

From *Polis* to Borders: Demarcation of Social and Ritual Space in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Greece¹

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Abstract

This article focuses on three interrelated themes in the study of ancient Greek religion, looked at through the material evidence from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on the island of Poros, Greece. First, I look at the so-called *polis* model and its applicability to an interpretation of Kalaureian material related to the cultic life of the sanctuary from the point of view of the 'historiography' of Greek religion. I then discuss the historical context of the archaeological material, with particular emphasis on the topic of the sanctuary as a known place of asylum particularly during the Hellenistic period. Thirdly, I examine the archaeological material related to eating and dining and its potential connection to the demarcation between sacred and profane activities and between sacralised and profane space in the sanctuary, with special interpretative attention to the significance of border(s) and boundaries. Drawing attention to these issues may help us understand the dynamics and interplay between 'official' and 'private' aspects of ancient Greek religion, within both the tradition of the scholarship of ancient Greek religion and the so-called 'archaeology of cult'.

Keywords: Ancient Greek religion, Greek city-state, Kalaureia, archaeology of cult, demarcating sacred

In this article I discuss the interpretation of the archaeological material related to religion and cult at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, on the island of Poros, Greece. My approach encompasses three distinct but inter-related aspects for studying the social and physical demarcation of ritual and sacred space at the sanctuary. They are the following: 1) Mapping the important parameters for the conceptualisation of ancient Greek religion. In this case study the role of the Greek city-state, the *polis*, as a signifier of official and private cultic activity is discussed. 2) Investigating the histori-

1 I am grateful to Arto Penttinen for reading the manuscript and commenting on it. I also wish to express my thanks to anonymous readers of the text for their suggestions, as well as to Paul Ewart for his language advice.

cal background and context of the archaeological material, with particular emphasis on the role of the sanctuary's *asylia* function. This is elaborated in conjunction with the question of the applicability of the so-called *polis* model in interpreting Greek religion. 3) Archaeological material related to the border-areas of the sanctuary of Poseidon and (ritual) dining within it is presented, with particular interpretative attention to the significance of border(s) and boundaries between the physical, social and symbolic demarcation of sacred and profane, *temenos* (sanctuary) and *polis* (Greek city-state).



Figure 1. View of the excavation site from the south. Photo: Berit Wells.

The sanctuary of Poseidon, known as the place where Demosthenes took poison to kill himself (Plutarch, *Dem.*, 29–30; Strabo 8.6.14.), is located on a saddle between the mountaintops of Vigla and Profitis Elias, c. 185 m above the sea in the centre of the island of Kalaureia, the larger of the two islands that make up today's Poros (Figure 1). The sanctuary attracted little archaeological attention until the late 1990s. This may have been due to the bad preservation of its monuments, which had little to offer to generations of archaeologists trained in a tradition where especially monumental architecture was at the core of sanctuary studies. In 1894 an investigation was undertaken for a single season (for the results see Wide & Kjellberg 1894, 248–82). Fieldwork was resumed in 1997 (excavation reports: Wells & *al.* 2003, 2005 and 2008; Penttinen & Wells & *al.* 2009 forthcoming).² An international team of scholars is currently working on the site and on the island,

² Berit Wells, Arto Penttinen and Dimitra Mylona are currently working on a comprehensive publication on Buildings C and D of the sanctuary. I am very grateful for all the information they have kindly provided to me.

carrying out a long-term investigation funded by the Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond with permission for the Swedish Institute at Athens. One of the aims of the investigation is to study the interaction between *polis* and the sanctuary, by trying to determine the extension of the sanctuary and its association with the city. Before going into this matter, however, I first take a brief look at the research tradition in order to map how the relationship between sanctuary and *polis* has been perceived in conceptualisations of ancient Greek religion and how this has affected the way we approach the complexity of Greek religion today.

Background: the Role of *Polis* in Greek Religion

Greek religion is seen as having been firmly embedded in the city-state. This view has gained the status of a more or less dominant paradigm: in fact, the structure of the *polis* has provided the framework for conceptualising Greek religion. This agenda was put forward particularly (and influentially) by Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, who expressed it for example as follows: '[i]n the classical period *polis* religion encompassed, symbolically legitimated, and regulated all religious activity within the *polis*, not only the cults of the *polis* subdivisions such as the demes, but also cults which modern commentators are inclined to consider private, such as, for example, *oikos* cults' (Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 322).³ The reasons behind this emphasis on the 'communal understanding' of ancient Greek religion lie, however, in the long tradition of religious studies, and can be traced back to Émile Durkheim's views on religion formulated in the beginning of the 20th century. In the Durkheimian sociology of religion there is one supra-individual power on which everybody is dependent, and it is society itself. This means a totality of the forms of social interaction in which religion pervades everything, or 'all that is social is religious: the two words are synonymous' (Durkheim 1984, 119; see also Murray 1990, 6). In this model the collective consciousness is highly religious, as religion itself functions as a factor both forming and demanding social cohesion. I have further elaborated elsewhere (Pakkanen

3 Similar views abound in the literature on Greek religion; see e.g. Bruit-Zaidman & Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 6: 'Greek religious beliefs and rituals were given their characteristic structure at the moment when one of the most distinctive forms of the Greek political organisation was emerging – the *polis* or city.'; P. Cartledge, translator of the English edition of this book, underlines the same in 'Translator's introduction' (p. xv): '...the proper context for evaluating Classical Greek religion is not the individual immortal soul but rather the city, the peculiar civic corporation that the Greeks labelled *polis*.'

2009, forthcoming) the background of two distinct readings in the tradition of theorising on the Greek city and contrasted the Durkheimian tradition with another influential strain in religious studies, namely Max Weber's sociology of religion, which essentially underlines the importance of an individual as an agent of ideological change. Weber looked at how ideas shape human action and developed a powerful theory of religious change by exploring how religious practitioners develop comprehensive belief systems. In his system religious ideas and people's practical activities are elementarily interlinked as they move through history as an inseparable process.⁴ Both these views, the Durkheimian and the Weberian, reflect larger ideologies in cultural tradition, and have influenced our conceptualisation of Greek religion even today.

At a general level the separation between the two spheres of Greek religion, the communal and the individual, has led to further categorisations, which conceptually echo the division of ancient Greek cult into official and private realms. Specific aspects of Greek religion, such as ritual dining and votive offerings, are regarded as falling into these main categories, which function at a meta-level in our categorisations. On the other hand there is a more concrete fact lying behind the ambiguity, namely the nature of the material at our disposal and its tendency to shape our views: there is less adequate material about the religion of an individual compared to the wealth of (particularly Classical and Hellenistic) official documentation, religious architecture etc. One could of course argue that the study of the monumental and official sphere in sanctuary studies has been a paradigm which has shaped our focus. It is true that generations of archaeologists were trained in a tradition where the central focus of sanctuary studies was on (monumental) architecture. It is also true that Athenian religion itself has been the main reference point in the formation of the *polis*-religion framework, and it certainly works very well in the case of the city of Athens. Thus the criticism as to difficulties in using the *polis*-religion model in addressing local and regional differences in cult is a logical consequence: the model is not a universal one (within the confines of the Greek world), as it mainly reflects what went on in Classical Athens (see e.g. Kindt 2009,

4 For Weber's method as a sociological historian or historical sociologist, see Nafissi 2005, esp. 120–2. For Weber's theory of religious change, see his influential study *Religionssoziologie* 1956 published in 1922, and e.g. Swindler 1993, x–xiii. Weber studied the agrarian history of the ancient Greeks in his *Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum* (1909) and 'Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der antiken Kultur' (1896), which were jointly published in English as *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (1998).

forthcoming). However, when we look at the situation elsewhere, as I will be doing below, the borders between different religious activities seem to become opaque: *polis* religion may appear within domains which are not traditionally fields of the city-state, and within the arenas of traditional *polis* activities there may arise ritual behaviour which stems from the non-political or communal spheres of life.

