

NOTES FROM THE TINS

RESEARCH IN THE STOA OF ATTALOS, SUMMER 1999

Reports of the results of American excavations and surveys in Greece appear periodically in the pages of this journal, and studies of major classes of artifacts from these excavations are also published here. Many details of the archaeological record, however, lie hidden within the sheer volume of finds from the many decades of excavations. The notes in this collection are intended to bring some of these details to the foreground.

The title "Notes from the Tins" points up the authors' primary source of new data: the thousands of former olive-oil, motor-oil, and feta cheese tins that store the uninventoried context pottery from the Agora excavations. Although some of the objects discussed here were uncovered in locations other than these tins, the reference to these containers is a reminder that research into excavations long past involves the digging, and sometimes the dirt, that is characteristic of excavations.

The first note is John Papadopoulos's commentary on two photographs of the first teams of scholars who worked at the American excavations. This note highlights the immense achievements of our predecessors and reaffirms our belief that they would encourage and even demand the thorough and critical reexamination of their results that we engage in today. The remaining five notes, presented in approximately chronological order, report new discoveries among the ceramic finds from past excavations. In some cases these finds represent types hitherto unknown, or unknown at Athens; in other cases the reconsideration of the object or of the context of discovery provides information about the use of ceramic types in ancient daily life. The artifacts presented here constitute new evidence for ancient activities around the Agora and for Classical and medieval social history.

The authors would like to thank John McK. Camp II, Director of the Agora Excavations, for his interest in this project and for permission to study the material presented. Line drawings are the work of the authors except where noted. With the exception of Figures 1 and 2, photographs are by Craig Mauzy and are reproduced here with permission of the American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations.

M. L. L.

FACELESS ARCHAEOLOGY: TWO EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE STAFF OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA IN THE 1930S

JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS

In his foreword to John Camp's *The Athenian Agora*, Colin Renfrew stated: "The excavations of the Agora of Athens have been one of the great triumphs of urban archaeology of recent years, bringing to life in a remarkable way many aspects of the world of Classical Athens, which had hitherto been glimpsed only in the often slight and scanty passing references preserved in the writings of the Classical authors."¹ As Renfrew went on to note, this achievement was all the greater since, unlike the location of monuments that had never been lost to human view, that of the Athenian Agora was uncertain. Not only did the excavations bring to light the heart of the Classical city, they also represented a remarkable feat of diplomacy, involving the successful expropriation, at the request of the Greek Government, of over 360 individual properties.² Initiated in 1931,³ the excavations continued at a staggering pace until they were suspended on April 22, 1940, in the course of the tenth season, "because of the uncertainty of political conditions" and "in order to facilitate the departure from Athens of the members of the staff, who desired to leave before Mediterranean waters were closed to American shipping."⁴ The pace and extent of the excavations can be gleaned from the fact that in the first nine seasons of excavation (1931–1939), some 246,000 tons of earth had been removed from within the zone of the American excavations.⁵

In this series of notes on material from the tins of the Agora, it seemed appropriate to return, albeit briefly, to the 1930s and to the team that was assembled to embark on the project of unearthing the marketplace and civic center of Classical Athens (Figs. 1–2). To be sure, this choice of topic was determined in part by a sense of nostalgia and a desire to look back as the new millennium was entered—and, with it, the eighth decade of the Agora excavations. But my intention was not just to worship archaeological ancestors;⁶ I had a curiosity to gaze on the faces of those who contributed to this fading era of Hellenist archaeology: to *see* the young scholars whose careers established the Agora's fame.

Apart from the numerous tins of context material in the basement of the Stoa of Attalos, the filing cabinets of the Archives of the Agora Excavations contain documentation important for the history of archaeology. Within this wealth of historical material are photographs of the Agora

1. In Camp 1986, p. 7. I am grateful to Jan Jordan and Sylvie Dumont for archival assistance in the Agora, to Craig Mauzy for his photographic skills, and to Mark Lawall for initiating this series of notes. The drawings identifying the individuals in Figs. 1 and 2 are the work of Anne Hooton, to whom I am, once more, most grateful. Special thanks are due to Dia

Philippides and her mother, Mary Zelia Pease Philippides, for clarifying a number of details, and to Judith Binder for a delightful afternoon of Athenian reminiscences.

2. See Shear 1939, p. 201; for the land prices, see Shear 1933a, p. 96; for the negotiations, see Capps 1933, p. 90; cf. Morris 1994, pp. 34–35; for further information on the plans and funding

for the excavations, see Shoe Meritt 1984, p. 175.

3. Capps 1933; Shear 1933a. For further background, see Lord 1947, pp. 231–244; Shoe Meritt 1984, pp. 175–202.

4. Shear 1941, p. 1; Shoe Meritt 1984, p. 175.

5. Shear 1940, p. 262.

6. Cf. Dyson 1989, p. 215.



Figure 1. The staff of the Agora Excavations in 1933: (1) Charles Spector; (2) Piet de Jong; (3) Joan Bush [Vanderpool]; (4) Arthur Parsons; (5) Elizabeth Dow; (6) Eugene Vanderpool; (7) Mary Zelia Pease [Philippides]; (8) Virginia Grace; (9) Gladys Baker; (10) James Oliver; (11) Homer Thompson; (12) Lucy Talcott; (13) Benjamin Meritt; (14) Josephine Shear; (15) T. Leslie Shear; (16) Dorothy Burr [Thompson]



team in the course of different years. Few of these have been published; an exception is a splendid photograph of the excavation staff and workforce in 1933 that appeared in *Agora XIV*.⁷ Of the early group-photographs, two stand out (Figs. 1–2). Both of these mounted photographs document

7. *Agora XIV*, pl. 112:a.



