

# LATE HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN ATHENS

## A NEW DEPOSIT AND FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THE ASSOCIATION OF POTTERY AND SOCIETAL CHANGE

### ABSTRACT

In addition to presenting an Attic ceramic deposit of the Late Hellenistic period, the author connects the increase of imported pottery and local imitations in assemblages of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. with contemporary changes in Athenian society. During this period the emerging political elite of Athens developed strong commercial interests and foreign contacts that may have led to changes in dining practices (e.g., the introduction of foreign metal shapes). Emulation of these cosmopolitan practices may have encouraged importation of foreign pottery—presumably skeuomorphs of metal vessels—and provided the impetus for Attic ceramic imitation of imported metalware.

The aim of the present paper is twofold: to contribute to the study of Attic pottery in the Late Hellenistic period by adding one more deposit to the rather small published corpus from this period and, most importantly, to view Attic Hellenistic pottery in its wider historical context. I am particularly concerned with the significance of pottery as an indicator of social and economic change in Late Hellenistic Athens.<sup>1</sup>

### A LATE HELLENISTIC DEPOSIT FROM THE SOUTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

#### CONTEXT

The material under discussion comes from a cistern located to the south of the eastern flank of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (Fig. 1). The area south of the Odeion was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society between 1955 and 1960 under the supervision of the director of the Acropolis Museum, I. Miliades.<sup>2</sup> South Slope Cistern 14 (hereafter, C14) was excavated in 1956, and the material found there is currently stored at the mosque next to the Roman Agora.

1. I am grateful to the Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία and the Α' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων for permission to study and publish the Hellenistic pottery from the South Slope for my doctoral thesis (Vogeikoff 1993); the deposit presented here forms part of that material. I also thank Maro Kyrkou, one of the excavators of the site, for her support; conservator Nancy Lazarou for her help at various stages of my project; Theodora Kakarouga for undertaking the majority of the drawings; Michalis Tiverios of the University of Thessaloniki for advice; and my husband, Tom Brogan, Director of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, for help with my English. The submitted version of this paper benefited greatly from the valuable comments of the two anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers.

2. Brief preliminary reports are published in *Prakt* and *Ergon*. See *Prakt* 1955, pp. 36–52; *Prakt* 1956, pp. 262–265; *Prakt* 1957, pp. 23–26; *Prakt* 1959, pp. 5–7; *Ergon* 1955, pp. 5–14; *Ergon* 1956, pp. 5–10; *Ergon* 1957, pp. 5–12; *Ergon* 1959, pp. 157–161.

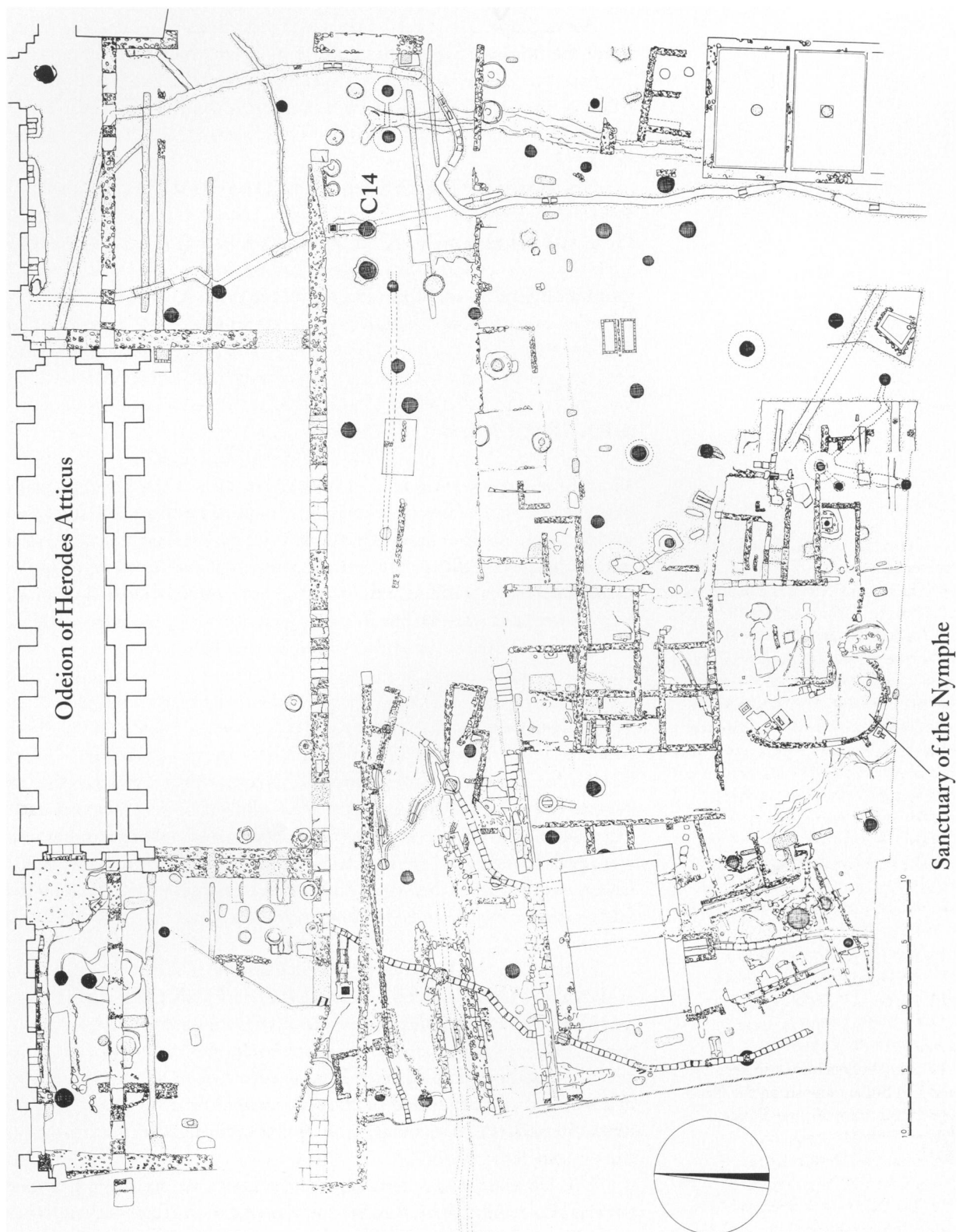


Figure 1. Plan of excavations on the South Slope of the Acropolis, showing location of Cistern 14 (C14)

South Slope C14 is a flask-shaped cistern measuring 5.50 m in depth. From the northwest side a tunnel 4.95 m in length extends its capacity.<sup>3</sup> Footholes along the walls were probably made for cleaning and maintenance of the cistern and at the bottom a bench was built along the southwest side.<sup>4</sup> Finally, a thick coat of hydraulic cement lines the cistern, tunnel, and bench.

The cistern was originally excavated in a series of “baskets” (ομάδες). When the excavators determined that the cistern contained a single fill, these baskets were combined and the undiagnostic pottery was discarded for lack of storage space. Subsequent analysis of the pottery, however, has indicated that C14 contained not only a large deposit of Late Hellenistic material, but also some Roman pottery dating to the first half of the 3rd century A.C. The presence of a small amount of Roman pottery in the deposit is likely to be the result of disturbance that occurred when a Roman pipe was installed along the east side of the cistern at a depth of 0.80 m beneath the surface.

C14 also yielded a large red-figure pyxis from the late 5th century B.C., very likely an heirloom.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the pottery, the deposit included fragments of tiles, iron objects, bronze bosses,<sup>6</sup> a few terracottas,<sup>7</sup> lead weights,<sup>8</sup> clay loomweights, stone weights, a Hermaic stele together with its base,<sup>9</sup> a marble phiale with three spouts,<sup>10</sup> the thumb of a life-size marble statue,<sup>11</sup> a small marble altar,<sup>12</sup> several knucklebones (some with color),<sup>13</sup> and two sling bullets.<sup>14</sup>

#### DATE OF THE DEPOSIT

The contents of C14 included sixteen legible stamped amphora handles—fifteen Knidian examples and one Rhodian. Almost all of the Knidian handles belong to the VI B period (97–88 B.C.) of the “duoviri”; the two exceptions belong to the VI A period (108–98 B.C.). The Rhodian handle preserves the name of the maker, Αγαθόβουλος, and is dated to the second half of the 2nd century.<sup>15</sup> The evidence from the stamped amphora handles is very useful because it provides a terminus post quem (92 B.C.) for the date of the deposit. The stamped amphora handles are discussed below in Appendix 1.

Numismatic evidence may serve as a further guide for the date. The excavation notebooks record bronze coins in the fill of the cistern. The coins have not yet been located in the storerooms of the Athens Numismatic Museum; however, the same notebooks record some of the coins with the notation Mithridates.<sup>16</sup> If these coins belong to the special issue of 87/86 B.C., distinguished by the characteristic star between two crescents, the missing coins would provide another terminus post quem (86 B.C.) for the filling of C14.

The proposed dating thus falls within the period of Sulla's attack on Athens. According to S. I. Rotroff, the identification of a deposit as Sullan destruction debris is based on two distinctive pieces of evidence: stamped Knidian amphora handles of period VI B (97–88 B.C.); and Athenian bronze coins depicting a star between two crescents on the reverse, minted shortly before Sulla's attack on Athens in 86 B.C. Most of the so-called Sullan

3. Upper diameter 0.95 m, lower diameter 1.27 m.

4. The dimensions of the bench are H. 0.50 m; L. 1.00 m; and W. 0.35 m.

5. *Prakt* 1956, pl. 129:b. For a similar case, see two red-figure pelikai in Thompson's Group B (Thompson 1934, pp. 333–334, 427–428, B 1–2, figs. 13:a–b). The red-figure pyxis and the nonceramic objects are not included in the present article because they were not assigned to me for publication.

6. For parallels, see Siebert 1976, p. 817, figs. 29–30.

7. The terracottas are discussed in Appendix 2.

8. 1956-NAA-173 (unpublished).

9. 1956-NAΓ-1 (unpublished).

10. 1956-NAA-102 (unpublished).

11. 1956-NAM-41 (unpublished).

12. 1956-NAΓ-56 (unpublished).

13. One of the knucklebones is inscribed ΑΗΤΟ.

14. Sling bullets have also been found in a Sullan deposit on the North Slope of the Acropolis; see Parsons 1943, pp. 240–241, note 136.

15. Grace and Savvatiannou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 305, E 15.

16. The notations belong to Manto Oikonomidou, former director of the Athens Numismatic Museum. Inventory numbers: 1956-NAN-7, 1956-NAN-11, 1956-NAN-26, 1956-NAN-27, 1956-NAN-32.

deposits, however, also contain material that can be dated several decades later than Sulla's attack, indicating that the cleanup operations were a slow process. The deposits that do not contain any material that can be dated later than 75 B.C. are characterized as "pure" Sullan by Rotroff.<sup>17</sup>

The study of the pottery from C14 suggests that it is a Sullan deposit, though not a pure one since it also yielded a few pieces of pottery that date to the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. (i.e., a Mottled Oliver lid [54] and a skyphos made of Pergamene sigillata [37]), suggesting that either the debris did not find its way to the cistern immediately after Sulla's attack or the cistern remained open for some time after the material was thrown in.

## DISCUSSION OF THE POTTERY

The pottery has been organized first by fabric, thus separating the fine ware from the coarse ware, and then by function, following G. R. Edwards and Rotroff.<sup>18</sup> I also have taken an unusual step in my presentation by grouping local and imported vessels of the same function. Thus, for example, Knidian two-handled cups are presented together with their Attic imitations, under Drinking Vessels, and lagynoi appear together with Attic oinochoai, under Pouring Vessels. This approach is warranted by the considerable number of imports present in the deposit.

Rotroff, in justifying her approach of juxtaposing vessels of disparate form but similar function, has argued that this method better reveals the cultural system in which these vessels once functioned together.<sup>19</sup> I believe that this approach is also applicable to vessels of similar function but different provenience.

The presentation below includes the entire collection of Hellenistic pottery found in C14. The entries include the inventory number in parentheses, the preserved dimensions,<sup>20</sup> a short description moving from rim to base, a Munsell reading of the fabric, and a brief description of the quality of the gloss (or slip). To avoid inaccurate identifications, it has been thought wise not to name the inclusions in the fabrics.

## TABLEWARE

### VESSELS FOR FOOD

#### *Plate (1–7)*

C14 yielded a few fragments of plates in a fabric known as Eastern Sigillata A ware (1–4). Although there is no consensus about either the place of origin or the date of introduction of this type of pottery, many scholars, most recently K. W. Slane, have strongly argued for a Syro-Palestinian origin and a beginning date ca. 150 B.C.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Slane's work has resolved the chronological debate.

The Eastern Sigillata A plates from C14 are broad with a low base, flat resting surface, flat floor, and an upturned rim. The slip is dull and varies from orange-red (2) to dark red (4), and has been applied by double dipping (note the streak on the floors of 2 and 4). One of the plates (2)

17. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 35–36.

18. *Corinth* VII, iii; *Agora* XXIX.

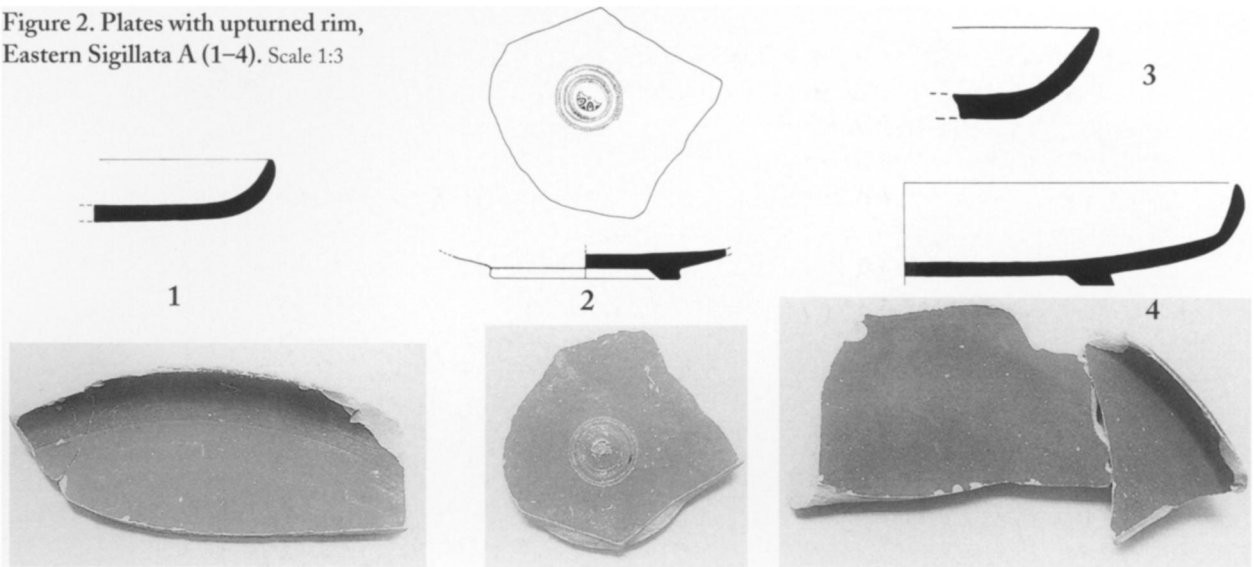
For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this approach, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 5–7.

19. *Agora* XXIX, p. 6.

20. Standard abbreviations are used for dimensions, e.g., max. p.H. = maximum preserved height, Diam. = diameter, and so on.

