

# THE SYMPOSIUM IN CONTEXT

Pottery from a Late Archaic House  
near the Athenian Agora

KATHLEEN M. LYNCH

HESPERIA  
SUPPLEMENT

46

## THE SYMPOSIUM IN CONTEXT

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*Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the  
Athenian Agora*



KATHLEEN M. LYNCH

*The American School of Classical Studies at Athens*

2011

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Cover illustration: Type C cup showing komast with skyphos (P 32420),  
500–480 B.C. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Lynch, Kathleen M.

The symposium in context : pottery from a late archaic house near the Athenian  
agora / Kathleen M. Lynch.

p. cm. — (Hesperia supplement ; 46)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-87661-546-1 (alk. paper)

1. Athens (Greece)—Antiquities—Catalogs. 2. Agora (Athens, Greece—  
Antiquities—Catalogs. 3. Excavations (Archaeology)—Greece—Athens. 4. Pottery,  
Greek—Greece—Athens—Catalogs. 5. Symposium (Classical Greek drinking  
party) I. Title

DF287.A23L96 2011

938'.5—dc23

2011030246

*For my spouse*



## CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
List of Tables	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
 <i>Chapter 1</i>	
INTRODUCTION	1
 <i>Chapter 2</i>	
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF WELL J 2:4	5
 <i>Chapter 3</i>	
QUANTIFYING THE HOUSEHOLD ASSEMBLAGE	49
 <i>Chapter 4</i>	
THE SYMPOTIC CONTEXT PART I: DRINKING VESSELS	75
 <i>Chapter 5</i>	
THE SYMPOTIC CONTEXT PART II: SERVICE VESSELS AND ACCESSORIES	125
 <i>Chapter 6</i>	
HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES OTHER THAN THE SYMPOSIUM	147
 <i>Chapter 7</i>	
CONCLUSIONS AND CONTEXTS	167
 CATALOGUE	177
 <i>Appendix I</i>	
TRANSPORT AMPHORAS FROM WELL J 2:4 by Mark L. Lawall	295
 <i>Appendix II</i>	
VOLUME STUDIES	327



*Appendix III***THE FOOT IN THE WELL WITH OSTEOLOGICAL  
IDENTIFICATION**

329

*by* Lisa M. Little

References	333
General Index	351
Index of Catalogued Objects	369
Index of Deposits	375
Index of BZ Context Lots	377

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Plan of the Athenian Agora ca. 480, with Persian destruction deposits indicated	6
2. Northwest corner of the Agora, partially restored plan	7
3. Detail, state plan of sanctuary of Aphrodite and Roman temple	8
4. View of excavation of sanctuary of Aphrodite and Roman temple to the north	9
5. Simplified stratigraphic section of well J 2:4	10
6. Red-figured shapes expressed as percentage of total red-figure component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of red-figured shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris deposits combined	24
7. Black-figured shapes expressed as a percentage of total black-figure component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of black-figured shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris deposits combined	24
8. Black-glazed shapes expressed as a percentage of total black-glaze component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of black-glazed shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris deposits combined	25
9. Detail of Figure 3, with plan of the Archaic phase of the house of well J 2:4	30
10. Detail of Figure 3, with plan of the Classical phase of the house of well J 2:4	31
11. Simplified north-south stratigraphic cross-section at J/3	33
12. Simplified north-south stratigraphic cross-section at J/6	34

13. Simplified east–west cross-section along southern edge of Roman temple cross-wall	35
14. Percentage of different wares in the total assemblage of J 2:4 compared to their percentages in other domestic deposits, a commercial deposit, and a pit with public debris	45
15. Percentage of different wares and of pottery by function in the total assemblage of J 2:4 compared to the total assemblages excavated at the Dema and Vari houses	47
16. Household pottery by function	70
17. Proportions of drinking cups in household and in entire deposit	71
18. Household wares: proportions by form and in entire deposit	72
19. Mean number of kylixes in early-6th-century and late-6th–early-5th-century deposits from the Agora excavations	172
20. Amphoras 1, 2	179
21. Amphoriskos 3	180
22. Stamnos 4	182
23. Trefoil oinochoe 5	184
24. Kalpis 6	186
25. Lekythos 7	186
26. Lekythos 8	187
27. Lekythos 9	187
28. Lekythos 10	188
29. Lekythos 11	189
30. Lekythoi 12–14	190
31. Lekythos 15	191
32. Lekythos 16	192
33. Lekythos 17	192
34. Lekythos 18	193
35. Lekythos 19	193
36. Lekythos 20	194
37. Lekythos 21	194
38. Closed vessel 22	195
39. Omphalos phiale 23	195
40. Phiale 24	196

41. Stand 25	196
42. Dinos or louterion(?) 26	197
43. Open shape 27	197
44. Skyphos 28, Heron Class	198
45. Skyphoi 29, 30, Heron Class	200
46. Skyphos 31, Heron Class	201
47. Skyphos 32, Ure's Class C1 or D1	201
48. Skyphos 33, Heron Class	202
49. Skyphos 34, Heron Class?	202
50. Skyphoi 35–37, Ure's Class D or E	203
51. Skyphoi 38–43, Ure's Class D or E	204
52. Skyphos 44, Ure's Class E?	206
53. Cup-skyphos 45, Ure's Class K2	206
54. Cup-skyphos 46, Ure's Class K2	207
55. Cup-skyphos 47, Ure's Class K2	208
56. Cup-skyphoi 48, 49, Ure's Class K2	209
57. Cup-skyphos 50, Ure's Class K2	209
58. Cup-skyphos 51, Ure's Class K2	210
59. Cup-skyphos 52, Ure's Class K2	210
60. Cup-skyphoi 53–55, Ure's Class K2	211
61. Skyphos 56, Ure's Class K2	211
62. Cup-skyphos 57, Ure's Class K2	212
63. Cup-skyphos 58, Ure's Class K2	212
64. Cup-skyphos 59, Ure's Class K2	213
65. Cup-skyphos 60, Ure's Class K2	213
66. Cup-skyphos 61, Ure's Class K2	213
67. Cup-skyphos 62, Ure's Class K2	214
68. Cup-skyphos 63, Ure's Class K2	214
69. Cup-skyphoi 64, 65, Ure's Class K2	215
70. Cup-skyphos 66, Ure's Class K2	216
71. Skyphos 67, uncertain form(?); skyphoi 68, 69 pinch base?; skyphos 70	217
72. Cup-skyphos 71	217

73. Protocorinthian kotyle 72	218
74. Cup 73, Type A or Sub-A	218
75. Cup 74, Type A or Sub-A	219
76. Cup 75, Type A?; cup, 76, Type Sub-A?	219
77. Cup? 77; unidentified open shape (plate?) 78	220
78. Lekanis lid 79	221
79. Lid 80	222
80. Thymiaterion 81	222
81. Miniature hydria 82; miniature Corinthian kotyle 83	223
82. Pelike 84	225
83. Closed vessel (pelike?) 85; closed shape (chous?) 86	227
84. Cup 87, Type B or C	228
85. Cup 88, Type B or C	229
86. Cup 89, Type C	231
87. Cup 90, Type C	233
88. Cup 91, Type C	234
89. Cup 92, Type C	236
90. Cup 93, Type C	237
91. Cup 94, Type C	238
92. Cup 95, Type C	239
93. Cups 96–100	240
94. Cups 101–103	242
95. One-piece amphora 104, Type B	243
96. One-piece amphora 105, Type B	244
97. Pelikai 106–108	245
98. Psykter 109	246
99. Psykters 110, 111	247
100. Trefoil oinochoai 112, 113	248
101. Jugs 114, 115	249
102. Trefoil olpe 116	250
103. Olpe 117; banded olpe 118	251
104. Banded olpe 119	252

105. Mug 120	252
106. Skyphoi 121, 122	253
107. Cup-skyphoi 123–125	254
108. Skyphos 126	255
109. One-handler 127	256
110. Type C cups 128–130, concave lip	257
111. Type C cup 131, concave lip	257
112. Type C cups 132–136, plain rim	259
113. Type C cups 137, 138	260
114. Type C cup 139	261
115. Vicup 140	261
116. Stemmed dish 141	262
117. Stemmed dishes 142–144	263
118. Stemmed dish 145	264
119. Stemmed dish 146, concave lip	264
120. Stemmed dish 147, chalice shape	265
121. Salt cellar 148, convex wall	265
122. Salt cellar 149, convex wall	265
123. Salt cellar 150, concave wall	266
124. Salt cellar/small bowl 151	266
125. Bowl 152	267
126. Bowls 153, 154	267
127. Covered bowls 155, 156; lekanis 157	268
128. Lekanis lid 158	269
129. Lekanis lids 159–162	270
130. Psykter lid 163; lid 164, for covered bowl?	271
131. Lid or bowl? 165	272
132. Askos 166; unguent pot 167; disk 168	273
133. Stand 169	274
134. Ring 170	274
135. “Argive” monochrome juglet 171	274
136. Kados 172	275

137. Jug 173	276
138. Trefoil jug 174; jug 175	277
139. Jugs 177, 178	278
140. Water jar 179	279
141. Lekane 180	279
142. Lekanai 181, 182	280
143. Bowl 183	281
144. Chytrai 184, 185	282
145. Chytra 186	282
146. Chytra 187	283
147. Cooking bell 188	284
148. Lamp 189, Type 2 B	284
149. Lamp 190, Type 16 B	285
150. Lamp 191, Type 16 B	285
151. Lamps 192, 193, Type 16 B	286
152. Lamp 194, Type 16 B or 21 A	286
153. Lamps 195, Type 19?; 196, Type 19 A; 197, Type 20	287
154. Female plaque figurine 198	288
155. Female head protome 199	289
156. Seated female 200	289
157. Seated female 201	289
158. Herm 202	290
159. Quadripped 203; fragment of a horse? 204; fragment of human figurine? 205	290
160. Loomweights 206–208	291
161. Spindle whorl 209	291
162. Astragaloi 210–214	292
163. Bone disk 215	292
164. Clay stopper 216	293
165. Lead sheet 217	293
I.1. Attic SOS amphora neck A1	297
I.2. Attic <i>à la brosse</i> A2	298
I.3. Corinthian A3 and A4	299

I.4. Corinthian A5	299
I.5. Corcyrean A6 and A7	301
I.6. Chian A8	303
I.7. Chian A9	303
I.8. Chian(?) A10 with graffito	303
I.9. Southeastern Aegean A11, A12, and A13	305
I.10. Southeastern Aegean? A14 and Southeastern Aegean A15	306
I.11. Wide lower surface, rounded rim A16	307
I.12. Northern Aegean A17 and A18	309
I.13. Northern Aegean A19	309
I.14. Northern Aegean A20 and A21	310
I.15. Northern Aegean A22 and A23	311
I.16. Northern Aegean A24	311
I.17. Northern Aegean A25 and A26	312
I.18. Northern Aegean A27 and A28	312
I.19. Lesbos-Region A29, A30, and A31	313
I.20. South Italian A32	314
I.21. Unattributed body sherds with graffiti A33, A34, and A35	315
I.22. Relative frequencies of identified amphora types in J 2:4, by level and in total	319
I.23. Relative frequencies of identified amphora types in other Persian sack deposits	320
I.24. Relative frequencies of identified amphora types in deposits closed ca. 490 or earlier	320
I.25. Counts of diagnostic fragments grouped according to broader regions in the levels of J 2:4 and in the deposit as a whole	322
I.26. Counts of diagnostic fragments grouped according to broader regions in the J 2:4 and other Persian sack deposits	323
I.27. Counts of diagnostic fragments grouped according to broader regions in deposits closed ca. 490 or earlier	323
III.1. Human skeletal remains visual inventory	330



**COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS***(following page 90)*

1. Red-figured and black-glazed cups
2. Black-figured and black-glazed cup-skyphoi
3. Type C cup (89), detail
4. Type C cup (90), detail
5. Type C cup (91), detail
6. Type C cup (92), detail
7. Type C cup, concave lip (93), detail
8. Skyphos, Heron Class (28)
9. Type C cup (95), side view and detail
10. Type B or C cup (87)
11. Misfired objects from well J 2:4
12. Skyphos, Ure's Class K2 (45)
13. Pelike (84)
14. Omphalos phiale, Six's technique (23), detail

## TABLES

1. Stratigraphy of Well J 2:4	11
2. Catalogued Objects by Levels	12–14
3. Cleanup Deposits	22
4. Diagnostic Sherd Counts by Level	52–61
5. Summary of Maximum and Minimum Number of Vessels by Level within Well J 2:4	62–65
6. Pottery and Artifacts Probably Originating in the House of Well J 2:4	66–67
7. Proportions of Cooking-Ware Water-Jar Types Using Rim and Handle Counts	73
8. Kylikes in Archaic Deposits from the Athenian Agora Excavations	171
I.1. Well J 2:4, Level 5: Distribution of Amphora Types	316
I.2. Well J 2:4, Level 4: Distribution of Amphora Types	317
I.3. Well J 2:4, Level 2: Distribution of Amphora Types	317
I.4. Well J 2:4, Level 1: Distribution of Amphora Types	318
I.5. Diagnostic Amphora Fragments from Selected Agora Deposits, with Closing Dates Late in the 6th Century and ca. 480 B.C.	321
I.6. Amphora Types Grouped into Broader Regions, Comparing Well J 2:4 (Levels 1, 2, 4, and 5) with Other Deposits	321
I.7. Evenness Scores Comparing Pre-Persian with Persian Sack Contexts	325



## INTRODUCTION

In 1993, during excavation within the substantial foundations of the Roman podium temple north of the Agora square, excavators found the remains of a private house built in the Late Archaic period.<sup>1</sup> Late in the 1994 season, continued excavations in that area revealed the top of a well within the house. From the first bucketful of figured pottery it was clear that this would be an exciting find. The well, deposit J 2:4, was cleared to the bottom in the subsequent season (1995). All artifacts from the well deposit were kept, producing 48 tins of context pottery and 233 inventoried objects.<sup>2</sup> The material in the well fits the profile of Persian destruction deposits as described by T. Leslie Shear Jr., and thus becomes the twenty-second such closed deposit from the Athenian Agora and the first within the new excavation area north of Hadrian Street.<sup>3</sup> This is the first Agora well from the Late Archaic or Early Classical period for which all excavated material was saved, and thus presents an unusually complete view of an Athenian household assemblage. Although domestic plain-ware pottery abounds in every excavation, this is the first opportunity to study the relationship between typical household wares and figured wares. Most significantly, this deposit provides evidence for the use of figured wares for symposia in an Athenian domestic setting.<sup>4</sup>

The goal of this project is to contextualize the material from deposit J 2:4. Contextual studies of artifacts aim to situate the artifacts in their temporal, spatial, and/or cultural environment in order to understand better their association with other artifacts and cultural activities.<sup>5</sup> The method of reestablishing context varies according to the particular aspect of “context” to be considered, for there are numerous dimensions to an artifact’s context. First, there is archaeological context: the physical environment

1. All dates in this study are B.C., unless otherwise noted.

2. Wet sieving and soil flotation were performed, but no significant data resulted.

3. Shear 1993.

4. Scholars have recognized a need for archaeological data for symposia in

Greek households for some time; see Fisher 2000, pp. 360–361. Cahill (2002a, pp. 180–182, 186) had to compare his domestic Olynthian sympotic assemblages to the material published in Rotroff and Oakley 1992, a public not private sympotic assemblage, since this was the most comparable data

available at the time.

5. Whitley (1994, pp. 52–53) discusses the application of context to pottery studies. See also Hodder 1991, pp. 121–155. On the relationship between original context and archaeological formation processes, see Schiffer 1987.

from which the artifact was excavated. The archaeological context includes stratigraphy, features, relationship to other artifacts (kept or not), soil type, and floral and faunal remains. Archaeological context, then, is a type of spatial and temporal context. It can provide relative information about the use and abandonment of the object, including its chronological context. Archaeological context, in turn, provides information about the artifact's use within the culture by associating it with specific activity strata and other artifacts contained within them. A group of artifacts found together, some of which functioned in complement, is an assemblage, and the types of objects within the archaeological assemblage also reflect the artifact use at the location.

Beyond the archaeological context, there are more artifact-specific contexts, such as chronological, typological, stylistic, and iconographic. Studies of an artifact's formal characteristics can place the object in a developmental framework. Development can, in turn, elucidate change and prompt questions regarding the process of and motivation for change. In addition, placing figured wares in their iconographic context permits inquiries that aim to understand the meaning of the images to the culture in general and to the creators and viewers of the images in particular. Although some images—for example, those that are taken as straight forward illustrations of an activity—can be studied without concern for their milieu, such study fails to explore fully the power of image design to impart cultural meaning. Only after the image has been placed in the context of iconographic trends and painter preferences will meaningful patterns appear. Additional contexts such as correlations between shape and image will illuminate further meaning.

Finally, context of use, perhaps the most vital of contexts, refers to the occasion, place, purpose, and user of the artifact in antiquity. In the case of pottery, a reconstruction of context of use focuses on who used the object, when, and for what purpose. This includes cultural uses such as the symposium, cooking, transportation, or storage. Examination of context of use emphasizes the interactive role of the objects in activities. We ask how the objects reflect their social use while simultaneously defining the nature of that social activity. For figured objects, a study of context of use allows us to associate the imagery with an activity: Is there a relation? If so, what is the nature of that relation?<sup>6</sup> To what extent does the intended use affect image choice? This last question is tied to the iconographic context discussed above: patterns of images can be associated with specific use contexts, thus allowing us to investigate the nature and meaning of the patterns.

The past decades have seen the study of Greek pottery embrace the concept of contextualization. Numerous conference proceedings have had “pottery and context” as their themes, with papers relating to various aspects of context from workshop to iconographic to geographic.<sup>7</sup> Monographs and exhibitions, also, have explored pottery in the context of its export and even its reception in modern times.<sup>8</sup> The goal is to move away from description and cataloguing into analysis and discussion.<sup>9</sup> This trend is welcomed by current scholars who want to know as much about “why” as “what,” and in particular, want to rediscover the “who.”<sup>10</sup> Excavation pottery is especially

6. See Gell 1998, but also Layton 2003 and Bowden 2004.

7. Oakley et al. 1997; Villaneuva-Puig et al. 1999; Scheffer 2001a; Schmaltz and Söldner 2003; Bentz and Reusser 2004; Marconi 2004; La Genière 2006; Nørskov et al. 2009; Oakley and Palagia 2009; Tsingarida 2009. Some papers in Brijder 1984 and Christiansen and Melander 1988 address context.

8. Nørskov 2002; Reusser 2002; Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003; Bentz and Reusser 2004.

9. Yet, description and cataloguing go hand in hand with analysis and cannot be abandoned. Without the typological and chronological frameworks established for the study of figured wares, observations of patterns associated with use and meaning would be impossible.

10. Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003, pp. 15–16.

well suited for engaging the issue of contexts because it usually comes from a documented archaeological context that can inform some aspect of its context of use or production.<sup>11</sup>

It is the goal of the current project to utilize the full “contextual” power of pottery and to consider the interrelationships between the various contexts discussed above. In particular, this study considers to what extent the context of use—in this case, activities within a house—affects the choice of shape and imagery of figured pottery. Frequently, art-historical studies of the stylistic context of figured pottery—particularly studies of painters and iconography—do not consider archaeological find context or context of use.<sup>12</sup> The key to the current project is the recognition that pottery is made for a purpose, no matter how broad, which permits us to ask how much the intended cultural purpose affects stylistic characteristics of the pottery. Specifically, how does the figured ware function within the context of activities in this house, and how does its iconography relate to these activities? The sum of these considerations of archaeological and stylistic contexts will be a broader understanding of the cultural meaning of the pottery in use in an Archaic Athenian house.

This study is organized according to the different contexts into which the material from well J 2:4 can be placed. The archaeological context is considered first, in discussions of the house of well J 2:4 (Chapter 2) and the contents of the well (Chapter 3). Second, I consider the sympotic context and how the pottery forms and their decoration relate to the practice of communal drinking in this house (Chapters 4 and 5). Third, I look at the everyday domestic context and the artifacts needed to run a household in Late Archaic Athens (Chapter 6). The final section (Chapter 7) gathers all of the information together to consider the larger social context. A Catalogue and three appendices follow.

In sum, the multifaceted approach to the material record proposed here permits an interdisciplinary study that harnesses archaeological data with art-historical and cultural studies. The objective is to show that meaning and use are inherently related, and that through archaeology we can restore a context of use for a class of objects frequently studied in isolation.

11. Ann Steiner (1998), in her review of *Agora XXX*, observes that “excavation pottery begs to have its character analyzed in terms of its context and use.”

12. E.g., Neer 2002; Ferrari 2002.



## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF WELL J 2:4

Well J 2:4 is located within the northern extension of the Athenian Agora excavations, north of the Piraeus–Kiphissia railroad tracks and across Hadrian Street (Figs. 1–4). Situated within the rubble foundations of a Roman podium temple,<sup>1</sup> the well and its house lie in a neighborhood formed by the intersection of the Panathenaic Way to the south and a north–south street to the east (Fig. 2). Between the house and the Panathenaic Way lies the Archaic altar of Aphrodite, presumably within a sacred precinct (Figs. 2–4).<sup>2</sup> This chapter will first examine the well and its stratigraphy, then the house it served, and conclude with a discussion of the chronology of the house and well and the identification of the well fill as Persian destruction cleanup debris.

### WELL J 2:4

#### STRATIGRAPHY

As preserved, well J 2:4 is a 5.80 m shaft cut into soft bedrock (Fig. 5). The wellhead does not survive in situ, and the ground level at the time of use is not precisely known, although the excavator noticed a patch of light clay bordering the top of the shaft on the east side, which he suggested may represent contemporary ground level.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the well was recognized at 51.03 m above sea level, which probably approximates original ground level.<sup>4</sup> The top of the cylindrical shaft is cut through fill on the northern side, but below and on all other sides it is cut into the soft, gray bedrock. The shaft had a fieldstone lining, with individual stones ca. 15–30 cm long, preserved to a height of 49.00 m above sea level on the north and 49.40 m above sea level on the south and east. This lining technique is not unknown for the Archaic period at Athens, but it is rare and indicates particular care in the construction of the well.<sup>5</sup> The interior diameter of the lined portion of the well was 1.05 m at 49.00 m above sea level and 0.92 m at 48.30 m above sea level. The northwestern side of the shaft had collapsed, displacing the fieldstones and permitting a section of the bedrock to fall away. With the collapse of the lining and the intrusion of later features, it is difficult to estimate the precise diameter of the well at

1. Shear 1997, pp. 485–507; excavated as section BZ.

2. For the altar of Aphrodite, see Shear 1984, pp. 24–33; for excavations in this general area, see Shear 1984, 1997; Camp 1996, 1999, 2007.

3. Pfaff 1994, p. 1.

4. This elevation agrees with the elevation of floor levels in the southeastern room, suggesting that the top of the well as excavated is close to its original surface level.

5. Camp 1977, p. 177 and n. 6. Of the 62 Archaic wells Camp studied, only four had stone linings. Well Q 21:3, mentioned below, was one of those four.



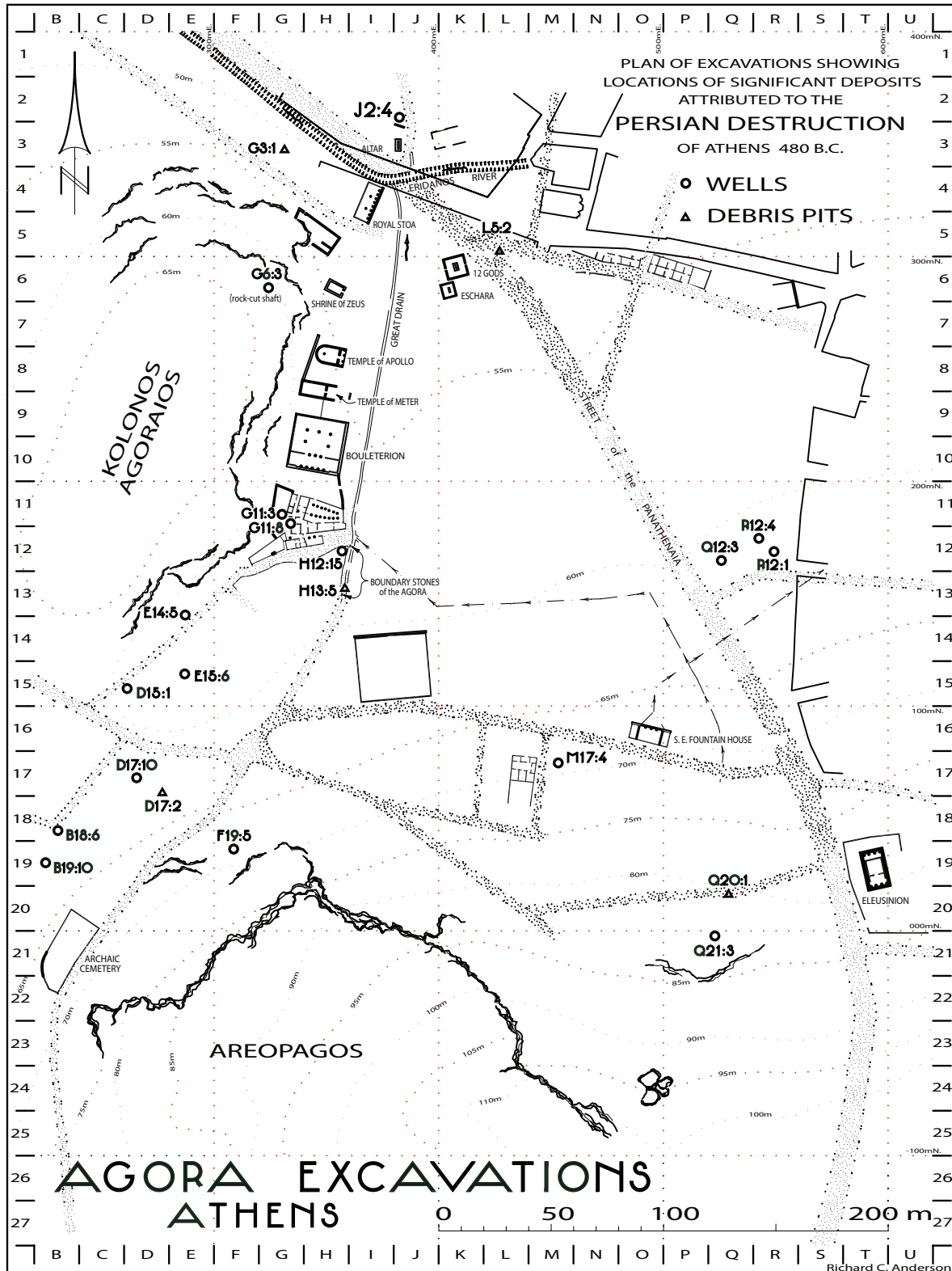


Figure 1. Plan of the Athenian Agora  
ca. 480, with Persian destruction  
deposits indicated. R. Anderson

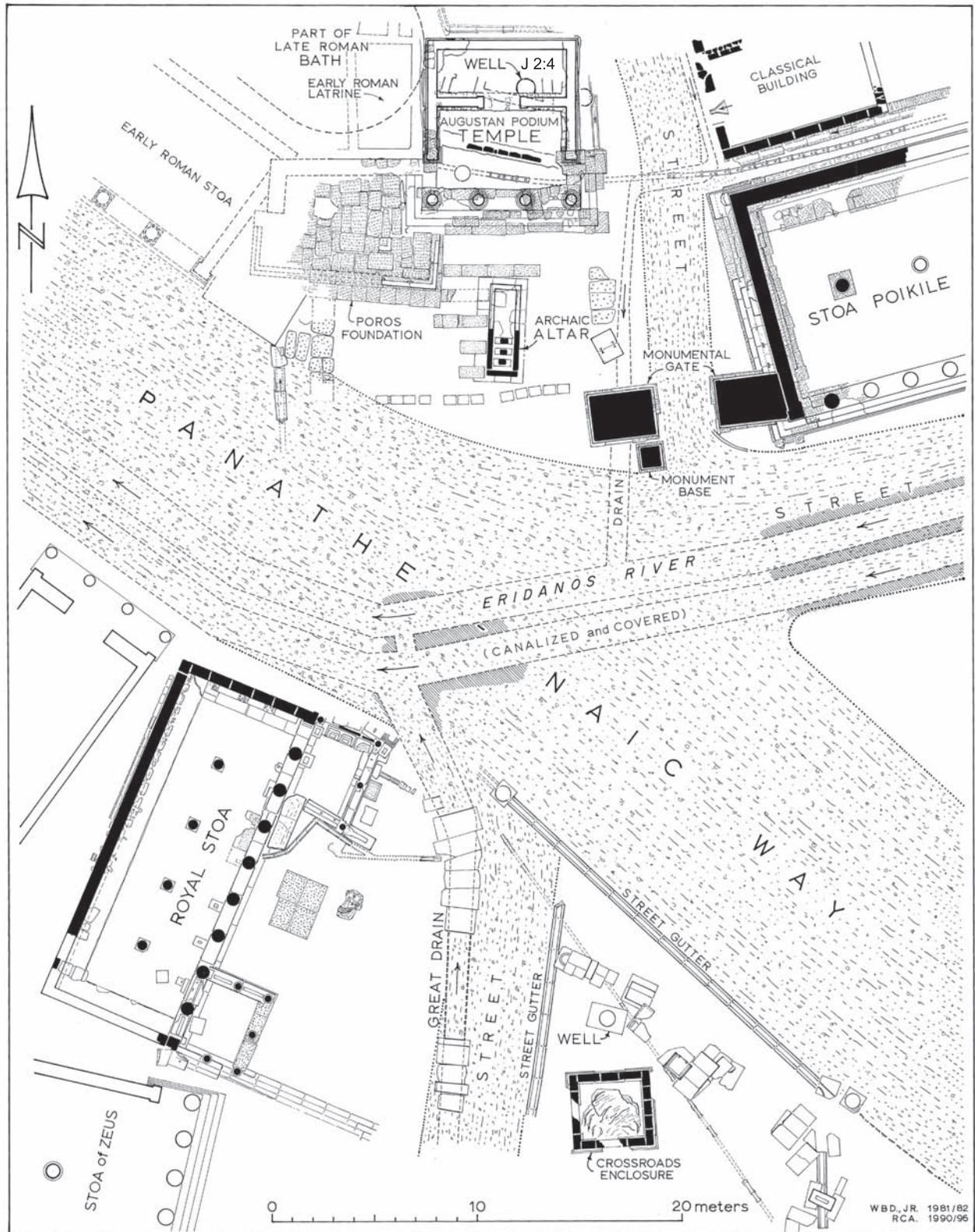


Figure 2. Northwest corner of the  
Agora, partially restored plan.  
Shear 1997, fig. 1

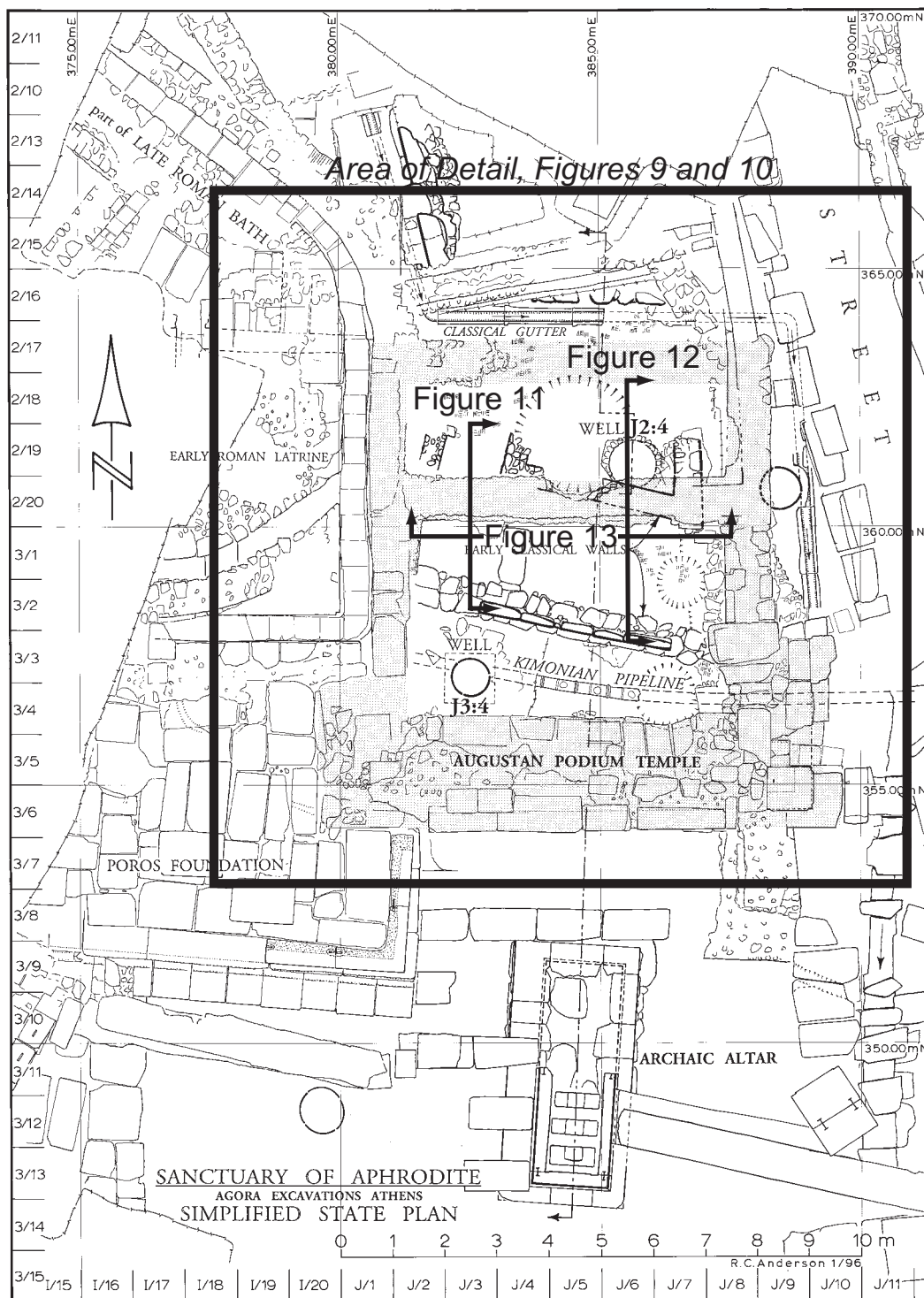


Figure 3. Detail, state plan of sanctuary of Aphrodite and Roman temple. Plan of Roman temple indicated in gray. Area within box enlarged in Figures 9 and 10. Lines indicate orientation of stratigraphic sections in Figures 11, 12, and 13. Author after Camp 1996, fig. 5



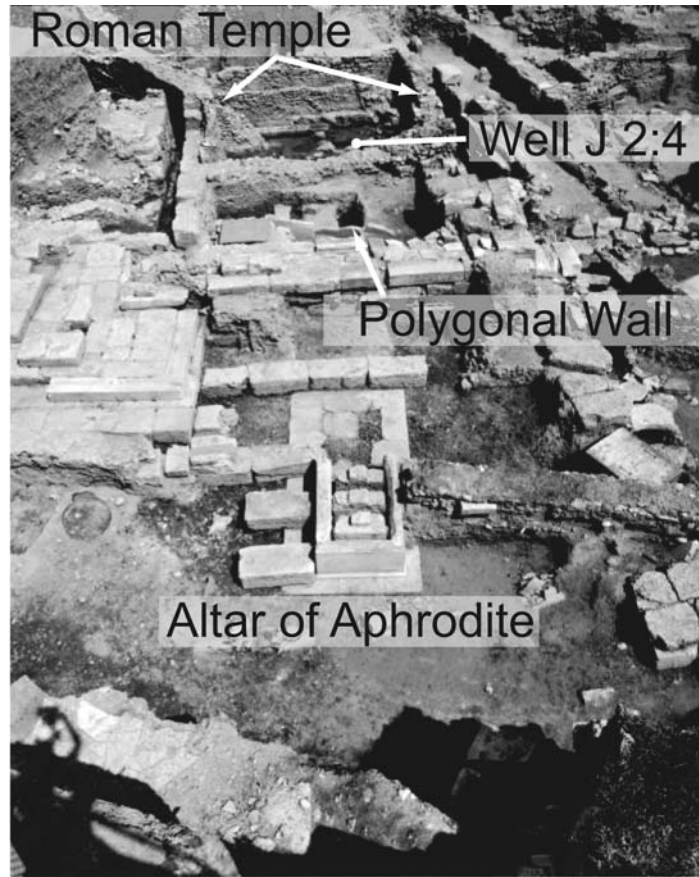


Figure 4. View of excavation of sanctuary of Aphrodite and Roman temple to the north. Agora Excavations

its mouth, but ca. 1.00 m is likely. The excavator did note that the sides of the uppermost portion of the shaft descended vertically for about one meter, then sloped outward for another meter so that the actual diameter of the shaft (without the fieldstone lining) at 49.00 m above sea level was 1.50 m. It is possible that the original builders of the shaft recognized the danger of the soft, unstable bedrock and then shored the well up with the reinforcement of the fieldstone lining.

A nearby Submycenaean grave sheds light on the chronology of the collapse of the fieldstone lining. Among the pottery from the period of use deposit in the well (Level 6, see below) the excavators encountered twelve bones of a human foot dispersed from 46.60 to 45.23 m above sea level. Two years later, in the 1997 season, excavators found a Submycenaean inhumation grave, J 2:11, west of the well, and abutting the northwest edge of the excavated well shaft.<sup>6</sup> The bottom of this grave was reached at a level of ca. 49.90 m above sea level, which is slightly higher than the collapsed level of fieldstone lining on this side of the well, approximately 49.00 m above sea level. It seems that the original builders of well J 2:4 missed the Submycenaean grave by centimeters, and the weakened bedrock between the two features soon gave way, dislodging the fieldstone lining. Grave J 2:11 was excavated with the assistance of a physical anthropologist, who recognized that the inhumed skeleton lacked a left foot.<sup>7</sup> After the initial collapse of the fieldstones and bedrock, the skeleton's foot dropped into the well and settled among the period of use fill in the well.<sup>8</sup> Since the foot bones were distributed in the well from 46.60 m to 45.23 m above sea level, the bones must

6. Camp 1999, p. 265. A second, similar grave, J 2:10, was found 1.5 m north of the well in 1996; see Camp 1999, pp. 263–265.

7. Skeleton AA 343; see Appendix III for full analysis.

8. See deposit P 8:5, a well filled with material of the 6th century with the exception of a Mycenaean feeder, *Agora XIII*, p. 264, no. 490, pl. 64 (P 12680), and a Mycenaean figurine (T 1653). The excavators speculate that well diggers disturbed a child's burial of the Mycenaean period; see Shear 1939, p. 212, fig. 11.