It is also important to remember that we who analyse past religions are – to use modern parlance – deeply situated and reflect the currents of thinking around us *ad hoc*. Religion in general in our (western) society appears as a matter which is less private, less subjective and perhaps less transcendentalist than it was before the two world wars. Religion has become associated with ethnic and national conflicts, due to the role it has been seen to play in terrorism and fundamentalism. Faith, an essential ingredient of religion, has been driven outward, towards the polity, the state, the nation, and the complex we call ‘culture’. Clifford Geertz (2000, 176, 184) observed that ‘[particularly in the post-Wall world] projection of religious identities and religious issues toward the centre of social, political, and even economic life may be widespread and growing, in both scale and significance’. Can we observe these issues in studying ancient Greek religion on the basis of material evidence of a sanctuary site obtained by archaeological methods? Where and how does the difference between official/state religion and private/individual religiousness manifest itself in studies of Greek religion, more particularly in those studies which can be labelled as the ‘archaeology of cult’? It is worth remembering, as Yannis Hamilakis (2007, 14) has noted, that an ‘archaeological record’ does not exist as such; rather, it is archaeology that produces the entity we call the archaeological record out of material fragments of the past: ‘Archaeology as a discipline, as a set of principles, devices, methods, and practices, creates its objects of study, out of existing and real, past material traces.’⁵ It is therefore important to be aware of how religion and cultic activity is conceptualised, and what existing conceptualisations – as well as our ‘situational’ positions – reflect as to the tradition of interpretative views in the study of ancient Greek religion. An overview of tradition gained as a result of looking at the ‘historiography of religion’ also stands for expectations as to the nature of religion at a site under study; it is an initial set of definitions, a kind of prototypal core of

5 Compare this with the renowned statement by J. Z. Smith 1982, xi: ‘There is no data for religion. Religion is solely the creation of the scholars’ study. It is created for the scholar’s analytic purposes by his imaginative acts of comparison and generalisation.’

the conception of religion within the scholarly community carrying out the archaeological investigation of a cult site. It reflects the prototypical senses that scholars regard as being included in 'religion', of what this necessarily must entail.⁶ A hermeneutical approach (Pakkanen 2008, forthcoming) may highlight the role of tradition behind our current formulations, and hopefully will lead to a dialogue between the tradition and the current situation, which could change our 'readings' of the past 'reality' out of the material evidence. The two are in a dialectic process with each other. Michel Foucault might have called this enterprise an 'archaeology of knowledge', as for him 'archaeology describes discourses' (Foucault 1991, 131), with the intention of digging deeper in order to see that continuities and unities of thought are the results of construction (*ibid.*, 25–9; also e.g. Carrette 2000, 94–6). In the following I approach the interpretation of the archaeological material related to cult practice from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia from a point of view which combines investigation of both the tradition of interpretative framework in the historical study of Greek religion and the study of material remains themselves ('archaeology of religion'). They are both discourses which operate within their own accepted interpretative frameworks. Examining these frameworks and combining their views should itself be a process of 'archaeology of knowledge'.

Historical Context at Kalaureia: *Polis, Asyilia* and Social Contacts

Strabo (8.6.14) mentions that the Kalaureian sanctuary was an asylum⁷ sacred to Poseidon or an inviolable temple of Poseidon, who according to the myth had gained the island from Leto in exchange for Delos (Callimachos, frg. 593, Pausanias 2.33.2 and *FGrHist* 70f 150; for the oracular reply see Parke & Wormell, no. 314, 125–6). Kalaureia also appears in Plutarch's list of inviolable temples attacked by the Cilician pirates (Plutarchos, *Pomp.* 24.6). A well-known asylum seeker at Kalaureia is Demosthenes. In fact, his

6 Elsewhere I have called this starting point of conceptualisation a relative *a priori* approach which does not strive for a final definition of religion but first examines some commonly shared pre-understanding of the confines of the concept 'past religion'; see Pakkanen 2001, 76–8 with references; also Comstock 1984, 499–517 and Lakoff 1987, 17–21, 312, 327.

7 For the term *asyilia* see e.g. Schlesinger 1933, 2–6, 28–38 who distinguishes two different types of *asyiliae*: one concerning an individual ('personal *asyilia*') and another connected to a place, such as a sanctuary (pp. 53–68); cf. Gauthier 1972, 209–30 who distinguishes personal *asyilia* (also as a social formulaic mode of behaviour), *asyilia* granted to a community, and *asyilia* of sanctuaries and villages consecrated to a divinity); see also Chaniotis 1996, 66; for Kalaureia as a 'doubtful case' of declared inviolability, see Rigsby 1996, 90–1.

reputation as the most famous asylum-seeker (*hiketes*) of the Kalaureian sanctuary may have prompted or at least increased the reputation of Kalaureia as a known place of asylum (Hjohlman in Wells & *al.*, forthcoming). Kalaureia was also a seat of amphictyony, an association of neighbouring states to defend and maintain a common religious sanctuary or shrine in the name of a shared common interest. Information about this is again largely based on Strabo (8.6.14) who informs us that the members of the Kalaureian amphictyony were Prasiai, Nauplia, Minyan Orchomenos, Athens, Aigina, Epidauros and Hermione. The date of origin of Kalaureian amphictyony remains in dispute: it is placed either in the Mycenaean period, in the eighth century BCE, or between 680–650 BCE (for a summary of the discussion see esp. Kelly 1966, 113–5, with references; more recently Tausend 1992, 12–19; Schumacher 1993, 74–6; Mylonopoulos 2003, 427–31; Figueira 2004, 622–3; Hjohlman in Wells & *al.*, forthcoming).⁸ In the case of particularly Classical and post-Classical Kalaureia the two phenomena, *asylia* and amphictyony, might have been connected; while this has interesting implications, I will focus mainly on the asylum function of the sanctuary as it may suggest one possible interpretation of the archaeological material presented below.