21. Slane 1997, pp. 272–274 (with references to earlier bibliography).

Figure 2. Plates with upturned rim, Eastern Sigillata A (1–4). Scale 1:3



carries on the floor five rouletted (not clearly defined) circles and a stamped rosette at the center. Plates 1–4 recall those of Tel Anafa type 13c, the majority of which were found in deposits closed ca. 80 B.C.<sup>22</sup>

Two large black-gloss bases (5–6) with red stacking circles and rouletting on the floor should be restored as plates either with offset or upturned rim. Examples with offset rim have been found in Thompson's Groups D and E, as well as in Sullan debris.<sup>23</sup> Plates with upturned rim also occur in contexts associated with the Sullan attack.<sup>24</sup> Both types of plates are of particular interest because their shapes represent a foreign influence in the Attic ceramic repertoire of the Hellenistic period.<sup>25</sup> Both forms are encountered in the black-gloss predecessor (BSP) of Eastern Sigillata A and in Italian Campana B. According to Slane, the broad geographical occurrence of the plates with offset rim suggests that they copied metal prototypes.<sup>26</sup>

The shape of plate 7 finds no parallels in the Attic repertoire. It is probably imported, although the fabric could be characterized as Attic.

### PLATE WITH UPTURNED RIM

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1 (1956-NAK-483)<br/>Eastern Sigillata A. Import.<br/>Max. p.H. 0.025 m.<br/>Part of rim and floor. Vertical rim, flat floor.<br/>Fabric: 7.5YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.</p> | <p>Fig. 2<br/>with flat resting surface, flat floor. Stamped rosette surrounded by rouletting. Streak from double dipping.<br/>Fabric: 7.5YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.</p> |
| <p>2 (1956-NAK-486)<br/>Eastern Sigillata A. Import.<br/>Max. p.H. 0.013 m, Diam. base 0.082 m.<br/>Base and part of floor. Ring base</p>                                    | <p>Fig. 2<br/>with flat resting surface, flat floor. Stamped rosette surrounded by rouletting. Streak from double dipping.<br/>Fabric: 7.5YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.</p> |
| <p>3 (1956-NAK-501)<br/>Eastern Sigillata A. Import.<br/>Max. p.H. 0.035 m.<br/>Part of rim and floor. Vertical rim, flat floor.<br/>Fabric: 7.5YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.</p> | <p>Fig. 2<br/>with flat resting surface, flat floor. Stamped rosette surrounded by rouletting. Streak from double dipping.<br/>Fabric: 7.5YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.</p> |

22. Slane 1997, pp. 260–261, 288–289, pls. 7–9.

23. Thompson 1934, p. 370, D 1, figs. 55, 116; p. 395, E 22–26, fig. 83. *Agora* XXIX, p. 154.

24. *Agora* XXIX, p. 155.

25. On the relationship of these forms to Italian prototypes, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 154–155.

26. Slane 1997, p. 283.

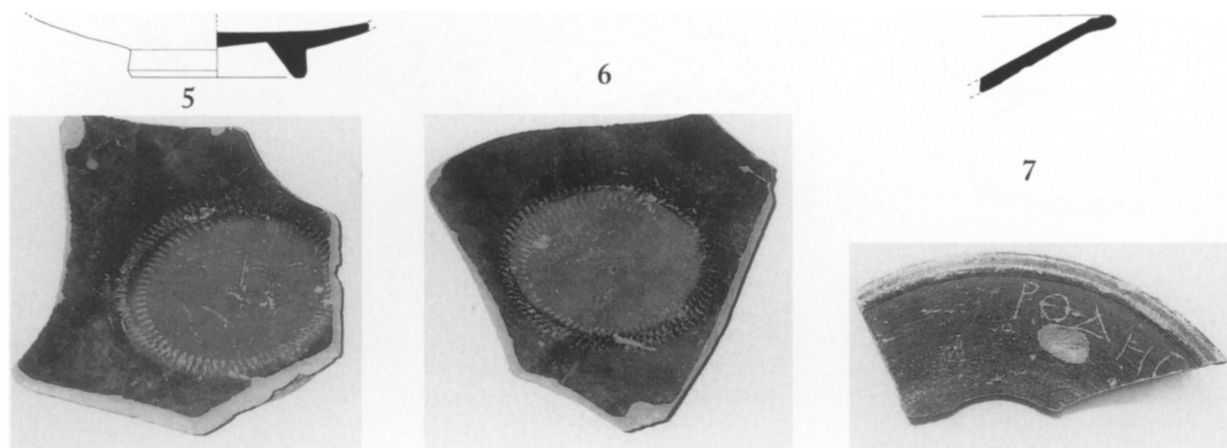


Figure 3. Other plates, black gloss (5–7). Scale 1:3

- 4 (1956-NAK-482) Fig. 2  
Eastern Sigillata A. Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.04 m.

Full profile. Slightly everted rim, flat floor, ring base with flat resting surface. Streak from double dipping. Fabric: 10YR 8/4. Gloss: dull red.

## OTHER PLATES

- 5 (1956-NAK-480) Attic. Fig. 3  
Max. p.H. 0.02 m, Diam. base 0.07 m.  
Base and part of floor. Ring base, flat floor. Rouletting on floor.  
Fabric: 5YR 7/8. Gloss: dull black, red stacking circle and underside.

with grooved resting surface, flat floor with rouletting.  
Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black, red stacking circle and underside.

- 6 (1956-NAK-485) Attic. Fig. 3  
Max. p.H. 0.025 m, Diam. base 0.07 m.  
Base and part of floor. Ring base

- 7 (1956-NAK-458) Attic? Fig. 3  
Max. dim. 0.066 m, est. Diam. rim 0.22 m.  
Part of rim and sidewall. Slightly profiled rim. Incised inscription near rim: POΔHC.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black, partial.

## Bowl (8–11)

There were two bowls with outturned rim and angular profile (8–9) in C14. Fragment 10 probably belongs either to an echinus or a footed hemispherical bowl. Fine rouletting, a slip of good quality, and a brown stacking circle characterize this particular piece, which might not be Attic. The shape, decoration, and quality of the slip on bowl 11 are also alien to Attic pottery of this period. The closest parallel is a bowl from the Athenian Agora, which Rotroff also classifies as an import.<sup>27</sup> The spiral decoration on the center of the bowl recalls an example from Delos that J.-P. Morel has classified as Italic.<sup>28</sup>

27. *Agora* XXIX, p. 420, no. 1739, fig. 103, pl. 137.

28. Morel 1986, p. 479, no. 125, fig. 20.



Figure 4. Bowls with outturned rim (8–9); echinus or footed hemispherical (10); carinated with rilled rim (11). Scale 1:3

### BOWL WITH OUTTURNED RIM

8 (1956-NAK-489) Attic. Fig. 4  
H. 0.045 m.  
Outturned rim, carinated  
sidewall, heavy ring base with slightly  
grooved resting surface, and nipple  
underside.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/2. Gloss: black  
metallic, flaked, mottled around base.

9 (1956-NAK-488) Attic. Fig. 4  
H. 0.045 m.  
Outturned rim, carinated  
sidewall, ring base.  
Fabric: 5YR 7/8. Gloss: dull red,  
base without slip.

### ECHINUS OR FOOTED HEMISPHERICAL BOWL

10 (1956-NAK-487) Fig. 4  
Import?  
Max. p.H. 0.039 m, Diam. base  
0.06 m.  
Tall ring base with grooved

resting surface. Curved sidewall.  
Rouletting.  
Gloss: black with brown  
stacking circle.

### CARINATED BOWL WITH RILLED RIM

11 (1956-NAK-438, 528) Fig. 4  
Import.  
Diam. base 0.064 m.  
Two nonjoining fragments  
preserving base, part of body, and  
rim. Thickened rim with pair of  
grooves on top. Carinated body with

concave upper part. Ring base with  
grooved resting surface. Rouletting,  
four palmettes, and spiral decoration  
at center of floor.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4. Gloss: dull  
black, brownish on floor and  
bottom.

### VESSELS FOR DRINK

Vessels for drink have been subdivided into three categories: containers (West Slope Amphora, 12–15); pouring vessels (Small Oinochoe, 16–19; Round-Mouth Juglet, 20; and Lagynos, 21–26); and drinking vessels (Moldmade Bowl, 27–33; Two-Handled Cup, 34–36; and Skyphos, 37).

### *Containers: West Slope Amphora (12–15)*

Of the two definite West Slope amphoras found in C14, 12 is earlier than 13. The latter has features typical of late-2nd-/early-1st-century B.C. amphoras, such as the molded rim, the angle between shoulder and body, the simplified twist of the handles, the extensive use of incision, and the replacement of the plastic masks by spurs.<sup>29</sup> On the neck, the large ivy leaves find parallels in Rotroff's Large Leaf Group 2, which is dated between 120 and 86 B.C. on the basis of well-dated deposits from the Athenian Agora.<sup>30</sup> Amphora 12, on the other hand, recalls a group of amphoras from Agora deposits dating to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>31</sup>

Because of the poor state of preservation of fragments 14–15, their shape is not certain. They probably belong to small amphoras with parallels in the Agora.<sup>32</sup>

### WEST SLOPE AMPHORA

12 (1956-NAK-225) Attic. Fig. 5

H. 0.22 m.

Full profile; restored from many fragments. Missing small part of rim, belly, and one mask. Outcurved rim. Tall, wide, flaring neck. Upper handle attachments flanked by knobs. Pair of scraped grooves at junction of neck with shoulder. Twisted handles with relief masks at base. Scraped groove at junction of shoulder with lower body. Ring base with flat resting surface.

Fabric: 5YR 7/4. Gloss: metallic black, flaked.

13 (1956-NAK-429) Attic. Fig. 6

Max. p.H. 0.095, est. Diam. rim 0.12 m.

Rim, neck, shoulder, one handle, and small part of body. Molded rim. Neck decorated with inverted egg and dart (incised egg, painted dart), an ivy garland (leaves in thinned clay with some added white; incised

stems), and white dot rosettes.

Slightly twisted handles with vestigial masks at base. Shoulder decorated with lattice flanked by checkerboard.

Fabric: 2.5YR 6/6. Gloss: dull black.

14 (1956-NAK-511) Attic. Fig. 6

Max. p.H. 0.055 m.

Part of neck and shoulder, handle. White thick lines alternate with tan debased ornament on shoulder. Pair of white vertical lines, pair of horizontal tan lines on neck.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4. Gloss: dull brownish black.

15 (1956-NAK-490) Attic. Fig. 6

Max. p.H. 0.05 m.

Part of neck and shoulder. Debased white and tan alternating ornaments on shoulder. White dots on base of neck.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4. Gloss: dull black.

### *Pouring Vessels: Small Oinochoe (16–19), Round-Mouth Juglet (20), Lagynos (21–26)*

Small oinochoai with trefoil mouth, slender neck, and globular or pear-shaped body are popular throughout the 2nd century B.C. Parallels appear in Agora deposits of the early and late 2nd century B.C.<sup>33</sup> and in the Peiraieus Cistern, the closing date of which has recently been placed ca. 140 B.C.<sup>34</sup> The absence of late features such as double grooves on the shoulder and a broad foot suggests a date around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. for

29. See Rotroff 1991, nos. 98 from Large Leaf Group 1 (fig. 22, pl. 41), 106 from Large Leaf Group 4 (fig. 29, pl. 44), and 117–119 from the Gaudy Amphora Group (figs. 30–32, pls. 45–46).

30. Rotroff 1991, pp. 89–90, pls. 39–40.

31. *Agora* XXIX, p. 122, nos. 427–429, 431, 432, pl. 42.

32. *Agora* XXIX, p. 123, no. 451, fig. 33, pl. 45.

33. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 125–127.

34. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 33–34; Metzger 1973, p. 55, no. 63, fig. 4, pl. 10.





Figure 5. West Slope amphora (12).  
Scale 1:3

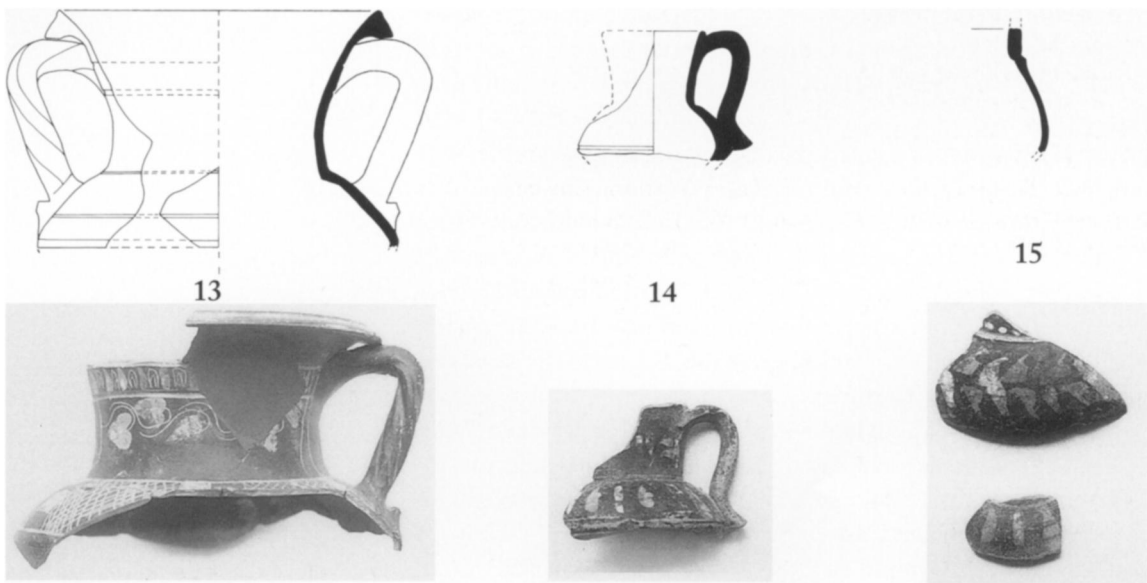


Figure 6. West Slope amphoras  
(13–15). Scale 1:3

the three small oinochoai 16–18. Earlier oinochoai are usually taller and larger. Fragment 19 carries West Slope decoration and strongly recalls a pear-shaped small oinochoe from the Athenian Agora from a Late Hellenistic context.<sup>35</sup>

Small juglets with a round mouth are quite popular in Attic deposits of the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century B.C. The example from C14 (20) features a double handle that splits into spurs on the rim. It is also characterized by a scraped groove below the rim. The treatment of the handle suggests the influence of prototypes in metal.<sup>36</sup>

35. *Agora* XXIX, no. 490, fig. 36, pl. 48.

36. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 132–133, esp. note 61.

