

# The Original Kerameikos of Athens and the Siting of the Classical Agora

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OF THE MANY PROBLEMS that still plague discussion of early Athenian topography, one that has never been adequately resolved is the siting of the Classical Agora of the city within an area otherwise known as Kerameikos, as well as the date of this event. The chief aim of this paper is to show how a body of largely unpublished material from Iron Age deposits in the area casts important light on the topography of the early city in general and on these questions in particular.

The testimonia pertaining to the problem were gathered in summary form by Richard Wycherley (*Agora* III 221-24), and the passages in Pausanias dealing with the "Agora-within-the-Kerameikos" were discussed by Eugene Vanderpool in his typically understated though always penetrating fashion.<sup>1</sup> It was clear that 'Kerameikos' was associated with many aspects of the city, from processions and the distribution of meat, to pottery and prostitution, and that the district was quite large; it is also clear that Wycherley was troubled by the ancient usage of the word "Kerameikos." His concluding paragraph on the Potters' Quarter reads (*Agora* III 224):

Perhaps the truth of the matter is something like this. Throughout antiquity the name Kerameikos meant, essentially, "Potters' Quarter," a very extensive district in the northwest. A particular official usage is attested by the boundary stones (and possibly *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 968), and people used the name in various ways with special reference. But Kerameikos does not mean literally the cemetery, or the agora, save that Pausanias, perhaps with misguided precision, takes it in the latter sense. These usages are colloquialisms or metaphors, varying in relative frequency in different epochs. Similarly "Covent Garden" can mean now a vegetable market, now an opera house,

<sup>1</sup> "The 'Agora' of Pausanias 1, 17, 1-2," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 308-10.

while all the time it is in fact a London square, but no longer a garden.

The literary testimonia relevant to the problem were also gathered and discussed by A. N. Oikonomides, who attempted to distinguish between those references he believed had to do with the "Agora in the old town" and those referring to the "later Agora in Kerameikos."<sup>2</sup> The latter was equated with the area north and west of the Acropolis and east of the Kolonos Agoraios, being the district excavated by the American School of Classical Studies since 1931 (Fig. 1). With regard to the "old agora," the only definite information was in Wycherley's view the fragment of Apollodorus quoted in Harpocration, referring to Aphrodite Pandemos.<sup>3</sup> The quantity of testimonia with direct bearing on the problem was queried by Oikonomides and this led to further discussion and clarification by Wycherley.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the many subtleties of the debate, few would now seriously doubt that there was an earlier Agora at a site other than the Classical successor,<sup>5</sup> although its nature and exact loca-

<sup>2</sup> *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens* (Chicago 1964) esp. ix-xii, 1-50 for the Agora in the old town, 51-111 for the testimonia referring to the Agora in the Kerameikos. Oikonomides claims (xviii) that the testimonia referring to the Agora in the Kerameikos were either not properly collected or misinterpreted by Wycherley in *Agora III*.

<sup>3</sup> *Agora III* 224f; *FGrHist* 244F113; cf. L. Beschi, "Contributi di topografia ateniese," *ASAtene* 45-46 (=n.s. 29-30 [1967-68]) 511-36, esp. 517-28; E. Simon, "Aphrodite Pandemos auf attischen Münzen," *SNR* 49 (1970) 5-19, and *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison 1983) 48f; A. F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin 1981) 20; N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto 1992) esp. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Oikonomides (*supra* n.2) ix-xii, 51-111; R. E. Wycherley, "Archaia Agora," *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 285-93, and *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 65.

<sup>5</sup> This is perhaps best typified by Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV* 19, who came to accept the existence of an early Agora, more or less where Oikonomides suggested:

The Agora as a great center of community life developed slowly in the course of the 6th century B.C. Athens presumably had a simple agora before this time, but we know almost nothing about it ... the west of the Acropolis, not far from its entrance, would be appropriate for a simple prototype of the Athenian Agora, and the saddle between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, where the ground is comparatively level, is perhaps the most suitable spot.

Or Thompson's earlier statement, *The Athenian Agora. A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*<sup>2</sup> (Athens 1962) 21: "There appears to have been an earlier, less formal Agora just outside the entrance of the Akropolis." The idea of the

tion continues to exercise scholars working on the topography of early Athens. For Oikonomides, the old Agora was to be found in the area to the southwest of the entrance to the Acropolis.<sup>6</sup> More recently, the discovery of an inscription found in association with its original base sheds light on the problem by placing the Sanctuary of Aglauros not, as previously thought, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, but at the prominent natural cave on the east side of the rock, as Stephen Miller anticipated.<sup>7</sup> This positive identification of the Sanctuary of Aglauros would thus relocate several important monuments of old Athens known from the literary evidence—among these the Anakeion, the Theseion, and the Prytaneion, and with them, presumably, the old Agora—to the east (whether northeast or southeast) of the Acropolis and therefore closer to the primary area of early habitation to the south of the citadel (see below; Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> It is therefore clear that there was a major shift of focus from the general area to the east or southeast of the cita-

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slow development during the sixth century of the area northwest of the Acropolis as a civic center is echoed in J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (London 1986) *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Oikonomides (*supra* n.2) viif; see also J. Travlos, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (Athens 1960) 24, 28, who refers to an "Agora of Theseus," which he located to the west and north of the Acropolis. Cf. E. A. Gardner, *Ancient Athens* (London 1902) 126f. Note, however, the view of R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grècque* (Paris 1951) 256–61.

<sup>7</sup> S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley 1978) 41ff; for a reaffirmation of the importance of this discovery see Miller n.15 *infra*; cf. G. Dontas, "The True Aglaureion," *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 48–63; the great cave is illustrated in J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) 407, and 72f, 578 for the location of the Sanctuary of Aglauros; see further W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup> (Munich 1931) 303; O. Broneer, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis," *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 317–429, and 401–405 for the Early Iron Age pottery in the fill; R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 176f. See also N. Robertson, "Solon's Axones and Kyrbeis and the Sixth-Century Background," *Historia* 35 (1986) 147–76, esp. 157–69; T. Hölscher, "The City of Athens: Space, Symbol, Structure," in A. Molho *et al.*, ed., *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* (Stuttgart 1991) 355–80, esp. 359; C. Schnurr, "Zur Topographie der Theaterstätten und der Tripodstraße in Athen," *ZPE* 105 (1995) 139–53. For the most recent discussion with further references, see T. L. SHEAR, JR., "Ἰσονόμος τ' Ἀθῆνας ἐποιήσατ'ην: The Agora and the Democracy," in W. D. E. Coulson *et al.*, ed., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford 1994; hereafter 'Shear') 225–48; C. Schnurr, "Die alte Agora Athens," *ZPE* 105 (1995) 131–38.

<sup>8</sup> See esp. Shear; Schurr (*supra* n.7) 131–38.

