

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

1996 AND 1997

Excavations in 1994 and 1995 in the Athenian Agora shed light on numerous aspects of Athenian life, including the destruction of the city at the hands of the Persians in 479 B.C., the form of the cult statue of Athena Parthenos, the composition of the Athenian cavalry in the 3rd century B.C., and the terracotta figurine industry in Early Roman times.¹ The 1996 and 1997 seasons have been no less varied, in terms of both the material recovered and the chronological range represented: two Early Iron Age burials, three Geometric wells, a new group of ostraka, and evidence for the spread of technology in the Hellenistic period.² Work was concentrated in two areas: in early levels underneath the west end of the Middle Stoa (Fig. 1) and in and around the Classical commercial building north of the Stoa Poikile. Under the Middle Stoa we wished to examine undisturbed early layers lying directly over bedrock; the area around the Stoa Poikile represents a continuing program of exposing the public buildings bordering the north side of the Agora square. In both areas our understanding of the topography of the Agora in various periods has been greatly enhanced.

1. The report of the 1994–1995 seasons may be found in *Camp 1996*.

2. Primary funding was generously provided by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation. Additional support was provided by Randolph-Macon College, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the AHEPA Chapters of Hopewell and Richmond, Virginia, the Panathenaic Society, and individual donors. I am personally indebted for their support and help to N. C. Dombalis, N. Kafantaris, James Moran, T. Skordas, Ladell Payne, Virginia and Hampton Adams, and Frank and Gerlyn Pearl. The staff in the Stoa of Attalos consisted of Craig Mauzy (resident director and photographer), Jan Jordan

(secretary), and Sylvie Dumont (associate recorder); conservation was carried out by Alice Paterakis (head conservator) and Karen Stamm (assistant conservator), aided by several assistants and interns: Amandina Anastasiades, Kyriaki Asiatides, Lisa Kelman, Martha Singer, Helen Stergiades, Andrew Viduka, and Lisa Young; the architectural work was overseen by Richard Anderson (architect), aided by Michael Djordjevitch. The object drawings are the work of Anne Hooton, aided by Tanya Kane. Logistical support was provided by George Dervos, Kyriaki Moustaka, and Maria Stammatou. Supervisors in the field were Kevin Daly (1997), Tom Milbank (1996, 1997), Lee

Ann Riccardi (1996), David Scahill (1996, 1997), and Geoffrey Schmalz (1996, 1997). I am indebted to all of the above colleagues for their varied efforts on behalf of the project. Excavations in 1996 and 1997 were carried out from early June to early August each year, with teams of about thirty-five students and four supervisors. A list of the student volunteers, fifty-three in all, representing thirty-two colleges and universities, is appended at the back. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge the friendly help and support received from the staff of the 1st Ephoreia of Classical Antiquities, in particular Ismene Triandi, Alkestis Choremi, Vasiliki Christophoulou, and Eleni Phoka.

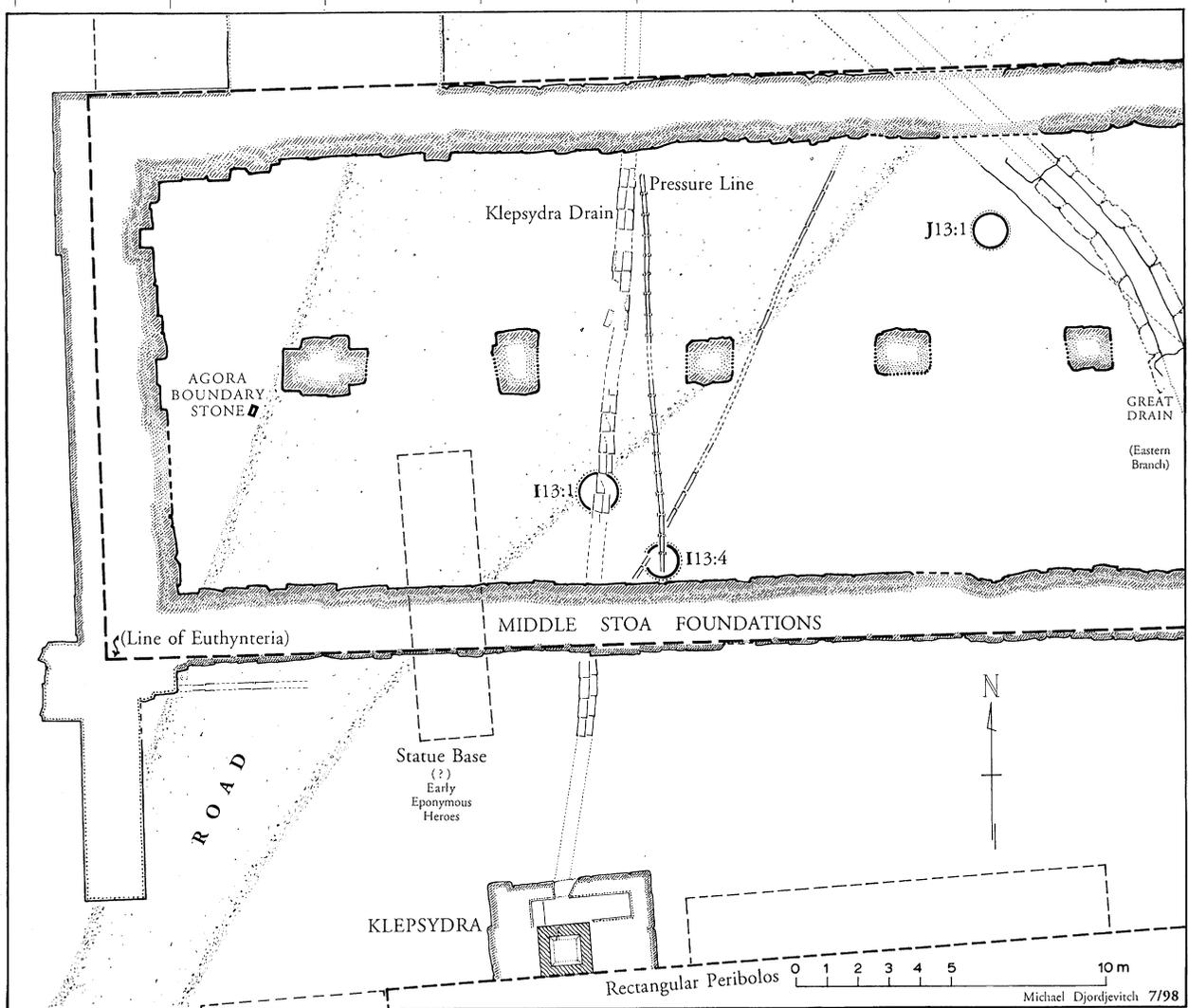


Figure 1. Plan of remains under the west end of the Middle Stoa

The summer of 1997 also saw the demolition of the modern building on lot 1370/9 along Hastings (Astingos) Street. This allowed us to open up a new area, measuring roughly 280 m², for excavation, which began in 1998. The new area overlies the northern continuation of the Classical commercial building, as well as the road that runs northward along the west side of the Stoa Poikile, and possibly the large bath complex that lies along the west side of this road.³ Clearing this area allows us to join the present excavations with the remains known from a small excavation carried out in the adjacent western lot along Hastings Street in 1958.⁴ Future land acquisitions will concentrate on those properties overlying the remains of the Stoa Poikile.

SOUTHWEST AREA

In the southwest area we excavated within the Agora square low in the foundations of the Middle Stoa, a few meters to the east of the boundary

3. For the bath, see Shear 1997, pp. 509–512.

4. Briefly noted in Thompson 1959, p. 93.

stone found in 1967 (Fig. 1). Here a gravel-surfaced road runs northeastward into the Agora square. To the east of the road successive layers of deep gravelly fill indicated periods when the floor of the Agora itself was raised significantly. A major raising of the levels occurred in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., when the Southwest Fountainhouse was constructed just to the south, at the southwest corner of the square. Another such period was the last third of the 5th century B.C., when the construction of South Stoa I to the southeast and the New Bouleuterion to the northwest both produced large amounts of quarried bedrock fill. The deeper fills, overlying bedrock, date as late as the middle years of the 6th century B.C., a time when the filling of wells in the vicinity suggests that the area was evolving from private to public land.⁵

Two fragments of pottery from this area, one from the 5th-century levels, one from the 6th, deserve special mention. The first (Fig. 2) is a fragment from the wall of a red-figured oinochoe or chous, showing two performers from a satyr play. On the left is preserved the face and left arm of an *aulos* player. He is bearded and dressed in the characteristic long robe decorated with dotted circles. Around his neck hangs the *phorbeia*, or band used to hold the flutes in place, and he holds the flutes in his hand. Facing him is the front part of an actor, wearing the usual drawers with attached erect phallos, holding his satyr-head mask in front of him in his right hand. From the earlier levels came numerous fragments of a large black-figured louterion of the early 6th century B.C. (Figs. 3–5). Several fragments, both joining and nonjoining, preserve part of the rim, spout, one handle, and upper and lower body parts. On the front, felines flank the spout: a lion in profile on the left and a panther facing out on the right (Fig. 4). On the reverse there is a cavalcade of three mounted horsemen riding to the right (Fig. 5, right).