A fair number of white-ground lagynoi were found in C14 (21–26). With the exception of 21, the rest are extremely fragmentary. White-ground lagynoi are commonly understood to have flourished from the second half of the 2nd century to the second quarter of the 1st century B.C., but there is increasing evidence to push the introduction of the type back to the first half of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>37</sup> The paucity of white-ground lagynoi (three examples) at Corinth, however, suggests that the practice of importing them was just beginning at the time of Corinth's destruction in 146 B.C.<sup>38</sup>

The center of production of white-ground pottery is unknown, although it is usually assumed to lie somewhere along the west coast of Asia Minor. J. Schäfer has suggested Pergamon for the following reasons: the excavations at Pergamon yielded a variety of shapes including lagynoi that are decorated in the white-ground technique; and two small white-ground fragments (unfortunately now lost) of the late 2nd century B.C. were discovered in the debris of a pottery kiln near the Gymnasium at Pergamon, demonstrating that the city did indeed produce white-ground pottery.<sup>39</sup>

Pitane, the port of Pergamon, has also been suggested as a possible center of production on the basis of the large number of white-ground lagynoi found there.<sup>40</sup> J. W. Hayes has recently attributed a series of white-ground lagynoi from Paphos to Cypriot workshops on the basis of their fabric.<sup>41</sup> There are, however, other centers of production because the white-ground lagynoi from Thompson's Group E are not related, in terms of fabric, to either the Pergamene or the Cypriot series, and must come from yet another center.<sup>42</sup>

Lagynos 21 from South Slope C14 displays an angular profile, with upper and lower body of the same height, and belongs to Shape 2 in Westholm's classification of Cypriot lagynoi.<sup>43</sup> According to Rotroff, Shape 2 in the Athenian Agora is largely associated with Sullan contexts.<sup>44</sup> 21 also finds parallels in the Antikythera shipwreck.<sup>45</sup> In addition to 21, fragments from at least four other lagynoi were found in C14. Three sherds inventoried under the same number (22) probably belong to the same vessel. Depictions of musical instruments, not uncommon on lagynoi, are preserved in dark slip on the white surface. Four other fragments (23) from another lagynos are decorated with large brownish-black leaves. Finally, fragments from a base (24) and a neck (25) complete the catalogue of white-ground lagynoi from C14.

In addition to white-ground lagynoi, the deposit also yielded a red-slipped lagynos with West Slope decoration (26). The clay is red, hard, and slightly micaceous, and the slip reddish brown with black spots. Most of the decoration was done by incision, not the hasty and careless incision of the Late Hellenistic Attic workshops, but a fine and delicate technique. A similar black-gloss example comes from a Sullan deposit in the Athenian Agora.<sup>46</sup> The finesse of the incision on 26 recalls Pergamene West Slope pottery.<sup>47</sup>

37. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 227–228.

38. *Corinth* VII, iii, p. 50, note 34; Broneer 1947, p. 240, pl. LVIII:12. See also Broneer 1935, pp. 71–72, fig. 16.

39. *PF* II, p. 110.

40. *AvP* IX, p. 122.

41. *Paphos* III, pp. 18–22, esp. series 4 and 6.

42. *PF* II, p. 111.

43. Vessberg and Westholm 1956, p. 59.

44. *Agora* XXIX, p. 228.

45. Edwards 1965, p. 21, no. 10; *ArchEph* 1902, pl. H:8.

46. *Agora* XXIX, p. 222, no. 1676, fig. 100, pl. 133.

47. In my dissertation (Vogeikoff 1993), I attributed 26 to the Rhodian workshop, but I now believe that it is closer to the Pergamene workshops. For the use of incision on Pergamene West Slope pottery, see Behr 1988, p. 106; and Patsiada 1990, p. 134.

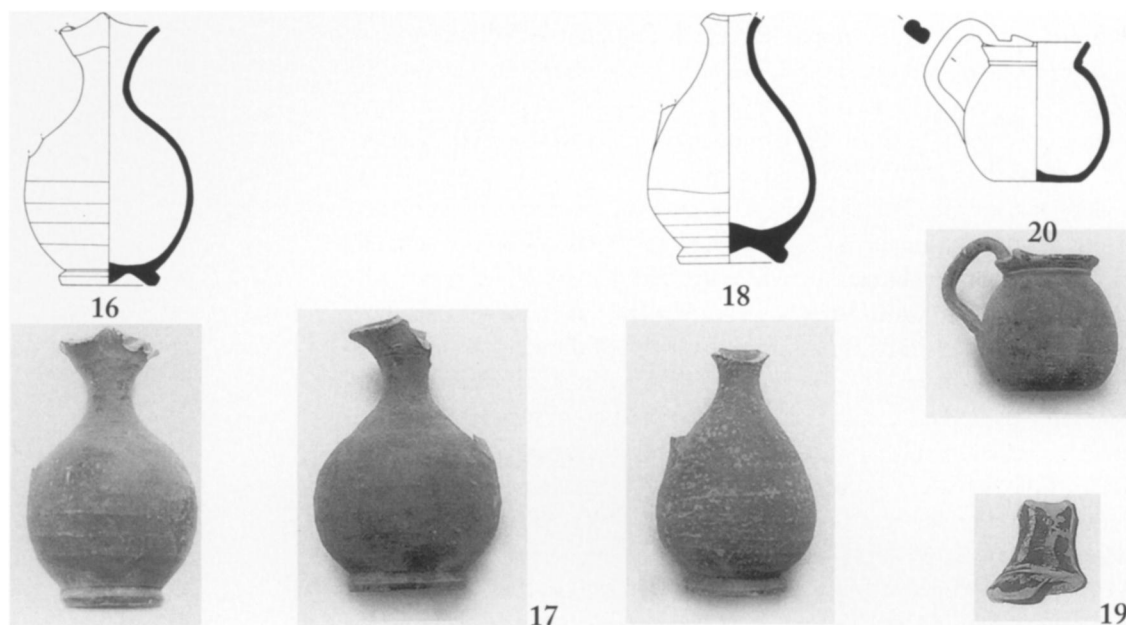


Figure 7. Small oinochoai (16–19); round-mouth juglet (20). Scale 1:3

### SMALL OINOCHOE

16 (1956-NAK-7) Attic. Fig. 7

H. 0.115 m, Diam. base 0.038 m, max. Diam. 0.075 m.

Full profile. Missing handle and part of rim. Trefoil mouth, thin neck, globular body, ring base.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4. Gloss: dull black, mottled around base.

17 (1956-NAK-3) Attic. Fig. 7

H. 0.12 m, Diam. base 0.048 m, max. Diam. 0.079 m.

Full profile. Missing part of trefoil mouth, and handle. Trefoil mouth, thin neck, round body, ring base. Same shape as 16.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4. Gloss: dull black, mottled around base.

18 (1956-NAK-6) Attic. Fig. 7

Max. p.H. 0.101 m.

Missing mouth and handle.

Thin neck, pear-shaped body, and ring base.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4. Gloss: brownish black, flaky, mottled around base.

19 (1956-NAK-516) Attic. Fig. 7

Max. p.H. 0.05 m.

Part of neck and shoulder. Pair of scraped grooves at junction of neck with shoulder. Alternation of white and yellow teardrop lines on neck, white zigzag line on shoulder.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black.

### ROUND-MOUTH JUGLET

20 (1956-NAK-4) Attic. Fig. 7

Max. p.H. 0.057 m, Diam. rim 0.044 m, Diam. base 0.036 m.

Fully preserved. Outturned rim, round body, flat bottom. Thin incised line at junction of rim with body.

Double rolled handle ending at two spurs on rim.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4. Gloss: dull black.

## LAGYNOS

- 21 (1956-NAK-224) Fig. 8  
White-ground. Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.105 m, Diam. base 0.12 m.  
Missing rim, neck, and handle.  
Convex shoulder. Carinated body.  
Ring base with angular exterior; beveled resting surface; slightly convex underside. Traces of red decoration on shoulder.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 6/6. Gloss: off-white.
- 22 (1956-NAK-447) Fig. 8  
White-ground. Import.  
Max. p.H. a) 0.043; b) 0.071; c) 0.049 m.  
Three nonjoining fragments from neck and body. Body decorated with images of stringed musical instruments in brown and yellow slip.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, micaceous. Gloss: off-white.
- 23 (1956-NAK-448) Fig. 8  
White-ground. Import.  
Max. p.H. a) 0.06; b) 0.049; c) 0.04; d) 0.04 m.  
Four nonjoining fragments from shoulder, decorated with large brown ivy leaves and light brown stems.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, micaceous. Gloss: off-white.
- 24 (1956-NAK-551) Fig. 8  
White-ground. Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.015 m.
- Fragment preserving small part of base and body. Low ring base.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: off-white.
- 25 (1956-NAK-531) Fig. 8  
White-ground. Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.073 m.  
Fragment preserving rim, largest part of neck, and beginning of handle. Rolled rim, tubular neck, and strap handle.  
Fabric: 5YR 7/8. Gloss: off-white.
- 26 (1956-NAK-436) Fig. 9  
West Slope. Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.104 m.  
Three joining fragments preserving part of neck and shoulder. Neck: necklace with spearhead pendants attached to incised band by incised zigzag line; two incised ties at ends. Ridge at junction of neck with body. Convex shoulder divided into two registers by pair of grooves. Another pair of grooves at junction of shoulder with body. Shoulder, upper register: incised running spiral; lower register: pendant with spearhead pendants attached to incised band by incised zigzag line; incised bow with ties and trailing tips below pendants. White four-leaf rosette to the left of necklace.  
Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6, very little mica. Gloss: reddish brown (2.5YR 4/6), black at places.

*Drinking Vessels: Moldmade Bowl (27–33), Two-Handled Cup (34–36), Skyphos (37)*

The debris from C14 yielded fragments from seven moldmade bowls, most of which, with two exceptions (one imbricate bowl [27] and one figured [28]), belong to the long petal type. The small number of moldmade bowls in the deposit is rather surprising, since they occur in large numbers in Agora deposits associated with the sack of Athens by Sulla.<sup>48</sup>

Of the two-handled cups, two (34–35) are considered local versions of the so-called Knidian bowl, while the third (36) is actually an import from somewhere in the area of the Dodecanese and coastal Caria, possibly Knidos. The “Knidian bowl” is found frequently in Attic deposits of the

48. *Agora* XXII, p. 36.

49. For Knidian bowls and imitations, as well as bibliography, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 119, 233–234.

50. *PF* VI, pl. 7:13, S 3; *PF* II, p. 68, E 79, E 85; *PF* VII, pls. 6–7.

51. *PF* VI, p. 65, S 3. For an opposing view, see *PF* VII, p. 23; and review of *PF* VII by S. I. Rotroff in *Gnomon* 68, 1996, pp. 356–361.

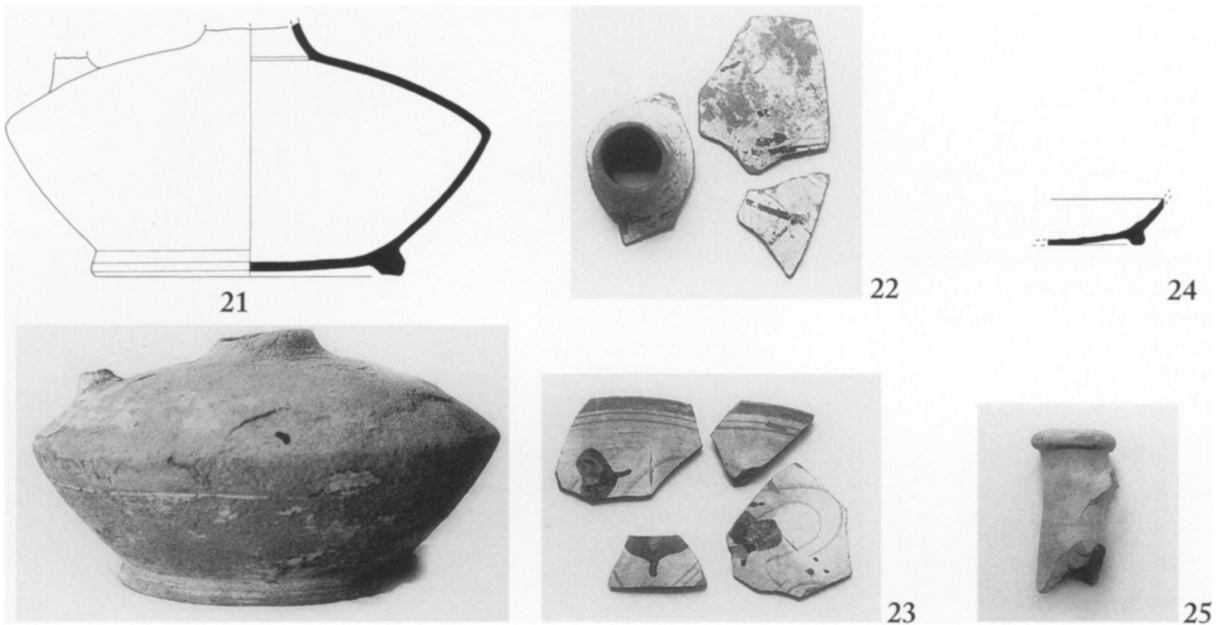


Figure 8. White-ground lagynoi (21–25). Scale 1:3

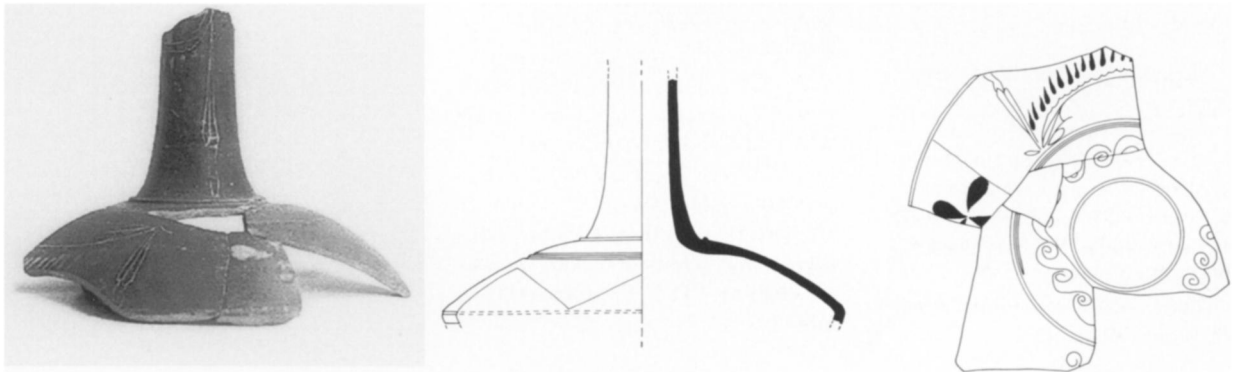


Figure 9. Red-slipped lagynos with West Slope decoration (26). Scale 1:3

52. *PF* VI, pl. 7:13, S 3.

53. Pernice and Winter 1901, pl. 10; see also Gehring 1980. The “Hildesheim Treasure” is thought to have been hidden during the third quarter of the 1st century A.C., but the fact that some of the pieces betray heavy use and some have been reworked suggests that the oldest items in the treasure should be dated in the 1st century B.C.

second half of the 2nd century through the first half of the 1st century B.C. and later.<sup>49</sup>

Fragment 37, an example of Pergamene sigillata, preserves the horizontal thumb-rest of a vertical handle from a distinctive type of skyphos that was popular at Pergamon.<sup>50</sup> The evidence from the cisterns in the city of Pergamon suggests that production of the shape began some time in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. and continued until the beginning of the 1st century A.C.<sup>51</sup> The shape is often decorated with applied reliefs.<sup>52</sup> It is certain that metalware was the source of inspiration for this type of vessel. The Hildesheim Silver Treasure provides us with possible metal prototypes for vessels like 37.<sup>53</sup> 37 represents one of the latest pieces of pottery thrown into C14.

## MOLDMADE BOWL

- 27 (1956-NAK-435) Fig. 10  
Attic. Imbricate.

H. 0.07 m, est. Diam. rim 0.15 m.

Full profile. Line filled with miltoes beneath rim. Band of single spirals, row of downward palmettes and ovolo pattern on rim. Imbricate ferns on calyx and wall. Medallion: eight-petal rosette surrounded by two ridges.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: brownish black, misfired at spots.

- 28 (1956-NAK-517) Fig. 10  
Attic. Figured.

Max. p.H. 0.031 m.

Part of wall. Remains of tree with pair of double volutes on top. Front legs of goat(?).

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black.

- 29 (1956-NAK-428) Fig. 10  
Attic. Long petal.

Max. p.H. 0.08 m, Diam. rim 0.15 m.

