 78, 1963, 104–153.
- Willemse 1963
F. Willemse, Das protogeometrische Grab N114 unter der südlichen Torwand des Dipylon, *AM* 78, 1963, 148–153.
- Williamson 1993
C. Williamson, Light in Dark Places. Changes in the Application of Natural Light in Sacred Greek Architecture, *Pharos* 1, 1993, 3–33.
- Wilson Jones 2002
M. Wilson Jones, Tripods, Triglyphs, and the Origin of the Doric Frieze, *AJA* 106, 3, 2002, 353–390.
- Winter 1982
F. E. Winter, *Sepulturae intra urbem and the Pre-Persian Walls of Athens*, in: *Studies in Attic Epigraphy History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 19 (Princeton 1982) 199–204.
- Wittgenstein 2001
L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations: The German Text, with a Revised English Translation*³ (Oxford 2001).
- Wolf 1994
S. Wolf, *Archaeology in Israel*, *AJA* 98, 1994, 481–519.
- Worley 1994
L. J. Worley, *Hippeis. The Cavalry of Ancient Greece, History and Warfare* (Boulder 1994).
- Wright 1996
J. C. Wright, The Mycenaean Entrance System at the West End of the Acropolis of Athens, *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 323–360.
- Wycherley 1964
R. E. Wycherley, *The Olympieion at Athens*, *GrRomByzSt* 5, 1964, 161–179.
- Wycherley 1978
R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978).
- Yoffee – Sherratt 1993
N. Yoffee – A. Sherratt (eds.), *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* (Cambridge 1993).
- Yon 1971
M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre II. La Tombe T. I. du XI^e s. av. J.-C., Salamine de Chypre 2* (Paris 1971).
- Yon 1986
M. Yon, Instruments de Culte en Méditerranée Orientale, in: V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium «Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident»*. Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985 (Nicosia 1986) 265–288.
- Young 1939
R. S. Young, Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora, *Hesperia Suppl.* 2 (Athens 1939).
- Young 1951
R. S. Young, *Sepulturae intra urbem*, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 67–134.
- Young 1995
P.H. Young, *Building Projects and Archaic Greek Tyrants* (Ann Arbor 1995).
- Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003
A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, *More regio vivere. Il banchetto aristocratico e la casa romana di età arcaica*, *Quaderni di Eutopia* 4 (Rome 2003).
- Zachariadou 1994
O. Zachariadou, *Λεωφόρος Αμαλίας*, *ADelt B* 49, 1994, 27–32.

- Zachariadou – Kavvadias 1998
Ο. Zachariadou – G. Kavvadias, 2. Βουλή των
Ελλήνων, ADelt 53 B'1, 1998, 54–58.
- Zachariadou – Kyriakou 1988
Ο. Zachariadou – D. Kyriakou, Πλατεία Κοτζιά. ADelt
43 B'1, 1988, 22–29.
- Zachariadou – Papayannakis 2005
Α. Zachariadou – K. Papayannakis, Συμβολή των οδών
Θαλού 10, Πιττακού και Γκούρα, ADelt 60 B'1,
2005, 91–93.
- Zafiropoulou 1983
Μ. Zafiropoulou, Άνασκάφικες έργασίες: 6. Οδός
Διονυσίου Αρεοπαγίτου και Μακρή 1, ADelt 38 B'1,
1983, 19–23.
- Zahrnt 2010
M. Zahrnt, Marathon – das Schlachtfeld als
,Erinnerungsort‘, einst und jetzt, in: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp
– K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.), Die Griechische Welt.
Erinnerungsorte der Antike (Munich 2010) 114–127.
- Zapheiropoulou 1999
Ph. Zapheiropoulou, I due “Polyandria” dell’antica
necropoli di Paros, AIONArch N. S. 6, 1999, 13–24.
- Zapperi 1990
R. Zapperi, Annibale Carracci. Bildnis eines jungen
Künstlers (Berlin 1990).
- Zibelius-Chen 1990
K. Zibelius-Chen, Politische Opposition im Alten
Ägypten, SAK 17, 1990, 339–360.
- Ziro 1991
D. G. Ziro, Η κυρια εισοδος του ιερού της Ελευσίνος
(Athens 1991).