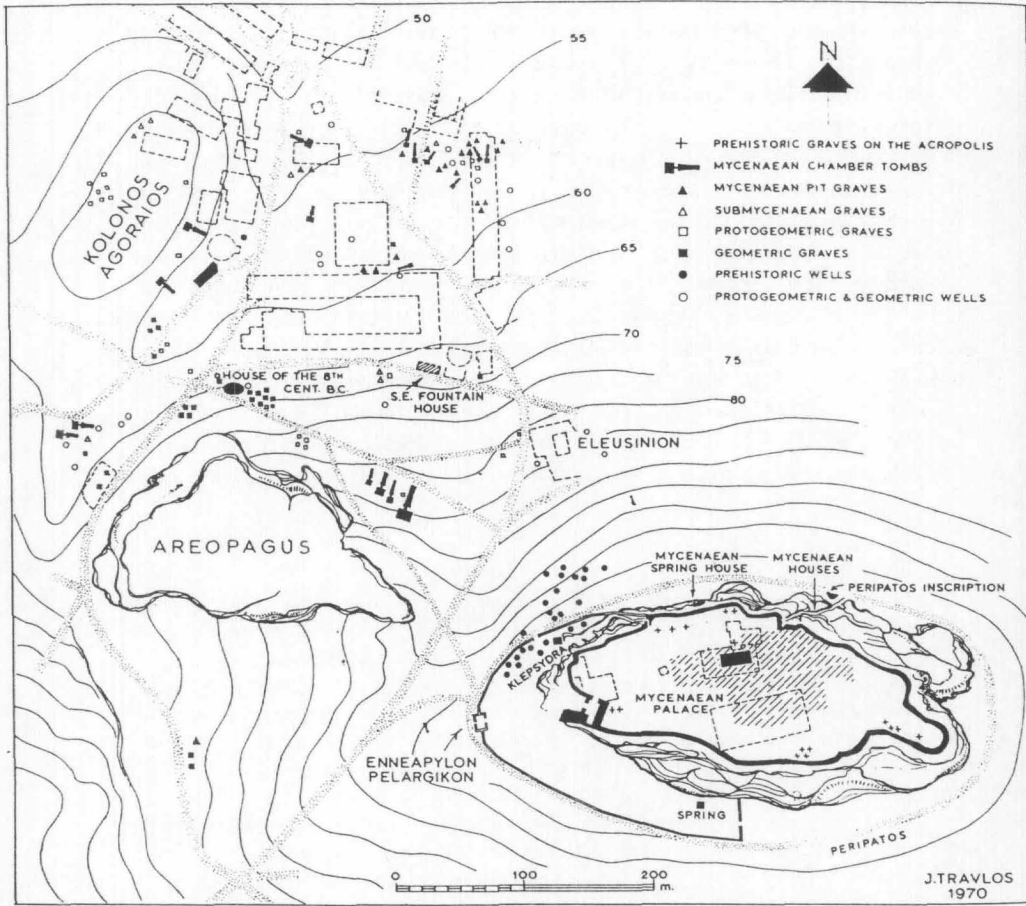


Figure 1. Plan of the Athenian Acropolis and area to the northwest (by J. Travlos; after *Agora* XIV pl. 2).

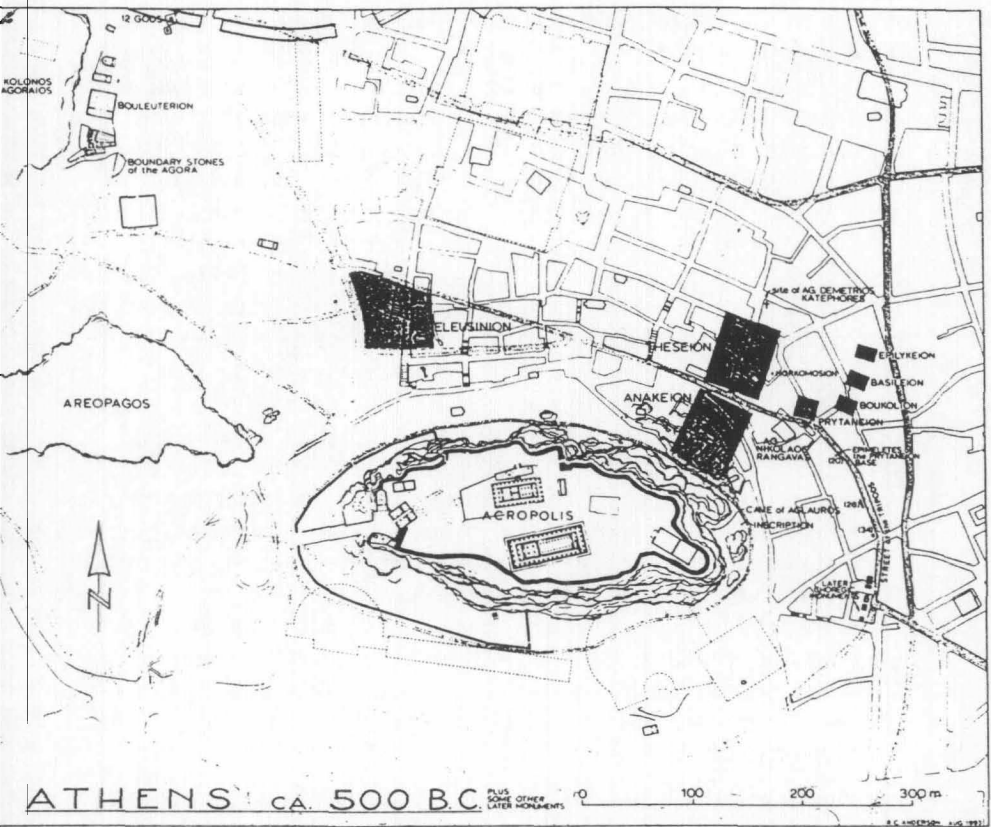


Figure 2. The Athenian Acropolis and surrounding area in the early fifth century B.C., showing locations of early civic buildings, sanctuaries, and streets in relation to modern city blocks (after T. L. Shear, Jr., "Ἴσονόμους τ' Ἀθῆνας ἐποιήσατῆν: *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* [Oxford 1994] 226, fig. 1).

del, towards the northwest in historical times (*Figures 1–2*). Such a shift goes hand-in-hand with two important developments in the history of the city that left their imprint on its topography. The first is the move from Phaleron to Piraeus for the principal harbor of the city. Whereas the old road from Phaleron to Athens approached the city from the south, the systematic development of Piraeus would have greatly increased traffic through the area west and northwest of the Acropolis, thereby favoring the location of the Classical Agora.<sup>9</sup> The development of Piraeus as the main harbor of Athens has been linked with the archonship of Themistocles (493/492) and would have been greatly precipitated by the realities of the Persian attack in 480.<sup>10</sup> Although it would be difficult to argue for any significant exploitation of the Piraeus before the early fifth century, the Athenian domination of Eleusis enjoyed a greater prehistory in Athenian tradition (*Agora XIV 1 n.2*). Whatever the diachronic vicissitudes of Athenian hegemony over Eleusis and its fertile plain, particularly in the light of the Persian defeat, Athenian domination of her neighbor would have given greater importance to the roadway leading northwest of the Acropolis and with it the siting of the Classical Agora.<sup>11</sup>

Whatever the nature and precise location of the old Agora, current consensus has come to accept the later “Agora-within-the-Kerameikos” as its Classical successor. This is well stated in the words of two successive Directors of the Athenian Agora excavations. Homer Thompson writes:

The Potters’ Quarter (*Kerameikos*) of ancient Athens occupied a large area in the northwestern part of the city. From the literary and epigraphical evidence, the district is known to

<sup>9</sup> *Agora XIV 1*; cf. K.-V. von Eickstedt, *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus* (Athens 1991), esp. 1–6; R. Garland, *The Piraeus, from the Fifth to the First Century B.C.* (Ithaca 1987).