Full profile. Scraped groove below rim. Wall: pointed petals alternating with jewelry; stylized flower on top. Medallion: nine-petal rosette surrounded by two ridges. Rust adhering to bowl.

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/6. Gloss: dull black, brown medallion.

- 30 (1956-NAK-544a) Fig. 10  
Attic. Long petal.

Max. p.H. 0.057 m.

Small fragment. Part of rim and wall. Scraped groove below rim. Wall: horizontal jewelry, contiguous long petals.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black.

- 31 (1956-NAK-544b) Fig. 10  
Attic. Long petal.

Max. p.H. 0.055 m.

Small fragment. Part of wall and ridge of medallion. Contiguous long petals on wall.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black.

- 32 (1956-NAK-544d) Fig. 10  
Attic. Long petal.

Max. p.H. 0.04 m.

Small fragment. Part of wall. Long petals separated by lines of jewelry.

Fabric: 2.5YR 6/8. Gloss: red.

- 33 (1956-NAK-510a+b) Fig. 10  
Attic. Long petal.

Max. p.H. 0.06 m.

Two joining fragments preserving part of wall. Contiguous long petals.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull brown.

## TWO-HANDLED CUP

- 34 (1956-NAK-538) Attic. Fig. 11

Max. p.H. 0.03 m.

One handle and part of rim. Straight rim, horizontal handle turned upward.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/2. Gloss: black metallic.

- 35 (1956-NAK-507) Attic. Fig. 11

Max. p.H. 0.031 m.

One handle and part of rim. Similar to 34.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/2. Gloss: black outside, red inside.

Figure 10. Moldmade bowls (27–33).  
Scale 1:3



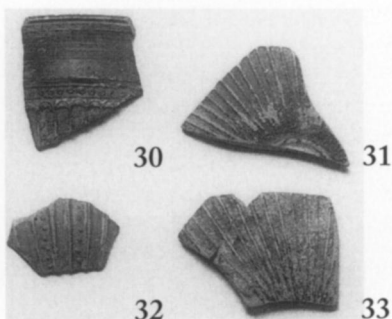
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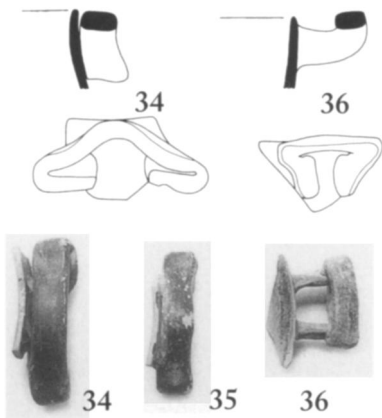


Figure 11. Two-handled cups: Attic (34–35); Knidian (36). Scale 1:3



Figure 12. Skyphos (37). Scale 1:3

36 (1956-NAK-521)  
Import.

Fig. 11

One handle and small part of rim. Straight rim, horizontal recurved handle.

Max. p.H. 0.03 m, est. Diam.  
rim 0.16 m.

Fabric: 5YR 7/4, mica(?).

## SKYPHOS

37 (1956-NAK-552)

Fig. 12

Pergamene sigillata. Import.

Horizontal part of handle (thumb-rest) carrying relief decoration of double volutes.

Max. p.L. 0.035 m.

Fabric: 2.5YR 6/8.

## FOOD PREPARATION

### STOVES AND HEATING DEVICES

#### Brazier (38–41)

Of the two nearly intact braziers found in C14, 38 is related to the low type with parallels from Athens and Corinth and in the Bodrum Museum.<sup>54</sup> Low braziers are sometimes equipped with a projecting tray used perhaps for resting spits.<sup>55</sup> The shape of 38, however, is unparalleled. Moreover, there is a thick layer of added unbaked clay on the firebowl, a feature that also appears in some braziers from Delos. This peculiarity is perhaps an indication that the brazier was also used as an oven.<sup>56</sup> The unusual shape of the firebowl, which is open on one side, probably facilitated the removal of the lopas that had been placed straight on the layer of clay. The bearded heads on the supports are not well enough defined to be attributed with certainty to one of Mayence's types.<sup>57</sup>

Brazier 39 belongs to a type that the French call "réchauds à pied élevé."<sup>58</sup> The supports on the rim resemble Mayence's type IVD, but those of brazier 39 are slightly different.<sup>59</sup> The relief head above the inverted heart-shaped vent recalls the Silenes in the lower frieze of a lavish brazier from Delos.<sup>60</sup> Finally, the heart-shaped vent finds parallels in braziers from Chios<sup>61</sup> and from Marsala in Sicily.<sup>62</sup>

Braziers in general have a wide distribution, including the coastal sites of Asia Minor and Syro-Palestine, Egypt, the Cyclades, Sicily, and South Italy. Examples also occur in Athens and Corinth, but braziers are rather rare on mainland Greece.<sup>63</sup> Some were locally produced, but tall ones such as 39 appear to have been imported from an unknown center.<sup>64</sup> Delos and Egypt have been suggested, among other places, but without strong evidence. Although fragments of braziers are abundant in both places, molds are completely lacking from Delos, and only two examples are said to have been found in Egypt (now in Athens).<sup>65</sup> On this evidence, C. Le Roy has suggested Alexandria as a center of manufacture and Delos as a place of distribution.<sup>66</sup> Conversely, P. M. Fraser excludes an Egyptian origin, in favor of Rhodes.<sup>67</sup>

Neutron activation analysis of a number of braziers from Israel has shown that almost none of them could have been made in Israel or any of the coastal sites in western and southern Anatolia; the researchers are more

54. Alexandri 1969, pp. 65–67, pl. 34:c; *Corinth* VII, iii, pp. 119–120, nos. 646–647, pl. 61; and Leonard 1973, ill. 1. For a discussion of types, see Le Roy 1961, pp. 474–479.

55. Leonard 1973, p. 22, ill. 1:2.

56. Didelot, forthcoming.

57. For the closest parallel, see Mayence 1905, p. 392, fig. 48.

58. Vogeikoff 1994, pl. 15:e.

59. Mayence 1905, p. 391, fig. 43.

60. Le Roy 1961, p. 480, fig. 6; p. 489, fig. 16.

61. Zacharou-Loutrari 1989, p. 46, fig. 41.

62. Kapitän 1980, figs. 1, 3.

63. For a list of findspots, see Le Roy 1961, p. 478, note 1; Scheffer 1981, p. 84, note 227; and Rahmani 1984.

64. For a detailed study of braziers, see Didelot 1990, to be published in the *Délos* series.

65. *Corinth* VII, iii, p. 119, note 3; Scheffer 1981, p. 87, note 252; and Le Roy 1961, p. 499, fig. 29.

66. Le Roy 1961, pp. 484–488, 498–500.

67. Fraser 1972, p. 287, note 285.

inclined to accept an Aegean origin for their samples.<sup>68</sup> O. Didelot has also come to the same conclusion. Because of the volcanic nature of the inclusions in the clay of most of the braziers, she places the area of production somewhere between Kos, Mindos, and Knidos.<sup>69</sup>

Fragment 40 belongs to a brazier similar to 39, while 41 is unparalleled.

## BRAZIER

38 (1956-NAA-180) Fig. 13  
Import.

H. 0.26 m, Diam. base 0.23 m,  
L. (upper) of each lug 0.074 m.<sup>70</sup>

Almost fully preserved. U-shaped firebowl with pierced bottom (one central and three lateral holes). Thick layer of clay covers bottom of firebowl, leaving only central hole open. Sides of firebowl slope downward creating a "tray." Three supporting lugs decorated with bearded heads. Two upturned handles. Low stand flaring at bottom. Trapezoidal vent at backside.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6, micaceous, crystalline inclusions.

39 (1956-NAA-179) Fig. 14  
Import.

H. 0.62 m, Diam. rim (int.) 0.27 m, L. (upper) of each lug 0.082 m.

Restored in many places. Tall, on stand. Down-curving rim. Deep firebowl pierced with five perforations; additional perforations are associated with pot-mending. Three supporting lugs in the shape of bearded heads. Two upturned rope handles. Cylindrical stand flaring out at bottom. Backside of stand carries two vents, partly restored: trapezoidal vent with convex sides (above), inverted heart-shaped vent (below).

Rim decorated with ovolo pattern over dentil frieze. Bearded

heads: hair locks arranged symmetrically, parting at center; raised eyebrows; snub nose; beard formed with four locks, flanked by the heavy locks of the long mustache; slightly open mouth. Exterior of firebowl decorated with triglyphs alternating with incised fishbone panels. Stand crowned by row of dentils, thin frieze with recessed rectangles (occasionally, triangular openings replace the rectangles) and ovolo band. Stand decorated with moldmade garlands and incised ribbons. Silene's head where two garlands meet at backside of stand.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6, micaceous, crystalline inclusions.

40 (1956-NAK-506) Import.

Max. p.H. 0.092 m.

Fragment from tall brazier on stand preserving part of triglyph, dentil and ovolo frieze below supporting lugs.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6, micaceous, crystalline inclusions.

41 (1956-NAK-513) Fig. 14  
Import?

Max. p.H. 0.095 m.

Single fragment with two garlands in relief and remains of triangular air vents(?).

Fabric: 10YR 6/4. Remains of red slip.

## VESSELS USED WITH HEAT

Fragment 42 belongs to a baking dish and is characterized by a thin flat bottom, a thicker sidewall, and a round rim. The bottom of the dish is rough on the exterior and blackened by soot on the interior only, an indication that the dish was not used over fire, but in the oven. Parallels are to be found in Thompson's Group E and in the Late Hellenistic assemblage from Tel Anafa.<sup>71</sup> Macroscopically, the fabric of 42 recalls that of the baking dish in Thompson's Group E.

68. Gunneweg and Perlman 1984.

69. Didelot 1997, esp. p. 381. The macroscopic examination of the fabric of both 38 and 39 recalls the fabric description of Didelot's major center of production.

70. According to Didelot, this is an important measurement in distinguishing the different generations of molds. See Didelot 1997, p. 376, note 1.

71. Thompson 1934, E 139, fig. 105; Berlin 1997, p. 110, no. PW 298, pl. 34.



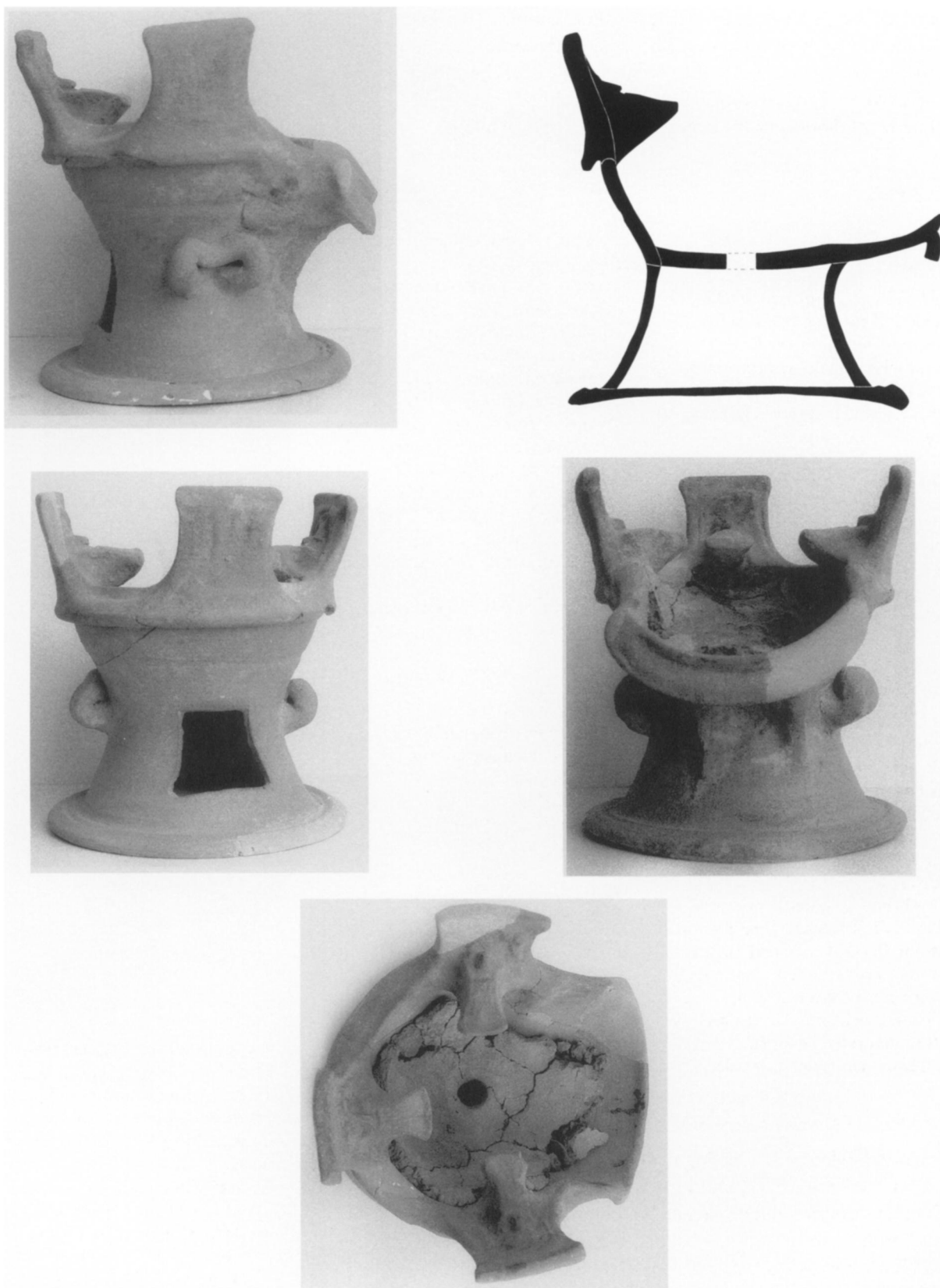
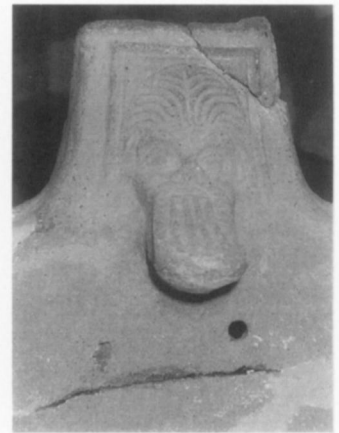


Figure 13. Low brazier (38). Scale 1:4



Figure 14. Braziers (39, 41). Scales ca. 1:4 (39) and 1:3 (41)



39



41

The shape has a wide distribution in the Mediterranean, but never appears in large quantities. Petrological analysis of this type of baking dish from Tel Anafa suggests a production center near a volcanic source. Slane has suggested Pergamon because the distribution of the shape indicates its popularity in the area. Moreover, this type of baking dish is found together with early Pergamene fine wares, and later with Çandarlı ware (the baking dish is characterized by longevity and continues well into the 2nd century A.C.).<sup>72</sup>

Although holes on the floor of fragment 43 suggest a possible identification as a strainer, the thickness of its sidewalls indicates a heat-resistant function. It could have served as a cooking stand for a flat-bottomed

72. Slane 1986, p. 312, note 76, no. 91, fig. 15.

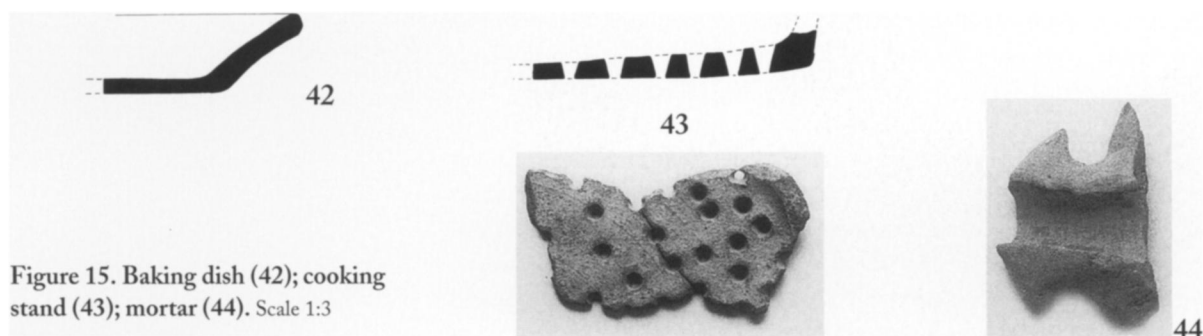


Figure 15. Baking dish (42); cooking stand (43); mortar (44). Scale 1:3

dish.<sup>73</sup> This type of cooking stand was especially popular in Italy.<sup>74</sup> One example was found in the Hellenistic assemblage of Tel Anafa. A. Berlin thinks that its manufacture was motivated by the acquisition of the orlo bifido pans from Italy.<sup>75</sup>

#### BAKING DISH

- 42 (1956-NAK-539) Fig. 15  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.032 m.  
Part of rim and floor. Slightly thickened rim, oblique sidewall, flat floor.  
Fabric: 2.5YR 6/8, micaceous with crystalline inclusions.