INDEX PERSONARUM

Achilles	52, 247, 306, 308 f.	Ares	278 n. 9
Aegeus	137, 140, 218, 219 n. 14	Aristeides	266
Aelius Aristides	163, 183 n. 73. n. 74	Aristogeiton	184
Aeschines	167 n. 3, 215, 220 n. 23, 231 n. 25, 234 n. 42	aristoi	38, 217 n. 5, 218 ff.
Aeschylus	220	Aristophanes	285, 292
agathoi	28, 38, 211	Aristotle	12 n. 10, 126 n. 31, 220, 225, 227, 234 ff., 252, 256, 262, 264, 266 ff., 271, 272 n. 63, 285
Agesilaos	270 n. 46	Artemis	22, 140 n. 34, 204 n. 17, 277 ff.
Aglauros	140 n. 37, 162 n. 69, 231, 278 n. 9	Artemis Agrotera	277, 284, 285 f., 290, 294
Aiakos	230	Artemis Aristoboule	277, 288 f.
Akademos	116, 118, 126	Artemis Mounchia	105, 140 n. 34, 268, 279 ff., 285 ff., 294 n. 85
Alcaeus	207	Artemis Soteira	278
Alkibiades	218 n. 9, 305 n. 39	Artemis Tauropolos	289 ff.
Alkimachos	256, 258	Astarte	79, 80 n. 50
Alkmaion	215	Athena	21, 81, 149 ff., 190 n. 8, 201 n. 50, 202 n. 53, 203 n. 56 n. 57, 251 ff., 278 n. 9, 286 n. 37
Alkmaionidai/ Alkmaionids	163, 217 ff., 224 n. 47, 252, 253 n. 17, 268, 310	Athena Areia	278 n. 9
Amenemhet	246	Athena Nike	158 n. 40, 160, 202 n. 53, 268 n. 37,
Anaxilas of Naxos	33 n. 55	Athena Polias	81, 149 ff., 203 n. 56
Anaxion	258	Athena Promachos	164
Anchimolos	268	Auxo	278 n. 9
Andokides	258	Basile	141 n. 41
Androton	217 n. 5	Basileus/ Basileis	37
Antimenes Painter	301 f.	Biaiothanatoi	20, 111
Aphaia	204 n. 63	Brygos Painter	308 f.
Aphrodite	80 n. 50, 231, 282 n. 28	Burgon Group	299 n. 14
Aphrodite Pandemos	14 n. 23, 231	Callirhoe	131, 142 f.
Apollo	13 n. 15, 53, 131 n. 1, 141, 163, 192, 197, 201 n. 50, 202, 204, 212, 218, 220, 281 n. 22	Callisto	281 n. 24
Apollo Patroos	13 n. 15, 220	Carpenter Painter	298, 300
Apollo Pythios	141, 220		
Apollodorus	13 f., 231 n. 26		
Archon/archontes/ archonship	12, 163, 217, 219 n. 21, 225, 231 n. 25, 252 f., 253 n. 13 n. 17, 262, 269		

