

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

1994 AND 1995

(PLATES 65–76)

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA were carried out by the American School of Classical Studies for nine weeks in 1994 and eight weeks in 1995. Work was concentrated at the northwest corner, where the Panathenaic Way enters the great square between the Royal Stoa and the Painted Stoa, and in the area around the west end of the Painted Stoa (Fig. 1). The following is a preliminary report of the results of these two seasons of excavation.¹

PANATHENAIC WAY

Several trenches were opened up to explore the early levels of the Panathenaic Way as it runs eastward from the Great Drain to where it passes north of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. In all, several dozen road surfaces of hard-packed gravel dating from the 2nd century B.C. to the early Classical period were excavated. The road surfaces of the 4th to 2nd centuries were hard packed, with fist-sized stones embedded in them, their tops worn smooth by

¹ I would like to express my appreciation to the many people who made these two seasons possible. Primary financial support came from the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, which has generously sustained the excavation for many years. Supplementary support has come from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Philanthropic Cooperative, Inc., and private donors. I wish to record my personal thanks to David W. Packard, Lisa Ackerman, Anne Bartley, James Moran, Catherine Melrose, and Ian McLaughlin.

The Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Culture under the direction of Ioannis Tzedakis has been supportive in many ways. I owe a special debt to the Ephor of the Akropolis, Dr. Peter Calligas, and to several members of his staff: Alkestis Choremis, Maro Kyrkou, Ismene Triandis, Nikoletta Saraga, and, especially, Kalliope Lazaridou, for their sensitive and helpful supervision of the project.

The staff of the Stoa of Attalos has been responsible for all the logistic concerns and cataloguing tasks associated with the excavation: Craig Mauzy (resident director), Jan Jordan (secretary), Richard Anderson (architect), Marie Mauzy (photographer), Sylvie Dumont (assistant secretary), and Anne Hooton (drafting). Conservation has been overseen by Alice Paterakis, with assistance from Katherine Hall, Elizabeth Hendrix, and Karen Stamm, along with several interns: Ann Brysbaert, Hiroko Kariya, Sarah Nunberg, and Susanna Pancaldo. George Dervos served as foreman, Koula Moustaki as darkroom technician, and Maria Stammatou as housekeeper.

Work in the field was overseen by five supervisors, whose work forms the basis of this report: Mark Mancuso (1994), Thomas Milbank (1994, 1995), and Professors Christopher Pfaff (1994), Lee Ann Riccardi (1994, 1995), and James Sickinger (1994, 1995). Actual excavation was carried out by teams of student volunteers, fifty-five in all, representing thirty-five colleges and universities. The individuals are listed at the end of this report on p. 261.

The photographs in this report are the work of Craig Mauzy, the plans are by Richard Anderson, and the profiles were drawn by Annie Hooton. I am indebted also to Dietrich von Bothmer, Mary Moore, and Beth Cohen for guidance in vase-painting matters.

Hesperia 65.3, 1996

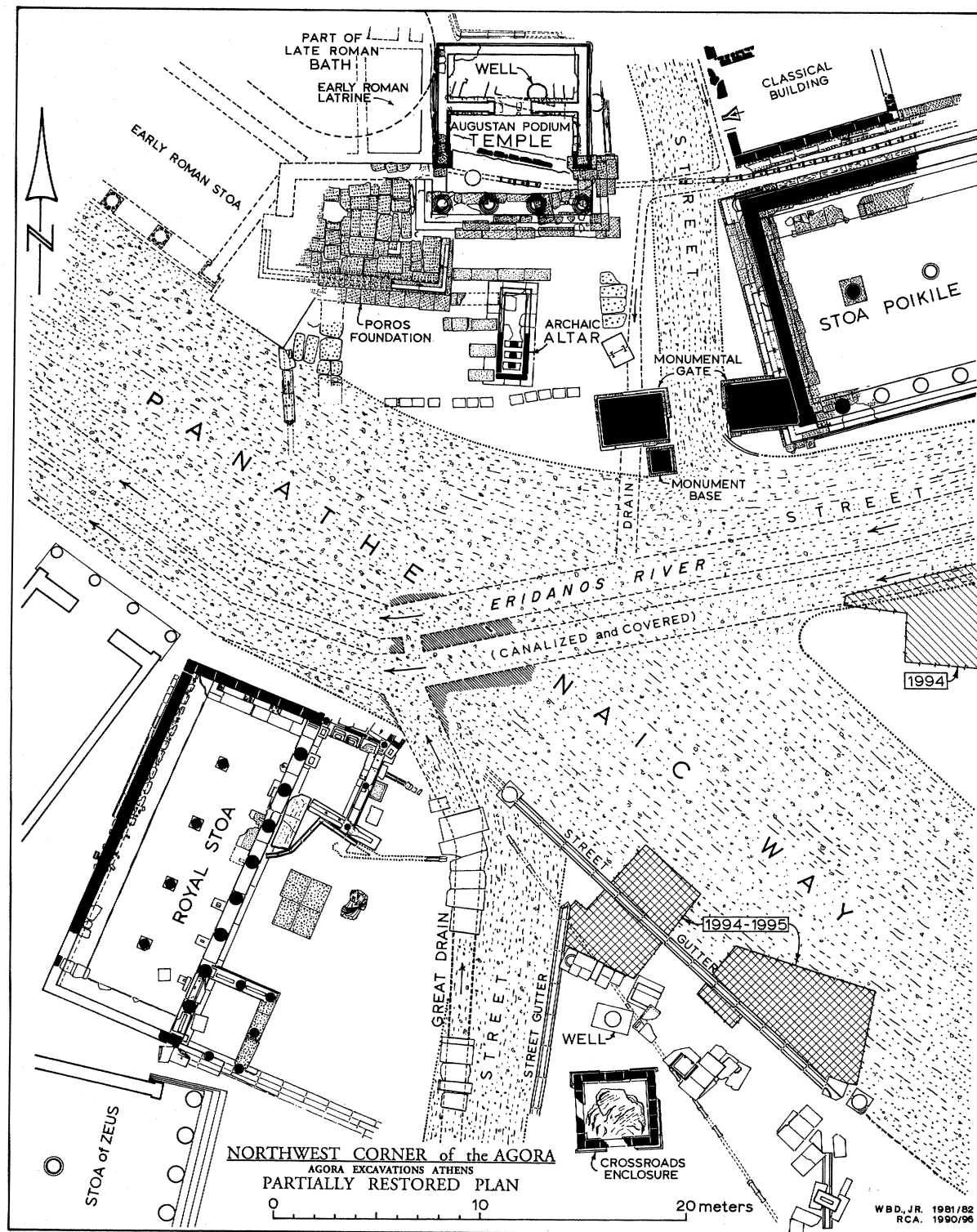


FIG. 1. Northwest corner of the Agora, partially restored plan showing areas excavated in 1994–1995

foot traffic. There were no traces of wheel ruts or other indications that wagons or carts used the roadway with any regularity.

Many of these upper surfaces were cut through by several dozen distinctive posthole cuttings of the sort encountered in earlier seasons farther to the east (Pl. 65:a). Not enough were exposed in any one surface to discern a regular pattern in their placement, but it seems likely that they were meant to hold *ikria*, the temporary wooden grandstands set up for spectators at the Panathenaia.² The cuttings were usually round, measuring 0.15–0.38 m. in diameter and 0.20–0.40 m. in depth. In addition, there were several larger rectangular cuttings measuring as much as 0.50–1.00 m. on a side. Beneath the regular road surfaces were found a dozen or more surfaces dating in the second half of the 5th century B.C. These had been laid down with far greater care than the later roads. Their individual layers were very thin, only 0.02–0.05 m. thick, and largely free of any stones bigger than about 0.03 m. across. The result was a series of very hard-packed, very smooth, quite level surfaces, unlike other Agora roads, and suggests careful, regular renewal of specially prepared surfaces (Pl. 65:b). Few, if any, of the postholes could be associated with these fine layers. Beneath these unusual surfaces more gravel road surfaces were encountered, together with postholes, and below them a deep, loose, sandy fill, quite different from the road surfaces above. This lower fill contained material from the first third of the 5th century B.C. and would seem to represent the extensive cleaning up necessary after the Persian sack of 479 B.C. Beneath this layer the water table was reached, and we recovered no certain evidence for the course or existence of the Panathenaic Way in pre-Persian times. It may well be that the early line of the road ran elsewhere through the square and that the course we are familiar with is a feature of post-Persian Athens. This might explain the otherwise puzzling orientation of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, central milestone of the city, vis-à-vis the road. Such a major shift is consistent with other parts of the Agora, where the Persian destruction wrought great changes in urban design, in the location and plans of both private houses and public buildings.³

From the layers representing the Persian destruction and its immediate aftermath, numerous small finds were recovered, including bronze arrowheads, fragments of terracotta sculpture, and at least a dozen ostraka. Among the certain ostraka, five were cast against Hippokrates son of Alkmeonides, four against Themistokles son of Neokles, two against Kallixenos son of Aristonymos, and one against Xanthippos son of Arriphron.⁴ Six of the more significant ostraka and fragments are presented here.

² For the *ikria* set up in the Agora in the Archaic period, see *Agora* III, pp. 162–163 and 220–221; for Hellenistic *ikria*, *Agora* III, no. 302, p. 105. Similar postholes were encountered farther east in 1980 (Camp 1986, pp. 44–45, fig. 28) and in 1967 along the Panathenaic Way some 230 meters to the southeast, just east of the East Building (H. A. Thompson 1968, p. 41).

³ Shear 1993, pp. 405–406.

⁴ Hippokrates: P 32311, P 32313, P 32315, P 32316, and P 32317; Themistokles: P 32309, P 32318, P 32322, and P 32323; Kallixenos: P 32308 and P 32310; Xanthippos: P 32312. Other partial or possible ostraka from the same levels: P 32314, P 32319, P 32320, P 32321, P 32324, P 32325, and P 32326.

1 (P 32310). Ostrakon **Fig. 2, Pl. 66**

Fragment from the edge of a Lakonian pan tile, reddish brown glaze. P.L. 0.12 m., p.W. 0.071 m., Th. 0.014 m. Incised on the glazed upper side: ΚΑΛΛΙΧΣΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΥΜΟ, inscribed in two lines.

2 (P 32308). Ostrakon **Fig. 2, Pl. 66**

Heavy triangular sherd from the lower body of a large amphora. P.H. 0.115 m., p.W. 0.137 m., Th. 0.015–0.035 m. Incised over the thin, brown wash outside: ΚΑΛΛΙΧΣΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΥΜΟ, inscribed in two lines with the final sigma and omicron on each line subscript.⁵

3 (P 32312). Ostrakon **Fig. 2, Pl. 66**

Fragment from a Panathenaic amphora, preserving the lower part of one of the columns flanking Athena. P.H. 0.064 m., p.W. 0.08 m., Th. 0.006 m. Inscribed in two lines on the black glaze of the column:

ΧΣΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΡΡΙΦΡΟΝΟΣ

4 (P 32323). Ostrakon **Fig. 2, Pl. 66**

Fragment of the rim of a lekane; brown glaze on interior, unglazed on top and outside. P.L. 0.115 m.,

p.H. 0.035 m., Th. 0.01 m., W. of rim 0.035 m. Inscribed in two lines on top of rim:

ΘΕΜΙΣΣΘΟΚΛ. ΝΕΟΚΛΕΟΣ

5 (P 32311). Ostrakon **Fig. 2, Pl. 66**

Fragment from the rim of a lekane; black glaze on interior, unglazed on top and outside. P.L. 0.118 m., p.H. 0.04 m., Th. 0.008 m. Inscribed in two lines on outside, just below rim:

ΗΠΙΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΗΑΚΛΟΝΙΔΥ

6 (T 4025). Fragment of figurine **Pl. 66**

Left hand of the terracotta rider found in the Crossroads Enclosure in 1972 in a context of *ca.* 425 B.C.⁶

The hand was found in layer 15 of the road (Section BΓ, pottery lot no. 1015), dated to the first half of the 5th century, thereby helping to confirm the proposed date of the figure in the late Archaic period. The hand is pierced to hold reins. The figure presumably had once served as an akroterion and was dislodged in the Persian sack.

AREA SOUTH OF THE ERIDANOS RIVER

A test trench was carried down to bedrock just south of the canalized Eridanos river opposite the west end of the Stoa Poikile (Fig. 1). In some 1.00–1.20 meters of fill we encountered seven distinct surfaces, several cut by postholes, with no other architectural remains in the 25–30 square meters investigated. The surfaces were generally of packed earth, except for the uppermost, which had a lime-plaster crust *ca.* 0.04 m. thick laid down in the early years of the 4th century B.C. The lower surfaces of packed sandy clay often had worn cobblestones embedded in them. These earthen surfaces are in marked contrast to the hard-packed gravel road surfaces found in both the Panathenaic Way to the south and the road surfaces between the north side of the river and the Stoa Poikile. This contrast, together with the lack of any architectural embellishment, suggests that the area south of the river and north of the Panathenaic Way represents the open space and floor of the Agora square itself. On the basis of ceramic evidence, the earliest surfaces overlying bedrock seem to have been laid down at the end of the 6th century B.C. (Section BH, pottery lots nos. 287, 288, 293).

⁵ Kallixenos, unknown from literary sources, is well known from at least one ostracism. P 32310 (1) and P 32308 (2) bring the total of surviving ostraka cast against him to 282. It has been suggested that several of his ostraka, similar in lettering, may have been prepared in advance, like the well-known group of Themistokles ostraka (*Agora XXV*, p. 161 and fig. 30). P 32308 may well belong to this group; P 32310 seems even closer to the group, except for the chi in the form of an upright cross.

⁶ Shear 1973, pp. 401–402, pl. 75:a, b.