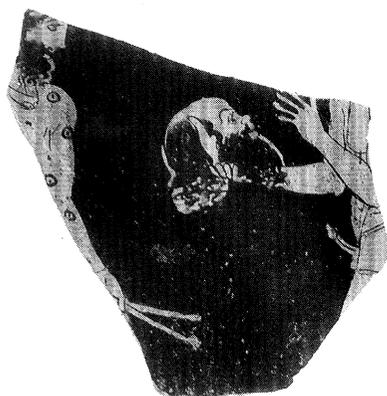


Figure 2. Fragment of red-figured oinochoe or chous (1)

- 1 P 32870: Oinochoe or chous fragment Fig. 2

From I/6-3/6, 7. P.H. 0.07, p.W. 0.06 m. Broken all around. For similar scenes, see Beazley 1955, especially pp. 309–314 and pls. 86–88. See also Taplin 1993, pp. 70–78, 101–110.

Ca. 440–420 B.C.

- 2 P 32874: Louterion fragments Figs. 3–5

From I/3, 6-13/2, 7. Est. Diam. at outside of rim: 0.44 m. A broad horizontal rim has plain black glaze on top and overhangs the inside of

the vessel. A loop handle, round in section, rises from the shoulder to join the underside of a square handle plate that projects from the rim, decorated on top with a painted rosette. The lower body above the foot is reserved and decorated with rays. The opposing animals and a cavalcade are known from other vessels of similar shape. Cf. *Agora* XXIII, pp. 32–33 and Callipolitis-Feytmans 1965, no. 12, p. 19, pls. VI, VII. The painting is by or close to the Gorgon Painter; cf. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pp. 46–54, especially nos. 46 and 58.

First quarter of the 6th century B.C.

TERRACOTTA PIPELINE

A terracotta pipeline found running in a northerly direction through the excavated area proved to be of some interest. Nineteen sections were found in situ, each segment 0.65 m long and 0.15 m in diameter. Unusual is the

5. For the development of the Agora in the 6th century, see Shear 1978 and Camp 1994.

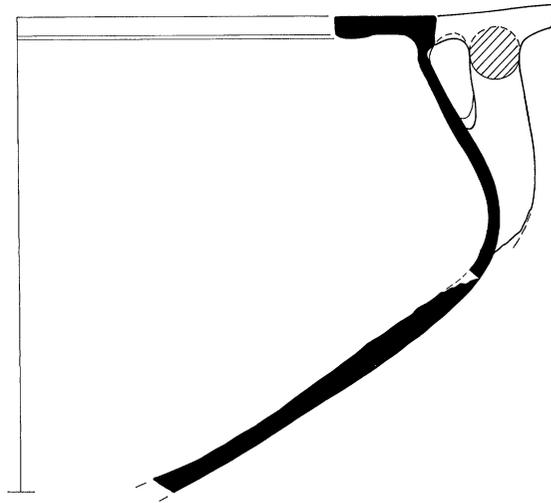


Figure 3. Black-figured louterion (2):
profile and top view



0 5 10cm
1:2

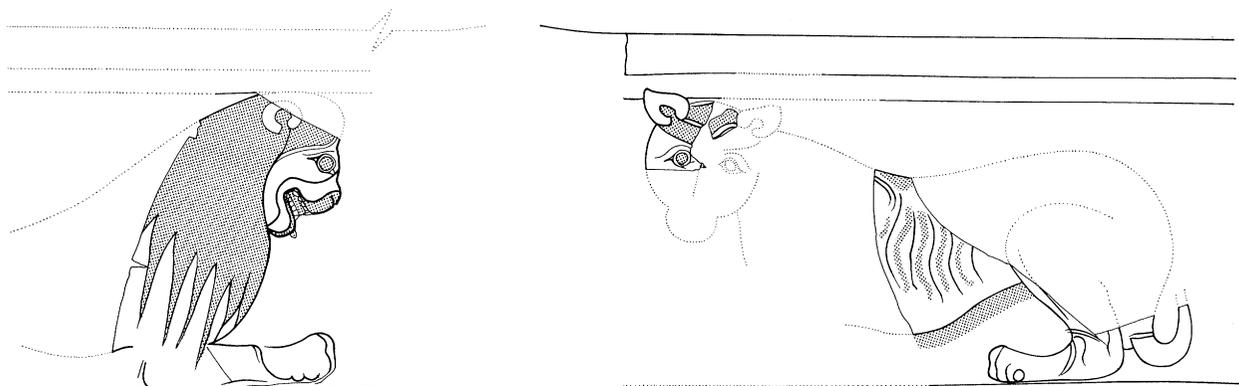


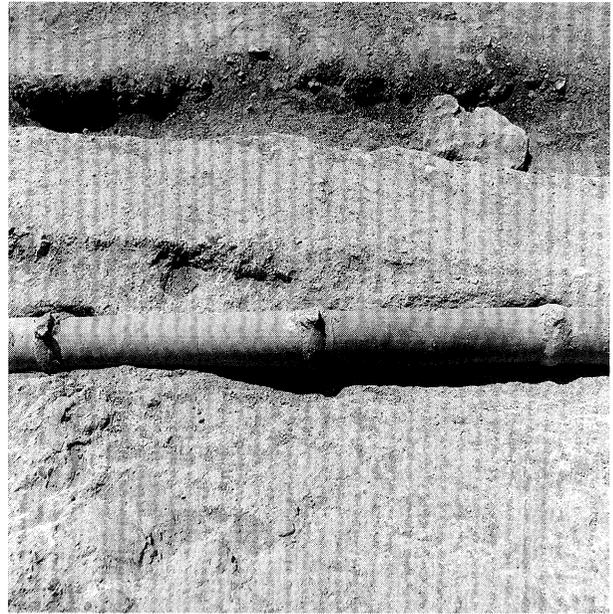
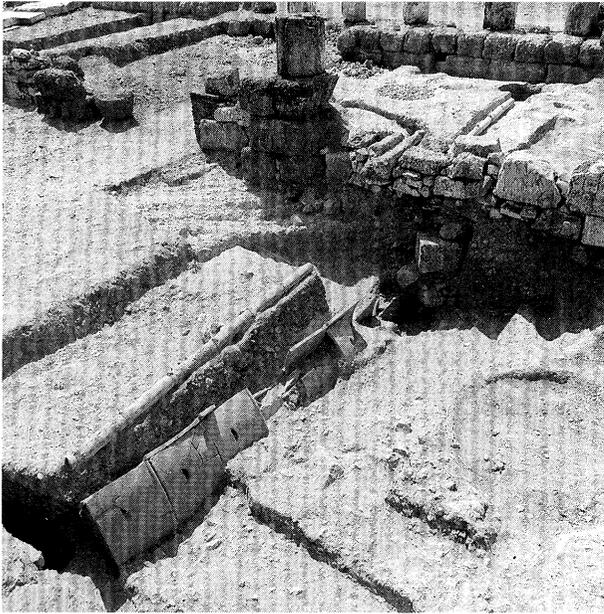
Figure 4 (top). Louterion (2): reconstruction of felines flanking spout

Figure 5 (above). Fragments from louterion (2)

careful sealing of the joints, using lime and bands of lead, which were sealed at the top with molten lead (Figs. 6, 7). The thickness of the pipes (0.02 m), together with the care with which the joints were sealed, is largely unparalleled among the dozens of pipelines excavated in the Agora and indicates that this pipe was built to carry fresh water under pressure. Pottery from associated levels suggests that this pressure line should be dated no later than the early 3rd century B.C., making it the earliest known from Athens and among the earliest in the Greek world.⁶ For centuries Athenian aqueducts all depended on gravity to regulate the flow of water, requiring a continuous slight decline from source to terminus. The technology of pressure lines, which led eventually to the great aqueducts of the Roman world, was apparently developed early in the Hellenistic period. The great citadel of Pergamon, capital of the Attalid dynasty, was supplied with pressure lines as early as the 3rd century B.C., and it would be a reasonable assumption that the technology was introduced to Athens from Pergamon as the Attalid kings were great admirers and benefactors of the Athenians in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.