The *asylia* function of a sanctuary was in many respects political, and the connection of granting temples the right of *asylia* has been seen as evidence of a city's and its territory's neutrality; particularly during Hellenistic times civic inviolability guaranteed immunity from war. K. J. Rigsby (1996, 4–5) regards this generally as a tool of foreign relations, an affair of international relations among sovereign states. The religious aspect of amphictyony has been underlined by some scholars (e.g. Tausend 1992, 19, 58–60; Penrose Harland 1925, 166, 168), who regard the function of the league led by Kalaureia as originally purely religious, centred around the sanctuary of Poseidon; they propose that the political and economic aspects attached to the amphictyony developed only later. Commercial interests may have had a role to play as well: asylum granted by the sanctuary guaranteed security of trade relations and revenues for the city (port taxes for example), particularly as even people from distant places could meet during the festivals connected with these sanctuaries (Gauthier 1972, 227–8; Sinn 1996, 67–9; Mylonopoulos 2003, 430–1; Figueira 2004, 623). Religious festivals related to sanctuaries were indeed sometimes described by ancient authors as 'a sort

⁸ Kelly 1966, 113–15 strongly supports the last possibility, based on the archaeological material excavated by Wide and Kjelberg in the 1894. Mylonopoulos 2003, 427–31 points out phases of increased importance of amphictyony after the Late Geometric times. The existence of the Kalaureian amphictyony during the Hellenistic times is attested in the inscription IG IV, 842.

of commercial affair' (*panegyris emporikon pragma*) (Stabo 10.5.4 on Delos) or 'a splendid fair and festival' (Polyb. 5.8.5. on Thermon). Whether for political, mercantile or religious reasons, *asylia* declarations by the sanctuaries themselves in any case increased in number during the Hellenistic period, particularly between 260 BCE and the senatorial review of their status in 22–23 CE (Rigsby 1996, 3). In the case of the Kalaureian sanctuary, we may ask what the role of the *polis* was in regard to the sanctuary's right of *asylia*, how it was connected with religion and cultic life, and how we can discern this in the archaeological material. Thus we should also look at the matter from the point of view of the *polis* model in the study of Greek religion. The sanctuary of Poseidon peaked during the Hellenistic period, when a

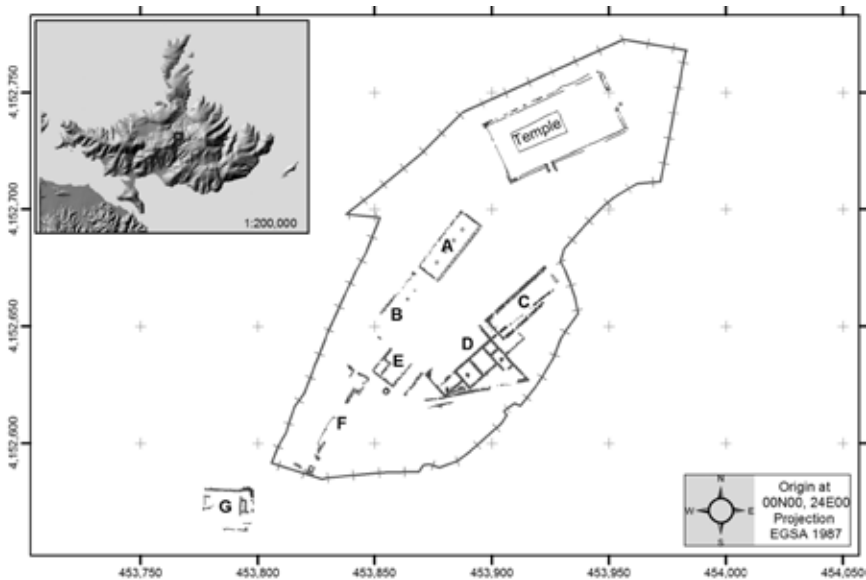


Figure 2. State plan of the sanctuary of Poseidon after the excavations in 2003 by Emanuel Savini

number of building programmes were carried out within the *temenos*. It is situated in a relatively isolated topographical position. It has been noted that this is often the case with Poseidon sanctuaries, which are remarkably often located outside the city; in this they stand in contrast particularly to those of Athena (Schumacher 1993, 80–2). Apart from its remote geographical setting, suitable for asylum purposes, the sanctuary could have been associated with the sanctuary of nearby Troizen specifically as a place of

asylum: at least Demosthenes tells how he travelled first to Troizen on his flight from Athens, but fearing that Troizen was not sufficiently safe he moved to Kalaureia (Demosthenes, *Epistulae* 2.20).⁹ It has been pointed out that as a phenomenon *asylia* should be seen against the background of the absence of international civic law in the Greek world (Schumacher 1993, 69 with references; Sinn 1993, 90). This may have been due to the particularism of *poleis*, whose law, rules and regulations did not intersect even though supra and intra-regional contacts certainly existed and were necessary. This was, understandably, also one of the reasons for the formation of amphictyoneis, and in the case of Kalaureia the aims could have been mercantile as well as military. Sanctuaries could also themselves declare *asyla* in order for example to seek protection against piracy. However, amphictyony could also function as a tool in organising 'international' relations among sovereign states, as Rigsby interprets the role of amphictyony particularly in Hellenistic contexts. In the case of Kalaureia this indicates that despite its clear regional character and ambiguous status in relation to the *polis*, the *asylia* and amphictyony functions brought an element of encounters of people and communities to the life of the sanctuary. Both *asylia* and amphictyony can thus be regarded in terms of political and cultural relations, for which religion plays a sanctifying role. *Asylia*, however, could also be an individual matter (Demosthenes certainly sought protection at Kalaureia as an individual, regardless of his political motivations), and in these cases it becomes strongly linked with *hiketia*, supplication.¹⁰ In principle all the sanctuaries accommodated *hikesia* as they were themselves inviolable, the property of gods, but some of them were better suited or more reputable as particular asylum sanctuaries. Personal inviolability could be guaranteed by a sanctuary official to an individual (e.g. Schlesinger 1933, 2, 52; Gauthier 1972, 226–7, 229; Chaniotis 1996, 66). As the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia was not the easiest to reach, a *hiketes* had to make an effort to seek refuge there, particularly as there was a degree of reciprocity implied: it was not wholly guaranteed that *asylia* would be granted to a *hiketes*, as it

9 Demosthenes explains that '[from] Troizen I changed my residence and now have my quarters in the sanctuary of Poseidon in Kaulaureia [...] from [where] I look across the sea every day to my native land...' Cf. this with Plutarch, *Dem.*, 29–30.