<sup>10</sup> *Agora XIV 1 n.3*; von Eickstedt (*supra* n.9) 4; Judeich (*supra* n.7) 69, 430. In fact it seems that a shift from Phaleron to the Piraeus was much more likely after Salamis, rather than the 490s. On the historical problems associated with late Archaic and early Classical Athenian history, see E. Badian, “Archons and *Strategoï*,” *Antichthon* 5 (1971) 1–34, esp. 9–17. It is worth keeping in mind that it was to Phaleron that Hippias led the remnant of the Persian fleet after Marathon and, independently, the defenders of the city (old men, women, and children) marched to frighten off the Persians; here, too, the Marathonomachoi marched. Clearly Phaleron was then *the* harbor.

<sup>11</sup> *Agora XIV 1 n.2*; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) esp. 21–29.

have embraced the Agora or city center, and to have extended outward to include the principal cemetery of the city, reaching even the famous gymnasium, the Academy. The sheer extent of the district is enough to attest the importance of the industry in the life of the city.<sup>12</sup>

More recently, T. Leslie Shear, Jr states (228):

Let us return now to the familiar ground northwest of the Akropolis where sixty years of excavations have revealed in detail the archaeological history of the civic center. That this is the Agora of classical Athens is a central fact in the archaeology of the city. From the fifth century B.C. until the Roman conquest, the area between the Areopagus and the Eridanos River teemed with the political, cultural, and commercial activities that made Athens the greatest polis of Greece.

Shear goes on to discuss (228–45) the pertinent question of when, and in what circumstances, this district became the Agora. He notes that the private fields and family cemeteries of the Early Iron Age only gradually gave way over time to the public space and open square of the Classical market place, and here he is in general agreement with most scholars working on early Athens (*Figures 1–2*).<sup>13</sup> The date for this event is usually stated to be sometime in the sixth century. One current view holds that the Agora was largely the work of Pisistratus and his sons,<sup>14</sup> though in various quarters debate has turned towards the period from 500 to the end of the Persian Wars.<sup>15</sup> One fact that has emerged fairly clearly is, as Miller notes, that there are no demonstrably *public* buildings on the west side of the Clas-

<sup>12</sup> H. A. Thompson, "The Athenian Vase-Painters and their Neighbors," in P. M. Rice, ed., *Pots and Potters: Current Approaches to Ceramic Archaeology* (Los Angeles 1984) 7–19, esp. 7; cf. *Agora XIV* 186.

<sup>13</sup> Shear 228; cf. *Agora XIV* 1–19; Camp (*supra* n.5) 19–60.

<sup>14</sup> J. McK. Camp II, "Before Democracy: Alkmaionidai and Peisistratidai," in Coulson *et al.* (*supra* n.7) 7–12, esp. 9ff; cf. T. L. Shear, Jr, "Tyrants and Buildings in Archaic Athens," in W. A. P. Childs, ed., *Athens Comes of Age: from Solon to Salamis* (Princeton 1978) 1–19.

<sup>15</sup> See, among others, E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, "The Agora Revisited: Athenian Chronology c. 500–450 B.C.," *BSA* 83 (1988) 143–67; L. M. Gadbery, "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View," *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 447–89; T. L. Shear, Jr, "The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits," *Hesperia* 62 (1993) 383–482. The fullest and most recent overview and discussion is S. G. Miller, "Architecture as Evidence for the Identity of the Early Polis," in M. H. Hansen, ed., *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State (=Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2 [Copenhagen 1995])* 201–42, esp. 224 n.4.

sical Agora that clearly predate 500.<sup>16</sup> A date of 500/480 would also be in keeping with the date of the Agora *horos* inscriptions, which in themselves represent the most explicit evidence for the establishment or formalization of the marketplace.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the exact date of the establishment or formalization of the Classical Agora as a civic center, the problem of its location in the area north and west of the Acropolis, in 'the Kerameikos', remains problematic. The most recent argument for the choice of site suggests:

When the Basileus moved his seat from the archaic Boukolion to the newly built Stoa Basileios, ca. 500 B.C., the Lithos was transported to its new site in front of the stoa. Here it served as a very tangible symbol of that sacred trust which the laws imposed on Athenian magistrates, laws that they swore to obey as they stood on the Lithos in front of the actual texts themselves displayed on the *kyrbeis*. The archons of Aristotle's day swore the same oath as they had in Solon's day; and the great stone itself formed the physical link between them and their predecessors and the law-giver himself.<sup>18</sup>

The Lithos (ὁ λίθος) is of especial interest because if Emily Vermeule's suggestion is correct, that this was the lintel block of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, then the massive stone predates even the legendary Solon, and makes the link to the past even more symbolic and real.<sup>19</sup> The reason why the Lithos, and the

<sup>16</sup> Miller (*supra* n.15) 224; cf. Camp (*supra* n.5) 48–57; Shear 245. For some of these buildings see, most recently, S. G. Miller, "Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens," and T. L. Shear, Jr, "Bouleuterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens," in M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub, edd., *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1995) 133–56; 157–90.

<sup>17</sup> Both Shear and Camp (*supra* n.14) date these to ca 500. The two Agora boundary stones *in situ* are Agora inv. I 5510, 7039; see Agora XIX 27 nos. H25–26; a third *horos* inscription in the same series is H27 (inv. 5675). See also H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966–1967," *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 36–72, esp. 61–64.

<sup>18</sup> Shear 245; the Lithos, always with the definite article, is described and illustrated at 242ff, figg. 15f; see also 238, figg. 13f; cf. Camp (*supra* n.5) 101f. The stone measures 0.95 × 2.95 m.

<sup>19</sup> Vermeule's ingenious suggestion has entered general Agora lore and is even mentioned in Camp (*supra* n.5) 101f. There are no known tholos tombs in Athens, though the likelihood of a now-vanished tholos tomb is strengthened by the two tholos tombs at Thorikos and one each at Marathon and Menidhi: see Agora XIII 150 (with references); Camp (*supra* n.5) 26. See also



seat of the Basileus, was moved to this quiet corner of Athens, under the shadow of the Kolonos Agoraios, just south of the Eridanos, may never be known, but there is good evidence, essentially unpublished, to suggest why this area would have been known to any Athenian as the Potters' Quarter.

As Wycherley points out, in all extant literary authorities it is always "Kerameikos" or "the Kerameikos"; the convenient terms "Inner Kerameikos" and "Outer Kerameikos" are inventions of modern topographers (*Agora* III 224). Despite more than a century of excavations in and around Athens, there is, to my knowledge, only minor evidence for potters' workshops of the *Archaic and Classical* periods within the fortified city of Athens, with the exception of that area just within, and around, the Dipylon Gate. The evidence was collected by Robert Cook, and recently amplified by John Oakley and Efi Baziotopoulou-Valavani.<sup>20</sup> The latter (46, fig. 1) documents numerous potters' workshops of the sixth and fifth centuries in the area to the northwest of the city, in the immediate vicinity of the Dipylon Gate and extending for some distance to the northwest; kilns and related evidence of the fourth century are noted for the same area, as well as that to the southwest of the city, outside the fortification wall proper but within the area protected by the 'Themistoclean' Long Walls. By the Hellenistic period, a huge factory for the production of moldmade 'Megarian' bowls was sited in the area just south of what is today Syntagma Square.<sup>21</sup>

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M. A. Pantelidou, *Αἱ προϊστορικοί Ἀθῆναι* (Athens 1975) *passim*; P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Athens* (Jonsered 1995), esp. 18. It should be noted that many of the richest chamber tombs in Athens have been found in the area south of the Acropolis (references in Mountjoy), as well as Tomb I in the area of the later Agora: *Agora* XIII 158–69. The most recent discussion of the Tholos tombs at Thorikos, Minidhi, and Marathon, as well as tomb cult elsewhere in Attica, is C. M. Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Lanham, Md., 1995) 102–26.