Carracci, Annibale	297, 299, 307	esthloi	38
Chairion, son of Kleidikos	217 n. 5, 255 ff., 264	Eteobutadai	218
Cicero	182	Eudikos	258
Circe	220 n. 22	Eukleia	278 n. 6, 279 n. 20, 288
Codrus Painter	304 n. 38, 306 n. 47	Eunomia	166, 217 n. 17
Courbet, Gustave	300 n. 17	Eupatridai/ Eupatrid/ Eupatrids	217 ff., 223, 255, 303, 310
Ctesiphon	167 n. 3	Eusebios	252
Curtius Painter	303 n. 31	Euthymides	300
Damasias	217 n. 3	Foundry Painter	306 f.
demarchs	272	Gaia (Ge, Earth)	131, 141, 220 n. 23
Demeter	80 n. 50, 81 f., 189, 194 n. 20, 220	Gilgamesh	241, 247 ff.
Demosthenes	167 n. 3, 233 f., 266	gnesioi	33 n. 54
Diapsephisis	224 n. 47	gnothoi	30 n. 34
Diakrioi	217 ff.	Golvol Group	308
Diana	279	Great Goddess of Cyprus	79, 80 n. 50
Diogenes Laertius	236, 268	Hadrian	45
Diomedes	212	Harmodios	184
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	168, 273	Hathor	80 n. 50
Dionysos	151 n. 15, 190 n. 8, 192	Hector	82, 308 f.
Dionysos	190 n. 8	Hegemone	278 n. 9
Eleuthereus		Helios	220 n. 23
Dioskouroi	231 n. 25	Hephaestus	52
Dokimasia Painter	311 f.	Hera	202 n. 51
Douris	301 n. 21, 302	Herakles	151, 278 n. 9, 309 n 54,
Drakon	165, 211 n. 28, 233, 251, 262	Herodotus	14, 21, 53, 110, 163 n. 79, 167, 171, 177, 183, 186, 220, 222, 230, 236, 252 ff., 265 f., 269
Earth (Ge, Gaia)	131, 141, 220 n. 23	Hestia	278 n. 9
enkektemenoi	266	Hesychius	219, 220 n. 23
Enkidu	249	Hipparchos	184, 223, 266 n. 15, 267, 268 n. 30
Enyalios	278 n. 9	Hippias	15, 159 n. 53, 175, 184, 266 ff., 271 ff.
Enyo	278 n. 9	Hippocrates	53
Epeleios Painter	297	Hippokleides	12, 163
Epikrates	278	Homer	31, 220 n. 23, 239, 246, 248
Epiktetos	299 n. 13	Hyperakrioi	217-244
Epimenides (of Crete)	12, 218, 220, 224 n. 47, 236, 252		
Erinyes/Eumenides/ Semnai Theai	218, 220 n. 22		

Iphigeneia	281 n. 24, 289 ff.	Megakles	217, 253 n. 13
Iphikrates	271	Muses	219 n. 17
Isagoras	220 n. 28, 224 n. 43, 224	Myron of Phlya	218, 220
Isis	80 n. 50, 82 n. 58	Napoleon Bonaparte	270
Isokrates	183	Naukraroi/ naukraries	21, 164 n. 82 n. 85, 251 ff.
Jesus	245 n. 33, 245	Neleus	141 n. 41
Justinian	167	Nike	158 n. 40, 160, 202, 286 n. 37
Kallikrates	286	Nikias	170, 187
Kimon	159, 177, 185, 195	Nisos	219
Kleidemos	255 n. 27	nothoi	30 n. 34
Kleidikos	255 f.	Nymphē	139 n. 29, 146
Kleisthenes	21, 171 n. 21, 182 f., 217, 220, 223 f., 230, 232, 236 n. 56, 237, 254, 263, 274 f.	Odysseus	33 n. 53, 51, 53, 61
Kleomenes / Kleomenes I.	185, 224, 268	Onesimos	310 f.
Kleophrades Painter	297	Oupis	282 n. 28
Kodros	141 n. 41	Painter of Tarquinia	305 n. 41
Kolakretai	164 n. 81, 164, 272	707	
Kondalos	273 f.	Pallas	218
Konon	270 n. 46	Pan	279 n. 13
Kore (Persephone)	81 f., 189	Pandion	218, 220, 222
Koropi Painter	305 f.	Passarotti, Bartolomeo	297 f., 307
Korynephoroi	267	Passas Painter	108
Kroisos	163 n. 79, 163	Patroklos	52 f.
Kronos	267	Pausanias	141, 143 n. 51, 162 n. 69, 230, 231 n. 25, 286 n. 35 n. 40
Kylon	12, 185, 215, 217, 252 ff., 270	Peisenor	248
Kypselos	265, 271	Peisistratos/ Peisistratid/ Peisistratids/ Peisistratidai	12 f., 18, 21 f., 53, 110, 142, 163, 170, 175 f., 178 ff., 182, 185, 217 f., 222, 232, 252, 256 n. 34, 258, 263 n. 63, 265 ff., 291
Lacedaemonians	168, 212 f.	Peleus	52
Leto	281 n. 21	Pelias	53
Lygdamis	271	Pelops	53
Lykos	219	pentakosiomedimnoi	164, 210, 256, 260, 263
Lykurg/ Lykurgean	278 n. 9		
Lysias	233		
Lysimachos	258		
Mardonios	177, 183, 185, 278		
Mausolos	273		
Medea	53		