10 For this concept see esp. Gould 1973, 75ff.; Freyburger 1988, 501–25; also Rigsby 1996, 10–11; Sinn 1993, 91; *idem*, 1996, 68. Gould (esp. pp. 93–4) underlines the reciprocity of relations in the phenomenon, which he regards as as much a social as a religious institution permeating the modes of (reciprocal) social encounters of the Greeks. For *hiketia* as an expression of personal aspect Greek religious life, see Gould 1973, 75–8, 94; Sinn 1993, 91; *idem* 1996, 68; for *hiketia* as a social 'communication code', see esp. Gould, 1973.

depended on a priest's decision (e.g. Rigsby 1996, 10; Sinn 1993, 91–3).¹¹ On the other hand, *asylia* not only protected but was also politically motivated, and as such could be used for more 'mundane' purposes, such as protecting political or mercantile interests. A sanctuary on a summit generally served a wider group than that of a *polis* due to its territorial inclusiveness, and in this respect religion, not interstate politics, was at work (Langdon 2000, 462). These sanctuaries could have been associated with movement and encounters, people travelling through a mountain pass where frontier sanctuaries provided places of meeting (Cole 2000, 467; Sinn 1996, 71). This also means that the role of the *polis* as an identifier of the sanctuaries' character was less determining than in those cases where a particular *polis* was closely associated with its sanctuary. Moreover, the Kalaureian sanctuary peaked in the early Hellenistic period, when new aspects – such as interregional and international contacts – began to infiltrate into religion. Archaeological material can inform us about this aspect of the life of the sanctuary at Kalaureia: the provenience of identifiable artefacts provides evidence of who visited the sanctuary and who had influence over its affairs. The material found in the Archaic depositions at Kalaureia so far seems to anchor it very firmly in the Peloponnesian sphere.

Corinthian and Argive artefacts loom large among the more obscure, locally or regionally produced items. The situation is different, however, after the end of the 6th century BCE, when Attic pottery, having previously been practically non-existent, suddenly becomes very common. This change coincides with a period of major restructuring of the sanctuary (Penttinen & Wells & al. 2009, forthcoming). It is possible that the nature and role of the *asylia* went through changes, which are reflected in the physical rearrangement of the sanctuary. In general it can be said that *asylia* and *polis* were naturally closely related, and that *asylia* had both moral and political implications. At Kalaureia we have a potentially old amphictyony, and a possibly increasing role of *asylia* under the 'umbrella' of amphictyony. They guaranteed a framework for both individual and communal religious activities to be carried out at the sanctuary, but also provided a safe place for mercantile and political encounters between communities and individuals.

Reflecting earlier notions about the *polis* model, we can try to work out a multi-layered view: one in which a social and political framework, which might as well be called a *polis* frame, existed on one level, but was not

11 Chaniotis, 1996, 83–5 assumes that the efforts to limit automatic right for *asylia* to all increased from the Classical period onwards, and each individual case was submitted to close examination by sacred and civil authorities. He, like Gould 1973, 82–5 also elaborates the methods and cases for getting rid of supplicants and removing them from sanctuaries.

necessarily the most determining factor in the religious scene of Kalaureia. It merely provided a confined or safe space for the evolvement of the Kalaureian cultic life particularly in the name of the amphictyony and *asylia*. Within and beyond that there were aspects of religion which developed quite independently of *polis* intervention or even without its active participation. These were for example largely *hiketeia* to a place of asylum, which could have resulted in differing, even ambiguous and 'unofficial' ritual activities that took place in the sanctuary. One example of this is dining, or ritual dining, in its varying forms. It combines the sacral and profane functions of the sanctuary, in that not all dining in a sanctuary space was ritual dining: people stayed and lived there, while others visited the *temenos* principally to take part in ritual functions, and sacralised feasting was an important part of sacrificial rituals in general. In the case of Kalaureia this leads us not only to think about differences between communal and individual religion, but also to consider the interplay between official and private religion and religiousness. Given that particularly during the Hellenistic era the sanctuary received visitors and seekers of asylum from distant places, we can also assume an encounter between various dietary and ritual customs. Apart from crossing the borders beyond conventional ritual customs, the issue may also be reflected in the demarcation of space within the sanctuary and between the sanctuary and the surrounding 'profane' space.

Physical Borders within the *Temenos*

It is noteworthy that most mountains or summits were not in the first instance associated with individual states. This is not exceptional: land was regarded as belonging to the gods prior to the *polis*; the rest was up to demarcating sacred enclosures within the *polis* (Cole 2004, 37–8). A city's acknowledgement of a sanctuary on a high place was to do with claiming divine protection for its institutions, land, and boundaries. In the case of Kalaureia it is therefore probable that the *polis* developed as a consequence of the sanctuary. It is known, furthermore, that Kalaureia gained independence from Troizen in 323 BCE, after having been under Troizen's control during the fifth century and at times attacked and occupied by Athens during the Peloponnesian wars.¹² Its status as a *polis* before that is uncertain. The city of the Kalaureians, using the city-ethnic in a collective sense, is mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions at the sanctuary (*IG IV*, 839 [4th cent. BCE], ll. 4, 7 and

12 This is attested by the inscription *IG IV*, 839; Thucydides. 5.18.7 mentions Kalaureia in connection with the Peloponnesian War; see also Hjohlman in Wells & *al.*, forthcoming.

IG IV, 848, l. 3 [197–159 BCE]), thus confirming the sovereignty and existence of the *polis* of Kalaureia during that time.¹³ Sanctuary and *polis* were naturally inseparable in many respects, but assigning meanings to a demarcated space could also be secondary: the location of a temple could draw political borders as well (cf. Cole 2000, 475, 481). Cults practised particularly at the edges of a territory both organise social space and articulate social relations, thereby also identifying and demarcating the sphere of influence of the *polis* (esp. de Polignac (1995 [1984])). How, then, can we distinguish the territory of *temenos* from that of *polis* (at Kalaureia) by archaeological means? Can we distinguish secular activities within a bordered *temenos*, and if so, what sort of problems do we encounter? Naturally, the question relates to the difference between the sacred and the profane. We shall see that the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive or in absolute dichotomy, but rather exhibit varying degrees of differentiation (cf. Gurthie 1996, esp. 125–8). At Kalaureia we can archaeologically observe various building activities over periods of time designed to order, re-order, define and re-define space within the *temenos*. The erection of the Archaic *peribolos* wall around and in the vicinity of the temple of Poseidon and the erection of demarcation walls in the western part of the sanctuary in the same masonry style coincided with the building of the temple itself at the end of the 6th century BCE (Penttinen & Wells & al. 2009, forthcoming). Another period of major changes in the layout of the sanctuary at Kalaureia was the late 4th and early 3rd century BCE, coinciding with Kalaureia's independence from Troizen. In the western part of the sanctuary Buildings C and D were erected amidst an extension of the sacred area by means of extensive terracing, and a new *peribolos* was constructed next to the existing Archaic *peribolos* of the temple of Poseidon. This must have required a major investment of time and labour in re-structuring the most central part of the sanctuary at the time (Penttinen & Wells & al. 2009, forthcoming). Looking at the spatial (re-)arrangement of sacred enclosures due for example to new building enterprises may help us understand the interaction between *polis* and religion as well as between the sacred and the profane. It is noteworthy that demarcating sacred enclosures was as much a political and cultural enterprise as a religious one. Demarcating space within a sanctuary could also reflect the religious world view and the conventions which had to be followed in providing for cultic needs, which naturally had

13 Furthermore, IG IV, 842, (2nd cent. BCE) from Kalaureia has on the last line (9) Ἀμφικτ[ύοσι]; see also Penrose Harland 1925, 161; Figueira 2004, 622 and Hjollman in Wells & al., forthcoming.