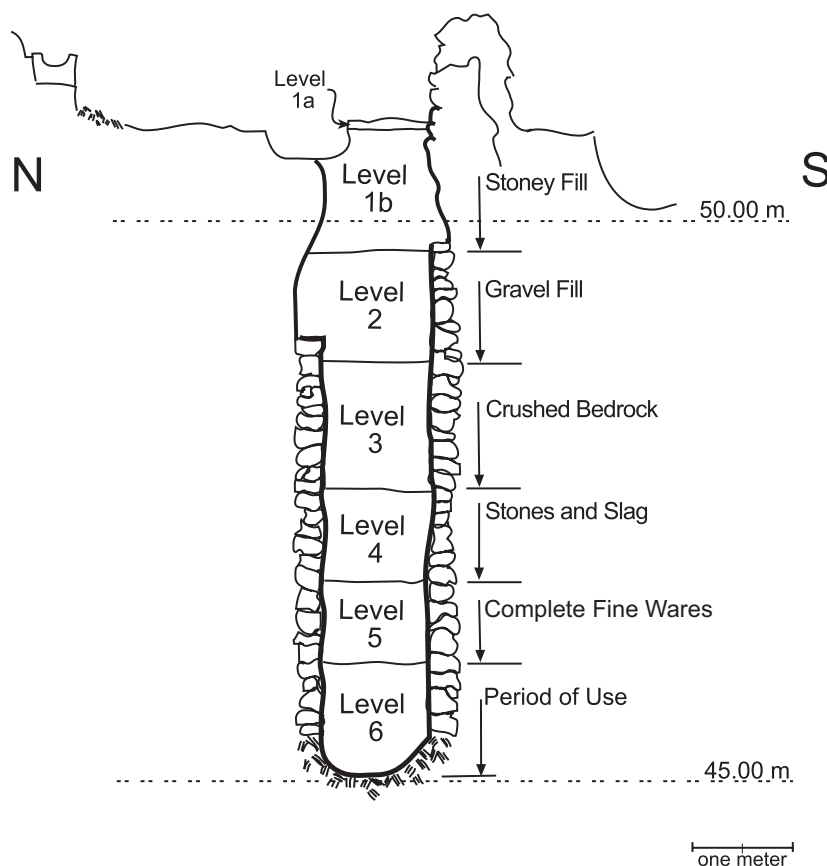


Figure 5. Simplified stratigraphic section of well J 2:4, looking east. Author after Camp 1996, fig. 6

have fallen into the well slowly over the period of the well's use. The highest fragment of the foot was found within the lowest dumped fill deposited intentionally during the post-Persian destruction cleanup operation (Level 5, see below). The correspondence of the foot bone with the lowest level of cleanup debris suggests that the bones—and possibly bedrock—continued to fall into the well throughout the period of use down to the closing of the well with the destruction debris. Since the foot bones were present throughout the period of use, this indicates that the well continued to be used after the partial collapse of the fieldstone lining and bedrock wall.<sup>9</sup>

The fill of the well has a recognizable stratigraphy with six distinguishable levels, the bottommost being the period of use deposit (see Fig. 5 and Tables 1 and 2).<sup>10</sup> The pottery from the upper five levels represents fill deposited intentionally soon after the Persian destruction of Athens. Each "Level" (e.g., Level 1) represents a continuous portion of the deposit with generally similar characteristics. The levels are assigned and described in order to facilitate discussion and may not accord precisely with the original, natural stratigraphy of the well fill, since excavating a well below the modern water table makes recognition of subtle changes in soil and stratigraphy difficult. Each level represents a component of the cleanup event and can be likened to wheelbarrow loads of debris tossed into the well.<sup>11</sup>

Joins of fragments between the discernible stratigraphic levels of the well deposit confirm that the fill is one depositional event. Joins between pottery fragments from the upper portion and the lower portion of the fill are numerous, but figured-ware joins were the easiest to identify and

9. Not all bones of the foot are accounted for; see Appendix III. It is possible that an occasional toe was brought up with a bucket of water.

10. My "Levels" and section drawing deviate slightly from those presented in Camp 1996, p. 244. "Lots" refer to the pottery storage tin numbers corresponding to each level. Lots BZ T732 and T733 are mixed fragments from 46.00–45.20 m from the processing of the well mud after the initial removal of large pottery fragments. T735 contains bones from all levels, separated into individual plastic bags.

11. Cf. well E 15:6, with its alternating layers of potter's clay and sherds: Shear 1993, p. 403, fig. 7.

TABLE 1. STRATIGRAPHY OF WELL J 2:4

<i>Level</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lot</i>
1a	51.00–50.88 m*	Gray, clayish soil with little pottery	BZ 680, 681
1b	50.88–49.75 m	Densely packed 10–15 cm stones set in dark gray clay; large fragments of pottery	BZ 682, 683
2	49.75–48.60 m	Gravelly brown mud, fewer large stones; much fine pottery with many fragments of black figure, some red figure. Ca. 48.75 m gives way to gravelly fill with fist-sized stones containing little pottery	BZ 684–686, 704, 705, 734
3	48.60–47.60 m	Nearly sterile fill of crushed bedrock	BZ 707
4	47.60–46.65 m	Fist-sized stones, loosely packed stony fill with nodules of slag, fair amount of pottery, especially large coarse fragments. First intact pot at 46.63 m (184)	BZ 708–711
5	46.65–45.90 m	Loosely packed stones, high concentration of black-glazed, black-figured, and red-figured complete pots	BZ 712–723
6	45.90–45.20 m	Period of use: Mixed stones, silt, and large fragments of household water jugs; more fine-ware fragments with many joins with Level 5 for complete vessels	BZ 724–731

\*The elevations within the well should be understood as “meters above sea level,” but are shortened to “m” for the sake of space.

are used here to illustrate the point (Table 2). A large fragment of 79, a black-figured lekanis lid with a double ivy pattern on the rim, came from Level 5, but two other nonjoining fragments from the same lid come from Level 2. The ivy-leaf pattern, the distinctive figural style, and the estimated diameter confirm that all are fragments from the same lid, even though they do not join. Joining fragments of a black-glazed lid (162) with rays at the base of the handle come from Levels 2 and 5. Fragments from a thin-walled black-figured skyphos (77) with the leg of a warrior running to the right with his right hand extended behind him holding a spear, the line of which overlaps the leg, come from Levels 2 and 5. Joining fragments from a black-figured kalpis (6) with a distinctive matte black-glazed surface, ivy frieze between the handles, and a shoulder panel preserving the rear legs of a feline and a hooved quadruped come, again, from Levels 2 and 5. Joining fragments from a black-figured amphora of small-scale Panathenaic shape (2), unfortunately with only the neck preserved, come from Levels 2 and 4. Joining fragments from the body of an amphora (1), come from Levels 1b, 2, and 5. Joining fragments of a black-figured skyphos (34), perhaps with a bird between handle attachments, come from Levels 2 and 5. Both 39 and 41 are fragments of black-figured skyphoi consisting of joining fragments from Levels 2 and 5. Many of these joins occur between levels above and below one meter of generally sterile fill of crushed bedrock. Undoubtedly, the plain and coarse wares would show the same pattern of cross-level joins if attempts were made to find joins.

Fragments of a wellhead were found in both the upper and lower portions of the well. Although fragmentary and poorly preserved, the form is the drum-shaped variety, most closely resembling A 957 from a well on the north slope of the Acropolis.<sup>12</sup> Parts of the rim and base were found in Level 6, but other parts of the base were in Levels 5 and 1b. Some fragments of the base were tinged gray from exposure to fire. The distribution of wellhead fragments indicates that a portion of the wellhead was dismantled and

12. From deposit T 24:3: see Lang 1949, p. 126, no. 10, pl. 7, fig. 3; *Agora* XII, p. 194, n. 11. Downturned, projecting rim; three raised narrow molded bands; thickened base, offset from wall on exterior; streaky black glaze on molded bands and base. Dates to late 6th century. A 957 and others feature at least two large holes below the rim. No fragment of the wellhead from J 2:4 preserved this feature.

TABLE 2. CATALOGUED OBJECTS BY LEVELS

An asterisk indicates that the object meets the criteria for inclusion in the household assemblage. A question mark with an asterisk indicates that the object meets the criteria, but there is some doubt if it should be included. Square brackets indicate objects discarded during the use of the well.

<i>Level 1b</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	<i>Level 2</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>
*1	BF	Amphora	2, 5	37	BF	Skyphos	
13	BF	Lekythos		38	BF	Skyphos	
15	BF	Lekythos	2	*39	BF	Skyphos	5
16	BF	Lekythos	2	44	BF	Skyphos	
22	BF	Closed vessel		51	BF	Skyphos	
24	BF	Phiale		53	BF	Skyphos	1b
25	BF	Stand		54	BF	Skyphos	1b
27	BF	Open shape	2	55	BF	Skyphos	
33	BF	Skyphos		56	BF	Skyphos	
36	BF	Skyphos		57	BF	Skyphos	
43	BF	Skyphos		58	BF	Skyphos	3
53	BF	Skyphos	2	59	BF	Skyphos	1b
54	BF	Skyphos	2	60	BF	Skyphos	
59	BF	Skyphos	2	61	BF	Skyphos	1b
61	BF	Skyphos	2	63	BF	Skyphos	
64	BF	Skyphos	2	64	BF	Skyphos	1b
67	BF	Skyphos		65	BF	Skyphos	
71	BF	Cup-skyphos	2	66	BF	Skyphos	
76	BF	Cup		69	BF	Skyphos	
80	BF	Lid		70	BF	Skyphos	
99	RF	Cup		71	BF	Cup-skyphos	1b
137	BG	Cup		72	BF	Protocorinthian kotyle	
138	BG	Cup		*77	BF	Cup?	5
161	BG	Lekanis lid	2	*79	BF	Lekanis lid	5
180	HH	Lekane		*83	BF	Miniature Corinthian kotyle	
*181	HH	Lekane		85	RF	Closed vessel (pelike?)	
194		Lamp		86	RF	Closed vessel (chous?)	
*? 202	TC	Herm		*87	RF	Cup	
*? 206		Loomweight		*88	RF	Cup	
*? 209		Spindle whorl		94	RF	Cup	
*? 216		Clay stopper		96	RF	Cup	
<i>Level 2</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	97	RF	Cup	
*1	BF	Amphora	1b, 5	98	RF	Cup	
*2	BF	Amphora	4	100	RF	Cup	
*4	BF	Stamnos		101	RF	Cup	
*6	BF	Kalpis	5	102	RF	Cup	
9	BF	Lekythos		103	RF	Cup	
*10	BF	Lekythos		*109	BG	Psykter	
12	BF	Lekythos		*122	BG	Type B skyphos	
15	BF	Lekythos	1b	126	BG	Skyphos	
16	BF	Lekythos	1b	*127	BG	One-handler	
17	BF	Lekythos		*129	BG	Cup	
18	BF	Lekythos		139	BG	Cup	
19	BF	Lekythos		*143	BG	Stemmed dish	
20	BF	Lekythos		*148	BG	Salt cellar	
21	BF	Lekythos		*149	BG	Salt cellar	
26	BF	Dinos or louterion?		*156	BG	Covered bowl	
27	BF	Uncertain open shape	1b	159	BG	Lekanis lid	
31	BF	Skyphos					
*34	BF	Skyphos	5				
35	BF	Skyphos					

TABLE 2—*Continued*

<i>Level 2</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	<i>Level 5</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>
160	BG	Lekanis lid		*84	RF	Pelike	
161	BG	Lekanis lid	1b	*89	RF	Cup	
*162	BG	Lekanis lid	5	*90	RF	Cup	
*163	BG	Psyktér lid		*92	RF	Cup	
*165	BG	Lid or bowl?		*93	RF	Cup	
*166	BG	Askos		*95	RF	Cup	
*168	BG	Disk		[*104]	BG	Amphora	6
189		Lamp		*105	BG	Amphora	
*197		Lamp		*106	BG	Pelike	
*? 199	TC	Female head protome		*107	BG	Pelike	
*? 201	TC	Seated female		*112	BG	Trefoil oinochoe	6
*? 207		Loomweight		*113	BG	Trefoil oinochoe	6
<i>Level 3</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	*114	BG	Jug	
*41	BF	Skyphos	5	*123	BG	Cup-skyphos	6
*48	BF	Skyphos	5	*124	BG	Cup-skyphos	
58	BF	Skyphos	2	*125	BG	Cup-skyphos	
111	BG	Psyktér		*128	BG	Cup	6
<i>Level 4</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	*132	BG	Cup	6
*2	BF	Amphora	2	*133	BG	Cup	
110	BG	Psyktér		*134	BG	Cup	
*184	HH	Chytra	5	*135	BG	Cup	
<i>Level 5</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	*136	BG	Cup	6
*1	BF	Amphora	1b, 2	*144	BG	Stemmed dish	
*3	BF	Amphoriskos		*145	BG	Stemmed dish	
*5	BF	Oinochoe		*146	BG	Stemmed dish	
*6	BF	Kalpis	2	*147	BG	Stemmed dish	
*11	BF	Lekythos		*150	BG	Salt cellar	
14	BF	Lekythos		*151	BG	Salt cellar/small bowl	
*23	BF	Phiale		152	BG	Bowl	
*28	BF	Skyphos		*157	BG	Lekanis	6
29	BF	Skyphos		*158	BG	Lekanis lid	
30	BF	Skyphos		*162	BG	Lekanis lid	2
32	BF	Skyphos		*170	BG	Ring	
*34	BF	Skyphos	2	*172	HH	Kados	
*39	BF	Skyphos	2	[174]	HH	Trefoil jug	
*41	BF	Skyphos	3	*175	HH	Jug	
42	BF	Skyphos		*176	HH	Jug	
*45	BF	Skyphos		[177]	HH	Jug	6
*46	BF	Skyphos	6	[178]	HH	Jug	
*47	BF	Skyphos		179	HH	Water jar	
*48	BF	Skyphos	3	*182	HH	Lekane	6
49	BF	Skyphos		*183	HH	Bowl	
50	BF	Skyphos		*184	HH	Chytra	4
52	BF	Skyphos		*185	HH	Chytra	
68	BF	Skyphos	6	*186	HH	Chytra	
*77	BF	Cup?	2	*188	HH	Cooking bell	
78	BF	Open shape (plate?)		*191		Lamp	
*79	BF	Lekanis lid	2	*192		Lamp	
				193		Lamp	
				*195		Lamp	
				*?200	TC	Seated female	



TABLE 2—*Continued*

<i>Level 5</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	<i>Level 6 (Period of Use)</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>
203	TC	Quadruped		[120]	BG	Mug	
204	TC	Fragment of horse		*121	BG	Skyphos	
*210		Astragalos		*123	BG	Cup-skyphos	5
*211		Astragalos		*128	BG	Cup	5
*212		Modified astragalos		*130	BG	Cup	
*213		Modified astragalos		[131]	BG	Cup	
*214		Modified astragalos		*132	BG	Cup	5
<i>Level 6 (Period of Use)</i>			<i>Joins in Level</i>	*136	BG	Cup	5
[7]	BF	Lekythos		*141	BG	Stemmed dish	
[8]	BF	Lekythos		*142	BG	Stemmed dish	
[40]	BF	Skyphos		[153]	BG	Bowl	
*46	BF	Skyphos	5	[154]	BG	Bowl	
[62]	BF	Skyphos		*155	BG	Covered bowl	
68	BF	Skyphos	5	*157	BG	Lekanis	5
[73]	BF	Cup		*164	BG	Lid for covered bowl?	
[74]	BF	Cup		*167	BG	Unguent pot	
[75]	BF	Cup		*169	BG	Stand	
[81]	BF	Thymiaterion		*171	BG	Argive monochrome juglet	
*82	BF	Miniature hydria		[173]	HH	Jug	
*91	RF	Cup		[177]	HH	Jug	5
[*104]	BG	Amphora	5	*182	HH	Lekane	5
[*108]	BG	Pelike		*187	HH	Chytra	
*112	BG	Trefoil oinochoe	5	*190		Lamp	
*113	BG	Trefoil oinochoe	5	*196		Lamp	
[*115]	BG	Jug		*198	TC	Female plaque figurine	
*116	BG	Trefoil olpe		[205]	TC	Fragment of human figurine?	
*117	BG	Olpe		*208		Loomweight	
*118	BG	Olpe		*215	Bone	Disk	
*119	BG	Olpe		[217]		Lead sheet	

thrown in immediately on top of the period of use pottery (Level 6), then cleanup continued with additional fragments being dumped into the well later in the process. The disposal of the wellhead parallels that of some of the fragmentary pottery.<sup>13</sup>

The excavators hit the modern water table at 50.30 m above sea level, and provisions were made to pump out water interfering with the excavation. The tight conditions of well excavation combined with the difficulty of distinguishing soil changes in mud under poor lighting conditions justify a less rigid interpretation of the recorded archaeological stratigraphy.<sup>14</sup> Excavation generally proceeded down the well in horizontal sweeps, although in reality, debris tossed into the well probably landed in a conical heap rather than settling into flat layers.<sup>15</sup> The effect is similar to a farmer's

13. There was no attempt to reconstruct the wellhead of well J 2:4. The full circumference of rim or base does not appear to be preserved. The fabric of the clay has degraded to small chips, resulting in the total deterioration of some fragments. Fragments of the rim

have an estimated diameter of ca. 56 cm; fragments of the base have a diameter of ca. 88 cm.

14. Graham Webster, in his handbook of archaeological methods, *Practical Archaeology*, warns, "Whether the results achieved from the excavation

of wells are always commensurate with the great efforts put into them is often a matter of doubt" (1963, p. 95). He goes on to recommend a "crash helmet" for the excavator.

15. See Vanderpool 1938, p. 366, for a discussion of this filling phenomenon.

silo filled with grain from an opening in the top. The grain forms a peak in the silo. If the farmer were to change grains periodically, the stratigraphy of the silo would not be horizontal but conical, higher at the center than at the edges. The natural stratigraphy of well J 2:4, however, was probably not as pristine as that of the farmer's mechanically filled silo. Use of the well must have centered on the north and west since the eastern edge of the well would have been difficult to access due to the external eastern wall of the house and the east–west wall separating the northeastern courtyard and the southeastern room (see Fig. 9, below). Therefore, pots dropped into the well during use and household debris discarded into the well might have piled up along the northern side of the shaft, forming a slope down into the water table. In the cleanup operation, similarly, debris swept or dumped into the well would also have piled up and intermingled with the period of use deposit.

Given the above conditions, it is not possible to distinguish a clear line between the period of use deposit and the beginning of the dumped fill. A period of use deposit usually contains a combination of water-fetching vessels that have broken during use and rubbish thrown into the well for disposal.<sup>16</sup> I have somewhat arbitrarily defined the upper reaches of the period of use deposit of well J 2:4 as the point where the fine-ware pottery outnumbers the water jars. However, keeping in mind the naturally conical stratigraphy that has been dug horizontally, it is not surprising that there are also numerous water jars in the lower portion of Level 5, the lowest level of the intentional fill. It is necessary to make a distinction between Levels 5 and 6 in order to distinguish Level 5, rich in complete black-figured and red-figured pots, as separate from the period of use deposit.

Beginning from the bottom, Level 6 represents the period of use deposit intermingled with a small amount of fine-ware pottery from the first episode in the cleanup operation. Level 6 includes one nearly complete household fabric jug (173) and at least 42 cooking-ware water jars, according to counts of bases.<sup>17</sup> This is not the complete extent of the period of use deposit, though, because Level 5 also includes a large number of complete water jars and fragments. The lower part of Level 5 (46.00–45.90 m) includes six complete or nearly complete household fabric water jars (172, 174–178). In the entire range of Level 5 (46.65–45.90 m), there are at least 28 cooking-ware water jars. Water-jar bases give the best estimate for total number of water vessels present, since the mouth or handle of a jar that breaks in the well may remain attached to the rope and be retrieved. In fact, three water jars are missing their vertical handles (174, 177, and 178); in these cases the vessels broke within the well but the handle, to which the rope was tied, was retrieved and disposed of elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> If we count only water-jar bases there are at least 74 water jars (of both household and cooking-ware fabrics) in the lowest portions of the well. Above Level 5 the number of water jars decreases considerably.

Also present in Level 6 were non-water jar odds and ends tossed into the well for disposal or by accident during the period of use.<sup>19</sup> This miscellaneous material includes: the stem and floor of a black-figured Type Sub-A cup with a satyr (74); a single fragment of a Type A or B black-figured cup (73); an eye cup (75); two black-figured skyphoi fragments (40, 62); a fragment of a black-glazed Type C cup with concave lip (131);

16. *Agora V*, p. 123; *Agora XII*, p. 44.

17. See Table 5 for minimum number of vessels, plus Chapter 3 for quantification methodology. The ring bases of cooking-ware hydriai, jugs, and kadoi are indistinguishable; see Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 29. No effort was made to mend the cooking-ware water jars, so there may be many other complete water vessels within Level 6 as well as Level 5, which also contains period of use material.

18. This will be important to remember when we consider the large number of kadoi rims preserved in Level 2 of the deposit.

19. No transport amphora fragments were found in Level 6; see discussion in Appendix I.

a fragmentary black-figured stem of a thymiaterion (81); a fragment of a Phanyllis Group lekythos with a warrior leaving home (7); lamps (190, 196); a miniature hydria (82); and a terracotta female plaque figurine (198). A circular lead sheet (217) probably covered the end of the well rope, and it either fell off or the entire rope fell irretrievably into the well. The objects from the period of use deposit date to the last quarter of the 6th century. In particular, the thymiaterion stem (81) dates closer to 525 than to 500, as does the plaque figurine (198). The fragments of black-figured cups also date between 525 and 500. Faunal remains represent both food portions and butchering debris.<sup>20</sup> In Table 6, discussed in Chapter 3, I attempt to distinguish trash generated while the house was in use from debris associated with the post-Persian destruction cleanup.

Complete or nearly complete objects of shapes inappropriate for drawing water indicate that the intentional fill of Persian destruction debris also reaches into Level 6.<sup>21</sup> The black-glazed olpai 116–119, nearly all intact; the large black-glazed jug 115; and stemmed dishes 141 and 142 all represent table-service objects tossed into the well on top of the period of use deposit. The red-figured cup 91, which belongs to the set of red-figured cups found in Level 5, indicates that this portion of fine-ware material in Level 6 is not part of the period of use but belongs to the intentional dumped fill above.<sup>22</sup> Again, the stratigraphy of a well is not likely to be horizontal, and this mixture of period of use and dumped fill is a result of the uneven natural stratigraphy of the well forced into horizontal “levels” for the purpose of study (see Fig. 5).

Almost all the fine-ware fragments excavated from 46.65 m to 45.45 m, from Levels 5 and 6, could be mended to form complete or nearly complete pots. These pots must have been tossed into the well intact, and broken in the shaft.<sup>23</sup> When the conservators had finished mending the vases from Levels 5 and 6, only a handful of fine-ware sherds remained unjoined in the storage lots, and some of these joined figured fragments from Level 2. This indicates that Level 5 included pottery broken aboveground whose fragments were dispersed around the house and deposited in the well in different shovelfuls during the filling of the well.

Levels 5 and 6 yielded 68 complete or nearly complete vessels other than water jars, with some of the sturdier shapes preserved intact. Other Persian destruction well deposits also contained objects discarded intact. The phenomenon can best be seen in the vast number of complete vessels, some intact, discarded into the Stoa Gutter Well (SGW) and at least one other domestic well.<sup>24</sup> The complete shapes in our deposit largely

20. L. Snyder, pers. comm. Comments on faunal remains are preliminary observations only; a full study by Lynn Snyder is forthcoming.

21. With the exception of transport amphoras, for which many joins could be found, but no complete pots made up. See discussion in Appendix I, where the conclusion is that the amphoras were not thrown into the well

intact, but in large fragments.

22. Faunal remains show a parallel distribution. Astragaloi are only found in Levels 5 and 6, and food and butchering debris blends between Level 5 and the top of Level 6 (L. Snyder, pers. comm.).

23. The pocket of fine wares discussed here is a type of de facto deposit, meaning that the objects were

intentionally discarded even when they could have been reused or recycled. Thus their deposition cancels their symbolic and social functions; see Schiffer 1987, pp. 89–97.

24. Stoa Gutter Well (Q 12:3): Thompson 1955; Roberts 1986. Well H 12:15: Thompson 1954, pp. 51–54, pl. 15.

represent the equipment needed for drinking wine. These include three black-figured cup-skyphoi of hasty, silhouette style (45–47), and a large, black-figured Heron Class skyphos by the CHC Group (28). Two of the black-figured cup-skyphoi (45 and 46) are very close in style, profile, and potting details. There are also three complete black-glazed cup-skyphoi (123, 124, and 125), the latter two of which, again, are nearly identical. Only one Corinthian-type skyphos (121), nearly complete, came from Levels 5 and 6. The most common drinking vessel is the Type C cup. There are eight complete or nearly complete black-glazed examples, of which only three have concave lips.<sup>25</sup> This is in contrast to Levels 2 and 3, higher in the well, in which fragments of black-glazed Type C cups with concave lips dominate all other drinking vessels. All of the plain-rimmed black-glazed Type C cups from Level 5 of the deposit are of similar size, ranging from 6.60–7.30 cm in height and 17.50–19.70 cm in diameter, and they have similar capacities (see Appendix II).

Level 5 contained a number of complete or nearly complete red-figured cups. In total, there are six examples of Type C cups with red-figured decoration from these two lowest levels of the well. Four have plain rims (89–92), one a concave lip (93), and one is a small-scale Type C cup (95). In Chapter 3 the identification of these cups as a symposium set based on workshops, shapes, and iconography is discussed. In the deposit as a whole, black-figured fragments outnumber red-figured about four to one; however, in this pocket of complete fine wares, there is more red figure than black figure.

The pocket of fine wares in Level 5 also contained four stemmed dishes of different forms.<sup>26</sup> That the stemmed dishes were found in conjunction with the predominantly “sympotic” equipment suggests that the shape played some role in communal drinking or in the meal that preceded it. They may be the only food-consumption form present in this pocket of fine wares (see discussion in Chapters 4 and 5).

The remaining complete vessels from Levels 5 and 6, with a few interesting exceptions, are wine-serving vessels or tableware. There is a black-figured oinochoe (5) and a black-figured amphoriskos (3). There are four pelikai: one of red figure (84), and three of black glaze (106, 107, and 108), one of which (107) is intact. In black glaze there are also two table amphoras (104, 105), an intact jug (114), and two trefoil-mouth oinochoai (112, 113).

Faunal remains from Levels 5 and 6 include both bone artifacts and food and butchering debris. A group of astragaloi (210–214) found in Levels 5 and 6 must have been discarded at the same time as the complete fine wares discussed above. Thus, it is likely that they were a set of objects within the house. Other faunal remains include food and non-food (mandibles) bones of pigs, a radius and ulna of a donkey, food and non-food (horn cores) bones of ovid-caprids, fish bones, and three uncut dog bones.<sup>27</sup>

As opposed to the rich levels of fine-ware pottery at the bottom of the well, Level 4 (47.60–46.65 m) was distinguished by loosely packed fist-sized stones, nodules of slag, and large fragments of coarse pottery. Level 4 yielded a small number of black-glazed fragments and two black-figured body sherds. Mortars and pithoi or basin fragments made up the majority of household fragments, with a few lekanai fragments. The bulk of the pottery was transport amphora body sherds, at a weight of 12 kg. Also present were

25. The Type C cup is a stemmed cup shape with a fillet at the bottom of the stem. Stemmed cups are known generally as kylikes; see 128, 130, 131 (concave lip), and 132–136 (plain rim). Cup 129 from Level 2 is nearly identical to 130 in profile and dimensions, further connecting the upper fill with the pocket of fine wares in Level 5. The concave-lip version of the Type C cup is the more common in Archaic black glaze: *Agora XII*, p. 92.

26. These are 144, 145, 147 (chalice-shaped), and 146 (with concave lip).

27. L. Snyder, pers. comm.

about a dozen fragments of roof tiles. Among the few inventoried objects from this level, **184** is an intact chytra with extensive carbon deposits, that is, clear evidence of use. This vessel of fragile cooking-ware fabric must have been tossed into the well and cushioned by the water as it sank to its resting place. A chytra is juglike in form, and it is not impossible that this shape was used to pull up water, but the burning on **184** and its location above the pocket of Persian destruction fill confirm that it was not being used in this manner. In addition, the chytra tells us that the water table must have been higher than 47.60 m during the period of use and the period of Persian destruction cleanup. Tossed into the well, it hit the water and gently sank into its resting spot. Once in the well, fortune and physics protected it from the crushing weight of stones and slag above. The slag is perplexing, for it indicates industrial activity in the neighborhood of the house. The slag nodules represent a “wheelbarrow load” of debris from somewhere outside of the house.<sup>28</sup> Aside from the slag, there is no other evidence for metalworking preserved,<sup>29</sup> although it is possible, of course, that further evidence lies under the disturbed area to the west.

Level 3, 48.60–47.60 m, again, contained very little pottery and few inventoried objects. Level 3 is characterized by a nearly sterile fill of crushed bedrock. The excavators originally thought this bedrock may be the result of the collapse of the upper section of the shaft, but as discussed above, the collapse of the north side of the well occurred during the period of use as shown by the presence of part of the Submycenaean human foot in Level 6. Like the slag, the crushed bedrock must have also come from a source outside the house. The bedrock in the area of the Agora excavations is a soft, easily excavated marl. It is possible that the source of this stratum of bedrock was the excavation of another well near but not within the house or leveling associated with post-Persian destruction construction.

Level 2 (49.75–48.60 m) is characterized by a gravelly fill with fist-sized stones, many fragments of pottery, and small chunks of hardened mud that may either come from mud-brick walls or the mud packing of roofs. The pottery includes both fragments from objects broken in the house and fragments of supplementary material brought in to top off the filling of the well. Small, very worn pottery fragments dating to the early part of the 6th century indicate that a portion of the pottery from Level 2 (as will be the case for Level 1) was introduced from a location where pottery sherds were subjected to abrasion and wear; see, for example, **72** and **189**.<sup>30</sup> These fragments most likely came from the ground surface near the house.<sup>31</sup> Either the cleanup was nearing a conclusion and the well was still not sufficiently filled, or the debris in the well settled and more fill was needed. In either case, several shovelfuls of fill were tossed in from another source, but the mixture of older fragments with contemporary ones

28. See also the layer of stone chips above the well brought in from outside, p. 34.

29. The slag is similar to Mattusch 1977, pp. 357–358, nos. E2 and E3, pl. 87. The iron smithy she describes was located in the courtyard of a struc-

ture, which had “slag, ash, and charcoal mixed with black earth on its packed clay floor” (p. 357). No such stratum was found in the house of well J 2:4; therefore, the house is not likely to have had a metalworking establishment. The slag exhibits slight magnetism,

confirming that it contains iron.

30. For ceramic abrasion, see Schiffer and Skibo 1989.

31. As with the figured fragments, the transport-amphora fragments from Levels 1 and 2 are worn and some date to the early 6th century; see Appendix I.



indicates that the supplementary fill was part of the initial cleanup and not a later addition.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that the homeowners looked no farther than their doorstep or their rubbish heap.<sup>33</sup> In fact, the large number of water-jar fragments in this level—91 rims, handles, and bases, but with a minimum number of vessels of only nine—suggests that the source of the supplementary fill was the location for the disposal of vessels broken in the course of the household's life. The predominance of water-jar rims and handles may be from the vessels that broke inside the well and left their bases at the bottom.

Many of the figural pottery fragments from Level 2 join with other fragments from within this level, fragments from Level 1, or fragments in Levels 5 and 6 (see Table 2). The cross-level joining of fragments represents pottery broken in the Persian destruction but shoveled into the well at different points in the cleanup process. In this way, some of the fragments of a single broken vessel may have been deposited in the first shovelful, while others did not get deposited until the last. Further confirmation of the relationship between the highly fragmentary material in the upper two levels and the lower pocket of fine wares comes in the graffito N found scratched on the underside on two pieces from Level 2, one a salt cellar (148), the other a Type C cup base (139). The same N appears on the underside of a bowl (152) and a water jug (179) from Level 5. The graffito is most likely a mark of ownership. It is not uncommon for black-glazed vessels to bear an abbreviation of the owner's name. Excavation of the *Thra* well found beneath the Stoa of Attalos, also a Persian destruction deposit, found numerous vessels with ΘΠΑ scratched onto the vessel after firing.<sup>34</sup>

Fine-ware pottery from Level 2 was highly fragmentary, but plentiful. Fragments represented a minimum number of 70 drinking vessels, including a pair of two intentional red (coral red) cups, one attributed to Euphronios (87) and the second (88) likely from a related workshop. Some of the objects from Level 2 were preserved in large fragments, including 87 and 88, an askos (166), a covered bowl (156), and a black-figured stamnos (4); however, they were not as complete as the objects from Level 5. It is likely that these were objects broken in the destruction, as opposed to the objects in Level 5 that were not broken until tossed into the well. Even more abundant than the figured ware in Level 2 were large coarse-ware fragments. It is particularly desirable to understand the relationship of the two intentional red cups (87 and 88) to the chronology of the well. With the exception of the significantly earlier sherds, the fragments from Level 2 are contemporary with the pottery from Level 5. According to conventional dating, the intentional red cups are about 10–20 years older than the other red figure from the deposit. The early fragments that were used to top off the well are single, worn fragments; thus, the proportion preserved, multiple fragments, and condition of the intentional red cups again suggests that they were in use in the house and were damaged during the attack. The intentional red cups, then, were among the oldest objects this house owned.

Finally, Level 1 (51.00–49.75 m) can be separated into two sublayers based on the soil of the fill. Level 1b (50.88–49.75 m) was a fill of dark gray clay with densely packed 10.00–15.00 cm stones. The pottery from this level was very similar in character to that of Level 2, with a high proportion

32. Some wells and cisterns in the Agora area do exhibit supplementary fills dating up to a century after the initial fills. See, e.g., well B 13:7, *Agora XXIX*, p. 435, with two Hellenistic fills at the bottom and Roman and Turkish above; and cisterns E 14:1, *Agora XXIX*, p. 446, and F 16:1 (Demeter Cistern), *Agora XXIX*, p. 451.

33. It is not possible to tell if the supplemental pottery represents primary refuse, that is, refuse discarded where it was used, or secondary refuse that was discarded elsewhere, then relocated; see Schiffer 1987, pp. 58–59.

34. R 12:1; Thompson 1951, pp. 50–51; *Agora XXI*, F 32–F 40. At least eight examples of the graffito were found in the well.

of amphora and lekane fragments, often quite large, and a large number of drinking-vessel fragments. While there were many joins of fragments from Level 1 to Level 2, more fragments from Level 1 showed signs of wear and abrasion. As in Level 2, some of the worn figured fragments can be dated securely to the first quarter of the 6th century: see 22 and 25, for example, with at least two uncatalogued Late Geometric–Early Iron Age fragments in addition, and 180, a large fragment of a lekane dating to the middle decades of the 6th century. Level 1a, 51.00–50.88 m, was a stratum of gray, clayish soil at the very top of the fill. This is probably a layer of sediment accumulated as the well fill settled and surface water drained through. Level 1 completes the cleanup of the house, and as with Level 2, the majority of the pottery fragments from Level 1 originated outside the house and formed a supplementary fill to close the well.

In summary, in addition to the period of use deposit, there are three components distinguishable within the stratigraphy of the intentionally dumped fill of the well: the lower, initial cleanup characterized by whole pots (Level 5); the middle, nearly sterile fill of dug bedrock and slag (Levels 4 and 3); and the upper fill consisting of broken pottery from the house and supplementary fill brought in to top off the well (Levels 2 and 1). The joins between the upper fill (Levels 1 and 2) and the lower fill (Levels 5 and 6) confirm that the entire fill, regardless of its individual components, is a single depositional episode resulting from the same event.

## CHRONOLOGY

Excavators of the Athenian Agora have long recognized a destruction debris horizon dating to the Late Archaic period. Closed deposits and numerous strata of broken pottery intermixed with building debris record a massive, area-wide destruction paralleled archaeologically in the Agora excavations only by the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C. and the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.<sup>35</sup> From the early years of excavation, Agora excavators associated the Late Archaic debris horizon with the cleanup and rebuilding of the city after destruction by the Persians during the Second Persian War in 479.<sup>36</sup> According to Herodotos (8.40–41), the Athenians had evacuated the city sometime in 480, leaving it all but deserted when the Persian troops entered.<sup>37</sup> Herodotos also says that when Mardonios, Xerxes's general, left

35. Thompson 1981.

36. Vanderpool 1946, pp. 266, 271–275. Thompson (1981, pp. 344–346) calls the Persian destruction of Athens “the most familiar of all the manmade disasters that were to befall ancient Athens” (p. 344).

37. The timeline is secure if not precise. During the Second Persian War, there were two Persian invasions of Attica and two evacuations separated by ten months (Hdt. 9.3). Herodotos (8.40–41) refers to evacuation efforts during the initial entry of the Persians

into Attica under Xerxes in September of 480. A decree to evacuate on the first occasion is preserved in a later inscription found at Troezen, one of the refugee sites; see Jameson 1960, pp. 198–223 and pp. 201–202 for ancient references to the decree. Pausanias saw the decree (2.31.7) and Plutarch mentions one (*Them.* 10.2–3), but the authenticity of the 4th–3rd century Troezen inscription is questionable; see Mattingly 1981. It was during the first evacuation that the Acropolis was taken (Hdt. 8.52–55). After the Battle

of Salamis at least some of the Athenians returned to their city for the winter, where they stayed until they realized that the Peloponnesian allies would not send help as the Persians approached again (Hdt. 9.6). However, Plutarch describes another decree passed at Troezen to offer the Athenian refugees public support and to educate their boys (*Them.* 10.3), which implies that some of the families remained in Troezen for the winter. When Mardonios led the Persians into Attica a second time in June of 479 (Hdt. 9.3),

the city on his way to fight the Greek allies at Plataia, “He burnt Athens and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing” (9.13.2; trans. A. D. Godley, Cambridge, Mass., 1924). In addition to the debris levels found in the Agora excavations, a significant destruction horizon on the Athenian Acropolis, the *Perserschutt*, was identified as debris resulting from the Persian destruction of an older Parthenon under construction, the *Archaia Neos*, and votive offerings.<sup>38</sup>

That the destruction horizons in the Agora and on the Acropolis represented debris created by the Persian sack was largely accepted until the late 1980s when E. D. Francis and Michael Vickers mounted a challenge to the traditional stylistic dating of monuments of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods.<sup>39</sup> In response to this challenge T. Leslie Shear Jr. re-studied the evidence for the Persian destruction horizon in the Agora.<sup>40</sup> Shear’s 1993 review of the (then) 21 deposits attributed to the Persian destruction convincingly confirmed the original interpretation of the deposits’ formation. He documented the homogeneous character of the deposits by carefully recording pottery types and numbers, by carefully re-evaluating the chronological development of key pottery styles and forms, and by showing that the deposits resulted from single filling episodes. The current study accepts that these are deposits formed during the rehabilitation of the city of Athens after the Persian sack, but the author also recognizes that there are still unanswered questions concerning the motivations for their creation. Some of these issues will be addressed below.

The Persian destruction deposits are more properly called Persian destruction cleanup deposits.<sup>41</sup> Thucydides describes what the Athenians found upon their return to the city after the Battle of Plataia: “only short stretches of the circuit wall had been left standing, and most of the houses were in ruins; though a few survived, in which the Persian nobles themselves had quartered” (1.89.3; trans. Shear 1993, p. 416). The first order of business was to rebuild the city walls (Thuc. 1.90.3, 1.93.2), but certainly families returning to the city must have proceeded to clean up their domestic quarters in an informal way in order to create shelter for the surviving members of the *oikos*.<sup>42</sup>

“not even then” did he find the Athenians at home; the Athenians had evacuated again, this time to Salamis (Hdt. 9.3, 6). Herodotos describes the destruction Mardonios caused as he retreated from Athens (Hdt. 9.13), but when Herodotos says, “[Mardonios] utterly overthrew whatever wall or house or temple *was left standing*” (9.13; emphasis mine), he must mean that Xerxes had already done extensive damage in the city. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship of the ancient sources and the archaeological evidence, see Shear 1993, pp. 415–417. For the Persian Wars in general, see Burn [1962] 1984. For debate over the authenticity and chronology of the

Troezen decree and evacuation of Athens, see Burn [1962] 1984, pp. 364–377; and Hammond 1988, pp. 559–563, with bibliography.