<sup>20</sup> R. M. Cook, "The 'Double Stoking Tunnel' of Greek Kilns," *BSA* 56 (1961) 64–67; J. H. Oakley, "An Athenian Red-Figure Workshop from the Time of the Peloponnesian War," in F. Blondé and J. Y. Perreault, edd., *Les ateliers de potiers dans le monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique* (= *BCH* Suppl. 23 [Paris 1992]) 195–203; E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, "Ανασκαφές σε αθηναϊκά κεραμικά εργαστήρια ἀρχαϊκῶν καὶ κλασσικῶν χρόνων," in Coulson *et al.* (*supra* n.7) 45–54.

<sup>21</sup> Oakley (*supra* n.20) 197; P. D. Stavropoulos, "Ἀθῆναι-Ἀττικῆ. Γ' Ἐφορεία κλασσικῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων. 29. Ξενοφάντος 4," *ArchDelt* 20 (1965), *Chron.* B' 1, 94ff; A. Andreiomenou, "Ἀθῆναι-Ἀττικῆ. Γ' Ἐφορεία κλασσ-

This evidence of potters' activity in the area of the later Athenian Agora during the sixth through fourth centuries (see below)<sup>22</sup> is far exceeded, however, by Early Iron Age finds that have emerged in excavations in the area of the Classical Agora by the American School since the 1930s.<sup>23</sup> In addition to numerous graves of the period, there are over thirty-five well and other deposits that cover the time conventionally defined as 'Submycenaean' through 'Late Geometric' (a few of these are shown on *Fig. 1*; *Agora XIV 10*). Some of these deposits, particularly the wells and pits, have yielded industrial debris, including a small quantity of discarded metalworkers' molds,<sup>24</sup> the precursors of a later and more substantial industry in the area.<sup>25</sup> Prominent among the industrial material is a large quantity of potters' refuse (*Fig. 3*).<sup>26</sup> Among the items clearly discarded by potters are test- or draw pieces, unfinished and unglazed pots, or parts of pots, and obvious wasters. In addition to the more obvious wasters, many fragmentary pots and sherds preserve serious cracks, dents, and other flaws resulting from the process of forming, drying, or firing the vases that would

σικῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων. 23. 'Ὀδὸς Ὁθωνος 4," *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) *Chron.* B' 1, 80. See also the evidence of Hellenistic potters' debris dumped in the area of the Pnyx: G. R. Edwards, "Hellenistic Pottery," in L. Talcott *et al.*, *Small Objects from the Pnyx II* (= *Hesperia* Suppl. 10 [Princeton 1956]) 79–112, esp. 83–91; see also *Agora XIV 187*. This pattern of Hellenistic or later potters' kilns located in the area of an earlier Agora is known at other sites, and is best documented at Morgantina in Sicily: see N. Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III: Fornaci e Officine da Vasaio Tardo-Ellenistiche* (Princeton 1992), reviewed by J. K. Papadopoulos, *CR* 44 (1994) 151–55.

<sup>22</sup> For the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman potters' waste in Athens, see J. K. Papadopoulos, "ΑΑΣΑΝΑ, Tuyères, and Kiln Firing Supports," *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 203–21.

<sup>23</sup> For a plan of all graves, wells, and other deposits of the period covering the so-called "Submycenaean" period through the seventh century, see *Agora VIII* pl. 45; *cf. Agora XIV 19*. These deposits will be published by the late E. L. Smithson and J. K. Papadopoulos in a forthcoming volume of the *Athenian Agora* series.

<sup>24</sup> Especially in Well U 26:4, the so-called Klepsydra well; see E. L. Smithson, "The Prehistoric Klepsydra: Some Notes," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (= *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 [Princeton 1982]) 141–54.

<sup>25</sup> C. Mattusch, "Bronze- and Ironworking in the Area of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 340–79; *Agora XIV 187–91*.

<sup>26</sup> This material is briefly noted in *Agora XIV 186*; see also Thompson (*supra* n.12) esp. 8; *cf. J. N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 311.

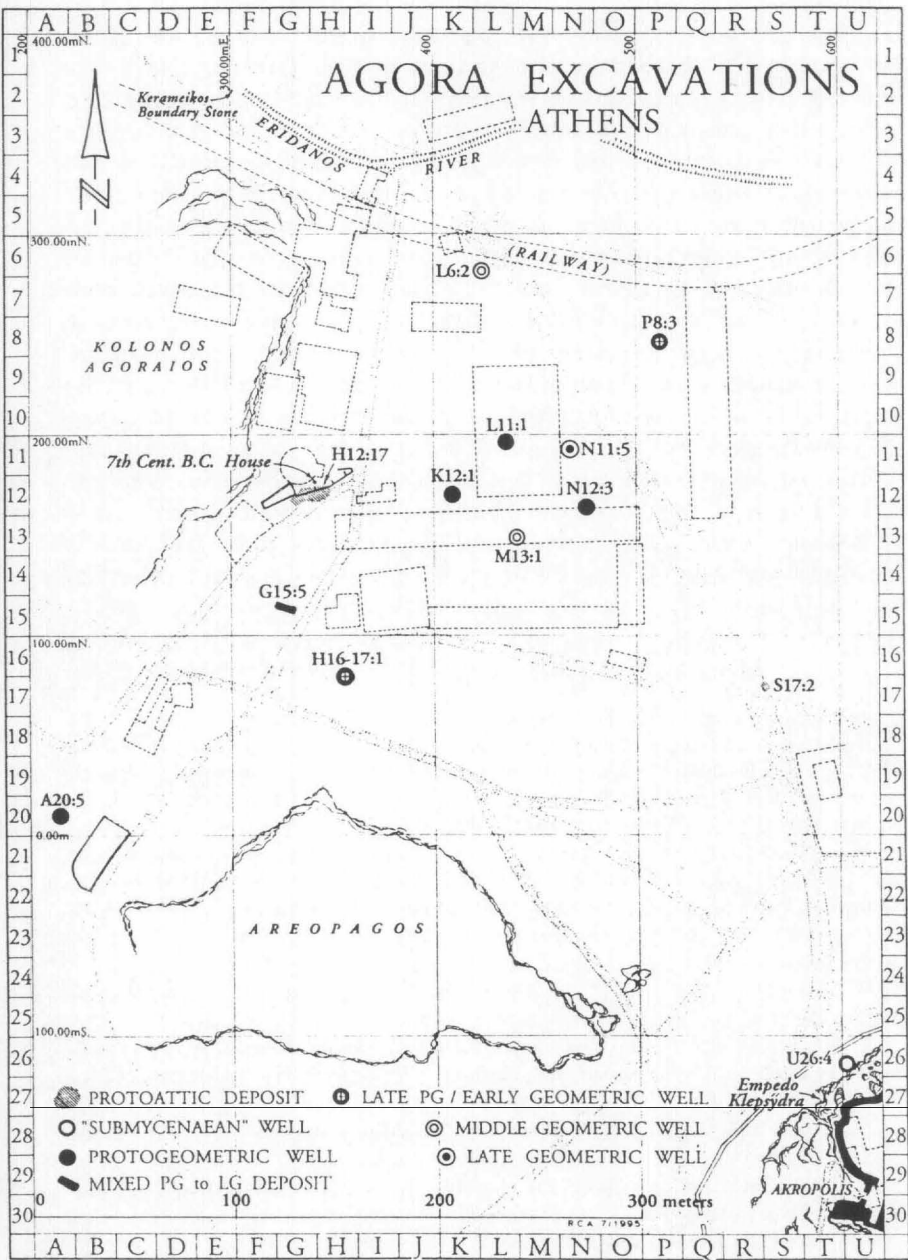


Figure 3. Plan of area of the later (Classical) Agora showing deposits with significant Early Iron Age potters' debris.