to be consistent with the acknowledged religious ideology and traditional practice. We can try to connect the first re-structuring of the sanctuary at the end of the 6th-century BCE with the Athenian political and cultural influence, as this is the time when Athens first started looking towards the south and the Aegean. The nearest sea in the Athenian horizon was the Saronic Gulf, which was visually dominated by the land mass of Aegina, the foremost sea-power of the period. Athens' carefully cultivated relationship with Troizen, which was proclaimed as the very birthplace of its founder Theseus, can perhaps be seen as an attempt to gain influence in the Aeginetan hinterland. A major investment in a sanctuary to Poseidon on nearby Kalaureia would fit into the same strategy (Penttinen & Wells & *al.* 2009, forthcoming). The second re-structuring and expansion of the sanctuary in Hellenistic times could also have had political implications: a neighbouring state, this time the city of Arsinoë on the peninsula of Methana, makes use of the sanctuary as a manifestation of its own status. Recent excavations have revealed a dedicatory inscription on the base of a twin statue of Queen Arsinoë and King Ptolemaios Philadelphos of Egypt to Poseidon by the city of Arsinoë (Wallensten & Pakkanen 2009, forthcoming). This dedication may possibly be linked to the construction of the Hellenistic *peribolos* (Penttinen & Wells & *al.* 2009, forthcoming). Historically speaking, therefore, the changing of the layout of the sanctuary and the erection of monumental structures may have reflected changes in political and cultural powers.

There are no extant *horos*-markers at the sanctuary. It is notable however, that even if there were, their meaning as boundary-markers would not have been transhistorically fixed; their physical location was not fixed either, as the markers could be (and often were) moved according to changes in boundaries themselves (Ober 2005, 190–1). In general, it seems that even though the borders of *polis* itself may have been ill-defined and rather abstract, the main dividing line between *polis* and non-*polis* was the line between non-arable land, in one way wilderness, which was undesignated, undefined, unmarked (*ibid.*, 197–8, 201). Each *polis* needed land for agricultural enterprise, and that itself provided the means for the *polis*. Thus there was hardly a clear line between 'social' space and wild 'landscape' space. The Greeks, however, seem to have been quite clear in terms of what *polis* meant as an urban social unit: a community was a *polis* if it had a distinct urban centre, however small, and was organised in conformity with a particular socio-political model (e.g. Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 4, 7–8). In terms of physical demarcation, the distinctive meanings of *chora* (territory of the *polis*) and the *polis* itself (the walled city) were thus clearly identified. A

more subtle and conceptually more complex differentiation was that between sacred and profane space, both within a *temenos* and between it and the surrounding profane space. This was to demarcate a *temenos*. The term *hieron* was used for a sacred enclosure or place; the term *temenos* designates a 'piece of land marked off from common use and dedicated to a divinity', thus being a 'place set aside' and deriving from the verb *temno* 'to cut off' (from the secular). Its area was distinguished from the areas of human settlement (*LSJ*, s.v. *hieros*, *temenos*, *temno*; also Bruit-Zaidman & Schmitt Pantel 1992, 55; Pedley 2005, 29; Cole 2004, 40–1). 'Ritual space did not have to be discovered; it could also be created', states Susan G. Cole (2004, 39) referring to administrative procedures for regulating the space allotted to the gods. It is possible to add to her notion that ritual space could not only be created (which is quite natural), but also moved, temporarily and otherwise. Cole distinguishes three occasions for creating ritual space: 1) when establishing a new community, 2) when introducing a new ritual, and 3) when a normally secular space was to be used for a temporary ritual event. In the case of the Kalaureian sanctuary the last occasion is the most interesting. In effect we are talking about temporary, unregulated ritual(ised) acts, in marginal spaces which could have been changeable in nature. The Greeks had a term for this kind of marginal space in relation to the *polis*: *ta methorria*, a space/land between the *horoi* (Ober 2005, 201 referring to Thucydides 2.18, 5.3.5.). These spaces, however, were not 'romantic frontier zones in unrestricted and undefined wild space', but rather carefully defined in functional terms due to the need to establish distinctions of human use of land and actions in order to at least minimally control it/them. They had political connotations as liminal spaces lying beyond political confines, and were not deserted wilderness as such (Ober 2005, 202; Cole 2000, 471). These areas could also represent 'danger', and in the Greek religious mentality could have connotations of impurity, a central concept in the Greek religious worldview. Following Victor Turner's reminder (1985), however, 'liminal' space here is not abandoned to chaos or negativity, but rather refilled from the essence of the social so that it can be domesticated and reshaped to fit into the religio-social network and mentality (Turner 1985, 210–1). How is such a marginal space and its demarcation manifested in the archaeological material from the sanctuary of Kalaureia? In the next section I present an example of the excavated Kalaureian material, which can be interpreted in the light of the questions outlined above.

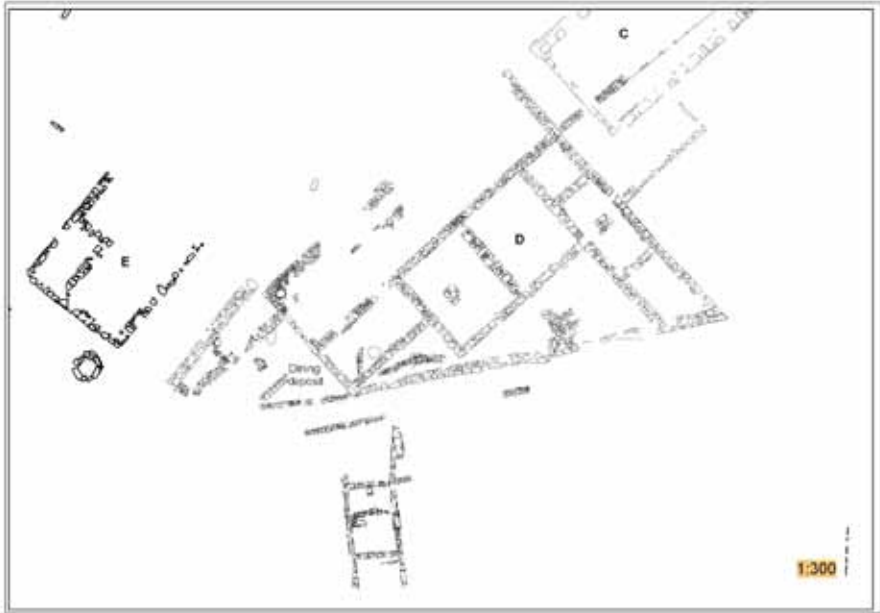


Figure 3. Detailed plan of Building D, indicating 'dining' and cistern deposits.

Ritual Borders: Dining in the Border-zone?