38. The identification and chronology of the *Perserschutt* deposits are complicated. See Hurwit 1989, p. 63 and n. 74; 1999, pp. 141–142; Lindelauf 1997; Stewart 2008.

39. Francis and Vickers 1988, but see also Shear 1993, p. 384, n. 4. Cook (1989, pp. 168–169), in a negative review of the Francis-Vickers proposed chronological down-dating, expresses skepticism about the secure association of deposits on the Acropolis and around the Classical Agora with the Persian destruction of Athens; however,

following Shear 1993, Cook (1997, p. 255) accepts the deposits as a “useful peg” for pottery chronology.

40. Shear 1993. The following comments on the Persian destruction archaeological context in the Agora excavations are based on Shear’s thorough presentation and interpretation of data.

41. For the history of the term “Persian destruction deposit,” see Lindelauf 1997, pp. 50–51.

42. Some initial cleanup must have also occurred when the Athenians returned after Xerxes’s first destruction of the city, but this would be impossible to recognize archaeologically since the destruction by Mardonios was so thorough.



TABLE 3. CLEANUP DEPOSITS

<i>Immediate, Post-Persian Destruction</i> <i>ca. 479 B.C.</i>	<i>Delayed, Post-Persian Destruction</i> <i>ca. 475–460 B.C.</i>
B 19:10	B 18:6
D 15:1	G 3:1
D 17:2	G 11:3
D 17:10	G 11:8
E 14:5	H 13:5
E 15:6	L 5:2
F 19:5	M 17:4
G 6:3	Q 21:3
H 12:15	
J 2:4	
Q 12:3	
Q 20:1	
R 12:1	
R 12:4	

There are two types of Persian destruction deposits encountered by the Agora excavations (Table 3).<sup>43</sup> The difference is a slight, but distinctive chronological one. In the first type of deposit, the material is largely Late Archaic and dates to the late 6th century and first two decades of the 5th century. There are 14 of these deposits from the Agora excavations, most of which seem to have been functioning wells—some domestic—at the time of the Persian destruction.<sup>44</sup> The second type contains transitional shapes of the Early Classical period, and thus is conventionally dated to the third or fourth decade of the 5th century.<sup>45</sup> This second group of “delayed” deposits contains more pits and collapsed wells than functioning wells.<sup>46</sup> Both types of deposits contain similar ceramic forms and a similar range of debris; only the chronologically sensitive fine-ware forms distinguish the two. While a difference of a decade may seem pedantic and overstated, the implication is that some of the deposits represent immediate efforts to clean up the debris, while the others correspond to longer term recovery efforts.<sup>47</sup>

43. Dinsmoor 1934, p. 425; Shear 1993, pp. 414–415, 417; Lindenlauf 1997, pp. 50–51, 75.

44. Discussed by Shear 1993, pp. 413–414.

45. Transitional shapes: Vicup, *Agora* XII, p. 93; stemless cups, *Agora* XII, p. 98; totally glazed one-handlers, *Agora* XII, p. 126. In addition, figured wares also show a later style. Black figure declines in quality and increases in hastiness, see discussion in Shear 1993, pp. 410–411.

46. Only one well in the later group was a functioning household well,

Q 21:3, beneath the Roman period Omega house. Another functioning well filled with delayed debris is G 11:3, the later well of Building F, considered by some to be the predecessor of the Tholos. The function and role of this complex of structures is much debated, but for this study, Building F is considered outside the definition of an ordinary house, and therefore not a purely domestic context. See Thompson 1940, pp. 15–33, for the excavation of Building F; 1962, p. 21, for its earliest identification as the “Peisistratid Palace,” and Papadopoulos

2003, p. 296, n. 142, for objections to this identification and an alternative identification as a potter’s workshop.

47. European cities spent decades cleaning up after the destruction of World War II. Whether the oath of Plataia is to be believed or not, the damaged religious monuments in Athens remained unreconstructed for many years after the destruction, possibly as a reminder of the impiety of the Persians. For a discussion of the oath of Plataia and its controversies, see Meiggs 1972, pp. 504–507. For delayed deposits on the Acropolis, see Stewart 2008.

The fill of well J 2:4 shares the characteristics of other closed Persian destruction deposits, and the fine-ware forms in the fill indicate that it is the type of Persian destruction deposit formed soon after 479.<sup>48</sup> The closed Persian destruction deposits from the Agora excavations are characterized by a mass of pottery, architectural debris, and other rubble deposited into a well or pit in one operation.<sup>49</sup> Joins from the top of well J 2:4 to the bottom indicate that pottery broken on the surface was deposited into the well at one time as opposed to being a gradual accumulation of debris. The majority of the late Archaic pottery in well J 2:4 and the other Persian destruction deposits bears little sign of wear or abrasion. This indicates that the pottery was not already discarded but was broken sometime shortly before its deposit and that some of the pottery did not have a long use life. Furthermore, many shapes are inappropriate for drawing water from a well, thus they were intentionally deposited in the well. In addition to pottery and household objects, the Persian destruction deposits can contain fragmentary roof tiles,<sup>50</sup> and some deposits preserve evidence of mudbrick.<sup>51</sup> Roof tiles certainly do not belong in a well, and their presence among the fragmentary pottery indicates that they were part of the destruction and underscores the magnitude of the destruction. Over 11 kg of roof tile fragments were recovered from well J 2:4, and a few small pieces of caked mud may also represent part of the roof.<sup>52</sup> There was no trace of mudbrick within well J 2:4, but there was gravel and small pieces of rubble.<sup>53</sup>

The clearest indication that well J 2:4 belongs among the Persian destruction deposits is the pottery itself. The shapes and workshops present in well J 2:4 are in keeping with the other Persian destruction deposits.<sup>54</sup> Figures 6, 7, and 8 illustrate the similarities in graph form. In each of the three graphs red-figured, black-figured, and black-glazed shapes and their relative proportions for well J 2:4 are compared to the relative proportions for the 21 Persian destruction deposits as a group.<sup>55</sup> Figure 6, which presents the proportion of shapes in the red-figured pottery component of well J 2:4 compared to the red-figured component of other Persian destruction deposits combined (thus providing an average), shows that the shapes in well J 2:4 correlate with those in other deposits, especially with the dominance of cups. Figure 7, the proportion of shapes in the black-figured pottery

48. All of the figured pottery stylistically dates before 480. There are no Vicup kylix feet or Acrocup kylix feet. There are no all black one-handlers and no stemless cups.

49. Strata with similar material exist as well, but these lack the defined, closed nature that makes the deposits valuable for contextual studies. For example, there are strata of Persian destruction material within the house of well J 2:4; see Figs. 11, 12, and 13 and discussion below.

50. 13 deposits record roof tiles: B 18:6, D 17:2, F 19:5, G 3:1, G 6:3, G 11:3, H 12:15, H 13:5, L 5:2, M 17:4,

Q 12:3, R 12:1, R 12:4. Other deposits may have included tile fragments, but they were not recorded or saved.

51. An entire tin of mudbrick was saved from H 12:15; in other cases, excavators noted clay strata in the wells. Some of these may have been dissolved mudbricks rather than potter's clay; see Shear 1993, p. 454, and fig. 7.

52. This is a small quantity of roof tile and must mean that most of the tiles were salvaged for reuse or deposited elsewhere.

53. Layers of mudbrick were found in the excavation of the house: layer 8 (lots BZ 546, 547), Notebook BZ,

pp. 1523, 1527; layer 14c, Notebook BZ, p. 1549; layer 15d (lot BZ 560), Notebook BZ, p. 1653; layer 26d (lot BZ 623), Notebook BZ, p. 1681.

54. Shear 1993, pp. 388, 393–401, tables 1–4. For transport amphoras, see Appendix I.

55. Counts for the Persian destruction deposits are taken from the tables in Shear 1993. The “relative proportion” refers to the percentage of the total number of red-figured, black-figured, or black-glazed fragments. So each score is the number of fragments of a shape divided by the total number of fragments in its technique.

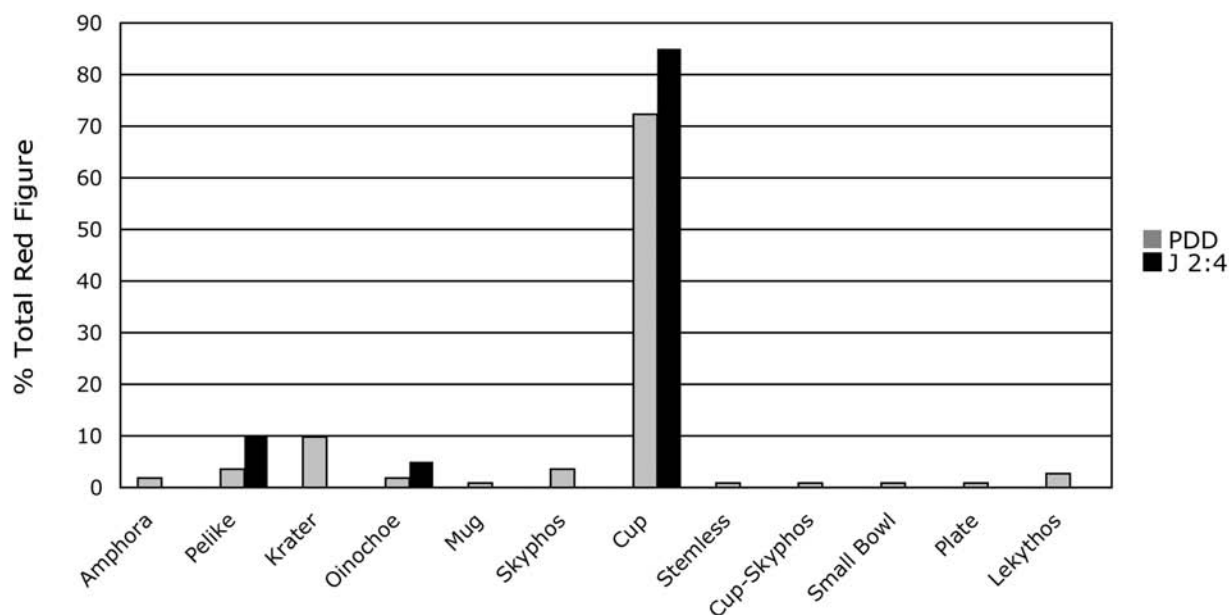


Figure 6. Red-figured shapes expressed as percentage of total red-figure component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of red-figured shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris deposits (PDD) combined. Data from Shear 1993

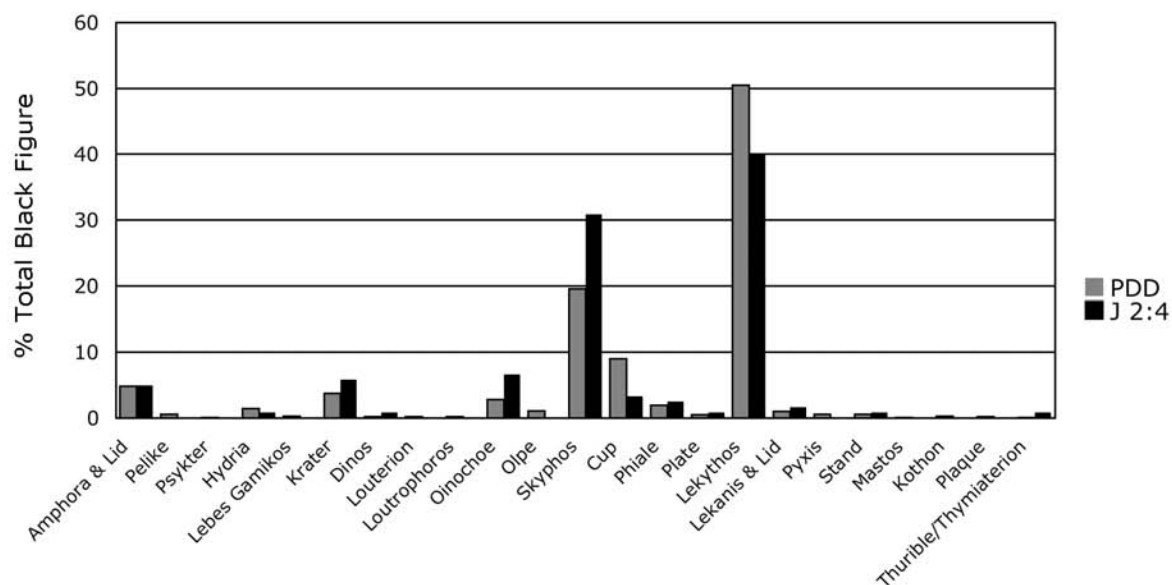


Figure 7. Black-figured shapes expressed as a percentage of total black figure component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of black-figured shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris deposits (PDD) combined. Data from Shear 1993

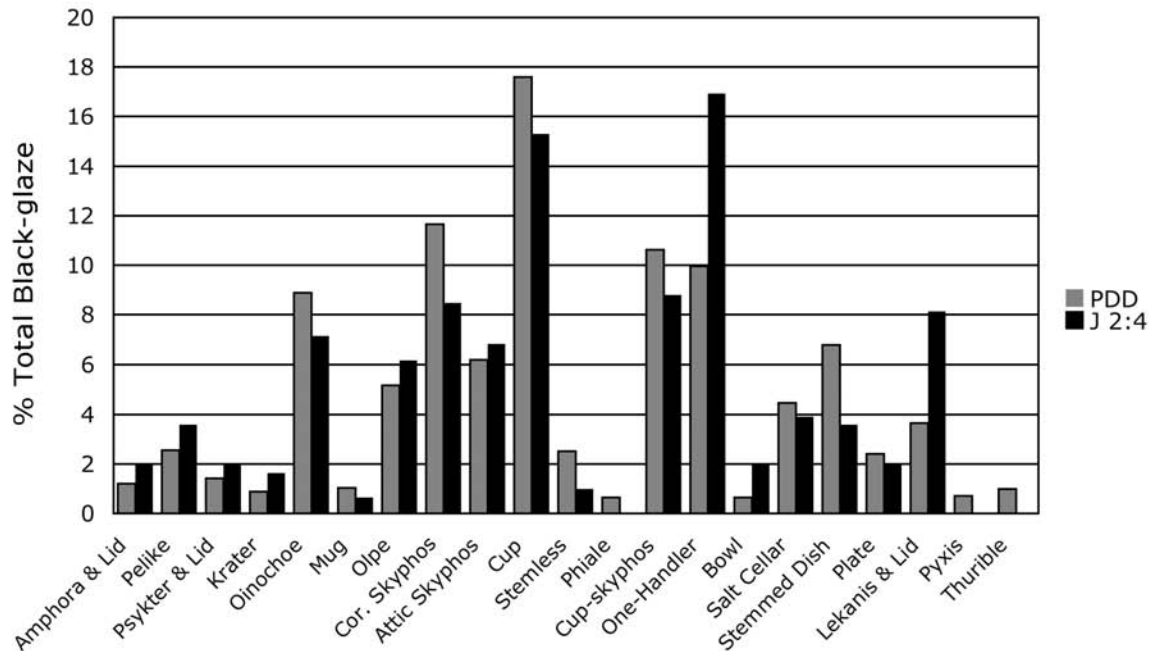


Figure 8. Black-glazed shapes expressed as a percentage of total black-glaze component of deposit J 2:4 compared to percentage of black-glazed shapes in the 21 other Persian destruction debris (PDD) deposits combined. Data from Shear 1993

component of well J 2:4 compared to the black figure in other Persian destruction deposits combined, also demonstrates that J 2:4 contains a similar proportional distribution of black-figured shapes.<sup>56</sup> Only in Figure 8, the proportion of black-glazed shapes in J 2:4 compared to the other Persian destruction deposits combined, does well J 2:4 vary slightly from the established pattern. J 2:4 exceeds the average in one-handlers and lekanides, but falls below it in cups and other drinking shapes. Overall, the general patterns are similar, and the black-glaze may diverge from the expected because of the larger than usual number of red-figured cups and black-figured skyphoi in the deposit or because there was less attention paid in earlier excavation record-keeping to fragments of black-glazed objects including the humble one-handler. The conclusion is that the distribution of shapes in well J 2:4 fits the characteristic pattern of the sealed Persian destruction debris deposits of the Agora excavations.

Well J 2:4's fill, just as the stratigraphy from the lowest house floors, can only date its inauguration to the general period of the late 6th century. There is no material in the bottom of the well, nor are there floor levels, to suggest any use prior to ca. 525.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the well and house were at the most 45 years old when destroyed by the Persians. This approximates a generation and includes the generation that witnessed the fall of the tyrants and the advent of the Kleisthenic democracy.

56. Lekythoi are overrepresented in the Persian destruction deposits because of their presence in the Rectangular Rock Cut Shaft (G 6:3) and the Stoa Gutter Well (Q 12:3), both of which seem to have been retail pottery shops selling skyphoi and lekythoi.

57. In antiquity, wells were sometimes periodically cleared of use debris that gathered at the bottom and inhibited proper functioning of the well. If this were the case for well J 2:4, then we would expect evidence of occupation of the house dating earlier than the

period of use material from the well. In addition, there are no provisions for descending in the well, such as the footholds in wells D 15:2, F 19:5, H 12:15, Q 12:3, Q 21:3, R 12:1, and R 12:4.

## DISCUSSION OF THE WELL STRATIGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

The stratigraphy of the well provides evidence for post-Persian destruction cleanup activities and provides insight into the cleanup mentality of one group of Athenians. Some of the objects from well J 2:4 and the Persian destruction strata from the house show signs of burning that may be associated with the Persian sack. Some of the vessels are tinged gray at breaks, which may be due to postdepositional conditions, but most are unblemished, and some intact without any signs of damage. As will be argued below, the reuse of the exterior walls of the house in the reconstruction of the Classical period suggests that the house was not completely destroyed by the Persians. What accounts for the complete fine wares in Level 5? There are two possibilities: either the Persians threw the complete pots down the well in addition to the ones they broke around the house, or the homeowners threw the complete pots down the well during the cleanup. It is impossible to know for certain how much damage to attribute to the Persians.<sup>58</sup> At first it might seem illogical for the homeowner to throw functional pottery away, but this problem is related to the bigger issue of why an Athenian homeowner would close a functioning well.

What was the motivation for the widespread closure of 22 wells immediately after the Persian Wars? A secure source of water in Greece, a land prone to lengthy dry periods that prompt mandates of conservation even today, was not a mere luxury but a necessity.<sup>59</sup> Either the motivation for closing the wells was stronger than the need for a private source of water, or a more attractive, alternative source of water was now available nearby. No clear, immediate post-Persian source of water has been found for this house; however, a water pipe dating to the second quarter of the 5th century was found to the south of the polygonal wall, that is, directly outside the house.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that this pipeline fed a public fountain somewhere in the neighborhood. If so, this fountain would be a northwest pendant to the Southeast Fountain house on the southeast corner at the Classical market square.<sup>61</sup>

We must consider the possibility that the wells were sabotaged, since the Persians are known to have used the military technique of cutting off water sources to hamper their enemies. Herodotos tells us that the Persians despoiled the spring of Gargaphia at Plataia (9.49). They had used this tactic before (Hdt. 4.120, 4.140), and it must have been a common aspect

58. The Persians left next to no external material cultural evidence of their presence in Athens other than the damage they did. Arrow points found on the north slope of the Acropolis have been associated with the Persians: Broneer 1933, fig. 13, and p. 342; 1935, pp. 113–117, figs. 4, 5. Broneer also found on the north slope of the Acropolis the skeleton of a fallen Persian(?) warrior: 1935, p. 117, fig. 6.

59. See Camp 1977 for evidence of

droughts in the 7th century (pp. 50–51) and the 4th century (pp. 147–149).

60. The “Kimonian pipeline,” Camp 1996, p. 242; this is the same pipeline identified behind the Stoa Poikile, Shear 1984, p. 49–50. Both Camp and Shear associate this pipeline with the Athenian statesman Kimon, who Plutarch tells us sponsored a program to bring water to the Academy (*Cim.* 13.8).

61. An unidentified poros ashlar platform to the south of the house of

well J 2:4 (southwest of the preserved portion of the house), labeled “Poros Foundation” on Fig. 2, may represent the base of a public fountain, although evidence for its chronology and function remain limited. Three white marble step blocks survive, and they exhibit extensive wear, indicating that the structure received frequent visits from pedestrians, which would be appropriate for a public fountain. See Shear 1997, p. 508.

of warfare (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.18). It is possible that the Persians poisoned or defiled the wells of the Athenian houses; however, there is no archaeological evidence for the introduction of foreign matter such as dirt or gravel that would “choke” the well or carcasses that would defile it. The gravel and slag in the well occur above the initial cleanup deposit, and joins across these layers indicate that the debris is a unified dumped fill. The joins of fragments from top to bottom present an image of a meticulous cleanup, not a desperate attempt to choke the well. The animal bones, too, occur both in upper levels and within the pocket of the fine wares and so were tossed into the well during the cleanup and not before. If the Persians had introduced dead animals for the purpose of defiling the well, it is unlikely that the bones would have been from butchered animals, and we would expect them to form a solid pocket on top of the period of use deposit.

Perhaps the easiest way for the Persians to defile the wells was to use them as latrines or heap horse feces into them.<sup>62</sup> Neither action would leave macroscopic archaeological traces,<sup>63</sup> but either would render the water im potable for the returning homeowners. In ancient Greece, pollution (*miasma*) played an important role in everyday religion. The sense of violation and *miasma* would be amplified through the presence of the foreigner’s excrement.<sup>64</sup> Even if there is no evidence to prove that the Persians physically defiled the wells, the Athenians may have perceived a sense of pollution of the water from the Persian presence in the city and their destruction of both sacred and domestic structures.<sup>65</sup> The evidence for rebuilding of houses on new lines and the closure of private wells, often to accommodate rebuilding, suggests a post-Persian War mentality of starting over, or renewal. The intact and complete pottery from well J 2:4 supports this view of the cleanup mentality.

The complete vessels appear immediately above the period of use; thus, unbroken pottery was tossed into the well first, before the more labor-intensive cleanup of broken pottery and debris from the collapse of the walls and roof. The disposal of usable material must also mean that the pottery was considered relatively valueless and not worth saving.<sup>66</sup> The question of

62. Poisoning water sources is a common wartime tactic; see Lesho et al. 1998, pp. 512–513. The tactic is particularly useful for retreating forces. During the 1939–1940 Winter War, as the Finns retreated they booby-trapped houses and poisoned village wells with horse manure so that the Russians could not use them: Trotter 1991, p. 68.

63. Palaeobotanical study may have been helpful on this point, but soil flotation produced no useful data.

64. For *miasma* and pollution, see Parker 1983. Parker does not address the issue of *miasma* in Athens after the Persian Wars, but he does discuss the sensitivity of the household to pollution, pp. 29–30. See also Connor 1985,

especially pp. 79, 83, on the emotional impact of the destruction of houses.

65. The occupation of some Athenian houses by Persian nobles (Thuc. 1.89.3) may have contributed to feelings of pollution.

66. It is not likely that these functional vessels are the undesired “mates” to broken vessels. Not only are entire sets discarded into the well, but a “set” was a flexible concept, and pots decorated in different techniques could be combined together. In contrast, see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the value of the intentional red cups from Level 2, which were mended extensively in antiquity.



value of Attic pottery has been greatly debated in recent decades.<sup>67</sup> What well J 2:4 shows is that a homeowner—or person doing the cleanup—was willing to incur the loss of these vessels.<sup>68</sup>

Another possibility that must be considered is that the Persians themselves threw the fine wares down into the well as part of the destruction of the house. Several factors argue against this explanation, however. As discussed above, in the pocket of fine wares (Level 5) there are fragments that join other fragments from the upper well fill (Levels 1 and 2). It is unlikely that the Persians, while busy destroying the house, would toss into the well complete pots, smash others on the ground outside the well, then gather up a few stray fragments of the broken vessels and deposit them into the well. Furthermore, the intact pots from Level 5, which hit the water and gently came to a rest, indicate that the fill of Level 5 did not exceed the water table. In other words, the dump of fine wares would not have been enough to render the well unusable, by choking it as was done at Plataia. The intact and complete pots, though, do prove that the Persian destruction was not thorough (as will also be argued for the architectural remains), and some household possessions escaped destruction.<sup>69</sup>

Regardless of the motivation for closing the wells, a question remains as to the funding of the cleanup projects. Thucydides (1.90.3, 1.93.2) states that the first rebuilding efforts were directed at the city walls with all able-bodied residents assisting, including women and children. The wall reconstruction must have required organization, but since building material seems to have been largely salvaged from damaged structures, the project may not have required much funding. The houses, on the other hand, demanded serious reconstruction at, presumably, a significant cost in materials and possibly specialized hired labor. Margaret Miller has argued that the average citizen soldier went away from the battles of Plataia and Salamis a rich man.<sup>70</sup> This is in contrast to scholarly opinions that Athens and Athenians were poor in the years after the victory at Plataia.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps there was an influx of wealth from the spoils taken from the Persians, and it funded the private rebuilding. Unfortunately, we have little good archaeological evidence for Athenian households immediately following the Persian Wars, so it is not possible to compare pre- and postwar quality of life. It is important to remember that the renovations to the house of well J 2:4 (discussed below) and similar other structures of the Agora and surrounding neighborhoods did not occur immediately, but began sometime in the decade of 470–460. It is more likely that the homeowners lacked time than money.

67. Vickers and Gill 1994. One difficulty with the issue is that metal ware rarely survives in the archaeological record. The house of well J 2:4 might have owned numerous pieces of metal ware, but there is no way to know it. This is an unfortunate reality, because it would be very useful to know how a household's ceramic ves-

sels complemented its metal vessels.

68. It is impossible to know if the house was reoccupied by the same family after the return to the city. Even if a different owner took possession of the house after the war, he could have continued to use the existing pottery.

69. The complete pots may have been stored in a different room from

the broken pots; see Xen. *Oec.* 9.10 for daily-use objects and special-use objects being stored separately.

70. Miller 1997, pp. 43–45. The same is argued in Vickers 1990, but to support a different thesis.

71. Boardman 1996, p. 135. The prevailing scholarly view is discussed in Vickers 1990, pp. 105–106.

## THE HOUSE OF WELL J 2:4

Well J 2:4 and its associated architecture are the first domestic structures of Archaic date found in the area near the northwest corner of the Classical Agora square. Figure 1, a plan of the Athenian Agora area, shows monuments present ca. 480, contemporary with the well and its house. The plan is somewhat misleading, as the areas north and west of the house have not yet been excavated down to Archaic and Classical levels. As more evidence becomes available, it is likely that excavators will find other Archaic domestic structures in the area.

In addition to the evidence from well J 2:4, the structural remains of its house also provide evidence for destruction by the Persians and subsequent rebuilding. Layers of debris, characteristic of the cleanup following the Persian destruction, and alterations to the house plan during post-Persian War renovations attest to the destruction and its aftermath. The picture provided by the closure of the well and rehabilitation of the house provide an image of determined resumption of everyday life in the years following the devastation of the Persian Wars.

### SUMMARY OF HOUSE PHASES

The Archaic house as preserved probably had four rooms: the northeastern courtyard with well J 2:4, a northwestern room, a southeastern room, and a southwestern room. The northwestern room may have been a covered space opening onto the courtyard. A doorway connected the two southern rooms.

After the house suffered damage during the Persian sack of Athens, it was renovated over the course of a couple of decades. Post-Persian destruction renovation activities in this house include the following: (1) well J 2:4 was filled shortly after 479 and capped with a stratum of stones and pottery; (2) Persian destruction debris consisting of a dense layer of broken pottery was used as fill throughout the southern half of the house; (3) the east-west crosswall was rebuilt farther to the north, over the southern edge of the mouth of well J 2:4; and (4) a new interior plan was created. The exterior footprint of the house remained the same, but the interior of the house was now divided into at least four new spaces. The Archaic courtyard was turned into a room. A corridor to the northwest indicates the presence of a further room to the west under the western foundation wall of the Roman temple. In the southern half of the house one large room was formed from the two rooms of the Archaic period.

### EXTERIOR LIMITS OF THE HOUSE

The archaeology of the area surrounding the well is difficult to unravel because of continuous rebuilding in the area from antiquity to the present. Of immediate concern is the disruption caused to the walls and floors of the eastern portion of well J 2:4's house by the Roman podium temple and a later bothros, and the obliteration of all traces of the western portion of the house by the Roman latrine (Figs. 2 and 3). As a result, it is impossible to know the full extent of the house to the west, and we can only sketch



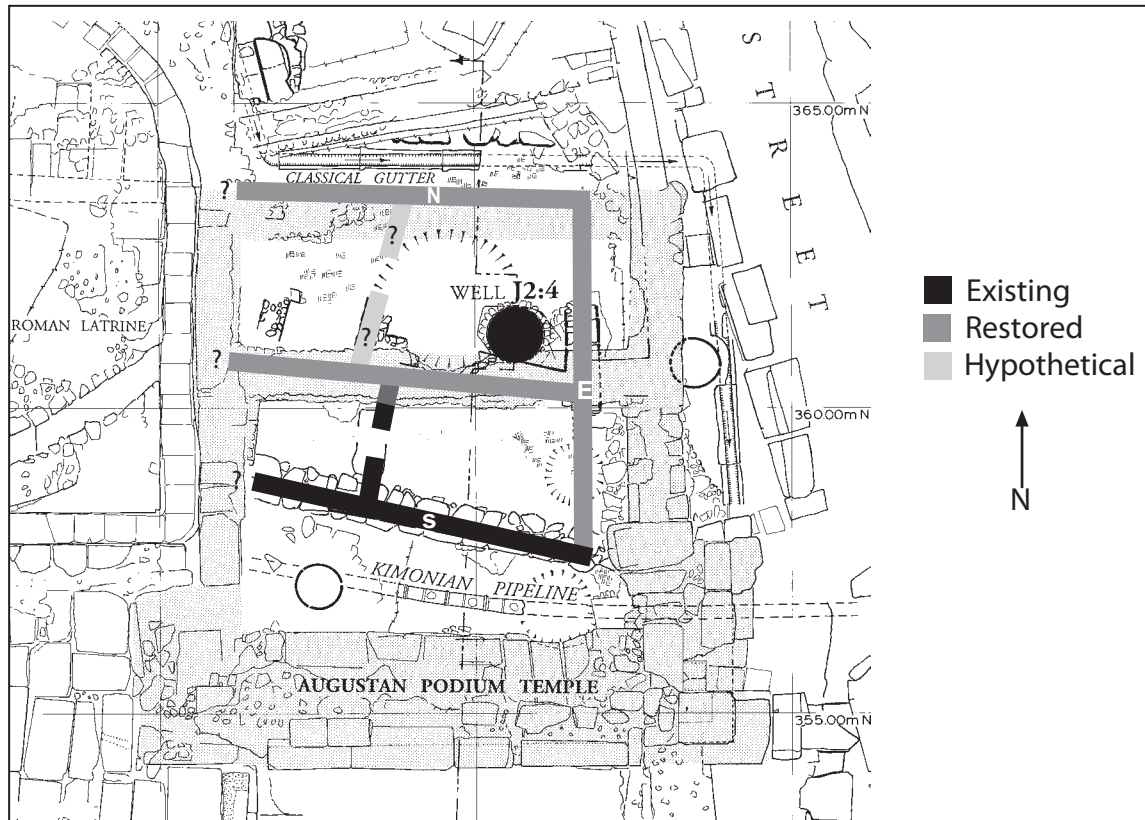


Figure 9. Detail of Figure 3, with plan of the Archaic phase of the house of well J 2:4. Author after Richard Anderson (Camp 1996, fig. 5)

the details of its eastern rooms. The architecture of well J 2:4's house is preserved only in short fragments of walls and small patches of stratified floor levels. The limited evidence available, though, does document two phases to the house: Late Archaic, and Early Classical through Hellenistic.<sup>72</sup> The Late Archaic phase is contemporary with the period of use of the well, and the Classical phase is a post-Persian destruction renovation including the closing of well J 2:4. The eastern portions of the Archaic and Classical houses shared an exterior footprint (Figs. 9, 10). While the obliterated western limits of the house cannot be defined, it is possible to determine its northern, southern, and eastern limits. The southern exterior wall (wall S on Figs. 9 and 10) is an east–west stretch of fine polygonal Acropolis limestone blocks finished on the southern face (Fig. 4). This polygonal wall dates to the Archaic period but continued to be used in the second, Classical, phase of the house.<sup>73</sup> The polygonal wall turns its good face, with diagonally dressed interlocking blocks, toward the altar of Aphrodite (Fig. 4). The construction of the marble altar of Aphrodite dates to ca. 500;<sup>74</sup> therefore, it is likely that the well-built polygonal wall also served as a temenos wall for the sanctuary, if not also for terracing, and the treatment of the southern face is a product of this function.<sup>75</sup>

72. Shear 1997, pp. 512–514. I have been able to refine and revise some of Shear's preliminary statements through study of the context pottery

and excavation notebooks.

73. Shear 1984, p. 33; 1997, p. 512.

74. Shear 1984, p. 30, n. 45.

75. Shear 1984, p. 33.



Figure 10. Detail of Figure 3, with plan of the Classical phase of the house of well J 2:4. Author after Richard Anderson (Camp 1996, fig. 5)

The northern exterior wall (wall N on Figs. 9 and 10) is preserved only in its lowest foundations.<sup>76</sup> To the north of the northern wall was an area of road metal dating to the Late Archaic–Early Classical period.<sup>77</sup> This was probably a narrow (1-m-wide) alley along the north of the house, since the lowest course of a parallel polygonal wall from another structure survives about 1 m north of the northern wall of the house.<sup>78</sup> In the Classical period, an open poros water channel flowed eastward through the alley before turning south to follow the line of the north–south street (Figs. 2, 3, 9, and 10).<sup>79</sup> The poros channel cannot be dated more precisely than the mid-5th century on the basis of ceramic evidence, but it rests above the road-metal levels. Another polygonal wall to the north of the house of well J 2:4 at J/2, 2/13–15 runs north–south and may have connected with the east–west polygonal wall (parallel to the house’s southern polygonal wall)

76. Notebook BZ, pp. 1731 ff.; Shear 1993a, p. 2; Shear 1997, p. 512.

77. At J/6, 7–2/16, 17; Layers 5b–13b, Notebook BZ, pp. 1581, 1583, 1585, 1589–91, 1595, 1599, 1663, 1667–69, 1731, lots BZ 443, 445, 457.

78. The wall at J/4–7, 2/16 is in an area of Hellenistic disturbance, probably from the robbing out of the northern house wall. As a result, a general date of 5th century is assigned to it,

but it is possible, especially since the path of this wall parallels the south Archaic polygonal wall of the house, that it might date to the Archaic period as well.

79. Houses from both Olynthus and Halieis had alleyways behind them for drainage; see discussion in Ault 1994, p. 40. Near the Athenian Agora, the alley behind Houses C and D, which would become the bed for the Great

Drain, was merely 2 m wide in places: Young 1951, pp. 187–224. Room 6 of House C had two drains that deposited water into the alley before it was converted to the Great Drain: Young 1951, p. 206. There are fragments of a terracotta, U-shaped drain in Levels 5 and 6 of well J 2:4. It is possible that the poros water channel is a post-Persian replacement of an Archaic predecessor.

on the north side of the alley. The polygonal walls north of the house are at a higher elevation than the house's southern polygonal wall. Since the ground level in this area rises toward the north, up from the bed of the Eridanos River, these walls likely served as terracing for the area.<sup>80</sup> It is possible that the polygonal walls north of the house of well J 2:4 represent exterior walls of another house built on a higher terrace.<sup>81</sup>

The eastern exterior wall (wall E on Figs. 9 and 10) was also of polygonal masonry. Its history is complicated, and portions of it may have been rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. A well-constructed north–south stretch of polygonal masonry is preserved within the foundations of the cross-wall for the Roman temple, but it does not feature the diagonal dressing of the southern polygonal wall.<sup>82</sup> This short stretch (ca. 2 m long) represents the middle of the eastern exterior wall. To the north of this middle portion of the eastern wall the area is extremely disturbed, and no traces of the wall were found. To the south of the middle, the wall was removed during the Hellenistic period. A new eastern wall was built, extending the house to the east about 1 m sometime in the Middle to Late Hellenistic period.<sup>83</sup> The object of this renovation is not clear. The house is put out of use by the construction of the Augustan podium temple, which cannibalizes the house's northern and eastern exterior walls and interior, east–west dividing wall.

### INTERIOR PLAN: ARCHAIC PHASE

At least three rooms and a courtyard (with well J 2:4) are preserved from the Late Archaic phase (Fig. 9). A date for the construction of the house is given by evidence for the initial leveling of the area. Construction efforts in the southeastern area of the house disturbed and cut off the top of a Submycenaean burial vase set into a shallow pit.<sup>84</sup> Pottery evidence from the lowest floor level in the southeastern room suggests a construction date for the house in the late 6th century (see Fig. 12).<sup>85</sup> Although the disturbed stratigraphy in the northeastern room (the courtyard) did not preserve an Archaic floor level adjacent to well J 2:4 (see Fig. 12), the date of the lowest floor and leveling operation in the southeastern portion of the house agrees with the chronological evidence from the period of use deposit in well J 2:4 (discussed above). The elevations of the lowest floor in the southeastern room and the approximate top of the well are both ca. 51.00 m above sea level, also suggesting contemporary construction.

80. There is a difference of about 0.50 m elevation between the footing stone levels of the two polygonal walls.

81. The Classical period poros water channel turns north at an oblique angle and continues north (traces or remains found in J/2, 3–2/13, 14, 15, 16), which confirms that it post-dates the building utilizing the polygonal walls to the north of the house of well J 2:4 since the water channel respected the plans of both this northern structure and the J 2:4 house.

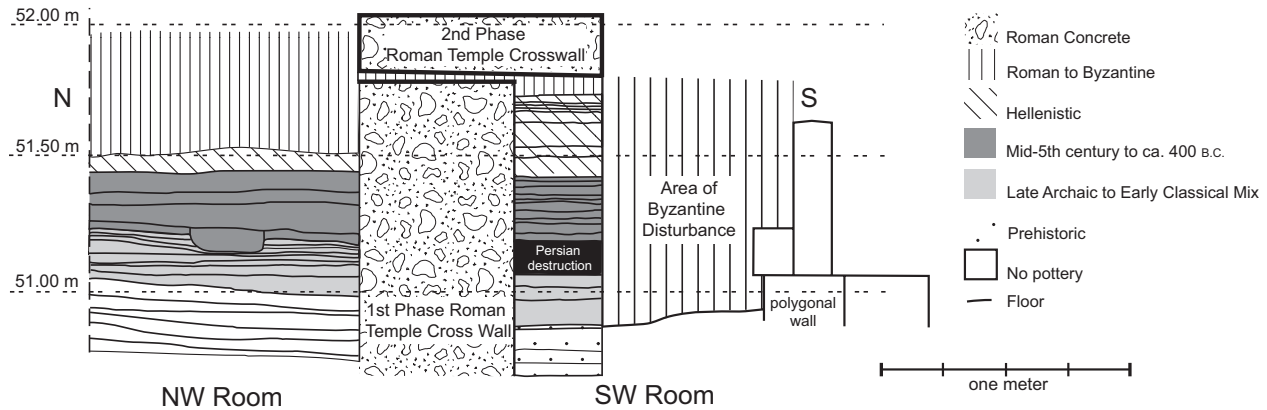
82. Shear 1997, p. 512.