The new pipeline, however, points to another source of inspiration. It is now clear that it originated at the Late Classical waterclock, or *klepsydra*, which lies some 10 m to the south. This monumental timepiece, built originally in the second half of the 4th century B.C., was extensively re-

6. A small section of this pipe was found many years ago several meters to the north at the Civic Offices (A 2295); cf. Lang 1968, figs. 1 and 24.



modeled in the early 3rd century to reflect advances made in timekeeping technology; it was converted from an outflow to an inflow system.⁷ The original overflow line (Fig. 6, foreground), built of reused well-tiles set edge to edge, has been known for years. The newly discovered pipeline—in use after the remodeling—runs parallel to it and apparently carried off the overflow required by the new system, which would have been good clean water, suitable for reuse elsewhere. The use of a pressure pipe in this particular system is less surprising and perhaps more significant than had it been found elsewhere. It is less surprising in that the waterclock represents the most advanced state of hydraulic technology of its time, and a sophisticated new development such as the pressure line might well be expected to make its first appearance in Athens in just such a context. The increased significance comes from the fact that the invention of the inflow clock is attributed to Ktesibios, who flourished in Alexandria in the early 3rd century B.C., precisely the time when the Agora clock was remodeled. The new hydraulic technology, in short, was developed in Ptolemaic Egypt and we must now consider whether the idea of the pressure line was borrowed along with related advances in hydraulics from Alexandria rather than Pergamon.⁸ This new pipeline, despite its modest, utilitarian appearance, may in fact have much to tell us about the spread of technology in the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

GEOMETRIC WELLS

LATE GEOMETRIC WELL I 13:4

Much earlier hydraulic installations were also uncovered deep below the Middle Stoa. One was a well (I 13:4) driven through bedrock to a depth of 9.25 m. It was oval, measuring 0.90 by 1.00 m, unlined, with footholes cut at intervals on opposite sides all the way down the shaft. The fill consisted

Figure 6 (*left*). Terracotta channels passing through area of Middle Stoa: overflow channel in front, pressure line beyond. View from northwest.

Figure 7 (*right*). Detail of pressure line with leaded joints

7. For the waterclock, see Armstrong and Camp 1977.

8. For the close relations between Athens and Ptolemaic Egypt during this period (287–262 B.C.), see now Habicht 1997, pp. 127–128.



Figure 8. Material from Late Geometric well I 13:4. From left to right: SOS amphora (3), coarse-ware kados (4), and "Phaleron" cup (5).

of large numbers of rocks, mud, and a few pieces of pottery (an SOS amphora, a water jar, and a "Phaleron" cup) that allow us to date the abandonment of the well to the years around 700 B.C. (Fig. 8). There was no obvious sign of a period-of-use fill at the very bottom, suggesting that the well saw little, if any, use. The well dates from a time long before the area was given over to public use and presumably reflects the position of a private house now completely gone. Its abandonment close to 700 puts it in a group of 16 other such wells that all go out of use toward the end of the 8th century. This simultaneous abandonment of all the wells in use in the area at the same time suggests that Athens and perhaps the rest of Greece suffered from the effects of a severe drought in the second half of the 8th century B.C.⁹ The new well would seem to fit the pattern. The well's great depth of over 9 m at a time when the average depth of wells was 5.5 m suggests a serious effort to find water, while the absence of evidence for a period of use apparently indicates that this extra effort proved futile. The attempt was abandoned and the shaft was filled in when no reliable source of water was reached.

In all, some forty-five pieces, mostly fragments, were catalogued; a small selection of the better-preserved and datable pieces follows.

3 P 32725: SOS amphora,
upper part Fig. 8

P.H. 0.178, Diam. (rim) 0.183 m. Thick echinos rim, set off from neck by a pronounced ridge. Rim, handles, shoulder covered in a thin brown glaze; neck reserved and decorated with SOS pattern: two pairs of three-barred sigmas with the right pair retrograde; O between the two concentric glazed circles.

4 P 32723: Coarse-ware
kados Fig. 8

H. 0.288, Diam. (base) 0.088, (rim) 0.152 m. Complete except for chips from rim. Low ring foot, ovoid body, slightly flattened rolled handles. Cf. *Agora* VIII, no. 196, dated latest 8th or early 7th century B.C. A second example from this well is P 32724, slightly larger but with a similar profile.

9. For the late-8th-century drought, based on both wells and graves, see Camp 1979. Since 1979, the number of wells dated to the period 760–700 has risen to twenty-two, in contrast to the number of wells for the entire 7th century, stable at fourteen.

5 P 32722: "Phaleron" cup Fig. 8

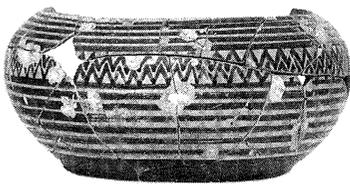
H. 0.062, Diam. 0.092 m. Intact except for small chips. Flat base, high body, sharply outturned lip. Thin reddish brown glaze outside and in,

underside reserved, upper surface of lip and handle decorated with glazed stripes. Attic clay. Cf. *Agora VIII*, no. 181, dated to the latest part of the 8th century B.C.

The new well is somewhat later than another Geometric well found in 1968 (I 13:1), which lies only 2 m to the northwest, close enough to allow us to suppose that it served the same household before I 13:4 was dug and then abandoned. It measures 6.15 m deep, with a diameter of 0.90 m and handholes on the sides. Some thirty-three fragments of pottery were catalogued, most dating to the middle years of the 8th century B.C.¹⁰

GEOMETRIC WELL J 13:1

A third 8th-century well (J 13:1) was found in 1997, lying some 15 m to the northeast of well I 13:4. It is only 1.30 m deep as preserved, though pairs of handholes cut in the sides suggest that more ambitious plans for a deeper well were abandoned. Two skyphoi and a pyxis dated to the first half of the 8th century perhaps come from a disturbed grave. Other material suggests that this abortive well was abandoned and filled up toward the middle of the 8th century.



6 P 32731: Basket bowl Fig. 9

H. 0.05, Diam. 0.093 m. Mended, complete except for chips. Flat bottom, vertical sides. Unglazed with design impressed from a basket on outside. Inside smooth with three bands of glaze crossing at center of floor. Rim decorated with glazed dots. Dark buff clay. Cf. *Agora VIII*, no. 271.

7 P 32892: Pyxis Fig. 10

H. 0.07, Diam. 0.152 m. Mended from numerous fragments, chips missing. Recessed underside, low rounded body, interior flange for (missing) lid, pierced with two pairs of holes. Decoration: horizontal



bands with two rows of zigzags on upper body. Reddish brown glaze. Cf. *Kerameikos V*, i, no. 883, grave 25, pl. 55 and no. 860, grave 11, p. 55.

First quarter of the 8th century B.C.

8 P 32895: Skyphos Fig. 10

H. 0.075, Diam. 0.125 m. Mended. Disk foot, high flaring body, canted handles. Panel decoration: a diagonally hatched meander flanked by vertical bars. Poor black glaze, largely peeled off.

9 P 32891: Skyphos Fig. 10

H. 0.065, Diam. 0.123 m. Mended from several fragments. Low

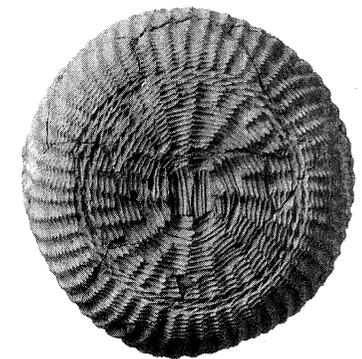
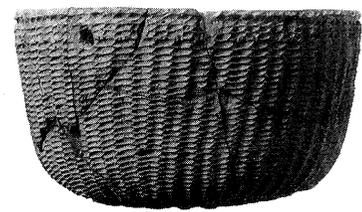


Figure 9. Basket bowl (6) from well J 13:1

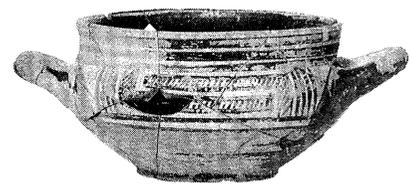


Figure 10. Material from well J 13:1. From left to right: pyxis (7), skyphos (8), and skyphos (9).

10. Pottery: P 27934–27963, 27966–27968; two spindle whorls: MC 1141–1142; and a wooden comb with incised decoration: W 44; pottery lots ΜΣ 485–495.