Building D is situated on the southern edge of the sanctuary close to its entrance (Figure 3). For a potential cult building it is unconventional in form, consisting of a main building on the north side and an open irregular courtyard on the southern side (Wells & *al.* 2003 and 2005).¹⁴ The finds from construction fill, datable to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE, give a *terminus post quem* of the construction of the structure to very end of the 4th century BCE (Wells & *al.* 2003, 79–80). The triangular area west of Building D has yielded material which shows that dining was the main activity here, especially in the Hellenistic period.¹⁵ Hence the deposit, the material

14 New extensive excavations of the area have been carried out in 1997–2003. The architecture of the building is currently being studied by Jari Pakkanen. I am grateful for his comments.

15 For the Hellenistic finds, see Wells & *al.* 2005, 165–6. Dining as a predominant activity within Building D has also been attested for the Archaic period; Wells & *al.* 2008, 78. It should be noted, however, that continuity, even relative continuity, is a different and methodologically challenging question; see Pakkanen 2001, 74–81 for the methodology of studying continuity of cult.

from which will be briefly discussed here, is called the 'dining deposit'. The aforementioned corner of the area produced a deposit containing a range of materials, including a huge number of potsherds; the bones of a large number of animals, including fish and molluscs; and organic materials, such as carbonised seeds and charcoal.¹⁶ Some of the material was probably thrown over the low southern wall of the triangle, though the majority was found deposited inside (Penttinen in Wells & *al.* 2005, 166; Wells & *al.* 2008, 87). Pottery analysis narrowed down the deposition date to ca. 165–160 BCE (Wells & *al.* 2005, 169, 179, 182; 2008, 45). Pottery is generally domestic in character and the vessels do not exhibit a great variety of shapes; those for drinking and the preparation and serving of food outnumber all other categories. The finds were almost consistently of Hellenistic date (Wells *et al.* 2005, 169–78, Fig. 47, Appendix 2). D. Mylona observes that the animal remains deposited in the triangular area west of Building D seem to have been rapidly accumulated and buried: the bones did not remain exposed either to weathering or to scavengers. This is evidenced by their sharp breakage lines and the preservation of even small and fragile fish elements. All the fish present in the assemblage, apart from large migratory species such as tuna, seem to have been brought on site and consumed whole. Likewise the pottery found in this deposit is characterised by clean, unworn breakage lines, and is therefore well preserved within the relatively undisturbed deposit. Thus, archaeologically speaking, the activity related to eating here seems to have been a singular occurrence; we are talking about a feast of massive proportions, after which activities within this particular area ceased altogether (Wells & *al.* 2005, 166–8, 182; 2008, 48).

A cistern was excavated in 2004 immediately to the north of the north-west corner of Building D (Wells & *al.* 2005, 180; 2008, 36–8, 48, 64, 89–9).¹⁷ It proved to be Archaic in date in terms of construction (Wells & *al.* 2005, 180), but yielded interesting remains whose function may possibly be related to the finds of the 'dining deposit', as they seem to have associations with

16 Animal remains discovered and (preliminarily) studied from this assemblage consist of several thousand bones, most of them from medium and large size mammals; there are also more than one and half thousand from fish, a few from birds and about a dozen from small mammals. The deposit also produced several sea-shells. The fish bone assemblage from the 'dining deposit' is particularly rich in variation and species: at least eighteen different species of fish, probably more, seem to have been consumed there. See Wells & *al.* 2008, 45, 88. All the details about the animal bone analysis have been kindly provided by Dimitra Mylona, who is responsible for their study, analysis and interpretation. My thanks go to her.

17 The finds from the cistern have not yet been published, although see Wells & *al.* 2008, 90. Here, as in the case of the 'dining deposit', I am relying on information provided to me by Dimitra Mylona concerning the animal finds, and on personal communications from Arto Penttinen and Berit Wells concerning other archaeological features.

eating and dining. This old cistern appears to have been filled with material the largest accumulation of which is datable to the late Hellenistic period, to ca. 50 BCE (Wells *et al.* 2008, 37–8, 41). The cistern is in fact one of the most enigmatic features of the Kalaureian site. Although the remains of organic material it produced are from the late Hellenistic period, not from the early phase of the period as in the case of the 'dining deposit', the two still share some analogous and rather unusual characteristics which have to do with eating and feasting. The deposit in the cistern can be also regarded as a single deposition (*ibid.*, 48). It is worth underlining, however, that archaeologically the two deposits are separate features. The remains of dogs and snakes are a special characteristic of the late Hellenistic accumulation of the fill in the cistern: Mylona observes that among the identifiable bones two thirds are dog bones, and that they fall into two main groups, namely adults and new-borns. The remains of at least eight adult dogs have survived with all anatomical parts present, though not in the form of complete skeletons. Some of them bear disarticulation and skinning cut marks. There are also remains of at least 26 puppies, in a variety of sizes; the remains of whole carcasses are preserved although in disarticulated form. Some of the adult dog bones were burned. Mylona suggests that various adult dogs were eaten after they had been skinned in the vicinity of the cistern. Their preparation probably involved char-grilling portions of the meat. After consumption of the meat and probably the temporary deposition of the bones in a hearth, the dog bones and possibly the skins of these dogs were deposited in the cistern. The puppies might also have been cut in pieces, as they do not seem to have been char-grilled like the adults. Instead, they were either cooked in another manner (boiled, stewed), or left uncooked. The cistern deposit also produced a very large number of snake remains, some of large species over 1.5 metres long. Various snakes were apparently killed, cut in pieces and exposed to fire with their flesh still on. Mylona thinks it possible that the snake flesh was also consumed; she proposes a scenario in which an old cistern was filled up with soil and stones, and when the filling was almost complete a mass of animal remains was thrown in. In addition to dogs, puppies, and snakes there were bits and parts of two horses, a pig and a piglet, a cow, four sheep and goats, alongside birds, eggs, fish, frogs and a pile of sea-shells. On top of all this a number of complete or broken glass vessels were thrown in the cistern. Berit Wells (personal communication) has pointed out another possibility for the sequence of events: the material may originate from another cult place elsewhere; it was accumulated there, and was finally thrown in the cistern at the sanctuary.

Crossing Borders and Creating Sacred Areas

Elsewhere I have interpreted this 'dining material' from an anthropological perspective, considering the distinction between ritual and cult, and from a more historically oriented perspective of further elaborating the role of the *polis* at Kalareia (Pakkanen 2008 and 2009, forthcoming). Ritual theory and its implications for the interpretation of archaeological data has been widely discussed, and the literature on ritual itself is vast; the most recent (2006–2007) two-volume presentation of the 'state of the art' or current situation in the theory of ritual in anthropology and religious studies alone consists of 1350 pages (Kreinath & Snoek & Strausberg 2006 and 2007). New¹⁸ attempts have recently been made to bring the anthropological and archaeological discussion concerning ritual closer together (e.g. *The Archaeology of Ritual* edited by E. Kyriakidis 2007), but such a synthesis still remains rather non-explicit. The basis of anthropologists' interpretation of ritual differs from that of archaeologists: anthropologists are observing rituals which are more or less clearly connected to a 'script', i.e. the explanatory structure of a myth, with which the ritual is seen to be intimately connected; this 'script' alone, it is argued, can give us insight into what sustains belief (e.g. Lewis 1980, 16–7; Fogelin 2007, 56). When on the other hand we try to understand ritual activity solely on the basis of archaeological material, especially in a context in which written sources are lacking, we are moving within a skeleton or frame of performed past actions. I have discussed this issue in more detail elsewhere (Pakkanen 2009, forthcoming); here I employ a slightly different interpretative point of view, applying the perspective of the demarcation on the one hand between sacred and profane space, on the other between sacred and profane activities within our sanctuary setting.