#### COOKING STAND

- 43 (1956-NAK-273b) Fig. 15  
Max. p.H. 0.012 m.  
Two joining fragments from bottom and sidewall. Vertical sidewall, flat bottom with perforations.  
Fabric: 2.5YR 6/6, micaceous.

#### VESSELS NOT FOR USE WITH HEAT

This category is represented only by the spout of a mortar (44).<sup>76</sup>

#### MORTAR

- 44 (1956-NAK-500) Fig. 15  
Import.  
Max. p.L. 0.05 m.  
Spout with fluked end.  
Fabric: 10YR 8/4 with red (2.5YR 6/8) core and inclusions.

#### OTHER PURPOSES

##### COVERED TOILET VESSELS

South Slope C14 yielded one pyxis lid, one fragment from a handleless lekanis, and nine examples of so-called reversible lids. The shape of the pyxis lid (45) finds parallels in pyxides from deposits of the late 2nd/early 1st century B.C. in the Athenian Agora.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the decoration can be attributed to Rotroff's Large Leaf Group 2 (ca. 120–86 B.C.), which is characterized by big heart-shaped ivy leaves with incised stems.<sup>78</sup>

Fragment 46 belongs to a large handleless lekanis and recalls examples from the Athenian Agora found in Sullan deposits.<sup>79</sup> According to Rotroff,

73. Berlin 1993, esp. pp. 40–41.

74. On cooking stands in general, see Scheffer 1981.

75. Berlin 1997, p. 122, PW 340, pls. 37, 82.

76. For the most recent discussion on the function of the mortaria, see Berlin 1997, pp. 123–126.

77. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 189–190, nos. 1235–1238, fig. 76, pls. 91–92.

78. Rotroff 1991, p. 89.

79. *Agora* XXIX, p. 192, no. 1259, fig. 78, pl. 93.

the large type of *lekanis* first appears in the years immediately before Sulla's destruction and continues throughout the 1st century B.C., with the later examples slipped red.

The reversible lids from C14 vary in size, from 0.11 m to 0.35 m in diameter. The shape and decoration of lid 55 recall that of a Mottled Oliver lid dated immediately after the Sullan destruction.<sup>80</sup> The spearhead necklace and the bead-and-reel borders of 52 are comparable to the decoration of a reversible lid from the Large Leaf Group 3.<sup>81</sup> Lid 54 belongs to the Mottled Oliver type whose production begins sometime in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C.<sup>82</sup> Its presence in the deposit is indicative of the closing date of C14.

Lids 45 and 50 can be attributed to Rotroff's Large Leaf Group 2.<sup>83</sup> 53 recalls Rotroff's Large Leaf Group 1, which is distinguished by an undulating white line, big heart-shaped leaves, but no stems.<sup>84</sup> The Large Leaf Groups are commonly found in deposits dated ca. 120–86 B.C.

The decoration of lid 47 has no Attic parallels. On the contrary, the closest parallels are found in Samaria in Palestine.<sup>85</sup> One of the two examples at Samaria is dated to the 2nd century B.C. on the basis of its context (area Qy, south of the Round Tower).<sup>86</sup> According to the excavators, the West Slope pottery of the 3rd century B.C. found at Samaria was imported from Attica, but the West Slope pottery of the 2nd century is non-Attic and "must have come from another center than Athens."<sup>87</sup> A close examination of the West Slope pottery found at Samaria suggests that some of it might have originated in Pergamon.<sup>88</sup> If we also consider that Pergamon is one of the few places outside Athens where reversible lids are very popular,<sup>89</sup> then there is a strong possibility that 47 represents a Pergamene import.

## PYXIS

### LID

- |  |                |   |
|--|----------------|---|
| <p>45 (1956-NAK-433)<br/>Attic.<br/><br/>H. 0.083 m, Diam. 0.18 m.<br/>Part of dome and cylinder missing. Pair(?) of scraped grooves around central area of dome. Convex dome with scraped groove at base. Painted groove at outer edge of upper surface of flange. Cylinder flaring out</p> | <p>Fig. 16</p> | <p>with scraped groove near bottom. Center of dome decorated with teardrop asterisk. Dome: ivy leaf garland with incised stems and white dot rosettes interspersed. Flange decorated with white diagonal lines. Cylinder: bead-and-reel decoration. Fabric: 5YR 7/4. Gloss: brownish black.</p> |
|--|----------------|---|

## LEKANIS

### HANDLELESS LEKANIS

- |   |                |   |
|---|----------------|---|
| <p>46 (1956-NAK-543)<br/>Attic.<br/><br/>Max. p.H. 0.038 m.</p> | <p>Fig. 17</p> | <p>Part of rim and sidewall. Inverted rim with external flange. Fabric: 5YR 7/4. Gloss: dull black.</p> |
|---|----------------|---|

80. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 193, 446, no. 1285, fig. 80, pl. 97.

81. Rotroff 1991, pp. 89–90, no. 101, fig. 24, pl. 43.

82. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 193–194.

83. Rotroff 1991, p. 89.

84. Rotroff 1991, p. 91, no. 89, fig. 20, pl. 37.

85. *Samaria-Sebaste* III, p. 243, fig. 47:7; Reisner et al. 1924, II, pl. 73:d 1.

86. For the date of the context, see *Samaria-Sebaste* III, pp. 236, 244.

87. *Samaria-Sebaste* III, pp. 238, 243.

88. Cf. *Samaria-Sebaste* III, p. 243, fig. 47:9–10, with kraters from Pergamon (Behr 1988, pp. 155–158, esp. no. 71; and Patsiada 1990, nos. 113–114); or *Samaria-Sebaste* III, p. 243, fig. 47:7, with kantharos from Pergamon (Behr 1988, p. 118, no. 9, fig. 3).

89. *Agora* XXIX, p. 192, esp. note 16.

Figure 16. Pyxis lid (45). Scale 1:3

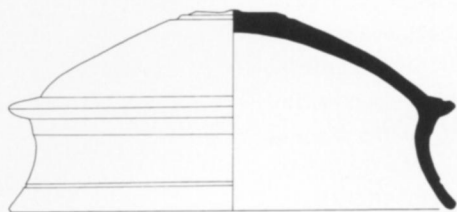
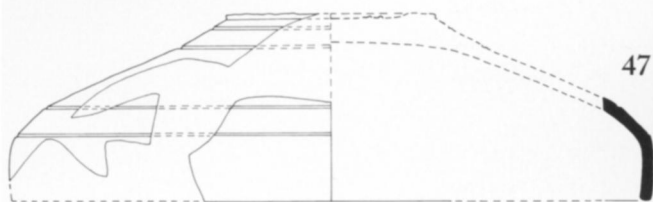


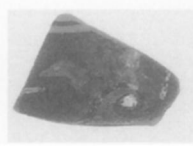
Figure 17. Handleless lekanis (46); reversible lids (47-49). Scale 1:3



46



48



49

47



### REVERSIBLE LID

47 (1956-NAK-434) Import.

Fig. 17

Gloss: dull brownish black, red at places.

Max. p.H. 0.085 m, Diam. rim 0.25 m.

Rim, part of wall and knob missing. Slightly concave wall with two scraped grooves at bottom and top. Rim slightly inverted. Knob: teardrop asterisk with alternating tan and white rays. Wall: bows and garlands; bead-and-reel between scraped grooves.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6, micaceous.

48 (1956-NAK-540a) Attic. Fig. 17

Max. p.H. 0.02 m, est. Diam. rim 0.30 m.

Small part of rim and wall preserved. Concave wall with pair of scraped grooves at junction of wall with rim. Wall: spiral painted white. Pseudo bead-and-reel on vertical face of rim.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull black.

## 49 (1956-NAK-441) Attic. Fig. 17

Max. p.H. 0.055 m, max. p.L. 0.067 m.

Small part of wall. Tan dolphins jumping over spirals painted in white. Pair of scraped grooves above dolphins.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: brownish black.

## 50 (1956-NAK-442) Attic. Fig. 18

H. 0.14 m, Diam. rim 0.35 m.

Parts of wall and rim restored.

Knob with groove on top of raised edge. Slightly concave wall with two scraped grooves at top and bottom. Slightly inverted rim. Knob: teardrop asterisk with alternating tan and white rays. Wall: ivy garland with incised stems on sidewall. Bead-and-reel between grooves at top and bottom.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: metallic, red at places.

## 51 (1956-NAK-271) Attic. Fig. 18

Max. p.H. 0.077 m, Diam. knob 0.122 m.

Rim and parts of wall missing. Knob convex to outside, with scraped groove on top of raised edge; slightly convex center. Convex wall with wheelmade grooves at lower part. Part of wall decorated with incised fishbone pattern.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6. Gloss: dull black, mottled around knob, part of knob without slip, center of floor red.

## 52 (1956-NAK-548) Attic. Fig. 18

Max. p.H. 0.09 m.

Three fragments (two joining)

preserving part of wall. Two scraped grooves at lower part of body. Wall: necklace with spearhead pendants originating from incised zigzag line; white dots at tips of pendants. Bead-and-reel between grooves.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull brown.

## 53 (1956-NAK-514) Attic. Fig. 18

Max. dim. 0.04 m.

Part of wall. Ivy garland with white ribbon but without leaf stems. White dot rosettes interspersed between ivy leaves.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: metallic black outside, red inside.

54 (1956-NAK-481) Attic. Fig. 19  
Mottled Oliver.

Max. p.H. 0.051 m, Diam. knob 0.11 m.

Knob and upper part of wall preserved. High flaring knob with groove on top of raised edge. Two scraped grooves at upper part of body. Knob: tan star(?). Bead-and-reel border between scraped grooves.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull red.

## 55 (1956-NAK-439) Attic. Fig. 19

H. 0.045 m, Diam. 0.11 m.

Missing small part of rim and body. Knob with groove on top of raised edge. Slightly convex wall with two scraped grooves at top and bottom. Vertical rim. Knob: cross. Wall: bead-and-reel (white reel has vanished). Pair of white diagonal lines between grooves at lower part.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4. Gloss: dull brownish black.

## VESSELS FOR PERFUME AND OIL

56 belongs to a side-pouring lekythos, a shape that, according to Rotroff, appears in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>90</sup> The shape finds parallels in Thompson's Group E and the pottery from the Maison des Comédiens at Delos.<sup>91</sup> The treatment of the rim indicates that the vessel was used for pouring oil.

Fragments 57–58 belong to two small thin-walled aryballoi, with gray core and reddish-yellow slip. Their shape strongly recalls that of aryballoi of the so-called blister ware found in Well X in the South Stoa at Corinth and at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth.<sup>92</sup> The blister-

90. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 170–171.

91. Thompson 1934, p. 417, E 1333, fig. 103; Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, D 183, pl. 147.

92. *Corinth* VII, iii, pp. 145–147, 228, no. 775, pls. 35, 64; *Corinth* XVIII, i, pp. 53–54, no. 476, pl. 48.

Figure 18. Reversible lids (50–53).  
Scale 1:3

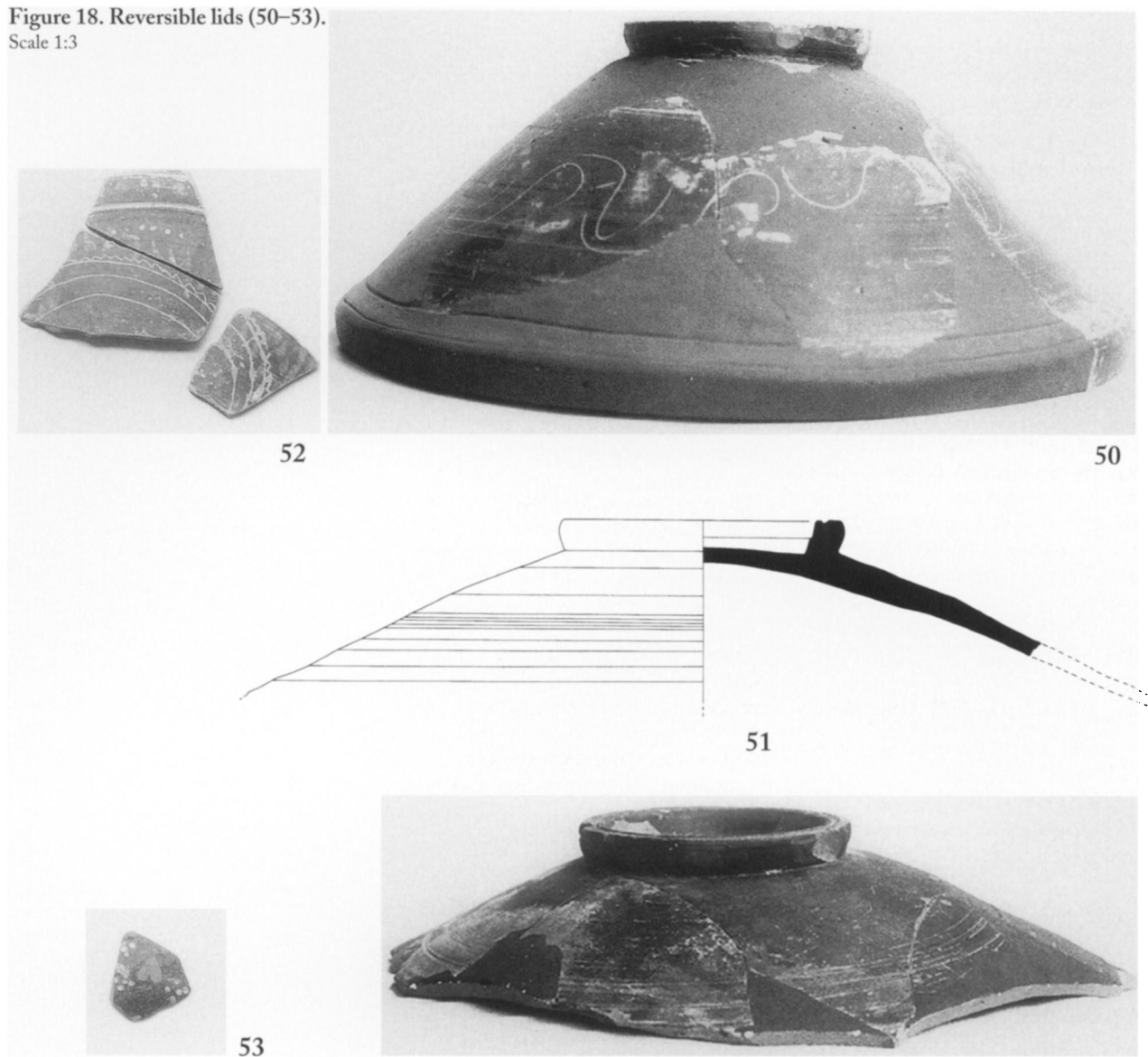
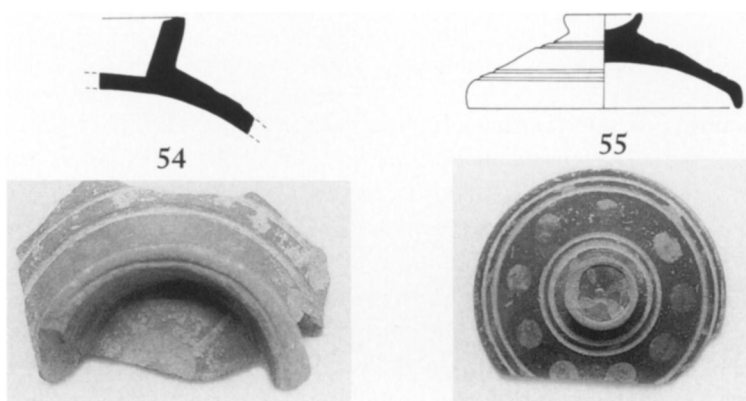


Figure 19. Reversible lids (54–55).  
Scale 1:3



ware aryballos is a shape with a long history of production at Corinth, starting in the 5th century and continuing until 146 B.C.<sup>93</sup> Both 57 and 58 should be treated as Corinthian imports. Their survival in an Attic deposit of the Late Hellenistic period is noteworthy.