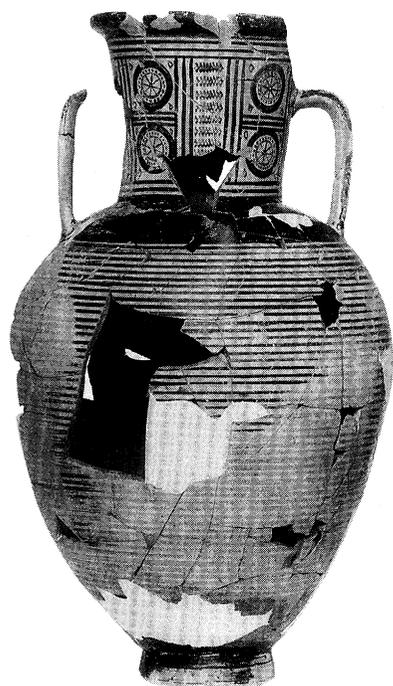


Figure 11. Late Geometric burial amphora (10)



Figure 12. One-handed cup (11) and aryballos (12)

ring foot, canted horizontal handles. Decoration: L-shaped diagonally hatched bars within elongated panels flanked by four vertical bars. Metallic

black glaze, peeling in places. Very close to *Agora VIII*, no. 260 (P 5073); cf. also *Kerameikos V*, i, no. 875, grave 9, 93.

First half of the 8th century B.C.

DISTURBED GRAVE (?) I 13:5

To be dated probably to the first half of the 7th century is a deposit of broken pottery found together in a broad shallow depression in bedrock (I 13:5), including what must have been a large burial urn. The range of dates suggests the remains of an 8th-century burial disturbed sometime in the 7th century.

10 P 32887: Amphora Fig. 11

H. 0.88, Diam. 0.50, Th. (wall) up to 0.013 m. Mended from dozens of fragments, about two-thirds complete. High, slightly flaring ring foot; tall ovoid body, vertical neck, outturned thickened rim. Two broad vertical strap handles. Foot and upper shoulder totally glazed, area in between decorated with horizontal glazed bands, fifty in all. Neck decoration on either side: a central vertical panel flanked by pairs of superimposed square panels. The central panel is decorated with horizontal zigzags paired to form rows of hollow diamonds. The square panels are each decorated with concentric compass-drawn circles: an outer wide glazed band around a circle of dots, which in turn surrounds an eight-spoked wheel. Handles decorated with vertical bands and wavy lines, horizontal bands, and crisscrossed lines. Lip totally glazed. Dark buff Attic clay.

Cf. *Agora VIII*, no. 2, p. 30 and pl. 1, and amphora Tr 312 from Grave A 23 at Trachones (Geroulanos 1973, p. 31 and pl. 16:1).

Second half of the 8th century B.C.

11 P 32882: One-handed cup Fig. 12

H. 0.04, Diam. 0.08 m. Chips missing from rim. Plain flat base, curved flaring side walls, plain rim, vertical strap handle. Glazed inside and out. Top, inside of lip, and handle decorated with glazed bands. Poor, dull, light brown glaze, badly peeling.

12 P 32884: Aryballos Fig. 12

H. 0.05, Diam. 0.035 m. Mended; handle and chips from rim missing. Ring foot, pear-shaped body, narrow neck, broad flat rim. Decorated all over with thin bands of glaze, now almost entirely gone. Pale yellowish buff clay, Corinthian (?).

13 P 32883: Koytle

H. 0.047, Diam. 0.063 m. Mended, about two-thirds preserved. Disk foot, canted horizontal handles. Lower body totally glazed, middle decorated with thin glazed bands, top and handles decorated with vertical wavy lines. Poor, peeling, and dull light brown glaze. Glaze and fabric very close to that of 11.

NORTHWEST AREA

GRAVE J 2:10

Excavations were continued in and around the Classical commercial building that lies north of the west end of the Painted Stoa. The earliest remains encountered thus far in this area lay along the west side, deep under the foundations of the Temple of Aphrodite (Fig. 13). Here we came upon



Figure 14. Submycenaean (?) burial J 2:10

a simple cist grave (J 2:10), cut into the bedrock, oriented east–west, and measuring 1.63 m long, 0.35 m wide, and 0.35 m deep. Within was the extended skeleton of a man, turned on his right side, with the head toward the west (Fig. 14).¹¹ The grave lacked any offerings so there is no direct evidence for its date.

GRAVE J 2:11

A second burial (J 2:11) was found immediately to the south, only 0.75 m away. It, too, was a simple unlined rectangular pit dug into bedrock. Within was an extended skeleton, with the head to the west, of a young woman in her teens.¹² Unlike her neighbor, she was buried with modest grave goods: a straight bronze pin, a bronze ring, and two lekythoi, which from both their shape and decoration should probably be dated to the Submycenaean period.

14 P 32760: Lekythos Fig. 15

H. 0.136, Diam. 0.116 m. Ring foot, biconical body, strap handle. Decorated with multiple glazed bands, fugitive glaze.

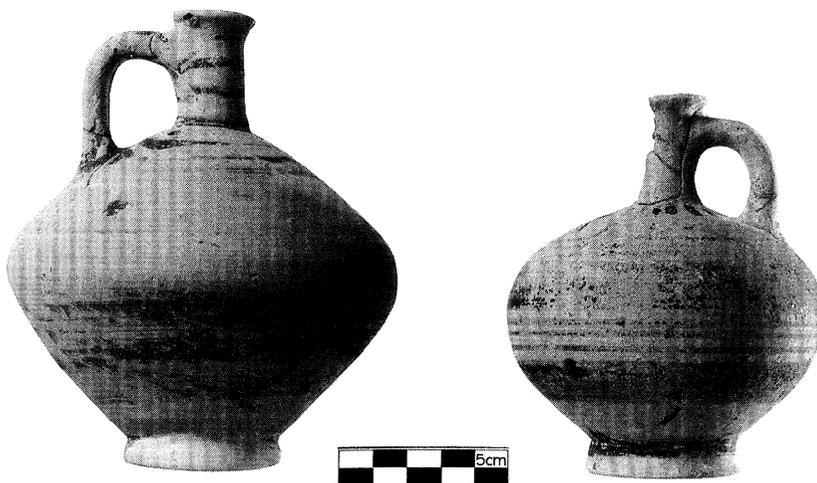
For the date, transitional LH IIIC Late–Submycenaean, cf. *Perati* 177 and 213 (pl. 93), both from grave 12.

15 P 32761: Lekythos Fig. 15

H. 0.114, Diam. 0.094 m. Ring foot, squat globular body. Horizontal bands of glaze on body, shoulder decorated with glazed petals.

Cf. *Perati* 583 and 584 (grave 69), pl. 33a, and *Kerameikos* I, nos. 459 (grave 47) and 479 (grave 66), both on pl. 12: LH IIIC–Submycenaean, and Salamis no. 3620 (Styrenius 1962, pl. III): ca. 1070–1000 B.C.

Figure 15. Submycenaean lekythoi (14, 15) from grave J 2:11



11. Preliminary analysis of the skeletal material by Lisa Little suggests that the individual buried was male, aged ca. 49–58, standing ca. 1.62 m tall.

12. Preliminary analysis of the skeletal material by Little suggests that the individual buried was a female, aged ca. 17–18.

13. For one of the cremation urns, see Shear 1997, p. 514. For the graves around the Royal Stoa, see Shear 1975, pp. 370–374. Two Mycenaean chamber tombs found in July 1998 now push the date of the cemetery north of the river back some 300 years, into LH IIIA.

The pin and ring were both fragmentary and heavily corroded. Two other small burial urns were found several years ago in the same area, one containing the ashes and bones of a cremation, along with several dozen gold beads. The two new burials are paralleled by nine cist graves of the 11th century found under the Royal Stoa, and indicate that both banks of this stretch of the Eridanos River were used as a cemetery in the very early Iron Age.¹³

GEOMETRIC WELL K 1:5

The earliest evidence for habitation north of the Eridanos was recovered in the form of an early well (K 1:5), cut through virgin fill and bedrock. The well lies at the extreme north end of the trench, some 45 m from the river. The shaft was 0.90 m in diameter, unlined all the way down, with footholes on both sides. The middle third of the shaft had collapsed somewhat, widening out in places to 1.25 m across. The bottom was reached at 45.80 masl, and the total preserved depth was 7.00 m; water was reached at 50.25 masl. The bottom meter and a half produced whole water jars and large fragments characteristic of period-of-use fills, alternating with deposits of broken bedrock, presumably reflecting the collapse halfway up the shaft. The lowest pottery consisted largely of black-glazed pitchers with limited bands of geometric decoration, plain amphoras decorated with glazed stripes, and unglazed coarse-ware cooking pots. The date would seem to be Early Geometric II/Middle Geometric I, dated to the the mid-9th century B.C. and somewhat later. In the upper fill there were close to a dozen rounded biconical spindle whorls, one of them decorated with painted swastikas, and the rim of a large vessel decorated with a horse and a bird (Fig. 16).