Penthesilea Painter	303	Telemachos	248
Perikles	149, 165 n. 92, 168 n. 5, 190 n. 6, 197 n. 27	Telephos Painter	303
Persephone (Kore)	81 f., 189	Thallo	278 n. 9
Phaeacian/ Phaeacians	53 n. 19, 53	Theagenes of Megara	252
Philip II	270 n. 47	Themistokles	13 f., 21, 42, 167 ff., 261, 274, 277, 288 f.
Philip IV	270 n. 47	thetes	210, 219, 222 ff., 294
Philochorus	217 n. 5	Thetis	52
Philostratus	298 n. 9	Thucydides	131 ff., 167 f., 175 f., 179, 183 f., 212 ff., 252 f., 265 ff., 269
Phylobasileus/ Phylobasileis	217 n. 5	Timokrite, priestess of Aglauros	162 n. 69, 231
Pindar	53, 186 f.	Triptolemos Painter	304 n. 36
Plato	115 f., 119 n. 20, 224	Triton	151
Plutarch	139 n. 26, 220, 225, 235 n. 45, 236, 252, 266, 285, 287-289	Tydeus	212
Pollux	217 n. 5	Victories	262
Polyaenus	271	Xenophon	184 n. 75, 285
Polyphemus Painter	108	Zeus	131 n. 1, 140 n. 34, 141, 176, 197, 203 n. 60, 212, 218, 220, 256, 258, 278 n. 9
Polykleitos	303	Zeus Basileus	220
Poseidon	246 f.	Zeus Exakester	220
Poseidon Painter	297 n. 5	Zeus Hikesios	220
Priamos	308	Zeus Katharsios	220
prytaneis	253	Zeus Parnessios	140 n. 34
Ramses II	245	Zu-Aštarti	242
Ramses III	244		
Rycroft Painter	301 n. 22		
Salting Painter	299		
Servius Tullius	273		
Smikros	308		
Socrates	215, 305 n. 39		
Solon	12, 15, 21, 163 n. 78, 164 ff., 182, 209 f., 214 f., 218 ff., 252 ff., 262, 266, 268, 270, 274, 310		
Sophocles	219 n. 14		
Sulla	229		
Sulpicius Rufus	182		
Tamias, Tamiai	21, 164 f., 249 ff.		
Tantalos	53		

INDEX LOCORUM

Athens

'Κήποι',	141 f., 144	
the Gardens		
'Λίμναι',	141	
the Marshes		
Acharnian Gate	43, 177	
Acropolis	20, 21, 43, 149 ff., 162, 168 n. 4, 179, 180, n. 59, 177, 186, 190 n. 8, 197, 200 n. 44, 201 n. 49, 202 n. 53, 203 n. 56, 222, 224, 251 ff., 279, 286 n. 37, 291, 293, 294	
Brauronion	279 f., 290 f.	
Cyclopean fortification	42, 157	
Hekatompedon	20, 149, 151 ff., 163, 260, 264, 273	
Older Propylon	197	
Odeion of Herodes Atticus	163	
Parthenon	12, 149f., 152 ff., 156 f., 159 f., 165, 201, 273	
Peripatos	178 f.	
Pre-Parthenon	197, 202 n. 53	
Propylaea	158, 160, 197, 201 n. 49, 202 n. 53	
Temple of Athena	149, 151, 151 n. 15, 153, 158 n. 40, 202 n. 53	
Temple of Athena Nike/	158, n. 40, 160, 202 n. 53, 286 n. 37	
Altar of Athena Nike		
Areopagus	42, 170, 172, 174, 175 n. 49, 178	
Areopagus cemetery	13, 169 f., 173 ff. 176, 179, 181 f., 185, 187	
Areopagus Council	217 f., 220, 225, 235, 236 n. 52	
Areopagus street	178 f.	
agora		
		11 n. 1, 13, 13 n. 20 and 23, 14, 14 n. 24, 21, 26, 36 n. 81, 42, 49, 54, 93, 96, 115, 140, 140 n. 37, 143 n. 51, 162, 162 n. 68 and 69, 168 n. 6, 170, 172 ff., 173 n. 35, 177 ff., 181, 184, 186 f., 193, 224, 226 ff., 236, 239 ff.
		Aiakeion (Temenos of Aiakos)
		230
		Altar of the Twelve Gods
		14, 187, 230 n. 22, 269
		Bouleuterion
		193 f., 229
		Eleusinion (City Eleusinion)
		143 n. 51
		Heliaia (The People's Court)
		21, 220, 223, 225 ff.
		Kolonos Agoraios
		42, 184
		Odeion of Perikles
		190
		Old Bouleuterion
		193 f., 229
		Rectangular peribolos
		226 ff.
		South Fountain
		143 n. 51
		Southeast Fountain House
		232 n. 29
		Stoa Poikile
		197
		Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios
		197
		Street of the Marble Workers
		178 f.
		Tholos
		229
		Tholos (cemetery)
		174
		Aglaureion (Temenos of Aglauros)
		231, 231 n. 25, 278 n. 9, 148 n. 38, 162 n. 69