Of the unguentaria found in C14, the best preserved (61) displays a tall solid foot, a somewhat bulging body, and a tall neck; the rest, although less well preserved, should also be restored with the same features. Some still preserve their decoration of white lines around the neck, shoulder, and body. Similar unguentaria occur in contexts of the 2nd and 1st century B.C., in the Kerameikos, Pylos, and Pergamon.<sup>94</sup> Their place of origin is uncertain.

Fragment 63 belongs to a small amphoriskos probably used as an unguentarium.

## SIDE-POURING LEKYTHOS

- 56 (1956-NAK-484) Attic. Fig. 20  
Max. p.H. 0.068 m (with handle).  
Mouth, neck, handle, and small part of shoulder. Deep mouth with flaring rim and small pinched spout at right angle with strap handle. Pair of scraped grooves on shoulder.  
Fabric: 5YR 6/6. Gloss: black, flaked.

## SQUAT ARYBALLOS

- 57 (1956-NAK-497) Fig. 20  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.06 m.  
Rim, neck, handle, and part of shoulder. Flaring rim, conical neck, round shoulder. Double rolled handle from below rim to shoulder.  
Fabric: 7.5R N5. Gloss: yellowish.
- 58 (1956-NAK-499) Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.045 m.  
Rim, neck, and part of shoulder.  
Shape, fabric, and gloss same as 57.

## UNGUENTARIUM

- 59 (1956-NAK-503) Fig. 21  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.117 m.  
Part of neck, body, and part of stem. Slightly swelling body. Solid stem. Traces of burning on neck. Two white lines around body.  
Fabric: gray with red core.
- 60 (1956-NAK-493) Fig. 21  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.095 m.  
Base, stem, and lower body. Tall solid stem.  
Fabric: gray.
- 61 (1956-NAK-430) Fig. 21  
Import.  
H. 0.15 m.  
Missing part of rim. Tall thin slightly flaring neck, bulging body, solid stem. White lines around neck, between body and neck and around body.  
Fabric: gray with white inclusions.
- 62 (1956-NAK-495) Fig. 21  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.08 m.  
Part of neck and body. Bulging body.  
Fabric: gray.

93. *Corinth* XVIII, i, p. 54, note 177. The fabric of 57 and 58 is also similar to a blister-ware filter vase found in a 2nd-century B.C. deposit at Corinth; see Romano 1994, p. 78, no. 40.

94. *Kerameikos* IX, pp. 187–188, E 105, E 108, pls. 97:1, 98:1; Kaltsas 1990, p. 18 (AE MIII 1735), fig. 21, pl. 23:a; p. 12 (AE MIII 1793), fig. 21, pl. 14:c; p. 12 (AE MIII 1746), fig. 25, pl. 16:a; and *PFL*, p. 100, C 1 and C 2, fig. 7. For additional bibliography on unguentaria, see Anderson-Stojanović 1987.



Figure 20. Side-pouring lekythos (56); squat aryballos (57). Scale 1:3

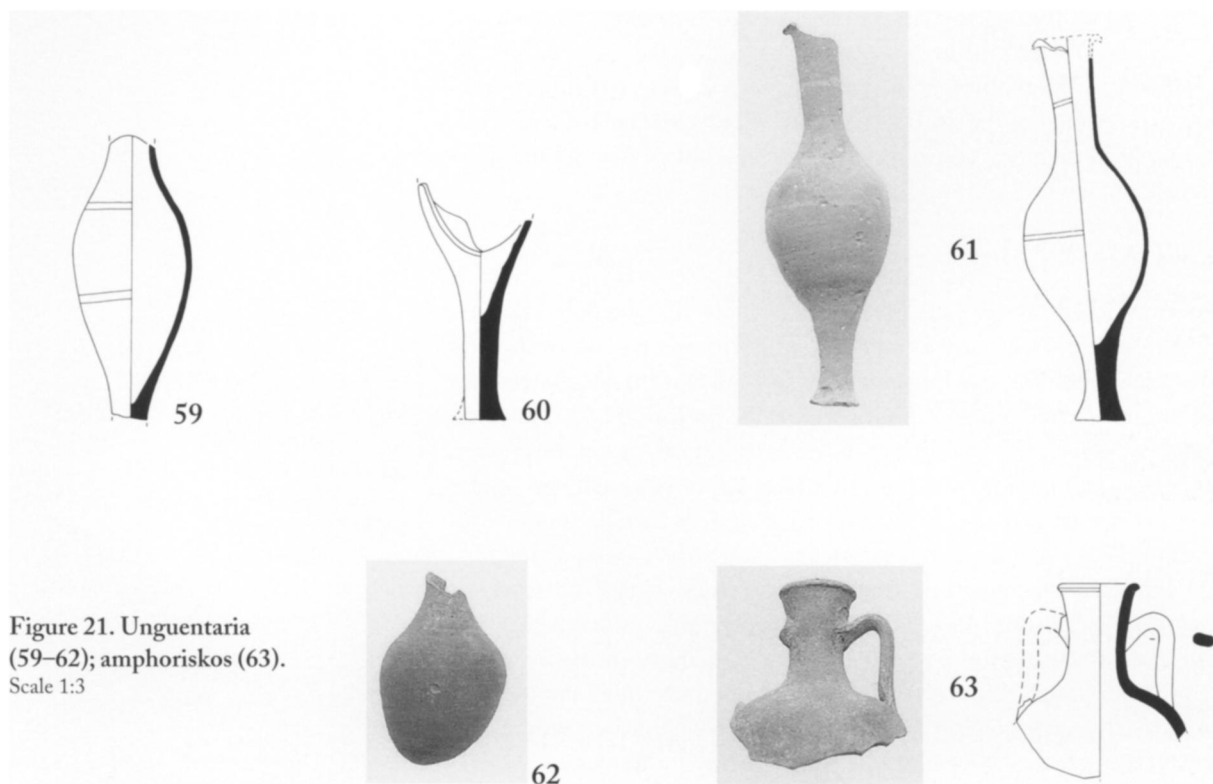
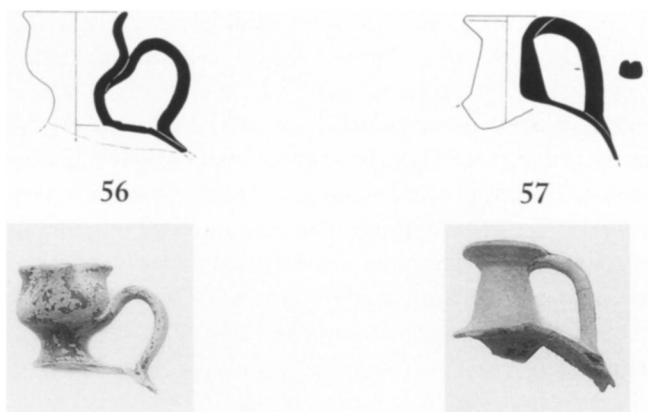


Figure 21. Unguentaria (59–62); amphoriskos (63). Scale 1:3

## AMPHORISKOS

63 (1956-NAK-535) Attic.

Max. p.H. 0.078 m, Diam. rim 0.03 m.

Rim, neck, shoulder, part of body, one handle, and beginning

Fig. 21

of second. Outcurved rim, neck flaring out at top and bottom, slight carination at junction of shoulder with body. Neck slipped inside.

Fabric: 5YR 7/6, micaceous.

## LAMPS

## WHEELMADE

Most of the lamps from C14 were wheelmade (64–72). A number of nozzles (64–67) belong to lamps of Howland's types 35A or 37B and are dated within the last quarter of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 1st century B.C.<sup>95</sup> Nozzles 68 and 69 are similar and contemporary, but because of their unslipped exterior they are classified under type 35A'.<sup>96</sup> C14 also contained an example of a type 35B lamp with five nozzles (70), and one (71) close to type 39<sup>97</sup> but without the ridge and concentric groove around the rim.<sup>98</sup>

Lamp 72 warrants special mention because of the peculiarity of its shape. It recalls a type of lamp with completely covered body and an added filling hole on its top. Such lamps are known in limited numbers from contexts in the Agora and the Kerameikos, dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>99</sup> Two more examples of the same type found in Pella and Priene have been dated to the 3rd century B.C. on stylistic grounds.<sup>100</sup> 72 must be later in date, however, to judge from the incipient flukes of its small nozzle. A date in the 2nd century B.C. is proposed here. Finally, the gray fabric of 72 suggests an origin on the west coast of Asia Minor, perhaps Knidos.

## MOLDMADE

The two moldmade lamps (73–74) belong to types that are dated slightly earlier than the previous lamps, but still within the second half of the 2nd century B.C. 73 definitely belongs to type 48B since it carries the characteristic broken-barred alpha in high relief at the bottom. R. H. Howland has dated the type to the second half of the 2nd century B.C. on the basis of another example found in an Agora fill (17:5, upper fill) that was deposited toward the end of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>101</sup> I. Scheibler suggests an earlier date (170–130 B.C.),<sup>102</sup> but the appearance of the type in contexts of the late 2nd/early 1st century B.C. lends support to Howland's chronology.

Lamp 74 recalls type 48A. The use of a worn mold probably explains why the characteristic grooves and ridges are missing from the nozzle of 74. Type 48A is long-lived since it has been found both in earlier (second half of 3rd/first quarter of 2nd century B.C.) and later (third quarter of 2nd century B.C.) deposits.<sup>103</sup> Scheibler has distinguished a "prototype," however, which she dates to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.,<sup>104</sup> and a "main type," which she dates between 150 and 90 B.C.<sup>105</sup> 74 recalls lamps of the later main type.<sup>106</sup>

## LAMPS

- |   |         |   |
|---|---------|---|
| 64 (1956-NAK-541a)<br>Attic.<br>Max. p.L. 0.045 m.<br>Fragment preserving long, | Fig. 22 | pointed nozzle. Flukes and oval wick-hole. Type 35A or 37B.<br>Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: dull brownish black. |
|---|---------|---|

95. *Agora* IV, pp. 109–110, pls. 17, 43; pp. 118–120, pls. 18, 19, 44.

*Kerameikos* XI, pp. 55–56 (SSL 3), pls. 52–54; pp. 57–59 (KRL), pls. 56–59.

*Agora* XXIX, Appendix 3, pp. 503–504 (an adjustment of the chronology of Hellenistic lamps by Rotroff).

96. *Agora* IV, pp. 110–111, pl. 43; *Agora* XXIX, p. 503.

97. *Agora* IV, pp. 111–112, esp. no. 478, pl. 43; *Agora* XXIX, pp. 503–504.

98. *Agora* IV, p. 124, nos. 515–516, pl. 45.

99. *Agora* IV, pp. 84–85, type 26B; *Kerameikos* XI, pp. 43–44, nos. 229–232.

100. Drougou 1992, pp. 58–59, no. 108, fig. 8, pl. 26; *Priene*, p. 449, no. 161, fig. 556.

101. *Agora* IV, p. 161, no. 637. For the dating of Agora deposit D 17:5, see *Agora* XXIX, p. 443.

102. *Kerameikos* XI, p. 66, 192.

103. *Agora* IV, pp. 158–160, pl. 48; *Agora* XXII, pp. 102–103.

104. *Kerameikos* XI, nos. 384, 390; *Agora* IV, no. 621.

105. *Kerameikos* XI, pp. 66–68, 70.

106. *Kerameikos* XI, no. 416.

- 65 (1956-NAK-542a) Fig. 22  
Attic.  
Max. p.L. 0.05 m.  
Fragment preserving long, pointed nozzle and small part of body. Flukes and oval wick-hole. Type 35A or 37B.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: lustrous brownish black.
- 66 (1956-NAK-534) Fig. 22  
Attic.  
Max. p.L. 0.04 m.  
Fragment preserving long, pointed nozzle. Flukes and oval wick-hole. Type 35A or 37B.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: brown.
- 67 (1956-NAK-537) Attic.  
Max. p.L. 0.043 m.  
Fragment preserving long, pointed nozzle. Flukes and oval wick-hole. Type 35A or 37B.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: brown.
- 68 (1956-NAK-533) Fig. 22  
Attic.  
Max. p.L. 0.07 m.  
Fragment preserving nozzle and small part of body. Nozzle long, pointed, tubular, and rounded on top. Type 35A'.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: no gloss on exterior; black gloss on interior.
- 69 (1956-NAK-532) Fig. 22  
Attic.  
Max. p.L. 0.06 m.  
Fragment preserving nozzle, long, tubular, and blunted. Type 35A'.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6. Gloss: no gloss on exterior; red gloss on interior.
- 70 (1956-NAΔ-1) Attic. Fig. 22  
Max. p.H. 0.04 m, Diam. base 0.05 m, max. p.L. 0.13 m.  
Intact except for tips of nozzles and vertical handle. Five nozzles, deeply depressed top, sloping sidewall, ring base. Type 35B.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6, micaceous. Gloss: dull black.
- 71 (1956-NAΔ-5) Attic. Fig. 22  
Max. p.H. 0.027 m, Diam. base 0.034 m, max. p.L. 0.08 m.  
Intact except for minor chip on rim. Short nozzle with flukes, plain rim with curving sides, slightly convex disc, flat base. Traces of fire around nozzle. Similar to type 39.  
Fabric: 5YR 6/8. Gloss: black, misfired.
- 72 (1956-NAΔ-37) Fig. 22  
Import.  
Max. p.H. 0.05 m, Diam. base 0.04 m, max. p.L. 0.07 m.  
Short nozzle with incipient flukes, filling hole on edge of shoulder, central tubular "handle," flat shoulder slightly convex, almost vertical sidewall, flat bottom ending in mastoid projection.  
Fabric: gray. Gloss: black, flaky.
- 73 (1956-NAΔ-4) Attic.  
Max. p.H. 0.033 m, Diam. base 0.041 m, max. p.L. 0.09 m.  
Intact except for handle and upper part of nozzle. Rays on disc, cornucopia, ridge around filling hole, rounded sidewall, ring base. Broken-barred alpha at bottom. Type 48B.  
Fabric: 2YR 6/6. Gloss: dull reddish brown.
- 74 (1956-NAΔ-285) Fig. 22  
Attic.  
Max. p.H. 0.027 m, max. p.L. 0.10 m.  
Most of lower part missing. Long nozzle without decoration, concave band and ridge around filling hole, rounded sidewall, rays on top, cornucopia, ring base. Similar to type 48A.  
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4, micaceous. Gloss: brown, flaky.