The subject of demarcating sacred enclosures and localities, more generally of situating religion as a fundamentally spatial practice (esp. Tweed 2006), has recently been elaborated particularly by scholars of religion (for an overview of the tradition, see Knott 2005a, 155–75; for the theory Anttonen 1996, 2005; Knott 2002, 2005a and 2005b).¹⁹ Veikko Anttonen, for

18 An early negative view as to the possibility of finding a common ground for the two discourses was powerfully expressed by E. Leach (1977).

19 'Space' and 'place' have been the focus of interest among theorists of religion for some time, particularly since J. Z. Smith's *To Take Place* (1987). Formulating definitions of religion has fallen out of fashion since C. Geertz's definition of religion in his acclaimed 'Religion as a cultural system', originally published in 1966 (reprinted in Geertz 1973, 90, 125; for a critical evaluation see esp. Asad 1993, 29–53). New attempts have been made recently; for example, T. A. Tweed (2006, 54) gives a definition of religion which draws on aquatic and spatial tropes and is of some interest with regard to the topic of this article: 'Religions are confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and comfort suffering by drawing on human and superhuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries' (for a specification of 'crossing boundaries', the heart of Tweed's theory, see esp. pp. 73–9).

example, discusses various attributions of sacrality as representations of setting places and sites apart in specific locations and points of terrain in local topographies. He underlines that setting apart such places and locations marks ritual space and establishes rules of conduct for their maintenance, as well as establishing specific social values and categorisations on which the inviolability of behavioural norms is based (Anttonen 2005). We are thus dealing with a two-fold issue the parameters of which are fundamentally intermingled: the demarcation of specificity in the terrain and a topographical location, and the definition of socially accepted religious behavior within or in the vicinity of these spaces. This reflects and elaborates on Victor Turner's idea of liminal space as a location which is both 'emptied' of structured social norms and values and has the potential to be 'fulfilled' with creative activities, thus being a domain of 'contraction' which may lead to something 'new' (cf. Turner 1985, 210).²⁰ Further elaboration and interpretation of our material from this point of view, however, requires a brief look at the semantics of the central concepts related to the sacred and space, since they provide us with a reference point for interpreting material evidence related to cultic practice.

In Greek religious thinking one central concept is that of *miasma* (stain, defilement or pollution; see esp. Parker 1983); it reflects both the doubleness and the polarity of religious conceptualisation when a line is drawn between sacred and profane. This line, however, is not always clear-cut. The term *hosion*, for example, signifies a condition of liberation from the sacred, i.e. being desacralised after sacralisation; therefore free and ultimately *profane* (see esp. Jeanmaire 1945, 66–86 for the double meaning, pp. 67–70; also Burkert 1985, 269–70; Parker 1983, 338 and Bruit-Zaidman & Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 9). In connection with the right to enter sanctuary spaces, *hosion* could signify that it is not religiously offensive for everyone to have free access to a sacred space (Parker 1983, 338). A similar semantic duality is present for example in a word-pair such as *hagos*, 'state of being revered, sacred' and *agos* 'impurity' (defilement, close in meaning to *miasma*) (e.g. Fehrle, 1910, 45; Moulinier 1952, esp. 15–6, denying the connection between the roots *ag-* and *hag*; Vernant 1990, 121, 128, 135–8; Parker 1983, 5–6). The close interaction between 'sacred' – particularly in its more common forms, *hagnos* or *hagios*

20 More recently, Turner's *limen* has often been replaced by the term 'border', regarded as a contact zone; rather than facilitating an unproblematic transition, this zone becomes a site where 'disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other' (Pratt 1992, 4). In one of his latest writings, Turner (1985) pointed to this transgressive potential and the 'structure-dissolving quality of liminality'; see Giles 2000, 31–2; Soto 2000, 10.

– and its opposites, such as *agos* and *miasma*, implies that the purification of defilement was also manifested at a practical level in the demarcation of ritual and cult. ‘We mark out the boundaries of the sanctuaries and precincts of the gods so that no one crosses them unless pure [...]’ wrote an Hippocratic author in the early fourth century BCE in his passage *On the Sacred Disease* (*Morb. Sacr.* 1.110–12). Walter Burkert (1985, 271) reminds us that ‘sacred and dangerous are close together’, while Mary Douglas (1984) famously paid attention to the significant role of pollution in framing social structures and boundaries in terms of their inner danger. She asserted that pollution and filth are uncleanness, dirt, and that dirt is something, anything, which is out of place and a disturbance or threat to the proper order of things. Therefore dirt and pollution must assume order: dirt is the reverse of power, and is itself the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter. Pollution categories are activated when they indicate the boundaries which mark a potential transition and a state of danger. Thus even the notion of holiness or sacredness is often a mixture of the positive and the negative (Douglas 1984, esp. 36–7; also Leach 1976, 77–9). Waste as the residue even of ritual acts is inevitable; hence for example the presence of animal bones and ashes in primary sanctuary depositions. There could, however, have been complex religious ideas underlying the depositing of residue or waste from ritual acts. Bearing this in mind, if we suppose that the remains of the meal found in the triangle area just outside Building D or those deposited in the cistern are the remains of a sacrificial meal, why were they thrown into the marginal space on the border between the sacred and profane? Perhaps we can construct a speculative scenario, whereby our meal could have taken place within the confines of the sacred space, the *temenos* or *hieron*; since, however, this was not a proper, regulated sacred meal, its remnants had to be disposed of away from the sacred place: the deities could not be offered a share of an ‘improper’ meal, and the purity of the place had to be restored, *agos* had to be driven out (*agos elaunein*).²¹ Sacralised items, such as the components of feasts, had to be desacralised in order to maintain the equilibrium and minimise the dangers entailed by the crossing of borders. This is of course a speculative possibility. We know, however, of Greek rituals whose meaning was to purify a space which had been polluted in one way or another, to restore its sanctity by ritual repair. The blood of piglets in particular was used for this purpose, not only in sa-