Anakeion (Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi)	231 n. 25	Pompeion cemetery	29 n. 26 and n. 30, 31, 56, 59, 66 f., 70, 73
Aqueduct of Hadrian	45	Rundbau plot	39, 59, 91, 97 ff.
Asklepieion	146	Tumulus G	32
Boukoleion	231, n. 25	Kollytos	179
Callirhoe spring	131 n. 1, 142 f.	Kolonos Hippios	178
Cavalry Gate (Hippades Gate)	179	Kynosarges	115
Delphinion	137, 139	Leokoreion	14, 184
Dipylon	36, 39, 55, 57 f., 116, 270	Melite	279f., 288
Dipylon Gate	177	Mouseion hill	132
Dromos	161, 178	National Gardens, Athens	76 n. 34
Enneakrounos	269	Olympieion - Sanctuary	131 n. 1, 138, 140 f., 141, 176
Epilykeion	231 n. 25	(Temple) of the Olympian Zeus	
Eriai Gate	43, 179	Olympieion hill	132, 136 f., 139, 141 f., 148, 178
Eridanos river	14 n. 24, 42 f., 54, 56 f., 97, 136, 168 n. 6, 185	Piraic Gate	177 f.
Hiera Odos (Sacred Way)	177 n. 57, 178	Pnyx hill	55, 58 ff., 143 n. 50, 177 f., 280
Ilissos river	43, 76 n. 34, 132, 142 n. 46, 143 n. 51, 247, 279 f., 284, 286, 286 n. 37	Prytaneion	162 n. 68, 181 n. 61, 231 n. 25
Irodou Attikou cemetery	19, 26 n. 8, 29, 41 ff., 54, 73 n. 24, 76 n. 34	Pythion (Temple of the Pythian Apollo)	141
Kerameikos	11, n. 1, 19 f., 26, 29, 31, 36 n. 74, 42, 48, 54 ff., 66 f., 68 n. 14, 73 n. 24, 76, 76, 82 n. 58, 89 ff., 115, 162 n. 66, 171, 176, 178 f., 184, 256 n. 36	Roman Agora	162 n. 69, 178 s.
Demosion Sema	61 n. 69	Sacred Way (Hiera Odos)	57 n. 48, 59 f., 93, 97, 177 n. 57, 178
Kerameikos Station	91	Sanctuary of Aphrodite	231
Plattenbau	92 f., 95	Pandemos	
Building Z	91	Sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera	277, 284 ff.
Hagia Triada cemetery	36 n. 73, 39, 73 f., 75 n. 29, 80 n. 48, 82 n. 59, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99	Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule	277, 288 f.
		Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi	231 n. 25

Sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes	131 n. 1, 141	Odos Diamantopoulou	146
Sanctuary of Earth	131 n. 1, 141	Odos Dimitrakopoulou	55, 58, 60, 115 n. 5, 146
South Cemetery (southern slopes of the Acropolis)	42, 48	Odos Dionissiou	115 n. 4, 146 f., 173
Thesmopheteion	231	Areopagitou	
Thission	42	Odos Drakou	115, 146 f.
Modern Streets and Spots		Odos Erechtheiou	42, 48 n. 32, 54, 73 n. 24, 74 n. 26, 147, 159, 173, 178
Koukaki	67, 115, 143 n. 57	Odos Ermou	115 n. 7
Makrygjanni/ Makrygiannis plot	115, 136 f., 148	Odos Evpompou	146
Leoforos Apostolou Pavlou	41	Odos Evropis	146
Leoforos Syngrou	41, 105, 115 n. 6, 148	Odos Goura	146
Leoforos Vasilissis Amalias	45	Odos Iraklidon	178
Leoforos Vasilissis Olgas	73 n. 23	Odos Kallirrois	147
Leoforos Vasilissis Sophias	54, 73, 76 n. 34	Odos Kallisperi	147
Leoforos Vouliagmenis	146f.	Odos Karagiorgi	115 n. 8
New Acropolis Museum	115 n. 4, 136 n. 11, 137, 141, 148, 151, 173, 258 n. 43	Servias	
Odos Aglavrou	146	Odos Karaiskaki	115 n. 7
Odos Aiolou	73 n. 24, 74 n. 26	Odos Karyatidon	115 n. 4, 147f.
Odos Anapafseos	146	Odos Kavallotti	115, 173
Odos Anastasiou	146	Odos Kriezi	26 n. 8, 54 f., 57 f., 68 n. 14
Zinni		Odos Lembesi	115 n. 6, 147
Odos Arditou	286	Odos Lisikratous	181 n. 61
Odos Arionos	115 n. 7	Odos Makri	146 f.
Odos Aristonikou	146	Odos Makrygjanni	136, 147, 178
Odos Athanasiou Diakou	146 f.	Odos Marko	147
Odos Chazichristou	178	Mpotsari	
		Odos Meintani	147
		Odos Menechmou	147
		Odos Mitroou	178 f.
		Odos Mitseon	147
		Odos Odissea	148
		Androutsou	
		Odos Otryneon	178
		Odos Parthenonos	146 ff.
		Odos Peiraios	41, 57, 68 n. 68

Odos Pittakou	146	Acharnae	178
Odos Poulopoulou	178	Anaphlystos	217 n. 6, 280
Odos Promachou	148	Brauron	277 n. 1, 279
Odos Propileon	115, 146, 148, 171, 173	Diakria	219, 222
Odos Propileon cemetery	171	Eleusis	189 ff., 247, 280, 282 n. 27, 21, 28 n. 23, 81, 82 n. 58, 171
Odos Ratzieri	146	Anaktoron	193 n. 12
Odos Rovertou Galli	147 f., 178	Telesterion	21, 171, 189 ff.
Odos Stadiou	115 n. 8	West cemetery	28 n. 23
Odos Stratigou Kontouli	115 n. 5, 146	Halai Araphenides	279 f., 290
Odos Th. Rentis	66 f., 73 n. 24, 74 n. 26	Hymettos	132, 140 n. 34, 280
Odos Thalou	146	Kephissos river	116, 122, 128
Odos	147	Lathoureza	169
Theofilopoulou		Laurion	274, 280
Odos Tripodon	178 f., 185	Leipsydriion	217
Odos Trivonianou	146	Marathon	45, 75 n. 29, 82 n. 59, 168, 222, 277 f., 280, 284, 287, 294
Odos Tsami Karatasou	147 f.	Vranas cemetery	75 n. 29, 82 n. 59
Odos Vasilis	178	Mesogeia	45, 219 n. 14
Odos Veikou	115 n. 5, 146	Mounichia	268, 279 ff., 294 n. 85
Odos Vyronos	178	Mounichia harbour	105, 268, 286 f.
Odos Zacharitsa	147	Sanctuary of Artemis	140 n. 34, 285 ff.
Platia Eleftherias cemetery	68 f., 73 n. 24, 171	Mounichia	
Platia Kotzia	43, 171	Nea Ionia	75 n. 29, 80 n. 49, 82 n. 59
Platia Syntagmatos	45, 115	Oropos	124, 280
Psyrra	42, 115	Pallene	219, 222, 268 f.
Stavros Niarchos Cultural Centre (SNFCC)	20, 104	Paralia	218, 219 n. 14, 222
Weiler Building	115 n. 4, 173	Pedion	217 ff.
Attica			
Academy of Plato	115 f., 119 n. 20	Perati	28, 31, 41, 55, 67
Sacred House	20, 115 ff.	Phaleron	136 n. 11, 105, 136, 141, 172, 178, 247, 280
Kokkinogenis' plot	128	Phaleron Delta	20, 104