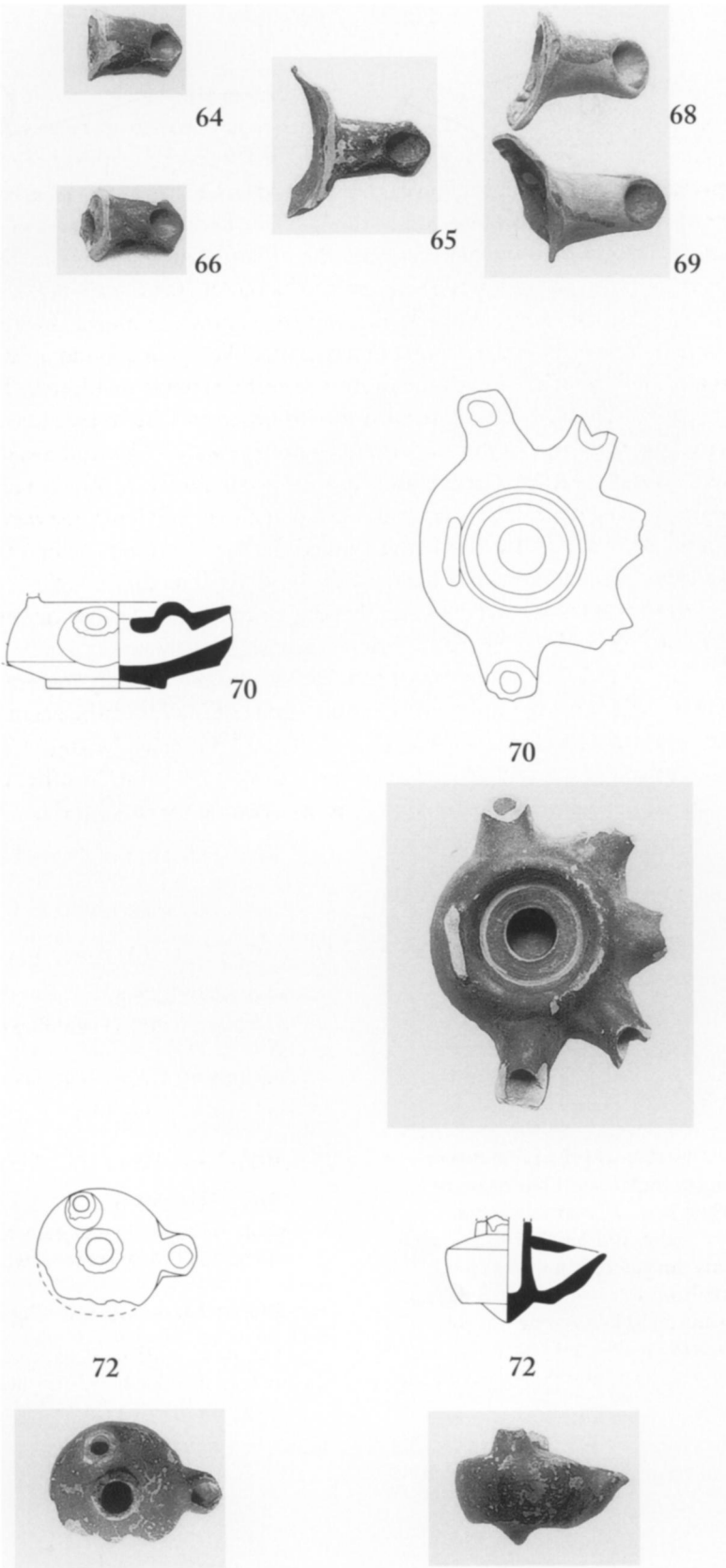


Figure 22. Wheelmade lamps (64–66, 68–72); moldmade lamp (74). Scale 1:3

## INCENSE BURNERS (THYMIATERIA)

C14 yielded a large part of the cover of an elaborate thymiaterion (75) and fragments of three similar lids (76–78). 75 is a bell-shaped cover with four vertical handles around a knob in the shape of an egg or pomegranate, springing out of acanthus leaves.<sup>107</sup> A hen or some other type of attachment should be restored on top of the knob. Relief rosettes, masks of Satyrs, and figures of women decorate the zone below the handles. Both heart-shaped and round openings served as outlets for the smoke of the burning incense. Large thymiateria are better known in metal. But there are also a few elaborate examples in terracotta, like the one found in Byrsa in a context associated with the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.<sup>108</sup> In the case of 75, both the frieze with the interspersed relief masks and rosettes and the shape of the knob recall Centuripe ware.<sup>109</sup> Rotroff has posited a similar connection for an imported pyxis lid from the Athenian Agora bearing relief decoration and colors that also recall Centuripe ware.<sup>110</sup> On the basis of clay, Rotroff has attributed the Agora piece to a non-Attic workshop. 75, on the other hand, could be Attic. The fabric looks Attic and the Satyr's mask is a consistently popular motif for the decoration of Attic vessels of the Hellenistic period.

It is not clear whether fragments 76–78 are lids from thymiateria or pyxides. All three examples carry simple egglike finials, but the acanthus leaves are absent. The finials of 77 and 78 are broken at the top.<sup>111</sup> The finial of 76 ends in a small, coiled peak. 76 also differs from the other two in the position of the handles, which are set closer to the finial and incline.

## LIDS

107. The motif of egglike finials springing out of acanthus leaves appears on certain examples of Centuripean ware. This polychromatic ware was produced in Centuripe in Sicily during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., decorated with scenes of nuptial character. See Wintermeyer 1975, pp. 152–169.

108. Carrié 1979.

109. On Centuripe ware, see Joly 1980; Wintermeyer 1975.

110. *Agora* XXIX, p. 232, no. 1565, pl. 123.

111. 77 and 78 also recall examples of imported white-ground pyxis lids from the Athenian

Agora; see *Agora* XXIX, nos. 1559, 1561, figs. 94–95, pl. 122. Also see Hayes 1992, p. 165, no. 206. Not enough is preserved from 77 and 78, however, to exclude the possibility that they carried openings and belonged to thymiateria lids.

75 (1956-NAK-276) Attic. Fig. 23

Max. p.H. 0.25 m, est. Diam. 0.365 m.

Partly restored. Bell-shaped with four handles. Knob in shape of pomegranate springing from acanthus leaves; hole for attachment. Two twisted rope handles; two others ridged. Impressions of fingers at base of handles. Decoration in three zones: 1) round small holes and heart-shaped openings; 2) masks, female heads, rosettes in relief, round openings; 3) lower zone mostly restored.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4. Traces of white slip.

76 (1956-NAK-505) Attic. Fig. 24

Max. p.H. 0.075 m.

Knob, one handle, beginning of second.

Fabric: 5YR 5/6, micaceous with inclusions. Traces of red slip.

77 (1956-NAK-504) Attic. Fig. 24

Max. p.H. 0.065 m.

Knob in shape of pomegranate.

Fabric: 10YR 6/4. Traces of white?

78 (1956-NAK-496) Attic. Fig. 24

Max. p.H. 0.085 m.

Pomegranate knob and part of lid.

Fabric: 5YR 7/4. White slip.



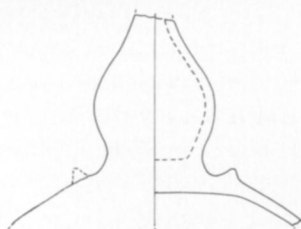
75



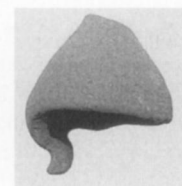
75



76



78



77



Figure 24. Lids of thymiateria or pyxides (76–78). Scale 1:3

## UNIDENTIFIED SHAPES AND FUNCTIONS

This section includes two pieces of pottery whose shape cannot be confidently restored. **79** probably belongs to some kind of a pitcher. Its shoulder is decorated with a brown-filled circle and a brown, looplike line against a tan background. **80** belongs to a large closed shape with a small ring base. Its decoration is unparalleled and consists of ribbons and alternating wide and narrow petals drawn in a brown outline on an off-white background. One of the fragments that constitute **80**, however, preserves decoration very similar to that of a sherd from Thompson's Group D.<sup>112</sup> **80** is probably the side-product of a center making white-ground lagynoi.<sup>113</sup>

Figure 23 (*opposite page*).  
Thymiaterion lid (75).

Scale 1:3

**79** (1956-NAK-465) Fig. 25  
Import.

Max. p.H. 0.097 m.  
Part of neck and shoulder.  
Shoulder decorated with brown-filled  
circle and a brown, looplike line  
against a tan background.  
Fabric: 5YR 7/4, micaceous.

**80** (1956-NAK-272) Fig. 25  
Import.

Max. p.H. 0.157 m, Diam. base  
0.067 m.

Four fragments (three joining)  
from base and lower sidewall. Convex  
sidewall, small ring base. Large and  
small rounded petals in brown outline  
with central rib alternating. Light  
brown garland interspersed between  
the lower ends of the petals. Hook-  
shaped ornament at junction of small  
and large petals. Nonjoining frag-  
ment decorated with swag painted as  
a series of overlapping dots and tied  
at the end; light brown garland.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6, micaceous.

## AN OVERVIEW OF THE DEPOSIT

It is difficult to reconstruct the process by which South Slope C14 came into existence. C14 is the result of cleanup operations of random debris following Sulla's attack. The cistern was not sealed immediately, but remained open for some decades. Most of the material must have originated from nearby houses. Remains of several Hellenistic houses were excavated in the area. The absence of cooking and plain pottery might be explained by the fact that the deposit was culled by the excavators, who probably saved only what they thought was datable. That some of the material might have come from a nearby sanctuary is also possible. The Sanctuary of the Nymphe, some tens of meters to the south of C14, is certainly the most likely candidate. It is not clear yet when the sanctuary was abandoned, but it yielded pottery that can be dated to the 2nd century B.C.<sup>114</sup> Until the latter is fully published, however, any association of deposit C14 with the Sanctuary of the Nymphe remains speculative. Moreover, the sanctuary was found "packed" with fragments from black- and red-figure loutrophoroi. If some of the pottery in C14 did indeed come from the sanctuary, one would have expected also to find fragments of loutrophoroi in the deposit, which is not the case.

The analysis of the pottery shows that South Slope C14 included a considerable amount of imported pottery as well as Attic imitations of foreign forms.<sup>115</sup> The Agora deposits also confirm this increase in imports and imitations during the last decades of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>116</sup>

112. Thompson 1934, p. 390, D 69.

113. I have recently seen several hydriai in East Crete with similar floral decoration on white background and an emphasis on hook-shaped ornaments like those between the petals of **80**.

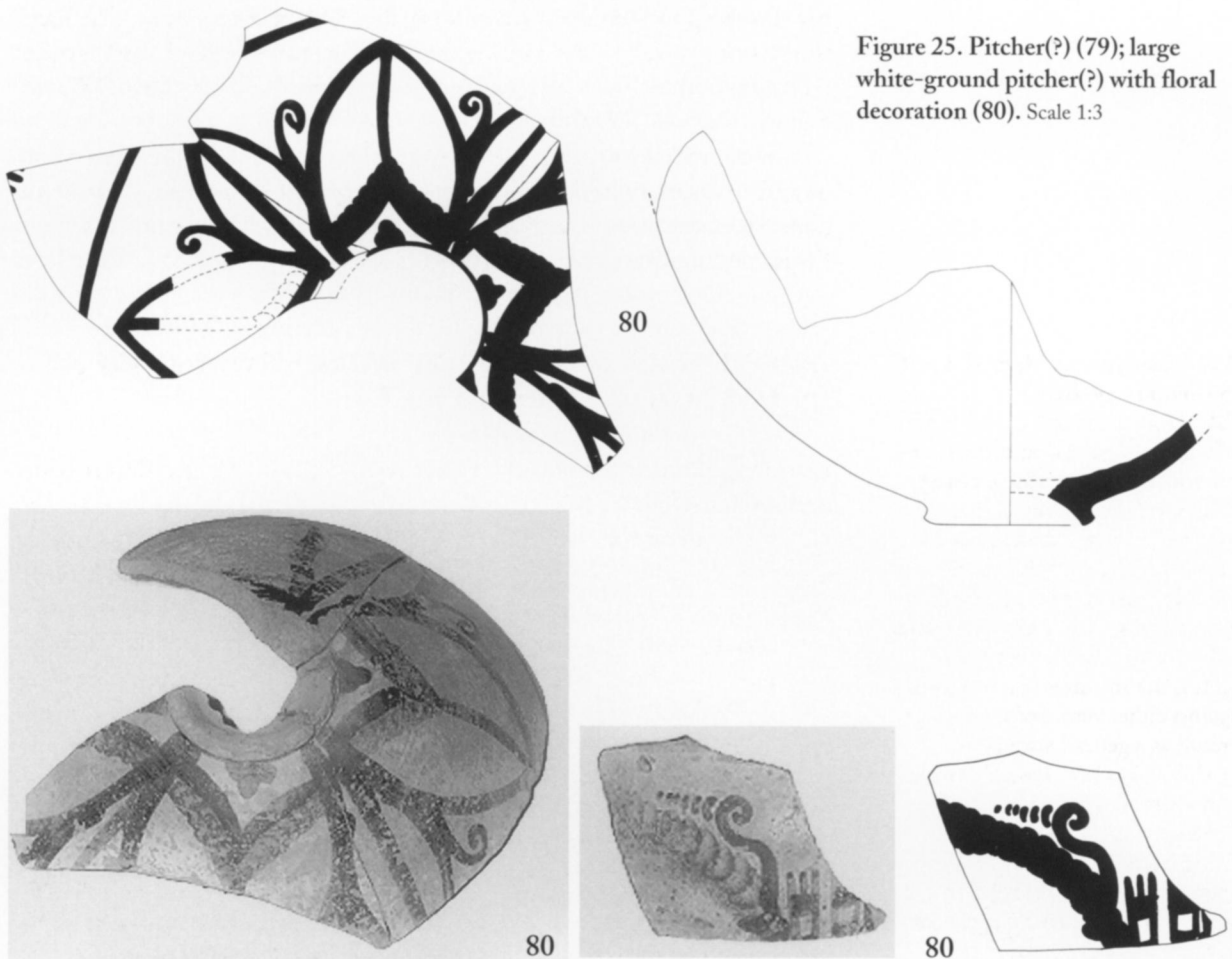
114. Maro Kyrkou (pers. comm.), who is responsible for its publication.

115. Imports: 1-4, 11, 21-26, 36-40, 42, 44, 47, 57-62, 72, 79, 80.

Imitations: 5, 6, 34, 35.

116. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 222-223 and graph 10.

Figure 25. Pitcher(?) (79); large white-ground pitcher(?) with floral decoration (80). Scale 1:3



What then is the origin of these imports and what is the source for the imitations by the Athenian potters? As Rotroff has noted, the evidence from the Agora indicates two trends. The first reveals an interest in forms and pottery from eastern Mediterranean sources, including coastal sites in Asia Minor and Syro-Palestine.<sup>117</sup> C14, in line with the Agora deposits, has yielded Eastern Sigillata A plates, white-ground lagynoi, two-handled Knidian bowls, and other imports from those areas.