83. Shear 1993a, p. 3; Shear 1997, p. 512, n. 28.

84. Layer 36a cuts the vase: neck-handled amphora, P 32307. The vessel contained the cremated remains of a young child: Shear 1997, p. 514, n. 35. This is one of several early burials in the vicinity; see also P 32264, a Submycenaean belly amphora found 3 m north of the house, and two Submycenaean inhumations under the northern portion of the house, J 2:10 and J 2:11

(see Appendix III), Camp 1999, pp. 263–265. Builders leveled the area north of the Eridanos before beginning construction, thus obliterating evidence of Iron Age and Early Archaic occupation.

85. Layer 36a, Lot BZ 626 in the southeastern portion of the house (indicated on Fig. 12) dated to the last quarter 6th century on the basis of a cup foot, cf. *Agora* XII, p. 263, no. 401, fig. 4, ca. 525–500.



**Figure 11. Simplified north-south stratigraphic cross-section at J/3, looking east.** Author after excavation Notebook BZ, p. 1496

The preserved portion of the house as originally constructed in the Late Archaic period had two rooms in the southern half, and a courtyard with well J 2:4 and probably a third room in the northern half (Fig. 9). Again, the very disturbed stratigraphy of the area obscures some important details of the house plan; however, in the absence of architecture, the scrappy stratigraphy provides some clues to the plan.

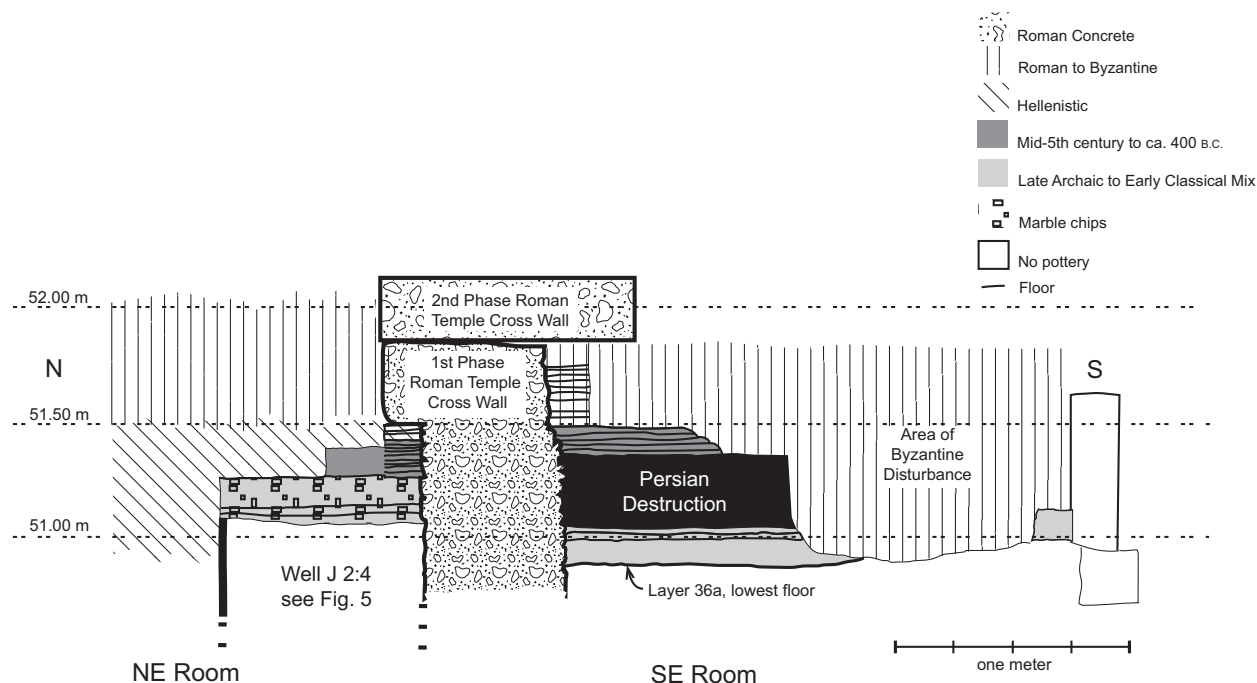
In the Classical period the east-west wall dividing the house was rebuilt and shifted to the north so that it overlapped the edge of well J 2:4. The rubble Roman temple cross-wall engulfs the Classical wall, and no trace of an earlier east-west Archaic wall was found in the excavation. The stratigraphy, though, does provide evidence for a wall between the northern and southern portions of the house in the Archaic period. A simplified north-south stratigraphic cross-section (Fig. 11) at J/3, through the northwestern and southwestern remains of the house, presents a view of stratigraphic levels as excavated.

Before looking at the specific evidence for the Archaic east-west wall, however, it is necessary to comment on the presentation of stratigraphic evidence. Since the area of the house of well J 2:4, like almost every part of ancient Athens, experienced continuous rebuilding throughout antiquity, good sequences of strata are sometimes restricted to narrow strips that are prone to containing intrusive fragments caused by later building. The simplified stratigraphic drawings presented here in some cases combine layers that were excavated separately, but that I assigned to the same stratigraphic unit when I restudied the context pottery and excavation notebooks.<sup>86</sup> The chronology of these strata is indicated by shading, based on the dominant chronological period indicated by the ceramic evidence, allowing for occasional intrusions of later material. Figure 11 presents an area of good stratigraphy to the north of the obtrusive Roman temple cross-wall and the thin strip of preserved stratigraphy along the south face of the Roman temple cross-wall, the second phase of which, here, projects over the southern side of the earlier temple cross-wall.<sup>87</sup> The excavators identify most of the strata as floors, with the exception of the Persian destruction debris used as fill below the first Classical period floor in the southern half of the house. Figure 11 shows that the layer of Persian destruction debris found in the southern half of the house does not extend into the northern half. In order for this separation to occur, a wall must have been in place when the Persian destruction fill was laid down.

86. Individually excavated layers were most often deemed to be a single stratigraphic unit when ceramic joins were found. In other cases, when soil color and character and ceramic characteristics remained constant I combined like layers into one stratum, although the excavator had cautiously changed units to preserve information. The context ceramics remain stored as excavated.

87. Shear 1997, p. 513, and fig. 4.





**Figure 12. Simplified north-south stratigraphic cross-section at J/6, looking east.** Author after excavation Notebook BZ, pp. 1542, 1762

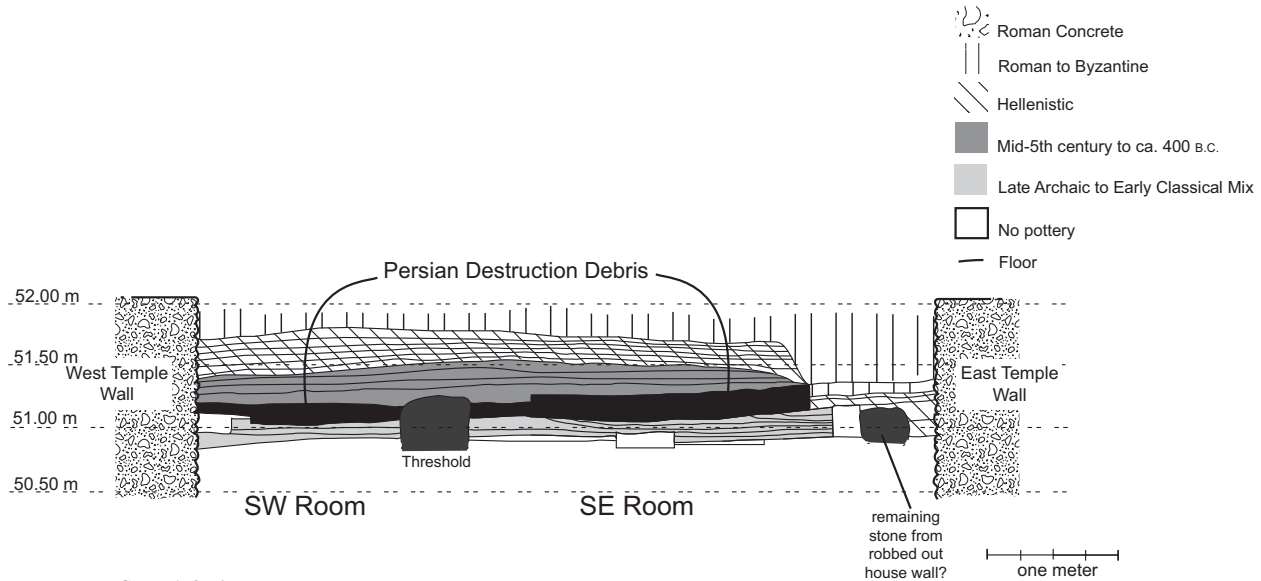
Furthermore, there are no joins between the pottery from strata on either side of the temple cross-wall below the Persian destruction fill, suggesting that floors were not continuous.

A stratigraphic cross-section through the northeastern and southeastern portion of the house (Fig. 12) also indicates the presence of an east-west wall during the Archaic phase of the house. In the southeastern room the stratum of Persian destruction debris is a thick layer of broken pottery. Again, since the Persian destruction debris does not continue seamlessly over the top of the well, this is an indication of the presence of an east-west wall dividing the house. The well is capped with a layer of marble and poros chips that matches the elevation of the debris stratum in the southeastern part of the house, but pottery is scant among the stone chips. Pottery in the Persian destruction debris stratum in the southeastern part of the house dates to about 450, that is, later than the fill in well J 2:4. The well was filled in shortly after the return of the Athenians to their city in 479, but renovations were not made to the house for another couple of decades. The scant pottery among the stone chips also dates to ca. 479, suggesting that the stone layer was an effort to cap the well or limit settling after filling it in. That the well was closed first and house renovations delayed further emphasizes the urgency of filling in the well.

The space in which the well was located was probably a courtyard, since wells were typically situated in courtyards in Athens in the Archaic and Classical period.<sup>88</sup> It is also possible that the more western portion of the northern room was open but covered, either by a shed roof or by a second story.<sup>89</sup> A large portion of the northern half of the house was disturbed by a Byzantine bothros, which interferes with the Archaic and Classical stratigraphy. There is no evidence for Archaic walls in the northern portion of the house, although there are short sections of Classical walls in this area. The excavator does record that the lowest floor surface in the northwestern portion of the house (Fig. 11) contained sand and gravel, which she

88. Camp 1977, pp. 181–182, 245; Shear 1997, pp. 512–513.

89. For a similar relationship of courtyard to roofed, but open area, cf. a partially excavated Archaic house at Sardis: Cahill 2002b, p. 179.



**Figure 13. Simplified east-west cross-section along southern edge of Roman temple cross-wall, looking north.** Author after excavation Notebook BZ, p. 1562

distinguished from other floor surfaces in the house and associated with the surfacing of a courtyard; thus, it is likely that the open courtyard area in which J 2:4 was situated continued over to the west, and possibly beyond the preserved limits of the house. A covered area to the west of the courtyard would have provided work space that was close to the well but sheltered from the elements. A portico might possibly have been backed by unpreserved rooms continuing to the west under the Roman latrine.

The southern portion of the house was divided into two rooms in the Archaic period as indicated by a threshold block (Figs. 9, 13). This threshold probably marks a doorway in a short north-south wall dividing the two southern rooms, although the Roman temple cross-wall obliterated most of the wall to the north of the threshold. Figure 13 presents an east-west stratigraphic cross-section of a narrow strip of preserved strata against the south face of the Roman temple cross wall. Persian destruction debris was placed directly on the latest Archaic floor level, bringing its level even with the threshold block. The southeastern room was ca. 3.50 m by 2.00 m, and the southwestern room an unknown length by 2.00 m wide.

The entrance to the house could have been either from the main north-south street at the east, or from the west in the section no longer preserved. The narrow alleyway at the north of the house with the polygonal terrace wall behind it precludes an entrance from the north,<sup>90</sup> and an entrance from the south through the sanctuary area is also unlikely. If the entrance were on the eastern side of the house, there are arguments for locating the door in either the courtyard room or the southeastern room. Since the southeastern room is separated from the southwestern room by the threshold, the southeastern room would have made an excellent entrance vestibule. However, this would make the vestibule exceptionally large in comparison to the other preserved rooms. Although many Classical-period houses have entrance vestibules,<sup>91</sup> houses with direct entry into a courtyard are known,<sup>92</sup> and this design seems to be favored in houses with irregular floor plans. Therefore, it is also possible that one entered the house through the courtyard. Neither situation seems preferable, which may mean that the original entrance to the house was on its unpreserved western side.

90. Shear (1997, pp. 512–513) suggests that the entrance was through the courtyard with the well and could have either been from the alley at the north or from the main north-south road.

91. The presence of a vestibule to act as a buffer between street and house is a key element in the discussion of privacy and seclusion of women: see Walker 1983; Jameson 1990a; 1990b, p. 183; Nevett 1995, pp. 92–94.

92. E.g., first phase of Vari Cave house, Jones et al. 1973, fig. 4; house on the north foot of the Areopagos, *Agora* XIV, pp. 177–180, fig. 42; the eastern and western houses on the northeast slope of the Areopagos, Shear 1973a, pp. 146–150, fig. 4 (the excavator states that the eastern house was built in the early 5th century with a courtyard and well, like the house of J 2:4); the “Flügelhofhaus” on the Pnyx, plan in Jones 1975, fig. 8A.

## INTERIOR PLAN: CLASSICAL PHASE

Nearly every room of the Archaic house presents evidence for the cleanup following the Persian destruction. In the two southern rooms there is a deep stratum of broken pottery (Fig. 13),<sup>93</sup> and in the northeastern room, in addition to the fill within well J 2:4, there is a stratum of marble and poros chips,<sup>94</sup> which corresponds to the elevation of the debris stratum in the southeastern room (Fig. 12). Unfortunately, the disturbed stratigraphy makes it impossible to know whether the chips continued throughout the northeastern room or not. No stone chips appear in the northwestern room, nor do they continue as a layer into the southeastern room.

The Persian destruction debris throughout the house tells us something about the process of renovation after the owners returned to their damaged house. The pottery fill in well J 2:4 contains no objects dating significantly after 480, while the debris stratum found in the southern part of the house contains objects dating to the second quarter of the 5th century.<sup>95</sup> It appears that the homeowners returned to their house, filled in the well with unwanted pottery and pottery broken by the Persians, but then waited some time to carry out the structural renovations to the house. This fits Thucydides's description of events following the victory at Plataia; he says that rebuilding the city wall was the first priority of the Athenians (1.89.3), and that the houses, along with public buildings, were plundered for usable building materials to repair the walls (1.90.3, 1.93.2).

The exterior footprint of the house appears to have remained largely intact, at least in the preserved eastern portion, but the interior plan experienced changes. The most significant alteration to the house plan was the closing of the courtyard well. Classical floors above the well are clay (Fig. 12), perhaps indicating that the former open courtyard became a closed room. In addition, a new east–west wall was built, slightly to the north of where the Archaic wall existed. This new wall passed over the southern edge of the closed well. The stratum of marble and poros chips over well J 2:4 may have also provided further footing for the construction of this wall over the top of the closed well. There is no preserved evidence of a foundation trench on either side of the Classical east–west wall or its Archaic predecessor.

The presence of the marble and poros chips demands a brief comment. The chips consist of fragments of poros, white marble, and blue marble. White marble predominates, and blue marble (presumably Hymettian) is the least frequent. Some of the chips preserve tool marks, indicating that they are all likely to be debitage from stoneworking. In fact, a few small, well-finished fragments of moldings point to architectural construction

93. Shear 1997, p. 513, nn. 31–34.

94. Shear 1997, p. 514.

95. For these two “types” of Persian destruction deposits, see Shear 1993, pp. 414–415, 417. The debris stratum contained mudbrick, roof tiles, rubble, and pottery characteristic of Persian destruction deposits. However, the pottery dates closer to 470–460 than the pottery of the well, which

is firmly before 480. There are no joins between the fill of well J 2:4 and the floor stratum. Pottery lots BZ 618–621: e.g., fragment of flaring rim with red-figured ovolo motif; black-glazed lekythos cf. *Agora* XII, p. 314, no. 1119, pl. 38 (ca. 450); red-figured fragment with head of an owl, unknown open drinking shape; several Vicup feet, cf. *Agora*

XII, p. 265, nos. 436, 437, pl. 20, fig. 5 (ca. 470–460). The pottery from this fill is of a different nature from the fill of the well: the floor fill has little figured pottery and no black-figured cup-skyphoi, black-figured lekythoi, or black-glazed skyphoi, which are numerous in the well fill.

as the source. In the northeastern room, the chips are densest above the well and do not appear in floor levels in the northern part of the house in the Classical period.<sup>96</sup> A scattering of stone chips also appears in the stratum of Persian destruction pottery in the southern half of the house;<sup>97</sup> in contrast, stone chips are more common among the Classical and even Hellenistic floor levels of the southern half of the house. The excavators suggested that this house may have been a marble worker's establishment,<sup>98</sup> but in comparison to houses in which we can confidently identify marble-working activities, the house of well J 2:4 lacks evidence of pervasive marble dust that would be a product of the working of stone on-site.<sup>99</sup> Instead, it is more likely that the homeowners brought in the stones from a nearby construction site to use as fill, especially to cap the well. One possible existing source of stone chips in the neighborhood may have been debris left over from the construction of the Archaic altar to Aphrodite ca. 500 m immediately to the south.<sup>100</sup> It is tempting to connect the stone chips with the construction of the Classical stoa building to the east of the house of well J 2:4, identified as the Stoa Poikile; however, construction on the stoa was not begun until early in the second quarter of the 5th century.<sup>101</sup> None of the pottery from the stone-chip layer over the well dates later than 480. The stone chips used in the floors of the southern half of the house in the Classical period on the other hand are more likely to be connected with the construction of the stoa. The restriction of stone chips to this portion of the house in the Classical period is perplexing. It is possible that the texture of the stone chips embedded in the clay floors was appropriate for whatever activities occurred in this area.

The east-west wall has a northern return at its western end, and this, in addition to a scrap of another north-south wall at the far west of the preserved area, defines a northwestern "room" in the Classical phase of the house (Fig. 10). The width of this space is a little over 1 m wide, so it was possibly a corridor rather than a room. The northern return of the central, east-west wall indicates that there was direct access from the northern portion of the house to the southern portion of the house after the rebuilding. The north-south wall formed by the return of the east-west central wall must have contained a doorway at its northern end for access to the corridor, although this area of the excavation did not preserve Classical levels. The corridor would then have the dimensions of ca. 1 m by 3 m. It is also impossible to know the full northern and southern extent of the

96. Lots BZ 492–503, above the well and sealed by the lowest Classical floor, contained approximately 1,050 chips (280 poros, 638 white marble, 128 blue marble), 52 of which exhibit clear signs of tool marks or finished surfaces. I thank Agora architect Richard Anderson and David Scahill for discussing the stone chips with me.

97. In the Persian destruction debris in the southeastern room there were only 22 stone chips; in the southwestern room, 7.

98. Shear 1997, p. 514; note, how-

ever, that the excavator was referring to the thick layer of stone chips found above well J 2:4. It is now clear that the stone chips above the well have a terminus post quem of ca. 480 and should be associated with the closure of the well; therefore, they cannot be evidence of an Archaic sculptor's workshop as the excavators first suggested.

99. Cf. the house of Mikion and Menon, Shear 1969, p. 389: "On this point [that marble working occurred in the house] there can be no possible doubt whatever, for the floors of all five

phases were strewn with a heavy layer of marble working chips and marble dust. . . . Numerous hunks of partially worked marble were also found in every layer."

100. Shear 1984, p. 26. The altar features poros foundations, white island marble orthostates and moldings, and a light blue limestone sill. The blue marble fragments found in association with the house are finer than limestone.

101. Pottery from the foundation trench dates to 470–460: Shear 1984, pp. 13–14, nn. 16, 17.



scrap of wall at the west that forms the western side of the corridor. Since it is not an exterior wall, its presence implies a third northern space farther to the west, obliterated by the western foundation of the Roman podium temple. On Figure 10 I have restored the western wall as hypothetically solid, although it is also possible that there was an opening on the corridor allowing access to a room to the west.

In the southern section of the house, the two rooms of the Archaic period became one in the Classical period (Figs. 10, 13). Formerly the two rooms were divided by a door indicated by the surviving threshold. Persian destruction debris was deposited throughout both Archaic rooms and used to raise the ground level and form one room. Joins between the debris along the Roman temple cross-wall and a stratum of debris found against the north face of the polygonal wall (S on Fig. 10) indicate that the Persian destruction fill probably covered the entire southern half of the house.<sup>102</sup> Floor levels of the Classical period (mid-5th century) pass over the former threshold (Fig. 13). This new room was at least 5 m by 2 m, although its original east-west extent cannot be known.

The house seems to continue in use through the Hellenistic period, although most of the upper levels of the house were destroyed during the construction of the Roman podium temple.<sup>103</sup> The excavators found evidence of Hellenistic floor levels, but they remark that the Early Hellenistic period seems to be absent and that in places the floors jump from mid-5th century to mid-2nd century, although in other areas there are Classical floor levels with artifacts dating down to ca. 400.<sup>104</sup> There is evidence for a Hellenistic rebuilding of the exterior eastern wall.<sup>105</sup> It is possible that the house was unoccupied for a period and then renovated for continued use in the mid-Hellenistic period. Of course, the Hellenistic builders could also have lowered the interior floor level, elevated by years and years of resurfacing, by scraping away a century or two of surfaces. Indeed, the rise in floor level from the earliest Archaic floor to the latest preserved Classical floor is approximately 50 cm. If we presume that the house was continuously occupied and resurfaced at a similar rate, then by the 2nd century, it may have been uncomfortable for a person to stand up inside the house. A lowering of the floor may have been expedient.

## DISCUSSION OF HOUSE RENOVATION

The renovation of the house of well J 2:4 after the Persian destruction is in keeping with a pattern observed elsewhere in the Agora excavations. It is difficult to identify the architectural remains of houses associated with wells filled with Persian destruction debris due to continuous occupation and later disruption throughout the site, but in five (of 21) cases, wells filled with Persian destruction debris can be associated with domestic architecture. Their situations are remarkably similar to that of well J 2:4.<sup>106</sup> T. L. Shear Jr., in his review of Persian destruction deposits of the Agora, states categorically,

In every one of these [five cases], however, the builders of the Classical period took no cognizance whatsoever of the location of Archaic wells in the designs of their houses. . . . [I]n five specific

102. BZ lot 339, against the northern face of the polygonal wall (S on Fig. 10), contained pottery fragments that joined fragments from the strata excavated against the Roman temple cross-wall (BZ lots 618–621).

103. Augustan podium temple: Shear 1997, pp. 498, 507; post-Classical house: Shear 1997, p. 512.

104. Shear 1997, p. 513.

105. Shear 1997, p. 512, and n. 28.

106. These well deposits are B 19:10, B 18:6, D 17:10, H 12:15, and Q 21:3.

cases, it appears that the Classical builders were free to build along totally different lines and made little or no use of preexisting walls, foundations, or building materials, as if they set their new structures upon a *tabula rasa* from which the Archaic predecessors had been quite literally swept away.<sup>107</sup>

The case of the house of well J 2:4 is not so extreme. Exterior walls were preserved, probably because they had escaped the devastation structurally sound. The amount of roof tile from well J 2:4 is not enough to roof a structure, so it is possible that some undamaged tiles were reused in the Classical renovation. Of the five cases of post-Persian domestic rebuilding, two provide excellent parallels for the history of well J 2:4. Well H 12:15, near the northwestern corner of the Middle Stoa, was filled in, with a new interior wall built over its former mouth, just like well J 2:4.<sup>108</sup> In House G under the Roman period Omega House, the owners filled up their well with Persian destruction debris and created an andron out of part of the space formerly occupied by the courtyard with the well.<sup>109</sup> The change from courtyard to room in the house of well J 2:4 represents a similar shift in the function of the space.

There is no sign of a coherent, imposed plan for the architectural rebuilding of private houses in the vicinity of the Athenian Agora,<sup>110</sup> but a prevailing cleanup mentality suggests socially shaped behavior possibly guided by state orders.<sup>111</sup> That so many private wells were filled in, thus causing residents to shift to reliance on public water sources, may reflect some cleanup oversight by the city. In addition, communal dumping in neighborhood wells and pits may also indicate direction from a central authority—be it a concerned neighbor or the city. The post-Persian War rebuilding of Athens did respect the existing street plan, with minor modifications.<sup>112</sup> In the Piraeus, on the other hand, rebuilding included the institution of a new street grid.<sup>113</sup> Since the Athenian houses were rebuilt following the existing street plan, any renovation of the house of well J 2:4 was seriously restricted by the circumscription of its lot by the north-south street to the east, the east-west alley to the north, and the sanctuary of Aphrodite to the south.

### THE HOUSE OF WELL J 2:4 AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD OVER TIME

The construction of the house and well in the last quarter of the 6th century coincides with other Late Archaic building activity in the area. The house's nearest neighbor, the altar to Aphrodite, was probably under construction at the same time.<sup>114</sup> A portion of a Late Archaic cobbled road was found to the east of the (later) Classical commercial building (see Fig. 2, labeled

107. Shear 1993, pp. 405–406.

108. Well H 12:15: Thompson 1954, pp. 51–54.

109. Well Q 21:3: Shear 1973a, pp. 152–153.

110. Boersma 1970, p. 44. He also points out that everyone returned to the

city at once, and there was no time to impose either a building or street plan on the returning inhabitants.

111. A prevailing “cleanup mentality” might also motivate the closing of the wells. If the populace perceived the wells to be polluted,

through rumor or assumption, hysteria might have provided the incentive to fill in perfectly usable wells.

112. Thompson 1981, p. 345.

113. Boersma 1970, p. 10.

114. Shear 1984, p. 30, n. 45.

“Classical building”), the back wall of which cut through the road bed.<sup>115</sup> There is no evidence yet for other Late Archaic structures between the cobbled road and the house of well J 2:4,<sup>116</sup> although a pit deposit (J/K 2:1) cut through the cobbled road surface contained Persian destruction debris in association with a stratum of similar debris beside it.<sup>117</sup> This pit deposit suggests that there may have been other houses in the area, probably to the north or east of the cobbled road. Terracing to the north of the house of well J 2:4 also seems to date to the Late Archaic period, and it was possibly installed to protect against erosion to the south and to facilitate further development of this area.<sup>118</sup> Traces of an Archaic drain or water channel ran west in the area now behind the Stoa Poikile.<sup>119</sup> Nearby public monuments in place at the time of the construction of the house of well J 2:4 include the Stoa Basileus and the Altar of the Twelve Gods (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>120</sup> The western edge of the Agora had also been developed into a nascent civic center. Well J 2:4 represents one of 31 excavated wells built during the last two quarters of the 6th century. These wells surround the Classical Agora and probably represent houses constructed during a domestic building boom in the wake of the public and commercial development of the area in the late 6th century.<sup>121</sup>

It remains uncertain who sponsored the Late Archaic building boom and to whom to attribute the increased public role of the area that would (at some point) become the Classical Agora.<sup>122</sup> It is generally accepted now that the Archaic Agora lay to the northeast of the Acropolis and that the area of the Classical Agora was officially designated the civic center sometime in the Late Archaic to Early Classical period. The process of relocating the civic center from its Archaic setting to its new one has been associated with the Peisistratids, the new democracy, or post-Persian War reorganization.<sup>123</sup>

The area directly north of the Classical Agora square experienced even greater building activity following the Persian destruction.<sup>124</sup> During the time of the cleanup and renovation of the house of well J 2:4, other major public projects were underway in the neighborhood. The Eridanos was canalized in the second quarter of the 5th century,<sup>125</sup> and the Stoa Poikile constructed shortly thereafter if not simultaneously.<sup>126</sup> A water pipe running behind the Stoa Poikile, between it and the Classical commercial building,

115. Noted on Camp 1999, fig. 24, to the east of the ostraka deposit, but not discussed in text.

116. Excavations in the Classical commercial building reveal that strata beneath it jumped from Classical to Geometric levels. It is possible that Archaic structures were leveled before construction, and no traces survive: Camp 1999, p. 277; Scahill 2001.

117. Camp 1999, p. 274, noted on fig. 24.

118. An Archaic polygonal terrace wall (J/4, 7–2/16) lies north of the house of well J 2:4 (on Fig. 3, north of “Classical gutter”) and parallels the Archaic polygonal wall used as the south wall (wall S on Figs. 9 and 10) of the house.

119. Shear 1984, p. 14.

120. Stoa Basileus: Shear 1971, pp. 243–255; *Agora* XIV, pp. 83–90; Shear 1994, pp. 236–239. Altar of the Twelve Gods: Gadberry 1992.

121. Wells: B 19:10, D 15:1, D 17:10, E 14:5, E 15:6, F 19:4, F 19:5, G 11:3, G 11:8, G 15:1, H 12:15, I 17:2, M 17:4, N 18:7, O 19:4, P 17:1, Q 7:1, Q 12:3, Q 17:3, R 12:1, R 12:3, R 12:4, T 19:1, T 24:3, T 24:5, T 25:2, U 23:2, U 24:1, U 25:2, V 23:1, V 24:2. These are in contrast to the 17 wells that went out of use around the mid-6th century (Shear 1978, pp. 4–5; 1994, pp. 229–239); Shear proposes that these represent households expropriated by a central authority.

122. For discussions of the existence

of an earlier Archaic Agora northeast of the Acropolis, see most recently Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 280–297; see also Dontas 1983; Shear 1994, pp. 225–228, 245–246; Miller 1995; Schnurr 1995; Robertson 1998; Schmalz 1998; 2006. The idea of an alternative site for the Archaic Agora was first put forth much earlier by Oikonomides 1964.

123. Peisistratids: Camp 1994, p. 11; Kleisthenes: Shear 1994, esp. pp. 239, 245; post-Persian War: Miller 1995; Papadopoulos 1996; 2003, p. 297.

124. Thompson 1981, pp. 345–346.

125. Shear 1997, pp. 517–518.

126. Shear 1984, pp. 13–14, nn. 16, 17.

has been identified as the Kimonian pipeline that brought fresh water to the Academy area. This pipeline was installed in the second quarter of the 5th century, after the completion of construction of the Stoa Poikile.<sup>127</sup> Another possible house in the neighborhood cleaned up a bit more slowly, placing some of their Persian destruction debris in the pit in the cobbled road (J/K 2:1), and in associated strata ca. 475.<sup>128</sup> Around the same time a substantial number of ostraka were dumped on the road nearby.<sup>129</sup> The ostraka pit indicates that the Archaic cobbled road was no longer in service and was being used as a dumping area. Meanwhile the north–south road east of the house was formally surfaced for the first time, with the earliest road metal dating to the first quarter of the 5th century.<sup>130</sup> Traffic was now diverted farther to the west, to accommodate the Stoa Poikile, which blocked the old Archaic cobbled road. In the third quarter of the 5th century the Classical commercial building, which aligns with the Stoa Poikile, was built.<sup>131</sup> It was also around this time that the altar of Aphrodite was rebuilt.<sup>132</sup> It was destroyed sometime shortly after its construction ca. 500, and although the evidence is not certain, it was likely due to the Persians, as the nearby Stoa of Basileus and the Altar of the Twelve Gods also both bear evidence of damage.<sup>133</sup> The delayed renovation of sacred structures seems unusual, but may be explained by the Oath of Plataia,<sup>134</sup> or a more tacit agreement to allow sacred sites damaged by the Persians to remain so as a reminder of the impiety of the barbarians.

The picture is one of prosperity and energy for this neighborhood north of the public square in the Early Classical period. Of especial note is the shift to public and commercial activities. The house of well J 2:4 is currently the only Classical domestic structure known in the area, although excavations continue in the area and will undoubtedly shed light on its domestic neighbors.

## THE DOMESTIC CONTEXT

Before examining the contents of well J 2:4 in the following chapters, it is necessary to establish that the pottery originated from a domestic context and represents only one household. A “domestic context” means that the artifacts were used in a house by the household members for household activities. A domestic assemblage can include kitchen equipment, tableware, utilitarian shapes, entertaining equipment, household ritual objects, and objects associated with household industry, such as weaving. That well J 2:4 contains pottery in possession of a single household is shown by the relationship of the well to the architecture of the house, the shapes and quantities of shapes present in the deposit, and the absence of evidence to identify the deposit as votive, public, or purely commercial.

127. Shear 1984, p. 49, n. 101.

128. Camp 1999, p. 274.

129. Camp 1999, pp. 268–274.

130. A portion of the road was excavated in 2002: Scatell 2002. The earliest surface is lot BE 2612, dated to the 480s by an ostrakon of the Alkmaionid Hippokrates, P 34456 (*agathe*).

131. Camp 1999, p. 277.

132. Shear 1984, p. 32.

133. Stoa Basileus: Shear 1971, pp. 243–255; *Agora* XIV, pp. 83–90; Shear 1994, pp. 236–239; Altar of the Twelve Gods: Gadberry 1992, p. 471.

134. On the Oath of Plataia and its authenticity, see Meiggs 1972, pp. 504–

507. It seems best to acknowledge that many sacred monuments and small shrines were not rebuilt immediately after their damage at the hands of the Persians, whether or not there was a public interdiction against doing so.

As discussed above, well J 2:4 was located in the courtyard in the northeastern portion of the Archaic phase of its house. In the Archaic period, wells in the vicinity of the Classical Athenian Agora could serve cultic, commercial, civic/public, or domestic users. John Camp states that Archaic wells were more likely to be for private use, with one well serving one house.<sup>135</sup> However, there are certainly Archaic wells associated with commercial and cultic activities, and thus a domestic function should not be assumed for all wells in the area.<sup>136</sup> In order to support the identification of well J 2:4 and its architecture as a domestic context, it is necessary to consider alternative identifications.<sup>137</sup>

The architecture associated with well J 2:4, as described above, argues for the identification of the structure as a house, as opposed to a cult center, but the proximity of the structure to the altar of Aphrodite demands that we consider a possible relationship to the cult. Sacred areas around the Classical Agora often featured wells that inevitably became receptacles for discarded votive offerings.<sup>138</sup> Well J 2:4 was not such a receptacle for the shrine to Aphrodite to its south. The fine polygonal wall (Fig. 4; and Wall S on Figs. 9 and 10) acted as a socle for a mudbrick wall, and it preserves no evidence for a door or other opening allowing access from the house to the cult area. Further, distinctive votive offerings left in the cult area are not present in the house. Evidence for votive offerings includes rich layers of faunal remains<sup>139</sup> and small (ca. 4.5 × 4.5 cm), square terracotta votive plaques, some of which retain traces of white and red paint.<sup>140</sup> North of the polygonal wall there is neither abundant bone nor the distinctive plaques. It is not impossible, however, that the resident of the house served the cult in some capacity, but no formal cult activities took place in the house. Items for use in household cult are present in small quantities in well J 2:4, but these are common in most of the Persian destruction deposits. Finally, there are no obvious dedicatory inscriptions among the graffiti on objects from well J 2:4.

The Classical-period houses in Athens in the area of the Agora occasionally acted as both shelter for the family and a location for a commercial enterprise. That enterprise might be the sale of objects made elsewhere or the fabrication and sale of objects on-site. Some of the commercial activities were noisy and dirty industrial pursuits.<sup>141</sup> However, these “home

135. Camp 1977, p. 181.

136. Commercial: pottery sales shop, Roberts 1986; butcher, R 12:1, Shear 1993, p. 469. Cultic: on the north slope of the Acropolis, Wells B and C, Cutting Y–Z (Broneer 1938, pp. 170–172).

137. Similar questions are applied to test the domestic origin of finds from two houses at Lydian Sardis: Cahill 2002b, pp. 182–184. These two houses, of which only a portion of each survives, provide parallels for many aspects of the domestic assemblage of the house of well J 2:4. They were likely destroyed

by fire around 546 by Cyrus the Great during his capture of Sardis (Cahill 2002b, p. 175). The material remains of the Sardis houses are very well preserved, better than the house of well J 2:4. Cahill admits that without comparative evidence, it is difficult to answer questions about the Lydian houses' status and size, just as it is with the house of well J 2:4.

138. For example, the Crossroads well (J 5:1), associated with the Crossroads Enclosure, Shear 1973a, pp. 126–134; 1973b, pp. 360–369; and well H 6:9, a well on the Kolonos Agoraios

filled with miniature vessels.

139. For the faunal remains associated with the altar of Aphrodite, see Foster 1984.

140. The votive plaques are unpublished, but the excavator inventoried two complete examples (T 4243 and T 4244) and fragments of 89 others (T 4245–T 4342) found west of the altar of Aphrodite and south of the polygonal wall during the 1993 excavation season: Shear 1993b, p. 2. All date to the late 6th to early 5th centuries.

141. See Young 1951; *Agora* XIV, pp. 173–177; Tsakirgis 2005.



businesses,” such as that of the marble workers Mikion and Menon and Simon the shoemaker, were located in structures that were, architecturally, houses first, with commercial activity pursued within them.<sup>142</sup> In both of these examples there was ample archaeological evidence of the commercial activity pursued within, and no such evidence is present for the house of well J 2:4.<sup>143</sup> The slag from Level 4 of well J 2:4, as argued above, was probably brought in from outside to help fill the well shaft and does not represent metalworking pursued in the house. Metalworking requires extreme heat sources, and there is no evidence of scorching, crucibles, or other debris related to such an industry.<sup>144</sup> The dense layer of poros and marble chips present above the well in the northeastern room of the Classical house and the scattered chips in the southern half of the house were brought in as fill and do not represent stone-working activity in the house. It is, of course, possible that a light industry utilizing raw materials and products that do not survive in the archaeological record occurred within the house,<sup>145</sup> but the conclusion is that the fill of well J 2:4 does not originate from a primary commercial context.<sup>146</sup>

One final commercial enterprise must be considered: the tavern (καπελείον). There is not much evidence for public drinking establishments in the Archaic period, but they appear in literature by the end of the 5th century.<sup>147</sup> Both wine shops and public houses existed, and it is not clear how much the two overlapped, that is, how much was “takeout,” and how much was drunk on-site. Lucy Talcott interpreted a late-5th-century well deposit as the property of a tavern due to the number of drinking cups, mixing bowls, and transport amphoras present in the deposit.<sup>148</sup> Wine sellers and/or taverns must be represented by a cluster of deposits and traces of architecture in the southeast area of the Classical Agora.<sup>149</sup> Mark Lawall points out that commercial graffiti related to the sale of wine are limited to this one area of the Agora.<sup>150</sup> One deposit must have been associated with a tavern that served both food and wine since it contained a large number of

142. Similarly, an Archaic house at Sardis contains a glass workshop, but otherwise the assemblage of ceramics meets the expectations for a house: Cahill 2002b, pp. 180, 182; 2005, pp. 60–65.

143. Menon and Mikion: Shear 1969, pp. 383–394; Simon the Shoemaker: Thompson 1954, pp. 51–55; Thompson 1960. See also the “industrial district” described in Young 1951.

144. Several slag nodules were found in the stratum of Persian destruction debris found in the southeastern portion of the house (Lot BZ 621), but this debris might have been brought in to help raise the floor level to form one continuous room in the Classical phase of the house.