have rendered them likely or possible discards, best described as 'production discards' rather than 'wasters'. There is also a kiln dating to the Late Geometric and Protoattic periods associated with the remains of a contemporary house,<sup>27</sup> as well as a deposit of the Protoattic period that represents evidence of a potter's workshop along the east side of the later Agora (*Fig. 3*).<sup>28</sup> As for subsequent periods, there is what appears to have been a mass of refined potter's clay dumped into a well at the north foot of the Areopagus that was closed in the middle of the sixth century.<sup>29</sup> In the later fifth century a potter's shop on the east side of Kolonos Agoraios was mostly levelled to make way for the construction of the Stoa of Zeus.<sup>30</sup> The later use of the area by potters is also well attested in the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods.<sup>31</sup> Among the latest remains of potters' activity in the area were two kilns, destroyed to make way for the Church of the Vlassarou in the seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup>

Although the area of the later Agora was used by potters throughout much of its history, the most substantial evidence of their activity dates from the Early Iron Age (*Fig. 3*). The largest single group of potters' refuse comes from Pit or Well L 11:1, the so-called "Odeion Well."<sup>33</sup> Of a total yield of 1,972

<sup>27</sup> Kiln Deposit H 12:7; see H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors* (= *Hesperia* Suppl. 4 [Princeton 1940]) 3–8. Thompson, interested in the Tholos and its architecture, never published the material from the earlier kiln in full; see also *Agora* XIV 186.

<sup>28</sup> Pit S 17:2. A small fraction of the relevant material is published in summary form in *Agora* VIII 103f, 131, pl. 40; see also *Agora* XIV pl. 92b; H. A. Thompson, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 327–68, esp. 322. The copious debris from this deposit deserves to be more widely known.

<sup>29</sup> *Agora* XIV 186; T. L. Shear, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, Second Report: The Campaign of 1932," *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 451–74, esp. 472. Note also the abandoned mining shaft on the west side of the Agora, used as a potters' dump from the mid-sixth into the early fifth century: see Thompson (*supra* n.12) 8.

<sup>30</sup> *Agora* XIV 186; H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 1–226, esp. 8, 20 with fig. 11, 47–53.

<sup>31</sup> *Agora* XIV 186; see further R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 135–288, esp. 286; H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora 1960–1965," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 37–54, esp. 43.

<sup>32</sup> *Agora* XIV 186; A. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 1–28, esp. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Section ΩΔ: "Well" in Odeion Trench L. Discovered June 8, 1946 and excavated July 3–4, 1946 by Homer A. Thompson. Deposit noted in H. A. Thompson, "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 31–141,

pieces, some 202 fragments (or about 10% of the deposit) could be classified as potters' waste with certainty; other pieces might, if complete, display flaws or damage sufficiently serious for them to qualify as makers' discards, and it is not impossible that the entire deposit represents rubbish from a potter's establishment. Similar material was noted in a number of other deposits, though never in the quantity of deposit L 11:1. Chronologically, these deposits cover all the discerned phases of the Early Iron Age. The well groups and other deposits that have yielded potters' waste include, in chronological order (*Fig. 3*):<sup>34</sup>

Well N 12:3	"Submycenaean"—Early Protogeometric
Pit or Well L 11:1	Early-Developed Protogeometric
Pit or Well A 20:5	Developed Protogeometric
Well K 12:1	Developed Protogeometric
Well H 16-17:1	Late Protogeometric/Early Geometric

esp. 37: "a shallow well of the time transitional between the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods." For the existence of wells in the area immediately southwest, see also T. L. Shear, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, Seventh Report: The Campaign of 1934," *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 340-70, esp. 362f.

<sup>34</sup> Evelyn Smithson's division of the Early Iron Age into distinct phases coincides with that of J. N. Coldstream for the Early and Middle Geometric phases in *Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology* (London 1968) 8-28, following the system worked out from study of the finds from the Athenian Agora; cf. E. T. H. Brann, "Late Geometric Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 30 (1931) 93-146, esp. 95. Smithson does, however, tentatively divide the Protogeometric period into four phases, labelled PG I-IV, on the basis of the internal evidence provided by the Agora graves and deposits, particularly the well deposits. Within this four-part division she saw a good deal of chronological overlap between the various discerned phases. For example, she considered that what is traditionally defined as 'Submycenaean' overlaps with the earliest 'Protogeometric' (this phase she labelled PG 1). Her PG II-III phases roughly coincide with what is elsewhere defined as earlier and Middle Protogeometric. Her PG IV represents late Protogeometric. In addition to Protogeometric I-IV, she discerned a 'Submycenaean' phase, which she often referred to as "Final Mycenaean." At the time of her death in 1992 she was happy with the discerned subdivisions of Early and Middle Geometric, but was still concerned about those of the earlier period, especially the relationship between her PG I and Final Mycenaean. Although the Agora graves of the period are not as numerous as those of the Kerameikos Excavations of the German Institute (see *Agora* XIV 9-18), the well deposits of the period are unique, inasmuch as non-funerary deposits of this period are exceedingly rare. They provide, moreover, quantitatively substantial groups of pottery not matched in size by grave groups.

Well P 8:3	Early Geometric
Well L 6:2	Middle Geometric
Well M 13:1	Middle Geometric
Well N 11:5	Late Geometric
Deposit G 15:5	Mixed Protogeometric–Late Geometric
Kiln Deposit H 12:17	Late Geometric and Protoattic
Pit S 17:2	Protoattic <sup>35</sup>

Of the large quantity of potters' debris from these deposits, only three pieces were published by Marie Farnsworth in 1960;<sup>36</sup> two years later Eva Brann presented a few additional Protoattic test-pieces (*Agora* VIII 103f, pl. 40; cf. XIV 186, pl. 92b); most of these, as well as a few more, appeared as part of a neutron-activation study of material from the Athenian Agora conducted by Dominique Fillières and her collaborators.<sup>37</sup> The material from these deposits pertaining to potters' activity will be published and illustrated in detail in a forthcoming study.<sup>38</sup> For the moment it is important to note that this evidence suggests, contrary to the prevalent view, that a great part of this area was devoted to potters' activity. This industry would have

<sup>35</sup> There are, in addition, a number of poorly fired vessels in various other deposits of the period. For potters' marks on Early Iron Age pottery from some of these deposits, see J. K. Papadopoulos, "Early Iron Age Potters' Marks in the Aegean," *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 437–507.

<sup>36</sup> "Draw Pieces as Aids to Correct Firing," *AJA* 64 (1960) 72–75, pl. 16, includes a catalogue of ten test-pieces found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, the Pnyx, and the Potters' Quarter at Corinth. Of these, nos. A, D, and E are Early Iron Age from the area of the later Agora; several more pieces from the Agora are Classical, being test-pieces cut from red-figure vessels (nos. G., H, I); one piece of Hellenistic date comes from the Pnyx (no. C); the remainder are from Corinth (B, F, J). It should be noted that the red-figure test-pieces discovered as part of the Agora excavations by the American School all derive from Deposit O 17:2; this deposit, along with K 14:1, represents caches of material stored in cellars in modern times that were part of the stock in trade of dealers of antiquities. Although found in the area, the material has nothing to do with the ancient Agora; for a summary of these contexts see A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Pottery from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 369–77, esp. 369.