The second trend in the Agora suggests an interest in Italian forms.<sup>118</sup> The plate with offset or upturned rim and the bowl with vertical upper wall find parallels in Italy. The number of actual imports, however, is small. According to Rotroff, only about twenty pieces of Italian fine pottery have been identified in the Agora from all periods, sixteen of which come from deposits dating after the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; if Italian pottery was not imported to Athens "in such numbers as to have overwhelmed the local tradition," we must assume that the Athenian potters are very likely to have drawn their inspiration from imported metal prototypes.<sup>119</sup> A certain skeuomorphism is probably true for other types of pottery from the same period.

M. Vickers has recently argued that the different kinds of red-gloss pottery, including Eastern Sigillata A, from around the Mediterranean were skeuomorphs of gold vessels.<sup>120</sup> One wonders whether this could be



117. *Agora XXIX*, pp. 221–223.

118. Rotroff 1997, p. 99.

119. Rotroff 1997, p. 98.

120. Vickers 1994, p. 248; Vickers and Gill 1994, pp. 179–180.



true for the gray wares produced along the coast of Asia Minor. The hard, thin fabric, as well as the form, of the Knidian two-handled bowls evokes metal prototypes. The well-known appliqué krater from Thompson's Group E is certainly a skeuomorph of a silver one.<sup>121</sup>

In the following section, I would like to suggest that the appearance of an increased amount of imported pottery and imitations in the Attic deposits of the second half of the 2nd and the early 1st centuries B.C. reflects contemporary changes in Athenian society.<sup>122</sup>

## LATE HELLENISTIC POTTERY FROM ATHENS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

During the 2nd century B.C., a series of events broadly affected the economy and society of Athens. Shortly before the middle of the century, in 166 B.C., the Romans awarded Athens the island of Delos for the city's help in the struggle against the Macedonians. The Athenians received the island with the stipulation that it would become a free port. This provision is the first clear indication of Rome's intention to promote her own commercial interests in the East. This move caused an immediate decline in the position of Rhodes in trade networks.<sup>123</sup> The subsequent destructions of Corinth and Carthage in 146 B.C. further damaged age-old traditional trade routes. Finally, the formation of the Roman province of Asia in 133 B.C. ensured the development of the east-west axis in Mediterranean trade.<sup>124</sup> By the 2nd century B.C., Italy had become the most important purchaser of Hellenistic goods while Delos attained its greatest prosperity as the most important center for transit trade in the Aegean. In a short time, the island was flooded by foreign traders, Romans and Syro-Palestinians among others.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, the role of Athens as the administrator of Delos allowed it a major role in the island's prosperity and cosmopolitanism.<sup>126</sup>

Consequently, it is very possible that Athens and Peiraeus attracted a large number of foreign residents at this time, although this alone does not explain the presence of imported pottery and local imitations of foreign forms.<sup>127</sup> Athens and particularly Peiraeus had always been inhabited by a considerable number of metics, but the presence of imported pottery in the archaeological record of the previous centuries is scarce.

Other attempts to explain the phenomenon include a possible dissatisfaction of Athenian consumers with their local production or possibly an increase in the number of trading vessels calling at Peiraeus.<sup>128</sup> With respect to the latter, it is very likely that it was not strictly local business that attracted foreign merchants to Peiraeus, but instead transit trade with mainland Greece.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, on the basis of the poor representation of Greeks from the mainland in the epigraphic records from Delos, P. Roussel has argued that mainland Greeks preferred Athens to Delos for conducting business with foreign merchants.<sup>130</sup>

The explanation for the increased number of imports and imitations in Attic deposits of the second half of the 2nd century B.C. probably lies in a combination of factors. Apart from a possible increase in the number of foreigners residing in town and the development of Peiraeus as a transit

121. Thompson 1934, pp. 423–426, E 153, fig. 111, pl. III.

122. In recent years, a number of scholars have argued that pottery itself is insensitive to sociopolitical changes while others have countered that pottery can, in fact, reflect societal change (see Adams 1979. I thank Susan I. Rotroff for drawing my attention to this article a few years ago. See also Rotroff 1997, esp. pp. 111–113). It is not my intention to argue for or against either view, and then adopt the result as a general statement. Instead, I maintain that the dynamics of ceramic production, consumption, and change are complex and fluid, differing from one place and period to the next. In this view, the relationship between material culture—pottery in this case—and society must be discovered each time, and not presumed to exist (see Hodder 1987, pp. 1–2).

123. It is misleading, however, to think that Rhodian commerce came to an abrupt end after the emergence of Delos as a free port. See Berthold 1984, p. 219: "Rhodes' position did not collapse overnight in the 160's, but rather weakened bit by bit in the course of the following decades."

124. Rauh 1993, p. 43.

125. On the foreign residents of Delos, see Day 1942, pp. 50–119, and Hatzfeld 1919, pp. 31–37, 82–84.

126. On the position of Delos in Mediterranean trade after 166 B.C., see Rauh 1993.

127. On foreigners in Athens and Peiraeus, see Baslez 1988, esp. p. 139, note 4; Garland 1987, pp. 58–72, 101–138. On Romans in Athens and Delos, see Will 1997, pp. 122–123.

128. *Agora* XXIX, p. 223.

129. Day 1942, pp. 78–79.

130. Roussel 1916, pp. 85–87.

center, the phenomenon might also suggest a change in the social behavior of the Athenians.

In an article on commodities and the politics of value, A. Appadurai argues that politics of demand make the following distinction between merchants and political elites: “whereas merchants tend to be the social representatives of new commodities and strange tastes, political elites tend to be the custodians of established tastes and sumptuary customs.”<sup>131</sup> Could a modified version of this statement be applicable to our case?

We are fortunate to have an inscription (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2336*) recording contributions for seven consecutive years—from 103/2 to 97/6 B.C.—for the last Pythais, a religious procession to Delphi. The inscription is very important because it provides a list of the principal officials in Athens during those years. Most interesting, the leading political figures in Athens at the time were not the nine archons, but people who had previously held a series of Delian offices (i.e., Ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς Δήλου, Ἐπιμελητῆς Ἐμπορίου, and ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζα τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ). According to S.V. Tracy, “the most influential men in Athens ca. 100 [B.C.] were people from families which had extensive commercial interests on Delos.”<sup>132</sup>

The picture that emerges from *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2336* suggests an important sociopolitical change in Athens of the late 2nd century B.C. In the years before, commerce in Athens was largely left to the metics and, generally, to people not of the highest social status.<sup>133</sup> Although there was never a strong opposition or a class struggle between the trading class and those of a more traditional and conservative kind, it is obvious that merchants were not part of the political elite.<sup>134</sup> In the 2nd century B.C., however, the political center of the polis moved from the *astu* to Peiraieus, and Themistocles’ plan to attach the *astu* to the sea was finally achieved after more than 300 years of resistance.<sup>135</sup> From about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., the city’s political elite began to include people with strong commercial interests,<sup>136</sup> who were used to interacting with foreigners on a daily basis, more likely to accept the unusual, and in a position to influence the lifestyle of the Athenians as a whole. Vickers, in a slightly different context, refers to the “trickle-down” effect, a term used in economics “to describe the way in which elite fashions can influence taste lower down the social scale.”<sup>137</sup>

If we were to follow Vickers and Gill, the nouveaux riches would have used metalware, not pottery, during their dining or other practices.<sup>138</sup> The imported pottery and the Attic imitations—most of which copy metalware—were probably meant for a social class of lower status (i.e., petite bourgeoisie?). In addition to the trickle-down effect, it is quite clear that we also have an emulation of the elite by the nonelite,<sup>139</sup> whereby people of a lower social status “attempt to realize their aspirations towards higher status by modifying their behaviour, their dress and the kind of goods they purchase.”<sup>140</sup> The desire of this lower class to emulate the cosmopolitan practices of the new prevailing elite in Athens would have encouraged importation of foreign pottery and provided Athenian potters with impetus to deviate from tried patterns and adopt new forms inspired by metalware.<sup>141</sup>

131. Appadurai 1986, p. 33.

132. Tracy 1982, pp. 167–168.

133. Garland 1987, p. 88.

134. Von Reden 1995; Mossé 1983, p. 58.

135. Plut. *Them.* 19.2–4.

136. Tracy 1982, pp. 167–168.

137. Vickers 1994, p. 235, note 47.

138. Vickers and Gill 1994.

139. Dusinberre 1999, esp. p. 97.

140. Miller 1987, p. 136.

141. On the conservatism of potters, see Rotroff 1997, p. 98.

# APPENDIX 1

## THE STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES

### KNIDOS

1 (1956-NAK-281)

[A]νδρῶν  
Λάχητος  
Εὐπολέμου  
Cluster

KT 1598. Duoviri corresponding with eponym Εὐφραγόρας. Period VI B. Cf. Grace 1985, p. 35.

2 (1956-NAK-280)

[Κνι]δίωv  
[ἐπὶ] Ἑρμ cluster ωνος  
[Πολύνικος]

KT 1158. Eponym corresponding with duoviri Ἀριστόβουλος and Μελάντας (KT 1531). See below, 3. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 350, E 183.

3 (1956-NAK-282)

[Αν]δρῶν  
[Α]ρισ cluster το[βούλου]  
[Μελάντας]

KT 1531. Duoviri corresponding with eponym Ἑρμῶν (KT 1158). See above, 2. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 351, E 187.

4 (1956-NAK-289)

[Αν]δρῶ[ν]  
[Α]ρισ cluster τοβούλου  
[Μ]ελάντα[ς]

KT 1531. Duoviri corresponding with eponym Ἑρμῶν (KT 1158). See above, 2. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 351, E 187; Grace 1985, p. 35.

5 (1956-NAK-244)

Ἐπὶ Πεισίνου  
Ἑρμοφάντου  
Κνιδί[ων]

KT 606. Companion type is believed to be Εὐβουλος-Καρνεάδας (KT 1579). See below, 6. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 346, E 163; Grace 1985, p. 35.

6 (1956-NAK-283)

Καρνεάδας  
Εὐβουλος herm

KT 1579. The companion type is believed to be Πεισίνος (KT 606). See above, 5. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 346, E 163; Grace 1985, p. 35.

7 (1956-NAK-245)

Καλλιμηδεύς  
Διονυσίου  
Κνιδί[ων] amphora  
[Ἰ]ππόστρατος  
Πολύχαρμος

KT 1820. Period VI A. Cf. Grace 1985, p. 35; Jefremow 1995, pp. 153, 159, 165.

## 8 (1956-NAK-243)

K[αλλι]μηδεύς  
Δ[ιο]νυσίου  
Κ[νιδ]ίων amphora  
Ἰ[ππό]στρατος  
Π[ολύ]χα[ρμ]ος

See 7, above.

## 9 (1956-NAK-276)

[Επ]ὶ Ἀρι[στ]ο[υ]  
δά[μ]οῦ Ἀγα[θ]ο[υ]  
[κ]λή[ς] Κνί[δι]ον  
(retr.)

KT 36. The companion type is believed to be Ἀριστόδαμος-Διόγνητος (KT 1515). Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 352, E 193; Grace 1985, p. 35.

## 10 (1956-NAK-278)

[Ε]πὶ Ἀρι[στ]ο[υ]  
δά[μ]οῦ Ἀγα[θ]ο[υ]  
κλή[ς] Κνί[δι]ον  
(retr.)

See 9, above.

## 11 (1956-NAK-277)

Ἀγῆσι[ο]λις  
Ἑρμόφαντος  
herm?

KT 1501? The companion type is believed to be Ἀνδρομένης (KT 650). Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 346, E 166; Grace 1985, p. 35.

## 12 (1956-NAK-246)

Ἀγῆσιπο-  
[λις] Ἑρμό-  
φαντος

KT 1501. The companion type is believed to be Ἀνδρομένης (KT 650). Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 346, E 166; Grace 1985, p. 35.

## 13 (1956-NAK-275)

Ἐπὶ Ἀρι[στοκρά]τους  
[Διοσκούρι]δα Κνί[δι]ον (retr.)  
bull's head

KT 483. The companion type is believed to be Μύστης-Ἰάσων (KT 1611). See below, 15. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 342, E 138; Grace 1985, p. 35.

## 14 (1956-NAK-279)

Ἐπὶ Ἀ[ρι]σ[τοκρ]άτ[ευ]ς  
Διοσκούριδας Κνί[δι]ον (retr.)  
bull's head

KT 483. See 13, above.

## 15 (1956-NAK-273)

Ἀνδρῶν Ἰάσων [Μύστης]  
bull's head with fillet

KT 1611. The companion type is believed to be Ἀριστοκράτης (KT 483). See above, 13–14. Period VI B. Cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 342, E 141; Grace 1985, p. 35.

## RHODES

## 16 (1956-NAK-274)

Ἀγαθοβο  
cluster? λου

Period V (146–108 B.C.). Cf. *PF* XI, p. 79, no. 1; Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, p. 305, E 15.

## APPENDIX 2

### TERRACOTTAS

South Slope C14 yielded a very small number of terracottas, which on the basis of fabric and style appear to be contemporary with the pottery: 1) a wreathed female head including part of the bust, 1956-NAΠ-37; 2) a lower left leg and foot, 1956-NAΠ-43; 3) the lower part of a seated female figure, 1956-NAΠ-50; and 4) a female head broken across the neck, 1956-NAΠ-78 (Fig. 26).<sup>142</sup>

In addition, C14 yielded a small incense burner, 1956-NAΠ-29, also known as an *arula*, with its four sides decorated in relief: a female figure crowning a trophy; Apollo and Leto; Poseidon and Amymone; and Dionysos with Ariadne and a Satyr (Fig. 26).<sup>143</sup> This same imagery appears on moldmade bowls from Athens, Corinth, and Argos.<sup>144</sup> Although these *arulae* are widely distributed in the Mediterranean, neither their origin nor function is known. Some scholars have suggested a South Italian origin because of the large number of *arulae* found in Taras.<sup>145</sup> Others have suggested an Attic origin on the basis of the popularity of the imagery of the *arulae* on Attic moldmade bowls.<sup>146</sup>

Our *arula* is made of a soft, dark gray fabric that by itself suggests a non-Attic origin. It is also the product of a fresh mold. In Athens, these *arulae* usually appear in contexts of the 3rd and early 2nd century B.C.<sup>147</sup> If the *arula* from South Slope C14 is not another heirloom, its occurrence in such a late context might suggest a remarkable longevity for the type.<sup>148</sup>

142. 1) 1956-NAΠ-37, p.H. 0.10 m; 2) 1956-NAΠ-43, p.H. 0.03 m; 3) 1956-NAΠ-50, p.H. 0.07; 4) 1956-NAΠ-78, p.H. 0.05 m.

143. H. 0.10 m; and W. 0.07 m.

144. *Agora* XXII, pp. 20–21; *Corinth* VII, iii, nos. 807, 810, pl. 37; and Siebert 1978, p. 240.

145. Wuilleumier 1929; Siebert 1978, p. 240.

146. Thompson 1962, p. 259; *Agora*

XXII, pp. 20–21; and Vafopoulou-Richardson 1982.

147. On the chronology of the *arulae*, see Massa 1992, pp. 70–78.

148. Vafopoulou-Richardson (1982, p. 229) refers to an unpublished *arula* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that in the label of the illustration is dated to the 1st century A.C.; however, Vafopoulou-Richardson does not discuss its late date.



Figure 26. Terracottas (upper row: 1956-NAII-37, 43, 50, and 78) and incense burner, or *arula* (four views: 1956-NAII-29). Scale 1:2

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