145. One problem is that many of household pottery shapes—such as the

lekane, mortar, or pithos—might be used in craft settings; see Sparkes 1991, p. 75. One unusual bowl from Level 5 of well J 2:4 preserved traces of a red substance, probably miltos, and was shaped so that the base would sit comfortably in the palm of one’s hand (183). This object may have been used to hold paint for a craft pursued within the house.

146. In contrast, compare the Classical commercial building to the northwest of the house, across the north–south street, and the shops and businesses located in the various stoas around the Classical Agora.

147. Davidson 1997, pp. 53–60.

148. R 13:4: Talcott 1935. Drinking vessels: 38; mixing bowls: 5; amphoras: 20, with many more uncatalogued; amides (urinals): 2; cooking pots: 5;

lamps: 5; only one oinochoe catalogued. Commercial graffiti on the transport amphoras adds strength to the tavern identification, Lawall 2000, p. 68. Talcott does not discuss any architecture that may go with the well. The deposit was closed in the third quarter of the 5th century and probably represents more damage from the earthquake in 426; see Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 56.

149. Classical walls under the Library of Pantainos may belong to drinking establishments or wine shops that produced the debris found in the deposits nearby; see Shear 1975, pp. 346–361, and fig. 5. For the association of the deposits with a tavern and wine shop, see Talcott 1935; Shear 1975, pp. 357–358; Lawall 2000, pp. 68–69.

150. Lawall 2000, pp. 68–69.

cooking pots and amphoras in its fill.<sup>151</sup> Although these tavern assemblages share items in common with domestic assemblages, the extraordinary number of amphoras, in particular, and a large quantity of pouring and drinking shapes indicate that these deposits are not domestic in origin. Literary references give the impression that taverns sold premixed wine by the pitcher accompanied by a cup.<sup>152</sup> We would expect a tavern deposit to contain a large number of pitchers in balance with cups. While well J 2:4 has a large number of drinking vessels, it does not have an exceptional number of amphoras, pitchers, or cooking vessels. The conclusion is that well J 2:4 did not serve a drinking or wine sales establishment.

Wells in the area of the Classical Athenian Agora could also serve public or civic contexts, but well J 2:4 did not. If a well were for public use, then we would expect it to be easily accessible, but this is not the case with well J 2:4. The surviving architecture clearly situates the well within the courtyard of a small structure, which is an unlikely location for a public water source. Also in the category of “public” functions are wells that served public dining locations.<sup>153</sup> While the  $\Delta E$  ligature does appear on cups from Persian destruction deposits, indicating that some public dining did occur before the Persian Wars, it was not until the second half of the 5th century that dining at the state’s expense became widespread.<sup>154</sup>

Having ruled out a religious, commercial, or civic context for the use of well J 2:4, we turn to the contents of the well itself in order to characterize the artifact assemblage. The domestic origin of well J 2:4 will be established through comparison to other secure domestic assemblages. Unfortunately, we do not have a completely comparable deposit from the area of the Classical Agora. Much of the pottery in Persian destruction deposits “undoubtedly originated in the china cupboards of Athenian households,”<sup>155</sup> but since many of the deposits cannot be associated with domestic architecture, we do not know if these deposits represent the contents of a single household or not.<sup>156</sup> It is entirely possible that several households—or households and businesses—joined in their use of a deposit as they cleaned up debris. In fact, some of the Persian destruction deposits contain household pottery and architectural fragments that must have originated in public settings. Thus those deposits contain material from both public and private contexts, which makes it likely that more than one household contributed to the fill material. The deposits containing architectural fragments are pits and trenches, not wells,<sup>157</sup> but finds such as ostraka in some wells also call into question the purely domestic origin

151. U 13:1: Shear 1975, pp. 355–361. Lopadia: over 100; amphoras: 79 complete and 280 fragmentary; bones of fish, cattle, pigs, sheep, and evidence of bone working.

152. Euboulos 80 KA, apud Athen. 11.473e: “I told the bartender to mix me a pitcher [chous] of wine that cost an obol, and to set the biggest kantharos he had beside me,” trans. S. D. Olson, Cambridge, Mass., 2009.

153. E.g., H 6:5: Talcott 1936; G 12:22 (in conjunction with the Tholos): Thompson 1940, pp. 126–127.

154. The  $\Delta E$  ligature appears on at least two cups in Persian destruction well fills: *Agora* XXI, Fa 1, p. 51, pl. 29 (well E 15:6); Roberts 1986, no. 41, p. 25, fig. 13. On the  $\Delta E$  ligature in general, see Talcott 1936, pp. 353–354; *Agora* XXI, p. 51; Rotroff and Oakley

1992, p. 42, and n. 44. For public dining, see Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 45.

155. Shear 1993, p. 393.

156. Only five wells can be associated with domestic architecture in addition to J 2:4: B 18:6, B 19:10, D 17:10, H 12:15, and Q 21:3; see Shear 1993, pp. 405–406.

157. E.g., trench H 13:5, pit L 5:2, pit G 3:1.



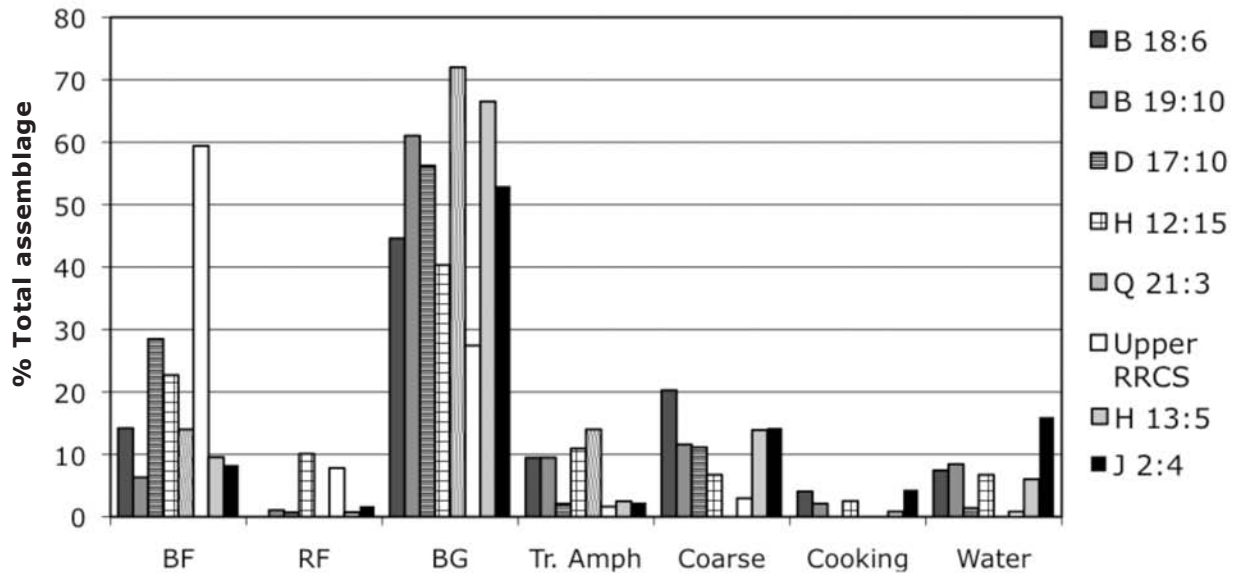


Figure 14. Percentage of different wares in the total assemblage of J 2:4 compared to their percentages in other domestic deposits, a commercial deposit, and a pit with public debris. Data from Shear 1993

of their contents.<sup>158</sup> One further problem that prevents direct comparison of well J 2:4 to other household Persian destruction deposits is that, until recently, excavators did not retain the entire contents of a deposit but culled the coarse wares and body fragments to reduce storage needs. As a result, comparison of quantities or even weights must be limited to the better-preserved objects. We will never know, for example, how many roof tiles were in most of the Persian destruction deposits because only the most diagnostic were kept.

Only five Persian destruction well deposits can be firmly associated with domestic architecture. A comparison of well J 2:4 to these deposits can confirm that it is also likely to be domestic. Since these six deposits vary in total quantity of objects, Figure 14 compares the proportion of the total deposit for seven categories of objects.<sup>159</sup> There is very little difference in the proportions of deposit contents, confirming that all six deposits were formed from similar use contexts. To underscore the consistency of the six household deposits, Figure 14 also includes a deposit formed from a commercial establishment and a pit deposit that received material from public and private contexts. The commercial deposit, the upper portion of the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft (RRCS; G 6:3 upper), has an extraordinary number of black-figured objects since the deposit contained debris from a pottery sales shop. This commercial deposit also had fewer coarse-ware vessels since these were not necessary for the shop's activities. Other commercial establishments would have different distributions of pottery forms, but the point is that the contents of deposits with industrial or commercial components usually vary from the pattern visible in domestic deposits. The pit with public debris (H 13:5) had very little figured fine ware but much black glaze, which is a variation from the pattern of domestic deposits. In contrast, the pottery contents of well J 2:4 best approximates the domestic deposits.

A comparison to two later, domestic contexts from Attica further confirms the identification of the contents of well J 2:4 as domestic

158. E.g., ostraka in D 15:1, marble basin fragment in F 19:5, marble head in Q 20:1.

159. Evidence from J 2:4 is limited to complete and diagnostic fragments of vessels. Although the entire deposit was kept for J 2:4, only complete and diagnostic fragments of vessels were kept for the earlier excavated deposits. So as not to skew the statistics, the body sherds from J 2:4, even if a shape can be determined, are not included in the counts used to generate Fig. 14.

(Fig. 15:a, b). The Dema house<sup>160</sup> of the late 5th century and the Vari house<sup>161</sup> of the late 4th century may be more than 100 years later than J 2:4, but they allow for two important comparisons: (1) again, to confirm the contents of a typical domestic assemblage (assuming some diachronic consistency), and (2) to confirm that J 2:4 contains only one household's pottery.<sup>162</sup> The excavators assume that the artifacts recovered from both of the Attic country houses represent only what was in use at the site.<sup>163</sup> Of course, the needs of a country house and an urban house are different, and the chronological difference should also account for variation in the assemblages, but in general, the pottery from the Dema house and the Vari house should provide a profile of a typical Classical household assemblage.<sup>164</sup> Indeed, if we compare the percentage of the total assemblage for categories of wares, we see that J 2:4 agrees well with the character of the two definite domestic deposits in both wares (Fig. 15:a) and functions (Fig. 15:b). Variations include the overall decrease in black figure by the late 5th century and its absence in the 4th century; an increased need for coarseware vessels in the country for the processing of agricultural materials; and (Fig. 15:b) a greater number of objects devoted to communal drinking in J 2:4, possibly related to the urban environment in Late Archaic Athens.

The standing condition of the house of well J 2:4 after the Persian sack suggests that this well would not have been a public dumping ground. The exterior walls of the house survived sufficiently for the house to be rebuilt without new exterior construction. This means that well J 2:4, in the courtyard of the house, would not have been accessible or visible to passersby, and thus not a tempting location for neighbors or the state to use for deposition of their own cleanup debris. If neighbors had had access to well J 2:4 for dumping their debris, we would expect a very different pattern of debris within the well. There would be a more consistent distribution of more complete vessels throughout the depths of the well, not concentrated in one pocket, as the neighbors came by to drop off their loads of debris. The jumble of multiple households' broken pottery would also result in a more homogeneous fill, not the discernible levels as discussed here. The

160. Jones et al. 1962.

161. Jones et al. 1973.

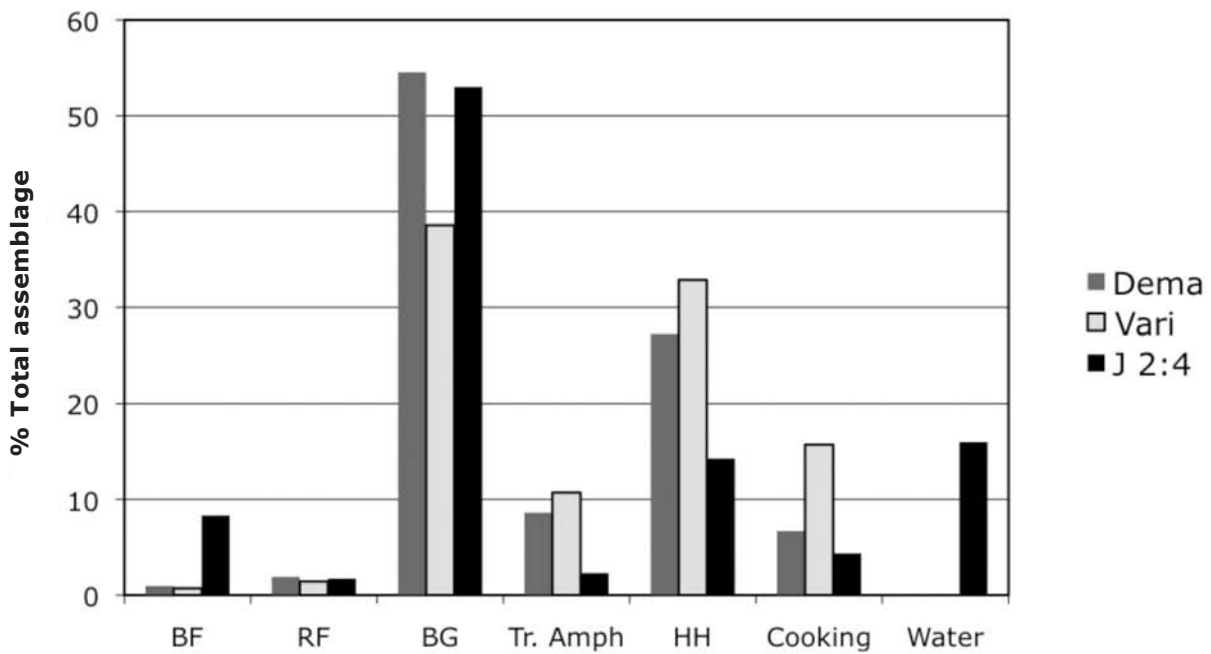
162. A similar comparison of the Dema House, the Vari House, and Agora deposit N 7:3 appears in Rotroff 1999, p. 68, table 1; Foxhall 2007.

163. Jones et al. 1962, pp. 88, 100; 1973, pp. 373, 396. Although both sites were abandoned, and it is possible that some objects were scavenged, the excavators assume that the remaining pottery is representative of the entire deposit. Both sites had brief periods of reoccupation, and that pottery is not considered here. Graphs in Figure 15 were created using total number of vessels identified in the original

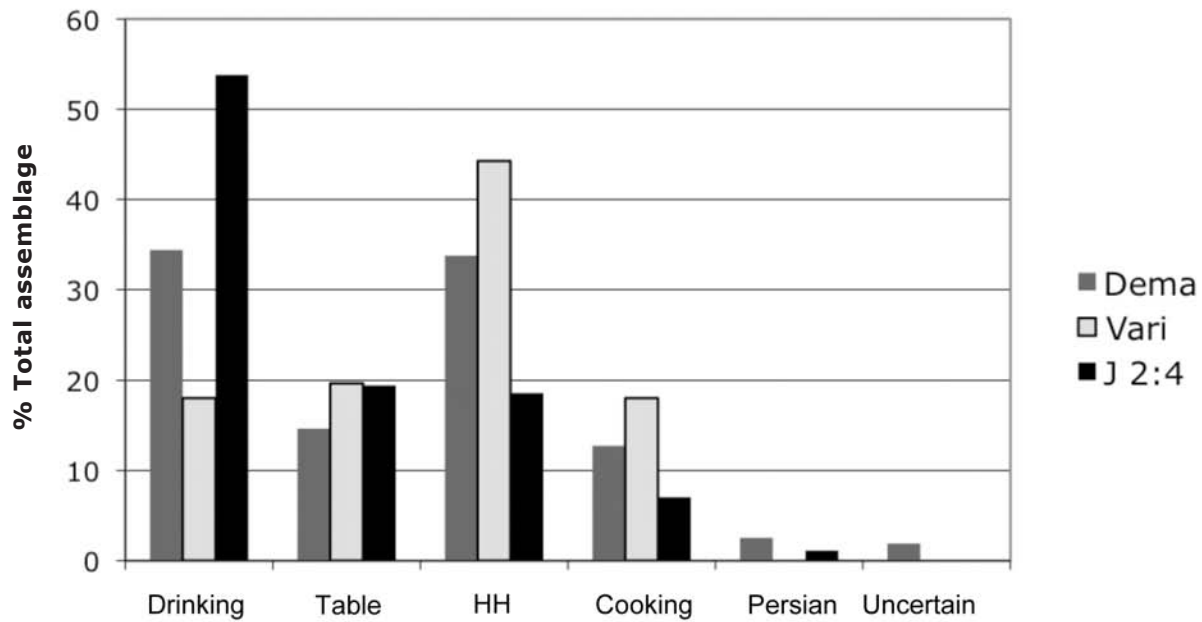
publications of the Dema and Vari houses. In these publications, the authors frequently catalogue representative examples but mention in the entry that "four more" were represented in the fragments. All were included in the data set used to generate the graphs. In order to account for the difference in assemblage sizes, components are presented as a percentage of the total of all vessels.

164. The number of ceramic vessels in well J 2:4 that meet the criteria described in Chapter 3 for inclusion in the house is approximately 200 (see Table 6). It will be argued that this is a conservative estimate; but interestingly,

it seems to agree well with the number of vessels from a better-preserved house at Sardis: Cahill 2002b, p. 182. Cahill reports there are more than 200 pots in the partially excavated house, implying that the original assemblage was some unknowable factor greater. Cahill also notes that at the 4th-century site of Olynthus, where household assemblages were much more poorly preserved, 106 was the largest number of vessels preserved in any one house (House of the Many Colors, *Olynthus* XII, pp. 183–206; Cahill 2002a, pp. 85–97). Therefore, on this speculative and spotty evidence, the assemblage from well J 2:4 seems to be in line.



a



b

Figure 15. Percentage of (a) different wares and (b) pottery by function in the total assemblage of J 2:4 compared to the total assemblages excavated at the Dema and Vari houses. Data for the Dema house from Jones et al. 1962; data for the Vari house from Jones et al. 1973; MinNV used for J 2:4, see Table 5

conclusion is that the material from well J 2:4 originated in a domestic context, that of the house of well J 2:4. The well fill, however, did not all originate from household activity in the house of well J 2:4. The slag present in Level 4, bedrock in Level 3, and the highly worn, much older fragments in Levels 1 and 2 must have been brought in from somewhere outside the house. The highly fragmentary vessels in the fill may represent debris from a household rubbish pit, some of which may have, in fact, originated in the house of well J 2:4. In Chapter 3 I will define a methodology for distinguishing between nearly complete pieces at use in the house when it was sacked and extraneous fragmentary vessels of similar type.

## HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES OTHER THAN THE SYMPOSIUM

*As for the unhappy pan, you may see that resting  
beside the socket of the back door  
in a pile of sweepings.*

—Ath. 11.487e (trans. C. B. Gulick, Cambridge, Mass., 1933)

The previous two chapters examined the evidence for sympotic activity in the house. More fine-ware pottery in the domestic assemblage of the house of well J 2:4 related to communal drinking than to any other single activity, which attests to its importance in Athenian houses (see discussion in Chapter 3). Even though the household invested in communal drinking equipment, these vessels were used only occasionally. In contrast, the household and nondrinking objects were utilized on a regular or daily basis. In fact, the examination of these ordinary objects can reveal more about daily life in ancient Athens than the specialty drinking ware. This chapter will present artifacts from the deposit that relate to the daily life of the house and consider how these provide insight into everyday dining, chores, play, and ritual.

The previous chapters have emphasized that this household used figured pottery alongside plain black-glazed pottery and even coarse wares. Therefore, we should not assume that all undecorated pottery was relegated to chores; instead, we must imagine a much more practical and fluid use of most shapes, whether decorated or not.

### EVERYDAY DINING

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, communal dining, while it did occur in private homes, was not as much a focus of elaborate customs—rituals—as drinking. Complex rules govern communal food consumption and sharing in many of the world's cultures, but food consumption was not the most significant act of ingestion in ancient Greece.<sup>1</sup> Instead, communal bonding experiences within the private sphere were focused more on the consumption of wine. Dining, the *deipnon*, in Late Archaic and Classical Greece was

1. Ritualized dining did occur in ancient Greece, mainly in public settings in Athens, or semipublic settings such as *sysitia* in Sparta and also in Athens. On public dining in Athens, see Rotroff and Oakley 1992 and Steiner 2002.

less regulated, with fewer rules and less specialized equipment.<sup>2</sup> Wine seems to have been drunk during the *deipnon*, but a formal break was declared between it and the “symposium” portion of the evening.<sup>3</sup> It follows that the material culture of dining does not parallel sympotic patterns: there are no figured and few black-glazed wares devoted to dining, no shapes specifically designed for food presentation, no emphasis on uniformity to express commensality, and no space devoted to food consumption in the household. Perhaps the clearest indication of the secondary role of dining to drinking is that there are no ceramic shapes specifically designated as an individual food receptacle during the Late Archaic/Early Classical period. Plates are known from the period, but they are used as votive objects to be hung and displayed, as their suspension holes indicate.<sup>4</sup> Bowls, which occur infrequently in this period, are very well potted and well glazed and thus too delicate for everyday tableware, although they may have been used to present food or cover a platter.<sup>5</sup> The contents of well J 2:4 illustrate the importance of food preparation through the abundance of *lekanai* and *chytrai* (discussed below), but the dearth of fine-ware forms for food consumption underscores in turn the importance of drinking for our Athenian house. The archaeological evidence amplifies the view we have from texts and clarifies the lower importance of dining relative to drinking.

The one all-purpose shape is the one-handler, a sturdy bowl-like form with a single horizontal handle.<sup>6</sup> The incurving or thickened rim of the one-handler argues against a primary function as a drinking cup, but such a use is not improbable. The shape would accommodate single servings of stews or soups. It occurs in a variety of sizes; 127 is a small catalogued example and the only one of five that meet the criteria for inclusion in the household’s assemblage. However, Table 5 shows that there was a maximum of 25 and minimum of 14 one-handlers found throughout the deposit, indicating that it was a popular form in domestic contexts and suggesting that this household owned more than one one-handler. In light of the dearth of ceramic evidence for individual food receptacles, it seems likely that everyday dining equipment was made of wood or other perishable materials such as dried gourds.

The *lekanis* is also a multifunctional shape that may have been used as a food-serving bowl.<sup>7</sup> The form is usually lidded and comes in a range

2. In contrast, “Homeric” banquets did feature rules governing sharing and consumption of food; see Bruns 1970; Murray 1990b, p. 6; van Wees 1995; Węcowski 2002. In the Hellenistic period dining became more elaborate, with complex menus, and although Hellenistic banquets were, technically, communal affairs, the emphasis was more on the status of the host and less on the *isonomia* of the group as in the Late Archaic and Classical symposium; see Murray 1996.

3. Wilkins and Hill 2006, pp. 77–78.

4. Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974,

pp. 18–19. One fragment possibly from a black-figured plate, 78, was found in the deposit.

5. Three such examples from this deposit (152, 153, 154) had walls of ca. 1 mm in thickness; see *Agora* XII, p. 294, nos. 810–813, pl. 32, for examples. The undersides are exquisitely molded and incised in a manner similar to later stemless cups, e.g., *Agora* XII, p. 270, nos. 496–500, fig. 5, pls. 23, 50. Bowls such as 152, 153, and 154 may be the progenitors of that class. If the bowl were turned upside down to function as a lid, the outturned foot profile

would permit a good grip, and this would make the underside detail visible.

6. One-handler: *Agora* XII, pp. 124–126; *Agora* XXIX, p. 155.

7. *Agora* XII, p. 164; Richter and Milne 1935, pp. 23–24; Kanowski 1983, pp. 90–93. Photios (s.v. *lekanē*) says that the “ancients . . . called *lekanis* vessels with handles for cooked food and the like.” Hesychius (s.v. *lekanides*) describes them as dishes in which gifts were brought to newlyweds. The latter function will be explored below, under the discussion of items for the personal toilet.

of sizes.<sup>8</sup> The lid indicates that contents required protection from pests or were stored over time. As discussed in Chapter 5, some lekanides bear figured decoration, and one black-figured example from this deposit (79) features drinking-related iconography. As a result, I proposed that some lekanides had a role in the symposium, probably to hold snack items such as olives that might attract pests if not covered. The same role can be posited for lekanides in everyday meals. Our deposit includes a fragmentary lekanis body (157) and fragmentary black-glazed lids (158, 159, 160, 161, and 162). One of the fragmentary lids (159) has circular scrapes on its interior surface, suggesting that it was inverted and used as a mixing bowl. The function of lekanides must have been similar if not identical to a class of objects usually classed separately: covered bowls. Covered bowls differ in form from lekanides by being smaller and sometimes having a stem.<sup>9</sup> Examples from this deposit are 155 and 156; 164 is a lid probably for a covered bowl. One lekanis, three lekanis lids, and three covered bowls meet the criteria for inclusion in the household's assemblage (see Table 6).

Other than the lekanis, which was not exclusively for food service, there are no shapes dedicated to the presentation or service of "main dishes." This means that food was either served out of utilitarian bowls, such as the lekane (discussed below), or directly from cooking vessels. The latter seems quite likely, and in fact, a family may have eaten directly from the cooking pot by scooping food with bread.

Dishes for condiments, on the other hand, served in lekythoi, olpai, stemmed dishes, and salt cellars, are numerous in well J 2:4 and other Persian destruction deposits.<sup>10</sup> The abundance of these shapes was discussed in Chapter 5, where it was proposed that they might appear on the symposium table to accompany snacks. The black-figured lekythoi do bear iconography that link them to sympotic activities, but all these shapes may have been used on an everyday basis as part of typical dining equipment. The numbers of lekythoi, olpai, stemmed dishes, and salt cellars suggest that these were individual table items, that is, that each diner had his own, as opposed to there being a single vessel used in common by all. It is possible that lekythoi, especially the smaller variety, held oils to flavor bread.<sup>11</sup> Olpai, also small containers for liquids, may have held oil or vinegar for a similar purpose.

The liquid condiments may have been poured into small dishes, stemmed dishes, and salt cellars, and seasoned with spices. This household owned at least eight stemmed dishes and three salt cellars, but numerous additional fragments attest to the importance of the form in the house. A plausible role for stemmed dishes and salt cellars on the sympotic table is proposed in Chapter 5, and details of the examples from well J 2:4 are

8. *Agora* XII, p. 168. Lekanis lids take on a life of their own in the late 5th to 4th centuries. They are particularly associated with women and are decorated in red figure with nuptial scenes; see, e.g., *Olynthus* XIII, pp. 119–

121, no. 63, pl. 86.

9. *Agora* XII, pp. 172–173; example, p. 325, no. 1269, pl. 42.

10. See Shear 1993, tables 2, 3.

11. Or oils to perfume the body; see discussion in Chapter 5 and below.



discussed there. As with the liquid containers, these receptacles probably had a daily, nonsympotic function as well. The endurance of the salt cellar from the late 6th century to the 4th century, when its function is taken over by small bowls and saucers, indicates that it played an integral part in an unchanging aspect of dining.<sup>12</sup>

It is uncertain whether or not wine accompanied everyday meals.<sup>13</sup> If it did, the drinking cups from this house most likely used are the black-figured cup-skyphoi (45 and others) discussed in Chapter 3. They are numerous and sturdy, and they do not have a form specially designed for reclining, as do the kylikes. If decoration is a clue, the hasty and ill-defined black-figured scenes suggest that the viewer/drinker would not spend time examining them closely. The cultural apprehension over women's drinking probably means that women were not given wine with daily meals.<sup>14</sup>

## HOUSEHOLD CHORES

When we think of household activities, we most often think of the daily chores and maintenance that keep the household running. In ancient Athens, women, slaves, and servants were responsible for most of these activities. In the idealized version of home life provided in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, a wife has ultimate responsibility for a team of slaves, who perform the actual tasks.<sup>15</sup> In reality, we can imagine middle-class and lower-class Athenian homes in which the wife and children work together with slaves. It is impossible to know to what class the family that owned the house of well J 2:4 belonged; the small size of the rooms and the house's location along the north side of the Classical Agora may argue for middle class, with a modest number of servants. Certainly the household could afford to host communal drinking events, so it was not impoverished.

Ischomachos, the homeowner and main voice of Xenophon's dialogue, describes dividing up the household equipment for proper storage. He stresses that the division is based on those things that are used daily and those used only for feasts (*Oec.* 9.7). Of those needed for everyday, he describes vaguely those needed "for baking, cooking, spinning, and so forth" (*Oec.* 9.8–9). His "and so forth" is disappointing, but baking, cooking, spinning, and related tasks must have taken up much of the day in an urban house.

The objects in well J 2:4 attest to the daily activities Xenophon mentions: fetching water from the household well, food preparation, cooking, and weaving. Certainly other activities were necessary, such as cleaning and keeping the house in order and procuring supplies outside the house, but these leave few if any traces in the archaeological record. The artifacts discussed here, as is true throughout this work, provide a window into everyday life but cannot shed light on every detail. In particular, the window the objects provide allows a view into the life of Athenian women. The artifacts described here were used by women, unlike the fine wares discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, which are nearly all associated with the symposium and the world of men.

12. *Agora* XII, pp. 132–138; Sparkes and Talcott (p. 132) speculate that the endurance of the shape is in part due to its being a consistent measure.

13. Dalby 2003, p. 351.

14. See, e.g., *Ar. Thesm.* 735–738.

15. *Xen. Oec.* 7.35–36, 41–42; 9.15–17; Pomeroy 1994.

## EVERYDAY CHORES: FETCHING WATER

Having a household well must have made daily chores easier. Public water sources, in the form of fountain houses, did exist in the area, but so far there is no evidence for any within a few minutes' walk of the house of well J 2:4.<sup>16</sup> Many private houses in the Late Archaic period did have their own wells, which must have been considered a useful and necessary expense at the time of construction.<sup>17</sup> This house's foundations were close enough to the water table to need a moderately deep well of about 5 m, but some wells in the area around the Classical Agora reached 10 m or more in depth.<sup>18</sup> Water jars are frequently found in the period of use deposit at the bottom of wells, indicating that breakage was common, which is one reason why the vessels are unpretentious and probably were inexpensive.

In order to fetch water from the well shaft, vessels were tied to a rope, lowered down into the well, filled, and hauled back up. In the Late Archaic/Early Classical period, water jars were made from the same type of gritty clay fabric used for cooking shapes. This fabric, "cooking ware," refers to the type of clay used and not strictly to function.<sup>19</sup> The great porosity, lightness, and probable low cost of the fabric made it ideal for vessels holding water. Vessels were formed largely by hand with the exception of the rim and base, which were wheelmade. The household shape specifically designed for fetching water from a well is the kados. It has a wide mouth and two earlike handles that permit the well rope to be tied around its neck. This deposit has a nearly complete example of a kados (172) from Level 5.<sup>20</sup>

Another water-vessel shape from the deposit is the water jug, a cooking-ware pouring vessel with a wide mouth, single handle, and ring base. Table 7 shows that cooking-ware jugs were the second most prevalent type of water jar, after kadoi. An example, 173, is not very large and would not bring up a very useful amount of water. The hydria, the quintessential water vessel, is better suited for carrying water from afar since its narrower neck prevents the water from splashing out if jostled.<sup>21</sup> Hydriai are also superior to the kados as pouring vessels. No complete example of a hydria is preserved in this deposit, but the distinctive rim and horizontal handles attest to its presence. It is the least common of the three forms in the household.

In the period of use (Level 6) and the lower part of Level 5 there was a maximum of 90 and a minimum of 74 cooking-ware water-jar bases (see Table 5).<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to distinguish, from the

16. Camp 1977, pp. 73–100.

17. See discussion in Chapter 2.

18. See well cross sections figured in Shear 1993. Camp (1977, pp. 198–220) gives well depth in catalogue entries for Archaic and Classical wells.

19. *Agora* XII, pp. 34–35; Amyx 1958a, pp. 186–190.

20. The kados could also be fitted with a metal or rope basket handle and carried. See, for example, a depiction by the Brygos Painter in a cup tondo:

Boston, MFA 95.29, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 220, no. 6, Sparkes and Talcott 1958, fig. 27, *Agora* XII, p. 201 and nn. 2, 3. See Sparkes 1962, pp. 129–130 and n. 74, for discussion of the shape and literary references to it.

21. Sparkes 1962, p. 129 and n. 73; *Agora* XII, p. 200.

22. In addition to the cooking-ware water jars, the six closed household fabric bases from Levels 5 and 6 were likely serving as water fetching vessels,

as were the seven nearly complete black-glazed amphoras, oinochoai, and pelikai. See discussion in Chapter 5 of the multifunctional nature of closed vessels. For pelikai in wells, see Lynch 2001a. The maximum number 91 includes water jars in Level 6 and Level 5, some of which might have been discarded in the cleanup, but bases from the lower portion of Level 6, the period of use deposit proper, represent water jars broken in the lifetime of the house.

base alone, the three common water-jar types: *kados* (172), *hydria*, or *jug* (173). On the other hand, the statistics for water jar rims from well J 2:4 can give some general idea of proportion of water-jar shapes, although the gross distinction of “greater than 50%” and “less than 50%” rim preserved for fragments introduces great error when the pieces are significantly less than 50% preserved. Thus, even the minimum number of vessels is likely to be too large. Rotroff’s formula discussed in Chapter 3 can be applied to rims, as it was for bases. Table 7 shows that *kadoi* make up the majority of water jars, with jugs second and *hydriai* third, when only the rims are considered. Handles can provide additional information, but this data is even more difficult because of the potters’ use of generic vertical handles on all three shapes. A fragmentary handle from a *kados* can resemble the midsection of a jug handle, and of course, a *hydria* also has a vertical handle, indistinguishable in fragments from other vertical handles. Horizontal handles are somewhat easier to distinguish as they lack the thumb depression often used at the base of vertical handles. Adding to the identification difficulty, a fragmentary straight (not upswung) horizontal handle can resemble a vertical *kados* handle. In sum, the handle data can be misleading. Nevertheless, as a measure, the horizontal handle counts give a different view of *hydriai* than the rims alone do. Table 7 shows that there are more horizontal handles than vertical. This may mean that *hydriai* were about as common as *kadoi*.

Another explanation for the discrepancy between the number of *hydriai* rims and handles may relate to how the vessels broke. If the well rope was tied to the vessel’s vertical handle, or handle and neck, then it is possible that the vertical *hydria* handle and upper portions of the vessel were yanked up and out of the well while its base and—in the case of *hydriai*—horizontal handles fell to the bottom. In fact, this breakage scheme accounts for the fact that the minimum number of water-jar bases from the deposit is greater than the minimum number of combined rims.

Two observations are worth emphasizing. If this well were in use for 25 years, then the household broke approximately four water jars a year, which is a modest number. There are an additional minimum of 24 water jars in household fabric (including 174–178) in the well, and various black-glazed and even black-figured vessels may have been used to fetch water, thus raising the average breakage rate from four to six a year, which still seems like a modest breakage rate. A second related observation is that shapes other than *kadoi* and jugs could be used to fetch water. The intact and nearly complete *pelikai* (107 from Level 5 and 108 from Level 6) must have been employed as water jars. *Hydriai* are usually thought to have been used for fetching water from public fountain houses, not the household well, since their extra handles facilitated lifting as well as pouring. The evidence presented here argues for a more practical view of water jars: if it holds water, it will do the job.<sup>23</sup>

This deposit preserves an unusual series of water jars: 174, 175, 176, 177, and 178 are all wheelmade jugs made of coarse-ware fabric, not the typical cooking-ware fabric. The fabric is somewhere between the gritty cooking ware and the coarse ware of unglazed vessels such as banded *oinochoai*. There are no Agora parallels for these non-cooking-ware water jugs. Three (174, 177, 178) are of similar dimensions and form, with an

23. In fact, the jars do not even have to hold water. It is not uncommon to find holes in the walls of water jars formed by the explosion of lime inclusions during firing in the kiln. For example, the jug 173 has a 1 cm hole in its body. Such serious flaws did not seem to hinder the use of these vessels, and the holes must have been stopped with wax or another perishable substance.

ovoid body, more or less cylindrical neck, and wide mouth. Jug 174 has a slight trefoil rim to facilitate pouring, but the others are round-mouthed. Jugs 175 and 176 are of the same form, but on a slightly smaller scale than 174. The handles are preserved on 175 and 176, and we should probably restore similar high-swung oval handles on the others. That the others lack handles and a portion of the neck and rim indicates that they broke against the wall of the well when used to fetch water. On 175 is a nonalphabetic graffito on the shoulder near the handle. Imported water jugs are common for Athens,<sup>24</sup> and these deviations from the typical cooking-ware fabric may be imports.<sup>25</sup> Not only does the fabric have little relationship with the normal water jars, the shape is also unlike any other. The shapes of 175, 176, and 177 are closest, but by a stretch, to the banded oinochoai of the 6th century.<sup>26</sup> The water jugs of this series have no comparanda within Athens, and their fabric is unlike typical Attic clay; this supports their identification as imports.

Finally, the period of use deposit of well J 2:4, Level 6 and the lower reaches of Level 5, contained three black-glazed pelikai: one intact (107), one broken but nearly complete (106), and a third missing its rim, neck, and upper handles (108). As was noted in the discussion of the red-figured pelike 84, the shape had many functions, which are often reflected in the iconography of the figured versions. In the case of well J 2:4 and other Agora well deposits, it is also clear that the shape was being used to fetch water.<sup>27</sup> The condition of the vessels reflects their use as water jars. We can assume that 106 and 107 slipped from the well rope; one broke against the wall, while the other sank intact to the bottom. The rope must have been tied to the neck of 108, so that when the pelike broke against the side of the well, the neck and handles remained attached to the rope and were removed, while the body sank to the bottom, in fragments. It is possible that these black-glazed versions of the shape bore water into the symposium room to be mixed with wine, but they also could have served an everyday, utilitarian function.

### EVERYDAY CHORES: FOOD PREPARATION

Household food consumption implies a whole series of activities from provision to preparation. Unfortunately, flotation analysis did not yield any floral evidence, so it is not possible to say anything about the consumption of fruits, vegetables, or grains by the household. The presence, however, of ceramic mortars and an andesite quern, not inventoried, indicate that grain was milled within the house (see Table 4).

The faunal material reveals that the house consumed the meat of pigs, sheep, dog, and cattle.<sup>28</sup> It seems unlikely that animal bones were thrown

24. *Agora* XII, p. 204.

25. There is always the possibility of a "short-lived household-ware workshop" responsible for a sudden and unsustained appearance of this household-ware type. The phenomenon occurs at the end of the 5th century, with a single

workshop responsible for household shapes not made out of the normal cooking-ware fabric; see *Agora* XII, pp. 187–188, 200.