21 Thucydides 1.126.2, 12; 127.1; 128.1–2; 2.13.1 where *agos* denotes ‘curse’; also Sophocles, *OT* 971, 1246.

cred enclosures but also in public spaces such as in meetings of *bouleitai* in the *Bouleteria*, before dramatic performances, in households, etc. The most common act of purification required cutting the throat of a newborn piglet and walking around the designated area while letting the blood drip from the carcass (Apollonius 4.700–709; see also Cole 2004, 47–8). After the ritual the used carcasses (*katharmata/katharsia*) were regarded as irredeemably polluted; they therefore had to be thrown outside the boundaries of the city: into a no-man’s land (between the boundaries of the *polis*, or into triangular spaces at crossroads (*triodoi*) (esp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 280c and 290d), to cisterns or to the sea (Johnston 1991, 220–1). *Katharsia* seem to have included *oksythymia*, the polluted remains of household purification rituals, which thus were basically similar and had also to be deposited in liminal places. The Hippocratic writer wrote about *katharmata* (used in healing purifications): ‘They bury some of them in the ground, they throw some into the sea, and others they carry off to the mountains where nobody can touch or tread on them’ (*Morb. Sacr.* 1.99–102).²² We thus cannot but pay attention to the symbolic and probably concrete meaning of the triangular space at the border area between the sanctuary and the surrounding profane area at Kalaureia. We could pay similar attention to the cisterns and to the fate of the remnants of our feasts. They may have functioned as liminal spaces which themselves required definition and demarcation as belonging simultaneously to both inside and outside the sacred space. The triangular area can be regarded as part of the border zone of the sacred enclosure near the entrance of the *temenos*; as boundaries in one form or another (*horos*-markers, water sources and basins, walls etc) demarcated sacred from profane, they also defined a critical space associated with motion, people travelling through a mountain pass, but also crossing a boundary by moving into and out of differentiated spaces (cf. Cole 2000, 467; see also Anttonen 1996, 42–3).

Such spaces can be regarded as having been created by ritual behaviour. J. Z. Smith famously reminded us that ritual is not a response to ‘the sacred’, but rather something is made sacred by ritual (Smith 1987, 26, 114–7). This implies a process of sacralisation, and in relation to space it presupposes a certain dynamism: sacred locations can be created by sacralising them through a ritual act. Can they be ‘deconstructed’ by desacralisation, as is implied in the Greek religious emphasis on the purification of defilement by ritual means? Desacralisation, however, here does not seem to remove

22 See Parker 1983, 229 (with references) to laws restricting where *katharmata* might be thrown out (*LSCG* 108; *IG* I³ 257 = *LSS* 4) and Cole 2004, 48.

sacrality from the space used for depositing the items utilised in purification rituals or the remains of sacrificial meals; the ritual of desacralisation (e.g. throwing away *katharmata*) is a religious act, and if performed, as in our (more or less imaginary) case, in a space related to a sacred enclosure, this ritual act can be seen as an act of recognition of the boundaries of that enclosure. It produces, furthermore, a space that requires reverence, prohibitions and rules of avoidance. It has been noted that spatial border points can be regarded as categories which tend to be invested with special referential value. This tendency is activated in places set apart as sacred. The sacred as a category 'boundary-zone' both separates different domains and binds them together (Anttonen 1996, 37, 43 and 2003, 31). Thus the location potentially used for depositing the remains of a sacred act, in order either to desacralise them or simply to remove them from the sacred enclosure, in fact becomes a critical zone with investment of sacredness due to a need to demarcate the sacred from the profane. Such a space is thus more than merely the product of sacralisation (or desacralisation) (Anttonen 1996, 42–3, 54; 2003, 293–305; 2005, 190, 198): it stands on its own as an invested sacred ground which marks the border and emphasises behavioural rules at these border-zones. This border area becomes functionally operative in situations of prohibitive or affirmative rituals which mark socially determined attributes of purity and impurity, or acceptance and rejection (cf. Anttonen 1996, 43).

Our 'border-zone meals' allow us to consider whether the sanctuary's role as a possible place where people even from further away were drawn together – partly due to its reputation as a site of asylum – had concrete implications for bordering and demarcating the sacred space and sacred activities. Providing that the sanctuary can be seen as a place of encounters of people from different regions (particularly during the Hellenistic period), we can imagine that they brought with them their local customs, such as the dietary and the ritualistic. They could have created a temporary sacred space for an ephemeral ritual activity (cf. Cole 2004, 49 and above), but also had to respect the local and supra-local (panhellenic) rules of purity and sacredness. In the case of encounters, for example, the location can be regarded as a socially and culturally transgressive space, where unregulated, unofficially oriented ritual acts could take place within the confines of an established cult setting; thereby challenging the limits of the behavioural borders as to what was (officially) an accepted ritual act and what was not. The eating of dogs as sacrificial animals was not an unheard-of practice in ancient Greece, but it was certainly not included in the regulated, officially sanctified gallery of religious customs; rather, dogs (and snakes) were

connected to the chthonic and 'dark' sphere, particularly through Hecate, and their carcasses are known to have been regarded as *katharsia*: 'meals' (*deipna*) set out for Hecate in the crossroads were called *hekataia*, and probably consisted of *magides*, puppies, and perhaps certain fish (Parker 1983, 30; Johnston 1991, 219–20). Demosthenes (*Quaest. Rom.* 68, 111) tells us that dogs were carried out to Hecate with the other *katharsia* (purification refuse) and that puppies were used in cleansing rituals themselves (*periskylakismos*). Dogs were sacrificed to Hecate, but eating dogs' meat was regarded with disdain or was performed out of insulting bravado: in his speech against Conon, Demosthenes (*C. Conon*, 39) informs us about a bunch of young Athenian men who out of bravado devoured the food set out for Hecate at the crossroads and indulged in eating the testicles of the pigs which had been sacrificed to purify the space before the assembly convened. Supposing that *hekataia* could have consisted of the carcasses of puppies or dogs as well, this reflects the contemporary attitude towards eating such meats. Unapproved or ritualistically impure eating customs could have been one of the reasons why the remnants of the dining activities and feasts in the Kalaureian border-zone were thrown away or carefully buried. This itself could have been crossing the 'official' borders of one-state regulated ritual customs.

Conclusion: Tripartite Approach to the 'Archaeology of Religion'

How can discussion of archaeological material from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia advance our knowledge of ancient Greek religion and the so-called 'archaeology of cult' or 'archaeology of religion'? In this article I have adopted a method which combines three distinct but interrelated approaches to interpreting archaeological material related to religion and cult, and would argue that they are all essential in the attempt to further our understanding of past religions, such as that of the ancient Greeks, on the basis of material evidence. First, awareness and insight into how ancient Greek religion has traditionally been conceptualised is important, as it sets the parameters for an hermeneutical interpretative understanding of the material data produced by archaeologists. In Foucaultian terminology this can be called an 'archaeology of knowledge'; in this particular case study it is represented by the exploration of the role of the so-called *polis* model in interpretations of Greek religion. Secondly, investigating the historical background and context of the period(s) to which the archaeological material belongs is vital, as material culture cannot be separated from the

historical framework within which it was produced – or, more provocatively, which produced it. In my Kalaureian case study this is represented by the exploration of the role of the *asylia* function of the sanctuary. Thirdly, interpretation of the material can take place from different points of view, and different interpretations even of the same material are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In this case study I have utilised theoretical insights developed by scholars of religion as to the role and function of borders and the demarcation of space in the creation of sacred spheres, both physical and conceptual.

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