<sup>37</sup> D. Fillières, G. Harbottle, and E. V. Sayre, "Neutron-Activation Study of Figurines, Pottery, and Workshop Materials from the Athenian Agora, Greece," *JFA* 10 (1983) 55–69. The Protogeometric and Subgeometric potters' debris accounted for only a small portion of this study, a total of sixteen pieces.

<sup>38</sup> J. K. Papadopoulos, "Cericus Redivivus," which will provide, among other things, important information about the firing of Attic painted pottery, especially the prehistory of the three-stage firing described by Joseph Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*<sup>2</sup> (London 1988) 148–65, esp. 155f.

been well watered by a combination of the Eridanos, numerous wells, and several natural lines of drainage, in a low area of the town prone to flooding.<sup>39</sup> As for the evidence of the tombs, from the Mycenaean period through the Early Iron Age and later,<sup>40</sup> it is evident that, contrary to popular belief,<sup>41</sup> the 'Submycenaean', Protogeometric, and Geometric graves are mostly not arranged in small, discrete plots but are part of large cemeteries. Bearing in mind considerable destruction of earlier burials by building activity in the Classical period and later, as well as the fact that many earlier tombs are now located—and effectively hidden—beneath later monuments, it is nevertheless remarkable how extensive these cemeteries are. There are at least three, and probably four, fully-fledged Early Iron Age cemeteries in the area of the later Agora: one on the north slope of the Areopagus, another centered on and around the Kolonos Agoraios, and a third along the south bank of the Eridanos, concentrated in the area beneath and around the later north end of the Stoa of Attalus.<sup>42</sup> A fourth possible cemetery, thus far attested by only three tombs, is located in an area currently under excavation north of the Eridanos.<sup>43</sup> The location of potters' workshops—and particularly kilns—on the site of an earlier cemetery, or the establishment of a burial ground on the site of earlier potters' activity, is well-known at a number of sites, including Argos, Sindos in Macedonia, Rhodes, Atalanta,

<sup>39</sup> For the importance of a ready water supply to a potter's establishment, see Cuomo di Caprio (*supra* n.21); for the procurement of water and the elaborate later waterworks, see the useful overview of M. Lang, *Waterworks in the Athenian Agora* (=Agora Picture Book 11 [Princeton 1968]).

<sup>40</sup> Late Bronze Age tombs: Agora XIII; Early Iron Age burials: Agora VIII; for later burials see R. S. Young, "Sepulturae intra Urbem," *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 67–134; whether *intra* or *extra* urbem depends, in this case, on the chronology of the burials and the nature and extent of the city wall of Athens at any given time: see nn.59–60 *infra*. For much later burials in and around the Hephaisteion see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion* (=Hesperia Suppl. 5 [Princeton 1941]) 6–30. The earliest burial in the area is a solitary Middle Helladic grave: Agora XIII 92f.

<sup>41</sup> Most recently, I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge 1987); J. Whitley, *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-literate Society 1100–700 B.C.* (Cambridge 1991).

<sup>42</sup> See Agora VIII pl. 45 for a plan of tombs known up to 1962; more graves have since come to light.

<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that this area is still under excavation and that the known tombs were located in those limited places where the natural bedrock was reached.

Torone in Chalcidice and, of course, the German excavations in the (later) Kerameikos of Athens, to mention only a few.<sup>44</sup> The primary reason why kilns and tombs are so often found in close proximity is that both are usually sited *outside* the main area of habitation of any settlement. It is worth adding that the term "potter's field" in English tradition has come to mean a public burial place for paupers, unknown persons, and criminals. Although this usage ultimately derives from the passage in Matthew 27:7, which refers to the purchase of a potter's field for use as a graveyard, the association of potters' quarters and burial grounds has a much older ancestry.

The extent of both the potters' activity and the cemetery grounds northwest of the Acropolis and east of the Kolonos Agoraios was so great in the Early Iron Age that it left essentially no room for any real form of concentrated habitation. This conclusion is diametrically opposed to the widely-held belief that the area saw substantial settlement at this time. This has been a strongly held tenet that has never been seriously questioned and its general acceptance has been equally upheld by prehistorians whose work shows a concern for social

<sup>44</sup> At Argos, Protogeometric kilns (or industrial furnaces not necessarily of potters) were found in close proximity to Submycenaean and Protogeometric tombs: see P. Courbin, "Stratigraphie et stratigraphie. Méthodes et perspectives," in P. Courbin, ed., *Études archéologiques* (Paris 1963) 59–102, esp. 71f. For the kilns of the late Classical period at the Archaic and Classical cemetery at Sindos see A. Despoine, "Κεραμεικοὶ κλιβανοὶ Σίνδου," *ArchEph* (1982) 61–84; for Torone and references to Rhodes, Atalanta, and other examples see J. K. Papadopoulos, "An Early Iron Age Potter's Kiln at Torone," *MeditArch* 2 (1989) 9–44, esp. 13 nn.8ff, 43f, App. 1–2. For the kilns in the area of the German excavations in the Kerameikos see Cook (*supra* n.20) 64–67: Kilns G1–6, H2–6, J1–4; W. Hoepfner, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten* (=Kerameikos 10 [Berlin 1976]) 142f, 173ff; many more kilns, particularly of the Late Roman period, have been recently excavated: see Papadopoulos (this note). When comparing the pattern of distribution of the potters' deposits with that of the tombs in the area of the later Agora (Fig. 1, 3), it is clear that it was not a random distribution. The potters' deposits tend to be concentrated in the central portion of the area, which was relatively, if not totally, free of tombs, and there are also diachronic factors at play. Protogeometric potters' deposits, for example, are rarely sited in close proximity to contemporary burials, but tend to cluster in those areas where there were earlier Mycenaean graves.



archaeology, as well as by more traditional classical scholars.<sup>45</sup> It is most succinctly stated by the current excavator of the Agora:

To the Dark Ages should be dated the beginning of regular and extensive habitation in what was later to become the Agora. The evidence is indirect but clear that starting in the years around 1000 B.C. and continuing down to 600 B.C. the area was used for houses as well as burials. Later quarrying and levelling of the Agora have removed all trace of actual structures from these early periods, but the shafts of wells sunk into the bedrock remain. The assumption is that each well stood in the courtyard of a private house and that they can be used to indicate the probable location and density of prehistoric houses now lost. Together with the burials they show a pattern of increasing population in this part of Athens from 1000 to 700 B.C.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See, among others, V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* (Oxford 1952) 1, and *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972) 261–65, 362; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) 363, and *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London 1980) 29–34, 154–57; Coldstream (*supra* n.26) 315; Morris (*supra* n.41) 63–69, esp. 65, where it is stated: "Young wished to believe that this area had been given over entirely to burials after 900 B.C., but this was obviously not so. The settled area north of the Areopagus included small type A plots, scattered along the paths, between houses and wells." Morris' comments are closely echoed by Whitley (*supra* n.41) 61–64. See also R. S. Young, "An Early Geometric Grave near the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 275–97, esp. 275–79; Camp (*supra* n.5) 24, 33; *Agora* XIV 9–18, XXVII 11f.