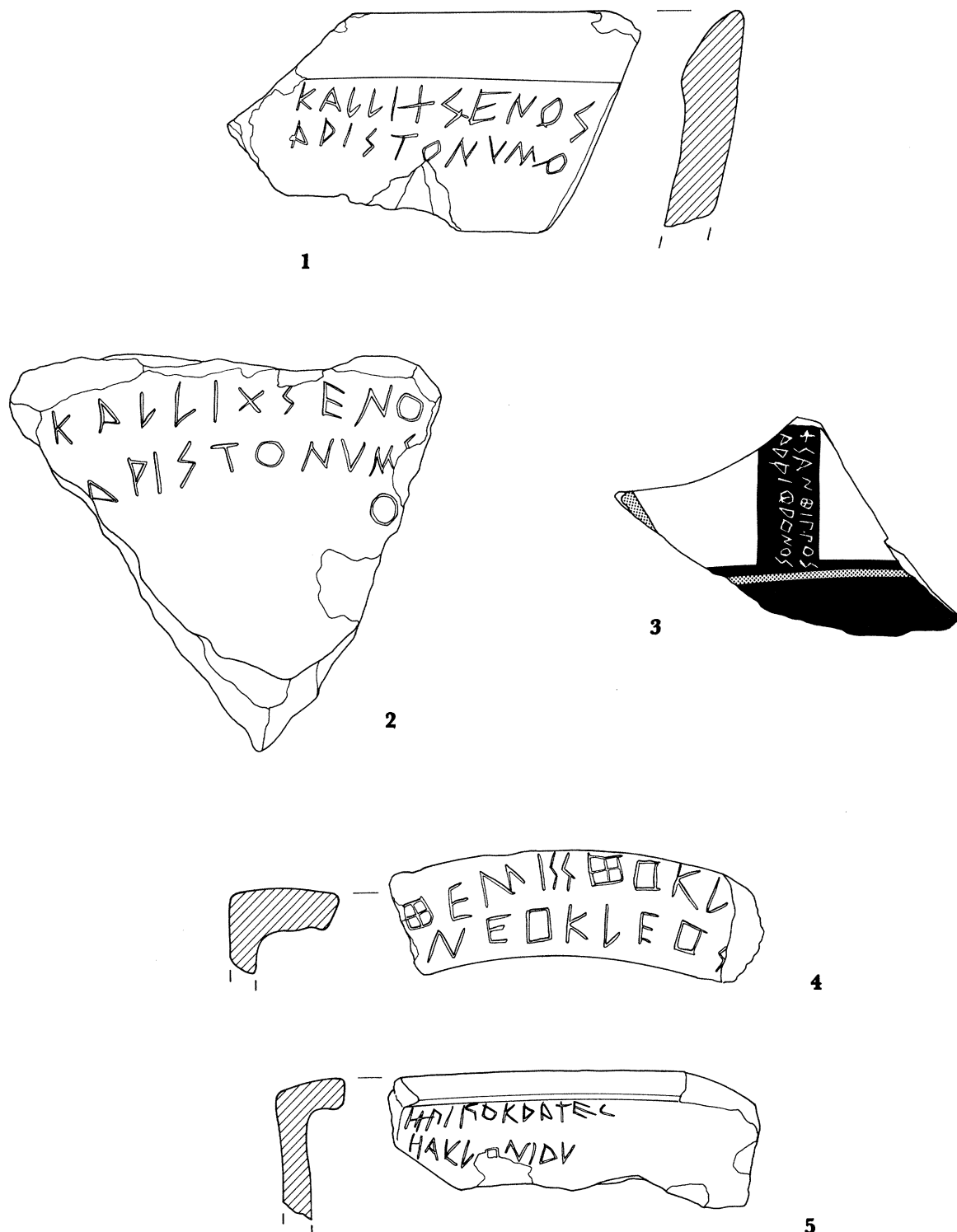


FIG. 2. Ostraka from the Panathenaic Way. Scale 1:2

Few finds were encountered in this area, although two fragments of Early Archaic terracotta figurines of horses are perhaps our earliest indication thus far of the intensive equestrian activity that was to become a feature of this corner of the Agora in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

7 (T 4359). Terracotta horse: head Pl. 67

Found over bedrock beneath the Agora floor (K/11-4/6,7; *ca.* 50.28 m. above sea level), July 28, 1994. P.H. 0.05 m., W. 0.038 m., Th. 0.023 m. Upper part of horse's neck and head, broken at muzzle and neck. Neck painted solid with thin, brown glaze; face and underside of neck reserved and decorated with wavy lines. Eyes in relief, the pupil a raised and painted blob of applied clay, surrounded by a painted circle.

For similar early terracotta horses, dated to the 7th century B.C., see Burr 1933, pp. 614–621 and figs. 82–86.

8 (T 4344). Terracotta horse: head Pl. 67

Found over bedrock beneath the Agora floor (K/11-4/6; 50.24 m. above sea level), July 29, 1994. P.H. 0.047 m. Crudely made horse's head, broken at neck. Head turned slightly to the left, with little definition or detail except for the top of the mane. Fine, buff clay with traces of added white.

AREA OF THE CLASSICAL COMMERCIAL BUILDING

Investigations were carried out in and around the upper levels above the northern rooms of the Classical commercial building which lies behind the west end of the Stoa Poikile (Fig. 3). The building is made up of a series of rectangular rooms set side by side, each with a doorway opening westward onto the adjoining north–south street and each apparently representing a separate workshop or commercial establishment.⁷ Uncovered in 1995 was the northern continuation of the west wall of the building, built of large ashlar blocks, and a short stretch of the original east wall, built of blocks of hard Akropolis limestone set in a polygonal style. Earlier excavation has suggested that the building was constructed around 400 B.C. and that it survived until the 1st century after Christ.

As noted, excavations in 1994 and 1995 were largely confined to the upper levels over the commercial building. The ground level rises gradually as one proceeds northward from the Eridanos River, and most of the evidence for late occupation has been lost in the construction of modern buildings along Astingos Street. The bottoms of a few pits which penetrated the lower Byzantine levels suggest some activity in the area in the 12th to 14th centuries. Below, we exposed, recorded, and removed the rubble walls of several private houses; these indicate a surprising density of occupation in the 10th and 11th centuries after Christ, after three centuries of virtual abandonment in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. The buildings clustered closely together, sharing party walls in a crowded urban arrangement.⁸ The house walls that were removed show several phases of rebuilding in their two centuries of existence, with the walls repeatedly renewed, often on a slightly different line, as the ground level rose. The evidence generally suggests a modest neighborhood, although the amount of storage capacity is impressive. In all, more than a dozen pithoi or subterranean lined pits were

⁷ Shear 1984, pp. 43–47.

⁸ For the southern continuation of this Byzantine settlement, see Shear 1984, pp. 50–57.

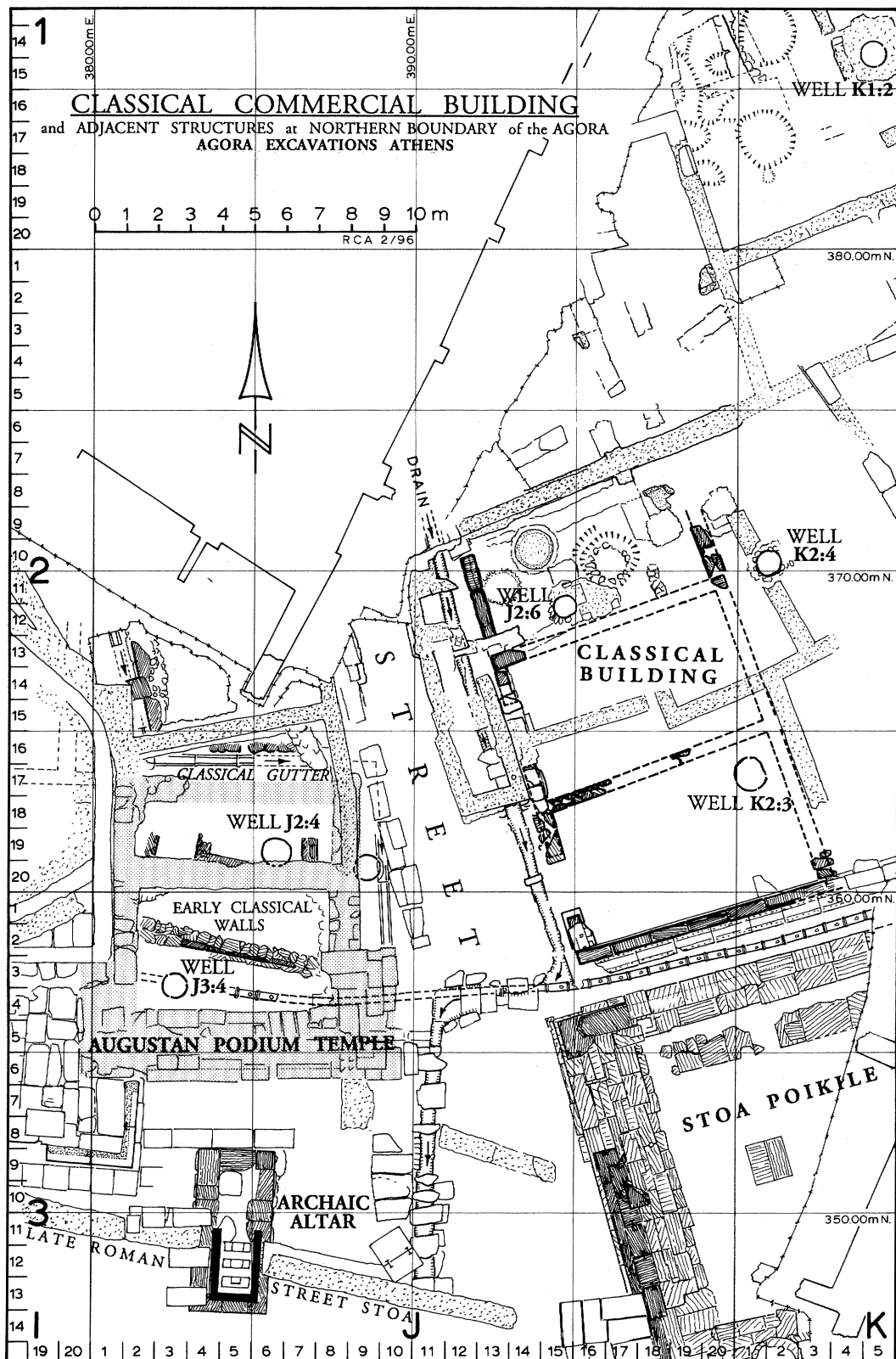


FIG. 3. Classical commercial building and adjacent structures north of the Stoa Poikile

found, as many as four in use in a single house at any one time. Up to two meters deep and a meter and a half in diameter, they were constructed by a variety of methods (large ceramic jars, mortared rubble, unmortared rubble, tile, and plastered mud brick), perhaps suggesting storage of varied commodities.

The remains of the storage pits and the deep wall foundations badly disturbed the Late Roman levels beneath. Only scraps of walls and small patches of tile floor survive from the 4th to 6th centuries. No substantial architecture was encountered, and it seems likely on present evidence that the area saw only modest use in the Late Roman period. Like so much of the Agora, the area was abandoned at the end of the 6th century, presumably as a result of the Slavic incursion in A.D. 582/3.⁹ A layer of debris consisting of broken pottery, tiles, and bricks was found throughout the area (Pl. 67:b). In addition, a shallow, tile-lined well (J 2:6) was filled up at this time, according to the ceramic evidence (Section BE, pottery lots nos. 1984–2001) and a large worn follis (Pl. 67:a) minted in Constantinople in A.D. 539/40.¹⁰ Finally, the abandonment of a major drain in the street to the west can also be dated to the late 6th and the early 7th century, to judge by the lamps recovered in the silt which choked the channel (Pl. 68:a).¹¹ In its latest phases this drain was a substantial one, built with a large U-shaped tile channel at the bottom, side walls of tiles set in mortar, and a cover of shallow, curved terracotta tiles (Pl. 68:b, Fig. 3).

Although little excavating was actually done within the Classical building, a collection of small finds from the area may provide evidence for at least one of the workshops. From above the floor levels of the third and fourth rooms from the south came several fragmentary terracottas of very high quality. These included a tiny gilded appliqué relief figure of a dancing maenad, a well-modeled head of a horse, also originally gilded, and a stamp or metal-impression relief of a satyr.

| | | |
|--|--------|--|
| 9 (T 4374). Terracotta appliqué: dancing maenad | Pl. 68 | after Christ (Section BE, pottery lot no. 1969). P.H. 0.025 m., W. 0.013 m., Th. 0.002 m. Lower parts of legs and lower left arm broken away. Relief figure of a maenad dancing to left, her left arm outstretched behind her; the right arm is down, clasping the lower |
| Found June 21, 1995, north of the third room from the south in the Classical commercial building (J/15-2/4,5) in a context of the 1st century B.C.–1st century | | |

⁹ For evidence of the Slavic destruction elsewhere in the Agora, see *Agora* XXIV, pp. 93–94.

¹⁰ Coin BE 1268. Obverse: DNIVSTINI ANVSPP AVC. Bust facing, in helmet (with plume and diadem) and cuirass; in right hand, a globe with cross. In field right, a cross. Reverse: large M. In exergue: CON, to right XIII. Lost to corrosion/wear: ANNO at left, cross above. Beneath the M: Γ. Weight: 21.9 grams. See Bellinger 1966, p. 85, nos. 38c:1–4. Also recovered was a half-follis, worn and struck off-center; its small size and low weight (9 grams) suggest that it is later rather than earlier in the series type: cf. Bellinger, no. 69, p. 97 and pl. XXI, dated A.D. 547/8.

¹¹ L 5976 (Pl. 68:a, left): from silt in drain (J/11,12-1/11,12), found July 19, 1995. Upper half of a moldmade lamp, missing handle and tip of nozzle. Disk opening out to wick-hole. Between two fill-holes: bird outlined in relief, body and tail decorated with raised dots, facing left toward handle. Herringbone rim. Dark orange micaceous clay. L 5979 (Pl. 68:a, right): same as above, found August 2, 1995. About half of disk, handle, and tip of nozzle missing. Disk with channel to wick-hole. Cross with flaring bars ornamented with dots and small rings. Rim: rings and dots. Very close to *Agora* VII, nos. 2921–2924, dated 7th century after Christ. Dark orange-buff micaceous clay. Three others (not illustrated), dating to the second half of the 6th century: L 5980 (*Agora* VII, no. 2821) and L 5977 and L 5978 (*Agora* VII, no. 2814).

part of her dress. Pinkish buff clay with a fair amount of gilding preserved over a white slip.

Small appliquéés similar in style and technique have been recovered from early Hellenistic tombs in Macedonia: female kitharodes and Erotes in Nea Michaniona and warriors at Amphipolis. They date to the second half of the 4th century B.C. and are thought to have decorated funerary crowns.¹²

10 (T 4373). Terracotta: horse head Pl. 68

Found June 19, 1995, north of the third room from the south of the Classical commercial building (J/16,17-2/3,4) in a context of the 1st century B.C.–1st century after Christ (Section BE, pottery lot no. 1969). L. 0.047 m., p.H. 0.019 m. Broken at neck just below chin; chip missing from top of head. Deeply modeled around eyes, mouth, and nostrils. No trace of reins or bridle. Mane indicated by a series of short incised lines. Tiny patch of gilding remains on top of forehead; patches of white slip elsewhere, over fine, dark buff Attic clay.

Similar figurines from the Sanctuary of Artemis are on display in the Brauron museum.

11 (T 4375). Terracotta relief Pl. 68

Found July 4, 1995, in late fill (9th–10th centuries) over the northeast corner of the third room from the

south in the Classical commercial building (J/19,21-2/6,8). Complete except for chips. P.H. 0.073 m., W. 0.045 m., Th. 0.033 m. A lump of clay, oval-shaped and flat on face, rising to a ridge behind. On the face, a satyr moves to right, his right leg passing in front of the left with his torso twisted so that chest, outstretched arms, and face are frontal. Left foot off ground except for toe, right foot missing. In his left hand he holds a staff (thyrsos?) with a fillet tied in a bow around it; top of staff missing. Unruly dark hair around head; details of face worn away. Traces of paint: dark brown(?) on hair, dark red on tail, lighter red on body, thyrsos, and on a thin relief groundline below.

The pose is virtually identical to that of one of the satyrs in the sculptured frieze on the Lysikrates monument. The figure there holds a rock in the crook of his right arm and no thyrsos in the left, but otherwise the two are so similar as to suggest that they derive from a single prototype.¹³ At the back, the clay rises in a crude ridge, allowing the piece to be gripped in the fingers as though for use as a stamp. This function would seem to be precluded, however, by the fact that the figure is in relief and painted. The other possibility, that it is a clay impression of metalwork, is suggested by the fine detail, but in such a case the prototype would have been incuse rather than in relief.¹⁴

COROPLAST'S DEBRIS (J 1:1)

Perhaps to be associated with these terracotta pieces of Hellenistic and Classical date is material found in a shallow pit to the northeast of the Classical commercial building (J/19,20-1/14,15). It contained some seven tins of very fragmentary pottery representing various fabrics and shapes (Section BE, pottery lots nos. 2096–2102) along with numerous pieces of both terracotta figurines and molds. The pottery and lamps indicate that all this material was deposited in the second half of the 1st century after Christ, that is, about the time the Classical building went out of use. At this preliminary stage it seems likely therefore that at least one of the rooms of the building was used for the manufacture and perhaps sale of terracotta figurines.