26. Cf. *Agora* XII, p. 246, no. 139, pl. 8.

27. Lynch 2001a.

28. The faunal material from well J 2:4 will be the subject of a full study by Lynn A. Snyder of the Smithsonian Institution. Comments here are based on discussions with Snyder on her preliminary findings.

into the well while it was still being used for water. Rather, they must have been tossed down during the initial cleanup along with the whole pots. Butchering marks indicate that these are bones of animals consumed as food, thus they were either redeposited as fill or they were thrown into the well after meals that took place during the cleanup process. There are no whole animals present, but instead portions of several different animals. There are a few remains of inedible parts such as mandibles, hooves, and horns, but not on a scale that would indicate commercial activity.<sup>29</sup>

During the Late Archaic period the predominant cooking shape was the chytra, a round-bottomed vessel with one or two handles and round mouth, made of the same thin-walled, gritty fabric as the water jars.<sup>30</sup> The round-bottomed chytra sat on top of a brazier,<sup>31</sup> fragments of which are present in Levels 2 and 5 of the deposit, or on a tripod of stones. Aside from a few early examples of a casserole-type cooking vessel, the lopas, which becomes popular in the years after the Persian Wars, the only ceramic cooking shape in the Persian destruction cleanup deposits was the juglike chytra.<sup>32</sup> The chytra shape favored the preparation of liquid food such as soups, broths, and stews, which explains why there was no cultural need for food plates when a bowl or one-handler would do. The deposit contained a maximum of 20 and minimum of 19 chytrai, and a maximum of five and minimum of two chytra lids (see Table 5). The four catalogued examples of chytrai (184–187) can be confidently associated with the household's assemblage.<sup>33</sup> They range in shape from very small (186)<sup>34</sup> to quite large (187). The remarkable preservation of these brittle, thin-walled shapes—184, 185, and 186 are all intact—means that they were thrown into the well during the cleanup, hit the water, and sank into their positions, where they miraculously escaped being crushed by the other vessels and the layer of gravel and slag above them. They are not in the period of use, but are in Level 5, the material intentionally deposited during the cleanup of the house. Traces of burning, even on the inside of 185 and 187, indicate that these vessels were used. Burning on the interior may have resulted from overcooking, or the chytra may have been used to transport burning coals to a different location in the house.<sup>35</sup>

The form of 187 is otherwise unattested for the period. It is large, has the typical wide-mouthed and lidded chytra body form and also has an

29. The bones from the Persian destruction well R 12:1 included numerous ox skulls, which are interpreted as evidence of a butcher or bone-processing workshop.

30. Nearly all of the Persian destruction cleanup deposits contained cooking pots, and when they are not present, such as in the RRCS, it is likely that they were not kept by the excavator. The wealth of figured pottery may have overwhelmed the humble cooking pots in some cases.

31. Sparkes 1962, p. 130. For a complete example, see *Agora* XII, p. 377, nos. 2016, 2017, pl. 97. See

also Amyx 1958a, pp. 211–212.

32. A few Persian destruction deposits contain examples of the eschara, a type of brazier with supports for spits: D 15:1, G 3:1, two from L 5:2 (all delayed Persian destruction cleanup deposits), and H 13:5 and L 5:2 (both trenches with mixed public and domestic material). We associate skewers with roasted meat, and it is possible that meat consumption increased with post-Persian War prosperity, and that the increase in numbers of household escharai is a reflection of this change of dietary habits; see discussion in Rotroff and Oakley 1992,

pp. 47–48. Level 2 contained one eschara rim fragment (uninventoried).

33. The majority of fragments come from the upper fill, particularly Level 2; the intact chytrai, however, come from Level 5 and were more likely to be in use in the house at the time of the sack.

34. See comments in Chapter 5 on the possibility that 186 was a wine-service vessel, on comparison with similarly shaped wine-service utensils in red-figured depictions of the symposium.

35. For a chytra used to transport coals, see *Ar. Lys.* 297, 308, 315.



upright, open spout.<sup>36</sup> The rim is flanged to take a lid, but it is also pierced at least four times on the projecting horizontal flange with holes ca. 7 mm in size. The purpose of these holes in the flange is unclear. The spout was not for pouring, since the small diameter of the hole in the side of the vessel connecting the spout to the vessel would not have permitted the transfer of the contents of the chytra through the spout. Instead, the spout allowed steam to escape from the lidded, boiling contents.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps the holes in the flange are also a provision to allow steam condensing on the lid to drip back down into the pot. The shape of 187 is at the beginning of a new, less juglike chytra type that becomes popular around the middle of the 5th century.<sup>38</sup> This seems to be an early, experimental form.

Bread was a defining element of Archaic and Classical Greek cuisine, and baking bread was a key activity in the house.<sup>39</sup> One method for baking bread involved the use of a cooking bell, a portable oven chamber. This deposit has a very well-preserved example of the type (188). It is made from the same material as braziers, a thicker-walled version of the coarse, gritty cooking-ware fabric. Coals were piled up on a flat surface such as a clay floor, over which the bell would be placed for warming (preheating). Once hot, it would be removed, the coals swept to the side, and the dough placed on the warmed earth. The cooking bell would be replaced, the coals heaped over the sides, and the bread baked within.<sup>40</sup> It could also serve as an extinguisher for a fire or low brazier.

Neither cooking nor baking in this household required a built hearth. It is often assumed on the basis of literary evidence that all ancient Greek houses had built hearths, but in fact, there is little evidence for any built hearths in Archaic and Classical Athens.<sup>41</sup> Instead, portable devices such as braziers and cooking bells underscore that the “kitchen” was not a fixed room in the house. Food-preparation activities could move with the weather—to the courtyard in fair weather, to a portico in foul—or to accommodate other activities in the house.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from the devices used for the act of cooking, there are a few shapes that can be associated with food preparation. Although all examples were fragmentary and none were catalogued, the deposit also contained a maximum of 16 and minimum of 10 mortars (see Table 5), of which one can be associated with the household assemblage (see Table 6). This is another multipurpose shape for food preparation.<sup>43</sup> Its sturdy, broad bowl, often with roughened floor, secure handles, and spout, suggest that it was used for grinding, and the contents were then poured into another receptacle. Sparkes and Talcott associate it with bread making specifically, but

36. Cf. *Agora* XII, pp. 225 and 372, no. 1944, pl. 94; Sparkes 1962, p. 131.

37. The shape is known in Roman pottery as a hole-mouthed jar and called a “milk boiler” or “wine cooler.” In Roman pottery, it occurs both in coarse, kitchen ware, and fine ware, see Hayes 2000, p. 295, fig. 28:2 and discussion. Cooking vessel 187 finds some formal similarities with Attic

red-figured Falaieff kraters, which also have a projecting ledge with pierced holes on the interior; see McPhee 2000. Functions for both coarse and fine-ware examples remain unclear.

38. *Agora* XII, pp. 226 and 373, nos. 1952–1955, pl. 94.

39. Sparkes 1962, pp. 123–129; 1981, pp. 172–178; Dalby 1996, pp. 90–93.

40. Sparkes 1962, p. 128.

41. Jameson 1990b, p. 192; Swinford 2006; Tsakirgis 2007.

42. See Cahill 2002a, pp. 162–163, for the portability of food preparation at Olynthus, where some of the houses had built-in flues but apparently did not use them for cooking (p. 156).

43. *Agora* XII, pp. 221–223, example: *Agora* XII, p. 370, no. 1900, pl. 90; Cahill 2002a, pp. 166–167.



it could have been used for grinding nuts or even dried fruits for recipes. An andesite saddle quern and two stone pounders from Level 5 were most likely used for grinding grain for household bread.<sup>44</sup>

The lekane is an all-purpose large bowl,<sup>45</sup> which probably filled the roles of modern-day mixing bowl and bucket combined. It could be used for preparing food, kneading dough, and soaking beans, but it could also be used as a basin for washing clothes, cleaning the house and children, and an infinite number of other household tasks. It was also the household chamber pot and could be found in a symposium as a receptacle for vomit or as a krater.<sup>46</sup> Two examples of the shape are catalogued here (181, 182), but there are a maximum of 53 and minimum of 29 examples, mainly bases, in a range of sizes from the deposit. Only five lekanai meet the conditions for inclusion in the household's assemblage (see Table 6), but the large number in the deposit indicates that they were a common household form.

### EVERYDAY CHORES: WEAVING

Weaving was probably a never-ending household chore. The wife of the house was responsible for overseeing the production of clothes and linens for everyone in the house, including slaves. In Ischomachos's house, described in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, some of these garments are considered for "festival" use only and were stored separately from everyday garments, meaning that household members may have had multiple sets of clothes.<sup>47</sup>

In the house, women prepared and spun the wool first, before weaving.<sup>48</sup> The wool may have been purchased "raw" or brought from the family's farm in rural Attica. At the urban house, the women carded the wool and cleaned it, then prepared threads by spinning. Spinning requires a distaff and a weighted spindle, usually a stick with a stone whorl attached to its end. The distaff held the raw wool, and was usually made of wood and thus does not survive. One whorl (209) comes from this deposit, but it is in the uppermost portion of the deposit, Layer 1b, so it may not have originated in the house.

After the threads were prepared, they were woven into cloth using a loom. Looms were made of wood, and thus also do not survive in the archaeological record.<sup>49</sup> Threads, as they hung on the loom, were weighted with terracotta loomweights to maintain tension, and these weights survive because of their dense ceramic forms. They take a pyramidal form in the Late Archaic period, with a single hole pierced through the upper portion to accommodate the thread. Well J 2:4 contained 10 complete loomweights and fragments of three more. Representative examples are catalogued as 206, 207, and 208. All but one of these were in the upper levels of the deposit, but because of their preservation, they technically met the criteria for inclusion in the household's assemblage. Since their preservation is a result of their density, we may not be right to associate them with the household assemblage, so I have listed them and the spindle whorl on Table 6 with question marks. There is little consistency in their weights, although this does not mean they were not used together.<sup>50</sup> Cahill estimates that a household loom at Olynthus would need between 10 and 40 loomweights, depending on the type of textile.<sup>51</sup>

Weaving was a defining characteristic of women in Classical Greece.<sup>52</sup> The ability to spin and weave was a desired trait in all women, but especially

44. For the role of terracotta mortars in preparation of bread, see Sparkes 1962, p. 125. For the distinction between stone grinders and terracotta mortars, see Amyx 1958a, pp. 236–238; Villing 2009.

45. *Agora* XII, pp. 211–216, example: p. 361, no. 1781, pl. 83; on the form, see Lüdorf 2000.

46. Chamber pot: Cohen and Shapiro 2002, p. 87; vomit receptacle: Cohen and Shapiro 2002, p. 89; as a substitute for a krater, see discussion in Chapter 5.

47. Xen. *Oec.* 9.6, 10.

48. For an overview of the spinning and weaving process, see Barber 1994, pp. 34–41.

49. Vase depictions give us an idea what looms looked like, but as always, the vase-painter's goal was not realistic accuracy, so one should be careful about over-interpreting details. See images in Barber 1994.

50. They range from 42 to 75 g; see discussion on variable weights in Cahill 2002a, p. 179; 2002b, pp. 179, 181.

51. Cahill 2002a, pp. 171–175.

52. Fantham et al. 1994, pp. 103–104; Ischomachos proudly boasts that the only skill his 14-year-old bride brought to the marriage was the ability to weave and direct slaves to assist (Xen. *Oec.* 7.5).

those who were “model” women. Practically, the wife herself would not have been able to fulfill the textile needs of the entire *oikos*, but with the assistance of slaves it would have been possible, although we must imagine the women spinning and weaving during any “idle” moments. Looms, unlike the implements of cooking, were not as portable once set up. They were probably located in rooms near the courtyard that had good lighting and circulation, but were protected from foul weather and dirt.<sup>53</sup> Spinning, though, could be done anywhere and for short periods of time and could be done by young girls as well.

### EVERYDAY CHORE OR LIVELIHOOD?

This section on daily activities must include the unusual object **183**, a coarse bowl of a gritty fabric similar to cooking-ware fabric, but denser. It is a form that has no parallels in the period: it has a flat base, angled walls, and a tall straight rim. The interior is covered with a residue of white and red pigments. The base is just the right size to sit securely in the palm of one’s hand. Although no obvious use comes to mind, the pigments and the form suggest a palette of sorts. One can imagine **183** as a paint pot for a worker decorating a large object as he moved about (as opposed to a small object that would allow him to use more fixed equipment). In Chapter 2 evidence is presented that challenged the previous identification of marble-working industry in the house of well J 2:4. While there is no certain evidence that manufacturing of any sort took place in the house, it is possible that a paint bowl like **183** was used by a wall or monument painter. There is, of course, no way to prove this hypothesis. The bowl comes from Level 5 of the deposit, indicating that it was in use in the house at the time of the Persian destruction.

### HOUSEHOLD STORAGE

Ischomachos explains in great detail his theories about proper household storage in Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus* (8.2–9.10). What we can glean from his description and anecdotal information is that there were separate storage rooms for goods not used on a daily basis. A storage room is depicted on a red-figured skyphos in the Getty.<sup>54</sup> Wooden chests, which would have been useful for storing clothing and other items likely to attract pests and dirt and be of temptation to others, do not survive in the archaeological record. Wicker baskets and wooden containers also held goods for storage, but these too have been lost.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, again, we must remember that any view of the domestic household based on the ceramic evidence alone is severely limited. But since it is the only thing we have, it is worth considering how ceramics provided storage in the house.

The largest of all ceramic shapes in existence in ancient Greece was the pithos. It is a human-sized storage container usually sunk into the ground so that it could also function as a refrigerator. Pithoi are usually made of a very coarse fabric with very large inclusions. The deposit preserves fragments of pithos rims, toes, and body sherds, one of which has an ancient mend.<sup>56</sup> There is also a fragmentary storage vessel of pithos size but of cooking-ware fabric with a slipped surface, and a broad, open form with

53. Cahill 2002a, pp. 173–177; Greek has a term for “loom-room” (p. 175), but Cahill’s study showed that almost any room could be used for weaving. Just as “andron” is a temporal-spatial term used to describe any space where men are drinking together, so too the “loom-room” is whatever space the women are using for weaving at that time.

54. Malibu, Getty Museum 86. AE.265, Neils and Oakley 2003, pp. 258–259, no. 63, fig. 63:b, p. 120, fig. 63 (right).

55. They are mentioned, however, in the Attic Stelai: Amyx 1958b, pp. 264–275.

56. For mended pithoi on the Attic Stelai, see Amyx 1958a, p. 168.

rounded bottom.<sup>57</sup> Sparkes and Talcott thought that the round bottom of a similar example (P 1218) indicated that it functioned as a cauldron,<sup>58</sup> but there is no evidence of burning on their example or on the vessel from well J 2:4, and the slip would also argue against exposure to direct fire. Its overhanging rim and nonfunctional handles (petite in comparison to the hulking stature of the vessel) suggest that it was a storage vessel with a covering tied on or a very large lid. It probably sat in a hole in the floor or on a stand similar to the one P 1218 occupies today (see *Agora* XII, plate 81). Additional fragments of large shapes of indeterminate form may be either tubs or troughs.<sup>59</sup>

## JUGS

One black-glazed jug for storage of liquids (114) and one black-glazed possible jug (115) were found in the well in Levels 5 and 6, respectively. Jug 114 is intact. Its narrow neck allowed for secure closing with a stopper.<sup>60</sup> The possible jug 115 is missing its upper body, and on the basis of the break, it looks as if the vessel had one handle, but it is impossible to know if it had a pouring rim, or a rim similar to that of 114 that could be stopped for storage. Jug 114 was probably dangled into the cool water of the well to chill its contents or preserve them, and then slipped off its rope, which explains why it is intact. Jug 115 probably broke while in use, as did many of the water-fetching shapes, by hitting the side of the well. The body of the vessel sank to the bottom, but its handle/rim, to which the rope remained tied, was withdrawn. Both 114 and 115 are made of a hard, pink-purple fabric and are dipped in glaze (as opposed to the glaze being applied with a brush). Two other objects share these fabric characteristics: 116, a trefoil olpe, and 157, a lekaneis. The fabric color is similar to Lakonian, but Sparkes and Talcott note that the technique of dipping was common also in Corinth in the Archaic period.<sup>61</sup>

## TRANSPORT AMPHORAS

Among the objects pictured in the storeroom on the Getty skyphos are transport amphoras. Households would need to store staples such as grains and dried fruit and meat, as well as wine. Transport amphoras, once emptied, could be refilled with the same contents or reused for storage of other substances. Appendix I provides a complete study of the more than 50 fragmentary transport amphoras from well J 2:4. Remains from the other Persian destruction deposits confirm the prevalence of transport amphoras in the home.<sup>62</sup> A great number of large, sharp-edged fragments of amphoras come from Level 5, the pocket of fine wares, indicating that these were

57. The form of the rim, neck, and handles matches P 1218, *Agora* XII, p. 359, no. 1743, fig. 19, pl. 81, which is described as a “majestic lebes” and linked to makers of pithoi (p. 212). Fragments of pithoi and the large storage lebes were left in the context

tins due to their size and highly fragmentary condition.

58. *Agora* XII, p. 212.

59. Fragments of about four. One is rectangular and has a drain hole and is similar to an unpublished example from the Agora, P 23466.

60. *Agora* XII, p. 208; cf. *Agora* XII, p. 353, no. 1665, pl. 77, from well R 12:1, another Persian destruction cleanup deposit; see also Thompson 1951, p. 50, pl. 25:a.

61. *Agora* XII, p. 208, n. 26.

62. Cf. Roberts 1986, pp. 62–72.

thrown into the well during the same cleanup event. Unlike the fine wares, no amphora can be completely mended from the fragments. The production sites represented by the amphora fragments include Corinthian, Adriatic/Ionian, northern Aegean, Lesbos/Region, Chian, southeastern Aegean, and south Italian. This geographic range of origins parallels patterns from other Persian destruction deposits.

Two further objects may be related to the use of transport amphoras as storage containers in the house. A clay stopper (216) is of the size to fit into a vessel with a neck diameter of about 15 cm.<sup>63</sup> It had a stemmed knob for easy removal. It is possible that 165 was also a stopper of sorts. It is a simple, domed form that could have stopped a vessel with a neck of about 10 cm. Its domed form could also have doubled as a scoop for the removal of a vessel's dry contents.

## TOILET ITEMS

This category refers to containers for personal use items and objects for adornment. It includes boxes to hold jewelry and cosmetics and containers for perfume. The multifunctional *lekanis* has been introduced already, with a discussion of its potential role as a food-presentation vessel. In addition, the *lekanis* could also hold jewelry or other trinkets or cosmetics.<sup>64</sup> This shape was connected with the world of women and their adornment: by the end of the 5th century the *lekanis* acquired an association with brides as a suitable marriage gift, and the figured versions are dominated by wedding imagery. The black-glazed versions found in this house (157 and the fragmentary lids 158, 159, 160, 161, and 162) thus unfortunately defy exclusive association with either food presentation or personal storage. The same is true for the covered bowls 155 and 156 and for lids 164 and 165.

Personal adornment also included perfumed oils. I have already discussed the role of *lekythoi* as containers for perfumed body oil and their potential connection with the symposium (see Chapter 5). Other shapes are exclusively designed for perfumed oil, including the *aryballos*. Although well J 2:4 contained no *aryballoi*, one is depicted in the red-figured gymnasium scene on the cup 87 (see discussion in Chapter 4). Well J 2:4 did contain several distinctive perfume vessels. Included in the household assemblage is the perfume jar ("unguent pot") 167, probably imported from East Greece.<sup>65</sup> It has a deceptively heavy wall that reduces its capacity to a slender tube. This top-shaped perfume vessel might go with 170, half of a cone-shaped ring stand that would support a small vessel with a pointy bottom.<sup>66</sup>

63. There is a second uncatalogued example from Level 2.

64. For discussion of multiple functions with references, see Amyx 1958a, pp. 202–205.

65. See *Agora* XII, p. 317, no. 1165, pl. 39; see p. 157 for a discussion of the form and its origins.

66. Cf. the image of a similar *amphoriskos*-shaped perfume jar placed in a ring stand of a different form but same function (Sparkes and Talcott 1958, fig. 55). For the complete shape, cf. *Agora* XII, p. 330, nos. 1335, 1336, pl. 43.

Another container for liquids is the black-glazed askos (166).<sup>67</sup> The form is well known from the generations after the Persian Wars, but 166 may be the earliest example of an Attic ring askos. The shape was imported from the East, and an example in East Greek fabric from the Stoa Gutter Well is the closest parallel for the shape of 166.<sup>68</sup> The decoration of 166, though, is different. The East Greek example from the Stoa Gutter Well has black bands on a predominantly buff surface, while the early Attic version is totally glazed.<sup>69</sup> The canonical form of the Attic askos will have a ring base, a stouter body, and a handle that arches from spout to the back edge of the ring.<sup>70</sup> Thus 166 is an early attempt to imitate the imported form directly; Attic potters must have found their own innovations more practical, and so 166 remains unparalleled as an early experiment. The ring shape of the early askoi is meant to increase the surface area of the vessel. Askoi probably held a viscous oil, and the ring would permit the vessel to be submerged in heated water to liquefy the contents for pouring.

## TOYS

As important as children were to the prosperity and future of Athens, evidence for their lives is hard to identify and has received little scholarly attention until recently.<sup>71</sup> Children of all times and places learn to negotiate adult worlds through play. A few terracotta and bone objects from well J 2:4 may represent children's toys, but, just as with the pottery, these are frustratingly ambiguous, as they can also have a religious function.

Fragments 203 and 204 come from small hand-formed terracotta figurines. Both were quadrupeds, but 204 preserves only a foreleg. The better-preserved 203 does not bear evidence of a rider and has traces of a whitish-yellow slip with curving black lines. This may be a sheep rather than a horse. It is difficult to assess the function of these small figurines; like the terracotta figurines discussed in the next section, these too could have been votive objects in a household shrine.

Knucklebones, *astragaloí*, are asymmetrical tarsal bones of the hind leg of a quadruped. These bones have four distinct, somewhat flat faces, and were used for both games and divination. In divination each face of the bone

67. One theory is that askoi held wine for the cult of the dead: Hoffmann 1977, p. 1; countered by Boardman 1979; restated by Burkert and Hoffmann 1980; rebutted again by Boardman 1981. Later askoi with strainers may have held vinegar: Monaco 1993.

68. *Agora* XII, p. 358, no. 1725, pl. 80 (= Roberts 1986, no. 394). For the shape and typical East Greek decoration, cf. *Délos* X, nos. 80–102, pls. 16–18; *Délos* XVII, nos. 42–59, pls. 47, 48. All of the askoi from Delos have a round bottom and handle that attaches to the near side of the ring,

traits that are present on 166 but not canonical in the later Attic askoi.

69. “East Greek” may sound vague, but see Cook and Dupont 1998, p. 133: “[the askoi] are probably North Ionian and were widely exported and probably copied in the sixth century”; thus the general geographic attribution.

70. See *Agora* XII, p. 158, on the canonical “deep” black-glazed askoi: “none are earlier than 480 though they are preceded by two red-figured examples which would seem to be the earliest of the shape in Attica.” The two red-figured examples can be dated to ca. 490 based on style: Providence

(RISD) 25.074, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 480, no. 338; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 247 [Makron], Kunisch 1997, no. 3 and *CVA* Providence 1 [USA 2], pl. 17 [70]:4a, b for a profile view. See Kunisch 1997, pp. 18–21, for a discussion of the difficulties of assigning dates to the career of Makron; he calls the Providence askos an early work. The second is Boston, MFA 13.169, *ARV*<sup>1</sup> 188, no. 50 [Tyszkiewicz Painter], Vermeule 1965, p. 47, fig. 15.

71. See Cohen and Rutter 2007 and Neils and Oakley 2003; the latter includes a catalogue of the Hood Art Museum exhibition “Coming of Age in Ancient Greece.”



was given a meaning, so that the reading of knucklebones was similar to the reading of I Ching sticks. Many games were also played with knucklebones, some similar to modern jacks.<sup>72</sup> Children are often represented at play with knucklebones and sometimes receive them as grave gifts. Well J 2:4 contained 26 knucklebones, all from Levels 5 and 6, the intentional cleanup. There were 24 from sheep or goat (*Ovis* sp. and/or *Caprus* sp.) and two from cattle (*Bos* sp.). On many of these the projecting points were worn or intentionally ground down. Six of the astragaloi, represented in the Catalogue by 212, 213, and 214, were modified by intentional shaving off the projecting points to create a more cubic form (214), or by holes drilled through from top to bottom (212, 213; 214 also has a diamond-shaped hole punched through it). The purpose of these holes, sometimes one (212), sometimes three (213), and sometimes off center (212), is not clear.<sup>73</sup> Examples from other deposits preserve lead in the holes, but no traces of fillings were found in the holes on the astragaloi from well J 2:4.<sup>74</sup> The modifications to the astragaloi effectively change their weights. It is possible that the shaving and drilling reduced the overall weight, and filling the drilled holes would increase the weight.<sup>75</sup> The two bovid astragaloi (e.g., 214) weighed 52.5 g and 38.6 g. The ovid/caprid astragaloi varied from 2.85 g to 11.0 g, with an average weight of 6.3 g. Again, the purpose of this practice is unclear, but it may be related to functions other than divination or games.<sup>76</sup>

## HOUSEHOLD RITUAL

We know very little about the material culture of household ritual. Although literary references emphasize the importance of the household hearth as a focus of rituals,<sup>77</sup> few houses if any in Archaic and Classical Athens, as mentioned above, had fixed hearths. Instead, we must imagine rituals performed around portable braziers.<sup>78</sup> Although household altars are also mentioned in literary sources, there is no archaeological evidence for either fixed or portable altars in Athenian houses.<sup>79</sup> The house itself was sacred, however, and liable to be polluted by death and birth.<sup>80</sup>

72. See discussion in Amandry 1984, pp. 375–378; Neils 1992a, p. 234, nn. 40, 41; Poplin 1992; Vanhove 1992, p. 176; Neils and Oakley 2003, pp. 276–277 and nos. 85–90. Sources: Ar. *Vesp.* 291–296; Paus. 6.24.7, 7.25.10; Plu. *Alc.* 2.1d.

73. Shaving and drilling is not uncommon. See, among others, Vanhove 1992, p. 176, no. 31.

74. Astragaloi with drilled holes filled with lead are known from the Bronze Age through the Roman period; see Reese 1985, pp. 387–388, for overview. On worked astragaloi, see Amandry 1984, esp. pp. 363–370, for astragaloi with lead fillings. Note that none of the astragaloi from well J 2:4

bear incised inscriptions, as many of the examples offered at the Corycian Cave do.

75. Weights used on pan balances sometimes feature the image of an astragalos; see *Agora* X, p. 25, BW 1, pl. 1 (ca. 500), and p. 27, LW 3–7, pls. 2, 3 (4th century–Hellenistic). It is possible that natural astragaloi functioned as household weights for small quantities.

76. A group of 78 astragaloi was found stored with vessels and objects associated with personal ornament in an Archaic house from Sardis: Cahill 2002b, p. 180. It is possible that some of the knucklebones with holes were also necklaces or at least strung on a

cord. Cahill does not say if any of the 78 from Sardis were pierced or otherwise modified.

77. E.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 1055–1057; Eur. *Alc.* 162; Thuc. 1.136. Jameson 1990b, pp. 192–195 and Tsakirgis 2007, p. 225, on household ritual, the hearth, and Hestia.

78. Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes's *Acharnians* (887–888) calls for the servants to “fetch me forth the brazier and the fan.” See discussion of sources in Swinford 2006.

79. Portable altars have been found at Olynthus: *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 322–325; Cahill 2002a, pp. 87–88.

80. Parker 1983, p. 63; Burkert 1985, p. 76.



Of the objects found in well J 2:4, several may be connected with household ritual activity. Already discussed was the omphalos phiale in Six's technique (23), which may have been used during the symposium, although it could also have been used for other household libation rituals.<sup>81</sup> The imagery of cattle on the phiale may refer to sacrificial offerings of bulls and cows, and thus the inscriptions, *kalos*, may then refer to the beauty of the gift being made to a deity.

A fragment of a black-figured thymiaterion, an incense burner (81), also relates to ritual activity.<sup>82</sup> This fragment was recovered from the bottom of Level 6, the period of use portion of the well, indicating that it was used in the house and broken, probably before the Persian destruction. The style of the drawing places it in the last quarter of the 6th century, but closer to 525 than to 500. Incense burners—the stemmed thymiaterion or the nonstemmed version, the thurible—were found in nine of the 21 Persian destruction deposits studied by Shear, for a total of 19 examples.<sup>83</sup> Only one of the other 19 was in black figure, so 81 adds to our knowledge of black-figured thymiateria from domestic contexts.

Fragment 81 is a piece of the tall stem on which a small bowl would have sat, and there would have been a broad, stable foot for setting the incense burner on a table or the ground.<sup>84</sup> On the figural versions, there are friezes both above and below a horizontal central fillet on the stem. This fragment probably represents the upper element of the stem due to the flare of the stem near the bottom break. The bowl would have sat upon the top of 81.<sup>85</sup> Unfortunately the bowl was fashioned separately and has left no traces of its shape.

The thymiaterion 81 is carefully decorated with three pairs of women. In each pair the draped women face each other, and all but one raise one hand hidden under drapery.<sup>86</sup> The women are all individualized by their garments of different colors and patterns, yet the woman with her hand exposed is not the most elaborately adorned. The miniature style is unlike other figural thymiateria decoration. Examples from Eleusis are more elaborately executed with recognizable myths and fewer but larger figures.<sup>87</sup> A parallel for the scene on 81 may be found on another, less carefully executed example from the Agora, but the subject of both remains unclear at present.<sup>88</sup>

81. Phialai occur in 11 of the 21 Persian destruction cleanup deposits: B 18:6 (1), D 15:1 (1), E 14:5 (1), F 19:5 (1), G 6:3 (7), G 11:8 (2), H 12:15 (2), H 13:5 (32), M 17:4 (10), Q 12:3 (5), Q 21:3 (1). Three of these deposits (B 18:6, H 12:15, Q 21:3) are well deposits associated with domestic architecture.

82. Wigand 1912, pp. 40–56; Kanowski 1983, pp. 144–146.

83. Shear 1993, tables 2, 3.

84. For a restored example of the shape, see Kournouniotes 1936, fig. 2.

85. This is a common place for the thymiateria to break; cf. *Agora* XII,

p. 331, nos. 1351 and 1358, pl. 44; *Agora* XXIII, p. 317, no. 1851, pl. 44.

86. The woman whose hand is exposed has a black-glazed hand with added white applied on top.

87. Kournouniotes 1936, figs. 1–4.

88. Cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 317, no. 1851, pl. 119: on the upper zone there are four women facing right; on the lower, five women facing right. The women on this example do not appear to interact with each other, but vertical rows of dots between the figures in imitation of inscriptions may be an effort to animate the scene.

## VOTIVES

Votives are gifts given to the gods as markers of ritual activity within cultic contexts. They can be monumental or ephemeral. Small token gifts were a popular category of affordable offerings that commemorated the ephemeral experience of worship.<sup>89</sup> In addition to the possible plate 78, which may have been a votive offering, the house contained votive terracotta figures and miniature pottery vessels.<sup>90</sup> Eleven votive miniatures and five terracotta figurines meet the criteria for inclusion in the household assemblage. Three terracotta figures from Levels 1 and 2 meet the criterion for inclusion in the household assemblage owing to their large, dense fragments. These are listed with a question mark on Table 6.

One of the terracotta figures, a small herm (202), may provide a solution to a vexing discrepancy between the literary and archaeological evidence for Greek houses. It is assumed from the details of the affair of the Hermokopidai at the end of the 5th century that houses had herms somewhere near their entrances.<sup>91</sup> Herms are sometimes represented on vases as large, freestanding objects set before a house.<sup>92</sup> At this time, no evidence for freestanding herms has been found associated with private houses of Athens.<sup>93</sup> Instead, 202 may be an example of typical household herm. Fragments of several other similar small herms have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.<sup>94</sup> They are small enough to be affixed to a door frame or to sit in a niche on the exterior wall of a house. Because 202 comes from Level 1b, it cannot be absolutely associated with this house, but nonetheless, it probably originated in a domestic setting.

Fragments of a seated slab female figure, a female protome, and two standard seated females round out the terracotta votive figures. The terracottas were probably arranged in a household shrine.<sup>95</sup> The hand-formed seated slab figure (198) was once painted: and a trace of white wash can be seen on the front and sides, and on fragment b a trace of a yellow dress with black details is preserved. The head projects forth from the slab of clay and is crowned with a radiate diadem made of diamond-shaped appliqués. Fragment (b) preserves the bottom edge where her feet project out from

89. The classic source on votive offerings is Rouse 1902, but see more recently Burkert 1985, p. 93; 1987; *ThesCRA* I, pp. 269–318, s.v. 2.d. Dedications, Greek (J. Boardman). For minor objects as votive gifts, see, e.g., Gebhard 1998; *Corinth* XVII.4, pp. 323–325. On miniature vases as votive gifts, see Shanks 1999, p. 189; Ekroth 2003, p. 36.

90. On the domestic use of terracotta figurines, see Merker 2003, p. 240; *Corinth* XVII.4, p. 322; Ammerman 1990, p. 43 and n. 69. Domestic terracottas of the Hellenistic period have received more attention than those of the Archaic and Classical periods. See also Cahill 2002a, chap. 3 (“The

Houses Described”), for the presence of terracotta figurines in houses.

91. Thuc. 6.27; 61.1.

92. E.g., a herm outside a house on a red-figured loutrophoros, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69/78 (Naples Painter), Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 19. Scholars have used these depictions as evidence for the existence of household herms; see Rose 1957, p. 103.

93. Monumental, public dedications of herms did exist; see discussion of herms in the northwestern corner of the Classical Agora, Thompson 1976, pp. 93–94. Jameson (1990b, p. 194) suggests that household herms were made of wood, and thus do not survive,

but no bases or cuttings suitable for herms have been found outside houses.

94. See Catalogue entry for 202.

95. Cf. House of the Tiled Prothyron at Olynthus (Cahill 2002a, p. 146), with an artifact assemblage that led the author to identify a ritual suite in the house. See *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 72–73, for the suggestion that some of the household terracottas, especially the hanging masks similar to 199, might have had a decorative or talismanic function as opposed to a votive function. *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 64–68, notes that most houses had two to seven figurines, and links them to domestic cult.

the slab. This is a style of votive offering found on the Acropolis,<sup>96</sup> but no other examples are known from the Agora. Although this figure comes from Level 6, its preservation suggests that it was still in use at the time of the destruction. By contrast, 205, also from Level 6, possibly a fragmentary crouching female, is more poorly preserved, and may be more likely to have been thrown away during the life of the well.

The second terracotta is 199, a protome of a woman's head. The fragment preserves only the top, curved portion with a suspension hole and the beginning of the woman's coiffure. A complete example would depict the face and shoulders of a woman with a veil and *stephane* over her hair.<sup>97</sup> The form is frontal, with a hollow back. Terracottas of the type of 199 have vertical suspension holes that allow for the terracotta to be hung up. This type of votive, with a widespread distribution throughout the Mediterranean, originated in the mid-6th century and continued in a modified form until the 4th century;<sup>98</sup> however, 199 is also the only example of a protome from Persian destruction cleanup debris in the Agora area. The figure is moldmade from a non-Attic clay. The gray core may point to an East Greek origin, where the type originates.<sup>99</sup>

In addition, the deposit contained two moldmade seated figures, 200 and 201.<sup>100</sup> Both are women seated on a high-backed chair with their hands on their knees; neither figure's head is preserved, but the style is again Archaic. Scholars have linked the dedication of votive terracotta figurines with female worshippers.<sup>101</sup> They are gifts given to a range of deities,<sup>102</sup> but female deities of interest to the life cycles of women are the most common recipients of terracotta figurines.<sup>103</sup> The identity of these figures is purposely ambiguous. They may be a goddess or the dedicator herself, or simply a beautiful object suitable to be a gift to a god.<sup>104</sup>

Three nearly complete miniature pottery shapes and eight fragmentary ones were found in the deposit.<sup>105</sup> A miniature hydria (82), a miniature Corinthian kotyle (83), and a miniature "Argive" monochrome jug of uncertain production site (171) are the most complete and best made of the examples. Others from the deposit are generally poorly made, with poor or nonexistent glaze. Miniatures usually had votive purposes, either as grave gifts or as offerings in a sanctuary.<sup>106</sup> Their presence in the house

96. Brooke in Casson 1921, pp. 398–404, figs. p. 400.

97. Cf. Uhlenbrock 1988, fig. 1, for a reconstruction; for complete examples: Higgins 1967, pl. 26:b; *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 69–73, nos. 1, 2, pls. 1–3, with extensive discussion of the type and its origins; Kottaridi 2002, pp. 79–80, pl. 14:d, from sepulchral contexts. Kottaridi states an association of figurines with graves of women, girls, and children, but does not specify during which periods this association applies.

98. Higgins 1967, p. 64; Uhlenbrock 1988, p. 19.

99. Croissant 1983, p. 315. The type

is made on the mainland as well: Szabó 1994, p. 127 and fig. 148; *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 69–71.

100. Ten of the other 21 Persian destruction cleanup deposits contained seated female figures, often in multiples: D 15:1 (3), D 17:10 (1), F 19:5 (10), G 6:3 (9), G 11:3 (3), M 17:4 (2), Q 20:1 (8), Q 21:3 (1), R 12:1 (3), R 12:4 (5).

101. Ammerman 1990, p. 43.

102. Alroth 1989, pp. 106–113.

103. Ammerman 1990, p. 43.

104. See the discussion of terracotta dedications at Sicilian sanctuaries in Zuntz 1971, pp. 89–108; he

presents a variety of interpretations and problems.

105. Miniatures appear in five other Persian destruction cleanup deposits, often in multiples: D 15:1 (3), G 11:3 (1), H 12:5 (4), M 17:4 (9), Q 12:3 (4).

106. Kourou (1988) proposes that the "Argive Monochrome" miniatures are generally associated with cults of Hera or Demeter, although the presence of the type at Isthmia (Morgan 1999, pp. 288–289), where at least Poseidon and Melikertes-Palaimon were worshipped, make the association less certain.

may mean that they had a role in the domestic cult, or perhaps they were objects on hand in the house for future dedications.<sup>107</sup>

The miniature 82 has the characteristics of a hydria, two horizontal handles and a vertical handle midway between, but the broad neck and large horizontal handles do not resemble the proportions of full-scale versions of the shape. The decorative scheme, too, of horizontal lines on the body and vertical lines on the shoulder does not resemble the full-scale versions. This scheme is similar to, but not identical to, a group of miniatures associated with the Swan Group and dated to the end of the 6th century to the beginning of the 5th century.<sup>108</sup> The decorated miniatures of the Swan Group, though, normally imitate ritual shapes such as *louteria* and *kotha*.

The two other well-preserved miniatures were both imported. There may be a connection between imported objects and dedications, in that the unusual was deemed attractive to the deity.<sup>109</sup> The miniature Corinthian kotyle 83 is Corinthian in fabric and decoration. Miniature Corinthian kotylai shapes were imitated by Attic potters, but decorated only in black glaze.<sup>110</sup> The closest parallels for 83 are not in Athens but in the Archaic Linear style of Corinth.<sup>111</sup> The handmade Argive monochrome<sup>112</sup> jug 171 may date to the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 6th century. It probably predates the house construction and might have been brought to the house as an heirloom.

## SUMMARY

Although this study focuses on the symposium, this was but one, very specialized activity in the household. In reality, the material presented in this chapter more accurately represents the daily life of the house. There are all-purpose, utilitarian forms, specialized cooking forms that represent the everyday chore of preparing meals for the *oikos*, and a variety of water jars for fetching water from the household well. Yet, this house had few specialized ceramic forms relating to dining and the consumption of food. This absence underscores the lack of emphasis placed on communal dining in Archaic Athens, but we must keep in mind that everyday food receptacles may have been made of perishable materials such as wood, basketry, or gourds. There are more ceramic forms to accommodate meal condiments, which may strengthen the connection of these shapes with the provision of sympotic snacks, not everyday meals.