<sup>46</sup> Camp (*supra* n.5) 33; elsewhere (24) he states: "the wells which reflect the positions of early houses were dug deep into bedrock and give some idea of the density of habitation when the area was being used as a residential district from about 1000–600 B.C." The assumption of the importance of wells as denoting evidence for habitation is most recently argued by Rhys Townsend. In discussing the history of the area on the east side of the Agora he states (*Agora* XXVII 11): "from the Protogeometric through Late Geometric periods, the Agora came to be used more and more for habitation. Again, no actual structures remain in the section to the east of the Panathenaic Way." Elsewhere (12) he notes that the total absence of wells from one very large area "is exceptional and may signal that the land was considered to be not particularly desirable real estate." Although no domestic structures of the Early Iron Age have actually been found in the areas, Townsend concludes (12): "Nevertheless, for a time in the second half of the eighth century, when the land further west grew increasingly crowded with houses, habitation necessarily spread eastward. The area did not long remain settled, however; around 700 B.C., a drought closed the wells and forced abandonment of the structures they served, both here and throughout the region of the Agora." For this drought see J. McK. Camp II, "A Drought in the Late Eighth Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 397–411.

This assumption can no longer be maintained, and the evidence of the wells in this case is best interpreted as serving potters' establishments rather than private dwellings; it is telling that so many of these wells were filled with debris from pottery workshops. The source of this fill is debatable; it should be noted, however, that although fill elsewhere in the area has been shown occasionally to have been hauled in from a distance, that distance is rarely great.<sup>47</sup> In addition to the evidence of wells, the only other possible evidence offered in support of early habitation in this area was the so-called "Geometric House" excavated in the early 1930s and promptly published by Dorothy Burr.<sup>48</sup> The identification of this oval structure as a house has more recently been dismantled by Thompson and reinterpreted as an early shrine.<sup>49</sup> The substantial evidence of potters' activity in this area, previously overlooked by scholars, has important ramifications for the nature of habitation and the use of the area in the Early Iron Age.

In short, this was the original Kerameikos—the Potters' Quarter—of Athens from at least as early as the Protogeometric period; and the area continued to be used for both burials and potters' activity well into the Archaic period. In time, both the burial grounds and potters were moved further to the northwest of the city, occupying the area now generally referred to as the Kerameikos (Thompson [*supra* n.12] 8). This may explain why the name was applied to such a large area of the ancient

<sup>47</sup> One of the two instances known to me is the case of the dumped road fill of the mid-seventh century beside the Tholos cemetery, which contained sherds that joined fragments in the Protoattic votive deposit on the Areopagus, about 100 m. to the southeast: Deposit H 17:4. See R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora* (= *Hesperia* Suppl. 2 [Princeton 1939]) 10. The other case is that of sherds joining pyre debris in Grave H 16:6—the celebrated tomb of the rich Athenian lady—which were found in fourth-century B.C. dumped filling above that deposit, 15 m. to the south: see E. L. Smithson, "The Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady, ca. 850 B.C.," *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 77–116, esp. 79. In both cases the distance involved is not substantial.

<sup>48</sup> "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 542–640; cf. *Agora* VIII 109f.

<sup>49</sup> H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966–1967," *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 36–72, esp. 58ff, and "Some Hero Shrines in Early Athens," in Childs (*supra* n.14) 96–108.

city.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the name as applied to the original Potters' Quarter was never lost and continued to be used for the area of the later Athenian Agora. Nowhere is this more explicit than in the discovery of a Kerameikos *horos* inscription at the northwest corner of the Classical Agora (Pl. 1; Fig. 3).<sup>51</sup> The stone, which is dated to the fourth century B.C., was found *in situ* in March 1939, facing north onto the ancient street that led to this point from the Dipylon Gate (Agora XIX 28). The stone is located precisely where Pausanias is likely to have entered 'the Agora' (Fig. 3), perhaps inspiring him to write that upon entering the 'Kerameikos', the first building on the right is the so-called Stoa Basileios.<sup>52</sup> A second Kerameikos *horos* inscription, albeit a small fragment, was found out of its original context near the Classical Agora in 1959 (Agora XIX 28, pl. 2, H31). This fragment, as noted by Gerald Lalonde, represents the fifth known example of a distinctive series of opisthographic *horoi* of the Kerameikos (Agora XIX 28 with references).

One important implication of these conclusions is that, whatever date one advocates for the establishment of the Classical Agora, this was one of the few areas of ancient Athens that was never heavily built up. It was close to the Acropolis, large enough and sufficiently free of substantial building to have been appropriated as a commercial and civic area. When exactly this occurred will remain an issue of contention, though I believe the arguments presented by Miller for the establishment of this area as an Agora *after* the Persian destruction of Athens in 480

<sup>50</sup> Paus. 1.3.1: Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου· πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. As Wycherley notes (Agora III 221), some ancient commentators state that there was a deme called Kerameikos, though the name of the deme was more properly Kerameis; see further Camp (*supra* n.5) 21 fig. 6. For the deme Kerameis, see D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.* (Princeton 1986) 475 for full references. For other boundary stones of land held by demes, phratries, and gene, see A. E. Raubitschek, "Kolieis," in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, ed., ΦΟΡΟΣ: *Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (Locust Valley [N.Y.] 1974) 137f.

<sup>51</sup> T. L. Shear, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, Eighteenth Report: The Campaign of 1939," *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 267f, fig. 4, 299; Agora III 223, XIX 28 pl. 2 no. H30.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. 1.3.1; see further E. Vanderpool, "The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 128-37; cf. Vanderpool (*supra* n.1). Note also the comments in J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (New York and London 1894) 14f, 23, 113.

are cogent and deserve attention;<sup>53</sup> it is worth adding that an early fifth century B.C. date would also accord nicely with the systematic exploitation of the Piraeus as the main harbor of the city, thereby increasing traffic through the west and northwest part of Athens. In this scenario, the relocation of the *Lithos*, the establishment of the Stoa Basileios, and, more importantly, the erection of the Agora *horos* inscriptions would date shortly after 480, rather than 500.<sup>54</sup>

One question remains: if the area of the later Agora was not inhabited during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, where was the Early Iron Age settlement of Athens? The most elegant answer would be that it was where it always was: on, and immediately around, the Acropolis. I hope to explore this more fully elsewhere, but there are several important pieces of evidence that support this conclusion, despite the small quantities of Early Iron Age material found on the hill itself.<sup>55</sup> It is significant that Early Iron Age burials are located on all sides of the Acropolis, as if emanating from the center, just as the tombs

<sup>53</sup> Miller (*supra* n.15). Such a conclusion does not necessarily query the significance of some of the important monuments in the area, such as the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the Southeast Fountain House, and Building F, among others. For these monuments see Camp (*supra* n.5) 40–45. These buildings may well have been constructed at an earlier time, but this in itself does not establish that the area was formalized as the civic center.

<sup>54</sup> It is worth emphasizing that this is exactly the period—that is, from the time of Cleisthenes to 480—about which we know very little, as Badian (*supra* n.10: 1) reminds us:

Athenian history of the fifth century B.C. has, on the whole, become a battlefield where only the trained hoplite can compete. By contrast, the period from Cleisthenes down to 480 is one where the mere peltast still has an honest chance. There are—at least in internal history—practically no facts known, and ingenuity and imagination have been limited only by what the audience has been ready to believe. The limits have traditionally been generous. And the state of affairs has tended to permit and to encourage what philosophers call the “conspiracy theory” of history.

See also J. Ober, “Greek Horoi: Artifactual Texts and the Contingency of Meaning,” in D. B. Small, ed., *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology* (Leiden 1995) 91–123.