16 P 32918: Krater
or dinos rim fragment Fig. 16

Uppermost dumped fill (52.86 masl). P.H. 0.105, Diam. of mouth (exterior) ca. 0.34 m. Broken both sides and below. Fragment from the rim of a krater or dinos, with figural and geometric decoration. Low rim, square in section and canted out. Knob and trace of attachment of vertical strap handle. Part of large central panel on body decorated with at least one hatched meander, surrounded by several bands of horizontal and vertical zones of stripes and zigzags. To right, a panel with a horse facing left, with a ducklike bird just above its rump,

facing right. Eight-pointed star/rosette below horse. Horse in full silhouette with some detail (forelock, mane, penis, hooves). Outside of rim decorated with chevron pattern, top reserved with groups of glazed bars. Shiny brownish glaze; fine, dark buff clay.

17 P 32914: Pitcher
with trefoil mouth Fig. 17

From period-of-use fill. H. 0.31, Diam. 0.18 m. Mended; chips and spout missing. Ring foot, ovoid body, vertical strap handle, trefoil mouth. Underside of foot reserved. Reserved band with two glazed stripes just above midpoint of body. Panel with



Figure 16. Fragment from the rim of a krater (16) from well K 1:5



Figure 17. Middle Geometric pots (17, 18, 19) from well K 1:5

two hatched meanders on neck below spout. Handle reserved with horizontal glazed stripes. Dull, somewhat thin black glaze elsewhere. Dark buff clay.

Cf. *Kerameikos* V, i, no. 252 (from grave 74), pl. 70, and Coldstream 1968, pp. 14–15, pl. 2g.

18 P 32912: Amphora with geometric design Fig. 17

From period-of-use fill. P.H. ca. 0.40, Diam. 0.25 m. Mended; one handle and rim missing. Ring foot, tall ovoid body, two vertical strap handles. Totally glazed with poor black glaze, misfired red in places, except for four areas of painted design. Lower body: reserved band with two glazed stripes; at shoulder, a reserved band decorated with double-axes and vertical bars, set off with horizontal glazed stripes. Panels on each side of neck: pairs of simple, hatched meanders; horizontal stripes on handles. Fine, dark, reddish buff clay.

Cf. *Kerameikos* V, i, no. 2155 (from grave 36), pl. 29, and Coldstream 1968, pp. 17–20, pl. 3a.

19 P 32906: Amphora Fig. 17

From period-of-use fill. H. 0.34, Diam. ca. 0.22 m. Intact except for small chips. Ring foot, ovoid body, two thickened strap handles, outturned rim, rounded on outside. Unglazed except for stripes at foot, lower body, shoulder, juncture of neck and shoulder, and rim. Glazed stripes crisscrossing on handle. Generally fine dark buff clay, with large white inclusions. Five similar examples mended and catalogued.

20 P 32904: Cooking pot

From period-of-use fill. H. 0.21, Diam. 0.165 m. Mended from numerous fragments, complete except for chips. Flat base, rounded body, broad neck, outturned rim, single strap handle. Coarse, dark cooking-ware fabric, with mica and white inclusions. Vertical cutting or scraping marks on shoulder and body, similar horizontal marks on inside of neck. Considerably discolored and darkened from fire (?) on side of body opposite handle.

LATE ARCHAIC OSTRAKA

A collection of about 144 ostraka was found scattered throughout a layer of fill in the area behind the Classical commercial building (see below, Figs. 24, 25). Lying ca. 0.50 m above the floor levels of the adjacent later building, the layer seems to represent undisturbed Late Archaic fill where the ground rises gradually to the north from the banks of the Eridanos River. The names preserved on the ostraka are suggestive: all carry the name of either Themistokles (61 examples) or Xanthippos (47 examples), except for one naming Aristeides; 35 are too fragmentary to allow a certain reading. The 47 ostraka for Xanthippos, more than twice the total known hitherto from the Agora (20), strongly suggest that this group should be dated to the actual year of his ostracism, in 484 B.C., recorded by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 22.6, Loeb trans.):

For three years they went on ostracizing the friends of the tyrants, at whom the legislation had been aimed, but afterwards in the fourth year it was also used to remove any other person who seemed to be too great; the first person unconnected with the tyranny to be ostracized was Xanthippos son of Ariphton.

The composition of this group of ostraka would seem to bear out the hypothesis put forward by M. Lang that, as Xanthippos and Themistokles were successive leaders of the demos, the ostracism of Xanthippos should be seen as the result of Themistokles' rise to leadership of the popular party. From elsewhere in the Agora there are four groups of ostraka with both Themistokles and Xanthippos represented and thirteen other groups with Themistokles but not Xanthippos, a reflection no doubt of Themistokles' longer and later political career. The new ostraka seem also to confirm E. Vanderpool's observation that Themistokles may have encouraged the use of the demotic along with or in place of the patronymic, presumably to cultivate favor with ordinary citizens: more than half of his ostraka use the demotic rather than the patronymic. In marked contrast, the Xanthippos ostraka show the usual preference for the patronymic: all but three (23, 32, and 37) use the patronymic, without the demotic.

The new ostraka also provide further evidence for trends in letter forms and spelling in the 480s B.C. The upright cross for *chi* predominates over the St. Andrew's cross, crossbarred *thetas* predominate over dotted ones, and the tailed *rho* makes only an occasional appearance (36). In spelling, Themistokles is always spelled with a *theta* in place of the *tau*, and double *epsilon* (38, 40, 42, 44) is as frequent as single *epsilon* at the end of the name. In the Xanthippos ostraka, double *pi* is more common, and in the patronymic double *rho* (21, 23, 29, 31) is favored over single *rho* (26, 30, 34). There are assorted errors in spelling and orthography (23, 27, 29, 36).

Two of the ostraka of Xanthippos would seem to have been cut by a single hand (Fig. 18: 21, 22), perhaps suggesting that organized political parties were at work early on in democratic Athens. If so, it is particularly interesting to find Themistokles as the beneficiary of such work in the 480s in view of the well-known cache of 190 ostraka, usually taken to



Figure 18. Late Archaic ostraka cast against Xanthippos (21, 22, 37) and Themistokles (45). Catalogue numbers indicated. Scale 1:2

indicate that his own ostracism in the 470s was the result of similarly organized activity.¹⁴

The ostraka are written on a wide variety of sherds in terms of shape, fabric, and decoration, though large, open, plain, or semiglazed vessels predominate. A selection of the more complete ostraka are described and illustrated here (Figs. 18–21).

XANTHIPPOS

21 P 32560: Ostrakon Figs. 18, 19

Max. dim. 0.09 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the lower wall of a large closed vessel, dilute glaze outside, unglazed inside. On outside, in two lines: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄρρίφρονος.

22 P 32559: Ostrakon Figs. 18, 19

Max. dim. 0.102 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of a coarse-ware vessel. Light yellowish buff clay with inclusions. On outside, in three lines: Χσάνθιππ / ος Ἄρρίφρο / νος. Very similar letters to preceding.

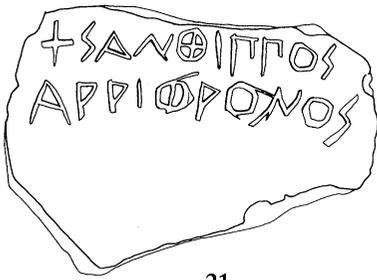
23 P 32526: Ostrakon Fig. 19

Max. dim. 0.068 m. Broken all around. Fragment from a coarse-ware vessel; dark reddish, very micaceous clay. On outside, in three lines: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄρρίφρονος / Χολαγές.

24 P 32524: Ostrakon Fig. 19

Several fragments from the disk foot of a stemless cup, misfired red. On two lines inside: Χσά[ν]θ[ι]πος / [Α]ρρίφρ[ονος].

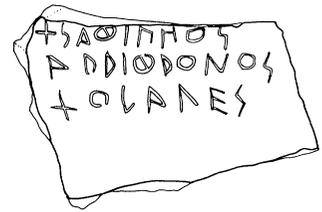
14. For the Agora ostraka, see now *Agora XXV*: for Xanthippos, pp. 133–134; for Themistokles, pp. 102–132; for the alphabet, pp. 10–12; for spelling, pp. 12–17; for the groups of ostraka, pp. 19–29ff.; for the 190 North Slope ostraka, pp. 142–158; and for the Xanthippos/Themistokles rivalry, p. 4. For the use of the demotic for Themistokles: Vanderpool 1970, pp. 7–8. For the ostraka from the Kerameikos: Willemsen and Brenne 1991.