While the sympotic wares provide insight into the world of men, the household objects offer glimpses of the world of women. In addition to the

107. On the relationship of their diminutive size and meaning, see Shanks 1999, p. 189; the small size is thought to assure an intimate relationship with the deity through the need for “scrutiny of inspection rather than public view.” Jameson (1990b, p. 194) gives parallels from Halieis; he also proposes that the miniatures functioned

in household cult. Horsnaes (2001, esp. p. 84) explores the possibility that miniatures from sites in Lucania have been used to classify sites incorrectly as sacred instead of domestic.

108. *Agora* XII, pp. 186, 334–335, nos. 1404–1416, pl. 45.

109. Shanks 1999, pp. 189, 192–193.

110. Cf. *Agora* XII, p. 333, nos. 1377, 1378, pl. 45.

111. *Corinth* XV.3, p. 310, nos. 1684–1686, pl. 67.

112. This is a conventional term, but similar vases were made in various locations; see Kourou 1987; 1988; and Dunbabin 1962, pp. 314–315.

food preparation equipment, weaving implements, personal toilet shapes, and votive offerings represent objects that women would have used on a daily basis. These objects all reflect their aspirations to be a good wife and mother, one who maintained the health and prosperity of the household, spun and wove with skill, adorned herself appropriately to bring honor to the family, and maintained the household cults.<sup>113</sup> Literature leaves us few instances of women's voices, and visual and literary images of women created by men bear a complex relationship to the real lives of women. By exploring the archaeology of the mundane, ordinary house, we get closer to the world of women than ever before.

113. At Olynthus, terracotta figurines were found widely distributed in the houses; there were no conventional locations for them: see Cahill 2002a, chap. 3 ("The Houses Described").

## CATALOGUE

The Catalogue is divided into the following sections: black figure, red figure, black glaze, household ware, cooking ware, lamps, terracotta figurines, weaving implements, worked bone, and miscellaneous objects. Within the pottery sections, the material is divided by shape, with closed forms followed by open forms according to the organization of *Agora XII*. Within each shape, the entries generally proceed by subshape. Objects other than pottery are arranged by type and/or chronological development.

Catalogue entries give the Catalogue number (in boldface), Agora inventory number (in parentheses), shape, and reference to illustrations on the first line, followed by the elevations within well J 2:4 at which fragments of the object were recovered. These elevations are given both in meters above sea level (abbreviated simply as “m”) and in stratigraphic “Levels” as described in Table 2 and Figure 5. When multiple fragments were found in contiguous levels, the elevations are given as a continuous range. When joining fragments were found in levels at the top and at the bottom of the well, both elevations are given (e.g., +49.14–48.73 and +47.60–46.60 m).

Next, object measurements are given (in centimeters). Whenever possible, an estimated diameter is given for objects preserving a significant portion of the rim. A list of the abbreviations used appears below. Following the measurements are references to previous publication (if any).

A description follows of the object’s condition, shape, decoration, and any inscriptions or graffiti. If an object exhibits the characteristics of a well-known shape, such as Type C cup, the shape is not described in full. Black-figured skyphoi are identified by the classification system devised by Ure (1927, pp. 57–73). For red figure, additional information is provided on the presence of: (1) preliminary drawings, (2) black-glazed contour lines (the 1/8” inch strip), (3) relief lines, and (4) dilute glaze. Since most red-figured vases of the time period covered by this project use contour lines, only their absence will be noted. Otherwise, if a preliminary drawing or dilute glaze are not mentioned in the entry, then they are not used on the object. In the entries for kylikes with figured tondos, an approximate orientation off-handle-axis is given for cup scenes. Fabric color descriptions are given for non-Attic objects and refer to the Munsell Soil Color Chart.

A discussion of comparanda follows, and attribution to a painter is given (where possible). The name of the scholar responsible for the



attribution appears in parentheses, and any emendations to the attribution are indicated by the presence of more than one name and the date the attribution was made. If no name is given, the attribution is by the author. Finally, a date for the object is given.

All ceramic objects are Attic unless otherwise noted.

All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

The following abbreviations are used:

RRCS = Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft (deposit G 6:3)

SGW = Stoa Gutter Well (deposit Q 12:3)

Diam. = diameter (greatest)

est. = estimated

D. = depth

H. = height

L. = length

max. p. dim. = maximum preserved dimension

p. = preserved (i.e., p.H. = preserved height)

Th. = thickness (greatest)

W. = width

Wt. = weight

An asterisk (\*) beside the catalogue number indicates an object is considered to be part of the house's assemblage according to the criteria described in Chapter 3. A question mark before an asterisk signals that the object is from the upper fill of the well (Levels 1 and 2) but meets the criteria for inclusion in the household assemblage because it is greater than half preserved; however, its preservation is largely due to the fact that it is a single fragment of a dense form, and thus might preserve well even though re-deposited from elsewhere. Square brackets around a catalogue number indicate single fragments from the period of use deposit (Level 6 and the lowest portion of Level 5) likely broken and discarded as trash during the time of the well's use. Square brackets *and* an asterisk denote fine-ware closed vessels from the period of use possibly used to fetch water and over half preserved.

All photographs courtesy Agora Excavations.

## BLACK FIGURE

### AMPHORA

\*1 (P 33259) Amphora

Fig. 20

+50.31–49.76; +49.14–48.73; +46.00–45.90 m (Levels 1b, 2, and 5)

Max. p. dim. (a) 8.4, (b) 8.2

Two fragments of body of large amphora, each mended from two fragments (nonjoining fragment left with context pottery in Tin BZ 721). Good black glaze on (a); (b) is abraded, glaze discolored and flaking.

Preserved black-glaze bordering to right of black-figured panel on a. In panel, hoplite running left. Fragment (a) preserves hoplite's shield and back leg down to calf. Two incised compass-drawn circles for border of shield. Part of shield device, a round object, preserved. At top of fragment, half of drilled hole for ancient mend. On (b), a second shield, edge of a third, and trace of a greaved calf. Center of the second shield reserved; trace of a figure in Six's technique, buff clay, as the device,

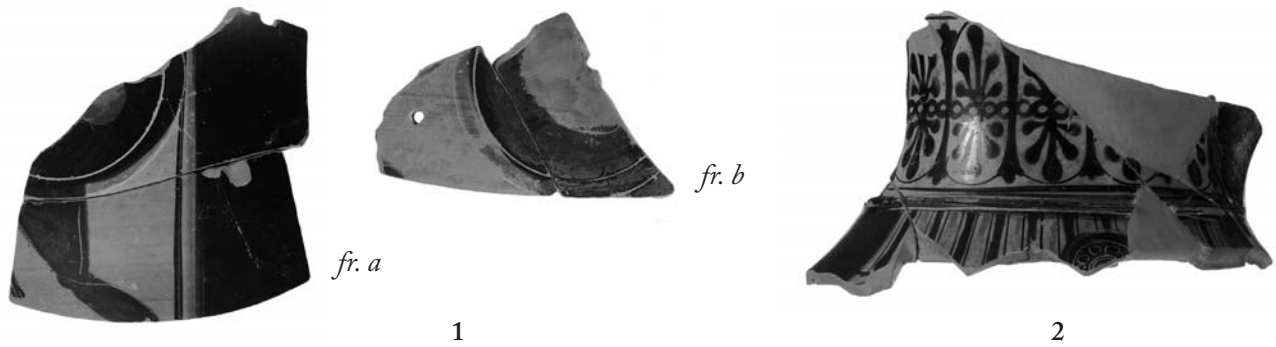


Figure 20. Amphoras 1, 2. Scale 1:2

possibly a Nike. Drilled hole for ancient mend in field to left. Added red: edges of shields, shield device on (a), circle on shield on (b).

Shape is possibly a Panathenaic amphora or a Panathenaic-type amphora; if so, the scene would be the hoplitodromos. The wall is thin, continuously curving, and the scale of the figures is likely appropriate for a full-sized Panathenaic amphora. On Panathenaic amphoras, see Bentz and Eschbach 2001.

Ca. 525–500

\*2 (P 33558) Amphora

Fig. 20

+49.14–48.73 and +47.60–46.60 m (Levels 2 and 4)

Max. p. dim. (a) 13.05, (b) 10.4

Two joining fragments of neck and shoulder of a neck amphora. Start of one handle. Sharp raised ridge at bottom of neck, incised line below. On neck, between handles, reflected palmette chain without incision. Alternating red and black tongues at top of shoulder. Crest of a helmet intruding into tongues preserved on a. Added red: line on crest, line on raised ridge, line below tongues. Relief line: curves framing palmettes, outlines of tongues.

Shape is probably a pseudo-Panathenaic amphora with Athena. Cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 141, no. 319, pl. 32 (but note error there; date should be late 6th century, not late 5th).

Late 6th century

\*3 (P 32416) Amphoriskos

Fig. 21

+46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

H. 17.1; Diam. rim 8.65, body 10.0, foot 5.9

Camp 1996, p. 248, no. 26, pl. 73; Lynch 2009b, p. 75, fig. 73.

Complete except for a few body fragments; mended from several fragments. Thin wash on reserved surfaces.

Disk foot with recessed underside and nipple. Exterior face of foot convex; flat upper face slopes upward slightly. Flaring raised fillet at junction of foot and body. Ovoid body tapering sharply to foot. Slightly raised fillet at junction of body and neck, incised line below. Cylindrical neck, concave, flaring to rim. Echinus profile to exterior of rim, interior with wide concave groove, top flat. Vertical handles flattened, double-round attached from mid-neck to outer shoulder.

Below figural zone: zone of rays on lower body with dot-band between dilute lines above. Above figured zone a row of very debased tongues in black on shoulder. Side A of neck has alternating, interlaced palmettes; side B has reflected ivy-leaf pattern with three uneven horizontal lines. Side A: At left, Dionysos seated facing right on an okladias. Wears himation and holds kantharos, shown in side view, away from his body. At right, female figure seated on an okladias facing left. Wears a himation and extends one hand out, possibly holding a krotalos. Two branches

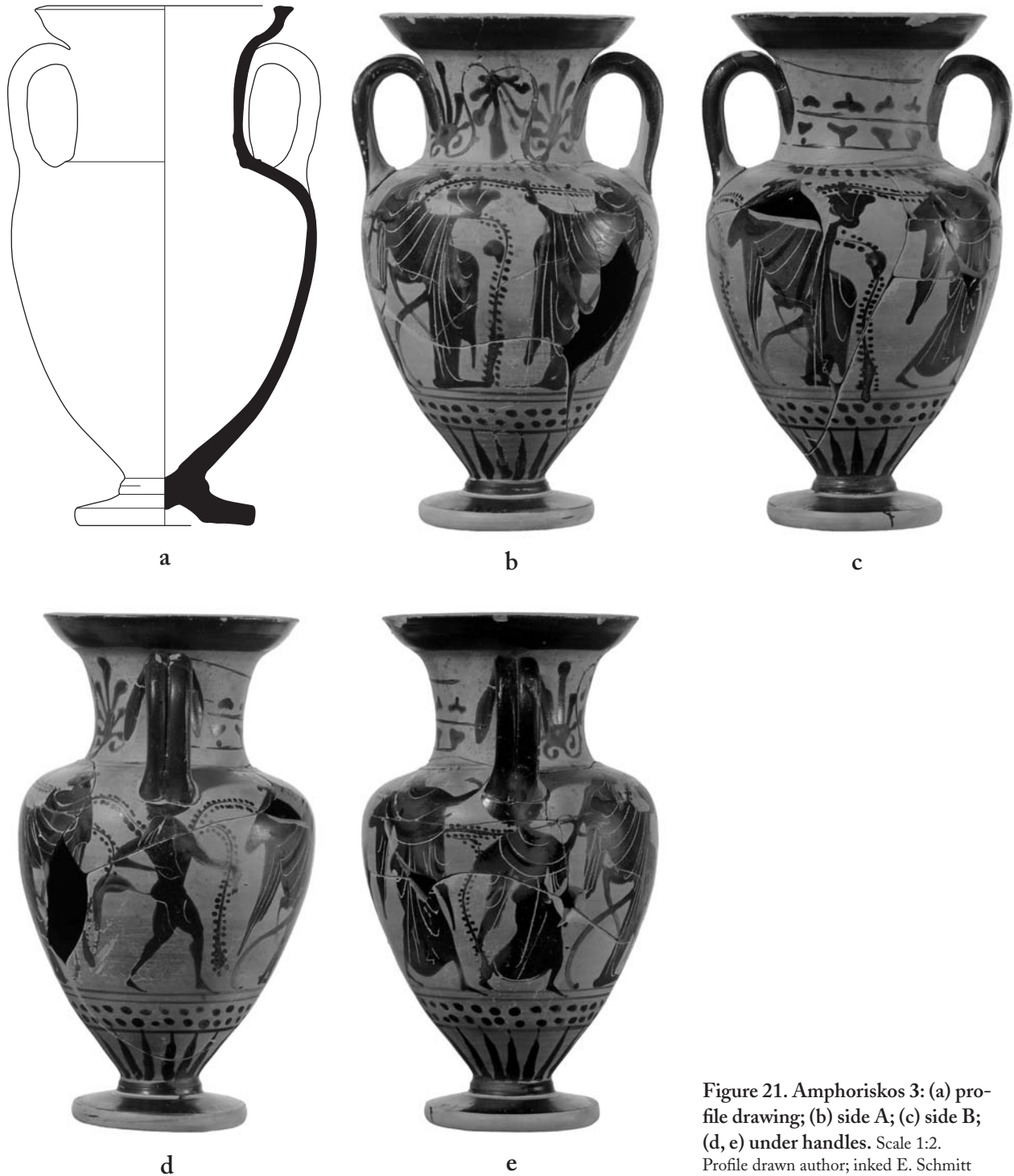


Figure 21. Amphoriskos 3: (a) profile drawing; (b) side A; (c) side B; (d, e) under handles. Scale 1:2. Profile drawn author; inked E. Schmitt

with leaves and one blob-fruit in field around them. Side B: At left, Dionysos seated facing right on an okladias. Wears a himation and holds a kantharos, shown in side view, away from his body. At right, draped female figure dancing with krotala moves right and looks back left. Two branches in field around them with one blob-fruit. Under one handle, a satyr moving right and looking back at Side A. Under opposite handle, draped female figure in same pose as dancer on Side B.

Her head overlaps the handle. Reserved: underside and exterior face of foot, top of lip, interior of handles, and interior below neck. Added white: female flesh, part of Dionysos's wreath, neckline of Dionysos's garment, joints of okladii, possibly hearts of palmettes. Added red: beards of Dionysos and satyr, tail of satyr, garment folds, Dionysos's wreath, satyr's fillet, fillet on females, dots on grape clusters, probably band on fillet above foot. Hasty drawing and incision.

For small-scale amphoras, see *Agora XXIII*, pp. 128–131, nos. 206–225, pls. 24–26. The combination of neck motifs is not common for the class. It is found on a slightly larger Dot-band Class amphoriskos London, BM 63, 7–28, 443, *CVA* London, British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5], pl. 70 [215]:7a, b, and on at least two amphoriskoi of Light-Make Class (*ABV*, pp. 593–600), Tarquinia RC 1629, *ABV* 598, no. 31, *CVA* Tarquinia 2 [Italy 26], pl. 35 [1184]:3, 4; and Bologna 42, *ABV* 598, no. 24, *CVA* Bologna 2 [Italy 7], pl. 22 [321]:1, 2. The style does not match any of the hands Beazley assigned as painters of the Dot-band Class. For amphoriskoi, style is closest to Munich J1218, *CVA* Munich 9 [Germany 48], pl. 35 [2332]:4, and 36 [2333]:1–3, which the author associates with the Krotala Group of painters of lekythoi, and two amphoriskoi by the Michigan Painter, Michigan 2599, *ABV* 344, no. 9, *CVA* Michigan 1 [USA 3], pl. 14 [99]:3a, b; and Copenhagen 8757, *CVA* Copenhagen, National Museum 8 [Denmark 8], pl. 316 [319]:2a, b. The style in general most closely matches that of the Kalinderu Group of lekythos painters, *ABV*, pp. 503–504, *Agora XXIII*, pp. 234–235, nos. 1075–1082, pl. 85 for examples. In particular, the folds of Dionysos's garment emanate from both the arm and the knee, and the head declines slightly. A satyr on a lekythos by the Kalinderu Group from Rhitsona (R135.75, *ABV* 504, no. 13, Ure 1927, pl. 15) matches the satyr under the handle on 3. The Kalinderu Group is near the style of the Campana Painter of black-figured cups (*ABV*, pp. 653–654, *CVA* Louvre 10 [France 17] pls. 117 [752], 118 [753], 119 [754]:1, 2), whose Dionysoi are near replicas of Dionysos on 3 and the Kalinderu Group lekythoi. Pose, drapery, and wreath are among the consistent details. The wreath is such a typical trait that the small fragment Louvre C 10457, *ABV*, p. 654, no. 10, *CVA* Louvre 10 [France 17], pl. 118 [753]:12, can be attributed to the Campana Painter. Moore hinted at the relationship between the lekythos painters and painters of small amphoras based on the shared subsidiary patterns on both forms (*Agora XXIII*, p. 12). It is well known that better painters, such as the Edinburgh Painter and the Theseus Painter, worked on both lekythoi and small closed shapes, thus it is likely that their less skilled associates did the same.

Dot-band Group (D. von Bothmer in Camp 1996)

Kalinderu Group (Lynch 1999)

Ca. 500

## STAMNOS

\*4 (P 32345) Stamnos

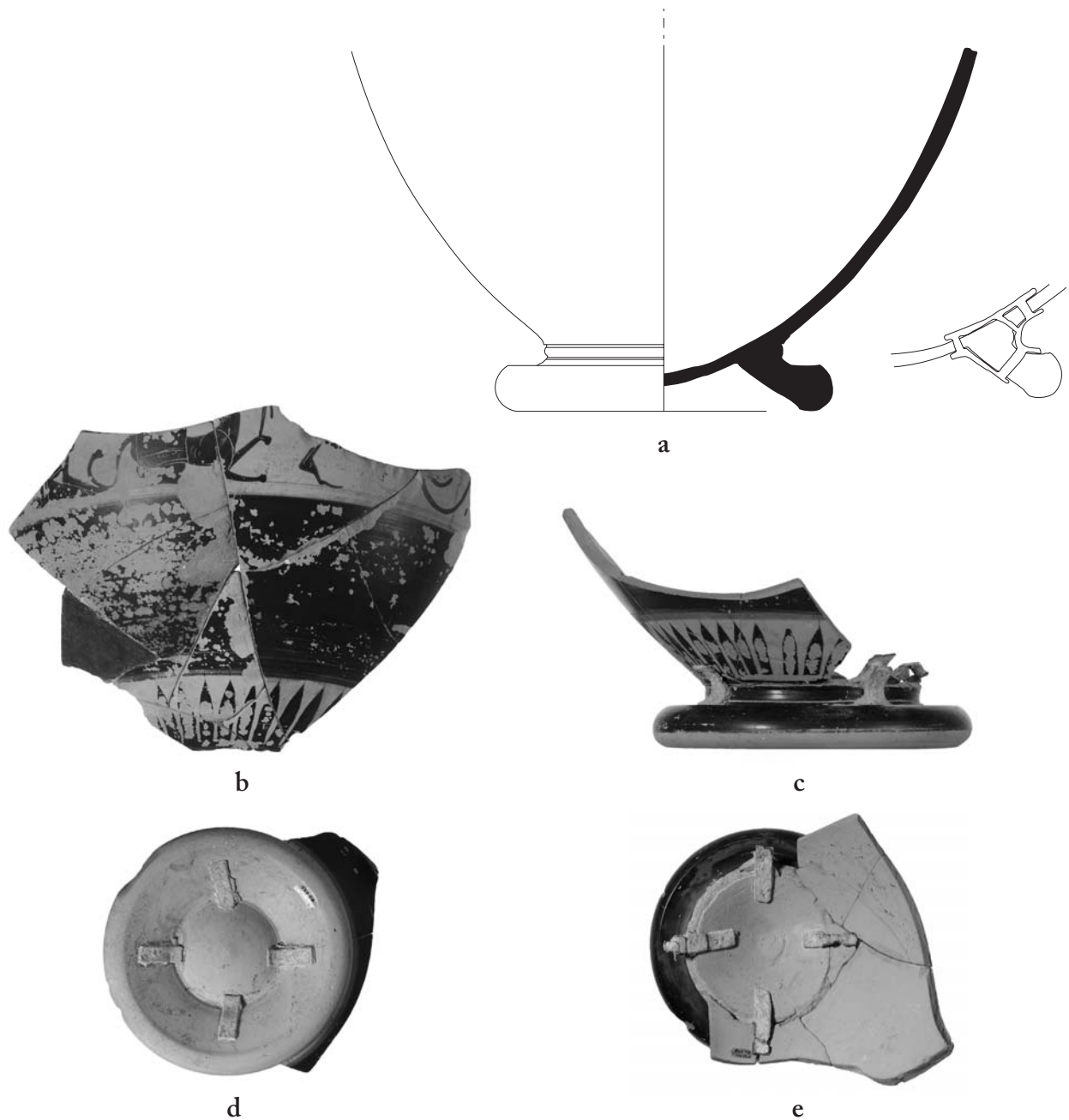
Fig. 22

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

P.H. 18.0; Diam. foot 15.5

Mended from 20 fragments to make up two joining fragments, foot (b) and lower wall (b), about the bottom third of vessel. The joining fragments have not been mended because contact area is so slight. Four lead clamps represent ancient repair, holding foot to body. Peeling black glaze, mottled red in places. Attic clay with several large white inclusions.

Spreading ring foot with thick torus outer face rising on underside to rounded bottom of vessel with slight nipple at center. Flat, vertical fillet at junction of foot and wall bounded at top and bottom by an incised groove. Ovoid body. Lower third and underside of foot reserved.



Band around lower body reserved and decorated with black rays 4 cm high. Above rays, thick, brown line at bottom of 8-cm-wide black band. Above band, reserved area decorated with figures (only feet preserved) walking toward right on a dilute ground line. From left: trace of figure's toes; feet of second figure standing to right, with a tail of drapery beside the back foot. Lower garment and feet of a third, female, figure standing to right. Third figure wears a straight skirt with hem decorated with C pattern between double lines. A crouching feline figure with left paw raised sits on far side of female figure, looking back and up. Feet of a fourth figure running right, front foot fugitive, tail of drapery falls behind. At far right, curving tendrill. Added white: foot of female figure, dots on hem of second figure, hem of figure at right. Added red: stripe on skirt of female figure. Somewhat hasty, but detailed incision.

**Figure 22. Stamnos 4: (a) profile drawing; (b) mended lower wall fragment; (c–e) mended foot fragment. Scale 1:3 (a, b, c); 1:4 (d, e). Profile drawn author; inked E. Schmitt**



In addition to the profile, the decorative treatment of the fragment connects it with the conventional scheme of stamnoi. For shape and decoration, cf. Armonk, Pinney Collection, Philippaki 1967, p. 19, pl. 12:2; Naples, Santangelo 175, Philippaki 1967, p. 19, pl. 13:2; Cabinet des Médailles 251, Philippaki 1967, p. 19, pl. 14:2. For profile, cf. London B 691, Philippaki 1967, fig. 1.

The tendril at the right of the fragment indicates that the figural zone is not in a panel. Amphoras without panels usually have more complex bands below the scene, such as a band of lotus buds. The combination of rays and broad band on 4 is not usually found on amphoras without panels, except those of the Affecter Painter, which have a larger black band. The combination of rays and black band occurs more frequently on amphoriskoi, cf. Verona 18 Ce, *CVA* Verona 1 [Italy 34], pl. 1 [1516]:2a, and pl. 2 [1517]; Geneva 11586, *CVA* Geneva 2 [Switzerland 3], pl. 53 [109]:1, 3; and on conventionally sized neck amphoras, cf. Oxford 1965.125, *CVA* Oxford 3 [Great Britain 14], pl. 16 [631]:3 (profile at back of text volume); Munich NI 9001, *CVA* Munich 9 [Germany 48], pl. 59 [2356] (profile: fig. J), in the text of the entry the scheme of black-glazed body and frieze is called “unusual”; London B 235, *CVA* London 4 [Great Britain 5], pl. 54 [199]:4a, b; Rhodes 11931, *CVA* Rhodes 2 [Italy 10], pl. 21 [497]:3, 4.

This could also be a hydria, but the combination of band and rays is usually accompanied by an exergue panel below the main scene. The only shape that does have the characteristics of a band, an unbounded scene, and torus foot is the stamnos.

The woman may be Athena, who is shown with a feline on a black-figured neck amphora, Oslo, Museum of Applied Art 8673, *CVA* Oslo 1 [Norway 1], pl. 6 [6]; and a black-figured lekythos, Agrigento C846, *ABL* 226, no. 26 [Sappho Painter], *CVA* Agrigento 1 [Italy 61], pl. 71 [2755].

For the ancient repair, cf. the krater, Caltanissetta, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 102, from Sabucina, tomb 25, Nadalini 2003, p. 203, figs. 18, 19. For the clamps to have been installed, either the vessel must have been very wide mouthed or the neck was also broken from the body.

Ca. 525–500

## OINOCHOE

\*5 (P 32415) Trefoil oinochoe

Fig. 23

+46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

H. with handle 25.5; Diam. 14.5

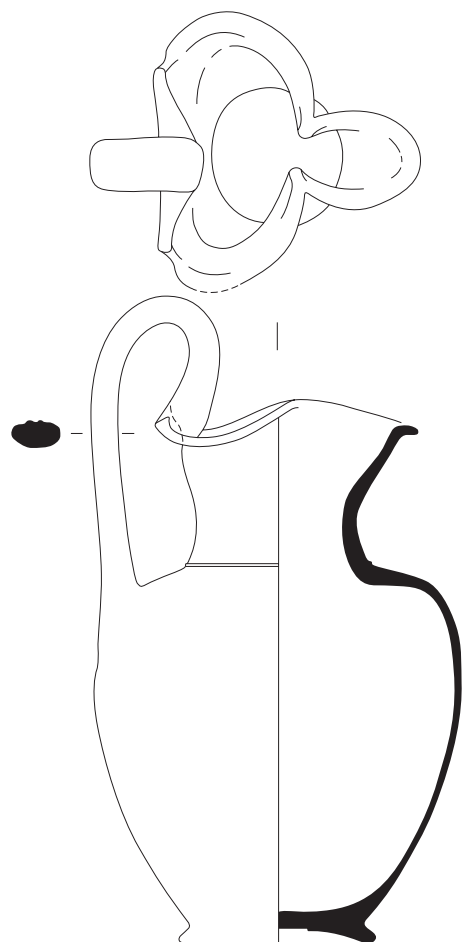
Camp 1996, p. 246, no. 21, pl. 72; Lynch 2009b, p. 75, fig. 73.

Mended from many fragments; complete except for small fragments from body. Good black glaze, lower band worn on one side; smudge of black glaze above Athena's head.

Shape 1 oinochoe with disk foot, concave and recessed on underside, offset neck and trefoil mouth, high-swung strap handle, oval in section, attached from rim to shoulder.

Lowest part of body and top two-thirds of foot black-glazed; neck, rim, handle, and interior of neck black-glazed. Shoulder decorated with debased tongues set off from decorated zone by a line of dilute glaze. At left, draped Hermes seated on a block stool facing right, wearing petasos and winged boots, holds kerykeion in right hand. Figural scene on front of vessel: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Herakles, nude, moves right, escorting the Cretan bull; his left hand grasps one horn, with right hand on the animal's chest. His club leans against Athena's shield. At right, Athena seated facing left on block stool wears aegis, holds her spear horizontally with left hand and holds helmet in extended right hand. Her shield in three-quarter view leans against her knee. Branches with leaves in field around figures, continuing around the back of the vase. Added white: Athena's flesh, Herakles's

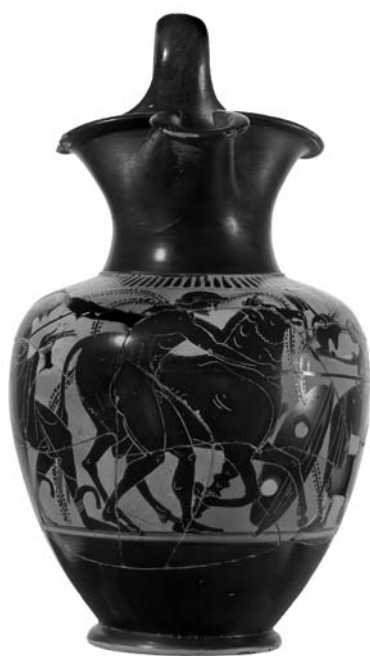




a



b



c



d

Figure 23. Trefoil oinochoe 5:  
 (a) profile and overhead drawing;  
 (b) left side, seated Hermes; (c) front,  
 Herakles and Cretan bull; (d) right  
 side, seated Athena. Scale 1:3. Profile  
 drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt

scabbard and sword hilt, triple dots on Hermes's himation, two large white dots on shield. Added red: fillets on Athena and Herakles and on Hermes's hat, dots and stripes on Athena's garment, dots on crest of helmet, muscles of bull on neck and body, dots on Hermes's garment and at neckline, horizontal lines on stools. Fine incision for details of males (hair, eyes, muscles) and bull.

For shape, see *Agora* XII, p. 243, no. 100, pl. 5.

Attribution: Although the style shares similarities with the work of the Athena Painter (see, e.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1138, *ABL* 257, no. 73, pl. 47, 2; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1132, *ABL* 256, no. 50, pl. 47:3a, b), the Athena Painter's male anatomy is different from that on 5. The Athena Painter draws male legs with a single long line from thigh to ankle, which ends in a hook; a second line runs down the front of the thigh (*ABL*, pp. 148–149). Herakles on 5 does not have the long line running down the entire leg, but he does have a U-shaped calf muscle, which is never seen in the work of the Athena Painter. The Athena Painter's males' beards are much longer and are formed by a single line running from forehead down to lips. He sometimes indicates the cheekbone and the faces become "over-refined," according to Haspels (*ABL*, p. 148).

The details of the painting match the Acheloos Painter's male anatomy, which Moignard summarizes, down to the "pothook shape" of the calf muscles, described here as "U-shaped" (Moignard 1982, p. 203; cf. Herakles on Toledo 1958, 69A, Moignard 1982, pl. 8:a, b). The heads on 5 also illustrate the typical forms described by Moignard (1982, pp. 203–205; cf. NY Met 26.60.29, *ABV* 384, no. 17, *Paralipomena* 168, Beazley [1951] 1986, pl. 88:5). The nose has a distinct flaring nostril and is long and pointy at its end. The lips are outlined, making them look fleshy. The eye is formed by two concentric circles flanked by two incised triangles. The ear has two concentric circles and a dangling U-shaped lobe (cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 184, no. 640, pl. 61 for the ear and eye. This ear is also seen on figures of the Rycroft Painter, cf. Boston, MFA 03.880, *CVA* Boston 2 [USA 19], pl. 83 [917]:1, 2, but the Rycroft Painter is an earlier and better painter).

A Type B amphora with Herakles wrestling Acheloos attributed to the Leagros Group (Louvre F 211, *ABV* 368, no. 104, *CVA* Louvre 3 [France 4], pl. 25 [160]:3) provides confirmation that 5 belongs closer to the Acheloos Painter than to the Leagros Group in general. There Athena sits on a block stool but is entirely in profile, as is preferred by the Leagros Group as a whole (cf. Louvre F 249, *ABV* 372, no. 166, *CVA* Louvre 4 [France 5], pl. 50 [216]:3–5). Other similarities, however, including the pose of Herakles and the balance of forces, and the three-quarter view of Athena's shield with two added white dots, indicate that the painter of 5 is coming from the same workshop tradition.

The best comparison for style and composition is the name vase of the Acheloos Painter (Berlin 1851, *ABV* 383, no. 3, Beazley [1951] 1986, pl. 88:1), a neck amphora with Herakles and the Erymanthian boar (Rome, Guglielmi Collection, Beazley [1951] 1986, pl. 88:2), and another version of Herakles and the Cretan bull with a clothed Herakles and Iris instead of Hermes (a lekythos, Palermo GE 1896.2, *ABV* 385, no. 50, *ABL*, pl. 15:4a–c). The composition on the Palermo lekythos is similar to 5, including Athena's aegis and shield and her spear tip hitting the bull in the chest. Differences include that Herakles is fully dressed and positioned on the far side of the bull, and Iris, not Hermes, appears to the left.

The workshop of the Acheloos Painter can be hard to distinguish from the master himself (Moignard 1982, pp. 206–211; Holmberg 1990, pp. 85–103), and Beazley declared that it is "hard to say whether a vase is by the Acheloos Painter himself or only in his manner" (*ABV*, p. 385).

Athena Painter (D. von Bothmer in Camp 1996)

Acheloos Painter or Manner of (Lynch 1999)

Ca. 525–500

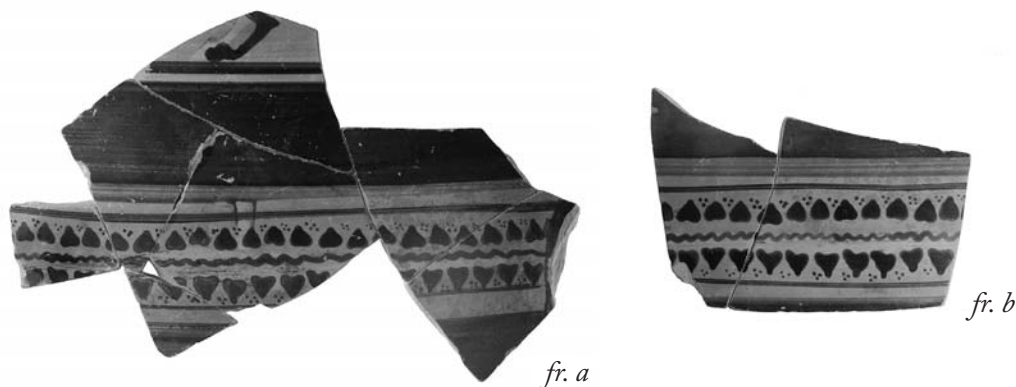


Figure 24. Kalpis 6. Scale 1:2

**KALPIS**

\*6 (P 33261) Kalpis

Fig. 24

+49.76–48.73 and +46.00–45.90 m (Levels 2 and 5)

Max. p. dim. (a) 16.0, (b) 8.6

Fragment of shoulder (a), mended from seven joining fragments. Start of horizontal handle at right. Smaller fragment of shoulder (b) mended from two joining fragments. Sloping shoulder curving into rounded belly. Pinkish clay, matt black glaze.

Fragment (a) preserves small section of shoulder panel with rear leg of a feline and a hoofed leg of quadruped facing left. Below, reserved line, broad black-glazed band. In handle zone, elaborate horizontal ivy band with squiggly line between reflected heart-shaped leaves. Between each leaf, three or four dots. Black glaze below. Fragment (b) has more of ivy band. Added red: line at top of black-glazed band below shoulder panel; line at top of black-glazed zone on body. Added white (fugitive): leg of quadruped directly on reserved surface.

Ca. 500

**LEKYTHOS**

[7] (P 33234) Lekythos

Fig. 25

+45.45–45.20 m (Level 6)

Max. p. dim. 4.42

Fragment of wall, broken all around. Large burnt-out inclusion on surface.

Convex wall. Preserves upper part of hoplite with shield and draped male, both facing left. Added red: edge of shield, fold of drapery. Added white: tripod shield device, dots on garment.

For the shape and scene, cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 208, no. 831, pl. 77 (Phanyllis Group E, the Group of the Hoplite-leaving-home). For the Phanyllis Group in general, see Giudice 1983; *ABL*, pp. 63–68, 199–205; *ABV*, pp. 463–466. For the Group of the Hoplite-leaving-home, see Giudice 1983, pp. 88–118, nos. 187–263; *ABV*, pp. 464–466, and *ABL*, pp. 66–67, 205.

Phanyllis Group E, the Group of the Hoplite-leaving-home

Ca. 510–500

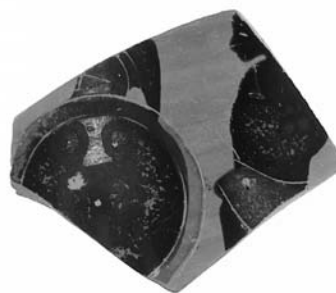


Figure 25. Lekythos 7. Scale 1:1

[8] (P 33237) Lekythos

Fig. 26

+45.90–45.60 m (Level 6)

P.H. 7.31; Diam. mouth 7.0

Fragment of mouth and neck. Glaze flaking on handle side, but good elsewhere.

Figure 26. Lekythos 8. Scale 1:2. Profile drawn author; inked E. Schmitt



Wide, flaring mouth with rounded lip. Tall, cylindrical neck flares toward shoulder. Mouth glazed on exterior and interior to top of neck. Vertical rays on neck (dog's teeth). Added red line at bottom of neck.

For a complete example, see Giudice 1983, no. 54, pl. 15:1, among others. See 7, above, for the Phanyllis Group. The painters of both Group A (the Phanyllis Painter) and Group B (Group of the Warrior Arming) decorate large lekythoi with the dog's tooth ray pattern on the neck and occasionally an added red line at the junction of neck and shoulder.

Phanyllis Group  
Ca. 500



Figure 27. Lekythos 9. Scale 1:1

9 (P 33236) Lekythos

Fig. 27

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

P.H. 5.7

Fragment of wall. Thin black glaze. Powdery Attic clay.

Tall, straight body. Departure of a warrior. Hoplite with shield and two spears at center facing left, draped male with staff at right facing left. Trace of a figure at left with staff facing right. Figures stand on thicker black-glazed ground line. Hasty incision. Added red: dots on edge of shield, crest of helmet, folds of drapery. Added white: snake shield device, dots on garment, lower panel of garment. Compass point at center of shield.

For scene and style, cf. *Agora XXIII*, p. 209, no. 841 et alia, pl. 78 (the Cock Group). For the Cock Group, *ABV*, pp. 466–472, and *ABL*, pp. 67–68.

Cock Group  
Late 6th century

\*10 (P 33109) Lekythos (smaller)

Fig. 28

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

P.H. 7.1; Diam. 4.51

Single fragment preserves body intact. Missing neck, mouth, handle, and foot. Glaze mottled red in places.

Tapering cylindrical body. Shoulder slopes away from narrow neck. On shoulder, tongues and rays identify it as a Class of Athens 581, ii lekythos, see *Agora XXIII*, pp. 46–47. Uneven double line at top of front two-thirds of body. At bottom of wall, broad black-glazed band, narrower band above. On body, figure mounting chariot. Apollo facing right with lyre. Hermes in front facing right, looking back left. Hermes carries two spears and wears a petasos and winged boots. No incision.

The figure mounting may be Athena. The flat part on the top of her head may be a helmet. There may have been added color, including a meander at top of wall.



**Figure 28. Lekythos 10.** Scale 1:1.  
Profile drawn author; inked E. Schmitt

Cf. a lekythos by the Diosphos Painter with a much neater version in which the figure is clearly Athena: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 463, *ABL* 233, no. 34, pl. 38:2a, b. There are more careful lekythoi with the subject of a goddess mounting a chariot by the Haimon Painter and in the Manner of the Haimon Painter. There can be a whole range of characters acting in the same scene; see *ABL*, p. 132 for a discussion and for examples, *Agora* XXIII, p. 246, nos. 1186–1188, 1190, pl. 87.

Class of Athens 581, ii.

Early 5th century

**\*11** (P 32426) Lekythos (smaller)

Fig. 29

+46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

P.H. 8.55; Diam. 4.5

Intact, but missing foot, handle, and mouth. Surface worn in places. Black glaze fired red and flaking on lower black-glazed band.