Figure 2. The staff of the Agora Excavations in 1934: (1) Gladys Baker; (2) Joan Vanderpool; (3) Lucy Talcott; (4) T. Leslie Shear; (5) Josephine Shear; (6) Dorothy Burr [Thompson]; (7) Sophokles Lekkas; (8) Piet de Jong; (9) Catharine Bunnell; (10) Alison Frantz; (11) Dorothy Traquair; (12) Rodney Young; (13) Eugene Vanderpool; (14) James Oliver; (15) Arthur Parsons; (16) Sterling Dow; (17) Charles Spector; (18) Homer Thompson

members of the staff of the early Agora excavations as well as scholars working on Agora material. Annotations on the photographs do not indicate their dates, but it is clear on the evidence of Shear's preliminary reports that Figure 1 was taken in 1933 and Figure 2 in 1934.⁸

8. See especially Shear 1933b; 1935a, p. 311; 1935b, pp. 340–341; 1936, pp. 1–2. A number of internal details verify the dates suggested for these photographs. For instance, Waagé, who does not appear in Figs. 1 and 2, had already left the staff by 1932 and Simpkin died in 1933. Alison

Frantz, seen in Fig. 2, worked for a time as an assistant to Lucy Talcott in 1934, and then as photographer from 1935 on. Before the 1935 campaign had begun, Charles Spector, shown in both photographs, was called home by illness in his family and was replaced by a young Greek architect, John Trav-

los, not pictured, "who did such satisfactory work that his services [were] engaged for another season" (Shear 1936, p. 1). Each of the photographs illustrated here was accompanied by a sheet of tracing paper listing the names of those appearing in them. In the photographs, the name of Charles

Edward Capps, in his foreword to the first excavation report, listed the fellows and staff of the excavations up to the third campaign, which was to begin in January 1933. Seven appointments had been made, as follows:⁹

1929–1932: Homer A. Thompson, Frederick O. Waagé III, Mary Wyckoff [Simpkin]

1931–1934: Dorothy Burr [Thompson], Eugene Vanderpool

1932–1935: James H. Oliver, Arthur W. Parsons

The staff for the third campaign was as follows:

T. Leslie Shear, *Director of Excavations*

Richard Stillwell, Director of the School; *Supervising Architect*

A. D. Keramopoulos, University of Athens; *representing the Archaeological Society of Athens*

Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Epigraphy*

Hetty Goldman, *Pottery*

Josephine (Mrs. T. Leslie) Shear, *Coins*

Homer A. Thompson, *Special Fellow*

Dorothy Burr [Thompson], *Agora Fellow*

Eugene Vanderpool, *Agora Fellow*

James H. Oliver, *Agora Fellow*

Arthur W. Parsons, *Agora Fellow*

Lucy Talcott, *Records*

Mary Zelia Pease, *Fellow, Coins*

Charles Spector, *Fellow in Architecture*

Virginia Grace, *Records*

Elizabeth F. Dow, *Records*

Gladys Baker, *Coins*

Piet de Jong, *Artist and Architect*

Joan Bush [Vanderpool], *Photography*

H. Wagner, German Archaeological Institute, Athens;
Photography

All of the 1933 staff listed above, except for Stillwell, Keramopoulos, Goldman, and Wagner, appear in Figure 1, and many, but not all, also appear in Figure 2. Those that appear in Figure 2 but not in Figure 1 are Catharine Bunnell, Alison Frantz, Dorothy Traquair, Rodney Young, Ster-

Spector was added next to that of "Mike" Levenson (Fig. 1) and *M. Levinson* (Fig. 2) by a hand other than that which wrote the remainder of the names. "Levenson/Levinson" should refer to Mitchell Levensohn, who later published, together with Ethel Levensohn, some inscriptions from the South Slope of the Acropolis; see Levensohn and Levensohn 1947. Although the Levensohns were in

Athens in 1932, Mitchell Levensohn is not listed as a member of the Agora team in either 1933 or 1934, and there is no apparent reason why he should be pictured in these photographs. On the sheet of paper accompanying Fig. 2, the tall woman illustrated in the back row, third from the left, is identified as "K. Bonnell Detweiler." It appears that this name was added later and, again, by a hand other than that which listed

the rest of the names. This should refer to Catharine Bunnell, who was a member of the team in 1934, and thus to the person illustrated in Fig. 2. Despite having a certain superficial resemblance to Mary Zelia Pease [Philippides], this is not she; I am grateful to Dia Philippides for confirming that her mother does not appear in Fig. 2.

9. Capps 1933, pp. 94–95.

ling Dow,¹⁰ and Sophokles Lekkas. Lekkas, who had acquired his skill and experience in the service of many campaigns at Corinth, served as the head foreman of the Agora, in charge of all labor operations.¹¹

The composition of the staff not only reflected the academic priorities of the period, but in many ways helped to define the trajectory of the project as a whole. It is well beyond the scope of this note to provide even cursory biographical sketches of the members of the team, or to appraise critically the contributions of the early excavations. Several patterns, however, had clearly emerged in the early 1930s. One of the most blatant was the division of labor along gender lines. Women were largely responsible for the administration of the records and the study of small finds—what may be termed “indoor” work.¹² Men, on the other hand, devoted themselves to more “outdoor” activities, including the study of architecture, and assumed the primary responsibility for the excavations. The heavy reliance on epigraphers, a field dominated by men, was apparent from the start, and this was to have, for better or worse, an enduring legacy.¹³ The Agora excavations were, from the very beginning, an exercise in historical archaeology.

A good deal can be said about the nature, make-up, strengths, and shortcomings of the Agora staff and excavations, and indeed recent years have seen no shortage of critical overviews.¹⁴ Virtually all of the staff members who appear in Figures 1 and 2 went on to distinguished careers in Classics or classical archaeology and, as such, they helped mold later generations of American scholars in these fields. Most will remain faceless names behind scholarly monographs and studies. Collectively and individually, they contributed to shaping the course that Greek archaeology was to take, not only in North America.

The story, however, is much more than an American story, and it is important to consider the contributions of these young scholars in the context in which they worked. By the 1930s, Greece, and especially Athens, was inundated by the refugees of the Asia Minor Crisis.¹⁵ The country was in a crippling financial state,¹⁶ and the government lacked the means to undertake a project as costly as that of excavating the ancient Agora. In letters, George Seferis and George Katsimbalis were laying the foundations for the “fabled Generation” of Greek poets and writers, who, when joined by Lawrence Durrell and Arthur Miller, invented a paradise that influenced later generations of Greek and Anglo-American writers.¹⁷ In popular culture the songs of Sophia Vembo were at the top of the charts, heard everywhere, and Rembetika had become established, with names like Markos Vamvakaris beginning to rise.¹⁸ At a time when Europe was about to explode, T. Leslie Shear had assembled a young and talented team. They were part of the “practical measures” that had been taken to “enable the American School of Classical Studies at Athens to discharge creditably the heavy responsibilities” which it had assumed for the excavations of the Agora.¹⁹ As Edward Capps concluded in his foreword to the first excavation campaign: “What the outcome may be, as measured in terms of scientific gain, ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται.”²⁰

10. These five appear on the roster of the staff of the Agora Excavations for the first time in Shear 1935b, p. 341 (i.e., for the campaign of 1934).