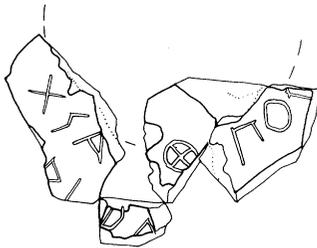
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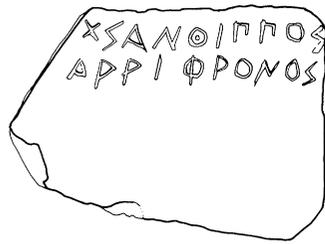
31

Figure 19. Late Archaic ostraka naming Xanthippos. Scale 1:2

- 25 P 32525: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.047 m. Broken all around. Fragment of the upper part of the stem and floor of a kylix. In two lines on floor: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄριφρονος.
- 26 P 32523: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.081 m. Broken all around. Fragment from inside of neck, glazed. On two lines outside: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄριφρονος.
- 27 P 32566: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.09 m. Broken all around. Fragment of rooftile, reddish glaze, very worn and scratched, on one side. On glazed surface: Σγάθιππος / Ἄριφρονο.
- 28 P 32562: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max dim. 0.082 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the body of a large closed vessel. Dilute glaze outside, unglazed within. On outer, glazed surface, on two lines: Χσ[άν]θιππος / Ἄρρ[ί]φρονος.
- 29 P 32565: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.138 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of a large unglazed vessel. On two lines inside: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄρριφρον.ς.
- 30 P 32561: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.073 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of an unglazed closed vessel; slight dull, dark wash outside. On outside, in two lines: Χσάνθιπ. . . / Ἄριφρονος.
- 31 P 32564: Ostrakon Fig. 19
 Max. dim. 0.108 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of a large coarse-ware vessel, thin brown wash outside. Inside, on two lines: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄρριφρονος.
- 32 P 32903: Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.065 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of a large vessel, thin brown wash outside,
- 33 P 32925: Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.083 m. Fragment from the wall of a large unglazed vessel. Outside, in two lines: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄρριφρονος.
- 34 P 32923: Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.10 m. Th. 0.017 m. Fragment from the wall of a pithos, with incised designs (lines and circles) outside. Very coarse, dark orange clay with mica and large white inclusions. Inside, inscribed on three lines: Χσάνθιπ / ος / Ἄριφρονος.
- 35 P 32924: Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.135 m. Broken all around. On two lines: .σάνθιππος / Ἄρριφρονος.
- 36 P 32568: Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.092 m. Broken all around. On three lines: [] νθιππος / Ἄριπρονο / ς.
- 37 P 32990: Ostrakon Fig. 18
 Max. dim. 0.07 m. Part of rim from a very large basin, glazed inside, unglazed outside. On three lines: Χσάνθιππος / Ἄριφρονος / εΧολαργεόν.
- THEMISTOKLES
- 38 P 32558:
 Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.125 m. Broken at either end and below. Fragment from the rim of a lekane, black to reddish brown glaze on top and within. In two lines on top of rim: Θεμισθοκλέες / (N)Φρεάριος. Opening *nu* in line 2 scratched out.
- 39 P 32557:
 Ostrakon Fig. 20
 Max. dim. 0.095 m. Broken all around. Fragment from the wall of a



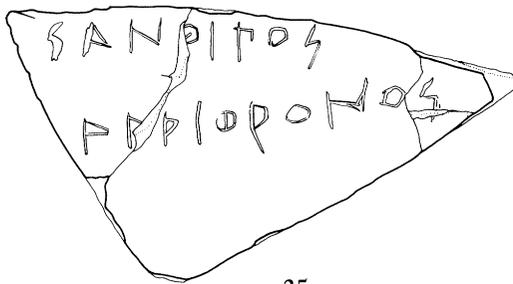
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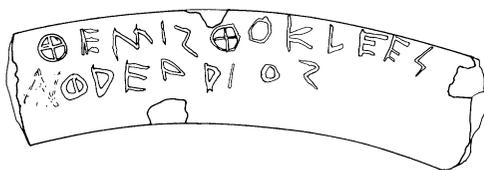
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Figure 20. Late Archaic ostraka naming Xanthippos (32–36) and Themistokles (38–41). Scale 1:2

lekans, preserving part of handle.
Handle and horizontal stripe glazed
outside, black glaze inside. Inside, on
two lines: Θεμισθοκλῆς / Φρεάριος.

40 P 32555: Ostrakon Fig. 20

Max. dim. 0.135 m. Broken at
either end and above. Fragment from
the base of a large black-figured
vessel, decorated on the outside with
entwined lotus buds and tendrils.
Glaze misfired red. Inside, on two
lines: Θεμισθοκλέει / Φριαρίοι.

41 P 32531: Ostrakon Fig. 20

Max. dim. 0.115 m. Broken all
around. Fragment from the wall of a
large coarse-ware vase. Outside, on
three lines: Θεμισθοκλῆ / ς /
Φρεάριος.

42 P 32544: Ostrakon Fig. 21

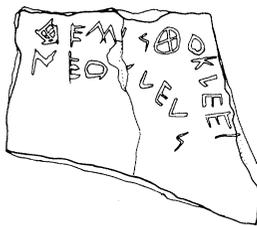
Max. dim. 0.07 m. Broken all
around. Fragment from the wall of a
large closed vessel. Thin brown glaze
outside. Outside, on two lines
following edge of fragment:
Θεμισθοκλέει / Νεοκλέυς.

43 P 32541: Ostrakon Fig. 21

Max. dim. 0.06 m. Broken at
either end and above. Fragment from
the foot of a large coarse-ware vessel.
Thin dull brown glaze outside.
Outside, on three lines: Θεμισθοκλ /
ῆς / Νεοκλέυς.

44 P 32529: Ostrakon Fig. 21

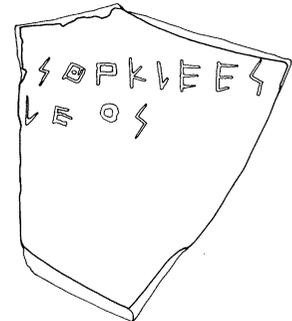
Max. dim. 0.08 m. Broken all
around. Fragment from the wall of a
large open vessel, black-glazed
within, thin wash outside. Inside, on
two lines: [Θεμ]ισθοκλέες /
[Νεοκ]λέος.



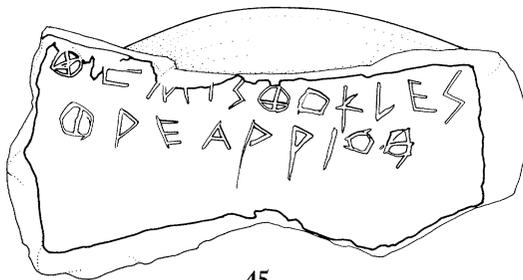
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Figure 21. Late Archaic ostraka
naming Themistokles (42–46) and
Aristeides (47). Scale 1:2

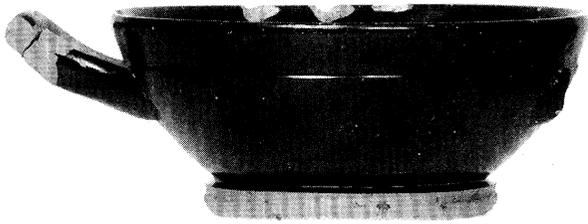


Figure 22. Cups (48, 49) from well J/K 2:1

45 P 32902: Ostrakon Fig. 21

Max. dim. 0.137 m. Handle from a large lekaneis, unglazed outside, glazed inside. Inside, on two lines: Θεμισθοκλῆς / Φρεάριος (final sigma overcut on an *omicron*).

around. On two lines:
[Θε]μισθοκλῆς / [Φ]ρεάριος.

ARISTEIDES

46 P 32549: Ostrakon Fig. 21

Max. dim. 0.083 m. Broken all

47 P 32573: Ostrakon Fig. 21

Max. dim. 0.10 m. Broken all around. On two lines: Ἀριστε. . . / Λυσιμάχης.

Found nearby was a shallow pit (J/K 2:1, see below, Figs. 24, 25), 1.10 m in diameter and 1.36 m deep, containing a small deposit of about a dozen fragmentary black-glazed pieces that seem to date to the time of the Persian sack of 479 B.C. and its immediate aftermath. Made up of a variety of standard household shapes, mostly one-handlers and cup-skyphoi, the group would seem to be domestic in character, with one cup carrying the incised name of the owner, Xenon, on the bottom (Figs. 22, 23).

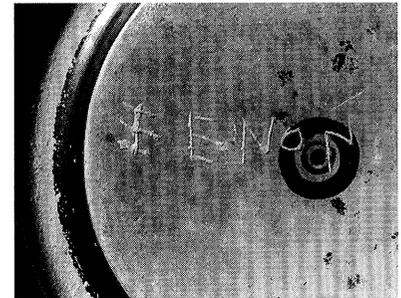


Figure 23. ΞΕΝΟΝ inscribed on underside of cup (48)

48 P 32631: Black-glazed cup-skyphos Figs. 22, 23

Mended, one handle and chips missing. Molded ring foot, canted handles, offset rim inside and out. Underside reserved except for concentric circles around central dot. ΞΕΝΟΝ inscribed across bottom.

Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 578, ca. 480 B.C.