Maenad between two satyrs. She moves right, looking back over her shoulder at satyr moving right, grasping her arm. Second satyr approaches from right. Branch with leaves in background. On shoulder, tongues and rays as 10. Added white for female skin (fugitive). Added red dots on dress.

For subject, cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 233, no. 1069 (not figured; Class of Athens 581, ii), of which 11 is possibly a replica.

Class of Athens 581, ii.

Early 5th century

**12** (P 33230) Lekythos (smaller)

Fig. 30

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

P.H. 6.7; Diam. body 4.1

Two joining fragments of wall. Tall, straight cylinder tapering to foot. Dull, streaky black glaze.

Lower wall black-glazed with broad and thin black-glazed lines above. Double line above the scene and trace of band at top of wall. Figural scene on front two-thirds of lekythos. Preserves four females moving right. Lower bodies only of three, but central complete. Central female is attacked by a male who grabs her at the waist. Branches with small leaves in field between figures. Hasty incision. Added



Figure 29. Lekyθος 11: (a) profile drawing; (b, c) satyrs; (d) maenad. Scale 1:1. Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt

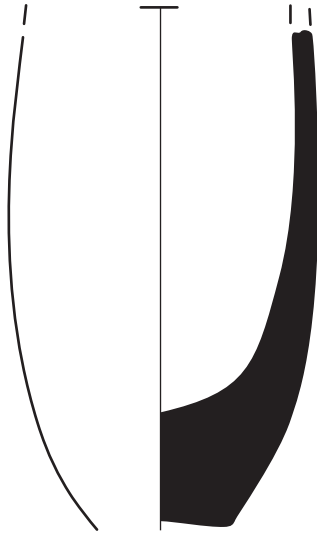
white (fugitive): for flesh (limbs directly on reserved ground), dress folds. Added red (fugitive): fillet on man and woman, dots and stripes on garments.

For the scene on contemporary lekythoi, see *Kerameikos* IX, p. 105, no. 68, 7, pl. 38:3, 4; p. 100, no. 45, 2, pl. 48:4; and Vanderpool 1946, p. 304, no. 152, pl. 55. For the scene on a slightly later lekythos, see *Kerameikos* IX, p. 113, no. 98, 2, pl. 28:3 and p. 119, no. 122, 1, pl. 32:7. Probably Peleus and Thetis or satyr and maenad; the above parallels are generally taken to be Peleus and Thetis.

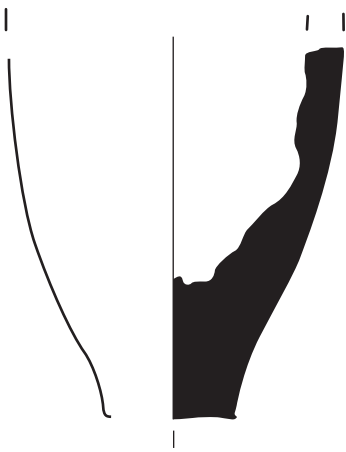
Class of Athens 581, ii

Early 5th century

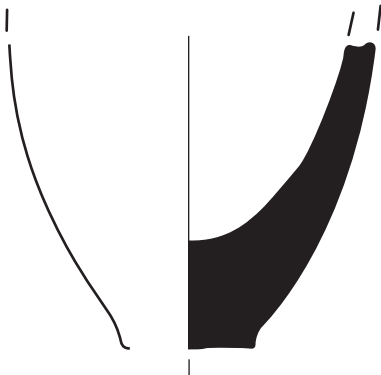




12



13



14

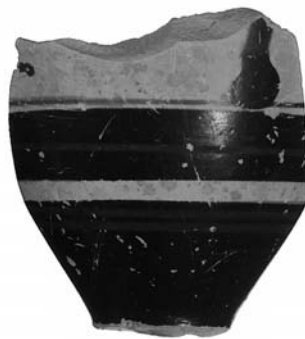
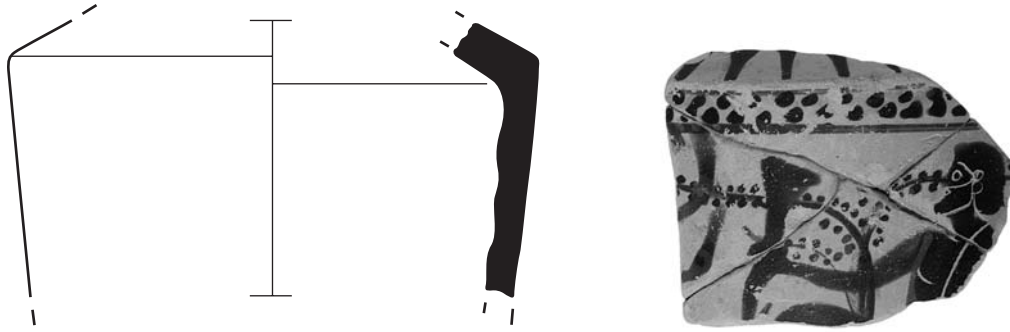


Figure 30. Lekythoi 12–14. Scale 1:1.  
Profiles drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt



**Figure 31. Lekythos 15.** Scale 1:1.  
Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt

**13** (P 33228) Lekythos (smaller)

Fig. 30

+50.31–49.76 m (Level 1b)

P.H. 5.2; est. Diam. body 4.5

Two joining fragments of straight wall and tapering lower body. Shiny black glaze. Dilute wash uneven on reserved surfaces.

Lower body black-glazed, uneven broad black-glazed band above. Row of uneven, interlaced, upright palmettes on body. Added white: dots in center of circular tendrils, dots in an arc around heart, line arcing around palmette.

Other lekythoi probably from the same workshop: Vanderpool 1946, p. 308, no. 182, pl. 53; and *Kerameikos* IX, p. 103, no. 57, 6, pl. 25:1; p. 106, no. 69, 2–7, pl. 39:1; p. 105, no. 68, 5, pl. 38:3; et alia.

Class of Athens 581, ii (most likely)

Ca. 490–480

**14** (P 33231) Lekythos (smaller)

Fig. 30

+46.60–46.30 m (Level 5)

P.H. 4.3; est. Diam. body 4.5

Fragment of lower body with tall, straight wall tapering to base. Good black glaze. Wash on reserved surfaces.

Lower wall black-glazed. Broad band and dilute ground line above. Scene preserves a blob at right (possibly the stem of a vine) and the tip of a foot at left. Added red: double line at top of black-glazed zone and single line at center of black-glazed band.

Added red lines on black-glazed bands below scene are used by the Sappho and Diosphos Painters and also by the Haimon Painter, who is stylistically related to both. All are possible workshops for this lekythos. See *ABL*, pp. 94, 131, and 134. 500–480

**15** (P 33229) Lekythos (larger)

Fig. 31

+50.31–49.14 m (Levels 1b and 2)

P.H. 3.5; est. Diam. shoulder 7.25

Four joining fragments of shoulder and upper wall. Sloping shoulder. Tall, straight wall meets shoulder at a sharp angle.

Rays on shoulder. Dot band at top of wall between two horizontal lines. On body, Dionysos sits facing left. Holds a rhyton in his outstretched right hand. Branches in background sprout behind his body. Hands of a maenad with krotala at left. Minimal incision. Added white: stripe on torso of Dionysos, flesh of female; dots on horizontal lines framing black-glazed dots at top of wall.

The scene is probably the same as one on a smaller-scale lekythos from Gela, Museo Archeologico, no inv. no., Panvini and Giudice 2003, p. 449, no. pF31

(Little Lion Class). For style and white over dots at top of wall, see *Kerameikos* IX, no. 21 (SW 67), pl. 23:4, 5, and Vanderpool 1946, p. 305, no. 158, pl. 55. Style resembles the Manner of the Haimon Painter

Ca. 490

16 (P 33227) Lekythos (larger)

Fig. 32

+50.31–49.14 m (Levels 1b and 2)

P.H. 4.0; est. Diam. shoulder 7.5

Two joining fragments of wall and start of shoulder. Wall tall and cylindrical.

Rays on shoulder. Neat dot band at top of wall. On body, Herakles and the Nemean lion. Quiver hangs in field above. Lion's haunches preserved below. Branches at right and left. Hasty incision. Added white: baldric of quiver, lion's underbelly.

The scene is very common on lekythoi, but there is no precise parallel for the style and details of this particular composition. See Vanderpool 1946, p. 303, no. 147, pl. 55 for an example. Style resembles the Haimon Group.

500–480



Figure 32. Lekythos 16.

Scale 1:1

17 (P 33226) Lekythos (larger)

Fig. 33

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

P.H. 4.75; est. Diam. shoulder 7.25

Four joining fragments of shoulder and upper wall. Surface chipped at central figure. Sloping shoulder. Straight, tall, and cylindrical wall.

On shoulder, black-glazed rays with tongues above as on 10. At top of wall, dot band. Dots stop at edge of scene, but horizontal framing lines continue. Warrior facing left with one arm raised, spear in hand. At right, large eye with thin eyebrow. Incision for helmet and eye. Added white: outline of eye, iris of eye. Added red: warrior's eye, patch on his leg.

For scene, cf. *ABV*, p. 502, no. 114–118, except for those of the Kalinderu Group; the eyes of the Kalinderu Group are not as tall as on 17.

Class of Athens 581, ii.

500–480

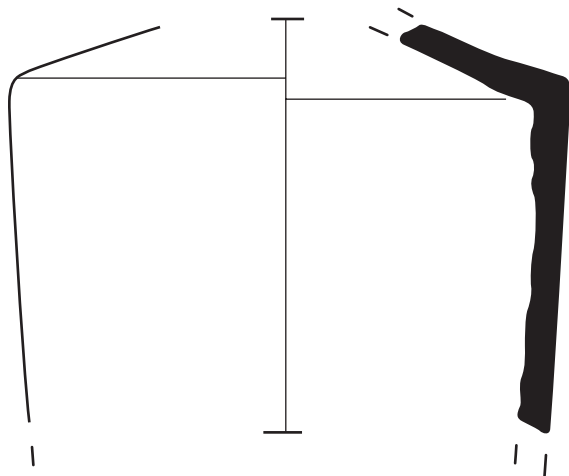


Figure 33. Lekythos 17. Scale 1:1.

Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt

18 (P 33235) Lekythos (larger)

Fig. 34

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

Max. p. dim. 5.0; est. Diam. body 7.0

Fragment of wall, broken all around. Wall tall and very slightly convex. Dilute wash on reserved surface.



Figure 34. Lekythos 18. Scale 1:1

Preserves draped female figure from neck down. Below, black-glazed band, reserved line, black-glazed zone at bottom of body. Hasty incision. Added white: flesh (directly on reserved surface), drapery folds.

Shape is probably like *Kerameikos* IX, no. 21 (SW 67), pl. 23:4, 5.  
500–480

- 19 (P 33464) Lekythos (larger)  
+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)  
P.H. 7.9; Diam. body 7.4

Fig. 35

Five joining fragments of lower wall. Wall convex and tapering to foot. Streaky black glaze.

Bottom of scene preserves trace of figure to right on an uneven ground line. Two broad black-glazed bands below, and black-glazed zone at bottom of wall onto foot.

For shape and subsidiary pattern, see *Kerameikos* IX, no. 20 (HW 198), 1, pl. 19:2.

Ca. 490

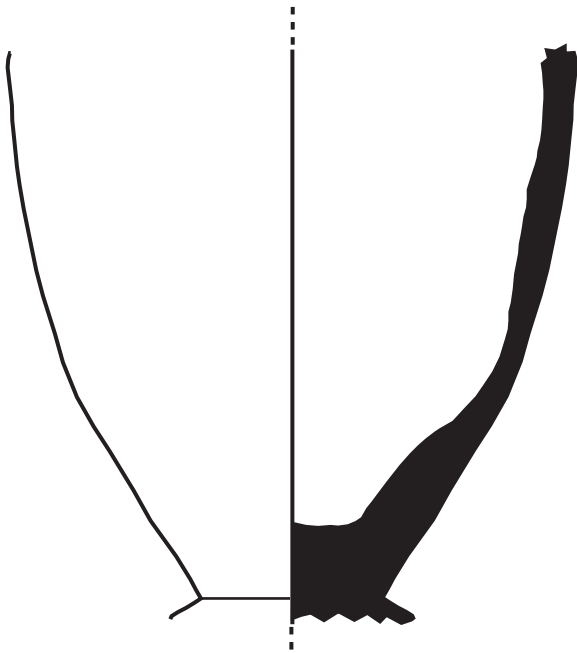


Figure 35. Lekythos 19. Scale 1:1.  
Profile drawn author; inked E. Schmitt



- 20 (P 33233) Lekythos (larger)  
+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)  
Max. p. dim. 6.81; Diam. shoulder ca. 7.5

Fig. 36

Fragment of shoulder and start of wall. (Two nonjoining fragments of body left in Tin BZ 684.) Good black glaze.

Slight offset at junction of neck and shoulder. Sharp angle at junction of shoulder and wall. On shoulder, row of tongues and hanging lotus buds. Tendrils connecting buds skip two in between. Black-glazed body. Added red: lines in between the buds, double line at top of wall.

The pattern of lotus buds follows that of the Class of Athens 581, i (*Agora* XXIII, p. 46) but is unconventional in that tendrils only connect the lotus buds on the upper side, i.e., they are pendant. Normal shoulder decorations of linked lotus buds have the tendrils connecting the buds from upper and lower points. The stems skip two buds, a scheme favored by the Sappho Painter (Kurtz 1975, pp. 8, 120, n. 6). The

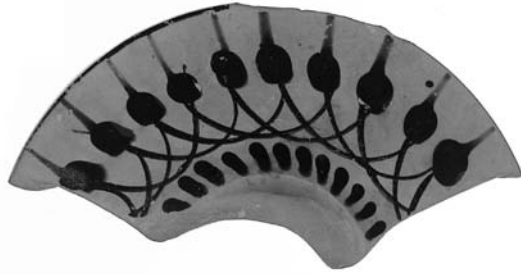


Figure 36. Lekythos 20. Scale 1:1

addition of a white line between buds, but without connecting tendrils, is seen on the Little Lion Class (a product of the Diosphos and Sappho Painters' workshop, *ABL*, p. 98) of small black-bodied lekythoi, but 20 is definitely larger than this class. Kurtz (1975, p. 120) describes the addition of the added white line as a petal between the buds and points out that it appears also on the shoulder of lekythoi by the Dolphin Group.

Class of Athens 581, i  
Ca. 500–480

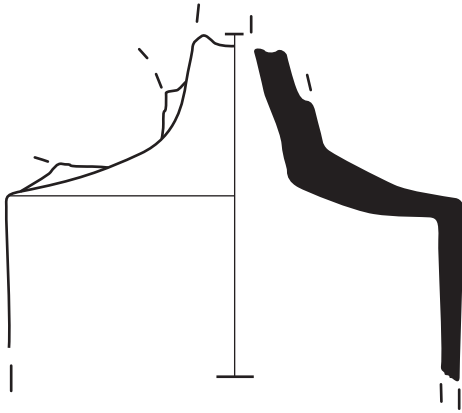


Figure 37. Lekythos 21. Scale 1:1.  
Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked E. Schmitt

- 21 (P 33232) Lekythos (larger)  
+49.76–49.14 and +48.88–48.70 m (Level 2)  
P.H. 4.3; Diam. shoulder 6.05

Fig. 37

Three joining fragments of neck, shoulder, and top of wall. White-ground worn off at edge of shoulder. Narrow neck with narrow opening. Light offset at junction with shoulder. Sloping shoulder meets wall at sharp angle. Wall and handle black-glazed. White-ground neck and shoulder. Rays and tongues on shoulder as 10. Added red: narrow, close-set double line at top of wall.

At the handle break, the white-ground continues under the handle attachment, indicating that this surface was put on before the handle was applied.

The Diosphos Painter's workshop utilized the combination of white-ground shoulder with rays and tongues but on a more cylindrical body than that of the Class of Athens 581, ii; cf. Kurtz 1975, p. 120. Without the profile, it is difficult to assign the piece to a more specific hand within the Class.

Class of Athens 581, ii  
Ca. 500–480



Figure 38. Closed vessel 22. Scale 1:3

### CLOSED: SHAPE UNCERTAIN

22 (P 33238) Closed vessel

Fig. 38

+50.88–50.31 m (Level 1b)

Max. p. dim. 5.3

Convex wall fragment, broken all around.

Large but indistinguishable animal figure. Locks of hair indicated with incision and added red.

For style and date, cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 102, no. 14, pl. 3 (early 6th century). The scale of the figure suggests an amphora. The figure is likely to be a feline or horse head.

Early 6th century

### PHIALE

\*23 (P 32414) Omphalos phiale, Six's technique

Color Ill. 14; Fig. 39

+46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

H. 5.4–5.9; Diam. 18.8

Camp 1996, pp. 250–251, no. 34, fig. 9, pl. 75; Neer 2002, p. 202, n. 77.

Mended, about two-thirds complete. Four small fragments of rim not mended. Glaze flaking on the exterior rim, staining on exterior. Added clay of Six's technique largely missing everywhere except bodies of cattle.

Low shallow bowl, raised omphalos within with corresponding depression on the underside. Rim concave and slightly offset. Exterior reserved with buff slip except for black-glazed rim. Interior black-glazed. Raised omphalos decorated with five concentric circles in white, now fugitive. Zone around the omphalos and the lip decorated with thick white radiating lines. Thin added red lines at bottom of rim rays and at outside of omphalos rays, fugitive. On bowl six spotted cattle walk to right, parts of five preserved. Cattle alternate white body with red spots, and red body with white spots. Added clays fairly well preserved on bodies, fainter at legs and tails. Inscriptions in added red in field around cattle, largely fugitive: *kalos*

Figure 39. Omphalos phiale 23:  
(a) profile drawing; (b) interior;  
(c) transcription of inscription.

Scale 1:3. Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked  
author; transcription drawn and inked  
author

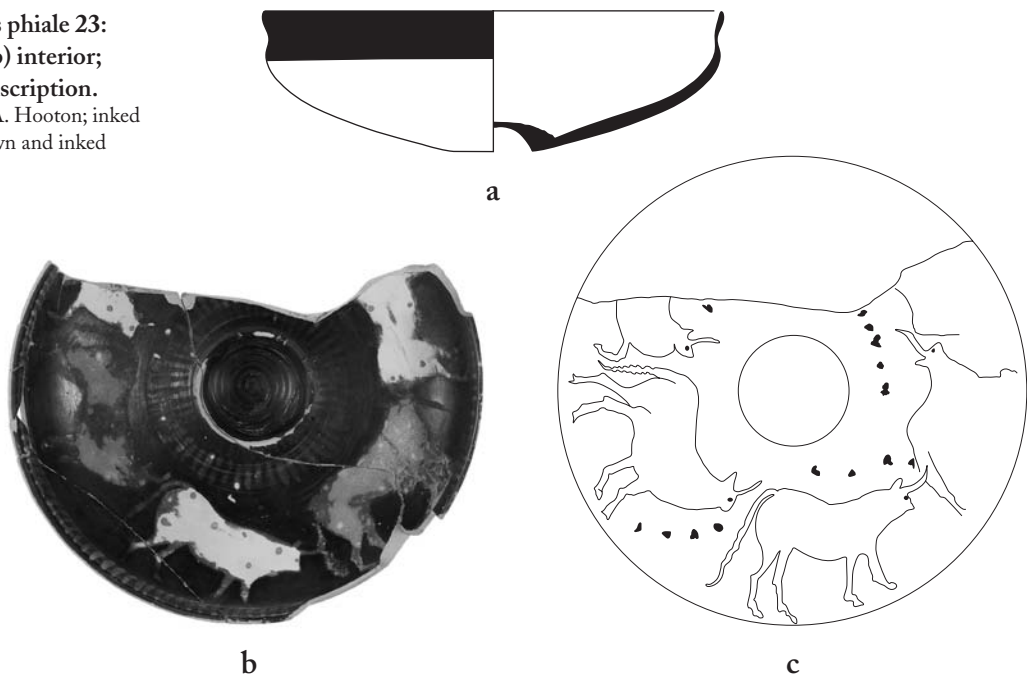






Figure 40. Phiale 24: fragments of rim (a, b) and bowl (c). Scale 1:2

near each figure although two inscriptions missing a single letter; the fourth with only one letter preserved.

For shape and technique, see *Agora XXIII*, pp. 273–274, nos. 1430–1439, pl. 98 (late 6th to early 5th centuries). The red cattle may be bulls as they have somewhat triangular protuberances under their bellies that may be penises. The light cattle do not have this feature, but nor do they have udders.

See *Agora XXIII*, p. 244, no. 1175, and p. 56, n. 1, for bibliography on Six's technique.

Ca. 500

**24** (P 33243) Phiale, Six's technique

Fig. 40

+50.31–49.76 m (Level 1b)

Est. Diam. 21.0; max. p. dim. (a) 4.84, (b) 3.1, (c) 5.93

Fragments of rim (a, b) and bowl (c).

Continuous curve from rim into bowl. Exterior reserved with broad black-glazed band at rim. Interior (not shown) black-glazed with decoration in Six's technique (fugitive). Added white: on rim (a, b) row of dots below diagonal lines. On bowl (c): two rows of dots. Added red: on rim (a, b) right-slanting diagonal lines with horizontal line below. On bowl (c): smaller, right-slanting diagonal lines around center.

For shape and technique, cf. *Agora XXIII*, p. 273, no. 1433, pl. 98; also 23.

Ca. 500

**STAND**

**25** (P 33239) Stand

Fig. 41

+50.88–50.31 m (Level 1b)

Th. wall 1.1; max. p. dim. 9.9

Fragment of thick wall, broken all around. Worn. Buff clay with occasional medium to small white inclusions and some mica. Edge of drill hole from ancient mend at lower break.

Preserves portions of two registers divided by a dilute line. Above: body and two feet of quadruped, probably a deer, facing right. Two rosettes each with carefully incised petals and two concentric circles within. Below, body of a bull moving to right. In field above and to left, rosettes, one without incision. Added red: details of bull's musculature, details of quadruped, interior of rosettes, some petals.

For shape, style, and date, cf. *Agora XXIII*, p. 171, no. 550, pl. 52 (first quarter of the 6th century).

Early 6th century



Figure 41. Stand 25. Scale 1:2

**OPEN: SHAPE UNCERTAIN**

**26** (P 33220) Dinos or louterion(?)

Fig. 42

+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

Est. Diam. 32.5; max. p. dim. 9.8

Fragment of thick rim. Good black glaze.

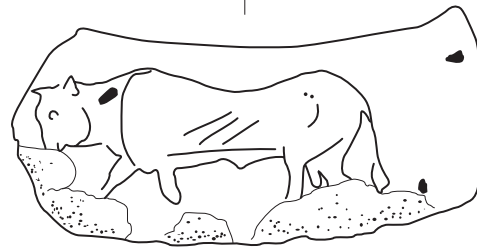


Figure 42. Dinos or louterion(?) 26.

Scale 3:4. Profile and drawing author; inked  
E. Schmitt



Rectangular rim with slightly inward sloping exterior face. Wall of vessel springs outward nearly horizontally from bottom of rim. At right break, traces of an attachment on upper surface and exterior surface. On upper surface, bull facing left. Added red (fugitive): neck and patch on body of bull.

For similar rim profile, cf. Copenhagen 4219, *CVA* Copenhagen 3 [Denmark 3], pl. 124 [126]:3 (photo, no drawing). The attachment on 26 may be an upright horizontal handle or the start of a spout.

525?

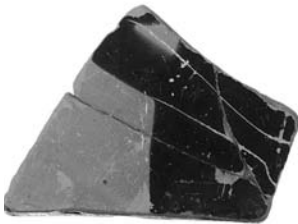


Figure 43. Open shape 27. Scale 1:1

#### 27 (P 32799) Open shape

Fig. 43

+50.31–49.14 m (Levels 1b and 2)

Max. p. dim. 3.4

Three joining fragments of wall. Good black glaze on exterior. Streaky, mottled black glaze on interior. Dilute wash on reserved surface. Tall, straight wall. Preserves arm and torso of figure, probably on horseback. Careful incision.

For the pose, cf. *Agora* XXIII, p. 165, no. 500, pl. 47; p. 295, nos. 1630, 1631, pl. 107. The fragment is thick, and the scale of the figure large; therefore, it is unlikely to have come from a drinking vessel. It is more likely from a krater.

Context: 525–480

#### SKYPHOS

##### \*28 (P 32413) Skyphos, Heron Class; Ure's Class C1

Color Ill. 8; Fig. 44

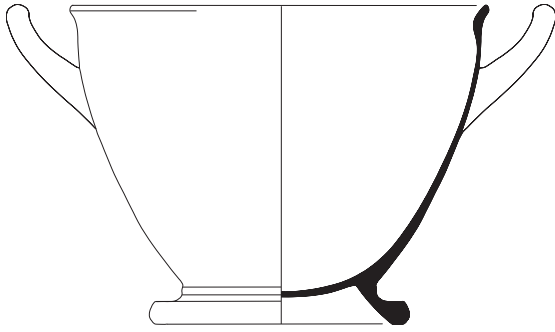
+46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

H. 16.2–16.9; Diam. 22.35; W. with handles 29.9

Camp 1996, p. 246, no. 22, fig. 7, pl. 72; Fisher 2000, p. 381, n. 29, fig. 9; Scheibler 2000, p. 24; Lynch 2009b, p. 75, fig. 73.

Nearly complete. Missing fragments of rim and body. Mended from 32 fragments. Surface abraded on side B. Fragments tinged gray at breaks.

Ring foot with torus outer face; underside rises to convex bottom of vessel. Fillet at junction of foot and body. Deep body. Concave rim, slightly outturned at lip. Canted horseshoe handles attached to wall. Reserved: line on interior rim; center of interior floor with a circle at center; underside with broad circle, second thinner inner circle and dot at center; resting surface; interior of handles; fillet, with milots.



a



b



c



d



f



e



g

Figure 44. Skyphos 28, Heron Class:  
 (a) profile drawing; (b) side A;  
 (c) side B; (d, e) handle zones;  
 (f) detail, side A; (g) detail, side B.  
 Scale 1:4 (a–e); not to scale (f, g).  
 Profile drawn A. Hooton; inked author

Lower body reserved and decorated with row of debased tongues in alternating purple and black. Below tongues, two thin lines of dilute slip. Above tongues, three dilute lines. Wide black-glazed band at bottom of wall. Above the band, two thin dilute lines, one thicker black-glazed line, two dilute lines, the topmost of which serves as the ground line for the figural frieze. Upper half of body filled with black-figured frieze. Thin dilute line at top of frieze. Thick line above. Reflected, debased ivy leaves with dilute line between on rim.

Side A: two bearded drinkers with a flute player between them recline on a single large mattress with pillows, framed by groups of birds. Left drinker turns to right. He wears a draped himation covering all but neck and extended right arm. Holds a long-stemmed kylix by the stem in right hand. Wears a turban, fillet, and headdress with three curving projections (horns?) at front. At center, female double flute player sits up, facing left. Wears a sakkos and a draped garment. Right drinker looks to right. Wears a draped himation covering all but his raised right arm. Holds a stemmed kylix by base. Wears a fillet and headdress with two curving horns and two lobed projections between. To the left of the group, two plump, short-necked birds look right. Near bird perches on a knobby stump. To right of figural group, two similar birds: one perched on knobby stump looks right, one on ground looks left.

Side B: similar scene. Two bearded drinkers with a lyre player between them recline on a large mattress with pillows, framed by groups of birds. Left drinker looks right. Wears a himation and a poorly preserved headdress with at least one projecting, curving horn. At center, female lyre player sits up, facing left. Wears sakkos and himation. Right drinker holds a drinking horn in raised hand (unclear which hand). Wears a himation and fillet, but no headdress. In the field above is swallow flying to right with outstretched wings. To the left of the figural group, fragmentary group of birds. Preserves bottom of knobby stump and bird on ground facing right. To the right of the figural group, three birds: one bird perched on a knobby stump looking at right drinker, two others stand on the ground facing drinkers, the second looks back to right. Under each handle, one bird. (Total: 11 plump, long-necked birds restoring one on missing stump on side B.)

Dots appear in field above figures. On side A, dots emitted from left perching bird; on side B possibly from the lyre. Added white (fugitive): female flesh, plumage and feet of some birds, rocks at base of stump on side A, rhyton of right drinker on side B directly on reserved surface, wave pattern on mattress, stripes on pillow on side A, dots on pillow on side B. Added red (fugitive): fillets, folds and decorative dots of garments, sakkos of flute player, wave pattern on mattress, stripes on pillows, beards. Hasty incision.

See Chapter 4 for possible interpretations of the scene. The headdresses are unusual but seem to be combinations of horns and ears. The birds have been identified by Elke Böhr as vultures (pers. comm.). On the fragmentary section of side B, one can restore two birds similar to those on side A. Only the head of the bird on the ground is missing; the bottom of a knobby stump suggests that a second bird was perched there. The preservation of added red and white is very poor, and in places is only discernible as a faint ghost. The foreground arm and hand and the hairline of the flute player on side A are visible when the pot is angled. It is possible that the headdress horns on side A were also white.

Attribution: The CHC Group paint various shapes of skyphoi, but their Heron Class skyphoi affiliate them with potters working in the workshops of the Krokotos Painter and the Theseus Painter (Ure 1955, p. 90; *ABL*, p. 144). The products of the Theseus Painter are of higher-quality draftsmanship and feature the larger decorative zone of Class B skyphoi at the expense of the black-glazed band on the lower body. The Heron Class skyphoi of the CHC Group outnumber those of the Theseus Painter, but their mass-produced quality lacks the sophistication of

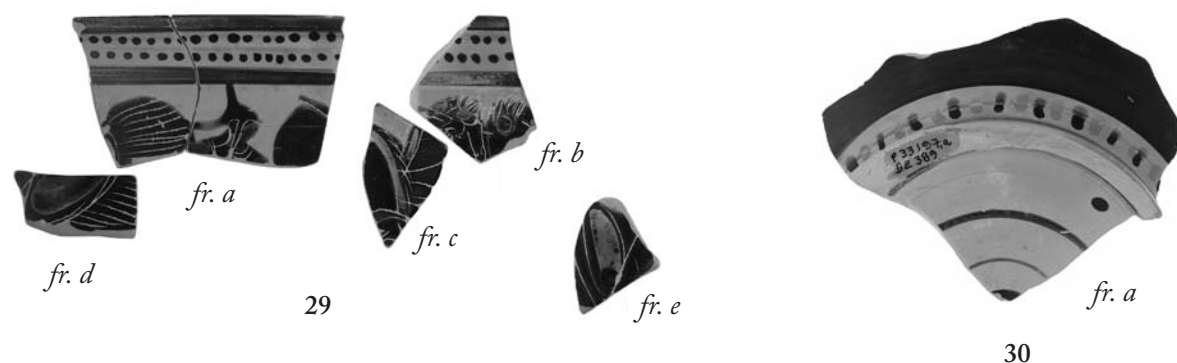


Figure 45. Skyphoi 29, 30, Heron Class. Scale 1:2

the Theseus Painter's subject matter, and the narrower Class C decorative scheme favors repetitive iconography.

The subsidiary decoration of tongues, bands, and dilute lines on 28 is identical to another Heron Class skyphos from the Agora, P 1140 + P 1160 (*ABV* 620, no. 86; *Agora XXIII*, p. 290, no. 1588, pl. 105), attributed by Beazley to the CHC Group. Agora P 1140 + P 1160 also provides parallels for odd figural details on 28. On P 1140 + P 1160, the reclining figure, Dionysos, wears a turban or head wrap with a bun of hair at the back of the head, resulting in a silhouette like the left drinker on side A. The upper limit of the beard of Dionysos on P 1140 + P 1160 is formed by a line that arcs down from the forehead, where it also forms the hairline. This same beard motif can be seen on all of the drinkers preserved on 28. The mattress on which Dionysos reclines also featured a wave pattern, now fugitive.

White Heron Group (Camp 1996)

CHC Group (Lynch 1999)

Ca. 500

29 (P 32777) Skyphos, Heron Class; Ure's Class C1 Fig. 45

+46.60–46.30 m (Level 5)

Max. p. dim. (a) 7.2, (b) 3.9, (c) 3.2, (d) 3.25, (e) 2.4

Two joining (a) and four nonjoining (b, c, d, e) fragments of rim and wall. Good black glaze on interior, exterior dull in spots.

Tall, straight wall. Lightly concave rim with dot-ivy between black-glazed bands. Wall preserves Amazon with chariot wheeling around between sphinxes. On (a), rim and wing of sphinx, upper part of Amazon with shield. Amazon wears a pointy cap with a tail and earflaps. On (b), rim and three horse heads; (c), horses's necks, foreleg; (d), body and wing of sphinx; (e), body of sphinx. Reserved line on interior of lip. Added white: Amazon's skin, bodies of sphinxes, one horse. Added red: details on shield, horses' manes. Hasty but detailed incision.

For shape, group, and decorative scheme, see *Agora XXIII*, p. 289, nos. 1578–1581, pl. 105. For a complete example of the scene, see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 21064, *CVA Athens 4* [Greece 4] pl. 48 [48]:4–6, and Athens, British School, *ABV* 618, 15, Boardman 1974, fig. 292, which is even closer in style.

CHC Group

Ca. 500

30 (P 33197) Skyphos, Heron Class; Ure's Class C Fig. 45

+46.60–46.30 and +46.00–45.90 m (Level 5)

Est. Diam. at fillet 10.0; max. p. dim. (a) 9.6, (b) 7.75, (c) 4.0

Three nonjoining fragments of lower wall, fillet, and part of floor (a). Foot missing. Glaze cloudy and streaky. Dilute wash on reserved surfaces.



Beveled fillet at junction with foot, scraped grooves above and below fillet. At base of wall, reserved band with alternating black and red debased tongues. Unintentional rough groove at center of band. Underside reserved with three circles. On interior, reserved circle at center of floor.

On underside, stray oval black-glazed dot between foot and first circle. Below dot, incised graffito: A[.

For shape and decorative scheme, see *Agora XXIII*, p. 290, no. 1588, pl. 105. Probably CHC Group  
Ca. 500



Figure 46. Skyphos 31, Heron Class.  
Scale 1:2. Profile drawn author; inked  
E. Schmitt

- 31 (P 33190) Skyphos, Heron Class; Ure's Class C  
+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)

Est. Diam. at fillet 11.5; p.H. 2.7; max. p. dim. 11.0

Fragment broken all around. Interior floor, lower wall, and fillet above foot. Pinkish-gray clay (5YR 6/4), tinged gray at breaks. Beveled fillet at junction of wall and foot. Underside reserved with broad central circle. Reserved circle on interior floor with thin black-glazed circle at center.

At base of wall, reserved band with alternating black and red debased tongues. Two thin, dilute lines below, three above. Dilute glaze or miltos on fillet.

Also from Level 2: P 33191 (*agathe*), fragment of lower wall and fillet above foot with band of alternating black and red debased tongues. For shape, decorative scheme, and date, see *Agora XXIII*, p. 190, no. 1588, pl. 105.

Probably CHC Group  
Ca. 500

Fig. 46

- 32 (P 32780) Skyphos, Ure's Class C1 or D1  
+46.60–45.90 m (Level 5)

P.H. (a) 9.0; est. Diam. 17.0; max. p. dim. (b) 10.4, (c) 4.4, (d) 6.6

About one-third preserved. Mended into two large nonjoining fragments (a, b) and two small floating fragments (c, d). Roughly potted and finished. Bulge in wall where handle was pressed on. Hasty drawing. Added color largely fugitive, but shiny black glaze.

Tall, convex body with nearly straight upper wall. Slightly outturned rim, lightly concave beneath on exterior. Canted horizontal handle attached to upper wall. At bottom of wall, black-glazed zone with two black-glazed lines above. Degenerate dot-ivy on exterior of rim; top of rim glazed; broad, dilute line below. Same scene on both sides: Ram facing right between sphinxes facing out to handles. Reserved: inside of handles, line on interior of rim, but irregular and partially covered. No incision. Added white: faces of sphinxes, band on sphinxes, horns of rams. Added red: fillet on sphinxes, bands on sphinxes' bodies and wings, spots and band on rams.

Fig. 47

Figure 47. Skyphos 32, Ure's Class C1  
or D1. Scale 1:3





Three additional inventoried fragments of similar vessels, probably by the CHC Group, from J 2:4: P 32800 (*agathe*), fragment of a sphinx's body, from Level 2; P 33186 (*agathe*), fragment of wall with trace of figure, from Level 1b; P 32776 (*agathe*), fragment of wall at handle with lightly incised X on exterior, from Level 1b.

For a similar scene and style, see Vanderpool 1946, p. 293, no. 76, pl. 44. For complete example of a similar scene, see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 20097, *CVA* Athens 4 [Greece 4], pl. 49 [49]:3, 4. For a single ram between sphinxes, see Ure 1927, p. 62, no. R26.92.

Without the reserved band of tongues, it is difficult to know whether this is a Class C1 or Class D1 skyphos. The diameter is smaller than the average C1, so it is more likely to be D1.

CHC Group  
Ca. 500

- 33 (P 32794) Skyphos, Heron Class; Ure's Class C1 or D1 Fig. 48  
+50.31–49.76 m (Level 1b)  
Max. p. dim. 8.0; est. Diam. 21.0

Two joining fragments of rim and wall. Roughly potted. Worn. Scrape on rim and dent at top of figural zone. Tall, straight wall. Concave rim. Rim with degenerate dot band. Figural zone preserves two human heads: one facing left with incision for eye and hairline; at right, back of second head facing right. One dilute glaze line at top of zone. Reserved line on interior of rim. No added color preserved.

This is probably a courting group. The diagonal line extending behind the first figure's head is probably the tail of a cock. For a similar scene, see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 636, *CVA* Athens 4 [Greece 4], pl. 46 [46]:1–3. Without the tongues at the base of the wall, it is impossible to tell whether this is a Class C1 or D1. The scale of the figure is too small for Class B.

CHC Group  
Ca. 500

- \*34 (P 32802) Skyphos, Heron Class? Fig. 49  
+49.76–49.14 and 46.00–45.90 m (Levels 2 and 5)  
Max. p. dim. 3.0

Two joining fragments of wall to left of handle. Thin-walled. Good black glaze on the interior.

Preserves trace of handle attachment with black glaze at right. Body and tail of bird facing right. No incision. Added white: horizontal stripe on tail. Added red (fugitive): spot on body.

Possibly a bird between handle attachments. The thickness of the wall matches that of the Heron Class skyphos 28, but this fragment does not belong to that skyphos, which has both handle birds preserved.

Ca. 500

- 35 (P 33210) Skyphos, Ure's Class D or E Fig. 50  
+49.76–49.14 m (Level 2)  
P.H. 5.5; max. p. dim. 8.2  
Seven joining fragments of wall.

Tall, convex wall. Preserves lower portion of figural zone with two black-glazed lines and black-glazed zone below. Tip of wing and tail of sphinx to left. Lower half of four males: two at center facing each other, framed by two walking away. Added red at waist of second male from left.

A courting scene. For a complete example, see Ure 1927, no. R80.260, pl. 19.  
CHC Group  
Ca. 500

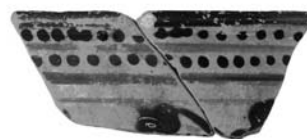


Figure 48. Skyphos 33, Heron Class.  
Scale 1:2



Figure 49. Skyphos 34, Heron Class?  
Scale 1:1





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ISBN 978-0-87661-546-1



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