The following group of terracottas (12–19) fills a gap in the long history of the Athenian coroplastic workshops. The industry is well attested from the 4th to the 1st centuries B.C.

¹² For the figures from Nea Michaniona, with reference to others at Amphipolis and Methone, see Vokotopoulou 1990, nos. 58 and 59 on pp. 70–73 and pl. 42:a.

¹³ Ehrhardt 1993, abb. 28, 29, and 31 and Taf. 13. I am indebted to Ann-Marie Knoblauch for drawing the similarity to my attention.

¹⁴ For similar terracotta reliefs apparently derived from metalwork, see T 265 (fig. 12) and T 359 (fig. 9) in D. B. Thompson 1939, pp. 296–304.

and again in the 3rd and 4th centuries after Christ, but hitherto the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ have been very poorly represented.¹⁵

12 (T 4368). Mold: warrior Fig. 4, Pl. 69
Found July 28–29, 1995, in pit J 1:1 (J/19,20-1/14,15). Both front and back molds: front fully preserved; back, lower two thirds preserved. Front: H. 0.13 m., W. 0.08 m., Th. of mold 0.01–0.014 m. Back: p.H. 0.09 m. Coarse, dark brick-red clay with white inclusions, traces of burning or dark gray discoloration at bottom. Mold for a warrior from the knees up, wearing a belted tunic with short sleeves and a patterned edge. He holds a small round shield against the left side of his chest, with a dagger or short sword tucked into his belt. The face is worn, the hair short, falling straight onto his forehead. Incised into the bottom of the rear mold is the fabricant's name: MAPKOY.



FIG. 4. Scale 1:2

For similar warrior figures, see Besques 1972, i, nos. 901, 902, pl. 168, and E 296–297, pl. 198. For the signature MAPKOY appearing on a Telesphoros figurine from Asia Minor, perhaps Smyrna, see D 881, pl. 162:c, f. The signature looks similar to the one on **12**.

13 (T 4369). Mold: boar Pl. 69
Complete except for chips; mended from three fragments. L. 0.152 m., H. 0.10 m., Th. of mold 0.008–0.015 m. Dark orange clay, relatively fine. Mold for the right half of the figurine of a boar standing on a low base. Very worn; traces remain of a tusk and an ear back along the head. Upraised bristles along spine.

For boar figurines, see Besques 1963, pl. 81 (Myrina); 1972, i, D 450, pl. 98; 1986, pl. 79 (South Italy); and 1992, pl. 42 (Egypt).

14 (T 4371). Mold: four-spoked wheel Pl. 69
Diam. of mold 0.09 m., of wheel 0.075 m. Dark orange, flaky clay with some mica and white inclusions. One half preserved. Mold for a solid wheel

with thickened rim and spokes, presumably for attachment to a terracotta toy horse or other animal.

For similar wheels, though with five to eight spokes, see Besques 1972, i, pl. 207. For a wheel from this same deposit with the space between the spokes cut out, see **15** below.

15 (T 4370). Wheel Pl. 69
Diam. 0.075 m., Th. 0.009–0.012 m. Fired very dark gray, almost black, with white inclusions. Just over half of a four-spoked wheel, open between spokes. Spokes and rim slightly rounded with a central groove on the outside, flat on the inside. Made in a mold very close to **14**, the panels between spokes cut away from behind with a blade before firing; traces of beveled cut-marks on inside. For attachment to a toy horse or other animal.

Fragments of several more wheels stored with pottery.

16 (T 4366). Head of Pan Pl. 69
P.H. 0.042 m., W. 0.031 m., Th. 0.03 m. Fine, dark orange-buff clay, traces of lighter slip on hair. Broken away at neck, and somewhat worn. Head of a bearded mustachioed figure with hair rising high around forehead; two horns erupt from top of forehead. Details of face (lips, eyelids) modeled with care.

17 (T 4372). Head of a grotesque Pl. 69
P.H. 0.035 m. Broken at neck. Head with exaggerated features: nose, jaw, and ears.

Many such grotesques were made in the late Hellenistic period, especially in Asia Minor: see, e.g., Besques 1972, i, pls. 154, 235, 294–321.

18 (T 4367). Aphrodite Anadyomene Pl. 70
P.H. 0.11 m. Head, both arms, and much of back preserved, broken below. Arms raised and bent, holding out her hair.

For the Anadyomene type, see *LMC* II, ii, nos. 432, 448, 449, 541–545, and 667–687, *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias), 1982.

¹⁵ Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 198–459 and *Agora* VI.

19 (L 5975). Inscribed gladiator lamp Pl. 70
P.L. 0.07 m. Fine, gray fabric, apparently imported. Several joining fragments make up most of the disk of a lamp showing two gladiators in combat, with a judge between them. Beneath them, in a *tabula ansata*, are their names in Latin: Sabinus and Popillius.

These same gladiators appear by name on other examples, some from as far away as Vindonissa, in present-day Switzerland: *Corinth* IV, ii, p. 82, no. 461; Loeschke 1919, no. 113, pl. XV; and Bailey 1980, II, p. 51. Dated second half of 1st century after Christ.

THE PARTHENOS TOKEN

A final item of terracotta may be noted here, found in the Classical levels of the north-south road that runs just west of the Classical commercial building.

20 (MC 1353). Token Pl. 70
Found July 20, 1994, at J/9,11-2/12,15 in a context of the early 4th century B.C. (Section BZ, pottery lot no. 661). Diam. 0.025 m., Th. 0.005–0.008 m. Impressed on one face, flat on back. No trace of a string hole or any indication of use as a seal. Intact, but very worn; unglazed, fine Attic clay. Although the impression is very worn, one can clearly discern a fully draped female figure who stands, left leg bent, beside a shield. The tip of the crest of her helmet can

also be distinguished. The figure holds out her right arm, and a small indistinct figure rests on her hand. Below, part of the coils and the head of a large snake can be seen under the outstretched arm. The pose and attributes suggest that this is a representation of the Athena Parthenos. On the basis of the ceramic evidence, the road level which contained this small piece dates to the first half of the 4th century B.C.; thus, this token is one of the earliest representations of the great statue by Pheidias that stood in the Parthenon.

Of special interest is the depiction of the snake, which is shown coiled on the figure's right side. Pausanias in his description of the statue (1.24.7) has the snake on the figure's left, coiling up between her side and the shield, and this is also where the largest and best-preserved adaptation, the "Varvakeion Athena", places the snake. In addition, there is no trace on the token of a column supporting the outstretched right hand holding the Nike, as seen on the "Varvakeion Athena". The existence of a supporting column for the original statue has been a matter of some controversy over the years.¹⁶

Given the early date of this new piece, it must carry considerable weight, particularly when the other early representation found in controlled excavations, a terracotta plaque from Olynthos, also shows the statue with no column and a snake coiled up on the right side of the figure.¹⁷ Quite possibly in the original version the snake was set on the left side of the base, under the figure's outstretched right arm, with no column for support. The structure may well have weakened over the centuries so that eventually the right arm would have had to be propped up with an added column; the snake would have been shifted out of the way and tucked into the shield by the 2nd century after Christ, at which time it was copied, as well as seen and described by Pausanias. The date of this shift may be fixed

¹⁶ Leipen 1971, pp. 36–39; Ridgway 1981, p. 162 and note 3; Boardman 1985, p. 110, figs. 97–106.

¹⁷ For the Olynthos plaque, dated by the excavator to the late 5th century B.C., see *Olynthus* IV, no. 358, pl. 37; Leipen 1971, no. 55, p. 13. Silver coins of the early 4th century from Asia Minor do not seem to be relevant. A coin of Aphrodisias of ca. 375 B.C., showing the snake at Athena's left and a tree as a support under her right hand, may be contrasted to a coin of Side of similar date, which shows the figure of Athena without any column and the snake to her right.

more precisely. Pliny, writing in the early 1st century after Christ, refers to a gigantomachy on the inner side of the shield (*NH* 36.18). Presumably he saw the statue before the snake was moved. In its new position the serpent may have impeded or obscured the view of the gigantomachy, which Pausanias does not include in his detailed description of the statue.

AREA NORTH OF THE ALTAR OF APHRODITE

Further excavations were carried out in the area of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Fig. 5), for the most part deep under the foundations of the Augustan temple. From the walls of the temple itself, two Hellenistic inscriptions were recovered, honoring Athenian cavalry officers (see pp. 252–259 below).

In all periods the natural ground level rises gradually as one proceeds north from the banks of the Eridanos River (Figs. 1, 6). In the early Classical period this rise was accommodated in a series of polygonal retaining walls that supported low terraces stepping up northward from the Altar of Aphrodite. In front of one of these terrace walls we found the westward continuation of the handsome terracotta pipeline that carried fresh water out toward the Academy (Pl. 70:a), apparently one of the amenities provided for the city by Kimon in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. (Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 13).¹⁸

ARCHAIC WELL (J 2:4)

A well of Late Archaic date was found deep under the Early Roman temple some nine meters north of the altar of Aphrodite (Fig. 5). The date of the pottery spans the period 510–480 B.C., and most of the material is paralleled in the twenty-one Agora deposits associated with the Persian destruction of Athens in 479 B.C.¹⁹ The circuit of the well was first detected at *ca.* 51.00 m. above sea level, and from that level the shaft descended to +45.20 m., for a total depth of *ca.* 5.80 meters. A rubble wall of Early Classical date ran east–west over the southern part of the mouth. Most of the shaft was cut through bedrock and was lined originally throughout its depth with closely fitted field stones. The upper two meters of this lining collapsed in antiquity. The interior diameter of the shaft was 0.92 m.; the lining is *ca.* 0.20 m. thick.

It is worth noting that the well lies only some twenty-four meters from the Eridanos River. Despite the proximity of this source, either convenience or considerations of health led the Athenians to prefer well water to that which could be recovered from the river. According to Kallimachos, who wrote in the 3rd century B.C., the Eridanos was so polluted in his day that “even cattle would hold aloof” (Strabo 9.1.19).

¹⁸ For an upstream stretch of this same aqueduct as well as its western continuation along Hadrian Street and in the Kerameikos excavations, see Shear 1984, pp. 48–50 and pl. 14.

¹⁹ See Shear 1993 for a full account of these Agora deposits with a detailed affirmation of their association with the Persian destruction. For two of the largest deposits, see Roberts 1986 and Vanderpool 1946. Although the group presented here varies somewhat in its composition from the groups described by Shear, the material consistently confirms his conclusions.

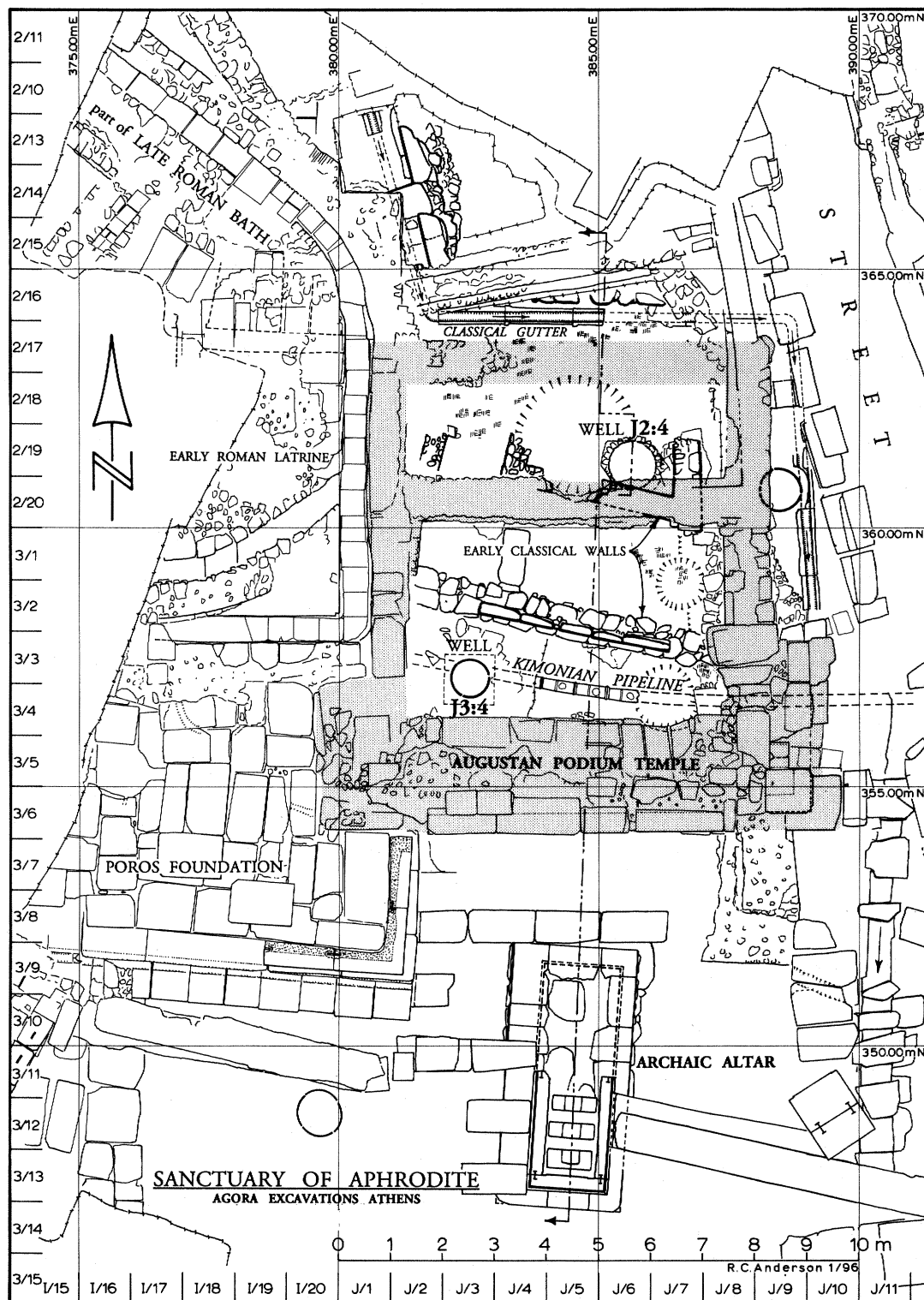


FIG. 5. Sanctuary of Aphrodite, simplified actual-state plan

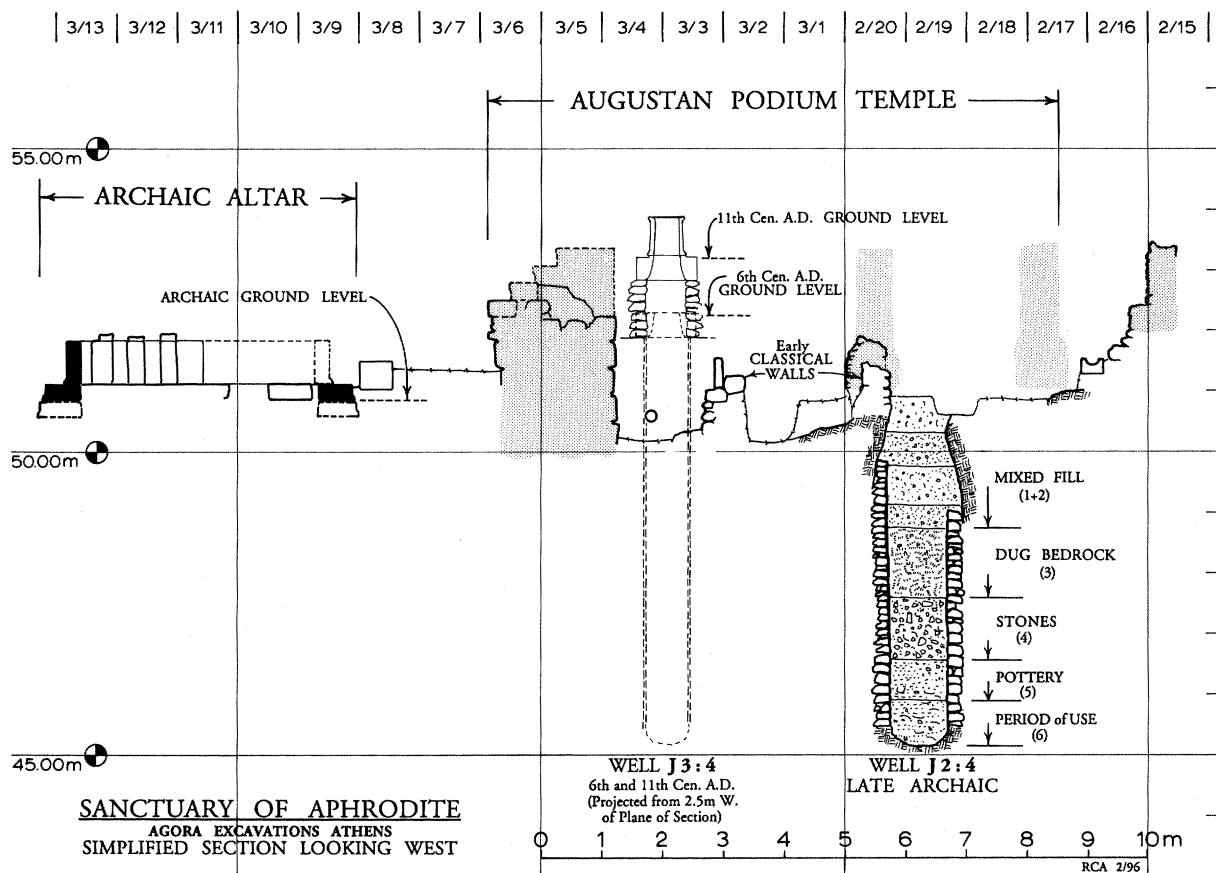


FIG. 6. North-south section through the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, looking west