Phaleron cemetery	39 n. 96, 103 ff.	Crete/ Cretan	209, 214 f., 215 n. 36, 218
Phaleron Halipedon	105	Cutha	242
Phaleron harbour	105, 268	Cyclades/ Cycladic	21, 156 n. 34, 190, 192 f., 197, 201
Phlya	218, 220	Cyprus/ Cypriot	19 f. , 34, 47, 58, 65 ff., 95 f., 98, 100
Piraeus	105, 156, 168, 230, 266, 268, 280	Alaas	69, 79 n. 41 and n. 44
Kantharos harbour	105	Kition	79 n. 42
Zea harbour	115, 199	Kourion	79 n. 41
Plataea	168	Palaepaphos	79 n. 41, 66, 68, 79, 82 n. 59, 95
Rhamnous	219, 280	Xerolimni	
Sounion	161 f., 178, 280	Salamis	55, 67, 68 f., 75, 79, 82, 95
Thorikos	199 n. 39, 217, 280	Arsenal cemetery	29, 73 n. 24
Outside of Attica		Tsami cemetery	75 n. 29, 82 n. 59
Achaea/ Achaean	30 n. 34, 68	Delos	186, 190 n. 5, 197, 202 n. 51
Aegean/ Aegean Islands	34 n. 61, 65, 75, 80, 82 f., 269	Delphi	163, 187, 190 n. 5, 200 n. 44, 204 n. 63, 218, 220, 224 n. 47
Aegina/ Aeginetan	204, 218, 230	Stoa of the Athenians	197 n. 32
Argos/ Argolis/ Argolid	28 n. 23, 29 n. 28, 34 n. 61, 75, 100, 194 n. 23	Eleutherna	95 n. 27, 98 n. 42
Arkades	60	Egypt/ Egyptian/ Egyptianizing	79 n. 42, 80 n. 50, 240, 242, 246, 249
Asia Minor	246 f., 270	Deir el-Medina	244 f.
Assos	194 n. 23	Herakleopolis	245
Aššur	242, 249	Wâdi Natrûn	245 (Wadi Natrun)
Atarot	79 n. 43	Emar	242
Babylon	239, 242	Epirus	34 n. 61
Cape Artemision	277	Etruria	100
Capua	60	Euboea	29 n. 26, 32, 34 n. 61, 60, 219, 255, 256 n. 34, 277, 280
Caria	273	Chalkis	75 n. 30, 255
Clazomenae	270 n. 46	Eretria	210, 255 f.
Corinth/ Corinthian	100, 163, 199 n. 42		

	West Gate	60	Near East	239 ff., 95, 100
Lefkandi		33 n. 52, 35, 60 n. 61, 67, 74, 75 n. 30, 79 f., 83	Nichoria	34 n. 57
	Palia Perivolia cemetery	80 n. 49	North Syria	59
	Skoubris cemetery	29 n. 26	Nuristan	37, 38 n. 89
	Toumba cemetery	32 f., 67, 74, 79	Olympia	53, 155, 203 n. 60, 252
Gezer		75, 80	Pangaion	269
Gordion		52 n. 12,	Paros	204 n. 63
Halicarnassus		273	Paroikia	32, 51, 98 n. 42, 203
Imbros		266, 274		
Ionia/ Ionian		15, 35 n. 65	Peloponnese	82
Ionian Islands		34 n. 61	Philistine	75, 79 f.
Keos			Phoenicia/	78, 100
	Karthaia	192, 201 n. 50, 202	Phoenician	
	Koressia	197	Phrygia/ Phrygian	52 n. 12, 98
Knossos		83	Rhodes/ Rhodian	75, 82
Latium		100	Rome	150, 273, 298 n. 10
Lemnos		200 n. 45, 266, 274	Salamis (island)	13, 15, 167, 176, 186, 218, 268 n. 27, 277 f., 280, 285 ff.
Levant/ Levantine		67, 69 n. 18, 74 f., 76 n. 35, 78 ff., 82 f., 96 n. 31	Samos	163, 104 n. 63
Macedonia		34 n. 61, 53	Sicily	187
Mari		242, 244	Sikyon	199 n. 39
Megaris		280	Skyros	75, 266, 274
	Megara	218 f., 223, 247, 252, 268, 278, 280	Sparta/ Spartan	170, 185, 214 f., 246 n. 39, 270 n. 46, 274
Mende		265, 274	Stamna	60
Mesopotamia		100 n. 58, 149 n. 2, 240 ff., 246 ff.	Strymon	269
Mycenae		28 f., 30 n. 35	Tall Bazi	242
Naxos		33 n. 55, 163, 201 n. 50, 203 n. 58, 204 n. 63, 268 f.	Tarentum	305
	Iria	190 n. 5, 192, 200 n. 45	Tell Mikne/ Ekron	79 n. 43
	Sangri	190 n. 5, 192, 197, 202	Tell Qasile	79 n. 42
			Thasos	202, 266, 274
			Thebes	136, 224 n. 43, 245, 268
			Thessaly	28 n. 25, 53
			Voulokaliva	29 n. 25
			Tiryns	83, 159
			Ugarit	100
			Ur	242