49 P 32630: Black-glazed one-handler Fig. 22

Intact, except for small chips and scratches. Shallow bowl with low ring foot and broad, slightly convex rim.

Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 747, ca. 480 B.C.

This pit, together with the well excavated in 1995, suggests that the area north of the Eridanos was given over largely to private houses in the Late Archaic period.

CLASSICAL COMMERCIAL BUILDING

Exploration continued in the shop building that lies north of the west end of the Stoa Poikile, in particular within the second room from the south, room 2 (Figs. 24, 25). Here we uncovered the foundations for the north wall of the room. The lowest course, some 0.75 m wide, is preserved intact throughout its length, providing a bedding for a superstructure of larger polygonal blocks of Acropolis limestone. These had been robbed out for most of the length of the north wall, as had most of the eastern wall of the room. The south wall of the room was also exposed more fully. It differs

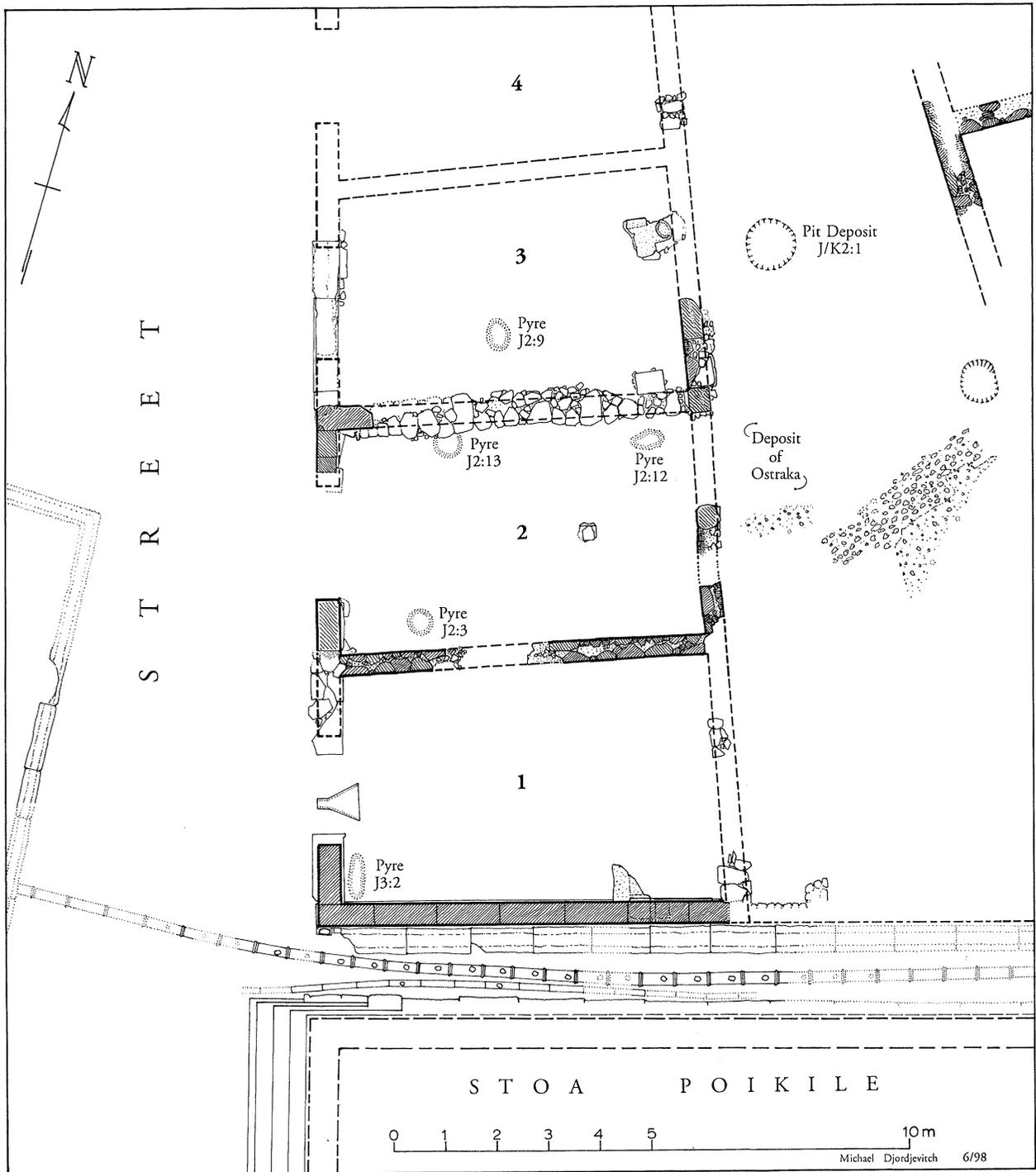


Figure 24. Plan of Classical commercial building

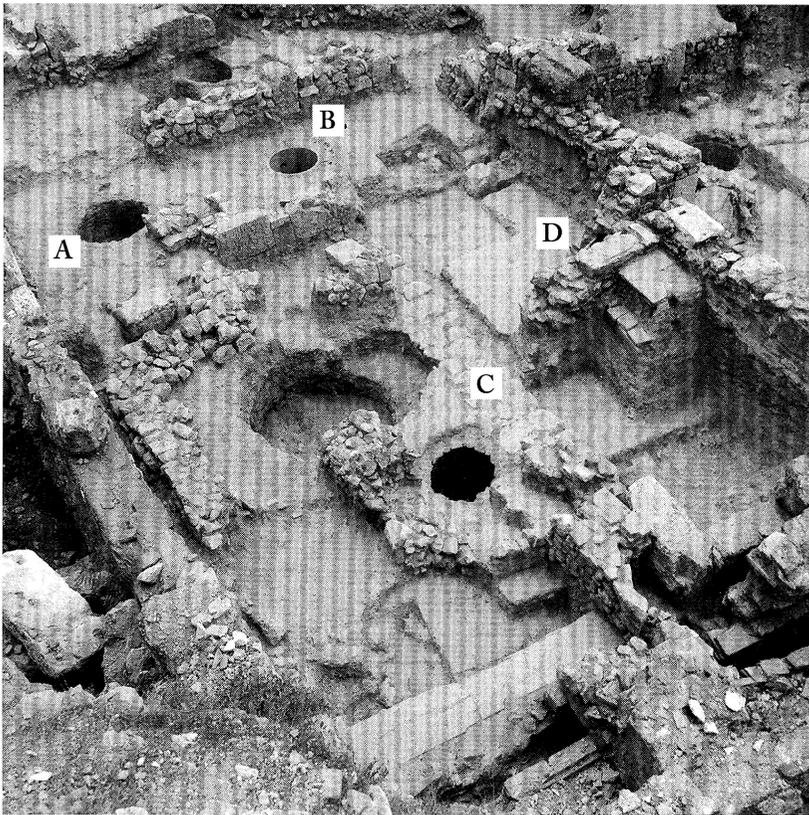


Figure 25. North half of room 2 of the Classical commercial building, with clay floor and Late Roman walls above. (A) pit J/K 2:1; (B) area of ostraka; (C) foundations of north wall of room 2; (D) clay floor of room 2. View from northwest.



Figure 26. Detail of south face of crosswall between rooms 1 and 2

Figure 27. Clay impression taken from a large metal vessel, with cast (50)



from its northern counterpart in that it seems to have been bedded directly on fill rather than set on wider foundations. The wall itself is better preserved, measuring 0.45 m thick and standing to a height of 0.90 m. It is made of polygonal blocks of Acropolis limestone with stacks or “ladders” of smaller stones filling the interstices (Fig. 26). This distinctive style is common in Athenian buildings of the 5th century and in the area of the Agora is paralleled in the House of Simon the Cobbler and the east wall of House B in the so-called industrial district to the southwest.¹⁵

In the southeast corner of the room the walls were still covered with a thin layer of white lime plaster. Several floors of hard-packed clay were encountered undisturbed in parts of the room, corresponding in date to a series of floors found in the adjacent room 1 to the south. The earliest floors in both rooms suggest a construction date late in the 5th century B.C., that is, somewhat after the construction of the Stoa Poikile to the south, with which it is aligned. One of the intermediate floors dated to the late 4th century B.C. and produced more material confirming the suggestion that at least some of the rooms were used for the manufacture and sale of high-quality terracotta pieces. An impression taken in clay from a large metal vessel with a figure in relief (Fig. 27) was among the most interesting items to have been recovered. It shows the upper part of a draped female figure. It is one of several from the Agora and must have been used to make clay applique figures for attachment to pottery vessels.