Stratigraphy

Six fills were detected in digging the well (Fig. 6); their characteristics are summarized below:

Layer 1 (51.00–49.75 m.): mixed rocks and clay with fragmentary pottery.

Layer 2 (49.75–48.60 m.): brown gravelly fill with fragmentary pottery.

Layer 3 (48.60–47.60 m.): dug bedrock with almost no pottery.

Layer 4 (47.60–46.65 m.): numerous fist-sized stones, loosely packed, with a fair amount of fragmentary pottery.

Layer 5 (46.65–45.90 m.): fill with a heavy concentration of pottery: whole pieces, large fragments, and numerous sherds, representing dozens of complete pots. In addition to coarse wares and black-glazed pieces, there is a fair selection of red-figured and black-figured material.

Layer 6 (45.90–45.20 m.): mostly pottery, primarily fragments of coarse-ware water jars and cooking vessels.

The stratigraphic sequence as recovered in the excavation seems clear. Layer 6 represents the actual period of use of the well, as numerous water jars found their way to the bottom when they were dropped, when the rope broke or a handle gave way, or the jar struck the stone lining of the shaft and shattered. Layer 5 represents the deliberate discarding of masses of household pottery, almost all of it shapes appropriate for domestic use, with many of the pieces inappropriate for collecting water. Layer 4 would seem to represent debris from the collapse of the upper two meters of the stone lining of the well, and Layer 3 represents a filling of the shaft with broken bedrock, much if not all of which will have come from behind the collapsed lining. There is no certain way to determine if Layers 3 and 4 represent the deliberate dismantling and destruction of the upper part of the shaft, but such a hypothesis is consistent both with the deliberate discarding of a whole household of pottery as well as with the pattern of Persian destruction known from other Agora deposits. Layers 2 and 1 would seem to represent the final filling and abandonment, after the well had been rendered unusable, that is, presumably during cleanup operations in the 470's. The wall of the early Classical house that runs over the mouth of the well suggests that the Archaic house originally served by the well was completely destroyed at the time of the Persian sack. This abandonment rather than reuse is also a feature of several houses and wells put out of use by the events of 479 B.C.²⁰

Pottery

The pottery recovered from the well is of considerable interest. As noted, Layer 6 consists largely of coarse-ware vessels useful for drawing water while the well was still in use: hydrias, amphoras, kadoi, and pitchers. In all, several dozen coarse-ware vessels were represented.

It is the material from Layer 5 which especially draws our attention. Here, more than fifty inventoried objects were recovered in 0.75 m. of fill. The character of this group is of interest because a wide range of shapes is represented, yet there are limited examples of any one shape. All the material necessary to stock the kitchen and pantry of a single Athenian household seems to be present, with a full range of coarse wares, black-glazed pieces, and figured vases (Pl. 71:a). Many pieces mended up to almost complete pots, and no fewer than thirteen were recovered virtually intact, both facts suggesting that the material did not have far to travel in either time or space in its journey from kitchen or pantry to the well. This single household lies in marked contrast to several of the other Persian deposits, which are thought to represent either debris from a potter's shop or an accumulated fill of material from a variety of sources.

In all, twelve pieces of figured pottery suitable for a symposium were recovered (Pl. 71:b): an oinochoe, a pelike, six red-figured kylikes (Type C cups), one large skyphos, and three smaller black-figured cup-skyphoi. Appropriately enough, the painted scenes are related to the symposium: preparations for the party, banqueting, and the aftereffects of too good a time. The scenes are generally common ones in the repertory of Attic vase painters. Of the largely complete pieces, the number of red-figured examples nearly equals the number of black-figured pieces, which is not usually the case in deposits of this sort. The painters represented

²⁰ Shear 1993, pp. 405–406.

(Skythes, the Epeleios Painter, the Nikoxenos Painter) are not among those regarded as being in the first rank, and this is in accord with the general notion that the finest examples of Attic painted pottery were either given as votives or intended for the export trade.²¹

Several of the cups, both the figured and those in plain black glaze, are so close in shape and dimensions that it is tempting to suppose that they are the work of a single potter and were presumably bought as sets from the same workshop.

It is noteworthy that although the well is contemporary with the Late Archaic altar of Aphrodite and lies less than ten meters away, there is very little material to suggest any cult activity in the establishment served by the well: only a worn terracotta relief plaque of a goddess (35, Pl. 75) and a clay phiale painted in Six's technique (34, Pl. 75). Both find ready parallels in the votive material from the Athenian Akropolis.

DESTRUCTION FILL

Black-figured pottery

21 (P 32415). Trefoil oinochoe Pl. 72
Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. (including handle) 0.25 m., Diam. 0.14 m.

In the middle, a nude Herakles moves right, escorting the Cretan bull; his left hand grasps a horn, and the right hand is on the animal's chest. His club rests on the ground behind. They approach Athena, fully armed and seated on a small, high stool. Behind Herakles and the bull and balancing Athena is a seated Hermes wearing a cap and winged sandals and holding a caduceus.

Shape 1 oinochoe, similar to *Agora* XII, no. 100 (525–500 B.C.). Fine incision for details of males (hair, eyes, muscles) and bull. Added white for Athena on arms, face (worn off), and feet.

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Athena Painter.

22 (P 32413). Large skyphos Fig. 7, Pl. 72
Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. 0.162 m., Diam. 0.2235 m., W. 0.297 m. Attic-type skyphos. Large torus foot, deep body, slightly outturned concave lip, canted horseshoe handles.

Side A: A group of two banqueters with a flute player between them share a single large mattress. The banqueters wear unusual headdresses. The one on the right is clearer, with two elongated animal ears between curving horns. The figure on the left has three large projections off the front of his headdress, with an elongated bulge at the back. Side B: A similar scene, less well preserved, with a

female lyre player as the central musician. Framing the main scenes and clustered under the handles are numerous large, plump, long-necked birds, in pairs or threesomes. Several stand on stumps, the landscape element perhaps suggesting an outdoor banquet, as does the single bird in flight on side B. There are thirteen birds in all. The birds, the outdoor picnic, and the headdresses are all hard to parallel, and it is not clear whether these are scenes taken from drama or cult ritual.

Shape: *Agora* XXIII, nos. 1484–1490 (painted by the Theseus Painter).

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the "White Heron Group": *Agora* XXIII, p. 610 (ca. 500 B.C.). For the use of the same scene on both sides of a pot as here and in the following examples, see Steiner 1993.

23 (P 32423). Cup-skyphos Fig. 7, Pl. 73
Found July 6, 1995, at +46.60–45.60 m. H. 0.076 m., Diam. 0.143 m., W. 0.213 m. Mended. Torus ring foot, concave lip, canted handles.

Same scene on both sides: a pair of cattle (bull right and cow left[?]) facing each other, with tendrils in background and palmettes by handles. Poor painting with no incision, peeling black glaze.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 567–577. Decoration: *Agora* XXIII, nos. 1541–1565 (ca. 500 B.C.).

24 (P 32424). Cup-skyphos Pl. 73
Found July 6, 1995, at +46.60–45.45 m. H. 0.078 m., Diam. 0.138 m., p.W. 0.16 m. Mended. Torus ring foot, concave lip, canted handles.

Similar scene on either side: a figure seated left on the ground, supported on the left arm, with the

²¹ Hannestad 1988.

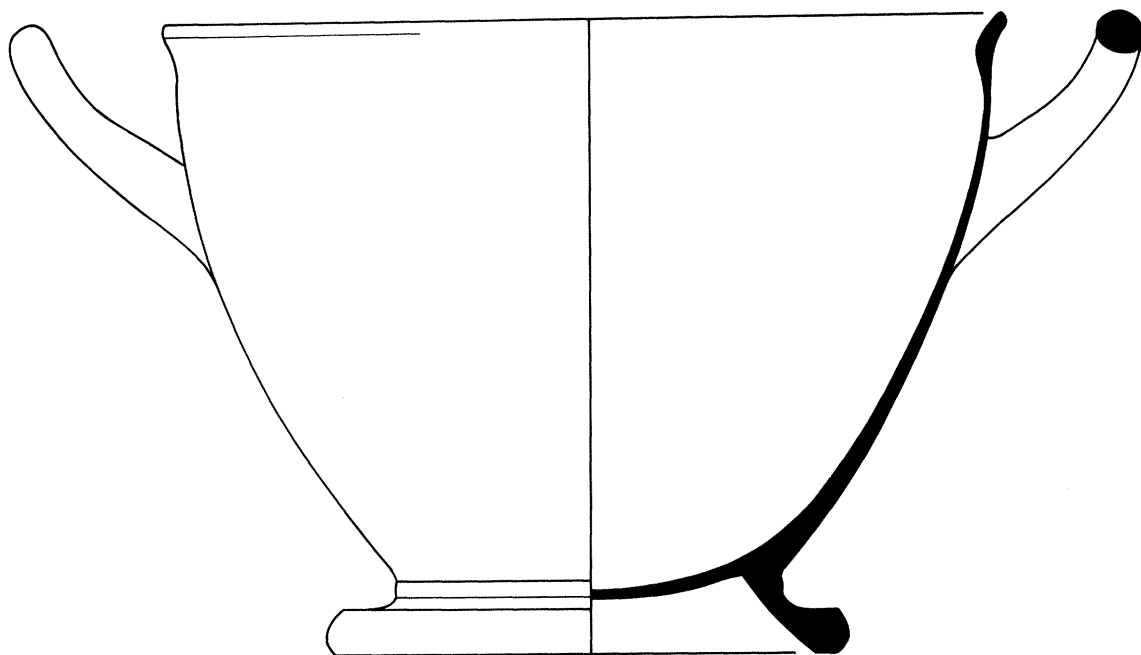
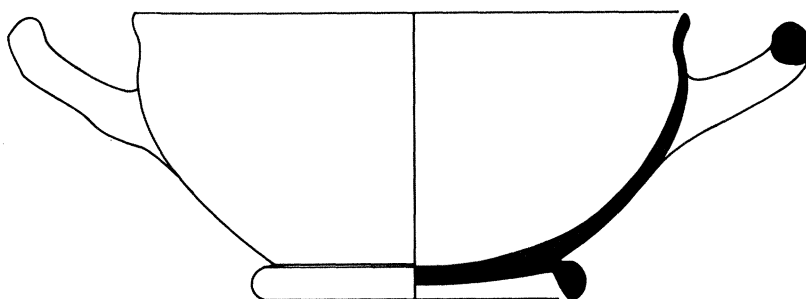
**22****23**

FIG. 7. Black-figured skyphos **22** (P 32413) and cup-skyphos **23** (P 32423). Scale 1:2

head turned back to the right. An indistinct curved object (lyre?) held in the right hand. Branches in background, palmettes by handles. Poor painting with no incision.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 567–577. Decoration: *Agora* XXIII, nos. 1541–1565 (ca. 500 B.C.).

25 (P 32474). Cup-skyphos Pl. 73

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.60–45.90 m. H. 0.069 m., D. 0.137 m. Chips missing; mended.

Similar scene coarsely painted on each side: an indistinct figure seated left on a low stool, one arm in front and bent, the elbow resting on the lap. Protrusion from the area of the head toward the raised hand (a musician?). Branches in background, palmettes by handles. Poor silhouette painting, no incision.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 567–577. Decoration: *Agora* XXIII, nos. 1541–1565 (500–480 B.C.).

26 (P 32416). Amphoriskos Pl. 73

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. 0.171 m., D. 0.10 m.

Dionysiac figures, very cursorily painted and incised. On each side is a seated Dionysos with a kantharos and a maenad. There is another smaller maenad under one handle and a satyr under the other.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 206–225.

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the “Dot-bend Group”. Ca. 500 B.C.

Red-figured pottery

27 (P 32418). Pelike Pl. 73

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.60–45.90 m. H. 0.275 m., Diam. 0.185 m.

Side A: On a plain groundline a bearded male figure walks right, holding a lyre in his right hand, tucked under his left arm. A basket hangs from the lyre. The man is nude except for low boots and a cloak across his back and upper arms. Side B: A youth, facing right, induces vomiting. He stands bending forward and leaning on a staff, his left hand holding his head, his right hand partially in his mouth. Nude except for a mantle over the shoulder and boots.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 16–19 (500–480 B.C.).

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Nikoxenos Painter.

28 (P 32420). Type C cup Fig. 8, Pl. 74

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.60 m. H. 0.071 m., Diam. 0.193 m., W. 0.255 m. Complete except for chips; mended. Torus foot, concave at upper edge, rising within. Thick stem with rounded fillet at juncture of foot and stem, offset with two scraped grooves. Broad bowl, plain lip, canted horseshoe handles. Good black glaze.

Painted on inside only, with tondo defined by a thin line. Within tondo a bearded male figure moves right, a skyphos held in his outstretched right hand. Crouching slightly and seen in profile, nude except for a mantle draped over his left shoulder and hanging down behind. Almond-shaped eye with iris drawn around a dot for the pupil. Thin relief line and very dilute glaze used for anatomical details. Added red for wreath around head and for letters which run clockwise around figure:

ΗΟΠΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ

Shape: *Agora* XII, no. 420 (500–480 B.C.). Very close also to **29**, found in the same well and perhaps from the same workshop.

Thought by D. von Bothmer to be close to Skythes.