Uruk 241, 247 f.

Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt

herausgegeben von

Prof. Dr. Martin Zimmermann
Prof. Dr. Jens-Uwe Krause
Prof. Dr. Karen Radner

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Band 17: Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronizio, Vincenzo Capozzoli (Hrsg.): **Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars** · Proceedings of the International Workshop at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)
2019 · 372 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4813-9

Band 16: Verena Espach: **Formen und Kontexte sexueller Gewalt gegen Männer in der Antike**
2018 · 166 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4697-5

Band 15: Daniela Gierke: **Eheprobleme im griechischen Drama** · Eine Studie zum Diskurs von Oikos und Polis im Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus
2017 · 324 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4634-0

Band 14: Klaus Georg Sommer: **Der 21. Januar 1192 v. Chr.: Der Untergang Ugarits?**
2016 · 336 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4531-2

Band 13: Nadine Leisner: **familia romana** · Darstellungen der Familie in der römischen Sepulkralkunst
2015 · 400 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4439-1

Band 12: Aron Dornauer: **Assyrische Nutzlandschaft in Obermesopotamien** · Natürliche und anthropogene Wirkfaktoren und ihre Auswirkungen
2016 · 424 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4451-3

Band 11: Ennio Bauer: **Gerusien in den Poleis Kleinasiens in hellenistischer Zeit und der römischen Kaiserzeit** · Die Beispiele Ephesos, Pamphylien und Pisidien, Aphrodisias und Iasos
2014 · 392 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4312-7

Band 10: Burkhard Backes, Caroline von Nicolai (Hrsg.): **Kulturelle Kohärenz durch Prestige**
2014 · 306 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4263-2

Band 9: Birgit Christiansen, Ulrich Thaler (Hrsg.): **Ansehenssache** · Formen von Prestige in Kulturen des Altertums
2013 · 460 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4181-9

Band 8: Anna Anguissola (Hrsg.): **Privata Luxuria** · Towards an Archaeology of Intimacy: Pompeii and Beyond
2013 · 244 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-4101-7

Band 7: Angelika Starbatty: **Aussehen ist Ansichtssache** · Kleidung in der Kommunikation der römischen Antike
2010 · 300 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0927-7

Band 6: Berit Hildebrandt, Caroline Veit (Hrsg.): **Der Wert der Dinge – Güter im Prestigediskurs** · »Formen von Prestige in Kulturen des Altertums« · Graduiertenkolleg der DFG an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
2009 · 414 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0859-1

Band 5: Martin Zimmermann (Hrsg.): **Extreme Formen von Gewalt in Bild und Text des Altertums**
2009 · 352 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0853-9

Band 3: Albrecht Matthaei: **Münzbild und Polisbild** · Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung kleinasiatischer Poleis im Hellenismus
2013 · 198 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0783-9

Band 2: Berit Hildebrandt: **Damos und Basileus** · Überlegungen zu Sozialstrukturen in den Dunklen Jahrhunderten Griechenlands
2007 · 604 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0737-2

Band 1: Dirk Rohmann: **Gewalt und politischer Wandel im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.**
2006 · 260 Seiten · ISBN 978-3-8316-0608-5

Erhältlich im Buchhandel oder direkt beim Verlag:
utzverlag GmbH, München
089-277791-00 · info@utzverlag.de

Gesamtverzeichnis mit mehr als 3000 lieferbaren Titeln: www.utzverlag.de