11. See Shear 1933a, p. 101; Shear 1933b, p. 451.

12. Cf. Dyson 1998, p. 184.

13. See, for example, Shear 1935b, p. 341.

14. Morris 1994; Dyson 1998, pp. 179–184.

15. Hirschon 1989; for historical background, see Llewellyn Smith 1973.

16. See especially Mazower 1991; cf. Clogg 1986, esp. pp. 116–125.

17. Keeley 1999.

18. See especially Holst 1975 (with bibliography).

19. Capps 1933, p. 95.

20. Capps 1933, p. 95.

A LATE ARCHAIC PUNIC AMPHORA

MARK L. LAWALL

The study of Punic imports to Greece tends to be associated more with Corinth and sites farther west than with Athens. Corinth's "Punic Amphora Building," in use between ca. 450 and 430 B.C., preserved stratified layers of broken Punic amphoras.²¹ Similar jars appear at Olympia.²² The published Athenian examples are either extremely fragmentary (e.g., one mid-5th-century handle published by Virginia Grace and another published by Susan Rotroff and John Oakley), or are datable to ca. 200 B.C. or later.²³ Study of the uninventoried context pottery found in excavations of the Athenian Agora supports the conclusion that Punic imports were rare in mid-5th-century Athens and were more intensively imported only much later.²⁴

The fragment presented here—the earliest Punic amphora fragment from a well-dated context in mainland Greece—attests to Late Archaic Athenian–Punic trade.

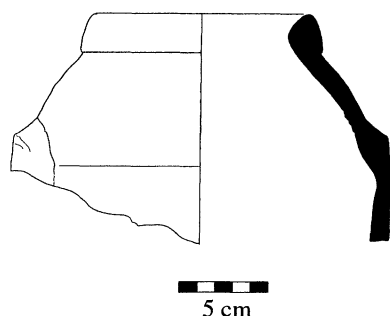


Figure 3. Punic amphora rim, Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft, upper fill, ca. 500–480 B.C.

Deposit G 6:3 Punic amphora rim

Fig. 3

Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft, upper fill

Tin A420²⁵

P.H. 12.9; est. Diam. (rim) 12.0 cm.

Preserves ca. 1/8 of the circumference of the rim in complete profile, ca. 1/6 of the circumference in the lower part of the rim. Below the rim, the profile of the neck is complete down to a carinated join with the body of the jar. A small fragment of wall (H. ca. 4.5 cm) extends below the carination. Of the handles, only the upper attachment

point of one of the original two is preserved.

Out-thickened, folded-down rim, offset and angling up from the neck. Uneven, scraped, horizontal ridging around the neck. Upper handle attachment overlaps juncture of neck and body.

Clay: Dark red, micaceous, fairly hard and fine-grained; sparse to moderate scatter of large black bits, some grayish; dense packing of very small, yellowish lime infills. 5YR 6/6.

The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft has been the subject of chronological debate concerning the deposits associated with the Persian Sack of Athens in 480/479 B.C. The association is supported for the upper fill of the shaft by the presence of ostraka likely to have been used between 487 and 482 B.C.²⁶ Similarities noted by T. Leslie Shear between the shaft's

21. Williams 1978, pp. 15–20; Williams 1979, pp. 107–124; Munn 1983, pp. 260–279, 379–386, pls. 24–42; and Williams 1995, pp. 41–42. Williams and Fisher (1976, p. 107, nos. 29–30, pl. 20) illustrate two further examples from the associated "amphora pit."

22. *OiForsch* V, p. 236, pl. 78; *OiForsch* VIII, pp. 131–132, pl. 22:3.

23. Grace, in Boulter 1953, pp. 109–110, no. 107, pl. 40; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 125, no. 355, pl. 60; for the later Punic jars, see Grace 1956, pp. 94–97.

24. This statement is based on my study of the context tins from more than 150 Late Archaic through Hellenistic deposits. The fragment discussed in this note has not, to my

knowledge, been mentioned in publication or previously recognized as Punic.

25. No Agora inventory number has been assigned to this piece. Those amphora fragments from the context tins that I am preparing for publication are bagged separately within the tins.

26. Vanderpool 1946, p. 266.

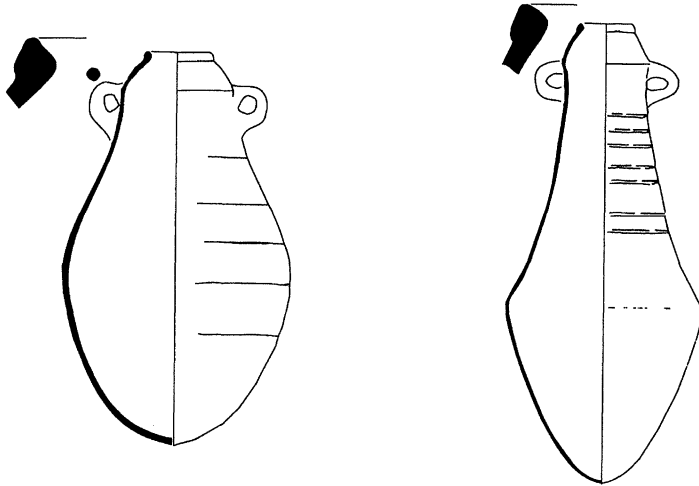


Figure 4 (*left*). Punic amphora. Ramon Torres Type T-10.2.2.1, second half 6th century to ca. 510 B.C., from La Cueva del Jarro. Adapted from Ramon Torres 1995, pp. 77, 232, and 561, no. 419, fig. 198; not to scale

Figure 5 (*right*). Punic amphora. Ramon Torres Type T-11.2.1.3, ca. 510–400 B.C., from Villaricos. Adapted from Ramon Torres 1995, pp. 74, 235, and 562, no. 425, fig. 199; not to scale

upper fill and many other fills of proposed “Persian Sack” date in the Agora support the likelihood that all were deposited around the same time, and the Persian Sack was a likely occasion for such a large-scale cleanup.²⁷ The shaft provides an important dated context for the Punic fragment.

All of the amphora forms that are stored among the inventoried and context pottery from the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft are dated to before ca. 480 or before ca. 500 B.C. If we can accept the date “before ca. 480 B.C.” for the upper fill of the shaft, the Punic amphora fragment, found in that fill, is most likely to date before ca. 480 B.C. The fragment may, in fact, be classified with a group of Punic amphoras whose dates of production begin in the late 6th century B.C. The triangular cross-section of the rim, the simple interior profile of the mouth rounding up to the top edge of the rim, and the clear offset ridge at the transition from the rim to the neck distinguish this fragment as one of two types proposed by J. Ramon Torres: type T-10.2.2.1 (Fig. 4) and type T-11.2.1.3 (Fig. 5). The estimated rim diameter of the Agora fragment fits either type; the position of the handle also allows the two possibilities. The slope of the Agora fragment, however, from carination to rim, falls somewhere between the wide, gradually rising curve of T-10.2.2.1 and the steeper slope of T-11.2.1.3.²⁸ The fragment might represent an early form of T-11.2.1.3.

Ramon Torres suggests dates between ca. 510 and 400 B.C. for type T-11.2.1.3.²⁹ The closest parallel for the Agora fragment is a jar from Villaricos that lacks a specific provenience (Fig. 5).³⁰ Other published T-11.2.1.3 pieces are from poorly dated contexts: two jars from the Tagomago shipwreck, which was not studied archaeologically and whose “cargo” spans the 5th century,³¹ and amphoras found in late-6th- and early-5th-century contexts at Ampurias and Cadiz, for which neither the pieces in question nor the evidence for their dates is published.³² The example from Athens, therefore, apart from representing one of the earliest Punic amphoras so far attested in Greece, is also the earliest example for which the chronological evidence is well documented. The profiles of the example from the Agora and of those from the much later 5th-century Punic Amphora Building at Corinth illustrate a slow rate of change in the general form of this type.³³

27. See Shear 1993 for bibliography on the debate and for Shear’s response.

28. This intermediate position of the fragment from the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft is further demonstrated by comparison of the ratio between the rim diameter and the height from carination to the top of the jar. This ratio is ca. 8:5 in T-10.2.2.1 (Ramon Torres 1995, no. 419), ca. 6:5 in T-11.2.1.3 (Ramon Torres 1995, no. 425), and ca. 7:5 in the Agora fragment.

29. Ramon Torres 1995, p. 235.

30. Ramon Torres 1995, p. 74.

31. Ramon Torres 1995, p. 72; cf. Parker 1992, pp. 417–418.

32. Ramon Torres 1995, p. 38 (Ampurias); p. 85 (Cadiz).

33. See note 21 above for support of a date between ca. 450 and 430 B.C. for the stratified fills in the Punic Amphora Building that include the Punic amphoras.

Beyond providing points of chronology, this fragment and other Punic amphoras “from the tins” provide evidence for the study of trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean and for the topic of Greek–Punic interaction. Investigations into the latter topic have focused on Punic interaction with nearby Greek colonies.³⁴ Increasingly, however, archaeologists have highlighted the Phoenicians as central players in trade between East and West, especially in the Early Iron Age.³⁵ The presence of Late Archaic through Hellenistic Punic amphoras in mainland Greece encourages further attention to Phoenician roles in Classical and Hellenistic trade across the Mediterranean.³⁶

PELIKAI IN USE DEPOSITS OF ATHENIAN WELLS

KATHLEEN M. LYNCH

During the study of a recently excavated well deposit, J 2:4 (ca. 480 B.C.), I was surprised to find a number of pelikai in the period of use deposit, that is, in the material at the bottom of the well which was thrown in or fell in while the well was in use.³⁷ Although vase painting suggests that pelikai could be used as water jars, this note is the first to present archaeological evidence from wells of the Athenian Agora to support this use.

The pelike is a pear-shaped amphora that first appears around 520 B.C., at which time it could be completely black-glazed or decorated with either black-figured or red-figured scenes.³⁸ The pelike’s primary function is traditionally described as a container for oil, and figured pelikai often feature images relating to the use or sale of oil.³⁹ Brian Sparkes and Lucy Talcott extrapolate from the oil-themed images the same function for black-glazed versions of the shape.⁴⁰ The likelihood that the shape was multi-functional, however, has not been overlooked. Dietrich von Bothmer, in his study of Archaic red-figured pelikai, noted that the shape may have also been used for holding wine,⁴¹ and one pelike features a black-figured scene in which a pelike is being used for fetching water.⁴²

34. E.g., Krings 1998.

35. E.g., Morris and Papadopoulos 1998.

36. Archaeological evidence identifying an active role for Phoenicians shipping Greek objects has focused on finds from or near Spain (e.g., De Hoz 1987). Lack of other evidence is lamented (Habermann 1986).

37. For well J 2:4, see Lynch 1999 and Camp 1996, pp. 242–252. For pelikai in well J 2:4, see Lynch 1999, pp. 91, 283–284.

38. “Pelike” is the conventional name applied to this specific shape, although in antiquity it described a variety of

forms; see Richter and Milne 1935, pp. 4–5; Kanowski 1983, pp. 113–114.

39. Shapiro 1997.

40. *Agora* XII, p. 49. The authors do not comment on the preservation or frequency of the vessels in the Agora use deposits.

41. Bothmer 1951, p. 44.

42. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3228. *CVA*, Berlin 7 [Germany 61], pls. 28:1 and 29:1. Illustrated in Shapiro 1997, fig. 1; Shapiro notes the importance of this image for documenting the use of pelikai for fetching water (p. 64). A fragmentary krater attributed to Lydos (New York,

Met. Mus. of Art 1997.388a–eee; 1997.493; 1996.56ab) may preserve a second example of the pelike depicted in use as a water jar. At the far left of the fragment, under the handle, satyrs prepare a krater of wine. One satyr pours liquid from an amphora; another satyr, now missing, poured liquid from a second vessel. The depiction of this second vessel is also fragmentary: only the rim, the top of one handle, and the representation of liquid flowing from it are preserved; however, in comparison with the profile of the amphora held by the other satyr, the rounded rim and long handle form suggest the profile of a pelike.

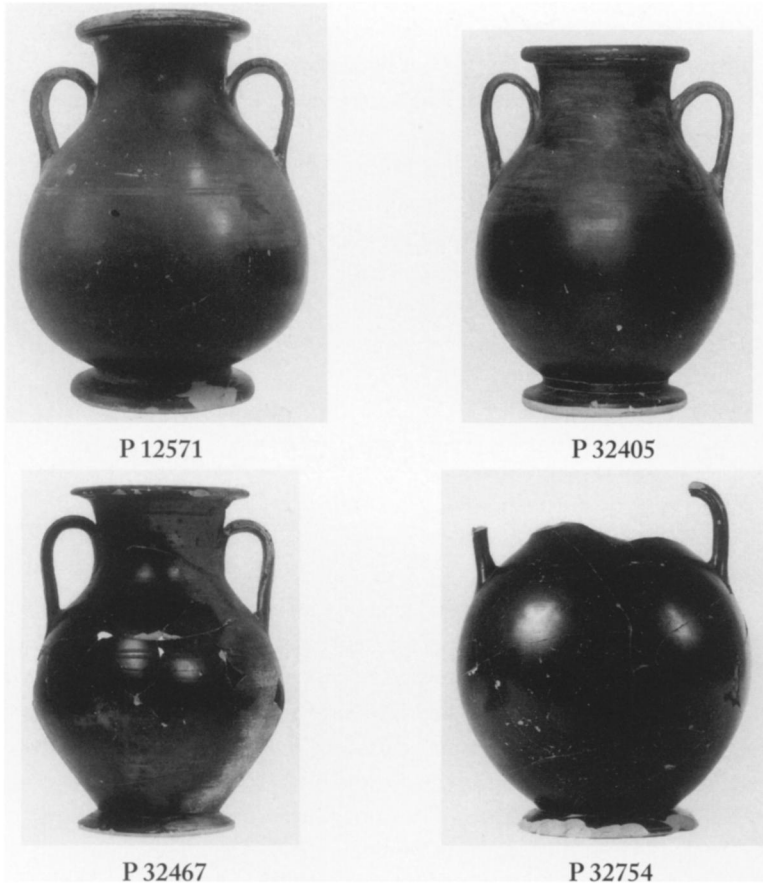


Figure 6. Examples of pelikai from use deposits. Scale ca. 1:5

In their presentation of black-glazed pelikai, Sparkes and Talcott list seven from the use deposits of Archaic Agora wells and one from the use deposit of a well of the late 5th century B.C.⁴³ There are, in addition, two black-figured pelikai which have been found in use deposits.⁴⁴ Of these ten pelikai, four are intact (for one example, *Agora* XII, no. 16, P 12571, see Fig. 6).⁴⁵ The more recently excavated well J 2:4 adds three black-glazed pelikai found in use-deposit context (Fig. 6): one intact (P 32405);⁴⁶ one broken but nearly complete (P 32467);⁴⁷ and a third missing its rim, neck, and upper handles (P 32754).⁴⁸ A fourth pelike from well J 2:4, a red-figured version, was not found in the use deposit.⁴⁹

The states of preservation of the pelikai from Agora use deposits provide clues to their function. In the Archaic and Classical periods the ves-

43. *Agora* XII, nos. 14–16, 19–21, 24 (from Archaic wells) and no. 25 (from a late-5th-century B.C. well). The American School of Classical Studies' excavations of wells on the North Slope of the Acropolis also found two pelikai in period of use deposits, AP 2213 (Well A) and AP 2244 (Well B); Roebuck 1940, pp. 249–250, no. 309. The latter may not be Attic; see *Agora* XII, p. 50, note 5.

44. *Agora* XXIII, no. 391; P 12562.

45. *Agora* XII, nos. 16, 19, and 21; P 12562.

46. P 32405, Camp 1996, pl. 71:a, bottom row, second from left.

47. P 32467, H. 0.24, Diam. 0.177 m; mended from many pieces, several body fragments missing.

48. P 32754, preserved H. 0.254, Diam. 0.216 m.

49. P 32418, Camp 1996, no. 27, pl. 73.

sels of choice for fetching water from Athenian wells were the “cooking” ware household shapes, the kados and hydria.⁵⁰ In excavations of wells in the Athenian Agora we find in use deposits a large number of water vessel bases and a fair number of intact vessels. This is because these thin-walled vessels often broke in the course of everyday use. A vessel would be tied to a rope and lowered down below the water level.⁵¹ Occasionally the clay vessel would hit the side of the well shaft and break. Since the rope was tied around the neck or handles, or both, the rim of the broken vessel could be hoisted back out and disposed of elsewhere, while fragments of the bottom and body of the vessel would sink to the bottom of the well. Sometimes, instead, the rope would break or the knots would give way, and the whole vessel would slip into the water and gently sink to the bottom, remaining intact. Since the black-glazed pelikai from the use deposit of well J 2:4 and their companions published in *Agora* XII are preserved in the same states as the “cooking” ware water vessels, we can conclude that these pelikai were also used to fetch water and were not thrown into the well as refuse.

This brief note is meant to remind us that archaeological evidence can contribute valuable information about the use of pottery even when, as in the case of pelikai, iconographic evidence for a different function abounds. The functions and roles of ancient pottery, including figured wares, were flexible, and any storage or pouring shape that could hold water was a candidate for well-duty.

A CHIMNEY POT FROM THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

BARBARA TSAKIRGIS

In 1938, a unique terracotta object (Agora inv. A 958) was recovered from a well on the north slope of the Acropolis (Agora deposit T 24:3).⁵² Identified as a chimney pot, this piece has appeared in the pages of the *Agora* guide but nowhere else.⁵³ This note reintroduces the chimney pot and compares it to more recent finds from the *Agora*.

50. These vessels are made of a gritty fabric similar to that used for cooking shapes. See *Agora* XII, pp. 34–36, 200–203. The kados has a wide mouth and is particularly suited to fetching water from a well, as opposed to the hydria, which has a narrow neck and handles better suited to bringing water from a nearby fountain. Fragments of hydriai of cooking-ware fabric are very common in use deposits, an indication that these vessels were also used for fetching water from wells.

51. For example, see a red-figured

cup tondo with a woman standing beside a wellhead, holding a rope tied to a kados equipped with a bail handle, Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico 266, *ARV*² 379, 145, *ARV Add*² 226. Illustrated in Sparkes 1996, fig. III.12.

52. Deposit T 24:3, a well on the northwest slope, was filled by the late 6th or early 5th century B.C. In addition to pottery, the well contained much building debris, including roof tiles and water pipes.

53. Camp 1990, p. 281.



Figure 7. Chimney pot A 958. Scale 1:5

Agora inv. A 958 Chimney Pot

Fig. 7

Deposit T 24:3

P.H. 0.48; Diam. (bottom of stand) 0.53; Diam. (top of stand) 0.35; Diam. (cover) 0.495 m.

A roughly conical stand with an attached overhanging cover. Much of the bottom edge and most of the stand are restored in plaster. The top of the stand is pierced with eight triangular holes (H. ca. 0.06 m), alternately upright and pendant, located high on the stand at the

juncture of the stand and the cover.

The cover, which is slightly peaked at its center, has an edge fashioned as a drip, nearly equal in height to that of the holes. The cover was attached to the stand with four struts; only their points of attachment on the edge of the cover are preserved. Soft, pinkish-buff clay. A streaky brownish slip is well preserved on the top and rim of the cover and on the interior of the stand.

At the time of the excavation of the chimney pot, the excavator noted that the clay presented no soot or discoloration produced by smoke, and brought into question the identification. The objection is weakened by the evidence of a pair of opaion tiles (A 428, A 429), probably from the kitchen of the Tholos, which also bear no traces of soot or smoke.⁵⁴ The chimney pot may have evacuated smoke from an unknown public building or house, but since built-in hearths are rare in public buildings and probably also in Athenian houses, in only one of which a hearth has been found,⁵⁵ it may instead have served another function of ventilation.

54. Thompson 1940, p. 79, fig. 61. Note that these opaion tiles have a thin, brownish slip, as does the pot A 958.

55. Shear 1973, p. 147.

Since the bottom edge is not fully preserved, we cannot determine precisely how the pot was positioned on the building's roof. If its base was notched, the pot could have rested on a ridge pole. A somewhat similar pot, attached to a pan tile, was recovered from Pompeii, and the Athenian example could have been similarly attached, albeit to a pan tile of considerable size and thickness.⁵⁶ Both the Athenian and the Pompeian examples have the disadvantage that, if they were placed on a slope, rainwater could have entered through the pierced holes.

Excavations in the Agora subsequent to the discovery of this pot have recovered two objects similar enough in form to A 958 to suggest that the three served a similar function. The first (A 2715), a fragmentary piece, is a short, conical stand of heavy terracotta, oval in section and flaring at the bottom. The stand is pierced with three large holes, and a fourth is probably to be restored. The stand has a fixed, domed cover with an up-turned edge, and a peaked ridge runs across the diameter of the dome. The better-preserved second example (A 3671) is of equally heavy material, has a fixed cover, and has four holes around the circumference of the stand. On one side is preserved a section of a ridge, running down from the crown and between two of the holes, and which is intentionally notched just before the now broken flaring edge. The arrangement mimics the features of a helmeted face. Neither object is glazed or slipped, nor bears any traces of soot.

The findspots of pots A 958 and A 2715 are not helpful in providing clues to their identification: pot A 958 was discovered in a well which appears to have been closed about 500 B.C., and A 2715 was found in the Herulian destruction debris overlying the block of Classical houses on the north slope of the Areopagus. The dispersal of the destruction debris was great enough that the terracotta object could have come originally from this spot or from anywhere along the north slope. Pot A 3671, on the other hand, also found in Herulian destruction debris, seems to have been found in context, over the firing chamber of a Roman bath southwest of the Agora. In the preliminary publication of the bath, the excavator, T. L. Shear Jr., proposed that A 3671 was a ventilator,⁵⁷ hesitating to call it a chimney pot due to the absence of soot on the interior and around the holes.

To my knowledge, chimney pots or their remains have not been recognized in Archaic or Classical houses or public buildings.⁵⁸ It is possible that damaged pithoi or other large vessels could have served this purpose, as they still do today on some Aegean islands.⁵⁹

Roman baths in the West had vent holes to evacuate smoke,⁶⁰ but the builder of the Southwest Baths near the Agora may have taken inspiration for such ventilators from objects closer to home. Having seen earlier Greek ventilators such as these pots from the Agora, the builder improved on them by fashioning the lid in the form of a helmeted head, perhaps in an attempt to scare away any small birds looking for a protected roost. The metal, birdlike tops of many modern Greek chimneys are striking parallels for this apotropaic function.

56. Discussion and a drawing of the Pompeian pot are in Wikander 1983, p. 89; Durm 1905, fig. 363.

57. Shear 1969, p. 408.

58. There are *opaion* tiles from Olynthos, but no chimney pots; the kitchens there often had a flue large enough to have served to evacuate smoke from a brazier (Cahill 1991, pp. 322–334). Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, p. 328) speak of openings but no chimney pots in the roofs of “hearthrooms.”

59. Svoronos-Hadjimichalis 1956, p. 504. Hoepfner (1999) reconstructs similar vessels as chimney pots in his drawings of the hearths and their surroundings in the houses at Emporio (p. 161) and Zagora (p. 166).

60. E.g., the Baths of Maxentius, Herrmann 1976, p. 412; the large baths in Hadrian's Villa, Mirich 1933; the Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna, Ward-Perkins and Toynbee 1949, pl. 37:d.

A NEW TYPE OF BEEHIVE

SUSAN I. ROTROFF

The ancient Greek ceramic beehive was first recognized in 1959, and its identification was confirmed, in 1973, by study and publication of a large collection of hives from the Vari House and other sites in Attica.⁶¹ It consists of a deep, narrow, and slightly tapering vessel, usually between ca. 0.25 and 0.40 m in diameter and between 0.36 and 0.60 m in height, with a flat or rounded base and a profiled lip. It can easily be identified, even in small fragments, from the combing that covers half the circumference of the interior surface. According to the usual reconstruction, the hives were positioned horizontally, the combed side up; the combing was probably thought to aid the bees in the attachment of their combs to the ceramic wall. The hives were closed with flat covers, each pierced with small holes for tying it to the hive; a small crescent-shaped cut-out at the edge of the cover served as a flight hole. The hives could be enlarged by the addition of extension rings, which also have combing on the inner surface.

Recently, Gundula Lüdorf, using hives, extension rings, and covers from both excavation and survey in Attica, has published a detailed typology of this common artifact, tracing its history from the Classical to the Late Roman period.⁶² Although there are small differences in proportions, shape of rim and floor, and details of combing, all of the hives she publishes conform to the model described above.⁶³

Bees apparently were kept in the city as well as in the country, for hives are remarkably common in Hellenistic contexts at the Athenian Agora. During the summer of 1999, in the course of routine examination of pottery from Hellenistic deposits from past excavations, fragments of a new type of hive, unlike any in Lüdorf's catalogue, came to light.

Agora inv. P 33333 Beehive

Fig. 8

Deposit N 10:2
P.H. 0.148; est. Diam. at top of fragment 0.29 m.

One-fourth of bottom and part of lower wall preserved.⁶⁴

Hole 0.029 m in diameter at center of floor. Underside curves into wall. Shallow, irregular vertical combing on interior wall, extending partway onto floor and ending in

deep gouges. Two to three horizontal, wheelrun grooves at base of interior wall. Hard, highly fired (or burned) fabric, light red on interior surface and at core (2.5YR 6/6), with a gray band below each surface, brown (ca. 7.5YR 5/3) on most of exterior surface, with some large, shiny, gray inclusions (0.04–0.2 cm across).

The hive comes from a fill that contained a large collection of coarse pottery, including many complete or nearly complete transport amphoras. Twenty-nine of these are stamped, and the stamps suggest a date in the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. for the fill.⁶⁵ The hive may have been old when discarded, but a date sometime in the 3rd century is likely. The fabric is harder than that of other Attic hives and is partially fired gray; the hive could be an import.⁶⁶

The new hive conforms to the known type in shape—a deep cylinder—and in the combing of the surface, although the combing is less regular

61. Broneer 1959, p. 337; Jones et al. 1973, pp. 397–414, 443–452.

62. Lüdorf 1998/1999.

63. The type was also widespread on the nearby island of Kea (Sutton 1991, pp. 260–263, figs. 5:9, 5:10).

64. Although they were placed horizontally when in use, the hives are described in their vertical position to allow the clear application of standard ceramic descriptive terms.

65. Deposit N 10:2. The date is based on an unpublished analysis of the stamps by the late Virginia Grace that is housed in the Agora archives.

66. Sutton (1991, p. 262) suggests that some of the hives on Kea are imports.

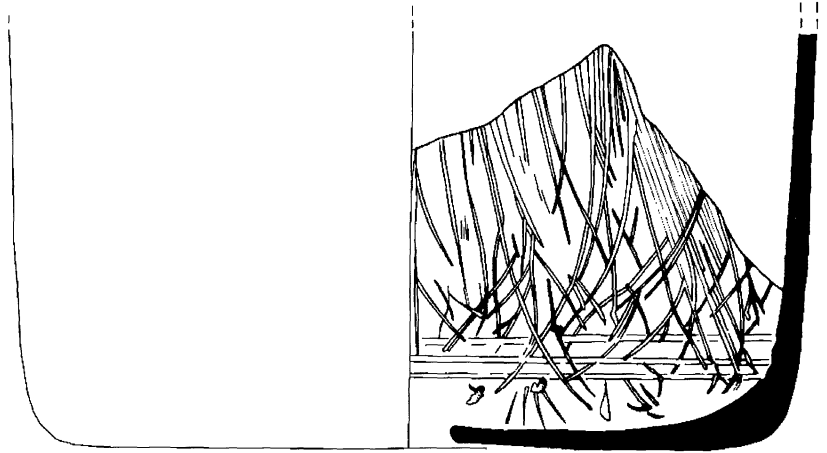


Figure 8. Beehive P 33333. Scale 2:5

than usual and ends in deep gouges in the floor; possibly it was created with a handful of brush rather than with a comblike tool. What makes this hive unique, however, is the hole at the center of the floor, a feature that is preserved on no other extant Attic hive. This can only be the flight hole, the aperture through which the bees came and went. While it is true that the floors of Greek hives are rarely fully preserved, in all instances where they are present, they are solid. The presence of a flight hole in all known hive covers further suggests that hive floors were normally solid. This newly recognized fragment from the Agora offers the first evidence for the existence of a hive with a pierced floor.

Of course, we have no idea what the other end of the hive would have been like, but it was probably like that of other hives—a wide, open mouth to be closed by a flat cover. Unlike standard hive covers, this one would not have needed a flight hole; a plain, flat disk would have sufficed. The beekeeper could have used a standard cover, plastering over its holes with clay or dung, or could have devised a lid made of perishable materials. Archaeologists should be on the lookout, however, for plain disks that might have capped a hive of this design.

The standard Attic hive would of necessity have been tended from the front, that is, from the same end that the bees entered. The beekeeper would have approached this new type of hive, however, from the back, that is, from the end opposite the flight hole. Ancient sources, in fact, outline just such a procedure. Columella (*de re rustica* 9.15.5–6) describes opening and smoking a hive from the back, forcing the bees to the front and out through the flight hole; routine maintenance is also to be performed from the back end of the hive (9.7.2).⁶⁷ Pliny (*HN* 11.10.24) recommends harvesting from the back of the hive, where, he says, the richest combs are located; elsewhere (21.47.80) he discusses the desirability of a movable cover at the back of the hive. An Egyptian tomb painting of the Saite period⁶⁸ seems to show the same procedure, with the beekeeper working at the open end of the hive while bees congregate at the other, slightly rounded end, presumably just outside their flight hole. The new hive from the Agora is our sole piece of evidence that this method of harvesting was sometimes practiced in Attica as well.

67. Here and elsewhere (9.15.11), Columella's text in fact suggests hives with two openings, both back and front. Tubular hives open at both ends have been found in Iberian Valencia (Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño 1997), but there is no evidence that Attic beekeepers ever developed this convenient form of hive.

68. The tomb of Pabesa at Assasif, illustrated in Forbes 1957, pp. 82–83, fig. 17.

PROTOMAIOLICA IN FRANKISH ATHENS

CAMILLA MacKAY

Imported Italian pottery of the 13th and 14th centuries has been found at many sites in Greece, notably in the Frankish Peloponnese.⁶⁹ At some sites under Frankish rule, such as Corinth, Italian imports are abundant. Although Athens and the Frankish Morea were closely allied in the 13th and early 14th centuries, political affiliation clearly did not affect domestic pottery consumption in Athens. In direct contrast to the Morea, Athens ignored, or was ignored by, the market for Italian finewares. The piece of protomaiolica presented here is the only such piece catalogued from the Athenian Agora, and its uniqueness points up the adherence to a local ceramic tradition in medieval Athens.⁷⁰

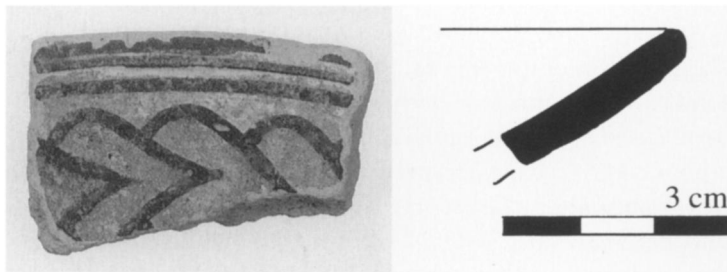


Figure 9. Protomaiolica plate
P 33347. Scale 1:1

Agora inv. P 33347 Protomaiolica plate

Fig. 9

Section Rho 789

Est. Diam. 0.24 m.