29 (P 32417). Type C cup Fig. 8, Pl. 74

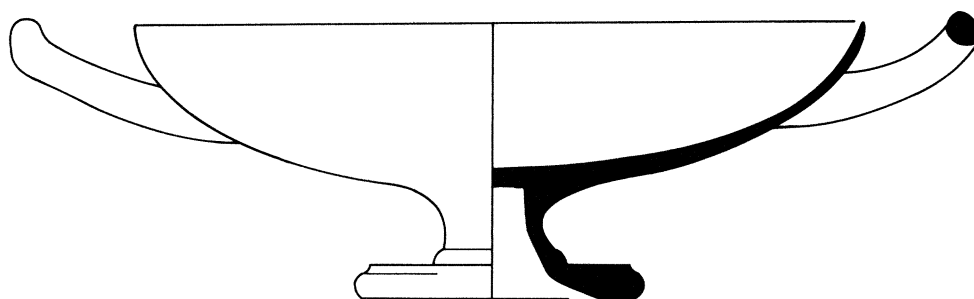
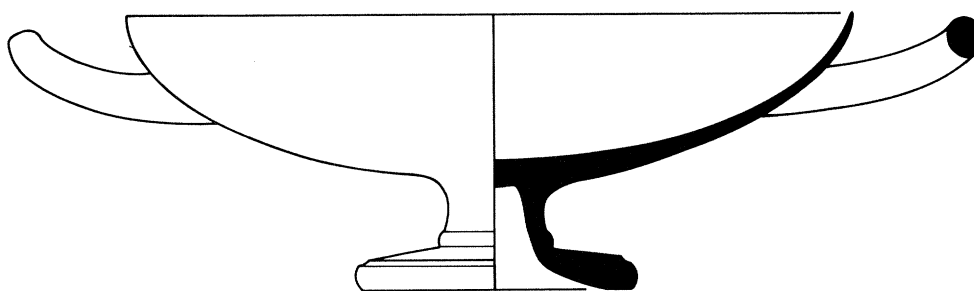
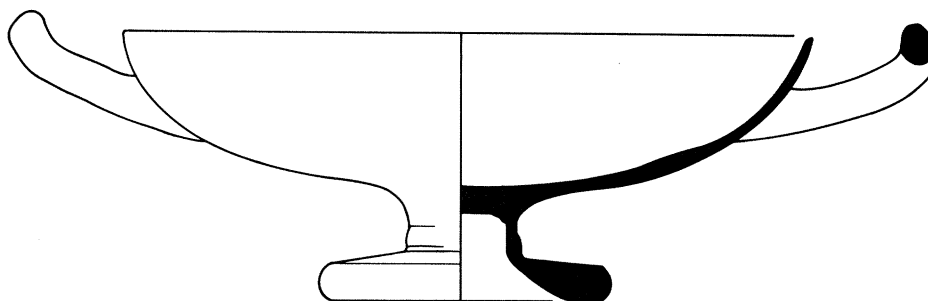
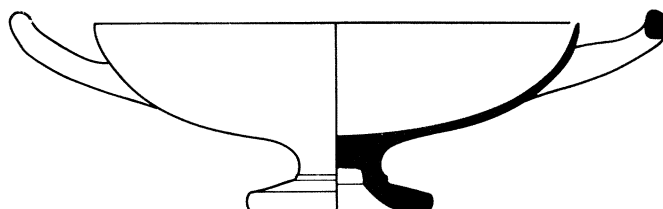
Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. 0.073 m., Diam. 0.192 m., W. 0.255 m. Complete except for small chips; mended.

Painted on inside only, with tondo defined by a plain thin line. Within tondo a youth moves rapidly to right, holding in each outstretched hand a long strip, presumably meat. Legs seen in profile, abdomen in three-quarter view, and chest frontal. Head in profile, turned back toward the left. A piece of drapery is knotted at his waist and hangs down a short way, leaving the genitals exposed. Short hair, almond-shaped eye with a solid dot for the pupil. Full-glaze line for main details of torso and folds of drapery; dilute glaze for nipples, ribs, and abdomen. Added red on two strips. Ghost image of painted inscription running clockwise from the head:

ΗΟΠΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ

Shape: see **28**, perhaps from same workshop (500–480 B.C.).

Thought by D. von Bothmer to be close to Skythes. For another youth with drapery knotted at waist, by the Pan painter: Vienna no. 53c 1 = *CVA*, Vienna 1 [Germany 5], pl. 10 [204]:18.

**28****29****30****31**

Red-figured Type C cups **28** (P 32420), **29** (P 32417), **30** (P 32419), and Type B cup **31** (P 32411).
Scale 1:2

30 (P 32419). Type C cup Fig. 8, Pl. 74

Found July 6, 1995, at +45.90–45.60 m. H. 0.07 m., Diam. 0.182 m., W. 0.244 m. More than three-quarters preserved, with several large chips missing from rim.

Painted on inside only, with tondo defined by a thin reserved line. Within tondo a beardless youth with short hair bathes while squatting or kneeling within a large basin. The full torso is shown frontally with the head turned to the left and seen in profile. In each hand he holds a short stick, applying the one in his left hand to the back of his head. A patch of added red may be part of the stick or part of the wreath worn around the head. Almond-shaped eye with a small solid dot for the pupil. A few muscles or bones done in thin, full-glaze lines. The basin is shown as round bottomed, following the curve of the tondo. There is a flaring offset rim above two lug handles, close in appearance to *Agora* XII, no. 1847, from a pre-Persian context. Letters in added red run clockwise around figure:

ΗΓΟΣΑ + ΟΥΕΥΟ

The scene of the boy in the basin is a common one. Beazley attributes a group of six to the Euergides Painter (*CV4*, Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], p. 105, III 1, pl. 51 [415]:3). Closest to **30** is the one in Gerhard 1840, pls. 180, 181 (= South Kensington 4807.1901).

Shape: similar to *Agora* XII, no. 420 (500–480 B.C.).

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Epeleios group.

31 (P 32411). Type B cup Fig. 8, Pls. 74, 75

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.30–46.00 m. H. 0.05 m., Diam. 0.127 m. Complete except for chips; mended. Torus foot, rising underneath, continuous curve to body outside. Broad, shallow bowl, plain lip, curving canted horseshoe handles.

Inside: A youth, nude except for a cloak draped over the left arm and shoulder, moves right, holding a crooked stick or staff in his right hand. Outside: tendrils coiled beneath handles lead to five- or six-petaled palmettes which frame scenes of youths in combat though unarmed except for shields. On one side a nude youth holding a shield decorated with a dot rosette advances to right, his empty right hand held low as though grasping a spear. Farther right a second youth seen in rear view retreats to right, holding a shield decorated with a feline (panther?) and wearing a cloth of some sort from waist to just above the knees. His right hand, too, is bent and

held low. On the opposite side a nude youth holds an undecorated shield on his left arm. His right arm is held high as he advances right toward another youth seen in three-quarter view retreating right; the latter carries a shield, decorated with an animal, perhaps a horse or a panther, on his right shoulder. This second youth is also nude, holding his left arm high, as though grasping a spear.

Shape: *Agora* XII, no. 432 (500–480 B.C.).

32 (P 32422). Type C cup Pl. 75

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. Est. Diam. 0.18 m., H. 0.072 m. About three-quarters preserved; mended.

Decoration within only: tondo defined by a thin reserved line with an owl and tendrils. Owl, decorated with spots except for wing feathers, stands right and faces front. Simple tendrils on either side. Ghost images of curving leaves and letters discernable. Letters to right of owl:

ΕΛΟΧΟΔΕΝ

Shape: close to *Agora* XII, no. 420 (500–480 B.C.).

Attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Sabouroff Painter, *ca.* 490 B.C.

33 (P 32421). Type C cup, concave lip Pl. 75

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. 0.075 m., Diam. 0.161 m., W. 0.23 m. Complete except for chips; mended. Torus foot, rising within; raised fillet at juncture of foot and stem, offset with scraped grooves.

Decorated within only: an eight-spoked wheel, the spokes coming to a point where they reach the rim. Cross-hatched lines near the bases of the spokes reflect the binding of the spokes to the axle or to one another. Spokes in two overlapping planes of four spokes each. Indistinct traces of letters between spokes, eight in all. Similar wheels are a favorite shield device used by the Niobid Painter somewhat later than this piece: Munich 2324 = *CV4*, Munich 5 [Germany 20], pl. 215 [930]:1 and 2, with commentary.

Shape: *Agora* XII, nos. 409–413 (*ca.* 480 B.C.).

34 (P 32414). Omphalos phiale Fig. 9, Pl. 75

Found July 6, 1995, at +46.00–45.90 m. H. 0.06 m. Diam. 0.188 m. About two-thirds complete; mended. Low shallow bowl, raised omphalos within with corresponding depression underneath on the outside. Reserved outside except for lip, which is glazed, concave, and slightly outturned.

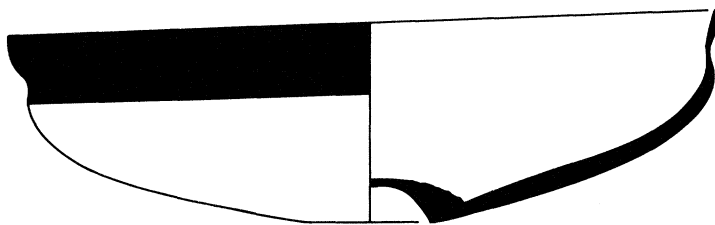


FIG. 9. Omphalos phiale **34** (P 32414) in Six's technique. Scale 1:2

Within, the raised omphalos is decorated in Six's technique with five concentric circles in buff clay, now missing. The area around the omphalos and the lip are decorated with thick radiating lines or tongues, also in added clay. Within the bowl, around the omphalos, on a groundline toward the lip, six spotted cows walk around the bowl, painted in alternation, three in yellowish buff clay with added red spots and three in brick-red clay with buff spots. One red cow and halves of two light cows missing. Added clays fairly well preserved on bodies, fainter at legs and tails. Ghost images of indistinct painted letters, perhaps for nonsense inscription, around cows.

Parallels for shape and technique, though not the cows: *Agora* XXIII, nos. 1427–1439 (ca. 500 B.C.).

Terracotta

35 (T 4362). Plaque: female protome Pl. 75
Found July 6–7, 1995, at +45.90–45.25 m. a: p.H. ca. 0.15 m., p.W. 0.155 m., Th. 0.065 m., Th. of plaque 0.012 m. b (from lower corner, no join): p.H.(?) 0.057 m., p. W.(?) 0.078 m., Th. 0.012 m.

Head and upper part of the torso of a female figure, presumably a deity, in relief. Head almost in the round; lower part no thicker than the plaque. She wears some sort of radiate crown or tiara, with three of the original ten rays preserved; three rhomboids depend from its center onto her forehead. No clear transition from headdress to forehead. Face lightly modeled. She wears elaborate earrings: a round loop with a crescent, from which hang three long pendants, round in section, which thicken toward the bottom before decreasing again at the end. At each shoulder she wears a round disk from which hang two wavy pendants. Broken below shoulders. The plaque it-

self follows the line of the shoulders, neck, and head. Traces of paint noted during conservation: black, red, white, and yellow. Earrings painted yellow with slanted teardrops in black, perhaps to suggest twisted gold wire. Actual earrings of this type are extremely rare, and the best parallels in fact date to the Late Geometric period rather than to the Late Archaic.²² For close parallels for the headdress and earrings, on a similar plaque from the Athenian Akropolis, see Winter 1903, pl. 240:2. Another example with a similar headdress is on display in the Eleusis museum, and three examples with similar headdress and jewelry from the Sanctuary of Artemis are on display in the Brauron museum. Some of these plaques are pierced for suspension, others have struts projecting at right angles from near the bottom to allow the piece to stand upright. **35** seems to be of the latter type.

UPPER DUMPED FILL (+49.76–49.14 m.)

36 (P 32344). Fragmentary red-figured cup Pl. 76
Found August 3, 1994. P.H. 0.03 m., Diam. 0.1915 m. Mended, about one half preserved. Torus foot, rising within. Lip offset within. Lip glazed inside and out. Rest of outside and area between tondo and lip inside done in added coral red; for the use of coral red see Cohen 1971. Five drilled holes indicate an ancient repair. Fine black glaze, dilute for details of the drapery.

Part of the tondo only preserved, showing a clothed figure seated right, a knobby staff and indistinct object, lightly dotted, in front. Bottom of a stool leg behind. Lower legs and feet of figure largely preserved.

Attributed by C. Pfaff to Euphronios.

²² Higgins 1980, pl. 13:f and g. I am indebted to Alexis Castor for sharing with me her knowledge of Greek gold earrings.

37 (P 32394). Black-glazed askos Fig. 10

Found August 3, 1994. H. 0.09 m., D. 0.09 m. Deep askos with hollow tube. Rounded base, high body, spout with broad concave rim, short strap handle.

Unparalleled in *Agora* XII and presumably among the earliest examples of the shape: see Shear 1993, p. 414 and note 86.

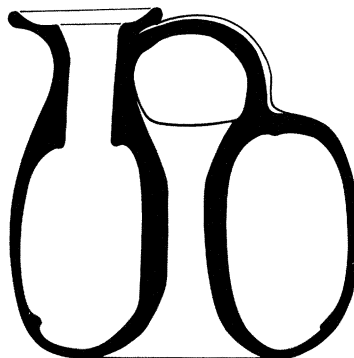


FIG. 10. Askos **37** (P 32394). Scale 1:2

INSCRIPTIONS

HONORS FOR CAVALRY OFFICERS

A stele found in 1994 sheds new light on the administration and composition of the Athenian cavalry and provides additional evidence for the topography of the northwest corner of the Agora. The inscription records a decree in honor of the hipparchs and phylarchs who served in 282/1 B.C. The honors are voted by the *Tarantinoi*, a division of light-armed cavalry.

I 7587. Pedimental stele of Pentelic marble with akroteria (Pl. 76). Simple fascia over ovolo molding, with line 1 carved on fascia. Face and sides finished with a claw chisel, back rough picked with a point. The stele has a slight taper: 0.337 m. wide at line 2; 0.38 m. wide at line 43.

Found July 1994 built into the west foundation wall of the Augustan temple of Aphrodite (Grid square I 2). H. 1.08 m., W. 0.337–0.40 m., Th. 0.091 m. L.H. 0.008 m. (omicron = 0.006 m.). Vertical spacing 0.014 m., horizontal spacing 0.01–0.015 m.

a. 281/80 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 21–31

Θεοί

- Καλλίστρατος. Τερμονίου Ἀχαιοῦς εἶπεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ [ἱ]ππαρχοὶ καὶ οἱ φύλαρχοι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικίου ἄρχοντες
- 5 τος διατελέκασιν ἄρχοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ το[ύ]ς νόμους καὶ ἐπιμεμέληνται τῶν σίτων ὅπως ἂν κομίσωνται οἱ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ [οἱ] Ταραντῖνοι ἐντελεῖς διατε-
- 10 τελέκασιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινοὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι περὶ τε τοὺς ἵππεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους. ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐ-
- 15 παινέ[σ]αι τοὺς ἱπάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους Νικογένην Ἀρχέσαντος Εὐωνυμέα, Ἀλκίμαχον

- [Κλ]εοβούλου Μυρρινούσιον"
 [Διο]γύσιον Πυθοκρίτου Γαργήτιον
 20 [Μέ]νωνα Ἴππολοχίδου Ἴπποτομάδην
 Καλλίδημον Καλλιμάχου Εὐωνυμέα
 Καλλιάδην Ἀριστοφῶντος Στειριέα
 Λύσιππον Λυσίππου Κήτιον"
 Χαρίαν Χαρίου Κεφαλήθεν"
 25 Ἀντίμαχον Κλεαγόρου Ἀχαρνέα
 Πρόξενον Προκλέους Φλυέα"
 Θρασυκλῆν Θρασύλλου Δεκελέα
 Ἀριστοφῶντα Ἀριστοτέλου Οἰναῖον
 Πύθωνα Πυθάρχου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 30 καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον χρυσῶ[ι]
 στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον δικαιο-
 σύνη[ς] ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας
 τῆς [ε]ῖς τε τοὺς ἵππεις καὶ τὸ τά-
 γμα τῶν Ταραντίνων ὅπως ἂν καὶ
 35 οἱ ἄλλοι ἵππαρχοι καὶ φύλαρχοι
 οἱ καθιστάμενοι φιλοτιμῶνται
 περὶ τε τοὺς ἵππεις καὶ τοὺς Τα-
 ραντίνους εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτας
 ἀξίας ἀπολήφονται τῶν εὐεργε-
 40 τημάτων. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
 ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ τοὺς
 γραμματεῖς τῶν ἱπάρχων καὶ
 στήσαι εἰς τὴν στοὰν τῶν Ἑρμῶν.