50 T 4461: Clay impression from metal vessel Fig. 27

Found in room 2 of the Classical commercial building, in a floor fill dating no later than the second half of the 4th century B.C. (J/20, 21-2/13, 14), at 51.81–51.78 masl. Broken at left and below. P.H. 0.08, p.W. 0.085, Th. 0.008–0.009 m. Terracotta impression taken from a metal vessel

(situla) with relief decoration. The prototype showed the upper part of a female figure, heavily draped, facing to the right and looking back to the left. The right hand is held out and bent up, grasping more drapery. Hair held up in curls on forehead and over ears. Above figure: a garland of long thin leaves; above that the rim of the vessel turned out slightly. Fine details of drapery and hair on top of head.

15. For the House of Simon the Cobbler: Thompson 1960; and for House B: Young 1951b, pp. 196–197.

The mold is finished on the right, suggesting it represents the cast of this one figure. The back is uneven but smooth. Dark buff Attic (?) clay.

For a situla similar to the one used to create this piece, see Comstock and Vermeule 1971, pp. 302–303, with fig. 428, and for the close correlation between coroplasts and

potters using prototypes in metal, see B. Barr-Sharrar in Uhlenbrock 1990, pp. 31–36. I am indebted to Prof. Barr-Sharrar for her views on this piece. For terracotta molds based on impressions of this sort, see also the dancing-woman mold from the Kerameikos: Schone-Denkinger 1993, no. 5 (T 923), p. 178 and pl. 33.

In a disturbed area under the floors we also recovered a small marble head of a youth of the Classical period (Fig. 28).

51 S 3465: Small marble head of a youth Fig. 28

Found against the north face of the south wall of room 2 (J/20-2/15, 16). P.H. 0.096, W. 0.075 m. Broken at neck, chips missing from face. The

head is tilted slightly to the figure's left. Hair parted in middle, descending in a series of long waves, bound in a fillet. Very clean break at neck. Large-crystallized white marble.

The style suggests a date late in the 5th century B.C.



Figure 28. Marble head of a youth (51)

Also of interest was the discovery of two well-preserved 4th-century "pyres," one (J 2:9) with twenty-one vases (Figs. 29, 30), the other (J 2:13) with nine pieces. The term "pyre" is something of a misnomer, referring to the remains of an Athenian ritual known only from archaeological excavation. A typical pyre has an area of burning or charcoal and a group of anywhere from three to thirty-six pots, with certain shapes commonly represented: a drinking cup, small saucers, banded plates, a lidded pyxis, and miniature casseroles (lopades) and cooking pots (chytras). A few bones—from sheep, goat, or chicken—along with the cooking pots and signs of burning suggest that the pyres reflect some form of ritual dining. Elsewhere in the Agora these pyres are commonly found in private houses or shops, often carefully buried under the floor. Five such pyres have now come to light in the Classical commercial building, making this the largest concentration of pyres in a single building among the forty or so excavated in the area of the Agora. Whatever ritual they reflect, it was practiced intensively by the Athenians for a limited time, primarily from ca. 375 to 250 B.C.¹⁶ A third pyre (J 2:12), somewhat disturbed, was found in room 2 and seems earlier than the others, bridging the gap between the main group and a unique, very early example of the years around 425 B.C.¹⁷ The date of this new pyre seems to be close to 400 B.C., and most of the vessels are more carefully made and glazed than examples from the other pyres, though the full range of canonical shapes is represented (Fig. 31). The deposit consisted of at least two skyphoi, a lamp, a red-figured squat lekythos, a ribbon-handled plate, a lidded pyxis, three black-glazed miniature saucers, and a miniature chytra. Catalogue entries for eight of these vessels from pyre J 2:12 follow.

52 P 32979: Corinthian-type skyphos Fig. 31

H. 0.083, Diam. 0.093 m. Mended from numerous fragments,

largely complete. Flaring ring foot, horseshoe handles. Area above foot reserved and crosshatched.

Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 322, ca. 400 B.C.

16. For the Agora pyres, see Young 1951a, pp. 67–134 and *Agora* XXIX, pp. 212–214 and graph 9 on p. 486. See also Jordan and Rotroff 1999.

17. B 18:5, Young 1951b, pp. 218–221. The material was found in a house in a shallow pit with burning, all of which are appropriate to a pyre. The group lacks banded plates, miniature saucers, and cooking shapes, however, which are the *sine qua non* of the later pyres; its association therefore remains uncertain.

- 53 L 6008: Lamp Fig. 31
 L. 0.101, H. 0.034 m, Diam. 0.07 m. Mended, complete except for horizontal strap handle. Low disk foot, slightly concave and reserved underneath; vertical wall, broad, inward-sloping rim; long nozzle. Good black glaze.
 Cf. *Agora* IV, Type 23, no. 228, early 4th century B.C.
- 54 P 32980: Red-figured squat lekythos Fig. 31
 H. 0.087, Diam. 0.052 m. Complete except for chips. Ring foot with concave molding on inner face, reserved underneath; plump body. Neck offset from shoulder. On front, a reclining deer, facing left.
 Shape similar to *Agora* XII, no. 1123, ca. 425 B.C.
- 55 P 32981: Banded, ribbon-handled plate Fig. 31
 Diam. 0.133, H. 0.027 m. Mended, chips missing. Small ring foot, broad open plate, unglazed except for handles, three glazed circles and central dot within.
- 56 P 32982: Lid from a bowl Fig. 31
 H. 0.04, Diam. 0.069 m. Vertical rim, slightly domed cover, knob handle with concave moldings.
 Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1276 (first quarter of the 4th century B.C.) and P 19299 (Young 1951a, p. 117, nos. 3, 5). Full profile preserved of the accompanying lidded bowl in pottery lot, with offset lip to receive lid.
- 57 P 32983: Miniature saucer Fig. 31
 H. 0.018, Diam. 0.084 m. Mended, complete. Low disk foot, curving side walls, plain rim. Totally glazed.
- 58 P 32984: Miniature saucer Fig. 31
 H. 0.016, Diam. 0.08 m. Mended, complete. Same shape as 57. Fragments of a third example in the pottery lots.
- 59 P 32985: Miniature chytra Fig. 31
 H. 0.05, Diam. 0.08 m. Mended, almost complete. Low squat body, rounded underside, outturned lip. Cooking-ware fabric, somewhat discolored (from burning?) outside on bottom.



Figure 29. Pyre J 2:9, as found in situ



Further to the north, behind the Classical commercial building, we continued to recover debris from the coroplast's factory, first encountered in 1994. Dozens of fragments of terracotta figurines and molds of the late 1st century A.C. were found, mostly very worn and in fragmentary condition, including a second piece incised with the name of the fabricant, Markos. One piece, the head of a philosopher (Fig. 32), was found to the east of room 2 and is better preserved than most. Above the material from the coroplast's dump we found evidence of activity from the 4th and 5th centuries A.C., in the form of walls and pottery. A deep pit or well was partially excavated and produced large amounts of household material of the second half of the 4th century A.C.: pottery, lamps, coins, glass, and a handsome terracotta figurine of Aphrodite (Fig. 33).

60 T 4386: Terracotta head
of a philosopher Fig. 32

Found in fill of Early Roman
date east of room 2 (K/3, 4-2/13, 14,
at ca. 52.25 m). P.H. 0.038, W. 0.019
m. Broken at neck. Front half of a

molded terracotta male head. Facial
features of a philosopher: bald, with
high forehead, heavy brows, deep-set
eyes and mouth, broad nose, and long
mustache and beard. Pinkish red, fine
fabric, with traces of added white and
pink paint.

Figure 30 (*top*). Material from
pyre J 2:9

Figure 31 (*above*). Material from
pyre J 2:12 (52-59)



Figure 32. Terracotta head of a
philosopher (60)



Figure 33. Terracotta figurine of Aphrodite (61)

61 T 4426: Terracotta
figurine of Aphrodite Fig. 33
From K 1:4 (pit at K/2, 3-1/10,
11). H. 0.151, W. 0.057 m. Two
joining fragments make up complete

figurine. Standing Aphrodite with
hands holding a tress of hair on
either side of head. Drapery wrapped
around legs. Dark orange clay, slipped
white all over, overpainted yellow on
drapery.

The figurine represents the well-known anadyomene type, holding out her hair with both hands. We now have three such examples from the area, two of the 1st century A.C., one of the 4th, perhaps suggesting that these were manufactured for centuries for use as votives or souvenirs associated with the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania just to the south.¹⁸ The material from the pit is similar in date and composition to groups of debris (I-J 2-3:1) found just west of the Temple of Aphrodite, apparently reflecting the destruction of Athens by Alaric and his Visigoths in A.D. 396.¹⁹ Higher up we encountered debris from the devastation of the area at the hands of the Slavs late in the 6th century A.C., a destruction that marks the end of ancient Athens.

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18. For one of the Early Roman figures of Aphrodite (T 4367), see Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 18, and pl. 70; the other (T 4407), fragmentary and mended from three pieces, is very similar to T 4367.

19. Cf. Shear 1997, p. 511.

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