Small fragment of out-turned flaring rim of a bowl. White glaze inside and extending over edge of lip. Medium-hard light brown (10YR 7/3–7/4) sandy clay with no visible

inclusions, tiny pores; rough break.

Interlocking leaf pattern around rim in black manganese with three concentric black bands around lip. Trace of light blue within leaf pattern. Probably from Brindisi.⁷¹

This piece comes from a mixed context in a medieval house excavated in 1936. Most of the pottery that was saved is glazed, and slip-painted and sgraffito bowls predominate.⁷² Although at least one piece from this context must date to the 15th century, the majority is contemporary with this

69. I thank Mark Lawall both for suggesting this note and for considerable help along the way. For sites in Greece (mostly in the Peloponnese and in Epirus) where Italian pottery has been found, see Patitucci Uggeri 1997, pp. 9–10, with bibliography.

70. I have emptied dozens of tins and boxes of pottery from medieval levels all over the Agora, and this is the only piece of medieval Italian pottery I have seen. Although few examples of any type of pottery from medieval levels have been published or

even catalogued (especially from the 13th and 14th centuries), much was, in fact, saved during the course of excavations.

71. The proposed provenience is based on fabric, shape, and decoration. For Brindisi protomaiolica, see Patitucci Uggeri 1997, pp. 24–35, esp. fig. 9, nos. 676, 677, with similar decoration; published also in *Otranto II*, pp. 157–158, fig. 6:24, nos. 676, 677.

72. It is not possible to tell from the excavation notebooks exactly how

much pottery from each context was saved, but in the case of Section Rho, it appears as though most, if not all, of the glazed sherds over a certain size were saved, although this is only speculation. There are at least 28 tins and boxes from Frankish through early Ottoman levels; Tin 2, from which this piece was taken, contains the pottery from “House C, below floor.” A good sense of the type of glazed pottery from Tin 2 can be gleaned from Waagé 1933, figs. 12, 13, and 18:e, f.

protomaiolica bowl, which dates to the second half of the 13th or to the very early 14th century.⁷³

Pottery available in late-13th-century Athens, and in Attica and Boiotia in general, is markedly different from pottery available in Frankish towns in the Peloponnese. Certainly, in Corinth by the late 13th century, Frankish tastes in ceramics ran heavily to the Italian.⁷⁴ Very little Italian pottery seems to have been imported to the Greek mainland apart from the Peloponnese and also Epirus, where Italian imports have been found in excavations in Arta and are immured in several churches.⁷⁵ Athens, of course, had no direct access to the Ionian Sea. Unfortunately, the picture of ceramic use in Frankish Athens is limited because material from medieval levels on the Acropolis excavated in the 19th century was not saved; pottery used in the lower city of Athens may not be exactly representative of pottery used on the Acropolis, where the western elite based themselves. Thebes, the principal city of the Frankish Duchy of Athens, has the same pattern of ceramic use as Athens, in spite of the fact that its wealth, from its silk industry in particular, would presumably have enabled it to import Italian wares had there been the desire.⁷⁶

Until the Catalan conquest of Athens in 1311, the lordship of Athens (which included the cities of Athens and Thebes) had ties to the Morea. Nauplion and Argos, for instance, were fiefs of Athens, and Argos *did* import Italian pottery in the second half of the 13th and into the 14th century.⁷⁷ One might thus expect more Italian pottery to have been found in Athens, given the proximity of Athens and Argos and given the ease of approaching Athens by sea, but perhaps Italian pottery in Argos and the Argolid (like the bowls in the church at Merbaka) was brought by land from the north coast of the Peloponnese.⁷⁸ Finds from Epirus demonstrate that political affiliation is not necessarily an indicator of patterns of consumption in medieval Greece: Epirus, at the time that Italian pottery began to be imported, was under Greek control, although with close Italian connections.⁷⁹

The Duchy of Athens, although nominally closely affiliated with the Morea, maintained an uneasy association with the principality throughout the late 13th century, and ceramic use in Athens may show Athens' (and Thebes') independence from the Frankish tastes and customs of the Morea. This independence, at least insofar as ceramic use is concerned, continued into the Ottoman period. Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, finewares in use in Athens appear to have been mostly locally manufactured.⁸⁰ By the Catalan period, glazed wares were carelessly made and decorated, and variety in the colors of glazes diminished until pale yellow was the predominant color. At some point in the 15th century, there is a marked change in the pottery. New shapes and new decorative techniques appear (such as the aforementioned bowl rim, note 73). Whatever the impetus, the new types too were locally manufactured.⁸¹

Whether for geographical or political reasons, or due to local taste, Athens maintained its own traditions from Frankish to Ottoman times, when many other parts of Greece, both Frankish and Greek, were importing increasing amounts of pottery from Italy. But in the 13th century, as this one piece indicates, the occasional piece of Italian protomaiolica could be found in Frankish Athens.

73. For discussion of the dates of protomaiolica manufactured in Brindisi, see Patitucci Uggeri 1997, pp. 34–35. The 15th-century piece is a squared rim from a green-glazed sgraffito bowl like that from Athens published in Waagé 1933, figs. 14:b, d and that from Boiotia published in Vroom 1998, no. 3.8. Such green or brown and green sgraffito bowls were manufactured in the Agora starting in the 15th century; a kiln excavated in the Agora preserves wasters of this type.

74. See, e.g., the late-13th-century deposit discussed in Williams et al. 1998, p. 255, in which a high proportion of the glazed wares was imported from Italy.

75. For Epirus, see Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993; Tsouris 1996.

76. See Armstrong 1993; no. 51, a protomaiolica bowl, is similar to the one presented here.

77. Oikonomou-Laniado 1993. Finds presented include protomaiolicas from Brindisi and southern Italian lead-glazed "RMR" wares; mentioned also are archaic maiolicas and roulette (Veneto) ware.

78. For Merbaka, see Sanders 1989.

79. See Nicol 1984.

80. I specify finewares because the material saved from the early excavations in the Agora is almost exclusively glazed pottery.

81. These Athenian wares were also used in Boiotia and Corinth. See Vroom 1998, p. 529, with mention of Corinth; all of the pottery in her group 3 may have been made in Athens.

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