Kallistratos the son of Termonios the Achaian made the motion: since the hipparchs and phylarchs in the archonship of Nikias have accomplished their office according to the laws and have taken care of the grain so that the hippeis and Tarantinoi with full rights were provided for and they have accomplished all the other things both privately and in common endeavoring earnestly on behalf of the hippeis and the Tarantinoi. Good fortune, resolved by the Tarantinoi to praise the hipparchs and the phylarchs Nikogenes Arkesantos Euonymeus, Alkimachos Kleoboulou Myrrinousios;
 Dionysios Pythokritou Gargettios
 Menon Hippolochidou Hippotomades
 Kallidemos Kallimachou Euonymeus
 Kalliades Aristophontos Steirieus
 Lysippos Lysippou Kettios
 Charias Chariou Kephaleten
 Antimachos Kleagorou Acharneus
 Proxenos Prokleous Phlyeus
 Thrasykles Thrasyllou Dekeleus
 Aristophon Aristotelous Oinaios
 Python Pytharchou Alopekethen

and to crown each of them with a gold crown according to the law on account of their justice and honor toward the hippeis and the division of the Tarantinoi so that the other hipparchs and phylarchs when appointed will strive earnestly for the hippeis and the Tarantinoi, having seen that worthy favors are received in return for kindnesses. The secretaries of the hipparchs are to write this decree on a stone stele and to set it up in the stoa of the Herms.

Although the inscription is non-stoichedon, the letter cutter has laid out his text in as regular an arrangement as possible, given the fact that the actual line length varies from 21 spaces (line 24) to 31 spaces (line 30). The principal lines of text vary between 24 and 26 letters, the variation used to break the lines at the ends of words wherever possible. In lines 19 to 29 the names of eleven phylarchs with patronymics and demotics are listed, each individual on a single line. For the shortest names (e.g. Charias, line 24) an uninscribed space has been left at the right edge.

Lines 2–3: The proposer of the decree is a foreigner, Kallistratos the son of Termonios of Achaia. This would seem to suggest that the Tarantinoi, the group honoring their Athenian commanders, the hipparchs and phylarchs, were mercenaries. Kallistratos is otherwise unknown. As is often the case with mercenaries, he is listed as an Achaian, rather than by a specific city; the Achaian League was actually founded in the same year this decree was presumably passed, 281/80 B.C. (Polybios 2.41). Other examples of Achaian mercenaries in Athens at about this time are to be found in *IG II*² 1956, lines 192–195 and *IG II*² 1957, lines 4 and 23.

Lines 3–13: The officers honored served in the archonship of Nikias, which can be dated to the year 282/1 B.C. There is no dating formula given for the passage of the decree itself, which was presumably voted at the end of 282/1 or sometime in 281/80 B.C. The officers are honored for fulfilling their duties correctly and for providing the hippeis and the Tarantinoi with grain. The Tarantinoi so provided are specified as ἐντελεῖς, “having full rights”. In both lines 9–10 and 12–13, both hippeis and Tarantinoi are specified; a distinction is to be noted, presumably because the Tarantinoi were mercenaries, although they received similar benefits from the same officers as the hippeis. Most significant, presumably, was the supply of grain for their mounts (lines 7–10). The hippeis in the 4th century were apparently entitled to an allowance of four obols a day, to provide about three and a half medimnoi of grain a month.

Lines 13–16: The actual decree begins in line 13 and was passed by the Tarantinoi alone (line 14), without the hippeis. In a remarkable coincidence a separate decree voted in the same year for these same cavalry officers by the hippeis alone was recorded on a stele found by J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool in 1962 (hereafter referred to by its inventory number, 767, assigned when it was transferred to the storerooms in the Library of Hadrian).²³ It was excavated only forty meters to the northwest of the new stele, and its similar content makes it likely that the two decrees were passed at the same time and were set up close together. Though more specific reasons are given for the honors voted by the hippeis, the wording of the two decrees is virtually identical in many places.

²³ Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1963.

Lines 16–29: In both decrees the two hipparchs and eleven phylarchs are listed by name. In the new decree the officers are listed with both patronymic and demotic, whereas the decree found in 1962 (no. 767) uses only demotics. In addition, since 1962 an extensive archive of lead tablets preserving the names of hundreds of hippeis who served in the cavalry in the 3rd century B.C. has been recovered from two wells, one in the Kerameikos and the other in the Agora.²⁴ We therefore know more about the prosopography of the hippeis than at the time of the discovery of no. 767. Many of the same names as those of the officers serving in 282/1 B.C. occur also on the archive tablets; most of the cavalrymen in the archive are recorded without patronymic or demotic, and so we cannot be certain the same name refers to the same individual, although, as we shall see, this seems likely.

Lines 16–17: The hipparch Νικογένης Ἀρκέσαντος Εὐωνυμέα. A Nikogenes appears in Braun no. 414, and an Arkesas in Braun nos. 60–61.

Lines 17–18: Ἀλκίμαχον Κλεοβούλου Μυρρινούσιον. An Ἀλκμ[---] appears on Braun no. 14, usually read on the basis of Braun no. 13 as Ἀλκμέων. Alkimachos son of Kleoboulos was paredros under the archon Nikias of Otryne in 266/5 B.C. (*IG* II² 668, line 19), and an Alkimachos Myrrinousion appears as the father of one Thoukritos, who served four times as general (*SEG* XLI 86). The father, Kleoboulos, does not appear in the archive.

Line 19: Διονύσιον Πυθοκρίτου Γαργήτιον. A Διον... appears on Braun no. 107; the father, Pythokritos, does not. A mistake made in line 19 was quickly corrected. In the demotic Γαργήτιον, the carver originally forgot the rho and carved Γαγηττ. Realizing his mistake after cutting the second tau, he went back and recut ργη over his original γηττ.

Line 20: Μένωνα Ἴππολοχίδου Ἴπποτομάδην. A Menon appears on Braun nos. 370 and 371; the father, Hippolochidos, does not.

Line 21: Καλλίδημον Καλλιμάχου Εὐωνυμέα. A Καλλι... appears on Braun no. 256, probably to be read as one of several individuals in the archive (nos. 253–279) whose names begin with the same letters; the same is true for the father, Kallimachos. Neither name appears in full on any Kerameikos tablet.

Line 22: Καλλιάδην Ἀριστοφῶντος Στειριέα. A Kalliades occurs on Braun nos. 253 and 254. His brother, Aristodemos, served as taxiarch in the preceding year, 283/2 B.C. (*Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 562, no. 40, lines 24–25: I 863). An Ἀριστ[---] occurs on Braun no. 55, and Ἀριστοφῶντος on Kroll no. 92. Another Aristophon served in the 4th century: Kroll no. 7.

Line 23: Λύσιππον Λυσίππου Κήτιον. A Lysippos appears on Braun nos. 344–345. A Lysippos son of Lysippos, presumably the same individual, also served as a member of the boule for the tribe Leontis: *Agora* XV, no. 74, line 7.

Line 24: Χαρίαν Χαρίου Κεφαλῆθεν. A Charios appears on Braun nos. 556–566. No. 563 is a man from Rhamnous; the rest, with a variety of horses all different from no. 563, are without demotics and thus may or may not be the same individual.

²⁴ For the Kerameikos tablets, see Braun 1970, and for the Agora tablets, Kroll 1977. For a recent, comprehensive account of the history of the Athenian cavalry, see Bugh 1988.

Line 25: Ἀντίμαχον Κλεαγόρου Ἀχαρνέα. An Antimachos of Rhamnous appears on Braun nos. 27 and 28, and an Antimachos without demotic appears on Kroll nos. 56 and 62. The father, Kleagoras, does not appear in the archive.

Line 26: Πρόξενον Προκλέους Φλυέα. A Proxenos appears on Braun nos. 453–457; a Prokles appears in Braun no. 452.

Line 27: Θρασυκλῆν Θρασύλλου Δεκελέα. A Thrasykles of Lamptrai and therefore not this individual appears as Braun no. 228; two more tablets, nos. 226 and 227, bear the name Thrasykles with no demotic. Thrasykles of Dekeleia is to us the best-known individual being honored. Son of the victorious choregos Thrasyllus, whose victory monument (319 B.C.) stands above the Theater of Dionysos, Thrasykles served as agonothete in 271 B.C. and set up a tripod of his own on his father's monument.²⁵

Line 28: Ἀριστοφῶντα Ἀριστοτέλους Οἰναῖον. As noted above (line 22), an Αριστ. . . occurs on Braun no. 55, and Ἀριστοφῶντος on Kroll no. 92. Another Aristophon served in the 4th century. An Aristoteles served in the 3rd century: Braun no. 53.

Line 29: Πύθωνα Πυθάρχου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. A Python appears on Braun no. 468; the father, Pytharchos, does not.

The phylarchs are listed in official tribal order, and only eleven rather than twelve are represented. Missing is the phylarch of the fourth tribe, Aigeis. This same omission appears also on the parallel text of 1962, and it seems clear that the tribe of Aigeis did not field a phylarch in 282/1 B.C.²⁶ Whatever the cause of this anomaly, it was soon rectified. Among the reasons given for honoring the officers in the 1962 decree was action that led to repealing a law that previously had prevented phylarchs from being chosen from all the hippeis, rather than by tribe: ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἂν φύλαρχοι [ῶ]σιν πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς καὶ λυθεῖ ὁ νόμος [ὁ κ]ωλύων ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἱππέων φυλαρχεῖν [τὸ]ν βουλόμενον (lines 11–14).

The combined cavalry archives of the Kerameikos and Agora consist of 558 lead strips dated to the 3rd century B.C., preserving 280 names representing an uncertain number of individuals. Of the thirteen names of officers preserved in I 7587 and in no. 767, all are represented either in whole (eight) or, possibly, in part (five). By way of contrast, among the patronymics four names certainly occur, six do not, and three are uncertain. This correspondence of names of the officers with the archive suggests that the same individuals occur on both; the archive, therefore, should not be far off in date. John Kroll dated the deposition of the tablets in the two wells to the years around 250–220 B.C.; on the basis of prosopography he dated the tablets themselves to *ca.* 260–240, with a few dated earlier than 260.

Another possible correlation is worth noting. Two of the lead strips, Kroll no. 62 and Braun no. 565, list horses of *prodromoi*. The prodromoi served directly under the hipparch, who was responsible for arming and training them, and Kroll argues convincingly that the names on the tablets with the notation *prodromos* are those of the hipparchs who owned the

²⁵ For the Thrasyllus monument, see Welter 1938 and Travlos 1971, pp. 562–565.

²⁶ For discussion, see Bugh 1988, pp. 187–188.

horses, not of the prodromoi themselves.²⁷ Kroll no. 62 carries the name Antimachos, and Braun no. 565 carries the name Charias. Barring an extraordinary coincidence, these two individuals would seem to be the same men who served as phylarchs in 282/1 B.C. (lines 24, 25). At some later date, they served as hipparchs, and we find them in the archive listed indirectly as the owners of the horses of their prodromoi.

Lines 30–40: Compare the decree found in 1962 (no. 767), lines 34–44, for almost identical wording.

Lines 40–44: The publication clause, like that of no. 767, instructs the secretaries to set up the stele in the Stoa of the Herms. As noted, this new stele was found only 40 meters southeast of no. 767, which was also found reused virtually intact in a foundation of Early Roman date. The new stele thus adds considerable weight to a growing conviction that the Stoa of the Herms is to be sought just outside the northwest corner of the Agora, to the northwest of the altar of Aphrodite.

Historical Commentary

The new decree is another small piece in the picture of the turbulent events of the 280's B.C., when Athens was in revolt from Macedonian control. The most telling document is the long honorary decree for Kallias of Sphettos, published by T. L. Shear Jr. He takes the provisions of no. 767 as evidence of troubled times and preparations for an attempt to oust a Macedonian garrison stationed in the Piraeus.²⁸ In addition to ensuring a full complement of phylarchs (no. 767, lines 11–14), the officers serving in 282/1 B.C. also took steps to increase substantially the size of the cavalry, from 200 to 300 hippeis (no. 767, lines 6–11). The gratitude expressed in both decrees (lines 7–9, above, and no. 767, lines 18–21) for a proper supply of grain may well have been more than routine: several roughly contemporary documents refer to concern over the grain supply as Athens prepared for further difficulties. There is no reference to the successful reunification of Athens, which is thought to have occurred in the year in which the two decrees are presumed to have been passed (281/80 B.C.).

A new element added by this decree is the presence of *Tarantinoi*, apparently foreign mercenaries, serving with the Athenian cavalry. The decree raises the possibility that the actual fighting strength of the cavalry was larger than the official figure based on citizen *hippeis*. As noted, no. 767 refers to a rise from 200 to 300 hippeis in 282/1 B.C., but only three years later the Athenians sent a cavalry detachment of 500 to oppose the Gauls at Thermopylai, in 279 B.C. according to Pausanias (10.20.5). While it is conceivable that the Athenians could raise and train an additional two hundred men in three years, it may well be that the substantial rise from three hundred to five hundred men is more easily understood if many were mercenaries, such as the *Tarantinoi* now attested in this new decree.

The early appearance of foreign *Tarantinoi* is a new element in our understanding of the Athenian cavalry in the Hellenistic period. *Tarantinoi* were light-armed cavalry who fought with javelins.²⁹ Hitherto, *Tarantinoi* were attested only for the 2nd century B.C.,

²⁷ Kroll 1977, pp. 125–127.

²⁸ Shear 1978, pp. 28–29, with note 59.

²⁹ I am indebted to my colleague Greg Daugherty for first introducing me to the *Tarantinoi* years ago. For a discussion of the *Tarantinoi* in Athens, see Bugh 1988, p. 197.

at which time they were Athenian citizens, no longer serving under hipparchs and phylarchs but under a tarantinarch, also an Athenian. Presumably this foreign corps of Tarantinoi active in the first half of the 3rd century proved so effective that the Athenians developed their own home-grown contingent of light-armed cavalry, in use by the 2nd century B.C.

I 7588. Pedimental stele of Hymettian marble, upper left corner preserved (Pl. 76). Found July 1994 built into the eastern foundations of the Augustan temple of Aphrodite (J/8-3/2). Molding across top: a cavetto over a flat ovolo; line 1 is carved in the cavetto. P.H. 0.37 m., p.W. 0.25 m., Th. 0.054 m. L.H. 0.005 m. Vertical spacing 0.0095 m.; horizontal spacing 0.008–0.01 m.

saec. III/II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 38

- θε[οί]
- [Θ]εόφιλος Χαιρίππου Ἀ[.....^{ca. 20}.....]
- [Θ]εόφιλος φύλαρχος χε[ιροτονηθεὶς τῆς Ἀντιοχί]
- [δ]ος φυλῆς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [τὸν ἄρχον]
- 5 [τ]ος διετέλεσεν καλ[ῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοὺς
τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλ[ῆς πειθόμενος τοῖς νόμοις]
καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν [τοῦ δήμου ἔθυσεν τὰς θυ-
σίας πάσας τοῖς θεο[ῖς]
ἐ(π)εμελήθη δὲ καὶ τ[ῆς τῶν σίτων δοσεως τῶν]
- 10 [ἱ]ππων τῆς Ἀντιοχίδ[ος ὅπως ἂν]
τατα γίνηται. Ἀγα[θῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τοῖς φυλέ-]
ταις ἐπαινέσαι Θε[όφιλον]
στεφανῶσαι αὐτ[ὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νό-]
μον ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἵππεῖς]
- 15 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τ[ὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]
καὶ στῆσαι ἀ[..... ἐλέσ-]
θαι δὲ τρεῖς [ἄνδρας ἐξ φυλέτων ἀπάντων]

The line length of *ca.* 38 letters can be derived both from measurements on the stone, which has just over half the width preserved at the top, and from the restoration of several of the lines (3, 6, 13).

The stone preserves a decree of the tribe of Antiochis in honor of a phylarch of the tribe, Theophilos. There is therefore no dating formula of the sort which would be expected in a decree of the boule and demos. Several other decrees passed by tribes are known: e.g., *IG II*² 1138–1171. Although they omit the date, they do not omit another piece of information found on Athenian decrees: the name of the proposer. The Theophilos in line 2, therefore, should be the proposer, and the Theophilos in line 3 the phylarch being honored; despite the homonyms, the two should be different individuals. Were the name of the proposer not a *sine qua non* of all decrees, whether of the people, a tribe, a deme, a thiasos, or any other organization, lines 2 and 3 might be restored:

[Θ]εόφιλος Χαιρίππου Ἀ[τῆνεὺς φύλαρχος. ἐπειδὴ]
[Θ]εόφιλος φύλαρχος χε[ιροτονηθεὶς κτλ.]

If, as seems probable, line 2 must carry the name of a proposer, then we should expect a longer demotic than Ἀτηνεύς, beginning with an alpha. The other candidates from Antiochis are Αἰγυλιεύς, Ἀναφλύστιος, Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, and Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν. All are 9–12 letters long and would fit. Of these, Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν is perhaps to be preferred on prosopographical grounds. While no Theophilos Chairippou is known from Attica, an apparent descendant, Χαίριππος Θεοφίλου Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν, served as *tamias* for the prytaneis of Antiochis in 169/8 B.C. (*IG II²* 910 = *Agora XV*, no. 212). Line 2 should then be read

[Θ]εόφιλος Χαίριππου Ἀ[μφιτροπῆθεν εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ]

A Theophilos appears as a cavalryman on the archives found in a well at the Kerameikos, dating to the 3rd century B.C. If we have here the same individual, then we have evidence for the tribe of one of the Kerameikos series of lead tablets. No Theophilos appears in the Agora archive, although several series (C, D, E, and F) apparently list cavalrymen of Antiochis. A phylarch Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου from the tribe of Antiochis appears in the list of victors at the Panathenaia of 170/69 B.C.

These two new decrees join a large and growing body of evidence for intense cavalry activity at the northwest corner of the Agora. A concentration of decrees, archives on lead, clay tokens, and cavalry victory monuments all cluster around the Royal Stoa and the area known in antiquity as “the Herms”.³⁰ Cavalry recruits were trained on the Panathenaic Way in this part of town, and the headquarters of the Athenian cavalry, the hipparcheion, should certainly be sought in the immediate vicinity, part of a busy scene where public buildings, sanctuaries, workshops, and private houses all crowded close together at this principal entrance near the northwest corner of the Agora square.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agora* = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
 III = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957
 VI = C. Grandjouan, *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1961
 VII = J. Perlzweig, *Lamps of the Roman Period: First to Seventh Century after Christ*, Princeton 1961
 XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970
 XV = B. Meritt and J. Traill, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974
 XXIII = M. Moore and M. Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery*, Princeton 1986
 XXIV = A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267–700*, Princeton 1988
 XXV = M. Lang, *Ostraka*, Princeton 1990
 Bailey, D. 1980. *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum*, London
 Bellinger, A. 1966. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection I*, Washington, D.C.
 Besques, S. (Mollard-). 1954–. *Musée National du Louvre, catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romaines*, Paris
 1963. II. *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains*, Myrina
 1972. III. *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*
 1986. IV, i. *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Italie Meridionale, Sicile, Sardaigne*
 1992. IV, ii. *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine, Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient*
 Boardman, J. 1985. *Greek Sculpture of the Classical Period*, London

³⁰ See Bugh 1988, pp. 219–220 for a list of material relating to the cavalry from this area; Bugh is also preparing the publication of another cavalry document from the Agora.

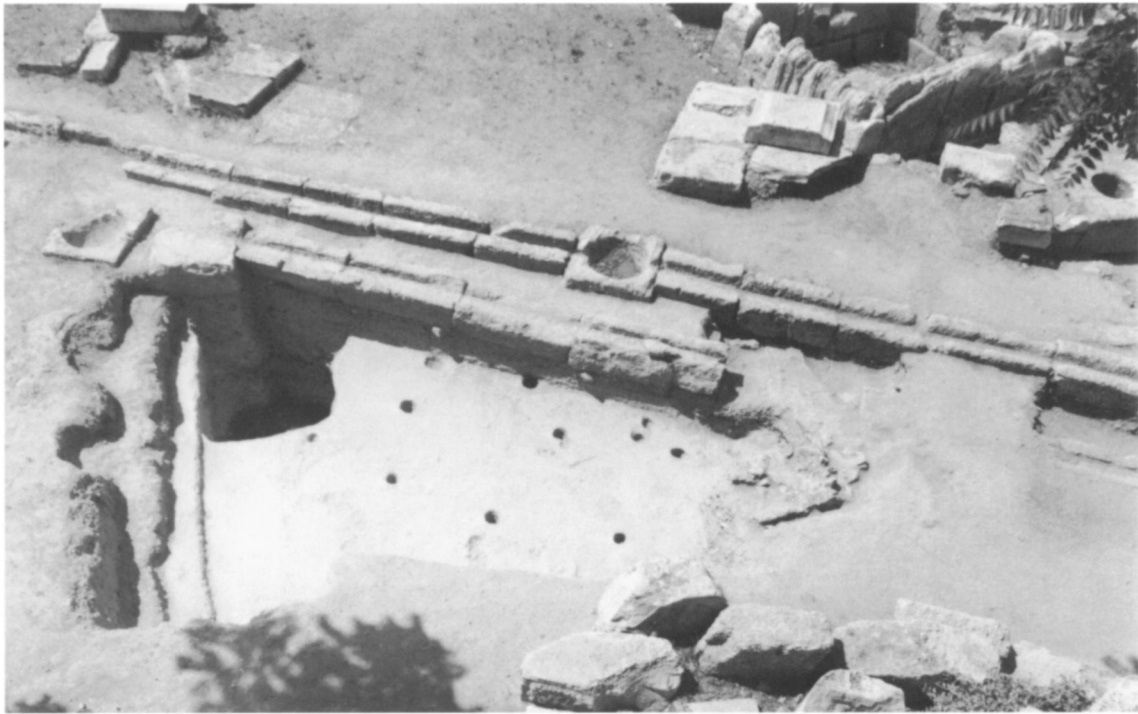
- Bugh, G. 1988. *The Horsemen of Athens*, Princeton
- Burr, D. 1933. "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," *Hesperia* 2, pp. 542–640
- Camp, J. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Athens*, London
- Cohen, B. 1971. "Observations on Coral-Red," *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art* XV, 1970–1971, pp. 1–12
- Corinth IV, ii = O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* (Corinth IV, ii), Cambridge, Mass. 1930
- Ehrhardt, W. 1993. "Der Fries des Lysikratesmonuments," *AntP* 22, pp. 7–67
- Gerhard, E. 1840. *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Berlin
- Griffith, G. 1935. *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge
- Hannestad, R. 1988. "The Athenian Potter and the Home Market," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, pp. 222–230
- Higgins, R. 1980. *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 2nd ed., London
- Kroll, J. 1977. "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry," *Hesperia* 46, pp. 83–140
- Leipen, N. 1971. *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction*, Toronto
- Loeschke, S. 1919. *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, Zurich
- Martin, A. 1887. *Les chevaliers athéniens*, Paris
- Olynthus IV = D. M. Robinson, *The Terracottas Found at Olynthus in 1928* (Excavations at Olynthus IV), Baltimore 1931
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton
- Roberts, S. 1986. "The Stoa Gutter Well," *Hesperia* 55, pp. 1–72
- Shear, T. L., Jr. 1973. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972," *Hesperia* 42, pp. 357–407
- . 1978. *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.* (*Hesperia* Supplement 17), Princeton
- . 1984. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982," *Hesperia* 53, pp. 1–57
- . 1993. "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits," *Hesperia* 64, pp. 383–482
- Steiner, A. 1993. "The Meaning of Repetition: Visual Redundancy on Archaic Athenian Vases," *Jdl* 108, pp. 197–219
- Thompson, D. B. 1939. "Mater Caelaturae: Impressions from Ancient Metalwork," *Hesperia* 8, pp. 285–316
- Thompson, H. A. 1968. "Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966–1967," *Hesperia* 37, pp. 36–76
- Thompson, H. A., D. B. Thompson, and S. I. Rotroff. 1987. *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas*, Princeton
- Threpsiades, J., and E. Vanderpool. 1963. «Πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς», *Δελτ* 18, 1963, A' [1964], pp. 99–114
- Travlos, J. 1971. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London
- Vanderpool, E. 1946. "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia* 15, pp. 265–336
- Vokotopoulou, I. 1990. *Οἱ Ταφικοί Τύμβοι της Αιρείας*, Athens
- Welter, G. 1938. "Das choregische Denkmal des Thrasylos," *AA* [*Jdl* 53], pp. 33–68
- Winter, F. 1903. *Die antiken Terrakotten*, III, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* I–II, Berlin/Stuttgart

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The successes of the past two years are due entirely to the hard work, devotion, and good will of the large and disparate team of volunteers (see note 1 above): Joel Allen (1994), Mark Alonge (1995), Matthew Amatruda (1994), Demi Andrianou (1995), Dylan Bloy (1994), Joanne Boyer (1994), Deborah Brown (1995), Ioanna Coucounis (1994), Kevin Daly (1995), Michael Djordjevitch (1994), Ben Dolinka (1994), Stephen Foy (1995), Alex Gantos (1994), Laura Gawlinski (1995), Chad Henneberry (1994), Jeanne Hines (1995), Lizabeth Houchin (1994), Timothy Howe (1995), Justin Jennings (1994), Ake Johansson (1994), Amy Jones (1995), Dayna Kalleres (1994), Ann-Marie Knoblauch (1995), Adriaan Lanni (1995), Sellars Lawrence (1994), Paul Legutko (1994), Alexandra Lesk (1994, 1995), Ian Limbach (1994), Michael Lindblom (1994), Kelly Low (1994), Lori Lytle (1994, 1995), Michael McGrann (1995), Corinne Moran (1994, 1995), Abigail Mulligan (1994), Elvis Oxley (1994), Katherine Parker (1995), Barbara Pearce (1994), Iris Plaitakis (1994), Michael Rehberg (1994), Jane Rempel (1994), Karen Saylor (1994), David Scahill (1994, 1995), Kristin Seaman (1995), Annabel Snowden (1994), Susannah Snowden (1994), Amy Spagna (1995), Doyle Stevick (1995), Jeffrey Vanderpool (1995), Hettie Veneziano (1994, 1995), John Wallrodt (1995), Susan Wise Wallrodt (1995), Jason Wetta (1994), Jaime Wilson (1994, 1995), Christopher Witmore (1995), Melanie Zahab (1994, 1995), and Christine Zitrides (1994, 1995). Dr. Esmée Webb participated as scientific consultant in 1995.

JOHN MCK. CAMP

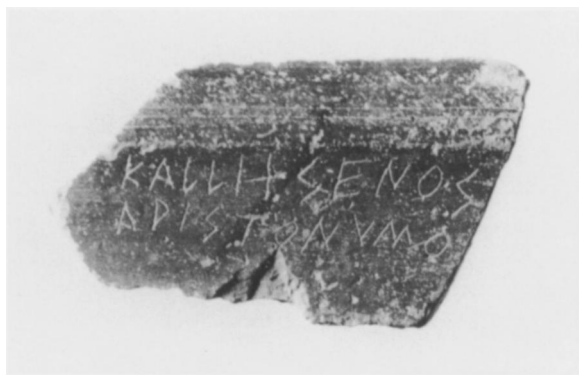
AGORA EXCAVATIONS
c/o The American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street
GR-106 76 Athens
Greece



a. Panathenaic Way north of Crossroads Enclosure, showing Hellenistic postholes, from north



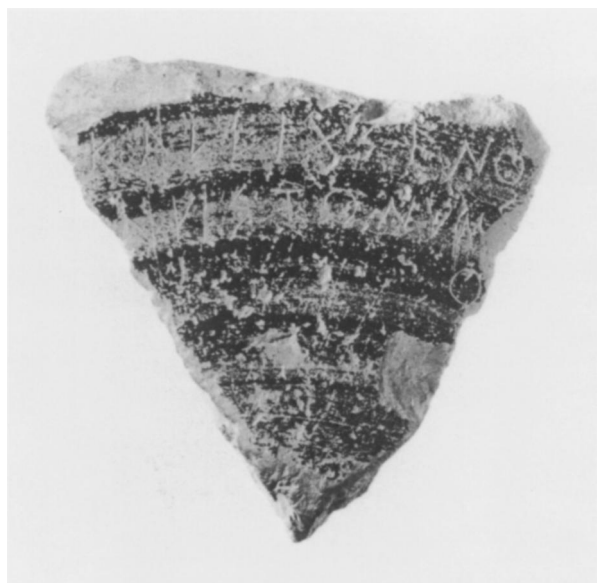
b. Postholes in Panathenaic Way, 5th century B.C. Note fine stratified layers in scarp at upper left



1 (P 32310): ostrakon of Kallixenos



4 (P 32323): ostrakon of Themistokles



2 (P 32308): ostrakon of Kallixenos



5 (P 32311): ostrakon of Hippokrates



3 (P 32312): ostrakon of Xanthippos



6 (T 4025), detail of reattached left hand

Scale 1:2



7 (T 4359)



(1:1)

8 (T 4344)

(1:1)



a. Follis of Justinian:
A.D. 539/40 (1:1)



b. Destruction debris of late 6th century after Christ, found around well K 1:2, from west



a. L 5976 (left) and L 5979 (right) (1:2)



b. Late Roman street drain west of Classical commercial building, looking north



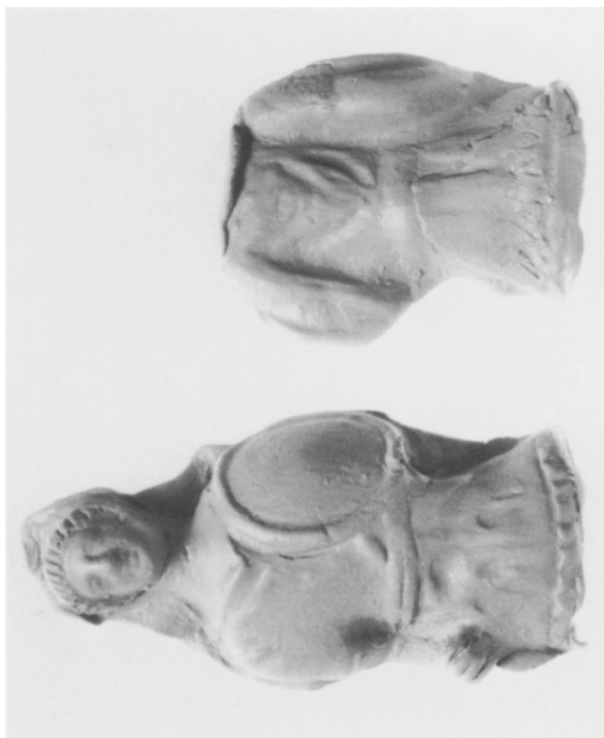
9 (T 4374) (1:1)



10 (T 4373) (1:1)



11 (T 4375) (1:1)



12 (T 4368), cast



13 (T 4369): mold for a boar



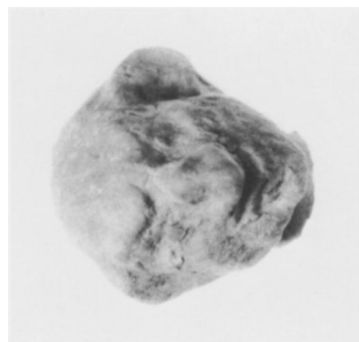
14 (T 4371): mold for a wheel



15 (T 4370): terracotta wheel



16 (T 4366): Pan



17 (T 4372): grotesque

Scale 3:4, except **12**, 5:8; **16**, **17**, 1:1



18 (T 4367): Aphrodite

(1:1)



19 (L 5975)

(1:1)



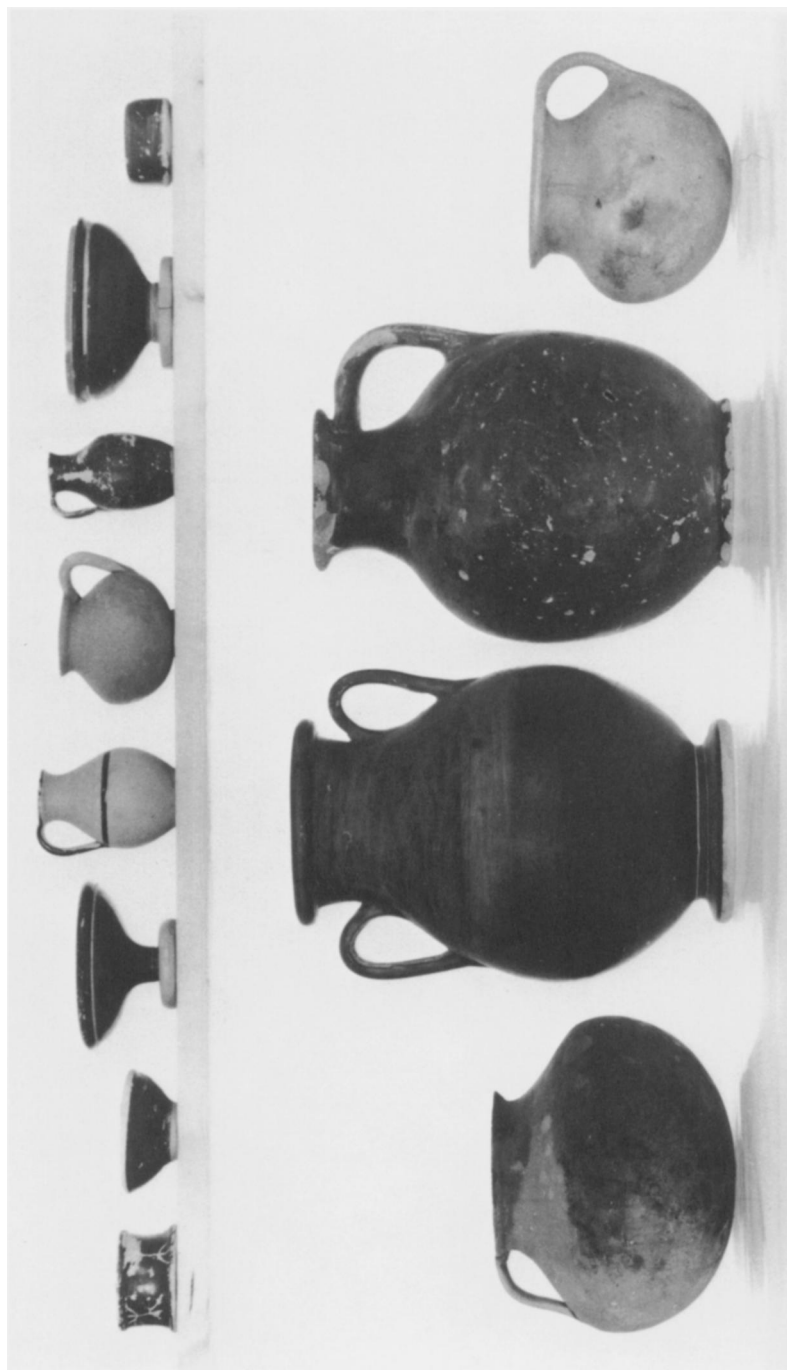
a. Section of Kimonian aqueduct,
looking east



20 (4:1)

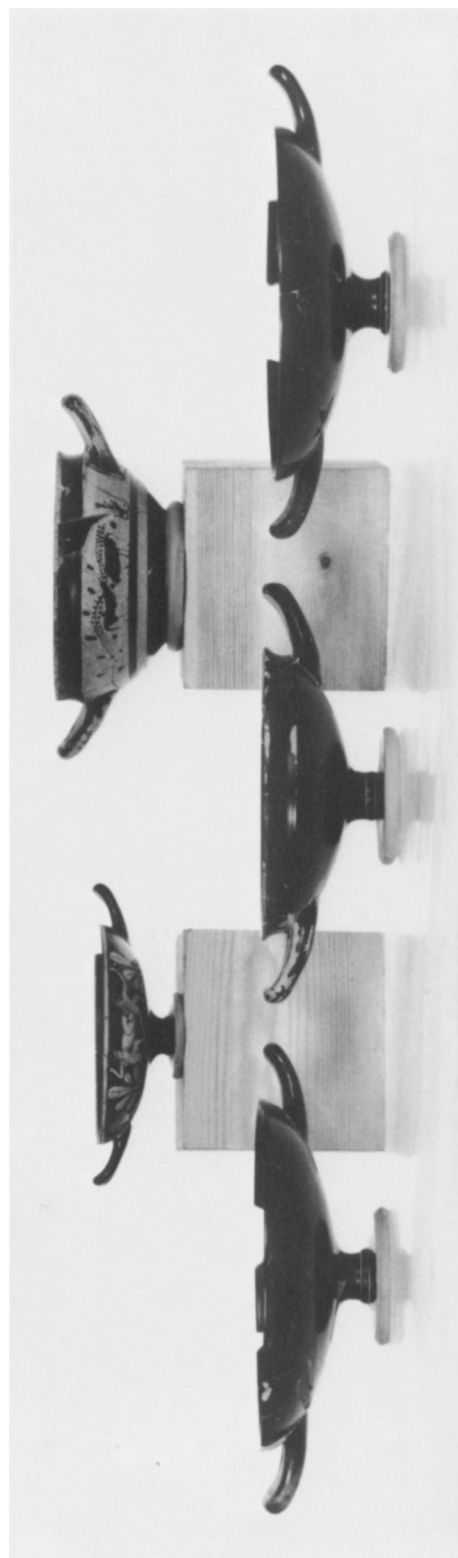


20 (MC 1353)
Parthenos token
(ca. 1:1)



Well J 2:4

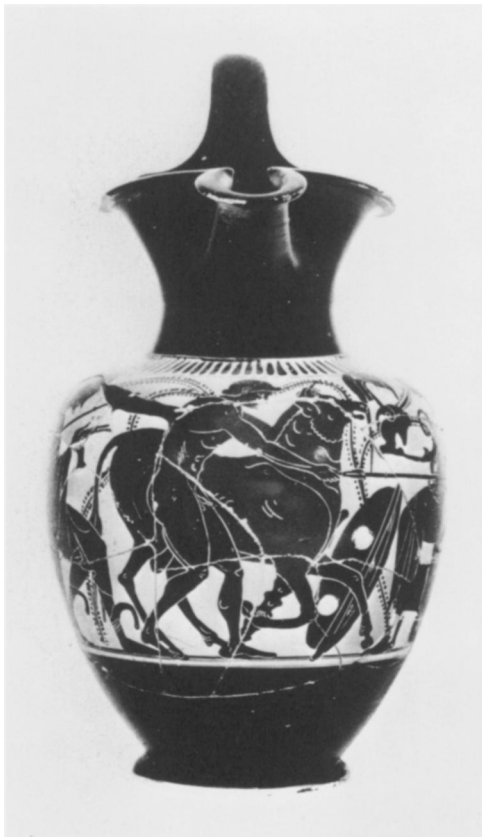
a. Plain black-glazed and cooking pots from well



b. Selection of cups from well



22 (P 32413): skyphos

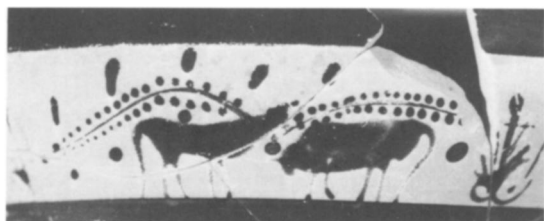


21 (P 32415): trefoil oinochoe, view A

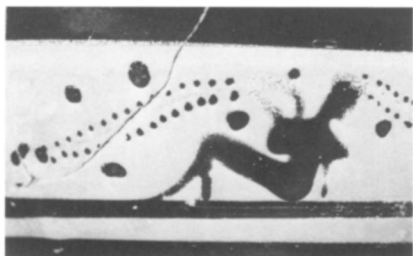


21, view B

Scale 2:5 except 22, 1:3



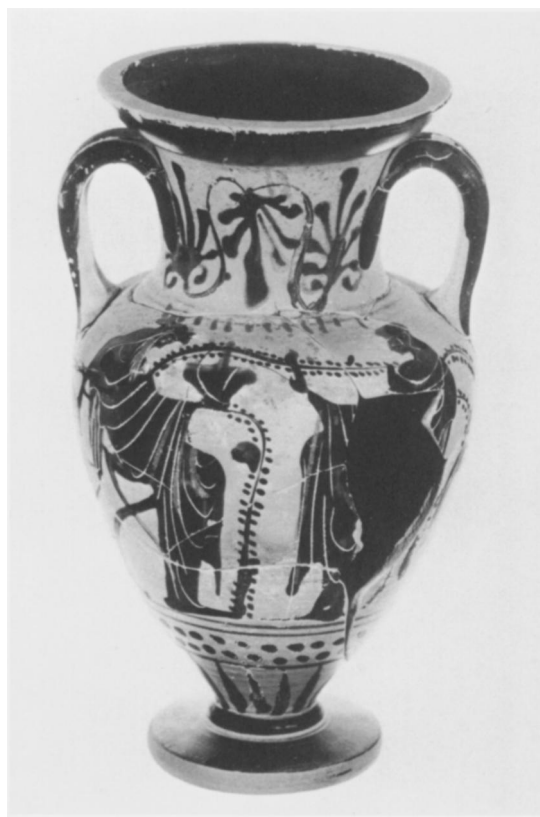
23 (P 32423): cup-skyphos



24 (P 32424): cup-skyphos



25 (P 32474): cup-skyphos



26 (P 32416): amphoriskos (ca. 1:2)



27 (P 32418): pelike, view A (1:3)



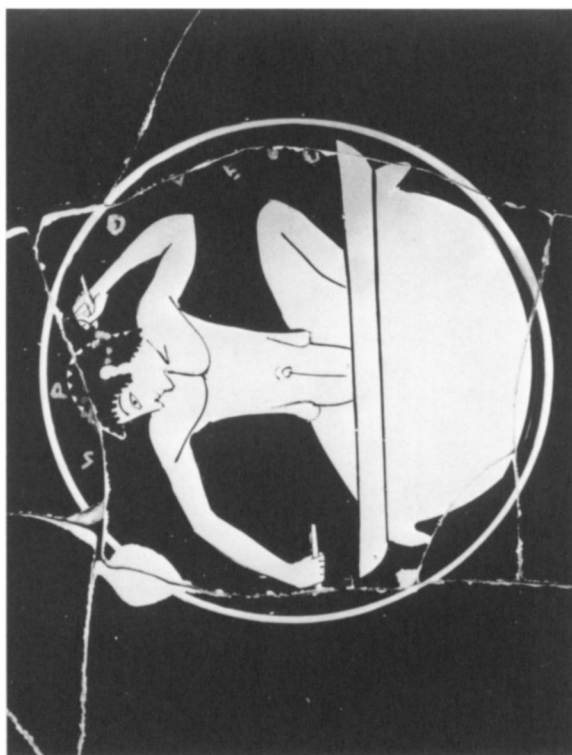
27, view B (1:3)



28 (P 32420)



29 (P 32417)



30 (P 32419)



31 (P 32411)



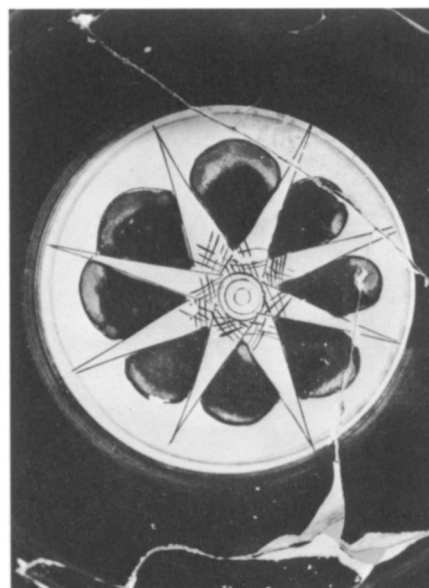
31 (P 32411, exterior), view A



31, view B



32 (P 32422)



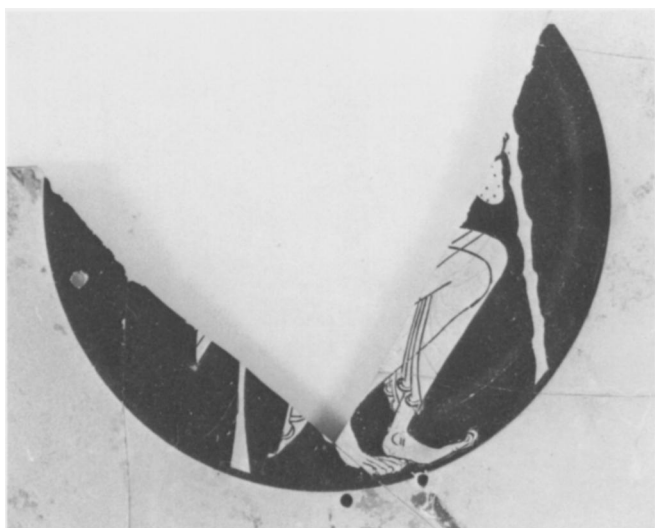
33 (P 32421)



34 (P 32414)



35 (T 4362)



36 (P 32344)



I 7587: honors for phylarchs and hipparchs

I 7588: honors for a phylarch of Antiochis