<sup>55</sup> B. Graef, with P. Hartwig, P. Wolters, and R. Zahn, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* 1.1 (Berlin 1909); see also F. Brommer, “Antiken des Athener Instituts. 2. Scherben von der Athener Akropolis,” *Ath Mitt* 87 (1972) 281–85; note also the Early Iron Age material found in the fill of the fountain: Broneer (*supra* n.7) 401–05.

of the Mycenaean era surround the Acropolis.<sup>56</sup> The most important evidence, however, is that of Thucydides (2.15.3), which agrees well with the archaeological evidence presented above: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὕσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.<sup>57</sup>

Without embarking on an analysis of the evidence for the exact size and location of the *Pelagikon*/*Pelargikon*,<sup>58</sup> or its relationship to a real or mythical Archaic peribolos wall,<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Mountjoy (*supra* n.19). This might also account for the enigmatic Delphic response at the time of the Persian Wars (Hdt. 7.140) that described Athens as "wheel-shaped" (πόλιος τροχοειδούς). This led Gardner (*supra* n.6: 45f) to support the existence of a fortification wall around the city at the time of the Persian invasion (see below).

<sup>57</sup> See further A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides II* (Oxford 1956) 49–61; cf. J. E. Harrison, *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides* (Cambridge 1906) esp. 7f; W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen und seine Agora. Untersuchungen über die Entwicklung der ältesten Burg und Stadt Athen und ihres politischen Mittelpunktes, des Stadtmarktes I* (Berlin 1937) 5–22; see also *Il.* 2.546–56; *Od.* 7.81.

<sup>58</sup> E. Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen* (Berlin 1891) 47; Harrison (*supra* n.57) 22–36; Dörpfeld (*supra* n.58); see especially S. E. Iakovides, 'Η μυκηναϊκὴ ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (Athens 1962) esp. 179–99, 231–35, and Αἰ μυκηναϊκαὶ ἀκροπόλεις (Athens 1973) 113–40; L. Beschi, "Il monumento di Telemachos, fondatore dell' Asklepieion ateniese," *ASAtene* 45–46 (N.S. 29–30 [1967–68]) 381–436, esp. 390–97 (with references to earlier literature); most recently, J. McK. Camp II, "Water and the Pelargikon," in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday* (GRBM 10 [Durham [NC] 1984) 37–41. Whatever the precise nature and extent of the Pelargikon, Harrison Eiteljorg reminds us that the Acropolis before the Periclean building program, which truly transformed it, was not remarkable in size or grandeur. In his study of the west end of the citadel he also points out how 'Mycenaean' the Acropolis was in its appearance as late as the first half of the fifth century: *The Entrance to the Athenian Acropolis before Mnesicles* (Boston 1993) esp. 85f; cf. E. D. T. Vermeule, " 'Priam's Castle Blazing': A Thousand Years of Trojan Memories," in M. J. Mellink, ed., *Troy and the Trojan War. A Symposium held at Bryn Mawr College, October 1984* (Bryn Mawr 1986) 77–92, esp. 78. See further J. A. Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Akropolis, 1882–1890* (Copenhagen 1974), and *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights* (Copenhagen 1976); J. C. Wright, "Mycenaean Palatial Terraces," *Ath Mitt* 105 (1980) 59–86, esp. 64f n.18, and "The Mycenaean Entrance System at the West End of the Akropolis of Athens," *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 323–60.

<sup>59</sup> The evidence has most recently been gathered by R. G. A. Weir, "The Lost Archaic Wall around Athens," *Phoenix* 49 (1995) 247–58. Although presenting a strong case for the existence of an Archaic fortification wall, Weir's arguments are not without problems, and some of the evidence mustered by the disbelievers in the wall is still compelling, especially Dörpfeld (*supra* n.57) 25–29; A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (Berlin 1924)

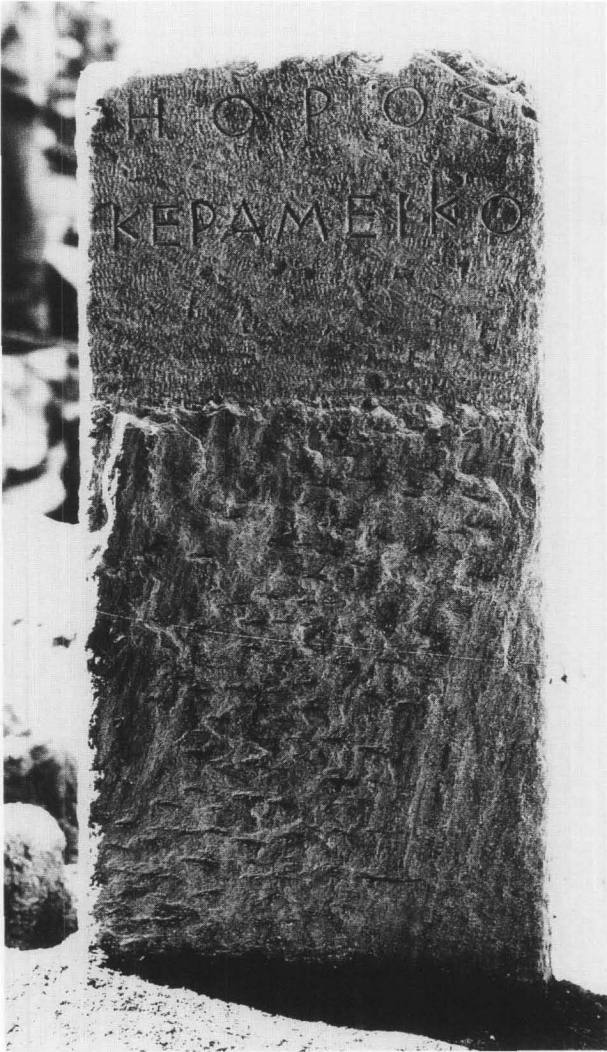
Thucydides' statement that at an earlier time what is now the citadel was the city, together with what is below it toward the south, deserves to be taken at face value and is, in itself, compelling evidence.<sup>60</sup>

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esp. 26; Harrison (*supra* n.57) 31. Weir's paper uses much of the evidence already discussed by Judeich (*supra* n.7) 120–24; H. Lauter-Bufe and H. Lauter, "Die vorthemistokleische Stadtmauer Athens nach philologischen und archäologischen Quellen," *AA* 90 (1975) 1–9; Travlos (*supra* n.6) 40ff; E. Vanderpool, "The Date of the Pre-Persian City Wall of Athens," in Bradeen and McGregor (*supra* n.50) 156–60; O. Walter, "Zur Frage der vorthemistokleischen Stadtbefestigung Athens," *AnzWien* 86 (1949) 518–27; F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto 1971) 61–64, and "Sepulchrae intra urbem and the Pre-Persian Walls of Athens," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography* (=Hesperia Suppl. 19 [Princeton 1982]) 199–205; R. S. Young, "Burials within the Walls of Athens," *AJA* 52 (1948) 377f, and (*supra* n.40) 132.

<sup>60</sup> I am grateful to three successive directors of the Athenian Agora Excavations: Homer Thompson for inviting me to take on the study and publication of the Early Iron Age material from the area of the later Agora following the untimely death of Evelyn Lord Smithson; and Leslie Shear, Jr, and John Camp for facilitating my work in the Stoa of Attalus. The latter two have shared their great knowledge of the topography and early history of Athens. I have also benefited greatly from discussion with many colleagues and friends, especially Richard Anderson, Eve Harrison, Margaret Miles, and Susan Rotroff. I am particularly grateful to Walter Gauss and to my wife, Sarah Morris, for repeatedly questioning the soundness of my thought process.



Kerameikos boundary stone (4th century B.C.)  
found *in situ* in the northwest corner of the Classical Agora  
(courtesy American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations).